

The Cistercian Monastery of Zaraka, Greece



Edited by Sheila Campbell



Pl. 1.1 Aquatint by E. Dodwell of Stymphalos



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Pl. 1.2 Corresponding landscape from which the painting was made



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Chapter 6
Zaraka: The Coins*

Julian Baker

TWENTY-THREE COINS, one reckoning counter, and one coin or coin-like object, which cannot be further defined, were found in the course of the excavations of 1993 to 1997. With the exception of the three earliest coins, the uncertain coin or coin-like object, and the early modern token, the material dates from the late twelfth/early thirteenth to the late fourteenth century. The denominations and issues are in the case of the two Greek and Roman coins what one expects to find among residual materials in close proximity to the ancient city of Stymphalos. The eleventh-century Byzantine coin is only the second piece of evidence currently available—the other being some very small quantities of pottery from the Stymphalos excavations—which suggests some kind of activity in the area during this period (see also *infra* on the lack of a Middle Byzantine phase at Zaraka itself).¹ The twenty medieval coins are a characteristic assemblage for a site of the Frankish period in southern Greece. One is confronted, however, with an idiosyncratic chronological distribution, which is bi-partite and in both cases confined. The coins document the main monastic phase and also a post-monastic phase during which the site was reoccupied. Finally, the reckoning counter provides a hint at activities at the site also in the early modern period.

Catalogue

The coins are listed below in chronological order. General headings are given for denomination (cursive) and issuing authority (bold, with total quantities), upon which follows a subdivision of issues with their respective quantities. The central column gives a brief indication of reconstructed obverse and reverse types and/or legends, a dating for the issue of the coin itself (CE, unless indicated otherwise), a mint location, and a bibliographical reference. The right-hand column begins with the inventory number which was given to the coin and provides further information, in so far as it can be viably given, on metal (represented are AE (copper), BI (billion; more than ca. 10 percent AR) and AR (silver)), die axis, weight, and size. Following on from the coin list are further points presented under the coins' inventory numbers: these include descriptions of the state of preservation, ulterior archaeological information, or additional discussions. Hereupon I summarize, for convenience, the archaeological provenances, in the form of excavation trenches, of the individual specimens.

AE denomination

- 1 SIKYON**
1 Dove alighting,
95-4: AE – 180° – 2.22 g – 15 mm
above tail E or S /
Dove flying
Sikyon
ca. 420/400 BCE
Warren, “Sicyon,” group. 1.A.1–2

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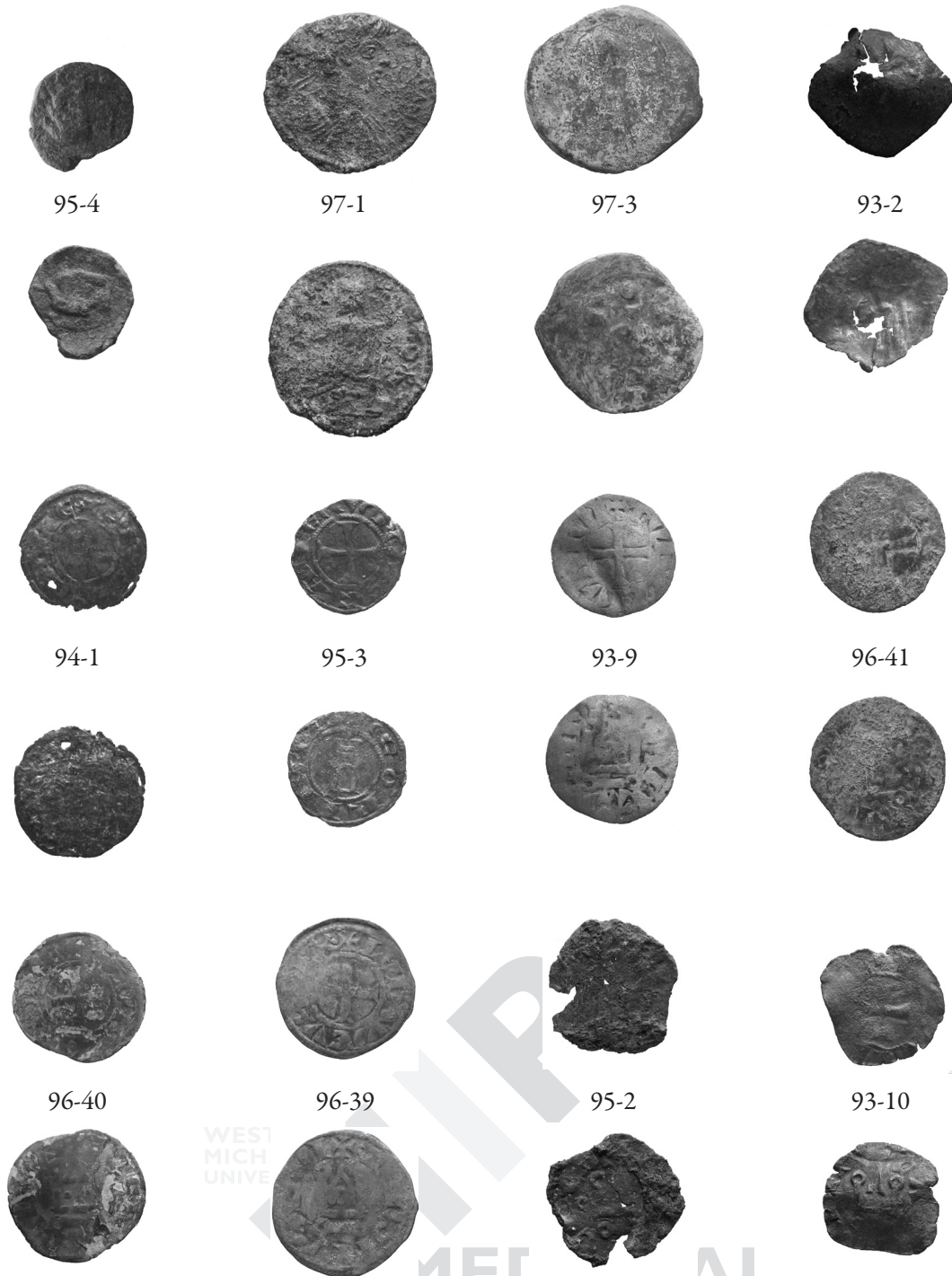


