

**CULTURAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE
TURKMEN STATES AND THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND WEST
WITH A CORPUS OF THE TURKMEN COINS IN THE BARBER
INSTITUTE COIN COLLECTION**

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ABSTRACT

In the eleventh century the arrival of the Turks from Central Asia resulted in complex socio-economic and political changes in Upper Mesopotamia (al-Jazīra), Diyār Rūm (Asia Minor) and part of Syria (Diyār Shām). The social, cultural, military and economic life of the Turks intertwined with the native culture and heritage of Greeks, Armenians and Syrians living in those territories. Having as starting point the multifaceted encounters some of the important issues I am addressing in my thesis are the important trade routes that crossed Turkmen-dominated areas in the late middle ages; monetary traffic; mines and mints in operation under the Turkmen rule.

As the history of that multicultural environment can best be understood and explained through the coin evidence, a big part of my project will cover numismatic evidence. In this context, my study will focus on the socio-economic and cultural relations and interactions between the Byzantines, old inhabitants, the Turkish newcomers and the western powers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the light of the coins and investigate some questions: Why did the Turkmens issue the Greek and bilingual (Greek-Arabic) coins and seals? Why did the Turkmens borrow images (particularly Byzantine style imagery) from the cultural heritage of the areas they ruled?

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JIMES TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM FOR ARABIC

'	ء
a, e	ا
b	ب
t	ت
th	ث
J	ج
ḥ	ح
kh	خ
d	د
dh	ذ
r	ر
z	ز
s	س
sh	ش
ṣ	ص
ḍ	ض
ṭ	ط
ẓ	ظ
'	ع
gh	غ
f	ف
q	ق
k	ك
l	ل
m	م
n	ن
w	و
h	ه
y	ي
Long vowel: ā, ū, ī	

INTRODUCTION

The period from the early eleventh to the mid-fourteenth century stands out as a distinctive age in the history of cross-cultural encounters, one that warrants analysis in its own right. Even without the creation of new roads or revival of old ones, this period beheld a remarkable intensification of dealings across cultural boundary lines. Indeed, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the various regions in the Eastern Hemisphere became more tightly integrated than at any period of history before modern times. Integration in turn brought about a quickening in the process of cross-cultural encounter, with results that in some cases influenced historical and cultural development over an extraordinarily long term.¹

The cross-cultural recognition and enjoyment in the Eastern Hemisphere noted by Jerry H. Bentley, historian and author of a series of innovative and comprehensive works concerning the cross-cultural interactions in Asia and Europe in the Middle Ages, culminated in the twelfth-and thirteenth-century Near East. In this context, my study concerns the socio-economic and cultural profile of the first Turkmen principalities (*beyliks* or emirates), which were established just after the Battle of Manzikert (1071), and their relations and interactions with the Byzantines, westerners (Franks and Latins) and the old inhabitants. The Turkmen principalities studied in this thesis expand over a vast area covering Diyār Rūm (Anatolia), al-Jazīra (Upper Mesopotamia) and part of Diyār Shām (Syria). Each individual principality reflects notable differences from and similarities with each other in terms of their socio-economic process, cultural accumulation, institutions, coinage, and so on. Some Turkmen groups such as the Artuqids and the Zangids have settled upon the areas which had already fallen into the Arabs. In their new lands, a large number of Muslims already lived together with non-Muslim groups. It would not be wrong to say that the Artuqids and the Zangids

¹ Bentley 1993: 111-114.

began to rule a territory which already had a common frontier culture tradition. However, the Danishmendid, Saltukid and Mengujekid Turkmens established their emirates in an area in which there were no large Muslim populations.²

The literature on this subject is limited, although studies are increasingly being published on various aspects of Turk-Byzantine interactions and perceptions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³ Works produced by both Western and Turkish scholars since the early twentieth century, have tackled the issue of Turk-Byzantine political relations, but only a few scholars handled the issue from the specific perspective of the Byzantine and Western influence on the Turkmen world; the socio-economic and cultural relations between old inhabitants, the Turkish newcomers and the western powers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Instead, most such works have focused on either military or political affairs connecting these different worlds or the relations between the Muslim East and the Latin West. It can be thought that limited written sources or scanty information about the social and cultural interactions canalize the scholars to remain aloof from this issue. But, on this point, coins and seals, impartial and maybe one word the most reliable witnesses of history, succour researchers to present conclusions, drawn from the languages, inscriptions and images on them, about the socio-economic and cultural interactions between these different worlds. Thus, the aim of the study is to use particularly the Turkmen numismatic evidence to draw broader conclusions about the socio-economic and cultural influences of their Christian

² By far the largest contribution to the political and military history of the Turkmen *beyliks* founded just after the Battle of Manzikert is made by Turkish scholars: Osman Turan and Faruk Sümer take an important place as their works have shown interest in the eastern Anatolian principalities. See Turan 1993 and Sümer 1990. Although a complete history of the Artuqids has not been completed yet, there are various articles and monographs written about the Artuqids and Zangids in Turkey and the West (See Artuk 1944; Sevim 1962; Sevim 1990, Ataoğlu 1989; Turan 1993; Hillenbrand 1981). However, modern Turkish and Western historians have not shown enough interest in the history of the small Turkmen principalities ruling in Anatolia. While Necdet Sakaoğlu is the author of the only book of the Mengujekids (see Sakaoğlu 1971), the history of the Danishmendids and the Saltukids of Erzurum have been neglected by scholars because of the lack of sources. In addition to the Turkish historians, western scholars Claude Cahen and Carole Hillenbrand have produced important works for the present study. See Cahen 1935; Cahen 1965c; Cahen 1968; and Hillenbrand 1990.

³ See Balivet 1994; Necipoğlu 2006: 254-265; and Shukurov 2001: 259-276.

neighbours and subjects as well as to show to what extent they were influenced by the existing institutions and cultures in their new lands.

After the Byzantine defeat and the initial Seljuk appearance in the eleventh-century Anatolia, the process of Turkish conquests and settlement constitute a long epoch lasting around four centuries in the history of Anatolia characterized by four distinctive periods. They are the period in the shade of a chaotic political scene with wars, conflicts, upheavals, alliances etc.; a more peaceful and prosperous era under one unified political power, the Seljuks of Rūm (thirteenth century); and finally ‘two transitional periods in which stability began to crystallize’.⁴ The latter one appears already in the first Turkmen principalities’ period in the mid-twelfth century, which concerns us, but then also in the era of the *beyliks* in the mid-fourteenth century.⁵

Turks, Turkmen, Ghuzz and Seljuks

The uncertainty and obscurity of the basic terms of *Turk* (pl. *atrāk*), *Turkmen* (pl. *tarākima*), and *Seljuk* in the Islāmic sources, as Peacock pointed out, caused their often arbitrary usage by modern scholars⁶ who often acknowledged that while *Turk* can be simply referred to the Turkish people and tribes in general, the *Turkmen* and *ghuzz* (Turkish Oghuz) refer to the Seljuks and their followers.⁷

The term Turkmen first appears in the geography book of Muqaddasī completed in the late tenth century. Muqaddasī states that they converted to Islam as a group.⁸ According to Birūnī (973-1048), writing in the *Kitāb al-Jamāhir fī Ma‘rifat al-Jawāhir* in the eleventh

⁴ Vryonis 1971: 69.

⁵ Vryonis 1971: 69-70.

⁶ Peacock 2010: 49.

⁷ Peacock 2010: 48.

⁸ Muqaddasī, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions, A Translation of Ahsan al-Taqasim Fi Ma‘rifat al-Aqalim*, tr. B. Anthony (Reading 1994), 274.

century, Turkmen is the term used by the Oghuz refer to a convert to Islām.⁹ Maḥmūd al-Kāshgarī has different definition for Turkmen as deriving from the Persian *Turkmen-and*, ‘like a Turk’,¹⁰ while in modern etymology the word is accepted as a combination of *Turk* and the strengthening suffix *men*.¹¹

As for the term *ghuzz* (Turkish Oghuz), it seems to be sometimes used in a negative way in the sources. For instance, Nīshāpūrī’s *Saljūqnama*, which is the earliest existing Persian history of the Seljuks, only mentions *ghuzz* when describing the Oghuz rebellion against Seljuk sultan Sanjar¹² and Ḥusaynī used it again when they captured Sanjar or when describing them as one of the groups in Romanus Diogene’s army in the Battle of Manzikert.¹³ However, in some medieval sources such as Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī’s *Mir’āt al-Zamān*, the terms Turkmen and *ghuzz* were used indiscriminately with no obvious difference of meaning. In other words, Sibṭ did not scrutinize the distinction between Turkmen and *ghuzz*. These terms sometimes can have negative and sometimes positive meaning in different places of his records.¹⁴

For the purposes of this thesis, I will use the term Turkmen to refer to the followers of the Seljuks who accompanied them to the west, while the term Oghuz will be used to describe the pre-Islamic period of the Seljuk family.

⁹ Birūnī, *Kitāb al-Jamāhir fī Ma’rifat al-Jawāhir*, (Hyderabad 1355), 205.

¹⁰ Maḥmūd al-Kāshgarī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, ed. and tr. R. Dankoff (Boston: Harvard University, 1982), II, 363.

¹¹ Golden 2012: 213.

¹² Nīshāpūrī, *Saljūqnama*, ed. A. H. Morton (np: Gibb Memorial Trust) 2004, 60-64, 67.

¹³ Cited in Peacock 2010: 50.

¹⁴ For the use of *ghuzz* in a negative way, see Sibṭ bin al-Jawzī, *Mir’āt al-Zamān*, Ali Sevim (ed.), Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi, 1968, pp. 34, 73-74; for Turkmen, see Sibṭ, pp. 44, 107, 110, 131. For the use of *ghuzz* in a positive way, see Sibṭ, pp. 132-133. By Peacock this was explained with the background of the author who was born and educated in Baghdad. For all urban audience, “all Turks were no doubt equally appalling and all a cause of destruction whether slave soldiers and nomads.” (Peacock 2010: 52)

‘Turkization’, ‘Turkification’, and a new ‘Social Synthesis’

Early modern works concentrated the terms ‘Turkization’, ‘Turkification’, and ‘Byzantinized’ to explain the early encounters and interactions between the Turks and the Byzantines. One of the most prolific authors on the Turks in Asia Minor of pre-Ottoman times was Speros Vryonis who developed his theory on the ‘decline of Medieval Hellenism’:

...the Hellenization of the Levant in antiquity and the centuries-long confrontation of Byzantine and Islamic societies, the joint heirs of this semi-Hellenized Levant. Hellenism and the phenomenon of Islamization in Anatolia from the eleventh through the fifteenth century focus on that area and time within which these two interests converge for the last time.¹⁵

Vryonis focused on the fate and ‘Islamization’ and ‘Turkification’ of the Greek population in Anatolia and, in general, claimed that the destruction of the churches and church organization did not only cause the collapse of Anatolian Greek Christianity but also brought the breakdown of the ‘social structure’ and ‘social support mechanisms’ of the society. The Greek author begins his work with an analysis of Byzantine society in Anatolia on the eve of the Battle of Manzikert, and then concentrates on demography, ethnography, the road system, religion, and political and military collapse of Byzantium in Asia Minor. In the last chapter, which is partly concerned about the Byzantine influence on Turkish Anatolia, he points out that although Turkish Islam ‘absorbed’ or ‘assimilated’ the majority of the Christian population in Anatolia, a significant amount of visible Byzantine residue survived. In fact, the history of cultural exchange in the Mediterranean world witnessed one of the last chapters of the cultural transformation with the rise of Turkish-Muslim society from the eleventh through the fifteenth century. Since antiquity, in its transitional structure, the Mediterranean encountered several transforming cultural elements such as Hellenization, Romanization,

¹⁵ Vryonis 1971: vii. Vryonis defines the Anatolian culture as the reflection of the disparate elements from Hellenism, Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy. Moreover, ‘heresy’ remained in the life of the Byzantine Anatolians and then the Seljuk and Ottoman inhabitants. Vryonis 1971: 78.

Arabization, Christianization, and Islamization. Ultimately, ‘Turkization’ appeared in Asia Minor.¹⁶

From the geopolitical and geographical point of view, it is difficult to say that the ‘Turkification’ or the ‘cultural interaction and transformation’ appeared in equal intensity in the region. The ‘Turkization’ or ‘Turkification’ seems to have been noticeable all along the borders of the political Turkish domain, encountering the Greeks in the west and north; the Armenians, Syrians (or Jacobites) and westerners (Latins and Franks) in the south and south-east; the Georgians and Armenians in the north-west. To identify the phenomenon of ‘Turkization’ and ‘Islamization’ in Anatolia is problematic, as they show complicated and complex features in this transitional area. At this point, we should mention another notable author of our topic, Claude Cahen, who wrote a seminal work: *Pre-Ottoman Turkey, A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071-1330*.¹⁷ While combining political and military events, social and economic life, the topic of the role of Byzantines and westerners and Anatolian natives is only briefly considered or simply not addressed in his work. Nevertheless, Cahen introduces a new term ‘semi-ethnic Turkization’ for the process of Turkization in the region. He remarks that a vast majority of the ‘indigenous rural population’ maintained their life under the rule of their new masters, the Turks and, like many scholars, points out the ‘profitable marriages’ contracted with Armenian, Georgian and Greek notables.¹⁸ Although there is no evidence the Turks have been absorbed by Anatolian natives, ‘there may have been a progressive Turkization of some groups in which the ascendancy, even among males, was held by natives’.¹⁹ However, it is not easy to say how far the Turks mingled with the Anatolian native population. A necessary prerequisite for a proper

¹⁶ Vryonis 1971: 1.

¹⁷ Cahen 1968. In fact, this pioneer work is Cahen’s earlier draft because it was developed and republished by Cahen as *La Turquie Pré-Ottomane* (Istanbul-Paris, 1988). Then P. M. Holt edited and translated it into English in 2001 (see Cahen 2001).

¹⁸ Cahen 1968: 150-151.

¹⁹ Cahen 1968: 146, 148.

understanding of the dialectic of acculturation and new *modus vivendi* is to create a picture of cultural intensity and demographic diversity in the region. Available sources provide useful information and satisfactory examples.

A certain man gave a dirham to four persons: one of them (a Persian) said, “I will spend this on *angūr* [انگور]”

The second one was an Arab: he said, “No I want ‘*inab* [عناب], not *angūr*, O rascal.”

The third was a Turk; and said, “This (money) is money: I do not want ‘*inab*, I want *üzüm*.”

The fourth, a Greek, said, “Stop this talk: I want *stafuli* [σταφύλι].”²⁰

This tale from *The Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī, written in the mid-thirteenth century, strikingly illustrates the multiplicity as well as cultural and linguistic diversity in Anatolia (Diyār Rūm). Someone gives one dirham to four people coming from different ethnicities –Persian, Arab, Turk and Greek-, and then, owing to their ignorance of each other’s languages, they begin to fight. In fact, since the early years of the Turkish settlement in the eastern Mediterranean, the Turkmens encountered diverse social and religious groups: roughly the Greeks in central, western and northern Anatolia; the Georgians, and Armenians in the north-east of Anatolia; the Armenians, Syrians, Latins and Jews in al-Jazīra and northern Syria. A contemporary of Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī, Venetian merchant Marco Polo, who travelled along the Tabrīz-Trebizond route in the second half of the thirteenth century, mentions three major groups of people in medieval Anatolia:

In Turkey [Anatolia] there are three races of men. The Turkmens themselves, who worship Muḥammad and keep his law, are a primitive people, speaking a barbarous language...The other races are the Armenians and Greeks, who live intermingled among the Turkmens in villages and towns and make their living by commerce and crafts, besides agriculture.²¹

²⁰ Mawlana Jalālu’ddīn Rūmī, *The Mathnawī of Jalālu’ddīn Rūmī*, ed. and tr. A. R. Nicholson and E. J. W. Gibb (London 1926), 413-414 (Book II, nos. 3681-3686).

²¹ Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, R. Latham (tr.), London 1958, 33.

References to the interaction between the Muslim Turks and the Christian Greek and Armenian societies in the new homelands of the Turks are encountered from the early twelfth century onwards. The Byzantine records of the military campaign of John II Komnenos (1118-43) to Lake Pousgouse (Beyşehir Gölü) in 1142 provide a striking example about the newly-established *modus vivendi* between the native Greeks and the newcomers of Anatolia. The Greek inhabitants of the Lake's islands under the Seljuk rule refused to open their gates to the Byzantine troops. Contemporary Byzantine historian John Kinnamos (1143-1180) attributes this reaction to their trade relations with the Seljuk Turks in Konya.²² A further suggestion relating to the same incident comes from another Byzantine chronicler Niketas Choniates (1155-1215), who states that the mingling with the Turks had built the mutual bond of their friendship and commercial ties: "Thus custom, reinforced by time, is stronger than race and religion."²³ In the same period, the Danishmendid rulers also constituted close relations and friendship with Constantine Gabras of Trebizond (1126-1140), and the Greek local ruler Casianus. The latter delivered all his fortresses situated in the coast of Pontus to Amīr Ghāzī in 1129 and gained a position in the Danishmendid court.²⁴

Aside from these records claiming the intermingling between the Muslim Turkmen and Christian Greek societies and nobles in Anatolia through trade, agriculture and manufacture, other available sources provide more evidence as to the dissemination of the varied Christian minorities in the eastern Mediterranean and their coexistence with the Turks. For instance, according to Flemish Franciscan missionary and traveller, William of Rubruck (1220-1293), the town of Marsengen, modern Micingerd situated between Kars and Erzurum,

²² John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, ed. and tr. M. C. Brand (New York 1976), 26.

²³ Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, tr. J. H. Magoulias, (Detroit 1984), 22; Necipoğlu 2006: 254; Beihammer 2011: 630.

²⁴ Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, ed. and tr. J-P. Chabot, (Paris 1905), III: 227; Abū'l Faraj, *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj 1225-1286*, ed. and tr. E. A. W. Budge, (London 1976) I: 289; Cahen 1968: 94; Turan 2002: 170; Beihammer 2011: 630. For the Gabras family, see Bryer 1970: 164-187; and Vryonis et al. 1975: 38-45.

where ‘Izz al-Dīn Saltuk produced his quasi-Byzantine copper issues, was described as full of Christians including Armenians, Greeks and Georgians and he added that the Muslims had only the lordship there.²⁵ In the same century, according to Arab geographer Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (574-626 / 1178-1229), a majority of the population was Armenian at Erzincan, adjacent city of Erzurum, where he saw a great monastery.²⁶ In addition to a large number of Armenians, Greeks and Georgians, Armenian monk Hayton of Corycus (d. after 1307), also known as Hetoum, counts the Jacobites among the Christian groups dwelling in the realms under the Turkish rulers in eastern Anatolia.²⁷

One of the another regions with which we are concerned, al-Jazīra also hosted a large non-Muslim population including Christian Armenians, Greeks, Jacobites (or Syrians), and Jews. By the eleventh century, there was a great number of bishoprics in al-Jazīra such as Edessa (al-Ruhā), Mārdīn, Mayyāfāriqīn (Silvan), Ḥiṣn Manṣūr (Adıyaman), Tell Patriq, Amid (Diyarbakır), Niṣibīn (Nusaybin), Ḥiṣn Ziyād (Harput), Samsat (Byzantine Samosata, Arab Sumaysāt) and Gargar, many of which after Arab and then Seljuk conquests still possessed considerable Christian populations in the light of the accounts of the local Christian chroniclers, contemporary Muslim authors, Arab geographers and western travellers.²⁸ The travelogue of Andalusian geographer and traveller Ibn Jubayr (1145-1217), who travelled through al-Jazīra and Syria in the 1180s and wrote eyewitness accounts of the cities and towns, is a significant source for demographic diversity, and cultural and socio-economic life of the region. He mentions some villages with spacious and fertile lands, some of which belong to the Christians including Greeks.²⁹ Contemporary diplomat, poet and historian

²⁵ William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253-1255*, ed. and tr. P. Jackson, and D. Morgan, P. Jackson (London 1990), 269-270.

²⁶ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Būldān*, (Beirut 1977) I: 150.

²⁷ Hayton of Corycus (Hetoum) (Bedrosian), chapter 13, g20. <http://rbedrosian.com/hetum1.htm#13> [accessed: 20th September 2014]

²⁸ See Vryonis 1971: 53ff. Melitene and Caesarea were important bishoprics in Diyār Rūm as well (loc. cit.)

²⁹ As will be discussed below, one of those was in Dunaysir, modern Kızıltepe: Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. and tr. R. J. C. Broadhurst, (London 2011): 251.

Usāma ibn Munqidh (1095-1188), who was born in Shaizar in northern Syria at the eve of the Crusades, also composed his observations and memories of this multicultural geography and gives valuable information about the socio-cultural interactions particularly between the Franks and Muslims in his important work, *Kitāb al-I'tibār (the Book of Contemplation)*.³⁰ His background at the courts of the Zangīds, Artuqids, as well as the Fāṭimīds and Ayyūbīds, makes his records very valuable for our study. On the Jewish population in al-Jazīra, twelfth-century Jewish travellers Benjamin of Tudela and Rabbi Petachia provide valuable information. According to Benjamin of Tudela, in Jazīrat ibn 'Umar, today Cizre, which was one of the most important commercial cities of the Artuqids, there were 4,000 Jews in the mid-twelfth century.³¹ As for Rabbi Petachia, he notes a large Jewish congregation and three synagogues in Nişibīn, today Nusaybin, a big town close to Mārdīn.³² Also, in Mayyāfāriqīn, today Silvan, they had their own synagogue and market.³³

Vryonis suggests that, in this culturally pluralistic and permissive environment, the Islamized Byzantine population brought a great amount of its popular culture into Anatolian Muslim society, which has been consequently 'Byzantinized' partially. Thus a new 'social synthesis' bearing traces from Muslim, Turkish and Byzantine cultures, emerged in Anatolia:

Though these Christians were culturally absorbed into Turkish society, they left a distinct coloration in the new society as a result of the absorptive process. The Turkish institutions were therefore a new synthesis of these elements, Islamic, Turkish, and Byzantine.³⁴

³⁰ Usāma ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation, Islam and the Crusades*, tr. P. M. Cobb, (London 2008); for the life and works of Usāma, see Cobb 2005.

³¹ Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, Travels in the Middle Ages*, ed. and tr. M. N. Adler, (New York 2005): 94.

³² Petachia of Ratisbon, *Travels of Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon*, ed. and tr. A. Benisch and F. W. Ainsworth (London 1856): 9.

³³ Ibn al-Azraq, *Tārīkh-i Mayyāfāriqīn*, British Library, MS Or. 5803, f. 181a, 18b-19a; Yāqūt, V, 237-238; Zakariyā ibn Muḥammad Qazwīnī, *Athār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-'ibād*, (Beirut 1960): 240; see also Turan 1993: 209; Alican 2012: 223.

³⁴ Vryonis 1971: 465.

Although the hypothesis of Vryonis seems debatable, the extant Turkmen coins and seals, as visible cultural heritage, bearing the traces of not only Islamic, Turkish, and Byzantine elements, but also Roman, Hellenistic and medieval western components, evidently reflect conscious or unconscious socio-cultural fusion and give excellent examples of the way cultures in the periphery of the Islamic world beyond the Byzantine eastern borders intersected deeply and constantly.

Coin Evidence and Pioneer Works in the Field:

Vryonis paid attention to the numismatic evidence as ‘an irrefutable and physical testimonial’ to the presence of influence from Byzantine political and economic institutions.³⁵ From his point of view, these numismatic borrowings can also be recognized as one of the oldest physical evidences displaying the existence of not only Byzantine but also their other Christian subjects’ influence on the Anatolian Turkmen world. The author also roughly enumerated some Danishmendid Greek and bilingual (Greek-Arabic) coin types, and then very shallowly mentioned the presence of Christian and regal figures in the twelfth-century Turkmen coinage including those of the Danishmendids, Artuqids, Zangīds, Saltukids and the Seljuks. However, he, like many modern studies, avoids discussing why the Danishmendid Turkmens borrowed Greek language from the Byzantine culture; what is the logic behind the use of ‘bilingual’ (Greek-Arabic) coinage and finally why the Turkmen leaders used Byzantine Christian and imperial images. As for Claude Cahen, he, three years before Vryonis’ work, had attempted to explain the answers of these questions, but not in detail. At first glance, these Turkmen coin types made Cahen think that they were designed by native artisans in the Byzantine tradition and they were struck for use of native populations: the reason why in their coinage the Turkmen rulers used some elements belonged to their new

³⁵ Vryonis 1971: 473-474.

subjects.³⁶ However, considering the complication of the Turkmen coinage issue, the arguments which apply to the Turkmen states of Anatolia are no longer valid for the Artuqids, settled in al-Jazīra, which reveals different characteristics in terms of its demography, ethnography, politics and geography. At least, al-Jazīra is a long-Islamized region.³⁷ It is equally important to recall that both works keep repeating old misidentifications and misconceptions of some coin types made in the previous catalogues. In this respect, this study must, at one level, attempt to revise and fix misreading, misidentification and misconception of the coins and seals in the previous catalogues and other works. There will also be other levels.

A large part of this study will be formed by numismatic and partially sigillographic evidence. It will be discussed under three main headings: (a) Greek and bilingual Danishmendid coins and seals, (b) Byzantine-style imperial images as symbol of power, (c) Christian Images on the Turkmen coinage. We will develop separate arguments for each category. Based on the geographical and political differences, we will discuss how far the Turkmen coinages³⁸ were influenced by their Christian neighbours (Byzantines and Crusaders), as well as Christian subjects.

The appearance of the Greek and bilingual inscriptions in coinage of a Muslim Turkmen dynasty, the Danishmendids, which settled in central Anatolia, is a very curious and intriguing part of the wider Islamic coinage and made very complicated by the many questions raised. The Danishmendid coinage seems to fall into three certain phases in terms of its language. First, the Greek Danishmendid coinage encapsulates the period from the first quarter of the twelfth century until the first type of Dhū'l-Qarnain (547-557 / 1152-1162), dated 1154-1155. Second, the presence of the bilingual Danishmendid coinage with mixed

³⁶ Cahen 1968: 169.

³⁷ See Canard 1965a: 536-537.

³⁸ Those of Danishmendids, Artuqids, Zangids, Saltukids, Mengujekids.

Greek and Arabic inscriptions is distinctive in character. Finally, it is very surprising that there is no entirely Arabic coin until the coin issue of Yağıbasan (Yaghıbasān) dated between 553/1158 - 559/1164. It will be analyzed in detail in the chapter dealing with the Greek and bilingual Danishmendid coinage.

These coin types have already drawn the attention of numismatists, but few scholars have expanded their investigations to understand and explain these riddling coins thoroughly. The earliest attempts in modern scholarship at identifying and describing the unusual Greek coins of the Danishmendids were undertaken by Paul Casanova (1861-1926), who wrote one of the most comprehensive and fundamental works on the Danishmendid coins in 1896.³⁹ Even though Casanova's approach and interpretation were sometimes limited, his work became a reference book on the Danishmendid coins for a long time.⁴⁰ More recently, Estelle J. Whelan attempted more systematic and detailed study of the Danishmendid coinage in order to fix some errors and to fill the gaps in the previous works in the article derived from her Ph.D thesis: *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia* (1979).⁴¹ Yet Whelan failed to explain the emergence of the Greek and bilingual inscription in a Muslim Turkmen coinage, because her work focused on figural iconography rather than discussing the language and inscriptions on coins. Shortly after her, in 1983, two Danishmendid seals with Greek inscriptions kept in the Dumbarton Oaks Seal Collection were published by Nicolas Oikonomidès.⁴² They are still the only published Turkmen seals, which reflect striking features in terms of the titles and forms of letters, struck in the twelfth-century Anatolia. Interestingly, one of the seals published by Oikonomidès shows that Danishmendid ruler, Yağıbasan (537-559 / 1143-1164), used a Byzantine title *δοῦλος τοῦ*

³⁹ Casanova, 1896. This book is a compilation of his articles published in the journal of *Revue Numismatique* in the years 1894-1896. For the articles, see Casanova 1894; Casanova 1895; Casanova 1896b.

⁴⁰ Shortly after his book, in the early twentieth century, Turkish numismatist Ahmed Tevhid provided a catalogue of Islamic coins including the Danishmendid coins (see Tevhid 1903). The catalogue published with modern Turkish in 1947 was also one of the pioneer works on the Turkmen coins. See Butak 1947.

⁴¹ Whelan 1980: 133-166.

⁴² Oikonomidès 1983: 189-207.

βασιλέως (subject/slave of the emperor). The reason behind the logic of this Byzantine title on the Danishmendid seal will also be probed in this study.

The first serious attempt in modern scholarship to point out the Byzantine images on the Artuqid coins was undertaken by Stanley Lane-Poole, who describes 87 Artuqid coins and pays attention not only to the Byzantine, but also the Seleucid and Sasanian legacy in the Artuqid coinage.⁴³ In the beginning of his work, the author prefers to explain that the Artuqids are among the few Islamic dynasties who ventured to introduce images on their coins. After mentioning the religious obstacles to introduce images in Islam, Lane-Poole presents the reason for using different images on their coins as follows:

The Artuqid Turkmens (as well as the contemporary image-coining dynasties) had frequent intercourse with the Greeks and other Christians of the coasts of Asia Minor. To facilitate their monetary exchanges some currency intelligible to both had to be devised. The result was a mixed coinage - Arabic inscription with European, generally Byzantine images.⁴⁴

Many scholars have generally recognized this view about the emergence of the figural iconography in Turkmen coinage as a reality for years. Yet, relying on such a unilateral and insufficient connection between trade and coins would be too oversimplifying a method. We should rather consider the socio-cultural and political context of the area concerned through a deeper economical, social, religious and cultural examination. Although it is one of the most intriguing groups of coins, and one of the most often catalogued, in the Islamic coinage, it has, surprisingly, not received deep analytical comment until the 1970s. In this period, Helen Mitchell Brown was one of the scholars to seek to study the issue, which had been already undertaken by Lane-Poole in further detail. The article of Brown, published in 1974, objected to the theory offered by Lane-Poole, that it was ‘almost a commercial necessity’ to facilitate monetary exchanges between the Turkmens and the Greeks and other Christians of the coasts

⁴³ See Lane-Poole 1875.

⁴⁴ Lane-Poole 1875: 1.

of Asia Minor, and suggested that if commercial consideration was the predominant reason, ‘the models chosen would have been completely familiar in recent or contemporary coins.’⁴⁵ Yet, the Turkmen coinage tended to, apart from Byzantine types that might have been familiar to particularly Greek local people, borrow several motifs from ancient coins. They have also chosen unfamiliar images for their Christian neighbours and Christian people. Brown also emphasized that copper dirhams failed to travel far from their production site in the course of trade.⁴⁶

Another objection of hers was against the expression that the ‘necessity of employing Christian engravers in the mint’ forced the Turkmen to choose figural types. In this respect, we shall say that some Turkmen coins show the certain capability of artists in imitating and creating any image from the other figures, but some hints on the coins indicate that some Turkmen coins were issued by artists who studied in a non-figural tradition. While the figured side in at least some of cases is roughly rendered and many Greek or Latin inscriptions are crude, the Arabic inscriptions are more literate and legible.⁴⁷ It would be reasonable to suggest that the Turkmen might have employed both Muslim and non-Muslim craftsmen or engravers to produce their coinage, but these engravers could in no way have determined the configuration of a coin. Although Helen M. Brown was successful in undermining the theory of Lane-Poole, she failed to bring a more analytical idea about the existence of figural Turkmen coinage.

Shortly after the work of Brown, in 1979, Estelle Whelan commented on the presence of the figures on the Turkmen coinage as manifestation of sovereignty: “It is not surprising, then, to find that in the twelfth century the Mesopotamian princes turned to easily accessible

⁴⁵ Brown 1974: 354.

⁴⁶ Brown 1974: 354.

⁴⁷ Brown 1974: 355.

alien models in an apparent quest for images to bolster their own sovereign claims.”⁴⁸ The adoption of figural imagery as ‘public figure’ can be explained as an outcome of the political and cultural development and the structure of the region with a flourishing material culture. Principally, to establish and enhance their legitimacy and authority, the Turkmen dynasties aimed to utilize the power of iconography, which is undoubtedly one of the strongest tools in order to convey a message to people. On the other hand, the region situated on the main traditional trade routes between the East and Europe enable its new rulers to derive several kinds of figures from different origins including Byzantine coin iconography, manuscript illustrations, frontispieces and other European objects coming through the Crusades.

Later Nicholas Lowick, after recalling the criticism of H. M. Brown about the interpretations of Lane-Poole, who asserted that ‘commercial reasons’ and ‘influence of engravers’ were the leading actors in the figural Turkmen coinage, stressed the special condition of the copper coins in the Islamic tradition and evaluated them as ‘foremost secular objects.’ Comparing with gold dinars and silver dirhams, copper coin production has felt more free to display figural motifs in opposition to conventional Islamic numismatic tradition. Thus, according to Lowick, whereas the gold dinars and the silver dirhams are the ‘political manifestoes’ of the rulers, the copper coins are perhaps chiefly secular objects, designed for everyday use in the market and tax office, and exchanged amongst persons of different races and religions.⁴⁹

Furthermore, Lowick claims that the ‘presence of Christian motifs’ might be explicable as a ‘monetary reason’ rather than a ‘religious factor’. The circulation of numerous Byzantine copper folles with Christian images, mostly anonymous, urged the Turkmen

⁴⁸ In her PhD thesis, *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia* (1979) which also appeared as a book (London 2006). Whelan 2006: 19.

⁴⁹ Lowick 1985: 160. The coin images, as the title of his article mentioned, were classified in three themes in terms of their overall features: the religious, royal and popular images. However, these motifs were not all equally effective in the Turkmen states, and some types cannot correspond to these themes.

leaders to use such types.⁵⁰ The most conspicuous interpretation of the author is about the breakup of Christian images in the Turkmen coinage: “Explicit Christian motifs persisted on the coins until the late 550s AH [1165 AD] when they succumbed to the rising tide of Muslim fanaticism amongst the Turkish rulers.” Thus, he established a connection between the desistance of Christian motifs on the coins and the short-term aggressive policy of Nūr al-Dīn Zangī of Aleppo (521-541 / 1127-1146), Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174), Najm al-Dīn Alpī (547-572 / 1152-1176) and Quṭb al-Dīn Il-Ghāzī II (572-580 / 1176-1184) of Mārdīn against the Christians.⁵¹ This hypothesis can be partly accepted for the Turkmen coins struck in al-Jazīra, but, as will be discussed below, it is known that the Seljuk princes continued to use Christian images, specifically the representation of St. George slaying a dragon, in Anatolia.

William F. Spengler and Wayne G. Sayles, in their two-volume annotative catalogues, attempted to bring a new approach to figural coins in the Turkmen coinage asserting that many of the coin designs bear ‘astrological components’,⁵² which was briefly raised by Lowick before.⁵³ According to Spengler and Sayles, some types appear to have representations of ‘Leo, Sagittarius, Mars, Virgo, the Sun, Venus, and the Gemini’ by virtue of the astrological interests of the Artuqid and Zangīd Turkmens. They also tried to corroborate their argument with images on the contemporary metal-works including mirrors, inkwells, and pen boxes as well as architectural motifs on the city walls of Amid and a bridge at Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar. Yet this far-fetched ‘astrological interpretation’ of the figures on coins does not seem to have been convincingly explained. Judith G. Kolbas, in her review based on the catalogues and ‘astrological interpretation’ of Spengler and Sayles, propounded the view that “an astrological interpretation for many of the images does not seem to be well founded

⁵⁰ Lowick 1985: 161.

⁵¹ Lowick 1985: 160, 172.

⁵² Spengler and Sayles, 2 vols., 1992 and 1996.

⁵³ Lowick 1985: 171-172.

because of an insufficient appreciation of Turkish culture in this period.”⁵⁴ Kolbas claims that, to create a well-founded interpretation about the coin images, it is necessary to look at Central Asian Turkish culture rather than the astrological interest of the Turkmens.⁵⁵

However, for almost all the coin iconography in the Turkmen coinage, models were chosen from the coins which had circulated or were still circulating in the regions of al-Jazīra and Diyār Rūm (Anatolia). In this respect, we shall mention the seminal work, *The Mardin Hoard*,⁵⁶ compiled by notable scholars and numismatists Nicholas M. Lowick, S. Bendall and Philip D. Whitting. The work focuses on a coin hoard whose date and provenance is not certain, but it can be guessed that the coin finds themselves suggest an origin in the same area, probably Mārdīn and its vicinity.⁵⁷ The work consisting of a description of over 2,500 countermarked Byzantine and Turkmen coins from a hoard of 13,500 copper coins shows the interaction between Byzantine and Turkmen coins. Particularly, the analysis and interpretation of the authors seek to shed light on some complex and tangled questions: Why did the Turkmen leaders prefer to use Byzantine coin iconography in their coinage? And how far did the coinages influence each other? According to the outcomes of their study, the countermarking practise on Byzantine folles was used by at least four Turkmen dynasties: the Artuqids, Zangīds, Ildegizids and Inalids, which extended from Western Armenia to Upper Mesopotamia. Moreover, discoveries in the neighbouring parts of Iran and Georgia show that the same coins travelled to broader regions. The period of countermarking covers over fifty years, from 540/1145 to ca. 595/1200. In this period the Turkmen states produced and developed their own substantial copper coinage which was strongly influenced by Byzantine and ancient Greek types. The Mārdīn hoard and the other hoards found in the same area

⁵⁴ Kolbas 1998: 285.

⁵⁵ Kolbas 1998: 265. Before Kolbas, J. Hoffman-Heyden brought some suggestions concerning the influence of ‘totemistic beliefs’ held by Central Asian Turks in the Turkmen coinage. Hoffman-Heyden 1981 and Hoffman-Heyden 1979.

⁵⁶ Lowick et al. 1977.

⁵⁷ Mārdīn is about 50 miles south of Diyarbakır in South-east Anatolia.

demonstrate that the Byzantine coins were widely utilized among the Muslim inhabitants of al-Jazīra. In addition, the work claims that a number of Byzantine folles which have already been taken out of circulation, were used by the Turkmens for everyday needs.⁵⁸ Thus, the data, suggested by *the Mardin Hoard*, provides valuable information to fill the gaps in the chronicles, narratives and other written primary sources and partially gives scholars a chance to be aware of the social and economic life in the Turkmen area in the twelfth century. This work, in the light of the coin finds of the Mardin hoard and other hoards found in the same area, provides a crucial analysis of the custom of countermarking and the introduction of Islamic coinage in Turkish Asia Minor.⁵⁹

Explaining the countermarking phenomenon, Lowick, Bendall and Whitting considered two substantial factors: religion and economy. While several of the countermarks have a Muslim religious expression, such as ‘lillah’ (for God/Allah), the symbols and inscriptions of Byzantine images are obviously Christian. The Turkmen rulers did not obliterate Christian busts on the coins, because Christ is seen, the authors say, as the Prophet Muḥammad’s immediate precursor among the prophets and Mary as his virgin mother.⁶⁰ At first glance, this argument here in such detail may seem quite consistent and convincing, but to what extent does the role of Christ and Virgin Mary in Islam allow their images to be engraved on the Turkmen coins and to what extent can they be interpreted as a sign of reverence?

At this point, considering the social dynamics and motives, social and cultural encounters, and political developments, we tackle the issue of figural coinage borrowed from Byzantine and western objects or resources, subdividing it into two parts: ‘imperial figures’ and ‘Christian images’. Recently, the article written by Rustam Shukurov partly discusses the

⁵⁸ Lowick et al. 1977: 50.

⁵⁹ Lowick et al. 1977: 50. According to the authors, the results show that, in the twelfth-century Anatolia, countermarking was performed at workshops with the ‘traditional methods’ (ibid).

⁶⁰ Lowick et al. 1977: 50.

correlation between the Turkmen coins with Christian images and the social and cultural dynamics of the Anatolian Turkmen. Considering especially certain characteristics of the Turkmen, he emphasizes that nothing was by accident in Turkmen coinage; on the contrary, all elements were outcomes of their ‘conscious strategy’. Another important point mentioned in this work is that the Turkmen coinage adorned with Christian models such as Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary, and a saint figure in Anatolia is more common than the Syrian Turkmen and Iraqi Turkmen cases.⁶¹ So, the social and cultural characteristics of the region can be understood.

A broader encounter was happening: some Christian elements, practices, and forms were appropriated by ‘popular Turkish Islam’ as a result of intermarriage, conversions, and everyday contact between Muslims and Christians.⁶² . The noticeable reference book of F. W. Hasluck published in the early twentieth century, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, gives remarkable examples concerning how a Muslim character obtained some features of a Christian saint.⁶³ As will be discussed in the relevant chapter, the Turkmen worshipped St. George in the figure of Khidr Ilyas (Elias)⁶⁴ and he was also associated with St. Theodore at Elvan Çelebi Zaviyesi in Çorum.⁶⁵ The Muslim Turkmen revered St. Amphilochius under the guise of Plato or Eflatun in Konya and they identified Sarı Saltuk with St. Nicolas, and St. Charalambos with Hadji Bektash in different areas.⁶⁶ Appeals to the Christian saints for medical purposes were particularly strong among the Muslim Turkmen.⁶⁷ Equally, the

⁶¹ Shukurov 2004: 715.

⁶² Vryonis 1971: 484.

⁶³ Hasluck 1929 (2 vols).

⁶⁴ John Cantacuzene, 512.

⁶⁵ Hasluck 1929, I: 48-49, 320-336.

⁶⁶ Hasluck 1929, I: 17; II, 364, 432-433, 571-572; Vryonis 1971: 485.

⁶⁷ Vryonis 1971: 486.

sanctuaries, at which both Christian Greeks and Muslim Turkmens worshipped, reflected the influence of Christian cults into ‘Anatolian Islam’.⁶⁸

As mentioned above, a series of catalogues concerning the first Turkmen coins in Anatolia, al-Jazīra and Syria have appeared since the late nineteenth century. From 1893, the Muslim coins in Müze-i Hümayun (today İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri) were published in five volumes. The first volume, known as *Meskūkāt-ı Türkmāniyye Kataloĝu*, consists of the Artuqid, Zangīd and Ayyūbid of Mayyāfāriqīn coinage⁶⁹ and the fourth volume collects the Danishmendid and Seljuk coinage.⁷⁰ Thus the aforementioned volumes which were created by the pioneer Turkish numismatists İsmail Galib Edhem⁷¹ and Ahmed Tevhid respectively, are relevant to our study. Later, in the mid-twentieth century, another notable Turkish numismatist Behzad Butak completed his catalogue entitled *XI. XII. XIII. Yüzyıllarda Resimli Türk Paraları*⁷² which was also one of the pioneer works on the Turkmen coins. This provides descriptions of the early figural Turkish coins issued by the Artuqids, Zangīds, Lu’luids and Begteginids, Ildenizids, Seljuks, Mengujekids, Danishmendids and also Ayyūbīds of Hısn Kayfā. Finally, İbrahim Artuk and Cevriye Artuk are the more recent best-known Turkish catalogue-makers with their works on the Turkish and specifically Artuqid coinage: *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki İslami Sikkeler Kataloĝu*⁷³ and more recently *Artukoĝullari Sikkeleri*.⁷⁴ Also in Europe, since the late 19th century a group of catalogues have been

⁶⁸ The best known example is Mamasun Tekke situated near Nevşehir. (Hasluck 1929, I: 43-44; II, 759-761; Vryonis 1971: 487). Even some other Christian objects such as cross and icon appeared in the social life of the Turks. For the examples, see Hasluck 1929, I: 30-31; Vryonis 1971: 489. Also two rare Turkmen coins with cross will be discussed below.

⁶⁹ Eldem, vol. I, 1893. It was also published in French in 1894.

⁷⁰ *Tevhid* 1903.

⁷¹ He is also known as İsmail Galib Bey.

⁷² Butak 1947.

⁷³ Artuk 1970-1974 (2 vols).

⁷⁴ Artuk 1993.

published by S. L. Poole,⁷⁵ M. Mitchiner,⁷⁶ G. Hennequin,⁷⁷ and W.F. Spengler-W.G. Sayles respectively.⁷⁸

I will also use in our study the *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*⁷⁹ to identify the models of Turkmen images borrowed from the Byzantine iconography. The greatest number of Byzantine coins are listed and classified in these catalogues. Each volume of *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins* focuses on the coins of a specific period in the Byzantine Empire. These volumes produced by Alfred R. Bellinger (1966), Philip Grierson (1968, 1973, 1999b) and Michael Hendy (1969, 1999) provide detailed information on Byzantine coins.

Other Primary Sources:

One of the most important primary sources for the history of the Artuqids is the chronicle of Mayyāfāriqīn, *Tārikh Mayyāfāriqīn wa Amid* written by Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī (510-577 / 1117-1181) shortly after 572/1176. The only two copies of this chronicle are in the British Museum. The section of Marwanid history in the chronicle has been edited and published by B. L. A. ‘Awad.⁸⁰ The account of the reigns of Il-Ghāzī and Timurtāsh was edited and translated, with commentary, by Carole Hillenbrand as part of an unpublished doctoral thesis: *The History of the Jazira 1100-1150: the Contribution of Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī*.⁸¹ More recently, the section of the text concerned with the Artuqids’ history has been edited and published by Savran.⁸² Ibn al-Azraq was the chronicler of the Marwanids and the Artuqids but, more importantly, he was an official in the Artuqid court and eyewitness for

⁷⁵ Lane-Poole 1875; Lane-Poole 1877.

⁷⁶ Mitchiner 1977.

⁷⁷ Hennequin 1985.

⁷⁸ Spengler and Sayles, vol. I, 1992; vol. II, (1996).

⁷⁹ Bellinger, vol. I, 1966; Grierson, vol. II, III and V, (1968, 1973 and 1999); Hendy, vol. IV, (1999). Hereafter, *DOC*, I-V. For late Roman types, we will consult to Grierson and Mays 1992.

⁸⁰ See Ibn al-Azraq, *Tārikh al-Fāriqī*, eds. B. A. L. ‘Awad and M. S. Ghorbal, (Cairo 1959).

⁸¹ Hillenbrand 1979.

⁸² Ibn al-Azraq (Savran).

many events he mentioned. For instance, he was sent to the ‘copper mine’ newly discovered in the neighbourhood of Mayyāfāriqīn to fetch copper from which Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh struck the first Artuqid copper coins.⁸³ Again, his record about the circulation of Byzantine gold solidi in Mayyāfāriqīn under the Marwanids is remarkable.⁸⁴ Ibn al-Azraq's testimony on the events of the Marwanids and Artuqids is especially valuable for its references providing a unique account about the institutions, and socio-economic life of the time, and the demographic situation of the area.

Another contemporary chronicler Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1232) completed two major works for our topic: one is *al-Tārīkh al-Bāhir fī'l-Dawla al-Atābakiyya*, the history of the atabegs of Mosul,⁸⁵ the other one *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, a world history, which extends to the year 1231.⁸⁶ A portion of the latter dealing with the Crusading period (1097-1231) has been translated into English by D. S. Richards in three volumes.⁸⁷ These sources sometimes provide contradictory information and interpretation with the *Tārīkh Mayyāfāriqīn wa Amid* about the same events. While the one is highly biased in favour of the ruler of the Artuqids, the other praises the achievements of Zangī for the same historical events. An important service of such historical sources is that through a survey of the genealogical relations of the historical persona in these sources, one may re-construct the damaged and illegible names in the coins. Likewise, through the study of the names in the coins, one may also cross-check the genealogies in the historical sources.

In the first half of the fourteenth century, the Persian chronicler and geographer Ḥamdullah Mustawfī Qazwīnī (1281-1340), who served to the Mongol rulers of Iran as a

⁸³ Ibn al-Azraq (British Library), MS Or. 5803, f. 181a; cited in Cahen (1935), Artuk (1970), Lowick (1974), Lowick (1985).

⁸⁴ Ibn al-Azraq (‘Awad), 159, 167.

⁸⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Tārīkh al-Bāhir fī'l-Dawla al-Atābakiyya*, ed. A. Tuleimat, (Cairo 1963).

⁸⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, 12 vols., (Beirut 1966).

⁸⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fī'l Ta'rikh*, ed. D. S. Richards, 3 vols., (Oxford 2006-2008).

high-ranking financial official in Qazwīn, completed his geography book *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* which speaks of the important cities and towns of al-Jazīra and gives valuable information about their economic development, taxes and trade routes.⁸⁸ This book is useful to learn the geography and the economic structure of the region, particularly al-Jazīra.

Although the accuracy and certainty of *Danishmendname*, the epic of the Danishmendid Turkmens, have been debated and can be seen as problematic by some scholars, it is an important Turkish source. We know that the epic of *Danishmendname* took its oral form in the twelfth century and it was for the first time penned in 642/1245 by Ibn Ālā, the clerk of Seljuk Sultan Kay-Kawus II (1246-1262).⁸⁹ However this copy is lost. Today the oldest copy used by scholars was written by Arif Ali, the castellan of Tokat, in the first half of the fifteenth century, presumably under the Ottoman Sultan Murad II (1421-1451). With the existing evidence, we are not sure whether these words belong to the oral form of the epic or they were added by the scribe in the fifteenth century. *Danishmendname*, as a continuation of *Battalname*, the story of Seyyit Battal, is a reflection of two different social groups (the Christian Greeks and the Muslim Turks) from either side of the frontier, living under the similar conditions and close contact with each other.⁹⁰ In this epic, Malik Danishmend is “ghāzī” who fights on the eastern frontier zone of the Byzantine Empire. He devoted his life to fight the “infidels” and converted the Christians of Anatolia into Islam. In the beginning of the narrative, Malik Danishmend was accompanied with an Artuhi (Armenian-Greek character) and Artuhi’s beloved Greek Efromiya who converted into Islam and recognized the military and religious superiority of the Turkmen hero. These people

⁸⁸ Ḥamdullah Mustawfi Qazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb, The Geographical part of Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, ed. G. le Strange, (Leiden 1919). He also penned his historical work *Ta’rīkh-i Guzida* in 730/1330. (Ḥamdullah Mustawfi Qazwīnī, *The Tarikh-i Guzida or ‘Select History’ of Ḥamdullah Mustawfi al-Qazwini*, eds. E. G. Browne and R. A. Nicholson (Leiden 1913).

⁸⁹ I. Mélikoff, *La geste de Melik Danismend, Etude critique du Danismendname. I: Introduction et Traduction*, (Paris 1960), I: 54-6; 59-60. See also *Dānişmend-Nâme*, ed. N. Demir, (Cambridge-Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002); *Dānişmend-Nâme*, (Ankara 2004).

⁹⁰ Köprülü 1991: 84.

coming from different religious and ethnic backgrounds and fighting alongside the malik do not change their names. In fact, this is a constant reminder of their background just like the name of Digenis (Two-Blooded) whose father was an Arabic amir and the Byzantine does not feel ashamed that his father was once a Muslim. As Turkish historian Cemal Kafadar notes, the selection of ethnic fluidity as “a meaningful and popular metaphor” for social ambiguity in medieval Anatolia cannot have been totally arbitrary.⁹¹

Beside the Muslim sources, the chronicles written by the native Christian scholars, such as Armenian Matthew of Edessa, who wrote shortly before 1140,⁹² Jacobite (Syrian) Michael the Syrian (c. 1126-1199), who wrote in about 1190, and Gregory Abū'l Faraj,⁹³ also known as Bar Hebraeus (1226-1286) provide valuable eye-witness accounts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries about the political events, social and cultural life. These authors lived in the current Turkmen lands under the reign of their new masters and furthermore they are usually eyewitnesses for the events narrated in their sources. Particularly *the chronicle* of Michael the Syrian who was born circa 1126 in Melitene (modern Malatya) which at that time was property of the Danishmendid dynasty gives an invaluable account about the relations of the Danishmendid and Artuqid rulers with their Christian subjects and neighbours. Michael was, in 1166, elected Patriarch of the Jacobite Church of Antioch and remained in this position until he died (1199). He completed a large part of his work in this period. While there is only one original copy of *the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*, a number of medieval Armenian copies based on two Armenian translations from the thirteenth century survive. The Syriac version was translated into French by Jean-Baptiste Chabot, in four volumes.⁹⁴ Apart

⁹¹ Kafadar 1995: 82.

⁹² Matthew of Edessa, *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa, trans. from Armenian, with a Commentary and Introduction* by Ara Edmond Dostourian, Unpublished PhD thesis in Rutgers University The State university of New Jersey, 2 vols., (New Jersey 1972).

⁹³ Abū'l Faraj (Budge), 2 vols.

⁹⁴ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), 4 vols., 1899; 1901; 1905; 1910; a supplement to volume I containing an introduction to Michael and his work, corrections, and an index, was published in 1924. Reprinted in four volumes 1963, 2010.

from the French translation of the Syriac text, we will also utilize the English translation of two Armenian versions of *the Chronicle*, translated into Armenian in 1229 and 1248. They were first published in Jerusalem in 1870 and 1871 and then translated by Robert Bedrosian into English.⁹⁵ Even though the Armenian versions are abridgements of the Syriac text, they contain some extra sections and accounts which do not appear in the extant Syriac manuscript. We do not know whether the Armenian translators added these parts and if they used a Syriac text of the Chronicle which is not known today.

Byzantine historians Nicetas Choniates (c. 1155- c. 1216), who wrote the Byzantine history covering the years from 1118 to 1207, and John Cinnamus (c. 1143- c. 1185), who is the author of the principal account of the reign of Manuel I (1143-1180), provide substantial accounts of the relations, significantly political and military events, between the Danishmendid Principality, the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm and the Byzantine Empire.

Contents of the Thesis:

As mentioned, the present study aims to show the early encounters and interactions between the Turkmens, Byzantines, westerners (Latins and Franks) and the other Anatolian natives in the light of the Turkmen coinage; and show how a new ‘society’ was constituted by the different elements: the Turkish culture, classical Islamic tradition, the Orthodox Christian Byzantine constituents, the Crusading Latin and Frank components, and of course Anatolian natives’ factors. It will be also shown that the Turkmen dynasties, although coming from the same roots, reflected different characters by virtue of the effect of geographies, political institutions, and resources inherited from the former owners of their lands. To understand the logic and mentality of Turkmens, we need to know the complex political context erected in the eastern Mediterranean after the Battle of Manzikert as well as geographical and

⁹⁵ Michael the Syrian (Bedrosian); see also <http://rbedrosian.com/Msyr/msyr25.htm> [accessed: 15th September 2014).

institutional features. The first chapter will thus give an outline of the political, geographical and geopolitical situation of the new Turkmen lands. In this chapter, I will also focus on monetary traffic in the region, specifically the inflow and circulation of the Byzantine money from the eleventh century to the early thirteenth century. Additionally, we will seek the answer to the question: to what extent the Turkmens maintained the use of the extant monetary stock in the local markets. The mine resources, mints and minting in the new Turkmen lands will also be discussed. In this regard, it explores the locations of the important mines, which were explored by the former masters and to what extent they continued to work under the new Turkmen chiefs, and whether or not new mineral deposits were found in this period. It will address the problem of the deficiency or scarcity of the Turkmen coins until the mid-twelfth century and examines if it is linked to the lack of mining and to the question: did the Byzantine Empire operate mints in Anatolia? Also, is this reason why the Turkmens issued coins, inspired by the Byzantine coin iconography? Finally, the process of the Turkmen minting will be discussed.

The second chapter analyses the reasons behind the Greek and bilingual (Greek-Arabic) Danishmendid Turkmen coins and seals. In this chapter, apart from examining each single Greek and bilingual Danishmendid coin and fixing the mistakes made in the previous works, we will identify two very rare unpublished Greek coin types. While the type of Amīr Ghāzī, with the legend Ο ΜΕΓΑC ΑΜΗΡΑC ΑΜΗΡ ΓΑΖΗC (ὁ μέγας ἀμηρὰς ἀμῆρ γαζῆς / *the Great Amīr Amīr Ghāzī*) and the image of Pantocrator Christ, was generally recognized as the known oldest Turkmen coin in Anatolia, our research will claim that before this issue the Danishmendid Turkmens struck another coin bearing the Greek inscription ΚΥΠΙΕ ΒΩΗΘΗ (A)MHP (Γ)AZH TO TAN(I)CMAN (Κύριε βοήθη Αμῆρ Γαζῆ Τὸ Τανισμάν / Lord help, Amīr Ghāzī Danisman [Danışman/Danishmend]), without any image. In any case, one of the known first Turkmen coins of Anatolia was issued with Greek legend. The questions which

will be tackled here are: Why did the Danishmendid ‘amīrs’ and ‘maliks’ need to use Greek language in their coinage? What do the Greek inscriptions and titles tell us? Again, what do the unusual elements, such as ‘indiction’ and ‘cursive Greek letters’, in the Turkmen coinage express?

The third and fourth chapters are about the images in the *hybrid* Turkmen coinage borrowed from their Byzantine and western neighbours. While the fourth chapter discusses the imperial figures derived from Byzantine numismatic iconography, the fifth and last chapter will explore a Turkmen Muslim-Anatolian Christian encounter that is inscribed in a group of quite unexpected adaptations of old and established motifs with Christian themes on the Turkmen coins struck in Anatolia, al-Jazīra (Upper Mesopotamia), and Northern Syria between circa the 1120s and the 1220s. Furthermore, it will discuss how the Turkmens appropriated these ‘tramontane figures’ into their social institution. The above brief explanation and discussion can enable the reader to understand the aims of the thesis as well as information about the sources and an expression of the methodology that will guide the structure of my arguments.

Finally, I should recall here that the appendix contains a corpus of around 420 Turkmen coins kept in the Barber Institute’s Coin Collection. This appendix, with the description of the coins and English transliterations of the Greek and Arabic inscriptions, will catalyze the promotion of our arguments and develop the discussions developed within the main body of the thesis. What really matters is that the second richest Turkmen coin collection in the United Kingdom after that of the British Museum will contribute to the potential studies in this area.

A Note on Transliteration

I have used the JIMES transliteration system based on the modified *Encyclopedia of Islām* transliteration system. In this system the Arabic letter ‘*ayn*’ is kept on in al-‘Alim and the Arabic letter *hamza* is used as al-Mu’min.

While I have applied this transliteration to Arabic and Persian technical terms, titles of books, personal names and places, I have used the modern version for Turkish names and places such as Yāğıbasan, Eksük, and Saltuk.

There might be inconsistency in the transliteration of names in the ‘direct quotations’ and ‘titles of books’ I have used the spelling of the name as it is found in the original source. While I have kept the transliteration that was used by the translator of the document in the case of the English texts, I have transliterated the name and places in the case of Arabic texts and on coins according to the JIMES transliteration system.

CHAPTER ONE: NEWCOMERS, TRADITIONS and INNOVATIONS BEYOND THE EASTERN CONFINES OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

A. Political Panorama: Frontiers and Neighbours

When the Turks arrived in Anatolia, the eastern Mediterranean was a region dominated by two powers: the Byzantines and the Fāṭimīds. The northern territories, including Asia Minor which had a large Greek and Armenian population, were under the control of the Orthodox Christian Byzantine emperors, while the Shii Muslim Fatimid caliphs, from their capital city Cairo, ruled a heterogeneous population of Muslims, Christians and Jews in a vast area covering North Africa and Syria. But, from the late eleventh century, the eastern Mediterranean began to present fundamental changes. Above all, two new major players, the Turks from the East and the Latins from the West, characterizing the political, economic, social and cultural history of the region over the next three centuries arose. Following the defeat at the battle of Manzikert (1071) of the Byzantine army by the Seljuk Turks and then the First Crusade, a number of Turkmen emirates and Latin principalities were established in the lands between the borders of the regional super-powers while the Byzantine Empire receded towards western Anatolia and the coastlines of Asia Minor. From this time, Byzantium were unable to resist the flow of the Turks into the region and a new transition period began. After the advent of new settlers, political, economic and cultural borders changed, and the ‘balance of regional powers’ shifted considerably in the eastern Mediterranean.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Holmes 2012: 1-2.

In the eleventh century, two non-Muslim Turkic groups threatened the European lands of the Byzantine Empire. After the death of Basil II (1025), the annexation of Bulgaria exposed the empire to the Pecheneg raids.⁹⁷ Whereas the Pechenegs remained a constant threat, the Uzes, another nomadic Turkic tribe which crossed the Danube in 1065 and reached Thessalonica, ravaged the countryside.⁹⁸ A new foe far more formidable and more organized, the Seljuk Turks and their followers, emerged in Asia Minor at the beginning of the eleventh century. In fact, they utilized the advantage of the annexation of Armenia during the reigns of Basil II (976-1025) and Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055). Between 406/1016 and 412/1021, Çağrı Bey (Chagri Beg), father of Alp Arslān (455-465 / 1063-1073) led the first expeditions to eastern Anatolia, much of which⁹⁹ was ruled by the Armenian Bagratid dynasty at Ani. Çağrı Bey defeated Georgian and Armenian forces settled between Tiflis and Lake Van and then turned back to Khurāsān.¹⁰⁰ With the defeat of the Ghaznavids at Dandānaqān in 431/1040, Tuğrul (Tughril) and Çağrı established the Great Seljuk Sultanate and the Oğuz (Oghuz) Turkmen tribes began to flow towards the west. They conquered Erzurum in 440/1048 and then plundered Malatya around 449/1057 and Sivas in 451/1059. Alp Arslan's army, in 457/1064, entered the Georgian lands and also captured the Armenian cities of Ani and Kars. Just three years later, in 460/1067, another Seljuk army pillaged the crucial Anatolian cities of Kayseri, Niksar and Konya. The following year, Turkmen groups reached the Bosphorus. Finally, at the Battle of Manzikert in August 463/1071, the Seljuk armies

⁹⁷ John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811-1057*, tr. John Wortley, (Cambridge, 2010): 373.

⁹⁸ Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, ed. and tr. A. Kaldellis and D. Krallis, (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London 2012): 155-159. For a picture of Byzantine internal developments on the eve of the Battle of Manzikert, see Vryonis 1971: 70-80.

⁹⁹ Including Abkhazia along the Black Sea coast and Georgia as well as the Armenian territories.

¹⁰⁰ Boase 1978: 1-33; Leiser 2010: 303. In that period, numerous Armenians immigrated to Cappadocia. It is known that these Armenians, who were forced to move from Cappadocia with the Turkish occupation, would establish the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia with the other immigrants from Armenia (ibid).

under the command of Sultan Alp Arslān defeated the Byzantine troops and captured emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–1071).¹⁰¹

After this tragical defeat, the successors of Romanos IV had to call for Turkish mercenaries' help in order to suppress the various rebellions of both pretenders and foreign forces, thus by 1080 the Seljuks of Rūm took a big opportunity to expand into Byzantine territory.¹⁰² The ancestor of the Artuqid dynasty, Artuq bin Eksuk, as an officer in the service of the Sultan of the Great Seljuk Malik Shāh I (1072-1092), was one of the earliest allies of the Byzantine emperors. The rebellion of the Norman general Roussel de Bailleul forced Michael VII (1071-1078) to appeal for military assistance from Artuq bin Eksuk. The emperor succeeded to put down the rebellion with the support of the Turkmen chief. Even, according to the Byzantine chronicles, Artuq Beg captured Roussel de Bailleul, but he released him in exchange for ransom instead of giving him to the emperor.¹⁰³

Now, the routes for the Turkish expansion in Asia Minor were wide open. At first, the Turkmen amīr Kutalmışoğlu Sulaymān Shāh (Sulaymān ibn Qutulmish) founded the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm centred at Nicea (İznik). And later, Turkmen leaders established their principalities in eastern Anatolia: those of the Artuqids (494-812 / 1102–1409) centred at Hışn Kayfā, Mārdīn, Mayyāfāriqīn and Hışn Ziyād (Khartpert/Harput); of the Danishmendids (497-573/1104–1178) at Tokat, Amasya, Caesareia (Kayseri), Sebasteia (Sivas) and Melitene (Malatya); of the Mengujekids¹⁰⁴ at Erzincan; of the Saltukids¹⁰⁵ at Theodosiopolis (Arzan al-Rūm/ Erzurum); of the Inalids (491-579/1098-1183) at Amid; of the Shāh-ı Armanids (493-

¹⁰¹ For more details on these events, see Vryonis 1971: 85-103; Vryonis 1976: 6; Leiser 2010: 301-312. When Diogenes moved his forces against the Seljuks in Anatolia, the Turkish sultan, Alp Arslān (1063 - 1072) just attempted a military campaign against Syria and Egypt. So he seems at this stage not to have been interested in proceeding with the conquest of Anatolia. His main concern was to capture Syria and Egypt. Cahen 1934: 623.

¹⁰² Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, ed. E. R. A. Sewter, (Harmandsworth 1969): 38; Cahen, 1948: 5ff; Wittek 1936: 296-301. In 1084, Antioch fell into hand of the Seljuks.

¹⁰³ Anna Komnena (Sewter), 32ff; Michael Attaleitas, 2010, 343ff; Vryonis 1971: 125; Sevim 1962: 126; Sevim 1990: 47-49.

¹⁰⁴ Before 512 AH to mid-seventh century - before 1118 AD to mid-thirteenth century.

¹⁰⁵ Late fifth century to 508 AH - late eleventh century to 1202 AD.

604/1100–1207) at Akhlāt (Ahlat); and of the Begteginids at Arbil. Apart from these principalities, another Turkmen dynasty, the Zangīds ruled in northern Mesopotamia (al-Jazīra) and part of Syria from 521/1127 to the mid-thirteenth century.¹⁰⁶



Map 1: Anatolia (Diyār Rūm) and al-Jazīra in the twelfth Century (political view). Map by the author.

Shortly afterwards, the Turks would have an ambitious and passionate rival in the Eastern Mediterranean lands: the Crusaders. In 1095, Pope Urban II launched the First Crusade (1095-1099), which was partly in response to the emperor Alexios I Komnenos' appeal for military assistance against the Turks in Asia Minor. Alexios recaptured strategic strongholds, including Nicaea, the capital of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm, and Dorylaion (Eskişehir) with the effective use of the Crusading armies during their march through Asia Minor. Thus, the Turks were obliged to retreat into the central Anatolian plateau. Alexios was able to counterattack against the Turks, by the help of the participants of the First Crusade. However, the loyalty of Crusaders did not last long. Ultimately, four Crusader principalities were established in Edessa (1098), Antioch (1098), Jerusalem (1099), and Tripoli (1104) respectively. So, the westerners acquired key points controlling the Syrian coast, the entrepot

¹⁰⁶ It is important to recall that when the Turks arrived at the Near East, a large part of Anatolia was ruled by the Byzantine Empire. As to Syria and al-Jazīra, which were already conquered by the Arabs in the mid-seventh century, they belonged to some small Kurdish and Arab dynasties such as the Marwānids (in Diyār Bakr), the Mirsādis (in Aleppo) and the 'Uqaylids (in Mosul).

of the west-east trade. Accordingly, Syria and a part of al-Jazīra became a battlefield between the Turkish Muslims and the Franks throughout decades.¹⁰⁷

Simultaneously, during the reigns of Byzantine Comnenian emperors, Alexios I (1081-1118), John II (1118-1143) and Manuel I (1143-1180), the struggles with the Turks in Asia Minor and Cilicia growingly continued.¹⁰⁸ Finally, in 1176, Manuel I led an expedition against Sultan Kılıç Arslān II (1155-1192), the Seljuk Sultan of Rūm, to conquer the new capital Konya. The expedition ended with a disastrous defeat of the army of emperor at the battle of Myriokephalon. After this failed attempt, the Byzantine power in Asia Minor and any further hopes to restore the territory to Byzantine rule greatly weakened.¹⁰⁹

After this brief historical prologue, it is worth noting that American historian and a specialist in Byzantine, Balkan and Greek history Speros Vryonis, the writer of a number of works on Byzantine-Turkish relations, divided the Byzantine–Muslim relations into three epochs: the Umayyad, Abbasid, and Turkish periods.¹¹⁰ In the period of Umayyads the Islamic caliphate was significantly influenced by the Byzantine traditions of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa in the administrative, fiscal, legal, military, architectural, artisanal, artistic, agricultural, and maritime sphere.¹¹¹ The Arab Muslims used Greek officials in state registers and Byzantine artisans to construct and decorate the buildings that they erected. This period also witnessed diplomatic relations between the two states. Andrea Kaplony, in his book about embassies and treaties between Byzantine emperors and Umayyad caliphs, has counted twenty-nine diplomatic embassies Byzantium and the Muslim state in the period extending from AD 639 to the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate (AD 750).¹¹² Thus, the administrative model, political framework and architectural techniques that were chosen by

¹⁰⁷ See Stevenson 2013.

¹⁰⁸ See Angold 1993.

¹⁰⁹ Necipoğlu 2007: 17.

¹¹⁰ See Vryonis 1969/1970: 251-308.

¹¹¹ Gibb 1958: 223-233; Vryonis 1969/1970: 253.

¹¹² See Kaplony 1996.

the Umayyads were Byzantine in origin.¹¹³ After the capital of the caliphate was moved to Baghdad by the Abbasids, the Islamic state and culture begun to integrate disparate Byzantine and Persian elements into a new civilisation.¹¹⁴ This time, the Greek and Byzantine influence played a very important role, particularly in Islamic philosophy, theology, science, medicine, and even manuscript illumination.¹¹⁵ According to the periodisation of Vryonis, the third phase of the Byzantine-Muslim relations begins with the conquests of Asia Minor by the Seljuk Turks, which had converted to Islam in the tenth century.¹¹⁶

In this period, the Danishmendid Turkmens settled on the eastern borders of the Byzantine Empire, established intense relations with the Byzantines rather than any other Turkmen states except the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm as well as aimed to expand their territories towards the north into Asia Minor where they came into conflicts with the empire at various times. Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī, the ancestor of the Danishmendid dynasty, appeared in Cappadocia with the death of Kutalmışoğlu Sulaymān Shāh (d. 781/1085), the founder of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm, and his state ruled in some key cities of Asia Minor including Sivas, Kayseri, Tokat, Niksar, Amasya and Malatya.¹¹⁷ The principality was on the area, which was mainly settled by Armenians and Greeks. Therefore, a new social structure in which

¹¹³ The Arab sources readily appreciated the Byzantine skills in architecture, crafts and the fine arts. For these sources, see el-Cheikh 2004: 56-60.

¹¹⁴ On the Persian influence on the revolution of Islamic administration, art, court practices, statecraft and literature, see Yarshater 1998: 4-125. See also on this subject the other articles in this book; Watt 1961 and Vryonis 1969/1970: 254.

¹¹⁵ For details on the contribution of the Byzantine science and philosophy to the Abbasid culture, see el-Cheikh 2004: 100-111 and Magdalino 1998: 195-213.

¹¹⁶ Vryonis 1969/1970: 259. The first major encounter of Muslim Turks with the Byzantines went back to the ninth century. The army of the Abbasid caliphate in the military expedition to Constantinople in 223/838, conducted by al-Mu'tasim (218-227 / 833-842), consisted mostly of Turks, who were recruited from Central Asia. Leiser 2010: 301.

¹¹⁷ Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī, according to Muslim Arabic sources, was the person who founded the principality of Danishmend on the border of Byzantine territories in Central Anatolia, granted as a fief (iktā) by Butlan Arslān after the Battle of Manzikert. Thus Danishmend Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī, who was one of the generals of Alparslān at the Battle of Manzikert (Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl-Allah Hamadānī, *Cāmiū 't-Tevārīh, Selçuklular Kısımı*, ed. and tr. A. Ateş, II, (Ankara 1960): 33-34). In the last quarter of the eleventh century, he founded a Turkish principality in Central Anatolia. Rashīd al-Dīn, 39; Abū'l Faraj (Budge), I, 229

Danishmendid Turks, Armenians and Greeks were living together arose from the late eleventh century.

Throughout their story, the Danishmendid Turkmen Principality had alliances and struggles with the three strong neighbours on its borders: the Byzantines, the Crusaders and the Seljuks of Rūm. In fact, the political attitude of the Danismendid rulers can be roughly divided into two periods: the period of alliance with the Rūm Seljuks against the Byzantines and the Franks until the death of Malik Muḥammad (1143), and the period of alliance with the Byzantine Empire against the Seljuk Sultans of Rūm, while sometimes exceptional fights might appear between the allies.

After a successful period against the Crusaders¹¹⁸ Gümüştigin died in 1104 and his son Amīr Ghāzī (Malik Ghāzī) succeeded to the Danishmendid throne. In his reign, the Danishmendids gained a substantial political power overshadowing the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm, particularly after his son-in-law Mas‘ūd I’s accession to the Seljuk throne in 1116. Indeed, he provided an outstanding contribution to Mas‘ūd I in the process of ascending the Seljuk throne.¹¹⁹ Ever after Amīr Ghāzī played a pivotal role in the political events in the various parts of Anatolia. In the south, in 1119, he attacked Antioch and defeated Roger, the prince of the principality of Antioch,¹²⁰ and then, with his ally Artuqid Belek Ghāzī, defeated and captured Theodore Gabras, the Duke of Trebizond, and Mengujekid Ishāq in the north-

¹¹⁸ Particularly after capturing Bohemond, the prince of the principality of Antioch in 1100, Gümüştigin acquired a strong political position among the Turks and other Muslims. Albert of Aachen, 525; Matthew of Edessa (Dostaurian), I, 318-319; Abū’l Faraj (Budge), I, 236-237; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), I, 32; Kesik 2009: 125. Then a new crusading group in the year 1101 was defeated by Kılıç Arslān I and his ally Gümüştigin again. With the expulsion of the crusading threat, substantially Gümüştigin attempted to expand his lands and captured Malatya in 1102. Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 188; Abū’l Faraj (Budge), I, 236-237; Kesik 2009: 122-123. The following year, he ransomed Bohemond who was being kept in Niksar as a hostage and gave his nephew Richard, who had been also captured with Bohemond, as a present to the emperor Alexios. Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 189; Matthew of Edessa (Dostaurian), I, 344; Abū’l Faraj (Budge), I, 237; Kesik 2009: 126.

¹¹⁹ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 194-195; Anna Komnena (Sewter), 488-490; Michael the Syrian, *Vekāyināme*, tr. H. Andreasyan, Unpublished text, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Library, 1944): 54-55; Turan 2002: 159-160 [Hereafter Süryani Mihail]

¹²⁰ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 204-205; Abū’l Faraj (Budge), I, 249; Süryani Mihail (Turkish trans.), 66-7.

east.¹²¹ In 1124, Amīr Ghāzī recaptured Melitene which had been taken by the Seljuks of Rūm after the death of Gümüştegin.¹²² By 1130 Amīr Ghāzī took control of Ankara, Gangra (Çankırı), Castamon (Kastamonu) and the north-western coast of the Black Sea.¹²³

Aforementioned incidents illustrate Amīr Ghāzī's ambitious claim over not only Byzantine, but also all Anatolian lands and his growing ambition to be the most powerful leader of the region. With his death in 1134, he left his tremendous passion about the Anatolian territories to his son and successor Malik Muḥammad. As will be analyzed in the relevant chapter, the titles on their Greek coins as well as Arabic and Greek inscriptions on their coins explicitly reveal this passion. Malik Muḥammad, in the first years of his reign, struggled against the rebellions of his brothers 'Ayn al-Dawla and Yağān who pretended to the throne.¹²⁴ Due to the internal disorders among the Danishmendids, John II took advantage to recapture former Byzantine cities which were in their hands. Malik Muḥammad, who struggled with the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and the Byzantine Empire in central and north-eastern Anatolia during his reign, died in 1143 in Kayseri.¹²⁵

After the death of Malik Muḥammad, the co-operation between the Danishmendids and the Seljuks of Rūm ended. His brother and Malik of Sivas Yağībasan (Yaghibasān) in Sivas, Dhū'l-Nūn in Kayseri, and the son of Amīr Ghāzī 'Ayn ad-Dawla in Malatya declared their independence and thus the principality of the Danishmendids was divided into three parts.¹²⁶ Therefore, Mas'ūd I, Seljuk Sultan of Rūm, found an opportunity to dominate over

¹²¹ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 205; Abū'l Faraj (Budge), I, 249; Süryani Mihail (Turkish trans.), 67; Gregory Abū'l Faraj Bar Hebraeus, *Abū'l Faraj Tarih*, ed. and tr. Ö. R. Doğrul, (Ankara 1999), II, 356 [Hereafter Abū'l Faraj]; Turan 2002: 162-163.

¹²² Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 219; Abū'l Faraj (Budge), I, 251; Süryani Mihail (Turkish trans.), 82; Turan 2002: 168.

¹²³ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 227; Abū'l Faraj (Budge), I, 255; Süryani Mihail (Turkish trans.), 92; Abū'l Faraj (Turkish trans.), II, 363; Turan 2002: 170; Özeydin 1993b: 470; Kesik 2009: 128.

¹²⁴ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 237; Abū'l Faraj (Budge), I, 258-259; Süryani Mihail (Turkish trans.), 103; Özeydin 1993b: 471; Kesik 2009: 130.

¹²⁵ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 253; Süryani Mihail (Turkish trans.), 119; Matthew of Edessa, *Urfalı Mateos Vekâyinâmesi (952-1136) ve Papaz Grigor'un Zeyli (1137 – 1162)*, tr. H. Andreasyan, (Ankara 1987): 296.

¹²⁶ Cahen 1968: 96, 97; Özeydin 1993b: 470.

them. The Danishmendid amīrs attempted to take the help of the Byzantine emperors and Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the atabeg of the Zangīds, and furthermore tried to seal alliance against the Seljuks of Rūm. Yet these attempts would not prevent the progress of the threat of the Seljuks against the Danishmendids.

The Danishmendid begs under the leadership of Yağıbasan, in 1155, attacked the Seljuks twice while Kılıç Arslān II, the Seljuk Sultan of Rūm, was struggling with his rebellious brothers, but these attacks were prevented by the conciliation of religious functionaries.¹²⁷ The alliance attempts with particularly the Byzantines against the domination of the Seljuks failed and Yağıbasan died in 1164. Taking advantage of the internal disorders which arose after the death of Yağıbasan, Kılıç Arslān II, in 1165, took Elbistan and then in 1169 (or 1171) captured Kayseri and Zamanti.¹²⁸ The widow of Yağıbasan married 16-year-old Ismā‘īl, the son of Malik Muḥammad and the brother of Dhū'l-Nūn, and declared him as the ruler, but he grappled with severe winter conditions resulting in starvation. He could not control the crisis and consequently he was killed tragically with his wife by the people in hunger. In the same year, Dhū'l-Nūn ascended the Danishmendid throne.¹²⁹ However, Kılıç Arslān II captured Sivas in 1175 and then Malatya in 1178.¹³⁰ Thus, the principality of the Danishmendids was ended.

Another Turkmen dynasty the Artuqids played an active role in the history of al-Jazīra until the beginning of the fifteenth century. After the death of Artuq bin Eksuk, who was the ancestor of the dynasty, his sons Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) and Il-Ghāzī held Jerusalem until the Fāṭimīds' capture of the city in 491/1098.¹³¹ Having been expelled from Jerusalem by the Fāṭimīds, while Il-Ghāzī entered into Seljuk Sultan Muḥammad's service in

¹²⁷ Papaz Grigor Zeyli (Turkish trans.), 1987, 313-315; Turan 2002: 198-9; Özaydın 1993b: 471-472.

¹²⁸ Özaydın 1993b: 472.

¹²⁹ Abū'l Faraj (Budge), I, 306; Abū'l Faraj (Turkish trans.), II, 413-4; Özaydın 1993b: 472-473.

¹³⁰ Özaydın 1993b: 473; Kesik 2009: 143.

¹³¹ Turan 1993: 140-1.

494/1101, and in the following year was appointed as the Sultan's *shahnah* (*şihne*) at Baghdad, the other son of Artuq, Sökmen in the same year rendered assistance to Musa al-Turkmānī, in the siege of Mosul by Çökermiş (Jakarmish) and received as reward 10,000 dinars with the town of Hışn Kayfā. Thus, the Artuqid Principality of Hışn Kayfā was founded.¹³² Briefly the Artuqid Turkmens settled and ruled in Upper Mesopotamia from the early twelfth century. They created three different branches that ruled from Hışn Kayfā between 1102 and 1232, Hışn Ziyād (Kharput) between 1185 and 1233, and Mārdīn between 1108 and 1409.

Like the other Turkmen leaders, Sökmen struggled to ward the Crusading threat off in the first years of his reign and acquired a good reputation among the Turkmen dynasties and other Muslims after defeating the crusading forces at the Battle of Hırrān in 498/1104.¹³³ In fact, the relations with the Crusaders played an important role in the foreign policy of Hışn Kayfā. While the early Artuqid rulers were dealing with the crusaders throughout their reign, sometimes they did not hesitate to ally with them against the regional rivals.¹³⁴ Apart from the Crusader threat, the Artuqid maliks dealt with the claim of the Zangīd atabegs and then the Ayyubid sultans over their lands during his reign. Even though Amid, one of the critical cities in the region, was conquered and then awarded to Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, successor of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, in 579/1183 by Sultan Saladin,¹³⁵ the Artuquids became vassals of the Ayyūbīds. Under Quṭb al-Dīn Sökmen II (581-597 / 1185-1200)'s reign, in the territories of the Artuquids the name of the Ayyūbid Sultan was declared as a dominant ruler at Jum'ā

¹³² Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), I, 59; Cahen 1935: 227; Turan 1993: 143-144.

¹³³ Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), I, 79-80. At that battle, the crusading princes Baldwin of Edessa and his brother Joscelin were captured by Sökmen (Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), I, 80).

¹³⁴ For instance, Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid malik of Hışn Kayfā, allied with Joscelin II of Edessa against the Zangīd atabeg Nūr al-Dīn Zangī in 1144. Cahen 1965c: 664-665; Holt 2004: 54.

¹³⁵ Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), II, 291-292; Göyünç 1994: 465. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad (571-581 / 1175-1185), the son of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, allied with the Ayyūbid Sultan Saladin against the Seljuk Sultans of Rūm, Kılıç Arslān II whose daughter had married to Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad. In the peace settlement with Kılıç Arslān, Saladin took control of the Artuqid territories although the Artuquids were still technically vassal of the Zangīds of Mosul, which was outside of Saladin's control (ibid).

(Friday) prayers in the mosques and his name began to appear on their coinage.¹³⁶ The coin evidence also suggests that the successors of Sökmen II ruled as a vassal of Seljuk sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus and Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil respectively.¹³⁷ After the fall of the cities Amid and Ḥiṣn Kayfā to the Ayyubids, the Artuqid branch of Ḥiṣn Kayfā ended in 619/232.¹³⁸

By 502/1108, Il-Ghāzī (c. 502-516 / c. 1108-1122) founded the Mārdīn branch of the Artuqid dynasty and gained a considerable increase to his possessions in a short time.¹³⁹ Il-Ghāzī was certainly one of the most powerful and considerable chiefs of al-Jazīra at the time of his death in 516/1122.¹⁴⁰ After his death, his son Timurtāsh (d. 547/1152-3), who struck the first figural Artuqid coins of Mārdīn, succeeded to the government of Mārdīn.¹⁴¹ The Mārdīn Artuqid principality followed a similar foreign policy towards the Crusaders, Zangīd Atabegs and Saladin to that of the Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuquids in the twelfth century. This branch ruled a large portion of al-Jazīra until 1409, when it was overthrown by the Qaraqoyunids, a Turkmen dynasty. As for the third branch of the dynasty, the Kharput Artuquids was established by ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū Bakr (581-600 / 1185-1203) in 581/1185, but lived only forty-eight years.¹⁴²

Without doubt, the Zangīd Atabegs were one of the most important actors in the history of eastern Mediterranean from 521-2/1127-8 onwards. The Zangīds ruled over Syria,

¹³⁶ Cahen 1965c: 665. For coins, see cat. nos. 23-28.

¹³⁷ For the Artuqid coins, with the name of ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus, see cat. no. 23; for the Artuqid coins, with the name of al-Malik al-Kāmil, see cat. nos. 38-40, 42-43.

¹³⁸ Turan 1993: 178-180.

¹³⁹ It is not certain when Il-Ghāzī, the founder of the Mārdīn branch of the dynasty, possessed Mārdīn, but the sources frequently give the year of 501 or 502 AH as the date of acquisition of Mārdīn by Il-Ghāzī. For the discussion on this issue, see Artuk 1944: 34-36; Turan 1993: 145ff; Alptekin 1991: 415; Minorsky 1957: 318; Köprülü 1950: 618; Lane-Poole 1927: 237, 240.

¹⁴⁰ In 511/1117-8, he took Aleppo (Ḥalab) and left it to his son Timurtāsh. Two years later, in 513/1119-20, the Frank armies besieged the city, but the Artuqid malik gained a signal victory here. In the following year, Il-Ghāzī attempted a failed military campaign against the Georgians, while in the same period another member of the Artuqid dynasty Balak, grandson of Artuk, gained substantial victories against the Crusaders. In 515 /1121-2 he captured Joscelin de Courtenay, prince of Edessa, and his brother Galeran, and took them prisoner in the castle of Kharput. Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), I, 232.

¹⁴¹ Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), II, 55.

¹⁴² Cahen 1965c: 662-67, Turan 1993: 181.

and Upper Mesopotamia, particularly Diyār Mudar and Diyār Rabī'a: in Aleppo until 579/1183, in Mosul until 631/1233, and with minor branches in Sinjār, Jazīrat ibn 'Umar and in Shahrazūr. 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, who was granted the title of *malik al-gharb*, 'king of the West', by Sultan Maḥmūd, the ruler of the Great Seljuks, in 523/1129, made a series of failed attempts to conquer Damascus between 523/1129 and 534/1140. Equally, he played significant role in the strife of succession in the Abbasid Caliphate arising after the murder of the caliph al-Mustarshid in 530/1136.¹⁴³ The Zangīd policy, building on the expansion towards Diyār Bakr, caused military encounters between the Zangīd Atabegs and the Artuqid Turkmen chiefs several times. Of course, their biggest rivals in the region were the Crusaders. The conquest of Edessa, Ruhā in Arabic, in 1144 gave 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī an outstanding reputation among Muslims.¹⁴⁴

Following 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī's death in 541/1146, the Zangīd territories were divided between his two sons, Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī in Mosul with the lands in al-Jazīra, and Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd in Aleppo and Edessa. Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī first was the head of family, but after his death in 544/1149, Nūr al-Dīn dominated not only the Zangīds, but the other small Turkmen emirates in the region. In the first years of his reign, with the capture of Damascus in 549/1154, he partly succeeded in his aim of unification of all Syria under his rule. He also maintained the struggle against the Crusaders, thus becoming their most dangerous enemy in the region. In his reign, Nūr al-Dīn used the mission of jihad as an instrument in the war against the Crusaders and for their political goals.¹⁴⁵ At the battle of Inab in 544/1149, he won a decisive victory and Raymond of Antioch was killed there. The capture of Joscelin of

¹⁴³ Heidemann, "Zangīds", 452.

¹⁴⁴ el-Azhari 2016: 91ff.

¹⁴⁵ For further information, see Hillenbrand 1999: 132-141. H. A. R. Gibb (1969: 515) suggests that Nūr al-Dīn devoted himself to his jihad mission, but not before 544/1149. However, according to N. Elisséef (1967: II, 426), the turning point in his life was the capture of Damascus in 554/1154 that he focused on his mission.

Edessa, who died as prisoner in Aleppo in 554/1159, by Turkmens in 544/1150 allowed him to take remaining strongholds in the lands of the former County of Edessa.¹⁴⁶

In 554/1159, Manuel I Komnenos conducted a campaign in Syria. When Manuel I arrived at Antioch, Nūr al-Dīn built a Turkmen confederation including the Artuqids and Danishmendids. However, Nūr al-Dīn preferred to send an ambassador to negotiate an alliance with the Byzantine emperor against the Seljuks of Rūm. The rumours of rebellion forced Manuel to accept his offer.¹⁴⁷ After warding off the Byzantine threat, Nūr al-Dīn sent his general Shirkuh to Egypt to end the Fatimid Caliphate. Shirkuh and his nephew, Saladin, captured the lands of the Fāṭimīds, but Saladin, the first Sultan of the Ayyubids, did not accept the control of Nūr al-Dīn. After Nūr al-Dīn's death in 569/1174, he first took Damascus and then in 579/1183 captured Aleppo. Thus, Zangīd ruled ended in Syria, but the Zangīd Atabeg of Mosul continued to rule until 630/1233. With the fall of al-Jazīra in 648/1250, all the Zangīd branches ended.¹⁴⁸

In the north, just south of Trebizond, there were two small Turkmen emirates: Saltukids and Mengujekids. The Saltukids have been accepted as one of the earliest Turkmen principalities founded just after the Battle of Manzikert by most of historians.¹⁴⁹ The sovereignty of the dynasty expanded, apart from the capital of Erzurum, to Bayburt, Şebīn Karahisar, Terdjān, İspir, Oltu, Midjingerd, and sometimes Kars. The first Saltukid ruler mentioned in sources is 'Alī, who, in 496/1102-3, allied with the Seljuk Sultan Muḥammad Tapar in his struggle against Berkyaruk.¹⁵⁰ In their political life, the Georgians played a vital role. Near Tbilisi (Tiflis), in 514/1121 David the Builder (1089–1125) defeated a coalition consisting of the Turkish forces including the Saltukids. In 549/1155 'Izz al-Dīn Saltuk

¹⁴⁶ Heideman, "Zangīds", 452-453; Bezer 2013: 268; Holt 2004: 59-60.

¹⁴⁷ *Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*, 302-303; Gök 2001: 101.

¹⁴⁸ Heideman, "Zangīds", 452-453.

¹⁴⁹ Turan 1993: 3; Leiser 1995: 1001; Özeydin 2009: 54-56; Sümer 1990: 17-45; Sümer 1971: 391-432.

¹⁵⁰ Artuk 1993: 4; Cahen 1968: 106; Özeydin 2009: 54.

(1132-1168) was defeated and captured near Ani by the Georgian army under the command of Dimitri I (1125-1155), but shortly afterwards he was ransomed by the Artuqids and the Shāh-i Armans. ‘Izz al-Dīn once again joined the Turkish coalition forces that attacked the Georgians at Ani in 556/1161. They were repulsed by the Georgians again.¹⁵¹ Sometime during the reign of his son and successor Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, the Georgians besieged Erzurum for the first and last time. At that time a curious event occurred. The son of Nāṣir al-Dīn, Muẓaffar al-Dīn offered to convert to Christianity and marry T’amar (1184–1213), the queen of Georgia. Although Muẓaffar al-Dīn visited Tiflis with luxurious gifts, the Georgian queen refused his offer. David, the husband chosen by the Georgian queen, attacked and sacked Erzurum. As for Muẓaffar al-Dīn, he succeeded his father after 585/1189, but did not reign a long time.¹⁵² The subsequent fate of both Nāṣir al-Dīn and his son Muẓaffar al-Dīn is not known.¹⁵³ Between ca. 587/1191 and 597/1200-1 Māmā Khātun, sister of Nāṣir al-Dīn, ruled the dynasty as ‘malika’. After her, Muẓaffar al-Dīn’s brother Malik Shāh ascended the throne, but his reign was short. Ultimately, the Seljuk Sultan of Rūm, Sulaymān II annexed the Saltukid territory in 598/1202.¹⁵⁴

As for the Mengujekids, this Turkmen dynasty does not appear in sources until 512/1118. In this year, Ishāq, son of the founder of the dynasty, Mengujek Ghāzī, allied with the military commander of Trebizond, Theodore Gavras, against the Artuqid Balak Ghāzī and Danishmendid Amīr Ghāzī. However, both Mengujekid Ishāq and Theodore Gavras were captured and taken prisoner by the Danishmendid amīr.¹⁵⁵ In the mid-twelfth century, the Mengujekid Turkmen principality was divided into two branches between two brothers: one was ruled from Divriği by the younger brother Sulaymān (536-570 / 1142-1175), the other

¹⁵¹ For these incidents, see Artuk 1993: 9ff; Cahen 1968: 107.

¹⁵² Cahen 1968: 107.

¹⁵³ Sources do not give any detail about Muẓaffar al-Dīn’s unexpected decision of conversion: is it a political attitude or a reflex of his love of T’amar?

¹⁵⁴ Leiser 1995: 1001; Turan 1993: 21.

¹⁵⁵ Cahen 1991: 1016.

was centred in Erzincan under the rule of Dā'ud (536-560 / 1142-1165). The latter became a cultural centre and obtained a reputation under the long reign of Bahrām Shāh (560-622/1165-1225). Short after Bahrām Shāh's death the Mengujekid's territory was annexed by the Seljuk Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād while the Divriği branch continued until the Mongol invasion as vassal of the Seljuks of Rūm. Another small branch, at Kemah, whose origin is unknown, also ended at the same time as that of Erzincan.¹⁵⁶

B. Definition of the Twelfth-Century Turkmen Political Geography

The twelfth-century Turkmen lands roughly covered upper Mesopotamia (al-Jazīra), northern Syria, and central and eastern Anatolia (Diyār Rūm), while the whole shore of Asia Minor was controlled by Byzantium.¹⁵⁷ Defining the historical topography of these lands poses a major challenge since the borders were fluid and place-names often changed throughout the late middle ages. The same challenges can be seen in the works of modern historians who discussed medieval Anatolia and the Near East. Cahen's critical volume on the political and cultural history of pre-Ottoman Turkey highlights the difficulty of defining the political geography of the area and just leaves the discussion there.¹⁵⁸ In his seminal study of pre-Ottoman Anatolia, Vryonis asks some critical questions: what were the characteristics of the Byzantine Anatolian cities in terms of their demography, trade, religion, road system etc. and to what extent did they change after the appearance of the Turks in Anatolia? However, his work is limited to medieval Anatolian lands, and tends to describe the towns of al-Jazīra

¹⁵⁶ Cahen 1968: 108-109; Artuk 1993: 55ff; Sümer 1993: 713-718; Sümer 2004: 138-142.

¹⁵⁷ As mentioned, the Seljuks of Rūm were initially confined to the southern part of Anatolian plateau. Then the Danishmendids' control extended to Ankara, Çankırı and parts of the Pontic range centred on Niksar; and comprised cities of Amasya, Sivas, Tokat and others in the north of the Anatolian plain, the Malatya plain, and part of Cappadocia, on the river Euphrates. Further east were the Mengujekids at Erzincan, Kemah and Divriği controlling the Upper Euphrates. In Erzurum, adjacent to Erzincan, the Saltukids were ruling. However, the Rūm Seljuks subordinated these Turkmen principalities one by one from the 1170s to 1230s. As for the Artuqid dynasty, they dominated over al-Jazīra, including the core cities of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, Mārdīn, Amid and others. Another Turkmen dynasty the Zangīds possessed the commercial cities Damascus, Mosul, and Aleppo that was taken from the Seljuks of Syria in 623/1229.

¹⁵⁸ See Cahen 1968.

under the general title ‘Eastern Anatolia’ without any further definition of borders.¹⁵⁹ A long time before these two historians, in the early twentieth century, the pioneer effort had been made by Guy le Strange who produced a major work based on medieval Arab geographical sources, and itineraries.¹⁶⁰ He draws special attention to the challenges of particularly defining al-Jazīra.

By means of the Arabic and Greek inscriptions mostly on buildings and coins, the Turkmen rulers claimed their authority over the territories. Therefore, to know the definition of these regions, it is important to understand on what territories the Turkmen *amīrs* and *maliks* advanced a claim.



Map 2: Diyar Rūm, al-Jazīra and Diyar Shām in the twelfth Century. Map by the author.

1. al-Jazīra (الجزيرة)

The area of the Tigris-Euphrates river system, largely enclosing modern day Iraq, north-eastern Syria, south-eastern Turkey and south-western Iran, was called Mesopotamia¹⁶¹ by the ancient Greek sources. Meanwhile, medieval Arab geographers divided Mesopotamia

¹⁵⁹ Vryonis 1971: 155.

¹⁶⁰ See Strange 1905.

¹⁶¹ For the definition of Mesopotamia (Μεσοποταμία), see Strange 1905: 24.

into two parts: as-Sawad in the south and al-Jazīra in the north.¹⁶² While al-Jazīra, an Arabic word meaning ‘island’ or ‘peninsula’, was the name used by some medieval Arab geographers to denote the northern part of the territory situated between the Rivers Tigris and the Euphrates,¹⁶³ some historical accounts including the tenth-century Arab geographers Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal and Muqaddasī indicate that al-Jazīra also covered the lands lying on the western bank of the Euphrates and on the eastern bank of the Tigris.¹⁶⁴ We must stress here that the problems of consistency can be explained with the political changes in the area. In consideration of the accounts of medieval geographers, it is also possible to say that the limits of al-Jazīra were identified in order to enable administrative acts and tax collection, rather than geographical matters.¹⁶⁵

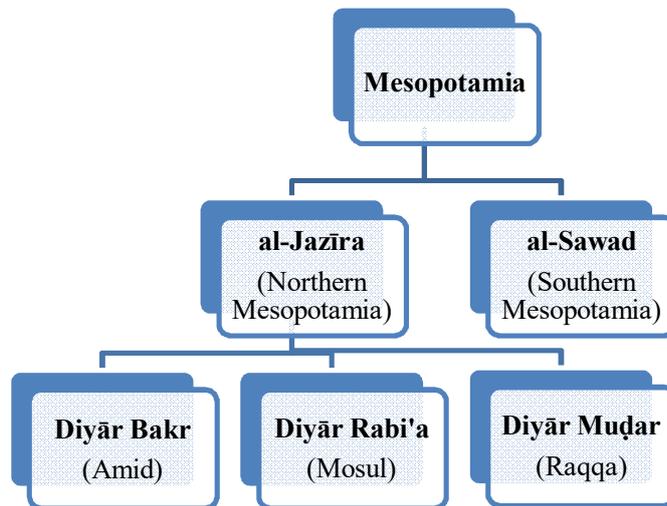


Figure 1: Mesopotamia and its divisions

Identifying the limits of al-Jazīra is quite challenging. Especially to the north, on the border of Armenia, an inconsistency concerning the boundaries of al-Jazīra arises from the

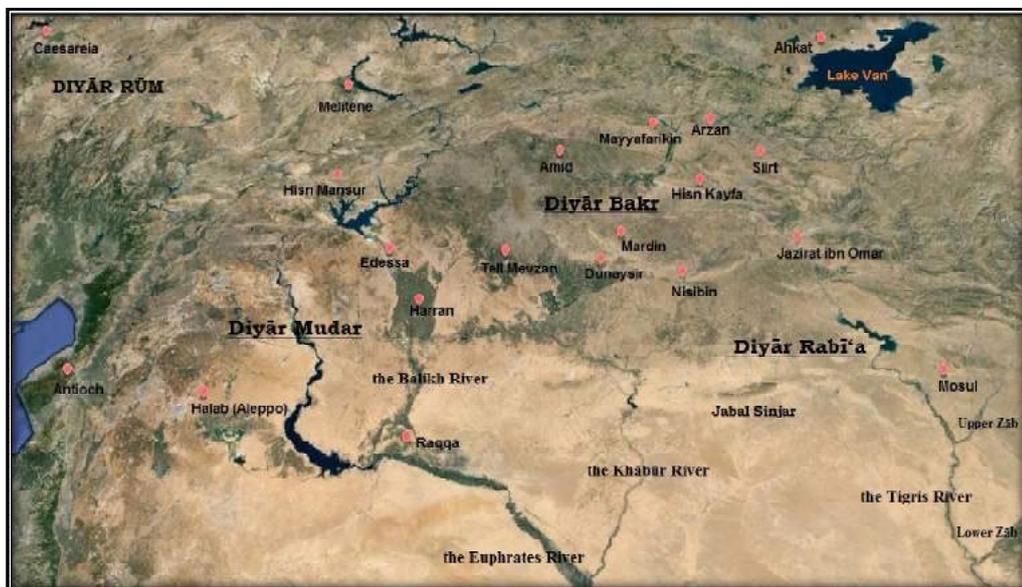
¹⁶² Strange 1905: 86; see also Çevik 2002.

¹⁶³ *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, (London 1937): 138; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Būldan*, (Beirut, 1977), II:156. While many Arab geographers refers to this region as al-Jazīra, tenth-century Arab geographer Muqaddasī describes it as a province under Iqlīm Aqūr (إقليم اقور), the region of Aqūr. (Muqaddasī, 124) The origin of the term of ‘Aqūr’ is not clear; it has been used a proper name to describe the great plain of northern Mesopotamia. (Strange 1905: 86) In the twelfth century, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, who was probably affected by Muqaddasī, also refers to this region as Jazīrat-i Aqūr (جزيرة اقور), the island of Aqūr. Yāqūt, I, 282-283; II, 156.

¹⁶⁴ Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa’l-Mamālik*, ed. M. J. De Goeje, (Beirut 1870): 71; Ibn Ḥawqal, 208-209; Muqaddasī, 124-125; see also Strange 1905: 84-7; Canard 1965: 523, 536-537 and Canard and Cahen 1965: 363.

¹⁶⁵ Çevik 2002: 50. al-Jazīra, therefore, covers not only the lands lying between the Rivers Tigris and the Euphrates, but it sometimes also crosses the limits of the rivers.

sources. While the tenth-century Arab geographers such as Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal count Arzan and Mayyāfāriqīn as a part of Armenia,¹⁶⁶ in the eleventh century the borders of al-Jazīra stretch northwards covering such towns as Hāni, Arzan, Siirt and Hizan.¹⁶⁷ Although the western border of al-Jazīra was drawn with the Euphrates, the thirteenth-century Arab geographer Abū al-Fidā' stretches this border westwards of the Euphrates in order to incorporate some towns such as Bālis into al-Jazīra.¹⁶⁸ As for the southern border, it was reaching the towns of Anbar and Takrīt.¹⁶⁹ Thus, al-Jazīra is roughly bordered by Diyār Shām (Syria) to the west, Diyār Rūm (Anatolia) to the north and north-west, Armenia to the north-east, Azerbaijan to the east and a line lying along Anbar and Takrīt to the south.¹⁷⁰



Map 3: Divisions of al-Jazīra in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the river system in the region. Map by the author.

Physically, al-Jazīra consists of certain groups of mountains, the Karaca Dağ between Amid and the Euphrates, the Tūr ‘Abdin between Mārdīn and Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar, the Jabal ‘Abd al-‘Aziz between the rivers Balikh and the Khābūr, the Jabal Sinjār between the Khābūr

¹⁶⁶ Iṣṭakhrī, 188; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Ard*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, (Beirut 1873), II, 346.

¹⁶⁷ Yāqūt, II, 561.

¹⁶⁸ Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-buldān*, ed. M. Reinaud, (Beirut, nd): 273; Çevik 2002: 49.

¹⁶⁹ Çevik 2002: 50.

¹⁷⁰ Canard 1965: 536; Elisséef 1967: 103; Çevik 2002: 50.

and the Tigris and the Jabal Maknūl to the South of Mosul.¹⁷¹ In these mountains some major rivers such as the rivers Greater and Lesser Khābūr which come from Rās al-‘Ayn (Ceylanpınar), Hirmās which rises in the Tūr ‘Abdin, Thartār which rises in the Jabal Sinjār, and Balikh which comes from Ḥarrān and Upper Zāb, tend to combine with the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. It is of course easy to say that they played important roles in the configuration of al-Jazīra.

Especially in medieval Arab sources, al-Jazīra was generally divided into three districts called Diyār Bakr,¹⁷² Diyār Rabi‘a,¹⁷³ and Diyār Muḍar¹⁷⁴ which derived from the names of tribes who had settled here in the pre-Islamic, Sasanian and early Islamic periods.¹⁷⁵ Amid on the Tigris was capital of Diyār Bakr; Mawṣil (Mosul) on the Tigris was the capital of Diyār Rabi‘a and Raqqa on the Euphrates was the chief city of Diyār Muḍar.¹⁷⁶ The borders of these three districts in al-Jazīra are roughly determined by the river system. Diyār Bakr, the smallest one of the three districts of al-Jazīra, was the district watered by the Tigris from its source to the great bend south made by the river below Tall Fāfān (the Hill of Fāfān). To the south, Diyār Rabi‘a, the largest and most fertile part of al-Jazīra, was the region east of

¹⁷¹ Canard 1965: 523.

¹⁷² The district, in the year of 477/1085, came under the domination of the Seljuk Turks. The Artuqid Amīr Sökmen founded the Artuqid state in Diyār Bakr after capturing Ḥiṣn Kayfā in 495/1102. The Diyār Bakr-controlled state remained under the Artuqids until the early fifteenth century. Some Artuqid rulers referred to themselves as *malik of Diyār Bakr* / ملك ديار بكر on their coinage that will be mentioned in the relevant chapter. For the Artuqid coins, see cat. nos. 65-67, 109-134, 137-174. The principal cities of Diyār Bakr: Amid, Ḥiṣn Kayfā, Mayyāfāriqīn, Erzen, Siirt, Dunaysir, Mārdīn. Canard and Cahen 1965: 344.

¹⁷³ The history of Diyār Rabi‘a is to a large extent related to the development of Mosul, the metropolis of al-Jazīra. With the Seljuk conquests in Anatolia, the region, in the year 489/1095, was captured by the Seljuk Turks and from this date forward it was ruled by the governors appointed by the Great Seljuk sultans, and then the Turkmen Zangīd Atabegs using Mosul as a capital. For an overview of the political history, see Alptekin 1978.

