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from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century**



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The Emperor, the Saint, and the City: Coinage and Money in Thessalonike from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century

CÉCILE MORRISSON

On 8 December 2000, the Russian Duma “voted overwhelmingly to restore as Russia’s national anthem the music of a song written at the behest of Joseph Stalin.” It also voted to approve the double-headed eagle as Russia’s official coat of arms. The headline of the *Washington Post* (9 Dec. 2000, A30) read “Country Struggles to Find New Identity.” In this case, “new” implied going back to old or ancient symbols of either the Soviet or czarist era. Here was one more of a long series of examples demonstrating the power of imagery in shaping a political identity.

Ever since coins were first struck some twenty-six centuries ago, coinage has been one of the most efficient media for conveying such symbols. My purpose here is to examine, first, how the mint of Thessalonike functioned in the late Byzantine period; second, how the coinage expressed Thessalonian identity; and, finally, how widely it conveyed Thessalonian influence in neighboring areas.

I. THE MINT OF THESSALONIKE AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF ITS PRODUCTION

Before one considers identity as conveyed by coins, it is necessary to look at identification of the coinage. We have to remember in fact that what was obvious to contemporaries in a rather secluded world, and did not need to be expressed in words, is not always so evident to us. The famous Greek drachmas with the head of Athena and her owl on the reverse are easily attributed to Athens—once separated from their widespread imitations—or those with the figure of Poseidon to Poseidonia/Paestum, for example, but the layman will not connect at first those with wild celery (Greek: *selinon*) to the city of Selinus in Sicily.

I am grateful for valuable advice to Prof. Charalambos Bakirtzis and Prof. Jean-Michel Spieser who kindly read this paper before and after the symposium and allowed me to benefit from their experience and knowledge of Thessalonian art. Dr. Eurydice Georganteli and Dr. Vujadin Ivanišević provided me as well with highly useful information about Thessalonian and Serbian material. Last, but not least, with his usual generosity, Simon Bendall let me know of his study in progress on the coinage of John Komnenos-Doukas (“Notes on the Coinage in the Name of John Comnenus-Ducas of Thessalonica (AD 1237–44),” *NC* 162 (2002): 253–64, cited hereafter as “Notes”) and made many helpful comments.

For Thessalonike, in the late Roman and early Byzantine period, its then rather abundant coinage poses no such difficulty since it bore most of the time¹ the mint mark of the city: SMTS or TS in the early fourth century, TES in the later fourth century and in the fifth century. THES, THS in the late fifth, TESOB or THSOB on the *solidi* not later than Zeno, TES in the sixth, before switching from a Latin to Greek abbreviation ΘΕΣ or ΘΕC under Herakleios. But this late Roman—and rather modern—tradition was progressively dropped in the Dark Ages, and when the mint of Thessalonike, which had been closed ca. 630, possibly resumed striking occasionally in the ninth century after the creation of the new theme of Macedonia, or in the eleventh century, there is no inscription to help settle numismatists' questions and debate. To be sure that the folles of Theophilos of "crude" and undoubtedly "provincial" style were struck in Thessalonike, archaeological evidence is badly needed. One looks forward to the publication of the rich material of the rescue excavations at Dioikitirion Square in Thessalonike which yielded some two thousand coins of the fourth to sixth, ninth, and twelfth to fourteenth centuries² and could provide a definite answer.

For the greater part of the eleventh century Constantinople remained the unique, or almost unique, and in any case dominant provider of coins for the whole empire, although for bronze the production may have been divided from 1058 between two mints, both located in the capital and even though a provincial mint may have been operating in Thessalonike briefly in 1040/41 and later for Nikephoros III.³

The picture changes dramatically with Alexios I Komnenos, who created a regular mint in the city. From 1081 to the death of Robert Guiscard in Kephalaria in 1085, Alexios concentrated all the meager forces of his fragmented empire and mustered all financial resources, including those of the Church and his own family, on fighting and regaining Greece from the Normans who had invaded and conquered most of its northwestern parts from Dyrrachion (Dürres) to Kastoria. Thessalonike had remained under Byzantine control and was the central base of Alexios' campaigns. It is no surprise that in such menacing circumstances on the one hand it was more convenient to strike on the spot the coins needed to pay the military, and on the other hand it was but natural to imprint them with the image of the city patron, St. Demetrios. This is the first appearance of Thessalonike's protector on Byzantine coins. It is also the first appearance of a Byzantine saint on a common issue; previously the only saints represented in the Byzantine coinage had been St. John the Baptist (Prodomos) on the rare gold *nomisma* of Emperor Alexander (912–

¹ But not always, as shown by the 6th-century Byzantine *solidi* marked, like those struck in Carthage or Ravenna, with CONOB. See D. M. Metcalf, "The Minting of Gold Coinage at Thessalonica in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries and the Gold Currency of Illyricum and Dalmatia," in W. Hahn and W. E. Metcalf, eds., *Studies in the Early Byzantine Gold Coinage*, American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Studies (New York, 1988), 65–109, nos. 222–463, pp. 98–106.

² Oral information from Dr. Eurydice Georganteli who was able to examine and identify 700 coins from the excavations. Prof. Bakirtzis now tells me that the publication has begun (letter dated 2 June 2001).

³ A fiscal mint responsible for the anonymous coinage and a *moneta publica* responsible for the signed coins as assumed by M. Hendy in *DOC* 4: 22–28. Note that the author has now renounced attributing to the mint of Thessalonike the signed folles of Constantine X and his successors down to 1092 and assigns them instead to the *moneta publica* in Constantinople.

913) (*DOC* 3: no. 1)⁴ and St. Michael Archangel on the even rarer *nomisma histamenon* of Michael IV possibly struck in Thessalonike (*DOC* 3: no. 2 = fig. 1).⁵

Two denominations were struck with the figure of St. Demetrios: a debased *histamenon* (*DOC* 4: no. 4 = fig. 2) and a fraction of the *miliaresion* (*DOC* 4: no. 13), both showing the saint turned right, either standing or half-length, handing to the emperor a *labarum* or a patriarchal cross or a simple cross depending on the respective issues. In a period of dramatic debasement, when issues of widely diverging fineness circulated together, this type gets a specific denomination in documents. Most previous issues were named after the figure of the emperor they bore, but this one was designated by the saint's image, the most striking feature in its design. In 1097, in Thessalonike an untilled vineyard of 3 *modioi* (ca. 3,000 m² or 0.75 acre) was sold with 2 *modioi* of fallow land for *χρυσίου διαχαράματος νομίσματα τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πέντε τραχέα σταυροαγιοδημητράτα τῆς τετρημμένης ποιότητος*, that is, for "45 gold trachea with saint Demetrios and the cross of the worst fineness."⁶ None of these has been analyzed, but their color points to a heavy proportion of silver, confirmed for the contemporary corresponding issues in Constantinople (composed of 72.5% silver, 10.6% gold, and 16.9% copper).⁷

Based on arguments of style and other "numismatic" peculiarities and on their more frequent occurrence in the excavations in Athens and Corinth, later issues of Alexios I dated to his monetary reform in 1092 or subsequent years in his reign have also been attributed to Thessalonike.⁸ A similar reasoning underlies the identification of Thessalonian issues of gold *hyperpyra*, *electrum trachea* (*nomismata aspra trachea*), billon trachea, and above all copper *tetartera* of John II, Manuel I Komnenos, and their successors down to the Fourth Crusade. Gold and *electrum* coins are recognizable by their "smaller, thicker fabric" and the "exaggeratedly 'radiate' cross in Christ's nimbus," and they often display signs of the "elongated" treatment of the figures so characteristic of this mint fabric in the thirteenth century.⁹ Under John II and Manuel I they generally reproduce the types

⁴ Coins are referred to here according to their numbers in the *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* (hereafter *DOC*, followed by volume number). Note that the numbering of coins is separate for each reign in volume 4 (1081–1261), but continuous in volume 5 covering all issues from 1261 to 1453. Numbers between brackets () refer to coins not represented in the collection but described and illustrated in the catalogue. The saint represented on Alexander's gold coin was long thought to be the patron saint of the emperor, but Nicole Thierry argued convincingly that the iconography was that of the Prodigiosus (N. Thierry, "Le Baptiste sur le solidus d'Alexandre (912–913)," *RN* [1992]: 237–41).

⁵ For this attribution and discussion of the historical context (military operations against the Deljan revolt), see M. Hendy, "Michael IV and Harold Hardrada," *NC* 10 (1970): 187–97 = *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium* (Northampton, 1989), no. X.

⁶ *Lavra*, I: no. 53, lines 20–21, p. 277. The vineyard was located at the periphery of the city, south of the road leading from Saint Thomas to the city (lines 18–19). This document shows that debased pre-reform issues could still circulate after Alexios' monetary reform and restoration of the coinage in 1092, with appropriate statement of their fineness.

⁷ Average value for the three Constantinopolitan coins analyzed by J.-N. Barrandon (C. Morriison et al., *L'or monnayé, I. Purification et altérations de Rome à Byzance*, Cahiers Ernest-Babelon 2 [Paris, 1985], 231).

⁸ M. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire (1081–1261)* (Washington, D.C., 1969), 94–95; *DOC* 4: 193–201.

⁹ See the relevant comments under each reign and mint headings in *DOC* 4. It should be observed that Hendy's attribution of *tetartera* to an unknown Central Greek mint, located in Thebes (?), is debated by Greek scholars who prefer to identify these coins, which they consider half-*tetartera*, as issues of Thessalonike as well. See I. Touratsoglou, H. Tsourti-Kouli, and M. Krikou-Galani, *Ο θησαυρός Κομοτηνής*, 1979 (:) / Συμβολή στην

adopted in Constantinople with some exceptions, such as the replacement of St. George by St. Demetrios on Manuel's electrum trachy type C.¹⁰ In this latter case, St. Demetrios may have been invoked, as under Alexios I, as the traditional defender at a period (1162–67) when Manuel was campaigning against the Serbs and the Hungarians and Thessalonike was serving as the usual rear base of supply to the military. Later, under Andronikos I, the adoption of St. George for the tetartera (Fig. 5), replacing the bust of the Virgin "episkepsis," almost exclusive on this emperor's coinage, may be related to the threatened situation of Thessalonike after the fall of Dyrrachion in June 1185. The lys on the shield of the saint is the first occurrence of a motif which came to be much favored in the thirteenth century especially in Thessalonike.¹¹

Although Thessalonike was indeed the second mint of the empire, its issues in the twelfth century are not as plentiful as those from Constantinople, and not as regular down to 1203, since the production of gold and electrum denominations, the precious-metal ones, ceases after Manuel I. No estimate based on a coin-die study is available, but the number of coins preserved in hoards or collections provides a relative rough index. The distribution of the 786 hyperpyra of the Bulgarian hoard of Bachkovo buried for fear of Frederick Barbarossa's crusading troops in 1189 illustrates the point: the proportion of Thessalonian issues is steadily dwindling. They account for less than a quarter (23%) of the total under Alexios I, only 2.6 percent for John II, and 0.7 percent for Manuel I, a ratio also observed in the smaller hoard found near Thessalonike in Vrasta on the Chalkidike peninsula.¹² Another indication, and not an unexpected one, of the minor production of Thessalonike is offered by the relative number of types or officinae involved. As M. Hendy sums it up: "it seems clear that the volume of Thessalonian gold (and probably electrum and billon) products declined rapidly after its apogee under Alexios with his prolonged residences there during the two anti-Norman wars, but also that this is likely to have represented an administratively based process rather than an economically based one."¹³

In spite of this evident decline in the late twelfth century, the minting tradition in the second city in the Byzantine world or in its zone of influence is supposed not to have ceased after the 1204 division of the empire (*partitio*). The Latin Empire in Thessalonike has been credited by M. Hendy ever since his 1969 study with a number of "imitative issues," three of billon trachea and three of half-tetartera. "Two attempts have been made to cast doubt on the attribution to Thessalonike. Neither is remotely convincing," writes Hendy in *DOC* 4, alluding to M. Metcalf's articles about the "Peter and Paul" and the Amorgos and Thira

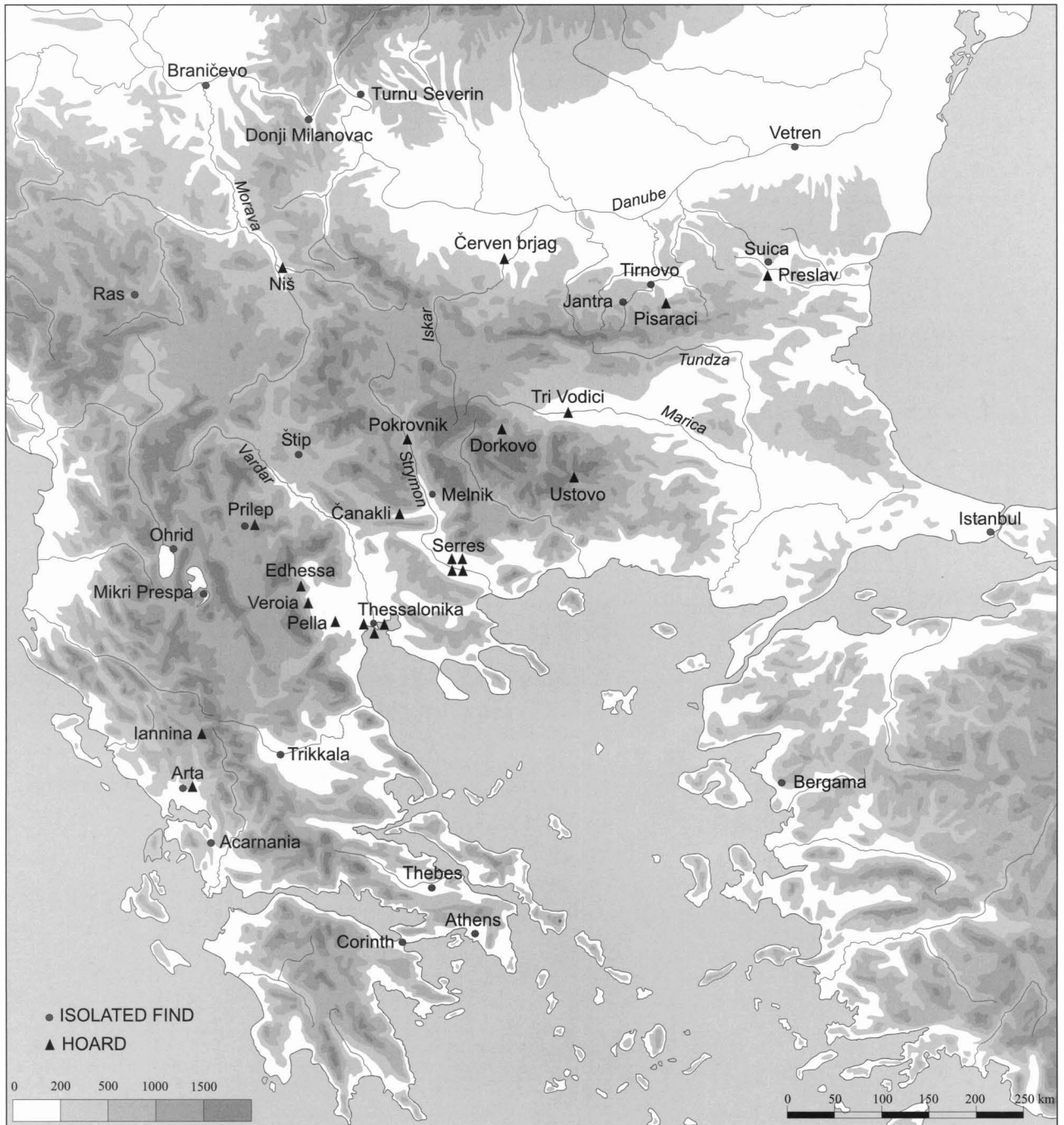
κυκλοφορία των τεταρτηρών του ΙΒ' αι. μ.Χ., *First International Symposium for Thracian Studies, "Byzantine Thrace": Image and Character, Komotini 28–31. 5. 1987*, I, ed. Ch. Bakirtzis (Amsterdam, 1989), 367–428 and the review of *DOC* 4 by I. Touratsoglou in *RN* 158 (2002): 385–404.

¹⁰ Tetartera of Manuel with St. George bust are attributed to Thessalonike by Hendy (*DOC* 4: 284 and 329–31, no. 18), but Dr. Georganteli points out that they are not found in the excavations in Thessalonike and are on the contrary frequent in Thrace, a region generally provided with coins by Constantinople (personal communication).

¹¹ Hendy, *DOC* 4: 344–45.

¹² Gornoslav: Hendy, "Coinage," 344–45 and idem, *Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage*, no. XI for the circumstances and nature of the burial; Vrasta: I. Touratsoglou, "Θησαυρός' χρυσῶν ὑπερπύρων ἐκ Βρασιῶν Χαλκιδικῆς εἰς τὸ Μουσεῖον Θεσσαλονίκης," *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* (1974): 92–101. See also now on the circulation of hyperpyra of the Komnenian period in Greece, I. Touratsoglou and V. Penna in the forthcoming Acts of the Volos Symposium 2001 in coinage in Thessaly.

¹³ *DOC* 4: 281.



Map of finds of post-1204 coins from Thessalonike

ILLUSTRATIONS

Michael IV (1034–1041)

1. Gold nomisma histamenon. Christ on throne. *Rev.* St. Michael standing handing labarum to the emperor. *DOC* 3: no. 2.

Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118)

2. Debased histamenon, pre-1092. Bust of Christ. *Rev.* St. Demetrios standing handing labarum to the emperor. *DOC* 4: no. 4.

Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180)

3. Gold hyperpyron. Bust of Christ Emmanuel. *Rev.* Emperor standing in chlamys and loros, holding labarum in right and globus in left hand. *DOC* 4: no. 1, fig. 2.
4. Electrum trachy type C. Virgin holding Christ medallion. *Rev.* Emperor and St. Demetrios standing holding labarum. *DOC* 4: no. 9.3.

Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–1185)

5. Copper tetarteron. Bust of St. George. *Rev.* Bust of emperor. *DOC* 4:(7). Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, no. 5844. Photo courtesy of the Barber Institute, Birmingham.

Theodore Komnenos Doukas (1225–1230)

- 6, 7. Electrum trachy (trikephalon), “coronation issue.” Virgin orans standing facing Hagiosoritissa. Δ Δ *Rev.* St. Demetrios standing presenting city model to the emperor. Theodoros Despotes *DOC* 4: 2b and 2c. Drawing from Dočev, 219, no. 1.
8. Billon trachy (stamenon). Bust of Christ Emmanuel. *Rev.* Emperor and St. Demetrios standing holding a haloed cross ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC ΔΘΚΑC. Drawing from Dočev, 219, no. 2. *DOC* 4, no. 4.3 billon.
9. Billon trachy. St. Demetrios in military costume sitting on a backless throne, with a sword resting on his knees. *Rev.* Half-length figures of emperor and Virgin holding patriarchal cross. Theodoros Desp(o)t(es) *DOC* 4: no. 9.1.
10. Copper tetarteron with complete titulature on obverse in seven lines: +ΘΕΟΔ|ΩΡΟC ΕΝΧΩ|ΤΩΘΕΩΠΙCΤΟC|ΒΑCΙΑΕΥCΚΛ|Λ|ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ|ΡΩΜΛΙΩΝΟ|ΔΘΚΑC. *Rev.* Half-length figures of emperor and St. Demetrios; between them, elaborate patriarchal cross. Private Greek collection. After S. Bendall, “A New Tetarteron of Theodore Comnenus Ducas,” *NCirc* 79 (1971): 10.
11. Copper tetarteron with simple titulature on obverse in four lines +ΘΕ|ΟΔΩΡΟC|ΔΕCΠΟΤ|ΗCΟΔΘ|ΚΑC. *DOC* 4: no. 12.

Note: This is a selection of coins mentioned in the text and does not pretend to give a full overview of the abundant and varied Thessalonian coinage, for which the reader is referred to *DOC* 5 and to Bendall’s publications.

All coins are from the mint of Thessalonike, unless otherwise specified.

All photographs are real size and are from the Dumbarton Oaks collection, unless otherwise specified. Coins not in the collection but illustrated or described in *DOC* are referred to by numbers in parentheses.

Abbreviations

Bendall-Donald, Billon Trachea = S. Bendall and P. Donald, *The Billon Trachea of Michael VIII Palaeologus*. London, 1974.

BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Dočev = K. Dočev, *Moneti i parično o’bršćenje v Tírnovo XII–XIV v.* [Coins and monetary circulation in Tírnovo (11th–14th centuries)]. Tírnovo, 1992.

LPC = S. Bendall and P. Donald, *The Later Palaeologan Coinage* (1261–1453). London, 1979.

Thanks are due to Mark Blackburn, Thomas Curtis, Charles Froidevaux, Eurydice Georganteli, Vujadin Ivanišević, and Nick Mayhew for their help in providing the illustrations not available at Dumbarton Oaks.



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Theodore Komnenos-Doukas



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Manuel Komnenos Doukas (1230–1237)

12. Billon trachy. Virgin on backless throne. *Rev.* Emperor and St. Demetrios holding a large sword. Cf. *DOC* 4: no 2.1; not at *DO* = S. Bendall, *NCirc* 77 (1969). Photo courtesy of Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
13. Billon trachy. Bust of Virgin orans. *Rev.* Emperor and St. Demetrios wearing the chlamys with tablion, holding together a globus with patriarchal cross. *DOC* 4: no. 5.1. Drawing from Dočev, 220, no. 2.
14. Billon trachy. Archangel Michael standing. *Rev.* Emperor and saint on throne holding a model of the city; circular legend on the left ΜΑΝΩΗΛ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ and on the right ΟΑΓΙΟCΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC. Legend on four lines in the field reads ΠΟΛΙC|ΘΕC CΛ|ΛΟΝ|ΙΚΗ. BnF 1970/208a = *DOC* 4: no. 9.5, this coin illustrated. Photo courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Drawing from Dočev, 220, no. 5.

John Komnenos Doukas (1237–1242)

15. Lead seal. St. Demetrios standing with right hand on shoulder of the emperor. In background at right the crenellated walls of Thessalonike. *Rev.* Full imperial titulature in an inscription of eight lines (see above). *DO* collection no. 55.1.4356 (Zacos-Veglery I, no. 115, this seal).
16. Billon trachy. Eagle. *Rev.* Half-length figures of emperor and St. Demetrios as above, no. 10. *DOC* 4: no. 8.
17. Billon trachy. St. Demetrios seated on backless throne. *Rev.* Bust of emperor with labarum and globe. *DOC* 4: no. 9.
18. Billon trachy. *Obv.* Obscure. *Rev.* St. Demetrios standing holding a banner in form of a large B to the emperor. *DOC* 4: no. 12, not at *DO* = Bertelè and Morrisson, pl. vi, 88, BnF 1984/992. Photo courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
19. Billon trachy. Wings on each side of a cross. *Rev.* Emperor crowned by St. Nicholas. *DOC* 4: no. 18, from Bertelè, *Imperatore alato*, 53. Drawing from Dočev, 225, no. 13.
20. Billon trachy. Conspicuous wing. *Rev.* Emperor holding a banner. *DOC* 4: no. 31.a.1. Cf. Drawing from Dočev, 224, no. 8.

Manuel Komnenos-Doukas



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John Komnenos-Doukas



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21. Billon trachy. Conspicuous B. *Rev.* Emperor holding a banner. *DOC* 4: no. 31b, not illustrated; after T. Bertelè, "Monete di Giovanni Comneno Duca imperatore di Salonicco (1237–1244)," *Numismatica* (1950): 61–79, no. 26. *Rev.* Drawing from Dočev, 224, no. 8.
22. Billon trachy. Conspicuous star. *Rev.* Virgin orans standing. *DOC* 4: no. 33, Vienna, H. Longuet, "Die unedierten byzantinischen Münzen des Wiener Kabinettes," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 77 (1957): 28–57, no. 328, not illustrated. Drawing from Dočev, 223, no. 9.
23. Billon trachy. Bust of Virgin orans. *Rev.* Winged emperor. BnF 955 = *DOC* 4: no. 34, this coin illustrated. Photo courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Drawing from Dočev, 223, no. 8.
24. Billon trachy. Conspicuous wing in the field. *Rev.* The emperor's bust above city walls. Ashmolean Museum, S. Bendall, "Thessalonican Coinage of the Mid-Thirteenth Century in the Light of a New Hoard," *NC* 18 (1978): 101–14, p. 111, no. 467 = *DOC* 4: no. 35, cf. Dočev, drawing, p. 225, no. 11. Photo courtesy of Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
25. Billon trachy. *Obv.* Obscure (cross with stars in four angles?). *Rev.* Emperor under an archway. *DOC* 4: no. 36 = BnF no. 1970/206.9 (from the Longuet sale). Photo courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Demetrios Komnenos Doukas (1242–1244) (attributed to)

26. Billon trachy. Anonymous. Bust of Christ. *Rev.* St. Michael standing. *DOC* 4: pl. XLIV, no. 1.a.1.

John III Vatatzes (1246–1254)

27. Billon trachy. Bust of St. Demetrios (?). *Rev.* "Winged emperor" standing. *DOC* 4: no. 3.5.1.
28. Billon trachy. Bust of St. Michael. *Rev.* "Winged emperor" on backless throne. *DOC* 4: no. 4.1.

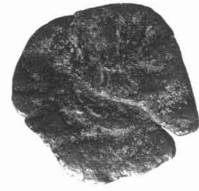
John Komnenos-Doukas



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22



23



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26



John III Vatatzes



27



28



Michael VIII Palaiologos (1258–1282)

29. Billon trachy. St. Michael standing. *Rev.* Half-length figures of emperor and St. Demetrios holding large haloed cross. *DOC* 5: no. 149. Cf. Bendall and Donald, *Billon Trachea*, T 4.
30. Billon trachy. Conspicuous star. *Rev.* Emperor and Virgin holding a conspicuous patriarchal cross. *DOC* 5: no. 152. Cf. Bendall and Donald, *Billon Trachea*, UT 2.
31. Billon trachy. Patriarchal cross with stars and lys in field. *Rev.* Emperor and St. Demetrios standing holding a model city topped by a lys. *DOC* 5: no. 155. Cf. Bendall and Donald, *Billon Trachea*, T 6.
32. Billon trachy. Bust of St. Demetrios holding the small cross of martyrs. *Rev.* “Winged emperor” standing. *DOC* 5: no. 171. Cf. Bendall and Donald, *Billon Trachea*, T 12.
33. Billon trachy. Conspicuous lys. *Rev.* Emperor standing with lys in field *DOC* 5: no. 186. Cf. Bendall and Donald, *Billon Trachea*, T 16.

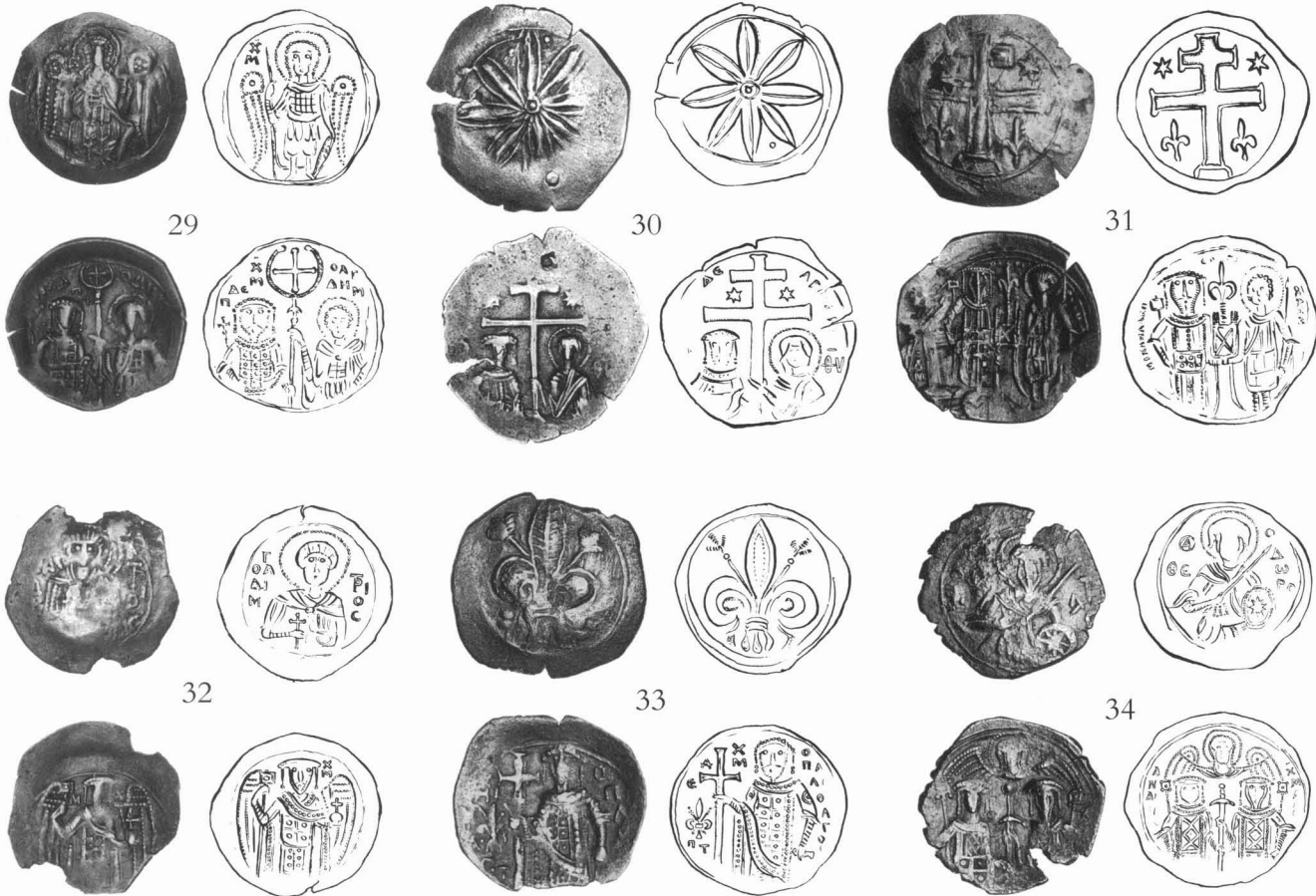
Michael VIII and Andronikos II Palaiologos (1272–1282)

34. Billon trachy. Bust of St. Demetrios. *Rev.* The two emperors blessed by Christ. *DOC* 5: no. 214.

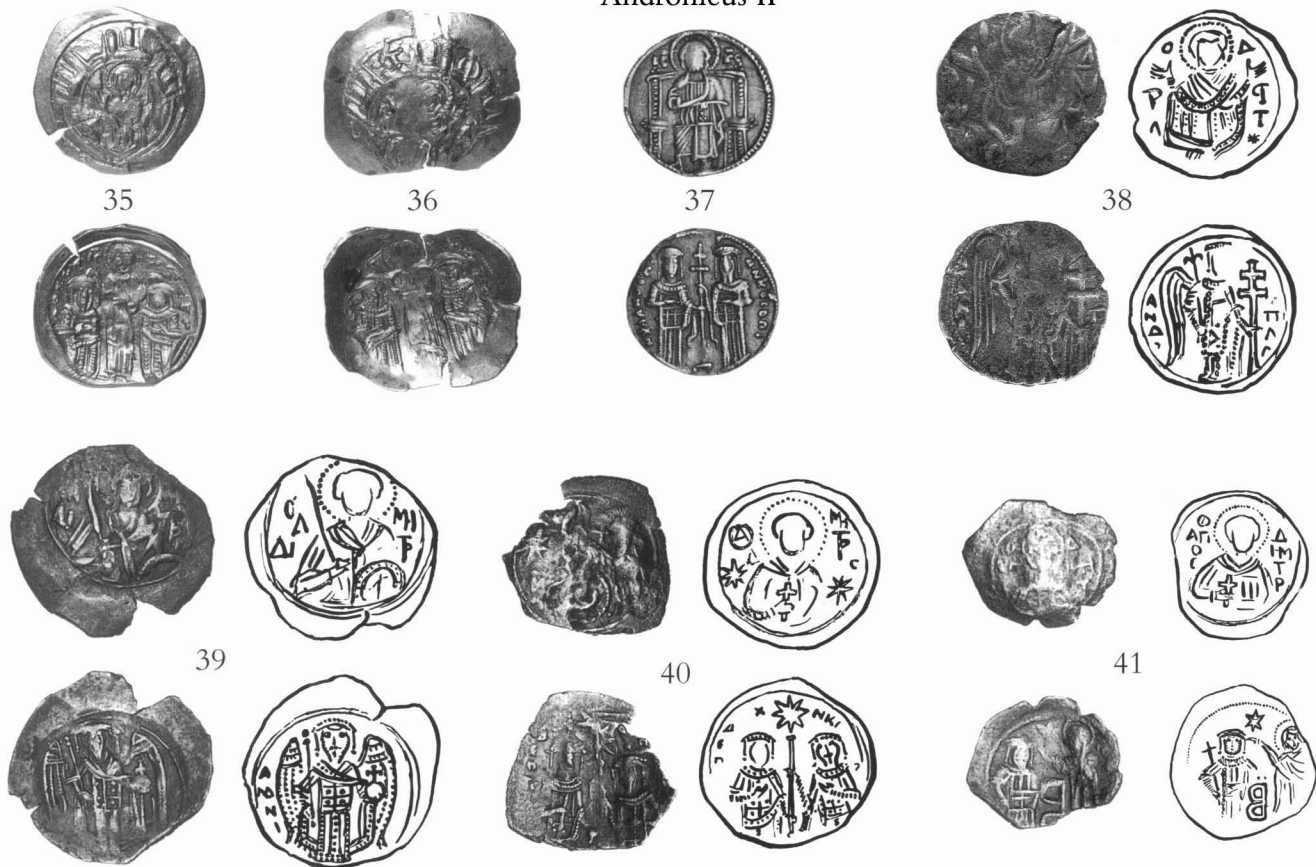
Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328)

35. Possibly Thessalonike. Gold hyperpyron. Virgin within walls (four groups of towers). *Rev.* Andronikos II and Michael IX blessed by Christ. *DOC* 5: no. 473.
36. Possibly Thessalonike. Gold hyperpyron. As above, but sigla Κ Φ above walls and Κ Λ below. *DOC* 5: no. 480.
37. Possibly Thessalonike. Silver basilikon. Christ on throne with back. *Rev.* Andronikos II and Michael IX. *DOC* 5: no. 504.
38. Billon trachy. Virgin orans. In field left O | P | Λ and right Δ | ϣ | T Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, 6202. Cf. *LPC*, p. 49, no. 20, this coin. Photo courtesy of the Barber Institute, Birmingham.
39. Billon trachy. Bust of St. Demetrios. *Rev.* “Winged emperor” standing. *DOC* 5: no. 727. Cf. *LPC*, p. 213, no. 12.
40. Billon trachy. Bust of St. Demetrios holding the small cross of martyrs on his breast. *Rev.* Half-figures of emperors holding staff with large star above. *DOC* 5: no. 772. Cf. *LPC*, p. 229, no. 2.
41. Billon trachy. Bust of St. Demetrios as above. *Rev.* Emperor blessed by Virgin. Between them * and 8 below. *DOC* 5: no. 827. Cf. *LPC*, p. 205, no. 2.

