

A coin hoard from Ayasuluk and the arrival of silver gigliati from Mediterranean Europe in early fourteenth-century western Anatolia

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Abstract

In 1972 a hoard of eight fine silver coins was discovered in or near the baptistery of the basilica of St. John in Ayasuluk. It is now conserved at the *Ephesus Archaeological Museum* in Selçuk. The coins were minted in southern France, southern Italy, and on the island of Rhodes, between ca. 1303 and 1319 or perhaps a little later. Accordingly, a concealment date of ca. 1320 or a bit later is proposed. While the currency which they represent (the gigliato) is well known from other finds of the area, the present hoard is relatively early and from a particularly significant location. This currency found great success in commercial contexts in the eastern Aegean and western Anatolia during the period ca. 1325 – ca. 1370. By contrast, this study reveals two initial phases in the establishment and further dissemination of the gigliato in a concentrated part of western Anatolia, one in 1304 and another before and after ca. 1317. On both occasions the Catalans were instrumental in shaping these processes: initially as conquerors on behalf of the Byzantine emperors; and then, from their new base in Greece, as allies of the Aydınogulları rulers of Ayasuluk. Additionally, it is proposed that this new gigliato currency might have been minted at Rhodes from the summer of 1319, after which it rapidly reached the Ephesus area in a military context.

Özet

During the first two decades of the fourteenth century the western coast of Anatolia underwent dramatic political transformations accompanied by large-scale military operations and economic re-orientations. While the significant islands of Chios and Rhodes became ‘Latin’, a new set of Turkish polities (the beyliks) gradually took over from the Byzantine Empire on the Anatolian mainland. The great classical cities of the area had already increased their political, religious, and commercial importance during their last Byzantine phases, in the thirteenth century. From the beginning of the fourteenth, this trend was continued and even augmented, under the aegis of the new beyliks. Given the fast pace of these complex processes and the often lacunary documentation, information on coin production and dissemination can contribute important details, for example by specifying military routes, political alliances, or economic trajectories.



Figure 1: The Aegean and western Asia Minor in the 1320s (Carr 2015, Map 2)

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The numismatic cabinet of *Ephesus Archaeological Museum* in Selçuk contains a small but noteworthy group of eight silver coins of medieval western type. These coins were found on Ayasuluk hill in 1972. In this contribution, they will be classified a ‘hoard’ and be named, according to convention, the Ayasuluk 1972 hoard. A numismatic analysis of the individual pieces and of the assemblage will follow. The hoard consists of a very prominent medieval silver currency in this part of western Anatolia. This denomination was called the ‘carlino’, after its first issuer Charles I of Anjou king of Sicily (1266-1285), or alternatively the ‘gigliato’ with reference to the lilies which adorn the extremities of the cross (the preferred name used by modern scholars to distinguish them from other kinds of carlini). However, while other Anatolian hoards of this currency date to the second half of the fourteenth century, the individual issues in Ayasuluk 1972 were all arguably minted by about 1320. Our hoard is therefore in a unique position to shed light on the inception of this currency in Anatolia. A second major factor in our analysis will centre around its find-spot, in the Ephesus area, on Ayasuluk hill, and more precisely in or near the great basilica of St. John. A coin hoard from the political, spiritual, and economic/demographic heart of the newly emerging polity in the early fourteenth century, the beylik of the Aydınogulları, is in itself worthy of note.

1. Catalogue: the Ayasuluk 1972 hoard

Ephesus Archaeological Museum, Selçuk, inventory number 1/118/72a, 1/118/72b, and 1/118/72c(1)-(6).

KINGDOM OF SICILY (NAPLES)

CHARLES II OF ANJOU (r. 1285-1309)

No. 1



Carlino/Gigliato.

Naples mint.

+KAROL'SCD'DEI-GRA-IERL-ET SICIL'REX, king seated facing holding sceptre and orb with cross.

+hONOR-REGIS-IUDICIU-DILIGIT, cross fleury with lis on triangular base in each angle.

Grierson, Travaini 1998, nos 686-688.

Minted 1303-1309.

AR, 3.92g, 25mm.

1/118/72c(2).

ROBERT OF ANJOU (r. 1309-1343)

No. 2



Carlino/Gigliato.

Naples mint.

+ROBERTUS·DEI·GRA·IERL·ET·SICIL·REX, king seated facing holding sceptre and orb with cross, no symbol in obverse field.

+hONOR·REGIS·IUDICIU·DILIGIT, cross fleury with lis in each angle.

Grierson, Travaini 1998, nos 695-701; Baker 2002, Group 1a.

Minted 1309- probably 1317.

AR, 3.58g, 24mm.

1/118/72c(4).

No. 3



Carlino/Gigliato.

Naples mint.

+ROBERTUS·DEI·GRA·IERL·ET·SICIL·REX, king seated facing holding sceptre and orb with cross, no symbol in obverse field.

+hONOR·REGIS·IUDICIU·DILIGIT, cross fleury with lis in each angle.

Grierson, Travaini 1998, nos 695-701; Baker 2002, Group 1a.

Minted 1309- probably 1317.

AR, 3.84g, 25-26mm.

1/118/72c(6).

COUNTY OF PROVENCE

ROBERT OF ANJOU (r. 1309-1343)

No. 4



Carlino/Gigliato.

St. Rémy mint.

+ROBERT:DEI:GRA:IERL:ET:SICIL:REX, king seated facing holding sceptre and orb with cross.

+COMES:PUINCIE:ET:FORCALQERII, cross fleury with lis in each angle.

Duplessy 2010, no. 1646; Testa 2011, serie B

Minted possibly around 1320.

AR, 3.91g, 24mm.

1/118/72c(1).

No. 5



Carlino/Gigliato.

St. Rémy mint.

+ROBERT:DEI:GRA:IERL:ET:SICIL:REX, king seated facing holding sceptre and orb with cross.

+COMES:PUINCIE:ET:FORCALQERII, cross fleury with lis in each angle.

Duplessy 2010, no. 1646; Testa 2011, serie B.

