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SOME COINS STRUCK AT SIVAS: THE LAST YEARS OF ILKHANIDS IN ANATOLIA, MAMLUKS AND THE RISING OF ERETNID DYNASTY

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When Anatolian Seljuqs withdrew from history in the beginning of the 14th century, a new era started with disorders in Anatolia. During this period, each ruler who had the desire to establish a state in the frontiers in the name of themselves, confronted with the reaction of Ilkhanids. During the rulership of Khudabanda Muhammad, when Karamanids captured Konya -the capital of Seljuqs, Ilkhanid troops came to Anatolia under the commandership Amir Choban -one of the leading amirs, in 1314. He set up his military camp in Karanbâk and summoned all Turkoman rulers to show their respect in the presence of him. He attacked on Karamanids who did not accept this invitation and besieged Konya. After staying in Anatolia for some time, he returned in 1317, leaving his son Timurtash as the general governor of the province. Timurtash continued his activities in Kayseri, where he made the administrative center¹.

During the period of Abu Sa'id Khan Amir Choban was one of the most powerful personalities of Ilkhanids and also made his sons have important positions. The incidents against Amir Choban occurred in Tabriz in 1319, also influenced Anatolia and the Mongol amirs in Anatolia had activities against Timurtash. In a short time, Timurtash defeated his opponents and then assumed a manner against the center and did not send the taxes that were assessed. Although he had been invited to Tabriz, he made excuses and did not go there².

Karamanids who benefited from the disagreements among Mongols, captured Konya again in 1320. Timurtash had a campaign against Karamanids and took the city back. He took severe measures against both Karamanids and also the other principalities. In spite of complaints of Karamanids about Amir Choban's son, Abu Sa'id did not take into consideration these because Amir Choban was in favor of his son³. Timurtash entered Cilician Armenia in Shawwal 721/Oct.-Nov.1321, set the region on fire and plundered. Following all this success, Timurtash who had almost no rivals in Anatolia, broke off his relations with the center. He sent a delegate to Mamluks and asked for their support against Abu Sa'id⁴. He had coins struck in the name of himself and started to act like an independent ruler⁵.

Amir Choban who was in difficult situation about the activities of his son, applied for permission to Abu Sa'id to get hold of his son and came to Anatolia for the second time in 1324⁶. Though Timurtash intended to fight against his father at the beginning, he did not fight and Amir Choban returned with his son. Abu Sa'id forgave Timurtash and reinstated in his duty⁷.

When Timurtash returned, he expanded his constraint on Anatolian principalities and took severe measures to subdue them. He got back Konya vicinity from Karamanids⁸. He moved to Beyşehir (Bekshahr) and captured it, and tortured Ashrafid Sulayman Beg and killed him by throwing into Beyşehir Lake (11 Dhu al-Qadah 726/9 October 1326). And

thus, Ashrafoghullari dynasty came to an end⁹. Then Timurtash moved to Eğridir (Eghridur) and Dundar Beg -the ruler fled to Antalya but he was submitted back to Timurtash by his nephew. Upon the murder of Dundar Beg, Eğridir branch of Hamidoghullari was gotten by Timurtash¹⁰. He attacked on Sahibata-oghullari who possessed Karahisar¹¹ and Nusrat al-Din Ahmad Beg who was ruling the city at that time took refuge behind Germiyanid Ya'qub Beg (his son-in-law)¹². It is known that the city was besieged by Eretna¹³ -one of the amirs of Timurtash- who would establish its own dynasty. The siege took place in 1327 when Abu Sa'id started his activities to eliminate Amir Choban. When the news of murder of Damashq Hodja (Timurtash's brother) -upon Abu Sa'id's order- was heard, the siege was abolished and they returned Kayseri in haste. During that time, we acknowledge that Timurtash besieged¹⁴ Ladik¹⁵.