Michael VIII



Andronicus II



Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328–1341)

42. Billon trachy. Winged patriarchal cross. *Rev.* Emperor and St. Demetrios, star in crescent above. *DOC* 5: no. 919. Cf. *LPC*, p. 234, no. 3.
43. Billon trachy. Bust of St. Demetrios between ⚆ and ⚈ *Rev.* Emperor standing between ⚆ and ⚈ *DOC* 5: no. 931. Cf. *LPC*, p. 240, no. 11.
44. Billon trachy. Monogram. *Rev.* Emperor in archway. *DOC* 5: no. 933. Cf. *LPC*, p. 240, no. 12.
45. Billon trachy. St. Demetrios riding right between two ✱. *Rev.* Emperor riding right between ⚈ and ✱ (cf. *LPC*, p. 242, no. 15; not at *DO*). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, ex-Bendall collection. Photo courtesy of Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

John V Palaiologos and Anna of Savoy

46. Copper assarion. Emperor standing with cross scepter and akakia. *Rev.* Anna standing holding model building in her right hand. In field left ⚆ and right ⚈ *DOC* 5: no. 1228. Cf. *LPC*, p. 251, no. 6.
47. Copper assarion. Emperor standing with labarum and akakia. In field left ⚆ and right two ✱. *Rev.* Anna standing as above. In lower field, left, ✱. *DOC* 5: no. 1229. Cf. *LPC*, p. 253, no. 7.
48. Copper assarion. Emperor standing holding long cross with St. Demetrios. *Rev.* Anna standing under archway. In field, right and left, four ✱. *DOC* 5: no. 1230. Cf. *LPC* p. 261, no. 4.
49. Copper assarion. Anomalous style (Thessalonike or imitation?). Virgin orans facing. *Rev.* Two imperial figures standing. Not at *DO*. Specimen from the Diokitiriou Square excavations, courtesy of Prof. Charalambos Bakirtzis, 9th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities, Thessalonike. See S. Bendall, *NCirc* (1996): 39. Drawing from Dočev, 262, no. 6.

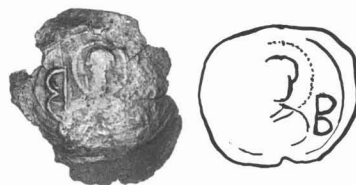
Matthew Asen Kantakouzenos (1354–1355)

50. Silver coin probably struck in Adrianople. St. Demetrios above the walls, blessed by the nimbate figure of Christ standing. In field, center ⚆. *Rev.* Emperor standing. ΜΑΤΚΖΝ. Two specimens known: Protonotarios collection, published in *RN* 23 (1981): pl. x and S. Bendall collection, published in *NCirc* 95 (1987): 40 (coin stolen; here illustrated from *NCirc*).

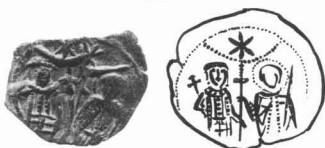
Andronicus III



42



43



44



45



John V and Anna of Savoy



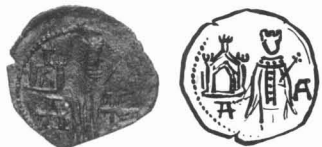
46



47



48



Matthew Asen Cantacuzenus



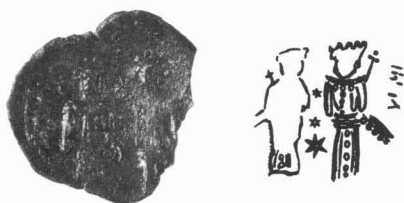
49



50



(x2)



Thessalonian Influence

Roger II (1130–1154)

51. Silver *ducalis* struck in Palermo (1140). Bust of Christ. *Rev.* St. Demetrios standing handing patriarchal cross on steps to the king (cf. *MEC*, nos. 212–13). *DO* collection no. 48.17.4254, from Peirce.
52. Copper *foliaro* struck in Messina. Bust of St. Demetrios. *Rev.* Cufic inscription dating the issue to A.H. 543 [= A.D. 1148/49]. *MEC*, no. 226, this coin. Photo courtesy of Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Michael II of Epiros (1236–1265)

53. Billon trachy probably struck in Arta. Two rulers standing in loros holding staff. *Rev.* Model city. *DO* collection no. 90.26, bought from Spink list in *NCirc* 98 (May 1990); no. 2939, but not included in *DOC* 4.
54. Billon trachy idem. Half-length figure of Archangel Michael. *Rev.* John III crowning Michael II. *DOC*, pl. XLVII, 2, not at *DO* (M. Hendy and S. Bendall, “A Billon Trachy of John Ducas, Emperor, and John Comnenus Ducas, Despot (?)” *RN* 12 (1970): 143–48, from a private collection = Bertelè and Morriçon, *Numismatique Byzantine*, pl. vi, no. 87; from Bertelè’s Dossier, 125, no. 6 = BnF 1984/1005. Photo courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Stefan Radoslav (1228–1233)

55. Electrum (silver) trachy struck in Ras. Bust of Archangel Michael. *Rev.* Stefan standing crowned by Christ. Left in 8 lines СТЕΦΑΝΟC ΡΑΖ Ο ΔΥΚΑC. Right, idem ΟΓΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ = Ivanišević, *Novčartsvo*, no. 1.1. Photo courtesy of National Museum, Belgrade.
56. Billon trachy struck in Ras. Bust of Christ Emmanuel. *Rev.* Emperor standing crowned by Virgin. Cf. Ivanišević, *Novčartsvo*, no. 1.3.
57. Billon trachy struck in Ras. Christ on backless throne. *Rev.* Emperor and St. Constantine standing holding patriarchal cross on steps. Cf. Ivanišević, *Novčartsvo*, no. 1.4.

Ivan Asen II (1218–1241)

58. Gold hyperpyron struck in Ohrid or Thessalonike. Christ standing. Slavic inscription “King of Glory.” *Rev.* Ivan standing crowned by St. Demetrios. Slavic inscription “Ivan Asen tsar.” After Iurukova and Penčev, *Pečati i moneti*, 80.
- 59, 60. Billon trachy, same mint. Bust of Christ Emmanuel. *Rev.* Ivan and St. Demetrios holding a staff with star on top. *DOC* 2.1 and 2.13.
61. Gold seal, same mint. St. Demetrios on backless throne, sword resting on knees. *Rev.* Ivan standing in loros. After Iurukova and Penčev, *Pečati i moneti*, 224, pl. III, 23a–b.

Andronikos IV Palaiologos (1376–1379)

62. Copper tornese, Constantinople. Emperor and St. Demetrios riding right. *Rev.* Palaiologan monogram. Circular legend ΑΙΔΡΟΙΚΟΝΔΕCΠΟΤΟΝ. *DOC* 5: no. 1259. Cf. *LPC*, p. 153, no. 3.

Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425)

63. Copper tornese, Constantinople. Emperor and St. Demetrios riding right. *Rev.* Palaiologan monogram. Circular legend ΜΑΝΟΒΗΛΔΕCΠΟΤΙC. *DOC* 5: no. 1598. Cf. *LPC*, p. 163, no. 6.



51



52



(x2)



53



54



55



56



57



58



59



60



61



62



63



hoards.¹⁴ In 1999, Hendy's arguments still depended on the differences in style observed in 1969, and he eventually invokes the plausibility of historical continuity between important production of the twelfth century and the activity following the reoccupation of the city by Theodore Doukas in 1224: "it would seem reasonable to suppose . . . that Thessalonica should have been a mint in the short intervening period."¹⁵ However much one is tempted to adhere to this historically satisfying reconstruction, one must admit that the concentration of the so-called "Thessalonican Latin imitations" is not what one would expect for such an origin and that this attribution needs further archaeological confirmation.¹⁶

The reign of Theodore I Komnenos Doukas (late 1224–30) represents in any case the heyday of the mint of Thessalonike in the late Byzantine period. The legend ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ (ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ) Ο ΔΥΚΑΣ (see Fig. 11) clearly is intended to distinguish the ruler from Theodore Laskaris who could not claim as illustrious a descent. The less prestigious name of Angelos under which Theodore is often cited in nineteenth-century catalogues never appears on the Thessalonian coinage. The ruler's family name, style, and provenances define the subsequent issues of the Doukai. The quality and quantity of coin issued is remarkable:¹⁷ many examples will be shown below. Theodore's six-year reign counts no less than three different silver trachea, the former electrum coin worth $\frac{1}{3}$ hyperpyron which had now evolved into a pure silver one worth $\frac{1}{10}$ th or $\frac{1}{12}$ th of the gold denomination and was called "trikephalon." The "billon trachea"—in fact copper stamena—are of eight different types¹⁸ and may have been issued on an annual basis. To these two denominations, relatively common, must be added rarer tetartera and half-tetartera. Theodore's coinage thus comprises every denomination of the Byzantine monetary system of the period except for the gold, which his contemporary and rival John III Vatatzes struck in huge numbers although hiding under the guise of "John porphyrogenetos" and imitat-

¹⁴ *DOC* 4: 94. D. M. Metcalf, "The Peter and Paul Hoard: Bulgarian and Latin Imitative Trachea in the Time of Ivan Asen," *NC* 7 (1973): 144–72; idem, "The Value of the Amorgos and Thira Hoards as a Test Case for the Interpretation of Sub-Byzantine Trachea in the Years around 1204," *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 8 (1989): 49–67. The relevant bibliography concerning the general attribution of the Latin imitative trachea is now summed up in M. Galani-Krikou, I. Touratsoglou, and H. Tsourte, *Νομισματικό Μουσεία Συλλογή Ηλία Κάντα, Βυζαντινά Νομίσματα* (Athens, 2000), 216. The debate is resumed by I. Touratsoglou, "La monnaie byzantine aux XIIe–XIIIe siècles et le témoignage des trouvailles de Grèce: À propos d'un ouvrage récent," *RN* 2002, forthcoming.

¹⁵ This peculiar style consists essentially of the "extraordinary pendilia form" on type A and on some specimens of type B, an unusual feature which links them to Alexios I's hyperpyra (Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 209–10). Hoard evidence is then mainly examined in a chronological perspective, which, one admits, was more important then for research in the late 1960s than the distinction between mints.

¹⁶ S. Bendall, drawing on his long-standing experience of the market, writes: "I have never considered Hendy's reasons for attributing the three types to Thessalonica particularly strong. I can only list here what may be pertinent overstrikes that I have noted: Thessalonica B on Thessalonica A as Hendy notes; Thessalonica B on Theodore Laskaris 1st type (H., pl. 30, 7–10). This is important since it shows that wherever they were struck, Thessalonica A and B are earlier than 1208" (S. Bendall, "A Latin Coinage for Thessalonica?" *NCirc* 105 [1997]: 74–75, p. 75 note 5). See also Touratsoglou (as above, note 14) and especially I. Touratsoglou, "Θησαυρός άσπρων τραχέων/1983 από την Άρτα," *Άρχ. Έφ.* 36 (1981), Meletai: 209–36.

¹⁷ With the exception of Theodore's first issue, clearly struck in haste probably just after the reconquest of the city (see S. Bendall, "A Hoard of Billon Trachea of Theodore Comnenus Ducas of Thessalonica (A.D. 1224–1230)," *NCirc* 98 [1990]: 8–9).

¹⁸ To the types listed in *DOC* 4 must now be added an eighth one recently published by S. Bendall, "A New Copper Trachy of Theodore I Laskaris of Nicaea (1205–1222)?" *NCirc* 109 (2001): 161.

ing closely John II Komnenos' coins. No one has ever asked nor answered the question why Theodore, so eager to get the crown and other *basilika symbola*, did not strike even one ceremonial gold coin. Hyperpyra in the name of John struck in the 1230s are widespread in the northeast Balkans and in Greece. "Finds in the Struma and Vardar basins imply that they were carried inland also from Thessalonica."¹⁹ One wonders whether among the many varieties of this imitative coinage²⁰ a few could not be of Thessalonian minting. The answer will rest on a comparative analysis of finds from both sides of the Aegean, but the too sparse evidence from Asia Minor needs to be supplemented.

From the advent of John III Vatatzes into the city in 1246, the fine early style of the coinage of the Doukai (see Figs. 7–14) recedes before one of much inferior quality very close to that of the issues of the Empire of Nicaea. This rather poor, even wretched, fabric is the norm in the subsequent and last century of Thessalonian coinage. Palaiologan issues of Thessalonike were not represented at all in the *British Museum Catalogue*, the standard reference from 1908 up to the publication of *DOC*, and were first isolated by T. Bertelè in his study *L'imperatore alato nella numismatica bizantina* (Rome, 1951). It included only coins "finora sconosciuti" that "he had been able to acquire some time before during travels in the Balkans."²¹ In fact when he was consul in Sarajevo, in 1938, he used to drive all the way from Sarajevo to Dürres or other coastal cities or even to Priština, Skopje, Prilep (some 200 km distant), and elsewhere in Albania or southern Yugoslavia, to buy coins at local gold- and silversmiths after heavy rains. The downpours would wash the coins out of the earth to be retrieved by peasants who brought them to their shops for sale. Not only their provenance, but also their fabric ("l'impiego di tondelli spesso molti sottili") and above all their peculiar style and iconography "place these coins in a special category [differing from the products of Nicaea and Constantinople] and reveal the activity of a new mint." He thus established definitely the "existence of a mint in Thessalonike after 1246" which had already been guessed at by Harold Mattingly in his 1923 publication of the find in Arta.²² The identification of Thessalonian issues of the fourteenth century was already clear-cut and documented by their only known provenance in the "Longuet hoard" from Thessalonike. This was later supplemented by the nearby finds in Pella and Serres dating to the 1360s, which show a marked degeneration in style of the last issues, those of Anna of Savoy struck between 1351 and 1365 (see Figs. 46–48). The change is plausibly attributed by D. Nicol and S. Bendall to "the hiatus caused by the Zealot revolt (1342–50)."²³ However crude and degenerated they were, these last Thessalonian coins still kept the traditional iconography to which we now turn.

¹⁹ D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe* (London, 1979), 130–31.

²⁰ *DOC* 4: 475–78. E. Oberländer-Târnoveau, "Les hyperpères de type Jean III Vatatzès: classification, chronologie et évolution du titre à la lumière du trésor d'Uzunbair, dép. de Tulcea," *Istro-Pontica, Muzeul Tulcean la a 50-a aniversare 1950–2000*, ed. M. Jacob, E. Oberländer-Târnoveau, and F. Topoleanu (Tulcea, 2000), 499–561.

²¹ T. Bertelè, *L'imperatore alato nella numismatica bizantina* (Rome, 1951), 9.

²² Bertelè, *Imperatore alato*, 12–13. All coins published and illustrated there are Thessalonian, and the majority of them are now at Dumbarton Oaks (see Concordance 10 in *DOC* 5: 571–72). H. Mattingly, "A Find of Thirteenth-Century Coins at Arta in Epirus," *NC* 3 (1923): 31–46. For the reattribution of coins in the Arta hoard, see now Touratsoglou, "Arta" (as above, note 16).

²³ D. Nicol and S. Bendall, "Anna of Savoy in Thessalonica: The Numismatic Evidence," *RN* 19 (1977): 87–102, at 99.

II. THESSALONIAN IDENTITY ON COINS

A city as attached to its rights and privileges as Thessalonike²⁴ can be expected to have expressed this sense of pride in its coinage. Moreover, in the first half of the thirteenth century several dynasties were competing for the succession to the Komnenian Empire, so they simultaneously copied motives from the Komnenian coinage²⁵ and elaborated on the *polis* identity associated for centuries with the saint. It is no surprise that its iconography has many specificities which differentiate its production from that of Nicaea/Magnesia and after 1261 from that of Constantinople. Its main traits have often been outlined and commented upon in the numismatic literature from Bertelè to Grierson and Touratsoglou.²⁶ Nothing of great novelty will be presented here, but I hope that bringing this material to the attention of an audience of non-numismatists will stir the interest of scholars from other disciplines and help propose better interpretations.

Let us start with a coin of Manuel Komnenos Doukas (1230–37) (BnF 1970/208a = *DOC* 4: no. [9.5] = Fig. 14) whose reverse assembles in one image the main iconographic themes summed up in this paper's title: the emperor, the saint, the city. The circular legend on the left identifies the ruler as ΜΑΝΘΗΛ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ and the saint on the right as ΟΑΓΙΟCΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC. The unusual legend on four lines in the field reads ΠΟΛΙC | ΘΕCΣCΑ | ΛΟΝ | ΙΚΗ and clearly labels the model city represented below as a walled town with three towers held between them by the ruler and the saint. The inscription naming the city is a numismatic *hapax*, possibly inspired by the legend CIVITAS THESSALONICARVM (*sic*) on seals of the Latin ruler Boniface of Montferrat.²⁷

The ruler assumes here the title of *despotes*, which on Byzantine coinage had systematically replaced that of *basileus* since Nikephoros III Botaneiates in 1078 and was the only one given to the emperor in the twelfth century.²⁸ Theodore Komnenos Doukas, who

²⁴ Cf. the chrysobull τῶν ἀνέκαθεν προσαρμοσάντων Θεσσαλονίκη ἐθίμων τε καὶ δικαίων περιεκτικῶ καὶ τῆς σφῶν ἐλευθερίας παρεκτικῶ demanded of John III Vatatzes (Acropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 80), as had been obtained before from the Latin emperor Baldwin II (M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile* [Oxford, 1975], 287) and as will be stipulated later at the time of the surrendering of the city by Andronikos Palaiologos to the Venetians in 1423. On this and similar documents see also D. Kyritses, "The 'Common Chrysobulls' of Cities and the Notions of Property in Late Byzantium," *Σύμμεικτα* 13 (1999): 229–45.

²⁵ E.g., in the well-known case of the hyperpyra of John III Vatatzes copied from those of John II Komnenos and taking over unduly the title of *porphyrogenetos*, but also on a few coins from the Komnenoi Doukai such as Manuel, *DOC* 4: no. 9.

²⁶ To Bertelè, *Imperatore alato* and "Monete dell'imperatore Giovanni VI Cantacuzeno," *ZRVI* 8.1 (= *Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky*) (1963): 43–59 should be added P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (London–Berkeley, 1982), 242–43, 258–59, 260–67, and *DOC* 5: 59–61. I. Touratsoglou, "L'atelier monétaire de Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle après J.-C.: Le rayonnement d'un centre artistique avant le déclin de l'empire," in *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIVe siècle* (Belgrade, 1987), 183–91; I. Touratsoglou, "Τα νομισματικά πράγματα στη Μακεδονία των Παλαιολόγων. Νομισματική κυκλοφορία καὶ νομισματικὴ εἰκονογραφία," *Β' Συμπόσιο Η Μακεδονία κατά την εποχὴ των Παλαιολόγων. Θεσσαλονίκη, 14–20 Δεκεμβρίου 1992, Πρακτικά, Actes du Symposium sur la Macédoine des Paléologues, Thessalonique déc. 1992* (Thessalonike, 2001), 269–87.

