

TYPOLOGY OF THE OTTOMAN COINS MINTED IN THE KINGDOM OF K'AKHETI IN THE LIGHT OF NEW FINDINGS

BY

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Abstract:

The article deals with 59 findings of Ottoman type coins minted in the Kingdom of K'akheti during the period of Ottoman protectorate over this state in late 16th – early 17th centuries. Despite being quite short-term, this period reflected in a broad variety of diverse coin types, minted in K'akheti. The introduced coin findings comprise 19 types struck at K'akhetian mints – Zagem and Kakhed, as well as 5 types of unidentified or unspecified mint, which actually might have been one of these two mints. Of these, 13 types are published for the first time. In addition, there are 9 new variations of already examined types. The presented coins are of significant importance for reconstruction of obverse and reverse legends, since the most of discussed types substantially differ from the regular Ottoman types. They also enable making several assumptions regarding the evolution of weight standard, system of denominations, chronological sequence of types. Most of the coins belong to the denomination conditionally called dirhem. However, there is one low-weight coin (type Zagem-4) which is either some kind of a local fraction, or the Ottoman medini. Besides, the copper coins bearing the names of Ottoman sultans, most probably struck at the K'akhetian mints, are published for the first time. Among the silver dirhems type Zagem-11 is noteworthy. Apart from being rather distinctive and unique compare to the regular Ottoman types, it is eminent due to the fact that some of the coins of this type bear the countermark 'Adl Zagem, the attribution and chronology of which have not been clearly determined yet.

Keywords: Kingdom of K'akheti; Zagem; Kakhed; dirhem; akche; monetary circulation.

For the past few years, a scholar interest in minting activity of the Kingdom of K'akheti has significantly increased. While minting coins bearing the names of Safavid shahs, who were the overlords of K'akhetian kings, was well-known,¹ until recently the Ottoman minting in K'akheti was unknown at all. In 2012-2013 I. Paghava drew attention to Ottoman chronicler's note, according to which during the short period when Alexander II of K'akheti acknowledged the suzerainty of sultan Murad III during 1578 Ottoman campaign against the Safavids, he started to mint coins bearing the name of his new protector.² Meanwhile, being mentioned in the narrative sources, the actual coins were still unknown at that time. But soon enough this mention was confirmed by the numismatic evidence. In 2015-2017, the Ottoman coins struck at Zagem and Kakhed mints³ were published by I. Paghava, G. Gogava, G. Gabashvili, M. Şabanov, A. Akopyan and the authors of this article.⁴ It turned out that the Ottoman coins were issued in K'akheti not only during the reign of Murad III (1574-1595), but also his son Mehmed III (1595-1603). This article deals with 59 new finds of coins belonging to the category of so called K'akhetian-Ottoman coins (Pl. I-III). Except for the coin no. 1, whose origin is unknown, all these coins were found in the surroundings of Balakən and Zaqatala (the rayon centers of Azerbaijan) (Pl. IV). Among them there are 13 types, that have not been published before (types Zagem-1, 2, 4-5, 12-15, 18; unknown mint-1 (?), 2 (?), 4

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¹ KUTELIYA 1979: 14-25.

² PAGHAVA 2012: 128-129; PAGHAVA, TURKIA 2013: 111; PAGHAVA 2013: 22-23.

³ Zagem (also known as Zagami or Bazari) was a capital of the Kingdom of K'akheti, while Kakhed is believed to be either Gremi (yet another capital of K'akheti), K'ak'i (modern day Qax in Azerbaijan), or the other name of the same Zagem mint, designating the name of the whole kingdom (cf. AKOPYAN, ALEKSANYAN 2015: 155-156; PAGHAVA, GABASHVILI 2015: 20-21; PAGHAVA 2016: 117-139; ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 22).

⁴ AKOPYAN, ALEKSANYAN 2015; ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017; PAGHAVA, GABASHVILI 2015; PAGHAVA, GOGAVA 2016; PAGHAVA 2017; ŞABANOV 2017A: 20-25; ŞABANOV 2017B. In the articles of A. Akopyan and D. Aleksanyan (2015), I. Paghava and G. Gabashvili (2015) these coins were mistaken for the Safavid currency.

(?), 5 from the presented catalogue), as well as nine new variations of previously published types (Zagem-3, 6, 7 (Cat. nos. 11, 14), 10 (Cat. no. 20), 11 (Cat. nos. 22-23, 25-26); Kakhed-1 (Cat. nos. 47-48). In addition, the coins introduced in this article, together with those from Telavi hoard,⁵ allow to reconstruct considerable parts of missing legends that we were not able to read in our last publication (Zagem-8, 11; unknown mint-3).

Generally at the present time we managed to record 20 types of Ottoman silver coins, struck at Zagem and Kakhed mints (Murad III – seven types of Zagem; Mehmed III – seven types of Zagem, four types of Kakhed; unidentified issuer – two types of Zagem). These may be complemented with two types of silver (Mehmed III) and five types of copper coins (Murad III – 2, Mehmed III – 3) of unidentified or unspecified mint, which actually could have been either Zagem (most probably) or Kakhed, taking into account their typological characteristics and places of discovery. Types Zagem-9, Kakhed-3 and Kakhed-4 are not represented by coins introduced in this article, however, they are included in the catalogue as well.

Judging by the weight distribution, the earliest coins are nos. 1-3 (types Zagem-1 and Zagem-2), their weights are: 3.73, 3.46 and 3.56 g. Probably it was these coins the Ottoman chronicler Ibrahim Rahimizade informed about while describing the defection of Alexander II of K'akheti to the Ottomans' side in 1578. Their minting period was short-term, since probably in the same year Alexander went over to the Safavids' side again.⁶ These coins are known as *shahis* in written sources, with the weight standard being equal to 1.25 Tabriz dirhem (3.84 g) at that time.⁷

During Murad III's reign the Ottoman financial system experienced severe crisis, resulting in the reduction of Ottoman akche weight standard from 0.614 to 0.384 g in 1588.⁸ The distribution of shahis, issued only at the Oriental mints of the Ottoman Empire, far beyond this area, to the Balkans and even the vassal Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia,⁹ is believed to be one of the factors driving such a drastic debasement of akche. The minting of shahis was banned in 1589; this ban was repeated again in 1592.¹⁰ According to Ş. Pfeiffer-Taş and N. Schindel, having been banned, shahis were replaced by a new denomination, conditionally called by the researches dirhem, known in some written sources as *selimi* or *padişahi*. The sultan's tughra became an indicator of the new denomination. It is difficult to determine its weight standard due to the overly wide weight range of the examined specimens. At the mints, it was not adhered to as strictly as in the case of akches.¹¹ The weight of the examined coins with tughra on the obverse ranges from 3.30 to 2.05 g.¹² In addition, there are dirhems without tughra bearing a date AH 1001 (1592/93), minted at Nakhchivan, with the following weights: 1.66, 1.79 and 2.12 g.¹³ Still, the question of whether the dirhems was the same denomination as shahi (its debased version), or the brand new one, has not been definitely solved yet. In any case, the above mentioned bans succeeded in withdrawal shahis from circulation in akche zones of the Ottoman Empire. For instance, the repertoire of coin finds in the Romanian lands display the complete absence of shahis, as well as any other multiple to akche denominations, minted during Mehmed III's reign, in contrast to Murad III's shahis, having actively participated in the circulation of these territories.¹⁴

Apart from the mentioned coins nos. 1-3, all other Murad III's coins from the presented catalogue were apparently minted after the restoration of the Ottoman protectorate over K'akheti. As we have mentioned in our last publication, it took place not earlier than in AH 993 (1585), probably after the conclusion of the Istanbul Peace Treaty in AH 998 (1590).¹⁵ Such dating of these coins is evidenced by their weight characteristics and the presence of tughra on the obverse of some types. The average weights of these types are: 2.80 (Zagem-3), 2.50 (Zagem-5), 2.18 (Zagem-6), and

⁵ PAGHAVA 2017.