Fig. 6.1

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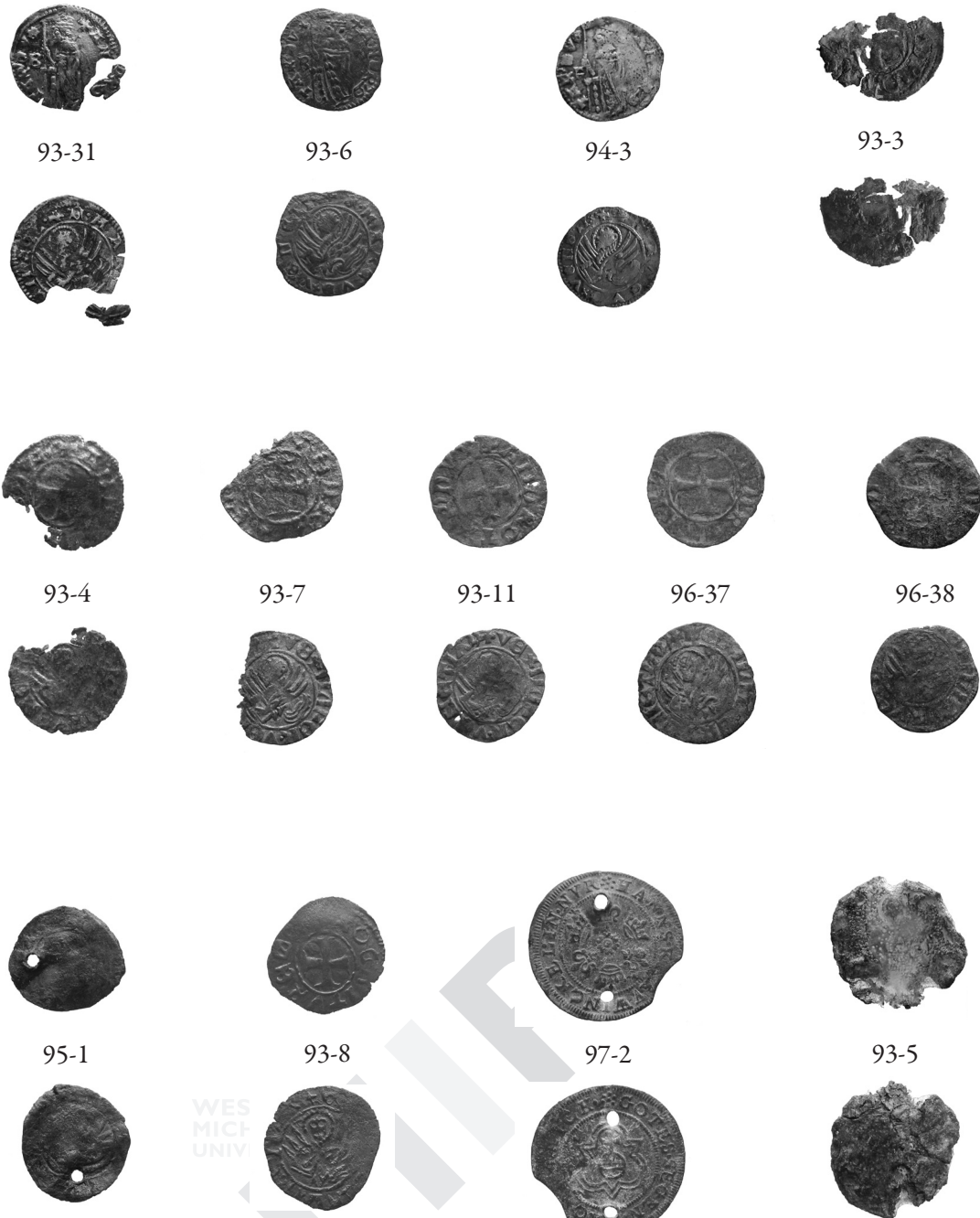


Fig. 6.2

*AE denomination***1 CORINTH UNDER CARACALLA
198-217**

1 Head right /
97-1: AE – 330° – 7.045 g – 24 mm
Figure seated left
Corinth
198–217

*folles***1 BYZANTINE EMPIRE**

1 Nikephoros III 1078–81
97-3: AE – 360° – 7.065 g – 25 mm
Christ 3/4 standing /
Cross-in-circle
Constantinople
1078–1081
Grierson, *Dumbarton Oaks Collection*,
831, pl. 70, no. 9

*billon trachy***1 LATIN EMPIRE
OF CONSTANTINOPLE 1204–61**

1 Emperor standing /
93-2: AE – 360° – 0.73 g – 18 × 20 mm
Virgin seated
Constantinople
Early years after 1204
Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, pl. 29.1–3
Small module, type A