¹⁷⁴ In the second half of the eleventh century, like the rest of al-Jazīra, Diyār Muḍar, except Edessa (al-Ruhā), was captured by the Turks. However, after a while the district was invaded by the Crusaders, the important cities such as Edessa, Ḥarrān, Samsat and Sarūdj (Suruç) were ruled by the Crusader troops from 492/1098 until the fall of the County of Edessa in 539/1144 into the hands of the Zangīd atabegs. Heidemann 2002a: 15; Turan 1993: 136; Alptekin 1978: 63-66.

¹⁷⁵ Al-Balādhurī states that shortly after the conquests of this region, in the period of Caliph ‘Othman, namely in the middle of the seventh century, some Muḍarī and Rabi‘ī tribes were settled in the lands of al-Jazīra. However he does not mention the Bakrīs separately who were a group within the tribe of Rabi‘a (Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*, ed. and tr. P. K. Hitti, vol. I, (New York & London 1916) I: 278). Besides these two tribes were sometimes called jointly under the single name of Diyār Rabi‘a (Yāqūt, II, 637) This means they were connected each other and at the same time Bakrīs established themselves in the Diyār Bakr. See also Strange 1905: 86.

¹⁷⁶ Strange 1905: 86.

the Greater Khābūr river coming from Ra's al-‘Ain, with the Hirmas river, which flowed eastward by the Tharthār to the Tigris; the lands on both banks of the Tigris from Tall Fāfān down to Takrīt, namely those westward to Nişibīn (Nusaybin), and those eastward which included the plains watered by the Lower and Upper Zāb and the Lesser Khābūr river. Lastly, Diyār Muḍar covered all the lands watered by the Euphrates from Samsat (Byzantine Samosata, Arab Sumaysāt) down to ‘Ānah.¹⁷⁷

2. Diyār al-Shām (ديار الشام)

Physically, the region of Shām, roughly modern Syria, consists of a complex of mountain chains with valleys and a series of plains, steppes and deserts. These plains, steppes and deserts of al-Shām were naturally bounded by the Taurus Mountains to the North. In the north are the Amanus Mountains (Gevur Dağ) and Jabal al-Akrād (Mountain of the Kurds) running roughly North-south and then the Orontes river valley and Jabal al-Akra (Bald Mountain). To the South of Nahr al-Kabīr valley is the plateau of the Jabal al-Ansāriyya and to the south of the Ḥimş (Homs) river the Jabal al-‘Akkār. To the east of these mountains lies the northernmost section of the depression of the Great Rift Valley of East Africa, the Red Sea, the Dead Sea and its Syrian continuation; the ‘Amik depression with its lake, ‘Amik Gölü’; the valley of the Orontes forming the Ghāb and South of Ḥimş forming the Bekaa valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains. To the east of these valleys and depressions is a series of mountains and hills: the Jabal az-Zāwiya, al-Jabal al-Sharkī and finally at its southernmost Jabal al-Shaykh.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Strange 1905: 87; Canard and Cahen 1965: 343-344; Cahen 1965a: 347-348; Cahen 1965b: 348-349.

¹⁷⁸ Bosworth 1997a: 261-2; Humphreys 2010: 506-507. Steppes and deserts begin from the eastern slopes of these mountains and the steppelands run eastwards to the Euphrates river. Thus at this agricultural zone the great cities of al-Shām such as Aleppo (Ḥalab), Ḥamā, Ḥimş, and Damascus have risen. To the South of the agricultural Damascus basin is a basaltic and volcanic zone (Bosworth 1997a: 261-262). This region of Shām divided into six districts: Qinnasrīn, Ḥimş, Dimashq (Damascus), al-Urdunn (Jordan), Filastīn (Palestine), and al-Sharāt (Muqaddasī, 141; it was also quoted by Strange 1890: 39). In fact, in early Islamic usage, this region

3. Diyār Rūm (ديار الروم)

This country called *Bilād al-Rūm* is one of the finest regions in the world, in it God has brought together the good things dispersed through other lands. Its inhabitants are the comeliest of men in form, the cleanest in dress, the most delicious in food, and the kindest of God's creatures.¹⁷⁹

As a geographical term *al-Rūm* / الروم which probably derived from the Greek *Rōmē* / ῥώμη and first appeared in Sasanid Pahlawi literature in the form *hrom*, was generally used for the territories under the control of the Byzantine Empire in medieval Muslim sources. It roughly referred to western and central Anatolia between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. This area is dominated by two great mountain ranges running from west to east: Pontic mountain chain to the north and Taurus mountain chain to the south.¹⁸⁰ The eastern border of Diyār Rūm can be drawn with a line lying along Ḥiṣn Mansur (Adıyaman), Samsat, Melitene (Malatya), Ḥiṣn Ziyād (Harput), Erzincan and Erzurum. The usage of Rūm will be discussed in detail and the definition of Diyār Rūm, over which the Seljuk Sultans and princes as well as their followers Turkmen amīrs and maliks typically show their ambition on their titles, will be made much more clear in the chapter dealing with the Danishmendid Greek coinage.

covered modern Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, and the west bank of Palestine, to the north Antioch (Antakya) and Alexandretta (modern İskenderun). Bosworth 1997a: 261. Bosworth also refers to 'Ayntāb (Gaziantep) and Diyār Bakr as the towns of the Region of Shām (idem 1997a: 261), but, as already mentioned, they were not in Diyar Shām.

¹⁷⁹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, AD 1325-1354*, eds. H. A. R. Gibb, C. Defrémery, and B. R. Sanguinetti, (Cambridge 1962): II: 415.

¹⁸⁰ Mt. Ararat in eastern Turkey, Mt. Nemrut on the northern shore Lake Van, Mt. Argaeus (Erciyes) standing in eastern Cappadocia and Mt. Hasan located in western border of Cappadocia are single extinct volcanos here.

Abundance of water sources facilitates the formation of many fertile lands here. Euphrates and Tigris rivers watering the fertile lands of Mesopotamia both rise in eastern Turkey and flow down through respectively Syria and Iraq. River Halys emerging in the mountains in eastern Asia Minor and running through Central Asia Minor flows into the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus). Iris river (Yeşilirmak) emerging from eastern Asia Minor flows through the hinterlands of Pontus region and joins the Black Sea. Sangarios river (Sakarya) emerging from Pessinus in Phrygia and then running through Galataia, Phrygia and Bithynia joins the Black Sea. Araxes river rises in eastern Turkey and runs through Caucasia east to the Caspian Sea. See Ramsay 1890; Darkot 1968.

C. Monetary Traffic: The Inflow and Circulation of the Byzantine Money

Circulation of the Byzantine Copper Coins:

Under Turkmen rule, the introduction of regular coinage in al-Jazīra began in the mid-twelfth century.¹⁸¹ Up to that time, as the literary sources, archaeological and numismatic evidence state, the new Turkmen rulers used particularly remaining Byzantine coin stocks.¹⁸² Archaeological data from the lands of Byzantium's eastern neighbours al-Jazīra, Diyar Shām, Diyār Rūm, Armenia, and Azerbaijan point to the importance Byzantine copper coinage¹⁸³ enjoyed in the area. Coin hoards and single coin finds show the large-scale circulation of late tenth-and eleventh-century Byzantine copper coins, conventionally called anonymous folles because of the image of Christ and the Virgin they carry. Those coins on their own, or bearing Arabic countermarks, circulated and were hoarded in the new lands of the Turkmens. In fact, this coinage was the core and initiator for the long-term improvement of an indigenous Turkish-Islamic copper coinage in the eastern Mediterranean. There is convincing evidence, from archaeological and numismatic sources, of the dominance of the circulation of the Byzantine folles in al-Jazīra and northern Syria. In northern Syria, they have been found in the excavations of the Citadel of Aleppo¹⁸⁴, in Dehes¹⁸⁵, in 'Ain Dāra,¹⁸⁶ in Ḥamāh¹⁸⁷ in Antioch¹⁸⁸ and in al-Mīnā¹⁸⁹. Additionally, they can be seen in the territories of the middle Euphrates in Bālis¹⁹⁰ and in al-Raḥba¹⁹¹ and the sites that are located in south of the

¹⁸¹ As will be discussed below, Diyār Rūm (Anatolia) showed considerably different development of its coin production: while the Danishmendids issued few Greek copper coins, the Saltukid maliks and the Seljuk sultan Mas'ūd I struck quasi-Byzantine copper coins in this period.

¹⁸² Apart from a large amount of Byzantine folles found in various burial deposits, Byzantine gold coins were also still in circulation in the region until the mid-twelfth century through commercial activities and political reasons.

¹⁸³ These copper coins were usually called *qirtas* or *qartis* (pl. *qaratis*) in literary Arabic sources. For details, see Heidemann 2002a: 403.

¹⁸⁴ Heidemann 2002a: 393.

¹⁸⁵ Morrisson 1980: 267-287.

¹⁸⁶ Heidemann 2002a: 393.

¹⁸⁷ Hammershaimb and Thomson 1969: 142-171; Heidemann 2002a: 393.

¹⁸⁸ Waage 1952: nos. 2263-2280.

¹⁸⁹ Robinson 1937: 194.

¹⁹⁰ Hennequin and al-'Ush 1978; Lowick 1980: 225f; Ilich 1981: 192-196.

Euphrates, in ar-Ruṣāfa (Sergiopolis).¹⁹² Coin findings also clearly suggest the enormous flow of Byzantine folles throughout al-Jazīra since they were found in Raqqa,¹⁹³ in Gritelle,¹⁹⁴ in Ḥarrān,¹⁹⁵ in Assyria,¹⁹⁶ and in Mārdīn.¹⁹⁷

At this juncture, it is relevant to highlight the ‘Mārdīn hoard’ which has been discussed briefly in some publications¹⁹⁸ since its discovery in about 1972, and reanalyze it to understand the historical trend of monetary movement, and the logic of imitative Byzantine coins in the region.¹⁹⁹ This burial deposit found in Diyār Bakr is one of the largest hoards of Byzantine coins beyond the eastern borders of the empire, with 12,994 Byzantine coins from the reign of Anastasius (491-518) to Alexios I (1081-118). Of the 12,994 coins discovered, 146 belong to the period prior to the production of anonymous folles. This amount equals just 1.1% of the all coins. In other words, this coin evidence shows that nearly 99% of the Byzantine folles in the hoard consist of the copper coins minted after the monetary reform of John I Tzimiskes (969-976) who introduced vast amount of new copper folles without his name around the year 970 because of the silver crisis. The considerable number of anonymous Class K (c. 1085-c. 1092),²⁰⁰ with 1819 coins (14%), struck after Mārdīn and its vicinity was captured by the Seljuk troops in 1085, and 30 pre-and post-reform folles of Alexios I, indicate that particularly Byzantine copper folles still flowed to al-Jazīra under the reign of the Seljuks and Artuqids. More interestingly, in the Mārdīn hoard there is one post-reform *tetarteron* of Alexios issued after the year 1092 in the mint of Thessalonica.²⁰¹ The question is

¹⁹¹ Negre 1980-1981: no. 3.

¹⁹² Mackensen 1984: 36.

¹⁹³ Heidemann, 2003: p. 182, nos. 245-256.

¹⁹⁴ Redford 1998: p. 159, GR-81: 122.

¹⁹⁵ Heidemann 2002b: p. 284, no. 40.

¹⁹⁶ Miglus and Heidemann 1996: p. 368, no. 19.

¹⁹⁷ Lowick et al. 1977.

¹⁹⁸ Heidemann 2002a: 302, 394-395, 402, 420; Goodwin 2005: 323-339; Beliën 2005: 314-322.

¹⁹⁹ 163 coins from the Mardin Hoard are kept in the Barber Institute Coin Collection. They were first displayed at the same museum in 1977.

²⁰⁰ Another local hoards also verify its circulation in the region: 22.5% of the hoard sold in German market in 1997 (Schulze 2005: 339-346) and 7.8% of the ‘Malazgirt Definesi’ are Class K. Mutlu 2005: 221-246.

²⁰¹ Hendy 1969: p. 88, pl. 8, nos. 7 and 8.

how this ‘Thessalonican *tetarteron*’ reached the territories of the Artuqid Turkmens? German scholar Stefan Heidemann suggests that although Thessaloniki is relatively far away, it had a connection with Syria and Antioch through the Mediterranean Sea. In fact, Alexios’ post-reform *tetarterons* can be seen in many places in Syria.²⁰² Conversely, the significant amount of the Seljuk silver *dirhams* and copper *fulūs* of Syria found in the excavations of Corinth can also be evidence confirming the trade relation between Syria and Greece in the late eleventh and early twelfth century.²⁰³ The trek of this ‘Thessalonican coin’, from the eastern Mediterranean coast to Mārdīn, might have continued in the pockets of the merchants or diplomats through political reasons such as assembling alliances, ransoming captives, troop movements and buying of threats, and trading activities about which the literary sources are usually silent, but for a convincing explanation of this phenomenon, there are still many missing points.

When did the massive inflow of the Byzantine anonymous folles begin and end beyond the eastern borders of the empire? Before starting to discuss this question, I would like to give more examples of coin hoards to consolidate the accuracy of statistical parameters of the Mardin Hoard and the conclusions of the monetary movement drawn from this material. In the Mardin Hoard, as mentioned, there are altogether 12994 copper coins, from the reign of Anastasius to Alexios I, of which 2204 (16.9%) have Arabic countermarks²⁰⁴ and 1471 (11.3%) of all coins are countermarked anonymous Byzantine folles.²⁰⁵ A hoard, offered for sale in the London market in 1997, was described and analyzed by Tony Goodwin. This parcel consists of 331 Byzantine *folles* with Arabic countermarks along with 1800 copper

²⁰² Heidemann 2002a: 395.

²⁰³ Isaac 1987: p. 151, nos. 740-743; Zervos 1997: p. 186, no. 83; William and Zervos 1991: p. 52, no. 90.

²⁰⁴ The Turkmen rulers, particularly the Artuqid, Zangīd, Inalid and Akhlātshāh/Armanshāh dynasties, from the 1140s to the late twelfth century, stamped some Arabic countermarks on Byzantine copper *folles* and used them in the local markets.

²⁰⁵ Respectively, the largest group of the Arabic countermarked anonymous folles are class K (c. 1085 – c. 1092) with 392 coins, class C (1042? – c. 1050) with 247 coins, class I (c. 1075 – c. 1080) with 205 coins, class A (970 – c. 1030/35) with 170 coins, class G (c. 1065 – c. 1070) with 146 coins, and then class B (c. 1030/35 – 1042?) with 105 coins.

coins without countermarks. The patterns of these copper folles, including 233 anonymous folles dating from the reign of Basil II (976-1025) to the pre-reform coinage of Alexios I, and the Arabic countermarks,²⁰⁶ applied by various Turkmen rulers, clearly indicate that these coins belong to al-Jazīra or eastern Turkey.²⁰⁷ Anonymous countermarked coins are reported by Goodwin as follows: 31 Class A2, 12 Class B, 51 Class C, 10 Class D, 2 Class F, 12 Class G, 5 Class H, 29 Class I, 15 Class J and 66 Class K.²⁰⁸ Again, in 2005, Wolfgang Schulze published another parcel of 153 Byzantine *folles*, 33 of which are countermarked. This group of coins belonged to eastern Turkey and was sold in 1997 on the German Market. It consists of 33 countermarked coins of which 21 are anonymous folles: 3 Class B, 7 Class C, 3 Class G, 1 Class H, 5 Class I, 1 Class J, 4 Class K.²⁰⁹

In these three hoards, were found altogether 15273 coins, of which 2568 are countermarked folles and of which 1715 are countermarked anonymous folles. It shows that 16.8% of the coins are countermarked and 11.2% of the coins are countermarked anonymous folles. Although 73.5% of the Mārdīn hoard coins and 52.9% of the hoard sold in the German market are anonymous folles, we cannot say the actual number of the anonymous folles in these three hoards because Goodwin, in his work, only states the number of anonymous folles with Arabic countermarks. At least, the coin hoards all explicitly demonstrate a large number of ‘anonymous folles’ and ‘countermarked anonymous folles’, circulating in the new lands of the Turkmens.

²⁰⁶ 21 different countermarks are contained on the copper coins, of which 19 are among the 29 identified countermarks of Mārdīn hoard and only 2 are different from those of the Mārdīn hoard. Goodwin 2005: 326. For the countermarked folles, see also Weller 1975: 475-477; Heberth 1974a: 94-96; Hebert 1974b: 140-141; Hebert 1974c: 189-190.

²⁰⁷ This similarity prompted Goodwin to think that they may have been originally a part of ‘the Mardin Hoard’; but this is not only coin heap showing the common patterns with the ‘Mardin Hoard’. The ‘Malazgirt Definesi / the Treasury of Malazgirt’, now preserved in the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi in Ankara, found in the Castle of Malazgirt located 34 km north of the Lake Van also strikingly resembles the ‘Mardin Hoard’ with the proportions of the coins, fabrics and Arabic countermarks. Mutlu 2005: 221-246. Namely, this similarity is not a convincing evidence to say it is a part of the “Mardin Hoard”.

²⁰⁸ Goodwin 2005: 323-339.

²⁰⁹ Schulze 2005: 339-346.

Hoards	Total coins	Anonymous folles	Countermarked	Anonymous Countermarked
The Mardin Hoard	12994	9552 - 73.5%	2204 – 16.9%	1471 - 11.3%
Hoard(Tony Goodwin)	2131	—	331 - 15.5%	223 - 10.4%
Hoard(Wolfgang Shulze)	153	81 - 52.9%	33 - 21.5%	21 - 13.7%
Total	15273	?	2568 – 16.8%	1715 – 11.2%

Table 1: Statistics of the coin hoards

Turning back to the question of the beginning and end of the flow of the Byzantine anonymous folles into the region, we should remind ourselves that the literary sources are silent about it; but coin findings and an anecdote coming from a Persian travel book written by Nāṣir-i Khusraw give us some hints to shed light this ambiguous issue. In Jumāda al-‘Awwal 438 / November 1046, Persian poet and traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in his pilgrim’s journey, visited Ahlat, which was a border town between Armenia and the Marwanid-controlled Diyār Bakr at the north-western corner of Lake Van. He was surprised that the commerce was performed in copper coins here rather than silver dirhams and gold dinars.²¹⁰ His remark is probably the earliest literary reference to the enduring power of Byzantine money (in this case copper coins) as economic facilitator in an increasingly porous and contested zone of Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia. In the paucity of literary reference, in order to verify the hypothesis that the copper coins seen by Nāṣir-i Khusraw were the Byzantine folles circulating in the Muslim markets, once again we would like to apply to the numismatic evidence. On the one hand, in the period of the Persian poet’s visit, Ahlat

²¹⁰ Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Nasir-i Khusraw’s Book of Travels*, Costa Mesa, ed. and tr. W. W. McIntosh, (CA: Mazda Publishers 2001): 8.

belonged to the Marwanids, and a separate copper coinage in Ahlat as well as Marwanid territories was unknown.²¹¹ On the other, today large quantities of Byzantine anonymous copper coins kept in the local museums around Lake Van are also evidence for circulation of Byzantine copper coins in the region. In 1989, more importantly, in Malāzgirt (Manzikert) located only 34 km north of Ahlat on the west bank of the Murat Çay, a large coin hoard consisting of 3100 Byzantine folles was found. Nearly 47% of the coins issued after the monetary reform of John I Tzimiskes is Class A2, Class B and Class C coins which were dated between c. 970 and c. 1050; namely the anonymous *folles* struck just before the visit of Nāṣir-i Khusraw comprise almost half of them. Thus, this hoard, together with the big amount of the coin finds in the local museums, support the thesis that in the mid-eleventh century, Byzantine folles were circulating in the markets of Diyār Bakr and Armenia beyond the eastern confines of Byzantium. The import of Byzantine anonymous folles into Diyār Muḍar and northern Syria very probably began in the same period, just after the recapture of Ruhā (Edessa) by the Byzantine Empire in AD 1031.²¹²

The coin findings coming from various hoards give more accurate answers for the end of the flow of the Byzantine copper coins rather than its beginning. It substantially ended in the period between the monetary reform of Alexios I (1092) and his death (1118). Nevertheless, the Byzantine coin stocks seem to have been continued to circulate in the Islamic world. The termination of this circulation in the different regions does not occur simultaneously, but it was dependent on the specific monetary and economic conditions at different times. In northern Syria and Diyār Muḍar, according to the numismatic and archaeological evidence, the circulation of the Byzantine copper folles probably ended in the Ayyūbid period between 585/1189-90 and 590/1193-4.²¹³ The hoard found in the south-east of al-Rāfiqa indicates that in the year 585/1189-90, the Byzantine folles were still in

²¹¹ Heidemann 2002a: 395.

²¹² Heidemann 2002a: 400.

²¹³ Heidemann 2002a: 417.

circulation in the city, but a large amount of Islamic copper *fulūs* struck by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd and his successor al-Şālih Ismā‘īl (569-576 / 1174-1181) and Saladin, saw a decisive dominance over them.²¹⁴ In 571/1175-6, Zangīd atabeg al-Şālih Ismā‘īl of Aleppo, the son of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, offered a new monetary system by which copper coins were gradually demonetised and restruck. This reform was followed by the introduction of a regulated ‘silver dirham’ (about 2.80 g), known as the *six-pointed-star* type. The monetary reform of al-Şālih Ismā‘īl and especially from 580/1185 onwards, the appearance of large quantity of the new silver dirhams in the markets had a negative impact on the circulation of Byzantine folles and thus the use of the Byzantine folles in Diyār Muḍar and northern Syria ended after a while.²¹⁵

In the markets of Diyār Bakr, the Byzantine folles were used longer than in the other regions. The countermarked anonymous folles coming from the ‘Mārdīn’ and ‘Malāzğirt’ hoards can bring a suggestion about this phenomenon. The coin findings from both hoards bear twenty-three different countermarks that were practised by at least four Turkmen dynasties settled in al-Jazīra and Armenia: the Artuqids, Zangīds, Inalids and Akhlatshāhs/Armanshāhs, dated from 1140s to the very late twelfth century.²¹⁶ One of these countermarks called *Badr* / بدر has been identified with Badr al-Dīn Aksungur (588-593 / 1193-1197), the ruler of the Akhlatshāhs/Armanshāhs (493-604 / 1100-1208). This evidence suggests that the Byzantine copper coins were still in circulation in the year 1193 at least in Diyār Bakr and its adjacent Ahlat, but a further suggestion comes from the ‘Mārdīn Hoard’

²¹⁴ In addition, in the same period, a significant amount of Anatolian copper coins, particularly small lightweight *fulūs* of ‘Izz al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān (551-588 / 1156-1192), the Seljuk sultan of Rūm, was carried out into Diyār Muḍar and northern Syria. Heidemann 2002a: 418. For findings in Ḥarrān, see Stefan Heidemann 2002b: p. 284, no. 44-52; for findings in Raqqā, see Heidemann 2003: 183, nos. 253-270; and in Ḥamā several hundreds of these coins were found. Hammershaimb and Thomson 1969: 142-171.

²¹⁵ Heidemann 2002a: 417; Heidemann 2009: 283.

²¹⁶ Lowick et al. 1977: 16. There is no any Arabic countermark belonging to previous Turkmen rulers. As mentioned previously, during this period, the Turkmen rulers created their own copper coinage with the images derived from Seleucid, Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine coinages.

once again.²¹⁷ The three Islamic coins found in the hoard may facilitate to determine the ‘temporal circuit’ of the circulation. Whilst one was from the twelfth century,²¹⁸ two were struck in the 1220s by Seljuk sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād and Seljuk prince Rukn al-Dīn Jahan Shāh.²¹⁹ Thus, it brings us to think that the circulation of Byzantine copper coins was entirely repressed and stopped only by the very young production of silver coins in Dunaysir, from 615/1218-9 onwards; and then Hışn Kayfā, from 627/1230 onwards.

And what about the circulation of Byzantine money just after the Seljuk conquests in Anatolia (Diyār Rūm), specifically central and eastern Anatolia? Medieval Muslim Anatolian coinage, as will be scrutinized below, saw distinctive processes and characteristics. Initially, the Danishmendid Turkmen ruler Amīr Ghāzī (497-528 / 1104-1134) and his son and successor Malik Muḥammad (1134-1143) issued some copper *fulūs* probably in Melitene with Greek inscriptions in the first half of the twelfth century. These Danishmendid coins in Greek alphabet were pioneers of medieval Muslim Anatolian coinage, together with the quasi-Byzantine copper coins of the Saltukids of Erzurum and Seljuk sultan Mas‘ūd I of Konya.²²⁰ Comparing to upper Mesopotamia and northern Syria, statistical results of the coin findings kept in national and local museum collections reflect slightly different features in the importation of the Byzantine coins into the region. While the rate of the anonymous folles is congruently very high,²²¹ Anatolian coin materials surprisingly show the lack of Class K,

²¹⁷ The coin finds show that the countermarked *folles* were used in a limited area including the province of Diyār Bakr and Ahlat located on the border between Diyār Bakr and Armenia. Some Byzantine folles with Arabic countermarks were found in the excavations of Gritille, located on the right bank of the Euphrates River in southeast Turkey (Redford 1998: 159-160), and the Castle of Aşağı Anzaf, located on the west of Lake Van (Tekin 1996: pp. 48-50). No countermarked pieces were recorded from Anatolia (Kılıç 2014: 185), Iraq and Syria except one from Lebanon (Lowick et al. 1977: 8-11).

The countermarked Byzantine folles might have been used for the payment of poll tax, *jizyah* while those without countermark were for daily shopping. Lowick et al. 1977: 53-54.

²¹⁸ Copper coin of Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh (516-547 / 1122-1152), the Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn, minted in around 543 / 1148-9.

²¹⁹ Lowick et al. 1977: 27-28.

²²⁰ For the coin issue of Mas‘ūd I, see Artuk 1970: p. 351, no. 1059. Very rare and exciting Saltukid and Mengujekid types will be described in the chapter dealing with the Christian images in the Turkmen coinage.

²²¹ 54.9% of 938 identified coins in Kayseri Museum; 55.3% of 1159 identified coins in Amasya Museum; 51.8% of 865 identified coins in Malatya Arkeoloji Museum; 39.3% of 353 identified coins in Niğde Museum;

dated to between 1085 and 1092 in contrast to its abundance in the upper Mesopotamia, northern Syria and even Armenia. Kayseri, Niğde and Erzurum museums have no Class K anonymous folles, whereas Amasya Museum and Malatya Arkeoloji Museum keep one each.²²² Furthermore, the number of Class H and Class I folles, dated to between 1075 and 1080, is quite low.²²³ This shows that after the Battle of Manzikert the inflow of the Byzantine coins into the region was extremely rare, and furthermore it almost stopped after the year 1080. From the 'Comnenian dynasty', at these museums, we have only four specimens: one *hyperpyron* of John II Komnenos (1118-1143) at Amasya Museum,²²⁴ a coin of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) at Niğde Museum, and two *billon aspron trachy* of Manuel I at Erzurum Arkeoloji Museum.²²⁵ The sharp drop of Byzantine coin finds is not only characteristic of Cappadocia or central and eastern Anatolia, but also a large portion of Asia Minor.

The presence of the abundance of Byzantine anonymous folles in northern Syria and upper Mesopotamia produced between the defeat of Battle of Manzikert and the monetary reform of Alexios I (1092) was conjecturally in response to the Turkish penetration in eastern Anatolian plateau. It can be explained with the maintenance of partial imperial control over Antioch until 1084-5 and Edessa until 1086. They might have been awarded to Philaretos Brachamios, former Byzantine general who is now governor of a quasi-autonomous realm

and 23.8% of 618 identified coins in Erzurum Arkeoloji Museum are Byzantine anonymous folles. See Métiéver and Prigent 2010: 577-618; Ireland 2000; Gökalp 2009b: p. 224, no. 464; Özcan 2007: 1-16.

²²² Métiéver and Prigent 2010: 577-618; Özcan 2007: 1-16; Ireland 2000: p. 116, no. 4384; Gökalp 2009b: p. 224, no. 464. Also the museums of Yalvaç and Bolvadin from western Anatolia do not have any Class K, but there are 34 Class I at Yalvaç Museum and 7 Class I at Bolvadin Museum. For the coins at Yalvaç Museum, see Gökalp 2009a: p. 52, table 3; and for those at Bolvadin Museum, see Ashton et al. 2000: p. 187, nos. 216-222.

²²³ There are 1 Class H, 5 Class I in Kayseri Museum; 1 Class H, 3 Class I in Amasya Museum; 2 Class H, 7 Class I in Malatya Arkeoloji Museum; and no Class H, 4 Class I in Niğde Museum. For the coin findings at Kayseri and Niğde museums, see Métiéver and Prigent 2010: appendix 1 and 2, pp. 613-614; for coin findings at Amasya Museum, see Stanley 2000: p. 116, nos. 4380-4383; for the coin findings at Malatya Arkeoloji Museum, see Gökalp 2009b: p. 224, nos. 455-463.

²²⁴ Ireland 2000: p. 117, no. 4560.

²²⁵ Métiéver and Prigent 2010: 603-604 and see footnote 164; Özcan 2007: 13.

stretched from Antioch to Edessa, or carried out by his troops after they had fought for the emperor Alexios during the wars against the Normans.²²⁶

To what extent were Byzantine anonymous and signed folles used in central and eastern Anatolia; and subsequently when did their circulation in the markets end? It is not easy to answer it, but I can offer that it might have ceased just before northern Syria and upper Mesopotamia, in the 1180s, when the Seljuk Sultan Kılıç Arslān II's coins began to dominate the area.

Circulation of the Byzantine Gold Coins:

The archaeological and numismatic evidence and the literary sources also indicate that, apart from the mass of Byzantine folles, a large quantity of the Byzantine gold coins circulated in the region. With the expansion of the Byzantines to northern Syria and upper Mesopotamia (al-Jazīra) the Byzantine gold coins gained a large monetary importance in the study area. Particularly in the second half of the eleventh century, there was a large amount of Byzantine gold coins, *histamena nomismata*, in the markets of the region. They supplemented and replaced the Fatimid *dinars* in circulation.²²⁷ Contemporary chronicler and bureaucrat Ibn al-Azraq (510-577 / 1117-1181) provides compelling evidence that, in the mid-eleventh century, just before the Turkmen domination in the area, merchants and notables were using Byzantine currency in Mayyāfāriqīn (Silvan), north-east of Amid, capital of the Kurdish dynasty of Marwanids (990–1085), which ruled in Diyār Bakr and Armenia. Ibn al-Azraq admiringly speaks of a middleman who made a profit of 500 *Armanusiya Dinar* in Mayyāfāriqīn markets in a single day.²²⁸ The author also states that Abū ‘Ali Ibn al-Baghdādī spent 50 *Armanusiya Dinar* each day to supply Zahir al-Dīn, the heir apparent of the caliph,

²²⁶ Métiéver and Prigent 2010: 604; for Philaretos Brachamios, see Cheynet 1986: 395ff.; and Seibt 2009: 281-295.

²²⁷ Heidemann 2002a: 384.

²²⁸ Ibn al-Azraq (‘Awad), 167.

and his mother as-Sayyida who were hosted in Mayyāfāriqīn as refugees in the years 451/1059 and 452/1060.²²⁹ Again, according to the records of Ibn al-Azraq, in the early years of the Seljuk rule (just after 478/1085), this Byzantine currency maintained its popularity in the town. In this period, the Christians paid thirty-thousand *Armanusiya dinar* for Ubbād Monastery, which was converted into a mosque by the Seljuk governor Fakhr al-Dawla.²³⁰ As Stefan Heidemann already suggested, *Armanusiya Dinar* mentioned here by Ibn al-Azraq must have referred to the gold *Histamenon nomisma* of Romanos III (1028-1034).²³¹ Interestingly, depiction of an ‘enthroned Christ figure’ with nimbus seen on the copper issues of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān (543-570 / 1148-1174),²³² the Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuqid ruler, evokes the fabric of the gold histamenon of Romanos III. After the adaptation of the enthroned Christ by Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, contemporary ruler Najm al-Dīn Alpī (547-572 / 1152-1176), the Mārdīn Artuqid malik, this time adopted the representation of ‘Virgin Mary crowning the emperor’ seen on the reverse of Romanos III’s gold coin.²³³ Through this example we can track the life and afterlife of Byzantine gold coin struck in Constantinople between 1028 and 1034 across Anatolia and whose economic and symbolic value continued to influence twelfth-century Turkmen world. In the 1050s onwards, it was seen in the local markets of Mayyāfāriqīn (Silvan) as *Armanusiya Dinar*, and passed to the pockets of the merchants here.²³⁴ A hundred years later, its traces circuitously re-emerged in the Artuqid coinage, first in Ḥiṣn Kayfā, around 100 km south-east of Mayyāfāriqīn, and then in Mārdīn, about 120 km

²²⁹ Ibn al-Azraq (‘Awad) 159.

²³⁰ Ibn al-Azraq (British Museum), 149b-150a; Ibn al-Azraq (‘Awad), 220; Ibn al-Azraq (Bozarslan), 198-199.

²³¹ Heidemann 2002: 385; Heidemann 2009: 279.

²³² See catalogue no. 2; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK434; P. D. Whitting Collection.

²³³ See catalogue nos. 61-8; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK365-368; P. D. Whitting Collection. These Artuqid coin types will be discussed in the chapter dealing with the Christian images in the Turkmen coinage.

²³⁴ See Ibn al-Azraq (‘Awad), 159 and 167.

south-west of Ḥiṣn Kayfā. Furthermore, the fragments of Romanos III's *histamenon nomisma* found at the Citadel of Damascus also show its popular circulation in Syria.²³⁵

Similarly the literary and numismatic sources provide convincing evidence for the spread of the *nomismata*²³⁶ of Michael VII (1071-1078), called *bezants* or *bisantii*, or, more commonly *michaelita*, *michaelaton* or *mikhilate* in western and local Christian sources, and circulated extensively beyond the eastern borders of the empire, in upper Mesopotamia, northern Syria and Anatolia.²³⁷ In the year 501/1108, Baldwin I of Edessa, who was taken prisoner by the Turkmens after the defeat of the Battle of Ḥarrān (1104), was ransomed with *mikhilate dinars*.²³⁸ According to the well-known Crusader chronicler William of Tyre (1130-1186), Baldwin I paid thirty-thousand *michaelita* to his knights.²³⁹ Fifteen years later, in 518/1124, this time Baldwin of Bourq was ransomed for 100,000 *michaelita*.²⁴⁰ William of Tyre describes the *michaelita* as a kind of gold coin commonly used in this region in transactions of commerce. He also mentions its origin: "It derived from its name from Michael, an emperor of Constantinople, who had caused the coin to be stamped with his image."²⁴¹ Finally, according to Anna Komnena, at the Treaty of Deavolis (1108), Alexios I promised to Bohemond to pay annually 200 *talents* (of *nomismata*) of Michael VII.²⁴² The coin hoards found in the region, specifically coming from Battalgazi (Melitene / Eski Malatya), Amid, Ḥiṣn Kayfā and an unspecified location in Diyār Bakr, endorse the information that the literary sources provide: The Battalgazi Hoard, with 58 *histamenons*, was

²³⁵ Heidemann 2009: p. 293, pl. 13.5. In Islamic world, from the ninth century onwards, as a consequence of paucity of smaller denominations of coins, the gold coins were cut into small irregular fragments which were called *quradat* (sing. *qurada*) in Arabic (See Heidemann 2002a: 365ff.)

²³⁶ *Nomisma* (pl. *nomismata*) is an ancient Greek word for money or coin derived from νόμος (*nomos*).

²³⁷ Heidemann 2009: 279.

²³⁸ *Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*, 81.

²³⁹ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, ed. and tr. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, (New York 1943), I: 480. This currency was called *michele* by William of Tyre.

²⁴⁰ William of Tyre, II, 21.

²⁴¹ William of Tyre, I, 480; II, 21.

²⁴² Anna Komnena (Sewter), 432-433: "...it will be my due every year to receive from the imperial treasury the sum of 200 talents, in coin of good quality stamped with the effigy of the Lord Michael, the former emperor, and this payment will be made through some agent of ours, sent from Syria with my letters to you in the imperial city so that he may accept these monies in our name."

found in Melitene, which was become the capital of the Danishmendids. The Amid hoard contained 25 *nomismata* and the hoard of Hışn Kayfâ 11 *nomismata*. All three hoards consist solely of gold coins of Michael VII.²⁴³ Echoes of the widespread circulation of *michaelita* in the region can also be found in the iconography of Danishmendid coins, such as this copper dirham struck in the name of Shams al-Din Isma‘il, Danismendid ruler (559-567/1166-1172).

These examples illustrate once again the familiarity of the inhabitants of the regions, both old and established communities and newcomers, with Byzantine gold and copper coins. This is a currency that had long circulated and influenced the life and economic practices of the area for centuries. This is the currency that continued to be used in the Turkmen markets a century after it was minted either in its original form or countermarked by the local rulers, and hence revalidated to cater for the monetary needs of the populations. However, it brings to mind an essential question: why did the Turkmen leaders not manage to issue their own coins for decades, at least in al-Jazīra and northern Syria? It should be asked here whether there was no active international trade and whether this is the reason that they did not need new coin types in the local markets.²⁴⁴ Another presumptive reason is that the lack of technical equipment and qualified artisans or the absence of mines delayed the emergence of the Turkmen coinage.

At this point, we must consider whether the new Turkmen area had the coin minting tradition before its new lords and in which cities the coins were minted in the pre-Turkmen period. It is controversial whether the Danishmendid cities Kayseri, Sivas, Malatya, Niksar and Amasya; the Saltukid capital Erzurum; and the Mengujekid capitals Erzincan and Divriği produced coins in the Byzantine period. Although no Byzantine silver and gold coins bear the mint name of aforementioned cities, an assertion regarding production of copper Byzantine

²⁴³ The last one has a slightly different composition including 29 *nomismata* of Constantine IX (1042-1055), 17 *nomismata* of Constantine X (1059-1067) and 17 *nomismata* of Michael VII. For The Battalgazi Hoard, see Gökalp 2009c: 81-86; and for the hoards of Amid, Hışn Kayfâ and the unspecified one, see Mosser 1935: 25; Heidemann 2002a: 386.

²⁴⁴ At least commercial activities, until about AD 1200, seem nevertheless to have been slight.

follis in some Anatolian cities has been discussed by scholars.²⁴⁵ Even if it is, these mints seem to have performed *ad interim* services under the Byzantines for a short time. But for the Artuqids and the Zangīds, the case seems different, because they settled in cities which were producing coins just before their new patrons. For example, before the advent of the Turkmens, in Mayyāfāriqīn, the Marwanid Kurdish rulers issued various types of silver coins which even travelled to the Scandinavian and Baltic territories.²⁴⁶ In addition, the silver coins minted by the Seljuks of Syria whose lands were captured by the Zangīd atabegs have been found in Corinth.²⁴⁷

Here the procrastination in producing the coinage can be explained by two hypotheses. Firstly, the abundance of previous Muslim and Byzantine coins in stocks and money looted or acquired in the form of ransom payments might have provided enough money in the local markets.²⁴⁸ Also it can be seen as a consequence of the rareness of the international trade in the region in the first half of the twelfth century. As mentioned in the first chapter, the internal disorders, the struggles between the Turkmen principalities, and the conflicts with the Crusaders, and partly the Byzantine empire, might have damaged the trade routes, commercial cities in the region, and retarded the building of new institutions in the new Turkmen states.

D. Mines, Mints and Minting Activities:

Sources and several recent surveys provide evidence that some of the copper mines inherited from the Byzantine period were still working in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. However, when the Turkmen leaders established their states, the Mediterranean was grappling with the absence of silver. The lack of silver might have retarded the silver coin production

²⁴⁵ Metcalf 1965: 2-3; *DOC*, III/ii: 640-643.

²⁴⁶ Ripper 2012: 450.

²⁴⁷ Maclsaac 1987: p. 151, nos. 740-743.

²⁴⁸ Although there is no clear evidence, they might have brought money with them.

and thus silver coin issues began to appear in the Turkmen coinage as late as in the early thirteenth century.

In the Near East, from the late tenth century to the late twelfth century, silver coin issues seem to have become infrequent and rare. Armenian historian Stephanos of Taron notes that merchants sometimes did not accept the silver Abbasid dirhams, which contained a large amount of lead and copper.²⁴⁹ Even, the increasing prices caused by the debasement of silver dirhams, in 383/993-4, prompted a revolt in the Abbasid army.²⁵⁰ To some extent the so-called 'silver famine', apart from the Muslim world, also afflicted the Byzantine Empire,²⁵¹ and thus John I Tzimiskes (969-976) needed to make a major change in the design of the copper *folles*, the details of which are stated by John Skylitzes:

He [John I] also ordered that the image of the Saviour be inscribed on the gold and copper coins, something which had not happened before, and one of the sides there was written Roman letters saying, 'Jesus Christ, king of kings' – a practice which subsequent emperors retained.²⁵²

Here, we should remind ourselves that the figure of the Saviour (Christ) appears on nomismata before his reign, but it is new on folles. In place of the imperial figure and inscription, the new arrangement of the follis, bearing a religious figure on the one side and a religious inscription on the other, continued to be practised by John I's successors.²⁵³ With the new arrangement of the follis, the weight standard was also grown. At first it was about 13 g, and then increased to 18 g, after which it reduced again to 13 g.²⁵⁴ As Hendy commented, it was simply 'an attempted response to the increasing scarcity of silver'.²⁵⁵ In this sense, the weight of the twelfth-century Turkmen copper coins, particularly those of the Artuqids, was

²⁴⁹ Stephanos von Taron, 144.

²⁵⁰ Cahen 1952: 340. A single silver *dirham* was now equal to 1/150 gold *dinar*, while at the beginning of the tenth century a single *dinar* was equal to 25 *derāhim*. Ashtor 1969: 112.

²⁵¹ Hendy 1985: 511; *DOC*, III/i: pp. 64-68; Morrison 1976: 8-29.

²⁵² John Skylitzes, 294-295.

²⁵³ Hendy 1985: 511.

²⁵⁴ Later the weight of follis was decreased to 7 or 8 g in the eleventh century. Hendy 1985: 512.

²⁵⁵ Hendy 1985: 512.

notably high. The absence of silver and gold in the Turkmen lands incited the Turkmen chiefs to produce heavy copper coins in order to exalt their value in the market. The Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuqid malik Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān and the Mārdīn Artuqid ruler Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī also attempted to increase the value of their figural copper coins with the words of هذا الدرهم / *hadhā dirham* (this *dirham*) emphasizing that they were intended to pass for the same value as silver *dirhams* (or *darāhim*).²⁵⁶ The word *dirham* in the Artuqid copper coinage was not used in a general way to suggest any kind of money and it was also not introduced by mistake, instead of *fals*.²⁵⁷ Curiously, on the copper coinage of Qara Arslān the inscription of ضرب هذا / *ḍariba hadhā al-dirham fī ayyām Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān* (This *dirham* was struck in the days of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān) appeared in the mid-twelfth century.²⁵⁸ While his contemporary Mārdīn Artuqid ruler Najm al-Dīn Alpī does not use the word *dirham* in his coinage which, even according to contemporary historian Ibn al-Azraq, was known as فلوس النجمية / *fulūs al-Najmiyya* (copper coins of Najm al-Dīn),²⁵⁹ the successor of Najm al-Dīn Alpī, Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II also needed to engrave the word *dirham* in his copper coinage. This seems to have been a manoeuvre against the act of the Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuquids, their rival in the region.

The inscription on the copper coin of II-Ghāzī II²⁶⁰ saying that هذا الدرهم ملعون من يعيره / *hadhā al-dirham mal'ūn man yu'ayyiruhu* (This Dirham cursed be he who defaces it) may suggest that some people opposed accepting the copper *dirhams* for the same value as silver *dirhams*. When the *amīr* became aware of this issue, for transmitting his message to the addressees, he might have attempted to engrave this inscription in a religious genre on his

²⁵⁶ Artuk 1993: 37; Lane-Poole 1875: 10.

²⁵⁷ We know that there were three denominations in the Islamic coinage: *dinar* for gold coins, *dirham* for silver coins and *fals* for copper coins.

²⁵⁸ See catalogue no. 1; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, no. TK433; Spengler and Sayles 1992: no. 1; Artuk 1993: no. 9; Lane-Poole 1875: no. 11.

²⁵⁹ Ibn al-Azraq (Savran), 116.

²⁶⁰ Struck in the years AH 577, 578, 579, 580. See catalogue nos. 77-86; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK032-TK040, TK381; P. D. Whitting Collection; Spengler and Sayles 1992: nos. 32.1-32.4; Lane-Poole 1875: nos. 35-38.

coinage between the years 577-580 / 1181-1184. Just a year after II-Ghāzī's first issue in this type, in 578/1182, this time Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuqid ruler Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad (570-581 / 1174-1185) placed on his copper coin the same 'curse' *mal'ūn man yu'ayyiruhu* (Cursed be he who defaces it). As may be inferred from the discussion above, just as the Byzantine emperor had already done, the Artuqid rulers seek a remedy that regularly provides the circulation of existing currency in the market and ensures continuity of, at least, local trade. It can also be seen an attempt to suppress and subsequently take over the circulation role of a great quantity of Byzantine folles in the region. In fact, the 'copper *dirhams*' of the Turkmen emirates evoke the 'black *dirhams*', much debased silver coins which the Abbasid caliphs produced, as a consequence of the political and economic breakdown during the tenth century. These poor-quality silver coins called *dirham aswad* in literary Arabic sources were dominated by the Byzantine folles.²⁶¹

1. Silver Mining and Silver Coin Production

In the second half of the twelfth century, new silver mines began production in Freiberg, in the province of Saxony, and the spread of silver mining in Europe gained momentum with the discovery of rich silver mines in various places, particularly in Styria and Carinthia in the region of the Alps. The Pisan and Genoese merchants exported the European silver into the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean.²⁶² Heidemann explains the success of the introduction of Seljuk and Zangīd silver dirhams in the last quarter of the twelfth century with the massive importation of European silver to the eastern Mediterranean.²⁶³ However, the literary sources are scant on this silver importation. The earliest evidence comes from a treaty signed in 598/1201 between Venice and the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia. With this pact, the Venetians were granted the privileges from taxation on the import of gold and silver

²⁶¹ Heidemann 2009: 282-283. Perhaps, they tended to take over the old reputation and role of the 'black *darāhim*'.

²⁶² Spufford 1988: 111ff; Stahl 1986: 85-102.

²⁶³ Heidemann 2009: 289.

in the Cilician territories. This was renewed in 643/1245.²⁶⁴ Thus, the European silver played a major role in the introduction of new silver coins in the eastern Mediterranean, but it seems that initially large amount of the silver was being absorbed by the Latins, Cilician Armenians and the Ayyūbid confederation who controlled the eastern Mediterranean coasts.

In the thirteenth century, precisely in the Seljuk territories, new silver mines were discovered, thus the Seljuk Sultans issued numerous silver coins and tried to keep the same weight standard.²⁶⁵ Value of coin and constancy of weight standard, in contrast to the slack weight control of Danishmendid, Mengujekid, Saltukid, and early Artuqid coinage, denotes its commercial purposes. Thus, of course, the Seljuk Sultans intended to ensure trust in it among local and international merchants. From the 1170s onwards, Seljuk Sultan Kılıç Arslān II minted mainly silver *dirhams*, some *dinars* and *fulūs*, mostly at Konya and some at Sivas where the Seljuk minting maybe began in 581/1185-6. Choniates, in his record of Kılıç Arslān II's visit to Constantinople in 1161 (or 1162), states how Manuel I proudly gave the Seljuk Sultan various luxurious gifts consisting of gold and silver coins which were rare among the Turks:

Manuel, who knew that no barbarian is able to resist the temptation of gain, wished to magnify Himself and to astound Kılıç Arslān with the immense riches of the treasuries which overflowed on all sides of the Roman Empire, and thus he displayed all the gifts which he proposed to offer the Sultan in one of the palace's splendid men's apartments. These consisted of gold and silver coins, luxuriant raiment, silver beakers, golden *Theriklean* vessels, linens of the finest weave, and other choice ornaments which were easily procured by the Romans but rare among the barbarians and hardly ever seen by them.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ Heidemann 2009: 289; Bedoukian 1979: 27-28, 45.

²⁶⁵ The silver dirhams of Kılıç Arslān II are around 3.00 g. Bedirhan 2014: 312.

²⁶⁶ Choniates (Magoulias), 68.

The report of Choniates reveals the lack of ‘silver and gold coins’ in Muslim Anatolia, in the early 1160s and with such wealth at his disposal, how the emperor menaces the Seljuk Sultan. However, nearly fifteen years later, the political climate would change dramatically with the defeat of Byzantine army at the Battle of Myriokephalon (1176) by Kılıç Arslān II. The anonymous Rūm Seljuk source states that after the battle of Myriokephalon Manuel I paid a tribute of 100,000 gold *nomismata* and 100,000 silver *dirhams* and some other gifts.²⁶⁷ Although there is no evidence, these Byzantine gold *nomismata* and silver *dirhams* given to the Sultan, as a gift or tribute might have been melted and thus became the source of new Seljuk gold dinars and silver dirhams. Hence, it is not coincidence that, in 573/1177-8, the Seljuk Sultan produced his first gold coin in Konya just after his victory at Myriokephalon.²⁶⁸ In that period, the western merchants also began to bring silver eastwards, but we do not have any evidence to say the silver coins of Kılıç Arslān II were struck with the silver bought from the westerners. Yet we know that the growth and expansion of the European economy in the late twelfth and thirteenth century enabled the trade between the East and the West to gain speed.

Simultaneously, the Seljuk Sultans and princes issued a great quantity of silver coins in central and eastern Anatolia, in the cities of Sivas, Tokat, Malatya, Gümüşpazar, Maden Lulu’a (Ulukışla), Bayburt, Erzincan, and Erzurum.²⁶⁹ If many of these former cities of the Danishmendid, Saltukid and Mengujekid dynasties were located near to rich silver mines, why did these Turkmen dynasties never produce silver *dirhams* during their rule in the region? As already mentioned, about a century after the Battle of Manzikert, in the year 571/1175-6, Zangīd atabeg al-Şālih Ismā‘īl of Aleppo, the son of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, introduced a regulated ‘silver dirham’; shortly after, in Anatolia the production of silver coin

²⁶⁷ *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq dar Anatulya, Anadolu Selçukluları Devleti Tarihi, III, Histoire des Seldjoudides d’Asie Mineure par un anonyme*, ed. and tr. N. Uzluq, (Ankara 1952): 25.

²⁶⁸ Tekin 2009: 182. For the first silver Seljuk *dirham*, see Artuk 1970: p. 350, no. 1060.

²⁶⁹ For these Seljuk mints, see Diler and Hinrichs 2009.

began under the reign of Seljuk Sultan Kılıç Arslān II. As for al-Jazīra , its new silver coins were issued as late as 615/1218-9 in Dunaysir. This brings into doubt whether the rich silver mines in Anatolia were working under the Turkmen rulers. If we carry the question a step further, to what extent were mines (gold, silver and copper) operated by the Turks in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the region?

The location of mines operated by the Turkmens particularly in the twelfth century is an issue that raises many questions because of the silence of historical sources on the matter. We shall trace here the mines, which had already been operated by the Byzantines and would be worked in the early thirteenth century by their heirs. Hypothetically, the persistence of the Byzantine mines would have maximized the probability of detection of the mines operated by the Turkmens through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thus it can be assumed that they continued to work under the Turkmen leaders.

Speros Vryonis can be accepted as the first scholar, who attempted to explain the question of Byzantine mines at length.²⁷⁰ His comprehensive work begins with the accounts of ancient geographer Strabo and then the *Codex Theodosianus* and the *Codex Justinianus*. He then cites from the works of the Byzantine writers Malalas, the fourteenth-century jurist Harmenopoulos and Armenian historian Ghevond. Vryonis frequently refers to geography books and itineraries written by particularly Arab geographers and travellers from the tenth to fourteenth century as well as the accounts of Clavijo and Marco Polo. Finally, he uses Greek sources and the fifteenth-century Ottoman archival resources. As one can see, the limited sources about the Byzantine mines and mining compelled the author to expand the topic through pre-Byzantine and early Ottoman periods. In the words of Vryonis “it would be possible to get a general answer to the problem of Byzantium’s source of metals after the

²⁷⁰ Vryonis 1962: 1-17. The author attempts to use all sorts of information in the Byzantine, Armenian, Arab, Persian, Turkish and Latin sources related to mines and mining.

Arab conquests". After the Arab conquests in Africa and the East, the Slavic invasions in the Balkans, the Byzantine Empire seems to have lost critical lands which had supplied large amount of mines for the Empire.²⁷¹ Anthony Bryer re-opened Vryonis' question of Byzantine mines in Anatolia, but this time he chooses the territory of Pontus that is richest in minerals and remained Byzantine possession until the Ottoman conquests in the mid-1400s. Most of the mine sites processed by Bryer do not concern us here. Nevertheless the information about the mines located to the south of Trebizond, where the Saltukids and Mengujekids ruled, is useful for this study and his interpretation helps us to fix the confusion in the ancient names of some mine sites in sources such as 'Argiron', 'Kumish' or 'Gumush Saray'.²⁷²

A new approach for the detection of the Anatolian mines exploited in the period of Byzantine Empire, is brought by Brigitte Pitarakis, in her recent study, *Mines Anatoliennes Exploitées par les Byzantins: Recherches Récentes* written in 1998.²⁷³ And so, apart from the written sources, this study considered the results of archaeo-metallurgic surveys and the reports of the Mineral Research and Exploration Institute of Turkey²⁷⁴ including 'radio carbon dating' (Carbon-14 method), which enable us to ascertain the approximate dates of exploitation. A year before Pitarakis' work, Turkish historian Abdulhalik Bakır had completed his comprehensive and detailed work regarding the mines and mining industry in the medieval Muslim world.²⁷⁵ This article, though being a sizeable work, does not consider the mines in Anatolia adequately, but, for our study, it is more useful to the mining sites of al-Jazīra and northern Syria.²⁷⁶

²⁷¹ Vryonis 1962: 4. The question, where did Byzantium obtain its mines or metals after great losses to the Arabs were also discussed by Speros Vryonis. Vryonis 1962: 4.

²⁷² Bryer 1982: 133-150.

²⁷³ Pitarakis 1998. For the Byzantine mining, see also Matschke 2002: 115-120 and Lombard: 1974: 124-128.

²⁷⁴ In Turkish, Maden Tetkik Arama Enstitüsü (Hereafter MTA).

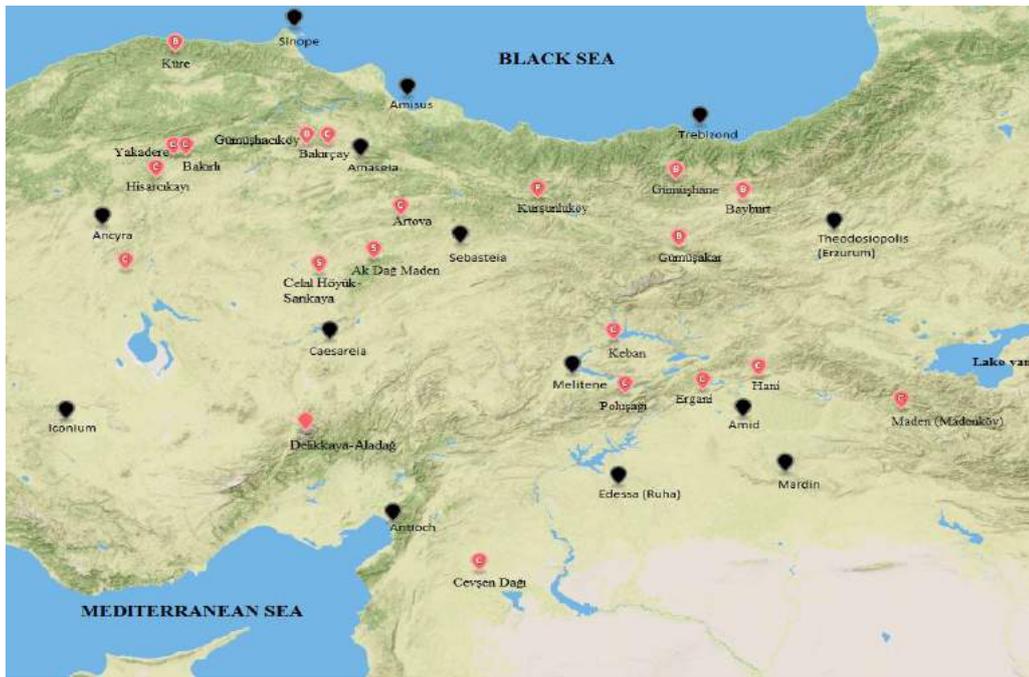
²⁷⁵ Bakır 1998: 520-595.

²⁷⁶ Apart from these, you can find some other works on the Byzantine mines: Marlia Mundell, in her notable article, tracks some Byzantine silver and copper metalworks circulating inside and outside the Empire between the fourth and twelfth centuries and consider some objects made of Taurus silver (Mundell 2009: 221-236).

A large part of Asia Minor would be conquered by the Seljuk Turks in the late eleventh century, while al-Jazīra and a large part of Syria had been captured by the Muslim Arabs in the seventh century and onwards. And, of course, on the eve of Seljuk occupation the coasts of Asia Minor were still under the rule of Byzantium. So the Empire was controlling the rich mines in the north-western Anatolia, central Anatolia and the eastern Pontic region, which seem to have been one of the most important mining areas with particularly copper, silver, lead, iron and gold since ancient times until the Turkish conquests.²⁷⁷ Following the Battle of Manzikert (1071), however, many of these lands with their mineral deposits fell into the hands of the Seljuk Sultans and their Turkmen followers in a little while. Thus, the Turkmen chiefs ruled in the lands, which have a large number of copper, silver, lead and iron mines inherited from the Byzantines and the other former rulers of their new lands.²⁷⁸ We shall consider here the question, whether or not these mines were operated under the new patrons of these lands, and, if so, to what extent.

²⁷⁷ Strabo mentions 'gold mines' at Sypiritis near Kaballa to the Southeast of Trebizond (Strabo, *Geography*, ed. H. L. Jones, (Cambridge-Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1928), v: 328); 'iron mines' Pharnaci (Byzantine Cerasus) (Strabo, v, 400); mines at Cabira (Byzantine Neocaesarea) (Strabo, v, 428); mines in Mt Sandacacurgium to south of Sinop (Strabo, v, 450).

²⁷⁸ Most of the references to mines in Diyār Rūm (Anatolia) and al-Jazīra come from Muslim geographers and travellers from the tenth century. Iṣṭakhrī mentions rich gold, silver, copper, and iron reserves in the region of Taron, now Muş Plain (Iṣṭakhrī, 190-191; Vryonis 1962: 7), and the anonymous Persian geography book *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, completed in 982-983 notes the gold mines in the mountains between Diyār Rūm and Armenia, gold and lead in the mountains of the Alans, and silver and copper in the area lying on the border of Georgia, and in Cyprus (pp. 59, 67-68). See also Vryonis 1962: 7.



Map 4: Mines in the Turkmen area in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries.²⁷⁹ Map by the author.

After a brief prologue, I would like to draw attention to a detail in the famous epic of *Danishmendname* remarking a city called ‘Gümüş’, which means silver in Turkish, and its silver mines. According to the epic, after leaving the city of Çorum, the malik (Gümüştegin Malik Aḥmad Ghāzī) descends to the city of ‘Gümüş’ and encamp there. The non-Muslim inhabitants of the city hide active silver mines by command of ‘Nastor’²⁸⁰ and ‘Şattat’.²⁸¹ Nevertheless, the malik discovers and captures them thanks to the Muslim settlers in the city. The Turkish epic also points out that he immediately ordered the silver exploitation in the mines from which two ‘batman’²⁸² of silver was sent to the *malik* every single day and he shared it out between the *ghāzīs*. After maintaining the control, he goes to Amasya to see his newborn son Ghāzī Beg [Amīr Ghāzī].²⁸³

²⁷⁹ C (Copper); S (Silver); B (Both Copper and Silver), P (Lead)

²⁸⁰ Beylerbeyi (governor) of Anatolia; vizier of Byzantine caesar (?): Demir 2004: 576.

²⁸¹ Beg of Amasya (?): Demir 2004: 582.

²⁸² An unit of measurement usually used by the Turks in the Middle Ages and the Ottoman Empire. Kallek 1992: 199-200.

²⁸³ Mélikoff 1960, I: 422; and see also *Dānişmend-Nāme* (Demir), 219b, p. 239.

The city mentioned in the epic of *Danishmendname* might be modern Gümüşhacıköy, located 69 km west of Amasya. 5 km south of Gümüşhacıköy stood the village of Gümüş, which is known for its silver deposits. However, the accuracy and certainty of accounts coming from the epic can seem problematic. Even though, the epic of *Danishmendname* took its oral form in the twelfth century, it was for the first time penned in 642/1244-45 by Ibn Ālā, the clerk of Seljuk Sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs II (d. 1279), but this copy is lost. Today the oldest copy available to the scholars was written by Arif ‘Ali, the castellan of Tokat, using the thirteenth-century copy of the epic, in the first half of the fifteenth century, presumably under the Ottoman Sultan Murad II (1421-1451).²⁸⁴ With the existing evidence, we are not sure whether these words belong to the oral form of the epic or they were added by the scribe in the thirteenth or fifteenth century. Even though the epic underlined the presence of silver mines in the newly conquered territory, which was captured just after the Battle of Manzikert, there is not any silver coin - at least it has never been discovered up to now - produced by the Danishmendid amīr Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī and his successors. This brings into doubt whether these silver mines were working under the Danishmendid leaders. At least, however, surveys show that metallurgical and mining activities go back to the first millennium BC and continue under the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman rule.²⁸⁵

Recent researches mention two operating silver mining sites in central Anatolia in the Byzantine era: Ak Dağ Maden (Agranai), located about 100 km west of Sivas,²⁸⁶ and Işıkdag, 80 km north of Ankara, where Byzantine ceramics found.²⁸⁷ Once again, however, the written

²⁸⁴ Mélikoff, 1960, I: 13; Ocak 1993: 478; Akkay 1950: 131-132.

²⁸⁵ Kaptan 1990b: 82; Kaptan 1988: 225-229; Pitarakis 1998: 158, 160. In this area, a significant amount of iron, lead and copper mines were also detected (Pitarakis 1998: 158). At the beginning of the twentieth century, the village was visited by John George Clark Anderson who confirmed that the silver mines were no longer worked (Anderson 1903: 100). A similar record to that of *Danishmendname* is discernible in the travelogue of Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi, who in his visit in the 1640s, also notes that the village of Gümüş, called Gümüş Kale in the Ottoman era, was a Byzantine city conquered by Amīr Malik Danişmend: Evliya Çelebi (von Hammer), II, 220-222.

²⁸⁶ Pitarakis 1998: 167. It was on the Byzantine military road from Constantinople to Anatolia.

²⁸⁷ Wagner et al 1985: 599-600; Pitarakis 1998: 166. Again, according to oral communication of Pitarakis with Turkish mining engineer and scholar M. E. Kaptan, in the mound of Celal Höyük-Sarıkaya in Yozgat a

sources and numismatic evidence do not suggest that they were working in the twelfth century under the Danishmendid amīrs and maliks. Apart from these, sources mention the three important silver mining sites in the lands to the south of Trabzon, which remained under the domination of the Mengujekid Turkmen dynasty for a while in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries: Gümüşakar, which is a small village today in the district of Refahiye, 91 km to west of Erzincan; Gümüşhane, ancient Argyropolis (City of Silver); and Bayburt. Though there is no evidence showing that they were active in the twelfth century, Venetian traveller Marco Polo in 1292, Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūta in 1332 and finally Moroccan geographer al-‘Umari in 1333 give crucial accounts for them. Al-‘Umari:

In the part (of Anatolia) occupied by the lieutenants of the princes descended from Jingiz Khan, there are three silver mines: one is in the vicinity of the city of Luluh; the second is near the city of Gumush (Gümüş); and the third near Badhert... in the year 733 AH (1329-30 AD) these mines were still in full production and producing a very pure silver.²⁸⁸

In the record of al-‘Umari, three foremost silver mines located in Anatolia are counted. One is near the fortress of Lu’lu’a [Arabic: لولوة], Greek Loulon (Λούλον), near modern Ulukışla, which had a strategic importance controlling the northern entrance of the Cilician Gates,²⁸⁹ and played an outstanding role in the Arab-Byzantine wars in the eight-ninth centuries. It was taken by the Seljuks of Rūm from the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia between 1216 and 1218,²⁹⁰ and in the second half of the thirteenth century the Seljuk Sultans and the Ilkhanid rulers issued silver coins here under the mint name Lu’lu or Lu’lu’a.²⁹¹ Bolkardağ mining site located in the triangle formed by Ulukışla, Çiftehan and Pozantı consists of more than 800 mines. Archaeological finds and archaeometrical analysis demonstrate that the

Byzantine coin was discovered, but she did not specify the exact type and date of the Byzantine currency. Pitarakis 1998: 167.

²⁸⁸ al-‘Umari, *Al-Umari's Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. F. Taeschner, (Leipzig 1929): 20.

²⁸⁹ A major artery through the mountains from Central Anatolia to the Mediterranean,

²⁹⁰ Cahen 1968: 123.

²⁹¹ Diler-Hinrichs 2009: 1087-1089.

extraction of silver was practised in the Byzantine era and pre-Ottoman period here. Even though they have not been dated, pictographs and Greek letters were found on the walls of various mines in the Bolkardağ region.²⁹² A bronze coin of Romanos III and a pre-Ottoman Islamic copper coin found in the mine of the Gümüşköy Village is evidence confirming resumption of mining activity in the Byzantine period and afterwards.²⁹³ Again in the mining gallery in Sulucadere, near Ulukışla, ceramic sherds belonging to the mid-Byzantine and Seljuk periods were collected.²⁹⁴

The second place Badhert given by al-‘Umarī is explicitly modern Bayburt, but the location of ‘Gümüş’ was controversial. The city of ‘Kumish’ in the record of Ibn Baṭṭūtah must have referred to the same place described by al-‘Umari. Further to the account of al-‘Umarī, Ibn Baṭṭūtah adds that a number of merchants from Iraq and Syria visited there, most probably to buy the silver:

We continued our journey to the city of Amasya, a large and fine city with streams and gardens, trees and abundance of fruits...We travelled next to the city of Kumish, in the territories of the king of al-‘Iraq, a populous city which is visited by merchants from al-‘Iraq and Syria, and in which there are silver mines. At a distance of two days journey from it there are lofty and steep mountains, which I did not go to.²⁹⁵

As there was no silver mine in the regions of Iraq and Syria, this record indicates that local mints –Aleppo, Mosul, Damascus etc.- must have produced the coins not only from

²⁹² Yener and Toydemir 1992: 157; Pitarakis 1998: 171.

²⁹³ Yener and Toydemir 1992: 159; Pitarakis 1998: 174.

²⁹⁴ Pitarakis 1998: 172; Carbon 14 date from the mine yielded AD 836±70 (Pitarakis 1998: 172). In Madenköy, situated on the course of Kil Deresi, 5 km from Çiftehan, 44 km south of Tyana, mines of lead and silver were exploited from the Hittite period. It is likely that they allow Tiberius to issue coins in Caesarea in Roman times. Further, a Byzantine inscription was found 4 km west of Madenköy (Pitarakis 1998: 172). Again, Carbon 14 analysis indicates the exploitation in Selamsızlar silver mine site, 4 km east of Madenköy, at a date of AD 777±55; in Yediharman Tepe in AD 1290±60 (Yener-Toydemir 1992: 156-7; Pitarakis 1998: 174). Tekneçukur and Tris Maden are other mining sites which were active in the Early Byzantine period. (Pitarakis 1998: 174). Another important mining area was in the Niğde province between Santuzla and Çamardı. Kaptan 1990a: 13-31; Kaptan 1989a: 1-16; Kaptan 1989b: 165-179; Yener 1989: 17-28; Yener 1990: 1-12.

²⁹⁵ Ibn Baṭṭūta, 436-437.

silver imported from Europe, but from silver that Muslim traders had brought into the area. Before these Muslim authors, in 1294, Venetian Marco Polo had also mentioned two rich silver mines on his way from Trebizond to Tabrīz; ‘Argiron’ and ‘Paperth’:

...Argiron which is great; (and) very great quantity of silver is dug there... And in a certain village which is called Paperth there is a very large silver mine, and this village is found as one goes from Trepesonde (Trabzon) to Tauris (Tabrīz)...²⁹⁶

Undoubtedly Paperth mentioned in the text refers to modern Bayburt. However, there are different interpretations concerning the true localization of Argiron among the modern scholars. Bryer thought that Argiron, which means ‘silver’ in Greek, was in Erzincan,²⁹⁷ while it was identified with Gümüşhane (Argyropolis) by Vryonis.²⁹⁸ According to the Seljuk historian Ibn Bibi, the former Saltukid capital Erzurum, the adjacent city of Erzincan, had also many mine sites in 1230. Here merchants obtained significant profits by exporting local objects in copper, bronze and brass to Iran.²⁹⁹

Numismatic evidence and silence of literary sources indicate no ‘silver mining operation’ in the twelfth century under the reign of the Turkmen rulers. However, aside from the literature mentioned above, the Seljuk silver *dirhams* struck in several cities and towns in central and eastern Anatolia enable us to see increasing ‘silver mining exploitation’ and growing trade activities from the early thirteenth century onwards. At Tokat, the adjacent city

²⁹⁶ Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, eds. A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, (London 1938): 97-98; English geologist William John Hamilton, who, from 1835, made a geological tour of the Levant, Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia, mentions rich silver and copper mines of Gümüşhane, which extensively worked in the early nineteenth century. He adds that it was probably Argiria of the ancients. Hamilton 1837: 46.

²⁹⁷ Bryer 1982: 139.

²⁹⁸ Vryonis 1962: 8. By reason of the toponyms used in the sources, modern scholars run into confusion about the locations of the mine sites mentioned by sources. Anthony Bryer claims that (Bryer 1982: 139; Bryer and Winfield 1985: 303) the city of Gümüş probably was ‘Gümüş Saray’ mentioned by Moroccan geographer al-‘Umari (‘Umari, 20) and ‘Kumish’ described by Ibn Baṭṭūta in 1332 on his way from Amasya to Erzincan (Ibn Baṭṭūta, 436-7) while both places referred to modern Gümüşhane according to the interpretation of Vryonis (1962: 9).

²⁹⁹ Ibn Bibi, *Die Seltchukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*, ed. H. W. Duda, (Copenhagen 1959): 193-194 (cited in Belli 1992: 83 and Pitarakis 1998: 165-166).

of Amasya, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād, as a governor of the city, issued two silver dirhams dated to 608-9 / 1212-3.³⁰⁰ The mint of Sivas, in 610/1213-4, under the reign of ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs I;³⁰¹ and then in the years 630/1233 and 631/1234, under the reign of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād (616-634 / 1220-1237) produced silver dirhams.³⁰² Sivas was a wealthy and prosperous city in Byzantine times by the period of Turkish inroads in the eleventh century.³⁰³ It was particularly at the siege of the city in 1059 severely damaged and temporarily fell into the hand of the Turks.³⁰⁴ Shortly after the Byzantine troops were defeated (1071) and the Turks entirely took the city. Thereafter, it became the capital of the main branch of the Danishmendids until the conquest of the Rūm Seljuks in 570/1174. While there is a great Friday Mosque and *khanqah*, residence of *Sufis*, built by Yağıbasan (537-559 / 1143-1164),³⁰⁵ sources do not mention any commercial institution built under the Danishmendids. The tragic end of Shams al-Dīn Ismā‘īl (562-567/ 1166-1172), Danishmendid amīr of Sivas, also suggests economic crisis and unrest among its habitants. As mentioned above, in 1172 he could not control the crisis generated by severe winter conditions and he was killed tragically with his wife by the people in starvation.³⁰⁶ In view of this incident, the sources’ silence on the commercial buildings, and the first silver coin production in the mint of Sivas commenced under the Seljuk Sultans, maybe in the early thirteenth century,³⁰⁷ we can suggest that trade might have been obscure in Sivas during the Danishmendid rule in the twelfth century.

Again, the lack of silver and gold coin production and not enough building activities in the cities of Erzurum and Erzincan under the Saltukid and the Mengujekid Turkmen dynasties indicate the paucity of trade along this route in that period. Erzurum produced its first silver

³⁰⁰ Artuk 1980: 268-269. For the first coin, see Erel 1963: p. 5, no. 6.

³⁰¹ Artuk 1970: p. 358, nos. 1089-1090.

³⁰² Artuk 1970: p. 362, no. 1101-1102.

³⁰³ Faroqhi 1997: 689.

³⁰⁴ Vryonis 1971: 93.

³⁰⁵ According to fourteenth-century historian Mustawfi, the Seljuk Sultan ‘Alā al-Dīn Kay-Qūbad substantially rebuilt Sivas (*Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 95).

³⁰⁶ Abū’l Faraj (Budge), I, 306; Abū’l Faraj (Turkish trans.), II, 413-4; Özeydin 1993b: 472-473.

³⁰⁷ It will be discussed in the following chapter.

coins in 608/1211-12 under the governorship of Mughīth al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥārith Tuğrul (Tuğhril) Shāh, son of Kılıç Arslān II,³⁰⁸ which continued to be minted under the reign of Seljuk prince Rukn al-Dīn Jihan Shāh (622-627 / 1225-1230) increasingly, and in Erzincan Seljuk Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād struck a silver *dirham* in 630/1233.³⁰⁹ Subsequently, just after the Mongol invasion, we encounter new mints producing silver dirhams: Lu’lu, in the years of 651/1253 and 658/1260;³¹⁰ Gümüşpazar, in 656/1258;³¹¹ and Ma‘den Bayburt, in 690/1291.³¹² For these mints located on or close to the silver mine sites, to procure sources for the silver coins was not difficult.

The account of Dominican friar Simon de Saint-Quentin, recorded in his visit around 1246, is also decisive evidence of silver-mine exploitations in the Seljuk lands. He described Anatolia with an abundance of riches including numbers of silver and copper mines:³¹³

...on his land the Sultan used to have six - or, according to certain people – ten silver mines, one of which was worth 10,000 *soldani* per day. The silver mine in Lebena, it is said, is worth three rotas of purified silver per day. This is worth 3,000 *soldani* once the workers have been paid. So the Sultan’s land was worth 4,000 *hyperberi* to him per day – i.e. 57,000 silver marks. What is more, there are three copper mines there and even more iron mines. There is also an alum mine very near Sivas, which is worth one silver [mine] ...

³⁰⁸ Artuk 1970: p. 353, no.1071.

³⁰⁹ Artuk 1970: p. 360, no. 1096. In fact, both cities saw the climax in the period of the Ayas-Tabrīz route, roughly from the 1250s to 1330s. This route from the Mediterranean and Syria commenced at Ayas (Lajazzo) in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, ran northwards through Kayseri and joined the main road at Sivas, then turns eastward towards Erzincan and Erzurum; thence turns again south-east to Khoy and Tabrīz. It was given in *La Pratica della Mercatura*, a handbook for Italian merchants, composed by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, Florentine merchant and the agent of a major Florentine banking operation, in the mid-fourteenth century. See Pegolotti (Evans). http://www.medievalacademy.org/resource/resmgr/maa_books_online/evans_0024.htm [accessed: 3rd June 2015]

³¹⁰ Artuk 1970: p. 371, 373; nos. 1132, 1143.

³¹¹ Artuk 1970: p. 373, no. 1140.

³¹² Artuk 1970: p. 373, no. 1140.

³¹³ Simon de Saint-Quentin, XXXI.142, XXXII.143, p. 66 (cited also in Peacock and Yıldız 2012: 1). Again in the mid-thirteenth century, perhaps just a decade after Simon’s account, Moroccan geographer Ibn Saïd mentions the existence of silver and iron mines in the region. Ibn Sa‘īd, *Kitāb al-jughrāfiya*, ed. I. al-‘Arabī, (Beirut 1970): 184ff.

reconstructed; numbers of *khans*, hamams (baths), markets, *funduks*, bazaars, mosques and madrasas were built here. Thus, the Artuqid dynasty created a big city from a small village.³¹⁵

In this respect, we can find highly valuable information about Dunaysir in two accounts from the twelfth century, one from Ibn Jubayr, who visited Dunaysir in 1183, and the other from the anonymous annotator of *Şūrat al-Ard*. Located on a wide plain, Ibn Jubayr found it to be surrounded by many gardens of aromatic plants and vegetables irrigated by water-wheels. More importantly he encountered a town which was a major commercial centre where the people of Syria, Diyār Bakr, Amid, of Diyār Rūm (Anatolia) and of surrounding countries traded. Indeed, its markets filled with people and traders, both buying and selling, and a great deal of commodities, were open four days a week: Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday. This valuable information from Ibn Jubayr, sheds light on the major role that Dunaysir played for both local and international trade. In essence, local markets in medieval Muslim cities were usually held once a week. After merchants completed their transactions in a market, they packed up their remaining goods and moved to the next-day's market. The markets, which were held four times a week, show how large a population flowed to the city in order to sell their merchandise and buy the goods of the other traders.³¹⁶

Apart from these markets, the city also had a new college, which must be 'Madrasat al- Quṭbiyya', built by the Artuqid ruler Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī. The anonymous annotator confirming the account of Ibn Jubayr, states that:

While it was a village with a well-known bazaar, it is now [the late twelfth century] a big city with its numerous buildings, *khans*, *funduks*, *hamams* and a large, crowded market, where many people from different nations gathered for trade.³¹⁷

³¹⁵ Turan 1993: 207; Çevik 2002: 125.

³¹⁶ Ibn Jubayr, 251.

³¹⁷ *Şūrat al-Ard*, 224.

Shortly afterwards, Arab geographer Yāqūt mentions how he witnessed the interesting development process of Dunaysir. He points out that when he saw Dunaysir in his boyhood, probably in the late twelfth century, it was merely a large village, but arriving in 623/1225 it had become an excellent city, with its great markets.³¹⁸ This account clearly shows that the development and growth of the city reached the apogee in the 1220s.

Increasing commercial activities and rapid economic growth seem to have generated more valuable money instead of ‘copper coins’ and ‘foreign currencies’ circulating in the markets. Aside from numerous *khans*, *funduks*, *bazaars* and markets mentioned by the eyewitnesses,³¹⁹ ‘silver coins’ minted in Dunaysir indicate the presence of both local and international trade here. It is also sufficient evidence to affirm that it was now a big commercial centre. Where did the Artuqid ruler Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuk Arslān buy the silver to produce his first silver coins? The literary sources are silent for this issue, but silver seems to have been brought from the north-eastern Anatolian or European mines, since there was not any active silver mine nearby the town. Twelve years after the first silver coin production, at Ḥiṣn Kayfā in the years 627/1230 and 628/1231, only silver coins of the city under the Artuqids were issued by Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuk Arslān (597-637 / 1200-1239).³²⁰ Standing on both banks of the Tigris, Ḥiṣn Kayfā also had a strategic position on the river transport between Amid and Mosul since Roman times.³²¹ Shortly after the conquest of Diyār Bakr (478/1085) by the Seljuk Turks, in 495/1102 it became the capital of the first branch of the Artuqid principalities. Thus as one of the political and cultural centres of Diyār Bakr, Ḥiṣn Kayfā played a pivotal role in al-Jazīra for centuries. In the reign of the Turkmen Artuqid dynasty, it was adorned with its sumptuous palaces, mosques, colleges (*madrāsas*), baths, *khans*, *caravansaries* (hostelries), markets, a well-fortified castle, a populous suburb and

³¹⁸ Yāqūt, II, 544.

³¹⁹ Ibn Jubayr, 251; *Ṣūrat al-Ard*, 224; Yāqūt, II, 544.

³²⁰ Artuk 1993: p. 110; nos. 96-97.

³²¹ Gabriel 1940: 55; see also Ory 1971: 506-9; Çevik 2002: 107.

excellent streets.³²² In addition to the presence of social and commercial buildings, the great stone bridge across the Tigris, admirably mentioned by a twelfth-century anonymous annotator of *Šūrat al-Arḍ* and his contemporary Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, is also evidence for the vitality of the town in transportation and commerce.³²³ Thirteenth-century chronicler Ibn Shaddād's valuable description of Ḥiṣn Kayfā suggests that the town in the mid-thirteenth century was still strong and prosperous.³²⁴

Interestingly, however, Artuk Arslān was the ruler of the Mārdīn Artuqids, not that of the Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuqids. A key question arising from these silver coins, why does the name of Ḥiṣn Kayfā appear on the silver issues of Artuk Arslān, as the mint *Kayfā* (كَيْفَا)? It is not easy to explain the existence of the place name *Kayfā* on the Mārdīn Artuqid coinage, because in the written sources there is no evidence whether Ḥiṣn Kayfā came under the rule of the Mārdīn Artuqids. Nevertheless, it should be supposed that Rukn al-Dīn Mawdūd (619-629 / 1222-1231) of Ḥiṣn Kayfā must have ceded Ḥiṣn Kayfā to the Artuqids of Mārdīn, just a few years before Ayyūbid Sultan al-Kāmil's arrival. Indeed, while his predecessor Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (597-619 / 1200-1222) struck copper coins in Ḥiṣn Kayfā,³²⁵ no coins of Mawdūd minted in the town have been detected. His coins bear only the mint name of Amid. Another perplexing point for these silver issues is the presentation of the mint name. It means that the

³²² *Šūrat al-Arḍ*, 224. However, its climate was bad and it was often under the threat of the plague in the season of summer (p. 219).

³²³ He distinguishes the great bridge comprised a single great arch, which rose above two smaller arches as one of the best works he had seen. *Šūrat al-Arḍ*, 224. Yāqūt also stresses the magnificent bridge and adds that he had never seen such a great bridge before. Yāqūt, II, 305-6. Even though the certain date of Ḥiṣn Kayfā Bridge is unknown, but, Artuqid Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān accompanied to its restoration in the year 510/1116. For the details on the bridge, see Gabriel 1940: 77-8; Gabriel 1964: 15-24; Sinclair 1989: 238ff.

³²⁴ "...In the citadel, the Sultan's palaces and mansions, the stone towers on the hills; the Green Square; a mosque, wheat and barley fields; spas on the close hills; to the east the springs coming from Tūr 'Abdīn and watering the Green Square, secret passages leading from the palace to the river which are used to supply water. To the east a street called 'Ten Ways' leads from the citadel to the ravine which has abandoned houses and public houses (mayhanes). To the north, markets, colleges (madrasas), public houses (mayhanes), baths and the suburb which is in the graveyards belonging to the Marwanids and the Artuqids..." Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *al-Alaḳ al-Ḥatīra fī ḍikr Umarā al-Shām wa'l-Jazīra*, ed. Y. Abbare, (Damascus 1978): III/II: 529-532; Cahen 1983: 97-98.

³²⁵ Artuk 1993: p. 79; nos. 17-18.

use of *Kayfā* (كيفا) mint referring to Ḥiṣn Kayfā came first, while the previous Ḥiṣn Kayfā maliks preferred the form of *Ḥiṣn* (حصن) as mint name.

Minting silver coins at Mārdīn began in the year 642/1244-5 under Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī I (637-658 / 1239-1259), about 15 years later than Ḥiṣn Kayfā. In a sequence, he continued to issue silver coins until the end of his reign at his capital.³²⁶ Though his successor al-Muẓaffar Qarā Arslān (658-691 / 1259-1291) introduced one silver coin in 658/1259-60 at Mārdīn and one in 664/1261-2 at Mārdīn al-Maḥrūsa, by virtue of Mongol invasion no silver coin was issued for approximately 90 years. Even the number of copper coins is very low in that period.³²⁷ This can be explained by the oppression by the Mongol governors of Turkmen leaders. Considering the primary sources, in the twelfth-and thirteenth-century Mārdīn seems to have been a very prosperous and populous city with many markets, *caravanserais* and *madrasas* (colleges). The Artuqid capital Mārdīn (ماردين), was described as a prosperous city with its large castle by the famous traveller Ibn Jubayr in his journey from Mosul to Aleppo in 1184.³²⁸ Shortly afterwards, Arabic geographer Yāqūt's confirming account mentions many markets, some *caravanserais*, and a few *madrasas* (colleges) in the city.³²⁹ A number of commercial buildings and educational foundations without doubt show the vitality and dynamism in the city in the twelfth century. The account of thirteenth-century historian Ibn Shaddād³³⁰ and newly-silver coin production in the 1240s indicates a steady progression in its development, at least, until the Mongol invasion.

³²⁶ Artuk 1993: pp. 113-116; nos. 105-117.

³²⁷ Artuk 1993: 118-120.

³²⁸ Ibn Jubayr, 82; twelfth-century geographer Idrīsī also mentions that the well-fortified castle called al-Bak was breathtaking. Idrīsī, 151.

³²⁹ Yāqūt, V, 46-7; he adds that it had a different view from the others in its neighbourhood with the buildings rising one above the other in steps, the roads which had stairs and each house having its own cistern for storing rain water. In addition, a town called Kafartūthā, to the south west of Mārdīn, between Dara and Ra's al-'Ain, was described by Ibn Ḥawqal, in the tenth century, as an important place because of its position at the junction of the high road coming down from Amid. Ibn Ḥawqal, I, 215. If we move about three centuries after, it was merely a large village. Yāqūt, IV, 532.

³³⁰ Ibn Shaddād, III/II, 543-544. Looking at the account of Ibn Shaddād written in the thirteenth century, we find very valuable information peculiar to the fortifications of the city. According to Ibn Shaddād, in his time, the city was surrounded by 'walls and moat', which we do not encounter in the sources written before the thirteenth

More curiously, another notable city, Amid, saw the first silver coin production as late as the mid-fourteenth century: Artuqid malik Shams al-Dīn Ṣālih (712-765 / 1312-1364) in 747/1346-7 at Hani, and in 748/1347-8 at Amid.³³¹ Afterwards he and his successors continued to issue silver coins at Amid and Mārdīn until the end of the Artuqids of Mārdīn in the early fifteenth century.³³² Amid was a momentous road junction not only for the Aleppo-Tabrīz route, but also for the Aleppo-Baghdad, the Black Sea-Persian Gulf, and Constantinople-Baghdad routes.³³³ This advantageous location allowed the town to grow into a big market and administrative centre. A prominent and striking example showing the wealth of the city in the twelfth century is the account written by an Arab historian after the capture of Amid by the Ayyūbīds in 579/1183. After the fall of Amid, the Nisanid (Nisanoğlu) family, which ruled in Amid between 1142 and 1183, was allowed to take their own mobile assets such as gold, silver, precious stones, and furniture. Although they moved them during three days, they had to leave ninth-tenths of their possessions, worth thousands of *dinars*. Moreover, they left behind them the warehouses full of goods such as carpets, rugs and tents made in Amid.³³⁴

Comparing with the other towns of Dunaysir, Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Mārdīn, why is the silver coin production very late in Amid as it was a prosperous and wealthy city full of gold,

century. It is not difficult to say, therefore, that these fortifications must have been built in the early thirteenth century. Ibn Shaddād, III/II, 543. The best description of the view of the city under the Mongols is found in two accounts from the fourteenth century, one from the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūta, who passed through Mārdīn in the early fourteenth century, and the other from Iranian historian and geographer Ḥamdullah Mustawfī Qazwīnī (1281-1340), who completed his work just before his death in 1340. Particularly, most valuable information concerning the presence of the ‘wool industry’ here is given by Ibn Baṭṭūta who also praises a great fortress, at that time, which was known as “Kal’at al-Shahbā” (the Grey Castle) (Ibn Baṭṭūta, 353). Described by Mustawfī as being a fine town with the gardens irrigated by the waters of the Sūr (Sawr) river, cultivated lands with corn, cotton and abundant fruits, Mārdīn had a revenue of 236,200 dinars, which was one of the highest amounts in al-Jazīra. Ḥamdullah Mustawfī Qazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb, The Geographical part of Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, ed. G. le Strange, (Leiden 1919): 105. In the light of these accounts, it can be said that Mārdīn was still one of the most significant cities in manufacturing, agriculture and trade in the fourteenth century, despite the Mongol invasion and then the Ilkhanid regime.

³³¹ Artuk 1993: p. 121.nos. 131-132,

³³² Artuk 1993: 121-128.

³³³ Darkot 1963: 601.

³³⁴ Ibn Shaddād, III/II, 516; Cahen 1935: 271 and Göyünç 1994: 465.

silver, precious stones as well as carpets, rugs and tents made in Amid in the late twelfth century?³³⁵ Written sources and numismatic evidence indicate that during the thirteenth century Amid was considerably overwhelmed by the Ayyūbīd-Seljuk struggles over the city and then the Ilkhanids.³³⁶ It may well be that the Artuqid rulers who recaptured the city in 1303 attempted to recover it, but, according to Persian historian and geographer Ḥamdullah Mustawfī Qazwīnī (1281-1340), in the 1330s, it is still a medium-sized town with its revenues amounting to 30,000 *dinars* which was smaller than small towns in Diyār Bakr such as Si'irt (46,500 *dinars*) and Ḥiṣn Kayfā (82,500 *dinars*).³³⁷

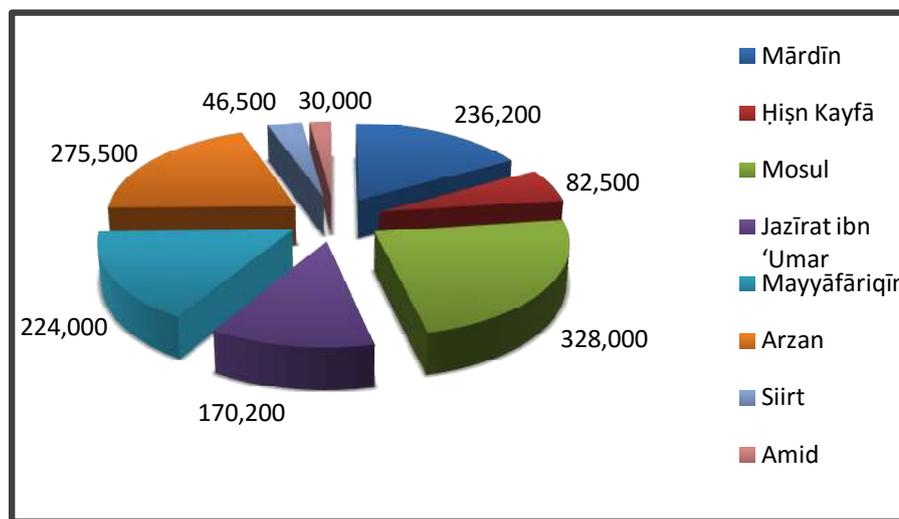


Table 2: According to *the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* of Ḥamdullah Mustawfī, the Annual Revenue of the cities in Diyār Bakr in the mid-Fourteenth Century.

In the Zangīd territories including northern Syria, Diyar Rabī'a and Diyār Muḍar, the silver coin production appear before the other Turkmen lands. In the year 571/1175-76, Zangīd atabeg al-Ṣālih Ismā'īl (569-576 / 1174-1181), the son and successor of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, introduced the first *regulated* silver *dirhams* in Aleppo which was an essential

³³⁵ Ibn Shaddād, III/II, 516; and see also Cahen 1935: 271; Göyünç 1994: 465.

³³⁶ Amid was the capital of the Inalid Turkmen dynasty from 1098 until the Ayyūbid conquest in 1183. It was given to the Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuqids by Saladin. Then, respectively, Amid was ruled by the Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuqids (1183-1232), the Ayyūbīds (1232-1257), the Mārdīn Artuqids (1257-1259) as a vassal of Ilkhanids, the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm (1259-1303) as a vassal of the Ilkhanids and finally the Mārdīn Artuqids (1303-1394). Göyünç 1994: 465-466.

³³⁷ Ḥamdullah Mustawfī Qazwīnī, 103. It is interestingly counted among the towns of the Diyār Rabi'a by Mustawfī.

junction for the west-east trade route as a commercial entrepot in the middle ages.³³⁸ The Mosul, Sinjār and Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar (*al-Jazīra* on the coins) mints struck few silver coins in the mid-thirteenth century under the reign of Badr al-Dīn Lu’lu’,³³⁹ while numerous gold dinars minted in the Mosul mint from the early thirteenth century onwards dominated the markets. Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh, in the year 600/1203-4 issued a gold *dinar*,³⁴⁰ but it was not the first introduction of a new gold coin in the new Zangīd territories since the Battle of Manzikert in the region. In the second quarter of the twelfth century, Syria saw a series of ‘gold monetary reform’. The first new gold coin, *dinar baid* (white dinar) was issued in 530/1136 in Damascus;³⁴¹ then, in the 1140s, another new gold coin appeared in the Crusader states: the *dinar suri*, meaning the dinar from Tyre (Sur), which is the imitative of the Fatimid dinar. Finally, in Mosul the Turkmen atabeg ‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī bin Aqsunqur introduced the *dinar amīrī* in 540/1145-46. However, among these new gold types, only the *dinar suri*, Crusader currency, had a lasting impact in the region.³⁴² Thus, Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh’s gold coin is further important as a pioneer of subsequent gold dinars.

His successors ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd (607-615 / 1211-1218), Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (616-631 / 1219-1233), Badr al-Dīn Lu’lu’ (631-657 / 1233-1258) and Rukn al-Dīn Ismā‘īl (657-659 / 1259-1261) continued to issue a series of gold dinars at Mosul.³⁴³ The literary sources show the increasing trading activities in the city and the European demand for goods

³³⁸ Before these ‘regulated silver *darāhim*’, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, in the first years of his reign, struck the *darāhim sud* (sing. *dirham aswad*) in Aleppo (Heidemann 2009: 282 and Heidemann 2002a: 378). Numerous *khans*, one of which was the ‘Khan of Abū al-Shukr’ where Ibn Jubayr stayed for four days in 1184, were serving a large number of merchants in the second half of the twelfth century (Ibn Jubayr, 263). While the Andalusian traveller is silent about the city’s trade goods, the thirteenth-century Arab geographer Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 624/1229) speaks of the abundance of fruits, vegetables and wine brought to the markets of Aleppo from Diyār Rūm (Yāqūt, II, 326).

³³⁹ Badr al-Dīn Lu’lu’ issued silver dirhams in Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar in 649/1251 (Artuk, II, 1971: p. 412, no. 1265); in Sinjār in 657/1259 (Artuk, II, 1971: p. 415, no. 1273 and Mosul in 659/1261. Artuk, II, 1971: p. 416, no. 1275.

³⁴⁰ Artuk, II, 1971: p. 409, no. 1255.

³⁴¹ Heidemann 2002a: 425-426; Heidemann 2009: 279.

³⁴² Heidemann 2002a: 425-426; Heidemann 2009: 279. For the type of the *dinar amīrī* dated 540/1145-6, see Hennequin 1985: no. 242.

³⁴³ For gold coins of Mosul, see Artuk, II, 1971: pp. 410-417, nos. 1257, 1259, 1262, 1265-1271, 1274, 1276.

from Mosul, particularly the cloths made of silk and gold called *mosulin*. A splendid mosque erected by Mujahid al-Dīn, who was one of the amīrs of the town, was admiringly described with its architectural ornament and arrangement by Ibn Jubayr. The same amīr in the town constructed a famous *bimaristan* (hospital) and also a great *kaysariyya*³⁴⁴ for merchants. In addition, there were six or more colleges in the city.³⁴⁵ Mosul was, according to twelfth-century Arab geographer Yāqūt, one of the three greatest cities in the world with Nishābūr and Dimashq in that period.³⁴⁶ Apart from the above-mentioned literature, thirteenth-century Venetian merchant Marco Polo and fourteenth-century Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūta also provide valuable evidence of the property and the stable continuity of the active commercial life in the city under the Zangīd atabegs and afterwards. Undoubtedly, the talented merchants of Mosul, who were admired by Marco Polo as the great merchants of the Levant called *mosulin*, who export a great deal of spices and other precious goods, played a pivotal role in its development. He also speaks of the cloths made of silk and gold, also called *mosulin*.³⁴⁷ In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūta, it was still a substantial commercial centre with a very fine *kaysariyya*, which was encircled by shops and chambers, one upon the other, of skilful construction.³⁴⁸

Aside from the commercial, educational, medical and religious buildings and foundations such as *khans*, markets, *bazaars*, *kaysariyya* (*bedesten*), *madrasas* (colleges), *bimaristan* (hospital), and mosques, most of which were built by the Zangīd atabegs from the mid-twelfth century,³⁴⁹ numismatic evidence with numerous gold and silver issues illustrates the prosperity and wealthiness of the city. There is no active gold mine around Mosul and

³⁴⁴ For this *kaysariyya*, Ibn Jubayr says: "This is like a large khan, and is bolted with iron doors and surrounded by shops and houses one over the other... I have never in any land seen a *kaysariyya* to compare with it." Ibn Jubayr, 244-245.

³⁴⁵ Ibn Jubayr, 245.

³⁴⁶ Yāqūt, V, 658-659.

³⁴⁷ Marco Polo, 37.

³⁴⁸ Ibn Baṭṭūta, 349.

³⁴⁹ See above.

thus the massive introduction of gold *dinars* would have been impossible without importation of gold.

2. Copper Mining and Copper Coin Production

Contrary to the silver and gold coin issues, the first Turkmen states established in al-Jazīra and Diyār Rūm introduced a large quantity of copper coins with variety of designs, calligraphies, iconographies, languages and metrologies. As will be discussed and analyzed in the following chapters, the coin finds imply that the first coins in medieval Islamic Anatolia were minted by Danishmendid Amīr Ghāzī (497-528 / 1104-1134), Saltukid rulers of Erzurum Diyā' al-Dīn Abū al-Muzaffar Ghazī (518-526 / 1124-1132), 'Izz al-Dīn Saltuk II bin 'Ali (526-563/ 1132-1168), and Seljuk Sultan Mas'ūd I (510-551 / 1116-1155). They are all copper *fulūs* (sing. *fals*); and all images on these coins were intriguingly derived from Byzantine numismatic iconography while Amīr Ghāzī's coin types bear the Greek inscriptions. Amīr Ghāzī's Greek coins were followed by the copper coin with a Greek legend struck by his son and successor Malik Muḥammad (528-537 / 1134-1143). Though the Danishmendid copper issues do not show their mints, especially after the division of the state into three small principalities in 1143, Kayseri under Dhū'l Nūn (537-565 / 1143-1169), Sivas and Niksar under Yağıbasan (537-559 / 1143-1164), and Malatya under 'Ayn al-Dawla (537-547 / 1143-1152), the new *amīrs* might have produced the existing coins in their capital cities.

Saltukid coinage, Diyā' al-Dīn Abū al-Muzaffar Ghazī (518-526 / 1124-1132) and 'Izz al-Dīn Saltuk II b. 'Ali (526-563/ 1132-1168) issued copper coins based on a Byzantine prototype at Erzurum. 'Izz al-Dīn's son and successor Muḥammad (563-597 / 1167-1200) also issued a single copper *fals* with an image displaying a horseman shooting an animal. As for the Mengujekids, Bahrām Shāh (560-622 / 1165-1225) issued four types at Erzincan in his long reign. His first type dated 563/1167-8 portrays the image of a ruler holding a spear

derived from Byzantine prototypes.³⁵⁰ There is no mint-name in this type, but another three types dated in 570/1174-5, 579/1183-4 and 616/1219 include mint-name 'Madīnat al-Erzincan' and 'Erzincan', both of which stand for the capital of the Mengujekids. His types are all copper.³⁵¹

Indeed, the rich copper mines in Diyār Rūm and al-Jazīra allowed the Turkmen rulers to produce large amount of *heavy* copper coins. The surveys conducted by the Mineral Research and Exploration Institute of Turkey from the 1970s onwards indicate the presumptively active copper and lead sites in the Danishmendid territories. For example, the survey conducted in 1974 led to the discovery of a mining site, with the remains of a collapsed shaft in Karaoluk, a village in the district of Yeşilyurt, situated 62 km south-west of Tokat. Carbon analysis of a sample taken from the wood stocks in the mine showing the traces of copper oxide gives the date of 1254±206.³⁵² It is evident, thus, that this mine might have been operated in the late Byzantine period or the Danishmendid and then the Seljuk era. Another survey conducted in 1977 and 1978 revealed two superimposed galleries which have been exploited for lead at Kurşunlu Köy (Çamlıktepe), 65 km north-east of Sivas. One of these galleries dated to the first millenium is one of the oldest antique galleries in Anatolia.³⁵³ The district of Delikkaya in the mountains of Aladağ, south of Kayseri, possessed lead and zinc mines. The carbon analysis proves that it was active in AD 1050±73.³⁵⁴ Again this mine site might have been working under the Byzantine Empire just before the fall of Sivas and perhaps it continued to be worked under the Danishmendid Turkmens for a while.

According to MTA reports, Malatya, the important strategic station in Anatolia between the Islamic world and the Byzantine empire for centuries, and one of the capitals of the Danishmendid dynasty, hosted copper, zinc and pyrite in Poluşağı, 40 km south-east of

³⁵⁰ Artuk 1970: p. 388, no. 1191.

³⁵¹ See Artuk 1970: pp. 387-388, nos. 1188-1190.

³⁵² Kaptan 1976a: 92; Pitarakis 1998: 161.

³⁵³ Kaptan 1990b: 77-79; Kaptan 1991a: 43-46; Pitarakis 1998: 167.

³⁵⁴ Yener and Toydemir 1992: 157; Kaptan 1990b: 78; Kaptan 1991b: 232; Pitarakis 1998: 168.

Malatya, and a big copper deposit in the districts of ‘Hasenek Sirtı’ and ‘Maden Sirtı’,³⁵⁵ an important centre supplying the needs of copper in medieval and Ottoman periods.³⁵⁶ In the provinces of Çankırı, Ankara, and Yozgat in Central Anatolia,³⁵⁷ and Kastamonu in Paphlagonia, there was a wide range of zinc, lead, copper and silver sites at which, at least, we have evidence that most of them were working under the Byzantine empire. Küre, located on the modern road between Kastamonu and İnebolu and 146 km north of Kastamonu, has the largest copper deposits in northwestern Anatolia (Paphlagonia). Radio-carbon analysis shows an operation in the range from 1230 to 1260, but, it also provides evidence for previous operations.³⁵⁸ The exploitation of these mines was assumed to go back to the Chalcolithic age. Literary sources also indicate that, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Genoese and Venetian merchants bought copper extracted from the mining sites of Küre, which was the largest producer of copper of Anatolia during the Ottoman era.³⁵⁹ As already mentioned, by 1130 Amīr Ghāzī captured these cities and until his death in 1134 John II conducted various military campaigns to recapture these lands. These mines seem to have been very important for the Byzantine Empire.

Apart from central and north Anatolia, al-Jazīra (northern Mesopotamia), where the Artuqid Turkmen dynasty settled, accommodates rich copper sites. The contemporary Arab chronicler Ibn al-Athīr reports a copper mine found in Diyār Bakr, near the Castle of Dhū’l-

³⁵⁵ Belli 1988: 336.

³⁵⁶ Pitarakis 1998: 175.

³⁵⁷ In Gangra (Çankırı), four copper mine sites have been ascertained. In the copper mine located at the village of Hisarcıkayı, 41 km southwest of Çankırı, large amounts of sherds in a slag dump and ceramic kitchen utensils and jars attributed to the Early Byzantine period were collected. According to radio carbon analysis (C14 method), it was active between the fourth century and seventh century (Kaptan 1976b: 10; Pitarakis 1998: 157). Byzantine remains including a processional cross have been discovered in the copper site of Yakadere village, 22 km northeast of Çankırı (Wagner et. al 1985: 601). The exploitation of copper in Karaali village, located about 60 km southeast of Ankara, dating back to the Bronze Age, seems to have continued for a long time. Byzantine activity is suggested by the amount of pottery shards in the surrounding fields as well as a tombstone cemented on the fountain of the village. In addition, Byzantine coins have been also found here. De Jesus, 1981: 99-100; Kaptan 1990b: 82; Pitarakis 1998: 166.

³⁵⁸ Wagner et. al 1985: 603-605; Pitarakis 1998: 157.

³⁵⁹ Balard 1978: 783; Faroqhi 2000: 212-225.

Qarnain, which is in the mountains north of Amid, in 516/1122.³⁶⁰ Its neighbouring town Arganin (Ergani) also has rich copper reserves exploited since BC 9000 until today.³⁶¹ Even the copper from the mines of Arghana³⁶² in the mid-nineteenth century was still distributed to the different cities to be refined in the furnaces:

At Tokat are the furnaces for refining the copper from the mines of Arghana, and which have been lately superintended by a well qualified gentleman from Vienna. There are many manufactures in the town, of cloths, silk stuffs, cottons, carpets, and especially vessels of copper.³⁶³

Keban, located 49 km northwest of Elazığ has been an important town for the production of lead, silver, zinc, copper, iron, and gold.³⁶⁴ In Hani³⁶⁵ and on the skirts of Mt Cevşen there was also a big amount of copper reserves.³⁶⁶ Here, Ma'dan (Maden),³⁶⁷ today known as Madenköy on the Amid-Bitlis road and between Mescid-i Üveys and Bitlis, deserves special attention as one of the most important mining sites providing much of the coin procurement of Diyār Bakr and Armenia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As a matter of fact Ibn al-Athīr states that the copper needs of Armenia to produce coins were supplied from Ma'dan.³⁶⁸ The Artuqids also produced their first coin issue as late as 542 /1147-8 with the copper brought by the Artuqid officer, Ibn al-Azraq from Ma'dan. Ibn al-Azraq mentions how in 542/1147-8 he went to Maden to buy copper for Timurtāsh, the Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn, to mint his first copper coins: "In this year, which was 542/1147-8,

³⁶⁰ Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), I, 240.