Minted possibly around 1320.

AR, 3.92g, 24mm.

1/118/72c(3).

COMTAT VENAISSIN

Pope John XXII (r. 1316-1334)



No. 6

Carlino/Gigliato.

Pont-de-Sorgues mint.

+IOhES:PAPA:XXII:COMES:VENASINI, pope seated facing holding cross.

+AGIM:TIBI:GRA:OMNISPOTENS DEVS, cross fleury with lis in each angle.

Poey d'Avant 1860, no. 4141; Duplessy 2010, no. 1771.

Minted 1317-1322.

AR, 3.72g, 24mm.

1/118/72c(5).

KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN AT RHODES

ELION DE VILLENEUVE (r. 1319-1346)

No. 7



Carlino/Gigliato.

Rhodes mint.

+FR ELION·D·VILANOVA·DEI GRA MGR, kneeling grandmaster turned left before Greek cross on steps. Short beard, coat without hood.

+OSPITALIS·IOHIS·IRLNI QT'RODI, cross fleury.

Schlumberger 1878-1882, table IX.17.

Minted possibly from 1319.

AR, 3.87g, 25mm.

1/118/72b.

No. 8



Aspron or half carlino/gigliato

+FR:ELI[O]NVS·DEI·GRA C, kneeling grandmaster turned left before Greek cross on steps. Short beard, coat without hood.

+MAR·OSPITALIS·IRLNI, cross fleury.

Schlumberger 1878-1882, table IX.14

Minted possibly from 1319.

AR, 1.82g, 21mm.

1/118/72a.

2. The topographical and archaeological context for the Ayasuluk 1972 hoard

According to the sparse information preserved in the *Ephesus Archaeological Museum* the hoard originates in 1972 from inside or near the baptistery of the basilica of St. John in Ayasuluk. The find may have occurred in two different manners, although there is no extant documentation to this effect. Perhaps it was discovered during superficial cleaning work undertaken under the direction of the responsible archaeologist, Prof. Dr. Ekrem Akurgal. The discovery alternatively may have been made by somebody unrelated to the archaeological service, who handed it in to the authorities. We must not forget that the area was still inhabited at the time.

In the thirteenth century Ephesus had been mostly part of the Byzantine Empire, ruled initially from Nicaea (1204-1261) and then from the restored imperial city of Constantinople (on this and what follows, see Foss 1979, 121-151). Ephesus in its last Byzantine phase retained a demographic, economic, social, political, cultural and educational, as well as its spiritual and religious significance. Already during middle Byzantine times, in many of the sources Ephesus and what is now known as Ayasuluk/modern Selçuk (variously also Theologos and Altoluogo), a few km to the east, were synonymous. Throughout the last Byzantine phases, and then in an accelerated manner after the Turkish take-over in 1305, the core of the ancient city was abandoned in favour of the latter (Ladstätter 2019 provides an assessment of this phenomenon based on the most recent archaeological evidence). From 1305 much of the local Christian population was apparently deported or massacred. Ayasuluk was set up as a new Turkish/Islamic ‘capital’ city, with a mint and fine buildings covering now the area to the south and south-west of the hill (for surveys of beylik-period developments in architecture and material culture, see Pfeiffer-Taş 2011 and Bellibaş 2019).

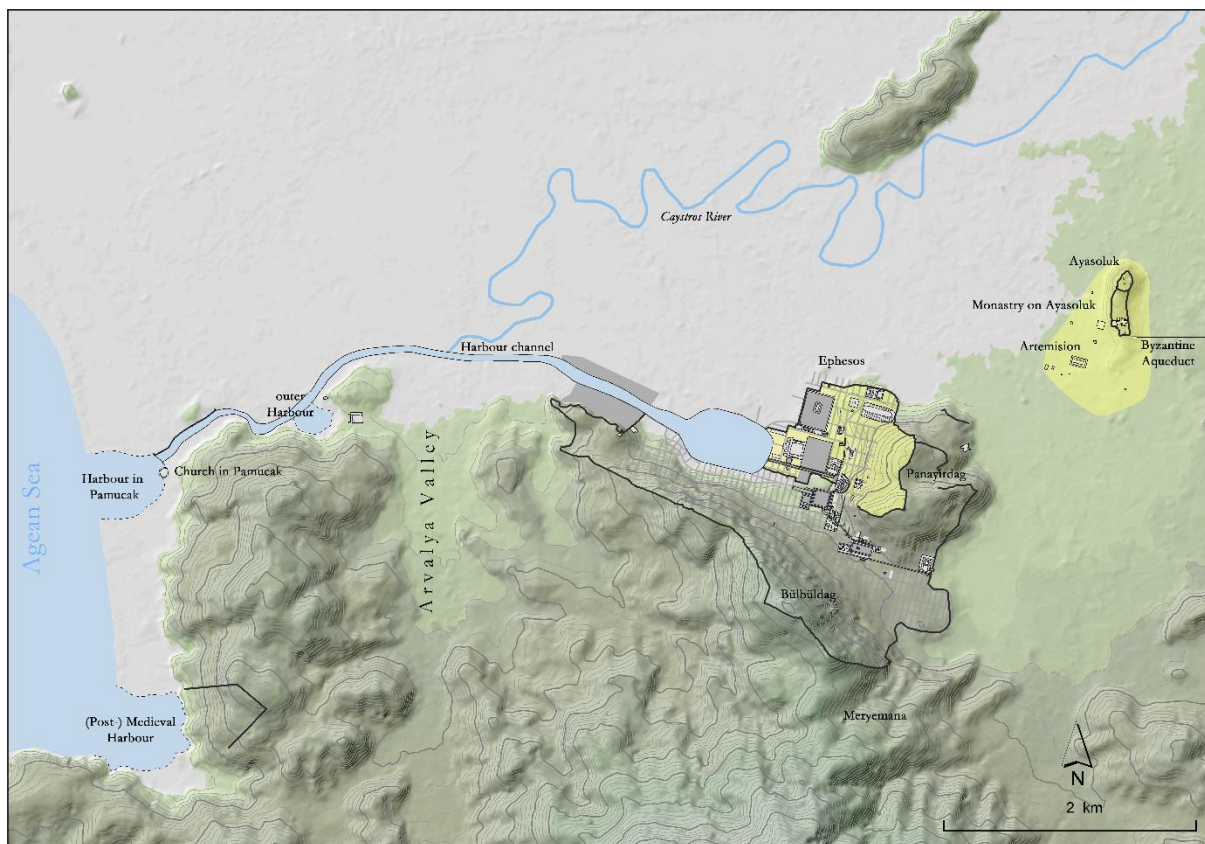


Figure 2: Ephesus and Ayasuluk in medieval times (Ladstätter 2019, p. 12)