*petty denomination***2 PRINCIPALITY OF ACHAIA**

1 G.PAC-CA-IE
94-1: BI – 0.565 g – 18 mm
Cross /
CORINTVM
Acrocorinth
Corinth
Late 1240s/early 1250s
Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 248
type 9

1 G P ACCAIE
95-3: BI – 270° – 0.68 g – 17 mm
Cross /
CORINTI
Genoese castle
Corinth
Late 1240s/early 1250s
Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 248–49
type 10

*deniers tournois***2 ABBEY OF TOURS**

2 TVRONVS CIVI
93-9: BI – 210° – 0.87 g – 19 mm
Cross /
96-41: BI – 360° – 0.811 g – 20 mm
SCS MARTINVS
Castle tournois
Tours
Possibly from the last
years of the twelfth century
Poey d'Avant, *Les monnaies féodales*,
223, nos 1642–46

2 KINGDOM OF FRANCE

1 Philip II 1180–1223
96-40: BI – 180° – 0.945 g – 19 mm
PHILLIPVS RE
Cross /
SCS MARTINVS
Castle Tournois
Tours
1204– ca. 1220
Duplessy, *Les monnaies françaises royales*,
73, no. 176

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- 1 Louis VIII or IX 1223–70
96-39: BI – 180° – 0.871 g – 20 mm
LVDOVICVS REX
Cross /
TVRONVS CIVI
Castle Tournois
Tours
1223– ca. 1245/50
Duplessy, *Les monnaies françaises royales*,
77, no. 187

1 PRINCIPALITY OF ACHAIA

- Mahaut of Hainaut 1316–21
95-2: BI – 18 mm
MAhAVTA P Ach
Cross /
DE CLARENCIA
Castle Tournois C to left
Clarentza
earlier part of Mahaut's principality
Tzamalís, "Elis," 67, MH1 or 2
Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 267, MA2

**1 COUNTERFEIT DENIER
TOURNOIS**

- 1 M...
93-10: AE – 330° – 0.67 g – 15 × 17 mm
Cross /
CA...
Castle Tournois
Post-1316

soldini

3 REPUBLIC OF VENICE

- 3 Andrea Contarini 1368–82 93-1:
AR – 30° – 0.43 g – 15 mm
ANDR'Q-TAR'DVX
93-6: AR – 360° – 0.51 g – 14 mm
Standing doge /
94-3: AR – 240° – 0.48 g – 14.5 mm
SMARCVS VENETI
Lion of St. Mark
Venice

- 1369–79
Papadopoli, *Le monete di Venezia*, 216, no. 5
Stahl, "Cephalonia Hoard," 87, type III,
mint marks B, B, F

torneselli

7 REPUBLIC OF VENICE

- 6 Andrea Contarini 1368–82
93-3: BI – 270° – 17 mm
ANDR'QTAR'DVX
93-4: BI – 150° – 16 mm
Cross /
93-7: BI – 150° – 16 mm
VEXILIFER VENET(C)IA
93-11: BI – 30° – 0.55 g – 16 mm
Lion of St. Mark
Venice
96-37: BI – 180° – 0.55 g – 16 mm
Papadopoli, *Le monete di Venezia*,
96-38: BI – 210° – 0.64 g
217, nos. 7–8

- 1 Uncertain doge
95-1: BI – 0.51 g – 15 mm

1 COUNTERFEIT TORNESELLO

- 93-8: AE – 0.41 g – 17 mm

reckoning counter

**1 HANS KRAUWINCKEL II
1586–1635 OF NUREMBERG**

- 1 HANNS KRAVWINCKEL
97-2: Brass – 22 mm
IN NVR /
GOTES SEGEN MACHT REICH
Mitchiner, *Jetons*, 443, no. 1553

uncertain denomination or coin-like object

- 1 UNCERTAIN ISSUER**
93-5

Comments regarding individual coins

- 95-4:** Worn. Trench 3a, level 4, pail 1. This coin is a rather early and rare bronze issue of Sikyon.
- 97-1:** Heavily worn. Trench 19. The identification of the rev. figure and of the precise issue is not certain. Edwards, *Coins*, 38, no. 206, suggests a seated Poseidon for two pieces from Corinth; see the various rev. figures presented in *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, nos 366–71; Williams and Zervos, “Corinth, 1990,” 46 and 55, pl. 13, no. 16, comment on another coin from the Corinth excavations.
- 97-3:** Heavily worn. Trench 19, level 2, third pass.
- 93-2:** Heavily worn and damaged. Trench 8a. On the mint location see Touratsoglou and Baker, “*Grossi*,” 219, n. 79; for recent comments on dating see Hendy, *Dumbar-ton Oaks Collection* 4.1, 94.
- 94-1:** Heavily worn and damaged. Trench 3, level 2. On the dating see my discussion in Section 3 here *infra*.
- 95-3:** Trench 3, level 3, pail 1. On the dating see my discussion in Section 3 here *infra*. The coin is of the common variety with crescents: Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 249.
- 93-9:** Worn. Trench 1. On the dating see my discussion in Section 2 here *infra*.
- 96-41:** Heavily worn. Trench 10, level 2. On the dating see my discussion in Section 2 here *infra*.
- 96-40:** Heavily worn. Trench 3 South 3S, level 2, pail 1. On the dating see Duplessy, *Les monnaies françaises royales*, 69.
- 96-39:** Worn. Trench 3E, floor level. On the dating see Duplessy, “Deniers tournois de saint Louis.”
- 95-2:** Heavily worn, broken, and damaged. Dump Trench 4, pail 4. Despite the coin’s limited readability the identification is secure due to the uniqueness, within the Frankish Greek series, of the C to the left of the rev. castle. The existence of a mint beside that of Clarentza which issued *deniers tournois* within the Principality of Achaia has been questioned for the early period (Baker and Ponting, “Early Period of Minting of *Deniers Tournois*”), reducing further the likelihood that this particular issue might have been produced at a supposed Corinth mint, postulated with reference to the rev. C (Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 267). MA2, the most prolific of Mahaut’s three groupings, might be located in the beginning of her principality since it was in this period that she received most of her external political and military support.
- 93-10:** Worn, damaged, and perhaps clipped (canceled?). Trench 4, level 1. The obv. M at the beginning of the legend is clearly inspired by the issues of Mahaut and results in a post-1316 dating for this coin. Also stylistically the coin is more suggestive of the fourteenth century rather than the thirteenth: Baker, “Thessaly,” 302.
- 93-1:** Broken. Trench 5, level 2. B to the left of obv. doge.
- 93-6:** Trench 4, Area 1A, level 1. B to the left of obv. doge.
- 94-3:** Trench 10A. F to the left of obv. doge.
- 93-3:** Worn and damaged. Trench 5, level 2. Rev. with C or T.
- 93-4:** Damaged. Trench 8A. Rev. with T.
- 93-7:** Damaged. Trench 4, level 1. Rev. with C or T.
- 93-11:** Trench 5, level 2. Rev. with T.
- 96-37:** Trench 10, level 1. Rev. with T.
- 96-38:** Trench 5, level 3. Rev. with C or T.
- 95-1:** Heavily worn and corroded, holed, and perhaps clipped. Trench 4, unit j, level 2, pail 5. No readings whatsoever are possible.
- 93-8:** Trench 4, level 1. The obv. lettering (TVR) might suggest that the issues of Contarini

