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Coin Circulation in Fourteenth-Century

Thrace and Constantinople according to

the evidence of the hoards¹

The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of the hoards available for Thrace and Constantinople in the fourteenth century. Information on 27 hoards, listed below as #1-#27², has been assembled with a view to being integrated in the future into a broader study of monetary usage, which should comprise also stray and excavation data and a historical analysis. Some of these stray finds are referred to in the present analysis, to highlight some of the more exceptional findings, while historical developments are used primarily to date hoards and the monetary issues they contain. In the fourteenth century, Thrace and Constantinople formed the heart of Byzantium, and a particular tri-partite chronological division was in place with respect to its monetization. Other parts of the same empire, for instance Macedonia, the southern Peloponnese, or Epiros/Thessaly, often experienced different historical developments, and they were also differently monetized, during the same century.

Our areas of analysis are³, starting in the west, the Thracian Gulf, which consists of a narrow coastal strip within modern Greece to the east of the Nestos river framed by the islands of Thasos and Samothrace, and at the southerly edge those of Lemnos and the Turkish

¹ My thanks go to the organisers of the Antalya conference, to the various archaeological authorities in Greece and Turkey who have facilitated the study of coins, and to Pavla Drapelova and Filippo Dompieri, for help in processing and studying some of this material. For further information on the project which has generated these data, see <https://ashmolean.web.ox.ac.uk/money-14th-century-constantinople>.

² Photographs of specific coins which are illustrated in the plates, bear, in a similar fashion, numbers preceded by **Ph**.

³ For historical geographies of the area under analysis one must mention the classic study by C. Asdracha, *La région des Rhodopes aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles : étude de géographie historique*, Athens (1976), and the three relevant volumes of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* series: volume 6 by P. Soustal, *Thrakien : (Thrakē, Rodopē und Haimimontos)*, Vienna (1991); volume 10 by J. Koder with P. Soustal and A. Koder, *Aigaion Pelagos (Die nördliche Ägäis)*, Vienna (1998); and volume 12 by A. Külzer, *Ostthrakien : (Eurōpē)*, Vienna (2008).

Gökçeada (Imbros). The adjacent Rhodope mountains to the north in present-day Greece and Bulgaria must also be considered here. In Bulgaria itself I have limited myself to material from the Haskovo and Kărdžali provinces. To the east, the Evros or Maritsa/Meriç river is a very important artery which curves from its delta past the end of the same mountain range upwards towards Edirne or Adrianople⁴. Beyond it, in easterly direction, are the plains of eastern Thrace, the Gallipoli peninsula in the south, and then Constantinople itself. The vast Thracian area between the Rhodope and Balkan mountain ranges, and the Black Sea coast, all modern Bulgarian territory, are not considered in this article since I do not have first-hand experience of the numismatics of the region, and because it had different complex circulation patterns.

Relevant numismatic material has been gathered within the outlined region. This presentation is based on published hoards, but also on hoards studied during my own more recent investigations in Greek and Turkish museums. Single and excavation coin find data will be referred to only briefly in this presentation, taken from the following sources: there is some published material, for instance from within Istanbul⁵, or Turkish Thrace⁶, the Greek region of (eastern Macedonia and) Thrace⁷, and the island of Lemnos⁸, or the rare and very

⁴ R. Ousterhout and Ch. Bakirtzis, *The Byzantine monuments of the Evros/Meriç river valley*, Thessalonike (2007).

⁵ See A.H.M. Jones, "The Coins", in *Preliminary Report upon the Excavations carried out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927*, London (1928), pp. 46-50; B. Gray, "The Coins", in *Second Report upon the Excavations Carried Out in and Near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928*, London (1929), p. 50; M.F. Hendy, "The Coins", in R.M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, 1, Princeton (1986), pp. 278-373; M.F. Hendy, "Roman, Byzantine and Latin Coins", C.L. Striker and Y. Doğan Kuban (eds), *Kalenderhane in Istanbul*, Mainz (2007), pp. 175-276; O. Tekin, "Excavation Coins and A Byzantine Weight from Küçükçekmece Lake Basin", *Istanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı / Annual Journal of Istanbul Researches Institute 2* (2013), pp. 57-66.

⁶ J. Baker, "Coins of the Late Medieval Period from Excavations at Ainos (Enez) in Thrace", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 173 (2013), pp. 215-227; J. Baker, "Coin Circulation in Late Medieval Thrace According to the Evidence from Edirne Archaeological Museum", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 174 (2014), pp. 245-256.

⁷ N. Zèkos, "È kuklophoria tòn palaiologeion nomismaton stèn anatolikè Makedonia kai Thrakè mesa apo anaskaphika dedomena", *To nomisma sto Makedoniko chòro*, Thessalonike (2000), pp. 233-241.

⁸ A. Polosa, "La moneta e la circolazione", E. Greco and E. Papi (eds), *Hephaestia 2000-2006*, Paestum-Athens (2008), pp. 139-163.

revealing assemblage from the fortress of Perperikon, to the northeast of Kărdžali⁹. In the case of the medieval coin finds from the modern Greek territories outlined here above, two contributions by me are in preparation¹⁰. In this study I will consider coins of all traditions, Byzantine or Bulgarian, western or Islamic¹¹.

I have discerned three periods in line with the main monetary and historical developments¹²: the first period takes us from the beginning of the century to the death of Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos in 1341, when Byzantium still had a plentiful coinage in three metals. During the second phase in the middle years of the century, to ca. 1372, the Byzantine coinage system apparently collapsed. This phase was characterized by the damaging Second Byzantine Civil War, which brought Ottomans and Bulgarians directly into Thracian politics, and the ravages of the Black Death, causing the loss of about half of the population. During the last two decades or so of the second phase, that is to say from perhaps ca. 1350 to ca. 1372, Byzantium may not have minted any fine metal coinage at all, which is a totally unprecedented state of affairs in the long history of the empire. The third phase of these fourteenth-century developments begins in ca. 1372, when the Byzantine coinage system was reformed under Emperor John V Palaiologos and three new silver and billon denominations were introduced¹³. Even though Byzantine developments provide the key

⁹ K. Dočev, “Monetni nahodki i parično obraštenie (XII-XIV v.) v srednovekovnja ‘Perperikon’ (Kărdžaliiska oblast)”, *Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika*, 5 (2009), pp. 171-188.

¹⁰ “Thasos à la fin du moyen âge (1200-1450) selon le témoignage monétaire” will be submitted to the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*. This study owes much to the unpublished doctoral thesis J.-M. Saulnier, *Thasos à l’époque paléochrétienne et byzantine : étude de numismatique et d’histoire*, Paris (1992), whose author I thank. See also J.-M. Saulnier, “Les monnaies. Époque byzantine”, in Y. Grandjean, F. Salviat et al., *Guide de Thasos*, Athens (2000), p. 315. A separate study will be devoted the medieval coin finds between the Nestos and Evros rivers.

¹¹ For more general overviews of late medieval Thracian coin circulation, but limiting themselves to selective and purely Byzantine data, see the already cited Zêkos, “Thrakè”, and E. Lianta, “È nomismatikè marturia apo tè Thrakè tè palaiologeia periodo (1261-1453)”, *Thrakè. Istoria – politismos – technè*, 2, Athens (2011), pp. 213-225.

¹² Byzantine coinage during this century is most conveniently presented in P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. Volume Five. Michael VIII to Constantine IX 1258-1453*, 1, Washington D.C. (1999) (henceforth: *DOC 5*).