(Photograph kindly provided by Sabine Ladstätter, copyright ÖAI-ÖAW/ Ch. Kurtze)

With respect to the church of St. John and its baptistery, it should be noted that these would have had a very different aspect in the early fourteenth century to that known for late antiquity or which the modern visitor can see today (see Foss 1979, 112, 115, 121, 125-128, 135-137, 147). It would appear that the baptistery as such had long been destroyed by the time the Ayasuluk 1972 hoard was concealed, and in its place and in the surroundings were a mix of commercial and residential buildings. There is evidence for these early years of Turkish rule that Ayasuluk hill, and the basilica of St. John in particular, continued to be frequented by Christian visitors and pilgrims even though the church was converted to a mosque. On the other hand, the extant documentation is not detailed enough to provide us with any external factors which may have prevented somebody, around 1320, from retrieving a coin hoard they had previously concealed in the area.

3. Composition of the Ayasuluk 1972 hoard

The hoarding of coins was a common practice in pre-modern societies, the purpose was almost always that of safekeeping. Typically, assemblages of coins of one kind or denomination were hidden or stored away safely, and at one point retrieved. In rarer cases, mostly for reasons unknown to modern science, their owners failed to return to them. Archaeologically speaking, the opposite to a coin hoard is a single coin. Such coins were accidentally lost in the course of everyday activities, although of course the line between the two kinds of finds can be blurred, to contemporaries as well as to the modern analyst. Ayasuluk 1972 is undoubtedly a coin hoard, that is to say it is very likely indeed that it was set aside on purpose and probably concealed in one way or another, because the coins were not immediately needed and they were deemed more safe in such a way. We do not know how long the owner intended to wait before recovering the coins, and neither do we know why ultimately the owner did not do so at all. Ayasuluk 1972 has some similarities with other hoards of the area, as we shall see in the further course of this paper. It is improbable that eight such coins, of the same high-value denomination (one of which is a half), and compact date range, should have been lost individually and fortuitously in the same location. The coins are also characterised by a uniform degree of wear and patination. The first is a contemporary feature and reflects usage, the second relates to storage, together in the same location over many centuries. Homogeneity on both counts is proof that we are dealing with a hoard and not an amalgam of single finds.

The seven carlini/gigliati and one half belong to four different issuing authorities: the kingdom of Sicily (Naples); the county of Provence; the popes at nearby Avignon, as counts of Venaissin; and the Knights Hospitallers (of St. John), rulers of Rhodes since 1306/1309. The carlino/gigliato currency has its origins in monetary reforms at the Naples mint, respectively in 1277-1278 and 1302-1303. The kingdom of Sicily first received an internationally useful large silver currency in 1277-1278 under Charles I of Anjou, which might compete with other such currencies, for example the French gros tournois and the Venetian grosso. In 1282 this kingdom was split into island and mainland territories. The Anjou dynasty lost control over Sicily, which became Aragonese, although individual Angevin kings maintained their claims there, for example on their Neapolitan currency. The kings of Sicily (Naples) were also counts of Provence and, according to the most recent chronologies (see below), they minted the currency there from 1315 at the latest (mint of St. Rémy). This inspired the papal issue in the adjacent Comtat Venaissin, the territory to the north and east of the popes' residence at Avignon (mint of Pont-de-Sorgues) (from 1317). The gigliato currency was eventually minted also in the eastern Aegean and Anatolia. The represented issues of Grandmaster Elion (1319-1346) at the Rhodes mint were undoubtedly the first in the east, although their absolute chronologies remain to be established in a satisfactory manner, suffice it to say that the traditional dates of 1330 or 1332 for their commencement look unlikely.

Compositionally, Ayasuluk 1972 maps most closely onto one particular hoard, now apparently dispersed: this is the earlier part of the so-called Siderounta 1887 double-hoard from the island of Chios, from which Ayasuluk 1972 nevertheless diverges in important aspects (the Chiot hoard was first published by Gnechi, Gnechi 1888, and reconsidered in Mazarakis 1993). Siderounta 1887 contained *gigliati* and their halves of the Rhodian Grandmaster Elion, papal *gigliati*, and *gigliati* in the name of Robert, most likely Neapolitan and Provençal (and perhaps some imitations). Additionally, there were a few *grossi* of the Zaccaria family in Chios, and a substantial number of Venetian *grossi*.

Of utmost importance to our understanding of Ayasuluk 1972 is a hoard found in Milas (Uzunuva) in 2011 or 2012 (our impression of which is based on Pektaş 2018, and on the presentation by the same author of this material at a conference in Izmir in November 2017). Like our own, the Milas 2011/2012 hoard contained Neapolitan *gigliati* of Charles II minted from 1303, and certainly Provençal *gigliati* in the name of King Robert of Anjou minted from ca. 1315, perhaps also some Neapolitan specimens of the same king. In other respects, however, the hoards' compositions diverge. At Milas many coins were not *gigliati*: there were Sicilian *carlini* ('*pierrali*') of the Aragonese King Frederick III (II) (1295-1337); Armenian *trams*, possibly of Kings Levon III, Oshin, or at the latest Levon IV (1309-1341); Provençal, royal French, and royal Cypriot *gros tournois*, minted in the respective names of Kings Charles I of Anjou (date of issue: 1266-1277), Philip IV of France (1285-1314), and Amaury (1306-1310). Furthermore, there were *aspra* (so-called half *gros tournois*: see below) of Grandmaster Foulques of Villaret, minted at the Rhodes mint during the whole or part of the period 1309-1319. Finally, the hoard contained Venetian *grossi* (last issues of Doge Giovanni Soranzo, 1312-1328) and *gros* of Cyprus with the usual seated king iconography, in the name of Henry II (1285-1324) (the claimed presence of issues of Henry's successor, Hugh IV, 1324-1359, being on the other hand doubtful).