were taken for inspiration; what appears to be a C at the end of the rev. legend also rules out a dating beyond the 1380s.

97-2: Holed twice for usage as button. Trench 17S.

93-5: Trench 5, level 2.

Archaeological provenance of individual coins

Trench 1:	93-9	Tours
Trench 3:	94-1	CORINTVM
	95-3	CORINTI
	96-40	Philip II
Trench 3a:	95-4	Sikyon
Trench 3E:	96-39	Louis VIII or IX
Trench 4:	95-2	Mahaut
	93-10	counterfeit <i>denier tournois</i>
	93-6	<i>soldino</i> Contarini
	93-7	<i>tornesello</i> Contarini
	95-1	uncertain <i>tornesello</i>
	93-8	counterfeit <i>tornesello</i>
Trench 5:	93-1	<i>soldino</i> Contarini
	93-3	<i>tornesello</i> Contarini
	93-11	<i>tornesello</i> Contarini
	96-38	<i>tornesello</i> Contarini
	93-5	uncertain coin
Trench 8A:	93-2	Latin Empire
	93-4	<i>tornesello</i> Contarini
Trench 10:	96-41	Tours
	96-37	<i>tornesello</i> Contarini
Trench 10A:	94-3	<i>soldino</i> Contarini
Trench 17S:	97-2	reckoning counter of Nuremberg
Trench 19:	97-1	Caracalla
	97-3	Nikephoros III

The Foundation of the Monastery

There are no numismatic data which allow one to extrapolate a precise foundation date for the monastery, although coins provide a general context for the first occupation of the site. A coin of Tours (93-9) was found in a level created in anticipation of the construction of the church

and the adjacent buildings.² These issues were discontinued in 1204,³ but are to be found in Greece in contexts well into the second half of the thirteenth century and beyond.⁴ The wear from circulation would suggest that this coin was lost at a considerable temporal remove from its issue. Despite these considerations, and the fact that one can hardly build any scenario of larger or lesser likelihood around the evidence of a single coin, it might well be borne in mind here that the abbatial *denier tournois* issues of Tours in question were very much the common lower- to mid-range coinage available in Greece in about the first four decades of the thirteenth century, until these were surpassed in overall quantities by their royal French counterparts minted in the names of Philip (II) and Louis (VIII and IX).⁵ The coin allows one therefore to locate the building of the monastic church in this general period with a limited amount of reliability. For a more precise archaeological dating of the complex it would have been useful to fall back on other kinds of material, although Trench 1, according to MacKay's contribution to this volume, is devoid of any diagnostic pottery in this respect.

The Main Period of the Monastic Occupation ("Phase One")

The additional six coins which date to the thirteenth century are also very common. The *billon trachy* is of the variety which dominates most Greek, Balkan, and Turkish sites. It was minted with great likelihood in Constantinople during the first few years after the fall of the city to the knights of the Fourth Crusade, and a reduced number of specimens remained in circulation in the Greek area into the second half of the century.⁶ The two *petty denomination* specimens (one each of Metcalf's types 9 and 10) from the mint of Corinth are also to be found in large quantities at sites within the territory of the principality of Achaia,⁷ and elsewhere in Frankish Greece.⁸ These

coins also have an interesting circulation pattern in the Levant,⁹ which probably dates them to the time of the Seventh Crusade (1248–54), which Prince William of Villehardouin joined on the side of King Louis IX.¹⁰ It is not entirely certain how long single specimens of this coinage might have remained in circulation, although the numismatic evidence suggests that the main period of usage was located precisely in these years.¹¹

The considerable total of seven specimens for the thirteenth century provides one with a certain leeway for statistical analyses. First, the absence of copper *tetartera* minted in the names of twelfth-century Byzantine emperors is highly conspicuous.¹² This coinage had not merely a significant presence in south Greece during the last century of Byzantine rule, but arguably also in the early Frankish period, either in the shape of the same coins which remained in circulation, or as local thirteenth-century counterfeited issues thereof.¹³