⁶ ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 21.

⁷ PFEIFFER-TAŞ 2010: 80.

⁸ PFEIFFER-TAŞ 2014: 500-501. According to H. Sahillioğlu and some other researches, this debasement took place in 1584-1586 and the weight standard was reduced from 0.683 to 0.384 g (*i.e.* from 450 to 800 akches struck from 100 Tabriz dirhems) (SAHILLIOĞLU 1999: 43-45).

⁹ MAXIM 1983: 134-137.

¹⁰ PFEIFFER-TAŞ 2010: 80; PFEIFFER-TAŞ 2013: 89-90.

¹¹ SCHINDEL, PFEIFFER-TAŞ 2010: 154-155; PFEIFFER-TAŞ 2013: 89-90.

¹² cf. DAMALI 2011A: 997, 1071, 12-HP-G1, 12-TB-G1b.

¹³ PERE 1968: 129, No. 293; SCHINDEL *et al.* 2010: 33, 56.

¹⁴ MAXIM 1983: 134-137; BOLDUREANU 2013: 62-65.

¹⁵ ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 22.

1.95 g (Zagem-7) (Pl. V).¹⁶ Thus, the listed types were unlikely to be minted simultaneously. Considering that during Mehmed III's reign the dirhem weight standard was close to 2.00 g, as evidenced by analysis of Beçin hoard,¹⁷ the dating of lighter coins to the very end of Murad III's reign seems to be logical. An indicator of a new weight standard reduction might be the above-mentioned Nakhchivan dirhems dated to AH 1001 (1592/93).¹⁸ It is noteworthy that the lightweight types minted at Zagem have no tughra on the obverse.

Coin no. 5 (Zagem-4) from the catalogue is of considerable interest. To date, it is the only known specimen of a lightweight silver coin minted in K'akheti. Its type almost completely copies dirhem type Zagem-3, while its weight is 0.61 g, which is close to akche standard before the 1588 correction – 0.614 or 0.683 g.¹⁹ Nevertheless, as mentioned above, a similar type of dirhem (Zagem-3) was minted after this correction, which casts doubt on its attribution as akche. Another Ottoman denomination minted mostly in Egypt was medini. While the weight standard of Egyptian medini during Murad III's reign was estimated at ca. 1.00 g, based on an analysis of considerable amount of coins from Beçin hoard (although some specimens had significantly less weight – 0.55-0.75 g),²⁰ the standard of medini from the other mints is so far unknown. It should be taken into account that the latter might actually be a different denomination: medinis from Amid, Canca and Dimişk could be the fractions of dirhem,²¹ while at Misr dirhem was not minted (with some rare exceptions).²² Perhaps the weight standard of medini (the non-Egyptian ones, assuming these are fractions of dirhem) concurrently changed with that of dirhem, while the rate of Egyptian medini against dirhem have varied.²³ The other examples of similar types for dirhem and medini were at Amid and Canca.²⁴ In our opinion, coin no. 5 should be attributed as either medini, or some kind of a local fraction.

The average weights of the types of Mehmed III's dirhems, with the exception of a few types discussed below, range within 1.92-2.20 g²⁵ (Zagem-8-11; Kakhed-1-3; unknown mint-3) (Pl. VI).²⁶ Among them there are types with an average weight exceeding one of those of Murad III – 1.95 g (Zagem-7), which is noteworthy considering the fact that dirhem weight standard is believed to constantly decline throughout the late 16th century.²⁷ Because of the lack of written sources, it is difficult to say whether this was the result of some correction of dirhem weight standard at the beginning of Mehmed III's reign, or this was somehow related to the measures implemented by the Ottomans in 1598 to maintain akche weight standard equal to 0.384 g.²⁸ Perhaps such a weight discrepancy was due to insufficiently tight control over the adherence of dirhem weight standard at the mints.

Among the K'akhetian-Ottoman coins of Mehmed III, four types stand out by weight characteristics. Their average weights are: 1.41 (Kakhed-4), 1.56 (Zagem-14), 1.64 (Zagem-13)²⁹ and 1.67 g (Zagem-16) (Pl. VI). The latter, being the most numerous one, is similar in design to the type minted at Gence (Ganja).³⁰ However, the examined Gence

¹⁶ Apart from those introduced in this article, the coins published in our previous article, as well as by M. Şabanov, I. Paghava and G. Gogava, have been taken into account, with the exception of broken specimens (ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017; PAGHAVA, GOGAVA 2016; ŞABANOV 2017A).

¹⁷ SCHINDEL, PFEIFFER-TAŞ 2010: 219-220.

¹⁸ SCHINDEL, PFEIFFER-TAŞ 2010: 154.

¹⁹ i.e. 500 or 450 akches struck from 100 Tabriz dirhems (PFEIFFER-TAŞ 2014: 489-491, 499-500).

²⁰ SCHINDEL, PFEIFFER-TAŞ 2010: 155.

²¹ S. Album differentiates maydin struck only at Misr from so called para or gümüş struck at the other Oriental mints, though admitting these are likely to be the same (ALBUM 2011: 143, #1318-1319, 1323).

²² SREČKOVIĆ 2002: 156-157.

²³ PAMUK 2000: 97, Tab. 6.2.

²⁴ DAMALI 2011A: 940, 961, 963, 12-AD-G3, 12-AD-G4, 12-CA-G2a, 12-CA-G2b, 12-CA-G4a, 12-CA-G4b.

²⁵ The actual coins of these types range within 1.46-2.54 g.

²⁶ Apart from those introduced in this article, the coins published in our previous article as well as by I. Paghava and G. Gogava have been taken into account, with the exception of broken and counterfeit specimens (ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017; PAGHAVA, GOGAVA 2016; PAGHAVA 2017).

²⁷ PAMUK 2000: 103-104.

²⁸ PFEIFFER-TAŞ 2010: 83.

²⁹ The broken specimen (No. 40) has not been taken into account.

