

CATALOGUE OF THE BYZANTINE COINS  
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VOLUME 4 ♦ PART 2

The Emperors of Nicaea and  
Their Contemporaries  
1204–1261

Michael F. Hendy

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Washington, D.C.

VOLUME FOUR

ALEXIUS I TO MICHAEL VIII

1081–1261

BY

MICHAEL F. HENDY

Part 2

The Emperors of Nicaea and Their Contemporaries

(1204–1261)

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection

Washington, D.C.

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# CONTENTS

## Part 2

List of Tables	vi
----------------	----

### III. THE COINS, 1204–1261

#### A. The Empire of Nicaea

Theodore I Comnenus-Lascaris (1205/8–1221)	447
John III Ducas, Called Vatatzes (1221–1254)	467
Theodore II Ducas-Lascaris (1254–1258)	514
Michael VIII Ducas-Angelus-Comnenus-Palaeologus (1259–1261 at Nicaea/Nymphaeum), with John IV Lascaris as Colleague (1258–1261)	528
Coins of Anonymous Type or Uncertain Attribution	536

#### B. The Empire of Thessalonica

Theodore Comnenus-Ducas, Called Angelus (1225?/7–1230)	543
Manuel Comnenus-Ducas (Despot 1230–1237)	566
John Comnenus-Ducas (Emperor 1237–1242; Despot 1242–1244)	578
Demetrius Comnenus-Ducas (Despot 1244–1246)	597
Uncertain Thessalonican Attribution	599
John III Ducas, Called Vatatzes (1246–1254 at Thessalonica)	601
Theodore II Ducas-Lascaris (1254–1258)	615

#### C. Epirus / Arta, Etc.

Michael I Comnenus-Ducas (ca. 1204–ca. 1215), Theodore Comnenus-Ducas (ca. 1215–1230 at Arta), Manuel Comnenus-Ducas (1230–ca. 1236 from Thessalonica), Michael II Comnenus-Ducas (ca. 1236–ca. 1268)	621
John III (Emperor), with Michael II (Despot) (1248)	625

#### D. Other Rulers

Stephen Ducas (Radoslav), Tsar of Serbia (1228–1233)	635
Ivan II Asen, Tsar of Bulgaria (1218–1241)	639
Mitso Asen (ca. 1256–1263)	644
Constantine Asen (Tich) (1257–1277)	645
Leo Gabalas (Caesar in Rhodes ±1235), John Gabalas (Ruler in Rhodes ± 1250)	648

#### E. The Latin States

The Empire and Its Dependencies (1204–1261)	653
Constantinople (1204–1261)	664
Thessalonica (1204–1224)	668
Small-Module (“Venetian”) Trachea (± 1206–1261[?])	670
Uncertain Attribution and Addenda	698
Bibliographic Abbreviations	704
Bibliography	705
Indexes	717
Plates I–LIV	737

# LIST OF TABLES

## Part 2

14. Signa and Finenesses for John III's Hyperpyra (Pegolotti)	476
15. Signa (Letters) and Dates for John III's Hyperpyra	477
16. Basic Chronological Divisions in the Billon Trachy Coinages of Theodore Ducas	546
17. Conspectus of the Coinages of Theodore Ducas	548



III  
THE COINS, 1204–1261



## A. THE EMPIRE OF NICAEA



## THEODORE I Comnenus-Lascaris

(Acclaimed 1205; Crowned 1208–1221)

Colleague: Nicholas Comnenus-Lascaris (ca. 1208–12?)