³⁶¹ Canard 1953, I: 77; Bakır 1997: 536.

³⁶² It was most probably Erganin.

³⁶³ Ainsworth 1842, II: 18.

³⁶⁴ Belli 1988: 333; Pitarakis 1998: 175.

³⁶⁵ The town of Hāni is mentioned by Yāqūt to be important for the iron mine in its neighbourhood, which produce metalwork. Yāqūt, II, 230.

³⁶⁶ Bakır 1997: 536. The epic of Diegenis Acrites mentions the presence of copper mines in a place called Χαλκουργία, 'Copperworks', near Syria. *Digenes Akrites*, ed. J. Mavrogordato, (Oxford, 1956): 156.

³⁶⁷ Kaptan 1990b: 78; Pitarakis 1998: 176.

³⁶⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Tārīkh al-Bāhīr*, 66; Çevik 2002: 308.

al-Sa'id Ḥusām al-Dīn struck copper coins, after I had gone to al-Ma'dan and bought copper for the coins.”³⁶⁹

Namely, the first Artuqid coin was issued around twenty years after the first medieval Turkmen coins struck in Anatolia, while, up to that time the region's monetary stock, particularly Byzantine copper coinage dominated the market. The mints of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (Hasankeyf), Amid (Diyarbakır), Ḥiṣn Ziyād (Harput), Mārdīn, Dunaysir (Kızıltepe), Hani and Ḥalab (Aleppo) produced a great quantity of coins for their Turkmen chiefs.³⁷⁰ Under the reign of the Artuqid amīrs of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, two mints were in operation: Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Amid. Yet, on the early Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuqid copper coins there is no mint name until the issues struck by Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad (570-581 / 1174-1185) in 578/1182-3 and Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) (581-597 / 1185-1200) in 581/1185. As for Amid, it for the first time appears on the coinage of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (597-619 / 1200-1229) in the early thirteenth century.³⁷¹ No mint name has yet been discovered on the few extant coins of the Artuquids of Kharput, but they must have been produced in the capital, Kharput.

The Zangīd atabegs of Mosul issued their coins at the following three mints: al-Jazīra, Niṣībīn and Mosul. After his quasi-Byzantine coin issue, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo, issued all his coins at Damascus.³⁷² However, while the coins of his successor as-Ṣālih Ismā'īl, in his first years, were minted in Damascus,³⁷³ later Aleppo continued the coin production.³⁷⁴ 'Al-Jazīra' for the first time appears on the copper issues of Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī II (565-576 / 1170-1180), and 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd I (576-589 / 1180-1193)

³⁶⁹ Ibn al-Azraq (Savran), 82; Hillenbrand 1990: 20.

³⁷⁰ Artuk 1993: 37; for the Artuqid coins of Ḥalab see Artuk 1993: 82.

³⁷¹ Artuk 1993: p. 78, no.16.

³⁷² Spengler and Sayles 1996: pp. 57, 62, nos. 73-74,

³⁷³ Artuk 1970: p. 418, no. 1279; Spengler and Sayles 1996: p. 66, no. 75.

³⁷⁴ Artuk 1970: pp. 418-419, nos. 1280-1282; Spengler and Sayles 1996: nos. pp. 71, 74, 76-77.

in the years 575/1179-80 and 577/1181-2 respectively.³⁷⁵ The mint name ‘al-Jazīra’ must have stood for Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar, located on the east bank of the Tigris, and between Mosul and Hiṣn Kayfā, rather than the name of ‘al-Jazīra district’. At Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar coins continued to be produced under the Zangīd atabegs during 576-658 / 1180-1260.³⁷⁶ As mentioned, Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar was formerly an entrepot of the Byzantine Empire and Armenia.³⁷⁷ The numismatic evidence suggests that it maintained its importance afterwards. Moving to the first half of the fourteenth century the town still possessed a fine bazaar and an old mosque.³⁷⁸ The Zangīd atabegs of Mosul Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī in 575/1179-80 and Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh in 594/1197-8 issued some copper coins at Niṣībīn.³⁷⁹ ‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī II, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, also produced copper issues at Niṣībīn between 577/1181 and 582/1186.³⁸⁰

Conclusion:

Some general conclusions can be made about the mining and minting activities in the region. The extant monetary stock of the region including a large amount of the Byzantine anonymous folles and gold coins continued to be used in the local markets of the region at least until the late twelfth century. While the copper coin production begins in medieval Muslim Anatolia in the first decades of the twelfth century, the earliest copper coins in northern Mesopotamia were issued by the Artuqid maliks from c. 1146-7 onwards. It is true that large amount of copper mines in the region allowed the Turkmen rulers to issue numerous heavy copper coins. However, there is no evidence showing the exploitation of rich silver

³⁷⁵ Artuk 1970: nos. 1252-1253, p. 408; Spengler and Sayles 1996: no. 61-62, pp. 12, 17; At this mint, again a copper in 647 AH and a silver coin were produced under Badr al-Dīn Lu’lu’ (631-657 / 1233-1258): Artuk 1970: p. 412, nos. 1163-1264.

³⁷⁶ For copper coins minted at Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar between 600 AH and 639 AH, see Artuk, I, 1970: nos. 1289-1291, pp. 422-423; Spengler and Sayles, 1996: pp. 116, 119, 122, 124.

³⁷⁷ *Ṣūrat al-Ard*, 219; Idrīsī, 153.

³⁷⁸ Ibn Battūta, 350-351.

³⁷⁹ Spengler and Sayles 1996: pp. 12, 24, nos. 61.4, 64; For the issue of Arslān Shāh, see Artuk 1970: no. 1256, p. 409.

³⁸⁰ Spengler and Sayles 1996: p. 81, nos. 78.1-78.5. The Zangīd atabegs of Sinjār also issued their coins in their capital, Sinjār. Artuk 1970: pp. 420-421, nos. 1284-1287; Spengler and Sayles 1996: pp. 87, 91, 95, 99, 105, 108, nos. 79-84.

mines in Anatolia under the rule of the Danishmendids, Mengujekids and Saltukids, although they seem to have been very active from the early thirteenth century onwards. Accordingly, the Seljuk sultans established several mints located on or close to the silver mine sites and issued dirhams in Anatolia. As for northern Mesopotamia, it produced the first silver coins in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, possibly with silver brought from these Anatolian mines. Finally, we should consider that a further systematic study of metallic composition of the coins, to find where the Turkmen copper, silver and gold came from, and how far it was new, imported, or acquired from recycled stock, is still a desideratum. Such a study would have to consider not only specialized geographical books, travelogues and historical literary sources, but it would have to undertake technical analyses of the numismatic and metallurgical materials.

**CHAPTER TWO: THE INFLUENCE OF THE BYZANTINES and CRUSADERS on
the TURKMENS IN THE LIGHT OF THE DANISHMENDIDS' COINS AND AND
SEALS: EPIGRAPHY**

... an amīr pious, prayer-loving, and kind by the name of Danishman (Danishmend) arose among the Turks, came and entered the Cappadocia country with his troops. He ruled Sebastea, Caesarea and other places in the northern region. This was the beginning of the power of the Danishmendid dynasty...³⁸¹

Even though the Turkmen dynasties of central Anatolia and al-Jazīra (northern Mesopotamia) shared a concern with devising suitable imagery for their coins, the Danishmendid princes of Anatolia preferred to produce very different coin-types in terms of the alphabet and writing style. It should be remembered that central Anatolia had been a part of the Byzantine empire until the arrival of the Turks in the late eleventh century. Although we do not have statistics of definitive documentary historical data for the ethnic structure of Anatolia either before or after the arrival of the Turks, in the mid-twelfth century the area was still largely Greek in culture, and Byzantine coins, seals, and other objects must have been quite commonly available.³⁸² As a result of that, the Danishmendids struck copper coins first with Greek and then with mixed Greek-Arabic inscriptions. Not until 553-559 / 1158-1164 did a type with an entirely Arabic inscription appear, Yağıbasan (Yaghi Basan)'s coin.³⁸³ Most of Mesopotamia on the other hand, had been part of the Islamic world since the seventh century. Current Byzantine coins were thus not readily available as models. The coins of the Danishmendids, however, reflect their much greater involvement with medieval Byzantine culture.

³⁸¹ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 173. This account recording the events of the year 1085 must mention the capture of Cappadocia and the aforementioned other places by the Danishmendids.

³⁸² Vryonis 1971: 473-475.

³⁸³ See The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK425, P. D. Whitting Collection, (cat. nos. 387)

The Danishmendid Turkmen Emirate was founded in central Anatolia right after the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 and reigned in the central and sometimes northern Anatolia which was mainly settled by Greeks and Armenians until 1178.³⁸⁴ Thus a new social structure, in which Danishmendid Turks, Armenians and Greeks were living together, arose from the early twelfth century onwards. In addition, the Danishmendid dynasty settled in the eastern borders of the Byzantine Empire and aimed to expand northwards where they came into conflict with the empire at various times. Hence, in this period the Danishmendid Turkmens established intense relations with the Byzantines rather than other Turkmen states except the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm. Apart from the military encounters, the Turkmens and the Greeks engaged in various other forms of contact, including diplomatic exchanges, trading relations, cases of intermarriage, religious, cultural and artistic interchange, and even local alliances or joint military ventures against common enemies.³⁸⁵ In this sense, the Turkmens, newcomers of Anatolia, have been significantly influenced by the Byzantines' and Anatolia's other peoples' traditions in the administrative, fiscal, military, architectural, artisanal and artistic spheres. It can be said that the social, cultural, economic and political influence can be illuminated by using the coins and seals, being impartial witnesses of the past. The twelfth-century Turkmen world in Anatolia interestingly saw some unusual tendencies in their coinage. One of them is undoubtedly the Danishmendid coins and seals bearing Greek and bilingual (Arabic and Greek) inscriptions. While there are 14 Danishmendid copper coins in the Barber Institute Coin Collection, only three of them bear the Greek inscriptions.³⁸⁶ The aim of this chapter is to show the Byzantine influence on the Turkmens and to draw broader conclusions about the reasons for the use of Greek inscriptions on the Danishmendid coins and seals. In other

³⁸⁴ Mélikoff 1977: 112; Özeydin 1993b: 469.

³⁸⁵ Necipoğlu 2006: 254ff.

³⁸⁶ The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK416-TK429, P. D. Whitting Collection, (cat. nos. 381-394); for the Greek and bilingual coins struck by Malik Muḥammad and Dhū'l-Qarnain, see TK419-TK420 and TK416 (cat. nos. 381-382, 390).

words, it focuses on the question why the Danishmendid Turkmens have used Greek and bilingual (Arabic and Greek) coins and seals.

The limited information concerning the Danishmendid principality in the contemporary written sources increases the significance of the numismatic and sigillographic evidence. Examining the coins and seals of the Danishmendids can help us to gain an insight concerning their political, economic, cultural and even social thought. This examination will also enable us to propose how the Danishmendid rulers conducted diplomatic relations with their Muslim and Christian neighbours and how far the Danishmendid rulers adapted to their new lands in terms of cultural and social elements.

The Greek inscriptions on the Danishmendid coins have already drawn the attention of numismatists. The earliest attempts in modern scholarship at identifying and describing the unusual Greek coins of the Danishmendids were undertaken by Paul Casanova, who wrote one of the most comprehensive and fundamental works on the Danishmendid coins in 1896.³⁸⁷ Though Casanova's approach and interpretation was limited, his work became a reference book on the Danishmendid coins for a long time.³⁸⁸ More recently, in 1980, Estelle J. Whelan attempted more systematic and detailed study of the Danishmendid coinage in order to fix some errors and to fill the gaps in the previous works.³⁸⁹ Shortly after her, in 1983, two Danishmendid seals with Greek inscriptions kept in the Dumbarton Oaks Seal Collection were published by Nicolas Oikonomidès.³⁹⁰ Although scholars have focused on the identification and reading of their inscriptions, the striking numismatic and sigillographic

³⁸⁷ P. Casanova, *Numismatique des Danichmendites*, (Paris 1896).

³⁸⁸ Shortly after his book, in the early twentieth century, Turkish numismatist Ahmed Tevhid provided a catalogue of Islamic coins including the Danishmendid coins. Tevhid 1903. The catalogue published in modern Turkish in 1947 was also one of the pioneer works on the Turkmen coins. Butak 1947.

³⁸⁹ Whelan 1980: 133-166.

³⁹⁰ Oikonomidès 1983: 189-207.

evidence has been largely ignored as a means of articulating the historical realities and reflecting the socio-cultural interactions. Lack of information and commentary in these works also necessitate a comprehensive study with new approaches and more detailed analysis. At the outset, I shall look at previous works on the Danishmendid coins and seals and revise the inaccurate information, identifications and interpretations. In addition, I shall probe chronicles, monumental inscriptions and other sources in order to provide the appropriate background for our discussions. But, before moving to Greek and bilingual coins of the Danishmendids, the inconsistency and confusions in the identification of this Anatolian Turkmen principality should first be pointed out. In fact, a big problem in the genealogy of the founders of the Danishmendid Emirate has arisen in the catalogues and modern works concerning this dynasty since the mid-nineteenth century.

Revising the Early Danishmendid Emirate

Danishmend Aḥmad Ghāzī, who was one of the generals of Alp Arslan at the Battle of Manzikert,³⁹¹ was the founder of the principality of Danishmend on the border of Byzantine territories in Central Anatolia, granted to him as a fief (*iktā*) after the Battle of Manzikert.³⁹² The paucity of information in the sources, particularly the non-appearance of the name of the Danishmendid dynasty in the Byzantine and western sources until the events of the First Crusade, has caused some confusion in the genealogy of the early Danishmendid rulers. Even Cahen and Vryonis avoided discussing this controversial issue in their valuable works concerning pre-Ottoman Turkey.³⁹³

Modern Turkish historians Mustafa Demir, who recently wrote an article about the founders of the Danishmendid Emirate and Abdülkerim Özeydin, the author of a number of

³⁹¹ Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl-Allah Hamadānī, 33-34.

³⁹² Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd Aksarayī, *Mūsâmeretü'l-Ahbâr ve Mūsâyeretü'l-Ahyâr*, ed. and tr. O. Turan, (Ankara 1944), 17. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl-Allah Hamadānī, 33-34. See also Yinanç 1997: 468; Turan 2002: 67; Solmaz 2002: 431.

³⁹³ See Cahen 1968 and Vryonis 1971.

works on the Seljuk Turks and their followers, thought that Gümüştegin, who was the ruler of the Danishmendids during the First Crusade, was son of Danishmend Aḥmad Ghāzī, and ascended the Danishmendid throne most probably in 477/1085.³⁹⁴ In order to support their idea, they used the anecdotes of Arab chronicler Ibn al-Athīr and Assyrian historian Abū'l Faraj that relate that Gümüştegin is the son of 'al-Danishmend Taylu' or 'al-Danishmend',³⁹⁵ as well as Ahmed Tevhid's inaccurate identification and interpretation of the coin of Yağlıbasan.³⁹⁶ However, most often, in modern works, Gümüştegin is referred to as the same person as Danishmend Aḥmad Ghāzī.³⁹⁷ These scholars believe that Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī's father was Danishmend 'Ali Taylu,³⁹⁸ and after his father's death, Gümüştegin continued to use the family name 'Danishmend'. This approach seems more plausible because Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Qalānisī and Abū'l Faraj also use the expression 'son of Danishmend' for some other Danishmendid rulers such as Malik Muḥammad,³⁹⁹ Afrīdūn⁴⁰⁰ and Dhū'l-Nūn⁴⁰¹ even though they were not sons of Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī or of Danishmend 'Ali Taylu. Here 'Danishman (Danishmend)' does not refer to their father, but most probably to the ancestor of the dynasty Danishmend 'Ali Taylu, father of Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī. In addition, there is no evidence regarding the accession of a certain amīr Gümüştegin in 477/1085. As will be seen below, some Turkish scholars such as Mustafa Demir,⁴⁰² Abdülkerim Özeydin,⁴⁰³ Osman Turan⁴⁰⁴ and Mikail Bayram⁴⁰⁵ fell into error in recognizing

³⁹⁴ See on the founders of the Danishmendids, Demir 2008: 141-149 and Özeydin 1993b: 469-474.

³⁹⁵ Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), I, 32: "... [AD 1100] Gümüştegin ibn al-Danishmend Taylu, who was only called Ibn al-Danishmend because his father had been a 'teacher' of the Turkmens whose fortunes so prospered that he gained power as lord of Malatya, Sivas and other places, met Bohemond the Frank, ...". Abū'l Faraj also calls him 'Ibn al-Danishmend' (son of Danishmend): Abū'l Faraj (Budge), I, 267.

³⁹⁶ Tevhid 1903, IV: 84-85. For the correct reading of the inscription, see below.

³⁹⁷ Turan 2002: 117, 133, 146; Merçil 2002: 508-509; Yılmaz 2002: 432-433.

³⁹⁸ In Danishmendname, the legend of Danishmend Ghāzī, his father's name seems as Ali; see *Danishmendname*, (Demir), 2b, p.61.

³⁹⁹ Abū'l Faraj (Budge), I, 300; Ibn al-Athīr (Tornberg), XI, 79, 91; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), II, 357, 367; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, ed. H. A.R. Gibb, (London 2012): 263.

⁴⁰⁰ Abū'l Faraj (Budge), I, 343.

⁴⁰¹ Abū'l Faraj (Budge), I, 347.

⁴⁰² Demir 2008: 144-145.

⁴⁰³ Özeydin 1993a: 469.

⁴⁰⁴ Turan 2002: 117.

Ahmed Tevhid's inaccurate identification of the coin of Yağlıbasan asserting that it was issued by Gümüştigin in order to confirm their suggestion.⁴⁰⁶

In another debate on the genealogy of the dynasty, Gümüştigin was identified with Amīr Ghāzī.⁴⁰⁷ This suggestion raised some problematic issues in the identification of the first known Danishmendid coins struck by Amīr Ghāzī (Malik Ghāzī). Paul Casanova and then İbrahim Artuk called his name 'Malik Ghāzī Muḥammad' and his nickname 'Gümüştigin', as well as claiming that he reigned between 477/1084 and 529/1135.⁴⁰⁸ Thus, they thought that Gümüştigin (d. 497/1104) and Amīr Ghāzī (497-529 / 1104-1134) were the same person. In the early twentieth century Turkish numismatist Ahmed Tevhid also identified the first Danishmendid coin with "Malik Ghāzī Gümüştigin" (or "Amīr Ghāzī Gümüştigin").⁴⁰⁹ The confusion and inconsistency in the Danishmendid pedigree continued in the works of Nicolas Oikonomidès, Anthony Bryer, Rustem Shukurov and Nevra Necipoğlu in recent times. They also state that Gümüştigin was the same person as Amīr Ghāzī, but unlike the suggestion of Casanova they wrote that he ascended the Danishmendid throne after the death of Malik Danishmend in 1104.⁴¹⁰ Even Claude Cahen and Clifford Edmund Bosworth, who produced a comprehensive work giving a chronological and genealogical manual of the Islamic dynasties published in 1996, also noted Amīr Ghāzī and Gümüştigin as the same person.⁴¹¹ Although J. Laurent was one of the first scholars who drew attention to the confusion of the lineage of the dynasty, he fails to supply us with an effective discussion.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁵ Bayram 2009: 15.

⁴⁰⁶ Tevhid 1903: 84-85.

⁴⁰⁷ Edhem 1912: 460-461; Lane-Poole 1927: 22.

⁴⁰⁸ Casanova 1896: 61; Artuk 1970: 384-385.

⁴⁰⁹ Tevhid 1903: 84. There is a confusion in his genealogy of the Danishmendids. While his list shows the regnal years of Malik Danishmend Aḥmad Ghāzī as 464-477 / 1072-1084, he says in another place Malik Ghāzī Gümüştigin reigned between 497-529 / 1104-1135 (Tevhid 1903: 82, 84). So it is ambiguous who the Danishmendid ruler was between 1084 and 1104.

⁴¹⁰ Oikonomidès 1983: 197ff.; Bryer 1970: 170; Shukurov 2001: 260; Necipoğlu 2006: 257.

⁴¹¹ Cahen 1968: 89ff; Bosworth 1996: 215.

⁴¹² Laurent 1933: 499-506.

It is true, however, that Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī (Malik Danishmend) died in 497/1104⁴¹³ and after his death, his son Amīr Ghāzī (Malik Ghāzī) ascended the Danishmendid throne. The inscription of Danishmendid amīr Yağıbasan (537-559 / 1143-1164), son of Amīr Ghāzī, dated 552/1157 in Niksar suggests the pedigree of the Danishmendid dynasty as follows:

... al-Malik al-‘Ālim al-‘Ādil Nizām al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn Abū’l Muẓaffar Yağıbasan bin Malik Ghāzī bin Malik Danishmend Amīr al-Mu’minīn...⁴¹⁴

...the Enlightened, Just King, the Order of the World and the Faith, Father of Victory Yağıbasan, son of Malik Ghāzī, son of Malik Danishmend, the Commander of the Faithful...

This inscription clearly highlights that Amīr Ghāzī was called Malik Ghāzī, while ‘Malik Danishmend’ was used for Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī. The account of contemporary historian Michael the Syrian saying that, in 1131, Amīr Ghāzī was awarded the title ‘malik’ by Abbasid caliph al-Mustarshid (1118–1135) and the fact that he was called Malik Ghāzī also supports our argument.⁴¹⁵ As for Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī, Michael the Syrian and Mathew of Edessa sometimes used Danishmend (Danışman) for him and stated that he was the father of Amīr Ghāzī.⁴¹⁶ His name also appears as Danishmend in *the Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades* of Ibn al-Qalānisī⁴¹⁷ and the crusading chronicle of Fulcher of Charters: “... a certain amīr named Danisman (Danishmend) advanced against him with a large body of Turks. His purpose was to intercept Bohemond...”⁴¹⁸

⁴¹³ Matthew of Edessa (Dostourian), I, 317, 349; Mathew of Edessa (Turkish trans.), 204, 225.

⁴¹⁴ Berchem 1912: 87; Uzunçarşılı 1926: 59.

⁴¹⁵ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 233.

⁴¹⁶ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 219; Mathew of Edessa (Dostourian), 217, 349.

⁴¹⁷ Ibn al-Qalānisī, 50, 59.

⁴¹⁸ Fulcher of Charters, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem (1095-1127)*, ed. and tr. H. S. Fink, (Knoxville 1969): 135.

Founders of the Danishmendids	Regnal Years
Gümüştigin Aḥmad Ghāzī (Malik Danishmend)	(Just after AH 464-497/ Just after AD 1071-1104)
Amīr Ghāzī (Malik Ghāzī)	(AH 497-529 / AD 1104-1134)
Malik Muḥammad	(AH 528-537 / AD 1134-1143)

Table 3: Founders of the Danishmendid Principality

Finally it can be said that the Danishmendid Turkmen principality was founded by Gümüştigin Aḥmad Ghāzī who died in 497/1104. Amīr Ghāzī, who appears in some sources as Malik Ghāzī, was the amīr of the Danishmendids between 497/1104 and 529/1134 as well as the first Danishmendid to produce coins. In addition to the confusion of the early Danishmendid genealogy, the two main Armenian contemporary works: *the Chronicles* of Mathew of Edessa and of Vardan Arewelts, give quite interesting records concerning the origin of the dynasty. They curiously claim that the Danishmendids were of Armenian origin.

Roots of the Danishmendid family

In the chronicle of Mathew of Edessa, Gümüştigin Aḥmad Ghāzī is described as a character belonging to Christian culture and Armenian Society:

In the same year (February 24, 1104 – February 22, 1105) Danishmend, the great amīr of the country of the Romans, died. He was of the Armenian nation - a kind man, benefactor of the people and compassionate towards the Christian faithful.⁴¹⁹

The thirteenth-century Armenian cleric and scholar Vardan Arewelts`i also attaches the Danishmendid dynasty to the Armenian nation, but, he, like his colleague, did not support

⁴¹⁹ Matthew of Edessa (Dostourian), 317, 349; Mathew of Edessa (Turkish Trans.), 204, 225.

the argument.⁴²⁰ Moreover, they are the only sources interpreting the Danishmendid Turkmens as originally Armenians. There are, however, some Muslim and other Christian sources including Latin and Assyrian chronicles, invalidating the records of the above-mentioned Armenian historians. For instance, twelfth-century crusader chronicler Albertus of Aachen refers to Danişmend Ghāzī as *magnificus princeps Turcorum* (magnificent Turkish prince).⁴²¹ Again, his contemporary, another crusader chronicler William of Tyre, in his work also describes him as ‘mighty Turkish amīr Danishmend’.⁴²² Apart from these crusader chronicles, Bar Hebraeus, thirteenth-century Syrian Christian cleric and chronicler, referred to the last ruler of the Danishmendids of Sivas as ‘Dhū’l-Nūn the Turk’.⁴²³ Above all, on the Danishmendid inscription published by İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı in 1926, Danishmend Aḥmad Ghāzī took the title of *al-Türkmani* meaning of ‘Turkish origin’.⁴²⁴

There is no evidence then showing that the Danishmendids come from an Armenian origin, but it should be stressed here once again that the Turkmens, particularly the Danishmendids, settled an area where a great number of Armenian population lived, and as a result of that they had very intensive relations with them in their new society. This was the beginning of the era of the cultural exchanges and interactions in culture, language and architecture between two societies in Anatolia, which would continue for centuries. The record coming from *The Alexiad* of Anna Komnena surprisingly indicates the existence of a mixed Armeno-Turkish people in Byzantium: “...Adrian reminded him how one day the

⁴²⁰ Vardan Arewelts`i, *Compilation of History*, ed. and tr. R. Bedrosian, (New Jersey 2007): 65.

⁴²¹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana, History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and tr. S. B. Edgington, (Oxford 2007): 524.

⁴²² William of Tyre, I, 411-2.

⁴²³ Abū’l-Faraj (Budge), I, 306.

⁴²⁴ Uzunçarşılı 1926: 70.

emperor was playing polo in the riding-school of the Great Palace when a barbarian of mixed Armeno-Turkish descent approached him with a sword hidden in his clothes...”⁴²⁵

This anecdote also clearly shows how Armenian and Turkish societies began to constitute an intertwined social structure in the early twelfth century. Although the encounters between the Turkmens and the Armenians were new in Anatolia, it is believed that the Danishmendid Turkmens had already met them in Perso-Armenia (Azerbaijan and Arrān) where their ancestors lived. The twelfth-century Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates, in his account concerning the struggles in north-western Anatolia between the Byzantines and the Danishmendids in the 1130s, referred to the Danishmendid Turkmens as ‘the Persarmenians’. Furthermore Danishmendid amīr Amīr Ghāzī was defined as ‘the Persarmenian satrap’ (the governor of a province in ancient Persia), and the expression ‘Danishmend the Persarmenian’ was used for Malik Muḥammad (528-537 / 1134-1143) in *the Chronicle* of Choniates.⁴²⁶ We should point out here that the “Persarmenia” stressed by the Byzantine chronicler refers to a geographical area, covering today’s Azerbaijan. Thus, it is likely that when they arrived in Asia Minor, they saw familiar faces and cultures so that the adaptation to the new lands did not become so difficult for the Danishmendids, who were capable of coalescing with other nations. As the result of their own turbulent relations with the Greeks, Armenians got closer to the Turkmens after the Battle of Manzikert and they even helped the Danishmendids to capture Sebastea and Melitene.⁴²⁷ Finally, the Armenian Mathew of Edessa might have been influenced by this and Malik Danishmend’s tolerant policy towards the Christian communities, particularly Armenians, and thus he probably desired to put him in his own society.

⁴²⁵ Anna Komnena (Sewter), 283-284.

⁴²⁶ Choniates (Magoulias), 12-13.

⁴²⁷ Mélikoff 1960: 90, 126, 129.

Both the circulation of Byzantine coins in their lands and the designs of their own coins document these close relations with their Christian neighbours.

A. Greek and Bilingual (Greek-Arabic) Coins of the Danishmendids

Rulers	Inscriptions	Translations
Amīr Ghāzī (Malik Ghāzī) (497-528 / 1104-34)	KVPIE ΒΟΗΘΗ [A]MHP. GAZH TO TAN[I]CMAN	Lord Help Amīr Ghāzī Tanisman [Danışman / Danishmend]
Amīr Ghāzī (Malik Ghāzī) (497-529 / 1104-34)	Ο ΜΕΓΑC AMHPAC AMHP GAZHC	The Great Amīr Amīr Ghāzī
Malik Muḥammad (528-537 / 1134-43)	Ο Μ(ΕΓΑC) ΜΕΛΗΚΙC ΠΑCΗC ΡΩΜΑΝΙΑC ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗC ΜΑΧΑΜΑΤΗC	the G(reat) King of all Romania and the East (Anatolē), Muḥammad
‘Ayn al-Dawla Ismā‘īl (537-547 / 1143-52)	ΑΙΝ ΑΛΛουΑΑC Ο ΥΙΟC ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΕΛΗΚΙ ΑΜΗΡ GAZH	‘Ayn al-Dawla, the son of the Great King Amīr Ghāzī
Dhū’l-Qarnain (547-557 / 1152-62)	ذوا لقرنين بن عين الدولة الواثق Ο ΜΕΓΑC AMHPAC ΔΟΛΧΑΡΝΑΙΝ ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΟΝΟC ΔΕΥΤΕΡΙC	Self-assured , Dhū’l-Qarnain, the son of ‘Ayn al-Dawla The Great Amīr Dhū’l-Qarnain The second indiction
Dhū’l-Nūn (first r. 537/1143; second r. 567- 570 /1172-1175)	عماد الدين بن ملك محمد Ο ΜΕ(ΓΑC) ΑΜΗΡΑC ΔΑΝΟΥΝΗC Ο ΥΙ(Ο)C ΤΟΥ ΜΕΛΗΚΗ ΜΑΧΑΜΑΤΙC	Pillar of the Faith, Malik Muḥammad The Great Amīr Danounis [Dhū’l-Nūn] The son of Malik Muḥammad

Table 4: Greek and Bilingual (Greek-Arabic) Coins of the Danishmendids

Type 1: Lord, Help Amīr! (Before 528/1134)

Before arriving in Anatolia and establishing their own principality, the Danishmendid Turkmens, newcomers to Anatolia, produced no coins of their own, but, to a certain extent, they probably used the coins of their suzerains or neighbours. Their conquests in Anatolia of course brought the Danishmendids into direct contact with the Byzantine Empire and its system of monetary economy. Then they issued coins themselves and, consequently, to focus on the design and content of the coins which they issued. They were all bronze coins. The earliest Danishmendid coins, which were in Greek, were introduced by Amīr Ghāzī (497–528 / 1104-1134), son of Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī, in the first half of the twelfth century. A coin

issue of Amīr Ghāzī with a bust of Christ and a Greek inscription Ο ΜΕΓΑC ΑΜΗΡΑC ΑΜΗΡ ΓΑΖΗC (ὁ μέγας ἀμηνρας Αμῆρ γαζής / the great amīr Amīr Ghāzī) has been discussed in a number of publications since its discovery in the late nineteenth century.⁴²⁸ Before dealing with his famous coin issue, we will first attempt to identify and describe a second coin of Amīr Ghāzī with Greek inscription, which has not been analyzed in detail previously.

Two examples of the second coin issue first appeared in the fourth volume of *Antioch-on-the-Orontes: Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders Coins*,⁴²⁹ which consists of the coin finds from the excavations of Antioch and its vicinity conducted by Princeton University in the 1930s. They were first described by Dorothy B. Waagé as ‘Muslim imitations of the Crusader coins’ because their fabric surprisingly resembles the copper coins of Tancred of Antioch (d. 1112).



Figure 2: Greek coin of Amīr Ghāzī found in the excavations of Antioch. First coin, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*: no. 2328.

Initially, the inscriptions on each coin seem partly illegible because both coins are overstruck. Fortunately, however, the inscriptions on both the types complete each other. On the obverse of the first coin, the first two lines of the three-line-inscription can be read as [K]VPIE / [B]ΩHΘH / ... On the reverse displaying the three-line-Greek inscription, some

⁴²⁸ Casanova 1896: 63-64, pl. III, nos. 1-2; Hennequin 1985: no. 1938, pl. XLVIII; Schlumberger 1875: 350-357, pl. XXV, no. 12; Schlumberger 1880: pl. VIII.

⁴²⁹ Waagé 1952, IV/ 2: p. 171, no. 2328.

letters are illegible again, but the second and third lines are clearer: Γ.Z. / TO TAN. / CMAN (fig. 2 and 3). The other coin found in the excavation allows us to read the complete inscription and identify it. While the first line on the obverse is completely obscure, the second and third lines can be read as .../ [B]ΩHΘH / [A]MHP. On the reverse the first line shows the word of [Γ]AZH while the second and third lines are substantially worn. With the combination of the inscriptions on both the coins, we will obtain a complete Greek inscription as follows:

Obv. KVPIE / BΩHΘH / [A]MHP

Κύριε βοήθη [A]μῆρ / Lord Help Amīr

Rev. ΓAZH / TO TAN (I) / CMAN.

Γαζή τῶ Ταν(ι)σμάν / Ghāzī Tanisman [Danışman / Danishmend].



Figure 3: Greek coin of Amīr Ghāzī found in the excavations of Antioch (Second coin, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*: no. 2328.)

Thus, three main components explicitly appear on the coin: the personal name [A]MHP ΓAZH; family name TAN(I)CMAN; and the invocation KVPIE BΩHΘH. [A]MHP ΓAZH seen on the coin must refer to Danishmendid ruler Amīr Ghāzī, the son of Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī, whose name, as already mentioned, also appears on his another coin as ὁ μέγας ἄμηνρας Αμῆρ Γαζής / the great amīr Amīr Ghāzī. As for the TAN(I)CMAN, it seems to have been the dynasty's name in Greek form.⁴³⁰ The use of the Turkish personal names has often differed from medieval Greek, Latin and Arabic sources. In *the Alexiad*, the name

⁴³⁰ 'Danishmend' refers to a family name rather than a personal name, while Amīr Ghāzī was the ruler's name.

‘Danishmend’ was penned in the same form as on the coin by contemporary Byzantine princess and historian Anna Komnena:

...πορευομένων δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἰλαδὸν τῶν ταγματῶν, συνέλαχον τούτοις κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραϊκὴν ὅ τε
Τανισμάν ὁ σουλτάν καὶ ὁ Ἀσάν, ὁ μόνος ἦρχε χιλιάδων ἀνδρῶν ὀπλιτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα...

...They were met near Hebraike by the Sultan **Tanisman** and Hasan, who alone commanded 80,000 fully-armed infantry...⁴³¹

Yet the Greek letter Iota (I / ι) is missing on the coin, which can be accepted as a mistake made by the Danishmendid die-cutter. Here ‘Danishmend’ refers to a family name rather than a personal name, while Amīr Ghāzī was the ruler’s name. Thus, the inscriptions clearly demonstrate that this type belongs to Danishmendid Amīr Ghāzī (Malik Ghāzī).

Another and more conspicuous element of the type, the presence of an invocation (Κύριε βοήθη / Lord Help) coming from Christian ecclesiastical tradition, on a Muslim coin seems quite surprising, but as will be mentioned below, this is not the only intriguing and puzzling Turkmen type in either the Danishmendid or other Turkmen coinages. The different variations of the invocation can be found not only on ninth-to eleventh-century lead seals of Byzantine officials,⁴³² but, significantly, on Romanos IV’s two-thirds miliaresia, class II,⁴³³ and Alexios I’s pre-reform Thessalonican debased coinage,⁴³⁴ and in an abbreviated form of invocations on the reverse of folles of Romanos IV, Nikephoros III, and Nikephoros

⁴³¹ Anna Komnena, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, eds. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, Pars Prior: Prolegomena et Textus, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, vol. 40/1, (Berlin and New York 2001): 331. See also Anna Komnena (Sewter), 342. Again, in another place of the Alexiad, it appears as “...ἐφ’ ᾧ μετακαλέσασθαι τὸν Τανισμάνην εἰς ἀρογίαν... / ...with the idea of calling on Tanisman for help”: Anna Komnena (Reinsch), 377. See also Anna Komnena (Sewter), 387. We should stress that, in this text, Tanisman refers Amīr Ghāzī, while in the previous account it was Gümüştegin (Danishmend) Aḥmad Ghāzī.

⁴³² From among the many available examples, I would like to mention a few which come from areas of new Danishmendid territories, namely Sebasteia, Caesarea and Cappadocia: eleventh-century seal of Stylianos archbishop of Caesarea and synkellos (Nesbitt and Oikonomidès, IV, 2001: no. 41.2; eleventh-century seal of Elias spatharios and taxiarches of Sebasteia: *ibid.* no. 49.1 and eleventh-century seal of Michael *protospatharios* and *ek prosopou* of Cappadocia. Nesbitt and Oikonomidès, IV, 2001: no. 43.1.

⁴³³ *DOC* III/ii, pl. LXV, 5-6.

⁴³⁴ *DOC* IV/ii, pl. I, 4-5 (Alexios I).

Bryennios.⁴³⁵ Amīr Ghāzī's contemporary, Crusader prince Tancred of Antioch (d. 1112) also engraved the invocation +KEBOHΘEITANKPI+ and its variations (+KEBOI / ΘΗΤΟΔV / ΛΟCΟVΤ / ANKPI+) on his 'turbaned' coin on his folles of first type⁴³⁶ and then Roger of Salerno, regent between 1112 and 1119 in Antioch, continued to issue similar types in his coinage.⁴³⁷ They are not the only Crusader princes presenting such invocations in their coinages. At Edessa, Richard of Salerno, Bohemond's cousin, who was regent of Edessa between 1104 and 1108 when Baldwin II was a prisoner of Turks, also issued a series of coins bearing different variations on the theme Κύριε βοήθει Ρικάρδω (Lord, help Richard).⁴³⁸



Figure 4: Left: Copper coin of Roger of Salerno, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, CR08; P. D. Whitting Collection; Right: Copper coin of Tancred of Antioch, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, CR56; P. D. Whitting Collection

It is not easy to guess when this undated Danishmendid coin was exactly struck. Nonetheless, at least it is obvious that it was minted under the reign of Amīr Ghāzī and probably before his best-known type with the title ὁ μέγας ἀμῆρας (the great amīr).⁴³⁹ On the one hand, the invocations seem to have been a reflection of the Byzantine influence probably through continuing circulation of Byzantine coins after 1071. On the other hand, the possibly contemporary appearance of the same invocation borrowed from the Byzantine numismatic

⁴³⁵ *DOC*, III/ii: pl. LXX, 2 (Nicephoros Bryennios); Georganteli 2012: 154.

⁴³⁶ Metcalf 1995: nos. 49-62. For the all issues of Tancred, who introduced four different types, see Porteous 1989: nos. 16-19. The reverse of Tancred's folles of the third type displays ΔSFT for Domine Salvum Fac Tancredum, the Latin form of the invocation Κύριε βοήθει (Porteous 1989: 367, pl. III, no. 18).

⁴³⁷ Antioch, Roger of Salerno, Æ Follis, second type, Mother of God standing orans, nimbate, in cloak with ornamental border [MH ΘV], rev.: KEBOHΘ / EITω [Cω] / ΔΟVΛω [P]OΓEP, in four lines, overstruck on first type, 6.58g (Metcalf 1995: 89-94).

⁴³⁸ Porteous 1989: 364.

⁴³⁹ Amīr's coin with the bust of Christ seems to have been issued in the last years of Amīr Ghāzī, whereas the coin type with invocation might have been struck in the same period as the Crusader coin issues, namely not after the year 1120.

tradition on the coinages of the Danishmendids and their western neighbours, the County of Edessa and the Principality of Antioch, indicates mutual monetary interactions in this transitional area.⁴⁴⁰

We know that since the beginning of the Crusades, the Danishmendid Turkmens had very intense relations with the Latins. Political interests of both the newcomers in the region led to confrontations on the battlefield several times. One of the most tragic confrontations for the Crusades was under the reign of Amīr Ghāzī's father Danishmend Aḥmad Ghāzī, amīr of Sivas, who wished to capture the town of Melitene situated on a strategic point guarding one of the Cilician gates through the Taurus Mountains. When Gabriel, the Armenian ruler of the city, reported that the Danishmendid amīr was preparing a military expedition to take the city, he sought help from the prince of Antioch, Bohemond, who marched north in August 1100 with 300 knights and a small force of infantry. Finally, the Danishmendid Turkmens ambushed Bohemond's forces near Melitene. Even though Bohemond sent a courier to seek help from Baldwin of Edessa, he was captured and confined in a prison in Neocaesarea, today known as Niksar.⁴⁴¹ He stayed there until August 1103 as a prisoner. During his imprisonment, a series of negotiations were held between the Danishmendid amīr, the Byzantine emperor, the Crusader prince and the Rūm Seljuk Sultan for the release of Bohemond.

According to Crusader historian Albert of Aachen, Alexios I Komnenos offered to ransom Bohemond for 260,000 *bezants*, if Danishmendid amīr would hand him to the emperor, but Kılıç Arslān I (1092-1107) demanded half of ransom. Otherwise, he would

⁴⁴⁰ These Danishmendid coins were found in the excavations of Antioch, which have never fallen to the Danishmendids. In the excavation of Ḥarrān, the Danishmendid copper coin struck by Dhū'l-Nūn was also found. Heidemann 2002b: 284, no. 43.

⁴⁴¹ Albert of Aachen (Edgington), 525; Matthew of Edessa (Dostaurian), I, 318-319; Abū'l Faraj (Budge), I, 236-237; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), I, 32; Matthew of Edessa (Turkish trans.), 204-5; Abū'l Faraj (Turkish trans.), II, 342; Runciman, 1962, I: 320-322.

attack Danishmendid lands.⁴⁴² Thereupon Bohemond suggested 100,000 *bezants* ransom to pay directly to the amīr.⁴⁴³ The Danishmendid amīr accepted his offer, as well as demanding of him the release of the daughter of Yaghi-Siyān (Yağısıyan), the former Turkish ruler of Antioch. According to Matthew of Edessa, Danishmend Ghāzī gave his nephew Richard of Salerno, who had been also captured with Bohemond, as a present to the emperor Alexios in return for a great sum of money.⁴⁴⁴

Tancred, during his first regency from 1100 to 1103, conducted military campaigns against the Byzantines and captured the important towns of Tarsus, Adana and Mamistra in Cilicia.⁴⁴⁵ After the release of Bohemond, Tancred was deposed. In 1104, Baldwin and Bohemond attacked Ḥarrān, but the Crusader army was severely defeated near Raqqa at the Battle of Ḥarrān. This decisive defeat was followed by a Byzantine victory at Cilicia. In the late part of 1104 or early 1105 Bohemond travelled to Europe to strengthen his position and reinforce his army against the Byzantine and Turkish attacks. Thus, Tancred once again was appointed as regent of Antioch. After Amīr Ghāzī acceded to the throne, the sources are silent about the relations between the Danishmendids and the Crusaders until 1119. In that year, the Danishmendid amīr attacked Antioch and defeated Roger, the regent of the principality.⁴⁴⁶ He

⁴⁴² Albert of Aachen (Edgington), 680-1. Another Crusader chronicler Orderic Vitalis gives the Byzantine offer as 100,000 *philips* (Orderic Vitalis (Chibnall), V, 354-5. Hereafter Orderic Vitalis (Chibnall). The term *Philip* was a gold coin bearing originally the effigy of Philip, king of Macedonia. There were also silver and even copper coins with the same name.

Interestingly the Crusader chronicler produced a romance between Bohemond and the daughter of Danishmend Ghāzī called Melaz. Melaz falls in love with the Crusader prince and visits him in dungeon various times. She discusses Christianity with the Crusader knights and finally decides to convert to Christianity. Then Melaz assisted Bohemond to escape the Danishmendid prison. Orderic Vitalis, (Chibnall), V, pp. 359-78. According to the *Miracula Sancti Leonardi*, with help of the amīr's Christian wife, Bohemond achieved escape. *Miracula Sancti Leonardi*, 160-8; cited also in Runciman, 1952, II: n. 38. For the discussion of this romance, see Yarrow 2010: 140-57 and Hodgson 2007: 68-70.

⁴⁴³ Albert of Aachen (Edgington), 686-7. While Matthew of Edessa states that Bohemond was ransomed from Danishmendid amīr for 100,000 *dahekans* (Matthew of Edessa (Dostaurian), I, 344), Michael the Syrian, Ibn al-Athīr and Abū'l Faraj reports that Bohemond paid 100,000 dinars and released the daughter of Yaghi Siyān for his freedom. Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 189; Abū'l Faraj (Budge), I, 237; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), I, 60; Abū'l Faraj (Turkish trans.), II, 343; Süryani Mihail (Turkish trans.), 48.

⁴⁴⁴ Matthew of Edessa (Dostaurian), I, 344.

⁴⁴⁵ *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen*, 158.

⁴⁴⁶ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 204-205; Abū'l Faraj (Budge), I, 249; Süryani Mihail (Turkish trans.), 66-7.

also, with his ally Artuqid Belek Ghāzī, defeated and captured Gabras, the Duke of Trebizond, and Mengujekid Ishāq.⁴⁴⁷

These military and diplomatic contacts between Danishmendid Turkmens and Western Crusaders seem to have led to socio-economic interactions. The development of the Danishmendid coinage reflects striking similarities with the early Crusader coinage of Antioch and Edessa in terms of the iconography, language and even metrology, particularly with the first period of Crusader coinage in the classification of John Porteous, who divided the crusading coinage broadly into three phases. The first phase, which is a period beginning from the year following the First Crusade until the soon after the Field of Blood in 1119, include the Crusading coins of Edessa and Antioch with the noticeable Byzantine characteristics, as we shall see.⁴⁴⁸

The first coins of the Principality of Antioch and the County of Edessa, which began to be issued one or two years after the First Crusade, appear to have been ‘crude quasi-Byzantine copper coinage’. Like the Danishmendid coins, they are all copper. While the inscriptions on the Edessan coins are in Greek, Antiochian coins bear both Greek and Latin inscriptions. Those copper issues are very large, so it seems that their weight was not particularly important. The first Edessan coin issues, with a bust of Christ or the armoured figure of the Crusader count on the obverse and a cross on the reverse, were inspired by the Byzantine copper follis of the period immediately before Alexios Komnenos’ monetary reform of 1092.⁴⁴⁹ As to the first copper coins of Antioch, they, with Greek and Latin legends, were a quasi-Byzantine style showing Christ, St. Peter, Tancred with a sword, the Virgin

⁴⁴⁷ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 205; Abū’l Faraj (Budge), I, 249; Süryani Mihail (Turkish trans.), 67; Abū’l Faraj (Turkish trans.), II, 356; Turan 1984, 162-3.

⁴⁴⁸ Porteous 1989: 362. The second phase, which is a period lasting from 1140 until after the Battle of Hattin (1187), represents the typically Frankish *denier* of Antioch, Jerusalem and Tripoli, while the last phase is characterised by ‘new monetary experiments and some proliferations of minting authorities’ and lasted until the fall of Acre in 1291 (ibid).

⁴⁴⁹ They have just few Frankish aspects.

Mary, or St. George. Those coins, like the first Edessan coins, do not show any title belonging to the rulers until the reign of Roger of Salerno (1112-1119).⁴⁵⁰ Two things are very obvious in the copper *folles* of Edessa and Antioch: the ‘lack of territorial title and the ‘erratic weight standard’.⁴⁵¹

The first type of Amīr Ghāzī, like the issues of Tancred of Antioch, Roger of Salerno and Richard of Salerno, bear the invocation Κύριε βοήθει (Lord help) and the second type of the amīr displays the bust of Christ, like the first Crusader coins in Antioch. Apart from them, the coinage of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (first r. 557-65 / 1162-1170) has the issues with the image of Virgin Mary and St. George. The latter was directly borrowed from the Crusader coin iconography.⁴⁵² This illuminates the intense relations between the Crusaders and the Danishmendids, at least as much as direct Byzantine influence on Danishmendid coinage, and also shows the complexity and partly similarity of their audience, who handled those coins in the local markets of Diyār Rūm (Anatolia), Diyār Muḍar (al-Jazīra) and Diyar Shām (Syria).

Type 2: Coin of ‘Great Amīr’ (Before 528/1134)



Figure 5: Greek coin of Amīr Ghāzī from E. Whelan (Yapı Kredi Bankası Sikke Koleksiyonu, no. 2/1)

⁴⁵⁰ Before that the image of St. Peter, first patriarch and patron saint of Antioch, which appeared on five of the first eleven issues, can be recognised as a territorial reference (Porteous 1989: 366). Roger of Salerno issued three types, the first two with Greek legend, and the third with Latin. His coins represent the images of Virgin Mary and St. George slaying dragon, they did not appear in his predecessors’ coinage. More importantly the obverse of the type with St. George first time introduced Roger with a title, prince of Antioch. Porteous 1989: 367.

⁴⁵¹ Porteous 1989: 363, 366. Porteous suggests that their general features indicate that they were issued more for the use of the local native population than for the Franks. Porteous 1989: 363.

⁴⁵² See below.

One of the oldest known Turkish coins in Anatolia struck by Amīr Ghāzī in the first half of the twelfth century bears four uneven lines of Greek inscription on the reverse saying: Ο ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΜΗΡΑΣ ΑΜΗΡ ΓΑΖΗΣ (ὁ μέγας ἀμῆρας Αμῆρ Γαζῆς / *the great amīr Amīr Ghāzī Amīr Ghāzī*).⁴⁵³



Figure 6: Greek coin of Amīr Ghāzī from P. Casanova, pl. III, no. 1

As Paul Casanova already noted,⁴⁵⁴ the shape of some Greek characters and similarity to those of the issue of Malik Muḥammad, son of Amīr Ghāzī, lead us to think that this undated Danishmendid copper coin might have been issued not long before Amīr Ghāzī's death in 528/1134. Perhaps both types were designed by the same craftsman.⁴⁵⁵ Interestingly a bust of Christ, nimbate within a pearled circle is depicted on the reverse of the coin.⁴⁵⁶ Apart from symbolic language or images that frequently appeared in the twelfth-century Anatolian Turkmen coinage, Amīr Ghāzī preferred to use the official language of the Byzantine Empire,

⁴⁵³ Hennequin 1985: 847-848, nos. 1936-1938, pl. XLVIII. Paul Casanova published two variants of the coin in *The Cabinet des Médailles*, formally known as *Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*. One of these pieces irregularly had the form of octagon. Casanova 1896: 63-64, pl. III, nos. 1-2. Before Casanova, G. Schlumberger had already published three different forms of the coin. Schlumberger first offered it was struck by Tancred, prince of Antioch (Schlumberger 1875: 355-357, pl. XXV, no. 12; Schlumberger 1878: 44), but after more detailed consideration of several specimens, he identified it with the Danishmendid ruler. Schlumberger 1880: 273-284, pl. VIII; Schlumberger 1888: 264-265.

⁴⁵⁴ Casanova 1896: 64, pl. III, nos. 2-3.

⁴⁵⁵ Whelan 1980: 160. However, it must have struck before 1131, because, as will be mentioned below, Amīr Ghāzī was granted as the title *king of the entire North* in that year. If he had minted the coin after 1131, he would have used the title *malik* instead of *amīr*.

⁴⁵⁶ Whelan 1980: 138; Vryonis 1971: 473; Hendy 1969: nos. 20-1, pl. 2; Grierson 1999: pl. 56, nos. 980-84; Shukurov 2001: 60. We are going to discuss this coin type in the following chapters in detail.

which was still the superpower of the region, as well as the language of one of the largest populations, Greeks, living under his rule. It should be stressed here that the Greeks were not the only Greek-speaking group in Asia Minor, but Goths, Vandals, Slavs, and Mardaites from Lebanon, which were settled in Asia Minor by the empire at various times, also became Greek speakers. As Peter Charanis noted, by the end of the ninth century, in the large part of Asia Minor under the Byzantine Empire, or the area now ruled by the Danishmendid Turkmens, the Greek language was spoken:

The process of Hellenization was not, of course, completed overnight, but by the end of the ninth century it must have gone very far. By this time, except in some districts on the eastern frontier including those newly settled by Armenians, Greek, which for centuries had been the language of the state, of the army, of the Church, and of the educated, had become the everyday speech of virtually everyone throughout Byzantine Asia Minor.⁴⁵⁷

Besides its economic function, the Danishmendid amīr therefore used his coin as a means of communication with the ruled. The coin of Amīr Ghāzī echoes who his audiences were and explicitly announced his message to his Greek-Christian neighbours. In that point, we should remember that like the case of the Danishmendids, the Latins were prompted to produce Greek and Arabic inscriptions in their coinage for communication and manifestation of their political ideas to their Greek and Arab neighbours and ruled.⁴⁵⁸

A focus on the issues of the subsequent bilingual (Arabic-Greek) and Arabic Danishmendid coins would pose the question why the Danishmendid rulers struck only Greek coins at least until the death of Malik Muḥammad in 537 / 1143, and afterwards why they issued bilingual and Arabic types. At first glance, one might be tempted to say that the Danishmendid rulers used the Greek craftsmen in their service and the Greek types on the

⁴⁵⁷ On the linguistic evolution or process of Greek language in Byzantine Asia Minor, see Charanis 1975: 12 and Vryonis 1971: 42 ff.

⁴⁵⁸ Porteous 1989: pp. 354-387; Bates and Metcalf 1989: 421-473; Balog and Yvon 1958: 133-168; Brown 1974: 354-355.

Danishmendid coinage were in some way forced by the necessity of employing Greek engravers in the mint. Closer consideration, however, demonstrates that this was not true, but that the choice of language and inscriptions was consciously formed by the Danishmendid rulers in order to announce their messages to the ruled and the neighbours. In the same period, other Turkish rulers of Anatolia placed Arabic scripts on their coinage. Diyā' al-Dīn Abū al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī (518-526 / 1124-1132), the Saltukid malik of Erzurum, issued a figural copper coin presenting his name in Arabic.⁴⁵⁹ Another copper *fals*, which bears a portrait derived from the coin of Alexios I Komnenos on the obverse, was struck by Mas'ūd I (510-551 / 1116-1155), the Seljuk sultan of Konya, who also ruled in the area where Greeks generated a major part of population. However, unlike the first Danishmendid issues, the Seljuk sultan describes himself on its reverse inscription written in Arabic as بن قلیچ ارسلان / al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam, Mas'ūd bin Kılıç Arslān / Grand Sultan Mas'ūd, son of Kılıç Arslān (**fig. 7**).⁴⁶⁰



Figure 7: First Coin of Seljuk Sultan Mas'ūd I, The Barber Institute Coin Collection; P. D. Whitting Collection (no catalogue number)

These examples show conclusively that it was not infeasible to find a craftsman, who was trained in an Arabic-writing tradition in central and eastern Anatolia. Existing sources do not help us to gain a definite answer to the question, why did the first Danishmendid rulers, in

⁴⁵⁹ See below.

⁴⁶⁰ Artuk 1970: p. 350, no. 1059.

contrast to the Seljuk Sultans of Rūm and the other Turkmen chiefs, prefer to issue Greek coins? Coins have been used as a medium for distributing rulers' message to their audiences. Messages on the coins come in many different forms. Simply the expressions in words have been one of the commonest ways throughout centuries. With these considerations in mind, we can propose that the Danishmendid rulers aimed to introduce themselves to their Greek people and to stress that they were sovereigns of the lands where they lived. Thus, they possibly intended to show the power of the state and to keep the major group, who might have posed a problem in their military campaigns against the Byzantine Empire, under control. Perhaps, these coins were also used as a means of propaganda showing their ambition over the Greek lands.⁴⁶¹ As will be mentioned below, the copper dirham of Malik Muḥammad and the bilingual issues also provide us some signs supporting this view. Furthermore, written sources suggest that Amīr Ghāzī had intensive relations with Byzantine imperial family members and interfered in the internal affairs of the Byzantine Empire especially in the last years of his reign. In 1131, retaking Kastamonu from the Byzantine emperor Ioannes Comnenos, the Danishmendid amīr did not scruple to help the rebellious brother of the emperor, *sebastokrator* Isaac Comnenos, who took refuge in the Danishmendid court in the early 1130s and spent the winter together with Amīr Ghāzī in Melitene. According to Michael the Syrian, the Danishmendid amīr was very glad and honoured him remarkably.⁴⁶² This respectful treatment is explained by Isaac's noble birth, by the 12th-13th-century Byzantine historian Choniates.⁴⁶³

After this explanation, let us turn back to the other elements on the Danishmendid amīr's Greek legend. While the first *amīr* seen on the obverse indicates Amīr Ghāzī's *laqab* (title), which becomes 'Amiras' in Greek, the second 'Amīr' is the personal name of the

⁴⁶¹ Georganteli 2012: 149.

⁴⁶² Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 230.

⁴⁶³ Choniates (Magoulias), 19. More interestingly, Isaac's eldest son John Komnenos in the 1140s was converted to Islam and married a daughter of the Seljuk Turk in the court of Mas'ūd, the Seljuk Sultan of Rūm. Choniates (Magoulias), 21; Cahen 1968: 94; Necipoğlu 2006: 258; Özaydın 1993b: 470; Beihammer 2011: 621-622.

Danishmendid ruler. Arabic word امير / *amīr*, meaning commander, governor and prince, seems to be basically Islamic.⁴⁶⁴ In the first years of Islam, it was used for the commanders of armies and the governors who were initially the conquering generals. The head of the Muslim community was also called *amīr*. In the period of the Umayyad caliphate, the *amīrs* usually had full power, administrative and financial, in their province. Even they produced their own silver coins, but the types, weights and mints were regulated by the caliphs. Whereas the *amīrs* were generally Arabs under the Umayyads, the Abbasid caliphs preferred to appoint Persian and later Turkish amīrs. Under the Abbasids, *amīrs* established dynasties or their own emirates.⁴⁶⁵ Afterwards, the Seljuks, Ayyūbīds and Mamluks gave the title *amīr* to the military officers of all ranks, while the smaller Seljuk princes were called by this title.⁴⁶⁶

However, by the late eleventh century, apart from the Muslim rulers, local Christian governors or officials of Anatolia also used the title *amīr*. Just before the first Danishmendid capture of Melitene (Malatya) in 1101 or 1102, Gabriel (Khoril) of Melitene, who was appointed as a governor of the city by Philaretos Brachamios,⁴⁶⁷ introduced himself as *amīr* (ἀμηρᾶς) and *doux* (δοῦξ), with the honorific title of *protokouropalates* (πρωτοκουροπαλάτης) on his seal dated to c. 1090.⁴⁶⁸ In the same period, Theodore Hetoum, *doux* of Edessa, also left us a lead seal on which he is called *amīr* (ἀμηρᾶς) and *kouropalatēs*

⁴⁶⁴ While the term *amīr* occurs often in the ḥadīth of the prophet Muḥammad, it is found in the Qur'an only once. Qur'an, Sura iv, 59, 83.

⁴⁶⁵ Some of them, such as the Aglabids (800-909) and the Tahirids (821-873), recited the caliph's name on the *khutbah* (literarily refers to 'public preaching' on Friday prayer) and struck coins in his name. Others shared the power with the caliph by adding their names in the *khutba* and on their gold coins, symbols of the sovereignty of the ruler. Duri 1960: 439.

⁴⁶⁶ Duri 1960: 439.

⁴⁶⁷ Brachamios, who was appointed as *domestikos* by Romanos IV, rebelled against the regime after the overthrow of the vanquished emperor and established a short-lived lordship in Cilicia and northern Syria. Eventually, he entered the service of the Seljuk sultan Malik Shāh and converted to Islam in about 1085. Beihammer 2011: 616.

⁴⁶⁸ Obv. The standing figures of St. George, St. Nicholas and St. John the Baptist; rev. Γραφὰς σφραγίζω τοῦ Γαβριήλ, ἃς βλέπεις, ἀμηρᾶ δοῦκὸς πρωτοκουροπαλάτου (I seal the writings that you see of Gabriel, | *amīr doux* and *protokouropalates*). For the seal, see Zacos 1984: p. 250, no. 464; Oikonomidēs 1986: p. 103, no. 107; Cheynet 2001: pp. 80-82, no. 41.

(κουροπαλάτης).⁴⁶⁹ After reducing the Byzantine control over the eastern borders as a result of the severe defeat of Manzikert, the Byzantine officials, such as Brachamios, Gabriel and Theodore, had to submit to the Great Seljuk Sultans, particularly Malik Shāh. As Cheynet noted, the inscriptions on the seals can be evidence that the court of Constantinople had to accept this ‘double allegiance’.⁴⁷⁰ But at the same time, it would have become normal for a Turkmen ruler to style himself, in Greek, ‘Amiras’.

Amīr Ghāzī combined the Arabic title *amīr* with the Greek epithet *μέγας* (*megas/great*) as a symbol of his sovereignty. While Whelan interpreted the Greek title of Amīr Ghāzī *μέγας ἀμῆρας* as a Greek translation of *الامير الكبير / al-amīr al-kabīr*,⁴⁷¹ Oikonomidès suggested the Turkic ‘*ulubeg*’ for it.⁴⁷² Later French numismatist Gilles Hennequin brought a new interpretation and translated the legend into Arabic as *الامير الاعظم امير غازي / al-amīr al-a‘zam Amīr Gāzī* (the grandest amīr Amīr Ghāzī).⁴⁷³ It is difficult to match Amīr’s Greek-Arabic formula to Arabic titles, but it shows more similarities to the Greek titles on the middle Byzantine coins and particularly middle Byzantine seals. The epithet *μέγας* (*megas / great*), except two cases, emerged in the Greek titulature list of the Danishmendid rulers as *μέγας ἀμῆρας / megas amīras* (great prince or commander) or *μέγας μελήκικς / megas melikis* (great king) until the last years of the dynasty. While in the Byzantine coinage *megas* appears only on the last issue of Michael III (856-867), in which he called himself *μέγας Βασιλεύς Ρωμαίων* (great emperor of the Romans),⁴⁷⁴ it has been regularly combined with the title of the highest Byzantine officials on their seals in the forms of *μέγας δούξ*, *μέγας δομέστικος*, and

⁴⁶⁹ Obv. Standing figure of St. Theodore; Rev. Κύριε βοήθει Θεοδώρω ἀμῆρᾱ καὶ κουροπαλάτῃ το Χέτουμ (Lord, Help Theodore amīr and Kouroplatēs, Hetoum). For the seal, see Cheynet 2001: pp. 67-68, no. 34.

⁴⁷⁰ Cheynet 2003: 150-151.

⁴⁷¹ Whelan 1980: 137.

⁴⁷² Oikonomidès 1983: 204.

⁴⁷³ Hennequin 1985: nos. 1936-1937.

⁴⁷⁴ Grierson 1982: 176, 180. Apart from the issue of Michael III, in the coinage of the Empire of Trebizond, the epithet *μέγας* appeared again in the thirteenth century, namely after the Danishmendid Principality. See Macrides 1978: 238-241.

μέγας λογοθέτης.⁴⁷⁵ In addition, Alexios II Komnenos (1180-1183) issued a seal containing the title μέγας Βασιλεύς in the late twelfth century.⁴⁷⁶ It seems that μέγας / *megas* (great) in the title of the Danishmendid rulers followed in the Byzantine title-making tradition, particularly in the Byzantine seal-making practise. Not only Amīr’s coinage, but his son and successor Malik Muḥammad’s coin issue bearing Greek inscription have some traces from the Byzantine seals.

Type 3: King of all Romania: Ambition of Malik Muḥammad and Ideology of Kingship

The copper dirham issued by Malik Muḥammad (528-537 / 1134-1143), the Danishmendid amīr of Sivas and Kayseri, reflects a more assertive and ambitious Greek legend than his father Amīr Ghāzī’s issue as follows:

Obv.: Ο Μ(ΕΓΑC) Μ[ΕΛ]ΗΚΙC Π[Α]ΧΗC ΡΩ[ΜΑ]ΝΙΑC; **Rev.:** [ΚΑ]Ι ΑΝ[ΑΤ]ΟΛΗC, [Μ]ΑΧΑ[ΜΑ]ΤΗC / (**Obv.:** ὁ μέγας μελήκις πάσης ῥωμανίας; **Rev.:** καὶ ἀνατολῆς Μαχαμάτης / *the Great King of all Romania and the East (Anatolē), Muḥammad*) (**fig. 8**).⁴⁷⁷



Figure 8: Copper Coin of Malik Muḥammad, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK420; P. D. Whitting Collection

⁴⁷⁵ For seals, see Laurent 1981, vol. II: nos. 943-944, 597.

⁴⁷⁶ Zacos-Veglery, vol. I/1, no. 108; Dumbarton Oaks Seal Collection, BZS.1958.106.640 (formerly DO 58.106.640) DO Seals 6, no. 94.

⁴⁷⁷ See catalogue nos. 381-382; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK419-TK420; P. D. Whitting Collection; Adıyaman Museum (Turkey), Coin Collection, no. 861. Hennequin 1985: no. 1940, pl. XLVIII; Tekin 2011: no. 88. In the work of Whelan the first M is omitted without explanation. Whelan 1980: 139. This type of coin was recently found in the excavation of Harput, which has been lasting since 2005 and published by Oğuz Tekin. Tekin 2007: 49-51.

When first discovered, this coin was misinterpreted as a coin of Ottoman sultan Mehmet II, owing to its claims.⁴⁷⁸ The most prominent point in the Greek inscription of Muḥammad's only coin which has been found, is the use of the title *malik* instead of *amīr* that mirrors the progress of the Danishmendid politics in the region. The question of his promotion to the title of *malik*, and what moved Muḥammad to adopt a new title publicly can be answered in the contemporary chroniclers' reports:

In this year [AD 1134] the caliph of Baghdad and the Sultan of Khorasan⁴⁷⁹ sent to Amīr Ghāzī four black flags, drums that beat as a symbol of his sovereignty, a golden necklace for his neck and a gold sceptre which certified him and his descendants after him in the kingship.

⁴⁷⁸ A long time after the 'expansionist claim' of Malik Muḥammad, following the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II claimed his authority on the heritage of the Byzantine Empire by using a title *قايصر روم / Kayser-i Rūm* implying the continuation of the Roman Empire. Even in 1466, George of Trebizond, in a letter to the Sultan, wrote: "No one doubts that you are emperor of the Romans. Whoever holds by right the centre of the Empire is emperor, and the centre of the Roman Empire is Istanbul." (İnalçık 1969/1970: 233). The Sultan, who borrowed the titles *padishāh* from Iran, and *hakan* from Turan, particularly in Greek official documents preferred to use the title *Kayser-i Rūm*. Byzantine historian Kritoboulos of Imbros, who just after the fall of Constantinople (1453) entered the service of the Ottoman Empire and became the governor of his native island Imbros, composes a book covering the events of the years 1451-1467, prominently the conquest of Constantinople and other parts of the Byzantine Empire. The book begins with an epistle to Mehmet II and its opening sentence reads as follows:

To the Supreme Emperor, King of Kings, Mehmet, (*βασιλεῖ βασιλέων Μεχμετέι*) the fortunate the victor, the winner of trophies, the triumphant, the invincible, Lord of land and sea, by the will of God, Kritoboulos the Islander, worthless servant. (Kritoboulos (Reinsch) 1983: 3)

Kritoboulos calls Ottoman Sultan *βασιλεύς* (emperor / king), the traditional title of the Byzantine emperors, instead of using the Arabic-Turkish titles *amīr* or *Sultan*; and even *βασιλεύς βασιλέων* (King of Kings), recalling to the Persian title *shāhinshāh* and Arabic *malik al-Mulūk* was used to describe him by the Greek author. (Reinsch 2003: 306) Thus, in the first efforts, the coin of Danishmendid Malik Muḥammad was incorrectly identified with the coinage of Mehmet II. Equally, the Latin titles on his medals, which were executed by Italian artists also caused misconceptions (On Mehmet II's medals, see Raby 1982: 2-8; 1987: 182-3; see also Artuk 1946: p. 39, pl. VI; Artuk 1946: 38) and French numismatist Justin Sabatier identified the copper coin of Malik Muḥammad as a coin of Mehmet II. (Sabatier 1862, II: 284-5, nos. 1-3, nos. 4-5, pl. LXIV) Above all, however, while Mehmet II produced Latin legends on his medals, he did not use any Greek inscription as well as the title *malik*, on either his coins or medals. In this respect, A. von Sallet, in his article published in the journal of *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* in 1879, (Sallet 1879: 45-54) considered the similarities of the titles produced by Malik Muḥammad and Mehmet II and then restored the previous wrong interpretations and errors. (Sallet 1879: 54) However, İsmail Galib Edhem continued to identify it with Mehmet II in his catalogue of the Ottoman coins. (Edhem 1889-90: p. 42, no. 74).

⁴⁷⁹ Probably Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd bin Muḥammad Tapar (1134-1152), the Seljuk Sultan of Iraq. See Michael the Syrian, g413-g414).

Now it happened that when the envoys arrived, [Amīr Ghāzī] had died and so they implemented [the honor] on his son, Muḥammad, declaring him *malik*.⁴⁸⁰

This account of Michael the Syrian clearly highlights that this honorific title and other symbols of sovereignty were sent to Amīr Ghāzī just before his death in 528/1134. The Danishmendid Muḥammad was honoured with the title *malik* and symbols of sovereignty as well as declared king of the Danishmendid principality. However, even though Amīr Ghāzī was not able to collect the symbols, the record of the year 1131 in the chronicle of Michael the Syrian shows that he was already bestowed the title *malik* and announced as *king of the North* by the Abbasid caliph al-Mustarshid Billah (1118–1135): “At this time [1131 AD] the caliph of Baghdad and the Sultan of Khorasan declared Amīr Ghāzī that he was the *malik* of the entire North and called him Malik Ghāzī.”⁴⁸¹ The anonymous Syriac chronicler also confirms the commendation of the caliph in his notes of the events of 1131 and adds that he was now the most powerful Turkish ruler in the region.⁴⁸²

It is clear that after his military successes in the Byzantine lands and conquests in northern Anatolia, he was awarded the title of *malik of the entire North*. Following his domination on the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm, successes against the Crusaders and the Duke of Trebizond, and recapture of Melitene,⁴⁸³ Amīr Ghāzī took control of Ankara, Çankırı, Kastamonu and the coasts of the Black Sea by 1129:

Amīr Ghāzī, after defeating all Turks of Cappadocia, invaded the coast. Here there was a Greek, named Casianus, who held the region. He gave all his fortresses in Pontus to Amīr

⁴⁸⁰ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 237; Bar Hebraeus Abū'l Faraj has also used the anecdote of Michael the Syrian: “And in the year the caliph sent to Ghāzī, the Amīr, the son of Danishmend, the lord of Melitene, a collar of gold for his neck, a sign of subjection, and a staff of gold, and four black flags, and drums which were to be beaten before him. And Ghāzī was proclaimed malik. And when the envoys arrived they found him sick, and after some days he died. Then they fulfilled [the ceremonies] for his son Muḥammad, and went away.” Abū'l Faraj (Budge), 258.

⁴⁸¹ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III.

⁴⁸² According to *Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*, no: 1, 99: “The caliph of Baghdad invested with sovereignty Ghāzī, son of Danishmend, lord of Cappadocia, and Malatia [Melitene], who was more powerful than all the Turkish princes in those parts.”

⁴⁸³ For the details, see the first chapter.

Ghāzī without fighting. Then Amīr Ghāzī gave him a position in his country, and thus Casianus entered his service.⁴⁸⁴

As the result of the successful military campaigns in Anatolia, particularly in the northern coasts, the Danishmendid dynasty undoubtedly acquired a political prestige in Baghdad and therefore Amīr Ghāzī was promoted to the title of *malik* (king).⁴⁸⁵ It was a big step to eliminate their main rival, the Seljuqs of Rūm and become the major power in the region among the Turkmens. Indeed, Amīr Ghāzī interfered in the internal disorders of the Seljuks of Rūm arising after the death of Kılıç Arslān I (1092-1107) to expand in the Rūm Seljuk territories and in 1116 supported his son-in-law Mas‘ūd I (1116-1155) in the succession struggle against Shahinshāh (1107-1116).⁴⁸⁶ The new Seljuk sultan Mas‘ūd I was now overshadowed by his father-in-law Amīr Ghāzī.

With the title on his coin, Malik Muḥammad vigorously manifested that he would not be contented with the lands of the North. He must also be ‘the king of all *Romania* and *Anatolē* (the East)’. Before moving to the explanations of the words *Romania* and *Anatolē*, it seems useful to preface a brief description of the progress of Muḥammad’s Arabic title *malik*, meaning king. It was not officially assumed by the early Muslim rulers, but it was commonly applied to non-Muslim monarchs because it was a term of abuse.⁴⁸⁷ Later its negative meaning was transformed into an honorific title. In the mid-tenth century, the Buyids revived Sasanid traditions of regnal epithets. ‘Ali b. Būya (934-949), one of the three founders of the dynasty, assumed the Persian title *shāhanshāh* (king of kings) and later his successor ‘Adud

⁴⁸⁴ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 227; Michael the Syrian, g413; Abū’l Faraj (Budge), I, 289; Turan 2002, 170. Byzantine emperor John II led several campaigns against the Danishmendids to recapture Paphlagonia, the ancestral home of the Komneni, between 1130 and 1135. In 1132, the emperor marched out with his army against Castamon and recaptured it, but shortly after Amīr Gazi took it again. Choniates (Magoulias), 12-13; Choniates (Işiltan), 12-14.

⁴⁸⁵ According to the historical work of Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede Efendi, Great Seljuk sultan Alp Arslān gave menşur of and granted some privileges to Danişmend Ghāzī. Thus the Danishmendids had obtained a privileged position among the other Turkmen principalities long time ago. Bayram 2009: 15.

⁴⁸⁶ Cahen 1968: 94.

⁴⁸⁷ For instance, the Umayyad caliphs were called *mulūk* (the kings) by their opponents in order to describe them with a disdain for an irreligious and worldly minded government. Ayalon 1990: 261-262.

al-Dawla (338-372 / 944-983) added the title *malik* to his list of titles. At the same time, the rulers of the Samanids, one of the provinces of the Abbasid Caliphate in the north-east, assumed kingship as a mean of asserting their independence from the Caliphate as seen on the coin of Nūh b. Nasr (331-343 / 943-954) dating 339/950-1.⁴⁸⁸ As a result of the devaluation of identifying themselves as *malik*, many Muslim rulers assumed, in addition to *malik*, more assertive *laqabs*, for instance, the Seljuk rulers called themselves *sultan*, a title superior to *malik*, and the Ayyūbīds use the title *malik al-mulūk* (king of the kings), inspired by the Persian *shāhanshāh*. Afterwards, the use of this title gradually decreased.⁴⁸⁹ Briefly, *malik*, in the time of the Danishmendids, had a rank between *amīr* and *sultan*.

By accepting the title ‘the great *malik* of all Romania and the East’, the Danishmendid ruler Malik Muḥammad advanced a claim to the Byzantine inheritance and thus described himself as the ‘king of the Byzantine lands’. One of the main problems arising from the legend on this Danishmendid copper coin is the meaning of the terms *Ρωμανία* /Romania and *Ἐνατολή* / ‘East’. In other words, on what territories did Malik Muḥammad claim authority? Paul Wittek suggested that *Romania* was here a counterpart of the Arabic and Persian *الروم* / *al-Rūm* and attempted to limit its borders with the region of Amasya and Sivas,⁴⁹⁰ while Oikonomidēs brought further argument that *Romania* can be defined in a geographical sense as the part of Asia Minor captured by the Turks after the Battle of Manzikert.⁴⁹¹ In this respect, this title indicates the claim of Malik Muḥammad over all Turkish territories in Asia Minor including the lands of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm, not Byzantine possessions.

⁴⁸⁸ See Lane-Poole 1876: nos. 375, 384, 389, 391-92, 403, 409, 420, 425; pp. 100, 103, 105-106, 109-110, 115-116. Meanwhile, Kharazmi, Karahanid, Ghaznawid, Zangīd, Artuqīd and Great Seljuk rulers called themselves *malik*, frequently in combination with some honorific attributives such as *al-‘ādil*, *al-‘ālim*, *al-nāṣir*, *al-kāmil*, *al-ṣālih* etc. In Egypt, whereas under the Fatimids, this title was given to the *amīrs* and particularly *viziers* (political advisor or minister) the Ayyūbid and later Mamlūk rulers also used *malik* as their royal title. Ayalon 1990: 261; Güner 2004: 52.

⁴⁸⁹ Ayalon 1990: 261.

⁴⁹⁰ Wittek 1938a: 2; Wittek 1938b: 364-367.

⁴⁹¹ Oikonomidēs 1983: 201-202.

Nevertheless, their approaches need a further analysis in the light of political agenda of Malik Muḥammad.

It is true that, as Wittek already noted, *Romania* seems to have been the counterpart of the Arabic and Persian term *al-Rūm* which probably derived from the Greek ἡ 'Ρώμη / Rome and first appeared in Sasanid Pahlawi literature in the form *hrom*.⁴⁹² The coin-type struck by Malik Muḥammad's son, 'Imām al-Dīn Dhū'l-Nūn (d. 1175), clearly supports this argument. Dhū'l-Nūn partly followed the titles adopted by his father and also produced a copper dirham bearing an Arabic inscription reading:

...ملك بلاد الروم و ال (Malik Bilād al-Rūm wa'l-... / *the King of the Lands of Rūm and ...*)⁴⁹³

As it is seen, Dhū'l-Nūn preferred to use Arabic بلاد الروم / *Bilād al-Rūm* for Greek *Romania*. The colophon of Basil of Melitene in 1226 completed in Kayseri under the rule of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād (616-634 / 1220-1237) also provides a remarkable example showing the title-making tradition in Anatolia and supporting that *Romania* was a counterpart of Arabic *Rūm*: "...the high great Sultan Kay-Qubād, son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw was lord of *Romania*, Armenia, Syria and all the territories and provinces of the Turks on the sea and the land."⁴⁹⁴ While from Sasanid times to the fall of Constantinople the term *Rūm* in a political sense denoted the Roman empire and then the Byzantine empire with their lands in Europe and elsewhere,⁴⁹⁵ it also stood for the Byzantine territories in Asia Minor. In either case, this term referred to not only the Danishmendid or Turkmen territories, but also the Byzantine lands, at least those in Asia Minor. It can be said that the Greek inscription seen on

⁴⁹² On the description of Rūm, see al-Cheikh and Bosworth, "Rūm", 601-606; Babinger 1964: 766; Avcı 2008: 222-225; Savvides 1984-5: 95-102.

⁴⁹³ See cat no. 388. In the title the last word is deficit. Whelan suggests that it might be ملك بلاد الروم و الانطول (Malik Bilād al-Rūm wa'l-Anatūl), but it does not seem very plausible (Whelan 1980: 155, Type C, pl. 17, 10). As Shukurov mentioned, more securely the last word would be read الأرمن / al-Arman (Shukurov 2001: 271). As will be seen below, the title 'al-Malik al-Rūm wa'l-Arman' can also be found in the title lists of the other Turkmen rulers of Anatolia.

⁴⁹⁴ Korobeinikov 2012: 76.

⁴⁹⁵ Shukurov 2001: 266.

Malik Muḥammad's copper coin reflects his profound ambition regarding the Byzantine territories and thus he states his claim not only to former Byzantine possessions, now under Danishmendid reign, but all Byzantine lands (Romania / Rūm) and the East (Anatolē).⁴⁹⁶ Considering the increasing political tension and the resulting conflicts in Central and north-eastern Anatolia with the Byzantine Empire, it would not be surprising to see this Greek title in the coinage of Malik Muḥammad who employed ideology of kingship to sustain his power over his lands or prospective lands. In other words, for the Danishmendid ruler, this inscription was a means to consolidate his sovereign's power over his territories, people and armies. Looking at the summary of his external policy against the Byzantine Empire and the reaction of the emperor, the Danishmendid ambition over the Byzantine territories can be clearly seen.

After Amīr Ghāzī died in 528/1134,⁴⁹⁷ Malik Muḥammad succeeded his father as Danishmendid *malik*. In the first years of his reign, he had to deal with the rebellions of 'Ayn al-Dawla and Yagan who pretended to the throne.⁴⁹⁸ This chaotic situation in the Danishmendid dynasty allowed emperor John II to recapture former Byzantine cities, Castamon (Kastamonu) and Gangra (Çankırı), which had fallen into the hands of the Danishmendids in the reign of Amīr Ghāzī. However, after the emperor turned back to Constantinople, Malik Muḥammad retaliated and retrieved the northern lands.⁴⁹⁹ The Byzantine emperor and the Danishmendid *malik* contended for establishing their domination over these lands during the reign of the new *malik*. In 1139, John II, who was conscious of facing a fatal enemy, conducted a military campaign against Malik Muḥammad and his ally

⁴⁹⁶ 'East' meant, effectively, Anatolia, in Byzantine official language. For a wider geopolitical definition of the Romania / Rūm and Anatolia terms see Shukurov 2001: 259-276. As mentioned above, Mathew of Edessa, in his announcement of Gümüştegin's death, described the Danishmendid ruler as *the great amīr of the country of the Romans*: "In this same year (553 (February 24, 1104 – February 22, 1105) Danişman (Danishmend), the great amīr of the country of the Romans, died.": Mathew of Edessa (Dostourian), I: 349.

⁴⁹⁷ He left four sons behind him named Muḥammad, Yağıbasan, Yağan and 'Ayn al-Dawla.

⁴⁹⁸ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 237-8; Özyayın 1993b: 471.

⁴⁹⁹ Choniates (Magoulias), 12-13; Kinnamos (Brand), 20-21; Angold 1997: 155; Turan 2002: 173.

Constantine Gabras of Trebizond. The first aim of the Byzantine army, which proceeded through Bithynia and Paphlagonia, was to take the former capital of the Danishmendids, Neocaesarea (Niksar). After a long siege, John II failed to capture the city and returned to Constantinople in 1141.⁵⁰⁰ It was the last encounter between the Byzantine emperor and the Danishmendid malik.

From an ideological point of view, the ambitious Greek title on the Danishmendid coin aimed at propagating a new Turkmen political superiority over the Anatolian lands. At this point, Turkish historian İsmail Hami Danişmend (1899-1967) mentioned a Danishmendid inscription, which he saw and recorded in Sivas in the year 1919, but he did not take its photograph and furthermore today it is lost. So, apart from the words of İsmail Hami, we do not have another visual or written evidence to support its existence. In this case, if we trust his record, the Arabic proem on this inscription says that just after the death of his daughter Amīra Fatima, in 532/1137, *al-Malik al-‘Ālim ‘Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn Abū’l Muzaffar Muḥammad* built a tomb which accommodated a Turkish coronach (mersiye) saying:⁵⁰¹

Erdi onaltı yıl içre şuca-i Cenab-ı Hak'ka taç
Fatıma bintu-l Malik Ghāzī Muḥammad zaira
Ol Malik kim Ibn-i Danişmend olupdur ana san
Vasfına kasır kalubtur bu il içre bu lisan
Çünkü *Rūm'a sahib* Allah ise evvel sonra ol
Geçdi bu kabrin önünden emri üzre uş bu yol
Tā ki kulları diyeler gece hem gün fatiha
Hak'ka irsün bu güzerden her dua vü saniha
Kalbi girdi *sahib-i Rūm'un* yire bu hanede
İstegü bu kim geçenler bunda bir kez meks ede.

⁵⁰⁰ Choniates (Magoulias), 20-21; Angold 1997: 157; Turan 2002: 176.

⁵⁰¹ For the coronach, see Danişmend 1979: 257-258; Günaydın 2003: 38-40. English translation of coronach: “Visitor! The daughter of Malik Muḥammad Fatima, / In 16 years arrived in the glittering glory of God, / That malik’s appellation is the son of Danişmend. / In this city, this tongue is incapable to mention his qualifications, / Lands of Rūm belong to firstly God and then him. / This road passed in front of the grave by his order. / So that, may people read Fatiha. / May all prayers and sincere wishes reach God, / The heart of the owner of Rūm slide into the ground. / His wish is that the travellers stop here for a while.”

The coronach reflecting the intense sorrow of Malik Muḥammad highlights two important points. First, the Danishmendid ruler Muḥammad was described as *malik* (king) as well as *sahib-i Rūm* (the owner of Rūm). Second, his title on the Arabic proem *al-Malik al-‘Ālim ‘Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn Abū’l Muẓaffar* (Enlightened King, Glory of the World and the Faith, Father of Victory) also seems quite ambitious. Malik Muḥammad was one of the pioneers who advanced a claim over the lands of Rūm, but he was not alone in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Anatolia and al-Jazīra. The Seljuk sultans of Konya frequently show their claim to being the ‘ruler of Rūm’. The inscription in the name of the Seljuk sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kılıç Arslān II (551-588 / 1156-1192), on the *minbar* (pulpit), which is in the ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād mosque today, reflects his ambition over the same territories as the Danishmendids, their main rivals, and claimed:

...Sultan of the lands of Rūm, Armenia, the Franks and Syria, Abū’l Fath Kılıç Arslān bin Mas‘ūd bin Kılıç Arslān, helper of the commander of the Faithful, may God make his reign endure and his empire everlasting and his fortunes doubled.⁵⁰²

With this inscription, Kılıç Arslān II, claimed himself to be the sultan of not only Danishmendid-held Anatolian territories, but also the lands of ‘Armenia, Syria, and the Franks’. Prominently, while in the mid-twelfth century only the Danishmendid rulers and their rival Kılıç Arslān II, Seljuk Sultan of Rūm, asserted their claims to being the ‘ruler of Rūm’, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century the other Turkish maliks and princes also did not abstain from showing their claim over the ‘lands of Rūm’. This can speculatively be explained by three crucial events that occurred in this period. Initially, in the 1170s, the Seljuks of Rūm annexed all the lands of the Danishmendids, who held a large part of *Diyār Rūm* and furthermore struggled with their rivals the Byzantines and the Rūm Seljuqs to capture the rest of it. Secondly, in 1176, the Byzantine Empire was severely defeated at the

⁵⁰² *Répertoire chronologique d’épigraphie arabe*, IX (1937), 11-12, no. 3218; Hillenbrand 2007: 161.

Battle of Myriokephalon and, finally, in 1204, the Crusaders invaded Constantinople, capital of the Byzantine Empire. In this chaotic environment the Turkish rulers might have felt free enough to show their ambitions over the lands of Rūm. Thus, in 605/1208-9, the Artuqid malik Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (597-619 / 1200-1222) put his claim over Diyār Rūm with the inscription on the Yedi Kardeş Tower in Amid: ملك الأمرا سلطان ديار بكر و الروم و الأرمن (malik al-Umarā Sultan Diyār Bakr wa al-Rūm wa al-Arman / King of the commanders, Sulṭan of Diyār Bakr, Rūm and Armenia).⁵⁰³ And then his contemporary Seljuk prince of Erzurum, Mughīth al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥārith Tuḡrul Shāh in 610/1213 described himself as *malik al-Rūm*.⁵⁰⁴ In addition, a contemporary poem written by Niẓāmi Ganjawi (c.1141 - c.1203) assertively introduced the Mengujekid Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh (560-622 / 1165-1225) as *shāh of Rūm*:

[He is] both the malik of Armenia and the shāh of Rūm,

Owner of the Sultan's throne and Caliph's seat

The Conqueror of Rūm and Vanquisher of Abkhaz.⁵⁰⁵

As for *Ἀνατολή* / *Anatolē* or Anatolia,⁵⁰⁶ according to Paul Wittek, Anatolē covered the region of Ankara,⁵⁰⁷ while Oikonomidēs suggested the lands to the east of Sivas, namely Malatya, Cilicia and Syria.⁵⁰⁸ A series of military campaigns in the east of the Danishmendid lands conducted by Malik Muḥammad dedicate that the definition of Oikonomidēs was quite pertinent. That is to say, in 530/1136, he entered the region of Maraṣ (Germaniceia) and took

⁵⁰³ The full text of inscription was published in Max Van Berchem,– Josef Strzygowski, *Amida*, Hiedelberg 1910, 92, no. 30; Berchem 1907: 23-24, no. 10; *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, X (1939), 30-31, no: 3643; Konyar 1936: 97. We should also point out here, while you can see the title malik Diyār Bakr on the coins, the Artuqid maliks have never used the term Rūm in their coinage.

⁵⁰⁴ As *malik bilād al-Rūm wa al-Arman*; see *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, X (1939), nos. 3735, 3737, 3739. Abū al-Manṣūr Arghīn Basāt ibn Muḥammad ibn Saltuk of Micingerd, located between Kars and Erzurum, in 630/1232-33 also describes him as *malik mulk al-Rūm*; see *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, IX (1937), no. 3498.

⁵⁰⁵ Niẓāmi Ganjawi, v. 354-355 (cited also in Shukurov 2001: 269).

⁵⁰⁶ On the description of Anatolia (Anadolu in Turkish), see Savvides 1984-5: 101; Tuncel 1991: 107.

⁵⁰⁷ Wittek 1938b: 364-7.

⁵⁰⁸ Oikonomidēs 1983: 201-202; Oikonomidēs 1978: 328.

Keysun (Göksun).⁵⁰⁹ Two years later, Malik Muḥammad captured Elbistan and then Keban, which belonged to his brother ‘Ayn al-Dawla. In the same year, he managed to seize Vaga (Feke) and Kızıl Dağ in 532/1138 which had fallen to the Byzantines a short time ago.⁵¹⁰

But I would argue that the use of *Anatolē* in the Danishmendid coinage reflects once again the connection between Danishmendid coins and Byzantine seals. John Axouchos,⁵¹¹ the Turkish-originated *meḡas domestikos* (commander-in-chief) and companion of the emperor John II Komnenos, describes himself as ‘*sebastos* and *meḡas domestikos* of all the East and West’ on the reverse of his seal dated in the first half of the twelfth century: +IΩC / RA.OCKAI / ΜΕΓΑCΔO/ ΜΕ.ΙΚOC / ΠΑCΗCΑΝΑ / ΤΟΛΗCΚΑΙ / ΔVCEΩC.

+’Iω(άννης) σ(ε)βα[στ]ός καὶ Μέγας Δομέ[στ]ικός πάσης Ἐνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως / Ioannis *sebastos* and *meḡas domestikos* of all the East and West.⁵¹²

The question whether or not the word *Anatolē* both on the Danishmendid coin and the Byzantine seal defines the same area cannot be definitely answered, but it is known that the term *Anatolē* was used by the Byzantines to indicate the territories of all Themes of Asia Minor together with those of Thrace and Macedonia;⁵¹³ or more realistically, the territories covered to the east of Constantinople.⁵¹⁴ There are, therefore, some similarities between the above-mentioned Danishmendid coin and Byzantine seal. Firstly, the epithet *μέγας* emerges on both objects. Secondly, they were struck in the same period. Interestingly, finally, both Malik Muḥammad and Turkish-originated Axouchos were conducting military campaigns in Cilicia, Northern Syria and the east of Cilicia in the same years. Axouchos, who had been

⁵⁰⁹ Turan 2002: 174.

⁵¹⁰ Turan 2002: 174.

⁵¹¹ ‘Axouchos’ might be Greek counterpart of Turkish ‘Eksük’.

⁵¹² Nesbitt and Oikonomidès 1996: no. 99.8, p. 175-176.

⁵¹³ In fact, at this time, Western Thrace because the soldiers of Macedonia had been re-settled in w. Thrace under the Heraklian dynasty.

⁵¹⁴ See, for the Byzantine seals having the term *Anatolē*, Nesbitt and Oikonomidès 1996: nos. 99.1-12, pp. 172-77. The seals published in this work demonstrate that in the tenth and eleventh centuries *Anatolē* (the East) comprised only military commands.

captured at Nicaea in 1097 and given to Alexios I Komnenos as a present, was appointed as *megas domestikos* (commander-in-chief) of Byzantium's eastern armies by John II in 1118 and he died in the early 1150s.⁵¹⁵ He, who played an active role in many of John II's military campaigns, took part in the campaigns of 1137-38 in Cilicia, Antioch and Northern Syria.⁵¹⁶ Although there is no certain evidence, my further suggestion here is that the coins of Amīr Ghāzī and his son Malik Muḥammad were produced by a Greek craftsman or craftsmen, who were trained in a seal-making tradition. Theoretically, at least, considering that in the medieval Islamic world to find a proper and qualified coin-engraver was more challenging than to find seal-cutters,⁵¹⁷ it was easier to find and employ the seal-cutters for the Danishmendid rulers.

Type 4: Greek Coin of ‘Ayn al-Dawla: Eye of the State (537-547 / 1143-1152)

Another, and at first glance more puzzling and intriguing, type was issued by ‘Ayn al-Dawla Ismā‘īl (537-547 / 1143-1152), amīr of Melitene. This Danishmendid coin has a Greek inscription reading: **obv.:** ΑΙΝ ΑΛ (δου)ΛΑC Ο ΥΙ[OC] **rev.:** ΤΟV Μ[Ε]ΓΑΛΟV ΜΕΛΗΚΙ ΑΜ(Η)Ρ [ΓΑΖΗ] 'Aīv ἀλδούλας, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ μεγάλου μελήκι 'Αμῆρ Γαζῆ / *‘Ayn al-Dawla the son of the Great King Amīr Ghāzī (fig. 9)*⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁵ See Guillard 1967: 407-8; Italikos 1972: 41-44; and Nesbitt and Oikonomidēs 1996: 176; Kazhdan 1991a: 239.

⁵¹⁶ Brand 1989: 5.

⁵¹⁷ For this issue, a conspicuous example comes from the ninth-century Abbasid court. After his ascension, the caliph al-Ma‘mūn (198-218 / 813-833) was obliged to employ seal cutter to produce his first coins because of the absence of proper coin-engravers. That is why his coins were engraved in the shape of seals during his reign. Al-Maqrīzī, 382. Even his successors, al-Mu‘tasim (218-227 / 833-842), al-Wathīq (227-232 / 842-847) and al-Mutawakkil (232-247 / 847-861) continued to produce coins in this design. Al-Maqrīzī, 382.

⁵¹⁸ Tevhid 1903: 84-85, no. 101; Artuk 1970: no. 1180; Butak 1947: no. 103; Whelan 1980: 140; Aykut 1980.



Figure 9: Copper Coin of ‘Ayn al-Dawla from <http://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=1376080>⁵¹⁹ [accessed: 15th September 2015]

The second line of the obverse displays some enigmatic characters, which have long been thought to be an Arabic *tughra* or countermark. Ahmed Tevhid, first publisher and analyzer of this type, reads the first two lines as INA / (ετους) ΛΑ.⁵²⁰ In this context, he suggested that the letters IN (iota and nu) in the first line are an abbreviation for ‘indiction’ and the succeeding letter A (alpha) indicates the first ‘indictional’ year. According to Tevhid the unreadable characters refer to Greek ετους meaning ‘year’ and the Greek letters Λ (lambda) and Α (alpha) are, in the Greek numeral system, 30 and 1 respectively. Furthermore, he reads the reverse of the coin as ΤΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΝ ΜΕΛΗΚΙ ΑΜΕΤ ΓΑΖΗ (Great Malik Ahmet Ghāzī) and thus he suggested that this coin was struck in the first indictional year and the 31st regnal year of Danishmend Aḥmad Ghāzī.⁵²¹ However, several problems arise from his identification and interpretation. Firstly, Ahmed Tevhid read the name on the reverse incorrectly as ΜΕΛΗΚΙ ΑΜΕΤ ΓΑΖΗ (Malik Ahmet Ghāzī)⁵²² and this caused a wrong identification of the coin with Danishmend Aḥmad Ghāzī. However a correct reading would be ΜΕΛΗΚΙ ΑΜΗΡ ΓΑΖΗ (Malik Amīr Ghāzī); namely it must have been struck by one of the sons of Malik Ghāzī (Amīr Ghāzī). Secondly, neither Danishmend Aḥmad Ghāzī, nor his

⁵¹⁹ It is sometimes not easy to find a clear type of the rare Danishmendid coins in the museums. So I have also used the coin images from <http://www.acsearch.info> which is a reliable website organising coin auctions.

⁵²⁰ Tevhid 1903: 84-85.

⁵²¹ Tevhid 1903: 84-85.

⁵²² He also suggested that Gümüştigin and Amīr Ghāzī was the same person who ruled between 497/1104 and 529/1135.

sons reigned for 31 years. So the writing on the obverse cannot be the indiction. It should be recalled here that, as will be discussed in detail below, the indictional dating system was indeed used in Melitene by the Danishmendid amīr Dhū'l-Qarnain (547-557 / 1152–1162), the son of 'Ayn al-Dawla, and furthermore this type had been published by Schlumberger in 1895,⁵²³ and Casanova in 1896.⁵²⁴ In my view, Dhū'l-Qarnain's coin type displaying the 'indictional method' led Tevhid to think that these 'puzzling characters' might have been about the 'Greek numeral system'. In addition, he missed out the first letter A (alpha) and the last one Λ (lambda) in the first line because of the poor condition of the coin he used.

Turkish numismatists Behzad Butak and then Ibrahim Artuk could not bring a new interpretation of this issue,⁵²⁵ while Claude Cahen read the inscription in the first two lines as 'Ainalas', which he interpreted as a Greek spelling of the Turkish person name Inal,⁵²⁶ but he did not suggest any explanation for the unreadable characters on the obverse of the coin. His identification seems completely problematic, as there is no record asserting that Amīr Ghāzī had a son named Inal and there is not even ruler with this name in the Danishmendid dynasty.



Figure 10: Copper Coin of 'Ayn al-Dawla from <http://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=1376081> [accessed: 15th September 2015]

However, a more plausible suggestion comes from Estelle J. Whelan and Nicolas Oikonomidès in the early 1980s. Whelan claims that it was not an Arabic *tugra* or *damgha*,

⁵²³ Schlumberger 1895: 50.

⁵²⁴ Casanova 1896: 82.

⁵²⁵ Butak 1947: 92, no. 103; Artuk 1970: 384-385, no. 1180. İbrahim and Cevriye Artuk listed this type as a coin of 'Malik Ghāzī Gumushtegin' wrongly.

⁵²⁶ Cahen 1968: 95.

but the form of δ (delta) and ω (omega) written in cursive script.⁵²⁷ Whelan reads the first two lines as ΑΙΝ ΑΛδωΛΑC / ‘Ayn al-Dolas, whereas Oikonomidés suggests ΑΙΝ ΑΛδοβΛΑC.⁵²⁸ In either case, this Greek inscription announces the Danishmendid amīr ‘Ayn al-Dawla Ismā‘īl. Although there is no such type of cursive script in contemporary medieval coins and seals,⁵²⁹ it is possible to encounter quite similar examples in the Greek manuscripts. B. A. van Groningen, who created some lists of cursive abbreviations found in Greek manuscripts in his work of Greek palaeography, gives several examples of the δ (delta) written this way.⁵³⁰ Another list in his book indicates that the succeeding characters might be the combination of ου (omicron and upsilon).⁵³¹ In addition to these examples, a striking example showing very similar combination comes from the Greek edition of Aristotle in 1566 (**fig. 11**).⁵³² Thus, for this cursive Greek inscription, ΑΙΝ ΑΛ δουΛΑC or ΑΙΝ ΑΛ δοβΛΑC seem more plausible than ΑΙΝ ΑΛ δωΛΑC.

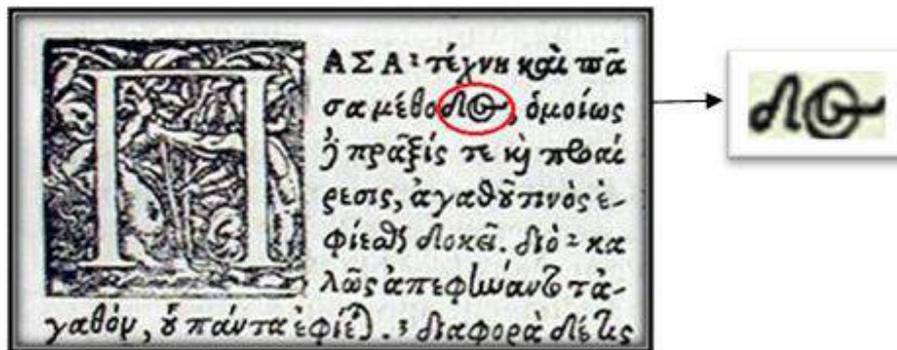


Figure 11: Early Greek print, the opening of Nicomachean ethics of Aristotle, printed Basel: Johannes Oporin und Eusebius Episcopus August 1566.

⁵²⁷ Whelan 1980: 141.

⁵²⁸ Oikonomidés 1983: 190.

⁵²⁹ However, a long time before the Danishmendids, the multilingual coins of Hephthalite kings ruling in today’s Afganistan and Pakistan in the fifth and sixth centuries surprisingly bear the Greek cursive inscriptions. For the coin types, see Mitchener 1975a: 157-165; Mitchiner 1975b: 167-174.

⁵³⁰ Groningen 1955: 34. An inscription on a tombstone dated in 1236 published by I. Ševčenko shows that the cursive scripts is sometimes combined with uncials. Ševčenko 1974: 383-386.

⁵³¹ Groningen 1955: 44.

⁵³² “Πᾶσα τέχνη καὶ πᾶσα μέθοδος, ὁμοίως δὲ πράξις τε καὶ προαίρεσις, ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς ἐφίεσθαι δοκεῖ· διὸ καλῶς ἀπερήναντο τὰ γαθόν, οὗ πάντ’ ἐφίεται.” English trans.: “Every art and every inquiry, and similarly every action and pursuit, is thought to aim at some good; and for this reason the good has rightly been declared to be that at which all things aim.” For the text, see Bywater 1894.

In fact, a problem stems from the Greek forms of the Turkmen rulers' personal names. As seen in the table below the Greek forms of the Turkmen personal names on the coins and seals have often differed from those used in the Greek written sources. For example, while the name of Dhū'l-Nūn (in Arabic form: ذالنون) appears as ΔΑΝΟΥΝΗC (Danounis) on his coin, twelfth-century Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates spelt his name as Δαδούνην (Dadounin).⁵³³ The name Yağıbasan (in Arabic form: ياغيبسان), (ΙΑ)ΓΙΠΑΖΑΝΙC (Yagipazanis) on his seal, was scripted as Ἰαγουπασάν (Yagoupasan) in the works of Choniates⁵³⁴ and Kinnamos.⁵³⁵

Names of Rulers	Arabic	Greek on the Coins and Seals	<i>The Alexiad</i>	Choniates	Kinnamos	Pachymeres
Danishmend		TAN(I)CMAN	Τανισμάν			
Amīr Ghāzī	امير غازى	AMHP ΓAZH				
Malik Muḥammad	ملك محمد	ΜΕΛΗΚ MAXAMATIC		Μαχούμετ (I, 9, i)		
Dhū'l-Nūn	ذالنون	ΔΑΝΟΥΝΗC		Δαδούνην		
Yağıbasan (Yaghibasān)	ياغيبسان	(ΙΑ)ΓΙ ΠΑΖΑΝΙC		Ἰαγου πασάν	Ἰαγου πασάν	
'Ayn al-Dawla	عين الدولة	AIN ΑΛ (δου)ΛΑC				
Dhū'l-Qarnain	زوالقرنين	ΔΟΛΧΑΡΝΑΙ[N]				
Nāṣir al-Dīn	ناصرالدين	ΝΑ(C)ΡΑΘΝΙC (Νασρατήνης)				Ναστρατίος (IV, 359, 8)

Table 5: Greek and Arabic forms of Danismendid rulers' names

Type 5: A Coin between the Two Worlds: Greco-Arabic Coin of Dhū'l-Qarnain (549-550 / 1154-1155)

Apart from the Greek coins, two bilingual coin types also appear in the Danismendid coinage. The first Greek-Arabic type issued by Dhū'l-Qarnain of Melitene (547-557 / 1152-1162) bears, in the centre of the obverse, an Arabic inscription reading:

الوائق ذوا لقرنين بن عين الدولة

⁵³³ Choniates (Işiltan), 80, 83; (IV, 7, ii).

⁵³⁴ Choniates (Işiltan), 80; (IV, 7, ii).

⁵³⁵ Kinnamos (Brand), 39; Kinnamos (Demirkent), 36.

(al-Wâthiq Dhū'l-Qarnain b. 'Ayn al-Dawla / self-assured Dhū'l-Qarnain, son of 'Ayn al-Dawla).