³⁰ The discussed types of Zagem and Gence have both Mehmed III's tughra on the obverse and linear legend on the reverse, with a stretched letter **Đ** from the word **Y** and spelled out accession date of this sultan (AH 1003) – ± **١٥٩٢** while on most types it has been written as numerals (**1003**) (cf. ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 24-25, 27, type VII, type XIII).

coins have a significantly higher weight (2.20 and 2.40 g³¹). It is these lightweight types that seem to be the latest among the K'akhetian-Ottoman coinage, considering the gradual decline of dirhem weight standard during Mehmed III's reign, proven by the fact that during Ahmed I's reign it was equal to 1.15-1.25 g.³² According to written sources, in AH 1014 (1605) in Yeniköy one shahi³³ was equal to five akches.³⁴ Taking into account that since 1600 the akche standard was 0.323 g, the weight of shahi should be 1.615 g, which is quite close to the average weights of the above-mentioned types (except for Kakhed-4), as well as some other lightweight dirhems of Mehmed III.³⁵ Nevertheless, this assumption is not confirmed by numismatic evidence. For instance, the examined specimens of Kara Amid dirhems belonging to the type of AH 1009 (1600/01) have the following weights: 1.70, 2.60 and 2.61 g,³⁶ which greatly complicates the determination of dirhem weight standard during Mehmed III's reign, as well as the chronological sequence of K'akhetian-Ottoman types.

Due to the fact that the only one type Zagem-11 seems to have been countermarked with 'Adl Zagem countermark, as evidenced by coins from the introduced catalogue and Telavi hoard,³⁷ one can assume that it was this type, not the above-mentioned lightweight types, to be considered as the latest. I. Paghava considers this countermark to be applied to the coins by the Ottomans rather than the Safavids – not long after the death of Mehmed III, or, more likely, during his reign.³⁸ However, regardless of who applied this countermark, probably the latest type of Mehmed III was chosen for this purpose, since the withdrawal of coins from circulation, their countermarking and reintroducing to circulation was a time-consuming process, and considering short-term reign of Mehmed III and quite large number of various K'akhetian-Ottoman types of this sultan, the possibility of issuing yet another new type after/simultaneously with countermarking the previous one seems unlikely.

Unlike silver K'akhetian-Ottoman coins, the copper pieces of this category have not been previously published. Although none of the copper coins introduced in the catalogue has a mint name, which could be undoubtedly identified, all of them can also be attributed to K'akhetian currency, as mentioned above. During Safavid suzerainty over K'akheti, Zagem and Kakhed mints struck copper coins, with typology and weight standard being corresponded to the anonymous issues of Iranian civic copper.³⁹ In contrast to the latter, the coins from the catalog bear the names and titles of the Ottoman sultans. However, all so far known types of copper mangirs minted in the Ottoman Empire are also anonymous⁴⁰ and, in this regard, they are much more similar to Iranian civic copper coins than to those minted on behalf of the Ottoman sultans in K'akheti. Perhaps such a peculiarity was driven by the need to emphasize the difference between these coins from those issued during the Safavid suzerainty. All copper coins from the catalog are conditionally named *mangır* by analogy with the Ottoman ones. They have the following weights: 1.54 (unknown mint-1), 1.83 (unknown mint-2), 1.49, 1.25, 1.24, 0.88 (Zagem-12), 1.24, 1.40 (Zagem-12), 1.49 and 1.45 g (unknown mint-5). Mention should be made that the weights of the examined copper mangirs of Murad III and Mehmed III struck at the other Ottoman mints range so widely that it becomes rather difficult to establish the exact amount of denominations, their ratio, and weight standard.⁴¹

It should be taken into account that our discussions on dating Murad III and Mehmed III's types minted in K'akheti are preliminary. In the absence of written sources on K'akhetian mints operation, only an analysis of larger number of specimens will allow more definitive conclusions to be drawn. In addition, one can not exclude the new types yet to be discovered. Further study of coins with the countermark 'Adl Zagem and its chronology is of particular

³¹ ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 27-28, No. 31; DAMALI 2011B: 1214, 13-GN-G1a-YY.

³² In the composition of Beçin hoard there are the heavier pieces of Ahmed I's coins weighting 2.21, 2.25 and 1.71 g, attributed by Ş. Pfeiffer-Taş and N. Schindel to dirhems, while the coins with an average weight of 1.15-1.25 g were attributed by them to beşliks (PFEIFFER-TAŞ, SCHINDEL 2009: 249-280; SCHINDEL, PFEIFFER-TAŞ 2010: 304).

³³ The shahi minting was prohibited in 1589 in Canca, in 1592 in Haleb and in 1615 in Amid, but it is unclear whether these bans were applied to all the other mints (PFEIFFER-TAŞ 2010: 80, 91, 95).

³⁴ SAHILLIOGLU 1964: 229, 233.

³⁵ For instance, there are coins minted in Amid, Shamahi and Van weighting 1.30, 1.40, 1.46, 1.72 and 1.75 g (DAMALI 2011B: 1177, 1279, 1295-1296).

³⁶ DAMALI 2011B: 1228, 13-AD-GS-1009; OME; PERE 1968: 135, No. 332.

³⁷ The remains of legends on coins nos. 2.8.1-2.8.6 from Telavi hoard allow to claim that they all are attributed to type Zagem-11 (PAGHAHA 2017: 318). However, the coins of other types with this countermark may be discovered in future.

³⁸ PAGHAHA 2017: 313, fn. 1; 338-339.

³⁹ AKOPYAN, ALEKSANYAN 2015; GABASHVILI, PAGHAHA, GOGAVA 2015.

⁴⁰ KABAKLARLI 1998: 411-440.

⁴¹ KABAKLARLI 1998: 44-46, 411-440.

importance. The average weights of silver Ottoman-K'akhetian dirhems show that the differences in their values was probably caused by changes of the weight standard: having been the highest in 1578 (types Zagem-1-2), they have gradually declined after the restoration of Ottoman protectorate over K'akheti from ca. 1590 till Murad III's death in 1595 (Zagem-3 – Zagem-7: 2.80-1.95 g). Under Mehmed III the weight standard did not fluctuate as widely as was the case of his predecessor. We can assume that at the beginning of his reign it was within the range of 1.94-2.20 g (Zagem-8-10, Kakhed-1-3, unknown mint-3), then it was reduced to a certain level (ca. 1.6-1.7 g (?): Zagem-13-16, Kakhed-4) and increased (ca. 1.92 g: Zagem-11) not long before the return of the Safavids in AH 1011 (1602/03).⁴² It is difficult to say whether these differences arose from the pan-Ottoman trends or the local features, since the other Ottoman mints did not have such a variety of types. In contrast to K'akhetian issues, dirhems of one and the same type minted in the other Ottoman mints fluctuate much wider in weight.⁴³

The introduced coins might represent yet another example of minting in the vassal states of the Ottoman Empire: the minting might have been implemented by Alexander II of K'akheti, not by the Ottoman authorities directly,⁴⁴ which would be a possible explanation of such a broad variety of coin types. In contrast to the other Christian states under Ottoman suzerainty, where proper coin types were developed (Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Ragusa etc.),⁴⁵ K'akhetian issues were patterned after the Ottoman currency and bore the sultans' names.⁴⁶ Minting Ottoman coins resumed in the Georgian lands (in the Kingdom of Kartli, at Tiflis mint) for a short period, in 1723-1735.⁴⁷

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CATALOGUE

MURAD III (1574-1595)

Zagem-1

Obverse: **Āṛṇ/ABṛṇ Ā(?) (e)ĀĒ/ ABṛṇjZ(JA/ (ḡABṛṇ)**⁴⁸
 Reverse: **ĀKL(jy)** in center, **982 ÖṀḂṛṇĒĒ ¼ ÖBMAF ¼** around.