²⁷ Bertelè, *Imperatore alato*, 40 (fig. from G. Schlumberger, *RN* 4 [1886]: pl. xiv [= *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine* (Paris, 1895), 55–59, fig.]) and 96 note 48.

²⁸ Although in middle Byzantine coinage it was applied to the junior emperor as opposed to the senior emperor who was termed *basileus* (e.g., Michael III under Theophilos, or Romanos IV as inferior to Eudokia on the unique tetarteron pattern in the Bibliothèque Nationale: C. Morriison, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale* [Paris, 1971], 2: 651, no. 12 and pl. xc).

termed himself only ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΔΥΚΑΣ on his first Thessalonian issues (*DOC* 4: no. 1, silver, or *DOC* 4: no. 4, billon = Fig. 8), had taken the *despotes* title on the silver of his “coronation issue” (*DOC* 4: no. 2a2 with the Virgin Hagiosoritissa = Figs. 6, 7) and exceptionally that of *basileus* and *autokrator* +ΘΕΟΔ |ΩΡΟCΕΝΧΩ |ΤΩΘΕΩΠΙCΤΟC |ΒΑCΙΛΕΥCΚΑΙ |ΛΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ |ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝΟ |ΔΥΚΑ C on the unique contemporary tetarteron of a private collection published by Bendall (Fig. 10), probably a coronation issue as well,²⁹ the other tetartera, a rare issue belonging with the latter, having only +ΘΕ |ΟΔΩΡΟC |ΔΕCΠΟΤ |ΗCΟΔΥ |ΚΑC (*DOC* 4: no. 12 = Fig. 11).

The “coronation issue” of Theodore is the first instance³⁰ in which a Byzantine ruler is shown with the image of his capital city, a theme which had begun to appear in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in other media such as manuscripts or mosaics (the most famous being the tenth-century mosaic in the southwest vestibule of Hagia Sophia showing Constantine I offering a model of Constantinople).³¹ Byzantine coins with their low relief do not allow much rendering of perspective. One should note, however, that here among the three towers depicting the city wall, the central one, higher than the two outer ones, tries to suggest a bird’s-eye view. In this case the *polis* is intended to express the autonomy and independence of the Komnenoi Doukai (as defended by Blemmydes).³² The emperor holding or being handed the city remains a constant theme in all subsequent reigns down to the mid-fourteenth century and is typical of the local ideology of the *polis*. The seal of John Komnenos-Doukas preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (Fig. 15) is an even more conspicuous example of this association, due to the greater space provided by the large module (43 mm) of the lead bulla. It depicts St. Demetrios standing with his right hand on the shoulder of the emperor. The emperor’s representation as a much smaller figure, reminiscent of the donors’ portraits on thirteenth-century icons, emphasizes the protection extended by the saint. In the background at the right the crenellated walls of Thessalonike are shown in much the same design as on John’s smallest copper trachea (Fig. 24). The reverse provides the full imperial titulature in an inscription of eight lines:³³

+Θ̄Ε[N]
 ΧΡΙCΤΩΤΩC
 ΘΕΩΠΙCΤΟCΡ |
 ΑCΙΛΕΥCΚΑΙΑΥ |
 ΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΡΩ
 |ΜΕΩΝΚΟΜΝΗ |
 ΝΟCΟΛΟΥΚ |
 ΑC

²⁹ S. Bendall, “A New Tetarteron of Theodore Comnenus Ducas,” *NCirc* 79 (1971): 10.

³⁰ The first on a high-value denomination, the second, in fact, if one takes into account the “billon trachy” struck just before the “coronation” electrum one (*DOC* 5: no. 7), where Theodore curiously receives the city from St. Michael and not from St. Demetrios. J. Touratsoglou and P. Protonotarios consider the electrum trachy with Theodore crowned by Christ (*DOC* [3]) as a coronation issue, although Theodore does not have the title *despotes* in the inscription: J. Touratsoglou and P. Protonotarios, “Les émissions de couronnement dans le monnayage byzantin du XIIIe siècle,” *RN* 19 (1977): 69–76.

³¹ See the examples given by A. Cutler, *Transfigurations* (University Park, Pa., 1975), 126–27.

³² *Nicephori Blemmydae Opera. Autobiographia sive curriculum vitae necnon Epistula Universalior*, ed. J. A. Munitiz (Louvain, 1984), 1: 23, and J. A. Munitiz, *Nikephoros Blemmydes. A Partial Account* (Louvain, 1988), 56.

³³ I am grateful to Dr. John Nesbitt for providing his description and reading (slightly different from that of Zacos) to appear in the forthcoming volume 5 of *DOSeals*.

Ἰω(άννης) ἐ[ν] Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτορ Ῥωμέων Κομνηνὸς ὁ Δούκας.

On Anna's coins (e.g., *DOC* 5: no. 1229 = Figs. 46, 47), the city is featured in a different way, the design looking more like an isolated building. One wonders whether the city wall's towers had not then been replaced by a summary drawing of St. Demetrios' basilica similar to that on the frescoes of Dečani. Such an association of emperor, saint, and city on one face of the coin is unknown in Nicaea or Constantinople: the famous hyperpyron of Michael VIII (*DOC* 5: nos. 2–25 showing the half-figure of the Virgin within the walls and on the other side St. Michael presenting the kneeling emperor to Christ on his throne) has a different organization and content. On the hyperpyron, the city is left entirely to the Virgin's protective figure, and the emperor cannot claim any possession or dominion on it as Manuel implicitly does. The reverse also has a different and more personal signification in focusing on the divine origin of Michael's power who is thus in a way absolved of his usurpation and subsequent murder of John IV Laskaris. Manuel's coin conveys a different message of the closer association of the ruler with the city.

Of course as in previous examples in other media, it also conveys the idea of the heavenly protection bestowed in this case by the megalomartyr *philopolis* and *proteichisma* as well as *hyperaspistes tes poleos*, *sozopolites*, and so on. At the same time it gives the saint's blessing and anointment to the new ruler.³⁴ The insistence on the function of the saint, as "advance defense wall" of the city, explains the dominance in the coinage of his traditional and most common representation as a military saint (ἐν ὀπλίτου σχήματι) with breastplate, short tunic, shield, holding sword or spear or shield in various combinations, on nine of the ten types with St. Demetrios recorded in *DOC* 4 for Theodore's reign.³⁵ On one issue only is the saint shown in the same attire but sitting on a backless throne, with a sword resting on his knees (*DOC* 4: no. 9 = Fig. 9), a representation which is not found in other mints and may have been inspired by local iconography.³⁶ One could envisage that it was the type of the icon venerated in the ciborium as described in the early fifteenth century.³⁷ It may have been inspired by the representation on the (now lost) mosaic in the basilica featuring the saint seated under the ciborium³⁸ and refer to the famous episode in the *Miracula* I, 81–83 of the vision inside the monument of the saint enthroned together with the Lady Eutaxia.³⁹ No other military saint is ever represented seated either on coins or in other media, and this feature must be considered yet another idiosyncrasy of Thessalonian iconography resulting from the fusion of the early type of the saint in robes seated on the throne in the ciborium with the military type more favored in the later period.

On a silver coin of Matthew Asen Kantakouzenos probably struck in Adrianople (1354–55), a military saint appears above the walls (= Fig. 50): the theme is known for

³⁴ On *philopolis* and *proteichisma*, see "Miracula," cited by R. Macrides, "Subversion and Loyalty in the Cult of St. Demetrios," *BSI* 51 (1990): 189–97, at 190 note 10. On the role of St. Demetrios' *myron* in the competition between Theodore Doukas and the Laskarids in Nicaea, see *ibid.*, 195.

³⁵ See now V. Penna, "Ἡ απεικόνιση του αγ. Δημητρίου σε νομισματικές εκδόσεις της Θεσσαλονίκης Μεσοβυζαντινή και Ὑστερη βυζαντινή περίοδος" (The iconography of St. Demetrios on issues of the Thessalonike mint: middle and late Byzantine period), *Ὁβολός* 4 (Thessalonike, 2000): 195–210.

³⁶ It is taken up again in Michael VIII's coinage (*DOC* 5: 143).

³⁷ Symeon of Thessalonica, *Diataxis*, cited by D. Pallas, "Le ciborium hexagonal de saint Démétrius de Thessalonique," *Zograf* 10 (1979): 44–58, at 52.

³⁸ R. S. Cormack, "The Mosaic Decoration of St. Demetrios, Thessaloniki: A Reexamination in the Light of the Drawings of W. S. George," *BSA* 64 (1969): 17–52, pl. 3 (black/white), pl. 7 (color).

³⁹ P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius* (Paris, 1978), 1: 81–83 (hereafter *Miracula*).

St. Demetrios from painted Thessalonian manuscripts⁴⁰ or Serbian paintings and is clearly a reminder of the episode in the *Miracula*.⁴¹ This rare issue is known from two specimens, both featuring the emperor standing in loros on the reverse with the legend ΚΤΚΖΝ ΑΣΗ and on the obverse the half-length figure of a military saint above walls blessed by Christ standing. On the first specimen, published by P. Protonotarios,⁴² Christ was identified by Ι̅ in the upper field, while the conspicuous monogram TP (Ϝ) in the lower field apparently designated the winged and nimbate military saint holding sword upright in his right hand and sheath in his left as St. Demetrios. However, this unique winged representation of the saint made the author and myself express some doubts concerning this hypothesis. In 1987 S. Bendall published a second slightly different specimen where the inscription in the upper field read apparently ΧΗ instead of Ι̅, which led him to conclude that the saint could only be St. Michael and the monogram should be interpreted as a siglon.⁴³ A careful look at the illustration of the Bendall coin makes me wonder whether the inscription is not in fact ΔΗ and, combined with the monogram Ϝ, designates clearly the patron of Thessalonike to whom, as we will see, the Asen family had particular devotion.

The earlier type of St. Demetrios as a *hypatikianos taxeotes* wearing his (white) chlamys with tablion⁴⁴ is attested only under Manuel Doukas (*DOC* 4: no. 5 = Fig. 13), and the classical variant with the saint holding the small cross of martyrs on his breast is found only on one issue of Michael VIII (*DOC* 5: nos. 169–73 = Fig. 32) and two of Andronikos II (*DOC* 5: nos. 771–73 = Fig. 40 and 825–32 = Fig. 41).⁴⁵ A rare “enigmatic” coin in coarse style representing two standing imperial figures (Fig. 49) is known from fourteen specimens including two from archaeological contexts at Tirnovo and Dioikitirion Square in Thessalonike. Three additional examples are found in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. For S. Bendall, who published the first ten specimens (excluding the Thessalonike and Dumbarton Oaks coins), the obverse shows the Virgin orans facing. Euridyce Georganteli, to the contrary, proposed that the figure on the obverse is Saint Demetrios “in robes” praying to the right between two towers.⁴⁶ The DO specimens, though badly preserved, con-

⁴⁰ Bodleian Gr. Th. f. 1, commissioned from a local workshop by the despot Demetrios Palaiologos in 1322–40: I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften*, ed. O. Demus, vol. 2, *Oxford Bodleian Library* 2 (Stuttgart, 1978): 32 and ill. 102 (I owe this reference to E. Georganteli).

⁴¹ *Miracula* I, 13, 15. Also illustrated on the frescoes at Dečani and Peć and likewise on the Vatopedi reliquary (A. Grabar, “Quelques reliquaires de Saint Démétrios et le martyrium du saint à Salonique,” *DOP* 5 [1950]: 3–28, repr. in *Lart de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen-Age*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1968], 3–28; Helen C. Evans, ed., *The Glory of Byzantium* [New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997], 77–78, no. 36).

⁴² P. Protonotarios, “Une monnaie de l'empereur Mathieu Asen Cantacuzène (1354–1357),” *RN* 23 (1981): 96–100.

⁴³ S. Bendall, “A New Coin of Matthew Asen Cantacuzenus,” *NCirc* 95 (1987): 40. This coin was unfortunately stolen from the author.

⁴⁴ P. Lemerle, “Note sur les plus anciennes représentations de saint Démétrios,” *Δελτ.Χριστ. Αρχ. Έτ.*, per. 4, vol. 1 (Athens, 1980–81): 1–10 and *Miracula* I, 41.

⁴⁵ Prof. Bakirtzis refers me here to the representation on the relief stone icon on the bema of the *katholikon* of the monastery of Xeropotamou. See, e.g., the illustration in Ch. Bakirtzis, ed., *Άγιου Δημητρίου θαύματα. Οι συλλογές αρχιεπισκόπου Ιωάννου και ανωνύμου* (Athens, 1997), fig. 7.

⁴⁶ S. Bendall, “An Enigmatic Fourteenth-Century Coin,” *NCirc* 104 (1996): 39. *Contra* E. Georganteli, “A Paleologan *Trachion* from the Dioikitirion Square,” *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 20 (2001): 71–93. The identification of the two rulers on the obverse is another enigma and neither Bendall nor Grierson (who comments on the issue in *DOC* V, 192) considers it a “regular” product of the Thessalonian mint, which I agree with. S. Bendall (“The Dioikitirion Square *Trachion* Reconsidered,” *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 21 [2002]: 107–15) proposes that the

firm that the saint is indeed represented as a facing, not a profile, figure. One of the coins (Fig. 49b) has a saint with a cloak falling down his back and attached by a circular central ornament, as on *DOC* 1192, the possible prototype of the coin. He stands on crenellated walls and is not wearing “robes” (the chlamys with tablion, known from the early basilica’s mosaic and later wall paintings^{46b}), but a military costume, as indicated by the tunic, which stops at mid-calf as on *DOC* 155 (Fig. 31). This “enigmatic coin” obverse apparently combines the figure of the saint orans (usually with a chlamys) and his military representation (otherwise always with a spear and shield and not orans).

Regarding religious figures, I would like to point out the importance of the Hagiosoritissa type—a facing orans Virgin with the inscription *Hagiosoritissa* in several lines in the field—which appears on the silver coins of Theodore Doukas (Figs. 6, 7). This theme may have been taken up again a century later and may explain the hitherto mysterious legend in the field of a later poorly preserved coin of Andronikos II (Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, 6202 = *LPC*⁴⁷ p. 48, no. 20 = Fig. 38) with the inscription in field left $\Theta \mid \rho \mid \Lambda$ and right $\Delta \mid \tau \mid \Upsilon$). These two coins are the only known examples among Byzantine issues to bear this inscription, even if other, relatively rare, instances of the variety of this type with the Virgin orans turned to the right are known, from Manuel I to Andronikos I.⁴⁸ One is tempted to relate this instance with the miraculous icon of the Acheiropoietos or Kataphyge basilica.⁴⁹ Reference may be made to the fresco in St. Nicholas Orphanos showing a facing Virgin orans with the inscription *Acheiropoietos* and perhaps to the stone figure of the same type from Hosios David in Thessalonike now in the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessalonike.⁵⁰

The main traits of the Thessalonian monetary repertoire were thus fixed under the emperors or despots of the Doukas dynasty and simply often taken over by John III Vatatzes and later by the Palaiologoi. Besides the principal and specific type of ruler with saint and city, another feature already noticeable under Theodore and Manuel Komnenos Doukas is the representation of the emperor holding or accompanied by “incongruous objects of dimensions too large to be regarded as ‘insignia’ and often forming coin types in their own right”:⁵¹ a conspicuous labarum or patriarchal cross and more notably a large cross within a circle (Michael VIII, *DOC* 5: no. 149 = Fig. 29)⁵² or a large sword (e.g., *DOC*

figures are those of the Asen brothers, who ruled the Thracian coast and Thasos for a while after 1356, but he still maintains that the obverse shows the Virgin standing.

^{46b} G. and M. Soteriou, *Η βασιλική τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, Athens, 1952, vol. 2, pl. 62, 76, 77.

⁴⁷ S. Bendall and P. J. Donald, *The Later Palaeologan Coinage* (London, 1979) (hereafter *LPC*).

⁴⁸ See T. Bertelè, “La Vergine aghiosoritissa nella numismatica bizantina,” *REB* 16 (1958): 233–34; Grierson, *DOC* 5: 76; I. Touratsoglou, “Εγκόλπιο στεατίτη από τη Βέροια,” *ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΟΝ. Αφιέρωμα στον Μ. Χατζη-δακη* (Athens, 1992), 2: 601–6.

⁴⁹ On this icon and how it replaced an earlier icon of the Hodegetria type, see D. Pallas, “Le ciborium hexagonal de st. Démétrius de Thessalonique,” *Zograf* 10 (1979): 44–58, note 73 citing Symeon of Thessalonike.

⁵⁰ A. Xyngopoulos, “Ανάγλυφον τοῦ Ὁσίου Δαβίδ τοῦ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ,” *Μακεδονικά* 2 (1941–52): 143–66.

⁵¹ Grierson, *DOC* 5: 70: “Composite Types.”