Timurtash, who could not get any news from his father, went to Sivas from Kayseri, however, as they were waylaid they could not move further. Timurtash returned Kayseri and discussed this with his amirs; since he did not trust Abu Sa'id, he set off across Damascus to Egypt with his suite in Dhu al-Hijja 727/October1327, leaving his family in Anatolia. He assigned his brother-in-law Eretna as deputy. Although he was welcomed with a ceremony by Mamluk ruler in 21 January 1328, however, their relationships were violated soon. He was first jailed -upon the influence of Ilkhanids and at the end he was executed in 22 August 1328, and his head was sent to Abu Sa'id¹⁶.

It is not known how it was responded by Abu Sa'id when Timurtash, who had already a rebellious manner towards the center, assigned Eretna as the deputy governor. Abu Sa'id first assigned 'Ali Padishah -his uncle- as the general governor in Anatolia and he assigned Inanch(?) Noyan as the deputy and sent him to Erzurum. Though Inanch Noyan besieged Sivas, he could not get any result. After some time, he died in a battle with Karamanids. Then, 'Ali Padishah set off Anatolia with his forces, but had to wait winter in Sivas. Then, he returned in 727/1328, leaving Eretna as the deputy because of unknown reasons. On the same date, Shaykh Hasan Jalayir was appointed for this position and he did not go to Anatolia and chose again Eretna as a deputy. Shaykh Hasan Jalayir came to Anatolia in 729/1329 with his powerful army and after staying there for sometime, he returned to Baghdad¹⁷.

In 1329, Uyrat Muhammad -Abu Sa'id's uncle- was appointed as the general governor in Anatolia and he was dismissed the same year and Amir Mahmud -son of Esen Kutlugh of Uighur Turk- was appointed and probably was in duty till 1333. He must have taken Eretna with him when he returned. Although Algu oğlu Devletşah (Dawlatshah, son of Alghu) was appointed to this post, since he died soon after he came to Anatolia, Shaykh Hasan Jalayir -who had been exiled in Kemah Fortress because of Baghdad Hatun (Abu Sa'id's wife)

was held in esteem again and assigned this post¹⁸. As you see, the situation is quite jumbled and Ilkhanids could not form a stable administration in Anatolia during Abu Sa'id's period.

Though Eretna had some activities in 1334 that were unpleasant for Abu Sa'id, he was forgiven upon the request of Shaykh Hasan Jalayir¹⁹. According to the historical records Eretna came to Anatolia again in 735/1334–1335²⁰. We do not know much about his activities during that time. When Abu Sa'id Khan died in 9 Rabi' al-akhir 736/26 November 1335 without a heir, Shaykh Hasan Jalayir assigned Eretna again as the deputy while he was going to Persia. It might be considered that 'Ala al-Din Eretna started his independent activities after this date.

Upon the death of Abu Sa'id, Arpa Khan was ascended the throne. Considering the coin struck in Aksaray in 736, in the name of Arpa Khan, we can utter that Eretna was still dependent on the center²¹. 'Ali Padishah -the governor of Diyarbakir at that time did not respect Arpa Khan and was victorious in his fight. Upon the murder of Arpa Khan, though Musa Khan took over, 'Ali Padishah continued to be powerful. Meanwhile, after Shaykh Hasan Jalayir declared Muhammad -from Hulagu family- as Khan, attacked on 'Ali Padishah and in the battle in 24 July 1336, 'Ali Padishah was killed and Musa was eliminated. Thus, Shaykh Hasan Jalayir and naturally Eretna, who was his deputy in Anatolia became more powerful.