One notices next the lack of monetary issues dating beyond the later 1250s, which is striking since French feudal coins in the names of the brothers of Louis IX, Alphonse of France, and Charles of Anjou, would soon leave a mark on the monetary stock in circulation.¹⁴ Even more obvious is the absence of Greek *deniers tournois*, minted prolifically from the period shortly before or after 1267 at Clarentza,¹⁵ and at Thebes from the 1280s,¹⁶ which entered circulation rather rapidly.¹⁷

The overall chronological range of the occupation of the site, which has already been hypothesized elsewhere, is therefore more than corroborated by the numismatic evidence: indeed, the latter renders an establishment of the Latin monastic complex on a site which was not in use in the twelfth century imperative, as much as an abandonment certainly by the 1270s,¹⁸ possibly as early as the late 1250s. This could have occurred as a direct result of the official withdrawal of the Cistercian Order from Greece in

1276, the earthquake damage suggested by some of the evidence produced by the Zaraka excavations, or another undocumented cause.¹⁹ The profile of the coins suggests that general activities at the site might have commenced as early as the first or second decade of the thirteenth century, though perhaps a little later.²⁰

Tetartera are exceedingly common also at the smallest of sites within earlier thirteenth-century contexts.²¹ Since these facilitated everyday, small-scale transactions, their absence might shed some additional light on the nature of the monastic complex. It might well be wondered whether the Cistercian monastery as an entity, and its constituent components in the form of the monks and the possible lay brothers,²² were not prone to accumulate this form of petty cash because of the mechanics by which their exigencies were met (high levels of self-reliance; collective purchase of additional supplies and sale of surplus produce; lack of individual wealth and economic activity²³), either as a result of the numerous directives set out by the General Chapter, or simply because of the geographical and demographic remoteness of the monastery. Again, the pottery report in this volume conveys a similar impression. It should be noted that, curiously enough, the excavations at the early thirteenth-century Venetian fortress at Andros also failed to produce *tetartera*:²⁴ might it have been the case that, similarly to the monks at Zaraka—though obviously not precisely for the same reasons—, its military occupants were not reliant on everyday exchanges of goods?

In summary, the maximum and minimum ranges of activities during the main monastic phase of the site are, respectively, 1210/20s–1270s or (more likely) 1230s–1250/60s. In the light of the next discussion, it is numismatically difficult to imagine much activity at the site between the 1270s and the 1320s, if not a bit longer into the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, Trench 3, according to the pottery report, seems to have yielded some materials which date to this

period. This can be squared in two ways: either the pottery requires re-dating according to the numismatic evidence, or we are witnessing a phase during which, perhaps due to the nature or extent of the post-monastic settlement, coin usage was far reduced.

The Fourteenth-Century Occupation and Destruction (“Phase Two”)

Thirteen coins date to the fourteenth century. Of these nine are in the name of Doge Andrea Contarini (1368–82), while two further specimens (the uncertain and the counterfeit *torneselli*, 95-1 and 93-8) are in all likelihood from the same general period. This concentration, across two denominations, is on all accounts remarkable, and is further accentuated by the fact that the *soldini* are all of one of the three known types issued by this doge. Further, the *tournois* of Mahaut are often found in contexts which post-date considerably their period of production,²⁵ and the same applies to counterfeit issues of this denomination. Of interest is next the fact that *soldini*, because of their fine silver content,²⁶ are not the most common of excavation stray finds, certainly when compared to *torneselli*.²⁷ When they are lost casually their profiles usually weigh heavily towards the issues of the first doge to have minted these coins, F. Dandolo (from 1332).²⁸ Nine of the fourteenth-century coins were found among the refuse of Trenches 4 and 5 on either side of the gatehouse.²⁹ Each of the trenches produced one *soldino*, and in combination six of the eight *torneselli* found at the site

The presented characteristics call for a particular explanation. The bulk of fourteenth-century coins from Zaraka, and especially the Venetian *torneselli* and *soldini*, must be related in one form or another. A scenario whereby all of these were lost casually on the site during the second half of the fourteenth century, or indeed during the later rearrangement of the site, is highly

unlikely: the loss rate would be too high, particularly in consideration of the *soldini*, and the presence of the issues of merely one doge, and of one type in the case of the *soldini*, would be too much of a coincidence. The coins must therefore have been transferred to the positions in which they were found from another location, inadvertently and together with the earth and debris. Further, the high percentage of *soldini* and the concentration on only one doge and *soldino* type suggest strongly that the original state in which these coins were left unretrieved was that of a hoard or hoard-like assemblage. The fact that *torneselli* and *soldini* were stored and used together within a single system of accounting is demonstrated not least by a respectable number of hoards which combine these denominations.³⁰ The precise issues represented in Trenches 4 and 5 can be harmonized with the body of known hoards.³¹ For *soldini* and *torneselli* we generally find spreads across a number of doges, although the percentages for A. Contarini's *torneselli* therein are usually very high, with the result that at the overall low quantities found at Zaraka one might not even expect issues from any previous doge. With regard to *soldini*, it has already been demonstrated by Stahl³² that certain hoards will concentrate on the most recent issues (whereas savings' hoards accumulate the earliest and most valuable issues, those of F. Dandolo), and a heavy emphasis on the issues of A. Contarini is to be observed in a string of hoards.³³ This being said, a certain anomaly in the issues found in Trenches 4 and 5 cannot be denied, an impression which is enforced by their inadvertent transfer to this final position. One must therefore come to the conclusion that the assemblage was, far from being purposefully concealed for mid- to long-term storage, rather everyday in character and therefore abandoned in extraordinary circumstances. An act of violence suggests itself here in particular, an impression which is additionally gained by the brevity of the second phase of occupation and by some of the