On the obverse and reverse of the coin, a Greek marginal inscription accompanies this Arabic legend:⁵³⁶ **obv.:** Ο ΜΕ[ΓΑC ΑΜΗΡΑC] ΔΟΛΧΑΡΝΑΙ[Ν] **rev.:** ΝΙΑΔ[ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC] ΔΕΥΤΕΡΙC (**fig. 12**)

ὁ μέγας ἀμῆρας Δολχαρναιν ἰνδικτιώνος δευτέρης / the Great Amīr Dhū'l-Qarnain in the second indiction⁵³⁷



Figure 12: Copper coin of Dhū'l-Qarnain from <http://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=1376082> [accessed: 15th September 2015]

The 'Greek indictional dating system' surprisingly reemerged in the coinage of Dhū'l-Qarnain. 'Indiction' initially referred to an extraordinary agricultural or land tax in Roman Egypt. It was first regularized on a yearly basis by Diocletian (in 5-year cycle beginning in 287), but, under the reign of Constantine I, it became a 15-year cycle starting in September 312. The word indiction, in time, acquired a chronological meaning and also it came to indicate one of the years in a 15-year cycle.⁵³⁸ Thus, in accordance with the indiction-dating

⁵³⁶ See catalogue no. 390; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK416; P. D. Whitting Collection; Tevhid 1903: no. 117; Artuk 1970: no. 1186; Butak 1947: no. 110; Casanova 1896: 81, no. 10, pl. 3; Hennequin 1985: nos. 1952-3, pl. XLVIII; Lane-Poole 1879: p. 81, nos. 7-8, pl. III; Topraktepe 2009: nos. 15029-15031. One of the specimens of the coins in the collection of Islamic coins of Tübingen University bear a countermark with Arabic letters on the reverse of the coin, on the image in the centre saying that ﷲ (Muḥammad). Haluk Perk and Hüsni Öztürk, who published it for the first time in 2003, claim that this countermark was probably produced by Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, the elder son of Dhū'l-Qarnain. Perk and Öztürk 2003: 38-39. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, after the death of his father in 557/1162, took the Danismendid throne, but in 565/1170 he was dethroned in favour of his brother Fakhr al-Dīn Qasim. Mélikoff 1965: 111; Yinanç 1997: 468-479. Most likely this new amīr, who struggled for power against his brothers for a long time, countermarked and used his father and predecessor's coin in the first years of his reign.

⁵³⁷ As Schlumberger and later Casanova mentioned, in the obverse of the coin, as a marginal legend, was written ΝΙΑΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC instead of ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC unintentionally. Schlumberger 1895: 50; Casanova 1896: 82.

⁵³⁸ Oikonomidès 1991: 993; *DOC*, IV/i: 125.

method, the copper dirham of Dhū'l-Qarnain dated Indiction 2 must have been struck between 1 September 1154 and 31 August 1155, since the second year of the indiction occurred only once in Dhū'l-Qarnain's reign.⁵³⁹

The re-appearance of the indiction-dating system on a coin, particularly on a Turkmen one, after a long time of its abandonment by the Byzantines, is unusual in any respect. We know that the systematic dating of Byzantine copper *folles* began to appear in 538-539, the twelfth regnal year of Justinian, as a result of his Novel XLVII on 31 August 537 that proclaimed that legal documents should be dated by the regnal year of the reigning emperor, the name of the consul for the year, the number of the indiction and the day of the month.⁵⁴⁰ Moreover, two dating methods, regnal years (ANNO) and indictions (IND)⁵⁴¹ were used on the Byzantine coins. With the accession of Constantine IV Pogonatos (668–685) the use of dating on the Byzantine coins became irregular. Subsequently, from the seventh to eighth century it was gradually abandoned.⁵⁴² So why did the Turkmen amīr Dhū'l-Qarnain need to use indictions on his coin in the mid-twelfth century?

First of all we should recall here that although the indiction dating system was already abandoned in the Byzantine coinage and seals,⁵⁴³ it was still used in the Byzantine manuscripts in the twelfth century. After the copper dirham of 'Ayn al-Dawla placed the cursive script probably borrowed from the Greek manuscripts, the use of the indiction on the copper dirham of Dhū'l-Qarnain makes me think that these coins might have been produced by a craftsman, who was trained in a Greek manuscript tradition. Moreover, Dhū'l-Qarnain, amīr of Melitene, was son of 'Ayn al-Dawla and just after his death, in 547/1152 succeeded to the Danishmendid throne, hence these coins of 1154-1155 are also likely to be designed by

⁵³⁹ See also Casanova 1896: 83-4.

⁵⁴⁰ *DOC*, II/i: 123.

⁵⁴¹ For 'indiction' usually was used the abbreviation of IND.

⁵⁴² *DOC*, II/i: 124, 126, 127.

⁵⁴³ Some fiscal seals bear the 'indiction' until the ninth century. Oikonomidès 1986: 11 and for examples, see nos. 21-22, 34, 42, 44, 46.

the same craftsmen, who worked at the service of both ‘Ayn al-Dawla and Dhū’l-Qarnain. The similarities of the craftsmanship and the characters on the coins also support this argument.

Just five years after the coin of Dhū’l-Qarnain, Artuqid amīr Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān introduced a new coin type with Arabic numeral system (*abjad*) in Ḥiṣn Kayfā,⁵⁴⁴ c. 400 km east of Melitene, the capital of Dhū’l-Qarnain. To put the Arabic numeral system on the coins is also unusual in that period. It is difficult to offer a link between these two Turkmen coin issues, but, at least, they show the innovative sides of both Turkmen leaders and how geopolitic location and social environment affected their preferences. This Danishmendid “innovation” has early Islamic predecessors however. A long time before the Turkmen issues some Umayyad gold *solidi* were also dated by the ‘indiction dating method’ in early Islamic North Africa. These coins have been classified in four series by T. Johnson. Series 1 can be defined as an adaptation of Byzantine local numismatic iconography; series 2 bears Latin inscriptions; the coinage of series 3 consists of bilingual (Arabic and Latin) coins; and finally, the last group of coinage, series 4, displays the Islamic features of the monetary reform of Abd al-Malik.⁵⁴⁵ The figureless coins found in series 2 display ‘indiction dating method’ with the abbreviated Islamic religious inscriptions such as ‘*kalima*’, ‘*shahāda*’ in Latin.⁵⁴⁶ This brief information explicitly exposes the distinct similarities in the process of the Danishmendid coinage with the early Islamic north-African coinage as in the case of the adaptation of the Byzantine coin iconography, the production of bilingual coins and the usage of ‘indiction dating system’, although they were produced in the completely different

⁵⁴⁴ See catalogue nos. 7-9; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK439-441; P. D. Whitting Collection.

⁵⁴⁵ Jonson 2012: 157-167.

⁵⁴⁶ Michael L. Bates divided this group into three phases based on the inscriptions on the obverse of the *solidi*. Furthermore the types in phase 1 are dated with ‘indiction’ years II and III (84-86 / 703-705); those in phase 2 with ‘indiction’ years III and IIII (85-87 / 704-706); and those in phase 3 with ‘indiction’ year VII (89-90 / 708-709). Phase 3 is separated into two sub-phases: the first sub-phase bears ‘indiction’ years VII (89-90 / 708-709) and Θ for indiction year IX (92-93 / 710-711), while the second sub-phase is dated with indiction years XII and XIII (94-96 / 713-715). Bates, 1992: 271-289; see also Jonson 2012.

geographies and eras. It was apparently a natural attitude to adapt to the new environment utilizing the inherited socio-cultural memory (language, information, traditions etc.) and other instruments.

Type 6: Great Amir Dhū'l-Nūn: Pillar of the Faith (567-570 / 1172-1175)

The second bilingual type struck by ‘Imād al-Dīn Dhū'l-Nūn (second r. 567- 570 / 1172-1175), the ruler of Kayseri and Sivas, display the genealogy of the Danishmendid ruler on its obverse and reverse inscriptions: in Arabic عماد الدين بن الملك محمد (‘Imād al-Dīn bin al-Malik Muḥammad / ‘Imād al-Dīn [Pillar of the faith], son of Malik Muḥammad); and in Greek: Ο ΜΕ(ΓΑ)C ΑΜΗΡΑC ΔΑΝΟΥΝΗC Ο ΥΙ(Ο)C ΤΟΥ ΜΕΛΗΚ ΜΑΧΑΜΑΤΙC / the Great Amir Dhū'l-Nūn [Danounis], the son of Malik Muḥammad (**fig. 13**)⁵⁴⁷



Figure 13: Copper bilingual coin of Dhū'l-Nūn, Adiyaman Museum, no. 4127, Turkey

As the inscriptions show, he identified himself with different titles in the Greek and Arabic legends. While using the title عماد الدين (‘Imād al-Dīn) in Arabic, Amir Dhū'l-Nūn prefers to introduce himself as ὁ μέγας ἀμνηρας (the Great Amir) in Greek in conformity with

⁵⁴⁷ Adiyaman Museum (Turkey), Coin Collection, no. 4127; Hennequin 1985: nos. 1942-3, pl. XLVIII. Stanley Lane-Poole published it in 1877 and incorrectly thought that it was struck by ‘Imād al-Dīn Shāhanshāh, atabeg in Sinjār. Lane-Poole 1877: p. 226, no. 635.

the traditional methods. These two distinctive presentations once again show that the choice of bilingual coins and the titles using on them was not due to chance. Dhū'l-Nūn, who was the last amir of the Danishmendids of Sivas and Kayseri, after the death of Shams al-Dīn Ismā'īl in 567/1172 succeeded to the throne for the second time with the support of Zangīd atabeg Nūr al-Dīn Zangī II. In his short reign, he tried to ally with Nūr al-Dīn , and then the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Comnenos (1143-1180) against the Seljuks of Rūm, the greatest threat to the Danishmendid territories. With a title reflecting a religious feature, he might have hoped to receive support of Muslims, particularly the Zangīds.⁵⁴⁸ His strategy indeed worked and Nūr al-Dīn's troops stayed in Sivas at the service of Dhū'l-Nūn until Nūr al-Dīn died.⁵⁴⁹ Thus, he managed to save his lands until the death of Nūr al-Dīn Zangī in 1175. Then, with the loss of his most important ally and protector, the Seljuks of Rūm captured all Danishmendid lands except Malatya in a short time.⁵⁵⁰ As a consequence of that Dhū'l-Nūn joined the Byzantine army and fought against the Seljuk Sultan Kılıç Arslān II to recapture his former lands, but he failed. Finally he fled to Constantinople together with Kılıç Arslān II's rebel brother Shāhanshāh.⁵⁵¹ Rumour has it that he was poisoned in a Byzantine dungeon at the request of the Seljuk Sultan.⁵⁵²

In the Islamic world, aside from the Danishmendid coinage, the bilingual coin production also appears in various Muslim mints from Spain to India, particularly in transitional periods.⁵⁵³ Muslim Arabic-Greek bilingual coin types for the first time emerged on the seventh-century-coinage of the cities of Tartūs⁵⁵⁴ (طرطوس), located on the Mediterranean coast of Syria, and Hims (Emesa), an ancient town in Diyār Shām (Syria) on

⁵⁴⁸ *Imād al-Dīn* was also the title of Zangī I, father of Nūr al-Dīn and founder of the Zangīd dynasty.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), II, 213. See also Yinanç 1997: 473-474; Özeydin, 1993b: 472.

⁵⁵⁰ Turan 2002: 204-205; Özeydin 1993b: 472.

⁵⁵¹ Choniates (Magoulias), 69-70; Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 357.

⁵⁵² Özeydin 1993b: 471. According to Aksarayī after the loss of his capital, he went to Niksar and died there. (Aksarayī (Turan), 30; Yinanç 1997: 30; Özeydin, 1993b: 471.

⁵⁵³ The Umayyad governors of Andalusia, with Arabic and Latin in the early eight century; the Ghaznavid Sultans, in the eleventh century issued bilingual coins with Arabic and Sanskrit in their new conquered territories (Dodds 1992: 384).

⁵⁵⁴ Antarados or Antaradus.

the eastern bank of Nahr al-‘Āṣī (the Orontes). The coins of Tartūs and Emesa, which were probably conquered by Muslim armies just after the Battle of Yarmūk in AD 636, under the reign of Caliph ‘Umar, also display similar representations of Byzantine emperors’ portraits derived from Byzantine coin iconography. The inscriptions of ΚΑΛΩΝ in Greek, meaning good, and mint mark (بطردوس / to Tardūs) appear on the obverse of some coins, to right downwards. As for the reverse, it bears Arabic طيب (good) as counterpart of Greek καλὸν (good), and ΑΝΤΑΡΧ in Greek (of Antaradus), the ancient name of the city. Also there is capital M with *officina* mark Δ below and above cross. Similarly some coins struck in the city of Ḥimṣ in the same period, depict Greek ΚΑΛΩΝ on the obverse and Arabic طيب on the reverse. Furthermore, the mint name was typed as both Arabic بحمص (to Ḥimṣ) and Greek ΕΜΙΧΗC (of Emesa).⁵⁵⁵ Comparing to these early Muslim Syrian ones, the Arabic-Greek bilingual coins of Dhū’l-Qarnain and Dhū’l-Nūn illustrate more sophisticated and intelligent legends as a message-bearer, and prioritise introducing the Turkmen amirs to their audience in a largely Greek-populated milieu.

Type 7: A Type Possibly Attributable to the Danishmendids (547-557 / 1152-62)

A rare unpublished coin in an excellent condition was offered for sale in an auction conducted by *Numismatica Genevensis SA* in Geneva in November 2014 (**fig. 14**).⁵⁵⁶ The obverse of the coin evokes the bilingual type of Dhū’l-Qarnain (547-557 / 1152-62) (**type 5 above**) with ‘indiction’ in terms of its fabric (figure and design). The obverse of both coins portrays a marginal legend with Greek characters and a figure in a circle. The pose of figure, with a long and pointed nose, and style of beard make us think that both figures might have been imitated from the same source. However, the marginal inscription in Greek around the figure is meaningless. As to the reverse, it is more interestingly inspired by a Byzantine 40

⁵⁵⁵ Schulze 2013: 245-259; Album and Goodwin 2002: nos. 538ff.

⁵⁵⁶ See Lot 460-Numismatic Auction 7: <http://ngsa.bidinside.com/en/lot/461/t-urcoman-danishmendid-40-nummi-de-plomb-non-/> [accessed: 3rd December 2014]

nummi piece.⁵⁵⁷ A ‘cross’ is placed on letter M and three stylized rectangular figures under M. On the left and right side, there are three meaningless characters. Again, there are three characters without meaning at the exergue.



Figure 14: Very rare copper issue attributed to the Danishmendids⁵⁵⁸

Here we shall point out some unusual elements for this coin. Firstly, although it is familiar to see some Christian elements in the Turkmen coinage, the presence of a cross seems unusual with a few exceptions.⁵⁵⁹ While using Christian images such as Christ, Virgin Mary, St. George and the Byzantine imperial figures, the Turkmen artisans usually preferred to remove the cross from their images. Secondly, we can find a series of imitation coins in the Turkmen world, but there is not any other Turkmen type inspired by early Byzantine *nummi*. Thirdly, the decorated rectangular figures on the reverse of the coin do not reflect Byzantine features, but they come from different sources. Finally, for this coin type, even though the characters at the exergue look like an abbreviation, it does not make sense as any place name.⁵⁶⁰ Many questions arose, at this point, as to the identification and clarification of this coin: in which dynasty and by whom was this coin issued? Why were the Greek characters

⁵⁵⁷ In Byzantine coinage, after the monetary reform of Anastasius in 498, a series of multiples of the *nummus* were produced: 40-nummi, 20-nummi, 10-nummi, and 5-nummi copper coins. The reverses of these coins show the value of the denomination with the Greek numerals (M=40, K=20, I=10, E=5) while the obverse displays the portrait of the emperor. Their obverse usually bear the Greek numerals in centre, ANNO to left, regnal year to right, cross above, *officina* mark below, the mint mark in exergue. Grierson 1999: 1, 2. Cross and regnal year can be placed in the different parts of coin and sometimes some other figures such as star and christogram also can appear on these coins.

⁵⁵⁸ <http://ngsa.bidinside.com/en/lot/461/t-urcoman-danishmendid-40-nummi-de-plomb-non-/> [accessed: 3rd December 2014]

⁵⁵⁹ It will be discussed below.

⁵⁶⁰ The exergue on the Byzantine coins hosts the abbreviation of the mint name.

cluttered on this type? Why was the cross symbol placed on the reverse unlike the other Turkmen coin-types? Even though it is difficult to answer these questions, the Danishmendid dynasty seems the most likely producer of this unique coin-type. It can speculatively be interpreted as a ‘forged coin’ struck in the lands of the Danishmendids.⁵⁶¹ Finally, an explanation of the meaningless Greek characters on the coin with the illiteracy of the Danishmendid Turkmens is highly implausible. Above all, as already mentioned, the Danishmendid *amirs* and *maliks* issued many Greek and bilingual (Greek-Arabic) coins probably designed by the artisans who have been trained in Greek writing tradition, under their service.

B. Greek Seals of the Danishmendids

With few exceptions, Greek seals seem to have appeared in Islamic world in the tenth century as a result of military events and other political matters beyond the eastern borders of the Byzantine Empire. Although there is still no comprehensive work focusing on the Arab-Byzantine type seals, German numismatist Johann Gustav Stickel for the first time identified and published a seal of this type in the mid-nineteenth century.⁵⁶² After his pioneer attempt, in the late nineteenth century, Gustave Schlumberger in 1884⁵⁶³ and then Paul Casanova in 1894⁵⁶⁴ attempted to interpret and analyze a limited number of seals kept in some museums and private collections. Finally, Turkish numismatist and historian Halil Edhem, in his valuable work,⁵⁶⁵ opened a chapter for the Arab-Byzantine seals kept in Müze-i Humāyūn⁵⁶⁶ and described fourteen examples comprising Arabic and Greek texts and some figures including the busts of St. Theodore, St. Basil, and others. The types given by these scholars

⁵⁶¹ This extremely rare type is quite large with 14.21 gr, while the weight of the type of Dhū'l-Qarnain is around 7.50 gr.

⁵⁶² Stickel 1866: 336-376.

⁵⁶³ Schlumberger 1884: 72.

⁵⁶⁴ Casanova 1894: 97.

⁵⁶⁵ Edhem 1904: 39-52.

⁵⁶⁶ Today İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri.

show that while some part of these seals were struck in the period of the first Islamic conquests, another part of those were produced in the tenth and eleventh centuries by the *Tavaif-i Mulūk*, independent Muslim-ruled principalities in West Asia, North Africa and Spain, particularly the Hamdanids (905-1004).⁵⁶⁷

Even though, in these works, there is no seal struck by the twelfth-century Turkmen rulers, misreading and thus misidentification of some pieces caused confusions in modern writings on the subject. But, before revisiting and reanalyzing this issue, we will first discuss the Danishmendid seals in Greek struck by Yağıbasan and Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad.

Rulers	Inscriptions	Translations
Yağıbasan (537-559 / 1143-1164)	ΟΔΩΛΟC / .ΩΒΑCΙΑΕ / .CΑΜΙΡΑC / ..ΓΙΠΑΖΑΝΙC (‘Ο δοῦλος [τ]οῦ βασιλέ [ω]ς ἀμυρᾶς [‘Ια]γπαζάνης)	oikeios/subject of the emperor, amir Yağıbasan
Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad (first r. 557-565 / 1162-1170; second r. 570-573 / 1175-1178)	ΝΑ. / ΡΑΤΗ / ΝΗC ΟΜΕ / ΓΑC ΜΕ / ΔΙΚΙC (Να[σ]ρατήνης ὁ μέγας μελίκης)	Nāşir al-Dīn, the great king

Table 6: Greek Seals of the Danishmendids

Type 1: Subject of the Emperor: Yağıbasan

After the death of Malik Muḥammad in 537/1143, his son Dhū’l-Nūn in Kayseri, and his brothers Yağıbasan in Sivas, and ‘Ayn al-Dawla in Malatya declared their independence and thus the principality of the Danishmendids was divided into three parts. Hence Danishmendid politics entered a new phase, and the Danishmendid rulers did not hesitate to seal military and political alliances with the Byzantine Empire against common enemies, specifically the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm. A Greek inscription showing the political affiliation between the *amir* and the emperor is found in the seal of Yağıbasan (537-559 / 1143-1164). On the obverse, in a beaded circle, there is a half-length representation of Christ, blessing

⁵⁶⁷ See Nesbitt, 2005. Considering the fact that there is no comprehensive work concerning the Arab-Byzantine seals, we shall say that Dumbarton Oaks Seal Collection hosts about 80 seals with Arabic inscriptions and some other oriental languages such as Syriac, or Armenian.

with his right hand (benediction) and holding a scroll in his left hand within a nimbus cruciger. And some illegible characters are on both sides of the field.⁵⁶⁸ As for the reverse, it reads as follow: ΟΔΘΛΟC / .ΘΒΑCΙΑE/ .CΑMIPAC/ ..ΓIΠAZANIC (‘Ο δοῦλος [τ]οῦ βασιλέ[ω]ς ἀμυρᾶς [‘Ια]γιπαζάνις / Oikeios/subject of the emperor, amir Yağıbasan) (fig. 15)



Figure 15: Seal of Yağıbasan, Dumbarton Oaks Seal Collection, BZS.1958.106.280

It is important to note that while the inscription was translated by Oikonomidès as ‘the slave of the emperor, amir Yağıbasan (L’esclave de l’empereur, l’émir Yağıbasan)’,⁵⁶⁹ Georganteli suggests the translation of ‘οἰκεῖος (*oikeios*) / subject of the emperor, amir Yağıbasan’.⁵⁷⁰ The term *δοῦλος* / *doulos* retained its ancient and literal meaning of slave in the Byzantine Empire, but at the same time the word *doulos* was used for all the emperor’s subjects. Then the expression the ‘*doulos* of his majesty’ or the ‘*doulos* of the emperor’ became a characterization of close links with the sovereign.⁵⁷¹ As for the term *οἰκεῖος* / *oikeios*, used for the emperor’s close relatives and associates again, it probably had a link with the special meaning of *δοῦλος* / *doulos* designating close association with the emperor. So a

⁵⁶⁸ Dumbarton Oaks Seal Collection, BZS.1958.106.280. The Christ figure on the obverse appears on coins and seals of the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180). For the hyperpyron nomisma of Manuel I, see *DOC*, IV/i, p. 289ff, and *DOC*, IV/ii: pl. XI, nos. 1a.2, 1a.5, 1b.1, 1b.5, 1b.6, 1c.2, 1c.4, 1d.5, 13.5, 1e.10, 1f.1, 1f.2; and for the aspron trachy nomisma of Manuel I, see *DOC*, IV/i: pp. 296-297, and *DOC*, IV/ii: pl. XII, nos. 2a.2, 2b.2. See also Hendy 1969: 11ff, pls. 12-14. For the seals, see Zacos and Veglery 1972: no: 107, and Nesbitt 2009: nos. 93.1-93.10, pp. 179-184.

⁵⁶⁹ Oikonomidès 1983: 191.

⁵⁷⁰ Georganteli 2012: 150.

⁵⁷¹ Kazhdan 1991b: 659.

man titled *oikeios* would describe himself as the ‘*doulos* of the majesty’.⁵⁷² While the term *o doulos tou theou*, literally, ‘the slave of God’, was used before, in the ninth to tenth centuries the two expressions *o doulos tou* and *o oikeiēs tou* also began to be accepted in reference to the emperor’s associates. Although these terms are normally translated into English as ‘the servant’ or ‘the slave’, ‘*o doulos / o oikeiēs tou basileōs*’ denominate the emperor’s high military or civilian officials. On the one hand, they indicate a direct and personal subordination to the emperor, on the other hand, unlike the slave’s function, these social positions were perceived as certain privileges.⁵⁷³ Thus, the translation of Georganteli seems more optimal and the Danishmendid amir Yağıbasan, with this honorific title, obtained an important position in Byzantium.⁵⁷⁴

Here, as generally in Danishmendid history, this sigillographic evidence provides immediate corroboration of the records in the Byzantine and local Christian chronicles.⁵⁷⁵ This Greek title reflects the policy of Yağıbasan against the internal disorders and external threats. With the death of Malik Muḥammad in 537/1143, Seljuk sultan Mas‘ūd I (1116-1155), who supported Dhū’l-Nūn against his uncles, took the opportunity to interfere in the internal affairs of the Danishmendids. To continue their dominance over the current Danishmendid territories, Yağıbasan of Sivas and ‘Ayn al-Dawla of Malatya first tried to seal alliance together against their nephew Dhū’l-Nūn and his ally the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm

⁵⁷² Kazhdan 1991d: 1515.

⁵⁷³ Rotman 2009: 166-167. The term ‘*doulos*’ can be found on the Byzantine seals as well. For instance, a metrical seal struck in the name of Ioannes Maroules, *doulos* of the emperor Manuel, in 1162 was found in Blesna, the fortress near Dimitrovgrad, Bulgaria: Μανουήλ. / Σφραγίς Μαρούλη εὐκλεοῦς Ἰωάννου | δούλου Μανουήλ τοῦ κρατοῦντος δεσπότης (Manuel. / Seal of the glorious Ioannes Maroules | *doulos* of the reigning despotēs Manuel) <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/jsp/boulloterion.jsp?bKey=4516>

⁵⁷⁴ Furthermore, according to Ljubomir Maksimovic, “*oikeioi*” refers to men in a kind of vassalage to the emperor. Maksimovic 1988: 22-23.

⁵⁷⁵ See Kinnamos (Brand), 39, 135, 156-158; Choniates (Magoulias), 67-69; Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 297.

and then attempted to get the help of Byzantine emperor Manuel I.⁵⁷⁶ On the occasion of the attacks of Mas‘ūd I on the Byzantine territories in the year 1146, emperor Manuel I sent a letter to the Seljuk Sultan demonstrating the Byzantine-Danishmendid alliance clearly:

We wish you to know that you have undertaken things which provoke our attack on you. You yourself have robbed us of Prakana, which did not belong to you, and you lately assailed the Romans' land. You also did not desist from fighting in some fashion with Yaghi-Basan [Yağıbasan], who is the Romans' ally, and many other chieftains there ...⁵⁷⁷

Possibly, therefore this Danishmendid seal was issued in this period, between the years 1143 and 1146. Here one of the 'other chieftains' mentioned by Kinnamos might refer to Danishmendid amir 'Ayn al-Dawla of Malatya. In fact, occupation of some Danishmendid lands along the Euphrates river by Mas‘ūd I caused a military alliance between Yağıbasan, 'Ayn al-Dawla and the Byzantine emperor Manuel I against the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm.⁵⁷⁸

Oikonomidès states that soon afterwards Yağıbasan switched sides and turned against the Byzantines, in such a way that he hypothesises that Greek inscriptions would not show a rapprochement between Byzantium and this Danishmendid amir. It is true that in 1151 Yağıbasan continued his father Malik Ghāzī and his brother, Malik Muḥammad's policy over the Byzantine territories in the North, and invaded Pabra / Paurae (Bafra) and some villages.⁵⁷⁹ It is obvious, however, that the Danishmendid amir, during the great portion of his reign, contracted diplomatic alliances with the Byzantine emperor. For instance, in 1157, Yağıbasan returned Oinaion (Ünye) and Pabra (Bafra), which he had captured, to Manuel I and joined the alliance against Seljuk Sultan Kılıç Arslān II established by the Byzantine

⁵⁷⁶ Turan 2002: 178-180. Özeydin, 1993b: 471. However, these attempts would not prevent the progress of the threat of the Seljuks over the Danishmendids. The Danishmendid amīrs under the leadership of Yağıbasan, in October 1155, attacked twice the Seljuks of Rūm in which new sultan Kılıç Arslān II (1155-1192) was struggling against his rebellious brothers, but these attacks were prevented with the conciliation of religious functionaries. Turan 2002: 198-199; Özeydin, 1993b: 472.

⁵⁷⁷ Kinnamos (Brand), 39.

⁵⁷⁸ Turan 2002: 180.

⁵⁷⁹ Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 297; Cahen 1968: 99-100.

emperor and the other Danishmendid amirs Dhū'l-Nūn and Dhū'l-Qarnain, who became the amir of Melitene in 547/1152 after the death of his father 'Ayn al-Dawla.⁵⁸⁰ Five years later, in 1162, Yağıbasan and the Seljuk army came face-to-face. Once again the support of Manuel I ensured the victory of Yağıbasan. Manuel I Komnenos instigated his rivals, particularly Yağıbasan, against the Rūm Seljuks in order to halt the expansion of Kılıç Arslān II and to establish a balance of power in Asia Minor.⁵⁸¹

...Secretly sending envoys to both sides, he (Manuel Komnenos) led them into war. Manuel presented Yagi Basan [Yağıbasan] with gifts, making it evident that he supported him in the hostility... Trusting in the emperor, Yagi Basan (Yağıbasan) made war on the Sultan. The latter, in turn, marched out against him, and they clashed in battle frequently (between 1155 and 1160). After much blood was shed by both armies, victory smiled on Yagi Basan, and both adversaries laid down their arms for the time being [1162]...⁵⁸²

All these military events that occurred around the Danishmendid territories and political strategies managed by Yağıbasan show why he used the title *δοῦλος τοῦ βασιλέως* (subject of the emperor) on his seal. There is no direct evidence in the Greek and other sources to support that the Byzantine emperor enrolled the Danishmendid malik of Sivas Yağıbasan as his *doulos*. Nevertheless, a striking example coming from the chronicle of Niketas Choniates can suggest an argument about this case. Kılıç Arslān II's visit to Constantinople, which was just after his shattering defeat in 1162 by Yağıbasan brought the treaty between the emperor and the Sultan.⁵⁸³ It was a tactical move for both sides: the emperor was trying to continue his 'power-balance policy' in Anatolia, the Sultan wished to make an alliance with the Byzantines against his internal opponents. It would make Kılıç

⁵⁸⁰ Kinnamos (Brand), 135.

⁵⁸¹ Özaydın 1993b: 472; I. Mélikoff 1965: 111; Yinanç 1997: 468-479. However, in the following year, the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm captured Sivas. Thus Yağıbasan had to leave the city and fled to Çankırı (Gangra), which was the capital of Seljuk malik Shāhin Shāh to recapture his capital, but he died in 1164. Turan 2002: 202; Özaydın 1993b: 472.

⁵⁸² Choniates (Magoulias), 67.

⁵⁸³ For the process of the events and the details of the treaty, see Kinnamos (Brand), 156-158 and Choniates (Magoulias), 67-69.

Arslān II more powerful, as Choniatēs cited. Most importantly and interestingly, Choniatēs states that the Sultan was adopted by the emperor: “...(Manuel) honoured him by adopting him as a son. In the letters which they exchanged, the emperor was addressed as father and the Sultan as son.”⁵⁸⁴ This was interpreted by P. Magdalino as follows: “An encomium composed for the occasion indeed states that the Sultan swore to serve the emperor, who made him his adopted son and enrolled him among the imperial retainers (*oikeioi, oiketai*)”.⁵⁸⁵ Thus, to some extent, it can be accepted that Yağıbasan set the precedent, though there is no Rūm Seljuk coin or seals which bear any such description.

Type 2: The Last ‘Great Malik’: Nāṣir al-Dīn (Before 573/1178)

Another seal issue including a Greek inscription was produced by Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (first r. 557-565 / 1162-1170; second r. 570-573 / 1175-1178), the Danishmendid amir of Melitene. In a beaded circle on the obverse his name was written in three lines: NA. / PATH / NHC (Νασρατίνης = Nāṣir al-Dīn), and his title appears on the reverse: O ME / ΓAC ME / ΛΙΚIC (ὁ μέγας μελικίς = the great king) (**fig. 16**).⁵⁸⁶ Although the third letter of the first line is deficient, Greek sigma (Σ σ,ς) seems very plausible for the Arabic form of the name (ناصرالدين), which later appear in the form Ναστράτιος in the work of George Pachymeres, thirteenth-to-fourteenth century Byzantine historian.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁴ Choniatēs (Magoulias), 70.

⁵⁸⁵ Magdalino 1993: 77.

⁵⁸⁶ Apart from Malik Muḥammad, he was the second Danishmendid ruler used the title ὁ μέγας μελικίς = the great king.

⁵⁸⁷ George Pachymeres, 359.



Figure 16: Seal of Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad, Dumbarton Oaks Seal Collection, BZS.1958.106.790

It is important to note that since the twelfth century, Greek inscriptions on the coins and seals have not been demonstrated by the other Turkmen dynasties. More importantly the title *ὁ μέγας μελικίς* (the great king) which has been already attested by Malik Muḥammad in the same dynasty is not known to be used by anyone else. His only contemporary namesake was Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Saltuk (563-587 / 1168-1191), the Saltukid ruler of Erzurum, but there is no evidence to suggest that the Saltukids produced coins or seals in Greek. Apart from Saltukid Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad, during this period, there is no contemporary ruler with the same name in the Turkish principalities. Shortly afterwards we encounter Nāşir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān (597-637 / 1201-1239), the Artuqid amir of Mārdīn, and Nāşir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (616-631 / 1219-1234), the Zangīd atabeg of Mosul. But, there is no evidence that the Artuqid and Zangīd rulers used Greek script and the title *ὁ μέγας μελικίς* (the great king). Thus, this seal in Greek alphabet is identifiable with Danishmendid amir Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad.⁵⁸⁸

To understand the circumstances and details of creating this issue is difficult because of the silence of the sources on the reign of Nāşir al-Dīn. Limited information also provides no clue to know exactly when the Danishmendid amir created his seal, in the period of his

⁵⁸⁸ For its first identification, see Oikonomidēs 1983.

first or second reign.⁵⁸⁹ Moreover, some characters, used on this Danishmendid seal reflect similarities with the shapes of the letters on thirteenth-century Byzantine seals. In other words, they disappeared on the *Byzantine* seals in the second half of the twelfth century. Although the shape of some characters used here is more reminiscent of thirteenth-century Byzantine seals,⁵⁹⁰ as Nicolas Oikonomidès pointed out, these characters already appeared in the twelfth century on inscriptions, especially on some *Greek-Danishmendid coins*. Comparing the shape of the letters A, Λ, M and N with the Greek inscriptions on above-mentioned Danishmendid coins, the resemblance also confirms Oikonomidès' suggestion.⁵⁹¹ Such similarities cannot be due to chance. The only explanation for them is a common origin coming from the same coinage tradition. The Greek scholar also stressed that the *boullotèrion* / *βουλλωτήρον*⁵⁹² used to introduce this seal had to be made not in Constantinople but in Melitene, the capital of Nāṣir al-Dīn.⁵⁹³ At the same time, as already mentioned, there can be found other specimens showing inconsistency with both Islamic coinage and the Byzantine coin and seal tradition, such as particularly 'Ayn al-Dawla's coin with the 'cursive Greek letters' and Dhū'l-Qarnain's issue bearing 'indiction dating system'. So it is probable that we encounter an 'idiosyncratic tradition' in Danishmendid coins and seals.

⁵⁸⁹ However, at least we know that he made a big effort to save his throne from internal and external rivals. Even though Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, eldest son of Dhū'l-Qarnain, who succeeded his father as the amir of Melitene in 1162, was exiled from Melitene in 1170 by Fakhr al-Dīn Qasim (565-567 / 1170-1171), Qasim was killed in a riding accident on his wedding day, just one day after his accession to the throne. Following that, the third brother Afrīdūn (567-570 / 1171-1175) became the amir of the Danishmendids until Nāṣir al-Dīn took back the throne in 570/1175. He ruled the dynasty until being finally defeated by his suzerain, the Seljuk Sultan of Rūm Kılıç Arslān II in 1178. After he was dethroned in 565/1170, he first went to Syria and then Antioch to take the support of Zangīd atabeg Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd and Antioch's prince Bohemond III. Finally, he took sanctuary in the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm and he was appointed as a governor of Ereğli by Kılıç Arslān. But Nāṣir al-Dīn, who was planning to recapture Malatya, turned back to Syria once again in order to actualize his plan. However, his plans went wrong and he was jailed at the order of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd. After the death of the Zangīd atabeg, he was released and marched to Melitene. Finally he retook the city and executed his brother, (Mélíkoff 1965: 111; Yinanç 1997: 468-479; Turan 2002: 202; Özeydin 1993b: 473) but his second reign did not last long; in 1178 it was ended by the Seljuks of Rūm.

⁵⁹⁰ For the development of letter forms, see Oikonomidès 1986: the table on p. 165.

⁵⁹¹ Oikonomidès 1983: 193.

⁵⁹² The term *boullotèrion* is used to indicate the tool used to strike lead, silver and gold *bullae* (seals). Cheynet 2012: 133-134; see also Zacos, 1972, I: plates 1-4.

⁵⁹³ Oikonomidès 1983: 193.

Another Greek Seal Attributed to the Danishmendids?

A Greek coin type, depicting the bust of St. Basil, with the Greek inscription on the obverse⁵⁹⁴ and Arabic inscription on the reverse, has been published by M. Gustave Schlumberger in 1884 and shortly afterwards P. Casanova in 1894.⁵⁹⁵

Obv.: O A(ΓΙΟC) B]A[CI]AIOC (O ἅγιος Βασίλειος); **rev.:** [ذوالقرنين] حيم / الوائق بالر (al-Wāthiq bi'l-Rahīm [Dhū'l-Qarnain] / the self-assured).

Following a failed attempt to read the Greek inscription on the reverse,⁵⁹⁶ P. Casanova, in his second attempt, suggested the inscription on the second line presents the personal name ذوا لقرنين (Dhū'l-Qarnain), but the third line was still obscure.⁵⁹⁷ The title on the first line الوائق (al-Wāthiq), meaning self-assured, also appears on the reverse of the bilingual coin type of Danishmendid amir Dhū'l-Qarnain.⁵⁹⁸ Thus Casanova and finally Vryonis proposed that this seal was imitated from Byzantine seals by Dhū'l-Qarnain, Danishmendid amir of Melitene (Malatya). However, the inscriptions are not convincing enough to say that it was issued by the Danishmendids because of the poor condition of the lead seal. Turkish numismatist Halil Edhem, in his work concerning the lead seals in Müze-i Humayūn in İstanbul, published the seal illustrating, on the obverse, bust of St. Basil with the inscription O AΓΙΟC BACIAIOC and more interestingly on the reverse it bears the title بلرحيم (al-Wāthiq bi'l rahīm), but the second and third lines were dubiously read as بن القرب (Abd al-Ghāffar bin al-Qarb?) which was identified with the Hamdanid dynasty by Halil Edhem.⁵⁹⁹ It is obvious that the two seals used by Halil Edhem, as he noted, did not

⁵⁹⁴ There have been found only a few issues that show personal saints with the Byzantine emperors. One of those is St. Basil, the patron of Caesareia, who appears on the seal of his namesake Basil I (867-886). St. Basil is shown in ecclesiastical garb, holding his right hand in blessing and a book in his left hand. While saints are rare on imperial seals, they commonly appear on the Byzantine seals of eastern Anatolia. Vryonis 1971: 470.

⁵⁹⁵ Schlumberger 1884: 74-75, no. 1; Casanova 1894: 124, no. 31; and Casanova 1896: 84-85, pl. III, no. 11.

⁵⁹⁶ M. Schlumberger and then Casanova, in their first attempt, could read only the first line as بالر الوائق (al-Wāthiq bi'l) because the inscriptions on the second and third lines were very obscure.

⁵⁹⁷ Casanova 1896: 84.

⁵⁹⁸ الوائق ذوا لقرنين بن عين الدولة (al-Wāthiq Dhū'l-Qarnain b. 'Ayn al-Dawla / self-assured Dhū'l-Qarnain, son of 'Ayn al-Dawla) See catalogue no. 390; The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK416; P.D. Whitting Collection

⁵⁹⁹ Edhem 1904: pp. 48-49, nos. 38-39.

allow a clear reading. Even if the second line reads ذوا القرنين (Dhū'l-Qarnain), as Casanova offered, it is known that a member of the Hamdanid dynasty had the name Dhū'l-Qarnain who entered the service of the Fatimids and was appointed as a governor of Dimashq in 401/1010.⁶⁰⁰ More importantly, its fabric and iconography seems closer to the Byzantine-type Hamdanid seals. On this basis, it would not be clear enough to claim that it was issued by the Danishmendids.

We know that the Hamdanid Dynasty established their independent emirate at Mosul between 930 and 934, and Nāṣir al-Dawla extended its power over a big portion of al-Jazīra (Upper Mesopotamia). The branch of Aleppo began in 944 under Sayf al-Dawla (944–967), who was famed for his venturous battles against Byzantine armies on Muslim frontiers. Both the Mosul and Aleppo Hamdanids concentrated their efforts on Byzantine invasions of Syria and Mesopotamia during almost a century.⁶⁰¹ In this respect, both the Danishmendids and the Hamdanids established intense relationship with the Byzantine Empire inevitably. These dynasties were situated on the Byzantine border like a buffer zone between the Byzantine Empire and the other Islamic countries. As a result of the inevitable relationships with the Byzantine Empire, both dynasties tended to issue some coins and seals with Greek inscriptions.

Conclusion

An important question that immediately comes to mind in the emergence of the confusing Greek and bilingual (Greco-Arab) Danishmendid coinage is why the Turkmen amirs and maliks enjoyed using the Greek alphabet on their coin issues. In a general approach, technical necessities, economic or commercial reasons, socio-cultural milieu and political

⁶⁰⁰ Karaarslan 1997: 447.

⁶⁰¹ See Canard, "Hamdanids", 128-31; Canard 1951; Kazhdan 1991c: 900-901.

claims can be accepted as catalyzer to their language preference, but this overview needs a deep focus to understand the actual logic behind this phenomenon.

Another suggestion is that the choice of types on the Turkmen coinage was in some way forced by the necessity of employing Greek engravers in the mint. Anatolia, since the Roman and Byzantine period, possessed an urban population who was highly skilled in the exercise of the crafts. After the conquest of Anatolia by the Turks, these Anatolian craftsmen such as metal-workers, masons, miners, engravers etc. of course influenced the new inhabitants of Anatolia.⁶⁰² Indeed, the Danishmendid Turkmens who were aware of the technical skills of the Greeks and Armenians, disposed to employ them in their service. Appearance of cursive script and the indiction-dating system in the Danishmendid coinage, which were not used in the Byzantine coinage in that period, but are found in Byzantine manuscripts and some seals, show that the die-cutters, who were certainly capable of creating Greek inscriptions, might have been trained in Greek writing tradition. In this respect, these Danishmendid coin-types are likely to be designed by Greek craftsmen. However, some hints on the coins indicate that some Danishmendid coins were also produced by artists who were trained in an Arabic writing tradition. For instance, the coins of Dhū'l-Nūn have very crude Greek inscriptions while the Arabic ones are more literate and legible. Thus, it would be reasonable to suggest that the Turkmens might have employed both Greek and non-Greek craftsmen, particularly Arabic, to produce their coinage, but I think that these engravers could in no way have determined the language and configuration of a coin and the titles or epithets on it.

Many scholars have already recognized another suggestion addressing the 'commercial necessity', which at first glance seems reasonable. In a simple way, it might have facilitated monetary exchanges between the Turkmens and the Greeks, at least in the local

⁶⁰² Vryonis 1971: 280.

markets; but not in the international trade, because all of the Greek or bilingual coins of the Danishmendids are copper or bronze. It is known that the copper coins, in contrast to gold and silver coins, were minted probably in response to local needs and did not travel far from their place of issue in the course of trade. In addition, there has not been found any Greek Danishmendid gold or silver coins until today. So the coins of the Danishmendids were unsuitable for the purpose of a high-value trading currency by virtue of their metal and their variable weight and sizes. Considering that in an economic sense purity or fineness is a more essential factor than its decoration or language, these coins, with their limited efficacy in trade, served for different purposes, besides economical reasons.⁶⁰³ Also the Greek inscriptions as message-bearer on the Danishmendid seals, which served not for commercial purposes, are evidence for our argument.

It may be worth recalling that among the newcomers of Anatolia, the Danishmendid state which was founded on the border of the Byzantine Empire, had the most intensive relations with Byzantium after the Seljuks of Rūm in the twelfth century. Despite the ongoing Danishmendid-Byzantine wars, the combination of short-lived alliances or joint military ventures against common enemies with other factors such as religious and socio-cultural interactions, intermarriages, and commercial relations led to a coexistence and symbiosis between the Greek and Turkmen communities. Thus in the Danishmendid Principality and society began the process of revealing and consolidating a unique Turkmen identity. The Danishmendid rulers preferred to use the official language of the Byzantine Empire and a language of one of the largest populations, Greeks, living under their rule. Thus they obviously indicate who the audiences were. As mentioned above, they announced their message to their Christian neighbour and also used their coins as a means of communication with the ruled. Trying to unravel this complex puzzle, we should also consider the political

⁶⁰³ Brown 1974: 354.

context of the area and the policy of the Danishmendids between two different worlds: Christian Byzantines and Muslim Turks. On the one hand these Greek inscriptions sometimes reflect their ‘ambition over the Byzantine territories’; on the other hand they sometimes show their loyalty to the emperor. The Greek inscription *ὁ μέγας μελήκις πάσης ῥωμανίας καὶ ἀνατολῆς Μαχαμάτης* / *the Great King of all Romania and Anatolia (the East)*, *Muhammad* on the copper coin of Malik Muhammad (1134-1143) is quite ambitious and challenging, while another Greek legend of *ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ βασιλέ[ω]ς ἀμυράς [Ἰα]γιπασάνις* / *the subject (slave) of the emperor*, *Amir Yağıbasan* coming from the seal of Amir Yağıbasan, indicates that the Danishmendid amir was in the service of Byzantium.⁶⁰⁴ Undoubtedly there is a correlation between these titles and their relations with the empire. Looking at medieval Muslim and Byzantine sources, it is obvious that Malik Muhammad, during his reign, fought against the Byzantine emperor in northern Anatolia. For this reason contemporary Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates described him as ‘the most dangerous adversary of the Byzantine lands’:

The ruler of Caesareia was the aforementioned Muhammad, who was invested with great power, having subjugated both a portion of Iberia and parts of Mesopotamia, and who traced his distant roots to the Arsacids and was directly descended from the Danishmendids. These were brave and stout-hearted warriors, the strongest and most ruthless of those who had subdued the cities of the Romans.⁶⁰⁵

As for the declaration of Yağıbasan, the successor of Malik Muhammad, it reflects the parallels with his peaceful relations with the Byzantine Empire. He entered into an alliance with emperor Manuel I and gained his economical and military support against the Seljuk Sultan Kılıç Arslān II.⁶⁰⁶ All these examples and discussions indicate that rather than an economical and technical necessity, the Greek alphabet borrowed from the Byzantine world

⁶⁰⁴ Oikonomidès 1983: 191.

⁶⁰⁵ Choniates (Magoulias), 20.

⁶⁰⁶ See above.

should be interpreted as a conscious means of the 'political propaganda or message' of the Danishmendid rulers as well as an ideological and political weapon against internal and external rivals.

I would like to point out that this chapter has essentially concerned the Greek epigraphic contents of the Turkmens' coins and that there are important aspects to be considered before we can reach final conclusions about the significance of their coinages.

CHAPTER THREE: POWER OF the IMAGES: Byzantine Legacy on the Turkmen

Coinage

A. Overview: A Brief History of Islamic Figural Coinage

Following the rapid expansion of Islamic rule by the mid-seventh century in Syria and Egypt, previously part of the Byzantine empire, and in lands formerly under the Sasanians, Muslim Arab rulers came into direct contact with the systems and forms of the monetary economies of the Byzantine and the Sasanian empires, making it necessary for them to issue coins and, consequently, to concern themselves with the design and content of the coins which they issued. The first Islamic coins struck in this period consisted of Byzantine and Sasanian types with few modifications, and thus, these types, called Arab-Sasanian and Arab-Byzantine coins depicted Sasanian and Byzantine emperors' portraits.⁶⁰⁷ Then new iconographies, such as the caliph's portrait, and new religious statements with the caliph's name began to appear on the Islamic coinage. Before moving to the examination and analysis of the Turkmen coins, briefly, we will look at the journey of figural coinage in the Islamic world and Islam's ambivalence towards figural art. Prior to the monetary reform (76 AD / 696 AH) of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (66-86 / 685-705), the Muslim Arabs used the monetary systems of the Sasanians and the Byzantines, who had ruled their current lands for centuries.

The Umayyad Caliphate (40-132 / 661-750) continued to produce and imitate Sasanian silver *drachms* in Iran and Iraq, and Byzantine gold *solidi* and copper *folles* in Syria and Egypt with the combination of Arabic remarks such as *basmala*, بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ (Bism Allah / in the name of Allah), or just *lillah* (lillah / for Allah), and *shahāda*, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله (Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / There is no god, but Allah; Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah), the mint and date etc. In the same period, the Umayyad caliphs produced diverse

⁶⁰⁷ Bates 1994: 381-382.

figural types, particularly in the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, including the *shahāda solidus* (AH 72?) with three standing figures, the standing caliph *dinar* (AH 74-77), the Damascus Arab-Sasanian *drachm* (AH 72-74), the standing caliph *drachm* (AH 75?-77?), and the *mihrab* and ‘spear’ *drachm* (AH 75?-77?).⁶⁰⁸ The reform of ‘Abd al-Malik disrupted the first figural trends and only Muslim sacred inscriptions in Arabic began to appear in the Islamic coinage.⁶⁰⁹ A detailed account of medieval Arab chronicler Ibn al-Athīr, who presents this caliph as the first innovator of Islamic coinage, attempts to explain why ‘Abd al-Malik needed to make a monetary reformation. According to his speculative account, the caliph ordered that letters to the Byzantines be stamped with the Qur’anic aya’t "qul huwa Allahu Aḥad" [He is Allah, the One and Only] and the name of prophet:

That displeased the Byzantine king who wrote back: "You have made certain innovations which if you don't rescind; you will find our *Dinars* struck with a mention of your prophet that will displease you." That was a threat that 'Abd al-Malik would not accept. He sent for Khalid bin Yazid bin Muawiyah to consult him. Khalid's council says: "Forbid their *Dinars* and strike a new coinage which mentions Allah". And thus the *Dinars* and *Dirhams* were struck.⁶¹⁰

This semi-fictional story of Ibn al-Athīr repeated by fourteenth-century Mamlukid historian Maqrīzī (1364-1442) in his precious work *al-Nuqūd al-Qadīma wa'l-Islāmīya*⁶¹¹ concerning monetary theories in medieval Islam, clearly shows how, apart from its economic role, money was used as an effective political tool. The presumptive threat of the Byzantine emperor to place Prophet Muḥammad on the Byzantine coins in such a manner that Muslims

⁶⁰⁸ Treadwell 2005: 1; Grierson 1960: 244.

⁶⁰⁹ Bates 1994: 382; Ali 1999: 23-24; Georganteli and Cook 2006: 40.

⁶¹⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 167.

⁶¹¹ Al-Maqrīzī, 375.

would not be pleased is a good example of the potential use of coins as a strong political weapon.⁶¹²

From the Umayyad caliphs in Syria to the fifteenth-century Constantinople-centred Ottoman empire of Mehmet II inscriptions on Islamic coins were always more prominent than images in projecting power. In fact, after the monetary reform of ‘Abd al-Malik, images disappeared in many areas of Islamic culture including coinage, boosting the application of calligraphy on coin inscriptions and the refinement of titulature and inscriptions on coins, with a few exceptions. Contrary to the caliphate’s new numismatic policy, in the regions at a distance from its centre such as northern Africa, Iran, and Syria, Byzantine and ancient prototypes remained on coins for centuries.⁶¹³

A typical Islamic coin bears the *ism* (name), *nasab* (genealogy), *kunya*⁶¹⁴ and *laqab* (title or epithet) of a ruler, some religious statements and the mint name and date of the coin’s making. Thus a medieval Islamic coin not only reveals a great deal about the ruler who issued the particular coin, but it can literarily talk to us quite eloquently about the important components of an Islamic official document, such as the date and place of the issue of the coin and the beliefs and qualities of the ruler. The location and dating of mint production in particular provide crucial information about the economic and administrative geography of the medieval Islamic world. The weight and metal content of Islamic coins are also important indicators of their value and the politics and logistics of the economy in which they were created and circulated.⁶¹⁵ However, the twelfth century saw major changes in the coinage of the Eastern Muslim Lands. In medieval Anatolia, al-Jazīra and northern Syria, the Turkmen rulers despised the traditional figureless coinage of the Islamic world and exhibited quite fluid

⁶¹² For the reasons of the ‘abandonment’ of numismatic imagery and detailed information on the monetary reform of Abd al-Malik, see Treadwell 2009.

⁶¹³ Bates 1995: 12-15.

⁶¹⁴ It is an honorific name usually compounded of Abū (father), or Umm (mother): for example Abū al-‘Ali (the father of Ali), but it is sometimes used metaphorically on coins such as Abū al-Fath (the father of victory).

⁶¹⁵ Bates 1999: 1.

behaviours in their coinage. Turkmen coins, which were inspired by Hellenistic, Sasanian, Roman, Byzantine, and very occasionally (as already mentioned) Crusader, pictorial traditions, clearly demonstrate, and as we shall illuminate, the political and cultural mosaic of the region.

Looking at the coin-producing behaviours of two consanguineous Turkmen groups - one established by the Great Seljuk in Iran, another erected by the Danishmendid and other emirates in Anatolia, al-Jazīra, and northern Syria - we can see how 'geography' and 'cultural geopolitics' shape their choices. The latter issued their own coins with some images including imperial figures and even Christian symbols they saw on the Byzantine and Crusader coins as a result of the cultural interaction and intensive relations with their Christian neighbours, while the first, like the Abbasid caliphs, did not tend to use figures on their coins. Even, simultaneously, there can be seen considerable differences on the coins struck by the adjacent Turkmen rulers in eastern Mediterranean. The rulers of Anatolian Turkmen dynasties, the Danishmendids, Saltukids, Mengujekids, partly Artuqids and even Seljuks of Rūm, preferred to borrow the Byzantine and Crusader imagery deployed in more recent times, while especially the Zangīd atabegs derived the images on their coins mostly from Sasanian, Roman, Hellenistic and *early* Byzantine types. To look at the Danishmendids' numismatic imagery alone would be meaningless, given such differences, so we will see whether and how the differences between their various uses of imagery are instructive.

The combination of Arabic script designed to describe the *ism* (name), *nasab* (genealogy), and *laqab* (title) of the Turkmen ruler, with date and mint-name, with the borrowing of images provides the best reflection of the culture in medieval Anatolia, northern Mesopotamia and Syria in transition and translation. But some symbols such as the sceptre, crown, globe; animal figures such as lion, dragon, and double-headed eagle, and the posture

of cross-legged figures, belonged in practice to the eastern pictorial tradition that already represented the power of sovereignty on the Medieval Islamic coins.⁶¹⁶

This chapter therefore presents the tendency to imitate the Byzantine numismatic iconography on the twelfth-century Turkmen coinage in medieval Anatolia and al-Jazīra and the projection of power on coinage, highlighting and discussing the figures borrowed from Byzantine types, the symbols, and the inscriptions on coins that amirs, maliks and sultans used to demonstrate their perceived qualities and political aspirations and associations. We will first list and describe the Turkmen coins, most of which were in fact issued by the Artuqid rulers, based on Byzantine imperial compositions,⁶¹⁷ to understand the motivation of the use of these images. Then the chapter will probe the logic behind this phenomenon.

First, the misconception concerning the human representations in medieval Islam should be clarified. David J. Wassertein starts his precious article by a revision of this misconception:

It is true, of course, that adoration of images is forbidden, and it is true, too, that, because of their possible use as objects of worship, the production of human or other animate images is censured. But it is important to note that this is not the same thing as a prohibition.⁶¹⁸

Wassertein supports his argument with the *Maqamat* of al-Harīrī (446-516 / 1054-1122),⁶¹⁹ which included presentations of animated figures and even human images. Pre-reform Arab-Byzantine, Arab-Sasanian and the other early Islamic figural coins also provide strong evidence for his interpretation of the human representations in medieval Islamic

⁶¹⁶ Çaycı 2002: 194.

⁶¹⁷ Byzantine numismatic iconography was also a popular model to the coin images of the Christian states founded on the former Byzantine territories and the close zones. For the imitatives of Byzantine imagery produced in medieval Bulgaria, Hungary, Kiev, Venice, Sicily, Cyprus, Georgia, and eastern Crusader lands, see Tek and Gökalp 2010: 184-186.

⁶¹⁸ Wassertein 1993: 303.

⁶¹⁹ See al-Harīrī (Chenery). Indeed, apart from the book of al-Harīrī, *Kitāb al-Diryāq* (*Book of Antidotes*), *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (*The Book of Songs*) of Abū al-Faraj al-Isbahānī, and *al-Jāmi' bain al-'ilm wa al-'amal al-nāfi' fī šinā'at al-ḥiyāl* (*The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*) of al-Jazari, which will be discussed below, are evidence for Wassertein's argument.

tradition. The words of Wassertein precisely highlight the point that ‘figural’ and ‘iconic’ practises are not the same and indeed Islamic art was against icons, but not images.⁶²⁰ A further suggestion comes from Rustam Shukurov, stating that “in connection with Turkmen figured coinage it is worth referring to Byzantine ‘iconoclastic practice’. Coins of the iconoclastic emperors had no iconic images but usually bore portraits of the emperors themselves.”⁶²¹ Therefore, the appearance of human and animal representations in the Turkmen coinage should not seem surprising.⁶²²

It would also be better to discuss here whether it is a conscious and coherent desire to create a kind of their own portraiture on coins. In other words, do the depictions of heads and busts represent their masters? The joint paper of Turkish scholars Ahmet Tolga Tek and Zeliha Demirel Gökçalp, presented in the *First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, contends that the portraits illustrated on coins might have represented the Seljuk Sultans and Turkmen rulers because the coin inscriptions on these figural coins include their names and titles.⁶²³ However, representations of equestrian figures, heads and busts on contemporary Seljuk and Turkmen coins drawn as bareheaded impels some other scholars to think that they cannot be read as portraits of the Seljuk or Turkmen rulers.⁶²⁴ In either medieval Islamic or Turkish culture, rulers, *qādis*, religious leaders, merchants, and military notables all seem to have worn characteristic headdresses that show a person’s merit in his occupation. As the Islamic manuscript illustrations suggested, the representation of a Muslim ruler without headgear would be unusual in the Islamic tradition and thus an Islamic ruler would not allow a bareheaded portrait of himself on coins circulating among the public. However, the style of garments, hairstyles and some accessories such as diadems, crowns etc.

⁶²⁰ Shukurov 2004: 712; see also Grabar 1973.

⁶²¹ Shukurov 2004: 712-713.

⁶²² As will be mentioned below, however, the presence of Christian imagery in the Turkmen coinage, from the years 1120s to 1210s is one of the most unusual and puzzling parts of the medieval Islamic coinage.

⁶²³ Tek and Gökçalp 2010: 182, 183.

⁶²⁴ Whelan 2006: 18.

reflect a wide range of sources rather than the Turkish or Islamic fashion of the twelfth century. Even, the die-cutters felt free to manipulate the elements of borrowed coin imagery in accordance with their priences' purposes, and they replaced the Islamic dresses such as 'caftan' and 'cap' for Byzantine costumes in the case of the copper coins of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (571-581 / 1175-1185),⁶²⁵ Quṭb al-Dīn Sökmen II of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (581-597 / 1185-1200),⁶²⁶ Shams al-Dīn Ismā'īl of Sivas (562-567 / 1166-1172)⁶²⁷ and Seljuk prince Jihan Shāh bin Tuğrul (Tuğhril) (598-621 / 1202-1225).⁶²⁸ A comment by Whelan may also be of significance, for in this phenomenon he noted:

...early Islam was notably lacking in clear-cut imperial or sovereign imagery after the Umayyad period. It is not surprising, then, to find that in the twelfth century the Mesopotamian princes turned to easily accessible alien models in an apparent quest for images to bolster their own sovereign claims.⁶²⁹

Even though it is not simple to generate an interpretation of the identification of portraits seen on the medieval Muslim Anatolian figural coins, at least it is certain that these coins with portraits had a mission intending to make a contribution to the power of their owners' sovereignty. In this respect, apart from simply the 'power of money' in a commercial sense, we should also consider the 'power of money' in a political sense; the power which derives to the ruler not only from the value of money, but also from the images, symbols, and inscriptions on the coins. A coin was to highlight and advertise power, in two highly specific fields: the power of the ruler, both political and economic, and the power of the deity. Simply, in the words of Philip Grierson, coins 'disseminate propaganda'.⁶³⁰ The portraits on the Turkmen coins can be interpreted as effective means for consolidation of political and

⁶²⁵ See catalogue no. 19; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK452; P. D. Whitting Collection.

⁶²⁶ See catalogue no.29; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK462, P. D. Whitting Collection

⁶²⁷ See catalogue no. 393; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK427; P. D. Whitting Collection

⁶²⁸ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK497; P. D. Whitting Collection

⁶²⁹ Whelan 2006: 19.

⁶³⁰ Grierson 1999: 23.

economic power and further for propagation of political and cultural messages to their very diverse people.

B. Turkmen Portraits inspired by the Byzantine Coin Iconography

Type 1. Globe and Sceptre: Power of the Symbols

Representation of a facing figure,⁶³¹ with Byzantine imperial costumes, holding a spear or sceptre in one hand and a globe or orb in the other, appears on the twelfth-century Turkmen copper coins.⁶³² It is known that, in Byzantine numismatic iconography, imperial portraits holding globe or orb with cross in one hand and spear, sceptre or shield in the other can be found frequently from the period of Theodosius II (408-450) who is the first Byzantine emperor portrayed with ‘globus cruciger’ on coins.⁶³³ Considering that ‘globe’ refers to the ideal of world domination and ‘cross’ is a symbol of ‘religious leadership’, the emperor introduced himself as sovereign of the Christian world. Further, sceptre as a symbol of royal authority and ‘spear’ or ‘shield’ representing the military role of the depicted retained their popularity for centuries.

The obverse of copper *dirhams* of the Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuqid malik Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, dated to 556/1160-61,⁶³⁴ displaying a half-figure facing slightly to the left holding a sceptre in the left hand resting on the left shoulder and a globe in the right hand, illustrates the

⁶³¹ We shall also recall here that, in the late seventh century, ‘facing bust’, the personality of which is less definite, (the aim is to emphasise the majesty of the imperial office), became popular in the Byzantine coin iconography rather than ‘profile bust’ (Gökalp 2007: 88).

⁶³² Seljuk sultans of Rūm, Mas‘ūd (1116-1155) and Kay-Khusraw I (first r. 1192-1196), also issue coins in this form. Özme 2010: 148-150; For the coin of Kılıç Arslān, see Erkiletlioğlu and Güler 1996: 42; For the coins of Mas‘ūd and Kay-Khusraw I, see Artuk 1970: nos. 1059 and 1064 respectively.

⁶³³ Byzantine emperors Arcadius (395-408), Theodosius II (408-450), Pulcheria (450-453), Leo I (457-474), Leo II (474), Zeno (474-491), Basiliscus (475-476), Justinian I (527-565), Maurice (582-602), Heraclius (610-641), Constantine IV (668-685), Tiberius III (698-705), Justinian II (705-711), Constantine VI and Irene (780-797), and Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) issued coins in this group. For the examples, see Breckenridge 1959: p. 11, fig. 14, 15, 16, 20; Whitting 1973: p. 18, fig. 7, 8; p. 190, fig. 311, 312, 313. Emperors have been depicted with different costumes as per protocols: *chlamys* for civilian protocol; *loros* for official protocol and *armour* for military protocol. The direct influence of Byzantine coinage in this form was irregular, but considerable in the twelfth-century Turkmen coinage.

⁶³⁴ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK441; P. D. Whitting Collection. Topraktepe 2009: no. 15880.

traces in this group of Byzantine iconography (**fig. 17**). Nonetheless, the suggestions connecting this Artuqid model with the *folles* of Constantine VI and Irene (780-797),⁶³⁵ or the copper coins of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos (913-959)⁶³⁶ do not seem convincing, as the distinct modifications made by the Artuqid die-cutter obstructs to identify its prototype. Thus, it can be recognized as a free model of an Artuqid artist based on Byzantine numismatic iconography or, as Whelan noted,⁶³⁷ another Byzantine source such as mosaics, ivory plaques, manuscript pages and book covers.



Figure 17: Left: Copper dirham of Fakhr al-Dīn QarāArslān, The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK441; P.D. Whitting Collection.

At first glance, all the elements on the coin merely resemble the Byzantine style, but we know that the sceptre and globe are also symbols of power since the ancient times in many cultures and they frequently appear in Islamic art and coinage in different forms. For instance, on the obverse of the coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān (597-637 / 1200-1239), the figure seated cross-legged on the throne derived from a Turkish or Mesopotamian prototype holds a globe in his left hand.⁶³⁸ This globe was alternatively interpreted by Turkish numismatist

⁶³⁵ Lane-Poole 1875: p. 15, no. 1; Edhem 1894: 3. For the coins of Constantine VI and Irene, see *DOC*, vol. III/i: p. 345, no. 7.5 and Lane-Poole 1875: p. 15, no. 1. The Barber Institute Coin Collection B4607-B4608; P.D. Whitting Collection

⁶³⁶ Whelan 2006: 148. For the coins of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, see *DOC*, III/ii: pp. 562-565, nos. 25a.1-25c.13, pls. XXXVIII-XXXIX. The Barber Institute Coin Collection B4879-B4891; P.D. Whitting Collection. Spengler and Sayles tended to explain the sceptre and globe with the astrological interest of the Artuqids and thus they described these objects as typical symbols of Jupiter. Spengler and Sayles 1992: 16.

⁶³⁷ Whelan 2006: 148.

⁶³⁸ See catalogue no. 187; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK116; P. D. Whitting Collection

Ahmet Çaycı to be a ‘pomegranate’, found as a familiar motif in the Turkish art.⁶³⁹ In addition, Whelan identified the instrument being grasped in the left hand of the figure with an ‘arrow’, a significant symbol of sovereignty among the Turks.⁶⁴⁰ So, either a Byzantine-style globe or an oriental-style pomegranate and a Byzantine spear or a Turkish arrow, but it is certain that they symbolize the power of sovereignty and the ideal of world domination. Thus, these common elements, which had already been known by the Turkmens, might have encouraged the Artuqid ruler to adoption of this Byzantine coin type. Simply, despite some nuances, the copper dirham of Artuq Arslān was evidently derived from a Byzantine emperor portrait in Byzantine iconography.

Nearly a half century later, Qarā Arslān’s grandson Quṭb al-Dīn Sökmen II in 594/1198 struck a copper dirham depicting a figure facing slightly to the right with a helmet and holding a sceptre in the right hand resting on the right shoulder; a globe in the left hand (**fig. 18**).⁶⁴¹ Turkish scholar Ramazan Uykur suggests that the portrait with his pose and the military costumes such as ‘armour’, seems completely in Byzantine style.⁶⁴² Further, some scholars thought that this type has been inspired specifically by the gold solidus of Justinian I (527-565),⁶⁴³ but the emperor rests a sceptre across the back of his shoulders and does not carry a globe. However, a deep focus on the headgear of the figure and the halo around his head calls up the portraits in some late twelfth-and early thirteenth-century Islamic manuscripts.

⁶³⁹ Çaycı 2002: 191.

⁶⁴⁰ Whelan 2006: 149.

⁶⁴¹ See catalogue no. 29; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK462, P. D. Whitting Collection; Adıyaman Museum (Turkey), Coin Collection, nos. 181, 1086, 1415.

⁶⁴² Uykur 2010: 383.

⁶⁴³ Lane-Poole 1875: p. 20, no. 18; Artuk 1993: p. 78, no. 15; Edhem 1894: 13; Spengler and Sayles 1992: 40. It also resembles half-tetarteron Noummion (The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5686, P. D. Whitting Collection; *DOC*, IV/I: no. 17.11, p. 273) or aspron trachy nomisma of John II minted in Thessalonica and Constantinople respectively. The Barber Institute Coin Collection, nos. 5648-52, P. D. Whitting Collection; *DOC*, IV/i: p. 265, no. 10a.2



Figure 18: Left: Obverse of copper coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) II, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK462, P. D. Whitting Collection; Right: A portrait from al-Jazarī's *Automata*, Topkapı Palace Library, Ahmet III, 3472, p. 10.

While the presence of the halo and the shape of the helmet seem also problematic for scholars,⁶⁴⁴ three contemporary illustrations coming from *Kitāb al-Diryāq* (*Book of Antidotes*),⁶⁴⁵ *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (*The Book of Songs*) of Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī,⁶⁴⁶ and *al-Jāmi' bain al-'ilm wa al-'amal al-nāfi' fi šinā'at al-ḥiyal* (*The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*) of al-Jazarī,⁶⁴⁷ provide some parallel portraits to Sökmen II's figure on his coin. A portrait seen in *Kitāb al-Diryāq* completed just a year after the Artuqid coin issue in 595/1199,⁶⁴⁸ and a portrait of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', atabeg of Mosul, on frontispiece in the seventeenth volume of *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, dated 615/1218,⁶⁴⁹ reflect similarities in the posture of the Artuqid ruler with helmet and halo. More importantly, the author of the latter work, al-Jazarī was in the service of the Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuqid rulers Quṭb al-Dīn Sökmen II and then his brother and successor Nāšir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (597-619 / 1200-1222) as an engineer for longer than twenty-five years. He completed his work at the Artuqid court with Nāšir al-Dīn

⁶⁴⁴ According to Lane-Poole the halo seems inexplicable (Lane-Poole 1875: p. 20, no. 18). Whelan (2006: 174-175) and Uykur (2010: 383) also pay attention to these elements on the Artuqid coin.

⁶⁴⁵ See Pancaroğlu 2001: 155-172.

⁶⁴⁶ See Rice 1953: 128-135.

⁶⁴⁷ al-Jazarī (Hill) and Nadarajan 2007: 1-16.

⁶⁴⁸ Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Arabe 2964.

⁶⁴⁹ The Feyzullah Library, Istanbul, vol. VII, no. 1566.

Maḥmūd's encouragement and presented it to him in 602/1206.⁶⁵⁰ In this respect, the portrait found on Sökmen II's copper coin might have been drawn by al-Jazarī or an artist in the Artuqid court and represented the Artuqid malik's own portrait. One more thing is that Nahla Nassar, expert of Islamic manuscripts, divided the manuscripts of al-Jazīra into two groups: the Seljuk-influenced group and the Byzantine-influenced group.⁶⁵¹ The aforementioned manuscripts, according to Nassar's classification, fall into the first group and thus the figures in these manuscripts reflect mostly Turkic features in terms of their physical appearance as in the case of the Artuqid portrait. Therefore, for this coin iconography, although the pose of the figure with a sceptre resting on his shoulder and a globe in the left hand seems an inspiration of the Byzantine iconography, we cannot accept the suggestion of Ramazan Uykur that it is completely in Byzantine style.

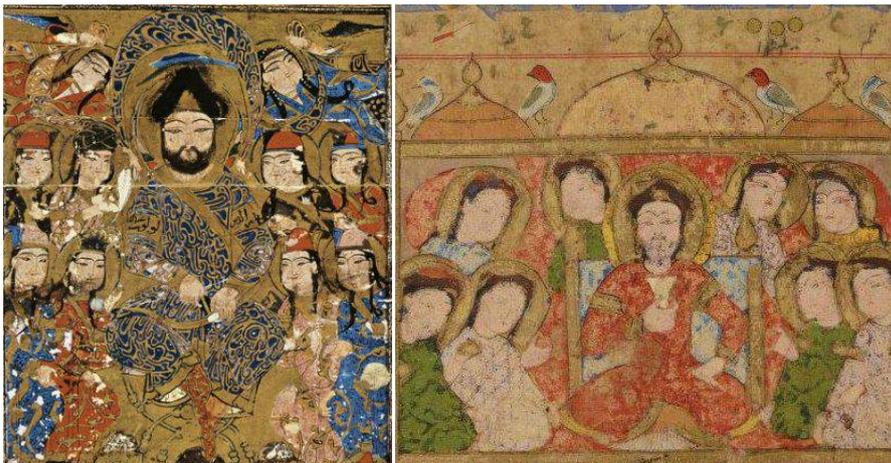


Figure 19: Left: Portrait of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' from *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, The Feyzullah Library, Istanbul, vol. VII, no. 1566; Centre: An unknown ruler's image from *Kitāb al-Diryāq*, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Arabe 2964.

The last example in this group comes from the copper coinage of Mengujekid ruler Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh (560–622 / 1165–1225), dated 563/1167, and portrays a figure wearing a Byzantine imperial attire and crown with pendilia, and holding a spear in his right

⁶⁵⁰ Ward 1985: 70. This earliest copy dated 602/1206 is kept in the Topkapı Sarayı Library (Ahmet III 3432). For the discussion on the book of al-Jazarī and the Artuqid painting tradition, see Ward 1985: 69-84.

⁶⁵¹ Nassar 1985: 85.

hand and globe or cup in the left one in a beaded circle (**fig. 20**).⁶⁵² Comparing it to the previous Artuqid examples, this Mengujekid coin, probably minted in Erzincan, Bahrām Shāh’s capital, is more generous to show its Byzantine facet with Byzantine ceremonial dress, loros, and crown with pendilia. A poem of contemporary poet Niẓāmi Ganjavi, in *Makhzan al-Asrar (The Treasury of Mysteries)*, dedicated to Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, seems to illustrate the Mengujekid ruler’s quasi-Byzantine coins with his name:

That one [Sultan Maḥmūd Ghaznawī] hoisted [his] banner in Ghazni,
 And this one [Bahrām Shāh] struck [his] name on ‘Rūmī coin’.
 Though on that coin the word is as gold,
 My golden coin [i.e. my poem] is more precious than that.⁶⁵³

‘Rūmī coin’ mentioned in the second distich is likely to refer to the ‘Byzantine coin’. In addition, for this Mengujekid coin, Anthony Bryer implies the influence of his ally the Gabras family of Trebizond over Bahrām Shāh,⁶⁵⁴ although there is no certain evidence to say it.



Figure 20: Left: Copper coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh; Right: Post-reform (1092-1118) aspron trachy of Alexios I, The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5614, P. D. Whitting Collection

⁶⁵² See catalogue no. 398; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK492; P. D. Whitting Collection; Casanova 1896: 312, pl. XLIX; Tevhid 1903: 77, no. 95; Artuk, 1970: pp. 388-389, no. 1191; Hennquin 1985: p. 843, nos. 1934ff; Şentürk and Johnson 1994: p. 15, no. 4; Album 1998: p. 94, no. 1892.1; Topraktepe 2009: p. 126, no. 14986; Tekin 2011: pp. 204-205, no. 85 For a discussion on the coin, see also Schindel 2014: 114-116. The reverse shows an inscription including the name, title and genealogy of the ruler, and the year in a dotted circle. In the twelfth century, the Seljuk sultans of Rūm Rukn al-Dīn Mas‘ūd (1116-1156) and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I (1192-1197; 1204-1211) also issued similar types inspired by Byzantine numismatic iconography. For the coin of Mas‘ūd, see Artuk 1970: p. 350, no. 1059; for the coin of Kay-Khusraw I, see Artuk 1970: p. 351, no. 1064 and The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK505; P. D. Whitting Collection.

⁶⁵³ Niẓāmi Ganjavi, v, 412-413 (cited also in Shukurov 2001: 269).

⁶⁵⁴ Bryer 1970: 170.

The figure on this Turkmen coin is similar to the images on the obverse of the pre-reform electrum histamenon,⁶⁵⁵ on the reverse of the post-reform billon aspron trachy,⁶⁵⁶ on the reverse of post-reform bronze tetarteron,⁶⁵⁷ on the reverse of the post-reform billon aspron trachy of Alexios I;⁶⁵⁸ and on the reverse of the billon aspron trachy of Manuel I.⁶⁵⁹ However, the cross on the globe was scrapped by the Mengujekid die-cutter and thus the globus cruciger got into the shape of a cup, which was a symbol of power and sovereignty in the Turkish culture. Nevertheless, the Byzantine labarum replaced the sceptre.⁶⁶⁰ Another special feature of this issue is the dotted nimbus (halo) extending across the chest of the figure.

Type 2. The Pointed Crown with Pendilia

This type reflecting the sheer general features of the figural Artuqid coinage adopted various elements from a range of sources (**fig. 21**). Depiction of a bearded portrait wearing a crown with pendilia on the reverse of the copper *dirham* of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, dated to 559/1163-4,⁶⁶¹ appears to have shown a composition of the components of crown, beard, and garment coming from the eighth-to eleventh-century Byzantine numismatic iconography.



⁶⁵⁵ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5522-B5528, P. D. Whitting Collection

⁶⁵⁶ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5553-B5556, P. D. Whitting Collection

⁶⁵⁷ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5563-B5568 and B5603-B5606, P.D. Whitting Collection

⁶⁵⁸ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5614, P. D. Whitting Collection

⁶⁵⁹ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5721-B5736, P. D. Whitting Collection

⁶⁶⁰ For the cup, see Figure 3, representation of an unknown ruler's image from *Kitāb al-Diryāq*, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Arabe 2964. Şentürk and Johnson think the objects in the hands of the figure are 'lance' and 'open book' (idem 1994: p. 15), while Hennquin see them as 'sceptre' and 'cup'. Hennquin 1985: 843. The latter interpretation looks more acceptable.

⁶⁶¹ See catalogue nos. 10-11; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK442-TK443; P. D. Whitting Collection.

Figure 21: Copper dirham of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, dated to 559/1163-4, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK443, P. D. Whitting Collection

On the one hand the pointed crown with long pendilia⁶⁶² with pearls draping on the shoulders reflects the same features of the representations of the Byzantine empresses on coins, specifically the post-reform billon aspron trachy of Alexios I Komnenos and empress Irene.⁶⁶³ On the other, the shape of beard and moustache of the Artuqid figure recalls the portrait of Christ pantokrator on some 9th-century Byzantine anonymous folles of Class A.⁶⁶⁴ Here the important point is that, the figure on the obverse does not have crown or any headgear and is depicted very simply. Early Byzantine coins often portray the emperor's portrait on the obverse and a less important image on the reverse until Justinian II put Christ's portrait on the obverse and his bust on the reverse in the late seventh century.⁶⁶⁵ From this aspect, this Artuqid coin type with a crowned figure on the reverse and another figure without crown on the obverse seems to have reflected the Byzantine coinage tradition.

Type 3. An Adaptation Type of Constantine the Great's Coins

The trend to imitate the portrayal of the Roman and Byzantine emperors on the Artuqid coinage is apparently emphasised by the obverse of copper *dirham* of Quṭb al-Dīn Il-Ghāzī II (572-580 / 1176-1184), the Mārdīn Artuqid malik (**fig. 22**). Within a beaded square, is a head looking upward with an ornate diadem on the obverse of the coin. This figure was probably derived from a gold solidus of Constantine the Great (303-337), mint of Nicomedia.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶² Similar examples of the long pendilia can be found in the coin imagery of Martina, Phocas and Leontina from seventh century and Irene from the eight century (Uykur 2010: 384). Although another portrait on the reverse is not clearly identifiable, some scholars suggested that this image bears Turkish facial features and hair style, with the bun of hair, tied behind the head. Spengler and Sayles: 18; Uykur 2010: 384.

⁶⁶³ Whelan 2006: 151. Hendy 1969: p. 84, pl. 6, no. 1. The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5550-B5552; P. D. Whitting Collection.

⁶⁶⁴ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B4988-B5185; P. D. Whitting Collection.

⁶⁶⁵ Gökalp 2007: 88; Uykur 2010: 384-385.

⁶⁶⁶ See catalogue no. 87-92; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK041-TK046; P. D. Whitting Collection; Adıyaman Museum (Turkey), Coin Collection, nos. 1066, 9973. Lane-Poole 1875: p. 28, no. 41; Artuk 1993: p. 90, no. 46; Carsons 1981, III: no. 1310, p. 31; Topraktepe 2009: p. 124; no. 15957.



Figure 22: Left: Copper dirham of Qutb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK041; Right: Obverse of gold solidus of Constantine the Great, mint of Nicomedia, The Barber Institute Coin Collection, R3095.

Eusebius Pamphilius, bishop and contemporary biographer of Constantine the Great, who was the first Christian emperor of Rome, relates the story of this coin as follows:

How deeply his soul was impressed by the power of divine faith may be understood from the circumstance that he directed his likeness to be stamped on the golden coin of the empire with the eyes uplifted as in the posture of prayer to God: and this money became current throughout the Roman world.⁶⁶⁷

In his words written after the victory of Constantine I at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312, Eusebius attributed a religious meaning to this victory and the pose of the emperor on coins. About 750 years after the creation of this image, it resurged in the Artuqid coinage. Although both the Artuqid artist and II-Ghāzī II were unaware of the account of Eusebius and what the portrait represents, at least somebody knew by whom or in which period the original coin was struck. Moving to the next coin type, I would like to say that the logic and purpose behind this imagery on II-Ghāzī II's copper dirham will be discussed and analysed in detail with a new approach in the conclusion of this chapter.

⁶⁶⁷ Eusebius Pamphilius, *Vita Constantini (The Life of Constantine)*, Book IV, Chapter 15 (cited also in Spengler and Sayles 1992: 91). For the life and work of Eusebius, see <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.toc.html>

Type 4. Adoption of the Portraits of Heraclius and His Son

The second figural copper *dirham*⁶⁶⁸ of Il-Ghāzī II, dated between 577 and 580 (1181 and 1185), was this time inspired by the solidus of Emperor Heraklios, dated 613-631, which shows the emperor's portrait with that of his elder son by Eudokia, Heraklios Constantine (fig. 23).⁶⁶⁹ In Byzantine numismatic iconography, the representation of 'front bust' first appeared in the coinage of Justinianus I. At first, there was only the emperor's portrait on the obverse; afterwards the members of the imperial family and the regents found a place next to the emperor. The emperor sometimes allowed depiction of himself with his son and successor in order to consolidate his son's succession and advertise him to the public. Thus Heraklios (610-641) appeared first with his eldest son Heraklios Constantine (613-632), and later with his second son Heraklonas (632-641). If there are two figures on coins, the emperor's portrait was placed on the left, another figure being located on the right of emperor in smaller size and with no beard as in the example of the issue of Heraclius and his son, Heraklios Constantine.⁶⁷⁰



Figure 23: Left: Obverse of copper dirham of Quṭb al-Dīn Il-Ghāzī II, The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK033; P. D. Whitting Collection; Right: Obverse of gold solidus of Emperor Heraklios, mint of Constantinople, Barber Institute Coin Collection, B2803; P. D. Whitting Collection

⁶⁶⁸ See catalogue nos. 77-86; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK032-TK040; P. D. Whitting Collection; Adıyaman Museum (Turkey), Coin Collection, no. 10279; Topraktepe 2009: pp. 46-47, nos. 15959, 15962.

⁶⁶⁹ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B2803, P. D. Whitting Collection; DOC, I/i: nos. 186, 187a.1, 187b.4, 188a.1, 188a.2, 188b; see also Wroth 1908: 184-254.

⁶⁷⁰ Grierson 1999: 26

Yet there are distinct alterations on the portraits of the Artuqid imitation. The emperor and his son are distinctly seen without the imperial crowns; the emperor's beard has been shaved; his hair has been dishevelled and all the crosses that appear on the Byzantine prototype have been omitted. As seen on many examples of Artuqid coins' iconography, once again the Turkmen artist modified the original image and created a specific figure.⁶⁷¹ He did not touch the Byzantine imperial costume *chlamys*, but removed the Christian definite elements and assimilated the Byzantine portraits into a Turkic personage with the almond-shaped eyes, which evokes the examples from Seljuk art. Even though the Empire had lost its political and military power beyond the eastern borders by this time, surprisingly, the Byzantine cultural influence appears on the figural coinage of Il-Ghāzī II, consisting of two types of figured coin based on icons of the Byzantine emperors.

What really matters is that the Artuqid malik is not the first Muslim ruler adopting this Byzantine coin iconography. Early Umayyad coinage in Syria and North Africa also seems to have enjoyed adopting the coin imagery of Heraklios. The adaptation of the nomisma of Heraklios and his son Heraklios Constantine, with some alterations, can also be seen on the early imitative Muslim Syrian gold coins, probably struck in Damascus under the reign of Umayyad caliph Mu'āwiya (41-60 / 661-680) nearly five centuries before the Il Ghāzī's coin imagery. Like the Artuqid coin type, the crosses were rejected, but the imperial crown remains and, on the reverse, the cross potent on three steps were altered into the 'bar on a pole on steps'.⁶⁷² A very rare Umayyad gold coin minted at North Africa in c. 695 to 715 also depicts these two imperial figures with an ornamented crown surrounded by a Latin form of

⁶⁷¹ In this sense, Spengler and Sayles, once again, associated it with the astrological interest of the Artuquids and claim that the portraits are symbols of the Sun and the planet Mercury. Spengler and Sayle 1992: 95-96.

⁶⁷² Heidemann 2010: 27-28.

shahāda.⁶⁷³ They can be accepted as continuations of the previous Roman and Byzantine money of these regions.



Figure 24: Left: Obverse of the Umayyad gold coin, Syria; Right: Umayyad gold coin, North Africa⁶⁷⁴

Type 5. The *Kalimah* and the two Heads



Figure 25: Left: Reverse of copper dirham of Najm al-Dīn Alpī, The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK372; Right: Obverse of gold solidus of Justin II and Tiberius II, minted in Constantinople in 578.

In Mārdīn, Il-Ghāzī II's predecessor Najm al-Dīn Alpī (547-572 / 1152-1176)⁶⁷⁵ also issued an intriguing example: the reverse of his copper dirham shows two diademed heads, probably copied from a Byzantine prototype (**fig. 25**). While many numismatists avoided attempting to identify the figures on the coin, Spengler and Sayles suggested that it is possibly inspired by gold solidus of Byzantine emperors Justin II and Tiberius II as joint emperors

⁶⁷³ Bates 1995: 12-15.

⁶⁷⁴ http://www.engcoins.com/Bid.aspx?Item_ID=163718 [accessed: 15 April 2015]

⁶⁷⁵ See catalogue nos. 68-76; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK372-TK380; P. D. Whitting Collection; Adiyaman Museum (Turkey), Coin Collection, nos. 239, 1226, 1576, 4335, 4377, 9953, 11487.

minted in Constantinople at 578.⁶⁷⁶ What is interesting about this coin type is the inscription enclosed the figures: the *kalimah* and the name of caliph al-Mustanjid Billah (555-566 / 1160-1170), which was the first recognition of the Abbasid caliph on an Artuqid coin. Even though there is no evidence and no such tradition in Muslim coinage, this can make us think that this pair of heads on the coin might have referred to the political connection between the Artuqid malik and the Abbasid caliph.

Type 6. A Mixed Type: Byzantine Garment and Sasanian Crown

An idiosyncratic and colourful copper coin of Ḥusāmāl-Dīn Yoluk Arslān (580-597 / 1184-1201) also shows the influence of not only Byzantine coinage, but also ancient numismatic and cultural traditions in a combination of Roman and Byzantine busts with a Sasanian crown.⁶⁷⁷ Two busts in different sizes are placed within a beaded circle. While the larger figure at the right facing left most probably derived from the coins of Roman emperor Claudius I (41-54), who was an active colonizer in Syria and Asia Minor, the smaller front figure with jewelled *loros*, share similarities to Byzantine prototypes,⁶⁷⁸ even though he wears a Sasanian style three-part crenellated crown (**fig. 26**).⁶⁷⁹



Figure 26: Left: Copper coin of Ḥusāmāl-Dīn Yoluk Arslān, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK059; Right: Obverse of the coin of Claudius I, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, R0956

⁶⁷⁶ Sayles and Spengler 1992, p. 88; *DOC*, I: nos. 1-2, p. 263.

⁶⁷⁷ See catalogue nos. 101-107; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK055-TK061; P. D. Whitting Collection; Adıyaman Museum, Coin Collection, no. 5580.

⁶⁷⁸ Lane-Poole 1875: p. 29, no. 47; Lane-Poole 1877: 150. He says it is probably copied from a coin of Nero.

⁶⁷⁹ It resembles the crowns seen on the *drachms* of Shapur I (241-272) and Shapur II (309-379).

Mārdīn, where Yoluk Arslān produced this coin, was on a frontier zone between the Roman Empire (then the Byzantine Empire) and Sasanian Empire for centuries and witnessed many conflicts between these superpowers from third century to the conquests of Arabs in the mid-seventh century.⁶⁸⁰ Thus, this mixed Artuqid coin type emerged in a region, which still bore the traces of its Roman, Sasanian and Byzantine past with a large amount of coins and institutions. Once again, the combination of images and elements from different sources shows the wide latitude enjoyed by the Artuqid artists of Mārdīn. Finally, the Artuqid ruler was introduced as malik (king) of Diyār Bakr on the obverse, the Arabic inscriptions on the reverse showing the name and titles of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī (Saladin). This declares the vassalage of the Artuqids. Like the previous type, even though there is no epigraphic evidence, the figures might have portrayed the vassal Artuqid king and his overlord Sultan Saladin.

Type 7. Idiosyncratic Figures Reflecting Mixed Elements

The Artuqids' numismatic iconography seems to show a significant interest in placing the imperial Byzantine portraits on their coinage, but, as mentioned above, these images display various permutations and alterations that make it difficult to identify the prototypes of some coins. This section will investigate three coin images, bearing Byzantine elements, which have been explained by the astrological interest of the Artuqids by some scholars. The first example, which once again enables one to see the free adaptation of Artuqid die-cutters, comes from the copper dirham of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, who enjoyed producing idiosyncratic figures reflecting mixed features nourished from different sources. For this type, dated 562/1166-7, depicting a half-figure with long hair draping to each side and large

⁶⁸⁰ For these military events, see Frendo 2009: 221-229 and Comfort 2009: 189-213.

almond-shaped eyes⁶⁸¹ many scholars seem to have been confused. Although it is not easy to identify, at least it can be suggested that this figure, apart from some Turkic features such as almond-shaped eyes, bears Byzantine numismatic iconographic features with tunic and garment tied at the neck.⁶⁸²



Figure 27: Copper dirham of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, dated to 562/1166-7, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK447.

In this sense, it was for the first time described as a modified representation of the Virgin Mary by Lane-Poole,⁶⁸³ while he avoided recalling his interpretation in his following publications. Spengler and Sayles have brought a different approach claiming that this figure might have been a representation of a planet in twelfth-century Islamic art. Particularly, they associated it with the male representations of Jupiter and Saturn seen on the mirror of Artuk Shāh, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Ziyād, modern Harput (**fig. 28**).⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸¹ See catalogue nos. 15-16; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK447-TK448; P. D. Whitting Collection; Topraktepe 2009: p. 40, nos. 15886-7.

⁶⁸² As will be discussed in the following chapter, Qarā Arslān, in the last year of his reign (570/1174) issued a very similar figure on his coinage. However, this time, a small angel figure holding a bow took part on the right of figure. In that sense it resembles the coin of Justin II, which depicts an angel figure next to the portrait. The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B1128.tif-B1197.tif, B1536.tif-B1541.tif, B1586.tif-B1588.tif; P. D. Whitting Collection.

⁶⁸³ Lane-Poole 1875: p. 16, no. 4.

⁶⁸⁴ Spengler and Sayles 1992: 22.



Figure 28: Bronze mirror of Artuk Shāh
David Collection, Copenhagen, Denmark,
inv. no. 4/1996

A male bust, with diadem and dishevelled hair flowing to each side found on the copper coins of Ḥusāmāl-Dīn Yoluk Arslān, issued between 581/1185 and 586/1191,⁶⁸⁵ also shows similarities to the busts on the bronze mirror made for Artuk Shāh (631/1234),⁶⁸⁶ the Artuqid ruler of Harput, which represented the seven planets as individual busts. They are all uniformly wrapped in a garment (or *paludamentum*) tied in a bow at neckline as those on the Artuqid types.⁶⁸⁷ So Spengler and Sayles described it as the head of ‘Helios’, the representation of the Sun.⁶⁸⁸ However, to identify the figure with the planetary figures on the mirror of the Kharput Artuqids, which was manufactured at least fifty years later, seems implausible.

Before this suggestion, although some numismatists attempted to find its prototype, they failed. Lane-Poole and Edhem suggest that it resembles the images on the gold solidus of

⁶⁸⁵ See catalogue 93-100; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK047-TK054; P. D. Whitting Collection; Topraktepe 2009: p. 45, no. 15979.

⁶⁸⁶ It is kept in the David Collection, Copenhagen, Denmark, inv. no. 4/1996; see Folsach 2001: 314-315. Recently German scholar Martine-Müller Wiener completed the most comparative and analytical study on this subject. Wiener 2010: 173-198.

⁶⁸⁷ The inscription on the outer band of the mirror shows the genealogy and title of the Artuqid malik. The outer inscription follows by a band with a twelve medallions showing the representations of zodiac signs. The third circumferential band displays seven busts and finally in the centre a raptor appears. See Wiener, 174ff.

⁶⁸⁸ Spengler and Sayles 1992: 100.

Artavasdus (742-743) and his son Nicephorus.⁶⁸⁹ However, there are significant differences between these figures: the garment in the Byzantine prototype fastens on the right shoulder, rather than in the centre unlike the portrait on the Artuqid type, and Artavasdus holds a globus cruciger or cross in the right hand. Furthermore, his crown is not attached by ‘pendilia’, which first appeared in the mid-tenth century and became standard in the reign of Nicephorus II (963-969). It seems that it is very hard to suggest a direct connection between this Artuqid type and any Byzantine prototype, but it evokes a combined representation of the Roman and Byzantine imperial busts.



Figure 29: Copper coin of Ḥusām-al-Dīn Yoluk Arslān, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK050; P. D. Whitting Collection

Finally, in the early thirteenth century, Mārdīn’s Artuqid ruler Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuk Arslān (597-637 / 1201-1239) produced the last coin issue based on the Byzantine numismatic iconography. Like the previous type, the Artuqid coins struck in the years of 598-599 / 1201-1203 have a Byzantine-style male figure with diademed long and dishevelled hair. The figure, with ‘loros’, holds the costume in his left or right hand according to his pose.⁶⁹⁰ For the iconography, the most important and distinctive part is the ‘loros’, a long, narrow and embroidered scarf, worn by both Byzantine emperors and empresses. In Byzantine numismatic iconography, it for the first time appears on the coins of Justinian II. While

⁶⁸⁹ Lane-Poole 1875: p. 28, no. 42; Lane-Poole 1877: 148; Edhem 1893: p. 39, no. 53, pl. III; Edhem 1894: p. 41, no. 53, pl. III. For the gold solidus of Artavasdus and Nicephorus, see *DOC*, III/i: 283-284, pl. VII.

⁶⁹⁰ See catalogue nos. 135-136; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK064-TK065; P. D. Whitting Collection; Topraktepe 2009: p. 43, no. 16031.

Edhem suggests that it was an imitative of Byzantine types,⁶⁹¹ Spengler and Sayles, once again, attempted to describe the Artuqid coin image with their astrological interests.⁶⁹² However, the interpretation based on the Turkmen's astrological interests does not seem very convincing.



Figure 30: Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuk Arslān, The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK065; P. D. Whitting Collection

Conclusion: A New Approach to Images and Titles on the Turkmen Coins

Rather than an explanation of antiquarian and astrological interest, these images, as Eurydice Georganteli noted in her stimulating article, can be understood as part of an ‘overall quest’ by Turkmen rulers for continuity and legitimacy, based on the region’s pre-Islamic past.⁶⁹³ Georganteli investigates the process of intentional cross-cultural borrowing and appropriation in the Muslim world by the example of Alexander who was a popular figure of the literature and arts created not only by Byzantines, Westerners, and Armenians, but also by Muslims in the eleventh-to fourteenth-century eastern Mediterranean. The Innsbruck plate, also known as the Artuqid plate, an enamelled vessel, is an excellent example of the way that transposed images travelled between different cultures in the medieval Eastern Mediterranean

⁶⁹¹ Edhem 1893: p. 46, no. 64, pl. III; Edhem 1894: p. 49; no. 63.

⁶⁹² Spengler and Sayles 1992: 119-120.

⁶⁹³ Georganteli 2012: 142; and Georganteli and Cook 2006: 41-42.

world (**fig. 31**). The inscription on the plate⁶⁹⁴ indicate its connection with Rukn al-Dawla Dā'ud (502-539 / 1108–1144), the third Artuqid malik of Hiṣn Kayfā. Turkish scholar İbrahim Artuk suggested that this unique enamelled plate with the imagery on both sides reflecting parallels in Byzantine-Constantinopolitan art and in Georgian art might have been produced by a Byzantine craftsman, working in the Artuqids' service,⁶⁹⁵ while Scott Redford and then Oleg Grabar offered a Georgian goldsmith instead of a Byzantine artist.⁶⁹⁶ Redford suggests that the distortion and incoherency of the inscription as well as genealogical mistakes about the Artuqid dynasty brings to mind the possibility that it was produced beyond the Artuqid territories.⁶⁹⁷



Figure 31: The Ascension of Alexander, Enamelled Artuqid plate, first half of the twelfth century. H. 50 mm; diam. 265 mm; Trioler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, Austria.

In this context, it might have been *presented to* the Artuqid malik Dā'ud. Although many Byzantine enamelled objects served as a major part of the foreign policy of rewarding allied rulers, it seems unlikely that this object would have been brought as a Byzantine gift to

⁶⁹⁴ The plate's inscription was read by Max van Berchem: "The amīr, chief of armies (al-isfāhsalar), the great, the fortified by God, the victorious, Naṣir al-Dīn, Rukn al-Dawla, saber of the community, luster of the nation, leader of armies, crown of kings and sultans, slayer of infidels and polytheists, Alp Sawghan [??] Sunqur Bak Ata [?] Sökmen Dā'ud [sic] son of Artuq, sword of the Commander of the Faithful.": Berchem 1910: no. 40 (cited also in Redford 1990: 121).

⁶⁹⁵ Artuk 1993: 46.

⁶⁹⁶ Redford 1990: 127-128; Grabar 2001: 243.

the Artuqid court as the sources do not show a direct political contact between them.⁶⁹⁸ Considering that medieval Georgian enamelwork was strongly Byzantine-influenced, and the dynamic relations between the Artuqids and Georgians, Georgia can be more plausibly suggested for its production site.⁶⁹⁹ Particularly, in the year 514 (1120-21), the military campaigns in Artuqid-Georgian history reached a peak and ended with the defeat of the forces of Najm al-Dīn Il-Ghāzī, the first ruler of the Artuqids of Mardin, by Georgian king David IV the Builder (1085-1125).⁷⁰⁰ More importantly, the Artuqid Dā'ud of Hiṣn Kayfā, whose name is seen on the Innsbruck plate, also conducted with the ruler of Akhlāt (Ahlat) an anti-Georgian expedition in the 1130s.⁷⁰¹ This plate might have been given as a present to Dā'ud by the Dimitri I (1125-1154), successor of David IV, in this period. On this object, which bears inscriptions in Arabic and Persian, it might be said that it has multilateral features: its technique is Byzantine while its iconography has Byzantine, Georgian and Islamic connections. Indeed, the Innsbruck plate is a great example of the way that transposed images travelled between different cultures in the medieval Eastern Mediterranean world.

It could be argued that the effect of fluid and inconsistent political behaviours on the choice of images and inscriptions, particularly titles, seen in the Turkmen coinage should not be ignored. In this respect, we will attempt to bring a new approach based on a correlation between the titulature and coin iconography, to explain the thorny question why the Turkmen rulers borrowed a great variety of images inspired by not only the Byzantine or Roman, but also the Sasanian and Hellenistic iconographies.

⁶⁹⁸ Redford 1990: 126.

⁶⁹⁹ Redford 1990, 127-128; Grabar 2001: 243.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), I; 213-214; Ibn al-Ādim (Sevim), 145; Ibn al-Azraq (Savran), 33-35; Hillenbrand 1990: 42-44.

⁷⁰¹ Hillenbrand 1981: 143; Cahen 1965c: 664. Both David IV (1085-1125) and Dimitri I (1125-1154) struck Arabic copper coins in Tiflīs (Tbilisi) with the names of the Seljuk Sultans of Iraq and the caliph. For coins of David IV, see Paghava 2012: figs. 1.0-1.7; for coins of Dimitri, see Paghava 2012: figs. 2.4-2.5.

On the copper dirham of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, honorific and excessive titles of the Turkmen ruler and his coin imagery derived from the prototype of Constantine the Great will be our starting point. On the obverse, in the four arcs of the margin, not surprisingly four generations of pedigree of the Artuqid malik appear. As for the reverse, it bears an inscription of excessive titles referring to II-Ghāzī II:

Il Ghāzī / li Mawlāna al-Malik al-‘Ālim / al-‘Ādil Quṭb al-Dīn / Malik al-Umarā Shāh / Diyār Bakr

Il Ghāzī / to our Lord, Enlightened / Just King, Pole of the Faith / King of Commanders Shāh / Diyarbakr⁷⁰²

On the one hand the Artuqid ruler enthusiastically enjoys the honorific titles such as ‘Enlightened King’, ‘Just King’ and ‘Pole of Faith’, and ‘King of Commanders’;⁷⁰³ on the other hand, Arabic ‘malik’ (king) is avidly accompanied with its Persian synonym ‘shāh’ on the same legend. These excessive titles were interpreted as ‘flattery to the point of sycophancy’ by Spengler and Sayles.⁷⁰⁴ The contemporary Andalusian traveller Ibn Jubayr, in his visit to the Artuqid lands in 1184, clearly draws attention to not only Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II’s practice of adopting extravagant titles, but also to the presumptuous appellations among other Turkmen rulers in the region:

The Lord of the city [Dunaysir] is Quṭb al-Dīn, who is also Lord of the cities of Dara, Mārdīn, Ra’s al-‘Ain. He is a kinsman of the two sons of Babek. These countries are subject to various rulers, after the fashion of the kings of the Arab nations in Spain. All these rulers embellish themselves with titles connected with religion, and you will hear only awesome by-names and

⁷⁰² See catalogue no. 87; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK041.

⁷⁰³ Another crucial point, the term ‘li Mawlāna’ (to our lord), which was unique among the Turkmen coins, brought an idea that it might have been issued by a governor or chieftain tributary to the Artuqid ruler Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī. Lane-Poole 1875: p. 28, no. 41.

⁷⁰⁴ Spengler and Sayles 1992: 90.

appellations that for the wise are without profit. In this, the subjects and their kings are the same, and the rich share the habit with the poor. Not one of them is known by a cognomen that fits him, or is described by an epithet of which he is worthy.⁷⁰⁵

After stressing that only Saladin deserves these titles and thus the titles are in harmony with the subject, and the words fit the meaning,⁷⁰⁶ he intensifies and completes his criticism as follows: “All other titles are but a gust of air, and testimonials made void. The taking on of religious titles: what troubles they involve? ‘Kingly titles out of place, like a cat ambitious to mimic the lion’s rush.’”⁷⁰⁷ This provides a striking example of the others’ perception of ‘megalomania’ in the titulature of the Turkmen rulers. Perhaps, the portrait imitated from the coinage of Constantine the Great crowned Il Ghāzī II’s passion of using exaggerated and excessive titles. The images might be seen as reflection of unbridled ambition and passion for honorific titles in the medieval Islamic world. As already mentioned, Danishmendid rulers did not hesitate to adopt Byzantine titles or to adapt them to Turkish and Islamic titulature. Furthermore, apart from Arabic titles, Danishmendid and other medieval Anatolian Turkmen chiefs also used the Persian and Turkic titles on their coinage, occasionally on the same coin. It is also not surprising to see a Byzantine prototype, together with a figure borrowed from Sasanian and Turkic visual vocabularies. In this respect, a correlation between inflated sonorous titles and the pompous images on the Turkmen coins can be found. Undoubtedly, both reflect a mission to convey the rulers’ political message, ideology, world perspective and claims to their subjects.

The wish for ‘honorific titles’ was not new for Muslim rulers, since from the tenth century it became widespread in the Islamic world, not only for independent rulers, but also

⁷⁰⁵ Ibn Jubayr, 250-251.

⁷⁰⁶ In fact, shortly afterwards, his successor Ḥusām al-Dīn Yoluk Arslān would have to give the name of Saladin. See Artuk 1993: p. 92, nos. 51-52.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibn Jubayr, 250-251.

for provincial governors, military commanders, and even, for civilian officials.⁷⁰⁸ We know that in Islamic tradition, an honorific title (*laqab*) was generally granted by the caliph. Validity of titles not given by the caliph was controversial, because the caliph was the possessor of all lands.⁷⁰⁹ In time, to grant an honorific title was seen as a source of income by the caliphs, that is to say, the caliphs under negative circumstances sold the *laqabs* (titles).⁷¹⁰ The inflation of titles can be explained by this case. The tenth-century Arab traveller and poet Abū Dulaf Mis‘ar b. Muhalhil in his famous *qasīda as-Sāsāniyya* ironically cites the Caliph al-Muti‘ (334-363 / 946-974) as one of the companionship of professional beggars:

Another of our members is the mainstay of religion, al-Muti‘, whose fame is well-known;
He begs his bread in periodic instalments from ‘mu‘izz ad-daula’[the fortifier of the dynasty].⁷¹¹

After this sarcastic and epideictic poem expressing the reason for the inflation of titles in the Islamic world, Nizām al-Mulk (1018 -1092), Persian scholar and vizier of the Great Seljuk Empire, in his masterpiece *Siyasat-name (The Book of Government)* completed in 1091, also acknowledges the practice of inflating the titles. He points out that ‘discretion’ disappeared and titles became mixed up after the reign of Sultan Alp Arslān (d. 1072). Anyone desired the grandest title and was given it even though he did not deserve it. Even in that period the lowest officials were angry and indignant if they were given less than seven or ten titles:⁷¹²

When the title of a bazaar merchant or a farmer is the same as that of a civil governor, there is no difference between humble and noble, and the notable and the significant are of the same degree. Supposing an imam or scholar or a judge has the title of Mu‘in al-Dīn [Supporter of

⁷⁰⁸ Bosworth 1962: 210.