¹³ The nature and date of this reform is revisited in J. Baker, F. Dompieri, T. Gökyıldırım, K. Domoney, T. Pamuk, I. Yüceil, “The reformed Byzantine silver based currencies (ca. 1372-1379) in the light of the hoards from the Belgrade Gate”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 71 (2017), forthcoming.

reference points in this article, many of the monetary specie in evidence in fourteenth-century Thrace and Constantinople were of non-Byzantine origin, increasingly so as the century progressed.

Phase 1, 1300-1341

For these four decades a significant number of hoards are now available. The first eight hoards all date to just a few years from one another:

#1. Istanbul area. This hoard, or a part of it (402 coins), was seen and described by Whitting. The coins in question, found probably in the area of Istanbul in 1970 or 1971, were, with only a few exceptions, silver basilika of the anonymous *Autokratores Romaion* type minted for Andronikos II with Michael IX.

P. Whitting, "Miliaresia of Andronikos II and Michael IX", *Numismatic Circular*, 80.7-8 (1972), pp. 270-274 and *Numismatic Circular*, 80.9 (1972), pp. 324-326; *DOC* 5, pp. 14-15.

#2. Istanbul area. Like the previous hoard, the so-called "Early Palaiologan Hoard" was probably concealed in the area of the imperial capital. Bendall saw it in different consignments (the main counts are 188+141 specimens, no doubt there were originally more coins). It contained exclusively gold hyperpyra in the names of the successive Emperors John III, Michael VIII, Andronikos II, and Andronikos II with Michael IX. The hoard is compositionally conservative and lacks the four-towered varieties of the most recent issues of Andronikos II with Michael IX. A representative number of specimens are now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

S. Bendall, "An early Palaeologan gold hoard", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 142 (1982), pp. 66-82; S. Bendall, "Sigla on Palaeologan hyperpyra", *Revue numismatique*, 6, 26 (1984), pp. 161-192, at p. 167; *Coin Hoards*, 7 (1985), p. 241, no. 368; *DOC* 5, p. 13; E. Lianta, *Late Byzantine coins 1204-1453 in the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford*, London (2009), p. 67.

#3. Çannakale area. This hoard was acquired locally before the Great War and may have originated on the European or Asian side of the Hellespont. Bendall saw a parcel of 155 hyperpyra, and his examination suggested a slightly more recent date than that of the previous hoard, on account of six specimens of Andronikos II with Michael IX bearing four towers.

Bendall, "Sigla on Palaeologan hyperpyra", p. 167.

#4. Ainos Kral Kızı 1985. This hoard was excavated in an extra-mural basilica of Ainos (modern Enez on the Turkish side of the Meriç delta) by a team from Istanbul University. It contained 62 pennies of Lucca, 13 French feudal coins of the eleventh century or later, and two Greek deniers tournois of the late thirteenth century.

Baker, "Ainos", pp. 216-218.

(Ph1; Ph2)

#5. Lüleburgaz. This gold hyperpyron hoard from eastern Thrace, which may have been larger than the two specimens now at Edirne museum, is only inadequately known, but may be similar to hoard **#3** because of the so-called "Thessalonican" aspect of one six-towered specimen of the same to emperors.

Baker, "Edirne", p. 246.

#6. Didymoteicho 1951. Six Byzantine copper coins in the names of Michael VIII (1) and Andronikos II (alone and with Michael IX: 5), probably from the indicated location, were handed over to the authorities.

M. Galani-Krikou et al., *Suntagma Buzantinôn "Thèsaurôn" tou Nomismatikou Mouseiou*, Athens (2002), pp. 125-126, no. 120.

#7. Xylagani 1968. Three deniers tournois were confiscated by the police in this location, just to the south of Komotini. The coins are issues of Clarentza, respectively of Charles I of Anjou and Philip of Savoy, and of Neopatra.

Unpublished, Komotini Archaeological Museum, inventory numbers 121-123. This material will be presented by me in a forthcoming study of medieval coin finds between the Nestos and Evros rivers.

(Ph3)

#8. Komotini 1996. As in the case of the previous entry, this hoard was confiscated by the authorities. The 15 gold hyperpyra in the names of Andronikos II with Michael IX all bear four towers.

V. Penna, “Kataschesè Komotènès 1996: meletè stèn kopè kai stèn kuklophoria tôn uperpurôn tou Andronikou B’”, *O Monouèl Panselènos kai è epochè tou*, Athens (1999), pp. 159-176.

#1 and **#2** have very reasonable numismatic datings of around 1305, **#3** (and **#5?**) dates just a bit later according to the same criteria, **#8** again a little later. The last specimen of **#7 (Ph3)** is a type 1, P, coin of Neopatra, with a date of issue between ca. 1303 and ca. 1306, at the latest¹⁴. The other hoards are rather more vaguely dated through their numismatic indicators, but **#3- #8** can all be fitted in a chronological arc in the second half of 1307 on historical grounds: this is the timeframe of the activities in our area of the Catalan Grand Company of mercenaries, campaigning from the Gallipoli peninsula into parts of eastern Thrace, along the Maritsa valley, and then in the western Thracian plain prior to proceeding into Macedonia¹⁵. Hoards **#1- #8**, have therefore been narrowed down to just of a couple of years, 1305-1307.

More hoards date to the following two to three decades:

#9. Kărdžali. This hoard of 28 Greek deniers tournois was excavated around a church in this southern Bulgarian provincial capital. Metcalf considered the hoard as exceptional, which was particularly underlined by the presence of a single Chiot coin, viewed by him as chronologically and geographically anomalous.

¹⁴ J. Baker and M. Galani-Krikou, “To nomismatokopecio tôn Neôn Patrôn. Deniers tournois 14ou aiônas m.Ch.”, in *To nomisma sto Thessaliko chôro*, Athens (2004), pp. 409-430.

¹⁵ Ch. Bakirtzis, “Les Catalans en Thrace”, in *Eupsychia. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, 1, Paris (1998), pp. 63-73.

T. Gerasimov, "Trésors monétaires découverts en Bulgarie en 1962 et 1963", *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare*, 27 (1964), pp. 244-248, at p. 245; J. Jurukova, "Po-važni otkritija i razvitiето na numizmatikata v Bălgarija prez poslednite dvadeset godini", *Arheologija*, 6, 3 (1964), pp. 77-81, at p. 79; J. Jurukova, "Moneti na latinski feodalni vladeteli v Gărcija, namereni v Rodopite", *Rodopski sbornik*, 1 (1965), pp. 219-227; D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans, 820-1355*, Thessalonike (1965), reprinted Chicago (1966), p. 269.

#10. Istanbul 1871. This hoard contained 220 Greek deniers tournois of the three main mints (Clarentza, Thebes, Naupaktos), and 15 Venetian grossi which are not further specified.

C.J.M. De Vogüé, "Monnaies et sceaux des Croisades", *Mélanges de Numismatique*, 2 (1877), pp. 168-196; D.M. Metcalf, "The Pylia Hoard: Deniers Tournois of Frankish Greece", *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, 17 (1971), pp. 173-227, at pp. 220-221; I. Touratsoglou and J. Baker, "Byzantium of the Venetians, Greece of the 'grossi' ", in Ch.A. Maltezou - P. Schreiner (eds), *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII-XV secolo)* (Venice, 2002), pp. 203-233, at p. 213, n. 50.