The three most prominent *gigliato* hoards in the eastern Aegean and western Anatolia date to the 1360s and 1370s. These are the Kasos 1912, Ephesus 1871 (found in the Artemision), and Miletus 1903 hoards (The former two have often been discussed and referenced. For the present purposes, the most significant studies are Baker 2012; Baker 2019; Baker and Kluge 2017, since they deal with the precise typologies which can be reconstructed for each of the hoards). The main difference between Ayasuluk 1972 and these much later hoards lies in the geographical shift in the origins of the issues. For instance only 18 of 127 coins in the Miletus 1903, the best known of the three hoards, were from Italian and Provençal mints, the remainder were produced in the eastern Aegean and western Anatolia, that is to say the Rhodes and Chios mints, and mints under the control of the beyliks. By contrast, only two of the eight coins in Ayasuluk 1972 were eastern Aegean.

It cannot go unnoticed, finally, that Ayasuluk 1972 resembles in many respects more the bulk of the mainland Greek rather than the Anatolian *gigliato* hoards (the material is discussed in Baker, Galani-Krikou 2009). For example, the Athenian Agora 1939 hoard from the late 1310s or early 1320s contained one Provençal, one papal, and two Neapolitan (the latter to Robert's Group 1b) *gigliati*. These typological parallels may be simply the result of similar chronologies, or there might have been a deeper relationship between the two sets of data from different ends of the Aegean, as we shall explore.

4. Dating of the Ayasuluk 1972 hoard

Different internal chronologies can be proposed, on more or less firm grounds, for coins Nos 1-8. The Neapolitan *gigliati* in the name of Robert (No. 2 and No. 3) belong to the king's earliest variety, with a probable dating of 1309-1317. A typology for the complex issues of Robert has evolved over more than a century, the foundations having been set by the pioneering work of Memmo Cagiato and Arthur Sambon. A scheme with datings was most recently offered by Baker 2002, with additions in Baker 2011. The papal coin (No. 6) has been shown by Bompaire to date 1317-1322 (Bompaire 1983). The Provençal (No. 4 and No. 5) and Rhodian (No. 7 and No. 8) coinages in the names of Robert and Elion date respectively from 1315 (Bompaire 1987) and 1319 onwards. The broad and insufficiently developed chronologies for these two coinages (within Testa's scheme the listed Provençal variety serie B is early yet still of undefined date) fail to make a valid contribution to the dating of the Ayasuluk 1972 hoard. Perhaps, in these cases, the hoard itself is better placed to date the issues, rather than vice versa the issues dating the hoard?

Of no lesser importance for the dating of a coin hoard are those varieties which are not present, and which one may reasonably expect to find at various stages of maturity. Such considerations usually apply to larger hoards to our own, yet even in Ayasuluk 1972 the concentration, within Robert's respective Neapolitan and Provençal series, in only one type is conspicuous. The cited (later) hoards provide the best indications of this numismatic progression: Siderounta 1887, according to the sparse information provided by the brothers Gnecci, contained 80 *gigliati* in the name of Robert. The 1888 publication does not allow us to distinguish between Provençal and Neapolitan varieties, nor to gain any impression of the typological range of the latter. It is however of note that when the Gnecci collection went to auction in 1902-1903 specimens from Group 2b onwards (again see Baker 2002 and 2011), with the obverse inscription ROBERT DEI GRA etc., were present (see the auction catalogue *L. und L. Hamburger, Frankfurt am Main, Italienische Münzen. Collezione Gnecci. III. Abteilung. Januar 1903, nos 3510-3515*). We note further that Group 2b, dating for a decade or two from the mid-1320s, is also well represented at Ephesus 1871 and especially Miletus 1903. There were 75 Venetian *grossi* at Siderounta 1887, dating 1328-1342. On the basis of Venetian *grossi* and Rhodian coins (confined to nine *gigliati* and four halves of the same Elion, unfortunately without further indication of type) one has to date Siderounta 1887 firmly to the 1340s. With respect to the Provençal series, we should point out that Ephesus 1871 and Miletus 1903 are almost completely dominated by Testa's serie C and D, although we currently lack an absolute chronology for these types.

Milas 2011/2012 has a number of issues dating to the 1310s, to name but the Venetian and Rhodian coins. There are, on the other hand, in this hoard no specimens that one may be able to push into the following decade with any degree of confidence. The one known Provençal specimen, for instance, belongs to Testa's first type with the characteristic thin and spindly king on the obverse (Testa 2011, serie A – variante A2), which is earlier even than the serie B represented at Ayasuluk 1972. Serie A – variante A2 would seem to date as closely as possible to the beginnings of the denomination at the St. Rémy mint (1315 at the latest). The one known Cypriot *gros* in the name of Henry II belongs to Series 2 with the open cloak and the simple D (Metcalf 1995, 204; Metcalf 1996, 56-60, plate 17). In the light of Metcalf's die count, coins of this variety may well be placed in the later years of the 1310s. The single known Sicilian *pierreale* of Frederick III (II) belongs to the common variety bearing a cross above the reverse shield and rosettes to the left and right, which appears to be at an intermediate position in the development of the series in question (Grierson, Travaini 1998, 267, class B, 3, nos 773-775). A closure for the Milas hoard around the year 1320, or slightly earlier, looks probable.