While everything was going well for Shaykh Hasan Jalayir, another Shaykh Hasan, who was the son of Timurtash, appeared²². This Shaykh Hasan, one of the four sons of Timurtash stayed in Anatolia with his brothers when his father has going to Egypt²³. Following the execution of Timurtash, his sons were protected by their aunt Baghdad Hatun -Abu Sa'id's wife and thus they did not suffer. Shaykh Hasan Chobanid found a man who resembled his father much and claimed that Timurtash was not dead and returned Anatolia. Thus he had some supporters, he even made his mother marry this man. Shaykh Hasan Chobanid also wrote letters in the name of fake Timurtash to Shaykh Hasan Jalayir and also his ally Hadji Tughay (was dominant in eastern Anatolia-from Musul to Erzurum) to make them obey him. In the end, in the battle that took place in 27 Dhu al-Hijja 738/16 July 1338, Shaykh Hasan Chobanid defeated his rivals Shaykh Hasan Jalayir and Hadji Tughay. Then his relationship with fake Timurtash got worse and he eliminated him. Then Shaykh Hasan Chobanid declared Sati Beg Hatun (Abu Sa'id's sister) as the ruler. Dominating in Azerbaijan and its vicinity, she enabled Shaykh Hasan Jalayir to move to Baghdad. After sometime, Shaykh Hasan Chobanid dethroned her and ascended Sulayman from Hulagu family and made him marry Sati Beg (740/1340)²⁴.

Shaykh Hasan Jalayir who drew back to Arabian Iraq suffered a defeat against Shaykh Hasan Chobanid in the last month of 740/1340 June once more. Upon this defeat, he sent a delegate to Egypt and asked for Malik al-Nasir's help. At the same time he also made a request to Malik al-Nasir to use personal influence to reconcile him with Hadji Tughay who was cross. He declared that upon this support he would yield Baghdad, Musul and Persian Iraq to al-Nasir and also would have khutbah (Islamic sermon) delivered in the name of Mamluk sultan there. Though Shaykh Hasan Jalayir, reconciled with Hadji Tughay, he could not be successful against Shaykh Hasan Chobanid and the puppet ruler Sulayman Khan, and his situation got worse. Hadji Tughay and Shaykh Hasan Jalayir sent a delegate to Egypt again, and declared that they would yield the country if troops were sent; even had khutbah delivered and coins struck in Baghdad in

the name of Mamluk sultan. While Malik al-Nasir was getting prepared for that he learnt that Jalayirids and Chobanids reconciled whereas he died after some time (11 Zilhicce 741/28 May 1341)²⁵.

Eretna -who was not involved in these incidents- must have strengthened his dominance in Anatolia. The important events that occurred between 738–741/1338–1341 were of use to 'Ala al-Din Eretna. During this period Eretna continued his moral connection with Shaykh Hasan Jalayir, and had coins struck in the name of Muhammad, Taghay Timur and Jihan Timur. He conquered Sivas in 739/1338–1339²⁶. But it is not known from who he took the city over. Sivas was one of the most important administrative cities in Anatolia besides Kayseri. Despite this city assumed to be under his dominance the reason of conquest again is not known. It is known that Shaykh Hasan Chobanid had some activities in eastern Anatolia at that time, and most probably he was dominant in the city even for a short time. The coins struck in 738 at Sivas, in the name of Muhammad Khan (no.1) and also in 739, in the name of Taghay Timur Khan (no.2) show that the city was being administrated by 'Ala al-Din Eretna.

1. Sivas, 738. W=2,48; d=22. Silver (AR).

Yapı Kredi Bank coll. inv.no.1170727, İstanbul-Turkey



Obverse

In 16-foil

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

... / عمر/ عثمان/ علي



Reverse

In looped-hexafoil

السلطان العالم

محمد خلد الله

ملكه و دولته

ضرب سيواس في سنة /

ثمان و ثلاثين / سبعمائه

2. Sivas, 739. W=2,08; d=20. Silver (AR).

Yapı Kredi Bank coll. inv.no. 1179028, İstanbul-Turkey



Obverse

In hexagon

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

margin

ضرب / سيواس / ابوبكر

/ عمر/ عثمان/ علي



Reverse

In hexagon

السلطان

العادل طغا تمور خان

خلد ملكه

سنة تسع ثلثين

سبعمائه

We notice that coins with hexagon on both sides, seen above, were struck in 739 at Akşehir (Aqshahr)²⁹, Amasya, Engüriye (Ankuriya)³⁰, Erzincan, Kayseri, Kırşehir (Qirshahr), Konya, Maḍen, Samsun, Sivas and Tokat, in 740 and 743 at Samsun, in 742 at Tokat. Coins with the same type were also struck in the name of Jihan Timur at Samsun in 740, 741, 742 and in the name of Sulayman Khan at Erzurum in 742. Considering these coins, though it is difficult to utter about Sulayman Khan who supported by Shaykh Hasan Chobanid, it is obvious that 'Ala al-Din Eretna supported Jihan Timur Khan and Taghay Timur Khan.