#11. Loutros. A hoard of 182 Venetian grossi of uncertain description was found in this locality to the northeast of Alexandroupoli, present-day Greece.

Unpublished, at the time of writing this hoard was in transit from its initial location with the archaeological authorities in Kavala to a new deposit in the Evros regional unit (Alexandroupoli or Didymoteicho). This material will be presented by me in a forthcoming study of medieval coin finds between the Nestos and Evros rivers.

#12. Cerrahpaşa, Istanbul 1953. This hoard was discovered in a large storage vessel in the southern part of the old town of Istanbul (Cerrahpaşa) during building work on a new university hospital. Other known hyperpyron assemblages of similar date and composition, for instance those called "Istanbul A" or "Istanbul 1959/1960", and the parcel which was with a London dealer in the 1970s, were all presumably from the same find, which was originally tens or hundreds of thousands of specimens strong. The main current repositories of coins from this find are the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (ca. 2,500) and Dumbarton Oaks (ca. 500). The issues contained in the hoard are substantially gold hyperpyra of Andronikos II with Michael IX, with four towers. A considerably smaller number of specimens bear six towers for the same emperors, and there are even fewer earlier hyperpyra of Andronikos II alone, in addition to a handful of Venetian grossi. A few specimens of

Andronikos II with Andronikos III (all of which show both emperors bearded) have also been assigned to the hoard.

A. Veglery and A. Millas, "Gold Coins of Andronicus III (1328-1341)", *Numismatic Circular*, 81, 12 (1973), pp. 467-469; A. Veglery and A. Millas, "Gold Coins for Andronicus III (1328-1341)", *Numismatic Circular*, 82, 1 (1974), pp. 4-7; A. Veglery and A. Millas, "Gold Coins for Andronicus III (1328-1341)", *Numismatic Circular*, 82, 2 (1974), pp. 50-51; P. Protonotarios, "Is a reattribution of the hyperperon of the 'Proskynesis' type justified?", *Numismatic Circular*, 82, 7 (1974), pp. 283-285, at p. 285; *DOC* 5, p. 14; T. Gökyıldırım, "Le trésor d'hyperpères des Paléogues d'Istanbul-Cerrahpaşa (1953). Les sigles et leurs interprétations", *Revue numismatique*, 155 (2000), pp. 222-236. The hoard will be presented in detail in a forthcoming study by J. Baker – P. Drapelova – T. Gökyıldırım – C. Morrisson.

(Ph4; Ph5; Ph6)

#13. Keşan. One clipped Venetian grosso and six Greek deniers tournois, the last of which an issue of John of Gravina (1321-1332), originated in this town in Edirne province.

Baker, "Edirne", p. 247.

(Ph7)

#14. Didymoteicho 1972. Two Clarentzan tournois, of William II of Villehardouin and Mahaut of Hainaut (1316-1321) respectively, and one gold hyperpyron of Andronikos II with Andronikos III, reached Komotini museum from Didymoteicho in that year and may well originally have been a hoard.

Unpublished, Komotini Archaeological Museum, inventory numbers 3824-3826. The hyperpyron, the last of these coins, has in the meantime been sent back to Didymoteicho for the purpose of the permanent museum display. This material will be presented by me in a forthcoming study of medieval coin finds between the Nestos and Evros rivers.

(Ph8)

#15. Uncertain provenance. Seven coins of eastern Thracian provenance, presumably from Edirne province, may have formed part of a hoard. The coins were: three Venetian silver grossi, one early Byzantine basilikon, two hyperpyra of Andronikos II with Michael IX, four

towers, and one with Andronikos III. Some of the silver coins were clipped down to a smaller diameter.

Baker, "Edirne", pp. 246-247.

(Ph9; Ph10)

#16. Mezek 1937. This Bulgarian location in the Haskovo province, immediately adjacent to the border with Greece and Turkey, due east of Edirne, produced a hoard of hyperpyra of Andronikos II with Andronikos III.

D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe 820-1396*, London (1979), p. 283, with reference to T. Gerasimov, "Les hyperpères d'Andronic II et d'Andronic III et leur circulation en Bulgarie", *Byzantinobulgarica*, 1 (1962), pp. 213-236.

#17. Küçükyalı, Istanbul. A hoard of two Byzantine silver basilika has emerged from excavations in this Anatolian neighbourhood of the city. One coin is an anonymous issue bearing only religious images, the other is an early issue of Andronikos III alone.

A. Ricci, "Left Behind: Small Sized Objects from the Middle Byzantine Monastic Complex of Satyros (Küçükyalı, Istanbul)", in B. Böhlendorf-Arslan and A. Ricci (eds), *Byzantine Small Finds in Archaeological Contexts*, Istanbul (2012), pp. 147-162, at pp. 157-158.

Also this group of hoards is not altogether easy to date. **#9** is probably the earliest: the single Chiot tournois of the main type can now be dated as early as 1320¹⁶, and the absence of Clarentzan coins in the name of Mahaut of Hainaut (1316-1321) suggests that this must be the approximate date of concealment. **#10** may have been the next hoard to have been deposited, since the number of Clarentzan specimens of Mahaut's direct successor, John of Gravina (1321-1332), is very small. We may therefore suggest concealment post-1321, and perhaps before mid-decade. By contrast, our information regarding the single-grosso hoard **#11** is very vague and a proposed provisional dating of 1320s-1330s rests on the general circulation pattern of this currency in the region. The problems one encounters are of a

¹⁶ A. Mazarakis, "Ena martinello tòn Emmanouèl kai Palaiologou Zakkaria tès Sullogès E. Zunino", *Nomismatika Chronika*, 18 (1999), pp. 101-118, at pp. 110 and 117.

different nature for **#12**: first, there is the question of whether the excessively small number of issues of Andronikos II with Andronikos III, contained only in the Bertelè parcel now at Dumbarton Oaks, were originally part of the hoard. Second, the issues of Andronikos II respectively with his son Michael IX, and grandson Andronikos III, have been variably dated¹⁷: can posthumous issues featuring Michael be assigned to the period 1320-1325, or even 1320-1328; and do we need to date the issues with Andronikos III from 1325, or indeed from 1328, onwards? A gold hyperpyron hoard of unknown provenance ca. 2004, which has not been given an entry in the present catalogue because of the number of uncertainties associated with it, which reached London by way of Munich during the indicated year, apparently sheds new light on the period 1320-1325 because of the concentrated nature of some of its content¹⁸. Whether or not Bendall is correct in assigning to these years exclusively certain rare issues of Andronikos II with Michael IX, and indeed with a beardless Andronikos III, the compositional information which we can glean from the 2004 hoard makes it more likely that **#12. Cerrahpaşa** originally did not contain any issues of Andronikos II with Andronikos III. Nevertheless, it remains possible that they were in the hoard, and also some of the rather substantive varieties of Andronikos II with Michael IX may, contrary to Bendall's model, still have made up the bulk of the currency in the year immediately after 1320. Unfortunately, given all these unresolved matters, many different dates of concealment are still possible for **#12**, 1321, between 1321 and 1325, 1325-1328, or later. The chronologies of **#14- #16** are all subject to the same considerations. Any of these hoards may date as early as the mid- to late-1320s, or indeed to the 1330s, or later, so that to describe their datings as ca. 1330 is a good compromise. Meanwhile, **#13. Keşan**, which is compositionally quite different, may have been concealed in the same general period as these gold hyperpyron hoards, the later 1320s or early 1330s. **#17. Küçükyalı**, another very different hoard, has a tighter possible date range by virtue of the fact that the signed coin, which is probably also the more recent coin, dates to 1328 or later, but still to the early part of Andronikos' reign, which lasted until 1341.