1. AR shahi/dirhem, 3.73 g, 18-22 mm.

Zagem-2

Obverse: the same as No. 1 (?): **Āṛṇ/ABṛṇ Ā(?) (e)ĀĒ/ ABṛṇjZJA ḡABṛṇ**
 Reverse: **ĀKL(jy)** in center, **ḂṛṇĒĒ ¼ ÖBMAF ¼** around. The mint formula is written unusually: vertical **k** intercepts **Ā** and **L**, while **iy** is probably missing. We are grateful to A. Akopyan for suggesting this version (Pl. I).

2. AR shahi/dirhem, 3.46 g, 19.5 mm.
3. AR shahi/dirhem, 3.56 g, 20.1 mm.

Zagem-3

Obverse: the legend in tughra: **Āṛṇ/ABṛṇ** (the letter **Ā** intercepts the letter **Ā** from sultan's name), additional legend above: **(?Ē ALIBy)**, and below: **jZJĒ (?ḡABY KYBı)**. Like on the other K'akhetian coins (Zagem-4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 18; Kakhed-2; unknown mint-3), the word **jz ĀĀ** that should follow the word **LIBy** and thus mean *striker of the glittering*, seems

⁴² This date is confirmed both by written sources (PAGHAHA, TURKIA 2013: 110) and coin finds (CH'ANISHVILI, ALEKSANIANI 2018: 238).

⁴³ cf. the weights of coins from Şamahi (DAMALI 2011B: 1279, 13-SM-G2) and Kara Amid (DAMALI 2011B: 1228, 13-AD-GS-1009; PERE 1968: 135, No. 332).

⁴⁴ PAGHAHA 2017: 339.

⁴⁵ MBR 1977: 28-35, 85-94, 120-221.

⁴⁶ Being the original issues, they should not be confused with the imitations of Ottoman akches, issued by Wallachian and Moldavian princes (BOLDUREANU 2013: 110-118; NICOLAE 2003: 53-69).

⁴⁷ DUNDUA, DUNDUA 2015: 83-84, 88-90.

⁴⁸ The reconstruction of upper line was made on the basis of coin No. 2.

to be missing.⁴⁹ It is especially visible on coins Nos. 9-10 from this catalogue, where the word **L i B y** is immediately followed by the word **É' A**.

Reverse: **ÁKLjy** within central horizontally elongated oval cartouche, **É' ¼ (f ¼)** above, (**É' B i m É**) below. The rosettes in the center of upper and middle lines and above the letter **L** from the word **Ljy**.

(ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 23, type II, but the rosette is missing on the upper line on the reverse, and there is a sprig before the mint name; PAGHAVA, GOGAVA 2016: 274, type 1, but the letter **A** intercepts the letter **i** from sultan's name on the obverse).

4. AR dirhem, 3.01 g, 17.4-19.5 mm.

Zagem-4

Obverse: the same as No. 4 (?): **é' B i m** tughra, (**É' A i B y**) above, (**É' Z B É j v K Y B i**) below.

Reverse: similar to No. 4, but different rosette between **f ¼** and **É' ¼** additional rosette above the mint name.

5. AR akche or fraction of dirhem (?), 0.61 g, 12-13 mm.

Zagem-5

Obverse: the legend in tughra: **é' B i m** illegible additional legend above (possibly (**É' ... j v A É' ... A**...)) and below.

Reverse: **kÁ Ljy** within cartouche of five semicircles, five (?) circles with six-pointed flower ornament around, sectors with the legend between the circles: (**É' f ¼**) on the top right, (**É' ¼**) on the bottom right. The countermark with similar flower ornament is known on the coin of unidentified mint described in our previous article.⁵⁰

6. AR dirhem, 2.39 g, 19.2-20.2 mm.

Obverse: the same as No. 6 (?).

Reverse: similar to No. 6: (**É' Á (kLjy)**) within cartouche of five (?) semicircles, a sprig with six-pointed (?) flower before the letters **Á**. The circles with six-pointed flower ornament around, an illegible legend on the top left sector.

7. AR dirhem, 2.61 g, 19-20 mm.

Zagem-6

Obverse: hexagon star, seven-pointed flower in center, (**É' A i B y**) around.

Reverse: **kÁ (Ljy)** within hexagon star, six-pointed flower on the right (erased, visible on coin No. 7 from our previous article), **f ¼** on the top left, **É' ¼** on the top right, erased legend below.

(ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 23, subtype III.1, but the different shape of letter **o** from the mint name on the reverse; PAGHAVA, GOGAVA 2016: 275, type 2, but the mint name is written as **Á k**).

8. AR dirhem, 2.42 g, 20 mm.

Zagem-7

Obverse: **é' B i m** within central square, **É' A i B y** below; **j v A É'** on the left; **É' B i m** above; **É' Z B É** on the right.

Reverse: **ÁKLjy** within central circle with triangles on the left and right, **É' B i m É' ¼ O B i m A f ¼** around.

(ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 22-23, type I, Nos. 1-3).

9. AR dirhem, unknown weight and size.

10. AR dirhem, unknown weight and size.

Obverse: similar to Nos. 9-10, but within central square – **A é' B i m**

Reverse: the same as Nos. 9-10 (?).

11. AR dirhem, unknown weight and size.

Obverse: the same as Nos. 9-10.

Reverse: similar to Nos. 9-11, but mint name is written as **kÁ**.

(ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 23, type I, No. 4; ŞABANOV 2017A: 20, type A).

12. AR dirhem, unknown weight and size.

13. AR dirhem, 1.60 g, 18.3-19.3 mm.

Obverse: **A é' B i m** within central square. The legend around is probably the same as Nos. 9-13, but has a different layout: (**É' A i B y**) above; **j v A É'** on the right; **É' B i m** below; (**É' Z B É**) on the left.

Reverse: the same as Nos. 12-13 (?).

14. AR dirhem, 2.09 g, 16.8-19.0 mm.

⁴⁹ ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 22.

⁵⁰ ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 24, type VI, No. 11.

Unknown mint-1 (Zagem ?)

Obverse: the legend in tughra: (?) **AbĀīnĀleġ** **Abīn**

Reverse: unknown mint name within central circle, possibly **Ākljy**, with the letters **k** and **L** being located above. Illegible legend around.

15. AE mangır, 1.54 g, 19 mm.

Unknown mint-2 (Zagem ?)

Obverse: (?) **jZJĒġġ** / ... **AbīnĀ** **Ā** / ... **AbīnĀ**

Reverse: (?) **Ē** **AbīnĒĒ** **ġ** / **Ġ** **AbīnĒ** (?) **Ā**

The names of sultan and his father are erased. However, the legend **jZJĒġġ** under the names of sultan and his father (both with the title *sultan*), as well as the legend **Ē** **AbīnĒĒ** **ġ** **Ġ** **AbīnĒ** is more characteristic to Murad III, although they were recorded on a few types of Mehmed III.⁵¹ The mint name has not been preserved, but taking into account the place of discovery and typological characteristics (no analogies with the examined mangır types of the other mints⁵²), it can be presumably attributed to K'akhetian or at least South Caucasian types.