### BACKGROUND

Theodore I Comnenus-Lascaris remains of unknown parentage, although as he and his brother Constantine both used the same combination of family names, it must have represented a reasonably straightforward elite union and probably one of relatively recent alliance with the Comnenian clan. He is at any rate described by Nicetas as being of most distinguished family (*hōs genei diaprepestatos*), although it is noticeable that that description is a late one and from a period when Theodore was already established in power at Nicaea, and Nicetas therefore a dependent.<sup>1</sup>

Theodore himself first appears quite suddenly as the second husband of Anna, the second daughter of Alexius III, with the marriage in 1199 being combined with that of Alexius Palaeologus as second husband of Irene, the first daughter of the same emperor. As Alexius had no sons, it seems clear that the sons-in-law were regarded as heirs presumptive, with Palaeologus presumably holding seniority, and that as such both were awarded the title of *despotēs*, or possibly Alexius first and Theodore only subsequently, but in any case even the latter before July 1203.<sup>2</sup>

It seems probable that Theodore was present in the City as late as 17 July 1203 when the Byzantines were defeated outside the walls by the crusaders; that he was briefly imprisoned after the flight of Alexius III during the night of 17/18 July; and that he managed to escape and flee the City with his family before the assembly in the Great Church beginning on 25 January 1204. Subsequently, he made for Anatolia and demanded of the Nicaeans that they admit him into the city, which they at first refused to do, although they did offer refuge to his family. Then he visited other cities in the region such as Prusa, and began to consolidate a hold over it, acting all the time as despot and in the name of his father-in-law Alexius III. It was very probably the news of Alexius' capture and formal deposition by Boniface of Montferrat, probably in November 1204, that encouraged him to have himself acclaimed emperor in 1205. By this stage he had been joined by his brother Constantine, who had demanded recognition as emperor on the doomed night of 12/13 April 1204—which he is perhaps unlikely to have done had Theodore still been in the City—and who in any case seems to have loyally supported Theodore in the first testing years of the new reign.<sup>3</sup>

Even in 1205, Theodore's hold over his newly consolidated Bithynian territory remained extremely precarious and the situation vastly confused. He had numerous Byzantine rivals: Alexius and David Comnenus, grandsons of Emperor Andronicus I, who had already seized Trebizond in 1204, and who were already attempting to push westward through Paphlagonia and into Bithynia, much like their grand-

<sup>1</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, p. 626; Zacos and Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I.1, no. 116, pp. 106–7; Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 330 and note 2 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Baroc. MS 235: *para tou paneugenest[a]t[ou] desp[ō]tou hēm[ōn] Kōnst[ā]nt[inou] Komnēn[ou] tou Lask[a]r[eōs]*). For Nicholas, see N. Oikonomides, “Cinq actes inédits du patriarche Michel Autoreianos,” *REB* 25 (1967), 122–24, 142–44.

<sup>2</sup> Zacos and Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I.3, nos. 2752, 2753, pp. 1568–71.

<sup>3</sup> Oikonomides, “La décomposition de l'empire byzantin,” 22–28.

father in 1181/82; Theodore Mancaphas in Philadelphia (again); Sabbas Asidenus in Sampson on the lower Maeander; Manuel Mavrozomes on the middle and upper Maeander; a probable Gabalas in Rhodes; and an Italo-Byzantine named Aldobrandini in Attalia on the Pamphylian coast. And in addition to all this, of course, he had the normal Selçuk/Türkmen pressure, and the inevitable hostility of the newly established Latin empire, to deal with.<sup>4</sup>

The precise course of events in the immediately following years remains obscure. Early on, he defeated the Trapezuntine forces that had reached Bithynia, and it has been suggested that it was this that encouraged him to have himself acclaimed, although it seems rather more likely that it was the news of Alexius III's deposition that did so: he was, after all, quite legitimately a *despotēs* as none of his rivals was, and the disappearance of the last Byzantine emperor remaining alive would immediately have suggested his own succession.<sup>5</sup>

It seems possible that he had been joined by Theodore Mancaphas in resisting a Latin push into Bithynia that had begun in November 1204, and that had resulted in the defeat of his own forces at Poimanenum early in 1205, for Nicetas records that the Byzantine forces at the subsequent battle at Adramyttium in March 1205 (a major Byzantine defeat) were led by Theodore Mancaphas, while Villehardouin is consistent in awarding Byzantine leadership to Constantine Lascaris. Possibly therefore both were partially accurate, and in any case Nicetas stood to gain from palliating a Lascarid defeat.<sup>6</sup>