⁵² Regarding this peculiar type of cross, Prof. Bakirtzis kindly referred me to the abstract of a paper given by N. Oikonomides on the type of the ἰσοσκελῆ σταυρὸ ἐγγεγραμμένο σε ἓνα κύκλο favored by Bogomils and Cathars but not to be considered necessarily a token of heresy. The abstract mentioned fourteen steles bearing that type of large cross inscribed in a circle in the necropolis of the ancient Slavic-speaking village of Gialatzik (Nea Khalkedona), between Thessalonike and Giannitsa. This village lay in the region previously in-

4: Manuel, no. [2] = Fig. 12).⁵³ But the more striking of these peculiarities appeared during the five-year reign of John Doukas (1237–42) under the control of his father, now blind, the former emperor Theodore. One cannot say whether this spurt of innovation is due to Theodore's influence or simply to the imagination of local engravers; the repertoire is marked anyway by an increase in the number of religious figures or symbols⁵⁴ and above all by the appearance of all sorts of previously unseen representations: emperor under an archway (e.g., *DOC* 4: no. [36] = Fig. 25); emperor holding a banner (*DOC* 4: no. 31 = Fig. 21) or a B (*DOC* 4: no. [24]); motif formed of a large B alone (*DOC* 4: no. 31 = Fig. 21; Bendall, *Notes* III, L) or with a banner (*DOC* 4: no. [32]); conspicuous stars (*DOC* 4: no. [33] = Fig. 22); an eagle (*DOC* 4: no. 8 = Fig. 16); various forms of lily, and wings, either alone (*DOC* 4: no. [35] obv.) or on each side of a cross (*DOC* 4: no. [18] = Fig. 19), or of the emperor (*DOC* 4: nos. [34–35] = Fig. 23).⁵⁵

All these motifs rarely, if ever, appear in Constantinople,⁵⁶ and many characterize Thessalonian coinage down to its later issues (see *DOC* 5: 1: table 22—Andronikos III—and lists; pp. 180–81—John V and Anna; pp. 198–99—Anna, 1352–65; pp. 203–6, John V, post-1367).⁵⁷ Finally, there is a second iconographic hapax including a numismatic representation of the martyrdom of the saint.⁵⁸

As regards the lily, already discussed by several scholars, it has nothing to do with the lily of St. Tryphon's miracle in Nicaea: the large "fleur-de-lis florencée" of Michael VIII's trachy (*DOC* 5: no. 186 = Fig. 33) is most probably, as Touratsoglou emphasized, derived from the reverse type of the Florentine gold city emblem,⁵⁹ but when it is closely associated with the image of the saint and the city (e.g., Michael VIII, *DOC* 5: no. 155 = Fig. 31), one is tempted to look for a local origin. Was St. Demetrios' ciborium still adorned on top by a

habited by the Drogouvitai, whose name was given to one of the heretical churches in Asia Minor considered as close to the western Cathars. The First Crusade anonymous writer reports in this region west of Thessalonike the existence of several heretical villages, obviously Bogomil settlements. N. Oikonomides, "Βογομολικά Κατάλοιπα κοντά στη Θεσσαλονίκη," *Ογδόο συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και τέχνης, Αθήνα, 13, 14 και 15 Μαΐου 1988* (Athens, 1988), 73–74.

⁵³ A few texts refer to St. Demetrios' sword in its red silk sheath.

⁵⁴ Theodore showed only St. Demetrios, St. Michael, and St. Theodore plus Christ and the Virgin; to which Manuel added only St. Constantine. John introduces St. Nicholas (Fig. 19), a cherub, and several varieties of crosses.

⁵⁵ Below, Appendix 1; see, notably, *DOC* 4: pl. XLIII and Bendall, *Notes*, table x. See also I. Touratsoglou, "Thessalonique" and "Νομισματικά πράγματα" (as above, note 26).

⁵⁶ For instance, the only occurrence of a "winged emperor" on a coin attributed to Constantinople is on Bendall's *A Private Collection of Palaeologan Coins* (Wolverhampton, 1988), no. 112 (hereafter *PCPC*) (= S. Bendall and P. Donald, *Later Palaeologan Coins* [London, 1979], p. 48, no. 20), cited by Grierson in *DOC* 5: table 18A, 151, no. 17 = Fig. 38. As pointed out above, its "uncertain inscription" on either side of the Virgin image on the obverse apparently indicates *hagiosoritissa*, another link with the Thessalonian repertoire. The coin should probably be transferred back to Thessalonike.

⁵⁷ Detailed comments on these "miscellaneous types" (in Constantinople and Thessalonike) in *DOC* 5: 81–94.

⁵⁸ *DOC* 5: nos. 1251–54, with a detailed comment by Grierson on p. 204–6. That this was undoubtedly a coin is proved by its presence in the Belgradkapı hoard, which by the way points to dating this coin in the time of John V's reign between 1365 and the fall of Thessalonike in 1387. See now also I. Moutsianos and M. Polykronake, "Τύπος παλαιολόγειου νομίσματος της Συλλογής της 9ης ΕΒΑ με παράσταση του μαρτυρίου του αγίου Δημητρίου," *Όβολός 4* (Thessalonike, 2000): 211–31.

⁵⁹ I. Touratsoglou, "A Contribution to the Lily Type Issues of Michael VIII Palaeologus," *Αρχ.Δελτ.* 26 (1971): 189–93.

globe supported by *krinou blastoi*?⁶⁰ The early Byzantine monument is represented on one of the lost mosaics in the basilica, but the image of the top is not clear.⁶¹ It had probably been destroyed in the siege of 904, and “the true image” provided by the Moscow reliquary has unfortunately lost its top piece. There is too great a distance in time between the ciborium as described in the *Miracula* or represented in the earlier mosaics for us to assume that the flower was still associated with the monument. One wonders, however, whether some kind of relation with the saint did not last into the late period. Such a derivation might make more sense than the hypothesis of the imitation of German bracteates or Florentine motifs. A stone relief decorated with a lily is also said to have been inserted on the upper wall between the lower city and the acropolis.⁶² In that case a Western influence seems out of the question.

Another exclusive motif, known only in Thessalonike, is that of the archway under which the emperor or empress (e.g., John Komnenos Doukas [DOC 4: no. (36) = Fig. 25] or Anna [DOC 5: no. 1230 = Fig. 48] is sometimes represented. In the traditional context of imperial representations on other media, elaborate arches usually symbolize the imperial palace, as on the famous missorium of Theodosios in Madrid or the Ravenna mosaics. In this later Thessalonian context, it may have alluded to one of the ciborium’s elaborate arches or rather, as Bakirtzis suggests, to St. Demetrios’ tomb, which was then the object of much greater attention.

The winged emperor is undoubtedly the most spectacular of these Thessalonian innovations. The first known example issued by John Doukas (cf. DOC 4: no. [34] illustrating BnF 955 = Fig. 23) was copied by John III Vatatzes in the immediately following years (John III, DOC 4: no. 3.5 = Fig. 27). The appealing and successful formula “imperatore alato” created by Bertelè is in fact a shortcut for images where the ruler is accompanied by wings but does not necessarily have wings attached to his body as does St. Michael (John III, DOC 4: no. 4 = Fig. 28), although on a later type of Andronikos II their symmetrical arrangement and their positioning give this impression, accentuated by the crowded engraving of the coins (DOC 5: nos. 721–28 = Fig. 39).⁶³ This representation suggested to me at first that the emperor was associated with angels but not completely assimilated with them. But Simon Bendall points to the Andronikos II trachy (LPC p. 48, no. 20 = Fig. 38) where the emperor’s wing, only one in this case, is clearly attached to his body and conversely to the fact that St. Michael on earlier anonymous trachea, attributed to Demetrios Komnenos-Doukas by Hendy (DOC 4: pl. XLIV, nos. B1a–c = Fig. 26), has his right wing separated and his left wing attached. So too much should not be made of those

⁶⁰ *Miracula* §87, p. 110 and note 2 and text p. 114; *Glory of Byzantium*, 77–78 with ref. to Grabar, “Quelques reliquaires de saint Démétrios,” 18–28, who argues for the “faithful” representation of the ciborium by the Moscow reliquary in spite of its being an octagon. As regards the decoration of the top, Grabar assumes that it consisted “certainement” of a cross “fleurie et posée sur une boule” (ibid., 24). See also Pallas, “Le ciborium hexagonal de saint Démétrios de Thessalonique.” I am grateful to J.-M. Spieser for the references, but he has no responsibility for the outcome of my wandering imagination. On St. Demetrios’ ciborium, see now C. Bakirtzis, “Pilgrimage to Thessalonike: The Tomb of St. Demetrios,” *DOP* 56 (2002): 175–92.

⁶¹ Cormack, “Mosaic Decoration,” pl. 3 (black/white), pl. 7 (color). O. Xyngopoulos, *Les mosaïques de l’église de Saint Démètre à Thessalonique* (Thessalonique, 1969),

⁶² Oral information given by Dr. I. Touratsoglou to Prof. Ch. Bakirtzis, who, though he never saw it *in situ*, sees no reason to put in doubt this information, particularly relevant to our subject.

⁶³ It is true that on some specimens in the Dumbarton Oaks collection the wing on the right is very close to the emperor’s shoulder but the wing on the left is clearly detached.

differences which were probably caused by the vagaries of or the difficulties encountered by the engravers.

The idea, first expressed by Bertelè, that this motif could have resulted partly from Western influences, has gained a nearly general acceptance.⁶⁴ “They seem to be German in inspiration, for similar winged figures, or detached wings, are frequent on late twelfth- and thirteenth-century coins in some parts of Germany, notably Silesia and Brandenburg in the north and Swabia and Bavaria in the south.”⁶⁵ But, as Bertelè also pointed out, the wing’s symbolism was not unknown for earlier Byzantine emperors who had, like Michael IV (see above and Fig. 1) or Isaac II, appeared on coins with St. Michael, an association known much earlier on manuscripts (Basil II in Paris. gr. 510) or ivories (Leo VI on the Berlin “scepter”) playing on the name *Angelos*. Since Macedonian times, court orators had been allowed to or indulged in comparing the ruler to angels, as Henry Maguire has analyzed. The accession of Isaac II and his dynasty favored a particular development of the *topos*, and one may wonder whether the existing rhetoric was not enough to inspire this spectacular and varied illustration in the coinage as it probably did in entailing a similar representation on a fresco in a tomb in Didymoteichon.⁶⁶

The question of Western or other influences on Thessalonian coinage surely needs more debate and collection of material. Let us turn now to a short survey of the diffusion and influence of Thessalonian coinage.

III. THE CIRCULATION AND INFLUENCE OF THESSALONIAN COINAGE

The Thessalonian influence is most conspicuous on the monetary iconography of neighboring lands. This reflects mainly political and cultural motives and was much greater than its economic influence, which we will examine below in describing its rather limited circulation.

Norman Sicily

In the twelfth century already, Thessalonian motifs appeared on a few coins of the Norman king Roger II (1130–54), who was so eager to conquer the city: first, on his *ducalis* of 1140 struck in Palermo (*MEC* nos. 212–13 = Fig. 51),⁶⁷ clearly derived from the debased histamenon of Alexios I (Fig. 2); second, on his *follaro* struck in Messina, with a Cufic inscription on the reverse dating the issue to 543 A.H. = A.D. 1148/49 (*MEC* no. 226 = Fig. 52) and featuring St. Demetrios on the obverse with a Greek inscription. According to

⁶⁴ Grierson, *Byzantine Coins and DOC*; I. Touratsoglou, “Thessalonique” and “Νομισματικά πράγματα” (as above, note 26), 269–87.

⁶⁵ Grierson, *DOC* 5: 68. See also for the eagle motif on bracteates, M. Matzke, “Das Münzbild des Adlers: Vom Götterboten zum Kaiseradler,” *Münzen Revue* 31.5 (1999): 18–25.

⁶⁶ Detailed argumentation with sources and references to earlier literature including C. Mango, “Saint Michael and Attis” with H. Maguire’s studies in C. Morrisson, “L’empereur ailé dans la numismatique byzantine: Un empereur ange,” *SCN* 11 (1995) [1997] (= *Hommage à C. Preza*): 191–95. The Didymoteichon 14th-century fresco, unfortunately less than half preserved, was published by R. Ousterhout and A. Gourides. “Ένα βυζαντινό κτίριο δίπλα στον άγιο Αθανάσιο Διδυμοτείχου” (A Byzantine building next to Aghios Athanasios of Didymoteicho), *Τò αρχαιολογικό έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 5 (1991): 515–25. See now also R. Ousterhout, “A Byzantine Chapel at Didymoteichon and Its Frescoes,” in A. Iacobini and M. della Valle, eds., *L’arte di Bisanzio e l’Italia al tempo dei Paleologi 1261–1453*, Milion: Studi e ricerche d’arte bizantina 5 (Rome, 1999), 195–207.

⁶⁷ *MEC*: see following note.

Grierson, it “no doubt expresses the king’s gratitude to St. Demetrios during his Greek campaign of 1147 and perhaps for his capture of Mahdia in 1148.”⁶⁸

Epiros

The intricate and momentous relations between Epiros and Thessalonike form the basis of close and incontrovertible interrelations between the two mints. It is not appropriate to enter here into the debate about the distinction of the products of the two mints of Arta and Thessalonike. However, two points should be made: first, before Theodore’s defeat at Klokotnitsa in 1230, it may well be that the production of dies was centralized at Thessalonike for Epiros and Ras; second, the hypothesis of a migration of the personnel responsible for the neat style of the coinage from Thessalonike to Arta following the occupation of Thessalonike by John III Vatatzes in 1246 is also very plausible.⁶⁹ In any case, the coinage of Michael II (1231–65), besides stylistic features, also takes over several traits from Thessalonian iconography, such as conspicuous stars or the Virgin Hagiosoritissa. It also includes an original series of coins showing Michael installed as a despot by John III Vatatzes in 1252 (e.g., on *DOC* 4: pl. XLVII, [2] = Fig. 54).⁷⁰

Ras

The first Serbian coins were struck in Ras, the capital of Stefan Radoslav (1228–33), in the Byzantine style of Thessalonike.⁷¹ The king is termed $\text{C}\text{T}\text{E}\Phi\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\text{C}\text{P}\text{I}\text{Z}$ O $\Delta\text{X}\text{K}\text{A}\text{C}$ (or shorter O Δ) on all three types known: an “electrum” trachy, in fact a silver trikephalon (Fig. 55), and two billon trachea (Figs. 56, 57). They are such close copies of types of Theodore Komnenos-Doukas, his father-in-law, and of his successor, Manuel, and so “Thessalonian in style” that it has previously been suggested that they were struck in Thessalonike. But since they were found with remnants of minting, ten finished more or less rounded blanks, nine unflattened square pieces of metal, and two bars, it is more logical to assume a local fabrication provided with dies engraved in Thessalonike.⁷² This Thessalonian influence was short-lived because it was based on fragile political and familial ties.

⁶⁸ P. Grierson and L. Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 14, *South Italy* (Cambridge, 1998), 123 and pl. 15, no. 226. Detailed comment in the first publication by L. Travaini, “Un follaro inedito con san Demetrio e la monetazione in rame di Ruggero II in Sicilia,” *RN* 33 (1991): 143–60.

⁶⁹ See P. Protonotarios, “Η νομισματοκοπία του βυζαντινού κράτους της Ηπειρού (1204–1268),” *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 24 (1982): 130–50 [French trans.: “Le monnayage du ‘despotat’ d’Épire,” *RN* 25 (1983): 83–99] contra Hendy, *DOC* 4.1: 133–34.

⁷⁰ See S. Bendall, “The Coinage of Michael II of Epirus,” *NCirc* 104 (1996): 3–5, who shows it to be relatively more varied than described in *DOC* 4 (9 types listed instead of 6) and reattributes to Michael and John III Vatatzes the issue (*DOC* 4.2: 630, nos. [1.1] and [1.2]) first given to John III Vatatzes and John Komnenos Doukas (M. Hendy and S. Bendall, “A Billon Trachy of John Ducas, Emperor, and John Comnenus Ducas, Despot (?),” *RN* 12 [1970], 143–48).

⁷¹ V. Ivanišević, *Novčarstvo srednjovekovne Srbije* (Serbian medieval coinage) (Belgrade, 2001).

⁷² On these issues see now V. Ivanišević, *Novčarstvo*, with previous literature including his article “Novac kralja Radoslava” (King Radoslav’s coinage), *ZRVI* 37 (1998): 87–95. I am grateful to Vujadin Ivanišević for providing this illustration. On the finds in Ras see V. Ivanišević, “Nalazi novča iz tur dj ave Ras,” in M. Popović, *The Fortress of Ras/ Turdava Rass* (Belgrade, 1999) (Serbo-Croatian text with English summary); monetary finds, pp. 417–36; blanks catalogued, p. 433, nos. 745–65 and ill., p. 434. The average weight of the finished blanks matches that of the trachea: 3.66 g—standard deviation: 0.41—average weight of the 9 rough shapes, probably allowing for the loss which would result from rounding and cutting: 5.47 g ± 0.59. The bars

When Serbian coinage resumed at some point in 1276 under the reign of King Dragutin (1276–82/1316), it was on the model and metrology of the Venetian grosso which from the mid-thirteenth century had come to dominate international and interregional exchanges in the Balkans.⁷³ The influence of Thessalonian types was not, however, entirely forgotten, as shown by a grosh of Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (1321–31) with the king seated with a sword across his knees in the guise of St. Demetrios, called *grossi dela spada* in contemporary documents.⁷⁴

As regards Bulgaria, one must remember how St. Demetrios had been appropriated by the Bulgarians in the twelfth century.⁷⁵ Not only did the Bulgarian Asenid kings appropriate St. Demetrios but also another favorite type of the late Byzantine Thessalonian mint, the Virgin Hagiosoritissa, as is shown by the remarkable and unique Balkan hyperpyron of Ivan Asen II (1218–41) (Fig. 58).⁷⁶ It closely copies Theodore's trikephalon, but, unlike Stefan Radoslav who was too much influenced by his Doukas family connections, this ruler shifts to inscriptions in Old Bulgar (*Tsar na slavata*, "King of Glory," around the standing Christ on the obverse and *Ivan Asen tsar* on the reverse).⁷⁷ A gold seal of the same reign shows the typical Thessalonian type of St. Demetrios on a throne, holding a sword across his knees (Fig. 61).⁷⁸ Conversely, in the late period after the hiatus caused by the Zealot revolt, the change of style observed above in the coins of Anna could be attributed to Bulgarian influence or the hiring of moneyers from Bulgaria.⁷⁹

are respectively 117 or 44 cm long, 9 cm wide, and 8 or 7 cm high and weigh respectively 47 g and 38 g. This would have allowed preparing some twelve and ten blanks.