16. AE mangır, 1.83 g, 14-19.2 mm.

MEHMED III (1595-1603)

Zagem-8

Obverse: **AbīnĒ** **Ē** within central circle, the diacritic *shadda* (**ġ** above sultan's name, above the letter **p** and after the letter **Ē**?), **ġ** **AbīnĒ** **ġ** **Ġ** **AbīnĒ** **ġ** **Ġ** **AbīnĒ** around⁵³, starting at ca. 9 o'clock, the beginning and end of this legend are separated by three dots. There is a rosette (*knot of bliss*) above the letter **x** of the word **KYBı**. Coin no. 2.5.2 from Telavi hoard suggests that the word **LıBY** might be written as **ıLBY** (?).

Reverse: **Ākljy** within hexagon star. Dots within star rays. Stars between the rays.

(ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 24-25, type VIII; PAGHAVA 2017: 328-329, sub-group 2.5. Similar variation: PAGHAVA, GOGAVA 2016: 276, type 3; ŞABANOV 2017A: 24, types D1, D2, but *shadda* is absent under the word **AbīnĒ** and a rosette separates the beginning and end of circular legend).

17. AR dirhem, 2.09 g, 21.1-22.2 mm.

Zagem-9

Obverse: **fĒ** **Ē** within central circle, illegible legend around.

Reverse: similar to No. 17. Probably there might be several different variations of this type.

(PAGHAVA 2017: 329, sub-group 2.6).

Zagem-10

Obverse: **fĒ** **Ē** **AbīnĒ** within hexagon cartouche.

Reverse: **Ākljy** within central horizontally elongated oval cartouche, a rosette in center, **jv** **ĀĒĒ** **ĠKYBı** / **LıBY** above, **jZJĒġġ** below, a rosette between **ġ** and **jZJĒġġ** (?) (this part is visible on type 1 in I. Paghava and G. Gogava's article)

(PAGHAVA, GOGAVA 2016: 275, type 1).

18. AR dirhem, 2.20 g, 21.1-24.9 mm.

19. AR dirhem, 1.75 g, 21.2-21.9 mm.

Obverse: the same as Nos. 18-19.

Reverse: similar to Nos. 18-19, but the letter **o** from the mint name differs in shape.

20. AR dirhem, 1.61 g, 18.8-20.9 mm.

Obverse: the same as Nos. 18-20.

Reverse: similar to Nos. 18-19, but a rosette in center differs in shape, and the legend below is following: (?) **jZJĒġġ** **KYBı** (without a rosette) (this part is visible on coin no. 2.4.1 from Telavi hoard).

(PAGHAVA 2017: 328, sub-group 2.4, No. 2.4.1. The variation of No. 2.4.2 is unclear).

⁵¹ See DAMALI 2011B: 1279, 13-SM-G2, and type unknown mint-3 in this catalogue.

⁵² KABAKLARLI 1998: 411-440.

⁵³ The reconstruction of the obverse legend was made on the basis of coins from Telavi hoard and the discussed coin No. 17. These coins proved that in our previous article we were wrong assuming that there was a word **Ab** under **AbīnĒ** and the legend around was **Ē** **AbīnĒ** **Ē** **ġ** **AbīnĒ** **ġ** **Ġ** **AbīnĒ**. We are grateful to I. Paghava, who pointed this out (PAGHAVA 2017: 329).

21. AR dirhem, 2.13 g, 21.6-24.2 mm.

Zagem-11

Obverse⁵⁴: **f ĀZ** within double linear cartouche, additional legend above: **(?) jv ĀĀ ALiBy** (the letter **i** – above **By**, under **jv ĀĀ** unclear letter, possibly **Ē?**), and below: **jZwĒjAKYB**. The obverse legend is probably the same on all coins of this type, but there might be some die variations (Pl. I).

Reverse: **ĀB** within double linear cartouche. The legend around the cartouche is divided into four sectors by ornamental lines and crescents. According to the preserved fragments of legend in sectors, there are at least six variations of its layout. (ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 28, type XIV; PAGHAVA 2017: 329-330, sub-group 2.8).

1st variation: **f ĀZ** on the bottom left, **(?) Ē** on the bottom right, **Ljy** on the top left, **(?) Āk** on the top right. The order of these sectors is incorrect. Similar mistakes can be found on AH 855 akches of Mehmed II.⁵⁵ The following two coins are probably of the same reverse die.

22. AR dirhem, 2.06 g, 22.6-29.7 mm.

23. AR dirhem, 2.06 g, 21.0-24.4 mm.

2nd variation: **Ljy** (?) on the top left, **Ē** on the top right, the bottom legend is erased (possibly **f ĀZ** on the left, **Āk** on the right).

24. AR dirhem, 1.95 g, 22.6-28.5 mm. Countermark **Āk³ĀS** on the obverse.

Coin no. 2.8.5 from Telavi hoard⁵⁶ was probably struck by the same reverse die as no. 24.

3rd variation: **f ĀZ** on the top left, **Ā** on the top right, **(?) Ljy** on the bottom right, **Āk** on the bottom left. The word **Ē** is probably missing.

25. AR dirhem, 2.04 g, 20.8-22.6 mm.

26. AR dirhem, 1.89 g, 21.6-25.5 mm. Countermark **Āk³ĀS** ('*Adl Zagem*') on the reverse.

4th variation: **f ĀZ** on the bottom right, **(?) Ā** on the bottom left, **Ljy** on the top left, **(?) Āk** on the top right.

27. AR dirhem, 1.62 g, 21.4-25.6 mm.

(ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 28, type XIV, No. 7 – this coin was possibly struck by the same reverse die⁵⁷).

28. AR dirhem, 1.93 g, 23.3-27.0 mm. Countermark **Āk³ĀS** on the reverse.

5th variation: **f ĀZ** on the top right, **Ā** on the bottom right, **(?) Ljy** on the bottom left, **(?) Āk** on the top left.

29. AR dirhem, unknown weight and size.

30. AR dirhem, 1.90 g, 21.2-26.8 mm. Illegible countermark on the reverse.

31. AR dirhem, 1.90 g, 20-27 mm. Countermark **Āk³ĀS** on the obverse.

Possibly coin No. 2.8.2 from Telavi hoard⁵⁸ is also attributed to this variation.

6th variation: **f ĀZ** on the bottom right, **Ā** on the top right, the legend on the left part is erased (possibly **Ljy** on the top, **Āk** on the bottom).

Coins of this variation are absent in this catalogue. They were discovered in Telavi hoard: Nos. 2.8.3 and 2.8.6 are probably of the same reverse die.⁵⁹

undefined reverse variation

32. AR dirhem, 1.98 g, 22.6-23.4 mm. Countermark **Āk³ĀS** on the obverse.

33. AR dirhem, 1.85 g, 20.2-22.0 mm. Countermark **Āk³ĀS** on the reverse.

Zagem(?)-12

Obverse: the same as Nos. 22-33 (?)