ash which dominated the site (especially Trenches 4 and 5).³⁴

How would one date this supposed act of violence? On the one hand, Contarini's *soldino* element in the assemblage in question is not entirely mature;³⁵ on the other, his successors M. Morosini and A. Venier continued to issue both denominations, and one can allow only for a small delay with which the coins reached this part of the Peloponnese. On the basis of the numismatic evidence we come therefore to a date either during the final part of the dogeship of A. Contarini (1368–82), or shortly thereafter. With this time-frame and the geographical location of Zaraka in mind, one must look towards the activities of the Navarrese Company of mercenaries for context. The Company took Durazzo in Albania on behalf of Louis of Navarre, who had a claim to the city through his Angevin wife.³⁶ In 1379 three separate Navarrese groupings moved southwards, entering the services of the Knights of St. John, who had gained control of the principality of Achaia for five years in a treaty with Queen Joanna of Naples in 1376, and Nerio Acciaiuoli, lord of Corinth.³⁷ In 1379 and 1380 the Company conquered Thebes and Levia in Boiotia and was also engaged in Aitolia for its new masters. In the course of 1381 the Navarrese Company's position towards the established powers of Achaia swung openly to one of hostility: after another treaty with Nerio in May of 1381 worth 8000 *florins* and the receipt of the remainder of their pay from the Hospital of 2000 *ducats* in the spring or summer of that year, the Navarrese proceeded to sever their existing ties by recognizing pretender Jacques des Baux as the legitimate prince of Achaia, and by forcefully taking the town of Vostitsa (ancient and modern Aigion), another possession of the Acciaiuoli.³⁸ In the light of the ensuing difficulties the Knights of St. John had already chosen not to renew their previous commitment to Achaia, and the Navarrese remained the only significant military force in the peninsula, and in the region of the Gulf of

Corinth in particular. Given that the site of Zaraka was with great likelihood part of the barony of the Acciaiuoli,³⁹ the hostility of the Navarrese to Nerio from mid 1381, the presence of a relatively large number of knights on the northern Peloponnesian seaboard who would soon proceed to conquer large tracts of land in Elis and Messenia,⁴⁰ and, finally, that the main connection of Zaraka with the outside world was precisely towards the Gulf of Corinth, it is very likely indeed that our settlement became the target of a Navarrese raid in 1381, or sometime shortly thereafter.

Such a destruction led to the abandonment of many, if not all, of the fourteenth-century coins from the site. Whether or not the two fourteenth-century *tournois* were in usage until 1381+, or had already been fortuitously lost at an earlier point, is impossible to establish. Nevertheless, the overall weighting of the numismatic evidence to the 1370s and 1380s, and the absence of some of the earlier coinages (notably the *tournois* produced in prolific numbers at Lepanto and Thebes around the turn of the century⁴¹), must draw one to conclude that the occupation of the site in the fourteenth century was rather short-lived. The destruction of 1381+ seems to have been final since none of the prolific *torneselli* of A. Venier (1382–1400) and M. Steno (1400–1413) have been found at the site.⁴² It is possible that the briefness of this phase can also be squared with the ceramic report in this volume, if one were to accept that there was no or very little pottery dating positively to the decades before, although this is to be confirmed.

In closing it should be pointed out, with regard to coin 93-8, that the local counterfeiting of *torneselli* is a chapter in the monetary history of southern Greece over which very little ink has so far been spilt. A few hoards have been indicated as containing *torneselli* of unofficial provenance,⁴³ but typological or chronological syntheses have yet to be formulated. A number of pieces from the site of Clarentza and the castle of Chlemoutsu in Elis

display the same square rev. punch to create the lion's head as the present specimen from Zaraka.⁴⁴

Post-Fourteenth-Century Activities ("Phase Three")

"Phase Three" begins with the rearrangements which took place at the site following the destruction of 1381+. The coins, as we have seen, date this destruction rather than the subsequent activities, and we have no numismatic data which can disclose the length of the lapse of time between the two events. In the case of this phase, even the negative numismatic evidence is without much consequence. During the dogeship of T. Mocenigo (1414–23), *tornesello* production decreased drastically, and collapsed almost completely after his death.⁴⁵ The so-called late medieval bullion crisis had dramatic effects on southern Greece, compounded by an already dire economic and political situation. For about eighty years, between ca. 1420 and 1500, virtually no new issues were added to the circulating stock. Consequently it is possible that the site saw activities at any time during this period, the supposed "Phase Three," without leaving a mark on the numismatic record. Whether or not this phase is the same as that represented by the Nuremberg reckoning counter of the later sixteenth or early seventeenth century is difficult to say. In the early years of the 1500s one might expect to find evidence of the second generation of Venetian *torneselli*, and small Ottoman silver issues. Counters such as that presented here are not an uncommon find in Greece.⁴⁶ It is generally assumed that they performed the functions of petty cash in the absence of useful Ottoman issues, and it cannot be excluded that the specimen in question was used into a period post-dating significantly its production.⁴⁷ There is, in summary, little information to be gained from the coins and coin-like objects which can substantiate the chronology of the last phase of the site. Given the state of our knowledge of the pottery of the

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially the unglazed wares referred to in the report in this volume, it would again be difficult to substantiate the precise chronology of "Phase Three" any further, just as "Phase Two" remains to some degree illusive.