Eretna had only the titles *amir* and *noyan* from 728/1327 - when Timurtash appointed him as the deputy Anatolian general governor till 736/1335 - the death of Ebu Sa'id. As understood from these titles, he did not have coins struck and khutbah delivered in the name of himself. The famous traveler Ibn-i Batuta, who visited him in Sivas in 733/1332, wrote that he was *Naib-i Maliku'l-Iraq bi biladi'r-Rum*³¹. The common acceptance is that 'Ala al-Din Eretna was actually independent in 736/1335 when Abu Sa'id died. It can be said that when Shaykh Hasan Jalayir was defeated by Shaykh Hasan Chobanid in 738/1338, he did not obey Shaykh Hasan Chobanid and became completely independent. Though it is not known whether he had coins struck in the name of himself, it is recorded that he wanted to be under the protection of Mamluk sultan al-Nasir and had coins struck in the name of him³². However, we have no specimen of these coins that must be dated 738.

It appears that 'Ala al-Din Eretna acted according to the situation, he sometimes supported the rival Ilkhanid Khans, and sometimes wanted to be under the protection of Mamluks sultans. He declared his independence in 739/1338-1339, and got the title Sultan³³. The coin seen below (no.3) verifies the records. This coin is the only one specimen with very bad condition and struck in 739 at Kengiri (Kangari)³⁴. It is not known whether this type of coin was struck at Sivas - the capital of 'Ala al-Din Eretna - or not. The obverse is hexagonal as it is seen on the coins struck in the name of rival Ilkhanid Khans, in almost all cities in the region, and also at Sivas. On the reverse, Sultan Adil is inscribed inside hexafoil in Uighur. It has been recorded that 'Ala al-Din Eretna also used the laqabs (honorary titles) Rashid al-Din and Sayf al-Din³⁵. However, these laqabs are not seen on the coins struck by 'Ala al-Din Eretna when he was alive. In fact, all of these coins are anonymous and the title on them is inscribed in Uighur, as below:

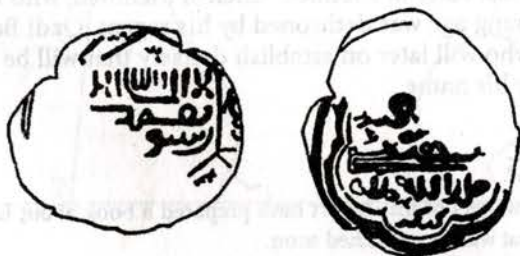
Sultan Adil

صحتك ساكن

So, 'Ala al-Din Eretna did not have a coin struck on which his name or laqab was written. The coin seen below, is one of the first specimens struck by 'Ala al-Din Eretna, due to the phrase and its obverse.

3. Kengiri, [73]936. W=0,98; d=16.3/18.7. Silver (AR).

Haluk Perk coll. inv.no.408, İstanbul-Turkey



Obverse

In hexagon

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

margin

.../سنه/تسع/...