Reverse: similar to Nos. 22-33. The variation of layout of the legend in sectors is unknown due to poor preservation.

34. AE mangır, 1.49 g, 16.9-24.3 mm.

35. AE mangır, 1.25 g, 17.0-20.2 mm.

⁵⁴ The side with issuer's name is traditionally attributed as an obverse, but it can be also treated as a reverse in case of this type, since the legends in the center of both sides should be read as *sultan Mehmed*.

⁵⁵ SREĆKOVIĆ 2000: 23, types C*a, C*b.

⁵⁶ PAGHAVA 2017: 318.

⁵⁷ ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 28.

⁵⁸ PAGHAVA 2017: 318.

⁵⁹ PAGHAVA 2017: 318.

36. AE mangır, 1.24 g, 17-21 mm.

37. AE mangır, 0.88 g, 19-20 mm.

Zagem-13 (probably Mehmed III)

Obverse: **ABİYN** within double linear cartouche, above the letter **p** – fragments of illegible legend (possibly **fĖZİ?**).

Additional legend above: ...**(?) ABİYNĖ** / **(?) ABİĀ** Illegible legend below.

Reverse: **ĀKLJY** within curved cartouche. The legend in four sectors is following: 1. **(?) ALİBY**, 2. **(?) vĀĖ**, 3. **(?) KYBU**, 4. **?ZİĖ**.

The names of sultan and his father are not clearly visible on the obverse. However, this type may presumably be attributed to Mehmed III because such double linear cartouche was recorded only on coins of this sultan (types Zagem-11-12), and the weights of these coins are too low for Murad III.

38. AR dirhem, 1.63 g, 23 mm.

39. AR dirhem, 1.65 g, 18.6-23 mm.

40. AR dirhem, 0.98 g, 23 mm. The obverse and reverse of this coin may belong to the other variation, which is not clear due to poor preservation.

Zagem-14

Obverse: **fĖZİABİYN** within curved cartouche, **? 1/2** on the bottom right (partly visible on No. 42), **(?) A** on the bottom left, **?Ė 1/2** on the top left (nos. 43, 45), **(?) ABİYNĖ** on the top right (Nos. 42, 44).

Reverse: **ĀKLJY** within octagon cartouche, illegible legend within eight sectors around.

41. AR dirhem, 1.55 g, 13 mm.

Obverse: the same as No. 41 (?).

Reverse: similar to No. 41, but probably the cartouche differs in shape, the legend around is divided into several sectors by straight lines. The legend of one of these sectors: ... **Ė** The mint name has not been preserved, but probably it is Zagem as well.

42. AR dirhem, 1.56 g, 14 mm.

Zagem(?) -15

Obverse: similar to Nos. 41-42, but two dots between **BİYN** and **Ė** are absent.

Reverse: erased or absent (?).

Like on No. 42, the mint name is absent. While on No. 43 there seems to be an erased legend, the reverse legend of Nos. 44-45 could have been absent at all. It is noteworthy that in the composition of Ganja hoard there were countermarked copper coins with both blank sides, so they could have been some kind of samples for introducing the countermark.⁶⁰ However, Nos. 43-45 have not been countermarked.

43. AE mangır, 1.24 g, 13.6-14.6 mm.

44. AE mangır, 1.40 g, 13-15 mm.

45. AE mangır, unknown weight and size.

Zagem-16

Obverse: the legend in tuğhra: **Ė vĀĖ (e)Ė / ABİYNĖ fĖZİABİYN**

Reverse: **(?) vĀĖ ABİYNĖ ĀKLJY fĖZİABİYNĖ 1/2 (A 1/2)**.

(ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 24-25, type VII; PAGHAVA, GOGAVA 2016: 276, type 2; PAGHAVA 2017: 329, sub-group 2.7; ŞABANOV 2017A: 22, type A).

46. AR dirhem, unknown weight and size.

Kakhed-1

Obverse: **(Ė vĀĖ)S (e)Ė / ABİYNĖ** / **fĖZİ (ABİYN)** The letter **Ė** from the word **ABİYN** intercepts two letters – **Ė** and **A**

Reverse: **fĖB LjY** within central circle, **? ... ABİYNĖ 1/2 (A 1/2)** around (counterclockwise). The letters **Ė** from **ABİYN** intercept the letter **A** **(?) fĖ** Otherwise, it could be the numeral **1** from the accession date (**1003**), written in the wrong order. The legend on no. 2.3.1. from Telavi hoard may be different. A rosette (*knot of bliss*) separates the beginning and end of the legend.

(PAGHAVA 2017: 328, sub-group 2.3, but on the obverse the letter **Ė** from the word **ABİYN** intercepts only one letter **Ė**. Similar subtype: AKOPYAN, ALEKSANYAN 2017: 169-170, type IX, but circular legend on the reverse is clockwise).

⁶⁰ AKOPYAN, ALEKSANYAN 2015: 161-162, Nos. 34-36.

47. AR dirhem, 2.00 g, 20.6-26.6 mm.

Obverse: similar to No. 47, but the layout of words differs: (?)(Ējv ĀS / (?)(ABB) ʾn

Reverse: the same as No. 47 (?).

48. AR dirhem, 1.46 g, 18.3-20.3 mm.

Kakhed-2

Obverse: the legend in tughra: (fĀZ) AB ʾn additional legend above: (?)(Ē AKY) B₁, and below: (?)(ZJĒ) jv ĀĀ Ē.

Reverse: Ljy within central horizontally elongated oval cartouche, above: (Ējv ĀISĒ below: fāB. The word Ējv Ās partly visible on coin No. 2.1.2 from Telavi hoard.

(ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 26, type X; PAGHAVA 2017: 327, sub-group 2.1).

49. AR dirhem, unknown weight and size.

Kakhed-3

Obverse: the legend in tughra: ...fĀZ) AB ʾn additional legend below: (?)(Ē) ĀĒ f ʾ

Reverse: 6-pointed flower ornament in center of horizontally elongated cartouche, fāB on the left, (?)(e... Ljy on the right. (?)(Ēv ĀĒ) (ĀS) above, illegible legend below.

(ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 26, type XI; PAGHAVA 2017: 327, sub-group 2.2, Nos. 2.2.1-2.2.2).

Kakhed-4

Obverse: the same as type Kakhed-3 (?).

Reverse: fāB Ljy in cartouche, the letter L – below jy; fāB is written in one line, in contrast to type Kakhed-3.

(PAGHAVA, GOGAVA 2016: 276-277, type 1; PAGHAVA 2017: 327, sub-group 2.2, No. 2.2.3).

Unknown mint-3

Obverse: fĀZ) AB ʾn within central square, (?)(f ʾ) on the right; (" A below; (?)(Ē) OBMI on the left (partly visible on No. 3.1.11 from Telavi hoard and no. 33 from our previous article); (Ē) AB ʾn (?)(Ē) above⁶¹.

Reverse: four linear elements divide the legend into four sectors. LiBy below, (?)(z ĀĀ) on the left, (?)(KY) B₁ above, (?)(ZJĒ) on the right⁶².

(ALEKSANYAN, YANOV 2017: 28, type XV; PAGHAVA 2017: 330, group 3).