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Notes

* I should like to thank Sheila Campbell for the kind invitation to work on the coins of the Zaraka excavations. I am grateful for the comments I received from the other collaborators on this volume during our meeting in Toronto in October 2003. Orestes Zervos had already identified these coins by the time I first saw them, and he was very helpful in my work on this material at Corinth Museum. The text was written at Princeton during my time there as a Post-Doctoral Fellow in Hellenic Studies, 2003–4, with minor subsequent amendments.

¹ Williams et al., "Excavations at Ancient Stymphalos, 1997"; Williams et al., "Excavations at Ancient Stymphalos 1999–2002."

² Campbell, "The Cistercian Monastery of Zaraka," 181.

³ Duplessy, *Les monnaies françaises féodales*, 101.

⁴ See the following hoards: Eretria 1962 (1) (concealed not much beyond 1250): Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 341, no. 164; Berbati 1953 (concealed ca. 1262): Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 341, no. 162; Attica (?) 1971 (concealed ca. 1267): Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 339, no. 155; Corinth 1934 (concealed before ca. 1268): Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 339, no. 154; Salamina (concealed post-1270): Galani-Krikou, "Ereunes stè Salamina"; Xirochori 1957 (concealed ca. 1291–93): Tzamalīs, "È pròtè periodos tou tornesiou"; Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 341–42, no. 165; Unknown Provenance 1975 (concealed ca. 1300): Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 342, no. 168; Delphi 1894 A (concealed post-1400): Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 354–55, no. 216. The Samos hoard (see Duplessy and Metcalf, "Le trésor de Samos," esp. 177, with some corrections on the total size in Metcalf, "Coins of Lucca," 470), with the 111 *deniers tournois* of Tours, is the most dramatic manifestation of this coinage, although its dating is difficult. For general chronological considerations see Baker,

“Some Notes,” 354, n. 22, 355, 361, n. 57. Possibly the hoard was concealed when John III Vatatzes took the island in 1225/26.

⁵ It is difficult to pinpoint the various stages of transition from the abbatial to the royal issues as the dominant *tournois* in Greece since there is no useful hoard evidence which is chronologically located between the Samos hoard and the other hoards of note 4. At Samos the French royal issues are absent, while in all of the later hoards they already abound. The largest potential lies on this question perhaps in a grave assemblage from Palaiochorathat consists of *nomos* of Lakonia, *eparchia* of Oitylon, *dèmos* of Diró (*Archaeologikon Deltion* 30 B'1 (1975): 4), one abbatial *tournois*, three royal French *tournois* (two in the name of Philip, one of Louis), and one English *short-cross penny*. Unfortunately, the latter two coins cannot be adequately dated according to the information which is presently available. In order to gain an appreciation of the importance of the abbatial issues in the early period of Frankish Greece one needs to fall back on stray excavation data: see the proportions from Corinth (e.g. Edwards, *Coins*, 153–57).

⁶ As is shown by the following hoards: Thebes 1967 (concealed 1237–46): Oikonomidou, “Treis thèsauroi” and Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 338, no. 143; Arta 1983 (concealed 1261–72): Touratsoglou, “Ho ‘thèsauros’ asprón tracheón.”

⁷ I give here merely a few examples: Corinth (Edwards, *Coins*, 152); Sparta (personal observations); though not at Clarentza: Athanasoulis and Baker, “Medieval Clarentza.”

⁸ Athenian Agora (Thompson, *Coins*, 76); Eutresis (Goldman, *Excavations in Eutresis*, 8); Thebes (Galani-Krikou, “Thèba 10os–14os aiðna.”

⁹ Baker, “The Tel ‘Akko Hoard.”

¹⁰ Even though a slightly later dating has also been supposed: see for instance Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 247–48; Baker and Ponting, “Early Period of Minting of *Deniers Tournois*,” 252.

¹¹ See the two hoard-like assemblages from Corinth: Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 339, nos 152 and 153. Only one single specimen of type 9 has been found at a later date: within the Cephalonia hoard of 1400–1413 (Stahl, “Cephalonia Hoard”).

¹² On this coinage see Touratsoglou, Tsourti-Kouli, and Krikou-Galani, “Thèsauros Komotènès 1979”;

Hendy, *Dumbaton Oaks Collection* 47–51; Touratsoglou, “La monnaie byzantine,” 394–98.

¹³ On both these possibilities, see Baker, “Thessaly”. A specific grouping known from Corinthia, the Argolid, and Attica is notably described in Baker, “Medieval Coin Finds,” with reference to material from Argos. This is to be known as the “Saronic Gulf Group.”

¹⁴ To give here merely three from the many other possible examples: the Kordokopi 1972 (Athanasoulis and Baker, “Medieval Clarentza,” 285–86) and Corinth 1934 (Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 339, no. 154) hoards concealed in the 1260s contains many such issues; at the Athenian Agora (Thompson, *Coins*, 79) there are about as many feudal as royal French *tournois*.

¹⁵ Baker and Ponting, “Early Period of Minting of *Deniers Tournois*.”

¹⁶ A recently discovered hoard from Filignano in the region of Molise, Italy, allows for a more precise dating of the beginning of the issues of the duchy of Athens at Thebes to the mid 1280s: Baker and Calabria, “Le monete tardo-medioevali.”

¹⁷ The Salamina hoard of ca. 1270 (see note 4) was still entirely constituted by French *deniers tournois*. A grave assemblage from Haliartos in Boiotia dating to the late 1270s or early 1280s was already constituted by three Greek to one French *tournois*: Galani-Krikou, *Archaiologikon Deltion*. The Filignano hoard (see note 16) testifies further to the rapid success of the Greek *tournois* issues; and by the late 1280s and early 1290s, as shown by the hoards from Troizina and Xirochori (see Baker and Ponting, “Early Period of Minting of *Deniers Tournois*” and note 4), these were already dominant.