The Byzantines were saved the consequences of defeat on this occasion by the arrival of an appeal in March by the Latin emperor Baldwin I to his brother Henry, then leading the Latin forces in Anatolia, for help against the Bulgarian tsar Kaloyan, and then by the arrival of news in April of Baldwin's disastrous defeat and capture by Kaloyan at Adrianople. It appears that Theodore was subsequently able to conclude a truce with the now hard-pressed Latins, giving him both a much needed breathing space and also the opportunity to suppress Theodore Mancaphas and Sabbas Asidenus, with the latter at least being brought into the hierarchy by marriage into the imperial family and the grant of the title of *sebastokratōr*.<sup>7</sup>

Manuel Mavrozomes proved a more difficult problem, for he had managed to marry his daughter to the newly restored Selçuk sultan Keyhusrev I, and so, despite his defeat by Theodore at about this time (summer 1205), he managed to continue to cause trouble in alliance with the Turks. Finally, Theodore was able to conclude a peace with both Mavrozomes and Keyhusrev by making over to the former the cities of Chonae and Laodicea and their regions, probably in essence the south bank of the Maeander.<sup>8</sup>

This could also have been the stage at which Rhodes, independent under its own dynast since 1203/4, was brought within the newly emerging Nicaean state structure. For the island's ruler, who at least later emerges as one Leo Gabalas, by then bore the title of *kaisar*, and Nicetas reports (with some exaggeration) that Theodore built a fleet and brought most of the islands under his control. A recognition of effective independence by Theodore, but equally the recognition of a nominal suzerainty by Gabalas, both sealed by the grant/acceptance of a court title, would have represented the same kind of indirect measure already adopted with regard to Asidenus and Mavrozomes.<sup>9</sup>

The more distant Attalia, under Aldobrandini, could not however be retained as Byzantine: although it survived a brief attack by Keyhusrev in 1206 through calling in Cypriot reinforcements for its garrison, it finally fell to the Turks not long after.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, pp. 626, 638–39; Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 12. See also J. Hoffman, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich*; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*; both under relevant headings.

<sup>5</sup> Oikonomides, "La décomposition de l'empire byzantin," 27.

<sup>6</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, II, pp. 112–14, 130–32; Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, p. 603.

<sup>7</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, II, pp. 150–52, 153 note 1, 166–70; Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, pp. 615–17, 625; Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 14; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, p. 150, no. 213 (Asidenus).

<sup>8</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, pp. 626, 638; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, p. 146, no. 208.

<sup>9</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, p. 638; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, p. 150, no. 214—but see below, pp. 648–49.

<sup>10</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, pp. 639–40; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, pp. 147–48, no. 210.

By early 1206, then, although Theodore was still in a precarious situation, nevertheless it was one in which he had brought the bulk of former Byzantine territory in Anatolia under his control or suzerainty, with the main losses being that of the Pontus to the Comneni, and that of Pamphylia to the Selçuks.

The Latins, however, with a new emperor Henry, were still determined on the conquest of Byzantine Anatolia, which they had long ago agreed to partition between themselves, and the destruction of the serious threat represented by Theodore, and consequently began another campaign against the latter, gaining control of the cities/fortresses of Nicomedia, Cyzicus, and Pegae in 1206, and of Charax and Cibotus in 1207, from none of which could they be dislodged by military force. Eventually (June 1207), and largely for fear of Theodore's ally Kaloyan, a further truce of two years was signed involving the return of Latin prisoners by Theodore and the destruction of the Latin fortifications of Nicomedia and Cyzicus, leaving only Pegae and Charax in Latin hands. Thereupon, the situation remained stable for several years, representing a major achievement for Theodore, even if it was gained largely through external factors.<sup>11</sup>

It was doubtless the gaining of this valuable interlude of peace that in part encouraged Theodore to embark upon a further necessary step in winning general recognition as the only legitimate and viable successor to the Byzantine emperors: his own coronation as emperor.