The Ayasuluk 1972 hoard is different although approximately contemporary to, or a little bit later than Milas 2011/2012: the Rhodian coins establish a date in or after 1319. It is the lack of development within the Neapolitan series beyond the later 1310s which would suggest in the strongest terms a concealment in ca. 1320, or slightly later. As we have said, there are no other historical or archaeological data which can help us to establish a more precise date.

5. The monetary and historical setting for the Ayasuluk 1972 hoard

In late August 1302 the peace of Caltabellotta brought hostilities between the houses of Aragon and Anjou over the control of southern Italy and Sicily, which had begun with the Sicilian Vespers in 1282, to a temporary end (Setton 1948-1975, 3). In the course of the same year the Neapolitan authorities had taken the old silver carlino coinage featuring the Annunciation scene ('saluto'), which had become unviable because it was overvalued with respect to the gold coinage, out of circulation. It was to be replaced by the new and heavier gigliato in the name of King Charles II of Anjou, which was first minted in February of 1303 (Grierson, Travaini 1998, 219-220; Colucci 2011, 350). Shortly after peace had been established in Italy, Roger of Flor, an Italian-German nobleman and mercenary leader, who had been in the pay of the Aragonese King Frederick III, began to negotiate with Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos to seek a personal and political alliance and employment for his men (Jacoby 1966, 79-80; Kyriakidis 2009). Precisely in this year, 1302, the empire was facing a disastrous situation in Asia Minor. Its defences had been breached by the Turks at two points: the lower Sangarios (Sakarya) river in the north, and the lower Maeander (Büyük Menderes) river in the south (Korobeinikov 2014, 282-288). While western cities, such as Ephesus, were still in imperial hands, important Byzantine locations in more central areas (Philadelphia, Magnesia) were dangerously under threat. Andronikos' son Emperor Michael IX suffered a humiliating situation at Magnesia when, abandoned by the majority of his Alan and Byzantine troops in the face of imminent danger, he had to retreat northwards to Pergamon, where he spent the winter of 1302-1303. The prolonged imperial presence in the acropolis of this city has left some numismatic traces (Baker, Hirsch forthcoming). Roger of Flor and his very substantial 'Catalan Grand Company' (ca. 6,500 members plus their entourage and families: Setton 1948-1975, 3) arrived in Constantinople in September 1303, a year after the peace of Caltabellotta and half a year since the issue of the new gigliato currency. These people had spent the previous months at Messina in Sicily, in close vicinity to the court of King Frederick.

Between November 1303 and August 1304 a swift and successful campaign brought the Catalans from Kyzikos southwards, to Germe and Philadelphia, then on to Nymphaion, Magnesia, Tire, and finally to Ephesus and Anaia (these events have been described most recently by Korobeinikov, as above). They fought different alliances of Turks, amongst whom were the leaders of the *Menteşeoğulları* and the *Aydınöğulları* at the time, Mesud and Mehmed respectively, and the latter's enigmatic ally, Sasa bey. Many locations and territories were nominally taken for the empire, but the abandonment of the region towards the end of 1304, when the Catalans were called to the Balkans by Andronikos II, was all the more disastrous. On 24 October 1305 Sasa took Ephesus from the Byzantines (the old date of 1304 having been revised by Failler 1996). As part of the Byzantine disintegration and the continued pressure exerted by Sasa bey, the island of Chios was conquered by Benedetto Zaccaria (between 1305 and 1307) (Miller 1911, 45, Carr 2015, 68), and the island of Rhodes by the new Grandmaster of the Knights of St. John, Foulques de Villaret (1306). The island capital finally fell to the Knights in 1309 (Luttrell 2003, 75-76, Carr 2015, 66-67). Around 1308, as part of developments which are not well understood, the government of Ephesus passed from Sasa bey to Mehmed of the *Aydınöğulları*. Both rulers

nominally acknowledged Ilkhanid authority, for example on their respective silver dirhem coin issues dated 1306 and 1310 at a local Ayasuluk mint (see Teoman G. 2018, no. 12; Foss 2019, 188-189).

After abandoning the Ionian coastline in the second half of 1304, the Catalan Grand Company directed its activities to Thrace, where it remained until 1307 (Setton 1948-1975, 4-13). After the murder of Roger of Flor in April 1305 relations with the Byzantine Empire disintegrated completely. In 1307 this substantial group of people, augmented by numerous Turks and under evolving leaderships (see Jacoby 1966 on the identity and structure of the Company), moved westwards and then southwards, until it established itself as ruler of Attika and Boiotia in 1311. In 1308-1309 Charles of Valois, the brother of King Philip IV of France and pretender to the Latin Empire, through his wife Catherine of Courtenay, had sought to exert pressure on the Byzantine Empire by hiring the Company and placing it under the authority of his envoy Thibaut de Chepoix. This plan was to no avail, but it did supply the Company with ample financial resources over a couple of years, and this had numismatic implications as well. In Attika and Boiotia the monetary situation changed significantly in 1311 (on this and what follows: see Baker, Galani-Krikou 2009). French royal gros tournois, Sicilian pierreali, and Neapolitan saluti and gigliati were from this moment onwards hoarded in large numbers. The most logical conclusion would have to be that these currencies entered the area together with the Company.

During the second decade of the fourteenth century, especially in the light of the new and dynamic Latin polities of the Aegean, Chios and Rhodes, collaboration between Catalan Greece and the Turkish beyliks of western Anatolia evolved. A formal 'Catalan-Turkish Alliance', in the words of Elizabeth Zachariadou, was established with the arrival from Sicily of Vicar General Alfonso Fadrique (1317), who pursued aggressive policies of preserving and expanding the Catalan state in Greece (Zachariadou 1980; Zachariadou 1983, 13-14). For a couple of years diverse Aegean locations were particularly threatened by joint Catalan and Turkish action, for instance the Venetian colonies of Negroponte (Euboea) and Crete, and different smaller islands under the rule of Venetian feudatories such as Santorini and Karpathos. Naval preparations by the Turks around Ephesus in the summer of 1319 resulted in a preemptive strike in the waters off Chios by Martino Zaccaria and the Knights of St. John, commanded by the Grand Preceptor Albrecht von Schwarzburg for the new Grandmaster Elion de Villeneuve (Luttrell 2003, 16; Carr 2015, 47-48, 68, 88-89).