Reverse

In hexafoil

صحتك

ساكن

خلد الله ملكه

كنكري

According to historical records, we learn two events about the coinage of 'Ala al-Din Eretna: the first, 'Ala al-Din Eretna had coin struck -at least once- in the name of Mamluk Sultan al-Nasir Nasir al-Din Muhammad, in 738 and, second, when he stopped striking coins, he got into trouble in 740. However, we have not encountered these coins that must have been struck in 738, about the second event, we acknowledge the followings: Mamluk sultan, who heard that coin was not struck in the name of him, moved with his army and had the cities of Eretna looted. Even Darendé was occupied by Mamluk troops. Upon this event, a delegate was immediately sent to Cairo, along with some precious presents³⁷. We conclude that Eretna did not want to harm his relationships with Mamluks, but there is no record that the coin was again struck in the name of al-Nasir. However, we know that this came true since there are coins struck in Sivas in 740/38 and 741 (no.4). As understood, 'Ala al-Din Eretna had coins struck in the name of Mamluk Sultan from 738 till 741 -when al-Nasir died. These coins have the same obverse type as the coins struck in the name of Ilkhanids in Anatolia between 739-743. Considering the reverse, it has new content.

4. Sivas, 741. W=2,12; d=18.2/20.7. Silver (AR).

Private Collection



Obverse

In hexagon

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

margin

ضرب/سيواس/ابوبكر

على/.../.../

Reverse

In pentafoil

محمد

السلطان الملك

الناصر ناصر الدنيا

والدين خلد الله ملكه

margin

ضرب في/سنه/احدى/

اربعين/سبعمانه

Through the historical records, we understand that 740/1340 was the most important year for 'Ala al-Din Eretna. It has been recorded that when Sulayman Khan ascended the throne Tabriz, Eretna ascended the throne Rum³⁹. The same year, Shaykh Hasan Jalayir was defeated by Shaykh Hasan Chobanid. As a result of Shaykh Hasan Jalayir's weakness, Eretna had no obstacle to establish his own rulership.

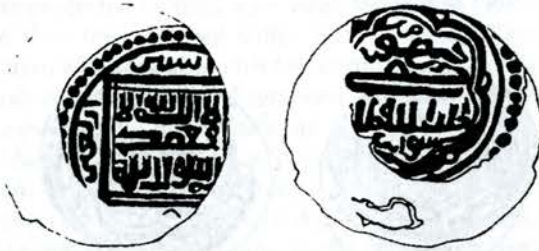
The most important incident following this, is the Karanbık battle which took place in Jumada al-awwal 744/ Sept-Oct. 1343. As a result of this battle, Shaykh Hasan

Chobanid's troops -under the commandership of Sulayman Khan was defeated by 'Ala al-Din Eretna and the most important threat was eliminated. Two months later, Shaykh Hasan was murdered by his wife. It might be assumed that in 744/1343, 'Ala al-Din Eretna felt relieved and had his independence. During the period of Shaykh Hasan's brother Malik Ashraf, Chobanids continued their demands on Anatolia, but 'Ala al-Din Eretna managed to cope with them⁴⁰. Before the Karanbük battle, in 743/1342-1343, 'Ala al-Din Eretna sent a letter to Mamluk sultan Imad al-Din Isma'il and stated that he wanted to be under his protection⁴¹. However, it is not known whether coins were struck as a result of this.

As mentioned above, 'Ala al-Din Eretna had no obstacle following 744/1343, but had started having coins struck in the name of himself before that date. As it can be seen on the coin (no.5) below, struck at Sivas in 742, a different type was used regarding the obverse. These type of coins - which can be named as 'Ala al-Din Eretna Type 2- were generally struck between 742-746. Regarding the reverse, they are the same as the previous type. On the obverse, a square cartouche was started to be used. In 742, in almost all cities of Eretnids and also at Konya and Kastamonu, these type of coins were struck. Another coin struck in 747 at Engriye has the same typology. At Erzincan, Bayburt and Samasur similar dies- the date is on the reverse, not on the obverse- were used.

5. Sivas, [7]42. W=1,80; d=19,3/20,5. Silver (AR).

Private Collection



Obverse

In square

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

margin

سيواس ... / اثنتين (!) / اربعين / ...