¹⁷ See, in addition to the bibliography cited in relation to the hoard, amongst others: P. Protonotarios, "Le monnayage d'or et d'argent d'Andronic III avec Jean V et Anne de Savoie", *Revue numismatique*, 6, 19 (1977), pp. 77-86, at p. 82; S. Bendall, "A Hyperpyron of Andronikos III and John V (A.D. 1341)?", *Numismatic Circular*, 112.3 (2004), pp. 161-166.

¹⁸ S. Bendall, "A Note on the Palaeologan Hyperpyra, A.D. 1320-1325", *Numismatic Circular*, 113.1 (2005), pp. 5-10. On the hoard see also S. Bendall, "A Hyperpyron of Andronicus III?", *Numismatic Circular*, 119.4 (2011), pp. 138-139.

The denominational spectrum represented in the hoards of the four decades of Phase 1 is rich and varied. The Byzantine gold hyperpyron is present throughout this phase, and in especially in high numbers during the main production phase in the names of Andronikos II with Michael IX, most readily recognisable by the four-towered obverse representation of Constantinople, the bulk of which one may provisionally date to the 1310s. Also Byzantine silver basilika are available in the beginning and end of the phase, though altogether more sporadically. By contrast, the Byzantine copper coinage is very rarely hoarded, which contrasts very sharply with previous centuries of Byzantine copper coin usage, even the recent thirteenth. Almost on a par, in the hoards, with the Byzantine currencies in terms of quantity and frequency of usage, especially from the 1310s/1320s onwards, are two imported silver-based currencies: Greek deniers tournois and Venetian grossi, the latter often clipped down, perhaps in line with local requirements. These were supplemented by some older silver coinage stock, which may have been metrologically compatible with the former.

The stray finds for the same area and period show, by contrast, a good range of Byzantine copper finds, especially in the name of Andronikos II. This is the case in the western part, on Thasos (**Ph11**), the area around Komotini, for instance at Maximinianoupolis (Mosynoupolis) and, further to the north, Mischos and Mega Piston, on Mount Papikio according to the information provided by Zèkos, or across the mountains at Perperikon. There are similar finds to the south, at Maroneia and Makri. Also further to the east, along the Evros, and then in eastern Thrace and Constantinople, such coins are present. The record is in all these places equally rich for Byzantine silver (**Ph12**)¹⁹ and even Byzantine gold coins (**Ph13**). Meanwhile, the Byzantine billon tornese denomination of the reign of Andronikos II is represented again at Mount Papikio²⁰. Overall, stray coin finds help to normalize the view we have gained from the hoards, by suggesting that throughout the first period Byzantine coins of all metals and denominations, with the possible exception of the tornesi, were consistently used in the described area. The other significant insight gained from stray coins is that Venetian grossi and Greek tournois, even more so than one may expect from the hoards, were an integral part of Thracian and Constantinopolitan coin usage. A slight difference between the two may have been a tendency for the latter to be more present in coastal areas and in the capital: outside Constantinople the most significant concentrations are at Thasos, Maroneia, Ainos, but then again at the fortress of Perperikon. Grossi in Thrace

¹⁹ See already Zèkos, “Thrakè”, p. 237, no. 3, for this specimen.

²⁰ Zèkos, “Thrakè”, p. 237, no. 2.

confirm the general picture which has already been demonstrated for Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epiros²¹: they are widely and evenly distributed in the (open) countryside. A possible interpretation for this discrepancy might lie in the fact that grossi, or somewhat clipped-down grossi, were consistently used for fiscal purposes, whereas tournois are testimony to another kind of monetary context, trading relations uniting locations in the Aegean Sea. A case apart are the coppery late denier tournois issues from the Arta mint by John II Orsini, dating to the early years of the 1330s. These reached Bulgaria through a Balkan route, via Byzantine and later Serbian Macedonia²², and in our area there are finds from the Haskovo and Kărdžali provinces, not however from the south of the Rhodope mountains, with one Thasian exception, nor from Turkish Thrace. With respect to grossi, the same area (Perperikon) was the only location in which early fourteenth-century Serbian issues in the name of King Milutin were present. There are finally a number of twelfth or thirteenth-century stray finds in Thasos, Thrace and Constantinople which can be associated with crusader movements. On this occasion we rely on hoards, namely #4, to suggest that some of these may indeed have been in usage also in the earlier fourteenth century. In the light of this, even some of the known hoards said to date to the classic crusader period might have been deposited much later²³.

Phase 2, 1341- ca. 1372

It is possible that one or the other hoard discussed above, especially those containing gold hyperpyra, were actually deposited in the second phase. In addition there are four hoards which can be attributed with some certainty to the area of concern and to Phase 2, given here again in presumed chronological order:

²¹ Touratsoglou and Baker, "Byzantium of the Venetians, Greece of the 'grossi'".

²² Compare the historic analysis of some Bulgarian stray finds in T. Gerasimov, "Moneti na franski vladetel Ioan II Orsini namereni v Tărnovo", *Izvestija na Okrăžnija muzej V. Tărnovo*, 2 (1964), pp. 29-34.

²³ The coins which are relevant to us here are Istanbul 1874, Maritsa Valley, and Thrace: D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, 2nd edition, London (1995), pp. 6-7.

#18. Mlechino 1966. This hoard, from a village in the Bulgarian province of Kărdžali, located due west of the capital, contained mostly hyperpyra of Andronikos II with Andronikos III, but closed in issues combining the figures of Andronikos III (deceased), Anna of Savoy, and John V.

Metcalf, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe 820-1396*, p. 283.

#19. Uncertain provenance ca. 1996. A hoard containing about 3,000 gold hyperpyra may have originated in the area of analysis. The majority of specimens were issues of Andronikos II with Michael IX and with Andronikos III respectively, but there were also about 300 coins of Anna of Savoy and John V, as in **#18**; and finally about 100 coins combining John V and VI.

S. Bendall, "A Hyperpyron of Andronikos III and John V (A.D. 1341)?" ; S. Bendall, "A Note on the Hyperpyra of John V and VI (1347-1354)?" , *Numismatic Circular*, 112.5 (2004), pp. 297-299.

#20. Uncertain provenance. This eastern Thracian hoard contained two or more Bulgarian grossi in the names of Ivan Aleksandăr with Mihail Asen (1331-1355).

Baker, "Edirne", p. 246.

(Ph14)

#21. Thasos 1927. Excavations in the agora of ancient Thasos (modern Limenas) by the Ecole française d'Athènes²⁴ produced a hoard of 66 small copper coins. A few of these are ancient, others are illegible, while about 50-60 belong to the type Schlumberger plates IX.10 and XX.24²⁵, depicting on the obverse an imperial Byzantine bust or three-quarter crowned figure with scepter in the left or right hand, occasionally with a globe cruciger in the other, and on the reverse a large cross with dots in the quadrants and four briquets connecting the extremities of the cross. Rarely these same briquets are arranged in a different manner in the

²⁴ On the excavations in that year, see *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 51 (1927), p. 486ff.

²⁵ G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, Paris (1878-1882).

four quadrants of the large cross, in parallel with the arms or emerging from its angles diagonally (**compare Ph15-18**). As explained below, these coins were possibly issued by one or both of the brothers Alexios and John, who ruled locally from 1357, in the name of Emperor John V Palaiologos.