Throughout the thirteenth century different areas of western Anatolia, in so far as they were still under Byzantine rule, or specifically when supported militarily by the Byzantines authorities, had still been amply supplied with Byzantine money. With respect to gold, for instance, Anaia has produced one of the most significant finds anywhere of hyperpyra of the type of John III Vatatzes (1221-1254) (Ünal 2018). A few generations later, Byzantine operations in 1302 resulted in the movements of substantial hyperpyra in the names of Emperors Andronikos II and Michael IX to the acropolis of Pergamon (Baker, Hirsch forthcoming). In the same century, silver issues of some of the main Seljuq mints would have been common in western Anatolia, not just in areas under direct Seljuq rule. To make the case it will suffice once more to point to the recent evidence from Anaia: see Teoman B. 2018, 314-315, for issues from the Sivas and Konya mints. Respective Byzantine and Seljuq rules came to a close in western Anatolia at approximately the same time, and with it the monetary traditions which they represented. We have already witnessed two related phenomena: the minting from the first years of the fourteenth century of Islamic silver issues by the nascent authorities, but in the names of their nominal Ilkhanid overlords; and the arrival in the same years of non-Islamic fine silver coinages, for instance from Cilicia and Cyprus. This general

process of monetary transition was marked by further distinct phenomena: Seljuq dirhem issues were kept in localized circulation through the application of small countermarks bearing the imperial double B and other symbols. This activity occurred either in Rhodes or an Anatolian territory still under imperial control, and can be dated from a certain point of the middle or later thirteenth century, until the early years of the fourteenth century (see Schlumberger 1878-1882, 200; Bendall and Broome 1985; Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2011, 1430).



Figure 3: Dirhem of Sultan Ma'sud II (1284-1308), countermarked on obv. and rev.,
from the Rhodian countryside, Kasdagli 2018, p. 76 and no. 1598

(Photograph kindly provided by Anna-Maria Kasdagli, copyright Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese)

At a lower denominational level, western-style silver penny issues, especially from Genoa, Cyprus, and feudal Greece, enhanced monetisation further specifically in the years around 1300. The recent publications of material from Rhodes and Anaia serve to make this point (Kasdagli 2018, especially nos 3239-3241, 3306-3307, 3322-3323, 3333-3336; Baker forthcoming, nos 9-11 and 14).

For the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the town of Ayasuluk has produced three more known hoards, beside our own Ayasuluk 1972, each in their own way remarkable assemblages of coins. The aforementioned Ephesus 1871 of *gigliati* was found in the Artemision; at the nearby İsa Bey Hamamı, a large hoard of Islamic silver coins was found in 1999 (Pfeiffer-Taş, Ş. 2001); and a later hoard of Rhodian *gigliati* and gold ducats was excavated in the church of St. John in 1979 (Ölçer 1986).

6. Explaining the *gigliati* contained in the Ayasuluk 1972 hoard

Traditionally, it has been assumed that the *gigliato* currency first came to Anatolia in significant quantities at the time of the so-called Crusade of Smyrna (with Latin successes in 1344: Carr 2015, 75). More recently, the increasing trading contacts between Venetian Crete and Negroponte on

the one hand, and the Anatolian beyliks on the other, from the 1320s and especially the 1330s, have been viewed as a central development in the transfer of *gigliati* from west to east (in both of these respects see Baker 2019). This was part of a broader drain of European silver eastwards, in exchange for produce and gold. The substantial numbers of Group 2b Neapolitan *gigliati* is strong proof of the second of these propositions, as are the steadily increasing quantities of Venetian *grossi* in Anatolia in precisely these years. By contrast, the earlier 1340s may have seen a downturn in Italian and Provençal *gigliato* arrivals (compare also Carr 2015, 129 and ff, on commercial difficulties during these years). In this decade the Venice mint also ceased to produce the first-generation *grosso*, as northern Italy transitioned to gold for higher monetary denominations. By contrast, silver *gigliati* were minted in increasing quantities at Naples or Provence. From the second half of the century these appeared in the same Anatolian territories in great numbers, often through Venetian agency, and the Chios and Rhodes mints also produced the same currency on an unprecedented scale. In this sense the *gigliato* during its main Anatolian phase, ca. 1325 to ca. 1370, can be viewed primarily in a commercial, rather than a political or military context.

The information developed here, especially the two hoards from Ayasuluk and Milas, sheds light on the previous phases. They now show in combination that there were two very precise earlier moments in which the western *gigliato* currency was first introduced to specific Anatolian locations, and, once established, was furthered in line with political ties and military rivalries, and according to a denominational rationale. The following conclusions can be drawn from this study:

A substantial number of Catalan mercenaries, their dependents and families, were present between Magnesia, Philadelphia (Manisa, Alaşehir) and the western parts of what would then become the territories of the *Menteşeoğulları* and the *Aydinoğulları* for most of 1304. They had previously been active and resident in Sicily, where they were well remunerated. We suggest therefore that Neapolitan *gigliati* in the name of King Charles II of Anjou, minted from early 1303, were introduced to the said Anatolian areas on this occasion. Such coins are present not merely at Ayasuluk 1972 and Milas 2011/2012, but also at the much later Ephesus 1871. This is significant because hoards from southern Italy which date approximately between the middle and later part of the fourteenth century, for instance Casálbore from the Campania region (Baker 2002), or Manduria 1916 and Taranto Celestini from Puglia (Baker 2001), have more up-to-date typological profiles and do not contain such older issues, usually not even *gigliati* of Robert's early groups. This shows that the *gigliati* of Charles II at Ephesus 1871 would have travelled from west to east at the time of their mintage.