Reverse

In hexafoil

ضرب

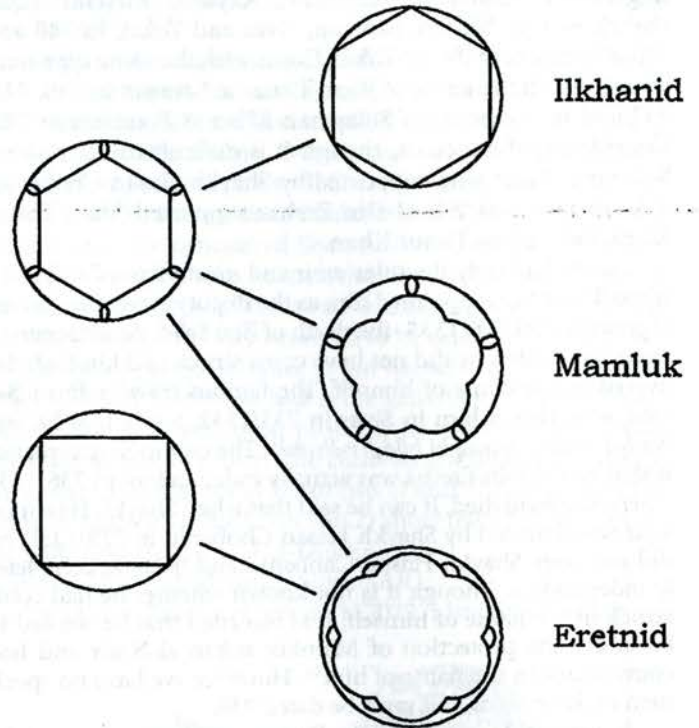
بصراكت

سالك

خلد الله ملكه

Obverse

Reverse



'Ala al-Din Eretna. We do not encounter another coin in the name of Mamluk sultans except Sivas.

The weights of Eretnid coins became less in time. In some publications, silver coins of Eretna were called akche or dirham. However, it is obvious that Eretnids had a different structure than the other Anatolian principalities. The Anatolian principalities appeared in the frontiers of demolished Seljuqs state, but Eretnids appeared when Ilkhanids got weakened and 'Ala al-Din Eretna utilized the lack of the authority. Thus, all the institutions of Eretnids follows Ilkhanid traditions. Even if the weights of coins became less in time, it is necessary to lead the standards of coins of Ilkhanids. Due to this fact, it is more appropriate to use the names dirham and double dirham instead of half akche and akche.

The dynasty that started with 'Ala al-Din Eretna did not last for long. He died in 753, beginning of Muharrem/18 February 1352⁴³. Since the following rulers were inexperienced and too young, Eretnids were in difficulty regarding the administration. Especially, the struggle of the leading amirs for the power never ended and these incidents led to the reduction in the size of their dominance and also the weakness against the exterior threats. In the end, in 782/1380-1381 the last ruler of Eretnids, Chelebi Mehmed, who was at a very young age was dethroned by his regent Qadi Burhan al-Din, who will later on establish dynasty that will be mentioned by his name.