¹⁸ Campbell, “The Cistercian Monastery of Zaraka,” 178–80. Such an abandonment had previously only been assumed: Campbell, “The Cistercian Monastery of Zaraka,” 195: “According to the historical sources—and so far the archaeological evidence neither confirms nor refutes this—they (ie. the monks) left some time around 1275–1280.” For an early dating of the abandonment see Salzer, “Gatehouses and Mother Houses,” 324.

¹⁹ Campbell, “The Cistercian Monastery of Zaraka,” 180, 186. Written documentation regarding earthquakes in later Byzantium and outlying regions is few and far between, and merely some of the undoubtedly numerous earthquakes are recorded: Euangelatou-Notara, *Seismoï sto Byzantio*.

²⁰ Salzer, "Gatehouses and Mother Houses," 323.

²¹ Judging from the materials, the so-called "Byzantine or Frankish house" at Pylos in Elis seems to have been occupied mainly, or perhaps entirely, during the thirteenth century. The excavations produced one *denier tournois* and three *tetartera* (one of which is imitative, the other two more likely genuine twelfth-century issues): Coleman, *Excavations*, 144, pl. 54. Otherwise, only sites with later profiles lacked the latter coinage: see the early fourteenth-century Panakton in Boiotia (Gerstel - M. Munn et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton," 226–28), or Clarentza in Elis occupied from the 1260s (Athanasoulis and Baker, "Medieval Clarentza").

²² Campbell, "The Cistercian Monastery of Zaraka," 186; Salzer, "Gatehouses and Mother Houses," 306.

²³ See Comba, "Le scelte economiche," for a description of economic activities of Cistercian monasteries in southern Italy in the same period.

²⁴ Dòrè, Belissariou, and Michaëlidès, *Katô Kastro*, 173–74.

²⁵ Without presenting here the full weight of the evidence, this fact can be easily established by the hoards listed in Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 348ff.

²⁶ On this coinage see Stahl, *Zecca*, 41ff.

²⁷ To take merely the example from the Athenian Agora according to the figures presented by Thompson, there are 115 *torneselli* in the name of A. Contarini and no *soldini*: Thompson, *Coins*, 80.

²⁸ Again at the Agora there are ten *soldini* issued by F. Dandolo: Thompson, *Coins*, 80.

²⁹ Campbell, "The Cistercian Monastery of Zaraka," 192; Salzer, "Gatehouses and Mother Houses," 308, 315–16.

³⁰ Cephalonia: see note 11; Chalkida: Stahl, *Tornesello*; Delphi 1894 A: see note 4; Eretria (2): Stahl, *Tornesello*, 83; Gastouni: Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 354, no. 214; Gortyna: Stahl, *Tornesello*, 85; Kalapodi: Stahl, "Cephalonia Hoard," 85; Soudeli: Stahl, *Tornesello*, 85.

³¹ See the hoards cited in the previous note and others presented in Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 350ff, for an overview.

³² Stahl, "Cephalonia Hoard."

³³ See the Cephalonia and Kalapodi hoards of note 30, in addition to Achaia (*BCH* 85 (1962): 426] Lamia (unpublished, personal observations) and Pyrgos (Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 354, no. 211).

³⁴ And which does not rule out the possibility that some of the ash and slag is to be traced back to the metalworking activities of the Cistercian monks more than a century previously.

³⁵ Note that the Cephalonia hoard has a substantial number of Contarini type IV *soldino* sub-varieties, which date 1379–81 but are absent at Zaraka: Stahl, "Cephalonia Hoard."

³⁶ On this and what follows see Loenertz, "Hospitaliers," which first laid down systematically the course of events; and Luttrell, "Appunti sulle compagnie navarresi in Grecia," which made certain corrections and additions. See further Bon, *La Morée franque*, 253ff.

³⁷ Chrysostomides, "Unpublished Letter," 118.

³⁸ Bon, *La Morée franque*, 465.

³⁹ See Bon, *La Morée franque*, 481ff and 691; Kordosès, *Sumbolè*, 112: geographically, the nearest holdings recorded in the list of fiefs of 1377 are the castles of Vassilika (on the site of Ancient Sikyon) and of Polyphengos (in close proximity to ancient and modern Nemea), both of which pertained to the fief of the "gran Senescallo."

⁴⁰ See Luttrell, "Appunti sulle compagnie navarresi in Grecia" for some precise figures. These raids also had numismatic repercussions in the northwestern Peloponnese: Athanasoulis and Baker, "Medieval Clarentza," 252–53.

⁴¹ Metcalf, *Ashmolean*, 268–80.

⁴² Again, the Athenian Agora is indicative: Thompson, *Coins*, 80–81. Venier has 50 percent more coins than Contarini, while Steno still manages about a third of the latter's coins.

⁴³ American Numismatic Society (ANS) 1982: Stahl, *Tornesello*, 86; ANS 1983: Stahl, *Tornesello*, 31; Cephalonia (note 11); Chalkida (note 30); Unknown Provenance: Stahl, *Tornesello*, 86; Zakynthos: Stahl, *Tornesello*, 85.

⁴⁴ Athanasoulis and Baker, "Medieval Clarentza," 255, n. 89.

⁴⁵ On this phenomenon, see Stahl, *Tornesello*, 70.

⁴⁶ See at Corinth, Williams and Zervos, "Frankish Corinth 1992," 47, including one of the same type as that from Zaraka. For some examples from Rhodes: Kasdagli, "Counters found on Rhodes."

⁴⁷ See the evidence from Rhodes referred to in the previous note.