⁷⁰⁹ Uzunçarşılı 1988: 15.

⁷¹⁰ Mez 2000: 172.

⁷¹¹ Bosworth 1962: 211-212.

⁷¹² Nizām al-Mulk, 160-161.

the Faith], and a student or a Turk who knows not the first thing about religious law, cannot even read or write, also has the same title of Mu'in al-Dīn, then what is the difference in rank between judges and students, learned and ignorant? Both have the same title and this is not right.⁷¹³

The Great Seljuk vizier also stressed the abundance of titles in the Islamic world, particularly among the Seljuk Turks and added that this abundance loses 'value and dignity'. Further, the vizier reports that kings and caliphs were excessively generous in the application of titles, while keeping the titles regarding to each man's ranks and importance is one of the principles of government.⁷¹⁴ Briefly, Nizām al-Mulk notes that "Titles must suit the persons who hold them".⁷¹⁵ In this sense, Ibn Khaldūn, in *al-Muqaddima*, recites a famous poem by the contemporary Andalusian poet Ibn Sharaf (d. 1067-8), that drew attention to the 'small Muslim rulers' in al-Andalus (Spain) who behaved as if they were the caliph:

What makes me feel humble in al-Andalus

Is the use of the names Mu'tasim and Mu'tadid there.

Royal Surnames not in their proper place:

Like a cat that by blowing itself up imitates the lion.⁷¹⁶

C. E. Bosworth asked the question 'why were these titles so keenly desired' and described it simply as 'the wish to appear important in the eyes of the others', particularly of rivals.⁷¹⁷ Therefore, because of the widespread inflation of medieval Islamic titles it is not surprising to find that the twelfth-century Turkmen rulers looked to accessible foreign models of images to bolster their own sovereign claims.

⁷¹³ Nizām al-Mulk, 152.

⁷¹⁴ Nizām al-Mulk, 152.

⁷¹⁵ Nizām al-Mulk, 160.

⁷¹⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, I, 470.

⁷¹⁷ Bosworth 1962: 210.

Although the figural copper coins could not travel far, they were undoubtedly effective ‘message bearers’ in the region. In the case of the ‘brother countries’ of al-Jazīra, the Artuqids of Ḥiṣn Kayfā and the Artuqids of Mārdīn struggling to be the only master of the region, coins with their images and inscriptions played a major role in that political environment. The fight was not only in the battlefield with the military weapons. On the contrary, considering the details and clues on their coins, it is not an exaggeration to say that the main battle arose behind the gates by way coins as a political tool.

Let us first give a few examples showing that the rivalry and challenge between the local Turkmen states appears with the titles in their coinage to support our argument. Numismatic evidence shows that they were aware of their rivals’ new coins and messages on them. For instance, the first coins of the Artuqids of Ḥiṣn Kayfā and the Artuqids of Mārdīn issued by Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān and Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh bear the title ‘*al-Malik al-Ālim al-Ādil* (King of the Wise and Justice)’ and its variations respectively. However, Timurtāsh on his coin dated 543/1148-49 also placed the much more ambitious title ‘*malik al-umarā*’ (king of the commanders) with ‘*zahir amir al-mu‘minīn* / the support of the commander of the faithful’.⁷¹⁸ Qarā Arslān reacted to it with the similar title ‘*malik al-umarā* (king of the princes or commanders)’ on his copper coin struck in 560/1165.⁷¹⁹ Another important actor of the region Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd (1149-1170), Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, similarly showed his claim in the title ‘*malik al-umarā al-sharq wa al-garb*’ / king of the princes of the East and West on his coin dated between 555/1160 and 565/1170.

Another striking example comes again from the coinage of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, the reformist ruler of the Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuqids. Contrary to Islamic coins, the ‘*kalimah*’ does not appear very often in the twelfth-century Turkmen coinage, at least on the figural copper

⁷¹⁸ See Artuk 1993: p. 86, no. 33.

⁷¹⁹ See Artuk 1993: p. 74, no. 3. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad stepped further and used ‘Muhiyy al-Adil’ (Reviver of Justice) with ‘*malik al-umarā*’. See Artuk 1993: p. 77, no. 12.

coins. However, the figural copper coin of Qarā Arslān dated 560/1165 displayed the ‘*kalimah*’ and the name of the Abbasid caliph: *La ilaha illa Allah, Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / al-Mustanjid Billah*.⁷²⁰ This seems to have been the pioneer of ‘religious inscriptions’ in the twelfth-century Turkmen coinage.⁷²¹ In the same period, Najm al-Dīn Alpī produced a type reflecting very similar features including characters, the ‘*kalimah*’ and the name of the Abbasid caliph.⁷²² Following his type, Mosul atabeg Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī II (1170-1180) placed the ‘*kalimah*’ on his copper coin in the last year of his reign in 575/1179-80. Once again there is a parallelism between the legends in the coinages of the Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuqids, the Mārdīn Artuqids and the Zangīd atabegs.

Qarā Arslān’s denomination of his copper coins as *dirham*, which was used for silver coins in the Islamic world, and its declaration on his coins with the inscription of ‘*ḍuriba hadhā al-dirham fī ayyām Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslān / this dirham was struck in the days of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān*’, shows his very interesting monetary policy. His contemporary Artuqid ruler Najm al-Dīn Alpī (547-572 / 1152-1176), whose currency was known as ‘*fulūs al-Najmiyya / copper coins of Najm al-Dīn*’,⁷²³ conformed to the Islamic numismatic tradition, but while his successor Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II on his copper coin dated 577/1181 introduced a legend saying that ‘*hadhā al-dirham mal’ūn man yu’ayyiruhū / this dirham cursed be he who defaces it*’ in Mardin. Just a year later, in 578/1182, this time Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuqid ruler Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad (570-581 / 1174-1185), son of Qarā Arslān, inscribed the same ‘curse’ ‘*mal’ūn man yu’ayyiruhū / cursed be he who defaces it*’. These were undoubtedly economic and political manoeuvres between the two ambitious powers of al-Jazīra.

⁷²⁰ See catalogue no. 12; The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK444; P.D. Whitting Collection.

⁷²¹ Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh (516-547 / 1122-1152), on his coins dated 543/1148-9 used ‘billah’. Artuk 1993: p. 86, no. 33.

⁷²² See Catalogue no. 68; The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK372; P.D. Whitting Collection

⁷²³ Ibn al-Azraq (Savran), 116.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn Najm al-Dīn preferred to use the title of ‘*malik Diyār Bakr* / King of Diyār Bakr’ in his coinage for the first time among the Artuqid rulers.⁷²⁴ Afterwards, while Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II uses the Persian title ‘*shāh Diyār Bakr* / King of Diyār Bakr’, Ḥusām al-Dīn Yoluk Arslān (580-597 / 1184-1200) and Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuk Arslān (597-637 / 1200-1239) continued to use ‘*malik Diyār Bakr*’ on their coins. Undoubtedly, it shows Mārdīn’s Artuqid rulers’ claim over the lands of Diyār Bakr, including, apart from Mārdīn, Mayyāfāriqīn, and Dunaysir,⁷²⁵ the critical cities of the Ḥiṣn Kayfā Artuquids such as Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Amid, and more than thirty fortresses. Thus, the messages formed with titles and images were addressed to the Artuqid rulers of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, and the other local powers: the Zangīd atabegs, and the Ayyūbīds, which conducted military campaigns in the region, not only to the Byzantine Empire or the Crusader states as some scholars⁷²⁶ suggested.

Relating to the interplay on the title-making, the images among the Turkmen coinages reflect many parallels. As will be analyzed below, Danishmendid Amīr Ghāzī, in the last years of his reign, issued a copper coin with the image of ‘Christ Pantocrator’, which is the first known example in medieval Muslim-Turkmen Anatolia. Curiously, the Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān and Mārdīn’s Artuqid ruler Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh, who were the first coin producers of their principalities, also introduced the bust of Christ in their coinage. Again contemporary Danishmendid ruler Yağıbasan placed a similar figure on the obverse of his seal. In the same period the Virgin Mary figure was also hosted by two contemporary rulers: one by Danishmendid Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad in 558/1163, the other by Artuqid Najm al-Dīn Alpī. The appearance of the two ‘enthroned Christ’ figures in the Turkmen coinage, specifically in the coinage of Artuqid Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān and

⁷²⁴ Comparing with the title of Danishmendid Malik Muḥammad, the Great King of all Romania and Anatolia (the East), Muḥammad), the Artuqid title seems quite humble.

⁷²⁵ They belonged to the Mārdīn Artuquids.

⁷²⁶ Artuk 1993: 37.

Danishmendid Shams al-Dīn Ismā‘īl (562-567 / 1166-1172), are also not far away from each other.

All of these have led me to propose that, the Turkmen rulers were influenced by the coin iconography and art inherited from the old masters of the region, but the big number and diversity of the images can be read as a result of the challenge between the Turkmen rulers in making more effective use of the coins politically and publicly. Besides, the images on the Turkmen coinage might have been formed as a ‘subsidiary element’ to contribute to the effectiveness of the titles. Considering the above-mentioned poem of Abū Dulaf and the following records, it seems to have been an alternative way to address the message both to their subjects and their rivals.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE INFLUENCE OF THE BYZANTINES ON THE TURKMENS: CHRISTIAN IMAGERY ON THE TURKMEN COINS

The two previous chapters mentioned the adaptations and interactions in the light of the Greek and bilingual (Greek-Arabic) coins of the Danishmendid maliks, and the Turkmen figural coins derived from the Byzantine coin iconography respectively. This chapter will focus on the figures on the coins struck in Anatolia and upper Mesopotamia, but this time it will be about the images coming from Christian iconography. Differently from the previous chapter, it will ask whether these images have Christian meaning.

One of the most intriguing elements in the Turkmen coinage is the inclusion of religious imagery associated with Christian iconography derived from the Byzantine and Crusader coinage. Some Turco-Islamic copper coins produced during the Turkmen sovereignty over Anatolia, al-Jazīra, and parts of Syria in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were embellished with adaptations of Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary, Archangel Gabriel, prominent Christian saints like St. George or St. Theodore, and even the cross symbol on the obverse and Muslim official title and name on the reverse. By creating currencies similar in iconography to established ones produced by the Byzantines and partly Crusaders that Anatolian and Mesopotamian Christians and Muslims handled, Turkmen rulers, in a permissive climate, not only addressed diverse religious and cultural audiences living in their territories, which still possessed a large Christian population, but also I will argue, expressed the Turkmens' own attitudes towards some local Christian beliefs.

The Turkmens settled in an area still being in the sphere of influence of the two notable powers: the Byzantine Empire, which was ruling over the bigger portion of Anatolia and to the south, in spite of the Shia Fatimid aggression, the Abbasid Caliphate. The coinages of both these civilizations depicted some religious elements. The Abbasid *dinars* and *dirhams*

had Arabic inscriptions of verses from the Qur'an, *shahāda* and *kalimah*, whereas the Byzantine coins, aside from ecclesiastical statements, displayed images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary in different forms, figures of some saints, and crosses as religious symbols. Surprisingly, the twelfth-thirteenth century Turkmen coins combined both Islamic inscriptions and Christian images derived from Byzantine and Crusader iconography on a single coin. Presence of Christian imagery in the Turco-Islamic coinage is, of course, one of the most unusual and puzzling parts of the medieval Islamic coinage. This chapter explores the encounters of the newcomers, Muslim Turkmen, with the native Christians and Latins that is inscribed in a group of quite unexpected adaptations of old and established motifs with Christian themes on the Turkmen coins struck in Anatolia, al-Jazīra, and Northern Syria between circa the 1120s and the 1210s.

The first coins with images inspired by Christian iconography in Byzantine coinage were issued by the Saltukid malik Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Abū al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī (1124-1132) and the Danishmendid amīr Amīr Ghāzī (1104-1134) most probably at a date between 1124 and 1134. They were the Virgin Nikopoios and the representation of Christ (Pantokrator). As for the last issue with a Christian element, a copper fals issued by Seljuk Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād in his governorship at Tokat (1210s), represents a figure with nimbus on horseback slaying a creature, very probably adapted from the Christian iconography of St. George. Especially the Artuqid and Danishmendid Turkmen rulers, who introduced the bust of Christ, enthroned Christ, the Virgin, and St. George icons on their copper coins, seem most willing to use Christian-based images in their coinage.⁷²⁷ Saltukid and Mengujekid coinage can be found

⁷²⁷ Three Danishmendid rulers, Amīr Ghāzī (497-528 / 1104-1134), Shams al-Dīn Ismā'īl (559-567 / 1166-1172) and finally Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (557-65 / 1162-1170 first reign), and again three Artuqid rulers, Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh (516-547 / 1122-1152), Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān (543-570 / 1148-1174), and Najm al-Dīn Alpī (547-572 / 1152-1176), preferred to issue copper coins with Christian imagery derived from Byzantine and Crusader coinage.

three different coin types with Christian themes, while Nūr al-Dīn was the only Zangīd ruler issuing a coin with a Christian image, which was the representation of standing Christ.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the intriguing figural Turkmen coins were brought to the attention of, especially, numismatists such as Stanley Lane-Poole and Ahmed Tevhid.⁷²⁸ The earliest important studies identifying and describing these figural Turkmen coins appeared, not least from both numismatists' own pens. While their works are not more than proper catalogues, more recently Helen Mitchell Brown attempted to explain the figural coinage of the Artuqids and Zangīds.⁷²⁹ Although she was successful to undermine the theory of Stanley Lane-Poole, according to whom it was 'almost commercial necessity', and another approach which was based on 'technical reason', she failed to develop a more analytical idea about the existence of figural Turkmen coinage. Shortly after Brown's work, in 1979 Estelle Whelan⁷³⁰ stated that the figures on the Turkmen coinage can be recognized as a 'manifestation of sovereignty'. Nicholas Lowick, in his article, classified three themes in terms of overall features of the coins: the religious, royal and popular images, and attempted to view the 'presence of Christian motifs' with an explanation of the 'monetary reason' rather than the 'religious factor'.⁷³¹ In the 1990s, the attempt to view the figural Turkmen coins in the light of their astrological interests did not bring convincing results to understanding this complex numismatic phenomenon (see chapter 3).⁷³² All the aforementioned modern scholars seem to have been puzzled by particularly Christian images in the Turkmen coinage but failed to explain their existence on these Muslim coins.

⁷²⁸ Lane-Poole 1875 and Tevhid 1903.

⁷²⁹ Brown 1974: 353-358.

⁷³⁰ In her PhD thesis, *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia* (1979) which also appeared as a book (London 2006).

⁷³¹ Lowick 1985: 161.

⁷³² Spengler and Sayles, 2 vols, 1992 and 1996. This work is divided into two volumes: the first of which deals with the figural Artuqid coinage and the second volume focuses on the figural Zangīd coinage.

However, the article dealing with Christian elements in the identity of the twelfth-and thirteenth-century Turkmen world written by Rustem Shukurov is very valuable and inspirational for our study. Looking for the answer to the question, why the Turkmen use the figures, especially Christian motifs, not only on their coins but also on other materials, Shukurov carried a step forward the explanation of previous scholars based on ‘commercial necessity’ and ‘technical reason’. He considers especially essential characteristics of the Turkmen people, and also stresses that nothing was by accident on the Turkmen coinage; on the contrary everything was an outcome of ‘their conscious strategy’.⁷³³ Moreover, Shukurov points out the highly idiosyncratic features of the Turkmen coin issues produced in Anatolia and the differences with the Syrian and Iraqi Turkmen cases. Motifs coming from the Christian imagery, as will be seen below, precisely adorned the Anatolian and al-Jazīran Turkmen coinages rather more than the Turkmen coins issued in other areas. The author focuses on two Christian figures, Jesus Christ and St. George, who traditionally was born in Cappadocia in the third century, and the questions of what factors made the Turkmen of Anatolia familiar with them and how they appropriated these figures into their coinage and other materials. According to Shukurov, ‘the immortality and ability to revivify mortals’ may have seen as an intersection point between the Turkmen’s ethos and St. George and Jesus Christ as in the case of the figure of *Khiḍr* who is immortal as an eternal traveller.⁷³⁴ Hence, the Anatolian Turkmen might have respected them for centuries. His interpretation is felicitous, but limited to Jesus Christ and St. George and, moreover, he does not mention the Turkmen rulers’ perception of Christian images and the reactions of Christian and Muslim clergymen. So we shall consult the Christian and Muslim sources once again to find all details

⁷³³ Shukurov 2004: 715.

⁷³⁴ *Khiḍr* (خضر), or al-Khaḍir is a heroic Muslim figure of renewal and rebirth. In Islamic tradition, he is one of the four immortal figures with Jesus, Elijah and Idris. He is also identified as the unnamed companion of Moses, who is defined as a righteous servant of God in Qur’ān (18: 60-62). In recent years, a number of studies of *Khiḍr* and its affiliation with Christian saints have been published. See Meri 1999: 237-264; Wolper 2000: 309-322; Wolper 2011: 120-146; Badamo 2011.

or clues allowing the Turkmen rulers to issue the figural coins with Christian themes. In addition, we shall discuss, whether or not, as Oikonomidès noted, lameness of their Islamic belief allowed them to produce these coins,⁷³⁵ or whether, as Shukurov suggested, the Turkmen rulers, who ordered the production of these images, were pious Muslims.⁷³⁶

Briefly we are going to attempt to understand ‘the perception of Christianity among the Turkmen rulers’, and explore the relations between the Turkmen rulers and their Christian people. Further, did they use these coins as a prime propaganda medium? Were they the principle tools in proclaiming who ruled in the Turkmen milieu, in which a large Christian population was living? Again, can we interpret these coins as a respect for Christian belief and elements?

A. Images of Christ

1. Bust of Christ - Pantokrator (Παντοκράτωρ)

Surprisingly, the representation of so-called ‘Christ Pantokrator’,⁷³⁷ one of the most widely used religious images in Byzantine art and architecture, enjoyed cross-cultural popularity in the iconography of the twelfth-century Turkmen coinage. The first images of Christ, leading to his representations in the Byzantine coinage were drawn in the late third and fourth centuries on catacombs’ frescos and sculpted on sarcophagi,⁷³⁸ while the earliest Christ images on Byzantine coins appear on the *solidi* of Anastasius (491-518),⁷³⁹ but the bust of Christ ‘as main type’ was first used by the emperor Justinian II (685-695; 705-711) who placed a bust of Christ on the obverse and his own half or full-length portrait holding a cross

⁷³⁵ Oikonomidès 1983: 195.

⁷³⁶ Shukurov 2004: 733.

⁷³⁷ Meaning ‘ruler of all’ or ‘who controls everything’.

⁷³⁸ While in these representations, with the affect of ancient times, Christ was a beardless, short-and-curly-haired young man, afterwards it was altered and transformed into a long-haired and bearded figure. As for the earliest examples of the representation of Pantokrator, they appear in religious architecture, icons and paintings in the cases of fourth-ninth centuries. Breckenridge 1959: 49, 59; Uykur 2010b: 160.

⁷³⁹ Jacob 1959: 27.

on the reverse of his gold *solidi*.⁷⁴⁰ The portraits of Christ on the coins of Justinian II, like those of the Turkmen coins, are bush-bearded, wide-faced and long-haired. Christ holds a book in his left hand and blesses with his right. The inscription of CHRISTOS REX REGNANTIUM, meaning 'king of kings', encircled the bust of Christ.⁷⁴¹ Although, in the period of Iconoclasm (730-787 and 814-843), the bust of Christ disappeared from Byzantine coins, just after the iconoclast movement it returned with the coins of Michael III (842-867). Afterwards anonymous Byzantine bronze folles of "Class A1" (970-976?), "Class A2" (976?-c. 1030/35), "Class B" (c. 1030/35-1042?), "Class G" (c. 1065- c. 1070), "Class H" (c. 1070- c. 1080), "Class I" (c. 1075- c. 1080);⁷⁴² the coins of Constantine X (1059-1067), Romanos IV (r. 1068-72), Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180), Andronikos I Komnenos (1183-1185), Alexios III (1195-1203), and Theodore Komnenos Doukas (1225-1230) depicted images of Christ Pantokrator respectively. Finally, use of the image of Christ Pantokrator in the Byzantine coinage was ceded in the reign of Ioannes III Doukas Vatatzes of Nicaea (1222-1254).⁷⁴³

Here it should be noted that the image of Christ Pantokrator was also popular in the early coins of Crusader principalities, western neighbours of the Turkmens. The copper coins of Tancred,⁷⁴⁴ regent in Antioch (1100-1103 and 1105-1112), and Bohemond II (1126-1130),⁷⁴⁵ Latin prince of Antioch, display the bust of Christ. It can also be found on the reverse of copper coins of Baldwin II (1100-1118),⁷⁴⁶ prince of the County of Edessa. Another type portraying the bust of Christ in Crusader coinage belonged to the Latin prince of

⁷⁴⁰ Sabatier 1955: pl. xxxvii; Jacob 1959: 27; *DOC*, IV: 34-35 and *DOC*, III/i: 146.

⁷⁴¹ Jacob 1959: 27; Sabatier 1955: pl. XLIV; Breckenridge 1959: 47.

⁷⁴² For the Byzantine anonymous folles, we used the dating of Grierson. See *DOC* III/i.

⁷⁴³ Uykur, 2010a: 161. According to Philip Grierson, it appears in five different designs on the Byzantine coins:

1. Christ with straight beard, no pellets on centre of book cover;
2. Christ with curly beard, normally no pellet on centre of book cover;
3. Christ with curly beard, normally one pellet on centre of book cover;
4. Christ with curly beard, one or two pellets on centre of book cover;
5. Christ with curly beard, cross without nimbus behind head. (*DOC*, III/i, p. 168).

⁷⁴⁴ Metcalf 1995: nos. 81-85, pl. 5.

⁷⁴⁵ Metcalf 1995: 28.

⁷⁴⁶ Metcalf 1995: nos. 115-117, pl. 7.

Edessa Joscelin I (1119-1131) or Joscelin II (1131-1159).⁷⁴⁷ These Crusader coin issues bearing Christ's bust, most probably based on the Byzantine coinage, once again indicate the popularity of this image in not only Byzantine lands, but in the lands of the newcomers of the region: Crusaders and Turkmens.

The entity of this Christ portrait in the Crusader coinage can be partly recognized in their religious background, but its reappearance on the Muslim Turkmen coins is quite surprising to scholars. The Danishmendid amīr Amīr Ghāzī, the innovative Artuqid rulers Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh of Mārdīn, and Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, issued bronze coins bearing Christ Pantokrator images.⁷⁴⁸ A striking point is that these three Turkmen rulers, who were the pioneers of coin production in their states, chose the bust of Christ for their earliest coins. Along with the Byzantine influence, these coin issues are also able to provide us with some information on the development of direct links between the Turkmen and Crusader coinages. Like the Amīr Ghāzī's invocation Κύριε βοήθη / Lord Help, part of his numismatic inscriptions, the presence of Christ Pantokrator images among Amīr Ghāzī's Crusader contemporaries cannot be a coincidence. Because Antioch and Edessa had belonged to Constantinople, so its folles circulated there. This can equally be read with the intensive and many-faceted relationship between the Crusader Principality of Antioch, County of Edessa and the Turkmens in this transitional region.

No	Rulers	Dynasty	Image Description	Date	Mint
1	Amīr Ghāzī (497-528 / 1104-1134)	Danishmendids	Bust of Christ (Pantocrator)	-	-
2	Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh (516-547 / 1122-1152)	Artuqids of Mārdīn	Bust of Christ (Pantocrator)	-	-
3	Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān (543-570 / 1148-1174)	Artuqids of Ḥiṣn Keyfa	Bust of Christ (Pantocrator)	-	-
4	Yağıbasan (537-559 / 1143-1164) (seal)	Danishmendids	Bust of Christ (Pantocrator)	-	-

Table 7: Bust of Christ on the Turkmen Coins and Seals

⁷⁴⁷ Metcalf 1995: no. 118, pl. 7.

⁷⁴⁸ As will be discussed below, apart from the coins, the Christ bust is also seen on the obverse of the very scarce and obscure seal of Danishmendid amīr Yağıbasan (537-559 / 1143-1164).

The second coin type of Amīr Ghāzī, son of Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī, struck not long before his death in 1134 and thus about fifteen years before the first dated figural coins in al-Jazīra (542/1147-8),⁷⁴⁹ interestingly displays a ‘bust of Christ’ on the reverse, along with four uneven lines of Greek inscription saying “Ο ΜΕΓΑC ΑΜΗΡΑC ΑΜΗΡ ΓΑΖΗC (the Great Amīr, Amīr Ghāzī)” on the obverse (**fig. 32**).⁷⁵⁰ There are different specimens of this type kept in various private and public museums in Europe. Many of the known examples are in poor conditions, preventing precise description of details. Nevertheless, Amīr Ghāzī’s coin has been discussed in a number of publications since its discovery in the late nineteenth century. In 1896, two examples were published by Paul Casanova, who is the author of the only specific coin catalogue of the Danishmendids. The first one represents a bust of Christ, furnished with nimbus within a thick circle, flanked by the abbreviations IC and XC and holding a book, bearing one pellet centred in each limb of the cross and two pellets on the chest.⁷⁵¹ Another example, which had already been published by M. Schlumberger in 1880, shows slightly different features; at least Christ’s long hair and curly beard are clearer.⁷⁵² Thus, the numismatic evidence offers two different prototypes for the busts of Christ on the Danishmendid coinage.

More recent works have attempted to find the prototype of the figure on Amīr’s coins. Many scholars have identified these copper coins as an imitative of the pre-reform copper of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) or the Byzantine anonymous folles Class A (970 – c. 1030/35) of the late tenth and eleventh centuries,⁷⁵³ while some drew attention to the similarities between the Danishmendid Christ image and the bust of Christ on the follis of

⁷⁴⁹ See Spengler and Sayles 1992: p. 73, no. 25.

⁷⁵⁰ Whelan 1980: 138; Vryonis 1971: 473; Hendy 1969: nos. 20-21, pl. 2; Grierson 1999: nos. 980-984, pl. 56; Shukurov 2001: 60.

⁷⁵¹ It is kept in Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, no. 1938, pl. XLVIII.

⁷⁵² Casanova 1896: 63, pl. III, nos. 1-2 [1. In a thick circle relates, bust of Christ facing, with nimbus cruciger. In all three arms of the cross point. Abbreviations IC and XC appear missing or have been completely erased, diam. 22-26 mm w. 3 gr. 43 (p. 63, pl. III, no. 1); 2. Thin circular blank broke out in the corner, typing is also unwelcome and near a half of the piece did not receive the impression. The halo and are indicated by the cross with beads, diam. 24 mm. W. 3 gr. 70. (pp. 63-64, pl. III, no. 2).

⁷⁵³ Whelan, 1980: 138; Vryonis 1971: 473; Hendy 1969: pl. 2 nos. 20-1; Grierson 1999: pl. 56, nos. 980-984.

Trebizond dated to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁷⁵⁴ In this sense, for this Danishmendid coin image, Anthony Bryer implies the influence of his ally Constantine Gabras of Trebizond (1126-1140) over Amīr Ghāzī,⁷⁵⁵ even though he provides no evidence supporting his implication. As mentioned, the poor conditions of the specimens do not allow identification of their precise prototypes, but, to discuss here questions of the nature of the circulation of Byzantine coins in the Turkmen lands and whether there is any correlation between images chosen by the Turkmen leaders and circulating Byzantine coins in the milieu provides us a clue to understand the nature of this figure in the Turkmen coinage and its origins.



Figure 32: Right: Obverse of Amīr Ghāzī's Greek coin from P. Casanova, pl. III, no. 1; Left: Copper coin of Amīr Ghāzī from E. Whelan (Yapı Kredi Bankası Sikke Koleksiyonu, no. 2/1)

Even though it does not bear a mint name, the most probable mint of Amīr Ghāzī's coin issue is Malatya, capital of the Danishmendid Principality. Recently, two articles concerning the Byzantine coins kept in Malatya Archaeology Museum (Malatya Arkeoloji Müzesi) have been penned by the Turkish scholar Zeliha Demirel Gökalp.⁷⁵⁶ The first suggests that the museum has 895 Byzantine coins, 464 of which are Byzantine anonymous *folles* and 80% of which have been found in the vicinity of Malatya. Furthermore, in total

⁷⁵⁴ Bendall 1977: 135 (for the coins, see nos. 7-8, pl. 6); Shukurov 2001: 261; Shukurov 2004: 725.

⁷⁵⁵ Bryer 1970: 170.

⁷⁵⁶ Gökalp 2009b: 217-250.

there are 374 (41.7%) Byzantine Anonymous Folles with bust of Christ.⁷⁵⁷ One of the most significant characteristics of these anonymous coins is to portray a bust of Christ, like the earliest Danishmendid and Artuqid coin types.⁷⁵⁸ Another article completed in the same year (2009) focuses on the gold *histamenons* of Michael VII Doukas (1071-1078), which have the concave form and lower quality than the former ones, found in the Battalgazi Hoard.⁷⁵⁹ This hoard contains two types of the *histamenons* of Michael VII. While the reverse inscriptions and images, portraying a figure with a sceptre and globus cruciger, are the same in both types, the obverse of these types displays different images of Christ. Whereas the first type depicts the enthroned Christ with a back, the ‘Pantocrator’ appears on the obverse of the second type.

In the light of these coin findings, it shall be pointed out that a large number of anonymous *folles* and some recent Byzantine coins with religious figures were still circulating in the Danishmendid territories. The question is why the coin findings in the Battalgazi hoard and the vicinity of modern Malatya have significance for explaining the Turkmen coin issues and the images on them. We should remember here that, most probably Amīr Ghāzī produced this type in Melitene (Malatya) just after recapturing the city (1124), which had been taken by the Seljuks of Rūm after the death of Gümüştegin Aḥmad Ghāzī (d. 1104). The Danishmendid amīrs would have encountered thousands of Byzantine coins, particularly Byzantine anonymous folles, in this city, one of the most strategic and key locations between the Byzantines and the Arabs, and thus, most importantly these coins that they saw in their new lands influenced their tendency and posture in producing their own type.

⁷⁵⁷ 6 Class A1 (970 – 976?), 196 Class A2 (976? – c. 1030/35), 151 Class B (c. 1030/35 – 1042?), 11 Class G (c. 1065 – c. 1070), 2 Class H (c. 1070 – c. 1080), 7 Class I (c. 1075 – c. 1080) and finally 1 Class K (c. 1085 – c. 1092). The Class A2 (976? – c. 1030/35) and Class B (c. 1030/35 – 1042?) consist of the large part of the anonymous folles found in the vicinity of Malatya.

⁷⁵⁸ *DOC*, III/ii: p. 634; Lowick et al. 1977: 18. Byzantine Anonymous folles can be roughly defined as the copper or bronze coins bearing no names and dates of the Byzantine emperors and struck from the accession of John I in 965 to the year of 1118.

⁷⁵⁹ Gökalp 2009c: 81-86. The Battalgazi hoard consists of, in total, 58 *histamenons*, 3 of which are type 1 (enthroned Christ) and 55 of which are type 2 (bust of Christ): see Gökalp 2009c.

Around twenty years later than Amīr Ghāzī's coin issue, to the south-east of Melitene, the cognates of the Danishmendids also enjoyed the icon of Christ Pantokrator on their coinage. The undated copper coin of Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh (516-547 / 1122-1152), represents, on its obverse, the bearded and long-haired bust of Christ, with the nimbus cruciger (**fig. 33**).⁷⁶⁰ This issue was struck in the last years of Timurtāsh's reign in Mardin, probably with copper brought by the Artuqid officer Ibn al-Azraq from Ma'dan in 542 /1147-48.⁷⁶¹ In those years, as will be discussed, the Artuqid amīr's oppressive treatment of the local Christians showed a significant alteration positively, and Timurtāsh even advised his son Najm al-Dīn Alpī to treat Christians well and not to abuse them.⁷⁶² Cahen explained this alteration by the role of Ibn Mukhtar, Christian official in the Artuqid court.⁷⁶³ From this point forth, even though there is no evidence about the extent of Ibn Mukhtar's role in the choice of the Christ-image on the Artuqid coins, it can be presumptively viewed as a conscious effort to illustrate Amīr's new amicable policy to his Christian people.



Figure 33: Copper Coin of Timurtāsh, British Museum Coin Collection, no. 1854,0405.29 (photo © Trustees of the British Museum)

⁷⁶⁰ Spengler and Sayles 1992: 71. A curious point is that this extremely rare type bears two personal names on the reverse: Ḥusām al-Dīn on the first line and his cousin 'Şīrbārik' on the second line within a beaded circle. To see the name of other members of the dynasty in the Turkmen coinage is not typical, but the name of Şīrbārik, who worked in the service of his cousin Timurtāsh, took place on this type. This rare coin type from the British Museum was published by Spengler and Sayles in 1992, but before this publication İbrahim and Cevriye Artuk had focused on especially the inscription on the reverse of the coin in their article written in 1989. İbrahim and Cevriye Artuk 1989: 9-15.

⁷⁶¹ Ibn al-Azraq (Savran), 82; Hillenbrand 1990: 20.

⁷⁶² Michael the Syrian (Chabot), III, 311.

⁷⁶³ Cahen 1935: 268; for Ibn Mukhtar, see Ibn al-Azraq (British Museum), 173a; Hillenbrand 1981: 151.

In the same period as Timurtāsh's coin issue, Christ Pantokrator reappears on the undated copper *dirhams* of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān in Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174) (**fig. 34**).⁷⁶⁴ The image of Christ facing, wearing pallium, holding the Gospel in his left hand, with nimbus behind, was possibly imitated from Byzantine 'Class A1' bronze anonymous follis, which is attributed to John I Tzimiskēs (969-976).⁷⁶⁵ At least, by reason of several finds of anonymous folles which have been recorded from al-Jazīra, including the largest hoard discovered in a neighbourhood of Mārdīn, it seems reasonable to suppose that this image was derived from circulating Byzantine anonymous folles.



Figure 34: Copper dirham of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān from <http://www.acsearch.info/image.html?id=567202> [accessed: 12th August 2015]

As mentioned above, the coin findings in the 'Mardin Hoard' are explicit evidence that a large number of Byzantine coins, with the countermarks of the Turkmen rulers, were still circulating in the local markets of the region from the mid-twelfth century to the early thirteenth century. The countermarking of Byzantine folles was practised by at least four Turkmen dynasties settled in al-Jazīra and Armenia: the Artuqids, Zangīds, Inalids and Akhlātshāhs/Armanshāhs. The countermarks on the coins indicate that the Arabic countermarked Byzantine folles in the 'Mardin Hoard' began to be produced in the 1140s and that countermarking lasted until the late twelfth century.⁷⁶⁶ The appearance of the

⁷⁶⁴ See catalogue no. 1; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK433; P. D. Whitting Collection; Topraktepe 2009: p. 124, no. 15896.

⁷⁶⁵ Sear 1987: 375-80 and *DOC*, III/ii: no. A1.1, p. 648 and nos. A2.1.1 – A2.1.1 – A2.2.7, pp. 650-651. Whelan suggested Byzantine anonymous Class E for this adaptation. Whelan 2006: 162.

⁷⁶⁶ Lowick et al. 1977: 16. There is no any countermark belonging to previous Turkmen rulers.

countermarked coins coincides with the first coin production of the Turkmen rulers in al-Jazīra; namely these Arabic countermarked coins were in circulation in the local markets *with* their own figural copper *dirhams* derived from Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine coinages.

A focus on the countermarked Turkmen coinage would give us an idea to verify to what extent there is a correlation between the new Turkmen figural coin types and Byzantine anonymous *folles*. Artuqid amīr Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, apart from his coins with Christian images, stamped his name as فخر / *Fakhr* on the anonymous Byzantine *folles* Class I.⁷⁶⁷ Another Artuqid ruler Najm al-Dīn Alpī, who used Christian images on his coinage, also stamped his name on the Class A Byzantine anonymous *folles* as نجم / *Najm*.⁷⁶⁸ The countermark of اتابك / *Atābeg* attributed to Zangī d atabeg Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Zangī, who issued a copper coin with the standing figure of Christ, can also be seen on the Byzantine anonymous *folles*.

Apart from the Artuquids and the Zangīds, other contemporary Turkmen dynasties, the Inalids, centred on Amid before the Artuqid rule, and the Akhlatshāhs, also known as Armanshāhs, ruling the northern shores of Lake Van, used countermarked coins. The countermark of Shams al-Mulūk Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd (536-579 / 1141-1183), ruler of the Inalid dynasty, is found on the type of Constantine and Eudocia as جمالالدين محمود / *Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd*,⁷⁶⁹ on the anonymous Class A *folles* as جمال / *Jamāl*,⁷⁷⁰ and on the anonymous Class C *folles* as شمس / *Shams*.⁷⁷¹ Sayf al-Dīn Begtimur (581-589 / 1185-1193), amīr of Akhlatshāhs, also put his countermark on the anonymous Class A *folles* as سيف / *Sayf*.⁷⁷² Sometimes one countermark is accompanied with another one stamped by an adjacent

⁷⁶⁷ Lowick et al. 1977: VII, 15.

⁷⁶⁸ Apart from the foreign types, Najm al-Dīn Alpī also added certain countermarks, نجم الدين *Najm al-Dīn* and ملك ديار بكر نجم الدين *Malik Diyār Bakr Najm al-Dīn* on his father Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh's coins and continued to use them in the local markets for a time.

⁷⁶⁹ Lowick et al. 1977: 12, pl. VI.

⁷⁷⁰ Lowick et al. 1977: 1, pl. VII.

⁷⁷¹ Lowick et al. 1977: 33-34. The Fitzwilliam Museum Online Coin Col., nos. CM. 316-1998 and CM.317-1998.

⁷⁷² Lowick et al. 1977: 35.

Turkmen rulers, showing the coin circulation among the Turkmen states.⁷⁷³ Thus, the trend of issuing the figural Turkmen ‘copper dirhams’ with Christian images may be explained in one way by the ongoing circulation of large amounts of Byzantine coins, particularly ‘anonymous *folles*’ in the region.

However, the fascinating example of Christ’s representation on the obverse of the seal of Yağıbasan, the Danishmendid amīr of Sivas (537-559 / 1143-1164) reveals a quite different reason for using the Pantocrator image. In a beaded circle, it portrays a half-length representation of beardless Christ with a nimbus cruciger blessing with his right hand (benediction) and holding a scroll in his left hand. And some illegible characters are on both sides of the field (**fig. 35**).⁷⁷⁴



Figure 35: Left: Obverse of seal of Yağıbasan, Dumbarton Oaks Seal Collection, BZS.1958.106.280; Cent.: Reverse of aspron trachy of Manuel I; Right: Obverse of seal of Manuel I from Dumbarton Oaks Seal Collect., BZS.1958.106.67

This type of Christ image can be found on the coins and seals of the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos.⁷⁷⁵ Byzantine chronicles provide evidence that, in the first years of his reign, Yağıbasan was quite willing to assure his political affiliation with Manuel I Komnenos. After the fragmentation of the principality into three branches in 1143, Danishmendid politics entered a new phase, and the Danishmendid amīrs have not hesitated to constitute military and

⁷⁷³ Lowick et al. 1977: 4, pl. VII.

⁷⁷⁴ Dumbarton Oaks Seal Collection, BZS.1958.106.280.

⁷⁷⁵ For the hyperpyron nomisma of Manuel I, see *DOC*, IV/i: 289ff, and *DOC*, IV/ii: nos. 1a.2, 1a.5, 1b.1, 1b.5, 1b.6, 1c.2, 1c.4, 1d.5, 13.5, 1e.10, 1f.1, 1f.2, pl. XI; and for the aspron trachy nomisma of Manuel I, see *DOC*, IV/i: 296-297; *DOC*, IV/ii: pl. XII, nos. 2a.2, 2b.2; Hendy 1969: p. 11ff and pls. 12-14. For the seals, see Zacos and Vegler 1972: no. 107 and Nesbitt 2009: nos. 93.1-93.10.

political alliances with the Byzantine Empire against common enemies.⁷⁷⁶ The reverse inscription of the Danishmendid seal, showing the Danishmendid amīr as ‘subject of the emperor / Ο δοῦλος [τ]οῦ βασιλέ[ω]ς, prominently also reflect Yağıbasan’s new political behaviour in the region.⁷⁷⁷ So Amir Yağıbasan’s decision to adopt an image from Manuel’s coin or seal iconography cannot be read as accidental, but as a conscious effort to convey his political strategies.

2. Enthroned Christ

The representation of ‘Enthroned Christ’, one of the most widely used Christ compositions on the Byzantine coins, is another form of Christ’s postures in the Turkmen coinage. The earliest examples of the representations of ‘enthroned Christ’ in Byzantine numismatic iconography appeared in the coinage of Basil I (867-886).⁷⁷⁸ The obverse of Basil I’s solidi produced in Constantinople’s mint in 870-871 depicts Christ enthroned facing, raising his right hand in blessing and holding a book of gospels in his left hand. The inscription "IHS XPS REX REGNANTIUM DMNS (=Dominus) Jesus Christ, King of Kings, Lord," surrounds the image.⁷⁷⁹ Aside from the solidi of Basil I, this iconography can be found frequently on the tenth- to-eleventh-century Byzantine coins,⁷⁸⁰ and subsequently on the so-called Latin imitative coins, the coin issues of Theodoros I (1208-1222), Ioannes III (1222-1254) and Theodoros II (1254-1258).⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁶ See chapter 3.

⁷⁷⁷ For the political events between Yağıbasan and Manuel I and the reverse inscription in Greek, see chapter 3.

⁷⁷⁸ Grierson 1999: 34.

⁷⁷⁹ *DOC*, III/ii: p. 476 and 487, nos. 1, 2a.1, 2a.2, 2b.4, 2b.5, 2c.2, and 2c.5, pl. XXX; Sabatier, 1955: pl. XLIV; Breckenridge 1959: 47, pl. XLIV. Jesus Christ, with long hair and beard, wears ‘colobium’ and ‘himation’ and sometimes he blesses with his right hand, or sometimes raises his right hand on a level of his chest. With his left hand he usually holds the gospels. *DOC*, IV: 176; Breckenridge 1959: 49; Dosogne 1984: 65.

⁷⁸⁰ Anonymous folles of Class C (1042? – c. 1050), Class D (c. 1050 – c. 1060), Class F (c. 1060 – c. 1065), Class M (1078-1081) and the coins of Leon VI (886-912), Constantine VII (913-959), Basil II (976-1025) and Constantine VIII (1025-1028); Romanos III (1028-1024), Michael IV (1034-1041), Constantine IX (1042-1055), Eudokia (1067), Michael VII (1067-1071), Nikephoros III (1078-1081), Alexios I (1081-1118), and Ioannes II (1118-1143).

⁷⁸¹ Sabatier 1955: 25, pl. XLIV; Morrison 2003: figs. 1, 4, 5, 12; Sear 1987: 375-380. Philip Grierson classified enthroned Christ types in Byzantine coinage in three groups:

Two fascinating coin types imitated from the Byzantine coins with enthroned Christ image can be found again in the Artuqid and Danishmendid coinages. One was issued by Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174); the other one belongs to Shams al-Dīn Ismā‘īl, the ruler of the Danishmendids (562-567 / 1166-1172).⁷⁸²

No	Rulers	Dynasty	Image Description	Date	Mint
1	Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān (543-570 / 1148-1174)	Artuqids of Ḥiṣn Keyfa	Enthroned Christ (Grierson 2.2.)	-	-
2	Shams al-Dīn Ismā‘īl (562-567/1166-1172)	Danishmendids	Enthroned Christ (Grierson 2.2.)	-	-

Table 8: Enthroned Christ figures in the Turkmen Coinage

In the early years of his reign, Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān minted copper *dirhams* with depiction of an enthroned figure of Christ with nimbus (**fig. 36**).⁷⁸³ Although it is not easy to identify the prototype of the image from among a large number of Byzantine coin types with enthroned Christ figure, anonymous *folles* Class D (c. 1050 – c. 1060) and the gold histamenon of Romanos III (1028-1034) seem by far the most convincing candidates for this imitation.⁷⁸⁴

-
1. Christ seated on a lyre-backed throne;
 2. Christ seated on a square-backed throne;
 3. Christ seated on a backless throne. (*DOC*, 3/1: 151) A second group also reflects two different designs:
 1. Christ turned slightly to right, right hand in sling of cloak, book held by upper edge. (For Histamenon of Romanos III see *DOC*, III/ii: nos. 1a.2, 1b.2, 1b.3, 1b.9, 1c.2, 1d.1,1d.8, and 1d.11, pl. LVI; For Histamenon of Constantine X, Class I, see *DOC*, III/2: nos. 1a.1, 1a.4, 1a.6, 1a.7, 1b.1, 1b.3, 1b.4, pl. LXIII.
 2. Similar, but the book is held by the spine. *DOC*, 3/1: 158. For anonymous folles Class D, see *DOC*, III/ii: nos. D.20, D.23, D.24, D.34, pl. LX; For Histamenon of Michael VII, Class I, see *DOC*, III/ii: nos. 1.1, 1.4, pl. LXVI.

⁷⁸² Both issues show the second group’s characteristics...

⁷⁸³ See catalogue no. 2; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK434; P. D. Whitting Collection; Topraktepe 2009: p. 125, no. 15891. Some coins of this type have a countermark with motif of entwined dragons, whose bodies are intertwined, their heads, with gaping jaws, confronted. See catalogue nos. 3-4; The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK435-436; P.D. Whitting Collection.

⁷⁸⁴ For the gold histamenon of Romanos III, see The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5330; P. D. Whitting Collection; *DOC*, III/ii, p. 715ff, nos. 1a.2, 1b.2, 1b.3, 1b.9, 1c.2, 1d.1,1d.8, 1d.11, pl. LVI.



Figure 36: Left: Obverse of copper dirham of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK434; P. D. Whitting Collection; Right: Obverse of gold histamenon of Romanos III, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5330; P. D. Whitting Collection

The particular element of the ‘double pearled circle’ around the figure evokes the fabric of the gold histamenon of Romanos III that, just before the arrival of the Turks, enjoyed a degree of circulation in the markets of the region.⁷⁸⁵ Twelfth-century chronicler and Artuqid official Ibn al-Azraq in his chronicle provides striking evidence that in the 1060s merchants and notables were using Byzantine currency called ‘Armanusiya Dinar’, that must have referred to the gold Histamenon nomisma of Romanos III, in Mayyāfāriqīn (Silvan), capital of the Kurdish dynasty of Marwanids (990 – 1085), around 100 km north-west of Ḥiṣn Kayfā.⁷⁸⁶ Although there is no clear evidence, the short distance, and political and commercial links between these two cities would have made the trip of Romanos’ gold coins possible towards the Artuqid capital. Furthermore, after the fall of the city into the hands of the Turks, first the Seljuks and then the Artuqids, the coin stocks of Mayyāfāriqīn passed to their new masters must have continued to circulate in the local markets.

After the adaptation type of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, a more modified enthroned Christ figure appears on the copper coins of Sivas, the capital of young Danishmendid amīr

⁷⁸⁵ This ‘double pearled circle’ can also be found on the coin issues depicting enthroned Christ in the coinage of Isaac I Komnenos (1057-1059) and Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067). For coins of Isaac I, see *DOC*, III/ii: pp. 761-762, pl. LXIII; and for coins of Constantine X, see *DOC*, III/ii: pp. 767-777, pl. LXIII.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibn al-Azraq (‘Awad) 159 and 167. For ‘Armanusiyya Dinar’, see chapter 3.

Shams al-Dīn Ismā‘īl (**fig. 37**).⁷⁸⁷ In a period of great unrest emerging after the death of Yağıbasan, sixteen-year-old Ismā‘īl married Yağıbasan’s widow and thus ascended the throne in 562/1166 after his father Shams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm’s sudden death. The young amīr, in his early years, might have issued this copper fals to declare his sovereignty and consolidate his position against his rivals in the twilight of the Danishmendids in Sivas.⁷⁸⁸



Figure 37: Copper Coin of Shams al-Dīn Ismā‘īl, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK427; P. D. Whitting Collection

The histamenon of Michael VII, the billon aspron trachy of Constantinople struck by Alexios Komnenos after his monetary reform in 1092,⁷⁸⁹ and anonymous folles Class D (c. 1050 – c. 1060) have all been suggested as its prototype. However, in this iconographic type of the Danishmendid malik, the halo was rendered a part of the throne back, and the book of gospels was omitted. So, the craftsman has deliberately eliminated the Christian features of the figure of Christ from which it was adapted and furthermore the figure wears a short caftan, pantaloons and boots.⁷⁹⁰ Thus, the costume of Christ has been converted into an oriental type on the Danishmendid coin. On the one hand, as Whelan noted, the distinctive alterations on the Danishmendid type prompt us to think that this adaptation of the enthroned Christ figure

⁷⁸⁷ See catalogue no. 393; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK427; P. D. Whitting Collection; Topraktepe 2009: p. 127, no. 15010.

⁷⁸⁸ However, in the year 1172, severe winter conditions resulted in starvation. The young amīr could not control the crisis and was killed tragically by his people. Abū’l Faraj (Budge), I, 306; Abū’l Faraj (Turkish trans.), II, 413-4; Özaydın 1993b: 472-3.

⁷⁸⁹ Whelan 2006: 56; Whelan 1979: 141. See *DOC*, IV/i: no. 20, p. 225; *DOC*, IV/ii: nos. 23a.1, 23a.2, 23b, 23c and The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5330; P. D. Whitting Collection.

⁷⁹⁰ Whelan 2006: 56.

was not more than the intention of drawing an enthroned ruler,⁷⁹¹ even though the representation of an Islamic ruler without headgear was unusual in the Islamic tradition. On the other, the combination of the oriental Turkish imperial symbols with the Byzantine traditional distinct religious and imperial symbols simply mirrors the cultural complexity and pluralist structure of the society of late medieval Anatolia and al-Jazīra.

Indeed, the ‘enthroned figures’ enjoyed considerable popularity as a sovereign symbol not only in contemporary Islamic coinage, but also in Islamic manuscripts, metalworks, tiles and illuminations. Unlike the Byzantine models, Muslim rulers usually appear in the cross-legged posture, which is very popular in Islamic art, on a throne. Among the numismatic issues,⁷⁹² two types, echoing distinctive Byzantine influence, are of particular interest to our discussion. The first, dating to 586/1191, is a copper coin struck by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, known as Saladin (567–589 / 1171–1193).⁷⁹³ The turbaned Ayyūbid sultan seated cross-legged on a Byzantine-style square throne and holding a globe has already been well observed and Saladin’s approbation of the noticeable symbols of Byzantine imperial power, globe and throne, has been explained by his long-term relation with the Angelos dynasty.⁷⁹⁴ The second example is a copper fals struck by Rukn al-Dīn Jihan Shāh b. Tuğrul (1225-1230), malik of Erzurum of the Seljuks of Rūm. The nimbated Seljuk prince seated cross-legged on a Byzantine-style square throne, wearing Turkish-style clothes and holding a globe can be explained as an example of a transposed image in Anatolia once again (**fig. 38**).

⁷⁹¹ Whelan 2006: 159.

⁷⁹² Copper coins of Muẓaffār al-Dīn Gökböri, ruler of the Begteginids, see catalogue nos. 405-408; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK241-244; P. D. Whitting Collection; Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuk Arslān of Ḥiṣn Kayfā; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yusuf I, see The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK195-198; P. D. Whitting Collection; Ayyūbid malik al-‘Ādil Say al-Dīn Abū Bakr of Mayyāfāriqīn, see Topraktepe 2009: p. 59, no. 14466; Ayyūbid malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffār al-Dīn Musa of Mayyāfāriqīn, see Topraktepe 2009: no. 14644, p. 59; and Rukn al-Dīn Jihan Shāh b. Tuğrul, Seljuk prince of Erzurum, see the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK497; P. D. Whitting Collection.

⁷⁹³ Balog 1980: nos. 182–183.

⁷⁹⁴ Georganteli 2012: 157.



Figure 38: Left: The Obverse of Copper Coin of Rukn al-Dīn Jihan Shāh bin Tuğrul, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK497; P. D. Whitting Collection; Right: Obverse of Copper Coin of Saladin the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK195; P. D. Whitting Collection

3. Standing figure of Christ

In northern Syria, a ‘full-length, standing figure of Christ’ appears in the coinage of the Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī (541-69 / 1146-74). Philip Grierson classifies these rare ‘standing Christ representations’, which all hold the Gospel book, in three groups. The first, with a plain cross behind the head, without a nimbus, depicts Christ crowning the Emperor Romanos I (920-944),⁷⁹⁵ which is, according to Grierson, an adaptation of the Christ of the Chalke Gate. The second represents Christ with right hand in sling of cloak. A histamenon of Empress Theodora⁷⁹⁶ and follis of Constantine X and Eudocia (Class 2)⁷⁹⁷ are in this group. The third, known as Christ Antiphonetes, is shown three-quarter length instead of full-length figure, in the gesture of benediction, such as the examples of pattern histamenon of Empress Zoe, anonymous folles Class C, and folles of Nicephorus III.⁷⁹⁸ A copper fals of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Zangī showing on the obverse standing Christ with nimbus; wearing tunic and himation as well as holding a book seems to have been

⁷⁹⁵ For solidus of Romanos I, see *DOC*, III/i: pl. XXXVI.5-6.

⁷⁹⁶ *DOC*, III/i: pl. LXII.1

⁷⁹⁷ *DOC*, III/i: pl. LXIV.8

⁷⁹⁸ *DOC*, III/i: pp. 160-164, and for the coins see *DOC*, III/i: pl. LVIII.1; *DOC*, III/i: pl. LX; *DOC*, III/i: pl. LXX.9. This rare depiction of Christ first appears on Byzantine seals in the reign of Romanos IV as a full-length figure crowning the emperor and empress. Particularly after the Palaiologian restoration, this took a reputation on the imperial seals. See <http://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/gods-regents-on-earth-a-thousand-years-of-byzantine-imperial-seals/divine-guardians/christ> [accessed: 7th June 2014]

imitated from the second group of Grierson's classification (**fig. 39**). The figure is flanked by some characters written backward which appear to be distorted forms of the abbreviations IC and XC. On the reverse, two Byzantine style figures standing, facing and holding a labarum stand on a three-stepped podium steps between them.⁷⁹⁹



Figure 39: Top: Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK261; P. D. Whitting Collection

The examples examined are all of very bad quality and poorly worn. It is therefore impossible to discern the details of the figures and read Greek characters. Nevertheless, focusing on the details of the labarum and costume and the arrangement of Greek characters, it recalls to us the copper follis (Class 1) of Constantine X and his empress Eudocia (1059-1067), which was the first copper coin including the name and depiction of the emperor after a gap of eighty years.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁹ See catalogue nos. 323-327; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK259-TK263; P. D. Whitting Collection; Artuk 1970: p. 418, no. 1278; Spengler and Sayles 1992: pp. 57-61, no. 73; Hennequin 1985: pp. 304-307, nos. 603-629, pl. XV. The Dumbarton Oaks Coin Collection, BZC. 2006.33. Obv.: Arabic legend, in the left field: ملك الامرا / (Malik al-Umarā); in the right field: محمود / Maḥmūd; rev.: Arabic legend, on the left field of the labarum: العدل / al-‘Ādil; on the right field of the labarum: نورالدين / Nūr al-Dīn (see catalogue nos. 323-327).

⁸⁰⁰ See *DOC*, III/ii: no. 8.1, pl. LXIV. Theodora (1055-1056) also employed a gold histamenon in Constantinople portraying Christ, standing figure, on the obverse. The inscription of IHS XIS REX REGNANTIUM surrounds the image of Christ. And on the reverse +QEODORA AVGOVCA, Theodora and Virgin standing, holding labarum between them; pellet and triangle on labarum shaft (4.40 g.) (*DOC*, III/i: SB 1837). Also see the Barber Institute Coin Collection, nos. B5386-B5404; P. D. Whitting Collection.



Figure 40: Copper follis of Constantine X, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5392; P. D. Whitting Collection

A few interesting points can be noted from the copper issue of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd. At the outset, to interpret the adoption of a Christian iconography by a ‘jihadist’ ruler, who pursued a more aggressively bellicose policy against the ‘infidels’ as an overlord of the region, is quite difficult. More interestingly, the distinct Christian symbol of the *cross* was *not* removed from his coin. Another striking point is that an example of this type mentioned by Whelan was struck over a copper coin of the Danishmendid Dhū’l-Nūn depicting a lion rider struck between 559 and 563 (1164 and 1168).⁸⁰¹ This reminds us of the political alliances between two rulers. As has been already mentioned, because of the expansionist policy of the Seljuk Sultan Kılıç Arslān II towards his lands, Dhū’l-Nūn constituted close relations with Nūr al-Dīn. After the loss of his throne to his rival, he fled to Aleppo to seek help from Nūr al-Dīn in retaking his throne. With the support of the Zangīd atabeg, he succeeded to the throne in 567/1172, and furthermore Nūr al-Dīn’s troops stayed in Sivas at the service of Dhū’l-Nūn until the Zangīd atabeg died. Meanwhile, in his rebellion against his cousin Manuel Komnenos, Andronicus Komnenos, the son of Ioannes II’s younger brother fled to the court of Nūr al-Dīn at Damascus. Although the extant narratives pass over the political aspects and conversations, at least it is obvious that Andronicus spent some time in the Zangīd

⁸⁰¹ Whelan 2006: 261. This Danishmendid type was probably struck between 559 and 563 AH (1164 and 1168 AD).

capital with Nūr al-Dīn.⁸⁰² Yet we do not have further information in the relevant sources to claim a certain impact for the intimacy between two consanguine Turkmen dynasties or the visit of the future Byzantine emperor Andronicus and their influence on Nur al-Dīn's iconographical choice.

B. Images of Virgin Mary

The representations of Virgin Mary, which are, after those of Christ, the most important religious figures in Byzantine art, can also be found on the Byzantine coinage. Just after the iconoclast movement, Michael III (842-867) employed on his seals the image of the Virgin. Meanwhile, also on the patriarchal seals, the Virgin almost constantly appears from that time onwards. As regards the Byzantine coinage, the Virgin appears for the first time on the reverse of the gold *solidi* of Leo VI (886-912) as the bust of the Virgin *orans*,⁸⁰³ and from the mid-eleventh century onward, enjoyed more popularity and showed a great expansion.⁸⁰⁴

The images of the Virgin played a prominent role in the coinage of Romanos III, who produced a noticeable variety of types: 'the Virgin crowning the emperor';⁸⁰⁵ the bust of the Virgin *orans* with or without the medallion of Christ; and the standing Virgin carrying the infant Christ on her left arm'.⁸⁰⁶ Before his time images of Virgin Mary had been used only five times in the Byzantine coinage: by Leo VI (Virgin *orans*), Constantine VII (pattern *solidus* with the Virgin *Nikopoios*), Nicephorus II and John (a bust of the Virgin side by side with that of the emperor), and finally Basil II (Virgin *Nikopoios*).⁸⁰⁷ It is also found among

⁸⁰² Brand 1968: 17-18.

⁸⁰³ Nersessian 1960: 71, 73; Wroth 1908: 444.

⁸⁰⁴ Nersessian 1960: 73; Wroth, II, pl. LIV, 10-12.

⁸⁰⁵ The iconographic type of the Virgin crowning the empire began to be depicted in the Byzantine coinage with the gold *solidi* of John I Tzimisces (969-976). Nersessian 1960: 73.

⁸⁰⁶ Nersessian 1960: 74.

⁸⁰⁷ Whitting 1973: 274; Tekin 1999: p. 186 no. 267,268; p. 195, no. 195.

the post-reform coins of Alexios I,⁸⁰⁸ the hyperpyron nomisma of John II,⁸⁰⁹ and aspron trachy nomisma of Manuel I⁸¹⁰ respectively.⁸¹¹

Curiously, in the twelfth-century, three Turkmen coin types enjoyed an iconography derived from the images of Virgin Mary, in particular representations of the Virgin Nikopoios and the Virgin crowning the emperor: copper coin of Saltukid amīr Diyā' al-Dīn Abū al-Muẓaffar Ghazī; copper fals of the Danishmendid amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad and copper dirham of Artuqid ruler Najm al-Dīn Alpī.

No	Rulers	Dynasty	Image	Date	Mint
1	Diyā' al-Dīn Abū al-Muẓaffar Ghazī (518-526 / 1124-1132)	Saltukids of Erzurum	Virgin Nikopoios	-	-
2	Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (557-65 / 1162-1170; 570-573 / 1175-1178)	Danishmendids of Malatya	Virgin Mary crowning the ruler	558/ 1163	-
3	Najm al-Dīn Alpī (547-572 / 1152-1176)	Artuqids of Mārdīn	Virgin Mary crowning the ruler	-	-

Table 9: Virgin Mary images on the Turkmen Coinage

1. Virgin Nikopoios

A Turkmen copper coin, which has not been properly analyzed and explained yet, depicting an image of Virgin Mary holding the infant Christ on her breast on the obverse once again reveals the influence of Byzantine coin iconography and cultural interactions in medieval Anatolia. This representation of the Virgin called *Νικοποιός* / *Nikopoios*, literally the 'Victory-maker', appeared on Byzantine icons since the seventh century, even though it

⁸⁰⁸ *DOC*, IV/ii: pl. V.

⁸⁰⁹ *DOC*, IV/ii: pl. VIII.

⁸¹⁰ *DOC*, IV/ii: pl. XII.

⁸¹¹ According to the classification of Grierson, the representations of Virgin Mary form six groups:

- a) bust of the Virgin orans with her hands raised in the classical gesture of prayer (Blachernitissa);
- b) the same, but a standing figure;
- c) bust of the Virgin orans with a medallion of Christ on her breast (Episkepsis);
- d) bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ (Nikopoios);
- e) standing figure of the Virgin holding the infant Jesus (Hodegetria); and
- f) the Virgin with the emperor, either two busts or two standing figures (*DOC*, III/i, 169-170).

acquired a great popularity as a label *Nikopoios* from the eleventh century onwards particularly on the Byzantine coins and seals.⁸¹² Even though the deficiency of the inscription obstructs its identification, the existing Arabic legend on the reverse refers to it at least as an Islamic coin derived from the Byzantine seal or coin iconography.



Figure 41: Left: Copper coin of *Ḍiyā al-Dīn*, probably mint of Erzurum;⁸¹³ Right: Obverse of the tetarteron of Michael VII, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5465; P. D. Whitting Collection

The accompanying inscription, written in Arabic characters, shows the name *ضيا الدين / Ḍiyā al-Dīn* in the centre of the reverse. Whilst the marginal legend is largely deficient, a small part can read *...السلطان (ن) مغيث الدين / al-Sultā(n) Muḡhīth al-D...*(fig. 41)⁸¹⁴ Available sources mention two important political figures, who lived in the north of Anatolia in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, with the title of ‘*Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn*’: one is *Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Lu’lu’*, the slave amīr of *Muḡhīth al-Dīn Tuḡrul (Ṭuḡril) Shāh*, the Seljuk ruler of Erzurum between 598/1202 and 621/1225.⁸¹⁵ Although both the titles of amīr and the Seljuk malik match those on the coin, it is very difficult to accept that it was struck by a slave amīr who did

⁸¹² The bust of Virgin *Nikopoios* appears on anonymous miliaresion attributed to Basileos II (976-1025); gold tetarteron nomismas of Romanos III and Romanos IV, Michael VII; miliaresions of Romanos IV and Michael VII; pre-reform folles of Alexios I (Ünal 2010: 213-214). For the coins of Alexios I, see the Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5533-B5534; P. D. Whitting Collection). Type *Nikopoios* of Virgin seated on a backed throne appears on the hyperpyrons of Andronikos I and Isachios II; electron-billon aspron trachy of John III, billon aspron trachy of Manuel I Doukas (Ünal 2010: 223). Type *Nikopoios* of Virgin seated on a backless throne appears on electron aspron trachy of Alexios I (see the Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5548; P. D. Whitting Collection), Manuel I, Isaakios II Komnenos, Ioannes III, Theodors II, Theodoros Doukas, Manuel Doukas, and Ioannes III Doukas; billon aspron trachy of Ioannes II, Theodors I, and Ioannes Doukas. Ünal 2010: 224-226.

⁸¹³ <http://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=1520419> (Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, actiun: 226, Lot: 1248, Date: 11 March 2013). This Turkmen coin was for the first time published in *A Checklist of Islamic Coins* in 1998 (Album 1998: A1890).

⁸¹⁴ Album 1998: p. 94, nos. A1890 - C1890.

⁸¹⁵ At Bayburt, *Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Lu’lu’*, as *isfahsalār* (army commander), *kūtvāl* (garrison commander), as well as *ustādh al-dār* (major domo), erected a series of inscriptions (see Redford 2013: 316 ff).

not have autonomy or independence. The other one seems more plausible to be the master of this figural coin issue: Diyā' al-Dīn Abū al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī (518-526 / 1124-1132), the Saltukid ruler of Erzurum.⁸¹⁶ While the central inscription presents the Saltukid ruler, the legend in the margin most probably presents his overlord Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Tapar (512-525 / 1118-1131) whose *laqab* was *Mughīth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn*. Iranian historian Ḥamdullah Mustawfī Qazwīnī (1281-1340), in the *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, verifies that Maḥmūd's uncle Sanjar (1118-1153), the Great Seljuk Sultan, granted him the lands of Iraq, Azerbaijan, Baghdad, Diyār Bakr, Fars, Arran, Georgia and Armenia where Diyā al-Dīn was ruling; and then the caliph al-Mustarshid Billah (1118-1135) honoured him with the title *Mughīth al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn yaminu amīr al-mu'minīn*.⁸¹⁷

There is no other coin attributed to the Saltukid malik, and in fact the historical sources concerning his reign are also noticeably silent. At least, however, the building inscriptions of the most famous architectural works of the Saltukid capital, Kale Mescidi and Tepsi Mināre, provide evidence that they were built during the reign of Diyā' al-Dīn Ghāzī.⁸¹⁸

2. Virgin Mary Crowning

A copper *fals* of Danishmendid Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad of Malatya, struck in his first reign (557-565 / 1162-1170)⁸¹⁹ depicts two full-length, standing figures based on Byzantine prototypes. The figure at the right, an adaptation of Virgin Mary, with halo and pallium, crowns the other figure,⁸²⁰ wearing a loros and a flat coronet of two rows of pearls with

⁸¹⁶ Gürbüz 2002: 75-78.

⁸¹⁷ *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, 102. For the title also see Zahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, 99; Özeydın 2003: 371-372.

⁸¹⁸ For the building inscriptions and limited information under the reign of Diyā al-Dīn, see Gürbüz 2002: 75-78.

⁸¹⁹ Although the coins we used are so crude to read the date, some examples of the type were struck in 558/1163. Whelan 2006: 64-65.

⁸²⁰ The figure also wears headcloth.

pendilia, each ending in triple pearls, and grasping a labarum sceptre in the right hand and an *anexikakia* in the left (fig. 42).⁸²¹



Figure 42: Left: Obverse of copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad from <http://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=528169> [accessed: 23rd August 2015]; Right: Reverse of aspron trachy of Manuel I, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5739; P. D. Whitting Collection

Looking at the details of the type such as the labarum sceptre, the *anexikakia*, and the distinctive motifs of costumes, this Danishmendid coin figure seems to have been adapted from the aspron trachy nomisma struck by Manuel I Komnenos.⁸²² After the seal image of Yağıbasan, once again, unlike the quasi-Byzantine types of the Artuqids in al-Jazīra, Muḥammad's depiction was inspired by a very contemporary type. The adaptation of Manuel I's numismatic iconography is to some extent evidence verifying the circulation of contemporary Byzantine coins at least in the Danishmendid lands.

Contemporary of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, the Artuqid malik Najm al-Dīn Alpī also issued a coin portraying two full-length, standing figures within a pearled circle (fig. 43).⁸²³ Even though Lane-Poole suggested the image on the gold coin of John II (1118-1143) as a

⁸²¹ See catalogue nos. 391-392; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK417-TK418; P. D. Whitting Collection; Topraktepe 2009: no. 15035, p. 127.

⁸²² Whelan 2006: 64-66.

⁸²³ See catalogue nos. 61-64; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK365-368; P. D. Whitting Collection; Adıyaman Museum, Coin Collection, nos. 1271, 2079; Topraktepe 2009: p. 110, nos. 15939, 15941. The figure at the right, with halo, wears 'headcloth' and long robe which is belted at the waist. The right hand is outstretched and crowns the figure on the left who wears Byzantine imperial dress: 'simplified version of the jewel-encrusted loros' which is known from Byzantine representations dating back to the ninth century. He also wears a circlet with three pearls above and pendilia.

proper Byzantine model for Najm al-Dīn's type,⁸²⁴ there are small differences in detail between the Najm al-Dīn' and John II Komnenos' coin issues.⁸²⁵



Figure 43: Left: Reverse of copper dirham of Najm al-Dīn Alpī from the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK365; P. D. Whitting Collection; Right: Reverse of gold histamenon of Romanos III from the Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5330; P. D. Whitting Collection

However, the gold histamenon of Romanos III seems a more convincing candidate for this coin type.⁸²⁶ As already discussed, the circulation of the coins of Romanos III in the local markets of the region and identified the enthroned figure on the obverse of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān's copper dirham with the icon of enthroned Christ on the obverse of Romanos III's gold histamenon. Contemporary ruler Najm al-Dīn Alpī, this time adopted the representation of Virgin Mary and emperor seen on the reverse of that Byzantine coin. This is a striking example to follow the track of a Byzantine gold coin struck in Constantinople in a year between 1028 and 1034 by Romanos III across Anatolia. In the 1060s, it was seen in the local markets of Mayyāfāriqīn (Silvan) as 'Armanusiya Dinar', and passed to merchants' pockets here.⁸²⁷ A hundred years later, its traces circuitously re-emerged in the Artuqid coinage, first in Ḥiṣn Kayfā, around 100 km south-east of Mayyāfāriqīn, and then in Mārdīn, about 120 km south-west of Ḥiṣn Kayfā.

⁸²⁴ Lane-Poole 1877: no. 142; Hendy 1969: pl. 9, nos. 4-9, nos. 11-14.

⁸²⁵ For these differences, see Whelan 2006: 82.

⁸²⁶ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5330; P. D. Whitting Collection; *DOC*, III/ii: p. 715ff, nos. 1a.2, 1b.2, 1b.3, 1b.9, 1c.2, 1d.1, 1d.8, and 1d.11, pl. LVI.

⁸²⁷ See Ibn al-Azraq ('Awad), 159 and 167.

C. Saints' Images

Saints' figures, most of which are of military character including St. Michael, St. Demetrius, St. George, and St. Theodore for the first time appeared on Byzantine coins in the tenth and eleventh centuries, but gained more popularity as coin types from the twelfth century onwards,⁸²⁸ in particular among the Komnenian emperors' coinage. In that period, Alexios I Komnenos issued coins with the image of St. Demetrius in the mint of Thessalonica between 1081 and 1085;⁸²⁹ St. George's earliest representation emerges on the *trikephala* of John II,⁸³⁰ and finally the coinage of Manuel I displayed the representation of St. Theodore.⁸³¹ While the trend of the saints' images drastically increased under the Komnenoi, the first appearance of a saint on Byzantine coinage was in the reign of Alexander (912-913). The gold nomisma of Alexander minted in Constantinople, on the obverse, represented Christ seated on a lyre-shaped throne, holding a Gospel book in his left hand and blessing with his right hand. And also it has a circular inscription which reads +IhS XRS REX REGNANTIVM (Jesus Christ, King of those who rule). On the reverse Alexander holding the globus cruciger is crowned by St. John the Baptist.⁸³²

The sigillographic evidence shows that prior to the Turkmen coin issues, Christian saints' images had already been used on the seals introduced by a Muslim dynasty, the Hamdanids, which established their independent emirate at Mosul between 318/930 and 322/934.⁸³³ Nearly two centuries after the Hamdanids' seal issues, in medieval Anatolian Muslim coinage, this time, other Christian saints, St. George and St. Theodore, gained a good

⁸²⁸ Grierson 1999: 36. In the thirteenth century some other saints also appeared in the Byzantine coinage such as St. Nicholas and St. Tryphon (ibid).

⁸²⁹ *DOC* IV/i: 189-190, 204-205, no. 4; Hendy 1969: 41-46.

⁸³⁰ *DOC*, IV/i: p. 261ff; and see *DOC*, IV/ii: nos. 8a.1, 8b.1, 8c.1, 8c.3, 8c.6, 8d.1, 8d.2, 8d.3, 8e.1, 8e.2, pl. IX.

⁸³¹ Hendy 1969: 438; Kazhdan 1985: 116; for the coins of Manuel I, see *DOC* IV/i: p. 298ff; and see *DOC*, IV/ii: nos. 4a.3, 4b.2, 4c.4, 4d, pl. XII;

⁸³² *DOC* III/ii, Pl. XXXV, nos. 2.1 and 2.2; BZC. 1948.17.3002; Papadopoulou and Morrison, 2013, 77-78.

⁸³³ As discussed above, a Hamdanid seal displayed on the obverse the nimbate bust of St. Basil with the Greek inscription: Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΒΑCΙΑΙΟC. Schlumberger 1884: 74-75, no. 1; Casanova 1894: 124, no. 31; and Casanova 1896: 84-5, pl. III, no. 11.

reputation as public figures. The representation of these military saints on horseback slaying a dragon or ‘beast of prey’ re-emerges in the coinage of the Danishmendid amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, of Seljuk prince Mu‘izz al-Dīn Qayṣarshāh (582-597 / 1186-1201), and of Seljuk sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād, while the copper fals of Saltukid malik ‘Izz al-Dīn Saltuk b. ‘Ali (526-563/ 1132-1168) depicts the standing figure of St. George. All these types were commonly minted in Anatolia. In a melting pot region with cultural and demographic diversity, the adoption of these figures by Anatolian Turkmen rulers can be partially understood, but it should be discussed and probed in the wider context of socio-cultural complexity, interwoven cultural and religious heterogeneity, political aspirations, legitimacy and continuity.

No	Rulers	Dynasty	Image Description	Date	Mint
1	‘Izz al-Dīn Saltuk II b. ‘Ali (526-563/1132-1168)	Saltukids	St. George (Standing figure)	-	-
2	Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (first r. 557-65/1162-1170)	Danishmendids of Malatya	St. George (Slaying Dragon)	-	-
3	Mu‘izz al-Dīn Qayṣarshāh (582-597 / 1186-1201)	Seljuk Prince of Malatya	St. George (Slaying Dragon)	-	-
4	‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād	Seljuk Prince of Tokat	St. George (Slaying a ‘beast of prey’.)	-	-

Table 10: St. George Images on the Turkmen Coinage

1. Representations of St. George

1.1 Full-length, Standing Figure

A copper fals of Saltukid malik ‘Izz al-Dīn Saltuk II b. ‘Ali (526-563 / 1132-1168), minted in Erzurum, displays two frontal standing figures holding the patriarchal cross on the three-stepped platform between them.⁸³⁴ Even though this Saltukid coin has no date, the

⁸³⁴ Tevhid 1903: p. 61, no. 92; Lane-Poole 1877: no. 306; Butak 1947: no. 99; Artuk 1970: p. 389, no. 1194; Album 1998: no. 1890; Topraktepe 2009: p. 125, no. 14976; Shukurov 2004: 730-731. Although Shukurov says that ‘Izz al-Dīn Saltuk II bin Ali was a ‘Saltukid sultan’ between 1145 and 1174, he ascended the throne just after his father Ali’s death in 526/1132 and he ruled the dynasty until his death in 563/1168. For the details, see Bosworth 1996: 218; Leiser 1995: 1036; Özeydin 2009a: 54-56; Gürbüz 2002: 78ff.

inscription of the reverse, introducing the Seljuk Sultan of Iraq Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd bin Muḥammad Tapar as overlord of the Saltukids before announcing the name of 'Izz al-Dīn Saltuk II bin 'Ali, gives a clue that this quasi-Byzantine copper issue must have been struck in a date between 529/1134 and 547/1152:

السلطان المعظم مسعود بن محمد عز الدين سلق بن علي

Al-Sultān / al-Muazzam / Mas[‘ūd] / bin Muḥammad ‘Izz al-[Dīn] / Saltuk [bin / ‘Āli] (fig. 44)



Figure 44: Left: Copper coin of Saltukid Sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Saltuk b. ‘Ali, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK486; P. D. Whitting Collection; Right: Reverse of electrum aspron trachy of John II, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5629; P. D. Whitting Collection

The representation of the standing figures found on ‘Izz al-Dīn Saltuk’s coin is rather similar to that on the reverse of the electrum aspron trachy of John II Komnenos minted in Constantinople.⁸³⁵ It is interesting to note that this Saltukid malik’s coin inspired by a contemporary Byzantine type might have simultaneously been in circulation in the local markets of the region together with its inspiring prototype. After the Danishmendid amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn’s coin issue that draws inspiration from aspron *trachy nomisma* of Manuel I Komnenos, and Yağıbasan’s seal derived from Manuel I’s coin or seal iconographies, once

⁸³⁵ *DOC*, IV/i: p. 261ff and *DOC*, IV/ii: nos. 8a.1, 8b.1, 8c.1, 8c.3, 8c.6, 8d.1, 8d.2, 8d.3, 8e.1, 8e.2, pl. IX; Grierson 1999: p. 11, fig. 17. On the obverse of the Byzantine type there is a Christ figure seated on throne without back, raising right hand in benediction and holding gospel in his left hand; the reverse of the coin depicts the standing figures of emperor John II and St. George in military dress with nimbus who holds sword in his left hand and patriarchal cross in his right hand (ibid). Also see the Barber Institute Coin Collection, nos. B5627-B5639 ; P. D. Whitting Collection.

again this is evidence that contemporary Byzantine coins were still travelling across Anatolia in the mid-twelfth century, even though limited. Considering the numbers of military campaigns of John II against the Anatolian Turks, it is not surprising that the coins minted in the capital of the Byzantine Empire were still circulating in inner and even eastern Anatolia. Although the Byzantine troops did not walk into the Saltukid territories, they marched across Anatolia, particularly to Danishmendid milieus at various times. Even, in 1139, John II conducted a military campaign against the Danishmendid Malik Muḥammad and his ally Constantine Gabras in Trebizond. The Byzantine army, which proceeded through Bithynia and Paphlagonia, besieged Neocaesarea, modern Niksar, which was connected with the capital of the Saltukids by trade routes.⁸³⁶ The Byzantine troops might have brought a large number of electrum *aspron trachy* of John II throughout Anatolia and introduced them into the local markets. Thus, in light of our evidence of imitation of circulating coins it does not seem surprising to see an adaptation of John II's numismatic iconography by the Saltukid ruler.⁸³⁷

1.2 St. George Slaying the Dragon or Serpent

One of the earliest surviving representations of the equestrian dragon-slayer appears on an undated copper coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, the last Danismendid amīr of Malatya (**fig. 45**). The image on the obverse portrays an equestrian, whose right foot is planted on the body of the serpent, and whose spear is thrust into the serpent which stretches beneath the horse's hooves.⁸³⁸ Although in Byzantine coinage St. George was not represented as a horse rider, he was portrayed as an equestrian slaying a dragon on the copper coinage of Roger of

⁸³⁶ Choniates (Magoulias), 20-21; Angold 1997: 157; Turan 2002: 176.

⁸³⁷ In the last years of his reign, the Turkmen amīr 'Izz al-Dīn Saltuk did not hesitate to interfere in the internal affairs of the Byzantine Empire. After his visit to the court of Nūr al-Dīn Zangī, Andronicus Komnenos traveled to Erzurum and was given a castle near Kolonea by the Saltukid amīr. Until shortly before Manuel's death (1180), he stayed there and made frequent raids to the Byzantine territory. Kinnamos (Brand): 188-189; Brand 1968: 17-18; Beihammer 2011: 622.

⁸³⁸ Casanova 1896: 3, pl. 4; Whelan 1980: 145-148; Shukurov 2004: 731; Adıyaman Museum (Turkey), Coin Collection, ref. no. 5279.

Salerno, regent of Antioch between 1112 and 1119,⁸³⁹ and in fact this is one of the earliest representations of St. George with the dragon on a coin.⁸⁴⁰



Figure 45: Left: Copper Coin of Danismendid Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad, Adıyaman Museum, Coin Collection, no. 5279, Turkey; Right: Obverse of follis of Roger of Salerno, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, CR012; P. D. Whitting Collection

As noted before, the foundation of the Turkmen emirates just after the Battle of Manzikert (1071), and then the Crusader states during the First Crusade,⁸⁴¹ resulted in the reconfiguration of political, social, cultural and demographic structures of the region. Thus two new colours, the Turks and the westerners, conjoined in the multicultural and multilingual mosaic of the region. In this pluralist environment, the Crusader princes of Antioch, in the first half of the twelfth century, attempted to issue their own copper coins depicting, on one side, an image, either of the prince, or of Christ, or of Virgin Mary orans, or of St. Peter, or of St. George as an equestrian slaying the dragon with a Latin or Greek inscription on the other side. As a result of his growing popularity among the Crusaders, the depiction of St. George on horseback slaying the dragon appeared for the first time on the copper coins of Roger of Salerno.⁸⁴² With many similarities, this seems a convincing prototype for the Danishmendid's coin image, which was issued nearly fifty years later.

⁸³⁹ Shukurov 2004: 731; Schlumberger 1878: 48-49, pl. 2, 12. For the copper coins of Roger of Salerno, see The Barber Institute Coin Collection, CR10, CR11, CR12; P. D. Whitting Collection.

⁸⁴⁰ Yvon 1966: 29-30. For this type, see Metcalf 1995: nos. 95-101, pl. 6.

⁸⁴¹ The County of Edessa (1098), Principality of Antioch (1098), Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099) and County of Tripoli (1104).

⁸⁴² Metcalf 1995: 22-30; Metcalf 1999: 170.

Considering the long-running relations between Malatya and Antioch, to encounter an adoption of Crusader coin image in Malatya would not be incomprehensible.

But what else prompted Nāṣir al-Dīn to look at an ‘image of a figure on horseback slaying a dragon’ for inspiration for his copper *fals*? Some hints to answer this question lie in the earlier and contemporaneous ‘visual tradition’ of the region, a context of ‘cultural appropriation’ in an environment of cultural coexistence and symbiosis, and the new political view of the eastern Mediterranean. As visual evidence, depictions of equestrian dragon-slayers produced during the Turkish sovereignty in Anatolia from the twelfth to fourteenth century shed further light on the cross-cultural interaction between the natives and the newcomers. Many of these images connect with representations from earlier and contemporary Byzantine, Armenian and Georgian art that portrays, with only small variations, a horse rider encased in armour, thrusting a spear into the gaping mouths of a serpent or ‘dragon’ in Christian art.⁸⁴³

Particularly two military saints, Theodore and George, were represented in the act of killing a dragon. The exterior relief depiction of the tenth-century Armenian Church of the Holy Cross at Akdamar, which is one of the four islands in Lake Van in eastern Anatolia, is the earliest dated representation of St. Theodore mounted on horseback, slaying a dragon, even though lots of unidentified and undated figures may be related to the earliest representations of St. Theodore in this form. In the relief of the church of Akdamar, two other equestrian saints, Sergius and George, accompanied with St. Theodore, spear respectively a ‘panther’ and a ‘fettered man’ instead of a serpent-dragon.⁸⁴⁴ Similar representations of St. Theodore can be found on a Constantinopolitan icon dated to the ninth or tenth century in St. Catherine’s Monastery at Mt Sinai⁸⁴⁵ and on a relief from the tenth-century Georgian Church

⁸⁴³ Pancaroğlu 2004: 152; Shukurov 2004: 732-733.

⁸⁴⁴ Kuehn 2011: 108-109; Pancaroğlu 2004: 153-154.

⁸⁴⁵ Pancaroğlu 2004: 153; Whelan 2006: 67.

at Martvili that depicts two equestrian saints (probably Theodore and Demetrius), this time, each accompanied by an angel, slaying a double-headed dragon (**fig. 46**).⁸⁴⁶



Figure 46: Left: Relief depicting of St. Theodore; Right: representations of St. Theodore, St. Sergius and St. George (respectively left to right) Church of the Holy Cross, Akdamar, Van, Turkey.

Apart from all these examples, we shall note that ‘representations of equestrian St. George and St. Theodore slaying a dragon or beast’ also enjoyed a high popularity in Cappadocia. After the Turks’ arrival in Anatolia, the image was regenerated and reproduced in different contexts, whether narrative or visual. They can be seen on the frescoes of various churches of Cappadocia such as Kırk Dam Altı Kilise, Yılanlı Kilise (Church of the Serpent), Pürenli Seki Kilisesi, Yusuf Koç Kilisesi, Saklı Kilise and Kaya Kilise (Church of the Rock).⁸⁴⁷

Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad’s choice of the equestrian dragon-slayer for his numismatic iconography may be viewed in the light of the Danishmendid rulers’ interest in the traditional Byzantine images current in Anatolia and cultural unorthodoxy. The cultural and diplomatic policy of the Danishmendids provided the impetus for the proliferation of not only borrowed images but also Greek inscriptions in their coinage.

⁸⁴⁶ Pancaroğlu 2004: 154. This depiction gained more secular form on the front panel of an ivory casket probably produced in the twelfth-century Constantinople as a subject ornamenting a luxury object (Pancaroğlu 2004: 155).

⁸⁴⁷ Walter 2003: 128.



Figure 47: St. George on horseback slaying dragon, in the company of St Demetrius: Yılanlı Kilise (Church of the Serpent), in the Ihlara Valley, Cappadocia.⁸⁴⁸

In 1178 Malatya, the last city of the Danishmendid dynasty, was captured by the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm. In the early years of the Seljuk rule of Malatya, a new copper fals with an image of an equestrian dragon-killer (**fig. 48**),⁸⁴⁹ very similar to that of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, was struck by the Seljuk prince Mu‘izz al-Dīn Qayṣarshāh, who was appointed as governor of the city by his father Kılıç Arslān II, who before his death, allocated his dominions among his ten sons and a brother.⁸⁵⁰ The choice of the same image as the last Danishmendid numismatic iconography may be an expression of historical and political continuity and legitimacy as a message to his rivals, echoed from the unstable city situated on the frontier of the Ayyūbīds of Syria. In fact, as a result of the conflicts with his elder brothers, Qayṣarshāh had to forsake Malatya twice. In the first interruption (1191), the Seljuk prince sought refuge in the Ayyūbid court and regained his throne with the help of Saladin.⁸⁵¹ As for the second rebellion in 1201, it ended his sovereignty of Malatya. Thus, re-emergence

⁸⁴⁸ <http://www.kapadokya.edu.tr/en/?p=detail&ID=7> [accessed: 20 October 2015]

⁸⁴⁹ Harvard Art Museums: Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Thomas Whittemore, 1951.31.4.2467; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK526; Tevhid 1903: p. 121, no. 151; Artuk, I, 1970: p. 352, no. 1068; Hennequin 1985: p. 685, no. 1629; Shukurov 2004: 731. Tevhid and Artuk interpreted the figure as a cavalry hunting.

⁸⁵⁰ Cahen 1968: 111; Mecit 2014: 85.

⁸⁵¹ Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), II, 395.

of the representation of the equestrian dragon-slayer on Qayşarshāh's copper fals might have echoed his effort to consolidate his authority over the recently Danishmendid city.



Figure 48: Copper Coin of Qayşarshāh, Harvard Art Museums: Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Thomas Whittemore, 1951.31.4.2467

Many similarities and minor differences can be found between the types of the Danishmendid amīr and the Seljuk prince. The shape of the serpent, which stretches beneath the horse, is the same. The rider is piercing the serpent's open jaws and putting his foot on the serpent in the same way as happens with Danishmendid issues, but the appearance of both riders and horses on the coins is clearly different. For instance, the posture of the rider, the position of the horse's feet and the angle of slope of the lance is different. More importantly, the rider's dress is an Asian *caftan*, not a Greek *tunic* as on the Danishmendid coin.⁸⁵² To use an eastern costume instead of a Greek tunic on the Seljuk issue might indicate an orientalisating effort by Qayşarshāh in his numismatic iconography.

It is also possible to see this dual influence in the personal name of the Seljuk prince. Kılıç Arslān II gave his son a name aggregating the Romano-Byzantine title 'caesar' and the Persian/Turkish title 'shāh'. This can be a result of Kılıç Arslān's diplomatic visits to

⁸⁵² Shukurov 2004: 731-732.

Constantinople, close relations to the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos, or the influence of the Seljuk Sultan's Greek wife.⁸⁵³

Qayşarshāh's coin issue pioneered the distinct equestrian images seen in the Rūm Seljuk figural coinage well into 1240s. These coins usually depict a figure of riders with a mace, trident, sceptre, sword, or bow and arrow, while a composition of rider slaying a 'a beast of prey' was imprinted on the copper and silver coins of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād during his governorship of Tokat, a recently Danishmendid city (**fig. 49**).



Figure 49: Obverse of the Copper Coin of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād, Tokat, (Otto-Dorn 1997: fig . 3).

After succeeding to the Rūm Seljuk throne in 1205 for the second time, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw (first r. 1192-1196; second r. 1205-1211) appointed his son 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād as a prince of Tokat, located on the road linking Amasya with Sivas, which played crucial role in the history of the Danishmendids. His undated copper fals must have been issued in that period, presumably between 1211 and 1214.⁸⁵⁴ Like the type of Qayşarshāh b. Kılıç Arslān II,⁸⁵⁵ the obverse of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād's coin issue also represents a figure with nimbus on horseback slaying a creature. However, this time, the creature, which was lanced by the mounted figure, is not a 'dragon', but a 'feline animal'. It

⁸⁵³ For the exchanges of cultural traditions between the Byzantines and the Rūm Seljuks, see Necipoğlu 2006: 254-265; Necipoğlu 2007: 14-19; and for the intermarriage of Seljuk sultans of Rūm with the Greeks, see Shukurov 2012: 115-150.

⁸⁵⁴ Tevhid 1903: 146, no. 211; Artuk 1970: p. 359, no. 1092; Shukurov 2004: 732. See also Lane-Poole 1877: p. 73, no. 176 and Hennequin 1985: p.736, no. 1752.

⁸⁵⁵ Tevhid 1903: p. 146, no. 211; Artuk 1970: p. 359, no. 1092; Lane-Poole 1877: p. 78, no. 176; Shukurov 2004: 732.

was identified with a ‘lion’ by Lane-Poole, Ahmed Tevhid and then İbrahim Artuk, while Rustam Shukurov missed out this point in his recent article and saw it as a dragon.⁸⁵⁶ With its long tail and more athletic body, this creature seems to look like a ‘leopard’ or ‘panther’ more than ‘a lion’. It reminds us of the relief of the church of Akdamar, in which one of the three equestrian saints, St. Sergius, spears a ‘feline animal’, while his companions St. George and St. Theodore slay respectively a ‘fettered man’ and ‘serpent-dragon’.⁸⁵⁷ This coin type may be issued in the competitive cultural landscape of the Rūm Seljuks in Anatolia. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād in the same period also issued two silver *dirhams* with the same image in the years 608-609 / 1212-1213 in Tokat.⁸⁵⁸

2. St. Mamas or Not?

Aside from the equestrian figure in the Turkmen coinage, the image of the ‘lion rider’ appears on Danishmendid ‘Imād al-Dīn Dhū’l-Nūn’ copper coinage in the second half of the twelfth century.⁸⁵⁹ A man wearing a short garment and in his right hand wielding a sword above his head rides a lion which has curly hair covering its shoulders and chest and whose tale waves upward.

⁸⁵⁶ Lane-Poole 1877: p. 73, no. 176; Tevhid 1903: p. 146, no. 211; Artuk 1980: 265; and Shukurov 2004: 732.

⁸⁵⁷ Kuehn 2011: 108-109; Pancaroğlu 2004: 153-154.

⁸⁵⁸ Artuk 1980: 268-269. For the first coin, see Erel 1963: p. 5, no. 6. They can be recognized as chronologically the latest issues inspired by the figure of equestrian slaying a creature.

⁸⁵⁹ See catalogue no. 389; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK429; P. D. Whitting Collection; Mitchiner 1977: p. 175, no. 1010. The image on the obverse shows a man riding on the back of lion to right and holding a sword in his right hand.



Figure 50: Left: Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Dhū'l-Nūn, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK429; P. D. Whitting Collection; Right: Tondo depicting Saint Mamas from the Georgian Gelati Monastery, 14th–15th centuries.

The prototype of this image, which has been repeatedly discussed in many coin catalogues and publications, is dubious. The most striking interpretation is that this image, although seen on a number of ancient coins, was derived from the Byzantine ecclesiastical iconography of the lion-riding St. Mamas, associated with Caesarea, today known as Kayseri, where this coin was in all likelihood issued because it was the capital city of Dhū'l-Nūn.⁸⁶⁰ A sixth-century lead disk in the Byzantine Museum at Athens represents St. Mamas riding on a lion, but, he carries no weapons. The 'eulogy' on the disk shows its purpose of production as a commemorative piece for pilgrims to a religious shrine. Although we know of no other representation of St. Mamas as a lion rider before the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, such commemorative pieces might have still been distributed in Kayseri, which is the centre of the cult of St. Mamas in the Middle Ages.⁸⁶¹

St. Mamas lived in Cappadocia in the third century. After his execution, he was buried in Kayseri. It is assumed that the bones of St. Mamas, after he was accepted as a Christian saint in the fifth or sixth centuries, were carried to the village of Mamasun, today known as Gökçe Köyü, situated in Aksaray. A small eighth- or ninth-century rock-cut Christian church

⁸⁶⁰ Whelan 1980: 145-148. Aside from the interpretation of St. Mamas, for the depiction on the obverse of Dhū'l-Nūn's copper fals, two further suggestions have been put forward by Spengler and Sayles: a representation of Mars in the constellation Leo, and a depiction of Dionysus riding on the back of a leopard in the ancient art and mythological context. Spengler and Sayles 1992: 129.

⁸⁶¹ Whelan 2006: 59.

and human bones, which were discovered in the early 1800s here, are attributed to St. Mamas. In time, the church was transformed to a *tekke*, known as Erenler Tekkesi, in which he was worshipped by both Christians and Muslims for years.⁸⁶² Interestingly, the local Muslims have already appropriated St. Mamas as a Muslim cult called ‘Mamasun Baba’, ‘Şammas Baba’ or ‘Pir Şammas’. Apart from the village of Mamasun, many other places around Kayseri, today accommodated the assumed tombs of ‘Şammas Baba’.⁸⁶³ In this sense, there is an analogy between the veneration of St. George and St. Mamas among the Muslim Turks in Asia Minor. However, St. George was identified with an Islamic figure ‘Khidr’, whereas St. Mamas was not associated with any Muslim character. This is not enough evidence to suggest that this coin image was derived from the icon of St. Mamas, but, at least, it clearly indicates that this Christian saint had a popular reputation in medieval Muslim Anatolia onwards. Even though to make a clear identification of this image and to explain the presumptive influence of St. Mamas on the choice of numismatic iconography is not easy, the coin types depicting a lion-rider may be seen once again in the light of the Danishmendids’ interest in the symbols of the Byzantine tradition current in Anatolia during their rule.⁸⁶⁴

Nearly thirty years later than the pioneer Danishmendid type, a representation of lion rider re-emerge on the copper coins of Nāşir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān (597-637 / 1200-1239) in Mārdīn,⁸⁶⁵ Nāşir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (597-619 / 1200-1222)⁸⁶⁶ in Ḥişn Kayfā, and Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökböri (586-630 / 1190-1233)⁸⁶⁷ in Irbil. Once again, the examples verify the transitional structure of the Turkmen coinages in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.⁸⁶⁸

⁸⁶² Hasluck 1929, I: 43-46; Tekinalp 2006: 114.

⁸⁶³ Some of those are in the village of Duruköy (Divriği-Sivas), in the province of Alaca (Çorum), in the village of Bulak (Kangal-Sivas), in the province of Bünyan (Kayseri). See İşçen, 2009.

⁸⁶⁴ Pancaroglu 2004: 156.

⁸⁶⁵ See catalogue nos. 154-160; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK083-089; P. D. Whitting Collection.

⁸⁶⁶ See catalogue no. 303; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK474; P. D. Whitting Collection

⁸⁶⁷ See catalogue no. 412; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK248; P. D. Whitting Collection; Mitchiner 1977: no. 11447, p. 192.

⁸⁶⁸ Different comments have been brought by numismatists about the depiction on these Turkmen coins: as a ‘Turk riding a lion’ (Mitchiner 1977: 182) a ‘figure on a leopard’ instead of a lion (Spengler and Sayles 1992: 129), or a ‘falconer with a bird on his right fist’. Hennequin 1985: 509.

D. Angel Images

Although in the early years of the Byzantine Empire pagan cults were systematically suppressed, some mythological elements nourished by ancient artistic tradition continued to occur in Byzantine Christian art, architecture and coinage. The Greek Nike, or the winged Victory of the Roman pantheon, following its popularity in the Greek and Roman coinage, reappears on the gold solidus of Constantine the Great, on the coins of Arcadius (395-408), Eudocia and Anastasius (491-518). Afterwards, this figure, which symbolized the victories won by the emperors, transformed into a Christian angel, with a long cross and ‘globus cruciger’, and gained a high popularity particularly in the numismatic iconography of the Justinianic dynasty. Thus it is found on the coins Justinian I (518-527), Justin II (565-578), Maurice (582-602) and Phocas (602-610) respectively. It is finally seen in the coinage of Heraklios (610-641).⁸⁶⁹

Archangel Gabriel acquires visual form on the coins of the twelfth-century Artuqid rulers Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān (543-570 / 1148-1174) and Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad (571-581 / 1175-1185). One may also see a winged figure on the Artuqid coins as a religious image; in fact, it draws inspiration from two different sources, the winged Victory on Roman imperial coins and depictions of angels in Christian and Islamic iconography.

No	Rulers	Dynasty	Date	Mint
1	Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān (543-570 / 1148-1174)	Artuqids of Ḥiṣn Keyfa	-	-
2	Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān (543-570 / 1148-1174)	Artuqids of Ḥiṣn Keyfa	570/1174	-
3	Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad (571-581 / 1175-1185)	Artuqids of Ḥiṣn Kayfā	571/1175-6	-
4	Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad (571-581 / 1175-1185)	Artuqids of Ḥiṣn Kayfā	576/1181	-

⁸⁶⁹ Tekin 1999: 31. See also Cline 2011; Martin 2001: 11-29; Sheppard 1980/81: 77-101.

Table 11: Angel images on the Artuqid coinage

Depiction of winged figures on the obverse of the copper fals of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān,⁸⁷⁰ as Lane-Poole has already noted, might have been inspired by a gold solidus of Constantine the Great (306-337) minted in Siscia (**fig. 51**). The reverse of Constantine's coin issue depicts the winged Victory, wearing a long flowing chiton, which early Byzantine artists adapted into their own concept of an angel.⁸⁷¹ Apart from the similar features of these two figures, the marginal Latin inscription verifies the identification of the Turkmen image with Constantine I's coin iconography. Two examples kept in the Barber Institute Coin Collection allow us to suggest that the Artuqid die-cutter did not touch the Latin inscriptions on the margin (VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG), on the shield (VOT XXX), and on the exergue (SIS), the abbreviation of Siscia.



Figure 51: Left: Obverse of the Copper Coin of Qarā Arslān, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK438; P.D. Whitting Collection; Right: Gold solidus of Constantine the Great, minted in Siscia⁸⁷²

However, the objects held by the figures on both coins seem quite different. While Victory holds 'an inscribed round shield'⁸⁷³ on the gold solidus of Constantine I, it is replaced by 'a square tablet' on the Artuqid coin. Although Nicholas Lowick conjecturally suggested

⁸⁷⁰ See catalogue nos. 5-6; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK437-438; P.D. Whitting Collection; Adıyaman Museum (Turkey), Coin Collection, nos. 5378, 11494.

⁸⁷¹ Lane-Poole 1875: p. 17, no. 7. See also Spengler and Sayles 1992: 13; Whelan 2006: 155-157; for the coin of Constantine the Great, see Sear 1988: p. 327, no. 3882.

⁸⁷² <http://classicalnumismaticgallery.com/searchauctionitem.aspx?auctioncode=17&pricerange=&keyword=&category=2&material=0&lotno> [accessed: 5th May 2015]

⁸⁷³ Both shields are inscribed VOT XXX.

that considering its traditional role as a symbol of the victories of the emperors, the figure might also represent the victories of the Turkmen leader against the Crusaders as indication of sovereignty, justice and virtue of the malik and the choice of the Artuqid malik was motivated by resemblance to an ‘Islamic angel’,⁸⁷⁴ it is a clear adaptation of indigenous iconography of the region. Apart from the above-mentioned winged figure, a small Victory can also be found as a sub-figure on the obverse of the coin of Qarā Arslān dated 570/1174, which in a beaded circle, represents a portrait with long hair draping both shoulders, enormous eyes and tunic displaying a small winged angel on the left of the bust.⁸⁷⁵ Its posture curiously resembles a Constantinopolitan gold solidus of Justin II, depicting a Victory figure next to the portrait (**fig. 52**).⁸⁷⁶



Figure 52: Left: Obverse of copper dirham of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān (Uykur 2010: cat. no. 10); Right: Obverse of gold solidus of Justin II, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, B1128.tif, P. D. Whitting Collection

Another winged figure is represented facing slightly left, and carrying a scroll or scarf draped between the two arms on either side on the copper *dirhams* of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, while the ruler’s title and pedigree going back four generations appear on the reverse (**fig. 53**).⁸⁷⁷ The angel’s head, with enormous eyes, long neck and hair, is encircled by a halo. From

⁸⁷⁴ Lowick 1985: 169.

⁸⁷⁵ Uykur 2010: cat. no. 10, p. 77.

⁸⁷⁶ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B1128.tif-B1197.tif, B1536.tif-B1541.tif, B1586.tif-B1588.tif; P. D. Whitting Collection

⁸⁷⁷ It was struck in the first year of his reign (571/1175-6), probably in Ḥiṣn Kayfā. See catalogue nos. 17-18; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK450-451; P.D. Whitting Collection. While Lane-Poole saw it as a “scroll” (1875: p. 18, no. 12), Edhem (1894, no. 7, p. 9) and Gilles Hennequin (1985, 403) called it a “bandelette” rolled up. On the other hand, it was examined that “it appears clearly to be a very narrow rope-like

the shoulders sprout two wings, the right spreads upwards, the left in vertical position downwards. This unique and sophisticated coin representation can be interpreted as a combination of Christian and Muslim elements. The concept of angel and scroll entered Christian art as an image of Gabriel who, in Christian belief, is a messenger of God and precursor of the birth of Christ. Gabriel, who has a very similar role in Islamic tradition and in religious and mythological stories as Jibra'il, acquires a visual form as an angel holding a sacred text in medieval Islamic art of al-Jazīra and Anatolia with a few necessary alterations from his Byzantine representations.⁸⁷⁸



Figure 53: Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, the Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK001; P. D. Whitting Collection

The form of two winged figures on the same malik's copper dirham struck in 576/1181 reminds us Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad's previous angel imagery. They seem to have come from the same source or been produced by the same artist. The obverse of his coin depicts an enthroned Turkish figure⁸⁷⁹ wearing a pointed headgear, holding an orb in his right hand and resting his left hand on his thigh under a vaulted arch or canopy and two winged figures hold upper portions of the canopy on both sides and spread their wings over an

banner or streamer (banderol), not held by either hand but resting on the wrists of the angel's outstretched arms, the ends dropping in curls on the left and right" by Spengler and Sayles (1992: 26). However, the scroll has always been an important attribute of Gabriel, as the herald of God. In a region where there was a heterogeneous population of Muslims, Christians and Jews Gabriel would have been a familiar figure to all of them.

⁸⁷⁸ Georganteli and Cook 2006: 45-46.

⁸⁷⁹ It might be the representation of the Artuqid leader Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad.

arabesque.⁸⁸⁰ Illustration for the frontispiece of *Māqāmāt* (Assemblies) of al-Harīrī drawn by Yahya ibn Maḥmūd al-Wasiti (1201-1300) in ca. 634/1237 reflects the same facet with two small angels holding upper portions of a throne or canopy (**fig. 54**).⁸⁸¹ From this aspect, this depiction, probably derived from the frontispiece illustrations from early medieval Mesopotamian manuscripts, can be accepted as one of the pioneering and unique models in Islamic numismatic iconography.



Figure 54: Left: Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad (Uykur 2010: cat. no. 12); Right: illustration for frontispiece of *Māqāmāt* (Assemblies) of al-Harīrī (Bibliothèque nationale de France, manuscrit Arabe 5847)

Angel figures and spiritual creatures derived from ancient Greek or Roman sculptures and Byzantine paintings emerge on the small handicraft products of medieval Islamic states as religious symbols and they were frequently adopted by medieval Anatolian Muslim rulers on the architecture, woodwork, textiles and ceramics in Anatolia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A related three-dimensional work of art that further demonstrates this effortless transformation is a six-century marble relief of Archangel Gabriel, once adorning a Christian

⁸⁸⁰ See catalogue no. 19; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK452; P.D. Whitting Collection; Spengler/Sayles 1992: I, 28, type 10; Whelan 2006: 166-168. In addition, there is a ribbon in the right field. Finally, the date is written in words, within a beaded circle and double lines in left and right fields.