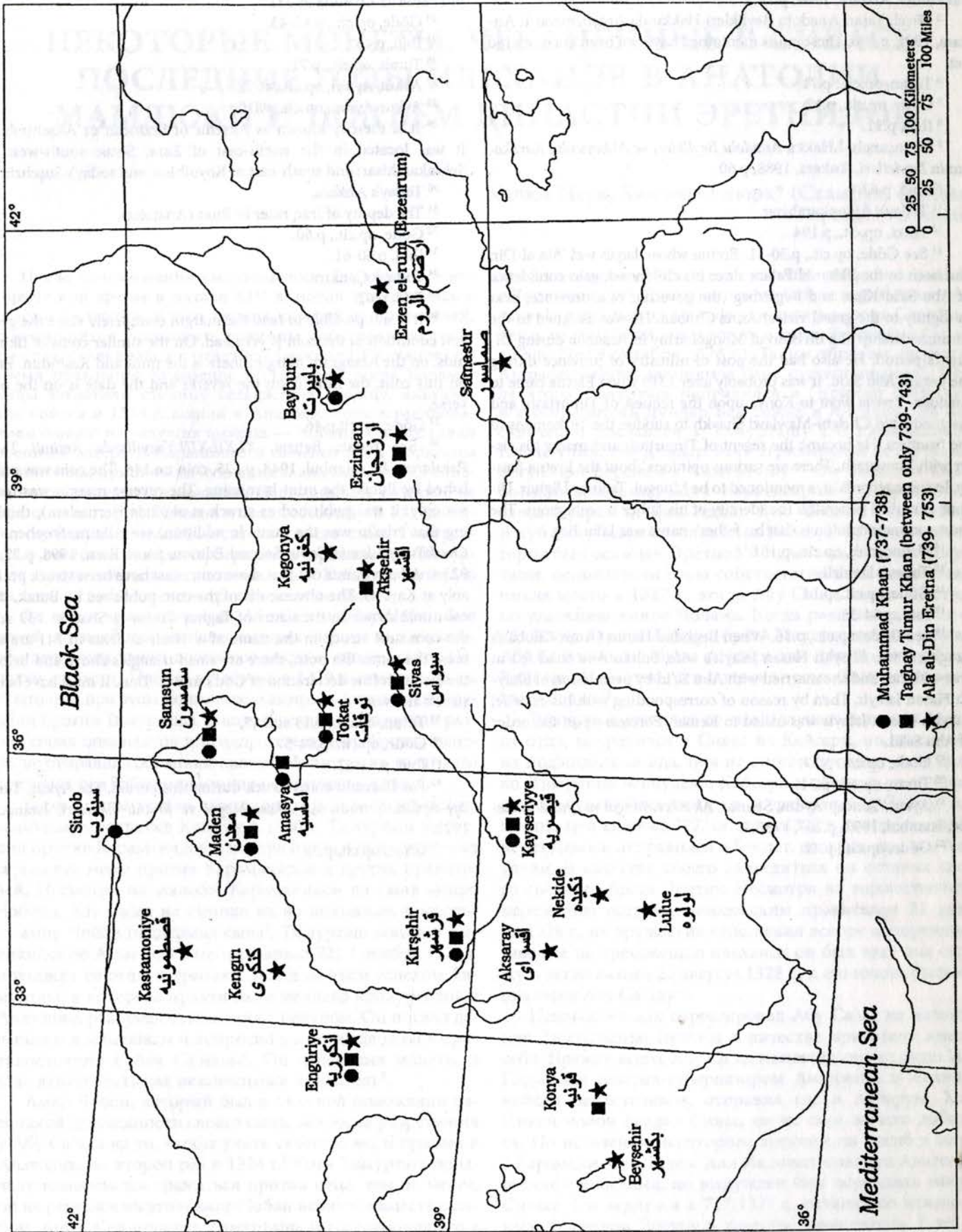
NOTES

* The writers of this report have prepared a book about Eretnid coinage that will be published soon.

¹ Göde, Kemal, Eretnahılar (1327-1381), Ankara, 1994, p.9.

² Ibid, p.9-10.

³ Ibid, p.10.



⁴ Turan, Osman, İstanbul'un Fethinden Önce Yazılmış Tarihi Takvimler, Ankara, 1984, p.71.

⁵ Yücel, Yaşar, Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmalar I, Ankara, 1991, p.190. These coins mentioned have not been encountered yet.

⁶ Turan, op.cit., p.71.

⁷ Göde, op.cit., p.12.

⁸ Ibid, p.31.

⁹ Uzunçarşılı, İ.Hakkı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*, Ankara, 1988, p.60.

¹⁰ Ibid, p.63.

¹¹ Today's Afyonkarahisar.

¹² Yücel, op.cit., p.194.