⁷³ Ivanišević, *Novčartsvo*, 90–96, 202–3. A. Cutler, "Venetian and Serbian Ambitions in the Light of Their Coinage," *BSI* 26 (1965): 295–307; Metcalf, *South-Eastern Europe*, 221–24, 263–66; M. Galani-Krikou, "Συμβολή στην κυκλοφορία βενετικών grossi ΙΓ'–ΙΔ' αι. στον ελληνικό χώρο. Με αφορμή ένα θησαυρό" (Contribution on the circulation of Venetian grossi of the thirteenth and fourteenth century in Greece, inspired by a hoard), *Αρχαιολογικά 'Ανάλεκτα ἐξ 'Αθηνῶν* 21 (1988) [1993]: 163–84. A. Stahl, "The Circulation of Medieval Venetian Coinages," *Moneta locale, Moneta straniera: Italia ed Europa XI–XV secolo. The Second Cambridge Numismatic Symposium. Local Coins, Foreign Coins: Italy and Europe Eleventh–Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. L. Travaini (Milan, 1999), 87–111; I. Touratsoglou and J. Baker, "Byzantium of the Venetians, Greece of the 'grossi'" in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV)*, eds. Ch. Maltezou and P. Schreiner (Venice, 2002), 204–27.

⁷⁴ Grierson, *Coins of Medieval Europe* (London, 1991), 172, fig. 384; Ivanišević, *Novčartsvo*, pl. 1, 5.2–5.4. See now A. Stahl, *Zecca. The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, Md., 2000), not available to me at the time of writing.

⁷⁵ Nicetas Choniates (CSHB 371, 17–28 = CFHB 485–86) tells how Peter and Ivan Asen in 1185 had built a sanctuary to the "kallimartyr" and assembled there "possessed people" (*daimonoleptoi*) in order to stir up the Vlachs who were too reluctant to wage war against the Byzantines. Peter and Ivan pretended that God wanted to free Bulgars and Vlachs from a long-standing submission. For that reason, they said, the "Christomartyr" Demetrios had abandoned Thessalonike ("the metropolis of Thessalonike") and his sanctuary and had come to them in order to help them in the forthcoming enterprise. See G. Prinzing, "Demetrios-Kirche und Aseniden Aufstand. Zur chronologischen Präzisierung der Frühphase des Aseniden Aufstandes," *ZRV* 38 (1999–2000) (*In Memoriam B. Ferjančić*): 257–65 for the dating of the revolt to the feast of St. Demetrios on 26 October 1185.

⁷⁶ Iurukova and Penčev, *Pečati i moneti*, 80–81 (color fig.) and 225, pl. IV, 34a–b (black/white).

⁷⁷ *DOC* 4: pl. XLVII, (1) and *DOC* 4: 639–47 for Ivan Asen II, Mitsō, and Constantine Tich issues. See also Iurukova and Penčev (as above, note 76). V. Penčev ("Where Have the Coins of the Bulgarian Czar Ivan Asen II Been Struck?" ("Kade bile kovani monetite na bulgarskiot car Ivan II Asen"), *Makedonski numizmatički glasnik* 2 [1996]: 105–12) argues that Ivan Asen II's coins were struck in Thessalonike, relying on their having been mostly found in Macedonia. As with Stefan Radoslav's coins, it is more plausible to assume that engravers (or dies) were brought from Thessalonike, as already demonstrated by E. Oberländer-Tarnoveanu, *Studii privind răscoala și statul Asăneștilor*, ed. E. Stănescu (Bucarest, 1989), 120–21.

⁷⁸ Iurukova and Penčev, *Pečati i moneti*, 224, pl. III, 23a–b (black/white).

⁷⁹ I would support this idea first expressed by S. Bendall for the even later and last coins of Thessalonike (PCPC, 59).

A Thessalonian imprint is even felt in the coinage of Constantinople in the late fourteenth and in the early fifteenth century. It is not surprising that the St. Demetrios figure was chosen by emperors who had previously reigned in the Macedonian city and thus expressed their hope that the saint would extend his protection to Byzantium's capital. But the type adopted is not the most common one but that of the saint riding on horseback,⁸⁰ which first appeared in Thessalonike under Andronikos III (*LPC* p. 242, no. 15; not in *DOC* = Fig. 45),⁸¹ parallel with that of the emperor in the same position (*LPC* p. 242, no. 14; not in *DOC*). The two become eventually fused and are shown riding together on Constantinople tornese of Andronikos IV (1376–79) (*DOC* 5: nos. 1258–60 = Fig. 62) or Manuel II (1391–1425) (*DOC* 5: no. 1598 = Fig. 63), while St. Demetrios riding alone remained a not infrequent theme of the capital's coinage, sometimes shown galloping right and brandishing a sword in the Western style. With the usual lag in introducing innovations, monetary iconography is apparently following the trend noticeable in the early thirteenth century when a number of equestrian saint representations, including that of St. Demetrios, appeared in southern Morea church painting. That they “demonstrate a desire to protect [rural] communities through the invocation of powerful military guardians”⁸² is an explanation which can be aptly transferred to the appearance of an equestrian St. Demetrios on the coinage at a time when Thessalonike—and Constantinople—have become, so to speak, “border cities.”

In spite of this iconographic evidence, Thessalonian coinage apparently had a relatively limited economic circulation beyond the hinterland of the city where all hoards formed exclusively of local coins are to be found (see Map and Appendix below).⁸³ A detailed analysis of this distribution could show how this hinterland becomes more and more restricted over time (note, e.g., that the coins of Anna and John are not found beyond Pella and Serres⁸⁴). This limited circulation is no surprise considering that we are dealing with a low-value copper denomination used for small transactions, while more important ones (sales of houses, land, vineyards, and the like) were naturally executed using gold or “electrum”—now silver—denominations worth some 288 or 24 times more than the copper one. Starting from the documentation provided by the judicial decisions of Demetrios Chomatianos, archbishop of Ohrid (d. ca. 1236) and John Apokaukos, metropolitan of Naupaktos (d. 1232), A. Laiou showed that coin circulation in the large area covered by

⁸⁰ For an example in other media, see Ch. Bakirtzis, *Αγίου Δημητρίου Θαύματα*, color pl. 4 (steatite icon, “11th century” in the Kremlin Treasury, Moscow, showing the saint riding to the right with sword held upward).

⁸¹ Note that Andronikos III is also the first Byzantine emperor to be represented on horseback, precisely on the same Thessalonian copper coins, and not John V and John VI as stated in *DOC* 5: 69–70 where there is a full discussion of the general type, first adopted on the Seljuk coinage in the late 12th century, then in Georgia, Cilician Armenia, and Trebizond in the 13th century. It comes into fashion in the Balkans in the 1340s, appearing more or less contemporaneously on Serbian, Bulgarian, and Byzantine coins.

⁸² S. Gerstel, “Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea,” in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), 263–85, at 270–72.

⁸³ See now N. Zekos, “Η κυκλοφορία των παλαιολόγων νομισμάτων στην ανατολική Μακεδονία και Θράκη μέσα από τα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα,” *Ὁβολός* 4 (Thessalonike, 2000): 233–41. The findspots mentioned for Thessalonian issues (Didymoteichon, Papikion, Drama, Maroneia, Serres, Maximianoupolis, Christoupolis, Poroi, Philippi) lay within the already outlined area.

⁸⁴ Although the fact that basically all the known specimens come from these two hoards apparently weakens the evidence.

the Despotate of Epiros in the 1220s was essentially that of the *nomismata trikephala*.⁸⁵ They are sometimes designated as *prattomena* (current) or *protimomena* (preferred), usual qualifications from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, and on one occasion *angelata*.⁸⁶ This denomination, heretofore unknown in the numismatic literature, can refer to electrum coins of Isaac II showing the emperor with St. Michael (*DOC* 4: pl. xx, El 2a.1–2.C.9) but also to those of Manuel Komnenos-Doukas (*DOC* 4: pl. xl, El 2.1–2.2) and eventually to any trikephalon issued by Theodore or Manuel, although Angelos does not appear in Theodore's imperial titulature.⁸⁷ Archaeological documentation, assembled by Oikonomidou, Touratsoglou, and Tsourte from hoards, stray or excavation finds in Arta, Ioannina, and Little Prespa (Saint Achilleios) show the dominance of Thessalonian issues of the Komnenoi Doukai and John III Vatatzes alongside, expectedly, a significant presence of copper trachea of Michael II of Epiros.⁸⁸

Textual as well as archaeological evidence shows gold to have been rare in the domains of the Komnenoi Doukai.⁸⁹ Such scarcity may explain why they never struck any hyperpyron even in a ceremonial context. Whatever gold was available in Thessalonike and its zone of influence must have come from Nicaea or later from Constantinople⁹⁰ and is not very plentiful, considering the evidence of the rare hoards of the region.⁹¹ It has been suggested that under Michael VIII and Andronikos II, the mint may have issued gold and silver coins of peculiar style (Fig. 35–37). The frequent die-duplications observed among these specimens point to their limited issue.⁹² The distinction is clear but remains to be

⁸⁵ A. Laiou, "Use and Circulation of Coins in the Despotate of Epirus," *DOP* 55 (2001): 207–15. The transformation of the previous electrum Komnenian trachy into a denomination with a high "pure" silver content of ca. 97% which roughly obtained until 1272 or 1281 can now be traced in detail (C. Morrisson, J.-N. Barraudon, and V. Ivanišević, "Late Byzantine Silver," in *Metallurgy in Numismatics* 4, ed. A. Oddy and M. Cowell [London, 1998], 52–70). The electrum trachea of the rulers of Epiros and Thessalonike were probably of a similar content, although none have been analyzed so far. In *The Economic History of Byzantium*, ed. A. Laiou et al. (Washington, D.C., 2002), 925, I hypothesized a value of ½ hyperpyron for the Nicaean trikephalon; P. Schreiner has published a 13th-century (ca. 1290) document giving evidence of a ⅓ hyperpyron value (ἔκωσα ὑπέρπυρον καὶ ἔφερον μοι τρικέφαλα δέκα): P. Schreiner, "Die Prachthandschrift als Gebrauchsgegenstand: Theologische und wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Notizen auf dem Verso des Josua-Rotulus (Vat. Palat. Gr. 431)," *AnzWien* 134 (1997–99), 1: 43–62, p. 50, line 4. See C. Morrisson, "Coinage and Money in Byzantine Typika," *DOP* 56 (2002), n. 59.

⁸⁶ Chomatianos, in J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmense parata*, vol. 6 (Paris–Rome, 1891), no. 82.

⁸⁷ But it figured conspicuously on the gold bulla of despot Thomas (ca. 1313–18) with the legend ΑΓΓΕ | ΛΟΓΟ | ΝΟΥ | ΣΦΡ | Α | ΓΙΜ | Α | ΘΩΜ | ΑΔΕ | ΣΠΟ | ΤΧ (Ἀγγελολόγону σφράγισμα Θεωμά δεσπότηου) accompanied on the reverse with a winged figure of St. Michael in imperial costume (W. Seibt, "Ein Goldsiegel des Despoten Thomas von Epirus aus dem frühen 14. Jh.," *Ἡπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 31 [1994]: 71–76, and fig. 1 = *Byzantium, Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture*, exh. cat., British Museum [London, 1994], 198–99, no. 214).

⁸⁸ M. Oikonomidou, I. Touratsoglou, and H. Tsourte, "Συμβολή στην έρευνα της κυκλοφορίας των βυζαντινών νομισμάτων στην Ἡπειρο, 1204–1332," *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου (Αρτα: 27–31 Μαΐου 1990)* (Arta, 1992), 101–23 (hereafter "Συμβολή").

⁸⁹ See the examples revealing the scarcity of gold coins analyzed by Laiou, "Use and Circulation."

⁹⁰ Metcalf, *South-Eastern Europe*, 130–31, citing hoards of Drama, Bansko, and others "in the Struma and Vardar basins."

⁹¹ See the only hoard of hyperpyra of the region found at Čanakli, near Strumica (73 hyperpyra, of which 1 is of Isaac II, 54 of John III, 17 of Michael VIII) (L. Mandić, J. Ananijev, and C. Morrisson, "Un trésor d'hyperpères du XIIIe siècle trouvé à Čanakli près de Strumica (Macédoine orientale)," *RN* 36 [1994]: 155–69).

⁹² For Michael VIII's gold see S. Bendall, "A Thessalonian Hyperpyron of Andronikos II & Michael IX?" *NCirc* 89.5 (1981): 158; idem, "Thessalonian Hyperpyra of Michael VIII," *Gazette numismatique suisse/Schweizer Münzblätter* 37 (1987): 40–41, pointing out their specific style and typology including placing of the sigla in the

confirmed by more provenances.⁹³ Several documents of Hilandar and Vatopedi mention as *chrysepilektes* George Spastrikos (1314), Athanasios Kabakes (1327), and two members of the Beaskos family, Michael (1327) and Simon (1339). Although this term could apply to a private assayer, it is not implausible that this was a position in the mint.⁹⁴

After the 1250s, gradually the hyperpyra (whether local or not) and trikephala (or their late thirteenth-century substitute, *basilika*) were often replaced by Venetian silver ducats, a well-known phenomenon which was probably more accentuated in Thessalonike and its region than elsewhere. At least, due to the weight of the archives of Mount Athos in our documentation, it is in Thessalonike and its surroundings that it is best documented from 1270 to the late fourteenth century.⁹⁵ As early as 1284 the praktikon of the Lavra's metochion of Gomatou in Lemnos records in one instance dues in "doukata" serving evidently as fractions of the hyperpyron which are otherwise expressed as "tetarton" and so on. In the following version of the same praktikon, "doukata" appear more frequently.⁹⁶ In 1321 the decision of the imperial *apographeis* regarding a pasture in Makrogenous near the Vardar mentions the annual fee of 10 hyperpyra of 12 doukata each.⁹⁷ The detailed testament of Theodore Karabas with his many legacies in cash give evidence of the currency in Thessalonike in 1314: there are 52 Venetian (gold) ducats (line 42)—which are probably to be distributed in hyperpyra—as well as silver ones (line 46) and a few trachea.⁹⁸ In the mid-fourteenth century the accounts kept by a member of the local Kasandrenos family in a manuscript of Barlaam's works are kept exclusively in hyperpyra and what are evidently silver "ducata," whether Venetian or Byzantine, as their fractions.⁹⁹ In the same period, small fees or rents in Thessalonike are often stipulated in *kokkia* or *kokkia hyperpyrika*, evidently fractions of ¼th hyperpyron which were probably paid in silver

upper obverse field between Christ and emperor. For Andronikos II's gold, see idem. "Palaeologan Gold Coins from the Mint of Thessalonica," *ibid.* 32 (1982): 16–21 pointing out notably the placing of the sigla on the obverse of some issues in Group I or outside the walls, on the reverse of some issues in Group II. For silver see S. Bendall, "A Palaeologan Silver Coinage for Thessalonica," *NCirc* 103 (1995): 139. These rare basilika (4 of the 6 known specimens share the same reverse die) are characterized by the peculiar style of imperial portrait, with a marked forked beard, the transposed position of emperors on most specimens, and blundered legends. Known provenances for 4 specimens (Bulgaria, Macedonia probably for the two specimens from the Bertelè collection, *DOC* 504 and 505) apparently confirm this attribution.

⁹³ M. Hendy (*Studies*, 446, note 32) finds the attribution to the joint reign of Andronikos II and Michael IX more convincing than that of hyperpyra of Andronikos alone and would like to relate it to the presence of Andronikos in the city in 1299–1300.

⁹⁴ Spastrikos: *Chilandar* I: 214 and 216, line 45; Athanasios Kabakes: *Actes de Zographou*, ed. W. Regel, E. Kurtz, and B. Korabiev, *VizVrem* 13 (1907): docs. 25 (1327) and 28 (1330). *Actes de Vatopedi*, ed. J. Bompaire, J. Lefort, V. Kravari, and C. Giros, vol. 1 (Paris, 2001), 361, no. 65; *Vatopedi* II: 77 (unpub.). I am grateful to the editors for information and discussion of this matter, and to N. Necipoğlu for reference to Kabakes. See her paper in this volume.

⁹⁵ T. Bertelè, "Moneta veneziana e moneta bizantina," in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, ed. A. Pertusi (Florence, 1973), 59–64. Last mention of ounces of ducats in 1375: see Appendix 2 below.

⁹⁶ *Actes de Lavra*, vol. 2, Archives de l'Athos 8, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, D. Papachryssanthou, and N. Svoronos (Paris, 1977), no. 73, line 55 and no. 74 (see note pp. 38–39). This does not imply that the *telos* is paid in Venetian silver ducats (*grossi*) which may have been intended here as a designation of a ½ hyperpyron. It cannot be its Byzantine equivalent, the basilikon, which was apparently issued only in 1304 (*DOC* 5.1: 50, 142).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 110: ὑπέρπυρα τῶν ἀνὰ δώδεκα δουκάτων δέκα.

⁹⁸ *Actes de Chilandar*, Archives de l'Athos 20, ed. M. Živojinović, V. Kravari, and C. Giros (Paris, 1998), no. 30, pp. 208–19.

⁹⁹ P. Schreiner, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana*, ST 344 (Vatican City, 1991), 61–106 (Text 3).

coins (*basilika*?). In the early fifteenth century, in the “Notizbuch” of a dependent of the metropolis, preserved at the end of Paris. gr. 2953, *hyperpyra* are a money of account represented by the now usual silver denominations introduced in 1367, *stavrata*, *aspra* ($\frac{1}{2}$ stavraton), and/or *doukatopoula* ($\frac{1}{2}$ stavraton).¹⁰⁰ The “Thessalonike 1950 Hoard,” with its stavrata and half-stavrata of Manuel II and John VII, confirms the documentary evidence¹⁰¹ that monetary circulation was now provided for by Constantinople. Thessalonike never regained a mint after the conquest and was provisioned by the Turkish *akçes* struck in the Serres mint which replaced Thessalonike in this function down to the end of the Ottoman era.

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¹⁰⁰ S. Kugeas, “Notizbuch eines Beamten der Metropolis in Thessalonike aus dem Anfang des XV. Jhd.,” *BZ* 23 (1914): 143–63.