50. AR dirhem, 2.15 g, 20.9-28.6 mm.

Obverse: AB ʾn fĀZ) within central square; (f ʾ) below; OBMI on the left; (?)(Ē) above; (?)(Ē) on the right.

Reverse: (jz ĀĀ LiBy) below (the letter A intercepts L, the letter i is located below By), (jv ĀĀ) on the left (due to the limited space, in the word jv ĀĀ the letter x resembles Āi is reduced), (Ē) AKY B₁ above (the letters KY intercept B₁ and A), (ZJĒ) on the right (best visible on coins Nos. 3.1.1 and 3.1.5 from Telavi hoard).

51. AR dirhem, 1.91 g, 18.8-21.7 mm.

Obverse: the same legend within central square as in No. 51, (?)(Ē) above; illegible legend (?)(Ē) on the right.

Reverse: probably the same as No. 51: (jz ĀĀ LiBy) below, (jv ĀĀ) on the left, (Ē) AKY B₁ above, (ZJĒ) on the right.

52. AR dirhem, 1.45 g, 22 mm.

The coins from Telavi hoard show that the legend in four sectors on the obverse of this type is following: Ē ʾn (?)(Ē) Ē / OBMI / (?)(f ʾ) with B₁MI being written in two lines (B₁MI above, " below), and Ō being stretched. The letters Ē are located above the letter p. There are at least three variations of this type, depending from the layout of legend in four sectors: 1. its beginning (f ʾ) is located in lower sector (Nos. 3.1.1., 3.1.5, 3.1.10); 2. in upper sector (Nos. 3.1.2., 3.1.3, 3.1.4., 3.1.8); 3. in right sector (Nos. 3.1.6, 3.1.7, 3.1.9). No. 51 from this catalogue is likely to belong to the first variation, while No. 52 is unclear. One should not exclude that this coin is a new variation, absent in Telavi hoard. The layout of the legend in four sectors can be similar to the first variation: Ē in upper sector, Ē ʾn right sector, but the word Ē ʾn

⁶¹ We are grateful to I. Paghava, who pointed out that coin No. 33 from our previous article has a doubled die or was overstruck.

⁶² I. Paghava noticed that the reverse of this type resembles 4 Ōs, dividing the area into four quadrants, like on one of the K'akhetian-Safavid types (PAGHAVA, TURKIA 2013: 108, Fig. 8.R4; PAGHAVA 2017: 330). The obverse design of this type is also unusual for the Ottoman numismatics. There are a few rare types with square sectors on the obverse: five sectors on Zagem dirhems (type Zagem-7), and nine sectors on Amid dirhems (DAMALI 2011B: 1176, 13-AD-G1d).

differs: while on the coins from Telavi hoard the letters **ĒĀ** are not located above **p** (cf. No. 3.1.1⁶³), on No. 52 they intercept the letters **ñ** otherwise, it may be **fĒ** or some other word.

Unknown mint-4 (Zagem ?)

Obverse: **ABñn(?) fĒz** within cartouche, illegible legend around.

Reverse: illegible mint name within cartouche, probably **(? Ā·KLjy)**, **(?... Ē 10 " Af 10)** around.

53. AR dirhem, 1.93 g, 14 mm.

Unknown mint-5

Obverse: **(?ABeñ) / ĀfĒz** / **(?ABñn)** Fragment of tughra loops (*beyze*) under the word **Āl**

Reverse: an ornament within horizontally elongated double linear oval cartouche, ... **l** ... above; the legend below is off flan. A. Akopyan suggested it could be the word **p l »**.

54. AE mangır, 1.49 g, 15.7-18.4 mm.

Obverse: ... **ABñn** (the same as No. 54 ?).

Reverse: similar to No. 54 (?), but the cartouche slightly differs in shape, **(?Lj)y** above.

55. AE mangır, 1.45 g, 13.4-15.2 mm.

UNKNOWN ISSUER (MURAD III OR MEHMED III)

Zagem-17

Although the name *Murad* is visible on the following coins, it is unclear whether it is the name of the issuer himself, or his father's name, therefore it could be either Murad III or Mehmed III.

Obverse: **(?jZJĀĒ(jñV) / (?ABñ... Āz (Ā or Ējv (Ā / ?Ēe... / ?Ē (or Ā...)** Three dots between third and fourth lines, the letter **D** from **Y** is stretched (?).

Reverse: **ĀKLjy** within curved four-pointed cartouche, fragments of illegible legend around: ... **Ē**... in the top left sector. (PAGHAVA 2017: 330, group 4, Fig. 4.1.2 (?) – similar type of reverse).

56. AR dirhem, 2.26 g, 15.4-17.5 mm.

57. AR dirhem, 2.03 g, 14.1-15.8 mm.

Obverse: similar to Nos. 56-57, but three points are located beneath the word **ABñ** (?).

Reverse: the same as Nos. 56-57 (?).

58. AR dirhem, 1.89 g, 11.2-11.9 mm.

Zagem-18

Obverse: **(ABeñ) / (ABñn ?(jv Ā(Ē Ē (K)Bu)**... Three points on the word **ABñn**

Reverse: similar to Nos. 56-58, but the letter **o** from the mint name is turned left. Illegible legend around.

59. AR dirhem, unknown weight and size.

⁶³ The image of the obverse should be turned 90° counterclockwise.

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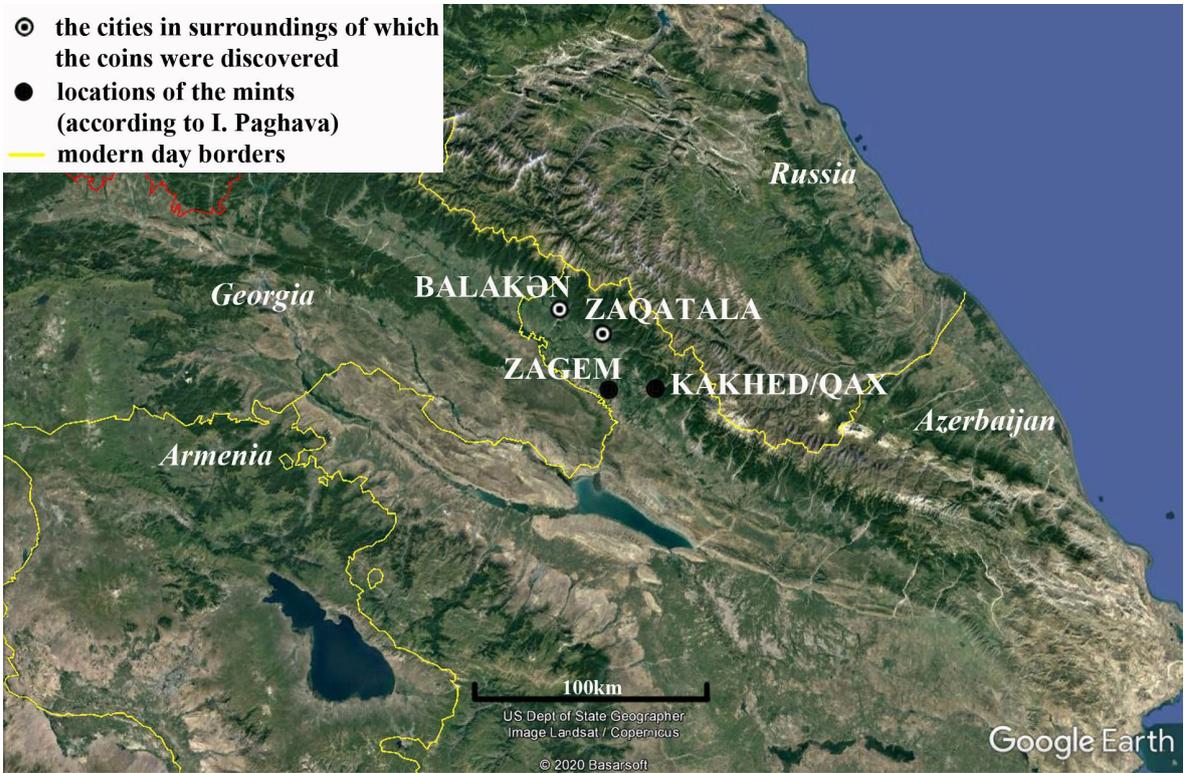
Pl. I. K'akhetian-Ottoman coins (in line drawings, hollow parts of legends are assumptions).
Cat. Nos. 1-24.