¹³ See Göde, op.cit., p.30-31. Eretna whose laqab was 'Ala al-Din had been in the Ilkhanid Palace since his childhood, gain confidence of Abu Sa'id Khan and Beglerbeg (the governor of a province, next in dignity to the grand vizier) Amir Choban. He was assigned to the commandership of a division of Mongol army in Anatolia during Ulucaytu's period. He also had the post of ministry of province during the period Abu Sa'id. It was probably after 1319 when Eretna came to Anatolia. Eretna went to Konya upon the request of Timurtash, and assigned Abid Chelebi-Mawlawi Shaykh to subdue the Turkomans in the frontiers. He became the regent of Timurtash and marry his sister with Timurtash. There are various opinions about the Eretna family. In some records, it is mentioned to be Mongol, Tatar or Uighur. Uighur is ratified generally. The identity of his father is ambiguous. The most common opinion is that his father's name was Ja'far Beg.

¹⁴ Uzunçarşılı, op.cit., p.151.

¹⁵ Today's Denizli.

¹⁶ Göde, op.cit., p.14.

¹⁷ Ibid, p.34-35.

¹⁸ See Göde, op.cit., p.36. When Baghdad Hatun (Amir Choban's daughter) was Shaykh Hasan Jalayir's wife, Sultan Abu Sa'id fell in love with her and she married with Abu Sa'id by permission of Shaykh Hasan Jalayir. Then by reason of corresponding with his ex-wife, Shaykh Hasan Jalayir was exiled to Kemah Fortress upon the order of Abu Sa'id.

¹⁹ Göde, op.cit., p.37.

²⁰ Turan, op.cit., p.71.

²¹ Aykut, Tuncay-Aydın, Şennur, *Ak Akçe, Moğol ve İlhanlı sikkeleri*, İstanbul, 1992, p.207, #755.

²² Göde, op.cit., p.42.

²³ Turan, op.cit., p.71. It is pointed out that Shaykh Hasan Chobanid came to Anatolia in 731.

²⁴ Göde, op.cit., p.42-43.

²⁵ Ibid, p.43.

²⁶ Turan, op.cit., p.71.

²⁷ Aykut-Aydın, op.cit., #792

²⁸ Aykut-Aydın, op.cit., #815

²⁹ It is the city known as Akşehir of Erzincan or Akşehirabad. It was located in the north-east of Zara, Sivas; south-west of Şebinkarahisar; and south-east of Koyulhisar and today's Suşehri.

³⁰ Today's Ankara.

³¹ The deputy of Iraq ruler in Rum (Anatolia).

³² Göde, op.cit., p.60.

³³ Ibid, p.60-61.

³⁴ Today's Çankırı.

³⁵ Ibid, p.62.

³⁶ It is not possible to read the margin completely since the general condition of the coin is very bad. On the similar coins of Ilkhanids, on the hexagram margin, there is the mint and Rashidun. But, on this coin, the mint is on the reverse and the date is on the obverse.

³⁷ Göde, op.cit.p.46.

³⁸ See Butak, Behzat, *XLXII.XIII.Yüzyıllarda Resimli Türk Paralarına Ek*, İstanbul, 1948, p.125, coin no.146. The coin was published by Butak, the mint is missing. The reverse margin was read wrongly; it was published as struck at al-Kuds (Jerusalem), thinking that erba'in was the mint. In addition, see Album, Stephen, *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*, Second Edition, Santa Rosa, 1998, p.52, # 923.4. Album points out that same coin must have been struck probably at Kayseri. The obverse die of the coin published by Butak, the coin no.2 struck in the name of Taghay Timur at Sivas in 739 and the coin no.4 struck in the name of al-Nasir at Sivas in 741 are almost the same. On both, there are small triangles above and below the Kalimah (the declaration of God's unity). Thus, it must have been struck at Sivas.

³⁹ Turan, op.cit., p.13 and 47.

⁴⁰ Göde, op.cit., p.54-57.

⁴¹ Ibid, p.51-52.

⁴² For Ilkhanid coins struck during this period, See Aykut, Tuncay-Aydın, Şennur, *Ak Akçe, Moğol ve İlhanlı sikkeleri*, İstanbul, 1992.

⁴³ Göde, op.cit, p.79.