Similar, but this time hovering above the head small winged figures also appear on the copper coins of Zangīd atabegs Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd (544-565 / 1149-1170), Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī (565-576 / 1170-1180) and Nāsir al-Dīn Maḥmūd II (616-631 / 1219-1234). In these types, the winged figures point were probably derived from the frontispiece illustrations from medieval Mesopotamian manuscripts. For the suggestions on these winged figures, see Whelan 2006: 203-205, 208-209, 227-229.

⁸⁸¹ As already mentioned, Yahya ibn Maḥmūd al-Wasiti (1201-1300) illustrated *the Maqāmāt* (Assemblies) of Harīrī in ca. 634/1237, while Harīrī completed his masterpiece in 504/1111. For the illustration, see *Maqāmāt of al-Harīrī*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, manuscript Arabe 5847; and al-Harīrī (Chenery, 1967).

place of worship in the region of Antalya. The relief was reused in a thirteenth-century Seljuk context, untouched and even including the inscription ἀρχάγγελος Γαβριήλ (Archangel Gabriel). Gabriel transformed into Jibrā'il with the simple addition of the word *Allah* in the medallion the archangel originally carried.⁸⁸² This is a striking example for an adaptation of Byzantine iconographic tradition. The Seljuk relief sculpture of an angel from the entrance of the Seljuk citadel of Konya is dated to the first quarter of the thirteenth century⁸⁸³ and the depiction on a miniature from *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (*Compendium of Chronicles*), written by Rashid al-Dīn Ḥamādani (1247-1318) at the beginning of the fourteenth century⁸⁸⁴ provide further examples of the visualisation of Archangel Gabriel in Islamic art. Both figures, with their pose of one wing spreading downwards and the other one upwards, show similar features to the winged figure on Nūr al-Din Muḥammad's coins.



Figure 55: Left: Six-century marble relief from Antalya Museum. Centre: Seljuk relief sculpture of an angel from the citadel of Konya in Anatolia, Turkey, c. 1221. Stone, 60 x 37" (153 x 94 cm); İnce Minare Museum, Konya. Right: Miniature from *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (MS Arab 20, folio 45)

⁸⁸² Georganteli and Cook 2006: 46.

⁸⁸³ The sculpture of Gabriel, with its heavenly power, was possibly intended to protect the Seljuk city of Konya. Irwin 1997: 80.

⁸⁸⁴ Rashid al-Dīn Ḥamādani, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (*Compendium of Chronicles*), Edinburgh University Library (MS Arab 20, folio 45); for another Gabriel depiction in this work, see Edinburgh University Library (MS Arab 20, folio 42r), cat. 6. See also Blair 1995.

E. The Cross Symbol on the Turkmen Coins

Imitating the Byzantine numismatic iconography, the die-cutters providing services under the Turkmen amīrs and maliks removed distinct Christian religious symbols, specifically the ‘cross’, with a few exceptions.⁸⁸⁵ Surprisingly, however, two coin issues from Erzurum and Divriği opposed this reaction and displayed a ‘cross’ as a main element: first appears a direct copy of the ‘Latin cross’ seen on Byzantine anonymous folles Class I; the second is a completely original model derived from anonymous Class C or Alexios I Komnenos’ pre-reform Thessalonican anonymous folles.



Figure 56: Left: Copper coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn from <http://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=865376> [accessed: 17th January 2015]; Right: Reverse of Byzantine anonymous Class I, the Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5273, P. D. Whitting Collection

An overstruck coin with, on the reverse, Latin cross ornamented by globule and two pellets at each extremity bears an Arabic legend *عز الدين* / ‘Izz al-Dīn in the centre of the obverse. Whilst the marginal legend is largely obscure, the Arabic name *مسعود* / *Mas‘ūd* can be read (fig. 56). Because of the marginal legend’s deficiency, it is not easy to identify this undated issue, but the personal names on the coin enable us to bring an idea about its maker. It can be easily assumed that ‘Izz al-Dīn’ seen on the obverse presents the Saltukid ruler ‘Izz al-Dīn Saltuk II b. ‘Ali, and ‘Mas‘ūd’ must be his overlord the Seljuk Sultan of Iraq Mas‘ūd

⁸⁸⁵ For exceptions, see copper *fals* of Saltukid malik ‘Izz al-Dīn Saltuk II b. Ali, minted in Erzurum, displaying two frontal standing figures holding the patriarchal ‘cross’ on the three-stepped platform between them; copper *fals* of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī depicting Christ with nimbus, standing, facing, and wearing tunic and himation on the obverse; copper coin attributed the Danishmendid dynasty.

bin Muḥammad Tapar (529-547 / 1134-1152). The Saltukid malik also acknowledged the same Seljuk Sultan on another coin issue derived from the electrum *aspron trachy* of John II Komnenos.⁸⁸⁶

A similar type, but relatively legible, published by Casanova in the late nineteenth century, provides more clues to analyze it (**fig. 57**). While the central legend clearly presents ‘Izz al-Dīn (عز الدين) again, the marginal legend was read as ...? (السلطان) الاعظم سنقر / *al-Sulṭān al-a‘zam Sungur* by Casanova.⁸⁸⁷ However, he did not suggest who Sungur mentioned on the coin was. In a further suggestion, I think that instead of Sungur (سنقر), Sanjār (سنجر), the Great Seljuk Sultan (1118-1157), seems more acceptable. He was granted the title السلطان الاعظم / *al-Sulṭān al-a‘zam* in the first half of the twelfth century. According to the treaty made in 513/1119 between Sultan Maḥmūd and Sanjar, Sanjar would use the titles ‘*al-Sulṭān al-a‘zam*’ and ‘*Sulṭān al-salatīn*’, while Maḥmūd would have ‘*al-Sulṭān al-mu‘azzam*’ and ‘*sayyid al-salatīn*’.⁸⁸⁸ Thus it makes us think that the Saltukid ruler, apart from the Seljuk Sultan of Iraq, recognized the Great Seljuk Sultan Sanjar as overlord and then also gave his name on his coin. The above-mentioned copper fals of Saltukid malik ‘Izz al-Dīn Saltuk II, displaying two frontal standing figures holding the ‘patriarchal cross’, also impels us to identify this coin with Saltukid ‘Izz al-Dīn.

⁸⁸⁶ See chapter 2.

⁸⁸⁷ Casanova 1896: 15-16, pl. IV, no. 8. This type was published again by Heinequin in 1985, but he also failed to identify it. He reads it as following: ...tān al-a‘zam Sungur bin /...طان الاعظم سنقر بن...idem 1985: p. 863, no. 1959.

⁸⁸⁸ Özaydın 2009b: 508.



Figure 57: Copper coin of 'Izz al-Dīn, from Heinequin 1985: no. 1959.

After the identification of this coin issue, we should finally notice that the cross on the reverse shows the similar features of Byzantine anonymous follis Class I, produced between c. 1075 and 1080. Also the copper coins of Baldwin II (1110-1118), the count of Edessa⁸⁸⁹ and Theodore Gabras of Trebizond display a similar Latin cross on their reverse.⁸⁹⁰

Another 'cross' symbol, but this time a more modified one, appears on their cognate dynasty, the Mengujekids' coins. The extant numismatic evidence shows that the Mengujekids produced their own coins much later than their first appearance in history. The supreme and long-standing ruler Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh (560-622 / 1165-1225) issued the first agreed Mengujekid coin, which is a 'quasi-Byzantine' type struck in Erzincan, the Mengujekid capital.⁸⁹¹ However, a coin attributed to Mengujekid Sulaymān bin Ishāq (536-570 / 1142-1175) also concerns us. In the mid-twelfth century, the Mengujekid Turkmen principality was divided into two branches between two brothers: one was ruled from Divriği⁸⁹² by the younger brother Sulaymān, the other was centred in Erzincan under the rule of Da'ūd, father of Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh. Written sources are very silent about the reign of Sulaymān, the first ruler of the Divriği branch of Mengujekids, and furthermore there is no architectural and artistic work erected by the Mengujekid Sulaymān. Nonetheless, the copper

⁸⁸⁹ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, nos. CH03-CH05; P.D. Whitting Collection.

⁸⁹⁰ Bendall 1977: p. 132, pl. 6, no. 10.

⁸⁹¹ Casanova 1896: 312, pl. XLIX; Tevhid 1903: p. 77, no. 95; Artuk, 1970, I: p. 388, no. 1191; Heinequin 1985: p. 843, nos. 1934ff; Şentürk and Johnson 1994: p. 15, no. 4; Album 1998: p. 94, no. 1892.1.

⁸⁹² Divriği (Byzantine Tephrikè) is a small town located on the c. 100 km south-east of Sivas.

coin struck by his son and successor Sayf al-Dīn Abū al-Muẓaffar Shāhinshāh dated 573/1177⁸⁹³ indicates that Suleymān b. Ishāq ruled before this year.

Sulaymān's coin issue was for the first time published in the *British Museum Occasional Papers* in 1976.⁸⁹⁴ Nicholas Lowick also briefly mentions this type and interprets the motif on the obverse as an 'ornate cross'.⁸⁹⁵ Yet among the modern coin catalogues, only Stephen Album (1998) identified it, while most of them such as Lane-Poole (1877), Ahmed Tevhid (1903), Butak (1947), Artuk (1971), and Hennequin (1985) were not successful in displaying and describing this type.⁸⁹⁶ Interestingly, the obverse of the coin bears an 'ornate cross' in a dotted circle with IC-XC-NI-KA (Jesus Christ is Victorious) in the angles. As for the reverse, it shows the title and name of the Mengujekid ruler as follows: جمال الدنيا / (و) الدين ... / ... سليمان / (بن) اسحق **(fig. 58)**



Figure 58: Copper coin of Sulaymān bin Ishāq from <http://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=23199> [accessed: 17th January 2015]

The formula IC-XC-NI-KA (Jesus Christ is Victorious) in the four angles of the jewelled cross evokes the anonymous follis class C, which was struck during the reign of Michael IV (1034-1041),⁸⁹⁷ and Trebizond copper coins probably struck just after the

⁸⁹³ Artuk, I, 1971: p. 389, no. 1193; Album, 1998: p. 94, no. 1893; Özme 2004: 98.

⁸⁹⁴ *British Museum Occasional Papers* no. 25.

⁸⁹⁵ Lowick 1985: 168.

⁸⁹⁶ Album 1998: p. 94, no. 1894 and 1894A. This study suggests "al-Husayn bin" for the unread part of the inscription –just before the name of the ruler-, but this is not convincing enough. Above all there is not any ruler with the name Ḥuseyn bin Suleymān bin Ishāq in history.

⁸⁹⁷ Shams al-Mulūk Jamal al-Dīn Maḥmūd (536-579 / 1141-1183), the ruler of the Inalid dynasty, also used this type in the local markets with the countermark شمس / *Shams* (See The Fitzwilliam Museum Online Coin Collection, nos. CM. 316-1998 and CM.317-1998).

recapture of Trebizond in 1075.⁸⁹⁸ For both issues, on the reverse, a short jewelled cross with globes at each extremity divides the inscription into four equal parts, like Sulaymān's issue. Alexios I's pre-reform Thessalonican anonymous folles also bear a cross on two steps with IC-XC-NI-KA.⁸⁹⁹ However, the Mengujekid artist changed the Byzantine cross and created a complete original model, but surprisingly, he did not need to remove the formula IC-XC-NI-KA.

Apart from these intriguing Turkmen coins, the symbol of cross appears on some objects used in the social life of the Turks in medieval Anatolia.⁹⁰⁰ It is hard to generalize and interpret these crosses on Turkish objects. Simply, at least they can be explained by the pre-Islamic past of the area and the large Christian population under their reign. A further suggestion comes from the recent study of Scott Redford. In 2013, he published two Seljuk inscriptions dated 1225-1226 from Antalya's fortifications, flanked by carved crosses and brought a new interpretation of these crosses: "..., they were intimately associated with Byzantine rule, and their appropriation can be seen as part of a general policy of learning from and adapting Byzantine traditions of sovereignty."⁹⁰¹ Based on the approach of Redford, we can suggest that the cross symbols on the Turkmen coins have primarily political and ideological intention, and not a religious meaning.

⁸⁹⁸ Bendall 1977: p. 131, pl. 6, no. 4.

⁸⁹⁹ *DOC*, IV/ii: pl. II, 19.

⁹⁰⁰ For examples, see Hasluck 1929, I: 30-31 and Vryonis 1971: 489. Also for carpets with cross and swastika as symbol of four cosmic forces known as fire, water, earth and air, see Kardeşlik 2010: 73-90.

⁹⁰¹ Redford 2013: 328-331, figs. 14-15.

F. Turkmens and Christians

1. Jesus Christ and Virgin Mary in Islam

In order to solve this paradox arising in these numismatic phenomena and to read the secular and religious iconography we need to consider the religious proximity, common motives, cultural intensity and various geopolitical agendas in the region. Having examined the presence of Virgin Mary's and Jesus Christ's images on the Turkmen coinage, it should be mentioned, at least briefly, the role of Jesus and Mary in Islamic belief. According to the Qur'an, Jesus is one of the prophets, who was sent to guide Bani Israel (the Children of Israel) with a new scripture, the 'Gospel'.⁹⁰² More importantly, in Islamic belief, Jesus, as a precursor to the prophet Muḥammad, occupies a more important place than other prophets who were mentioned in the Qur'an. As such the story is unambiguously narrated by the Qur'an which states that Jesus had announced that, after him, a messenger would appear named Aḥmad:

And remember, Jesus, the son of Mary, said: "O Children of Israel! I am the messenger of Allah (sent) to you, confirming the Law (which came) before me, and giving Glad Tidings of a Messenger to come after me, whose name shall be Aḥmad." But when he came to them with clear signs, they said: "This is evident sorcery!"⁹⁰³

⁹⁰² "It is he Who sent down to thee (step by step), in truth, the Book, confirming what went before it; and he sent down the Law (of Moses) and the Gospel (of Jesus) before this, as a guide to mankind, and He sent down the criterion (of judgement between right and wrong)": The Qur'an, tr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, second ed. (London 1975), 3:3.

⁹⁰³ The Qur'an 61:6. Islam associates Aḥmad with Muḥammad, both words are derived from the same root. Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī, in *the Mathnawī*, also mentions that Muḥammad was described in the Gospel: "The name of Mustafa was in the Gospel – (Mustafa) the chief of the prophets, the sea of purity. There was mention of his (external) characteristics and appearance; there was mention of his wearing and fasting and eating.

A party among the Christians, for the sake of the Divine reward, whenever (in reading of the Gospel) they came to that name and discourse,

Would bestow kisses on that noble name and stoop their faces towards that beautiful description.

In this tribulation of which we have told, that party were secure from tribulation and dread,

Secure from the mischief of the amīrs and the vizier, seeking refuge in the protection of the name of Aḥmad (Muḥammad)." *The Mathnawī of Jalālu'd-dīn Rūmī*, vol. II, 41-42 (Book II, nos. 727-732).

As for the Virgin Mary, Mariam in the Qur'anic context, the mother of Jesus, also plays a very significant role in Islam. In the Qur'an, the Virgin Mary receives the most attention of any woman mentioned. The nineteenth *sura* of the Qur'an is named after her, Mariam. Even, the third chapter in the Qur'an is named after her father, Imran. Thus, it can be said that Mariam is the only woman specifically named in the Quran. Moreover, she was regarded by Muḥammad as one of the highest women in all creation according to the authentic ḥadith⁹⁰⁴ which states that Muḥammad said: "The superiority of Ā'isha to other ladies is like the superiority of tharid (i.e. dish of meat and bread) to other meals. Many men reached the level of perfection, but no woman reached such a level except Mary [Mariam], the daughter of Imran and Asia, the wife of the Pharaoh."⁹⁰⁵

However, it is not easy to say how far the unique position of Mary and Jesus in the Muslim and Christian communities of Anatolia affected the choice of Christian themes, with Christ and the Virgin Mary images, in the Turkmen coinage: Perhaps this effect was rather restricted because, as already mentioned, in medieval Islamic tradition, the iconic practises were not allowable. However, at least, it can be said that when they arrived in Anatolia and the Near East, the Muslim Turkmen society was familiar with the Virgin and Jesus Christ characters. When they encountered their images in Anatolian and Near Eastern Christian art, they had no difficulty to get accustomed with these practises. On the contrary, they adapted to a new pluralistic society at short notice and furthermore their images obtained a reputable position especially in medieval Anatolian Islam. More interestingly, the Anatolian Turkmens revered Christian saints and placed their images in their coinage. Undoubtedly, this is not

⁹⁰⁴ The *ḥadith* is the record of the sayings of Prophet Muḥammad.

⁹⁰⁵ Bukhārī, *The English translation of Ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī with the Arabic text*, tr. M. M. Khan, Al-Saadawi Publications, (Alexandria 1996), vol. 4, Book 55, no. 643. Another ḥadith also showed big respect for Mary was narrated by `Ali, the fourth caliph after the death of Muḥammad: "Mary, the daughter of 'Imran, was the best among the women (of the world of her time) and Khadija is the best amongst the women (of this nation)". Bukhārī, 4.55.642.

explained with an Islamic reference, so here the question is, why they presented a Christian saint on their coins.

2. Maliks, Saints and Christian Subjects:

While Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary had a reputable position in not only the Christian, but also Islamic communities of medieval Anatolia because they are evidently mentioned with respect in Qur'an, the positions of Christian saints are not clear in the Islamic tradition. Here we would like to explore the question of the Turkmens' perceptions of Christian saints at the time of the expansion of the Turks in Anatolia and the Near East. To analyze how the Turkmens perceived Christianity and saints is not an easy task simply because of the limited sources and the nature of available sources, most of which reflect their authors' partial interpretation and do not pay much attention to the opinions of the others, who were portrayed as 'infidels' by the authors. Nonetheless, the sources provide a sufficient amount of information to provide a general structure of the Turkmens' views and attitudes toward the Christian saints.

Before moving to the examples, it should be pointed out two principal paradigms, suggested by Speros Vryonis and F. W. Hasluck, on Christian-Muslim encounters and interaction in the late medieval Anatolia and the mystical Islamic belief and practice, 'Sūfism', centred on a saint's cult. Vryonis focused on the decline and destruction of Byzantine Christianity in Anatolia through the conquests of the Turks. He argued that the Turkish invasion and conquest resulted in the destruction of a Christian society based on a medieval Greek cultural element and this destruction to the Christian and Hellenistic culture of Byzantine Anatolia for four centuries.⁹⁰⁶ Hasluck's model, contrast to Vryonis's approach, emphasises cultural and religious continuity. Hasluck pointed out Muslim-Christian

⁹⁰⁶ See Vryonis 1971.

syncretism, with a focus on shared sacred spaces and the emergence of an Islamic ‘heterodoxy’ in interaction with Christianity.⁹⁰⁷ Thus Hasluck’s ‘anthropological model’ of friendly religious environment and continuity contrasts with Vryonis’s nationalistic approach in his historical narrative.

More recently, Tijana Krstić reinterpreted the concept of of syncretism, a term which Hasluck associated with his ideas, and grounded her argument in a critique of the hagiographic sources, such as *Saltukname*, used by the historians as evidence of heterodoxy and religious tolerance.⁹⁰⁸ According to these shared shrines are sites of perpetual competition and negotiation, which need to be understood in terms of ‘local power relations.’⁹⁰⁹

Şūfism as apopular Islam gained a big popularity in Anatolia and the Balkans during the Middle Ages. After the completion of the conquest of a large part of Anatolia and the stabilising of the political and social environment, that is, around from the beginning of the thirteenth century, the dervishes and *şeyhs*, members of various Sufi movements and *ṭarīkats*, entered Anatolia and began to settle. These Şūfis found there a favourable environment for the spreading of Şūfism, while the political leaders in turn received valuable spiritual support which bolstered up their presence and legitimised them in the eyes of the population.⁹¹⁰ The *şeyhs* and dervishes associated with various *ṭarīkats* which were part of these Şūfi movements were active in important centres of the period such as Ahlat, Erzurum, Bayburt, Sivas, Tokat, Amasya, Kırşehir, Kayseri and Konya and in the neighbouring regions, and created a very lively Şūfi environment in Anatolia in the thirteenth century. These captivating figures, wandering the markets dressed in their unusual clothing, singing religious songs, organising animated religious ceremonies in the tekkes and zaviyes which they established, and

⁹⁰⁷ See Hasluck 1929.

⁹⁰⁸ Krstić 2013: 252 ff.

⁹⁰⁹ Krstić 2013: 252 ff. On the paradigms and Krstić’s critique, see Pecock, Nicola and Yıldız 2015.

⁹¹⁰ Ocak 2012: 252.

expounding novel ideas about creation, God, humanity and the universe, must have greatly attracted the attention of people.⁹¹¹

This process resulted in the emergence of a ‘popular’ Islam which, centred on saints’ cults and emphasising saintly exploits, legends and beliefs known in *medrese* circles as superstition (*hurafe*) and heresy (*bid‘at*), differed from *medrese* Islam based on fiqh (Islamic canonical jurisprudence). The interpretation and practice of these two forms of Islam, as in every Muslim country, both co-existed and competed over the centuries.⁹¹²

In fact, since the early years of Islam, despite caliphs’ intention to prevent the religious mixing of people of the two faiths, the participation of medieval Muslims in Christian festivals has been one of the controversial issues. While, by some scholars, it was accepted as a ‘need for Muslims’, in the first centuries of Islam, Boaz Shoshan, in his article, explained this case as ‘an aspect of popular Islam’.⁹¹³ Some records can be found dated to the eighth century about Muslims revering a church in Lod, Palestine, dedicated to St. George and furthermore participating in the Saint's festival.⁹¹⁴ This trend would continue for centuries, in not only Palestine, but also in Syria and Anatolia. For instance, two important Muslim travellers Ibn Jubayr, in the late twelfth century,⁹¹⁵ and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in the early fourteenth century, visited the tomb of Jirjis (St. George) in the city of Mosul and prayed in a mosque over it, as many Muslims have done.⁹¹⁶

Aside from observing Christian festivals, medieval Muslims also revered several Christian saints. One of the most popular saints in the medieval Islamic world, particularly in Anatolia, was St. George. Oya Pancaroğlu and Rustem Shukurov have drawn attention to his

⁹¹¹ Ocak 2012: 253.

⁹¹² Ocak 2012: 253-254.

⁹¹³ Shoshan 1991: 86.

⁹¹⁴ Shoshan 1991: 86.

⁹¹⁵ Ibn Jubayr, 245.

⁹¹⁶ The tomb, which was situated between the new mosque and the gate of a bridge, in fact is in an angle of the mosque. (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 349) Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī also mentions the tomb of St George in Mosul. (Yāqūt, v, 659)

prestige among the Turkmens and focused on the question, why they felt intimate with St. George and why he became a very popular and reputable character in Anatolian Turkmen world? To answer these questions, both scholars indicate the necessity to trace the similarities between the character of Muslim Khidr and that of Christian St. George. The role of St. George was closely familiar to that of Khidr, who is a patron of travellers and Sufi mystics who follow the footsteps of spiritual immortality. While the Turkish scholar Pancaroğlu investigates the appropriation of St. George's dragon-slayer role in the Muslim Khidr cult, Shukurov particularly stresses his immortality and ability to revivify mortals that identified him with Khidr in Islamic tradition.⁹¹⁷

Contemporary sources create a picture of the adoption of this Christian saint in medieval Turco-Islamic Anatolia. For example, the image of St. George appears in the verses of the mystic poet Jalal al-Dīn Rūmī (1207-1273), who settled in the capital of the Seljuks of Rūm, Konya, in 1233:

Where is Ishmael's spirit that thanks [Thee] for the [stab] of the knife;
Where is George who in return for thy tormenting is always ready to die for thee?⁹¹⁸

Nearly a century after this poem clearly showing the tolerance of Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī toward a Christian saint, specifically St. George, we find Byzantine emperor John VI Cantacuzenus (1347-1354) as the earliest Byzantine author recording the Muslim veneration of St. George in the form of Khidr-Ilyas.⁹¹⁹ The adoration of St. George in Muslim society was severely criticized by the famous contemporary theologian Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) and he even condemned those who revere him to be a superstition ('devil').⁹²⁰ However,

⁹¹⁷ Pancaroğlu 2004: 151-164; Shukurov 2004: 735-736. Moreover, like St. George, Khidr was recognized as a protector in sudden necessity. Hasluck 1929: 323.

⁹¹⁸ Jalal al-Dīn Rūmī, *Guzīda-i Ghazaliyāt-i Shams*, 315 (cited also in Shukurov 2004: 742).

⁹¹⁹ “παρ’ αὐτῶν τῶν μουσουλμανῶν τιμᾶται ὀνομάζεται δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν χέτηρ ἡλιάς” (This evidence has also been cited in Hasluck 1929: 322 and Balivet 1987: 253-263).

⁹²⁰ Shoshan 1991: 86.

looking at *the Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq* written in the mid-sixteenth century it would seem that the position of St. George was still very strong among Anatolian Turkmens. The Flemish traveller and diplomat Busbecq (1522-1592) served as imperial ambassador to the Ottoman court in Constantinople between 1555 and 1562. In this period, he made a series of travels to several cities of the Ottoman Empire. On 9 March 1555 Busbecq, as Austrian envoy, departed from Constantinople to meet Ottoman Sulṭān Sulaymān the Magnificent, who was in Amasia. After a long journey, Busbecq and his diplomatic committee crossing the Halys river (Kızılırmak) arrived at *Goukurthoy* (Kurtköy) and then *Choron* (Çorum). Here the committee visited a village named *Theke Thiol* (Tekke Köy), in which stood a *zaviye* named Elvan Çelebi Zaviyesi,⁹²¹ which was described as ‘monastery of Turkish monks, or dervishes’ by Busbecq. It is very important what they witnessed here:

...we learned a great deal about a hero named *Chederle* (Khidr-Ilyas), a man of great prowess and courage, whom they try to identify with our St. George, ascribing to him the same feats as we claim for our saint - to wit, that he saved a maiden, who had been given up to a fierce and terrible dragon, by slaying the monster ; to this they add many other stories of their own invention, telling how their hero was wont to wander through distant lands, and at last came to a river whose waters gave immortality to those that drank thereof...⁹²²

Busbecq, from the dwellers of the village, listened to a number of miracles, legends or stories about *Chederle* (Khidr-Ilyas) and his comrades.⁹²³ It should be said here that the colour of Khidr-Ilyas’ horse was grey (or white) like that of St. George. Hasluck claims that it was also borrowed from the figure of St. George.⁹²⁴ The record from the letters of Busbecq also indicates that Khidr-Ilyas acquired the function of dragon-slayer belonging to St. George: “They firmly believed, moreover, that chips of stone and earth taken from the spot, where

⁹²¹ For ‘Elvan Çelebi Zaviyesi’, see Eyice 1969: 211-244.

⁹²² Busbecq, 148-149. See Hasluck 1929: 47-49 ve Shukurov 2004: 743-744.

⁹²³ For example, the water of the fountain in the mosque has been miraculously discovered by Chederle’s horse. Busbecq, 148.

⁹²⁴ Hasluck 1929: 322.

Chederle [Khiḍr-Ilyas] stood waiting for the dragon, were, when mixed with water, efficacious against fever, headache, and diseases of the eye.”⁹²⁵ More interestingly, according to the records of Busbecq, when the Turkmens saw the pictures of St. George in the Greek churches, they claimed that he was *Chederle* (Khiḍr-Ilyas):

I must not forget to tell you that the Turks shake with laughter when they see in the Greek churches pictures of St. George, whom they declare to be their own Chederle, with a boy sitting on the haunches of his masters steed, mixing wine and water for him— for this is the manner in which St. George is painted by the Greeks.⁹²⁶

The German Hans Dernschwam (1495-1568),⁹²⁷ who was also in the diplomatic committee with Busbecq, in his itinerary, gives similar information concerning the perception of St. George and the Turkmens’ appropriation of a Christian saint in the figure of Khiḍr-Ilyas. From the above anecdotes of the available sources, it should be accepted that the legend of St. George had already been islamized by the name of Khiḍr-Ilyas and lived in ‘Elvan Çelebi Zaviyesi’ and among its ‘dervishes’.⁹²⁸

Khiḍr, in the Danishmendid epic romance known as *Danishmendname*, is depicted as a holy figure assisting the hero of the legend Malik Danishmend to kill the dragon. According to this narrative, Malik Danishmend attempted to capture a monastery called *Deryanos* situated in the vicinity of Tokat, but he failed and lost hundreds of soldiers because of a dragon at the monastery. At night, in his dream, he receives an instruction from ‘Abd al-Wahhab’⁹²⁹ to slay this dragon: “Abd al-Wahhab guides Malik Danishmend not to be scared by the dragon, but to recite the ‘prayer of Khiḍr’ before fighting against him. The following

⁹²⁵ Busbecq, 1881: 149.

⁹²⁶ Busbecq 1881: 149-150.

⁹²⁷ Babinger 1923: 201-206.

⁹²⁸ In fact, the village where the committee stayed overnight was situated near ancient Euchaïta, the town of the ruined sanctuary of St. Theodore who, along with St. George, is one of the dragon-slaying figures of eastern Christian tradition. Ocak 2011: 50.

⁹²⁹ Abd al-Wahhab was a *ghāzī* fighting under the command of Battal Ghāzī (Demir 2004: 555)

day, with this prayer, Malik Danishmend mounted on a horse, slays the dragon.⁹³⁰ This legend displaying three figures – Malik Danishmend as heroic character, Khidr as religious figure and the dragon as epic symbol - shows how an epic tale conflates the unconnected heroic, mystic and holy figures within a transitional region. Malik Danishmend is not the only heroic figure shown as a dragon slayer, but, in *Menakib-i Hacı Bektaş-i Veli (Vilāyetnāme)*, Seljuk Sultan Kılıç Arslān is also seen in the act of killing a dragon.⁹³¹ Relating this epic, the plaster *relievo* from the Seljuk palace in Konya depicts another Seljuk Sultan of Rūm, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād hunting a dragon.⁹³² Another example coming from the twelfth-century Great Seljuk ceramic kept in Washington’s Freer Gallery of Art portrays a warrior fighting with a dragon. This scene was probably derived from one of the stories of *Shāhnāme*.⁹³³

Thus, it is no coincidence to see a dragon-slayer figure on the above Turkmen coins. Dragon-motifs found frequently in ancient Turkish mythology, legends and tales,⁹³⁴ also enjoyed a popularity on some other objects of medieval Muslim Anatolia and al-Jazīra, such as the famous Artuqid bronze knocker with the doubled dragon-motif found on the door of the Great Mosque in Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar (Cizre).⁹³⁵ Another fascinating example comes from Anatolia in the image on the back of a steel mirror produced in the mid-thirteenth century. It shows a princely hunter on horseback holding the reins of his horse in his right hand while supporting a falcon with his left hand. Around the rider, there are a dog on a leash, a flying duck, a fleeing fox, a centaur and a looped dragon-serpent.⁹³⁶ The Urfa or Aleppo gate of the city

⁹³⁰ Mélikoff 1960, I: 260-262; II, 75-77 and *Dānişmend-nāme* (Demir), 110.

⁹³¹ Ocak 2011: 42-49. Apart from them, Sarı Saltık, Hacı Sultan, Otman Baba, Koyun Baba and Demir Baba were the other heroes slaying dragons. See Ocak 2000: 226-236 and Ocak 2011: 42-49.

⁹³² Sarre 1989: 59, picture 11.

⁹³³ Usta 2005: 89. In addition to them, the Syrian stone *relievo* in Eastern Anatolia dated 1301 also shows St. George slaying a dragon (Süslü 1984: 169-181, pic. 1).

⁹³⁴ It appears in the epics of Dede Korkut, Gilgamesh (from Sumerians), Yaratılış (from Babil), Illuyanka (from Hittites), and *Shāhnāme* of Firdewsi. ‘Dragon image’, in Central Asia and the Far East, has been called by different names in different faiths and cultures. Whereas it seems like a fertile, power and authority symbol to the Turks, as a result of the interaction of cultures in Asia Minor, it obtained a meaning of devil and demon.

⁹³⁵ Türk İslam Eserleri Müzesi (TIEM), inv. no. 3749.

⁹³⁶ Roxburgh 2005: 72. There is a similar example in the Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin, a wooden door leaf with affronted dragons, griffons, and a pair of lions (Joachim 2008: 228). They have been usually depicted in

walls of Amid also depicts two affronted dragons in a direct connection with a bull's head and a bird.⁹³⁷



Figure 59: Left: Artuqid knocker from the Great Mosque, Cizre, İstanbul Türk İslam Eserleri Müzesi, inv. no. 3749; Centre: Mirror with princely hunter on horseback, Early to mid-thirteenth century, probably Turkey, Steel with gold inlay, 41.3 cm (height) x 20.9 cm (diameter), Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, İstanbul, 2/1972; Right: 'Elephant Clock' from al-Jazarī's *Automata*, Topkapı Palace Library, Ahmet III, 3472.

Another dragon presentation is found on the image known as 'elephant clock' in the book *Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*⁹³⁸ written by al-Jazari who was in the service of the Hısn Kayfā Artuqid ruler Nāşir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (597-619 / 1200-1222) and completed his work at the Artuqid court with his encouragement in the early thirteenth century. Consequently, the Turkmens, who were already familiar with the 'dragon motif', readily welcomed the cults of St. George and St. Theodore who were drawn as warrior saints killing a dragon.⁹³⁹

St. George was not the only Christian saint esteemed by the Turkmens. As already mentioned, St. Mamas, patron of Kayseri, was also regarded in medieval Muslim society of Anatolia as an Islamic figure with the name of 'Mamasun Baba', 'Şammas Baba' or 'Pir Şammas'. Again the Muslim Turkmens revered St. Amphilochius under the guise of Plato or

pairs and several animal figures such as lions, bulls, human beings and eagles accompanied them. It is most likely that they symbolized the universe, rain, water, prosperity, the struggle against evil and darkness. Roxburgh 2005, 399-400; Pancaroglu 2004: 151-64.

⁹³⁷ Joachim 2008: 228; see also Kuehn 2011.

⁹³⁸ al-Jazarī (Hill) 1972.

⁹³⁹ Ocak 1991: 661-664.

Eflatun in Konya and they identified Sarı Saltuk with St. Nicolas, and St. Charalambos with Hadji Bektash in different areas.⁹⁴⁰ Apart from these examples, especially twelfth-century local Christian sources give some striking anecdotes concerning the relations between Christian saints and the Turkmen leaders.

In Chabot's translation of *The Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian it can be found that while Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn, had very harsh attitudes to Christians at the beginning of his reign, later he changed his unfriendly policy against them. He even advised his son Najm al-Dīn Alpī to treat the Christians amicably and not to abuse them. According to Michael the Syrian, the reason for this alteration is a dream seen by the amīr. Saint Mar Abai appeared to him in a dream.⁹⁴¹ For this case, there is a detailed explanation in the Armenian version of the chronicle translated into English:

...[Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh] grew ill [g427] with a fatal illness, [so dangerous] that the doctors abandoned hope and left [off treating him] and departed. [Timurtāsh] placed his hopes on the prayers of Christians and sent to the monastery of Mor Abai and they brought [the relic of the saint's] right hand. When they had entered [Timurtāsh's] home, they saw a fiery man who went and took [Timurtāsh's] hand. And [Timurtāsh] asked: "Who are you, lord?" [The saint] replied: "The Christians sent me [here] so that you would not die." [The saint] restored him and then [Timurtāsh] sat and glorified God, and was made well again...⁹⁴²

Even though this semi-fictional narrative seems highly imaginative, the records of Michael the Syrian provide a general view of the Christian-Muslim coexistence and acculturation in the region. According to this edition of the chronicle, Michael the Syrian states that Timurtāsh, as a good and philo-Christian man, rebuilt many churches, and the

⁹⁴⁰ Hasluck 1929, I: 17; II, 364, 432-433, 571-572; Vryonis 1971: 485.

⁹⁴¹ Michel the Syrian (Chabot), III, 311; Monastery of Mar Abai was founded in Savur, in the province of Mārdīn, in the late fourth century. Günel 2008: 331.

⁹⁴² Michael the Syrian (Bedrosian), p. 178, g428; see also <http://rbedrosian.com/Msyr/msyr25.htm>

Christians had a comfortable life in Artuqid lands under his and then his son's reign.⁹⁴³ It is worth saying that the chronicle of Michael the Syrian is notably valuable for the events of the twelfth-century Turkmen world, because he was born circa 1126 in Melitene, modern Malatya, which at that time was part of the Danishmendid principality. He, as a child, entered the service of the Jacobite Monastery of Mar Bar Sauma which was near to his birth place and was the patriarchal seat since the eleventh century. Michael was, in 1166, elected Patriarch of the Jacobite Church of Antioch and remained in this position until he died (1199).⁹⁴⁴ Accordingly, he was eye-witness to many events he recorded.

Another striking example reflecting the view of the Turkmen leaders to Christian saints comes from another local Christian chronicler, Bar Hebraeus Gregory Abu'l Faraj. At the siege of Gargar, Timurtāsh's cognate Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān's message sent to the inhabitants of Gargar shows his policy and attitude towards Christians and the local Christian saints. Capturing Babhula, his army marched to the lands of Gargar. When the inhabitants learnt it, they hid in the mountains of Mar Bar-Sauma with their valuable belongings. Thereupon the Turkmen troops sent a message to the monastery by letter, saying:

Give us the men of Gargar so that we may give back to you everything which we have taken. For we reverence this Saint, and to him we pay vows, and we have not come to do evil to his monastery. As for the people whom we have taken, it is not to carry them off into slavery, but to remove them and transport them to their villages to that they may do work on the farms for us.⁹⁴⁵

This message clearly shows a Turkmen leader's respect of the Christian saint again and his purpose to use the Christian natives on the farms for their service. In the same period, in consequence of the internal disorders, some people left Malatya ruled by the

⁹⁴³ Michael the Syrian (Bedrosian), p. 178, g428; see also <http://rbedrosian.com/Msyr/msyr25.htm>. Timurtāsh was controlling the al-Jazīrān cities of Mārdīn, Nişibīn, Mayyāfāriqīn, Ra's al-'Ain and Dara.

⁹⁴⁴ For the life of Michael the Syrian, see Brock 1997; Ibrahim 2009.

⁹⁴⁵ Abu'l Faraj (Budge), I, 276.

Danishmendids and fled to the Artuqids of Ḥiṣn Kayfā. With the thought that they would contribute to cultivate the agricultural lands, Qarā Arslān welcomed them to his territory.⁹⁴⁶

In a further discussion, there is extensive evidence in Latin, Greek, and Syriac sources⁹⁴⁷ to attest that from the early years of Christianity, it spread into Central Asia and China. Accordingly Christianity was already known among the Turks and Mongols, though it is not easy to determine the extent to which Christian elements penetrated into Turkmen society and ethos. After the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, the Turkmen leaders founded a number of Muslim Turkish states. Thus, the Muslim Turkmen and different Christian societies lived side by side for centuries. It is speculated that the *ghāzīs*, who have been recognized as ‘zealot Muslim religious warriors’ motivated by the idea of *jihad*, fought against the ‘Christian infidels’ and spread Islam in Asia Minor, but here the questions are the extent to which the Turkmen leaders of these *ghāzīs* were religious Muslims, whether or not all Turkmen leaders were proper Muslims, and whether there is a chronological pattern running through our evidence.

Although the Turkmen amīrs did not systematically attempt to obliterate the Christian figures on their coins, some of them entered on a campaign to restrict the religious practices of their large Christian communities. We know from the available sources that Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174) forbade the construction of new churches and even refused to allow the repairing of old churches. Moreover, Najm al-Dīn Alpī of Mārdīn (547-572 / 1152-1176) transformed the Main Jacobite church at Mārdīn into a mosque and even the Church of the Forty Martyrs was plundered under his reign.⁹⁴⁸ Surprisingly, the

⁹⁴⁶ Turan 1993: 205.

⁹⁴⁷ Bardaysan (154-222), Eusebius of Caesarea (263-339), and St. Jerome (347-420) to the Syrian Maphrian Bar Hebraeus (1226-1286) and the Venetian traveler Marco Polo (1254-1324).

⁹⁴⁸ Hillenbrand 1985, 13. In this period, only the Christian inhabitants in Amid, was allowed to restore their churches.

common feature of these two Turkmen rulers is to issue Christian figures including Virgin Mary and Christ in their coinage.⁹⁴⁹

In a region, where a large Christian population lived, this aggressive policy must have been a reflection of more fanatic religious policies on the part of particular Muslim overlords. In the same period, Nūr al-Dīn Zangī and later Saladin attempted 'jihad' propaganda for the Muslim reunification and reconquest of Crusader territories. Undoubtedly these Artuqid Turkmen leaders, like the other Turkmen rulers, were impressed by the 'jihad' policy of the Zangīd atabeg. The words of Michael the Syrian explicitly show his and the other non-Muslims' dissatisfaction with the rigid policy of Nūr al-Dīn, atabeg of Damascus and Aleppo, and his brother Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd (544-565 / 1149-1170), atabeg of Mosul. The Jacobite chronicler states that Quṭb al-Dīn, who was described as a devout man who did not drink wine, destroyed the newly-built churches of Christians. The author also mentions a showdown between the new Abbasid caliph Mustadī (1170-1180) and Nūr al-Dīn Zangī concerning the latter's intolerant policy towards non-Muslims. When Mustadi became the new caliph, Nūr al-Dīn sent a letter to him, saying:

The decree of the Prophet Muḥammad has expired, [the one] which says that for 500 years the Lord does not want the Christians destroyed. Now that the [allotted] years have expired, it is incumbent upon us to destroy Christianity.⁹⁵⁰

The caliph replied to it in very severe words and sent his order over his realm saying that Christians can build their churches and monasteries, perform and study their belief fearlessly everywhere. However, contrary to the caliph, Nūr al-Dīn did not allow the

⁹⁴⁹ As already discussed, Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān issued copper coins with bust of Christ (Pantokrator) and enthroned Christ representations. As for Najm al-Dīn Alpī, he placed the image of Virgin Mary crowning the ruler on his coin.

⁹⁵⁰ Michael the Syrian (Bedrosian), 194 [g466].

construction of churches and monasteries.⁹⁵¹ This oppression and discrimination against non-Muslims, according to the account of Michael the Syrian, gradually increased:

...he started to increase the tax on Christians and ordered that Christians should not let their hair grow long and they should cut their hair, so that they be recognizable. He also ordered the Jews to sew a red patch on their turbans or right shoulders, so that they be recognizable.⁹⁵²

Yet, except for Zangīd atabegs, the other Turkmen leaders, in general sense, were friendlier towards the non-Muslims. Even sometimes they were troubled with jihad propaganda of their overlord Nūr al-Dīn. A striking example comes from Arabic sources Ibn al-Azraq and Ibn al-Athīr about this. Nūr al-Dīn, in 1164, decided to make a military campaign against the Franks and therefore he sent letters asking for military aid to his brother Quṭb al-Dīn Il-Ghāzī Mawdūd, lord of Mosul, to Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid malik of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, to Najm al-Dīn Alpī, Artuqid malik of Mārdīn, and other provincial rulers. When Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, received the letter, he said to his close circle “Nūr al-Dīn has worn himself out with much fasting and praying, as well as throwing himself and his people with him into dangers.” However, he changed his idea on the following day. He answered the question about the reason why he changed his idea and decided to send military aid to Nūr al-Dīn as follows:

Nūr al-Dīn has taken a certain course with me; if I do not aid him, my subjects will rebel against me and take my lands from me, for he has written to the local ascetics, pious men and those who have renounced this world, telling them what the Muslims have met with from the Franks, the killing and captivity they have suffered, and begging the support of their prayers and asking them to urge the Muslims to take up struggle. Each one of these men has taken his

⁹⁵¹ Michael the Syrian (Bedrosian), 194 [g466].

⁹⁵² Michael the Syrian (Bedrosian), 195 [g467].

place in public, with his supporters and followers, and is reading out Nūr al-Dīn's letters, while weeping and delivering imprecations and curses against me. I have to go to him.⁹⁵³

This Arabic account clearly indicates that Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān was under the influence of the oppression of Nūr al-Dīn and his '*jihad* propaganda'. He could not venture to remain out of the military campaign against the Franks because of the potential negative reaction of Nūr al-Dīn and the local ascetics and pious men. But local Christian chroniclers' records also demonstrate that the oppression towards the Christians was limited and temporary. As mentioned above, according to the accounts of Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus at the beginning of his reign Timurtāsh had severe policies against the Christians:

In the year 548 of the Arabs (AD 1153), Hūsām ad-Dīn Timurtāsh, the lord of Mārdīn, died and his son Najm al-Dīn reigned after him. At the beginning of his reign, he dealt very severely with the Christians...⁹⁵⁴

However, as discussed already, at the time of his death he commanded his successor to deal kindly with the Christians, and not to treat them harshly. In addition, he had advised his son and successor not to oppress and abuse the Christians. Najm al-Dīn Alpī took his father's advice and probably ruled them with very friendly conditions: "... in this year (AD 1176) Najm al-Dīn, the lord of Mārdīn, who had reigned for twenty-two years, died and the Christians, and the churches, and the monasteries were on very friendly terms with him."⁹⁵⁵ Another evidence confirming the account of Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus Abu'l Faraj can be found in the prologue of the Syrian Bible written in the year 1170:

This bible was written in the Monastery of Mor Gevargis, to west and nearby the city, in Greek [=Seleucid era] 1464 [AD 1170] with the support of Patriarch Mihoyel Rabo for the

⁹⁵³ Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), III, 147; see also Ibn al-Azraq (British Museum), 198a-198b and Turan 1993: 204.

⁹⁵⁴ Michel the Syrian (Chabot), III, 311; Abu'l Faraj (Budge), I, 281.

⁹⁵⁵ Abu'l Faraj (Budge), I, 307.

Church of Kırklar (Kırklar Kilisesi). The Monastery was renewed by chief-doctor and ‘diyakos’ [deacon] Raban Abu-Ali...⁹⁵⁶

This prologue of the Syrian Bible written under the reign of Mārdīn Artuqid ruler Najm al-Dīn in 1170 shows the respect of the Artuqid policy to the Christians’ beliefs and more importantly it was evidence that the Syrian language came alive again in this period. Syrian inscriptions also assert the rally of Syrian language in the reign of the Artuqid Turkmens, who, except a few events, had good relations with Christians. Syrian sources attest that, in the time of Mor Yuhanon (d. 1165), who was appointed as metropolitan bishop of Mārdīn in 1125, fifty churches around Mārdīn were renewed and reconstructed.⁹⁵⁷

Is there a long-term change of attitude by princes towards non-Muslim subjects over the period 1071-ca 1240? It is important to clarify this. While this inconsistent and sometimes contradictory Turkmen policy towards the Christian subjects in an environment highly populated by non-Muslims puzzles scholars, the overall picture provided by all the above examples mirrors the pragmatic and meritocratic attitude of the Turkmen rulers who often utilized their skills. There was no systematic and lasting oppression on the Christian people except for a few incidents occurring in times of high political tension. In this respect, some scholars, particularly Turkish ones, speculatively explain that the use of Christian iconography on the Turkmen coins might be expressed as their propaganda or tolerance of non-Muslims.⁹⁵⁸ However, this phenomenon needs a broader treatment.

Conclusion

The emergence of Christian elements in the Turkmen coinage is complicated and raises many questions. The major question is: why did the Turkmens use Christian images in their coinage? Many scholars tried to explain this question with the ‘commercial necessity’ to

⁹⁵⁶ Akyüz 2008: 384.

⁹⁵⁷ Akyüz 2008: 378-79

⁹⁵⁸ Çaycı 2002: 189; Özme 2010: 150.

facilitate monetary exchanges between the Turkmens and the Greeks and other Christians of the coasts of Asia Minor. At first glance, this might seem an attractive and sufficient explanation, but if commercial considerations had been very important, the models chosen would have been completely familiar in recent or contemporary coinage. While in some cases, these figured coins are modelled on common Byzantine types that must have been familiar locally, they produced some types based on earlier coins.⁹⁵⁹ We also know that these types are drawn not only from Byzantine and western but also eastern tradition. For instance, some of the twelfth-century Turkmen coin types were derived from the coins of the Sasanians, who had already collapsed in the mid-seventh century. In this context, the use of the Sasanian images on their coins would not have brought any commercial benefit for the Turkmen emirates. Above all, there has not been found any figural gold or silver Turkmen coins until today; in other words, all of the Turkmen coins with Christian themes are copper. It is known that the copper coins, in contrast to gold and silver coins, did not travel far from their place of issue in the course of trade. So it might be said that the figural Turkmen coins struck in the twelfth century were unsuitable for the purposes of a high-value trading currency by virtue of their metal and their variable weight and size. In fact, they were more useful for everyday use in the local market rather than international movement. It may be worth recalling also that, in an economic sense for the purposes of exchange, reliable purity or fineness and weight of the metal are more essential factors rather than the representation or decoration.

Another idea suggests that the choice of types on the Turkmen coinage was in some way forced by the necessity of employing Christian engravers in the mint. Anatolia, since the Roman and Byzantine period, possessed an urban population who was highly skilled in the exercise of the crafts. After the conquest of Anatolia by the Turks, in the late eleventh century, these Anatolian craftsmen such as metal-workers, masons, miners, and engravers of

⁹⁵⁹ Brown 1974: 354.

course influenced the new inhabitants of Anatolia.⁹⁶⁰ As discussed above, the Turkmens were aware of the technical skills of particularly the Greeks and Armenians.⁹⁶¹ Even though there is no clear evidence in written sources to suggest that the Turkmen coins have been produced by non-Muslims, it is obvious that Turkish rulers of medieval Anatolia were disposed to employ them under their service. Let us now turn back to the incident at the siege of Gargar. Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān sends his message to the habitants of Gargar by letter expressing that his aim is not to kill them, but to employ them in their lands. This suggests that Qarā Arslān was aware of the skills of Anatolian natives in agriculture and knew that their manpower is necessary for the economy of a state. In this respect, thirteenth-century Venetian traveller Marco Polo describes native Greeks and Armenians as more skilful than the Turks in trade, handicrafts and agriculture:

... [the Armenians and the Greeks] make their living by commerce and crafts, besides agriculture. They weave the choicest and most beautiful carpets in the world. They also weave silk fabrics of crimson and other colours, of great beauty and richness, and many other kinds of cloth.⁹⁶²

Indeed, since the first century of Islam, non-Muslims, particularly Christians, had begun to be employed in their professions by Muslim rulers. The Umayyad caliph al-Walid (66-86 / 705-715) summoned Copts from Egypt and Orthodox Christians from Syria to build the mosque at Madina. The caliph used them in Jerusalem and Damascus to do his other works as well.⁹⁶³ Later, this tradition would be continued by the Turkmens who employed Christian architects, artisans as well as scholars, and benefited from their skills at their service. Even it was sometimes possible to see a Christian in the close circle of the Turkmens

⁹⁶⁰ Vryonis 1969/1970: 280.

⁹⁶¹ Famous Arab geographer and traveller Ibn Faḍlān, for instance, travelled to the Khazar State in the tenth century and found the court of the central Asiatic Turkic rulers furnished with Armenian carpets and Byzantine textiles: "...It is spread with Armenian carpets, and in the centre of it the king has a throne covered with Greek brocade." Ibn Faḍlān, 55.

⁹⁶² Marco Polo (Latham), 33-34.

⁹⁶³ Irwin 1997: 214.

lord. For example, Il-Ghāzī of Mārdīn was a close friend with Christian scholar Abū Sa‘īd bin Khalid bin al-Mubārek (d. 600/1204).⁹⁶⁴ Ibn Mukhtar was also an esteemed and efficient Christian official in the Artuqid court. Cahen explains the positive alteration in the Artuqid policy towards the Christian people with the role of Ibn Mukhtar.⁹⁶⁵ According to the record of Usāma ibn Munqidh, Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān deployed his Frankish servant called ‘Yaruq’ in a critical position at the Siege of Amid in 558/1163.⁹⁶⁶ Also, the medical works of the Greek Dioskorides, who was the Roman army doctor during the reign of Claudius I (41-54) and Nero (54-68), was translated into Arabic by Abū Sālim, who was from the Jacobite Syrian community of Melitene at the order of the Artuqid malik Najm al-Dīn Alpī.⁹⁶⁷ Afterwards, in the constructions of the Great Mosque in Koçhisar / Tell-Ermen (601/204), Hatuniye Medresesi in Mārdīn (602/1205) and Şeyh Tacattin Mas‘ūd Medresesi in Harzam (608/1212), Nāşir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān (599-637 / 1203-1239) employed Armenian architects and stone masons. Even, until now, ornamental stones used in these buildings have been called *nahit* which is a term belonging to Armenian architecture deriving from the name of Armenian goddess Anahit.⁹⁶⁸ They also had a good reputation under Seljuk rule. One of the best known Christian architects Kaloyan al-Qunawi worked on the Ilgin Han in 1267-8 and built Gök Medrese of Sivas in 1271. Another important Greek architect Thyriannus built the mosque in the village of Nidir Köy near Akşehir in 1222. Today, it is not surprising to see masons’ markings with Greek letters on Seljuk buildings.⁹⁶⁹ These examples clearly show that

⁹⁶⁴ Turan 1993: 220.

⁹⁶⁵ Cahen 1935: 268; for Ibn Mukhtar, see Ibn al-Azraq (British Museum), 173a; Hillenbrand 1981: 151. The extant sources demonstrate that this continued in the thirteenth century. According to a Syrian inscription found in the ruins of the Monastery of Mor Abay situated in Killit / Dereçi Village in Savur, in 1256, the monastery was renewed under the reign of Najm al-Dīn. Furthermore, the Artuqid malik was admired as ‘a just king’ in the inscription: “This bastion was renewed in the Greek era 1567 (AD 1256) under the reign of victorious and delighted king Najm al-Dīn ...” Akyüz 2008: 383.

⁹⁶⁶ Usāma ibn Munqidh (Cobb), 96.

⁹⁶⁷ Artuk 1944: 92; Dolapönü 1972: 45; Okumuş 2008: 339-340; Turan 1993: 220.

⁹⁶⁸ Çerme 2008: 347; Turan 1993: 218.

⁹⁶⁹ Mayer 1956: 119.

there was an Islamic tradition of using Christian craftsmen on their works which flourished under the Seljuks and their followers.

In this light, one could argue that the Turkmen coins could have been designed and produced by non-Muslim craftsmen, even though there is no definite and explicit evidence to carry this argument further. Only some Turkmen coins show that the artists were certainly capable of imitating and creating any image from pre-existing figures. Nevertheless, some hints on the coins demonstrate that some Turkmen coins were produced by artists who were trained in a non-figural tradition. The figured side in the majority of cases is crudely rendered and many of the Latin or Greek inscriptions are crude, while the Arabic inscriptions are more literate and legible.⁹⁷⁰ Thus, it would be reasonable to suggest that the Turkmens might have employed both Muslim and non-Muslim craftsmen to produce their coinage, but these engravers could in no way have determined the configuration of a coin.

Since the Umayyad Caliphate, in Islamic numismatics religious inscriptions are very common and it can be interpreted as the source of the ruler's God-given authority, but how could the religious iconography of Turkmen coins be interpreted? Was there a particular religious message being conveyed by the iconography which we have analyzed in this chapter? In my opinion, these religious symbols might have expressed a political and cultural meaning rather than a religious meaning, like the Danishmendid types with Greek inscriptions and imperial images discussed above.

The coinage of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, can be a good example to explain and to understand the question why the Turkmens used the figures on their coins. Qarā Arslān struck coins bearing both images of Christ and Virgin Mary derived from Byzantine numismatic iconography and the *kalimah* which does not happen very often on the twelfth-century Turkmen coins. Whereas the images were based on Christian iconography,

⁹⁷⁰ Brown 1974: 355.

the *kalimah*, undoubtedly, came from Islamic tradition. In the twelfth century, he was one of the few Turkmen leaders who used the *kalimah*, which in the thirteenth century begins to appear on the Turkmen coins more often. An intriguing and revolutionary issue struck by Qarā Arslān in 560/1165 displays the *kalimah* لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ (Lā ilaha illā Allah, Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / There is no god but Allah, Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah) with the name of the Abbasid Caliph الْمُسْتَجِدُّ بِاللَّهِ (al-Mustanjid Billah) around a male bust. This was the first coin type bearing the *kalimah*, Muslim declaration of faith, and the name of the Abbasid Caliph in the Artuqid coinage of Ḥiṣn Kayfā.⁹⁷¹ However, the sources point out Qarā Arslān's pragmatic and meritocratic attitude rather than his religious aspect.

In the same period, his cousin Najm al-Dīn Alpī, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn, would issue a type reflecting very similar features. On the obverse there is the *kalimah* and the name of the Abbasid caliph around two diademed male busts. This type is also pioneering in the Artuqid coinage of Mārdīn. Here, once again we encounter the parallelism between the coins of Qarā Arslān and Najm al-Dīn Alpī. Next to using the *kalimah* and 'the name of caliph', both Artuqid rulers unusually preferred to combine these Islamic inscriptions with human representations. With these issues, they probably aimed to display loyalty to the Abbasid caliph. Be that as it may, the important question rising from their choices is: how plausible is it to declare his loyalty to the Muslim Caliph with a figural coin? Here we shall return to the account of Ibn al-Athīr showing Qarā Arslān's reaction when he received the letter written by Nūr al-Dīn Zangī in 1164, only one year before this issue was struck. At first Qarā Arslān, who was not pleased by the passionate 'jihad propaganda' of Nūr al-Dīn, did not want to aid the Zangīd atabeg in his military campaign against the Franks, but then he changed his idea and decided to join his army because he thought that if he did not aid him, his subjects would

⁹⁷¹ Spengler and Sayles: 19: no. 6.

rebel against him.⁹⁷² The account obviously reflects his worry about the possible reaction of the local ascetics and pious men, but surprisingly he was not concerned about the reaction of the Caliph. Maybe it can be explained with the tension between Nūr al-Dīn and Mustanjid Billah. The most important thing here is that Qarā Arslān, using his coin issue as a message-bearer and political tool, might have aimed to disseminate his message to his subjects rather than the Abbasid Caliph. The effort of Qarā Arslān to please his Christian subjects and benefit from their skills can give us a clue to understand why he used Christian images which were familiar from his Christian people. In the siege of Gargar, his attitude and the words in his letter sent to the Christians indicate his expectations and his pragmatic approach. Therefore, religious elements, both Christian images and Islamic inscriptions, did not take place by accident on the Turkmen coinage. Qarā Arslān and other Turkmen rulers might have enjoyed giving messages to their Christian people with Christian themes, while at the same time Islamic inscriptions were used to convey their messages both to their Muslim subjects and to Muslim neighbours.

At a more general cultural level, some modern scholars point out the flexibility and unorthodoxy of the Turkmen's faith to explain factors enabling and facilitating their use of these images on their coins. Trying to unravel this complex riddle, perhaps they should also consider the practice of Islam by the Turkmen. While Rustam Shukurov suggests that the Turkmen rulers, who ordered the issue of these images on the coins, were pious Muslims,⁹⁷³ according to Oikonomidès the Turkmen leaders did not have a very deep Muslim identity, so that the weakness of their Islamic belief allowed them to produce the coins with Christian themes.⁹⁷⁴ Robert Hillenbrand also resorted to explaining the use of Christian images in the Turkmen coinage by their version of Islam involving 'animistic and folk elements' absent

⁹⁷² See above.

⁹⁷³ Shukurov 2004: 733.

⁹⁷⁴ Oikonomidès 1983: 195.

from orthodox interpretations of the faith.⁹⁷⁵ These scholars clearly disagree, but Turkish scholar Mikail Bayram brings further discussion and argues that Kutalmış, the ancestor of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm, was connected to the Islamic school of *al-Mu'tazilah* (المعتزلة) based on rational thought and was interested in different aspects of early Islamic philosophy, Greek philosophy and Hellenistic philosophy.⁹⁷⁶ Sources provide evidence to show some Seljuk and Turkmen rulers' tendency to philosophy. Contemporary Arab historian, Ibn al-Athīr, points out Kutalmış's interest in and proclivity to astronomy and philosophy and adds that after him, his sons and descendants continued to be interested in the positive sciences based on philosophy. So that, according to Ibn al-Athīr, they had some problems or weaknesses in their Islamic belief.⁹⁷⁷ The ancestor of the Danishmendid dynasty 'Danishmend 'Ali Taylu', as his advisor and father-in-law, might also have influenced the thought of Kutalmış. Ibn al-Athīr also accused the Artuqid ruler, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (1200-1222) to have the beliefs of the philosophers, and thus not to have a deep religious belief.⁹⁷⁸ Another striking example regarding this issue coming from a contemporary Arab scholar Omar bin Muḥammad al-Sawī, who also states that when the author visited Diyār Rūm (Anatolia), he witnessed that the inhabitants of Turkmen lands were interested in astronomy, but they were not aware of Islamic theology.⁹⁷⁹ On this point, Cahen brings a view of the idiosyncrasy of Anatolian Turks: "The Turkish quality, as has been seen, was not characteristic of all the Muslims, nor even of all the Turks; but the orientation in this direction characterized Asia Minor, in contrast to the other Muslim countries."⁹⁸⁰ Although contemporary written sources provide examples supporting the suggestions of Oikonomidès and Hillenbrand, I would like to recall that generalizations about all Turkmen rulers should be avoided because each Turkmen leader

⁹⁷⁵ Hillenbrand 1999: 112.

⁹⁷⁶ Bayram 2009: 26.

⁹⁷⁷ Ibn al-Athīr (Tornberg), X, 36-37; Bayram 2009: 25-26. For a discussion on Kılıç Arslān II's and Suleymān II's interest in philosophy, see Turan 2002: 230, 241.

⁹⁷⁸ Ibn al-Athīr (Tornberg), XII, 412; Ibn al-Athīr (Richards), III, 241.

⁹⁷⁹ Bayram 2009: 53. For the discussion on the affect of *Mu'tazilah* tradition on the belief of the Seljuks and Danishmendid Turkmens, see Bayram 2009: 15-28.

⁹⁸⁰ Cahen 1968: 155.

differs from the others in their personality, tendency, policy, belief and world perspective. I think that there can be considerable correspondence between the Turkmen rulers' interest in philosophy and their use of imagery on their coins.

Finally, it can be said that rather than a commercial necessity and technical needs the Christian images borrowed from the Byzantine iconography and the Crusader coins might have been internalized by the Turkmens as a result of the cultural interaction and intensive relations with the Christians. Thus these images commissioned by the Muslim Turkmen rulers of the late medieval eastern Mediterranean, like the inscriptions, were used as practical means for the dissemination of political agendas and cultural messages to audiences.

Undoubtedly, the transitional structure of the new Turkmen lands, with its demographic, socio-economic and political features, influenced production of their own coins. For instance, while the Turkmens who founded the Great Seljuk Sultanate centred in Iran, like the Abbasids, did *not* use figures on their coins, the Turkmens who migrated to Anatolia, al-Jazīra and Syria, and settled there, minted their own coins with some figures including Christian themes they saw in the Byzantine and Crusader coinage. When considered from this point of view, Christian images on the Turkmen coins should also be interpreted as part of an 'overall quest' by Turkish rulers for continuity and legitimacy, based on the region's pre-Islamic past.⁹⁸¹

It remains to consider their coinage of the twelfth to early thirteenth centuries within the broader comparative context of their period to see the value of the coins for the analysis of political, cultural and economic interaction.

⁹⁸¹ Georganteli 2012: 142.

CONCLUSION: The General Observations in the Light of Numismatic Evidence

The advent of the Seljuks and their followers from the east and the Crusaders from the west in the eleventh century dramatically reshaped the political geography of the eastern Mediterranean, a melting pot of peoples, cultures and religions. Subsequently, the region witnessed various complex political connections and intertwined socio-cultural bonds. Numismatic and sigillographic sources provide valuable evidence for profound political, economic and socio-cultural alterations, adaptations and cross-cultural borrowings subsequent to the early encounters between the different worlds. The purpose of this thesis was to study the socio-cultural and partly economic developments and changes in the region of the Turkmen principalities following the arrival of the Turks, with the intention of not only bringing conclusions about the Byzantine and western influence on the newly-established Turkmen principalities in the light of the coins, but exploring in what ways and to what extent these influences or interactions appeared in the different Turkmen areas of settlement, Diyār Rūm (Anatolia), al-Jazīra (upper Mesopotamia) and northern Syria. In this way I aim to contribute to creating a general picture of the *modus vivendi* of the Turkmens and coexistence and symbiosis between the newcomers (Turkmens) and Anatolian and Mesopotamian natives (Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites).

I presented conclusions at the end of each chapter in which I attempted to clarify the discussion and bring out the crucial issues in that chapter. Hence, the concluding chapter of the thesis will not focus on the issues which have already been argued broadly, but will draw attention to more general observations about the bilateral socio-cultural interactions in the light of numismatic evidence in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world.

The Seljuks and their followers maintained the use of extant monetary stock of the region including a large amount of the Byzantine anonymous *folles* and gold *solidi* throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. While coin production begins in Anatolia in the first

decades of the twelfth century,⁹⁸² upper Mesopotamia produced its first copper coins only in c. 1146-7 under the Artuqid rule. These coins display intriguing numismatic imagery and inscriptions (sometimes Greek and Greek-Arabic) inspired not only by the Byzantine and Crusader coins and seals, but also by the Roman, Hellenistic and Sasanian heritage of the region. It should be pointed out that they started the practice of issuing figural copper coins since ca. 542/1147 in upper Mesopotamia and since the first quarter of the twelfth century in Anatolia. In other words, they did this as soon as they started issuing coins. This dynastic figural imagery on coins in northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia had nearly run its course by the beginning of the thirteenth century. After that there were some innovations in *detail* (style and calligraphy etc) on the coinages of the Seljuks of Rūm, the Zangīds and the Artuqids.

There are considerable differences in the iconography and inscriptions that the adjacent Turkmen amīrs and maliks applied on their coins. The production of Greek and Greek-Arabic coins in the Danishmendid territories occupies a special position, as the other Turkmen emirates tended to use only Arabic script on their coins. Also, the Anatolian Turkmen rulers usually borrowed recent or contemporary Byzantine and Crusader motifs while the Artuqid maliks of upper Mesopotamia showed perplexing lack of consistency and wide latitude in their choice of designs, which bore the traces of its Roman, Sasanian, Hellenistic and Byzantine past. As for the Zangīd atabegs, Nūr al-Dīn was the only Zangīd ruler issuing a coin with a Byzantine image, which was the representation of standing Christ. Considering their more dynamic political relations and direct bureaucratic contacts with the Byzantine Empire, it seems that with the quasi-Byzantine coins the Anatolian Turkish rulers aimed to enhance their legitimacy and authority over the former Byzantine territories and to announce their political aspirations in the region.

⁹⁸² The earliest Muslim coins struck by Danishmendid Amīr Ghāzī (497-528 /1104-1134), and Saltukid rulers Diyā' al-Dīn Abū al-Muẓaffār Ghazī (518-526 / 1124-1132), and 'Izz al-Dīn Saltuk II bin 'Ali (526-563/ 1132-1168) in medieval Anatolia prominently reflect the Byzantine influence.

While Arabic and Islam remained major elements of inscriptions on the Seljuk coins struck in twelfth-century Anatolia, Byzantine-style imagery accompanied the names, *laqabs*, and *nasabs* of two Seljuk sultans. Rukn al-Dīn Mas‘ūd (510-551 / 1116-1156) issued copper *fulūs* displaying a figure in a Byzantine-style dress, imitated from Byzantine numismatic iconography, probably from the coins of Alexios I or Manuel I,⁹⁸³ and, about a half century later, his grandson Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I (first r. 588-93 / 1192-1197) placed the same iconography on some of his copper *fulūs*.⁹⁸⁴ The Seljuk sultans’ choice of design may be seen as a political declaration of continuity and legitimacy. In addition to these Byzantine-influenced Seljuk coins, in the early years of the Seljuk rule of Malatya, the Seljuk prince Qayşarshāh struck a new copper *fals* with a figure of an equestrian dragon-killer⁹⁸⁵ based on the Crusader numismatic iconography, after appointment as governor of the city by his father Kılıç Arslān II.⁹⁸⁶ A very similar image portraying a figure with nimbus on horseback slaying a creature is found on the copper *fulūs* and silver *dirhams* of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād minted in Tokat, presumably between 1211 and 1214.⁹⁸⁷ Contrast to the Turkmen coin imagery, the Seljuk numismatic imagery showed much consistency, particularly from the late twelfth century onwards. The equestrian images gained popularity in the numismatic iconography of Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān II (1196-1204) who issued a series of coins depicting an equestrian figure carrying a mace and trident on his shoulders,⁹⁸⁸ and in different forms continued to appear on the Seljuk sultans’ coins until the 1240s.

⁹⁸³ Artuk 1970, I: p. 350, no. 1059 and see above.

⁹⁸⁴ For the coin of Kay-Khusraw I, see Artuk 1970: p. 351, no. 1064 and The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK505; P. D. Whitting Collection. On the reverse of Kay-Khusraw’s *fals*: قلع ارسلان بن كيخسرو اسطان المعظم / al-Sultān al-Mu‘azzam, Kay-Khusraw bin Kılıç Arslān / Esteemed Sultan Mas‘ūd, son of Kılıç Arslān.

⁹⁸⁵ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK526; P.D. Whitting Collection; Tevhid 1903: p. 121, no. 151; Artuk, I, 1970: p. 352, no. 1068; Hennequin 1985: p. 685, no. 1629; Shukurov 2004: 731.

⁹⁸⁶ Cahen 1968: 111; Mecit 2014: 85.

⁹⁸⁷ Tevhid 1903: 146, no. 211; Artuk 1970, I: p. 359, no. 1092; Shukurov 2004: 732; Lane-Poole 1877: p. 73, no. 176 and Hennequin 1985: p.736, no. 1752.

⁹⁸⁸ For the coins of Sulaymān II, see Artuk 1970: pp. 354-355, nos. 1074-1078; Hennequin 1985: pp. 699-704, nos. 1673-1679.

Apart from the coins with Byzantine-derived designs struck in twelfth-century Turkish mints situated in medieval Muslim Anatolia, upper Mesopotamia and Syria, Byzantine money became a model for local coinages across a vast expanse of territory from Britain to China.⁹⁸⁹ This can be simply explained by its capability of travelling long distances beyond the borders of the empire through the middle ages. However, in the same way as the predominant Byzantine influence affected the coinages of the empire's eastern neighbours, the oriental elements on the coinage of the Latins, Georgians and Cilician Armenians also reflect the impact of the Islamic world in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean.

As already discussed in chapter 2, Greek and bilingual (Arabic-Greek) Danishmendid coins and seals strikingly illustrated not only the cultural and linguistic diversity in Anatolia, but also showed how the Danishmendid rulers used them as a means of 'ideological and political propaganda' to announce their message to their Christian neighbour, the Byzantine Empire, and communicate with the ruled. These copper coins, which retained the language and some of the iconography of the previous Byzantine currency, reflect a conscious effort by the new Turkmen chiefs to replace the Byzantine money in Anatolia with new coinage in their own name and title. Among these coins, the copper coin of Danishmendid amīr Amīr Ghāzī, with an invocation (κύριε βοήθη Αμῆρ Γαζῆ / Lord, help Amīr Ghāzī), coming from Christian ecclesiastical tradition, that is typical of Byzantine seals defies easy explanation. Available sources are silent about the reaction of the Caliphate or Muslim scholars against this Turkmen issue. Surprisingly, some unusual twelfth- and thirteenth-century crusader coins imitated from Islamic dinars and dirhams are striking examples echoing the cross-cultural borrowing in the opposite direction.

In his travels to the Latin East in the mid-thirteenth century the papal envoy, Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux encountered gold and silver Crusader coins with the name of the

⁹⁸⁹ Georganteli and Cook 2006: 7.

Prophet Muḥammad and Islamic inscriptions. He reported this practice to the Pope, to intervene. This phenomenon had a broad repercussion in the Christian West and the production of such coins drew a rebuff from the Holy See. Pope Innocent IV declared that he would excommunicate all princes who issued those extraordinary gold and silver coins that bore the name of the prophet Muhammad and his birth-date (the Muslim year).⁹⁹⁰ In response to the Pope's declaration, crusader coins struck in Acre in the 1250s, in spite of resemblance to the Ayyubid silver coins minted in Damascus, now presented the Holy Trinity of the Christian formula 'al-āb wa'l ibn / wa'l rūḥ al-quḍus / ilāh wāḥid = The Father, the Son And the Holy Spirit, One Divinity' in Arabic Kūfīc script, sometimes with a cross and a fleur-de-lis in their composition.⁹⁹¹ Conspicuously, the existence of contemporary hoards consisting of both Islamic and such imitative crusader coins suggest that they also enjoyed a circulation in the Islamic markets.⁹⁹²

Aside from the Crusader coinage, the language and iconography of eleventh- to thirteenth-century Georgian and thirteenth-century Armenian coins provide fascinating examples of both Byzantine and eastern borrowings. Georgian bilingual silver coins struck in the eleventh century by Bagrat IV (1027-1072) and Giorgi II (1072-1089) are a striking combination of Byzantine numismatic iconography, images of the Virgin Blachernitissa, and Greek inscriptions on the obverse, with the name and title of the king in Georgian script on the reverse. The successor of Giorgi II, King David IV the Builder (1089-1125) is clearly shown on the obverse of his copper coins dressed in Byzantine imperial attire, wearing stemma, and holding a globus cruciger.⁹⁹³ However, following the arrival of the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century, the dramatic changes in the form, iconography and even language used in the Georgian currency occurred. David IV the Builder captured Tiflīs (Tbilisi), which

⁹⁹⁰ Schlumberger 1878: 139-140; Bates and Metcalf 1989: 448-449, 469; Georganteli 2012: 152.

⁹⁹¹ Bates and Metcalf 1989: 469; for an example, see The Barber Institute Coin Collection, CR14; P. D. Whitting Collection.

⁹⁹² Georganteli 2012: 152.

⁹⁹³ Georganteli and Cook 2006: 47.

was ruled by Arab Muslims for about four centuries, in 1122, and thus completed the unification of the Georgian Kingdom. In this epoch called the ‘golden age’ of the united Georgian Kingdom (twelfth-thirteenth centuries), the new capital, Tiflīs witnessed a prominent orientalised. With the monetary reform of David IV, the Arabic language appeared on the Georgian coins while the Byzantine currency was losing its influence. The Artuqid official Ibn al-Azraq, who visited Georgia and stayed in the court of Dimitri I in 548-9 (1153-4) left an interesting account of the coinage policy of David IV. He noted that the Georgian king struck *dirhams* for his Muslim people, bearing the names of the Seljuk sultan of Iraq and the caliph on one side, and the names of God (Allah) and the prophet Muhammad on the other side, while the king put his own name on a side of another *dirham*.⁹⁹⁴ However, so far, no Georgian-Arabic coin type has been discovered to match Ibn al-Azraq’s description. Nevertheless, the extant coin evidence suggests that the Arabic *malik al-mulūk* (ملك الملوك) and *sword of Messiah* (حشام المسيح) replaced the kings’ Byzantine titles nobelissimos, sebastos and caesar, and sometimes the name of the Seljuk sultans and the caliphs, displayed on the Georgian copper coins, after the monetary reform of David IV.⁹⁹⁵ After David IV’s Arabic coinage with the name of Seljuk Sultan of Iraq, Mahmud bin Muhammad, his successor Dimitri I (r. 1125-1154) acknowledged the caliph on his copper coins in addition to the Seljuk Sultan of Iraq.⁹⁹⁶ Afterwards Giorgi III (1156-1184), Queen Tamar (1184-1213), King Giorgi IV Lasha (1213-1223) and Queen Rusudan (1223-1245) issued various bilingual copper coins with both Georgian inscriptions on the obverse and the Arabic script introducing the Georgian king or queen on the reverse.⁹⁹⁷ They could serve for everyday use in the domestic market rather than international commerce because the numismatic evidence does not suggest a wide

⁹⁹⁴ Minorsky 1949: 33-34.

⁹⁹⁵ Paghava 2012: 222-223, 246.

⁹⁹⁶ For coins of David IV, see Paghava 2012: figs. 1.0-1.7; for coins of Dimitri, see figs. 2.4-2.5.

⁹⁹⁷ Paghava and Novák 2013: 46.

circulation of the Arab-Georgian copper currency.⁹⁹⁸ Like the Danishmendid coins in Greek and the Turkmen figural types, the socio-cultural milieu of the kingdom and new political climate, rather than commercial reason, might have prompted the Georgian kings to produce these types.

Cilician Armenia also showed a tendency to borrow oriental numismatic practices in the thirteenth century. The bilingual silver *trams* struck by Hetoum I (1226-1270), with names and titles of the Armenian ruler and Seljuk Sultan Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād, and later Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II (1237-1246), reflect the complex political and economic relationship between Cilician Armenia and the Seljuks of Rūm.⁹⁹⁹ The thriving relations with the Seljuks and then Mamluks also influenced the Armenian kings' iconographical choices. The copper coins displaying Hetoum II (1289-1293)¹⁰⁰⁰ and Levon III (1301-1307)¹⁰⁰¹ in the 'cross-legged posture' are striking examples of the oriental-influenced Cilician Armenian coins.

Numismatic imagery from twelfth-century Latin East and Georgia also provides fascinating examples illustrating the intriguing adaptations based on the eastern fashion in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean. A copper coin of Giorgi III (1156-1184), with the Arabic title *malik al-mulūk / king of kings* on the reverse, and the Georgian king seated in a cross-legged position on the obverse,¹⁰⁰² and the *turbaned* coin of Tancred,¹⁰⁰³ regent of Antioch in Bohemond's absence, mirror prominent oriental influence.

⁹⁹⁸ Paghava 2012: 247.

⁹⁹⁹ Georganteli and Cook 2006: 51; Bedoukian 1962: nos. 776-784.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Bedoukian 1962: nos. 1620-1653; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, AR151-AR154; P.D. Whitting Collection.

¹⁰⁰¹ Bedoukian 1962: nos. 1813-1839; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, AR163-AR166; P.D. Whitting Collection.

¹⁰⁰² Paghava and Novák 2013: 46-47; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, GRG1; P.D. Whitting Collection.

¹⁰⁰³ The Barber Institute Coin Collection, CR69ADD; P.D. Whitting Collection. For the comprehensive and convincing discussion on Tancred's 'turbaned' coin, see Georganteli 2012: 154-158. Meanwhile, the first coins of Antioch and Edessa struck under the Crusader rule echo the early impact of the Byzantine language on the Latin princes' choices. While the early Edessan coins are in Greek, Antiochian issues display both Greek and Latin inscriptions. Porteous 1989: 362.

Similar progress can be observed in the coin production of twelfth-century Sicily under the Norman rule. Coinage of the Norman Kings Roger II (1130-1154), William I (1154-1166) and William II (1166-1189) delineates the compound cultural elements of the Kingdom, with its Arabic, Greek and Latin heritage. The copper scyphate *ducalis* struck by King Roger II in 1140, in its design and concave form, seems to have been derived from a *trachy* of Thessaloniki minted under Alexios I.¹⁰⁰⁴ However, in addition to the ongoing Byzantine numismatic influence, Roger II, in his copper coins bearing Arabic and Greek legends, introduced himself with the accurate titles in the different languages: ‘malik’ in Arabic, ‘rex’ in Latin and ‘anax’ in Greek.¹⁰⁰⁵ Bilingual (Latin-Arabic) *follari*, introduced by William I¹⁰⁰⁶ and William II¹⁰⁰⁷ in Sicily also illustrate the multicultural and multilingual structure of the geographical space where they were minted. There is also evidence that these hybrid Sicilian coins travelled to the Latin East and met the eastern Mediterranean merchants there.¹⁰⁰⁸

To sum up, all these examples, which demonstrate the political and cultural pluralism of the region, suggest that the late medieval eastern Mediterranean prominently enjoyed ‘cross-cultural interactions’. In a decisive climate, sultans, maliks, amīrs, princes and kings of the region used the currencies as a practical and effective means to disseminate their political agendas and cultural messages to their peoples. In this context, the Turkmen rulers in a pragmatic and meritocratic attitude also struck coins in Greek and Greek-Arabic as well as displaying images in their coinage, which echo the ambition of the Turkish rulers to play an active role in the socio-political and economic life of the region. They were involved in many

¹⁰⁰⁴ Georganteli and Cook 2006: 22; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, N021; P.D. Whitting Collection.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Lucia Travaini, “Aspects of the Sicilian Norman Coinage in the Twelfth Century”, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 151 (1991), p. 172; pl. 27, nos. 11-12 (pp. 159-174)

¹⁰⁰⁶ Travaini 1991: 164; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, N023; P.D. Whitting Collection.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Travaini 1991: 172; The Barber Institute Coin Collection, N028, N031; P.D. Whitting Collection.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Metcalf 1979: p. 148, nos. 79-81.

interactions with the Latins and Greeks and innovated by utilizing the early and middle Byzantine, Roman, Hellenistic and Sasanian heritages they encountered in their new lands.

APPENDIX ONE: Catalogue of the Turkmen Coins in the Barber Institute Coin Collection

Introduction of the Catalogue

The following catalogue contains 420 coins kept in the Barber Institute's Coin Collection. They were struck by the Turkmen Principalities founded just after the Battle of Manzikert (1071): the Artuqids (with 231 coins), the Zangīds (with 149 coins), the Danishmendids (with 14 coins), the Saltukids (with 3 coins), the Mengujekids (with 2 coins) and the Akhlatshāhs (with 21 coins). A large number of these coins are copper, while the catalogue includes some silver coins issued by the Zangīd and the Artuqid rulers. This second richest Turkmen coin collection in the UK after that of the British Museum consists of the coins donated by the distinguished collector and numismatist Philip Whitting.

For the Arabic inscriptions, I used the JIMES transliteration system based on the modified *Encyclopaedia of Islam* transliteration system. Turkish names have been transliterated according to the standard transliteration, but I have chosen to give their modern versions, such as Sökmen, Yağıbasan, Saltuk and Alpī, in brackets because in the main text they were used in this form.

Even though there was a deficient and obscure part on the coins, I used the completed form of the Arabic inscriptions with the help of the same coin types in the Barber Institute's Collection and the coin catalogues written by the numismatists İbrahim Artuk, Giles Hennequin, Stanley Lane-Poole, W. F. Spengler and W. G. Sayles. Then I showed the deficient parts in square brackets in the transliterations.

I did not give the 'hamza', while I did not remove the 'shadda' in the writing of Allah.

THE ARTUQIDS

The Artuqids of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (495-629 / 1102-1232)

1	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 27 mm; wt. 8 g	Obv. Bust of Christ with nimbus cruciger facing, wearing pallium and holding the book of Gospel in left hand; some illegible characters around him. Rev. In centre: ضرب هذا الدرهم في أيام فخرالدين قرا ارسلان ḍuriba hadhā / al-dirham fī ayyām / Fakhr [al-Dīn] / Qarā Ars [lān]. Genealogy in margin; right upwards: داود بن داود bin Dāūd; left downwards: بن سكرمان bin Sok [mān] top: بن ارتق [bin Artuq]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK433; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 11; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 1; Artuk 1993: 9.	

2	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 29 mm; wt. 7.3 g	Obv. Bearded figure of Christ with nimbus cruciger seating on a throne, wearing pallium; On the right of his head: ح ر و ط ه On the left of his head: ابجد [abjad]; right upwards: معينامير Mu‘īn Amīr; left downwards: المومنين al-Mu‘minīn Rev. In centre: الملك العالم العادل فخرالدين al-Malik al-‘Ā- / lim al-‘Ādil / Fakhr al-Dīn. Genealogy in margin; right upwards: قرا ارسلان Qarā Arslān; top: بن داود bin Dāūd; left downwards: بن ارتق bin Artuq
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK434; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 1875: 8; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 2.1; Artuk 1993: 7.	

3	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 27 mm; wt. 5.9 g	Obv. Same type as 2, but with countermark (intertwined dragons). Rev. Same inscription as 2, but the inscriptions on both left and right are worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK435; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 2.3.	

4	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 29 mm; wt. 6.5 g	Obv. Same type as 3, but damaged.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 2, but the inscription on right is worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK436; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 2.3; Hennequin 1985: 843-5.		

5	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 31 mm; Wt. 13.8 g	Obv. Full-length figure of winged Victory to the right, wearing long chiton, holding tablet inscribed (VOT XXX) in r. hand; bottom: (SIS); marginal legend: VICTORIACONSTANTINI (AVG)	
	Rev. In beaded circle: الملك العالم العادل فخرالدين al-Malik al-‘Ā- / lim al-‘Ādil / [Fa]khr al-Dīn. Genealogy in margin; right upwards: قرا ارسلان [Qarā Arslān]; top: بن داود bin; left downwards: بن ارتق bin Artuq.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK437; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 1875: 7; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 3; Artuk 1993: 6.		

6	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 30 mm; wt. 13.7 g	Obv. Same type as 5; but more elegant design and clear inscriptions.	
	Rev. In beaded circle: الملك العالم العادل فخرالدين al-Malik al-‘Ā- / lim al-‘Ādil / Fakhr al-Dīn. Genealogy in margin; right upwards: قرا ارسلان Qarā Arslān; top: بن داود bin Dāud; left downwards: بن ارتق bin Artuq.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK438; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 1875: 7; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 3; Artuk 1993: 6.		

7	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)	
Mint: - Date: AH 556 Diam. 33 mm; wt. 12.9 g	Obv. Half-figure facing slightly to the left, holding a sceptre in left hand, resting it on l. shoulder, holding an orb in r. hand; some illegible Latin characters above; and on left of the figure’s face: سنة ثو (sana AH 556); but damaged.	
	Rev. Some illegible Arabic characters	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK439; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 1875: 1; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 4; Artuk 1993: 1.		

8	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)
Mint: - Date: AH 556 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 16.1 g	Obv. Same type as 7; but the Latin characters disappears and the figure is clearer. Rev. In centre: الملك العالم العادل فخرالدين al-Malik al-‘Ā / lim al-‘Ādil / [Fakhr] al-Dīn Genalogy in margin; right upwards: قرا ارسلان Qarā Arslān; top: بن داود bin Dāud; left downwards: [bin Artuq] بن ارتق;
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK440; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 1; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 4; Artuk 1993: 1.	
9	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)
Mint: - Date: AH 556 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 14.7 g	Obv. Same type as 7. Rev. Same inscription as 8; but right upwards: قرا ارسلان Qarā Arslān; top: بن داود bin Dāud; left downwards: بن ارتق bin Artuq; الملك العالم العادل فخرالدين al-Malik al-‘Ā / lim al-‘Ādil / Fakhr al-Dīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK441; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 1; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 4; Artuk 1993:1.	
10	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)
Mint: - Date: AH 559 Diam. 26 mm; wt. 7.1 g	Obv. Half-figure, bearded, crowned with pendilia having five points; ضرب في سنة تسع و خمسين و حمسمانه right upwards: ḍuriba fi sana tis‘; left downwards: wa khamsīn wa khamsa mi’a Rev. Half-figure facing slightly to the l., bare-headed with a bun showing to the r., shoulders drapped, within a solid circle; Around: الملك العادل فخرالدين قرا ارسلان بن داود بن سكرمان بن ارتق al-Malik al-‘Ādil Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān bin bin Dāud bin Sökmen bin Artuq
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK442; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 2; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 5; Artuk 1993: 2.	
11	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)
Mint: - Date: worn (AH 55.) Diam. 26 mm; wt. 9.8 g	Obv. Same type as 10; but right upwards: worn; left downwards: وا خمسين و حمسمانه wa khamsīn wa khamsami’a (AH 55.) Rev. Same type and inscription as 10.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK443; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 2; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 5; Artuk 1993: 2.	

12	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)
Mint: - Date: AH 560 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 10.8 g	Obv. Head facing slightly to the l.; curly haired with long tresses behind, almond-shaped eyes; Around: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله مستنجد بالله Lā ilah illā Allah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / Mustanjid billah
	Rev. In centre: ملك الامرا قرا ارسلان بن داود بن سكرمان بن ارتق Malik al-Umarā/ Qarā Arslān bin / Dāud bin Sokmān / bin Artuq; Date in margin; right upwards: سنة ستين و و حسمانه wa khamsami'a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK444; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 3; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 6; Artuk 1993: 3.	

13	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)
Mint: - Date: AH 560 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 11.2 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 12; but damaged. Rev. Same inscription as 12; but crude design.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK445; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 3; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 6; Artuk 1993: 3.	

14	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 32 mm; wt. 13.6 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 12; but damaged. Rev. Same inscription as 12; but date is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK446; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 3; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 6; Artuk 1993: 3.	

15	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)
Mint: - Date: AH 562 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 9.7 g	Obv. Half-figure facing, long hair falling to each side, garment tied at the neck, almond-shaped eyes; Date in margin; right upwards: سنة اثنان و حسمانه و ستين و wa sittin wa khamsami'a
	Rev. worn Arabic legend
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK447; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 4; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 7; Artuk 1993: 4.	

16	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (539-570 / 1144-1174)	
Mint: - Date: AH 562 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 7.3 g	Obv. Same type as 12; but date is worn.	
	Rev. Just مستجد بالله / Mustajjid billah can be read on the reverse.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK448; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 4; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 7; Artuk 1993: 4.		

17	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (571-581 / 1175-1185)	
Mint: - Date: AH 571 Diam. 28 mm; wt. 11.53	Obv. Angel, nimbate, facing slightly to the l., r. wing raised and l. wing back within a beaded circle; Date in margin; right upwards: سنة احد و سبعين sana aḥad wa sab‘in; left downwards: و خمسمائة / [wa khamsami’a]	
	Rev. ملك الامرا محمد بن قرا ارسلان بن داود بن سكرمان بن ارتق ناصر امير المؤمنين Malik al-Umarā Muḥamma[d] / bin Qarā Arslān bin / Dāud [bin S]okmā- / n bin Ar[tuq] Nāṣir / Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Right upwards: الامام / al-Imām; left downwards: الله المستضي بامر / illah al-Mustaḍī bi-Amr-	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK450; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 12; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 9; Artuk 1993: 10.		

18	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (571-581 / 1175-1185)	
Mint: - Date: AH 571 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 12.06	Obv. Same type and inscription as 17.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 17. ملك الامرا محمد بن قرا ارسلان بن داود بن سكرمان بن ارتق ناصر امير المؤمنين Malik al-Umarā Muḥammad / bin Qarā [Ars]lān bin / Dā‘ud bin [Sok]mān- / n bin Ar[tuq] N[āṣir] / Amīr al-[Mu‘minīn] Right upwards: الامام [al-Imām]; left downwards: الله المستضي بامر / illah al-Mus[taḍī bi-Amr]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK451; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 12; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 9; Artuk 1993:10.		

19	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (571-581 / 1175-1185)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 29 mm; wt. 11.5 g	Obv. Figure with a headgear, sitting in a vaulted throne, holding an orb in his right hand, l. hand resting on thigh, two angels holding upper portions of arch, and worn Arabic inscriptions around	
	Rev. The inscriptions in four lines within a square are worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK452; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 13; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 10; Artuk 1993: 11.		

20	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (571-581 / 1175-1185)	
Mint: Ḥiṣn Kayfa Date: AH 578 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 14 g	Obv. Diademed head to the l., curly hair and clean-shaven within a chain circle; Around: على اسم الله ضرب بلحصن سنه ثمان و سبعين و حمسمانه 'Alā Ismi'llah ḡuriba bi'l Ḥiṣn sana thamān wa sab'in wa khamsami'a	Rev. ملك الامرا محيي العادل نور الدين محمد بن قرا ارسلان بن ارتق ناصر الامام ناصر لدين الله Malik al-Umarā Muhīyy / al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn / Muḥammad bin Qarā Arslā- / n bin Ar[tuq Nā]ṣir /al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Right upwards: ملعون من / Mal'ūn man; left downwards: يعيره / yu'ayyīruhu
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK453; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 14; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 11; Artuk 1993: 12.		
21	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (571-581 / 1175-1185)	
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. 30 mm; wt. 14.3 g	Obv. Same type as 20; but date and mint name are worn.	Rev. Damaged.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK454; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 14; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 11; Artuk 1993: 12.		
22	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (571-581 / 1175-1185)	
Mint: Ḥiṣn Kayfa Date: AH 578 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 12.9	Obv. Same type as 20; but around: على اسم الله ضرب بلحصن سنه ثمان و سبعين و حمسمانه Alā Ismi'llah ḡuriba bi'l Ḥiṣn sana thamān [wa sab'in wa khamsa] mi'a	Rev. Same inscription as 20; but central legend: ملك الامرا محيي العادل نور الدين محمد بن قرا ارسلان بن ارتق ناصر الامام ناصر لدين الله Malik al-Umarā [Muhīyy] / al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn / [Muḥammad] bin Qarā Arslā- / [n] bin Artuq Nāṣir /al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Right upwards: ملعون من / Mal'ūn man; left downwards: يعيره / yu'ayyīruhu
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK455; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 14; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 11; Artuk 1993: 12.		

23	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) II, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (581-597 / 1185-1200)
Mint: worn Date: worn (AH 5...) Diam. Diam. 28 mm; wt. 9.9 g	Obv. Diademed and bearded head of king to the left, wearing crown, ringlets flowing behind head. Around: على اسم الله ضرب ... حمسمانه 'Alā ismillah ḍuriba ... khamsami'a Rev. within the square: الملك العادل قطب الدين سكرمان بن محمد بن قرا ارسلان بن ارتق معين الاما al-Malik al-'Ādil Quṭb / al-Dīn Sokmān bin / Muḥammad bin Qarā Arslān / bin Artuq Mu'īn al-Imā-; Bottom: م الناصر [-m Nāṣir] Right upwards: الملك الناصر [al-Malik al-Nāṣir]; left downwards: صلاح الدين Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; top: لدين الله [li-dīn].
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK456; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 15-16; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 34; Artuk 1993: 13.	
24	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) II, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (581-597 / 1185-1200)
Date: worn (AH 5...) Mint: worn Diam. 28 mm; wt. 11.4 g	Obv. Same type as 23; but inscription is worn, just حمسمانه 'khamsami'a' can be read. Rev. Same inscription as 23; but within the square: الملك العادل قطب الدين سكرمان بن محمد بن قرا ارسلان بن ارتق معين الاما al-Malik al-'Ādil Quṭb / al-Dīn Sokmān bin / [Muḥ]ammad bin Qarā Arsla[n] / [bin Ar]tuq Mu'īn al-Imā-; Inscriptions in margin are worn and deficient.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK457; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 15-16; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 34; Artuk 1993: 13.	
25	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) II, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (581-597 / 1185-1200)
Mint: - Date: worn (AH 5...) Diam. 31 mm; wt. 13.3 g	Obv. Two diademed busts in profile, back to back Around: ... حمسمانه سانه ... khamsami'a Rev. ... الملك العادل قطب الدين سكرمان بن محمد بن قرا ارسلان [al]-Malik al-'Ādil [Quṭb] / al-Dīn Sokmān bin / Muḥammad bin Qarā Arslān / ... Inscriptions in margin are worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK458; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 17; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 13; Artuk 1993: 14.	

26	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) II, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (581-597 / 1185-1200)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 30 mm; wt. 13.6 g	Obv. Same type as 25. Rev. Same inscription as 25; but central legend: الملك العادل قطب الدين سكرمان بن محمد بن قرا ارسلان بن ارتق معين الاما al-Malik [Quṭb] / al-Dīn Sokmā [bin] / Muḥammad bin Qarā Arslān / bin Artuq Mu‘īn al-Imā- / Bottom: م الناصر [-m] al-Nāṣir; right upwards: الملك الناصر al-Malik al- Nāṣir; top: يوسف بن ايوب [Yūsuf] li-dīn [Allah]; left downwards: يوسف بن ايوب bin Ayyūb
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK459; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 17; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 13; Artuk 1993: 14.	

27	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) II, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (581-597 / 1185-1200)
Mint: - Date: AH 584 Diam. 28 mm; wt. 13.3 g	Obv. Same type as 25; but date is AH 584; around: sana arba’ thamānīn (khamsa mi’a) Rev. Similar inscription as 25; but central legend: الملك العادل قطب الدين سكرمان بن محمد بن قرا ارسلان بن ارتق معين الاما al-Malik al-‘Ādil Quṭb / al-Dīn Sok(mān bin) / Muḥammad bin Qarā Arslān / bin Artuq Mu‘īn al-Imā- Bottom: م الناصر -m al-Nāṣir; right upwards: الملك الناصر al-Malik al- Nāṣir; top: يوسف بن ايوب li-dīn Allah; left downwards: يوسف بن ايوب bin Ay]yūb
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK460; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 17; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 13; Artuk 1993: 14.	

28	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) II, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (581-597 / 1185-1200)
Mint: - Date: worn (AH 5...) Diam. 30 mm; wt. 10.6 g	Obv. Same type as 25. Rev. Similar inscription as 25; but central legend: الملك العادل قطب الدين سكرمان بن محمد بن قرا ارسلان بن ارتق معين الاما al-Malik al-’Ādil al-’Ādil Quṭb / al-Dīn Sokmān bin / Muḥammad bin Qarā Arslān / bin Artuq Mu‘īn al-Imā- / Bottom: م الناصر [-m] al-Nāṣir; right upwards: الملك الناصر al-Malik al-Nāṣir; top: يوسف بن ايوب [li-dīn Allah]; left downwards: يوسف بن ايوب Yūsuf bin Ayyūb
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK461; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 17; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 13; Artuk 1993: 14.	

29	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) II, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (581-597 / 1185-1200)	
Mint: - Date: AH 594 Diam. 26 mm; wt. 10.9 g	<p>Obv. Half-figure facing slightly to the r., with helmet, holding a sceptre in right hand, resting on right shoulder, and holding an orb in left hand; Around: سنه اربع و تسعين و خمسمائه sana arba‘ wa tis‘īn wa khamsami’a</p> <p>Rev. الملك المسعود قطب الدين سكرمان بن محمد بن قرا al-Malik al-Mas‘ūd / Qu[ṭb] al-Dīn Sokmān / bin Muḥammad bin Qarā top: الامام [al-Imām]; right upwards: المومنين [al-Mu‘minīn]; left downwards: ال ناصر امير [al-Nāṣir Amīr]; bottom: ارسلان [Arslān]</p>	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK462; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 18; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 14; Artuk 1993: 15.		
30	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) II, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (581-597 / 1185-1200)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 27 mm; wt. 9.8 g	<p>Obv. Same type and inscription as 29; but marginal legend is worn.</p> <p>Rev. Obscure.</p>	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK463; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 18; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 14; Artuk 1993: 15.		
31	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) II, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (581-597 / 1185-1200)	
Mint: - Date: worn (AH 5...) Diam. 26 mm; wt. 8.6 g	<p>Obv. Same type as 29; but date is worn. Around: ... خمسمائه khamsami’a (AH 5..)</p> <p>Rev. Sim. inscription as 29; but central legend: الملك المسعود قطب الدين سكرمان بن محمد بن قرا al-Malik al-Mas‘ūd / Qu[ṭb] al-Dīn Sokmān / bin Muḥammad bin Qarā top: الامام al-Imām; right upwards: المومنين al-Mu‘minīn; left downwards: الناصر امير [al-Nāṣir Amīr]; bottom: ارسلان [Arslān]</p>	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK464; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 18; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 14; Artuk 1993: 15.		
32	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) II, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (581-597 / 1185-1200)	
Mint: - Date: AH 594 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 9.3 g	<p>Obv. Same type as 29; but date is AH 594; around: سنه اربع و ثمانين و خمسمائه sana arba‘ wa thamānīn khamsami’a</p> <p>Rev. Same inscription as 29; but design is crude.</p>	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK465; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 18; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 14; Artuk 1993: 15.		

33	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (597-619 / 1200-1222)
Mint: (Amid) Date: AH 614 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 10.9 g	Obv. Double-headed eagle standing on an ornamental pedestal, wings spread with a human head (not clear); Around: الملك الصالح ناصر الدنيا و الدين محمود بن محمد بن ارتق [al-Malik al-Ṣālih] Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa [al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad bin Artuq]; left downwards: sana ٦١٤(614); right upwards: ضرب بامد [ḍuriba bi-Amid]
	Rev. السلطان الغالب عز الدنيا والد بن كيكوس بن كيخسر و بن قلع ارسلان al-Sultān al-Ghālib / ‘Izz al-Dunyā wa al-D- / [-īn Kaykāwus] bin Kay-Khusraw [bin Qilij] Arslān ; top: الامام النا [al-Imām al-Nā]; left downwards: صرامير [-ṣir Amīr]; right upwards: المومنين [al-Mu‘minīn]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK466; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 19; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 16; Artuk 1993:16.	

34	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (597-619 / 1200-1222)
Mint: worn Date: AH 614 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 12.9 g	Obv. Same type as 33; but around: الملك الصالح ناصر الدنيا و الدين محمود بن محمد بن ارتق al-Malik as-Ṣālih Nāṣir al-Dunyā [wa al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad bin Artuq]; left downwards: sana ٦١٤(614); right upwards: : ضرب بامد [ḍuriba bi-Amid]
	Rev. Sim. Inscription as 33; السلطان الغالب عز الدنيا والد بن كيكوس بن كيخسر و بن قلع ارسلان [al]-Sultān al-Ghālib / [‘Izz al-Dunyā wa al-D-] / [-īn Kaykāwus] bin Kay Khusraw [bin Qilij] Arslān; top: الامام النا al-Imām al-Na-; left downwards: صرامير -sir Amīr; right upwards: المومنين [al-Mu‘minīn]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK467; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 19; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 16; Artuk 1993: 16.	

35	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (597-619 / 1200-1222)
Mint: [Ḥiṣn Kayfa) Date: AH 615 Diam. 27 mm; wt. 13.2 g	Obv. Double-headed eagle with stylized wings spread, Artuqid tamgha on the breast; Right upwards: ضرب بلحصن [ḍuriba bi’l-Ḥiṣn]; left downwards: ٦١٥ sana 615
	Rev. الملك الصالح / محمود بن ارتق / الملك العادل/ ابو بكر Al-Malik al-Ṣālih / Mahmūd bin Artuq / al-Malik al-‘Ādil / Abū Bakr top: الامام al-Imām; ; left downwards: الناصمير al-Nāṣir Amīr; Right upwards: المومنين al-Mu‘minīn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK468; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 20; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 15; Artuk 1991: 17.	

36	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (597-619 / 1200-1222)	
Mint: Ḥiṣn Kayfa Date: AH 615 Diam. 28 mm; wt. 12.2 g	Obv. Same type as 35; but Artuqid tamgha is worn.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 35; but inscription on right is worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK469; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 20; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 15; Artuk 1993: 17.		

37	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (597-619 / 1200-1222)	
Mint: Ḥiṣn Kayfa Date: AH 615 Diam. 28 mm; wt. 12.2 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 35.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 35; but inscriptions on the top and left are worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK470; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 20; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 15; Artuk 1993: 17		

38	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (597-619 / 1200-1222)	
Mint: Amid Date: AH 617 Diam. 27 mm; wt. 8.2 g	Obv. Double-headed eagle with wings spread, enclosed within a circle formed by two quasi-ovals intersecting at right angles; الملك / الصالح / ناصر / الدين Inner: al-Malik / as-Ṣālih / Nāṣir / al-Dīn; محمود / بن محمد / بن قرا ارسلان / بن ارتق Outer: Maḥmūd / bin Muḥammad / bin Qarā / Arslān / bin Artuq	
	Rev. within hexagram: الملك الكامل al-Malik / al-Kāmil; in triangles: ستمانه / عشر / سبع / سنه / بامد / ضرب / ḍuriba / bi-Amid / sana / sab‘ / ‘ashara / [sitta mi’a]; in outer arcs: الامام / النا صر / احمد / ناصر / الدين / محمود al-Imām / al-Nāṣir / Aḥmad / Nāṣir / al-Dīn / Maḥmūd	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK471; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 21; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 18; Artuk 1993: 19.		

39	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (597-619 / 1200-1222)	
Mint: [Amid] Date: worn Diam. 24 mm; wt. 8.4 g	Obv. Same type as 38; but damaged, inscriptions cannot be recognised.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 38; but date and mint name are worn, and in outer arcs: الامام / النا صر / احمد / ناصر / الدين / محمود al-Imām / al-Nāṣir / [Aḥmad / Nāṣir / al-Dīn] / Maḥmūd	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK472; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 21; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 18; Artuk 1993: 19.		

40	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (597-619 / 1200-1222)	
Mint: Amid	Obv. Same type and inscription as 38.	
Date: AH 617		
Diam. 25 mm;	Rev. Same type and inscription as 38.	
wt. 7.7 g		
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK473; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 21; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 18; Artuk 1993: 19.		

41	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (597-619 / 1200-1222)	
Mint: -	Obv. Man riding a lion to right; damaged.	
Date: worn		
Diam. 28 mm;	Rev. Obscure and illegible Arabic characters.	
wt. 11.2 g		
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK474; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 23; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 17.1-17.2; Artuk 1993: 18.		