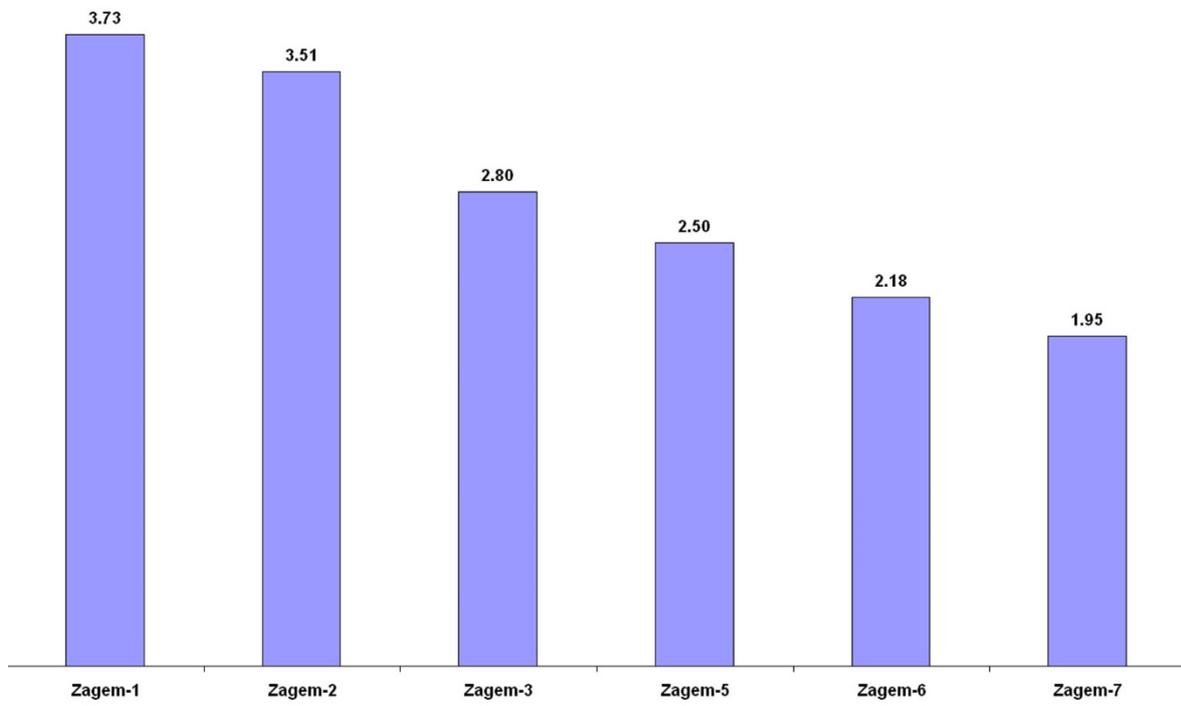
Pl. II. K'akhetian-Ottoman coins (in line drawings, hollow parts of legends are assumptions). Cat. Nos. 25-48.



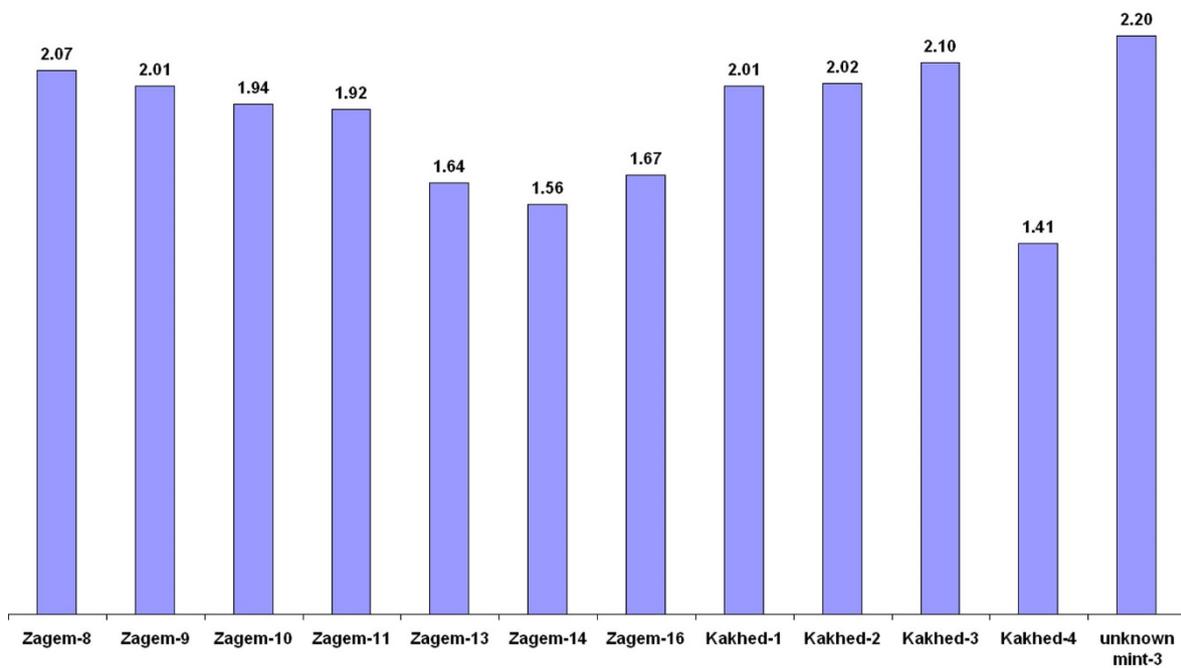
Pl. III. K'akhetian-Ottoman coins. Cat. Nos. 49-59.



Pl. IV. Map of the Kingdom of K'akheti (source: Google Earth).



Pl V. The average weights of Murad III's types.



Pl VI. The average weights of Mehmed III's type.