¹⁰¹ Grierson, *DOC* 5.1: 18, The Bertelè “Istanbul B hoard” and the “[Athens] Numismatic Museum Hoard” (published by I. Touratsoglou, “Θησαυρός ύστερων παλαιολόγειων νομισμάτων στο Νομισματικό Μουσείο,” *Βυζαντινά* 13 [1985]: 1103–18), probably belong to this find (S. Bendall and C. Morrisson, *RN* 158 [2001], in press).

Appendix 1

Hoard and Isolated Finds Containing Post-1204 Coins from Thessalonike (see Map following page 176)

Akarnania (Neokhorion near Mesolongion): stray find of a coin of Theodore Komnenos Doukas (*DOC* 9; billon trachy type F).

Akarnania (ἐκ Σπράτου Ἀκαρνανίας): 1 bronze “scyphate” of Theodore Komnenos Doukas. M. Oeconomides, “Νομισματική Συλλογή,” [accessions 1965], *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 21 (1966) B: 7–14, at 12, cited by M. Metcalf, *South-Eastern Europe*, 133.

Arta hoard: H. Mattingly, “A Find of Thirteenth-Century Coins at Arta in Epirus,” *NC* 3 (1923): 31–46. Deposited after 1261, 66 trachea mainly Thessalonian copper, half of which are Michael VIII. See I. Touratsoglou, “Θησαυρός από την Ἄρτα” (as above, note 16), 213–14 note 10.

Arta, site finds: M. Caramessini-Oeconomides, “Νομίσματα ἀνασκαφῆς οἰκοπέδου Μπακαγιάννη εἰς Ἄρτα,” *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 24 (1969): 248–49; Oikonomidou et al., “Συμβολή,” (as above, note 88).

Athens, Agora excavations: 3 trachea of Theodore Komnenos Doukas (nos. 1929–31).

Bulgaria (?): S. Bendall, “Thessalonian Coinage of the Mid-Thirteenth Century in the Light of a New Hoard,” *NC* 18 (1978): 101–14.

Čanakli: 1 trachy (stamenon) of John III Vatatzes (*DOC* 4:9) found with 73 hyperpyra (1 Isaac II, 54 John III, 17 Michael VIII). L. Mandić, J. Ananijev, and C. Morrisson, “Un trésor d’hyperpères du XIII^e siècle trouvé à Čanakli près de Strumica (Macédoine orientale),” *RN* 36 (1994): 155–69.

Corinth: a few stray finds of Byzantine rulers of Thessalonike.¹

Donji Milanovac, Porečka reka (Djerdap): 1 stamenon of Andronikos III, *LPC* p. 234, no. 2, together with 1 tetarteron of Andronikos II and Michael IX, Constantinople, *LPC* p. 92, no. 41, 2 deniers of Stefan Dušan and 1 Bulgarian grosso of Sracimir, Vidin mint. D. Minić, “Porečka reka, srednjovekovno naselje i nekropola,” *Starinar* 33–34 (1984): 293–96; information kindly given by V. Ivanišević.

Dorkovo: 3 kilos, ca. 2,000 coins, of which M. Hendy identified 132: Manuel I, Isaac, Alexios III, 3 specimens; Bulgarian imitative 3 specimens; Latin imitative, Constantinople 21 and Thessalonike

I am grateful to Eleni Lianta for checking this inventory against her own forthcoming corpus of Byzantine hoards (1204–1453).

¹ Metcalf, *South-Eastern Europe*, 242.

7; Latin small module 74; Theodore I, Nicaea, 2; Theodore, Manuel, and John Komnenos Doukas 15 spec.; John III, Thessalonike, 5 spec. Hendy, *Coinage*, 337–38.

Eastern Macedonia: random finds including a copper trachy of John Komnenos Doukas (CM files).

Edessa 1968: 22 copper coins of Manuel I Komnenos found in Aigai, ancient capital of Macedonia; this lot constituted during the reign of Manuel I was later supplemented with 3 coins of Manuel Komnenos Doukas and deposited ca. 1230. I. Touratsoglou, “The Edessa/1968 Hoard of Billon Trachea,” *Arch.Δελτ.* 28 (1973): 64–70.

Greece (north): S. Bendall, “A Hoard of Billon Trachea of Theodore Comnenus Ducas of Thessalonica (A.D. 1224–1230),” *NCirc* 98 (1990): 8–9.

Greece, unknown provenance, “Capstan Navy Cut Hoard”: 15 copper trachea, 1 John III, 14 Michael VIII including 6 coins from Thessalonike. A. S. Walker, “Four AE Coin Hoards in the Collection of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens,” *Hesperia* 47.1 (1978): 40–48.

Ioannina: unpublished hoard of ca. 100 trachea on exhibit in the Museum of Ioannina with specimens of Michael VIII from the Constantinople and Thessalonian mints. Grierson, *DOC* 5.1: 13, from oral information of S. Bendall [forthcoming publication by I. Touratsoglou].

Istanbul, Belgratkapı: 1 billon coin of John V, John VI, and Anna, 1 billon tornese of Chios, 1 Thessalonian copper with the martyrdom of St. Demetrios, and 1,218 copper follari of John VII. T. Gökyıldırım, “Belgratkapı definesi 1986,” *Türk Numismatik Derneği Yayınları Bülten* 29–30 (1991): 39–47 and commentary in *DOC* 5.1: 17.

Macedonia, unknown locality, 1974/75, deposited ca. 1261: Komnenian and Angeloi coins, “Bulgarian imitations,” Latin imitations large and small module, Michael VIII in Thessalonike. Preserved in the Numismatic Museum, Athens, cited by I. Touratsoglou, “Νομισματικά πράγματα” (as above, note 26), 278.

Melnik, excavation finds: Penchev in S. Georgiev and V. Nesheva, eds., *Melnik* (Sofia, 1989).

Mikri Prespa, basilica of Aghios Akhilleios, excavation finds: M. Caramessini-Oeconomides, “Contribution à l’étude de la numismatique byzantine du XIIIe s.: Monnaies trouvées dans les fouilles de la basilique Saint-Achillée,” *RN* 9 (1967): 252–64; M. Païsidou, “Νομίσματα από τον άγιο Αχιλλειο Μικρής Πρέσπας κατά τις ανασκαφικές περιόδους 1996–1998,” *’Οβολός* 4 (Thessalonike, 2000): 354–64.

Niš, ca. 1935, hoard of silver coins of Theodore Komnenos Doukas: cited by D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans*, 201 note 11 with reference to *Numizmatičar* 2 (1935): 30 and *Starinar* n.s. 5–6 (1954–55): 349–55.

Ohrid 1999, hoard: D. Razmovska-Bačeva, “Hoard of Late Byzantine Coins of Theodore Angelus Comnenus Ducas (1224–1230) [Found in 1999 on the Site of Plaosnik St. Pantelejmon, Ohrid],” *Macedonian Numismatic Journal* 4 (2000 [2001]): 121–35. The 30 coins, 13 electrum trachea and 17 billon ones, were deposited, probably in a purse, beside a man’s skeleton, with a knife. They include 1 electrum coin of Isaac II, 12 of Theodore Ducas, 10 type A and 2 type C, and 17 billon trachea of Theodore, type A.

Ohrid and surroundings, stray finds: D. Razmovska-Bačeva, “Dočnovizantiskite moneti od numizmatičkata zbirka vo zavodot i Muzej-Ohrid” [Late Byzantine coins from the numismatic collection in the Institute for the protection of the cultural and historic monuments and the Museum of Ohrid], *Lihnid* 6 (1988): 117–27.

Oustovo: 26 coins: Latin imitative, Constantinople 7, Latin small module 4 specimens; Theodore, Manuel, and John Komnenos Doukas 15 specimens: 13 + 2 unidentifiable. Hendy, *Coinage*, 374–75.

Pella hoard: 8 coins, 1 Andronikos III, 7 John V and Anna of Savoy; S. Bendall and D. Nicol, “Anna of Savoy in Thessalonica: The Numismatic Evidence,” *RN* 19 (1977): 87–102.

Pergamon/Bergama excavations: only 1 John Komnenos Doukas (no. 995) (wrongly attributed to Michael VIII) and 1 Theodore Komnenos Doukas (no. STR 133) among many 13th-century trachea from Magnesia or Constantinople. C. Morrisson and S. Bendall, “Die byzantinischen Münzen,” in H. Voegtli, *Die Fundmünzen aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon*, Pergamenische Forschungen 8 (Berlin, 1993).

“Peter and Paul hoard”: 1120 coins: D. M. Metcalf, “The Peter and Paul Hoard: Bulgarian and Latin Imitative Trachea in the Time of Ivan Asen II,” *NC* 13 (1973): 144–72.

Pisaratsi: allegedly 10 gold coins and 300 to 400 copper coins. 70 billion trachea remaining: Manuel I, Isaac II, Alexios III, 12 specimens; Bulgarian imitative 48 specimens; Latin imitative, Constantinople 3; Latin small module 4; Manuel Komnenos Doukas 1 specimen; John III, Thessalonike, 1 specimen; 1 unidentifiable. Hendy, *Coinage*, 378–79.

Pleven region: hoard of 1,262 stamena from the village of Červen Brjag: includes Latin imitative Thessalonike A, B and Theodore Komnenos Doukas, type A. K. Doukas and M. Aspahurov, abstract by E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *BZ* 88 (1995): 575, no. 2905.

Pokrovnik (Struma valley): 488 billion trachea: Manuel I, Andronikos I, Isaac II, Alexios III, 176 specimens; Bulgarian imitative 154 specimens; Latin imitative, Constantinople 18; Latin imitative Thessalonike, 2; Latin small module 35; Theodore I Laskaris, 3. Hendy, *Coinage*, 380–81.

Preslav: John III, 2 hyperpyra; Latin imitative, Constantinople 7, Latin small module 13 specimens; John Komnenos Doukas 3 specimens series III. Hendy, *Coinage*, 382–83.

Preslav, tomb deposit: 7 trachea, 3 Latin imitative, clipped, John Komnenos Doukas, 1 (type H, pl. 40.3) and 3 uncertain of the same ruler. *Coin Hoards* 7 (1985): no. 367, citing *Arkheologia* 4 (1979).

Prilep: 26 Thessalonian trachea of Theodore Komnenos Doukas, John Komnenos Doukas, John III Vatatzes, and Michael VIII; 1 Michael VIII, Constantinople; and 1 denier tournois of Chiar-entza. C. Morrisson, “Monnaies de l’époque des Paléologues provenant de Prilep,” *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique* 28 (1973): 437–41.

Ras: 1 billion trachy of Theodore Komnenos Doukas (H. 38.3–4); 30 trachea of Stefan Radoslav and 17 others. V. Ivanišević, “Nalazi” (as above, note 72), 417–36.

Rentina: among the excavation finds, according to the provisional summary account: 2 “faithful copies” (= “Bulgarian imitative”), 63 Latin imitative small module (types A–F), Thessalonian trachea of Theodore Komnenos Doukas (4), Manuel (7), John Komnenos Doukas (6), Michael VIII, Andronikos II, Andronikos III, and John V, John III, Magnesia, 1 hyperpyron, 11 Frankish deniers tournois, and 27 Venetian grossi. M. Galani-Krikou and E. Tsourte, “Μακεδονική Ρεντίνα. Η νομισματική μαρτυρία (ανασκαφές 1976–1996),” *Ὀβολός* 4 (Thessalonike, 2000): 347–54.

Serres 1977, deposited ca. 1235–44: “Bulgarian imitations,” Latin imitative large and small module, Manuel Komnenos Doukas. *Coin Hoards* 4 (1978): no. 208.

Serres 7, 1960 (?), deposited ca. 1237–45: 1 Manuel Komnenos, 1 “Bulgarian imitation,” 5 Latin imitative large and small module, 1 Manuel Komnenos Doukas, and 1 Manuel or John Komnenos

Doukas. J. Touratsoglou and K. Loverdou-Tsigarida, "Ρωμαϊκοὶ καὶ βυζαντινοὶ νομισματικοὶ ἠθασαυροὶ ἀπὸ τὸ βόρειο ἐλλαδικὸ χῶρο στὴν ἐφορεῖα βυζαντινῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων Θεσσαλονίκης," *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 31 (1976): 23–50, at 38–39.

Serres 8, 1960 (?), deposited ca. 1245: 1 Alexios III, 2 "Bulgarian imitations," 22 Latin imitative large module and 40 small module, 5 Theodore I Laskaris, 1 Theodore Komnenos Doukas, 13 Manuel Komnenos Doukas, and 41 John Komnenos Doukas. J. Touratsoglou and K. Loverdou-Tsigarida, *ibid.*, 39–48.

Serres, ca. 1985, deposited before 1365: 15 copper coins, 2 Andronikos III (*PCPC* pp. 243 and 267), 1 John V (*PCPC* 2318), 11 John V and Anna. P. Protonotarios, "John V and Anna of Savoy in Thessaloniki (1351–1365): The Serres Hoard," *AJNum* 2 (1990): 119–28.

Štip: 1 silver and 1 copper coin of Theodore Komnenos Doukas, stray find. Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans*, 201.

Sučica, Vinica region, near Veliki Preslav: John Komnenos Doukas, 1 stamenon. T. Totev, *Srednovekovna Vinica* (Early Medieval Vinitza) (Šumen, 1996).

Thebes, excavation finds: Andronikos II, 1 billon trachy (*LPC* p. 210, no. 10). M. Galani-Krikou, "Θήβα: 10ος–14ος αἰώνας. Ἡ νομισματικὴ μαρτυρία ἀπὸ τὴν Ἁγία Τριάδα" (Thèbes: 10e–14e. Le témoignage numismatique d'Ἁγία Τριάς), *Σύμμεικτα* 11 (1997): 113–50. Michael VIII, 1 billon trachy (Bendall and Donald, T 14), eadem, "Θήβα: 6ος–15ος αἰώνας. Ἡ νομισματικὴ μαρτυρία ἀπὸ τὸ Πολιτικὸ Κέντρο," *Σύμμεικτα* 12 (1998): 141–70, at 163 note 81.

Thebes, Rousi's plot, 1967 hoard, deposited ca. mid-13th century: 3 Manuel Komnenos, 16 "Bulgarian imitation," 594 Latin imitative, 2 Theodore I Laskaris, 1 John III, 9 Theodore Komnenos Doukas, 1 John Komnenos Doukas (?). M. Oeconomidou, "Three Hoards of the 13th Century at the Numismatic Museum of Athens," *Byzantina* 132 (1985): 983–97; M. Galani-Krikou, *Σύμμεικτα* 11 (1997): 124.

Thessalonike 1930 hoard, deposited before 1342: 73 coins of Andronikos III. H. Longuet, "Une trouvaille de monnaies des Paléologues," *RBN* 106 (1960): 243–66; S. Bendall, "Longuet's Salonica Hoard Reexamined," *ANSMN* 29 (1984): 143–57.

Thessalonike before 1975, deposited ca. 1240–50: Theodore I Laskaris, Theodore, Manuel, and John Komnenos Doukas, Ivan Asen II, and Andronikos I of Trebizond. *Coin Hoards* 5 (1979): no. 224.

Tirnovο: K. Dochev, *Moneti i parichno obrushtenie v Tirnovο XII–XIV v.* [Coins and monetary circulation in Tirnovο (XIIth–XIVth centuries)] (Tirnovο, 1992). Metcalf, *South-Eastern Europe*, 286, attributes the surprising presence of so many Byzantine coins in the Bulgarian capital in the 13th century to the Byzantine control under Michael VIII of the western Black Sea ports. This explains that coins of Constantinople outnumber in the finds those from Thessalonike, amounting to a mere 14 among the 152 specimens of Michael VIII.

Tri Voditsi: ca. 2 kilos of billon trachea and 1 copper tetarteron: Manuel I, 2 trachea and 1 tetarteron, Isaac II, 1 specimen; Bulgarian imitative 39 specimens; Latin imitative, Constantinople 90; Thessalonike 6; Latin small module 445; Theodore I, Nicaea, 6, all clipped; John III, 2; Theodore, Manuel, and John Komnenos Doukas 20 specimens; John III, Thessalonike, 1 specimen. Hendy, *Coinage*, 391–93.

Trikkala: M. Oeconomides, "Νομίσματα ἐκ ἀνασκαφῆς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ," *Θεσσαλικά* 4 (1962): 3–15.

Turnu Severin (Iron Gates): numerous random finds of the 12th–14th c.—principally of Constantinople in the 12th and early 13th c.—also include Thessalonian issues of Alexios I Komnenos, tetarteron, Latin imitative Thessalonica type A, stamena of John Komnenos Doukas, 3rd series, types A, B, C, G; Michael VIII, type 9, Andronikos II Palaiologos, types 3, 13, 14, 18, 23, 26, 27, Andronikos II and Michael IX types 6 and 7,

From sites in Oltenia, random finds including Thessalonian issues: Michael VIII, type 2, Andronikos II Palaiologos, type 3. The famous hoard of Bals (jud. Olt) 1930, buried ca 1248–63, first summarily published by E. Condurachi (*Cronica numismatica și arheologica* 15, 1940, 227), includes among its 1763 stamena from Isaac II to 1268, 23 Latin imitative from Thessalonica, 30 Theodore Komnenos Doukas, 3 Manuel Komnenos Doukas, 5 John Komnenos Doukas, 1 “Demetrios,” 2 Thessalonian unidentified, 1 Michael II of Epirus. Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu, “Moneda bizantina și de tip bizantin pe teritoriile de la Sud de Carpați în secolele XII–XV—O analiza critică a documentelor numismatice,” *Mousaios* 7 (2001): 338–91. with detailed inventory of these random finds and hoards.

Veroia: M. Caramessini-Oeconomides, “Νομισματική Συλλογή Ἀθηνῶν χρονικά του,” *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.* 24 (1969): 7–10, or T. Hackens, “Un trésor byzantin à São Paulo,” *Dédalo* 2 (Dec. 1965) (São Paulo): 13–25.