42	Copper Coin of Rukn al-Dīn Mawdūd, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (619-629 / 1222-1232)	
Mint: Amid	Obv. Double-headed eagle within a circle, within a square; Within the square: .../ سنه / بامد / ضرب ḍuriba / bi-Amid / sana / ... (worn); outer legend: محمود بن ارتق مودود بن ركن الدين الملك المسعود al-Malik al-Mas'ūd / Rukn al-Dīn / Mawdūd bin / Maḥmūd bin Artuq	
Date: worn		
Diam. 27 mm;	Rev. within the circle: الملك الكامل al-Malik / al-Kāmil;	
wt. 10.5 g	within the square: الملك الأشرف مسى al-Malik / al-[A- / shraf] / Musa;	
	outer legend: لا اله الا الله / محمد رسول الله [Lā ilah illā Allah] / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah; الامام الناصر / لدين الله امير / المومنين al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Amīr / [al-Mu'minīn]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK475; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 24; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 19; Artuk 1993: 20.		

43	Copper Coin of Rukn al-Dīn Mawdūd, Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (619-629 / 1222-1232)	
Mint: (Amid)	Obv. Same type as 42; but mint name is worn, date is ٦٢١(AH 621)	
Date: AH 621		
Diam. 27; wt. 9.2 g	Rev. Similar inscription as 42; but right on the reverse is damaged and some characters are worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK476; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 24; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 19; Artuk 1993: 20.		

The Artuqids of Harput (Ḥiṣn Ziyād) (581-631 AH / 1185-1234 AD)

44	Copper Coin of Imād al-Dīn Abū Bakr, Artuqid ruler of Kharput (AH 581-600 / AD 1185-1203)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 30 mm; wt. 8.7 g	Obv. Figure straddling on the back of a dragon to left, grasping the dragon's tail in left hand and wrapping around the dragon's neck with right hand within a beaded circle.	
	Rev. ملك الامرا محى العدل عماد لدين ابو بكر بن قرا ارسلان بن ارتق نصير الامام لناصر لدين الله Malik al-Umarā Muhiyy / al-'Ādil 'Imād al-Dīn / [Abū] Bakr bin Qarā Arslā- / [n bin] Artuq Naṣīr / [al-Imām al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK430; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 25; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 21.1-21.2; Artuk 1993: 24.		
45	Copper Coin of Imād al-Dīn Abū Bakr, Artuqid ruler of Kharput (AH 581-600 / AD 1185-1203)	
Mint: - Date: AH 583 Diam. 21 mm; wt. 5.2 g	Obv. Diademed head facing to left within a beaded circle.	
	Rev. ملك الامرا ابو بكر بن قرا ارسلان بن ارتق نصير الامام لناصر لدين الله Malik al-Umarā/ Abū Bakr bin / Qarā Arslān / bin Artuq al-Na- / sīr li-dīn Allah; right upwards: سنة sana left downwards: ثلاثة وثمانين thalatha wa thamānīn	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK431; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 22.1; Artuk 1993: 25.		
46	Copper Coin of Imād al-Dīn Abū Bakr, Artuqid ruler of Kharput (AH 581-600 / AD 1185-1203)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 22 mm; wt. 4.7 g	Obv. Same type as 45; but crude figure.	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 45; but date is worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK432; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 22.1-22.4; Artuk 1993: 25.		

The Artuqids of Mārdīn (502-811 / 1108-1408)

47	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Timurtāsh, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 516-547 / AD 1122-1152)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 25 mm; wt. 4.5 g	Obv. Diademed and bearded bust to right within a circle, some illegible Latin characters; Marginal legend is worn or deficient. Rev. تمرتاش بن / ایل غازی بن ارتق / الملك العادل / الملك العالم Within circle: Timurtāsh bin / Ilghāzī bin Artuq / al-[Malik al-'Ādil / al-Malik al-'Ālim] Marginal legend is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK351; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 25.1-25.2; Artuk 1993: 32.	
48	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Timurtāsh, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 516-547 / AD 1122-1152)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 25 mm; wt. 5.2 g	Obv. Same type as 47, damaged; some illegible Latin characters: ...и - KNΛ... Rev. Similar inscription as 47.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK352; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 25.1-25.2; Artuk 1993: 32.	
49	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Timurtāsh, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 516-547 / AD 1122-1152)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 25 mm; wt. 5.2 g	Obv. Same type as 47; but damaged and inscription is worn. Rev. Similar inscription as 47; but within the circle: الملك العالم / العادل الملك / ایل غازی بن ارتق / تمرتاش بن Timurtāsh bin / Ilghāzī bin Artuq / al-Malik al-'Ādil / al-Malik al-'Ālim; The marginal legend is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK353; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 25.1-25.2; Artuk 32.	
50	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Timurtāsh, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 516-547 / AD 1122-1152)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 28 mm; wt. 12.99 g	Obv. Diademed head facing to right, long hair falling behind within a beaded circle. Rev. ایل غازی الملك العالم العادل حسام الدين Ilghāzī / al-Malik al-'Ālim / al-'Ādil Ḥusā- / m al-Dīn; Artuqid tamgha at lower left on the third line. right upwards: بن ارتق تمرتاش bin Timurtāsh Left downwards: بن ارتق bin Artuq
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK356; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 27, 28; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 26; Artuk 1993: 29-30.	

51	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 28 mm; wt. 12.1 g	Obv. Same type as 50; but pierced. Rev. Left downwards: تمر تاش بن bin Artuq; right upwards: ایل غازی [Timurtāsh] bin; ایل غازی ملک الامرا ابو المظفر البی بن Ilghāzī / Malik al-Umarā / [Abū al-Muz]affar / Albī (Alpī) bin ; and Artuqid tamgha
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK354; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 29-30; Artuk 1993: 36.	

52	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 29 mm; wt. 14.3	Obv. Diademed head facing to right, long hair falling behind within a beaded circle. On the neck of the figure: نجم الدين [Najm al-Dīn] Rev. Top: ایل غازی Ilghāzī; left downwards: تمر تاش بن bin Artuq; right upwards: تمر تاش بن [Timurtāsh bin]; ملک الامرا ابو المظفر البی بن [Malik] / al-Umarā / [Ab]ū'1 Muzaffar / [Albī (Alpī) bin] Artuqid tamgha at lower left on the third line.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK355; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 29-30; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 27; Artuk 1993: 37.	

53	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 28 mm; wt. 13.96	Obv. Same type as 52; but Albī (Alpī)'s laqab appears on the neck of the figure: نجم الدين Najm al-Dīn. Rev. Same inscription as 50.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK357; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 29-30; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 27; Artuk 1993: 37.	

54	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 29 mm; wt. 8.6 g	Obv. Same type as 52; but Albī (Alpī)'s laqab disappears and crude design. Rev. Similar inscription to 52; but top: ایل غازی Ilghāzī; left downwards: تمر تاش بن bin [Artuq]; right upwards: تمر تاش بن Timurtāsh bin; ملک الامرا ابو المظفر البی بن Malik / al-Umarā / Abū [al-Muzaffar] / [Albī (Alpī) bin] Artuqid tamgha is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK358; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 29-30; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 27; Artuk 1993: 37.	

55	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 29 mm; wt. 11.7 g	Obv. Same type as 52; but on the neck of the figure: نجم الدين Najm al-Dīn	Rev. Same inscription as 52.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK359; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 29-30; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 27; Artuk 1991: 37.		

56	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 29 mm; wt. 12.7 g	Obv. Same type as 52; but on the neck of the figure: نجم الدين Najm al-Dīn	Rev. Same inscription as 52.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK360; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 29-30; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 27; Artuk 1993: 37.		

57	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 29 mm; wt. 12.4 g	Obv. Same type as 52; but on the neck of the figure: نجم الدين Najm al-Dīn	Rev. Same inscription as 52.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK361; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 29-30; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 27; Artuk 1993: 37.		

58	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 28 mm; wt. 11.9 g	Obv. Same type as 52; but on the neck of the figure: نجم الدين ملك ديار بكر Najm al-Dīn Malik Diyār Bakr	Rev. Same inscription as 52; but third line is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK362; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1993: 36.		

59	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 30 mm; wt. 12 g	Obv. Same type as 52; but on the neck of the figure: نجم الدين Najm al-Dīn	Rev. Same inscription as 52.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK363; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 29-30; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 27; Artuk 1993: 37.		

60	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 31 mm; wt. 14.4 g	Obv. Same type as 53; but on the neck of the figure: نجم الدين ملك ديار بكر Najm al-Dīn Malik [Diyār Bakr]	Rev. Sim. Inscription as 53; but inscription is obscure.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK364; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1993: 36.		

61	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 30 mm; wt. 12.9 g	Obv. Two diademed busts in profile, facing each other, shoulder draped, curly-haired with long locks and a prominent dot between the faces. Top: نجم الدين Najm al-Dīn; bottom: ملك ديار بكر Malik Diyār Bakr	Rev. Virgin Mary (on r.) crowns the ruler –Byzantine Emperor- (on l.) both standing, facing; Virgin wears palium and the ruler wears loros. ابو المظفر بن البی تمر تاش بن ایل غازی بن ارتق Abū al-Muzaffar Albī (Alpī) / bin / Timurtāsh bin Ilghāzī / bin / Artuq
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK365; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 31; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 28; Artuk 1993: 39.		

62	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 34 mm; wt. 15.7 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 61.	Rev. Same type and inscription as 61.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK366; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 31; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 28; Artuk 1993: 39.		

63	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 32 mm; wt. 16.1 g	Obv. Same type as 61; but damaged and inscription is worn.	Rev. Same type and inscription as 61.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK367; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 31; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 28; Artuk 1993: 39.		

64	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 32 mm; wt. 13.7 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 61; but pierced. Rev. Same type and inscription as 61; but pierced.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK368; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 31; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 28; Artuk 1993: 39.	

65	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)
Mint: - Date: AH 559 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 10.6 g	Obv. Diademed bust facing slightly to left, wearing a triangular tiara, long locks of hair falling to each side. Around: الملك العالم العادل نجم الدين ملك ديار بكر al-Malik al-‘Ālim al-‘Ādil Najm al-Dīn Malik Diyār Bakr Rev. Bust facing, wearing three-pointed crenulated crown and necklace, shoulders draped. Around: ابو المظفر البى بن تمرناش بن ايل غازى بن ارتق سنه تسعة وخمسين و حسمانه Abū al-Muzaffar Albī (Alpī) bin Timurtāsh bin Ilghāzī bin Artuq sana tis‘ wa khamsīn [wa khamsami’a]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK369; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 29.2; Artuk 1993: 42.	

66	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)
Mint: - Date: AH 558 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 9.2 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 65; but figure and inscription are damaged. Rev. Same type and inscription as 65; but date is AH 558. Around ابو المظفر البى بن تمرناش بن ايل غازى بن ارتق سنه ثمان و خمسين و حسمانه Abū al-Muzaffar Albī (Alpī) bin Timurtāsh bin Ilghāzī bin Artuq sana thamān wa khamsīn [wa khamsami’a]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK370; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 32; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 29.1; Artuk 1993: 40.	

67	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)
Mint: - Date: AH 559 Diam. 28 mm; wt. 13.7 g	Obv. Same type as 65; but around: الملك العالم العادل نجم الدين ملك ديار بكر [al-Malik al-‘Ālim al-‘Ādil] Najm al-Dīn Malik Diyār Bakr Rev. Same type and inscription as 65.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK371; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 29.2; Artuk 1993: 42.	

68	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 31 mm; wt. 14.7 g	Obv. Two diademed heads facing slightly turned away one from the other. Left downwards: امير المومنين Amīr al-Mu'minīn; top: لا اله الا الله Lā ilah illā Allah; bottom: محمد رسول الله Muḥammad Rasūl Allah; right upwards: مستنجد بالله al-Mustanjid billah Rev. Female head facing within a beaded circle. Left downwards: ديار بكر Diyār Bakr; top: نجم الدين Najm al-Dīn; bottom: ايل غازي اليبى بن Albī (Alpī) bin Ilghāzī; right upwards: بن ارتق bin Artuq
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK372; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 34-34a; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 30.1; Artuk 1993: 43.	
69	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 32 mm; wt. 12 g	Obv. Same type as 68; but left downwards: ... ; right upwards: امير المومنين Amīr al-Mu'minīn; top: لا اله الا الله La ilah illā Allah; bottom: محمد رسول الله Muḥammad Rasūl Allah. Rev. Same type and inscription as 68.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK373; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 34-34a; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 30.1; Artuk 1993: 43.	
70	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 34 mm; wt. 12.4 g	Obv. Same type as 68; but damaged; and left downwards: ... ; right upwards: امير المومنين Amīr al-Mu'minīn; top:; bottom: محمد رسول الله Muḥammad Rasūl Allah; Rev. Same type and inscription as 68.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK374; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 34-34a; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 30.1; Artuk 1993: 43.	
71	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 32 mm; wt. 11 g	Obv. Same type as 68; but left downwards: مستنجد بالله al-Mustanjid billah; right upwards: امير المومنين Amīr al-Mu'minīn; top: لا اله الا الله La ilah illā Allah; bottom: محمد رسول الله Muḥammad Rasūl Allah; Rev. Same type and inscription as 68; but face of the figure is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK375; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 34 / 34a; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 30.1; Artuk 1993: 43.	

72	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 31 mm; wt. 11.2 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 68; but crude inscription and figure.	
	Rev. Same type and inscription as 68; but crude inscription and figure.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK376; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 34-34a; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 30.1; Artuk 1993: 43.		
73	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 30 mm; wt. 9.8 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 68; but damaged.	
	Rev. Same type and inscription as 68; but damaged.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK377; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 34-34a; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 30.1-30.2; Artuk 1993: 43.		
74	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 31 mm; wt. 14.2 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 68; but crude inscription and figure.	
	Rev. Same type and inscription as 68; but crude inscription and figure.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK378; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 34-34a; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 30.1; Artuk 1993: 43.		
75	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 34 mm; wt. 12.5 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 68; but inscription on left is worn.	
	Rev. Same type and inscription as 68; but crude inscription and figure.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK379; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 34-34a; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 30.1; Artuk 1993: 43.		
76	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī), Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 547-572/ AD 1152-1176)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 31 mm; wt. 9.6 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 68; but crude inscription and figure.	
	Rev. Same type and inscription as 68; but crude inscription and figure.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK380; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 34-34a; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 30.1; Mitchiner 1029-1030; Artuk 1993: 43.		

77	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)
Mint: - Date: AH 578 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 12.2 g	Obv. Two diademed busts: To the left a ruler based on that Heraclius with dishevelled hair, wearing chlamys fastened with buckle. To the right a bust of someone resembling Heraclius Constantine, beardless. Around: ثمان و سبعين و حمسمانه thamān wa sab‘īn wa khamsami’a Rev. Top: نجم الدين بن قطب الدين بن Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī) bin; left downwards: نجم الدين بن Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī) bin; right upwards: حسامالدين Ḥusām al-Dīn Centre: الناصر الدين امير المومنين هذا الدرهم ملعون من يعيره Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Amīr al-Mu‘minīn, hadhā al-dirham mal‘ūn man yu‘ayyiruhū
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK032; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 32.2; Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 36.	
78	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)
Mint: - Date: AH 577 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 12.1 g	Obv. Same type as 77; but date is AH 577. Around: سبع و سبعين و حمسمانه sab‘ wa sab‘īn wa khamsami’a Rev. Same inscription as 77.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK033; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 32.1; Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 35; Artuk 1993: 47-48.	
79	Copper dirham of Quṭb al-Dīn Ilghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)
Mint: - Date: worn (AH 57...) Diam. 35 mm; wt. 17.2 g	Obv. Same type as 77; but date is AH 57... Marginal Legend: سبعين و حمسمانه ... / ... sab‘īn wa khamsami’a Rev. Same inscription as 77.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK034; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 32.1-32.3; Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 35-37; Artuk 1993: 47-49.	
80	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)
Mint: - Date: AH 577 Diam. 34 mm; wt. 14.3 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 78. Rev. Same inscription as 77.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK035; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 32.1; Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 35; Artuk 1993: 47-48.	

81	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)	
Mint: - Date: AH 577 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 12.2 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 78.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 77.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK036; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 32.1; Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 35; Artuk 1993: 47-48.		

82	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)	
Mint: - Date: AH 577 Diam. 33 mm; wt. 14.9 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 78.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 77; but inscription on right is worn; and crude design.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK037; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 32.1; Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 35; Artuk 1993: 47-48.		

83	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī (Īl Ghāzī) II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)	
Mint: - Date: AH 579 Diam. 33 mm; wt. 13.4 g	Obv. Same type as 77; but date is AH 579 and pierced. Around: تسع و سبعين و خمسمانه tis' wa sab'in wa khamsami'a	
	Rev. Same inscription as 78; but pierced.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK038; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 32.3; Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 37; Artuk 1993: 49.		

84	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)	
Mint: - Date: AH 580 Diam. 34 mm; wt. 15.7 g	Obv. Same type as 77; but date is AH 580. Around: ثمانين و خمسمانه thamānīn wa khamsami'a	
	Rev. Same inscription as 78; but on the top: قطب الدين بن Quṭb al-Dīn]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK039; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 32.4; Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 38; Artuk 1993: 50.		

85	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)	
Mint: - Date: AH 580 Diam. 33 mm; wt. 12.8 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 84.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 77; but on the top: قطب الدين بن Quṭb al-Dīn bin]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK040; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 32.4; Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 38; Artuk 1993: 50.		

86	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)	
Mint: - Date: AH 579 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 13.7 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 83.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 77; but inscription is damaged.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK381; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 32.3; Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 37; Mitchiner 1034; Artuk 1993: 49.		

87	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 32 mm; wt. 9.8 g	Obv. Diademed Roman-style head to r., looking upward within a beaded circle Left: ایل غازی Ilghāzī; Bottom: تمر تاش بن Timurtāsh bin; Top: بن البی بن Albī (Alpī) bin; Right: بن ارتق bin Artuq	
	Rev. ایل غازی لمو لا نا المالک العلم العادل قطب الدین ملک الامرا شاه دیار بکر Ilghāzī / li-Mawlānā al-Malik al-‘Ālim / al-‘Ādil Quṭb al-Dīn / Malik al-Umarā Shāh / Diyār Bakr	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK041; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 41; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 31; Mitchiner 1031-2; Artuk 1993:46		

88	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 31 mm; wt. 10.8 g	Obv. Same type as 87; but damaged and there are some illegible Arabic characters around.	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 87; but damaged: ایل غازی لمو لا نا المالک العلم العادل قطب الدین ملک الامرا شاه دیار بکر [Ilghāzī] / li-Mawlānā al-Malik al-[‘Ālim] / al-‘Ādil Quṭb [al-Dīn] / Malik al-Umarā [Shāh] / Diyār [Bakr]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK042; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 41; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 31; Mitchiner 1031-2; Artuk 1993:46.		

89	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 29 mm; wt. 10.4 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 87.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 87.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK043; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 41; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 31; Mitchiner 1031-2; Artuk 1993:46.		

90	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 31 mm; wt. 11.2 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 87.
	Rev. Same inscription as 87.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK044; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 41; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 31; Mitchiner 1031-2; Artuk 1993:46.	

91	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 29 mm; wt. 9.1 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 87.
	Rev. Same inscription as 87.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK045; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 41; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 31; Mitchiner 1031-2; Artuk 1993:46.	

92	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn II-Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 572-580 / AD 1176-1184)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 30 mm; wt. 11.9 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 87.
	Rev. Same inscription as 87.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK046; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 41; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 31; Mitchiner 1031-2; Artuk 1993:46.	

93	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yölük (Yölük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 29 mm; wt. 10.3 g	Obv. Diademed bust facing, right hand holding one end of his mantle (chlamys) To the right: حسام الدين Ḥusām al-Dīn; to the left: يولق ارسلان Yoluk Ars(lān)
	Rev. Within hexagram: ايوب المالک الناصر صلاح الدنيا والدين يوسف بن Ayyūb / al-Malik al-Nāṣir / Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā / wa al-Dīn Yūsuf / bin In segments between the points of star: ... ضرب / سنة ... / ... / ... / ... / ... / ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK047; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 42-46; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 33.1-33.7; Mitchiner 1037-1038; Artuk 1993: 53-54.	

94	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 29 mm; wt. 10.9 g	Obv. Same type as 93; but damaged. To the right: حسام الدين Ḥusām al-Dīn; to the left: يولق ارسلان Yoluk Arslān	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 94; but damaged: within hexagram: ايوب المالک الناصر صلاح الدنيا والدين يوسف بن Ayyūb / [al-Ma]lik al-Nāṣir / [Ṣa]lāh al-Dunyā / [wa] al-Dīn Yūsuf bin In segments between the points of star: ... ضرب / سنة ḍuriba / sana / ... / ... / ... / ...	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK048; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 42-46; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 33.1-33.7; Mitchiner 1037-1038; Artuk 1993: 53-54.		

95	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 31 mm; wt. 10.6 g	Obv. Same type as 93.	
	Rev. Similar to 93; but within hexagram: ايوب المالک الناصر صلاح الدنيا والدين يوسف بن Ayyūb / al-Malik al-Nāṣir / Ṣalā[h al]-Dunyā / wa al-Dīn Yūsuf / bin In segments between the points of star: ... ثنة / ثنة ... / sana / sitt / ... / ... /mi'a (probably AH 586)	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK049; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 42-46; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 33.1-33.7; Mitchiner 1037-1038; Artuk 1993: 53-54.		

96	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: AH 581 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 12.8 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 93.	
	Rev. Sim. inscription as 93; but within hexagram: ايوب المالک الناصر صلاح الدنيا والدين يوسف بن Ayyūb / al-Malik al-Nāṣir / Ṣalāh al-Dunyā / wa al-Dīn Yūsuf / bin In segments between the points of star: ضرب ثنة احد وثمانين و خمسمائة ḍuriba / sana / aḥad / thamānīn / khamsa/mi'a	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK050; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 43; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 33.2; Artuk 1993: 53.		

97	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: AH 586 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 11.4 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 93.	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 93; but date is AH 586; in segments between the points of star: ضرب سنة ستة و ثمانين و خمسمائة ḍuriba / sana / sitta / [thamānīn] / khamsa/mi'a	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK051; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 33.7		

98	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: AH 582 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 13.6 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 93.	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 93; but date is AH 582; in segments between the points of star: ضرب سنه اثنین ثمانین و خمسائه ḍuriba / sana / ithnaīn / thamānīn / khamsa / mi'a	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK052; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Mitchiner 1037; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 33.3; Artuk 1993: 55.		

99	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: worn (AH 5...) Diam. 32 mm; wt. 14.3 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 93.	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 93; but in segments between the points of star: ضرب سنه ... خمسائه ḍuriba / sana / ... / ... / khamsa / mi'a (AH 5..)	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK053; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 42-46; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 33.1-33.7; Mitchiner 1037-1038; Artuk 1993: 53-54.		

100	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: AH 583 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 11.6 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 93.	
	Rev. Sim. Inscription as 93; but date is AH 583; in segments between the points of star: ضرب سنه ثلاث ثمانین خمسائه ḍuriba / sana / thalath / thamānīn / khamsa / mi'a	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK054; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 44; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 33.4; Artuk 1993: 56.		

101	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 31 mm; wt. 14.7 g	Obv. Diademed Roman-style bust on right, facing left in profile; smaller Byzantine style crowned. Marginal Legend is worn.	
	Rev. Right upwards: یوسف Yū[suf]; left downwards: بن ایوب bin Ayyūb الملك الناصر صلاح الدين محي دولة امير المؤمنين Al-Malik al-Nāṣir / Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn / Muhīyy Dawla / Amīr al-Mu'minīn	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK055; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 47; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 34; Mitchiner 1035-6; Artuk 1993: 51.		

102	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 31 mm; wt. 13.2 g	Obv. Same type as 101; but around: حسام الدين ملك ديار بكر Ḥusām al-Dīn Malik Diyār Bakr Rev. Similar inscription as 101; but right upwards: يوسف Yūsuf; left downwards: bin Ayyūb الملك الناصر صلاح الدين محي دولة اميرالمومنين Al-Malik al-Nāṣir / Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn / Muhīyy Dawla / Amīr al-Mu'minīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK056; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 47; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 34; Mitchiner 1035-6; Artuk 1993: 51.	
103	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 32 mm; wt. 13.3 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 102. Rev. Same inscription as 102.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK057; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 47; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 34; Mitchiner 1035-6; Artuk 1993: 51.	
104	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 32 mm; wt. 13.6 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 102. Rev. Same inscription as 102.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK058; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 47; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 34; Mitchiner 1035-6; Artuk 1993: 51.	
105	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 30 mm; wt. 11.1 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 102; but more elegant design. Rev. Same inscription as 102; but more elegant design.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK059; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 47; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 34; Mitchiner 1035-6; Artuk 1993: 51.	

106	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 32 mm; wt. 11.3 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 102; but figure and the marginal legend are damaged. Rev. Same inscription as 68; but right upwards: يوسف Yūsuf left downwards: بن ايوب [bin Ayyūb] الملك الناصر صلاح الدين محي دولة امير المومنين Al-Malik al-Nāṣir / Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn / Muḥīyy Dawla / Amīr al-Mu'minīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK060; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 47; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 34; Mitchiner 1035-6; Artuk 1993: 51.	
107	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 31 mm; wt. 13.4 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 102; but around: حسام الدين ملك ديار بكر [Ḥusām] al-Dīn Malik Diyār Bakr Rev. Same inscription as 102; but right upwards: يوسف Yūsuf; left downwards: بن ايوب [bin Ayyūb] الملك الناصر صلاح الدين محي دولة امير المومنين Al-Malik al-Nāṣir / Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn / [Muḥīyy] Dawla / Amīr al-Mu'minīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK061; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 47; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 34; Mitchiner 1035-6; Artuk 1993: 51.	
108	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 30 mm; wt. 11.6 g	Obv. Seated figure with three standing figures around Rev. Within linear circle: الملك العادل الامام الناصر لدين امير المومنين al-Malik al-‘Ādil / al-Imām al-Nā / ṣir li’-dīn / Amīr al-Mu'minīn; Right upwards: ... ; left downwards: ... around: ... حسام الدين Ḥusām al-Dīn...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK062; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 49-50; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.2-35.3; Mitchiner 1040-1041; Artuk 1993: 60-61.	

109	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: AH 589 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 13.5 g	Obv. Same type as 108. Rev. Similar inscription as 108; but within linear circle: الامام النا صر للدينامير المومنين al-Imām al-Nā / šir li'-dīn / Amīr al-Mu'minīn; around: حسام الدين ملك ديار بكر يولق ارسلان بن ايل غازى بن ارتق سنه تسع وثمانين وحسمانه Ḥusām al-Dīn Malik Diyār Bakr Yōluk Arslān bin Ilghāzī bin Artuq sana tis' wa thamānīn wa khamsami'a (AH 589)
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK063; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 48; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.1; Mitchiner 1039; Artuk 1993: 59.	

110	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 30 mm; wt. 15.1 g	Obv. Same type as 108. Rev. Similar inscription as 108; but within linear circle: الامام النا صر للدينامير المومنين al-Imām al-Nā / šir li'l-Dīn / Amīr al-Mu'minīn; Marginal legend: ... حسام الدين ملك ديار بكر يولق ارسلان ... Ḥusām al-Dīn [Malik Diyār Bakr] Yōluk Arslān ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK160; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 49-50; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.2-3; Mitchiner 1040-1; Artuk 1993: 60-1.	

111	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 32 mm; wt. 15.2 g	Obv. Same type as 108. Rev. Similar to 108; but marginal legend: حسام الدين ملك ديار بكر يولق ارسلان بن ايل غازى بن ارتق سنه Ḥusām al-Dīn Malik Diyār Bakr Yōluk Arslān bin Ilghāzī bin Artuq sana ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK161; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 49-50; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.2-3; Mitchiner 1040-1; Artuk 1993: 60-1	

112	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: AH 589 Diam. 33 mm; wt. 13.2 g	Obv. Same type as 108. Rev. Similar inscription as 108; but marginal legend: حسام الدين ملك دياربكر يولق ارسلان بن ايل غازى بن ارتق سنه تسع وثمانين وخمسماه Ḥusām al-Dīn Malik Diyār Bakr Yōluk Arslān bin Ilghāzī bin Artuq sana tis‘ wa thamānīn wa khamsamī’a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK162; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 49; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.2; Mitchiner 1039; Artuk 1993: 60.	

113	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: AH 589 Diam. 33 mm; wt. 12.1 g	Obv. Same type as 108. Rev. Similar inscription as 108; but within linear circle: الامام النا صر للدينامير المومنين al-Imām al-Nā / šir li’l-dīn / Amīr al-Mu’minīn; Marginal legend: حسام الدين ملك دياربكر يولق ارسلان بن ايل غازى بن ارتق سنه تسع وثمانين وخمسماه Ḥusām al-Dīn Malik Diyār Bakr Yōluk Arslān bin Ilghāzī bin Artuq sana tis‘ wa thamānīn wa khamsamī’a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK163; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 48; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.1; Mitchiner 1039; Artuk 1993: 59	

114	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: AH 589 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 11.4 g	Obv. Same type as 108. Rev. Similar inscription as 108; but marginal legend: حسام الدين ملك دياربكر يولق ارسلان بن ايل غازى بن ارتق سنه تسع وثمانين وخمسماه [Ḥusām al-Dīn] Malik Diyār Bakr Yōluk Arslān bin Ilghāzī bin Artuq sana tis‘ wa thamānīn wa khamsamī’a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK164; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 49; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.2; Mitchiner 1040-1; Artuk 1993: 60.	

115	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: AH 589 Diam. 33 mm; wt. 10.7 g	Obv. Same type as 108. Rev. Similar inscription as 108; but marginal legend: حسام الدين ملك ديار بكر يولق ارسلان بن ايل غازی بن ارتق سنه تسع وثمانين و خمسمانه Ḥusām al-Dīn Malik Diyār Bakr Yōluk Arslān bin Ilghāzī bin Artuq sana tis‘ wa thamānīn wa khamsamia
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK165; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 49-50; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.2-35.3; Mitchiner 1040-1; Artuk 1993:60-1.	
116	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 30 mm; wt. 12.8 g	Obv. Same type as 108. Rev. Similar inscription as 108.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK166; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 49-50; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.2-35.3; Mitchiner 1040-1; Artuk 1993: 60-1.	
117	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: AH 589 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 13.7 g	Obv. Same type as 108. Rev. Similar inscription as 108; but marginal legend: حسام الدين ملك ديار بكر يولق ارسلان بن ايل غازی بن ارتق سنه تسع وثمانين و خمسمائة Ḥusām al-Dīn Malik Diyār Bakr Yōluk Arslān bin Ilghāzī bin Artuq sana tis‘ wa thamānīn wa khamsami’a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK167; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 49; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.2; Mitchiner 1040-1; Artuk 1993: 60.	
118	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 29 mm; wt. 11.1 g	Obv. Same type as 108; but crude design. Rev. within circle: الامام النا صر لدينامير المومنين al-Imām al-Nā / sir li-Dīn / Āmir al-Mu’minīn; Marginal legend is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK168; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 48; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.1; Artuk 1993: 59.	

119	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: AH 589 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 16.5 g	Obv. Same type as 108.	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 108; but around: حسام الدين ملك ديار بكر يولق ارسلان بن ايل غازی بن ارتق سنه تسع وثمانين وخمسائة Ḥusām al-Dīn Malik Diyār Bakr Yōluk Arslān bin Ilghāzī bin Artuq sana tis‘ wa thamānīn wa khamsamia	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK169; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 49; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.2; Mitchiner 1040-1; Artuk 1993: 60.		
120	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 30 mm; wt. 14.3 g	Obv. Same type as 108.	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 108.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK170; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 49-50; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.2-3; Mitchiner 1040-1; Artuk 1993: 60-1.		
121	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: AH 589 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 12.9 g	Obv. Same type as 108.	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 108; but within linear circle: الامام النا صر لدين امير المومنين al-Imām al-Nā / sir li-dīn / Amīr al-Mu‘minīn; Marginal legend: حسام الدين ملك ديار بكر يولق ارسلان بن ايل غازی بن ارتق سنه تسع وثمانين وخمسائه Ḥusām al-Dīn Malik Diyār Bakr Yōluk Arslān bin Ilghāzī bin Artuq sana tis‘ wa thamānīn wa khamsami’a	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK171; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 48; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 35.1; Mitchiner 1039; Artuk 1993: 59.		

122	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 33 mm; wt. 14.6 g	Obv. Male figure, helmeted, sitting cross-legged, holding a sword horizontally behind his head in right hand, and holding a severed, helmeted head in left hand; The legend is worn. Rev. within the inner linear circle: الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين al-Nāṣir li-dīn / Allah Amīr / al-Mu'minīn; within the middle solid circle: الناصر يوسف الملك الافضل على والملك الظاهر غاز بن الملك al-Malik al-Afdal 'Āli wa'l-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī bin al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf; outer margin: حسام الدين يولق ارسلان ملك ديار بكر بن [Ḥusām] al-Dīn Yōluk Arslān Malik Diyār Bakr bin ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK172; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 51; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 36.1; Mitchiner 1043-44; Artuk 1993: 62.	

123	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 33 mm; wt. 13.4 g	Obv. Same type as 122; but around: نور الدين اتابك Nūr al-Dīn Atabeg Rev. Similar inscription as 122; but within the inner linear circle: الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين al-Nāṣir li-dīn / Allah Amīr / al-Mu'minīn; within the middle solid circle: الملك الافضل على والملك الظاهر غاز بن الملك الناصر يوسف [al-Malik al-Afdal 'Āli wa'l-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī] bin al-Malik al-Nāṣir [Yūsuf]; outer margin: حسام الدين يولق Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK173; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 51; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 36.1; Mitchiner 1043-4; Artuk 1993: 62.	

124	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: AH 596 Diam. 34 mm; wt. 13.8 g	Obv. Same type as 122; but around: نور الدين اتابك Nur al-Dīn Atabeg Rev. Similar inscription as 122; but date is AH 596. outer margin: حسام الدين يولق ارسلان بن ايل غازي بن ارتق ضرب سنه ستهو تسعين وخمسائة Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk Arslān Malik Diyār Bakr ibn Ilghāzī ibn Artuq ḍuriba sana sitta wa tis'in wa khamsamī'a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK174; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 51; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 36.1; Mitchiner 1043-4; Artuk 1993: 62.	

125	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: AH 596 Diam. 31 mm; wt. 13.7 g	Obv. Same type as 122; but inscription replaced by a floral spray in l.	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 122; but inner linear circle: : الله الامام النا صر للديناميرالمومنين Allah / al-Imām al-Nā- / sir li-dīn / Amīr al-Mu'minīn outer margin: حسام الدين يولق ارسلان بن ايل غازى بن ارتق ضرب سنه ستهو تسعين وحسمانه [Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk] Arslān Malik Diyār Bakr ibn Ilghāzī ibn Artuq ḍuriba sana sitt wa tis'in wa [khamsami'a]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK175; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 51-52; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 36.3; Artuk 1993: 64.		

126	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: AH 596 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 13 g	Obv. Same type as 125.	
	Rev. Same type as 125.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK176; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 51-52; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 36.3; Artuk 1993: 64		

127	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: AH 596 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 14.1 g	Obv. Similar type and inscription as 125; but sword in left hand, severed head in right hand, and inscription under left arm.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 124.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK177; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 55; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 36.2		

128	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 33 mm; wt. 17.6 g	Obv. Same type as 125.	
	Rev. Sim. inscription as 122; but inscription is obscure.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK178; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 51-52; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 36.3; Artuk 1993: 64.		

129	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 33 mm; wt. 15.1 g	Obv. Same type as 122.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 122; but outer margin: حسام الدين يولق ارسلان Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk Arslān Malik Diyār ...	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK179; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 51; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 36.1; Mitchiner 1043-4; Artuk 1993: 62.		

130	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 31 mm; wt. 15.4 g	Obv. Same type as 122; but crude design.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 122.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK180; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 51; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 36.1; Mitchiner 1043-4; Artuk 1993: 62.		

131	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: AH 596 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 15 g	Obv. Same type as 122.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 124.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK181; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 51; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 36.1; Mitchiner 1043-4; Artuk 1993: 62.		

132	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 33 mm; wt. 15.4 g	Obv. Same type as 122; but crude design.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 122; but outer marginal legend is worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK182; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 51; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 36.1; Mitchiner 1043-4; Artuk 1993: 62.		

133	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: AH 596 Diam. 31 mm; wt. 16 g	Obv. Same type as 122. Rev. Same inscription as 124.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK183; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 51; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 36.1; Mitchiner 1043-4; Artuk 1993: 62.	

134	Copper Coin of Ḥusām al-Dīn Yōluk (Yōlük) Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 580-597 / AD 1184-1200)
Mint: - Date: AH 596 Diam. 31 mm; wt. 11.9 g	Obv. Same type as 125. Rev. Same inscription as 124; but damaged.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK184; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 51-52; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 36.3; Artuk 1993: 64.	

135	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: AH 599 Diam. 28 mm; wt. 9.4 g	Obv. Bust facing slightly to left, hair dishevelled, each side star; the face of figure is damaged. Right upwards: ناصرالدين ار نāṣir al-Dīn [Ar-]; left downwards: تق ارسلان tuq Arslān Rev. within hexagram: الامام الناصر لدين اميرالمومنين الملك الظاهر غازى الله Allah / al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Amīr al-Mu'minīn / al-Malik [az-Zā]hir/ [Ghāzī]; in the segments of the points of hexagram: ضرب /سنة / تسع /تسعين /خمسة خمس / ماه / ḍuriba / sana / tis' / ti[s'īn] / [khamsa] / mi'a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK064; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 58; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 37.3; Mitchiner 1046; Artuk 1993: 70.	

136	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 31 mm; wt. 14.1 g	Obv. Same type as 135; but it is clearer and right upwards: ناصرالدين نāṣir al-Dīn; left downwards: ارتق ارسلان Artuq Arslān Rev. Similar inscription as 135, but date is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK065; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 58; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 37.2-3; Mitchiner 1046; Artuk 1993: 70.	

137	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 599 Diam. 33 mm; wt. 10.4 g	Obv. Centaur-archer running to the r., crowned or helmeted head facing, and shooting an arrow to a dragon. Around: تنة بماردين ثثة bi-Mārdīn sana / و تسعين و تسع tis' wa tis'in wa / حسمانه khamṣa mi'a
	Rev. Top: ناصرالدين Nāṣir al-Dīn; right upwards: ربكر -r Bakr; left downwards: ارتق Artuq; bottom: ارسلان Arslān; النا صرلدين الله اميرالمومنين الملك العادل ابوبكر بن ايوب ملك ديا Al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah Amīr / al-Mu'minīn al-Malik / al-'Ādil Abū Bakr / ibn Ayyūb Malik Diyā
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK066; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1993: 75.	

138	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 599 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 10.6 g	Obv. Centaur-archer running to the right, crowned or helmeted head facing, and shooting an arrow to a dragon. Around: سنه بماردين ثثة bi-Mārdīn sana / و تسعين و تسع tis' wa tis'in wa / حسمانه [khamṣa mi'a]
	Rev. Top: صرالدين (-ṣir al-Dīn); right upwards: بن ايوب bin Ayyūb; left downwards: ارتق Artuq Ar-; bottom: لان slan; النا صرلدين الله اميرالمومنين الملك العادل ابوبكر ملك دياربكر نا Al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah Amīr / al-Mu'minīn al-Malik / al-'Ādil Abū Bakr / Malik Diyār Bakr Nā-
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK067; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 60; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.2; Mitchiner 1047-8.	

139	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 599 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 10.8 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 138. Rev. Same inscription as 138; but the legend on the left is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK068; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 60; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.2; Mitchiner 1047-8.	

140	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 599 Diam. 31 mm; wt. 13.6 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 138. Rev. Same inscription as 138.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK069; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 60; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.2; Mitchiner 1047-8.	

141	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: Mārdīn	Obv. Same type and inscription as 138.	
Date: AH 599		
Diam. 29 mm; wt. 11.6 g	Rev. Same inscription as 138.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK070; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 60; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.2; Mitchiner 1047-8.		

142	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: Mārdīn	Obv. Same type and inscription as 138.	
Date: AH 599		
Diam. 29 mm; wt. 13.1 g	Rev. Similar inscription as 138; but inscription on right is worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK071; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 60; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.2; Mitchiner 1047-8.		

143	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: worn	Obv. Centaur-archer running to the left, crowned or helmeted head facing, and shooting an arrow to a dragon	
Date: worn	Marginal legend is worn.	
Diam. Diam. 26 mm; wt. 8.3 g	Rev. Top: بن ايوب (bin Ayyūb); right upwards: صر الدين [-ṣir al-Dīn]; left downwards: ارتق ار Artuq Ar-; bottom: سلان slān; النا صرلدين الله امير المومنين الملك العادل ابوبكر ملك ديار بكر نا Al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah Amīr / al-Mu'minīn al-Malik / al-'Ādil Abū Bakr / Malik Diyār Bakr Nā-	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK072; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 59; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.1.		

144	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: worn	Obv. Same type as 143; but centaur-archer is within a hexagram.	
Date: worn		
Diam. 32; wt. 12 g	Rev. worn	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK073; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 59; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.1.		

145	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. 30 mm; wt. 6.5 g	Obv. Same type as 143; but damaged and deficient. Rev. worn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK074; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 59; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.1.	

146	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 599 Diam. 33 mm; wt. 12.2 g	Obv. Same type as 143; but around: تسع و bi-Mārdīn sana / و تسعين و tis' wa tis'in wa / خمسمانه [khamsa mi'a] Rev. Similar inscription as 143; but top: بن ايوب bin Ayyūb; right upwards: صرالدين [-ṣir] al-Dīn; left downwards: ارتق ار Artuq Ar-; bottom: سلان slān; النا صرلدين الله امير المومنين الملك العادل ابوبكر ملك ديار بكر نا Al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah Amīr / al-Mu'minīn al-Malik / al-'Ādil Abū Bakr / Malik Diyār Bakr Nā-
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK075; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 59; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.1.	

147	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: worn (AH 5...) Diam. 28 mm; wt. 10.1 g	Obv. Same type as 143; but around: بماردين سنة bi-Mārdīn sana /.... و wa / خمسمانه khamsemi'a (AH 5..) Rev. Similar inscription as 143; but top: بن ايوب bin Ayyūb; right upwards: صرالدين [-ṣir] al-Dīn; left downwards: ارتق ار [Artuq Ar-]; bottom: سلان [s]lān; النا صرلدين الله امير المومنين الملك العادل ابوبكر ملك ديار بكر نا Al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah Amīr / al-Mu'minīn al-Malik / al-'Ādil AbūBakr / Malik Diyār Bakr Nā-
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK076; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 59; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.1.	

148	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 599 Diam. 27 mm; wt. 9.6 g	Obv. Same type as 143; but damaged Rev. worn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK077; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 59; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.1.	

149	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 599 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 10.2 g	Obv. Same type as 143; but around: تسع و / bi-Mārdīn sana / و tis' wa tis'īn wa / حمسماه [khams mi'a] Rev. Similar inscription as 143; but top: بن ايوب bin Ayyu[b]; right upwards: صرالدين [-ṣir al-Dīn]; left downwards: ارتق [Artuq Ar-]; bottom: سلان [slan]; النا صرلدين الله امير المومنين الملك العادل ابوبكر ملك ديار بكر نا Al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah A[mīr] / al-Mu'minīn al-Malik / al-'Ādil Abū Bakr / [Malik Diyār Bakr Nā-]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK078; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 59; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.1.	
150	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: worn (AH ...9) Diam. 28 mm; wt. 10.3 g	Obv. Same type as 143; but around: بماردين سنة bi-Mārdīn sana / ... tis' wa ... (AH ...9) Rev. Similar inscription as 143; top: بن ايوب (bin Ayyūb); right upwards: ... ; left downwards: ... ; bottom: ...; النا صرلدين الله امير المومنين الملك العادل ابو بكر ملك Al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mu'minīn / al-Malik al-'Ādil / Abū Bakr Malik ... / ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK079; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1993: 74.	
151	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 599 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 10.3 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 143. Rev. Same inscription as 143.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK080; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 59; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.1.	
152	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: worn (AH 59.) Diam. 29 mm; wt. 12.2 g	Obv. Same type as 143; but around: تسعين و / bi-Mārdīn sana / و tis'īn wa / حمسماه [khamsami'a] (AH 59.) Rev. النا صرلدين الله امير المومنين الملك العادل ابوبكر بن ايوب ملك ديار بكر ارسلان al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mu'minīn / al-Malik al-'Ādil / AbūBakr bin Ayyūb / Malik Diyār Bakr / Arslān
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK081; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. -	

153	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 599 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 12.5 g	Obv. Same type as 143; but around: تسع و بماردين سنة bi-Mārdīn sana / و تسع و tis' wa tis'in wa / خمسمائة [khamsami'a]	Rev. Similar inscription as 143; but top: بن ايوب (bin Ayyūb); right upwards: ...; left downwards: ارتق ارس Artuq Ar-; bottom: سلان slan; النا صر لدين الله امير المومنين الملك العادل ابوبكر بن ايوب ملك ديار بكر ارسلان [Al-Nāṣir li-dīn] Allah Amīr / [al-Mu']minīn al-Malik / al-'Ādil Abū Bakr / Malik Diyār Bakr Nā-
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK082; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 59; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 38.1.		

154	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 606 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 8 g	Obv. Man riding a lion side-saddle to the left, arms raised Around: الملك العالم العادل ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان ملك ديار بكر al-Malik al-'Ālim al-'Ādil Nāsiral-Dīn Artuq Arslān Malik Diyār Bakr	Rev. Central legend: الامام النا صر لدين الله امير المومنين al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Amīr / al-Mu'minīn; Right upwards: ستته sitta; Top: و ست wa sitta; left downwards: مائة mi'a; Around: الملك العادل سيف الدين ابو بكر ابن ايوب ضرب بماردين سنة al-Malik al-'Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb ḍariba bi-Mārdīn sana
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK083; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 61; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 39; Mitchiner 1051-2; Artuk 1993: 76.		

155	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 606 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 9.9 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 154.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 154.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK084; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 61; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 39; Mitchiner 1051-2; Artuk 1993: 76.		

156	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 606 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 11.4 g	Obv. Same type as 154; but marginal legend: الملك العالم العادل ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان ملك ديار بكر [al-Malik] al-'Ālim al-'Ādil Nā[ṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān] Malik Diyār Bakr	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 154; but around: الملك العادل سيف الدين ابو بكر ابن ايوب ضرب بماردین سنه al-Malik al-'Ādi [I Sayf al-Dīn] Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb ḍuriba bi-Mārdīn sana	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK085; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 61; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 39; Mitchiner 1051-2; Artuk 1993: 76.		

157	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. 31 mm; wt. 10.7 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 154.	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 154; but damaged.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK086; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 61; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 39; Mitchiner 1051-2; Artuk 1993: 76.		

158	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 606 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 12.6 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 154.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 154.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK087; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 61; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 39; Mitchiner 1051-2; Artuk 1993: 76.		

159	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 606 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 9.8 g	Obv. Same type as 154; but with countermark and around: الملك العالم العادل ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان ملك ديار بكر al-Malik al-‘Ālim al-‘Ādil [Nāsiral-Dīn Artuq Arslān Malik] Diyār Bakr Rev. Similar inscription as 154; but central legend: الامام النا صر لدين اللهمير المومنين [al-Imām] al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Am[īr] / al-Mu’minīn; Right upwards: سته sitta; Top: و ست wa sitta; left downwards: مائة mi’a around: الملك العادل سيف الدين ابو بكر ابن ايوب ضرب بماردين سنة [al-Malik al-‘Ādil] Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb ḍuriba bi- Mārdīn sana
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK088; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 61; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 39; Mitchiner 1051-2; Artuk 1993: 76.	

160	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 606 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 12.4 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 154. Rev. Similar inscription as 154; but central legend: الامام النا صر لدين اللهامير المومنين al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Amīr / al-Mu’minīn; Right upwards: سته sitta; top: و ست wa sitta; left downwards: مائة mi’a; Margin: الملك العادل سيف الدين ابو بكر ابن ايوب ضرب بماردين سنة al-Malik al-‘Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb [ḍuriba bi-Mārdīn sana]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK089; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 61; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 39; Mitchiner 1051-2; Artuk 1993: 76.	

161	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 26 mm; wt. 6.7 g	Obv. Man riding lion side-saddle to the left, arms raised Marginal legend: الملك العالم العادل ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان ملك ديار بكر [al-Malik al-‘Ālim al-‘Ādil Nāsiral-Dīn Artuq Ar]slān Malik Diyār Bakr Rev. in centre: المستنصر امير بالله المومنين al-Mustanshir / [Amīr / billah / al-Mu’minīn] top: ضرب سنة ḍuriba sana; left downwards: ...; bottom: ...; right upwards: ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK090; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 71; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 45.	

162	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: AH 626 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 12.8 g	Obv. Same type as 161. around: الملك العالم العادل ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان ملك ديار بكر al-Malik al-‘Ālim al-‘Ādil Nā[sir al-Dīn Arslān Malik Diyār] Bakr Rev. in centre: المستنصر امير بالله المومنين al-Mustanṣir / Amīr / billah / al-Mu’minīn top: ضرب سنة ḍuriba sana; left downwards: ستھو sitta wa; bottom: عشرین ‘ishrīn; right upwards: ستماھ [sittami’a] Marginal legend is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK091; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 71; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 45.	
163	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 24 mm; wt. 13.2 g	Obv. Similar type as 161; but different design. Rev. امير المومنين / ملك الامرا ... / al-Amīr al-Mu’minīn / Malik al-Umarā/.... Right upwards: ... لا اله La ilah ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK092; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. -	
164	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: AH 626 Diam. 27 mm; wt. 5.8 g	Obv. Same type as 161; but marginal legend is worn. Rev. Similar inscription as 161; but the legend: ضرب سنة المستنصر امير بالله المومنين ḍuriba sana / al-Mustanṣir / Amīr / billah / [al-Mu’minīn] Marginal legend is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK093; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 71; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 45.	
165	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 31 mm; wt. 9.4 g	Obv. Damaged. Rev. Damaged.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK094; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 71; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 45.	

166	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: AH 611 Diam. 23 mm; wt. 6.5 g Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 62; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 40; Artuk 1993: 77.	Obv. Head facing slightly to l. Around: ناصر الدنيا و الدين ارتق ارسلان ملك ديار بكر Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Artuq Arslān Malik [Diyār Bakr]	Rev. Top: Artuqid tamgha Right upwards: واحد عشر 'ashara; left downwards: وستمانه (wa sitta mi'a); ابو العباس احمد الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين الملك العادل ابو بكر بن ايوب Abū'l Abbas Aḥmad / al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mu'minīn / al-Malik al-'Ādil / [Abū Bakr bin Ayyūb]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK095; P.D. Whitting Collection		
167	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 22 mm; wt. 6.6 g	Obv. Head facing slightly to left. Around: ناصر الدنيا نāṣir al-Dunyā ...	Rev. damaged
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK096; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. -		
168	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: AH 611 Diam. 23 mm; wt. 6.5 g	Obv. Same type as 166; but around: ناصر الدنيا و الدين ارتق ارسلان ملك ديار بكر [Nāṣir] al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Artuq Arslān Malik Diyār Bakr	Rev. Similar inscription as 166; but right upwards: واحد عشر 'ashara; left downwards: وستمانه wa sitta [mi'a]; ابو العباس احمد الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين الملك العادل ابو بكر بن ايوب Abu'l Abbas Aḥmad / al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mu'minīn / al-Malik al-'Ādil [Abū Bakr bin Ayyūb]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK097; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 62; Spengler&Sayles: 40; Artuk 1993: 77.		
169	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: AH 611 Diam. 23 mm; wt. 5.6 g	Obv. Same type as 166; but around: ناصر الدنيا و الدين ارتق ارسلان ملك ديار بكر Nāṣir al-Dunyā [wa al-Dīn] Artuq Arslān Malik Diyār Bakr	Rev. Similar inscription as 166; but right upwards: واحد عشر 'ashara left downwards: وستمانه wa sitta mi'a ; ابو العباس احمد الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين الملك العادل ابو بكر بن ايوب Abu'l Abbas Aḥmad / al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mu'minīn / al-Malik al-'Ādil [Abū Bakr bin Ayyūb]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK098; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 62; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 40; Artuk 1993: 77.		

170	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: AH 611 Diam. 25 mm; wt. 7 g	Obv. Same type as 166; but around: ناصر الدنيا و الدين ارتق ارسلان ملك ديار بكر Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Artuq Arslān Malik Diyār Bakr Rev. Similar inscription as 166; but right upwards: احد عشر aḥad 'ashara left downwards: وستمائه wa sitta mi'a; ابو العباس احمد الناصر لدين اللھامير المومنين الملك العادل ابو بكر بن ايوب Abu'l Abbas Aḥmad / al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mu'minīn / al-Malik al-'Ādil [Abū Bakr bin Ayyūb]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK099; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 62; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 40; Artuk 1993: 77.	
171	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: AH 611 Diam. 26 mm; wt. 5.8 g	Obv. Same type as 166; but marginal legend: ناصر الدنيا و الدين ارتق ارسلان ملك ديار بكر [Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Artuq Ars]lān Malik Diyār Bakr Rev. Top: Artuqid tamgha Right upwards: احد عشر aḥad 'ashara left downwards: وستمائه wa sitta mi'a; ابو العباس احمد الناصر لدين اللھامير المومنين الملك العادل ابو بكر بن ايوب Abu'l Abbas Aḥmad / al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mu'minīn / [al- Malik] al-'Ādil [Abū Bakr bin] Ayyūb
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK100; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 62; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 40; Artuk 1993: 77.	
172	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 20 mm; wt. 6 g	Obv. Head facing slightly to left. Inscription is worn. Rev. الله الملك الكامل محمد بن ايوب الملك المنصور ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان Allah / al-Malik al-Kāmil / Muḥammad bin Ayyūb / al-Malik al- Manṣūr / [Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq] / [Arslān]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK101; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1993: 80.	
173	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 24 mm; wt. 6.3 g	Obv. Head facing slightly to right. Some illegible characters around. Rev. الله الملك الكامل محمد بن ايوب الملك المنصور ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان [Allah] / [al-Malik al-Kāmil] / Muḥammad bin Ayyūb / al-Malik al- Manṣūr / Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq / [Arslān] Right upwards: [al-Nāṣir] الناصر; left downwards: الامام [al-Imām]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK102; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 63.	

174	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: AH 626 Diam. 31 mm; wt. 10 g	Obv. Man riding lion side-saddle to the left, arms raised Around: الملك العالم العادل ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان ملك ديار al-Malik al-ʿĀ[lim al-ʿĀdil Nāsir al-Dīn Artuq Ar]slān Malik Diyār Bakr	
	Rev. المستنصر امير بالله المومنين ضرب سنه ḍuriba sana / al-Mustanṣir / Amīr / billah / al-Muʿminīn Around: al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāsir [al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Muḥammad bin al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK103; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 71; Spengler&Sayles 45.		

175	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 29 mm; wt. 14.2 g	Obv. Roman-style male head to r., hair in waves Around: الملك المنصور ناصر الدنيا والدين ارتق ارسلان al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāsir al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Artuq Arslān	
	Rev. In centre: الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين الملك الكامل نا صر الدين محمد Al-Nāsir li-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Muʿminīn / al-Malik al-Kāmil / Nāsir al-Dīn Muḥammad Top: ...; right upwards: ...; left downwards: ...; bottom: ...	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK104; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Mitchiner 1060-1061; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 40.		

176	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: AH 620 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 12.8 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 175.	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 175; but date is AH 620; top: عشرين 'ishrīn; right upwards: ضرب سنه ḍuriba sana; left downwards: وستماه [wa sitta mi'a]; bottom: بن ايوب bin Ayyūb; الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين الملك الكامل نا صر الدين محمد Al-Nāsir li-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Muʿminīn / al-Malik al-Kāmil / [Nāsir] al-Dīn [Muḥammad]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK105; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Mitchiner 1060-1061; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 40.		

177	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 30 mm; wt. 13.8 g	Obv. Same type as 175; but around: الملك المنصور ناصر الدنيا والدين ارتق ارسلان [al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir] al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Artuq Ars[lan] Rev. Similar inscription as 175; but الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين الملك الكامل ناصر الدين محمد al-Nāṣir [li-dīn Allah] / Amīr al-Mu'minīn / al-Malik al-Kāmil / Nāṣir al-Dīn [Muḥammad]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK106; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Mitchiner 1060-1061; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 40.	
178	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: AH 620 Diam. 29 mm; wt. 12.9 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 175. Rev. Similar inscription as 175; but date is AH 620.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK107; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Mitchiner 1060-1061; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 40.	
179	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: AH 620 Diam. 32 mm; wt. 12.3 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 175. Rev. Similar inscription as 175; but date is AH 620.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK108; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Mitchiner 1060-1061; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 40.	
180	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 29 mm; wt. 11.5 g	Obv. Same type as 175; but around: الملك المنصور ناصر الدنيا والدين ارتق ارسلان al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn [Artuq Arslān] Rev. Similar inscription as 175; but top: عشرين 'ishr[īn]; right upwards: ضرب سنة ḍuriba sana; left downwards: وستماه wa sitta [mi'a]; bottom: بن ايب [bin Ayyūb]; الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين الملك الكامل ناصر الدين محمد Al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mu'minīn / al-Malik al-Kāmil / Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥ[ammad]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK109; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Mitchiner 1060-1061; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 40.	

181	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: worn (AH 62...) Diam. 26 mm; wt. 8.9 g	Obv. Bust facing, with long locks falling to the sides; Around: السلطان الاعظم علاء الدين كيقباد بن كيجسرو al-Sulṭan al-ʿĀzam ʿAlā al-Dīn Qay-Kubād bin Kay-Khusraw	
	Rev. Top: و عشرين و wa ʿishrīn wa ; right upwards:; left downwards: ...; الا مام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين الملك المنصور ارتق Al-Imām / al-Mustanṣir billah / Amīr al-Muʿminīn / [al-Ma]lik al-Man [ṣūr Artuq]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK110; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 66; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 44.		
182	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 31 mm; wt. 12.8 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 181.	
	Rev. worn	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK111; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 66; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 44.		
183	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 31 mm; wt. 12 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 181.	
	Rev. worn	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK112; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 66; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 44.		
184	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: AH 623 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 12.5 g	Obv. Same type as 181; but inscription is worn.	
	Rev. Similar inscription as 181; but top: و عشرين و wa ʿishrīn wa right upwards: سنة ثلاث sana talath; left downwards: ستماه [sitta miʿa]; الا مام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين الملك المنصور ارتق Al-Imām / al-Mustanṣir billah / Amīr al-Muʿminīn / al-Malik al-Manṣūr Artuq	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK113; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 66; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 44.		

185	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: worn (AH 62.) Diam. 31 mm; wt. 10.8 g	Obv. Same type as 181; but inscription is worn.
	Rev. Similar inscription as 181; but top: و عشرين و [wa] ‘ishrīn wa; right upwards: ... ; left downwards: ... ; الإمام المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين الملك المنصور ارتق al-Imām / al-Musta[nṣir billah] / Amīr al-Mu’[minīn] / [al-Malik al- Manṣūr Artuq]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK114; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 66; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 44.	

186	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 28 mm; wt. 8 g	Obv. Figure sitting cross-legged on a throne with three annulets on each side, left hand at chest holding an orb, star on each side of head, Artuqid tamgha below; Right upwards: ارتق ارسلان ناصر الدين Nāṣir al-Dīn; left downwards: ارتق ارسلان (Artuq Arslān)
	Rev. In centre: الإمام المستنصر أمير المؤمنين الملك الكامل / al-Imām al-Mustanṣir / Amīr al-Mu’min (īn) / al-Malik al-Kām[il] Top: بالله [billah]; Right upwards: ... ; left downwards: ... ; bottom: محمد Muḥammad
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK115; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 74; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 46; Mitchiner 1065; Artuk 1993:98-9	

187	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 27 mm; wt. 8.4 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 186; but inscriptions on right and left are worn.
	Rev. Same inscription as 186; but inscriptions on right and left are worn; بأنه الإمام المستنصر أمير المؤمنين الملك الكامل محمد [billah] / al-Imām al-Mustanṣir / Amīr al-Mu’min [īn] / al-Malik al- Kām [il] / [Muḥammad]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK116; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 74; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 46; Mitchiner 1065; Artuk 1993:98-9.	

188	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 28 mm; wt. 9.3 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 186; but inscription on r. is worn and left downwards: ارتق ارسلان Artuq Arslān	Rev. Same inscriptions as 186; but inscriptions on r. and l. are worn; بالله الامام المستنصر امير المومنين الملك الكامل محمد [billah] / al-Imām al-Mustanṣir / Amīr al-Mu'min[īn] / al-Malik al-Kāmil / [Muḥammad]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK117; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 74; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 46; Mitchiner 1065; Artuk 1993:98-9		

189	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 28 mm; wt. 7.7 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 186; but inscription on r. is worn and left downwards: ارتق ارسلان Artuq Arslān.	Rev. Same inscription as 186; but inscriptions on right and left are worn; بالله الامام المستنصر امير المومنين الملك الكامل محمد billah / al-Imām al-Mustanṣir / Amīr al-Mu'minīn / al-Malik al-Kāmil / [Muḥammad]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK118; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 74; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 46; Mitchiner 1065; Artuk 1993:98-9		

190	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 30 mm; wt. 11.6 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 186; but damaged.	Rev. Same inscription as 186; but damaged.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK119; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 74; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 46; Mitchiner 1065; Artuk 1993:98-9		

191	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 27 mm; wt. 8.3 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 186; but inscription on right is worn and left downwards: ارتق ارسلان Artuq Arslān.	Rev. Same inscription as 186; but central legend: بالله الامام المستنصر امير المومنين الملك الكامل محمد billah / al-Imām al-Mustanṣir / Amīr al-Mu'minīn / [al-Malik al-Kāmil / Muḥammad]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK120; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 74; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 46; Mitchiner 1065; Artuk 1993:98-9		

192	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 634 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 7.9 g	Obv. Large, crude head facing, curly-haired with short locks falling to each side, and large eyes. Around: السلطان المعظم علا الدنيا والدين كيقباد قسيم امير المومنين al-Sultān al-Mu‘azzam ‘Alā al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Kaykubād Qasīm Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Rev. top: ضرب بماردين ḍuriba bi-Mārdīn; left downwards: سنة اربع و sana arba‘ wa; right upwards: ثلاثين و ستائة thalathīn wa sitta mi‘a; الامام المستنصر بالله * * * امير المومنين الملك المنصور ارتق Al-Imām / al-Mustansir billah * * * Amīr al-Mu‘minīn / al-Malik al-Mansūr / Artuq
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK121; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 75; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 47; Artuk 1993: 101.	
193	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: worn Diam. 29 mm; wt. 8.7 g	Obv. Same type as 192; but marginal legend is worn. Rev. Similar inscription as 192; but date is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK122; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 75; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 47; Artuk 1993: 101.	
194	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: worn Diam. 29 mm; wt. 9.8 g	Obv. Same type as 192; but marginal legend: السلطان المعظم علا الدنيا والدين كيقباد قسيم امير المومنين [al-Sultān al-Mu‘azzam] ‘Alā al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Kaykubād Qasīm [Amīr al-Mu‘minīn] Rev. Similar inscription as 192; but top: ضرب بماردين ḍuriba bi-Mārdīn; left downwards: سنة اربع و sana arba‘ wa; right upwards: ... ; الامام المستنصر بالله * * * امير المومنين الملك المنصور ارتق Al-Imām / al-Mustansir billāh * * * Amīr al-Mu‘minīn / [al-Ma]lik al-Mansūr / [Artuq]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK123; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 75; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 47; Artuk 1993: 101.	
195	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. 29 mm; wt. 7.9 g	Obv. Same type as 192; but marginal legend is worn. Rev. Same inscription as 192; but damaged.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK124; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 75; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 47; Artuk 1993: 101.	

196	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. 28 mm; wt. 6.9 g	Obv. Seated cross-legged man facing, left hand at chest holding an orb; Marginal legend is worn.	Rev. الامام المستنصر بالله اميرالمومنين الملك المنصور ارتق central legend: [Al-Imām] / [al]-Mustanṣir billah / Amīr al-Mu'minīn / al-Malik al-Manṣūr / Artuq Date and mint name are worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK125; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 76; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 48.1-48.3; Mitchiner 1072; Artuk 1993: 100.		

197	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: worn Date: worn (63x) Diam. 29 mm; wt. 9.3 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 196.	Rev. Same inscription as 196; but central legend: الامام المستنصر بالله اميرالمومنين الملك المنصور ارتق Al-Imām / al-Mustanṣir billah / Amīr al-Mu'minīn / al-Malik al-Manṣūr / Artuq Top: ...; right upwards: ثلاثين و ستائة thalathīn wa sitta mi'a; left downwards: ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK126; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 76; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 48.1-48.3; Mitchiner 1072; Artuk 1993: 100.		

198	Silver dirham of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: Dunaysir Date: AH 629 Diam. 24 mm; wt. 2.9 g	Obv. Central legend: ارتق الملك المنصر *** الامام المستنصر / al-Imām al-Mustanṣir *** Artuk / al-Malik al-Manṣūr Top: بالله billah; bottom: و عشرين wa 'ishrīn; right upwards: و ستامه wa sitta mi'a; left downwards: تسع tis'	Rev. Central legend: السلطان المعظم كيقباد بن كخسرو as-Ṣultān al-Mu 'azzam Kay-Qubād bin Kay-Khusraw Top: بدنيسر سنة bi-Dunaysir sana; right upwards: الدرهم al-Dirham; left downwards: ضرب ḍuriba; bottom: هذا hadhā
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK127; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Mitchiner 1063; Artuk 1993: 86.		

199	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 23 mm; wt. 7.0 g	Obv. Within hexagram: الملك المنصور ناصر الدنيا والدين ارتق ارسلان / al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir / al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn / Artuq Arslān; Inscriptions in the segments of the points of the hexagram are worn. Rev. within hexagram: الناصر لدين الله امير المومنين الملك الكامل محمد / al-Nāṣir al-Dīn Allah / Amīr / al-Mu'minīn al-Malik / al-Kāmil [Muḥammad] Inscriptions in the segments of the points of the hexagram are worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK128; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1993: 78.	
200	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 24 mm; wt. 5.1 g	Obv. Same inscription as 199; but damaged. Rev. Same inscription as 199; but damaged.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK129; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1993: 78.	
201	Silver dirham of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Duneysir Date: AH 626 Diam. 22 mm; wt. 2.9 g	Obv. Same inscription as 198. Rev. Similar inscription as 198; but date is AH 626. Left downwards: سنة سitta; bottom: و عشرين wa 'ishrīn; right upwards: / و ستمانه wa sitta mi'a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK130; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1993: 85.	
202	Silver dirham of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)
Mint: Hiṣn Kayfa Date: worn (AH 6..) Diam. 21 mm; wt. 2.9 g	Obv. Within hexagram: الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين / al-Imām / al-Mustanṣir / billah Amīr al-Mu' / minīn In segments points of star: لا اله الا الله / محمد / رسول الله / [Lā ilah] / illā / Allah / Muḥammad / [Rasūl] / [Allah] Rev. Within hexagram: محمد الملك الكامل المنصور ارتق / Muḥammad / al-Malik al-Kāmil / al-Malik al-Manṣūr Artuq; In segments between the points of star: ضرب بحصن سنه... و ستمانه / ḍuriba / bi-Hiṣn / sana / ... / ... / wa sitta mi'a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK131; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. -	

203	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. 2.88; wt. 21 mm	<p>Obv. Within hexagram: الامام المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين al-Imām / al-Mustaṣṣir / billah Amīr al-Mu' / minīn Around: لا اله الا الله / محمد / رسول الله Lā ilah / illā / [Allah] / [Muḥammad] / [Rasūl] / Allah</p> <p>Rev. Within hexagram: محمد الملك الكامل المنصور ارتق Muḥammad / al-Malik al-Kāmil / al-Malik al-Manṣūr / Artuq Around: worn</p>	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK132; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 73.		

204	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: worn (...9 AH) Diam. 30 mm; wt. 14.1 g	<p>Obv. Bust facing, hair dishevelled, wearing a mantle, star on each side of neck Around: ناصر الدين ارتق ارسلان Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān</p> <p>Rev. Within hexagram: الله الامام الناصر لدين امير المؤمنين الملك الظاهر غازي Allah / al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Amīr al-Mu'minīn / al-Malik al-Zāhir / Ghāzī In segments between the points of star: ... ضرب / سنه / تسع ... ḍuriba / sana / tis' / ... / ... / ...</p>	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK185; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 58; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 37.3; Artuk 1993: 70.		

205	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 29 mm; wt. 12.4 g	<p>Obv. Same type and inscription as 204.</p> <p>Rev. Same inscription as 204. In segments between the points of star: worn</p>	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK186; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 58; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 37.3; Artuk 1993: 70.		

206	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: AH 598 Diam. 30 mm; wt. 11.9 g	<p>Obv. Same type and inscription as 204.</p> <p>Rev. Sim. inscription as 204; but date is AH 598; in the segments between the points of star: ضرب / سنه / ثمان / تسعين / خمس / مانه ḍuriba / sana / thamān / tis'īn / khamsa / mi'a</p>	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK187; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 37.2		

207	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 29 mm; wt. 12.7 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 204; crude design	
	Rev. obscure	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK188; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 58; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 37.3; Artuk 1993: 70.		

208	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: AH 598 Diam. 31 mm; wt. 10.4 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 204.	
	Rev. within hexagram: الله الامام الناصر الدين اميرالمومنين Allah / al-Imām al-Nā- / ṣir al-Dīn / [Amīr] / al-Mu'minīn; In segments between the points of star: ضرب سنة / ثمان / تسعين / خمس / مانه ḍuriba / sana / thamān / tis'īn / khamsa / mi'a	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK189; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. -		

209	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 29 mm; wt. 9.9 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 204; but inscription is worn.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 204.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK190; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 58; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 37.3; Artuk 1993: 70.		

210	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 597-637 / AD 1200-1239)	
Mint: - Date: AH 598 Diam. 28 mm; wt. 11.2 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 204; but figure is damaged.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 204.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK191; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 57; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 37.1; Motchiner 1045; Artuk 1993: 70.		

211	Silver Dirham of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī I, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 637-658 / AD 1239-1260)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 642 Diam. 21 mm; wt. 2.9 g	Obv. Within hexagram: الإمام المستعصم بالله أمير المؤمنين al-Imām / al-Musta‘ṣim / billah Amīr al-Mu’- / minīn In segments of the points of star: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله Lā ilah / illā / Allah / Muḥammad / Rasūl / Allah Rev. Within hexagram: ايوب الملك الصالح الملك السعيد غازي Ayyūb / al-Malik / as-Ṣālih / al-Malik as-Sa‘īd / Ghāzī In segments of the points of star: ضرب بماردين سنة اثنين وأربعين وستمانه ḍuriba / bi-Mārdīn / sana / ithnaīn / arba‘īn / sittami’a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK133; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1993: 105.	
212	Silver Dirham of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī I, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 637-658 / AD 1239-1260)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: worn Diam. 21 mm; wt. 2.8 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 211. Rev. Same type and inscription as 211; but date is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK134; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1993:105	
213	Silver Dirham of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī I, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 637-658 / AD 1239-1260)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: worn Diam. 20 mm; wt. 2.7 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 211. Rev. Same type and inscription as 211; but date is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK135; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 105	
214	Silver Dirham of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī I, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 637-658 / AD 1239-1260)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: worn (AH 6.6) Diam. 21 mm; wt. 2.9 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 211. Rev. Within hexagram: يوسف الملك الناصر الملك السعيد غازي Yūsuf / al-Malik al-Nāṣir / al-Malik al-Sa‘īd / Ghāzī In segments of the points of star: ضرب بماردين سنة ستة / ... / وستمانه ḍuriba / bi-Mārdīn / sana / sitt / .../ sitta mi’a (6.6 AH)
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK136; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 82; Artuk 1993: 109.	

215	Silver Dirham of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī I, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 637-658 / AD 1239-1260)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: AH 656 Diam. 21 mm; wt. 2.5 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 214. Rev. Same type and inscription as 214; but date is AH 658. In segments of the points of star: ضرب بماردين سنة ست وخمسين / وستمانه / ḍuriba / bi-Mārdīn / sana / sitt / khamsīn / sitta mi'a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK137; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane-Poole 1875: 82; Artuk 1993: 109.	

216	Silver Dirham of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī I, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 637-658 / AD 1239-1260)
Mint: Mārdīn Date: worn Diam. 20 mm; wt. 2.8 g	Obv. Within hexagram: الله / لا اله الا الله محمد رسول Allah / Lā ilah illā / Allah Muḥammad / Rasūl In segments of the points of star: صلى / الله / عليه / و / على / اله / و / سلم Ṣallā / Allah / 'Alayh / wa 'alā / 'Alayhī / wa Ṣallam Rev. Same type and inscription as 215.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK138; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. -	

217	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī I, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 637-658 / AD 1239-1260)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 22 mm; wt. 4.2 g	Obv. Within square: السلطان المعظم غياث الدين نجم الدين الملك السعيد as-Sultān al-Muazzam / Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Malik / al-Sa'īd Najm al- Dīn Marginal legends in segments: Deficient Rev. Within square: الامام مستصم بالهامير المو... al-Imām a- / l Mustāṣim / billah Amīr al-Mu'... Marginal legends in segments: Deficient and worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK139; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Lane Lane-Poole 1875: 78.	

218	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī I, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 637-658 / AD 1239-1260)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 21 mm; wt. 4.1 g	Obv. Within hexagram with a star: الملك السعيد نجم الدين غازي al-Malik al-Sa'īd [Najm al-Dīn] Ghāzī Rev. Within hexagram with a star: الامام مستصم بالله امير المومنين (al-Imām) Mustāṣim / billah Amīr al-Mu'minīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK140; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1993: 122.	

219	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī I, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn
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	(AH 637-658 / AD 1239-1260)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 24 mm; wt. 3.8 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 218; but within hexagram with a star: الملك السعيد نجم الدين غازي al-Malik al-Sa‘īd / Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī
	Rev. Same type and inscription as 218; but within hexagram with a star: الامام مستنم بالله امير المؤمنين [al-Imām] Mustāṣim / billah Amīr al-Mu‘minīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK141; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1993: 122	

220	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī I, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 637-658 / AD 1239-1260)
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. ...; wt...	Obv. Bust facing; a small hole and some illegible characters.
	Rev. A small hole and some illegible characters.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK142; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1993: 123.	

221	Copper Coin of Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 658-693 / AD 1260-1294)
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. 21 mm; wt. 2.4 g	Obv. Sun-faced figure within a beaded square, annulets in the four corners; Marginal legend in segments is worn.
	Rev. الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول / صلى الله عليه / و سلم Lā ilah illā Allah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / Ṣallā Allah ‘Alayhi / wa sallam; Marginal legend is worn or deficient.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK144; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Mitchiner 1602-1603; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 50.	

222	Copper Coin of Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 658-693 / AD 1260-1294)
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. 18 mm; wt. 1.8 g	Obv. Sun-faced figure surrounded by either thick or thin rays, within a beaded square. Marginal legends in segments are worn.
	Rev. الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول / صلى الله عليه / و سلم [Lā] Ilah illā All[ah] / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / Ṣallā Allah ‘Alayhi / wa Sallam
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK146; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Mitchiner 1602-1603; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 50.	

223	Copper Coin of Qarā Arslān, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 658-693 / AD 1260-1294)
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. 20 mm; wt. 2.5 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 222. Rev. Same type and inscription as 222. but central legend: الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول / صلى الله عليه / وسلم Lā ilah illā [Allah] / Muḥammad Rasūl [Allah] / Ṣallā Allah [‘Alayhi] / [wa Sallam]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK147; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Mitchiner 1602-1603; Spengler&Sayles 1992: 50.	

224	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 693-712 / AD 1294-1312)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 18 mm; wt. 1.6 g	Obv. Round face within a beaded circle Around: illegible characters Rev. غازى السلطان الاعظم ظل الله في العالم الملك المنصور نجم الدين ابي الفتح Ghāzī / al-Sulṭān al-Ā‘[ẓam] / [Ẓillu’līlah fī] al-‘Ālam / [al-Mal]ik al- Mansūr [Najm] / [al-Dīn Abī’l Fath]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK143; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1992: 51; Artuk 1993: 128.	

225	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 693-712 / AD 1294-1312)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 20 mm; wt. 2.2 g	Obv. Obscure figure and characters. Rev. Illegible Arabic characters.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK145; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. -	

226	Copper Coin of Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 693-712 / AD 1294-1312)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 21 mm; wt. 1.6 g	Obv. Central legend: نجم الملك المنصور الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول [Lā i]lah illā Allah / Muḥammad / Rasūl Allah al-Malik / al-Mansūr Najm / ... Rev. Illegible Arabic characters.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK148; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1993: 130.	

227	Copper Coin of Shams al-Dīn Ṣalīh, Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn (AH 712-765 / AD 1312-1364)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 18 mm; wt. 2.0 g	Obv. Illegible figure and and characters. Rev. Damaged.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK149; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. -	

228	Copper Coin of Shams al-Dīn Ṣalīh, Artuqīd ruler of Mārdīn (AH 712-765 / AD 1312-1364)	
Mint: Mārdīn Date: - Diam. 17 mm; wt. 1.2 g	Obv. Within a circle: لا اله الا الله Lā ilah / illā Allah Around: worn	
	Rev. الملك الصالح خلد الله ملكه العادل السلطان as-Sultān al-‘Ādil/ al-Malik al-Ṣālih / khallada Allah [mulkahu] Top: ضرب [ḍuriba]; Bottom: ماردین Mārdīn	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK150; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1993: 137a.		

229	Copper Coin of Shams al-Dīn Ṣalīh, Artuqīd ruler of Mārdīn (AH 712-765 / AD 1312-1364)	
Mint: Mārdīn Date: - Diam. 17 mm; wt. 1.3 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 228.	
	Rev. Same type and inscription as 228.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK151; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1993: 137a.		

230	Copper Coin of Shams al-Dīn Ṣalīh, Artuqīd ruler of Mārdīn (AH 712-765 / AD 1312-1364)	
Mint: Mārdīn Date: - Diam. 17 mm; wt. 1.1 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 228.	
	Rev. Same type and inscription as 228.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK152; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1993: 137a.		

231	Copper Coin of Shams al-Dīn Ṣalīh, Artuqīd ruler of Mārdīn (AH 712-765 / AD 1312-1364)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 18 mm; wt. 1.4 g	Obv. Damaged.	
	Rev. Damaged.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK153; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. -		

THE ZANGĪDS

The Zangīds of Aleppo (Ḥalab) (541-579 / 1147-1183)

232	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (544 -565 / 1149 – 1170)	
Mint: - Date: AH 557 Diam. 28 mm wt. 13.36 g	Obv. A male head, with dishevelled hair, facing slightly to the left. Two winged creatures above the head. Left of the figure: سبع و خمسين Sab'a wa khamsīn Right of the figure: حمسامه [khamsami'a]	
	Rev. الملك العادل / العالم ملك امرا / الشرق و الغرب / طغرلتكين اتابك Al-Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa'l-Gharb / Tughrultegīn Atābek Right upwards: مودود / Mawdūd Top: بن زنگی / Bin Zangi Left downwards: بن اقسنقر / [bin Aqsungur]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK002; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1250; Butak 1947: 70; Hennequin 1985: 266-9; Mitchiner 1977: 1118; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 59.3		

233	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (544 -565 / 1149 – 1170)	
Mint: - Date: AH 55. Diam. 30mm wt. 12.43 g	Obv. Same type as 95 (TK002) Left of the figure: خمسين.../ ... khamsīn Right of the figure: حمسامه / khamsami'a	
	Rev. الملك العادل / العالم ملك امرا / الشرق و الغرب / طغرلتكين اتابك Al-Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa'l-Gharb / Tughrultegīn Atābek Right upwards: مودود / Mawdūd Top: بن زنگی / Bin Zangi Left downwards: بن اقسنقر / bin Aq[sungur]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK003; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1250; Butak 1947: 70; Hennequin 1985: 250-69; Mitchiner 1977: 1118; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 59.		

234	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (544 -565 / 1149 – 1170)
Mint: - Date: worn Diam. 33 mm wt. 11.59 g	Obv. Same type as 232 Margin: worn Rev. center: الملك العالم ملك امرا \ الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك العادل (al- Malik al)-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa’l Gharb / Tughrul Tegīn right upwards: مودود / [Mawdūd] top: بن زنگی / [bin Zangi] left downwards: بن اق سنقر / [bin Aqsungur]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK154; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1250; Butak 1947: 70; Hennequin 1985: 250-75; Mitchiner 1977: 1118; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 59.	

235	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (544 -565 / 1149 – 1170)
Mint: - Date: AH 555 Diam. 30 mm wt. 9.20 g	Obv. Same type as 232 Margin: خمس و خمسين و حمسمانه / Khamsa wa khamsīn wa khamsa mi’a Rev. center: الملك العالم ملك امرا \ الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك العادل al- Malik al)-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa’l Gharb / Tughrul Tegīn right upwards: مودود / Mawdūd top: بن زنگی / [bin Zangi] left downwards: بن اق سنقر / bin Aqsungur
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK155; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1250; Butak 1947: 70; Hennequin 1985: 250; Mitchiner 1977: 1118; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 59.1	

236	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (544 -565 / 1149 – 1170)
Mint: - Date: AH 555 Diam. 28 mm wt. 11.51 g	Obv. Same type as 232 Margin: خمسة و خمسين و حمسمانه / Khamsa wa hamsīn wa khamsa mia Rev. center: الملك العالم ملك امرا \ الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك العادل al- Malik al)-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa’l Gharb / Tughrul Tegīn right upwards: مودود / Mawdūd top: بن زنگی / bin Zangi left downwards: بن اق سنقر / bin Aqsungur
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK156; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1250; Butak 1947: 70; Hennequin 1985: 250; Mitchiner 1977: 1118; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 59.1	

237	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (544 -565 / 1149 – 1170)	
Mint: - Date: AH 556 Diam. 29 mm wt. 14.20 g	Obv. Same type as 232 Margin: ستهو خمسين و حمسمانه Sitta wa hamsīn wa khamsa mia	
	Rev. center: الملك العالم ملك امرا \ الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك العادل al- Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa’l Gharb / Tughrul Tegīn right upwards: مودود / Mawdūd top: بن زنگی / bin Zangi left downwards: بن اق سنقر / bin Aqsungur	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK157; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1250; Butak 1947: 70; Hennequin 1985: 251-65; Mitchiner 1977: 1118; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 59.2		

238	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (544 -565 / 1149 – 1170)	
Mint: - Date: AH 556 Diam. 30 mm wt. 13.00 g	Obv. Same type as 232 Margin: ستهو خمسين و حمسمانه Sitta wa khams wa khamsa mi’a	
	Rev. center: الملك العالم ملك امرا \ الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك العادل al- Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa’l Gharb / Tughrul Tegīn right upwards: مودود / Mawdūd top: بن زنگی / bin Zangi left downwards: بن اق سنقر / [bin Aqsungur]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK158; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1250; Butak 1947: 70; Hennequin 1985: 251-65; Mitchiner 1977: 1118; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 59.2		

239	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (544 -565 / 1149 – 1170)	
Mint: - Date: AH 5[5]6 Diam. 29 mm wt. 13.22 g	Obv. Same type as 232 Margin: ستهو خمسين و حمسمانه Sitta [khamsīn] wa khamsa mi’a	
	Rev. center: الملك العالم ملك امرا \ الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك العادل al- Malik al-[‘Ādil] / al-‘Ālim [Malik Umarā] / al-Sharq wa’l Gharb / [Tughrul Tegīn] right upwards: مودود / Mawdūd top: بن زنگی / [bin Zangi] left downwards: بن اق سنقر / [bin Aqsungur]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK159; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1250; Butak 1947: 70; Hennequin 1985: 251-65; Mitchiner 1977:		

1118; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 59.2

240	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (544 – 565 / 1149–1170)
Mint: - Date: AH 557 Diam. 28 mm wt. 11.79 g	Obv. A male head, with dishevelled hair, facing slightly to the left. Two winged creatures above the head. Left of the figure: و خمسين سبع / Sab‘a wa khamsīn Right of the figure: /حسمانه [khamsami’a] Rev. الملك العادل / العالم ملك امرا / الشرق و الغرب / طعرتكين اتابك Al-Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa’l-Gharb / Tughrultegīn Atābek Right upwards: مودود / Mawdūd Top: بن زنگی / Bin Zangi Left downwards: / بن اق سنقر [bin Aqsungur]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK345; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1250; Butak 1947: 70; Hennequin 1985: 266-9; Mitchiner 1977: Spengler&Sayles 1996: 59.3	

241	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)
Mint: [Jazīra] Date: AH 575 Diam. 31 mm wt. 16.69 g	Obv. Hellenistic style bust with a helmet facing to the left. Marginal legend: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله [Lā ilah] illā Allah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah Rev. Centre: مر الله المستضى با اتابك غازى -mrillah / al-Mus[taḍī] bi-A / Atabek (Ghāz) / ī Margin: بسم الله ضرب با الجزيرة سنة خمسة و سبعين و حسمانه Bismillah ḍuriba bi-l Jazīra sana khamsa wa sab‘īn wa khamsa mi’a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK004; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 72; Hennequin 1985: 279-81; Mitchiner 1977: 1121; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 61.2	

242	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)
Mint: Jazīra Date: AH 575 Diam. 31 mm wt. 18.14 g	Obv. Same type as 241 Margin: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله (Lā ilah) illā Allah / (Muḥammad Rasūl Allah) Rev. Centre: ملك الامر \ غازى بن \ مودود Malik al-Umar / ā Ghāzī bin / Mawdūd Margin: بسم الله ضرب با الجزيرة سنة خمسة و سبعين و حسمانه Bismillah ḍuriba bi’l Jazīra sana khamsa wa sab‘īn khamsa mi’a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK005; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1252; Butak 1947: 73a; Hennequin 1985: 277-8; Mitchiner 1977:	

1121; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 61.1	
243	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)
Mint: [Jazīra] Date: worn Diam. 31 mm wt. 14.68 g	Obv. Simlar type as 241; largely worn. Rev. Simlar type as 241; largely worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK006; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 72; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 61.	
244	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)
Mint: Jazīra Date: AH 575 Diam. 34 mm wt. 13.58 g	Obv. Same type as 241 Marginal legend: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله Lā ilah illā Allah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah Rev. Centre: المستدى با مرالله اتابك غازى / al-Mustadī bi-Amrillah / Atabek [Ghāz] / ī margin: بسم الله ضرب با الجزيرة سنة خمسة و سبعين و حمسمانه Bismillah ḍuriba bi'l Jazīra sana khamsa wa sab'īn khamsa mi'a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK007; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 72; Hennequin 1985: 279-81; Mitchiner 1977: 1121; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 61.2	
245	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)
Mint: [Jazīra] Date: AH 575 Diam. 30 mm wt. 14.62 g	Obv. Same type as 241. Marginal legend: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله Lā ilah illā Allah / [Muḥammad Rasūl Allah] Rev. Same inscription as 104 (TK005) Centre: ملك الامر \ غازى بن \ مودود Malik al-U[mar] / ā Ghāzī bin / Mawdū[d] margin: بسم الله ضرب با الجزيرة سنة خمسة و سبعين و حمسمانه [Bismillah ḍuriba bi'l Jazīra sana] khamsa wa sab'īn khamsa mi'a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK008; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1252; Butak 1947: 72; Hennequin 1985: 277-8; Mitchiner 1977: 1121; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 61.1	

246	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)
Mint: - Date: AH 5.. Diam. 28 mm wt. 10.79 g	Obv. A male head, with dishevelled hair, facing slightly to the left. Two winged creatures above the head. Right upwards: خمسمانه khamisa mi'a Left downwards: worn
	Rev. Centre: غازى بن الملك العادل العالم ملك امرا الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك Ghāzī bin / al-Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa'l Gharb / Tuğrul Tegīn Atabeg Right upwards: بن زنگى / bin Zangi Left downwards: مودود / Mawdūd
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK009; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1251; Butak 1947: 71; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 60.	
247	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)
Mint: - Date: AH 5.. Diam. 28 mm wt. 11.29 g	Obv. Same type as 246 Right upwards: خمسمانه / khamisa mi'a Left downwards: ... و س Worn
	Rev. Centre: غازى بن الملك العادل العالم ملك امرا الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك Ghāzī bin / al-Malik al-‘Ā[dil] / al-‘Ālim Mal[ik Umarā] / al-Sharq wa'l Garb / Tuğrul Tegīn Atabeg Right upwards: بن زنگى / bin Zangi Left downwards: مودود / [Mawd]ūd
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK010; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1251; Butak 1947: 71; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 60.	
248	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)
Mint: - Date: AH 56. Diam. 28 mm wt. 12.89 g	Obv. Same type as 246 Marginal legend is largely worn, but right upwards: خمسمانه / [khamisa mi'a] Left downwards: سستين ... / sittīn ...
	Rev. Partly obscure. Centre: غازى بن الملك العادل العالم ملك امرا الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك Ghāzī bin / al-Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ā[lim] Malik Umarā / al-Shar[q wa]’l Gharb / Tuğr[ul Tegīn Atabeg] Right upwards: بن زنگى / [bin Zangi] Left downwards: مودود / [Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK011; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1251; Butak 1947: 71; Hennequin 1985: 287-302; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 60.	

249	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)	
Mint: - Date: AH 567 Diam. 28 mm wt. 11.24 g	Obv. Same type as 246 Right upwards: خمسمانه / khamsa mi'a Left downwards: سبع و ستين Sab' wa sittīn	Rev. Centre: غازى بن الملك العادل العالم ملك امرا الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك Ghāzī bin / al-Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa'l Garb / Tuğrul Tegīn Atabeg Right upwards: بن زنگى / bin Zangi Left downwards: مودود / Mawdūd
	Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK012; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1251; Butak 1947: 71; Hennequin 1985: 289-96; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 60.3		

250	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)	
Mint: - Date: AH 567 Diam. 31 mm wt. 11.60 g	Obv. Same type as 246 Right upwards: خمسمانه / khamsa mi'a Left downwards: سبع و ستين / Sab' wa sittīn	Rev. Centre: غازى بن الملك العادل العالم ملك امرا الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك [Ghāzī bin] / al-Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa'l Garb / Tuğrul Tegīn Atabeg Right upwards: بن زنگى / bin Zangi Left downwards: مودود / Mawdūd
	Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK013; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1251; Butak 1947: 71; Hennequin 1985: 289-96; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 60.3		

251	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)	
Mint: - Date: AH 567 Diam. 27 mm wt. 9.95 g	Obv. Same type as 246; but largely worn. Right upwards: خمسمانه / [khamsa mi'a] Left downwards: ... و سبع	Rev. Centre: غازى بن الملك العادل العالم ملك امرا الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك [Ghāzī bin] / al-Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa'l Gharb / Tuğrul Tegīn Atabeg Right upwards: بن زنگى / [bin Zangi] Left downwards: مودود / [Mawdūd]
	Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK014; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1251; Butak 1947: 71; Hennequin 1985: 289-96; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 60.3		

252	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)
Mint: - Date: AH 5.. Diam. 28 mm wt. 9.90 g	Obv. Same type as 246; but largely worn. Right upwards: خمسمانه / [khamsa mi'a] Left downwards: worn
	Rev. Centre: غازى بن الملك العادل العالم ملك امرا الشرق والغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك [Ghāzī bin] / al-Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa'l Garb / Tuğrul Tegīn Atabeg Right upwards: زنگى بن / [bin Zangi] Left downwards: مودود / [Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK015; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1251; Butak 1947: 71; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 60.	

253	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)
Mint: - Date: AH 5.. Diam. 29 mm wt. 11.29 g	Obv. Same type as 108 246 Right upwards: خمسمانه / khamsa mi'a Left downwards: worn
	Rev. Centre: غازى بن الملك العادل العالم ملك امرا الشرق والغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك [Ghāzī] bin / al-Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa'l Gharb / Tuğrul Tegīn Atabeg Right upwards: زنگى بن / [bin Zangi] Left downwards: مودود / Mawdūd
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK016; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1251; Butak 1947: 71; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 60.	

254	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)
Mint: - Date: AH 571 Diam. 28 mm wt. 11.56 g	Obv. Same type as 246 Right upwards: خمسمانه / [khamsa mi'a] Left downwards: احد و سبعين / aḥad wa sab‘īn
	Rev. Centre: غازى بن الملك العادل العالم ملك امرا الشرق والغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك Ghāzī bin / al-Malik [al-‘Ā]dil / al-‘Āl[im Malik Umarā] / al-Sharq [wa'l Gharb / Tuğrul Tegīn Atabeg] Right upwards: بن زنگى / bin Zangi Left downwards: مودود / [Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK017; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1251; Butak 1947: 71; Hennequin 1985: 312-7; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 60.7	

255	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)	
Mint: - Date: AH 571 Diam. 29 mm wt. 11.63 g	Obv. Same type as 246 Right upwards: خمسمانه / khamṣa mi'a Left downwards: احد و سبعين / aḥad wa sab[‘īn]	
	Rev. Centre: غازى بن الملك العادل العالم ملك امرا الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك [Ghāzī bin] / al-Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa’l Garb / Tuğrul Tegīn Atabeg Right upwards: بن زنگى / bin Zangi Left downwards: مودود / Mawdūd	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK018; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1251; Butak 1947: 71; Hennequin 1985: 312-7; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 60.7		

256	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)	
Mint: - Date: AH 572 Diam. 28 mm wt. 10.49 g	Obv. Same type as 246 Right upwards: خمسمانه / khamṣa mi'a Left downwards: اثنان و سبعين / isthān wa sab[‘īn]	
	Rev. Centre: غازى بن الملك العادل العالم ملك امرا الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك Ghāzī bin / al-Malik al-‘Ādil / al-‘Ālim Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa’l Gharb / Tuğrul Tegīn Atabeg Right upwards: بن زنگى / [bin Zangi] Left downwards: مودود / Mawdū[d]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK019; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1251; Butak 1947: 71; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 60.8		

257	Copper Coin of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (565 – 576 / 1170-1180)	
Mint: - Date: AH 5.. Diam. 28 mm wt. 14.31 g	Obv. Same type as 246 Right upwards: خمسمانه / khamṣa mi'a Left downwards: worn	
	Rev. Centre: غازى بن الملك العادل العالم ملك امرا الشرق و الغرب اطغرل تكين اتابك Ghā[zī bin] / al-Mal[ik al-] ‘Ādil / [al-‘Ālim] Malik Umarā / al-Sharq wa’l Gharb / Tuğrul Tegīn A[tabeg] Right upwards: بن زنگى / [bin Zangi] Left downwards: مودود / [Mawdūd]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK020; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1251; Butak 1947: 71; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 60.		

258	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd I, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (576-589 / 1180-1193)	
Mint: [Jazīra]	Obv. Hellenistic style bust with a helmet facing to the left.	
Date: worn	Margin: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	
Diam. 32 mm	[Lā ilah] illā Allah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah	
wt. 14.14 g	Rev. Center: امير المومنين \ الناصر لدين \ الله عز الدنيا والدين \ مسعود Amīr al-Mum[inīn] / [al-Nāṣir] li-Dīn / [Allah Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn] / Mas‘ūd	
Marginal legend bearing the mint name and date is worn.		
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK021; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1253; Butak 1947: 74; Hennequin 1985: 323-6; Mitchiner 1977: 1124; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 62.		

259	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd I, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (576-589 / 1180-1193)	
Mint: [Jazīra]	Obv. Same type as 258	
Date: worn	Margin: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	
Diam. 31 mm	[Lā ilah illā Allah] / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah	
wt. 17.99 g	Rev. Center: امير المومنين \ الناصر لدين \ الله عز الدنيا والدين \ مسعود [Amīr al-Mū’minīn] / al-Nāṣir li-D(īn) / Allah Izz al-Dun[yā wa’l-Dīn] / Mas‘ūd	
Marginal legend bearing the mint name and date is worn.		
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK022; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1253; Butak 1947: 74; Hennequin 1985: 323-6; Mitchiner 1977: 1124; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 62.		

260	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd I, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (576-589 / 1180-1193)	
Mint: Mosul	Obv. A figure seated cross-legged, wearing a three-pointed crown and holding a large crescent.	
Date: AH 585	Margin: ضرب با الموصل سنة خمس و ثمانين و خمسمائه	
Diam. 30 mm	/ ḍuriba bi’l-Mawṣil sana khamsa wa thamān īn wa khamsa mi’a	
wt. 12.61 g	Rev. Center: مسعود بن مودود \ لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله الناصر \ لدين الله امير المو \ منين عبدة الدنيا و \ الدين ابو ناصر محمد \ يوسف بن ايوب Mas‘ūd bin Mawdūd / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / Rasūl Allah al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Amīr al-Mū’- / minīn ubdat al-Dunyā wa / al-Dīn Abū Nāṣir Muḥammad / Yūsuf bin Ayyūb Right upwards: الملك العادل / al-Malik al-‘Ādil Left downwards: الملك الناصر / al-Malik al-Nāṣir	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK024; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1254; Butak 1947: 75; Hennequin 1985: 334-8; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 63.1		

261	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd I, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (576-589 / 1180-1193)
Mint: [Mosul] Date: worn Diam. 31 mm wt. 13.51 g	Obv. Same type as 260; but damaged. Margin: worn Rev. Center: مسعود بن مودود \ لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله الناصر \ لدين اللهاميرالمو \ منين عبدة الدنيا و \ الدين ابو ناصر محمد \ يوسف بن ايوب [Mas‘ūd bin Mawdūd] / La ilah [illa Allah Muḥammad] / [Rasūl] Allah al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Amīr al-Mū’- / minīn ubdat al- Dunyā wa / [al-Dīn Abū Nāṣir Muḥammad] / [Yūsuf bin Ayyūb] Right upwards: الملك العادل / al-Malik al-‘Ādil Left downwards: الملك الناصر / [al-Malik al-Nāṣir]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK025; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1254; Butak 1947: 75; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 63.	

262	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd I, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (576-589 / 1180-1193)
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 586 Diam. 27 mm wt. 12.21 g	Obv. Same type as 260 Margin: ضرب با لموصل سنة ستهو ثمانين و خمسمانه ḍuriba bi’l-Mawṣil sana sitta wa [thamānīn wa khamsa mia] Rev. Center: مسعود بن مودود \ لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله الناصر \ لدين اللهاميرالمو \ منين عبدة... الدنيا و \ الدين ابو ناصر محمد \ يوسف بن ايوب Mas‘ūd bin Mawdūd / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / Rasūl Allah al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Amīr al-Mū’- / minīn ubdat al-Dunyā wa / al-Dīn Abū Nāṣir Muḥammad / Yūsuf bin Ayyūb Right upwards: الملك العادل / al-Malik al-‘Ādil Left downwards: الملك الناصر / al-Malik al-Nāṣir
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK026; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1254; Butak 1947: 75; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 63.2	

263	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (589-607 / 1193-1211)
Mint: Niṣībīn Date: AH 59. Diam. 30 mm wt. 15.92 g	Obv. A bust, with dishevelled hair and almond eyes, facing in a square. Marginal legends in segments; Right upwards: ضرب بنصيبين ḍuriba bi-Niṣībīn; top:wa; left downwards: خمسمانه و تسعين و tis‘īn wa khamsami’a Rev. شاه بن مسعود \ الناصر لدين الله \ اميرالمومنين \ الملك العادل \ نور الدنيا و الدين Shāh bin Mas‘ūd / al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mu’minīn / al-Malik al-Ādil / Nur al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn Right upwards: ارسلان اتابك / Atabeg Arslān Left downwards: بن مودود / bin Mawdūd
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK027; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1256; Butak 1947: 76; Hennequin 1985: 346-55; Mitchiner 1977: 1125; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 64.	

264	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (589-607 / 1193-1211)	
Mint: [Nişibīn] Date: AH 594 Diam. 30 mm wt. 13.72 g	Obv. Same type as 263; but more damaged. Marginal legends in segments; Right upwards: ...; top: اربع و تسعين arba‘ wa tis‘īn; left downwards: خمسمانه khamsami’a	Rev. شاه بن مسعود \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المومنين \ الملك العادل نور \ الدنيا و الدين [Shāh bin] Mas’ūd / al-Nāşir li-Dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū’minīn / al-Malik al-Ādil Nūr / al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn Right upwards: ارسلان اتابك / Atabeg Arslān Left downwards: بن مودود / bin Mawdūd
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK028; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1256; Butak 1947: 76; Hennequin 1985: 346-55; Mitchiner 1977: 1125; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 64.		

265	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (589-607 / 1193-1211)	
Mint: Nişibīn Date: worn Diam. 30 mm wt. 13.76 g	Obv. Same type as 263; but damaged. Right upwards: ضرب بنصيبين ḍuriba bi-Nişibīn; top: ...; left downwards: ...	Rev. شاه بن مسعود \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المومنين \ الملك العادل نور \ الدنيا و الدين [Shāh bin Mas’ūd] / [al-Nāşir] li-Dīn Allah / Amīr [al-Mū’]minīn / al-Malik al-Ādil Nūr / al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn Right upwards: ارسلان اتابك / [Atabeg Arslān] Left downwards: بن مودود / [bin Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK029; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1256; Butak 1947: 76; Hennequin 1985: 346-55; Mitchiner 1977: 1125; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 64.		

266	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul, (589-607 / 1193-1211)	
Mint: [Nişibīn] Date: worn Diam. 29 mm wt. 13.48 g	Obv. Same type as 263; but damaged. Marginal legends in segments: worn.	Rev. بن مسعود \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المومنين \ الملك العادل / نور الدنيا و الدين شاه [Shāh bin Mas’ūd] / al-Nāşir li-Dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mu’minīn / al-Malik al-Ādil / Nūr al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn Right upwards: ارسلان اتابك / [Atabeg Arslān] Left downwards: بن مودود / bin Mawdūd
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK030; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1256; Butak 1947: 76; Hennequin 1985: 346-55; Mitchiner 1977: 1125; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 64.		

267	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 607 Diam. 28 mm wt. 13.15 g	Obv. Diademed male bust to left; Arabic inscription surrounding the figure: ضرب هذا بالموصل سنة سبع و ستمائه ḍuriba hadhā bi'l-Mawṣil sana sab‘ wa sittami’a ...	
	Rev. ... \ لا اله الا الله \ محمد رسول الله \ ... \ ...منين \ / Lā ilah illā Allah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / ... / ... minīn / ...	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK382; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. -		

268	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)	
Mint: [Mosul] Date: worn Diam. 27 mm wt. 11.60 g	Obv. Diademed male bust to left; an eight-pointed star in front of his chin; an Arabic inscription surrounding the figure, but largely deficient. ... ضرب هذا ḍuriba hadhā ...	
	Rev. رسول الله / لا اله الا الله محمد \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عز الدنيا والدين \ \ اتابك مسعود بن \ ابو بكر Rasūl Allah / [Lā ilah illā] Allah Muḥammad / [al-Nāṣir li-dīn] Allah / [A] mīr al-Mū‘minīn / ‘Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn / Atabeg Mās‘ūd bin / Abū Bakr	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK383; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.		

269	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)	
Mint: [Mosul] Date: worn Diam. 26 mm wt. 7.93 g	Obv. Same type as 263; but damaged; marginal legend is worn.	
	Rev. Damaged.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK031; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.		

270	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 607 Diam. 29 mm wt. 14.51 g	Obv. Same type as 268; but some part of marginal legend is deficient: ضرب هذا بالموصل سنة سبع و ستمائة / [ḍuriba hadhā bi'l-Mawṣil] sana sab‘ wa sittami’a	
	Rev. Five-line Arabic inscription, but largely worn and deficient. لا اله الا الله محمدا ... [Lā] ilah illā Allah / Muhammad ...	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK385; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.2		

271	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)	
Mint: Mosul Date: worn Diam. 29 mm wt. 11.92 g	Obv. Same type as 268; but overstruck. Illegible Arabic characters around the figure.	
	Rev. Six-line Arabic inscription in a circle: رسول الله لا اله الا الله محمد \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عز الدنيا والد بن \ اتابك مسعود بن \ ابو بكر Rasūl Allah / Lā ilah illā Allah [Muḥammad] / al-Nāṣir li- dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū’minīn / ‘Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn / Atabeg Mās‘ūd [bin Abū Bakr] Marginal legend is obscure.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK386; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.		

272	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 607 Diam. 28 mm wt. 13.50 g	Obv. Same type as 262; a slightly obscure marginal legend around the figure: ضرب هذا بالموصل سنة سبع و ستمائة ḍuriba hadhā bi'l-Mawṣil sana sab‘ wa sittami’a	
	Rev. Six-line Arabic inscription in a circle: رسول الله لا اله الا الله محمد \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عز الدنيا والد بن \ اتابك مسعود بن \ ابو بكر Rasūl Allah / Lā ilah illā Allah [Muḥammad] / al-Nāṣir li- dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū’minīn / ‘Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn / Atabeg Mās‘ūd [bin Abū Bakr] Right upwards: ارسلان شاه Arslān Shāh Left upwards: ... (obscure)	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK387; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.2		

273	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)	
Mint: Mosul Date: worn Diam. 29 mm wt. 11.66 g	Obv. Same type as 268; an obscure marginal legend around the figure.	
	Rev. Six-line Arabic inscription in a circle: رسول الله لا اله الا الله محمد \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عز الدنيا والدين \ اتابك مسعود بن \ ابو بكر [Rasūl Allah] / [La] ilah illa Allah [Muḥammad] / al-Nāṣir [li-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū‘minīn / ‘Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn / Atabeg Mās‘ūd bin Abū Bakr] Right upwards: ارسلان شاه Arslān Shāh;	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK388; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.		