Unpublished, Thasos Archaeological Museum, inventory numbers 27.659–27.724. This hoard, which was ignored by Saulnier, will be presented by me in a forthcoming study of medieval coin finds from Thasos.

(Ph15; Ph16; Ph17; Ph18)

#18 post-dates 1341, the year of the death of Andronikos III, and, in the light of **#19**, before 1347, the year in which the joint issues of John V and VI commenced. When the latter may have ceased is difficult to judge. Perhaps the Black Death caused staffing problems in the imperial mints, as it did elsewhere, which may have affected production around the year 1347. On the other hand, the evidence of **#19** itself, and the existence of an apparent sole issue of John VI in 1353-1354²⁶, may suggest that a small but steady output of gold coinage continued at Constantinople also during 1347-1353. According to our current knowledge, **#19** was concealed in ca. 1350. The middle years of the fourteenth century saw extensive hoarding within modern Bulgarian territories, also on the Black Sea coast itself, of grossi in the names of Ivan Aleksandăr with Mihail Asen (1331-1355)²⁷. Some of these issues can date later than the death of the second of these in 1355²⁸, as is the case in at least one of the specimens of hoard **#20 (Ph14)**, suggesting concealment in all likelihood in the 1350s, 1360s, or even later. **#21. Thasos 1927** is a most unusual find in many ways. Its main type was included by Schlumberger in the group of issues of Genoese Rhodes during the later thirteenth century. Unlike for other coins of the same category he was not able to cite provenanced pieces for this specific type to support its attribution. This classification of Schlumberger plates IX.10 and XX.24 to Genoese Rhodes was carried forward in the works of Lunardi and Kasdagli, who themselves did not add any further insights nor specimens²⁹.

²⁶ S. Bendall, "A hyperpyron of the sole reign of John VI Cantacuzenos (1353-1354)", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, 62 (2012), pp. 197-203.

²⁷ On these hoards, see for instance Metcalf, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe 820-1396*, p. 317.

²⁸ On the typology of this coinage and its dating: J. Jurukova and V. Penčev, *Bălgarski srednovekovni pečati i moneti*, Sofia (1990), p. 129ff.

²⁹ G. Lunardi, *Le monete delle colonie genovesi*, Genoa (1980), p. 155, R7; A.-M. Kasdagli, "Rhodian Copper Issues of the 13th century. An attempt at classification", *Nomismatika Chronika*, 25 (2006), pp. 31-93.

Bendall published another specimen, of which he rightly says that its imperial effigy must suggest a more or less direct imperial sanction³⁰. Oberländer-Târnoveanu challenged Schlumberger's original attribution of any coin issues to Genoese Rhodes by providing alternative attributions for every one of the different types in question, in the case of Schlumberger plates IX.10 and XX.24 to a northern Aegean possession of the Gattilusio³¹. One specimen of this type is now available from central Thessalonike³². #21 belongs to a rare category of coin hoards in the later medieval Aegean which contains anomalous base issues which were perhaps of limited use to their owners, so-called 'reject hoards'. Other examples are the two thirteenth-century hoards from Argos containing counterfeit tetartera, or the later fourteenth-century Spartan hoard of tornesi issued in Lakonia³³. In these cases the places of issue and deposit were close to one another, and one may suppose that similarly the bulk of the coins in #21 were very likely local to Thasos. As for their dating, this kind of copper denomination and its fluid metrology, with large spreads of weights lying between 1g and 2g, is suggestive of the copper coinages current in mid-century, for example at Thessalonike, and certainly before the pretend billon tornese standard of the Venetians became more current in the 1370s, as we shall see. The shape of the emperor is also more characteristic of those years, and not of the post-reform issues after ca. 1372. Curiously, although undoubtedly male, the imperial figure on many of the coins in #21 wears a crown (**compare Ph15, 17, 18**), hints of which can be seen also on the line drawings commissioned by Schlumberger, reminiscent of that which can be found on the figure of Anna of Savoy on some Thessalonican issues (dating 1351-1365)³⁴. It appears that Zèkos came across another locally-provenanced specimen of Schlumberger plates IX.10 and XX.24, from the area of Drama, but mistook it

³⁰ S. Bendall, *A Private Collection of Palaeologan Coins*, Wolverhampton (1988), p. 77, no. 384.

³¹ E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "Rodi/Rodos", in L. Travaini (ed.), *Guida per la storia delle zecche italiane medievali e moderne (fino all'Unità)*, Rome (2011), pp. 1423-1432, at pp. 1428-1429.

³² This coin will be presented in a forthcoming study by E. Lianta, "Ta nomismatika eurêmata tès buzantinè periodou apo to stathmo tès Venizelou", to appear in the proceedings of a conference on Byzantine Macedonia, organised by the *Etaireia Makedonikôn Spoudôn*, Thessalonike 24-25 May 2016. I thank Eleni Lianta for discussing this topic with me.

³³ J. Baker, "Two thirteenth-century hoards and some site finds from Argos", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 167 (2007), pp. 211-233; J. Baker, "A coinage for late Byzantine Morea under Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425)", *Revue Numismatique* 162 (2006), pp. 395-416.

³⁴ C. Morrisson, "The Emperor, the Saint and the City: Coinage and Money in Thessalonike from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 57 (2003), pp. 173-203, nos 46-48. See also the silver coin from Maroneia depicting Anna, discussed below (**Ph20**).

for an issue of Anna, perhaps for this same reason³⁵. This stylistic consideration provides another clear chronological indication. Thasos and its hinterland emerged in the later 1350s from a period of successive Serbian and Ottoman occupations³⁶, to be dominated by the brothers Alexios and John, who had come to the area from their Bithynian homeland as pirates. They legitimately held Thasos and the adjoining coastline around Christoupolis from John V Palaiologos from 1357 onwards, although the mainland territories were intermittently lost again to the Serbs in the early 1360s. One of the brothers had died by about 1373, but John's rule in the area lasted until the 1380s, when it fell to the Ottomans. Historically and numismatically one may wish to date the issue of type Schlumberger plates IX.10 and XX.24, and therefore also the concealment of hoard #21, earlier rather than later within this timeframe, that is to say the years just before or after 1360. This issue, even if still minted in the period when both brothers were alive, would have borne in the proper manner the single effigy of the reigning emperor, even if the coinage as such owed perhaps little to any direct initiative of John V.

The rather low-key and disparate picture offered by the four hoards of Phase 2 is underlined also by the stray and excavation data, which nevertheless has some additional surprises in stall: a single Bulgarian grosso from the Maximinianoupolis/Komotini area suggests that #20 is not a co-incident (Ph19). The same were present at Perperikon, while Didymoteicho is the only known source of the later tornese coinage of the anonymous politikon issue³⁷. On the coast, Maroneia has yielded what may well be an anepigraphic Thessalonican half basilikon featuring two imperial figures, presumably Anna of Savoy and John V, dated post-1351 (Ph20)³⁸, and a Venetian silver soldino (of Doge Lorenzo Celsi, 1361-1365) (Ph21). In fact soldini are present in good quantities both at Perperikon and at Thasos, and another slightly earlier specimen has already been published for eastern Thrace. Thasos also has an impressively complete selection of Venetian torneselli issues, the successors of the defunct Greek tournois, going back all the way to their inception in 1353. A silver gigliato of Magnesia is additionally known from Edirne museum. With respect to

³⁵ Zèkos, "Thrakè", p. 237, no. 7.