Vetren (Byzantine and Bulgarian fortress [Vetrinon] on the Danube, 25 km west of Silistra): G. Atanasov and I. Jordanov, *Srednovekovniat Vetren na Dunav* (Le Vetrain moyenageux sur Danube [*sic*]) (Shumen, 1994). Among the 159 Byzantine and other coins dating from Justin II to John III Vatatzes, many clipped coins of Theodore, Manuel, and John Komnenos Doukas as well as John III Vatatzes in Thessalonike.

Yantra, near Gorna Orhajokovica, near Târnovo, tomb finds: among 269 coins some John Komnenos Doukas. I. Buchvarov, *Iantrenski nekropoli* (*dva srednovekovni nekropola ot XIV vek pri selo Iantra, Gornoriakhovsko*) (Deux nécropoles médiévales près du village Yantra de la région de G. Oriahovitz) (Veliko Târnovo, 1993); abstract by E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu in *BZ* 88 (1995): 574, no. 2885.

Appendix 2

Monetary Transactions in Late Byzantine Documents from Thessalonike and Its Region

(Documents mentioning taxes or fines have been excluded. Unless otherwise mentioned, all references cite documents from Mount Athos monasteries according to the *Archives de l'Athos* Paris edition, cited by the name of the monastery and the volume number)

- 1229 gift from St. Sabas for the grant of a piece of land: 300 nomismata hyperpyra (Chilandar I: no. 6).
- 1257 field received in exchange for a vineyard and 20 hyperpyra (Kutlumus: no. 2).
(before)
- 1264 temporary rent of 4 nomismata hyperpyra (Iviron III: no. 60).
- 1273 sale of 1,000 modioi of land for 265 nomismata hyperpyra χρυσίου . . . σάα καὶ ἰστάμενα (Iviron III: no. 61).
- 1274 annual rent for mills: ½ hyperpyron (Chilandar I: no. 9).
- 1270–1274 many items in Skaranos' will are valued in hyperpyra (Xeropotamou: no. 9).
- ca. 1270 sale of a mill in Dryanoubaina for 26 ducats (MM 4: no. 33, p. 413, line 18 and 414, line 4, cited by Baker and Touratsoglou, above, note 73 in *Symposium . . . Venice*, note 102).
- 1284 among the donations of the former archbishop of Thessalonike, Theodore Kerameas, to Lavra, mention of a fish-breeding pond rent from St. Sophia in *emphyteusis* for 20 hyperpyra (Lavra II: no. 75).
- 1285 mention in Joseph Bardas' will of *paroikoi* paying 1 hyperpyron each annually to the church (Lavra II: no. 78).
- 1286 sale of land and garden for 2 hyperpyra and 5 ducats (Iviron III: no. 64).
- 1288 *telos* owed by Chilandar for the maintenance of a *kellion*, 9 hyperpyra (Chilandar I: no. 11).
- ca. 1290 sale of a field for "20 hyperpyra partly in animals, partly in cash" (νομίσματα κ' χάριν
and before ζώων καὶ ὑπερπίρων) (Lavra II: no. 85).
- 1300

- ca. 1290 and before 1300 sale of a field of 4 or 4½ modioi for “9 nomismata and 6 ducats,” the same sum being expressed as “9½ hyperpyra” (Lavra II: no. 86).
- ca. 1290 and before 1300 sale of a field of 6 modioi for “one pregnant cow” (ὑπερ τελείου τιμίματος . . . ἀγελάδιν ἐγκαστρομένον ὑπερπύρον ε΄) (Lavra II: no. 88).
- ca. 1290 and before 1300 sale of a field of 3 modioi for 10 hyperpyra paid with the delivery of “one cow and its calf” (ὑπέρ τελείου τιμίματος . . . ἀγελάδιν ἐπίμοσχον) (Lavra II: no. 87).
- 1295 sale of a vineyard of 6 modioi for 91 hyperpyra (Xeropotamou: no. 12).
- 1295 annual rent of 3 nomismata and 6 ducats as *embatikion* (Iviron III: no. 67).
- 1296 sale of a vineyard for 8 nomismata hyperpyra and 3 ducats (Chilandar I: no. 16).
- 1301 sale of a house probably in Serres for 14 hyperpyra (Esphigmenou: no. 9).
- 1301 sale of a piece of land for 35 hyperpyra (Esphigmenou: no. 10).
- 1303 various rents of pieces of land expressed in hyperpyra (Xenophon: no. 6).
- 1305 sale of a piece of land for 13 nomismata hyperpyra (Vatopedi I: no. 37).
- 1305 sale of a vineyard near Serres for 20 hyperpyra (Kutlumus: no. 2).
- 1308–1309 sale of a house in Serres for 33 nomismata hyperpyra (Lavra II: no. 102).
- 1308–1312 23 sales to Vatopedi for sums expressed in nomismata hyperpyra and ducats (Vatopedi I: no. 43).
- 1309 sale of 3 houses in Thessalonike for 54 nomismata hyperpyra (Hilandar I: no. 25).
- 1310 rent of a piece of land for an annual rent of 1 hyperpyron *eustathmon* to the modios (Vatopedi I: no. 44).
- 1310 sale of a workshop in Serres for 36 nomismata (L. Bénou, *Le Codex B du Monastère de Saint Jean Prodrome à Serrès XIIIe–XVe siècles* [Paris, 1998], no. 66).¹
- 1310–1325? and 1312 series of sales or gifts of land the prices of which are expressed in hyperpyra or in ducats (“ounces of ducats” in most cases, sometimes *megala doukata*, or simply “ducats”) (Xeropotamou: no. 16).
- 1312 30 hyperpyra in exchange for a pasture (Docheiariou: no. 12).
- 1313 sale of 3 stremmata of uncultivated land for 12 ducats (Bénou, *Codex B*: no. 42).
- 1314 Karabas testament: Karabas acknowledges owing to the *chrysepilektes* George Spatrikos 15 exagia of gold hyperpyra and 7 ducats rated at 12 to the hyperpyron (νομίσματα ὑπερπύρα χρυσᾶ ἐξάγια δεκαπέντε καὶ δουκάτα ὑπερπύρων ἐπτά, ἢ τοι ἐφ' ἐνὶ ὑπερπύρω δουκάτα ιβ΄) (Chilandar I: no. 30).
- 1314 agreement on various buildings in Thessalonike for 70 + 40 nomismata hyperpyra (Iviron III: no. 73).

¹ Only a selection of entries in the Codex B have been inserted here. A full commentary, new analysis, and redating of these documents is badly needed.

- 1314 sale of a workshop in Serres for 40 nomismata paid with a vineyard of 1 stremma valued at 6 nomismata and 34 ducats (Bénu, *Codex B*: no. 67).
- 1314 vineyard sale for 72 current nomismata hyperpyra (πραττόμενα καὶ ἄψογα). The vines owe an annual rent of 10 doukata to St. Sophia in Thessalonike (Chilandar I: no. 32).
- 1315 sale of houses in Thessalonike for 36 current perfect hyperpyra (νομίσματα ὑπέρπυρα πραττόμενα καὶ ἄψογα τριακονταεξί); mention of a rent of 4 kokkia hyperpyrika (Esphigmenou: no. 10).
- 1316 exchange between Esphigmenou and Vatopedi involving the monastery of Banitza estimated at 600 nomismata (Esphigmenou: no. 12).
- 1320 sale of various houses in Thessalonike for 60 hyperpyra in good Venetian ducats at 12 to the hyperpyron (διὰ δουκάτων βενετικῶν ἀρεστῶν ἀνα δώδεκα εἰς ἓν ἕκαστον ὑπέρπυρον) (Iviron III: no. 78).
- 1320 sale of an estate for 106 hyperpyra (Bénu, *Codex B*: no. 35).
- 1323 annual rent of a piece of land at the rate of 1 full-weight hyperpyron *eustathmon* for 12 modioi (Vatopedi I: no. 59).
- 1324 or 1325 sale of 300 modioi of land for 36 gold nomismata (Bénu, *Codex B*: no. 58).
- 1326 sale of various houses in Thessalonike for 100 current nomismata hyperpyra paid in 100 Venetian ducats (πραττόμενα . . . διὰ δουκάτων βενετικῶν ἰστώντων ἑκατόν) (Iviron III: no. 84).
- 1327 sale of three houses and a piece of land in Thessalonike (διὰ δουκάτων βενετικῶν εἰς τὸ ζύγιον) (Chilandar, Petit 112)?
- 1327 sale of a house in Thessalonike for 46 hyperpyra paid in 46 ounces of ducats (διὰ δουκάτων βενετικῶν ἰστώντων οὐγγίας τεσσαρακοντα ἕξι) (Vatopedi I: no. 65).
- 1328 sale of a vineyard of 1 stremma for one pound of nomismata in ducats (εἰς νομίσματα λίτραν μίαν δουκάτων) (Bénu, *Codex B*: no. 52).
- 1329 sale of half a mill for 42 ounces of ducats (πραττόμενα δουκάτα) (Bénu, *Codex B*: no. 14).
- 1329 sale of a vineyard of 1 stremma for 10 ounces of ducats (πραττόμενα δουκάτα) (Bénu, *Codex B*: no. 51).
- 1329 sale of a piece of land of 3 stremmata for 1 “nomisma eustathmon” (Bénu, *Codex B*: no. 90).
- 1329 sale of a piece of land of 2 stremmata for xx [*vacat*]” “nomismata eustathma” (Bénu, *Codex B*: no. 103).
- 1329 sale of a piece of land of 1 stremma for 2 “prattomena doukata” (πραττόμενα δουκάτα) (Bénu, *Codex B*: no. 98).
- 1329 sale of a piece of land of 2 stremmata for one “ounce of ducats” (Bénu, *Codex B*: no. 99).
- 1330/1331 testament including 10 hyperpyra as a gift (*eulogia*) (Docheiariou: no. 17).

- 1330 sale of a piece of land for 12 ducats (Bénou, *Codex B*: no. 102).
- 1330 sale of a workshop in Serres for 60 ounces of ducats (Bénou, *Codex B*: no. 65).
- 1332 “To each one of the brothers is given each year one [and] a half *hyperpera*, or nine *hexagia* [of silver], that is, eighteen large ducats”: *typikon* of St. John Prodromos on Mount Menoikeion near Serres [*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, vol. 4, 58. Ed. John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. 2000), 1600 (§ 12)].
- 1333 sale of 500 modioi of land for 107 ounces of ducats (Bénou, *Codex B*: no. 32).
- 1333 sale of part of a vineyard for $\frac{1}{2}$ hexagion of ducats (δουκάτα ἐξάγιον τρίτον σῶα καὶ ἀνελλίπη) (Bénou, *Codex B*: no. 105).
- 1333 sale of a workshop in Serres for 42 nomismata (Bénou, *Codex B*: no. 70).
- 14th century emphyteutic rents (ἀνακαμπτικόν) of building ground in Serres for 2 “doukata pratomena,” 1 ducat, and 3 ducats respectively (Bénou, *Codex B*: no. 75, but the document is of doubtful authenticity; see introduction, p. 10).
- 1336 sale of houses in Thessalonike for 58 nomismata hyperpyra paid in ounces of Venetian ducats (διὰ δουκάτων βενετικῶν ἰστώντων οὐγγίας πενητηκονταοκτώ) (Xenophon: no. 24).
- 1339 various sales for a total of 5 ounces of ducats (Bénou, *Codex B*: no. 53).
- 1340 sale of a workshop in Serres for 28 ounces of ducats (Bénou, *Codex B*: no. 69).
- 1341 sale of a piece of land (ζεφυγηλατεῖον) of 2,044 imperial modioi for 300 ounces (τιμῆς τῶν τριακοσίων . . . τῶν νομισμάτων οὐγγίων) (Lavra III: app. 12).
- 1343 sale of two pieces of land (12 stremmata) for 8 ounces of ducats (Bénou, *Codex B*: no. 54).
- 1343 sale of two buildings in Serres for 65 ounces of ducats (Bénou, *Codex B*: no. 64).
- 1345 sale of a ruined *kellion* for 330 “Venetian hyperpyra” (εἰς ὑπέρπυρα βενετικὰ τριακόσια τριακόνα ἦτοι οὐγγίας τριακοσίας τριάκοντα) (Docheiariou: no. 24).
- 1347 rent of 300 hyperpyra, that is, ounces (ὑπέρπυρα ἦτοι οὐγγίας) given by Dušan to Lavra (Lavra III: no. 128 and commentary on the ounces of ducats, p. 37).
- 1348 lifetime rent (*diakonia*) expressed ὑπέρπυρα βενετικὰ οὐγγίας ἑκατόν (Vatopédi, unpublished, cited by Lemerle, *Lavra* III: 37, Vatopédi II, in press, no. 100).
- 1349 among various donations of King Stefan Dušan to St. Panteleemon monastery, the annual income of St. George’s festival, 20 baskets of salt from Chrysopolis and “200 Venetian hyperpyra from Trlis” (Saint-Panteleemon: Serbian act no. 1²).
- 1349 sale of part of an estate for 60 nomismata hyperpyra (Xeropotamou: no. 26).
- 1351 an imperial prostagma confirms Xeropotamou in its possession of the foundry of Kontogrikou since the monks paid the amount due of “37 hyperpyra in ducats” (ὑπέρπυρα διὰ δουκάτων τριακονταεπτὰ) (Xeropotamou: no. 28).

² Forged Serbian documents have been excluded from this list.

- 1354 sale of a workshop in Serres for 50 ounces of ducats (Bénou, *Codex B*: no. 71).
- 1355 confirmation of a sale settled for 50 hyperpyra (Docheiariou: no. 32).
(before)
- 1356 annual rent of a piece of land in the district for $2\frac{1}{2}$ *megala dukata* (Vatopédi: unpub. 99).
- 1361 confirmation of a testament including gifts of hyperpyra (Docheiariou: no. 34).
(before)
- 1361 rent of 30 hyperpyra on the district of Trilision given to Lavra by Stefan Uroš (Lavra III: no. 140).
- 1361 55 ounces of ducats as a compensation for a vineyard and its amelioration. The beneficiary pledges not to reclaim anything more than the “55 hyperpyra” (Docheiariou: no. 36, lines 12 and 21).
- 1364 annual rent of 150 modioi for 3 hyperpyra, that is, 3 ounces of ducats (ἤτοι δουκάτων οὐγγίας τρεῖς) (Xenophon: no. 30).
- 1365 sale of a piece of land of 200 modioi for 24 hyperpyra in “ounces of ducats” (διὰ δουκάτων οὐγγίας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας) (Lavra III: no. 143).
- 1368 sale of a piece of land near Christoupolis for 130 hyperpyra, that is, 130 “ounces of ducats” (ἤτοι δουκάτων οὐγγιῶν ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα) (Pantocrator, no. 7).
- 1370 debt of 1,000 hyperpyra remaining to be paid on that of 1,200 “ounces of ducats” borrowed to pay for the construction of the fortification of the monastery (Kutlumus: no. 30, Chariton’s testament B, Lemerle, p. 118, line 50; p. 120, lines 113 and 116 = *BMFD* 51, 1420, 1422, 1423 and testament A, no. 29, Lemerle, p. 115, line 58 = *BMFD* 51, 1417). See my comment on the reading “1,000 hyperpyra” instead of “1,000 aspra” in *DOP* 56 (2002). The same debt of 1,200 ounces is also mentioned in Kutlumus: no. 26.
- 1373 sale of a *kteima* for 600 hyperpyra paid in 600 ounces of current and full-weight Venetian ducats (ἔλαβον ἀφ’ ὑμῶν τὰ εἰρημένα ἑξακόσια ὑπέρπυρα διὰ βενετικῶν δουκάτων πραττομένων καὶ ἀψόγων ἰστώντων οὐγγίας ἑξακοσίας) (Docheiariou: no. 42).
- 1374 agreement between Lavra and Alexios Komnenos Magisdas about 400 hyperpyra owed for cereals sold to the monastery (Lavra III: no. 145).
- 1375 mention of a decorated icon used as a deposit for funeral expenses and valued at 24 “ounces of ducats” (εἰκῶν . . . ἐνὶ γοῦν σημάδιν εἰς δουκάτα οὐγγίας κδ’ διὰ το ταφικόν) (Lavra III: no. 147).
- 1375 claim renouncement settled for 50 ounces (οὐγγίας πεντήκοντα) (Lavra III: no. 148).
- 1384 the estimates of Maria Doblitzene’s dowry are expressed in hyperpyra (Docheiariou: no. 49).
- 1388 among various donations of the despot Konstantin Dragaš or his late brother the voivode Dimitar to St. Panteleemon monastery, mentions of enclosures bought for 8 or 2 “Venetian hyperpyra” (St. Panteleemon, Serbian act no. 11).

- 1400 sale of a *kellion* in Karyes for 70 “current hyperpyra” (εἰς ὑπέρπυρα τὰ πολιτευόμενα νῦν) (Dionysiou: no. 9).³
- 1415 the salt makers of Thessalonike pledge an annual rent of 100 aspers for the maintenance of a hieromonk in St. Paul’s church in Thessalonike (Dionysiou: no. 14).
- 1417 settlement between Theodora Doblitzene and Docheiariou which pays 12 hyperpyra (Docheiariou: no. 57).
- 1419 settlement between the sons of Dadas and Xenophon about several houses converted into a wine sale business (οἰνοπωλεῖον), all sums expressed in hyperpyra (Xenophon: no. 23).
- 1421 the complex affairs opposing Iviron to the Argyropoulos family in Thessalonike are settled in the decision of the “general judges” (*katholikoi kriteis*) mentioning rents in hyperpyra and aspers (Iviron III: no. 97).
- 1432 a flax oil factory is rented to the Nea Mone of Thessalonike for 8 current nomismata and a jar of oil (νομίσματα πολιτευόμενα ὀκτὼ καὶ λινελαίου λαγίνιον ἓν) (Lavra III: no. 168).

³ I do not agree with N. Oikonomides’ translation “de bon cours” (ibid. p. 77). *Politeuomena* refers only to the value of the hyperpyron at the time of the sale.