One may of course point out that the Catalans had been in the pay of the new Aragonese rulers of Sicily, who produced the *pierreale* (*carlino*) currency at Messina. However, a number of reasons can be given why early *gigliati* from Naples such as those at Ayasuluk 1972 have a probable Catalan connection. First, in the decade before the peace of Caltabellotta (1302) the Aragonese were pursuing an expansionist policy in Angevin Calabria. Second, as the Maranise 1928 hoard (Grierson, Travaini 1998, p. 418, no. 37) demonstrates, the currencies from Messina and Naples were mixed in parts of southern Italy around the turn of the fourteenth century. Further, the *gigliati* were a newer and improved version of the *carlino*. This fact would not have been lost on the Catalan mercenaries who left the area for new commissions, nor on the users in western Anatolia, who might have hoarded *gigliati* preferentially and disregarded *pierreali*. Finally, in overall quantitative terms, *gigliati* were gaining the upper hand because of the might of the Angevin state and its resources, not least in terms of silver mining at Longobucco mint in Calabria. In Anatolia, Sicilian *pierreali* are currently only known from the Milas hoard, yet the chronological profile of the single known specimen would support the same scenario, that is to say an arrival with the

Catalans in 1304. The case for gros tournois is more difficult to make: the individual specimens at Milas 2011/2012, and at the later Kasos 1912, cannot be dated with enough precision. We do know from documentary and numismatic sources that the French gros tournois was a very prominent coinage in southern Italy already from the 1260s onwards (Phillips 1997, 282-287). In the eastern Mediterranean also the gros tournois was gaining in importance: we can appreciate this not least through the fact both Cyprus and Rhodes minted this currency from 1306 and ca. 1309. Whether or not the Catalan presence in 1304 was axiomatic in the diffusion of this currency in western Anatolia is difficult to gauge.

The Ayasuluk 1972 hoard is composed of eight coins, only two of which are of eastern mintage. Amongst the coins with French or Italian origin, one dates to the period before 1309, the other five very probably to the second decade of fourteenth century. At Milas 2011/2012 the gigliato currency may have been similarly concentrated, although our knowledge of this hoard is presently rather limited. The evidence from the much later hoards is in this respect also invaluable. At Ephesus 1871 and Miletus 1903, respectively four of the nine and four of 12 known gigliati of Robert from the Naples mint belong to early Groups 1a and 1b. There were originally three papal gigliati in the Ephesus 1871 hoard, the same number as at Siderounta 1887.

After the Catalans established themselves in Attika and Boiotia in 1311 they obviously fostered the usage of the silver gigliato, favouring this currency over others for much the same reasons that have already been given. Thereby, they ensured a fresh supply of more recent issues from the main mints in Italy and France through the usual monetary channels. The typological profiles of the Mainland Greek hoards leave no doubt in this respect. It is also certain that in the same years areas of western Anatolia received very similar supplies, that is to say papal gigliati, Neapolitan gigliati of Groups 1a and 1b, and early Provençal gigliati.

Arguably, therefore, the close political and personal ties between the re-established duchy of Athens under Aragonese-Catalan-Sicilian rule and the beyliks, after 1311 and especially from 1317 onwards, are the main reason for the further entrenchment of the Italian and French gigliato currency in western Anatolia after its first introduction in 1304.

In parallel, the new Rhodian gigliati (minted perhaps as early as 1319) may not merely have had a general circulation beside the western issues, but may in fact have found a more direct route towards the Ephesus area and into the numismatic evidence, such as that of Ayasuluk and Anaia, through maritime conflict. The close relationship of the Ayasuluk hoard and the Anaia stray finds is not merely proven by the fact that they have yielded a gigliato and its half of Grandmaster Elion each, but that the two halves (Ayasuluk No. 8 and Baker forthcoming #17) were minted from the same obverse die:



Figure 4: Half gigliati/aspra of Elion de Villeneuve (1319-1346), from Ayasuluk 1972 and Anaia, minted from the same obv. die

There is currently no die information for the half gigliati of Elion. Considering, however, that these half gigliati were apparently minted in not dissimilar quantities to the same grandmaster's full gigliati of the first type, and that die estimates for the latter have produced a number of dies used annually over about a couple of decades (Baker 2019, p. 79), the chances that two such coins found in the same area should produce a die link is rather remote and therefore perhaps indicative of a single and direct movement of such coins from Rhodes to the Ephesus area.

Furthermore, the process of accepting gigliati into the area under analysis would have been facilitated by two monetary considerations: the first is the lack of good monetary specie following the demise of Byzantine gold and Seljuq silver in the area. As we have seen, between ca. 1306 and ca. 1317 there was some new silver minting, for example at Ayasuluk. The issues in question may have been more than mere representational, according to Foss' recent analyses, but they were still limited and regular minting by the Menteşeoğulları and the Aydınoğulları only commenced in earnest in the 1330s. The imported and mostly base penny coinages could evidently not fulfil all monetary requirements, and the importance of finer issues from Armenian Cilicia, Lusignan Cyprus, and early Hospitaller Rhodes, evidence for which is currently confined mostly to the Milas hoard, remains difficult to assess.

The gigliato transpose therefore an obvious need for good currency, which was in short supply. However, in order to be useful these coins needed to be able to function within a logical monetary system. Beside the Byzantine gold hyperpyron of account, and other local hyperpyra (also known as bezants), the main standard would have been the Islamic silver dinar of account. Despite of the multitude of silver issues minted according to different metrologies which may have been in circulation in the early years after 1300, for instance Seljuq coins, whether countermarked or not, local issues in the name of the Ilkhanids, or actual Ilkhanid coins (for one such specimen from Anaia, see Teoman B. 2018, 315), the standard would have been an absolute one against which the myriad of coins were counted (on this and what follows: Aycut 1992, 28; Diler 2006, 22). With the monetary reforms of the Kkan Mahmud Ghazan, in 1296-1297, this standard was set by small silver dirhems of more than 2g, multiples of which constituted silver dinars of account (= 6 dirhems), which in themselves related to gold dinars of account (4 silver dinars = 1 gold dinar). One gold dinar was the silver equivalent of 15 gigliati, at 55.3g of silver. Ghazan's successor Öljeitü Khan reformed the dirhem in 1312-1313 and reduced its weight to just under 2g. The double dirhem was now the weight equivalent of the gigliato, ca. 3.9g. The importance in the eastern Aegean of this new standard, and the coin which underpinned it, can be witnessed in the

introduction of a new silver denomination at the Chios mint by the brothers Martino and Benedetto Zaccaria (1314), a so-called aspron of just under 2g (Mazarakis, Pitides 1990, 60).