³⁶ See for instance V. François, *La céramique byzantine à Thasos*, Paris (1995) (= *Etudes Thasiennes*, 16), pp. 134-135 ; and the more up-to-date, accurate, and detailed R. Estangüi Gómez, *Byzance face aux Ottomans*, Paris (2014), pp. 139-140; 146-148.

³⁷ Zèkos, "Thrakè", p. 237, nos 8, 9.

³⁸ I owe this assessment to Simon Bendall, whom I thank. The coin has already been shown by Zèkos, "Thrakè", p. 237, no. 6.

Byzantine copper coinage post-1341, there are two specimens of John V and VI excavated at the Kalenderhane, and a good number of coins of Andronikos III and John V from Perperikon, but otherwise these issues are absent from the wide tracts of land which can be surveyed through the stock of Komotini or Edirne museums. While this picture from Perperikon might call for a specific historical explanation, perhaps in relation to the direct imperial attention this stronghold received during the Byzantine Civil War of the 1340s³⁹, might it have been the case more generally that during this period of extreme crisis the usage of imperial copper coinage was, as during the Byzantine Dark Ages many centuries previously, largely confined to the imperial capital? Thasos has no imperial copper from the period after 1341, but abounds in another base issue, penny coins of the Knights of St. John at Rhodes, Schlumberger plate XII.4-5 (**Ph22**). This mid-century cross Aegean connection between Thasos and Rhodes may be the origin of the apparently erroneous attributions of certain northern Aegean issues to Genoese Rhodes (see above). We should not forget, lastly, that some of the older denominations discussed under Phase 1 might actually have been lost in Phase 2, or indeed in Phase 3, as we shall see.

Phase 3, ca. 1372-1400

In addition to the already discussed **#20** and **#21**, which might conceivably have been concealed also after 1372, the last three decades of the fourteenth century have so far produced merely six hoards from the analyzed area:

#22. Balkans 1987. This hoard of 53 silver coins probably originated in Istanbul or Turkish Thrace, or perhaps from the adjacent border region of Bulgaria. It contained one silver stavraton each of John V Palaiologos and of his son Andronikos IV, aspra of John V, in addition to deniers tournois, Bulgarian grossi, and counterfeit Venetian grossi.

S. Bendall, "A Late 14th Century Hoard of Balkan Silver Coins", *Revue Numismatique*, 6, 21 (1989), pp. 183-193; *DOC* 5, p. 17; E. Lianta, "Some 'Stavraton' Hoards Re-examined", *Numismatic Circular*, 116.3 (2008), pp. 121-124. The hoard is also discussed in Baker et al., "The reformed Byzantine silver based currencies".

³⁹ See *TIB* 6, sv. Perparakion.

#23. Belgrade Gate, Istanbul 1986. A hoard of ca. 1220 base coins was discovered inside the city walls. These were mostly tornesi of John V Palaiologos, in addition to some specimens of Byzantine Thessalonike and Genoese Chios.

T. Gökyıldırım, “Belgratkapı definesi – 1986”, *Bülten (Türk Nüsmatik Derneği Yayınları)*, 29-30 (1991), pp. 39-47; *DOC* 5, pp. 16-17; 203; 212; C. Morrisson and S. Bendall, “Monnaies de la fin de l’empire byzantin à Dumbarton Oaks : un catalogue de référence”, *Revue Numismatique*, 157 (2001), pp. 471-493, at p. 491; J. Baker, “Later medieval monetary life in Constantinople”, *Anatolian Archaeology*, 9 (2003), pp. 35-36; Baker, “Manuel II Palaiologos”, pp. 395–416, at p. 404; Baker et al., “The reformed Byzantine silver based currencies”. The hoard will be presented in detail in a forthcoming study by J. Baker and T. Gökyıldırım.

(Ph23)

#24. Belgrade Gate, Istanbul 1987. A year after #23, at a short distance from the previous hoard, another significant assemblage of coins was discovered: 2,280 diverse silver and billon coins, amongst which stavrata of John V and Andronikos IV, aspra of John V, Bulgarian grossi, Venetian grossi and soldini, gigliati of Provence, the Anatolian beyliks, Chios and Rhodes, Greek deniers tournois, Ottoman akçes.

Gökyıldırım, “Belgratkapı definesi – 1986”, p. 39; T. Gökyıldırım, “Belgratkapı definesi – 1987”, *Bülten (Türk Nüsmatik Derneği Yayınları)*, 31 (1992), pp. 8-20; *DOC* 5, pp. 16-17; A.M. Stahl, *Zecca. The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages*, Baltimore, London, New York (2000), p. 453, no. 96; *Istanbul Archaeological Museums, Medical Exhibition from Past to Present*, Istanbul (2002), pp. 16-17; Baker, “Later medieval monetary life in Constantinople”; B. Pitarakis, “Objects of Devotion and Protection”, in D. Krueger (ed.), *A People’s History of Christianity Volume 3. Byzantine Christianity*, Augsburg Fortress (2006), pp. 164-181, at pp. 178-179, 235, n. 30, pl. I; Lianta, “Some ‘Stavraton’ Hoards Re-examined”; Baker et al., “The reformed Byzantine silver based currencies”. The hoard will be presented in detail in a forthcoming study by J. Baker and T. Gökyıldırım.

(Ph24; Ph25; Ph26; Ph27; Ph28)

#25. Uncertain provenance. This is a small eastern Thracian hoard containing merely two grossi, the more recent of which being of the second type introduced by Andrea Contarini.

Baker, “Edirne”, p. 248.

#26. Lemnos. Six Byzantine tornesi of John V (two specimens of the bust of emperor/cross patty type) and Manuel II (three specimens of the same type; one specimen of the Christ-in-mandorla type).

T. Kourempas, “ ‘Thèsauros’ chalkinôn nomismatôn tôn teleutaiôn Palaiologôn apo tè Lèmnō”, in G.E. Papaeuthymiou, I.P. Touratsoglou (eds), *Oloktinon. Meletes Buzantinès nomismatikès kai Sigillographias stè mnèmè tou Petro Prôtonotariou*, Athens (2013), pp. 129-133, with revisions in Baker et al., “The reformed Byzantine silver based currencies”.

#27. Edirne area 1995. 134 Venetian grossi, all but two of the second and third types of Doges Contarini and Venier.

Baker, “Edirne”, pp. 248-249.

(Ph29; Ph30)

It is now likely that between late 1371 and early 1373 (hence: “ca. 1372”) John V Palaiologos introduced large silver stavrata and their eighths, so-called aspra, and lighter tornesi on the Venetian model, which contained only small quantities of silver⁴⁰. No hoards are known for the period between this coinage reform and August 1376, when Andronikos IV usurped power from his father John V in Constantinople. **#22** post-dates these events by a very short time on account of the uncirculated state of the single stavraton of Andronikos, which belongs to his first type bearing sigla which resemble fleurs-de-lis. A dating of 1376-1377 for **#22** is very likely. **#23** and **#24** date with some confidence to 1379. Both hoards were arguably abandoned by the same person at the same time, and a firm dating is provided by a combination of some of the issues in the second of these (the Venetian soldini and Rhodian gigliati, as much as the Ottoman and Byzantine silver coins). Owing to its size, the date of concealment for **#25** is more difficult to establish, but it has a terminus post quem of the same year. Finally, for **#26** and **#27**, each in their own way, concealments just before 1400 may be suggested.