274	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 607 Diam. 30 mm wt. 11.84 g	Obv. Same type as 268; marginal legend around the figure: ضرب هذا با لموصل سنة سبع و ستمانه / ḍuriba hadhā bi’l-Mawṣil sana sab‘ wa sittami’a	
	Rev. Arabic inscription is largely worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK389; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.2		

275	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)	
Mint: Mosul Date: worn Diam. 26 mm wt. 10.54 g	Obv. Same type as 268; an obscure and deficient marginal legend around the figure.	
	Rev. Six-line Arabic inscription in a circle: رسول الله لا اله الا الله محمد \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عز الدنيا والدين ابو بكر Rasūl Allah / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah / [Amīr al-Mū‘minīn / ‘Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn / Atabeg Mās‘ūd bin Abū Bakr]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK390; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.		

276	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 607 Diam. wt.	Obv. Same type as 268; very clear. Marginal legend: (ستمابه) و ضرب هذا بالموصل سنة سبع و ḍuriba hadhā bi’l Mawṣil sana sab‘ wa [sittami’a] (AH 607)
	Rev. رسول الله لا اله الا الله محمد \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عز الدنيا والد ين \ اتابك مسعود بن \ ابو بكر [Rasūl Allah] / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / al-Nāṣir [li-dīn Allah] / Amīr [al-Mū’minīn] / ‘Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-[Dīn] / Atabeg Mās‘ūd [bin] Abū Bakr
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK391; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.2	

277	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)
Mint: Mosul Date: worn (AH 6..) Diam. 28 mm wt. 10.88 g	Obv. Same type as 268; marginal legend is largely obscure and deficient. Marginal legend: ... هذا بالموصل ... و ستمابه... ... hadhā bi’l Mawṣil... wa sittami’a
	Rev. رسول الله لا اله الا الله محمد \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عز الدنيا والد ين \ اتابك مسعود بن \ ابو بكر Rasūl Allah / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah / Amīr [al-Mū’minīn] / ‘Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-[Dīn] / Atabeg [Mās‘ūd bin Abū Bakr]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK392; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.	

278	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)
Mint: Mosul Date: worn Diam. 28 mm wt. 11.53 g	Obv. Same type as 268; but worn. Marginal legend is completely deficient and obscure.
	Rev. رسول الله لا اله الا الله محمد \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عز الدنيا والد ين \ اتابك مسعود بن \ ابو بكر Rasūl Allah / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / [al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah] / Amīr al-Mū’minīn / ‘Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn / Atabeg Mās‘ūd bin / Abū Bakr]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK393; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.	

279	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)	
Mint: (Mosul) Date: worn Diam. 29 mm wt. 8.41 g	Obv. Same type as 268; but marginal legend is largely obscure.	
	Rev. damaged.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK394; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.		

280	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)	
Mint: Mosul Date: worn Diam. 31 mm wt. 11.25 g	Obv. Same type as 268; Marginal legend is largely obscure. Marginal Legend: ... هذا بالموصل... ... hadhā bi’l Mawṣil...	
	Rev. رسول الله لا اله الا الله محمد \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عز الدنيا . والدين \ اتابك مسعود بن \ ابو بكر [Rasūl Allah / La ilah] illa Allah Muḥammad / al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah / [Amīr] al-Mū’minīn / ‘Izz al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn / [Atabeg] Mās‘ūd [bin Abū Bakr]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK395; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.		

281	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 607 Diam. 30 mm wt. 10.80 g	Obv. Same type as 268 Marginal legend: ضرب هذا بالموصل سنة سبع و ستمانه ḍuriba hadhā bi’l Mawṣil sana sab‘ [sittami’a]	
	Rev. رسول الله لا اله الا الله محمد \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عز الدنيا والدين \ اتابك مسعود بن \ ابو بكر [Rasūl Allah] / Lā ilah illā [Allah Muḥammad] / al-Nāṣir [li-dīn] Allah / Am[īr al-Mū]minīn / ‘I[zz al-D]unyā wa’l-Dīn / Atabeg Mās‘ūd bin / Abū Bakr	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK396; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.2		

282	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)
Mint: Mosul Date: deficient Diam. 29 mm wt. 11.47 g	Obv. Same type as 268; but overstruck. Marginal legend is largely obscure. Marginal legend: ...بالموصل سنة... ...bi'l Mawṣil sana...
	Rev. رسول الله لا اله الا الله محمد \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عز الدنيا والدين \ اتابك مسعود بن \ ابو بكر Rasūl Allah / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū'minīn / Izz al-Dunyā [wa'l-Dīn] / Atabeg Mās'ūd [bin / Abū Bakr] Right upwards: الملك العادل al-Malik al-Ādil
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK397; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.	

283	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)
Mint: Mosul Date: worn Diam. 28 mm wt. 11.79 g	Obv. Same type as 268; marginal legend is largely deficient or obscure.
	Rev. ... / لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله الناصر / لدين (الله) امير المؤمنين / (منين) ... \ ... مسعود بن / (ابو بكر) ... / Lā ilah illā Allah (Muḥammad) / Rasūl Allah al-Nāṣir / li-dīn [Allah] Amīr al-Mū' / [minīn] ... / ... Mās'ūd bin / [Abū Bakr]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK398; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.	

284	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 607 Diam. 30 mm wt. 13.15 g	Obv. Same type as 268 Marginal legend: ضرب هذا بالموصل سنة سبع و (ستمائة) ḍuriba hadhā bi'l Mawṣil sana sab' wa [sittami'a]
	Rev. رسول الله لا اله الا الله محمد \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عز الدنيا والدين \ اتابك مسعود بن \ ابو بكر [Rasūl Allah] / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / al-Nāṣir li- dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū'minīn / Izz al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn / Atabeg Mās'ūd bin / [Abū Bakr]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK399; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.2	

285	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (607-615 / 1211-1219)
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 607 Diam. 29 mm wt. 13.34 g	Obv. Same type as 268 Marginal legend: (ستماهه) و ضرب هذا بالموصل سنة سبع ḍuriba hadhā bi’l Mawṣil sana sab‘ wa [sittami’a] Rev. رسول الله لا اله الا الله محمد \ الناصر لدين الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عز الدنيا والدين \ اتايك مسعود بن \ ابو بكر [Rasūl Allah / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah] / Amīr al-Mū’minīn / Izz al-Dunyā [wa’l-Dīn] / Atabeg Mās‘ūd bin / Abū Bakr
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK400; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1258; Mitchiner 1977: 1126; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 65.2	
286	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 620 Diam. 32 mm wt. 15.06 g Ref. Butak 1947: 77; Artuk 1970: 1260; Hennequin 1985: 394-408; Mitchiner 1977: 1128; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 66	Obv. A male head facing slightly to left; two small winged figures above. On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba bi’l Mawṣil sana; on the left of figure: عشرين وستماهه ‘ishrīn wa sitta mi’a Rev. اتايك محمود \ لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله الناصر \ لدين الله امير المؤمنين \ منين عبده الدنيا و \ الدين ابو ناصر محمد \ الملك الاشرف Atābeg Maḥmūd / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / Rasūl Allah al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Amīr al-Mu / minīn Uddat al-Dunyā wa / al-Dīn Abū Nāṣir Muḥammad / [al-Malik al-Ashraf] Right upwards: ناصر الدين Nāṣir al-Dīn; left downwards: الملك الكامل al-Mālik al-Kāmil
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK401; P.D. Whitting Collection	
287	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)
Mint: [Mosul] Date: Diam. 32 mm wt. 14.47 g Ref. Butak 1947: 77; Artuk 1970: 1260; Hennequin 1985: ...; Mitchiner 1977: 1128; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 66	Obv. Same type as 286 On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة ḍuriba [bi’l Mawṣil sana]; on the left of figure: عشرين وستماهه ‘ishrīn wa sitta mi’a Rev. Same inscription as as 20 (TK401). اتايك محمود \ لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله الناصر \ لدين الله امير المؤمنين \ منين عبده الدنيا و \ الدين ابو ناصر محمد \ الملك الاشرف Atābeg [Maḥmūd] / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / Rasūl Allah al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Amīr al-Mu / minīn Uddat al-Dunyā wa / al-Dīn Abū Nāṣir Muḥammad / al-Malik al-[Ashraf] Right upwards: ناصر الدين Nāṣir al-Dīn; left downwards: الملك الكامل al-[Mālik al-Kāmil]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK402; P.D. Whitting Collection	

288	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 620 Diam. 31 mm wt. 15.08 g Ref. Butak 1947: 77; Artuk 1970: 1260; Hennequin 1985: 394-408; Mitchiner 1977: 1128; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 66	Obv. Same type as 286 On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba bi'l Mawṣil sana; on the left of figure: 'ishrīn wa sitta mi'a عشرين وستمانه Rev. اتابك محمود \ لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله الناصر \ لدين اللهامير المؤ \ منين عبده الدنيا و \ الدين أبو ناصر محمد \ الملك الأشرف [Atābeg Maḥmūd] / [Lā] ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / Rasūl Allah al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah [Amīr] al-Mu / minīn Uddat al-Dunyā wa / al-Dīn Abū Nāṣir Muḥammad / al-Malik al- Ashraf Right upwards: ناصر الدين Nāṣir [al-Dīn]; left downwards: الملك الكامل al-Mālik al-Kāmil
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK403; P.D. Whitting Collection	

289	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 6.. Diam. 31 mm wt. 15.41 g Ref. Butak 1947: 77; Artuk 1970: 1260; Hennequin 1985: 394-408; Mitchiner 1977: 1128; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 66	Obv. Same type as 286 On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba bi'l Mawṣil [sana]; on the left of figure: ... wa sitta mi'a ... و ستمانه Rev. اتابك محمود \ لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله الناصر \ لدين اللهامير المؤ \ منين عبده الدنيا و \ الدين أبو ناصر محمد \ الملك الأشرف [Atābeg Maḥmūd] / Lā ilah illā Allah M[uhammad] / Rasūl Allah al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Amīr al-Mu / minīn Uddat al- Dunyā wa / al-Dīn Abū Nāṣir Muḥammad / [al]-Malik al- Ash[raf] Right upwards: ناصر الدين Nāṣir al-Dīn; left downwards: الملك الكامل al-Mālik al-Kāmil
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK404; P.D. Whitting Collection	

290	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 620 Diam. 31 mm wt. 14.86 g Ref. Butak 1947: 77; Artuk 1970: 1260; Hennequin 1985: 394-408; Mitchiner 1977: 1128; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 66	Obv. Same type as 286 On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba bi'l Mawṣil [sana]; on the left of figure: 'ishrīn wa sitta mi'a عشرين وستمانه Rev. اتابك محمود \ لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله الناصر \ لدين اللهامير المؤ \ منين عبده الدنيا و \ الدين أبو ناصر محمد \ الملك الأشرف Atābeg Maḥmūd / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / Rasūl Allah al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Amīr al-Mu / minīn Uddat al- Dunyā wa / al-Dīn Abū Nāṣir [Muḥammad] / [al]-Malik al- Ashraf Right upwards: ناصر الدين [Nāṣir al-Dīn]; left downwards: الملك الكامل [al-Mālik al-Kāmil]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK405; P.D. Whitting Collection	

291	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 620 Diam. 30 mm wt. 14.03 g Ref. Butak 1947: 77; Artuk 1970: 1260; Hennequin 1985: 394-408; Mitchiner 1977: 1128; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 66.	Obv. Same type as 286 On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba bi'l Mawṣil [sana]; on the left of figure: 'ishrīn wa sitta mi'a	Rev. اتابك محمود \ لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله الناصر \ لدين اللّهاميرالمو \ منين عبده الدنيا و \ الدين أبو ناصر محمد \ الملك الاشرف [Atābeg Maḥmūd] / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / Rasūl Allah al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Amīr al-Mu / minīn Uddat al-Dunyā wa / al-Dīn Abū Nāṣir Muḥammad / al-Malik al-Ashraf Right upwards: ناصر الدين Nāṣir al-Dīn; left downwards: الملك الكامل al-Mālik al-Kāmil
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK406; P.D. Whitting Collection		

292	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 620 Diam. 30 mm wt. 15.15 g Ref. Butak 1947: 77; Artuk 1970: 1260; Hennequin 1985: 394-408; Mitchiner 1977: 1128; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 66	Obv. Same type as 286 On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba bi'l Mawṣil sana; on the left of figure: 'ishrīn wa sitta mi'a	Rev. اتابك محمود \ لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله الناصر \ لدين اللّهاميرالمو \ منين عبده الدنيا و \ الدين أبو ناصر محمد \ الملك الاشرف Atābeg [Maḥmūd] / Lā ilah illā Allah [Muḥammad] / Rasūl Allah al-Nāṣir / li-dīn [Allah Amīr] al-Mū / minīn Uddat al-Dunyā [wa] / al-Dīn Abū Nāṣir [Muḥammad] / [al-Malik al-Ashraf] Right upwards: ناصر الدين Nāṣir al-Dīn; left downwards: الملك الكامل [al-Mālik al-Kāmil]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK407; P.D. Whitting Collection		

293	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 620 Diam. 29 mm wt. 14.08 g Ref. Butak 1947: 77; Artuk 1970: 1260; Hennequin 1985: 394-408; Mitchiner 1977: 1128; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 66	Obv. Same type as 286 On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba bi'l Mawṣil sana; on the left of figure: 'ishrīn wa sitta mi'a	Rev. اتابك محمود \ لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله الناصر \ لدين اللّهاميرالمو \ منين عبده الدنيا و \ الدين أبو ناصر محمد \ الملك الاشرف Atābeg Maḥmūd / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / Rasūl Allah al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Amīr al-Mu / minīn Uddat al-Dunyā wa / al-Dīn Abū Nāṣir Muḥammad / [al-Malik al-Ashraf] Right upwards: ناصر الدين Nāṣir al-Dīn; left downwards: الملك الكامل [al-Mālik al-Kām[il]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK408; P.D. Whitting Collection		

294	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)
Mint: Mosul Date: worn Diam. 33 mm wt. 14.28 g Ref. Butak 1947: 77; Artuk 1970: 1260; Hennequin 1985: 394-408; Mitchiner 1977: 1128; Spengler& Sayles 1996: 66	Obv. Same type as 286; but overstruck. Marginal legend is obscure. Rev. اتابك محمود \ لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله الناصر \ لدين الله الميرالمو منين عبده الدنيا و \ الدين ابو ناصر محمد \ الملك الاشرف Atābeg Maḥmūd / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / [Rasūl Allah] al-Nāṣir / li-dīn Allah Amīr al-Mu/minīn Uddat al-Dunyā [wa]/ al-Dīn Abū Nāṣir Muḥammad / [al-Malik al-Ashraf] Right upwards: ناصر الدين [Nāṣir al-Dīn]; left downwards: الملك الكامل al-Mālik al[-Kāmil]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK409; P.D. Whitting Collection	

295	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)
Mint: [Mosul] Date: AH 620 Diam. 25 mm wt. 7.12 g Ref. Butak 1947: 81; Artuk 1970: 1261; Hennequin 1985: 409-28; Mitchiner 1977: 1129; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 67.	Obv. A figure seated cross-legged, wearing a three-pointed crown and holding a large crescent. On the right of the figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / [ḍuriba bi'l Mawṣil sana]; on the left of figure: عشرين وستماهسبع / sab‘ ‘ishrīn wa sitta mi’a Rev. In centre: الامام \ لا اله الا الله / محمد رسول الله / المستنصر بالله / اميرالمومنين al-Imām / Lā ilah illā Allah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / al-Mustanṣir Billah / Amīr al-Mū'minīn Margin: ناصر الدنيا و الدين اتابك محمود الملك الكامل الملك الاشرف Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn [Atabeg Maḥmūd al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik] al-Ashraf
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK410; P.D. Whitting Collection	

296	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 620 Diam. 28 mm wt. 7.04 g Ref. Butak 1947: 81; Artuk 1970: 1261; Hennequin 1985: 409-28; Mitchiner 1977: 1129; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 67.	Obv. Same type as 295 On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba bi'l Mawṣil sana; on the left of figure: سبع عشرين و ستماه / sab‘ ‘ishrīn wa sitta mi’a Rev. In centre: : الامام \ لا اله الا الله / محمد رسول الله / المستنصر بالله / اميرالمومنين al-I[mām] / Lā ilah illā Allah / [Muḥammad] Rasūl Allah / [al-Mu]stansir Billah / [Amīr] al-Mū'minīn Margin: ناصر الدنيا و الدين اتابك محمود الملك الكامل الملك الاشرف Nāṣir al-Dunyā [wa al-Dīn] Atābeg [Maḥmūd al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik al-Ashraf]

Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK411; P.D. Whitting Collection

297 Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)

<p>Mint: Mosul Date: AH 627 Diam. 26 mm wt. 6.97 g Ref. Butak 1947: 81; Artuk 1970: 1261; Hennequin 1985: 409-28; Mitchiner 1977: 1129; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 67.</p>	<p>Obv. Same type as 295 On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba bi'l Mawṣil sana; on the left of figure: سبع و عشرين وستماهسبع / sab‘ wa [‘ishrīn wa sitta mi’a]</p> <p>Rev. In centre: : الامام \ لا اله الا الله / محمد رسول الله / المستنصر بالله / امير المؤمنين al-Imām / Lā ilah illā Allah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / al-Mustanṣir Billah / Amīr al-Mu(minīn) Margin: ناصر الدنيا و الدين اتابك محمود الملك الكامل الملك الاشرف Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn [Atābeg Maḥmūd al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik al-Ashraf]</p>
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Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK412; P.D. Whitting Collection

298 Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)

<p>Mint: [Mosul] Date: AH 620 Diam. 24 mm wt. 6.85 g Ref. Butak 1947: 81; Artuk 1970: 1261; Hennequin 1985: 409-28; Mitchiner 1977: 1129; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 67.</p>	<p>Obv. Same type as 295. On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba bi'l Mawṣil sana]; on the left of figure: عشرين وستماهسبع / 'ishrīn wa sitta mi'a</p> <p>Rev. In centre: الامام \ لا اله الا الله / محمد رسول الله / المستنصر بالله / امير المؤمنين [al-Imām] / Lā ilah illā [Allah] / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / al-Mustanṣir Billah / Amīr al-Mū'minīn Margin: ناصر الدنيا و الدين اتابك محمود الملك الكامل الملك الاشرف [Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Atābeg Maḥmūd] al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik [al-Ashraf]</p>
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Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK413; P.D. Whitting Collection

299 Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)

<p>Mint: Mosul Date: AH 627 Diam. 25 mm wt. 7.62 g Ref. Butak 1947: 81; Artuk 1970: 1261; Hennequin 1985: 409-28; Mitchiner 1977: 1129; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 67.</p>	<p>Obv. Same type as 295 On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba bi'l Mawṣil sana; on the left of figure: سبع و عشرين وستماهسبع / sab‘ wa [‘ishrīn wa sitta mi’a]</p> <p>Rev. In centre: الامام \ لا اله الا الله / محمد رسول الله / المستنصر بالله / امير المؤمنين al-Imām / Lā ilah illā Allah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / al-Mustanṣir Billah / Amīr al-Mū'minīn Margin: ناصر الدنيا و الدين اتابك محمود الملك الكامل الملك الاشرف [Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Atābeg Maḥmūd] al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik al-Ashraf</p>
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Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK288; P.D. Whitting Collection

300 Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)

Mint: [Mosul]
Date: AH 627
Diam. 25 mm
wt. 7.25 g

Obv. Same type as 295
 On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba [bi'l Mawṣil sana]; on the left of figure: (عشرين وستمانه سبع) و sab‘ wa (‘ishrīn wa sitta mi’a)

Ref. Butak 1947: 81; Artuk 1970: 1261; Hennequin 1985: 409-28; Mitchiner 1977: 1129; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 67.

Rev. In centre:
 الامام \ لا اله الا الله / محمد رسول الله / المستنصر بالله / امير المؤمنين
 al-Imām / Lā ilah illā Allah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / al-Mustanṣir Billah / Amīr al-Mū‘minīn
 Margin: ناصر الدنيا و الدين اتايك محمود الملك الكامل الملك الاشرف
 [Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa al-] Dīn Atābeg Maḥmūd al-Malik al-Kāmil [al-Malik al-Ashraf]

Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK289; P.D. Whitting Collection

301 Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)

Mint: Mosul
Date: AH 627
Diam. 24 mm
wt. 6.85 g

Obv. Same type as 295
 On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba bi'l Mawṣil sana; on the left of figure: سبع وعشرين وستمانه / sab‘ wa ‘ishrīn wa sitta mi’a

Ref. Butak 1947: 81; Artuk 1970: 1261; Hennequin 1985: 409-28; Mitchiner 1977: 1129; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 67.

Rev. In centre:
 الامام \ لا اله الا الله / محمد رسول الله / المستنصر بالله / امير المؤمنين
 al-Imām / Lā ilah illā Allah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / al-Mustanṣir Billah / Amīr al-Mū‘minīn
 Margin: ناصر الدنيا و الدين اتايك محمود الملك الكامل الملك الاشرف
 Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa ‘l-Dīn [Atabeg Maḥmūd al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik al-A]shraf

Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK290; P.D. Whitting Collection

302 Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II, Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (616-631 / 1219-1234)

Mint: [Mosul]
Date: AH 627
Diam. 24 mm
wt. 8.31 g

Obv. Same type as 295
 On the right of figure: ضرب بالموصل سنة / ḍuriba bi'l Mawṣil sana]; on the left of figure: سبع وعشرين وستمانه سبع / sab‘ ‘ishrīn wa sitta [mia]

Ref. Butak 1947: 81; Artuk 1970: 1261; Hennequin 1985: 409-28; Mitchiner 1977: 1129; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 67.

Rev. In centre:
 الامام \ لا اله الا الله / محمد رسول الله / المستنصر بالله / امير المؤمنين
 al-Imām / Lā ilah illā Allah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / al-Mustanṣir Billah / Amīr al-Mū‘minīn
 Margin: ناصر الدنيا و الدين اتايك محمود الملك الكامل الملك الاشرف
 [Nāṣir] al-Dunyā wa ‘l-Dīn [Atabeg Maḥmūd al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik al-Ashraf]

Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK291; P.D. Whitting Collection

303	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)	
Mint: Mosul Date: worn Diam. 25 mm wt. 7.12 g	Obv. Diademed male head facing to the left in a square. right: ضرب بالمو ḍuriba bi'l Maw; top: صل سنه -ṣil sana left: ... bottom: ...	Rev. الامام \ المستنصر \ بالله امير\ المومنين In centre: al-Imām / al-Mustanṣir / Billah Amīr / al-Mū'minīn Marginal legend: worn and deficient.

Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK292; P.D. Whitting Collection

Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.

304	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 6.1 Diam. 27 mm wt. 7.94 g	Obv. Same type as 303 right: ضرب بالمو ḍuriba bi'l Maw; top: صل سنه -ṣil sana; left: ... واحد و [wa] sitta mi'a	Rev. In centre: الامام \ المستنصر \ بالله امير\ المومنين al-Imām / [al-Mustan]ṣir / [Billah Amīr] / al-Mū'mi[nīn] Marginal legend: بدر الدنيا و الدين لولو الملك الكامل الاشرف Badr al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Lu'lu' al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik al-Ashraf

Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK293; P.D. Whitting Collection

Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.

305	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)	
Mint: [Mosul] Date: worn Diam. 23 mm wt. 6.85 g	Obv. Same type as 303 Marginal inscription is crude.	Rev. In centre: الامام \ المستنصر \ بالله امير\ المومنين [al-Imām] / al-Mustanṣir / Billah Amīr / al-Mū'minīn Marginal legend: بدر الدنيا و الدين لولو الملك الكامل الاشرف [Badr al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Lu'lu' al-Ma]lik al-Kāmil al-Malik al-Ash[raf]

Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK294; P.D. Whitting Collection

Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.

306	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 6.. Diam. 27 mm wt. 7.68 g	Obv. Same type as 303 right: ضرب بالمو ḍuriba bi'l Maw; top: صل سنه -sil sana; left: ...; bottom: و ست مائة [wa sīt]ta mia	
	Rev. In centre: الإمام \ المستنصر \ بالله امير\ المومنين al-Imām / al-Mustansir / Billah [Amīr] / al-Mū'minīn Marginal legend: بدر الدنيا و الدين لولو الملك الكامل الاشرف [Badr al-Dunyā] wa al-Dīn Lu'lu' al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik al-Ashr[af]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK295; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.		

307	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 6.1 Diam. 26 mm wt. 7.24 g	Obv. Same type as 303 right: ضرب بالمو ḍuriba bi'l Maw; top: صل سنه -sil sana; left: ... احد / aḥad ...; bottom: و ستمانه wa sitta mi'a	
	Rev. In centre: الإمام \ المستنصر \ بالله امير\ المومنين al-Imām / al-Mus[tan]sir / Billah Amīr / al-Mū'minīn Marginal legend: بدر الدنيا و الدين لولو الملك الكامل الاشرف Badr al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Lu'lu' al-Malik al-Kā[mil al-Malik al-Ashraf]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK296; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.		

308	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 631 Diam. 26 mm wt. 7.60 g	Obv. Same type as 303 right: ضرب بالمو [ḍuriba bi'l Maw]; top: صل سنه -sil sana; left: ثلاثين و احد aḥad wa thalāthīn; bottom: و ستمانه wa sitta mi'a	
	Rev. In centre: الإمام \ المستنصر \ بالله امير\ المومنين al-Imām / al-Mus[tan]sir / Billah Amīr / al-Mū'minīn Marginal legend: بدر الدنيا و الدين لولو الملك الكامل الاشرف Badr al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Lu'lu' al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik al-Ashraf	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK297; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.		

309	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul	
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(631-657 / 1234-1259)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 631 Diam. 26 mm wt. 6.77 g	Obv. Same type as 303 right: صل سنة -ṣil sana; left: احد و ثلاثين aḥad wa thalāthīn; bottom: و ستمائة wa sitta mi'a
	Rev. In centre: الامام \ المستنصر \ بالله امير\ المومنين [al-Imām] / al-Mustanṣir / Billah Amīr / al-Mū'minīn Marginal legend: بدر الدنيا و الدين لولو الملك الكامل الاشرف Badr al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Lu'lu' al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik al-Ashraf
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK298; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.	

310 Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)	
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 631 Diam. 25 mm wt. 7.51 g	Obv. Same type as 303 right: صل سنة -ṣil sana; left: احد و ثلاثين aḥad wa thalāthīn; bottom: و ستمائة [wa sitta mi'a]
	Rev. In centre: الامام \ المستنصر \ بالله امير\ المومنين al-Imām / al-Mustanṣir / [Billah Amīr] / al-Mū'minīn Marginal legend: بدر الدنيا و الدين لولو الملك الكامل الاشرف Badr al-Dunyā wa [al-Dīn Lu'lu' al-Malik al-Kāmil] al-Malik al-Ashraf
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK299; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.	

311 Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)	
Mint: [Mosul] Date: worn Diam. 26 mm wt. 7.60 g	Obv. Same type and inscription as 303; but largely damaged.
	Rev. Damaged.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK300; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. ...	

312	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 6.1 Diam. 27 mm wt. 7.31 g	Obv. Same type as 303; but a countermark on his face. right: ضرب بالمو / ḍuriba bi'l Maw; top: صل سنه -ṣil sana; left: ... و احد و ...; bottom: [wa sitta mi'a] وستمائه
	Rev. In centre: الامام \ المستنصر \ بالله امير \ المومنين al-Imā[m] / al-Mus[taṣṣir] / Billah [Amīr] / al-Mū'minīn Marginal legend: بدر الدنيا و الدين لولو الملك الكامل الاشرف Badr al-D[unyā wa al-Dīn] Lu'lu' al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik al-Ashraf
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK301; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.	

313	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)
Mint: Mosul Date: AH 631 Diam. 25 mm wt. 6.92 g	Obv. Same type as 303; but slightly damaged. right: ضرب بالمو ḍuriba bi'l Maw; top: صل سنه -ṣil [sana]; left: احد و ثلاثين aḥad wa thalāthīn; bottom: [wa sitta mi'a] وستمائه
	Rev. In centre: الامام \ المستنصر \ بالله امير \ المومنين al-Imām / al-Mustaṣṣir / [Billah Amīr] / al-Mū'minīn Marginal legend: بدر الدنيا و الدين لولو الملك الكامل الاشرف [Badr al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Lu'lu'] al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik al-Ashraf
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK302; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.	

314	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)
Mint: [Mosul] Date: worn Diam. 25 mm wt. 6.98 g	Obv. Same type as 303; but with a countermark. The marginal legend is obscure.
	Rev. In centre: الامام \ المستنصر \ بالله امير \ المومنين al-Imām / al-Mustaṣṣir / Billah A[mīr] / al-Mu[minīn] Marginal legend: : بدر الدنيا و الدين لولو الملك الكامل الاشرف Badr al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Lu'l[u al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Malik] al-Ashraf
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK303; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.	

315	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)	
Mint: [Mosul] Date: worn Diam. 28 mm wt. 6.58 g	Obv. Same type as 303; but very worn. The marginal legend is obscure and deficient.	Rev. In centre: الإمام \ المستنصر \ بالله امير\ المومنين [al-Imām]m / al-Mustanşir / Billah Amīr / al-Mū'minīn The marginal legend is obscure and deficient.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK304; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.		

316	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)	
Mint: Mosul Date: worn Diam. 25 mm wt. 4.94 g	Obv. Same type as 303; but very worn. right: worn; top: صل سنة -şil sana ; left: ...; bottom: ...	Rev. Worn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK305; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.		

317	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)	
Mint: Mosul Date: worn Diam. 26 mm wt. 5.49 g	Obv. Same type as 303; but worn. right: ...; top: صل سنة -şil sana ; left: ...; bottom: ...	Rev. worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK306; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 78; Artuk 1970: 1272; Mitchiner 1977: 1131; Hennequin 1985: 474-517; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 68.		

318	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)	
Mint: [Mosul] Date: deficient Diam. 16 mm wt. 2.24 g	Obv. الإمام \ المستنصر \ بالله امير\ المومنين Al-Imām / al-Mustanşir / billah Amīr / (a)l-Mū'minīn Right upwards: السلطان [al-Sulṭān]; left downwards: الاعظم al- Ā'ẓam	Rev. \ لولو محمد \ رسول الله صلى الله عليه Lu'lu' / Muḥammad / Rasūl Allah / Şallā Allah 'alayhi / ... Right upwards: الدنيا al-Dunyā Marginal legend bearing the mint name and date is deficient.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK307; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1264; Hennequin 1985: 547-53; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 69.		

319	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. 26 mm wt. 8.76 g	Obv. الامام \ الا اله الا الله \ الستعسم بالله \ امير المومنين Al-Imām / Lā ilah illā Allah / al-Musta‘sim billah / Amīr al-Mū‘minīn Margin: worn Rev. لولو \ محمد رسول الله \ بدر الدنيا \ و الدين اتابك Lu'lu' / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / Badr al-Dunyā / wa'l – Dīn Atabeg Right upwards: الملك الناصر al-Malik al-Nāṣir Left downwards: يوسف Yūsuf Margin: worn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK308; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1264; Hennequin 1985: 429-35; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 70.	

320	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)
Mint: [Mosul] Date: worn Diam. 26 mm wt. 6.85 g	Obv. منكو \ قان اعظام \ خداوند علیم \ بادشاه روی \ زمين زيد عظمة Mankū / Kāan a'zām / Hudāvend Alīm / Bādishāh ru-i / Zamīn Zuyyida 'azmihu Margin: worn Rev. لولو \ الملك الرحيم \ بدر الدنيا و الدين \ سلطان الاسلام \ و المسلمين ابوالفضا / يل Lu'lu' / al-Malik al-raḥīm / Badr al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn / Sultān al-Islām / wa'l Muslimīn Abū al-Faḍā / -il Marginal legend: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه Lā ilah illā Allah wahdahu lā sharīk lahu Muḥammad Rasūl Allah Ṣalla'l-lahu 'Alayh
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK309; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 80; Hennequin 1985: 523-35; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 72.	

321	Copper Coin of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)
Mint: [Mosul] Date: worn Diam. 26 mm wt. 8.39 g	Obv. منكو \ قان الاعظام \ خداوند علیم \ بادشاه روی \ زمين زيد عظمة Mankū / Kāan al-a'zām / Hudāvend Alīm / Bādishāh ru-i / Zamīn Zuyyida 'azmihu Margin: worn Rev. Same inscription as 54 (TK309), but largely worn. لولو \ الملك الرحيم \ بدر الدنيا و الدين \ سلطان الاسلام \ و المسلمين ابوالفضا / يل Lu'lu' / [al-Malik] al-raḥīm / Badr [al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn] / Sultān [al-I]slām / wa'l Muslimīn [Abū al-Faḍā / -il] Margin: worn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK310; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 80; Hennequin 1985: 523-35; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 72.	

322	Silver Dirham of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Zangīd atabeg of Mosul (631-657 / 1234-1259)
Mint: Sinjār Date: worn Diam. 22 mm wt. 3.22	Obv. In the centre of the star: الله \ لا اله الا الله محمد \ رسول الله صلى الله عليه الملك \ الرحيم بدر الدين \ لولو Allah / Lā ilah illā Allah Muḥammad / Rasūl Allah Sallā Allah / Alayh al-Malik / al-raḥīm Badr al-Dīn / Lu'lu' In the segments of the star: /... / ... / ... / ضرب / بسنجر
	Rev. منكو \ فان الاعظام \ خداوند عليهم \ بادشاه روى \ زمين زيد عظمة Mankū / Kāan al-a'zām / Hudāvend Alīm / Bādishāh ru-i / Zamīn Zuyyida 'azmihu In the segments of the star: worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK311; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1273.	

The Zangīds of Aleppo (Ḥalab) (541-579 / 1147-1183)

323	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (541-569 / 1146-1174)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 22 mm wt. 4.00 g	Obv. Christ with nimbus, standing, facing, wearing tunic and himation. He holds book in l. hand. Arabic legend, in the left field: ملك الامرا [Malik al-Umarā]; in the right field: محمود Maḥmūd
	Rev. Two Byzantine style figures standing, facing and holding a labarum standing on three steps between them. Arabic legend, on the left field of the labarum: العادل al-'Ādil; on the right field of the labarum: نور الدين Nūr al-Dīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK259; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1278 ; Butak 1947: 139; Hennequin 1985: 603-29; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 73.	

324	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (541-569 / 1146-1174)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 21 mm wt. 3.55 g	Obv. Similar image as 323 Arabic legend, in the left field: ملك الامرا / Malik al-Umar(ā); in the right field: محمود [Ma]ḥmūd
	Rev. Similar image as 323 Arabic legend, on the left field of the labarum: العادل / al-'Ād[il]; on the right field of the labarum: نور الدين Nūr al-Dīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK260; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1278 ; Butak 1947: 139; Hennequin 1985: 603-29; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 73.	

325	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (541-569 / 1146-1174)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 23 mm wt. 4.46 g	Obv. Similar images as 323 Arabic legend, in the left field: ملك الامرا [Ma]lik al-Umar[ā]; in the right field: محمود [M]aḥmūd	
	Rev. Similar image as 323 Arabic legend, on the left field of the labarum: العادل [al-‘Ādil]; on the right field of the labarum: نورالدين [Nūr al-Dīn]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK261; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1278 ; Butak 1947: 139; Hennequin 1985: 603-29; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 73		

326	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (541-569 / 1146-1174)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 24 mm wt. 4.50 g	Obv. Similar image and inscription as 323; but damaged. Some illegible Greek characters on the left of the image. Arabic legend, in the left field: ملك الامرا Malik al-Umarā; in the right field: محمود Maḥmūd	
	Rev. Similar image and inscription as 323; but the figure on the right and Arabic legends are completely damaged. Arabic legend, on the left field of the labarum: العادل [al-‘Ādil]; on the right field of the labarum: نورالدين [Nūr al-Dīn]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK262; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1278 ; Butak 1947: 139; Hennequin 1985: 603-29; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 73.		

327	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (541-569 / 1146-1174)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 23 mm wt. 4.28 g	Obv. Similar image and inscription as 323; but obscure. Some illegible Greek characters on the left of the image. Arabic legend, in the left field: ملك الامرا Malik [al-Umarā]; in the right field: محمود [Maḥmūd]	
	Rev. Same image and inscription as TK259, but obscure. Arabic legend, on the left field of the labarum: العادل al-‘Ādil; on the right field of the labarum: نورالدين [Nūr al-Dīn]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK263; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1278 ; Butak 1947: 139; Hennequin 1985: 603-29; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 73.		

328	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (541-569 / 1146-1174)	
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. 26 mm wt. 5.46 g	Obv. In centre: الملك العادل al-Malik al-‘Ādil Marginal legend is worn and deficient.	
	Rev. In centre: محمود ابن زنكى Maḥmūd ibn Zanki Marginal legend giving the mint name and date is worn and deficient.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK264; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 82; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 74.		

329	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (541-569 / 1146-1174)	
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. 23 mm wt. 6.13 g	Obv. Same type as 328; but overstruck and damaged.	
	Rev. Same type as 328; but overstruck and damaged.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK265; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 82; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 74.		

330	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (541-569 / 1146-1174)	
Mint: [Ḥalab] Date: worn Diam. 21 mm wt. 5.90 g	Obv. Same type as 328; but damaged.	
	Rev. Same type as 328; but damaged.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK266; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 82; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 74.		

331	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (541-569 / 1146-1174)	
Mint: [Ḥalab] Date: worn Diam. 24 mm wt. 4.97 g	Obv. Same type as 328; but الملك العادل al-Malik al-‘Ā[dil]	
	Rev. Same type as 328; but محمود ابن زنكى Maḥmūd ibn [Zanki]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK267; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 82; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 74.		

332	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (541-569 / 1146-1174)	
Mint: [Ḥalab]	Obv. Same type as 328; quite clear.	
Date: worn		
Diam. 24 mm	Rev. Same type as 328; quite clear.	
wt. 5.69 g		
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK268; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 82; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 74.		

333	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (541-569 / 1146-1174)	
Mint: [Ḥalab]	Obv. Same type as 328; but slightly worn.	
Date: worn		
Diam. 25 mm	Rev. Same type as 328; but slightly worn.	
wt. 5.60 g		
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK269; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 82; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 74.		

334	Copper Coin of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (541-569 / 1146-1174)	
Mint: [Ḥalab]	Obv. Four-line Arabic inscription in centre: لاله الا الله وحده لا شريك له المستنجد با الله امر المومنين	
Date: worn	Lā ilah illā Allah / Waḥdahu lā Sharīka lahu / al-Mustanjid billah /	
Diam. 12 mm	Amīr al-Mu'minīn am	
wt. 0.32 g.	Marginal legend is worn.	
	Rev. Four-line Arabic inscription in centre: محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه الملك العادل محمود بن زنكى	
	Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / Sallā Allah Alayh / al-Malik al-ʿĀdil	
	Maḥmūd bin [Zangī]	
	Marginal legend is worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK270; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. -		

335	Copper Coin of al-Salih Ismaʿīl, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (569-577 / 1174-1181)	
Mint: [Ḥalab]	Obv. Roman style bust, with diadem, facing to r.	
Date: AH (57)1	The marginal legend shows the mint name and date, but largely worn.	
Diam. 21 mm	... سنة احد و... / ... sana aḥad wa ...	
wt. 3.65 g	Rev. Five-line Arabic inscription: الله المستضى بامر امير المومنين الملك الصالح اسمعيل	
	[Illah] / al-Mustaḍī bi-Amr / [A]mīr al-Mu'minīn / [al-Malik al]-	
	Sālih / [Ismaʿīl]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK271; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1281; Hennequin 1985: 630-45; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 76.		

336	Copper Coin of al-Salih Isma‘īl, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (569-577 /1174-1181)	
Mint: Ḥalab Date: AH (5)71 Diam. 23 mm wt. 4.65 g	Obv. Same type as TK271; but marginal legend: ... ضرب بـحلب ... احد و سبعين ... ḍuriba bi-Ḥalab ... aḥad wa sab‘īn ...	
	Rev. Similar type as 335; but largely worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK272; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1281; Hennequin 1985: 630-45; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 76.		

337	Copper Coin of al-Salih Isma‘īl, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (569-577 /1174-1181)	
Mint: [Ḥalab] Date: AH (5)71 Diam. 22 mm wt. 2.97 g	Obv. Same type as TK271; but marginal legend: ... ضرب ... سنة احد و سبعين ... ḍuriba ... sana aḥad wa sab‘īn ...	
	Rev. Arabic inscription (top is deficient): ... الملك الصالح اسمعيل بن محمود ... / [al-Ma]lik al-Ṣaliḥ / [Is]ma‘īl bin Maḥmūd	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK273; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. -		

338	Copper Coin of al-Salih Isma‘īl, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (569-577 /1174-1181)	
Mint: [Ḥalab] Date: worn Diam. 20 mm wt. 2.30 g	Obv. Two-line Arabic inscription: الملك الصالح Al-Malik al-Ṣaliḥ Marginal legend shows the mint name and date, but largely deficient and worn.	
	Rev. Two-line Arabic inscription: الناصر امير المؤمنين Al-Nāṣir / Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Marginal legend is largely deficient and worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK274; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Hennequin 1985: 668-9; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 77.8		

339	Copper Coin of al-Salih Isma‘īl, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (569-577 /1174-1181)
Mint: [Ḥalab] Date: worn Diam. 24 mm wt. 4.75 g	Obv. Two-line Arabic inscription: الملك الصالح اسمعيل Al-Malik al- Ṣaliḥ / Isma‘īl Marginal legend shows the mint name and date, but largely deficient and worn. Rev. Three-line Arabic inscription, but partly worn: ... الملك الناصر... ... / al-Malik al-Naṣir / ... Marginal legend is largely deficient and worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK275; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. -	

340	Copper Coin of al-Salih Isma‘īl, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (569-577 /1174-1181)
Mint: [Ḥalab] Date: AH 571 Diam. 25 mm wt. 5.58 g	Obv. Similar type as 339; but Arabic inscription: الملك الصالح اسمعيل Al-Malik al- Ṣaliḥ / Isma‘īl Marginal legend: ... سنة احدsana aḥad ... Rev. same type as 339; but more legible: يو/ الملك الناصر/ سف Yū / al-Malik al-Naṣir / suf Marginal legend: ... محمد رسول الله... ... Muḥammad Rasūl Allah ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK276; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. -	

341	Copper Coin of al-Salih Isma‘īl, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (569-577 /1174-1181)
Mint: [Ḥalab] Date: worn Diam. 21 mm wt. 3.63 g	Obv. Two-line Arabic inscription: الملك الصالح Al-Malik al- Ṣaliḥ Marginal legend is largely worn. Rev. Two-line Arabic inscription: المستضامير المؤمنين Al-Mustaḍi / Amīr al-Mūminīn Marginal legend is largely deficient and worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK277; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Spengler&Sayles 1996: 77.6	

342	Copper Coin of al-Salih Isma‘īl, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (569-577 /1174-1181)
Mint: [Ḥalab] Date: worn Diam. 23 mm wt. 5.64 g	Obv. Two-line Arabic inscription: الملك الصالح اسمعيل Al-Malik al- Ṣaliḥ / Isma‘īl Marginal legend is largely worn. Rev. Two-line Arabic inscription: ابن الملك العادل محمود Ibn al-Malik / al-‘Ādil Maḥmūd Marginal legend is largely deficient and worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK278; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 84; Artuk 1970: 1279.	

343	Copper Coin of al-Salih Isma‘īl, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (569-577 /1174-1181)
Mint: [Ḥalab] Date: worn Diam. 22 mm wt. 3.41 g	Obv. Three-line Arabic inscription: الملك الصالح اسمعيل بن محمود Al-Malik al- Ṣaliḥ / [Ism]a‘īl / [bin Maḥ]mūd Marginal legend is largely worn. Rev. Three-line Arabic inscription: المستضى ناصر اللهايمير المومنين [Al-Musta]ḍī / [al-Nā]ṣir Allah / Amīr al-Mūminīn Marginal legend is largely deficient and worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK279; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Hennequin 1985: 665-7; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 77.7	

The Zangīds of Sinjār (566-617 / 1171-1220)

344	Copper Coin of ‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī II bin Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (566 – 594 / 1171 – 1197)
Mint: Nisibīn Date: worn Diam. 25 mm wt. 10.46 g	Obv. Four-line Arabic inscription in a square: الملك العالم \ العادل عماد \ الدين زنكى \ بن مودود Al-Mālik al-Ālim / al-Ādil ‘Imād / al-Dīn Zanki / bin Mawdūd Margin: worn Rev. Four-line Arabic inscription in a beaded circle: الامام \ الناصر \ الدينامير \ المومنين al-Imām / al-Nāṣir / al-Dīn Amīr / al-Mū’minīn Margin: ... هذا الدرهم بنصيبين ... / hadhā al-dirham bi-Nisibīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK328; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1283; Butak 1947: 85; Hennequin 1985: 683-5; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 78	

345	Copper Coin of ‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī II bin Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (566 – 594 / 1171 – 1197)	
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: worn Diam. 24 mm wt. 8.69 g	Obv. Double headed eagle. Arabic inscription on the eagle’s breast: ... / الناصر / الامام al-Imām / al-Nāṣir / ... Marginal legend bearing the mint name and date is worn.	Rev. ابن زنكى / الملك العالم \ العادل عماد \ الدنيا والدين زنكى ابن \ مودود [Ibn Zanki] / al-Mālik al-‘Ālim / al-‘Ādil ‘Imād / [al]-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn / Zanki ibn / [Maw]dūd
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK329; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1284; Butak 1947: 86; Mitchiner 1977: 1138; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 79.		

346	Copper Coin of ‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī II bin Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (566 – 594 / 1171 – 1197)	
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: AH 58. Diam. 23 mm wt. 7.35 g	Obv. Same type as 345. Arabic inscription on the eagle’s breast: احمد / الناصر / الامام al-Imām / al-Nāṣir / Aḥmad Margin: Largely worn and deficient, but ضرب ... ثمانين و خمسمائة ḍuriba ... thamānīn wa khamsami’a	Rev. ابن زنكى / الملك العالم \ العادل عماد \ الدنيا والدين زنكى ابن \ مودود Ibn Zanki / al-Mālik al-‘Ālim / al-‘Ādil ‘Imād / [al]-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn / [Zanki ibn / Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK330; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1284; Butak 1947: 86; Mitchiner 1977: 1138; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 79.		

347	Copper Coin of ‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī II bin Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (566 – 594 / 1171 – 1197)	
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: worn Diam. 23 mm wt. 7.94 g	Obv. Same type as 345. Arabic inscription on the eagle’s breast: احمد / الناصر / الامام al-Imām / al-Nāṣir / Aḥmad Margin: Largely worn and deficient, but ضرب هذا الدرهم ... ḍuriba hadhā al-Dirham...	Rev. ابن زنكى / الملك العالم \ العادل عماد \ الدنيا والدين زنكى ابن \ مودود [Ibn Zanki] / al-Mālik al-‘Ā[lim] / al-‘Ādil ‘Imād / al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn / Zanki ibn / [Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK331; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1284; Butak 1947: 86; Mitchiner 1977: 1138; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 79.		

348	Copper Coin of ‘Imād al-Dīn ZangīII bin Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (566 – 594 / 1171 – 1197)
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: worn Diam. 23 mm wt. 6.12 g	Obv. Same type as 345. Arabic inscription on the eagle’s breast is worn. Margin: Largely worn. Rev. ابن زنگی / الملك العالم \ العادل عماد \ الدنيا والدين زنگی ابن \ مودود [Ibn Zangi] / al-Mālik al-‘Ālim / al-‘Ādil [‘Imād] / al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn / Zangīibn / Mawdūd
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK332; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1284; Butak 1947: 86; Mitchiner 1977: 1138; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 79	

349	Copper Coin of ‘Imād al-Dīn ZangīII bin Mawdūd, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (566 – 594 / 1171 – 1197)
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: worn Diam. 26 mm wt. 8.21 g	Obv. Same type as 345 Arabic inscription on the eagle’s breast is worn. Margin: Largely worn and deficient, but ... ضرب هذا ال / ḍuriba hadhā al-... Rev. الملك العالم \ العادل عماد \ الدنيا والدين ابن زنگی ابن \ (مودود) Ibn Zanki / al-Mālik al-‘Ālim / al-‘Ādil ‘Imād / al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn / Zanki ibn / (Mawdūd)
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK333; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1284; Butak 1947: 86; Mitchiner 1977: 1138; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 79.	

350	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zengi, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: AH 596 Diam. 26 mm wt. 9.69 g	Obv. Male head facing to the left, with a spear over his right shoulder and a shield on his left shoulder. Margin: ضرب بسنجر سنه ستھو تسعين و خمسمائه ḍuriba [bi’Sinjār] sana sitta wa tis’īn wa khamsami’a Rev. الامام الناصر \ لدين الله \ الملك المنصور \ قطب الدنيا والدين Al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li dīn [All]ah / al-Malik al-Manṣūr / [Quṭb al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn] Right upwards: محمد Muḥammad; Top: بن زنگی bin Zangi; left downwards: بن مودود [bin Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK334; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1285; Butak 1947: 88; Hennequin 1985: 692-710; Mitchiner 1977: 1140; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 81.1	

351	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: AH 596 Diam. 25 mm wt. 11.91 g	Obv. Same type as 350 Margin: ضرب بسنجان سنه ستهو تسعين و خمسمانه [ḍuriba bi'Sinjār sana] sittah wa tis'in wa khamisa mi'a Rev. الامام الناصر \ لدين الله \ الملك المنصور \ قطب الدنيا والدين Al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li dīn [All]ah / al-Malik al-Manṣūr / [Quṭ]b al-Dunyā [wa'l-Dīn] Right upwards: محمد [Muḥammad]; Top: بن زنگی bin Zangī; left downwards: بن مودود [bin Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK335; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1285; Butak 1947: 88; Hennequin 1985: 692-710; Mitchiner 1977: 1140; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 81.1	

352	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)
Mint: Sinjār Date: AH 596 Diam. 26 mm wt. 14.08 g	Obv. Same type as 350 Margin: ضرب بسنجان سنه ستهو تسعين و خمسمانه ḍuriba bi'Sinjār sana sitta wa tis'in wa khamisa mi'a Rev. الامام الناصر \ لدين الله \ الملك المنصور \ قطب الدنيا والدين [Al-Imām] al-Nāṣir / [li dīn] Allah / [al-Ma]lik al-Manṣūr / Quṭb al-Dunyā [wa'l-Dīn] Right upwards: محمد Muḥammad; Top: بن زنگی / [bin Zangī]; left downwards: مودود بن [bin Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK336; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1285; Butak 1947: 88; Hennequin 1985: 692-710; Mitchiner 1977: 1140; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 81.1	

353	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: AH 596 Diam. 25 mm wt. 9.85 g	Obv. Same type as 350 Margin: ضرب بسنجان سنه ستهو تسعين و خمسمانه [ḍuriba bi'Sinjār] sana sittah wa tis'in wa khamisa mi'a Rev. الامام الناصر \ لدين الله \ الملك المنصور \ قطب الدنيا والدين Al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li dīn Allah / al-Malik al-Manṣūr / [Quṭb al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn] Right upwards: محمد [Muḥammad]; Top: بن زنگی bin Zangī; left downwards: بن مودود [bin Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK337; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1285; Butak 1947: 88; Hennequin 1985: 692-710; Mitchiner 1977: 1140; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 81.1	

354	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)
Mint: Sinjār Date: AH 596 Diam. 26 mm wt. 8.83 g	Obv. Same type as 350 Margin: ضرب بسنچار سنه ستهو تسعين و خمسمانه ḍuriba bi'Sinjār sana sittah wa tis'in wa khamisa mi'a
	Rev. الامام الناصر \ لدين الله \ الملك المنصور \ قطب الدنيا والدين Al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li dīn Allah / al-Malik al-Mansūr / Quṭb al-Dunyā wa'l-[Dīn] Right upwards: محمد Muḥammad; Top: بن زنگی [bin Zangī]; left downwards: بن مودود [bin Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK338; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1285; Butak 1947: 88; Hennequin 1985: 692-710; Mitchiner 1977: 1140; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 81.1	

355	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)
Mint: Sinjār Date: AH 598 Diam. 25 mm wt. 11.36 g	Obv. Same type as 350 Margin: ضرب بسنچار سنه ستهو تسعين و خمسمانه ḍuriba bi'Sinjār sana thamān wa tis'in wa khamisa mi'a
	Rev. الامام الناصر \ لدين الله \ الملك المنصور \ قطب الدنيا والدين Al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li dīn [All]ah / al-Malik al-Mansūr / Quṭb al-Dunyā [wa'l-Dīn] Right upwards: محمد Muḥammad; Top: بن زنگی bin Zangī; left downwards: بن مودود [bin Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK339; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1285; Butak 1947: 88; Hennequin 1985: 711-14; Mitchiner 1977: 1140; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 81.2	

356	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)
Mint: Sinjār Date: AH 598 Diam. 27 mm wt. 11.73 g	Obv. Same type as 350 Margin: Marginal legend: ضرب بسنچار سنه ستهو تسعين و خمسمانه ḍuriba bi'Sinjār sana thamān wa tis'in wa khamisa mi'a
	Rev. الامام الناصر \ لدين الله \ الملك المنصور \ قطب الدنيا والدين Al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li dīn Allah / al-Malik al-Ma[nsūr] / Quṭb al-Dunyā [wa'l-Dīn] Right upwards: محمد Muḥammad; Top: بن زنگی bin Zangī; left downwards: بن مودود bin Mawd[ūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK340; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1285; Butak 1947: 88; Hennequin 1985: 711-14; Mitchiner 1977: 1140; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 81.2	

357	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: AH 59. Diam. 25 mm wt. 9.13 g	Obv. Same type as 350 Margin: ضرب بسنچار سنه ستهو تسعين و خمسمانه (ḍuriba bi'Sinjār sana thamān wa) tis'in wa khamṣa mi'a Rev. الامام الناصر \ لدين الله \ الملك المنصور \ قطب الدنيا والدين [Al]-Imām al-Nāṣir / li dīn Allah / al-Mal[ik al-Mansūr / Quṭb al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn] Right upwards: محمد [Muḥammad]; Top: بن زنگی [bin Zangī]; left downwards: بن مودود [bin Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK341; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1285; Butak 1947: 88; Hennequin 1985: 692-714; Mitchiner 1977: 1140; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 81.	

358	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: AH 5.. Diam. 26 mm wt. 10.46 g	Obv. Same type as 350 Margin: خمسمانه... ... khamṣa mi'a Rev. الامام الناصر \ لدين الله \ الملك المنصور \ قطب الدنيا والدين [Al]-Imām al-Nāṣir / [li dīn Allah] / [al-Ma]lik al-Mansūr / [Quṭb] al-Dunyā wa'l-D[īn] Right upwards: محمد [Muḥammad]; Top: بن زنگی [bin Zangī]; left downwards: بن مودود [bin Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK342; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1285; Butak 1947: 88; Hennequin 1985: 692-714; Mitchiner 1977: 1140; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 81.	

359	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)
Mint: Sinjār Date: AH 59. Diam. 26 mm wt. 10.05 g	Obv. Same type as 350 Margin: ضرب بسنچار ... و خمسمانه تسعين ḍuriba bi'Sinjār .. tis'in wa khamṣa mi'a Rev. الامام الناصر \ لدين الله \ الملك المنصور \ قطب الدنيا والدين Al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li d[īn A]llah / al-Mal[ik al-Mansūr] / Quṭb al-Dunyā wa'l-D[īn] Right upwards: محمد Muḥammad; Top: بن زنگی bin Zangī; left downwards: بن مودود bin Mawdūd
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK343; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1285; Butak 1947: 88; Mitchiner 1977: 1140; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 81.	

360	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: worn Diam. 27 mm wt. 9.57 g	Obv. Same type as 350; but damaged. Marginal legend is worn. Rev. Arabic inscription is slightly obscure. الإمام الناصر \ لدين الله \ الملك المنصور \ قطب الدنيا والدين Al-Imām [al-Nāṣir] / li dīn [Allah] / al-Malik al-Man[sūr] / Quṭb al-Dunyā [wa'l-Dīn] Right upwards: محمد [Muḥammad]; Top: بن زنگی [bin Zangī]; left downwards: بن مودود [bin Mawdūd]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK344; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1285; Butak 1947: 88; Hennequin 1985: 692-714; Mitchiner 1977: 1140; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 81.	

361	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: worn Diam. 28 mm wt. 14.45 g	Obv. Hellenistic style bust with a helmet facing to the right. Margin: الملك المنصور قطب الدين محمد بن زنگی بن مودود ولی عهده سنجار شاه al-Malik al-Manṣūr Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangībin Mawdūd Walī ‘ahduhu Sinjār Shāh Rev. الإمام الناصر \ لدين الله امير / المومنين الملك / العادل سيف الد / بن ابو بكر بن Al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li-Dīn Allah Amīr / al-mu’minīn al-Malik / al-‘Ādil Saif [al- D] /-īn Abū Bakr [bin Ayyūb] Right upwards: ... ; top: ... left downwards: ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK346; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1286; Hennequin 1985: 727-31; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 82	

362	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: worn Diam. 29 mm wt. 15.41 g	Obv. Same type as 361 Margin: الملك المنصور قطب الدين محمد بن زنگی بن مودود ولی عهده سنجار شاه al-Malik al-Manṣūr Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangībin Mawdūd Walī ‘ahduhu Sinjār Shāh Rev. الناصر \ لدين الله امير / المومنين الملك / العادل سيف الد / بن ابو بكر بن ايوب الإمام [Al]-Imām al-Nāṣir / li-Dīn Allah Amīr / al-mu’minīn al-Malik / al-‘Ādil Saif al-d /-īn Abū Bakr bin Ayyūb Right upwards: ... ; top: ... left downwards: ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK347; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1286; Hennequin 1985: 727-31; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 82	

363	Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār,
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(594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)	
Mint: Sinjār Date: AH 601 Diam. 28 mm wt. 14.72 g	Obv. Same type as 361 Margin: الملك المنصور قطب الدين محمد بن زنكي بن مودود ولي عهد سنجار شاه al-Malik al-Manṣūr Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zanki bin Mawdūd Walī ‘ahduhu Sinjār Shāh
	Rev. الناصر \ لدين الله امير / المومنين الملك / العادل سيف الد / ين ابو بكر بن ايوب الامام Al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li-Dīn Allah Amīr / al-mu’minīn al-Malik / al-‘Ādil Saif al- /-īn Abū Bakr bin Ayyūb Right upwards: ضرب بسنچار ḍuriba bi-Sinjār; top: سنة احد sana aḥad; left downwards: ستمانه sittami’a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK348; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1286; Hennequin 1985: 730-1; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 82.2	

364 Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)	
Mint: Sinjār Date: AH 601 Diam. 29 mm wt. 13.13 g	Obv. Same type as 361 Margin: الملك المنصور قطب الدين محمد بن زنكي بن مودود ولي عهد سنجار شاه al-Malik al-Manṣūr Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī bin Mawdūd Walī ‘ahduhu Sinjār Shāh
	Rev. الناصر \ لدين الله امير / المومنين الملك / العادل سيف الد / ين ابو بكر بن ايوب الامام Al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li-Dīn Allah Amīr / al-mu’minīn al-Malik / al-‘Ādil Saif al- /-īn Abū Bakr bin Ayyūb Right upwards: ضرب بسنچار ḍuriba bi-Sinjār; top: سنة احد sana aḥad; left downwards: ستمانه sittami’a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK349; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1286; Hennequin 1985: 730-1; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 82.2	

365 Copper Coin of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangī, Zangīd atabeg of Sinjār, (594 – 616 / 1197 – 1219)	
Mint: [Sinjār] Date: AH 606 Diam. 30 mm wt. 15.28 g	Obv. Double headed eagle. Margin: obscure, but .../الملك المنصور قطب الدين... al-Malik al-Manṣūr Quṭb al-[Dīn]...
	Rev. الناصر \ لدين الله امير / المومنين الملك / العادل سيف الد / ين ابو بكر بن ايوب الامام Al-Imām al-Nāṣir / li-Dīn Allah Amīr / al-mu’minīn al-Malik / al-‘Ādil Saif (al- /-īn Abū Bakr bin Ayyūb) Right upwards: ...; top: سنة سته / sana sitta; left downwards: ستمانه / sittami’a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK350; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1287; Butak 1947: 90; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 83.1	

The Zangīds of Jazīra (576-648 / 1180-1250)

366	Copper Coin of Sanjar Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of al-Jazīra (576 - 648 / 1180 – 1208)
Mint: - Date: AH 58. Diam. 34 mm wt. 14.40 g	Obv. A male head, with a long dishevelled hair, facing slightly to the left. Marginal legend: الملك المظفر سنجر شاه بن غازى Al-Malik al-Muẓaffer San [jar Shāh] bin Ghāzī Rev. الناصر لدين الله \ امير المومنين \ الملك الناصر \ يوسف بن ايوب Al-Nāṣir [li-Dīn Allah] / Amīr al-Mū'minīn / [al-Malik] al-Nāṣir / [Yūsuf bin] Ayyūb Top: worn; left downwards: و ثمانين wa thamānīn; right upwards: ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK224; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 91; Artuk 1970: 1288; Hennequin 1985: 735-9; Mitchiner 1977: 1142; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 85.	
367	Copper Coin of Sanjar Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of al-Jazīra (576 - 648 / 1180 – 1208)
Mint: - Date: AH 58. Diam. 31 mm wt. 15.21 g	Obv. Same type as 366 الملك المظفر سنجر شاه بن غازى Al-Malik al-Muẓaffer Sanjar Shāh bin Ghāzī Rev. الناصر لدين الله \ امير المومنين \ الملك الناصر \ يوسف بن ايوب [Al]-Nāṣir li-Dīn [Allah] / [Amī]r al-Mū'minīn / [al-]Malik al-Nāṣir / [Yū]suf bin Ayyū[b] Top: سنة اربع [sana] arba' ; left downwards: و ثمانين / wa thamānīn; right upwards: deficient.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK225; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 91; Artuk 1970: 1288; Hennequin 1985: 735-9; Mitchiner 1977: 1142; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 85.	
368	Copper Coin of Sanjar Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of al-Jazīra (576 - 648 / 1180 – 1208)
Mint: - Date: AH 584 Diam. 32 mm wt. 13.94 g	Obv. Same type as 366 الملك المظفر سنجر شاه بن غازى Al-Malik al-Muẓaffer Sanjar Shāh bin Ghāzī Rev. الناصر لدين الله \ امير المومنين \ الملك الناصر \ يوسف بن ايوب Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mu[minīn] / al-Malik al-Nāṣir / [Yū]suf bin Ayyūb Top: سنة اربع [sana] arba' ; left downwards: و ثمانين wa thamānīn; right upwards: و خمسمائة wa khamsamī'a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK226; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 91; Artuk 1970: 1288; Hennequin 1985: 735-9; Mitchiner 1977: 1142; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 85.	

369	Copper Coin of Sanjar Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of al-Jazīra (576 - 648 / 1180 – 1208)	
Mint: - Date: AH 58. Diam. 32 mm wt. 1097 g	Obv. Same type as 366 الملك المظفر سنجر شاه بن غازى Al-Malik al-Muẓaffer Sanjar Sh[āh bin] Ghāzī	
	Rev. الناصر لدين الله \ امير المومنين \ الملك الناصر \ يوسف بن ايوب Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū'minīn / al-Malik al-Nāṣir / Yūsuf bin Ayyūb Top: deficient; left downwards: و ثمانين wa thamānīn; right upwards: obscure.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK227; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 91; Artuk 1970: 1288; Hennequin 1985: 735-9; Mitchiner 1977: 1142; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 85.		

370	Copper Coin of Sanjar Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of al-Jazīra (576 - 648 / 1180 – 1208)	
Mint: - Date: deficient Diam. 30 mm wt. 9.85 g	Obv. Same type as 366; but largely damaged. الملك المظفر سنجر شاه بن غازى [Al-Malik al-Muẓaffer Sa]njar Shāh bin Ghāz[ī]	
	Rev. Same inscription as 366; but largely damaged الناصر لدين الله \ امير المومنين \ الملك الناصر \ يوسف بن ايوب [Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū'minīn] / al-Malik al-Nā[sir] / Yūsuf bin Ayyū[b]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK228; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 91; Artuk 1970: 1288; Hennequin 1985: 735-9; Mitchiner 1977: 1142; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 85.		

371	Copper Coin of Sanjar Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of al-Jazīra (576 - 648 / 1180 – 1208)	
Mint: worn Date: worn Diam. 36 mm wt. 28.82 g	Obv. A Zangīd tamgha in centre; but largely damaged.	
	Rev. Arabic inscription is largely worn and obscure.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK229; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1289; Butak 1947: 92; Hennequin 1985: 732; Mitchiner 1977: 1143; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 86.		

372	Copper Coin of Mu‘izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Sanjar Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of al-Jazīra (605 - 639 / 1208 – 1241)	
Mint: [Jazīra] Date: worn Diam. 28 mm wt. 13.65 g	Obv. A bust wearing a three-pointed crown with pendilia and holding a large crescent. Margin: Largely worn; but ... الملك المعظم al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ...	
	Rev. Completely worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK230; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1290; Butak 1947: 94; Hennequin 1985: 740-4; Mitchiner 1977: 1144; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 87.		

373	Copper Coin of Mu‘izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Sanjar Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of al-Jazīra (605 - 639 / 1208 – 1241)	
Mint: Jazīra Date: worn Diam. 29 mm wt. 16.10 g	Obv. Same type as 372 Margin: Largely worn, but ... شاه الناصرى Shāh al-Nāṣirī ...	
	Rev. الامام الاعظم الناصر الدين الله امير المومنين الملك العادل ابو بكر بن ايوب Al-Imām al-a‘zam / al-Nāṣir al-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū‘minīn / al-Malik al-‘Ādil / [Abū Bakr bin Ayyūb] right upwards: ضرب بالجزيره ḍuriba bi’l-Jazīra; top: ...; left downwards: ...	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK231; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1290; Butak 1947: 94; Hennequin 1985: 740-4; Mitchiner 1977: 1144; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 87.		

374	Copper Coin of Mu‘izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Sanjar Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of al-Jazīra (605 - 639 / 1208 – 1241)	
Mint: [Jazīra] Date: AH 606 Diam. 30 mm wt. 17.56 g	Obv. Same type as 372 Margin: Largely worn, but ... المعظم محمود بن ... al-Mu‘azzam Maḥmūd bin ...	
	Rev. الامام الاعظم الناصر الدين الله امير المومنين الملك العادل ابو بكر بن ايوب Al-Imām al-a‘zam / al-Nāṣir al-dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū‘minīn / al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū / [Bakr bin Ayyūb] right upwards: worn; top: سنة سنة sana sitta ; left downwards: ستمانه sittami’a	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK232; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1290; Butak 1947: 94; Hennequin 1985: 74-2; Mitchiner 1977: 1144; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 87.1		

375	Copper Coin of Mu‘izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Sanjar Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of al-Jazīra (605-639 / 1208-1241)
Mint: Jazīra Date: AH 6.. Diam. 30 mm wt. 14.43 g	Obv. Same type as 372; but Artuqid tamgha below figure. Margin: Largely worn, but ... الملك المعظم al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ... Rev. الامام الناصر الدين الله امير المومنين الملك الكامل محمد الملك الاشرف موسى Al-Imām al-Nāṣir al-dīn / Allah Amīr al-Mū‘minīn / al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad / al-Malik al-Ashraf / Mūsa right upwards: ضرب بالجزيره ḍuriba bi'l-Jazīra; top: worn; left downwards: ستمانه sittami'a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK233; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1290; Butak 1947: 94; Hennequin 1985: 740-4; Mitchiner 1977: 1144; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 87.	

376	Copper Coin of Mu‘izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Sanjar Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of al-Jazīra (605-639 / 1208-1241)
Mint: [Jazīra] Date: worn Diam. 28 mm wt. 16.06 g	Obv. Same type as 372 Margin: Largely worn, but ... الملك المعظم / al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ... Rev. الامام الناصر الدين الله امير المومنين الملك الكامل محمد الملك الاشرف موسى Al-Imām al-Nāṣir al-dīn / Allah Amīr al-Mū‘minīn / al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad / al-Malik al-Ashraf / Mūsa Marginal legend is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK234; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1290; Butak 1947: 94; Hennequin 1985: 740-4; Mitchiner 1977: 1144; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 87.	

377	Copper Coin of Mu‘izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Sanjar Shāh, Zangīd atabeg of al-Jazīra (605-639 / 1208-1241)
Mint: [Jazīra] Date: AH 6.. Diam. 31 mm wt. 14.84 g	Obv. Same type as 372; but damaged. Margin: Largely obscure and deficient, but ... الملك ال / al-Malik al- ... Rev. Lagely worn, but الامام الاعظم الناصر الدين الله امير المومنين الملك العادل ابو بكر بن ايوب Al-Imām [al-a‘zam] / al-Nāṣir [al-dīn Allah] / Amīr al-Mū‘minīn / al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū / Bakr bin Ayyūb right upwards: ...; top: ...; left downwards: ستمانه [sittami'a]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK235; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1290; Butak 1947: 94; Hennequin 1985: 740-4; Mitchiner 1977: 1144; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 87.	

378	Copper Coin of Mu‘izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Sanjar Shāh with al-Malik al-Zāhir, Zangīd atabegs of al-Jazīra
Mint: [Jazīra] Date: worn Diam. 27 mm wt. 9.54 g	Obv. Zangīd tamgha in a beaded circle Margin: Largely obscure, but ... الملك المعظم / al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ... Rev. in centre: الامام المستنصر بالله السلطان الاعظم كخسرو al-Imām al-Mus[tanšir] / billah al-Sultān [al-a] / -‘zam Kay-Khusraw Right upwards: ...; top: ...; left downwards: ...; bottom: ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK236; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1291; Butak 1947: 95; Hennequin 1985: 747-57; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 89.	

379	Copper Coin of Mu‘izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Sanjar Shāh with al-Malik al-Zāhir, Zangīd atabegs of al-Jazīra
Mint: [Jazīra] Date: AH ..9 Diam. 23 mm wt. 8.47 g	Obv. Same tye as 378 Margin: Largely worn, but ... الملك المعظم...الملك / al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ... al-Malik al-... Rev. in centre: الامام المستنصر بالله السلطان الاعظم كخسرو al-Imām al-Mus[tanšir] / billah al-Sultān [al-a] / -‘zam Kay-[Khusraw] Right upwards: ...; top: سنا تسة sana tis‘a; left downwards: ...; bottom: ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK237; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1291; Butak 1947: 95; Hennequin 1985: 747-57; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 89.	

380	Copper Coin of Mu‘izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Sanjar Shāh with al-Malik al-Zāhir, Zangīd atabegs of al-Jazīra
Mint: [Jazīra] Date: AH 639 Diam. 27 mm wt. 10.82 g	Obv. Same tye as 378 Margin: Largely worn, but ... عهد الملك الزاهر... / ‘ahduhu al-Malik al-Zāhir ... Rev. in centre: الامام المستنصر بالله السلطان الاعظم كخسرو al-Imām al-Mustanšir / billah al-Sultān al-a/ [-‘zam] Kay-Khusraw Right upwards: worn; top: سنا تسة sana tis‘a; left downwards: ثلاثين و wa thalāthīn; bottom: ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK238; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1291; Butak 1947: 95; Hennequin 1985: 747-57; Spengler&Sayles 1996: 89.	

THE DANISHMENDIDS

381	Copper Coin of Malik Muḥammad, Danishmendid ruler of Sivas (528-536 / 1134-1142)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 26 mm wt. 5.83 g	Obv. Four line Greek inscription with uncial letters within circular frame: Ο Μ(ΕΓΑC) [ΜΕΛ]ΗΚΙC ΠΑCΗC ΡΩΜΑΝΙΑ[C] / ό μέγας μελήκισ πάσης ρωμανίας <i>the Great King of all Romania</i>
	Rev. In circle, Greek inscription continues: [ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑ]ΤΟΛΗC, ΜΑΧΑΜ[ΑΤΗC] / και άνατολης Μαχαμάτης <i>and Anatolia (the East), Muḥammad</i>
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK419; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Casanova 1896: no. 3-4, pl. III; Whelan 1980: 139; Hennequin 1985: 1940.	
382	Copper Coin of Malik Muḥammad, Danishmendid ruler of Sivas (528-536 / 1134-1142)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 26 mm wt. 5.90 g	Obv. Four line Greek inscription with uncial letters within circular frame: Ο Μ(ΕΓΑC) Μ[ΕΛ]ΗΚΙC Π[Α]CΗC ΡΩ[ΜΑ]ΝΙΑC / ό μέγας μελήκισ πάσης ρωμανίας <i>the Great King of all Romania</i>
	Rev. In circle, Greek inscription continues: [ΚΑ]Ι [ΑΝΑ]ΤΟΛΗC, [Μ]ΑΧΑ[ΜΑ]ΤΗC / και άνατολης Μαχαμάτης <i>and Anatolia (the East), Muḥammad</i>
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK420; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Casanova 1896: nos. 3-4, pl. III; Whelan 1980: 139; Hennequin 1985: 1940.	
383	Copper Coin of Nizām al-Dīn Yaghībasān (Yağībasan), Danishmendid ruler of Sivas (536-559 / 1142-1164)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 32 mm wt. 9.41 g	Obv. الملك العادل نظام الدين ياغى بسان بن ملك غازى Al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nizām al-Dīn Yaghi Basan bin Malik Ghāzī
	Rev. Crude bust face to r. بن ملك دانشمند ظهیر امیر المومنین Bin Malik [Danishmend Zāhir] Amīr al-Mū‘minīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK421; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Casanova 1896: no. 9, pl. III; Butak 1947: 105; Artuk 1970: 1181.	

384	Copper Coin of Nizām al-Dīn Yaghībasān (Yağībasan), Danishmendid ruler of Sivas (536-559 / 1142-1164)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 33 mm wt. 9.42 g	Obv. الملك العادل نظام الدين ياغى بسان بن ملك غازى Al-Malik al-['Ādil] Nizām al-Dīn [Yaghi Basan] bin Malik Ghāzī
	Rev. Crude bust face to r. بن ملك دانشمند ظهیر امیر المومنین Bin Malik Dan[ishmend Zāhir] Amīr al-Mū'minīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK422; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Casanova 1896: no. 9, pl. III; Butak 1947: 105; Artuk 1970: 1181.	
385	Copper Coin of Nizām al-Dīn Yaghībasān (Yağībasan), Danishmendid ruler of Sivas (536-559 / 1142-1164)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 30 mm wt. 9.49 g	Obv. الملك العادل نظام الدين ياغى بسان بن ملك غازى Al-Malik al-'Ādil Nizām al-Dīn Yaghi Basan [bin] Malik Ghāzī
	Rev. Crude bust face to r. بن ملك دانشمند ظهیر امیر المومنین Bin Malik Danishmend [Zāhir Amīr al-Mu'minin]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK423; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Casanova 1896: no. 9, pl. III; Butak 1947: 105; Artuk 1970: 1181.	
386	Copper Coin of Nizām al-Dīn Yaghībasān (Yağībasan), Danishmendid ruler of Sivas (536-559 / 1142-1164)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 28 mm wt. 8.41 g	Obv. الملك العادل نظام الدين ياغى بسان بن ملك غازى Al-Malik al-'Ādil Nizām al-Dīn Yaghi Basan [bin Malik Ghāzī]
	Rev. Crude bust face to r. بن ملك دانشمند ظهیر امیر المومنین [Bin Malik Danishmend Zāhir Amīr al-Mu'minin]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK424; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Casanova 1896: no. 9, pl. III; Butak 1947: 105; Artuk 1970: 1181.	
387	Copper Coin of Nizām al-Dīn Yaghībasān (Yağībasan), Danishmendid ruler of Sivas (536-559 / 1142-1164)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 30 mm wt. 7.05 g	Obv. Very crude Arabic characters. Largely damaged. ... نظام ال... اعى بس ... / Nizam al-... aghi bas...
	Rev. Illegible Arabic characters. Largely damaged.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK425; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. -	

388	Copper Coin of ‘Imād al-Dīn Dhū’l-Nūn, Danishmendid ruler of Kayseri (536-70 / 1142-75)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 30 mm wt. 6.86 g	Obv. Three-line Arabic inscription in circle: ناصر الدنيا و الدين شرف الاسلام Nāṣir al-Dunyā / wa al-Dīn sharaf / al-Islām Marginal legend: الملك الاجل السيد الكبير العالم العادل عماد الدين al-Malik al-Ajall al-Sayyid al-Kabir al-‘Ālim al-Ādil [Imād al-Dīn]
	Rev. Three-line Arabic inscription in the circle: ذوالنون بن الملك محمد سيفامير المومنين Dhū’l-Nūn / bin al-Malik Muḥammad Sayf / Amīr al-Mū’minīn In marginal legend: ... نصر الاسلام و المسلمين ملك بلاد الروم و ال Naṣr al-Islām wa’l-Muslimīn Malik Bilād al-Rūm wa’l- ...
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK428; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Casanova 1896: ...; Butak 1947: 109; Artuk 1970: 1185.	

389	Copper Coin of ‘Imād al-Dīn Dhū’l-Nūn, Danishmendid ruler of Kayseri (536-70 / 1142-75)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 29 mm wt. 6.67 g	Obv. In circle a man riding lion to right; in right hand sword brandished above his head. Marginal legend: الامير الاسفهلار الاجل السيد الكبير عماد الدين al-Amīr al-Isfahsalār al-Ajall al-Sayyid al-Kabīr ‘Imād al-Dīn
	Rev. in circle: الملك ذوالنون بن محمد سيفامير المومنين al-Malik Dhū’l-Nūn b. Muḥammad Sayf Amīr al-Mū’minīn Marginal legend: نصر الاسلام شيربان بك جابك سوار ملك الامرا ابو شجاع Naṣr al-Islām ... Malik [al-Umarā Abū Shucā]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK429; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 108; Whelan 1980: ...; Artuk 1970: 1184.	

390	Copper Coin of Dhū’l-Qarnain, Danishmendid ruler of Malatya (547-557 / 1152-1162)
Mint: - Date: AD 1154-55 Diam. 29 mm wt. 9.86 g	Obv. Crude bust face to r. Marginal inscription: INΔ[IKTI]ωNOC ινδικτιώνος / the indiction
	Rev. الواثق ذوالقرنين بن عين الدولة al-Wāthiq Dhū’l Qarnayn bin [‘Ayn al-Dawla] Marginal inscription is worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK416; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Casanova 1896: no. 10, pl. III; Butak 1947: 110; Artuk 1970: 1186.	

391	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, Danishmendid ruler of Malatya (557-65 / 1162-70 and 570-73 / 1175-78)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 32 mm wt. 10.76 g	Obv. Two standing figures facing. Figure at right with halo, left hand palm outward, right hand stretched to crown left figure wears palium. Figure on left wears loros and pendilion and right arm grasps a sceptre.	
	Rev. Four-line Arabic inscription: ذوا لقرنين بن عين الدولة بن محمد ناصر الدين Nāṣir [al-Dīn] / Muḥammad bin Dhū' / I Qarnayn bin / Ain al-Daw[la]	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK417; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Casanova 1896: nos. 1-2, pl. IV; Butak 1947: 111; Artuk 1970: 1187.		

392	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, Danishmendid ruler of Malatya (557-65 / 1162-70 and 570-73 / 1175-78)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 33 mm wt. 8.32 g	Obv. Two standing figures facing. Figure at right with halo, left hand palm outward, right hand stretched to crown left figure wears palium. Figure on left wears loros and pendilion and right arm grasps a sceptre.	
	Rev. Four-line Arabic inscription: ذوا لقرنين بن عين الدولة بن محمد ناصر الدين Nāṣir al-[Dīn] / Muḥammad bin Dhū' / I Qarnayn [bin] / Ain al-Dawla	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK418; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Casanova 1896: nos. 1-2, pl. IV; Butak 1947: 111; Artuk 1970: 1187.		

393	Copper Coin of Shams al-Dīn Ismā'īl, Danishmendid ruler of Sivas (559-67 / 1164-72)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 35 mm wt. 10.32 g	Obv. Within pearled circle, a figure seated on throne ابو المظفر اسمعيل بن ابراهيم بن محمد ظهيرا امير المؤمنين Abu'l Muẓaffar Ismā'īl b. Ibrahim b. Muḥammad Ṣaḥīr Amīr al-Mū'minīn	
	Rev. الملك العالم العادل شمس الدنيا و الدين Al-Malik al-'Alim al-'Ādil Shams al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK427; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Casanova 1896: no. 6, pl. IV; Butak 1947: 106; Artuk 1970: 1182.		

394	Copper Coin of Shams al-Dīn Ismā‘īl, Danishmendid ruler of Sivas (559-67 / 1164-72)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 27 mm wt. 3.76 g	Obv. Similar type as 393; but overstruck and damaged. Rev. Obscure Greek characters. Largely damaged.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK426; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. -	

THE SALTUKIDS

395	Copper Coin of ‘Izz al-Dīn Salduq (Saltuk) II b. ‘Ali, the ruler of the Saltukids, (r. 526-563/ 1132-1168)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 24 mm wt. 5.03 g	Obv. Two frontal standing figures holding the patriarchal Cross on the three-stepped platform between them. Rev. السلطان \ المعظم مسعود \ بن محمد عز الدين \ سلق بن \ على Al-Sulṭān / al-Mu‘azzam / Mas‘ūd / bin Muḥammad Izz al-Dīn / Salduk bin / [‘Ali]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK486; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Tevhid 1903: 92; Lane-Lane-Poole 1875: 1977: III, 306; Butak 1947: 99; Artuk 1970: 1194; Album 1998: 1890.	

396	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Saltuk, the ruler of the Saltukids, (563- c. 587 / 1168- c.1191)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 22 mm wt. 6.47 g	Obv. An equestrian with long hair, drawing a bow and arrow in a hunting scene. Rev. In centre: ناصر الدين قزل ارسلان محمد بن سلق / Nās[ir al-Dīn Ki] / zil Arslān Muḥammad / bin Saltuk Margin: سلطان المعظم طغرل بن ارسلان / Sulṭān al-Mu‘azzam Tuğrul bin Arslān
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK483; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Butak 1947: 100; Artuk 1970: 1195.	

397	Copper Coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Saltuk, the ruler of the Saltukids, (563- c. 587 / 1168- c.1191)	
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 25 mm wt. 6.26 g	Obv. Same type as 396	
	Rev. In centre: ناصرالدين قزل ارسلان محمد بن سلدق Nāṣir al-Dīn Ki / zil Arslān Muḥammad / bin Saltuk Margin: سلطان المعظم طغرل بن ارسلان Sultān al-Mu‘azzam Tuğrul bin Arslān	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK484; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 100; Artuk 1970: 1195.		

THE MENGUJEKIDS

398	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Baḥrām Shāh, the ruler of the Mengujekids, (c. 563–c. 622 / c. 1167–c. 1225)	
Mint: - Date: worn (AH ..3) Diam. 15 mm wt. 1.97 g	Obv. A figure wearing a Byzantine imperial attire and crown with pendilia, and holding a spear in his right hand and globe or cup in the left one in a beaded circle.	
	Rev. Arabic inscription, but largely deficient and worn: فخرالدين بحرام شاه بن داود بن اسحق ناصر امرالمومنين سنة ثلاثة [Fakhr al-Dīn Bahr] / am Shāh bin [Dā‘u]/ d bin Ishāq [Nāṣir / Amīr al-Mū‘minīn] / sana salātha ...	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK492; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1191; Album 1998: no. 1892.1		

399	Copper Coin of Fakhr al-Dīn Baḥrām Shāh, the ruler of the Mengujekids, (c. 563–c. 622 / c. 1167–c. 1225)	
Mint: Erzincan Date: worn (AH ..9) Diam. 21 mm wt. 2.91 g	Obv. A figure facing to the right in a hexagon. Marginal legend bearing the mint name and date is largely worn. ... ارزنجان سنة تسعة ... Erzincan sana tis‘a ...	
	Rev. In a square: ... ملك الامرا شاه غازي Malik al-Umarā / Shāh Ghāzī / [Bahram Shāh bin Dā‘ud] Margin: ... ناصر Nāṣir ...	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK493; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 101; Artuk 1970: 1189.		

The AKHLATSHĀHS (SHĀH-I ARMAN, SOKMĀNIDS)

400	Copper Coin of Saif al-Dīn Begtimur, the ruler of the Armanshāhs (Sokmānids), (579-589 / 1183-1193)	
Mint: - Date: AH 5.2 Diam. 22 mm wt. 6.48 g Ref. Butak 1947: 141; Artuk 1970: 1299.	Obv. A horse suckling her calf. Margin: ... امر بضربه العبد الفقير بكثر سنة اثنين / [Amr-i bi] - Ḍarbihi al-Abd al-Faqīr Begtimur, sana ithnaīn ...	Rev. In centre: الناصر لدينامير المؤمنين / al-Nāṣir al-Dīn / Amīr al-Mū'minīn Left downwards: السلطان المعظم al-Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam; bottom: بدر الدنيا [Badr al-Dunyā]; right upwards: والدين غياس [wa'l-Dīn Ghiyās]; top: امير المؤمنين / Amīr al-Mū'minīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK487; P.D. Whitting Collection		

401	Copper Coin of Saif al-Dīn Begtimur, the ruler of the Armanshāhs (Sokmānids), (579-589 / 1183-1193)	
Mint: - Date: AH 5.2 Diam. 25 mm wt. 10.66 g Ref. Butak 1947: 141; Artuk 1970: 1299.	Obv. A horse suckling her foal. Margin: ... امر بضربه العبد الفقير بكثر سنة اثنين Amr-i bi-Ḍarbihi al-Abd al-Faqīr Begtimur, sana ithnaīn ...	Rev. In centre: الناصر لدينامير المؤمنين al-Nāṣir al-Dīn / Amīr al-Mū'minīn Left downwards: السلطان المعظم al-Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam; bottom: بدر الدنيا [Badr al-Dunyā]; right upwards: والدين غياس [wa'l-Dīn Ghiyās]; top: امير المؤمنين / Amīr al-Mū'minīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK488; P.D. Whitting Collection		

THE BEGTEGĪNIDS

402	Copper Coin of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begtegīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)	
Mint: Arbīl Date: AH 5. Diam. 28 mm wt. 11.16 g Ref. Artuk 1970: 1293.	Obv. A figure facing to the left. Margin: worn	Rev. Five-line Arabic inscription within pearly circle: ... / ... / ... المومنين عبدة / الدنيا و الدين / ... / / ... / al-Mu'minīn ubdat / al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn / ... Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس باربيل ... حمسمانه Bism illah ḍariba hadhā al-fals bi-Arbīl ... khamṣa mi'a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK239; P.D. Whitting		

Collection	
403	Copper Coin of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begtegīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)
Mint: Arbīl Date: AH 587 Diam. 28 mm wt. 14.58 g	Obv. A figure facing to the right. Margin: الملك الناصر يوسف ابن ايوب كوكبرى بن على Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb Kūkbūrī (Gökböri) bin ‘Ali
	Rev. Four-line Arabic inscription within pearled circle: الله / الناصر لدين / امير المؤمنين / عبدة ... / محمد Allah / al-Nāṣir li-Dīn / Amīr al-Mu‘minīn / Ubdat ... / Muḥammad Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالربيل سنة سبعة وثمانين وحمسمانه Bism illah ḍuriba hadhā al-fals bi-Arbīl sana sab‘a wa thamānīn wa khamṣa mi’a
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK240; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. -	
404	Copper Coin of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begtegīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)
Mint: (Arbīl) Date: worn Diam. 30 mm wt. 13.75 g	Obv. Same type as 403; but largely worn. Rev. Largely damaged.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK547; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. -	
405	Copper Coin of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begtegīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 34 mm wt. 9.48 g	Obv. A figure seated on throne, wearing an armour and holding a globe in his left hand. Margin: مظفر الدولة والدين كوكبرى بن على (Muẓaffar) al-Dawla wal-Dīn (Kūk)būrī bin ‘Ali
	Rev. In a square: الملك الناصر صلاح الدنيا و الدين يوسف al-Malik al-Nāṣir / [Ṣalāḥ] al-Dunyā wa / al-Dīn Yūsuf Margin: bottom: محى دو bin Ayyūb; left: Muhīyy Daw; top: امير المؤمنين [al-Mū‘minīn]
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK241; P.D. Whitting Collection	

Ref. Artuk 1970: 1292; BM. III, no. 669.

406	Copper Coin of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begtegīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 32 mm wt. 10.39 g	Obv. Same type as 405 Margin: مظفر الدولة والدين كوكبرى بن على Muẓaffar al-Dawla wal-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri) bin [‘Ali] Rev. In a square: الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف al-Malik al-Nāṣir / Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa / al-Dīn Yūsuf Margin: bottom: ابن ايوب / (bin) Ayyūb; left: محى دو Muhīyy Daw; top: لة امير -la Amīr; right: المومنين al-Mū’minīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK242; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1292; BM. III, no. 669.	

407	Copper Coin of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begtegīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 32 mm wt. 9.78 g	Obv. Same type as 405; but largely damaged. Margin: مظفر الدولة والدين كوكبرى بن على Muẓaffar al-Dawla [wal-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri) bin Ali] Rev. In a square: الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف al-Malik al-Nāṣir / Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa / al-Dīn Yūsuf Margin: bottom: ابن ايوب [bin Ayyūb]; left: محى دو Muhīyy Daw; top: لة امير -la Amīr; right: المومنين al-Mū’minīn
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK243; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: no.1292, p. 423; BM. III, no. 669.	

408	Copper Coin of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begtegīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)
Mint: - Date: - Diam. 29 mm wt. 9.00 g	Obv. Same type as 405; but overstruck and largely damaged Margin: مظفر الدولة والدين كوكبرى بن على Muẓaffar al-Dawla wal-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri) bin ‘Ali Rev. Same inscription as 3 (TK241), but largely damaged and worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK244; P.D. Whitting Collection	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1292; BM. III, no. 669.	

409	Copper Coin of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begtegīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)	
Mint: [Arbīl] Date: worn Diam. 25 mm wt. 10.16 g	<p>Obv. Lion-rider left wielding sword or dagger. Mint and date around, but largely worn.</p> <p>Rev. In centre: الناصر لدين الله اميرالمومنين ملك الامرا مظفر الدنيا والدين كوكبرى al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū'minīn / Malik al-Umarā / Muẓaffar al-Dunyā / wa al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri) / bin 'Ali Margin: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله [Lā ilah illā Allah] Muḥammad Rasūl [Allah]</p>	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK245; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 96; Artuk 1970:1294; Mitchiner 1977: nos. 1147-8.		
410	Copper Coin of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begtegīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)	
Mint: Arbīl Date: AH 590 Diam. 25 mm wt. 8.74 g	<p>Obv. Same type as 409 Mint and date around. Bottom: ضرب باربل / (ḍuriba) bi- Arbīl; سنه تسعين / sana tis'in</p> <p>Rev. In centre: الناصر لدين الله اميرالمومنين عز الدين ابو نصر مظفر الدين كوكبرى بن على al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū'minīn izz/ al-D[unyā wa'l]-Dīn / [Abū] Naṣr [Muẓaffar] / al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri) / [bin 'Ali] Margin: kalima, but worn.</p>	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK246; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 97		
411	Copper Coin of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begtegīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)	
Mint: Arbīl Date: worn (AH 5..) Diam. 26 mm wt. 10.17 g	<p>Obv. Same type as 409 Bottom: ضرب باربل [ḍuriba bi- Arbīl]; Left of the figure: ... خمسمانه Khamsamia ... (5..)</p> <p>Rev. In centre: الناصر لدين الله اميرالمومنين عز الدين ابو نصر مظفر الدين كوكبرى بن على al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah / [Amīr] al-Mū'minīn izz/ al-D[unyā wa'l]-Dīn / [Abū] Naṣr Muẓaffar / al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri) / bin 'Ali Margin: kalima, but worn.</p>	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK247; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 97.		

412	Copper Coin of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begtegīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)	
Mint: [Arbīl] Date: worn Diam. 25 mm wt. 9.23 g	Obv. Same type as 409; but date and mint is worn.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 410; but largely damaged and worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK248; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 97.		

413	Copper Coin of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begtegīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)	
Mint: [Arbīl] Date: worn Diam. 26 mm wt. 9.26 g	Obv. Same type as 409; date and mint is worn.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 410; but largely worn. In centre: الناصر لدين الله اميرالمومنين عز الدين ابو نصر مظفر الدين كوكبرى بن على al-Nāṣir li-Dīn [Allah] / Amīr al-Mū[<i>minīn</i>] izz / al-Dunyā wa'[l-Dīn] / Abū Naṣr Muẓaffar / al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri) / [bin 'Alī] Margin: kalima, but worn.	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK249; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 97.		

414	Copper Coin of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begtegīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)	
Mint: [Arbīl] Date: worn Diam. 27 mm wt. 9.91 g	Obv. Same type as 409; date and mint is worn.	
	Rev. Same inscription as 410; but largely worn. In centre: الناصر لدين الله اميرالمومنين عز الدين ابو نصر مظفر الدين كوكبرى بن على al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū' <i>minīn</i> izz / al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn / [Abū Naṣr Muẓaffar / al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri) / bin 'Alī] Margin: kalima, but worn. Margin: kalmia, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله Lā ilah illā [Allah Muḥammad Rasūl] Allah	
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK250; P.D. Whitting Collection		
Ref. Butak 1947: 97.		

415	Copper Coin of Muḏaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begteḡīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)	
Mint: Arbīl	Obv. Same type as 409	Mint and date around. Bottom: ضرب باريل ḏuriba bi-Arbīl ستمانه sittamia (AH 6..)
Date: worn (AH 6..)	Rev. Same inscription as 410; but largely worn.	
Diam. 28 mm	In centre:	
wt. 11.96 g	الناصر لدين اللھامير المومنين عز الدين ابو نصر مظفر الدين كوكبرى بن على	
Ref. Butak 1947: 97.	al-Nāṣir li-Dīn [Allah] / Amīr al-Mū'minīn izz / [al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn] / Abū Naṣr [Muḏaffar / al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri) / bin Ali]	
Margin: kalima, but worn.		
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK251; P.D. Whitting Collection		

416	Copper Coin of Muḏaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begteḡīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)	
Mint: Arbīl	Obv. Same type as 409	Mint and date around. Bottom: ضرب باريل [ḏuriba] bi-Arbīl; Left of the figure: ... خمسمانه Khamsamia ... (5..)
Date: worn (AH 5..)	Rev.	
Diam. 25 mm	Same inscription 410; but largely worn.	
wt. 9.38 g	In centre:	
Ref. Butak 1947: 97.	الناصر لدين اللھامير المومنين عز الدين ابو نصر مظفر الدين كوكبرى بن على	
al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū'minīn izz / al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn / Abū Naṣr Muḏaffar / al-Dīn Kūk[būrī] / bin 'Al[i]		
Margin: kalima, but worn.		
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK252; P.D. Whitting Collection		

417	Copper Coin of Muḏaffar al-Dīn Kūkbūrī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begteḡīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)	
Mint: Arbīl	Obv. Same type as 409	Mint and date around. Bottom: ضرب باريل ḏuriba bi-Ar[bīl]; سنة خمس sana khamsa (AH ..5)
Date: worn (AH ..5)	Rev. Same inscription as 410; but largely worn.	
Diam. 24 mm	In centre:	
wt. 8.38 g	الناصر لدين اللھامير المومنين ملك الامرا مظفر الدنيا والدين كوكبرى	
Ref. Artuk 1970: 1294; Mitchiner 1977: nos. 1147-8.	[al-Nā]sir li-Dīn Allah / [Amīr] al-Mū'minīn / [Ma]lik al-Umarā / [Muḏaffar al-Dunyā / wa al-Dīn Gökböri / bin Ali]	
Margin: kalima, but worn.		
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK253; P.D. Whitting Collection		

418	Copper Coin of Muḏaffar al-Dīn Gökböri, the ruler of the Begteḡīnids,	
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(586-630 / 1190-1232)	
Mint: [Arbīl] Date: worn Diam. 25 mm wt. 7.75 g Ref. Artuk 1970: 1294; Mitchiner 1977: nos. 1147-8.	Obv. Same type as 409 Mint and date around, but worn. Rev. Same inscription as 410; but largely worn. In centre: الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين ملك الامراء مظفر الدنيا والدين كوكبرى al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah / [Ami]r al-Mū'minīn / [Mali]k al-Umarā / [Muḏaff]far al-Dunyā / [wa al-Dīn] Kūkburī (Gökböri) / [bin] 'Ali Margin: kalimah, but worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK254; P.D. Whitting Collection	

419 Copper Coin of Muḏaffar al-Dīn Kūkburī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begteḡīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)	
Mint: [Arbīl] Date: AH 590 Diam. 25 mm wt. 8.30 g Ref. Artuk 1970: 1294; Mitchiner 1977: nos. 1147-8.	Obv. Same type as 409 Mint and date around. Bottom: ضرب باربل [ḏuriba bi-Arbīl]; سنة تسعين و خمسمائة / sana tis'īn wa khamsamia Rev. Same inscription as 409; but largely worn. In centre: الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين ملك الامراء مظفر الدنيا والدين كوكبرى al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū'minīn / Malik al-Umarā / Muḏaffar al-Dunyā / [wa al-Dīn] Kūkburī (Gökböri) / bin 'Ali Margin: kalima, but worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK255; P.D. Whitting Collection	

420 Copper Coin of Muḏaffar al-Dīn Kūkburī (Gökböri), the ruler of the Begteḡīnids, (586-630 / 1190-1232)	
Mint: [Arbīl] Date: worn Diam. 25 mm wt. 9.05 g Ref. Artuk 1970: 1294; Mitchiner 1977: nos. 1147-8.	Obv. Same type as 409. Mint and date around, but worn. Rev. Same inscription as 409; but largely worn. In centre: الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين ملك الامراء مظفر الدنيا والدين كوكبرى al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah / Amīr al-Mū'minīn / Malik al-Umarā / Muḏaffar al-Dunyā / wa al-Dīn [Kūkburī (Gökböri) / bin 'Ali Margin: kalima, but worn.
Collection: The Barber Institute Coin Collection TK257; P.D. Whitting Collection	

APPENDIX TWO: The Rulers of the Turkmen Principalities¹

I. THE DANISHMENDIDS (after 464-573 / after 1071-1078)

Gümüştigin Aḥmad Ghāzī (Malik Danişmend/ Danişman)

(Just after 464-497/ Just after 1071-1104)

Amīr Ghāzī (Malik Ghāzī)

(497-529 / 1104-1134)

Malik Muḥammad

(528-537 / 1134-1143)

1) The Danishmendids of Kayseri (537-565 /1143-1169)

‘Imād al-Dīn Dhū’l-Nūn (first r. 537-565 /1143-1169)

2) The Danishmendids of Malatya

‘Ayn al-Dawla (537-547 / 1143-1152)

Dhū’l-Qarnain of Melitene (547-557 / 1152-1162)

Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (first r. 557-565 / 1162-1170)

Fakhr al-Dīn Qasim (565-567 / 1170-1171)

Afridun (567-570 / 1171-1175)

Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (second r. 570-573 / 1175-1178)

3) The Danishmendid of Sivas

Nizām al-Dīn Yağıbasan / Yaghibasān (537-559 / 1143-1164)

Jamāl al-Dīn Isma‘il Ghāzī(559-562 / 1164-1166)

Shams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (562 / 1166)

¹ Based on Bosworth 1996; Turan 1993; Solmaz 2002; Özaydın 1993b.

Shams al-Dīn Ismā‘īl (562-567 / 1166-1172)

‘Imād al-Dīn Dhū’l-Nūn (567-570 / 1172-1175)

II. THE MENGUJEKIDS (after 464- mid-seventh century / after 1071- mid-thirteenth century)

Amīr Mengujek Ghāzī (after 464- just before 512 / after 1071- just before 1118)

Malik Ishāq (just before 512-536 / just before 1118-1142)

1) The Mengujekids of Erzincan and Kemah (536-622 / 1142-1228)

Da‘ūd I bin Ishāq (536-560 / 1142-1165)

Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrāmshāh (560-622 / 1165-1225)

Da‘ūd II (622-625 / 1225-1228)

2) The Mengujekids of Divriği (536-after 640 / 1142-after 1242)

Sulaymān I bin Ishāq (536-570 / 1142-1175)

Shāhānshāh bin Sulaymān (570-593 / 1175-1197)

Sulaymān II bin Shāhānshāh (593-626 / 1197-1229)

Aḥmad bin Sulaymān (626-640 / 1229-1242)

Malik Ṣālih (after 640-676 / 1242-1277)

III. THE SALTUKIDS (after 464-598 / after 1071-1202)

Abū’l Qasim Saltuk (after 464-496 / after 1071-1102)

‘Ali bin Saltuk (496-518 / 1102-1124)

Diyā’ al-Dīn Abū al-Muzaffar Ghazī (518-526 / 1124-1132)

‘Izz al-Dīn Saltuk II b. ‘Ali (526-563 / 1132-1168)

Nāṣir a-Dīn Muḥammad (563- before 585 / 1168-before 1189)

Muzaffar al-Dīn (before 585-587 / before 1189-1191)

Māmā Khātun (587-597 / 1191-1201)

IV. THE ARTUKIDS

1. The Artuqids of of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (495-629 / 1102-1232)

Sokmān (Sökmen) I b. Artuq (495-498 / 1102-1105)

Ibrahīm (498-502 / 1105-1108)

Rukn al-Dawla Da‘ud (502-539 / 1108-1144)

Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān (539-570 / 1144-1174)

Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, (571-581 / 1175-1185)

Quṭb al-Dīn Sokmān (Sökmen) II (581-597 / 1185-1200)

Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, (597-619 / 1200-1222)

Rukn al-Dīn Mawdūd (619-629 / 1222-1232)

2. The Artuqids of Mārdīn (502-811 / 1108-1408)

Najm al-Dīn Il-Ghāzī (502-516 / 1108-1222)

Husām al-Dīn Timurtāsh (516-547 / 1122-1152)

Najm al-Dīn Albī (Alpī) (547-572 / 1152-1176)

Quṭb al-Dīn Il-Ghāzī II (572-580 / 1176-1184)

Ḥusām al-Dīn Yölük (Yölük) Arslān (580-597 / 1184-1200)

Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuq Arslān (597-637 / 1200-1239)

Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī I (637-658 / 1239-1260)

Qarā Arslān (658-693 / 1260-1294)

Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī II (693-712 / 1294-1312)

Shams al-Dīn Ṣalīh (712-765 / 1312-1364)

Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (765-769 / 1364-1368)

Maḥmūd al-Ṣālih (769 / 1368)

Al-Muẓaffar Da‘ud (769-778 / 1368- 1376)

Az-Zāhir Isa (778-809 / 1376-1406)

Ṣālih b. Da‘ud (809-811 / 1406-1408)

3. The Artuqids of Harput (Ḥiṣn Ziyād) (581-631 / 1185-1234)

Imād al-Dīn Abū Bakr (581-600 / 1185-1203)

Nizām al-Dīn Ibrahīm (600-620 / 1203-1223)

Aḥmad al-Khiḍr (60-631 / 1223-1234)

Nūr al-Dīn Artuq Shāh (631 / 1234)

V. THE ZANGĪDS

1. The Zangīds of Mosul (Mawṣil) (521-657 / 1127-1259)

‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī bin Aq Sunqur (521-541 / 1127-1146)

Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī I (541-544 / 1146-1149)

Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd (544 -565 / 1149 – 1170)

Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II (565-576 / 1179-1180)

‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd I (576-589 / 1180-1193)

Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh (589-607 / 1193-1211)

‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II (607-615 / 1211-1219)

Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Mas‘ūd II (616-631 / 1219-1234)

Badr al-Dīn Lūlū (631-657 / 1234-1259)

2. The Zangīds of Aleppo (Ḥalab) (541-579 / 1147-1183)

Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Zangī(541-569 / 1146-1174)

al-Salih Isma‘īl, Zangīd atabeg of Aleppo (569-577 / 1174-1181)

‘Imād al-Dīn ZangīII (577 / 1181)

3. The Zangīds of Sinjār (566-617 / 1171-1220)

‘Imād al-Dīn ZangīII bin Mawdūd (566-594 / 1171-1197)

Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zangi, (594-616 / 1197-1219)

Shāhanshāh (616 / 1219)

‘Umar bin Muḥammad (616-617 / 1219-1220)

4. The Zangīds of Jazīra (576-648 / 1180-1250)

Sanjar Shāh (576-648 / 1180-1208)

Mu‘izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd (605-639 / 1208-1241)

Mas‘ūd bin Maḥmūd (639-648 / 1241-1250)

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