7. Implications of the Ayasuluk 1972 hoard for the coinages of Rhodes

This leaves us with some conclusions on the monetary developments at Hospitaller Rhodes in the light of the new data. Before the deposition of Grandmaster Foulques in 1319 the local mint produced gros tournois in small quantities. This denomination was also one of the main units of account, beside local bezants and gold florins (both of which of account). In terms of actual coins, it is likely that imported French gros tournois were prominent. According to a magistral bull of 1313, one bezant of Rhodes was the equivalent of two gros tournois (Luttrell 2003, 55; Mazarakis 2010, 199). Mazarakis has noted poignantly that specimens of the middling silver currency at the Rhodes mint under Foulques, the aspron or so-called half gros, were actually somewhat lighter than half a gros and that therefore the two Rhodian silver currencies stood in a rather uneasy relationship to one another. The aspron was also apparently minted in larger quantities than the gros. This is now borne out by the Milas hoard. He postulated therefore the existence of two silver standards at Rhodes until 1319, an aspron standard aimed at the local systems in place, and an international gros standard.

It has traditionally been assumed that minting of the *gigliato* in Provence commenced in 1330 and that the arrival on Rhodes of Grandmaster Elion in September 1332 introduced this currency to the island (Luttrell 2003, 56; Mazarakis 2010, 212). We have already seen that minting actually began at the St. Rémy mint at a much earlier point than scholars had previously believed. Old scholarship also rested on the belief that monetary innovation at the Rhodes mint required the actual presence there of the new grandmaster. Whether this was really the case is a moot point. It would on the other hand appear to us unlikely that a major mint such as that of Rhodes, once launched successfully in the second decade of the fourteenth century, should have been entirely inactive between Foulques' final deposition in June 1319 and late 1332 (Luttrell 2003, 12). This is precisely the period in which the town of Rhodes established itself as one of the most significant commercial locations in the entire eastern Mediterranean, in line with the account of Francesco Balducci Pegolotti (Luttrell 2003, 203-208).

The Ayasuluk 1972 hoard would now suggest in the strongest terms that the new *gigliato* currency was commenced in the name of Elion in rather quick succession to his election in June 1319. Different developments would therefore have converged. There was the massive influx of *gigliati* of Pope John XXII and King Robert of Anjou (Naples and Provence) into the general area, as we have seen. The Ilkhanid standard had changed in line with a lighter silver dirhem link coin, the equivalent of an aspron or half *gigliato*. The transition from one grandmaster to another at Rhodes would have facilitated the introduction of a new coinage system, even if only from a practical point of view (the necessity to discard existing dies and to make new ones bearing the appropriate name of issuer). In fact, in keeping with Mazarakis' arguments, if we believe that the basis of the main coinage system had been the aspron, then the post-1319 system was less novel than may be thought. The new *gigliato* represented in this sense merely its completion through the introduction of a double aspron. The supposed local and international standards represented by the silver denominations of the Rhodes mint were consequently unified. A 2:1 relationship of the aspron to the *gigliato* is revealed by the slightly later information provided by Pegolotti. The continued importance of the aspron after 1319 is underlined by some of the find data: for instance at Ayasuluk 1972, at Anaia (Baker forthcoming), and at Rhodes (Kasdagli 2018, nos 1658-1659), Elion is represented by one *gigliato* and one aspron (half *gigliato*) each. At Siderounta 1887 there were four aspra of Elion beside a total of nine *gigliati* of the same grandmaster, at Ephesus 1871

the relationship within Elion's first variety stood at two aspra to ca. 20 gigliati (Baker 2019, 75, 79-80).

8. Conclusions

In ca. 1320 or a bit later hoard Ayasuluk 1972 was concealed in or near what had been the baptistery of the basilica of St. John. The denomination in question, the silver gigliato, was to be important in the eastern Aegean and western Anatolia for a number of decades in the central years of the fourteenth century. Our hoard contains some of earliest manifestations of this currency in the area, so much so that, not least in the light of its find-spot, one may have been inclined to deem this a traveller's or pilgrim's hoard. However, more often than not hoards are not exceptional and they rarely represent phenomena transposed from other locations. As a rule they are genuine reflections of overarching monetary tendencies. It was our task, therefore, to investigate the underlining logic of this coin find. In the light not least of the Milas 2011/2012 hoard it can now be postulated that gigliati from Italy and southern France reached Anatolia in two precise contexts in the first and second decade of the fourteenth century, both with clear Catalan connections. These early developments also allow one to date the associated Rhodian gigliati much earlier than had previously been possible, and to bring their rapid movements towards the Ephesus area in connection with military events.

The find information associated with the Ayasuluk 1972 hoard may at first seem disappointing and inconclusive. We also do not know why its owner failed to return to it. However, the fact that what had once been the baptistery of the church of St. John was now an area of residential and commercial character, perhaps high status since it was adjacent to the re-designated mosque at the political centre of the new beylik, is surely of some significance. A direct link is established with other élite places of the Aegean area, such as Athens and Thebes, which have also produced hoards of similar dating and composition (on hoards from the Roman and Athenian Agora, see Baker, Galani-Krikou 2009; for a numismatic re-assessment of Catalan-period Thebes see Baker, Kondyli, Larson, Liard, forthcoming). These locations underline once more that the gigliato currency was fostered and disseminated at the highest political and military levels. In terms of the monetary developments within this town, the Ayasuluk hoard is part of a row of hoards from the early fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth centuries, which, in combination, show a diverse and very sophisticated local monetisation.

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