Although few in number, these hoards open up some avenues of interpretation. **#24** is unique but also phenomenally rich, so much so that one needs to bear in mind that some of its compositional aspects may not give an altogether accurate picture of coin usage and

⁴⁰ Baker et al., “The reformed Byzantine silver based currencies”.

circulation. The hoard, combined with #23, allows one to put into focus the coinage reform of John V Palaiologos. The creation in ca. 1372 of Byzantine aspron and tornese currencies served the primary purpose of fulfilling new commitments to the Ottomans, and of making public expenditure cheaper. Only secondary motivations were to create a currency, in the shape of the large silver stavraton, that was compatible with the main currency of the eastern Aegean, the gigliato, and to provide the empire and its subjects with a useful medium for everyday exchanges, the tornese. The same hoard underlines that some of the older silver currencies, tournois and first-generation grossi, were still available; further that the Anatolian gigliato was indeed known in our area; that the Ottoman currency, now presumably minted in larger quantities by Murad I at Edirne, was even known in the imperial capital at this point in time; that the Venetian soldino was a viable currency also in our area; and finally that the Bulgarian coinage had a significant presence there, and perhaps also continued to arrive in Constantinople into the 1360s and 1370s. #22 provides us with hints of some of these aspects, but is otherwise too small to either pick up or negate many of the others proposed by #24. The presence of two hoards containing Venetian grossi from the second generation onwards, #25 and #27, is useful in suggesting that neither is a co-incidence nor one-off, but quite possibly a good reflection of availability. #26 continues highlighting the centrality of the Byzantine tornese currency, which is already underlined by the impressively large #23 and the die study which we carried out of the latter hoard. In fact #26 confirms the impression which one can gain from the archaeometric data⁴¹, from the opening of a Lakonian mint which we have already referred to, and from the stray find data (see below), that Manuel II made conscious efforts in the early 1390s to invigorate this denomination. By contrast, in the wake of #24 the new Byzantine silver currencies are disappointingly absent from the hoard record.

There are also no single finds of Byzantine aspra of John V and his immediate successors from anywhere in the area of concern. This is remarkable given the size of issue and the physical properties of these coins. Also their fourteenth-century Ottoman equivalents are not in evidence, with the exception of one akçe of Orhan at Perperikon, which may well be associated directly with the conquests in the area during the 1360s. This would suggest that the Byzantine and Ottoman silver currencies did not represent the primary form of monetization in the final decades of the fourteenth century. This had already been hinted at by #24. Neither was the rare Byzantine copper coinage minted by John V, Andronikos IV,

⁴¹ Again explored in Baker et al., “The reformed Byzantine silver based currencies”.

nor Manuel II ('folles') at all in evidence (see for example *DOC 5*, nos 1258-1260; 1303-1304; 1598-1602), but a follis John VII may have been found at Didymoteicho⁴². The fine silver denominations of Venice and Bulgaria are more commonly found as strays, but in reality there are large tracts within our area which have so far not produced any monetary evidence at all for the years before 1400. By far the most prominent issues, confined however so far to Kalenderhane in Istanbul, Thasos, Samothrace, Lemnos, Ainos, Maroneia, Didymoteicho and the nearby Pythio⁴³, are Venetian torneselli (**Ph31**), their Constantinopolitan counterparts ('tornesi') of the emperor/cross patty type and Christ-in-mandorla type, in the names of John V, Manuel II (**Ph32**), John VII (**Ph33**), and anonymous tornesi of the Gattilusio rulers of Ainos (Schlumberger plates XVII.16-17) (**Ph34**). These were supplemented by some Gattilusio specimens from Lesbos, found at Thasos and elsewhere (**Ph35**), and also at Thasos by the aforementioned Lakonian tornesi of Manuel II Palaiologos of the 1390s (**Ph36**), and the earlier Thessalonican-standard tornesi of the same in the name of his father John V, minted in 1382-1387 (a specimen of which was also found at Maroneia: **Ph37**). Monetization was therefore, in these specific locations, on the increase precisely from the 1380s and 1390s onwards, in silver and low grade billon. Again, as in mid-century, there is a cross Aegean dimension to these currencies: a hoard of the same Thessalonican tornesi has already been published for the Athenian Agora⁴⁴, while metropolitan tornesi of Manuel II have been found at Corinth and on Leipsoi in the Dodecanse, according to one specimen in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. It is generally possible that our territory in general enjoyed a positive balance of payments, in fine silver currencies, with a number of areas (Bulgaria, Anatolia, the west) during Phase 3, which can also explain the distribution pattern of baser coins.

⁴² Zèkos, "Thrakè", p. 237, no. 12.

⁴³ For the latter locations, see Zèkos, "Thrakè", p. 237, nos 11 and 13-14.

⁴⁴ J. Baker, "Coin circulation in early 14th century Thessaly and south-eastern mainland Greece", in N.G. Moschonas (ed.), *Χρήμα και Αγορά στην Εποχή των Παλαιολόγων*, Athens (2003), pp. 293-336.

Conclusions

The 27 hoards which have been assembled for fourteenth-century Thrace and Constantinople provide, even in the absence of any exhaustive treatment of the stray data beside brief mentions of the most poignant phenomena, a vivid picture of monetary developments. The latter followed a path which was far from linear. One should not underestimate the tri-metallic imperial system, in four denominations (gold, silver, billon, copper), which still dominated the territory in the initial phase, in terms of quality and quantity. However, this system unfolded gradually: the production of all denominations became less regular and the hoarding patterns from the 1320s onwards reflect these inconsistencies. Foreign silver had played important fiscal and commercial roles since the beginning of the century, but became dominant by the 1320s. By the beginning of Phase 2, that is to say already before the Second Byzantine Civil War and the height of the demographic crisis, the traditional Byzantine coinage system was only rarely visible in the archaeological record. The main high value currency may have been the hyperpyron according to the hoard evidence of Phase 2, although one may surmise, in the light of **#24. Belgrade Gate, Istanbul 1987** and the monies of account explored elsewhere⁴⁵, that the Venetian silver grosso was rather more prominent and useful. It was itself supplemented by Bulgarian and other foreign silver issues. Overall, Phase 2 is the most difficult to grasp, since some of the coins of the previous phase may still have been used, while some of the evidence for Phase 3 may need to be projected backwards to Phase 2. Byzantium itself diversified from the 1340s onwards. The presence of the mint of Thessalonike in our area increased, while a Byzantine-style coinage was arguably issued at Thasos around 1360. Meanwhile, the tornese/politikon issues were evidently primarily aimed at usage in the capital and failed to penetrate the Thracian countryside in significant numbers. In all of this, during these central years, actual usage or usefulness, expressed through the hoards, was at an all-time low. The innovations from the 1370s onwards are all the more significant, but not necessarily in an expected way. The arrival of new fine silver Byzantine and Ottoman issues (stavrata and aspra) may well represent a red herring, since overall monetization appears to have been carried by new Venetian silver and billon, supplemented significantly by Byzantine and Gattilusio developments of the latter (tornesi), and older residual currencies. The data for Phase 3 suggest simultaneously a fiscal and economic upswing as compared to the previous phase, but also significant crises in large tracts of the

⁴⁵ Baker et al., “The reformed Byzantine silver based currencies”.

countryside, while certain maritime areas became increasingly integrated in different Aegean networks.

Coin illustrations

Ph1: Italy, Lucca, silver denaro, Henry IV (1056-1106), provenance #4. **Ainos Kral Kızı 1985**, Baker, “Ainos”, no. 43.

Ph2: Greece, Athens, billon denier tournois, Guy II de la Roche (1287-1308), provenance #4. **Ainos Kral Kızı 1985**, Baker, “Ainos”, no. 87.

Ph3: Greece, Neopatra, billon denier tournois, John II Angelos (1303-1318), type 1, P, provenance #7. **Xylagani 1968**, Komotini Archaeological Museum, inventory number 121.

Ph4: Byzantium, gold hyperpyron, Andronikos II Palaiologos alone (1282-1294), provenance #12. **Cerrahpaşa, Istanbul 1953**, Istanbul Archaeological Museum inventory number 438-1960.

Ph5: Byzantium, gold hyperpyron, Andronikos II Palaiologos with Michael IX (1294-1320), six towers, provenance #12. **Cerrahpaşa, Istanbul 1953**, Istanbul Archaeological Museum inventory number 438-105.

Ph6: Venice, silver grosso, Jacopo Tiepolo (1229-1249), provenance #12. **Cerrahpaşa, Istanbul 1953**, Istanbul Archaeological Museum inventory number 439-606.

Ph7: Venice, silver grosso, uncertain doge, clipped, provenance #13. **Keşan**, Baker, “Edirne”, no. 22.

Ph8: Greece, Achaia, billon denier tournois, Mahaut of Hainaut (1316-1321), provenance **#14. Didymoteicho 1972**, Komotini Archaeological Museum, inventory number 3824.

Ph9: Byzantium, silver basilikon, Andronikos II with Michael IX Palaiologoi (1294-1320), provenance **#15. Uncertain provenance**, Baker, “Edirne”, no. 12.

Ph10: Byzantium, gold hyperpyron, Andronikos II with Andronikos III Palaiologoi (1325-1328), provenance **#15. Uncertain provenance**, Baker, “Edirne”, no. 15.

Ph11: Byzantium, copper trachy, Thessalonike, Andronikos II Palaiologos alone (1282-1328), provenance Thasos excavations, Thasos Archaeological Museum, inventory number 71-86, Saulnier, *Thasos à l'époque paléochrétienne et byzantine*, no. 896.

Ph12: Byzantium, silver basilikon, Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328-1341), provenance single find from Komotini, Komotini Archaeological Museum inventory number 5366.

Ph13: Byzantium, gold hyperpyron, Andronikos II Palaiologos alone (1282-1294), provenance single find from Dioni, southeast of Komotini, Komotini Archaeological Museum inventory number 1330.

Ph14: Bulgaria, silver grosso in the names of Ivan Aleksandăr with Mihail Asen (1331-1355), provenance **#20. Uncertain provenance**, Baker, “Edirne”, no. 24.

Ph15: Thasos, copper denomination, Alexios and John for John V Palaiologos, 1357-1360s, provenance **#21. Thasos 1927**, Thasos Archaeological Museum, inventory number 27-660.

Ph16: Thasos, copper denomination, Alexios and John for John V Palaiologos, 1357-1360s, provenance #21. **Thasos 1927**, Thasos Archaeological Museum, inventory number 27-681.

Ph17: Thasos, copper denomination, Alexios and John for John V Palaiologos, 1357-1360s, provenance #21. **Thasos 1927**, Thasos Archaeological Museum, inventory number 27-686.

Ph18: Thasos, copper denomination, Alexios and John for John V Palaiologos, 1357-1360s, provenance #21. **Thasos 1927**, Thasos Archaeological Museum, inventory number 27-708.

Ph19: Bulgaria, silver grosso in the names of Ivan Aleksandăr with Mihail Asen (1331-1355), provenance single find from the Maximinianoupolis/Komotini area, Komotini Archaeological Museum inventory number 8551.

Ph20: Byzantium, Thessalonike, silver half basilikon, Anna of Savoy and John V Palaiologos (1351-1365), provenance single find from Maroneia, Komotini Archaeological Museum inventory number 1267.

Ph21: Venice, silver soldino, Lorenzo Celsi (1351-1365), provenance single find from Maroneia, Komotini Archaeological Museum inventory number 13097.

Ph22: Rhodes, copper or billon tornese, anonymous, provenance Thasos excavations, Thasos Archaeological Museum, inventory number 49-200, Saulnier, *Thasos à l'époque paléochrétienne et byzantine*, 938.

Ph23: Byzantium, billon tornese, John V Palaiologos, minted ca. 1372-1376, provenance #23. **Belgrade Gate, Istanbul 1986**, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inventory number 1355-675.

Ph24: Byzantium, silver stavraton, John V Palaiologos, minted ca. 1372-1376, provenance **#24. Belgrade Gate, Istanbul 1987**, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inventory number 1376-17.

Ph25: Byzantium, silver aspron, John V Palaiologos, minted ca. 1372-1376, provenance **#24. Belgrade Gate, Istanbul 1987**, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inventory number 1376-863.

Ph26: Byzantium, silver stavraton, Andronikos IV Palaiologos (1376-1379), provenance **#24. Belgrade Gate, Istanbul 1987**, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inventory number 1376-1251.

Ph27: Chios, silver gigliato, anonymous, provenance **#24. Belgrade Gate, Istanbul 1987**, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inventory number 1376-2141.

Ph28: Ottomans, silver akçe, Murad I (1360-1389), provenance **#24. Belgrade Gate, Istanbul 1987**, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inventory number 1211-006.

Ph29: Venice, silver grosso, Andrea Contarini (1368-1382), provenance **#27. Edirne area 1995**, Baker, "Edirne", no. 31.

Ph30: Venice, silver grosso, Antonio Venier (1382-1400), provenance **#27. Edirne area 1995**, Baker, "Edirne", no. 69.

Ph31: Venice, billon tornesello, Andrea Contarini (1368-1382), provenance Thasos excavations, Thasos Archaeological Museum, inventory number 74-144, Saulnier, *Thasos à l'époque paléochrétienne et byzantine*, no. 985.

Ph32: Byzantium, billon tornese, Manuel II Palaiologos, minted 1390s, provenance Thasos excavations, Thasos Archaeological Museum, inventory number 70-58, Saulnier, *Thasos à l'époque paléochrétienne et byzantine*, no. 904.

Ph33: Byzantium, billon tornese, John VII Palaiologos (1399-1403), provenance Thasos excavations, Thasos Archaeological Museum, inventory number 72-47, Saulnier, *Thasos à l'époque paléochrétienne et byzantine*, no. 912.

Ph34: Ainos under the Gattilusio, billon or copper tornese, anonymous, provenance Ainos excavations, Baker, "Ainos", no. 43.

Ph35: Lesbos, billon or copper denaro, Francesco II Gattilusio (1384-1403), provenance Thasos excavations, Thasos Archaeological Museum, inventory number 49-140, Saulnier, *Thasos à l'époque paléochrétienne et byzantine*, no. 1062.

Ph36: Byzantium, Lakonia, billon tornese, Manuel II Palaiologos, minted 1390s, provenance Thasos excavations, Thasos Archaeological Museum, inventory number 109 of temporary transfer to Athens, Saulnier, *Thasos à l'époque paléochrétienne et byzantine*, /.

Ph37: Byzantium, Thessalonike, billon or copper tornese, Manuel II Palaiologos for John V Palaiologos, minted 1382-1387, provenance Maroneia, Komotini Archaeological Museum, inventory number 3833.

Trial plates for reference

1-3



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7-9



10-12



13-14



15-18



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