The opportunity was presented by the death of the last Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople appointed before 1204, John X, who had subsequently resided in exile at Didymotichum, and who had been invited to Nicaea but had refused to come, in May 1206. Theodore, as suggested above, presumably taking advantage of the relative stability provided by his truce with the Latins, called together a synod for the purpose of electing a successor to the patriarchate. This latter was done on 20 March 1208, with the election of Michael IV, and the first major act of the new patriarch in Holy Week—possibly even on Easter Sunday 6 April—of the same year 1208 was to crown Theodore as emperor. Either then, or at some time shortly after, Theodore's elder son and intended successor Nicholas was also crowned. The key offices of both state and church were thus once again formally filled.<sup>12</sup>

Peace with the Latins actually lasted longer than the two years contracted, and when the more general peace was broken it was not the Latins as such who were responsible, but their allies the Selçuks. The pretext for the opening of hostilities in early 1211 was the reappearance of the inexhaustible ex-emperor Alexius III, who had been released from his eventual detention at Montferrat on payment of a ransom by Michael Ducas of Epirus, and who had subsequently traveled on to Iconium to appeal for help from the sultan—still Keyhusrev—so as to regain his throne. Keyhusrev, who had resided at Constantinople under Alexius during his period of exile, and who had reasons for disliking Theodore, decided to take up the former's cause and dispatched an embassy to the latter demanding that he abdicate in his father-in-law's favor. Theodore naturally refused and moved with his forces to Philadelphia: Keyhusrev with his own forces attacked Antioch-on-the-Maeander, a key city in the middle of the valley that the emperor could not afford to lose. Theodore, moving quickly by a minor route, surprised Keyhusrev and forced him to give battle. Despite a dangerous early Byzantine reverse, the sultan was subsequently unhorsed and killed. The Turks thereupon made peace, and Alexius, once again deprived of the imperial regalia (*ta basilika parasēmā*), was forced into a monastery at Nicaea for the remainder of his life.<sup>13</sup>

The real gainer from all this was of course the Latin emperor Henry, for the victory at Antioch had been a costly one—Theodore had had an elite body of eight hundred Latin knights among his two thousand-strong army, and they had been virtually wiped out. On receipt of the news of the victory and its cost (April), Henry moved quickly over from Thrace to Bithynia (July), and after defeating the Byzantines in a preliminary battle at Pegae, moved eastward and forced them into battle again somewhere on the

<sup>11</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, II, pp. 266–70, 274–76, 278–86, 290–304.

<sup>12</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 11; Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 13; Grumel, *La chronologie*, 258. Above, p. 447, note 1.

<sup>13</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 12–17, 32.

lower Rhyndacus (October). This action proved a major catastrophe for the Byzantines, who simply took to flight and were cut down in numbers, and as a result Henry was able to advance southward deeply into Byzantine-held territory, reaching as far as Nymphaeum before retreating northward, and leaving few garrisons because of his own lack of manpower.

It seems that Henry intended to follow up his victory in the course of the following summer (1212), but in fact little seems then to have happened, and at some uncertain subsequent stage (1212/14), an apparently indefinite treaty between Latins and Byzantines was signed, ceding to the former an extensive swathe of northeastern Anatolia extending from the coast between Adramyttium (Latin) and Pergamum (Byzantine) east-north-eastward as far as Achyraus (Latin), and then northward to the Marmara, probably following the course of the Macestus, and leaving Lopadium, Prusa, and Nicaea in Byzantine hands, but presumably the entire Nicomedian peninsula west of the Sangarius in Latin ones.<sup>14</sup>

The gains had been exceedingly cheap for the Latins and the losses correspondingly dear for the Byzantines, but what was important was that both recent treaties, that with the Selçuks (1211) and that with the Latins (1212/14), held in essence for the rest of the reign. It was therefore presumably subsequent to this that Theodore compensated himself for his losses by taking Heraclea and Amastris and their regions on the Black Sea coast from the Paphlagonian/Pontic Comneni, with—uncharacteristically—no opposition from the Latins.<sup>15</sup>

Of Theodore's administrative policies little in definite detail is known. It nevertheless seems clear that the formerly quasi-independent bureaus (*sekreta*) of the old central administration were not recreated in exile, and indeed that they were never restored. Instead, the drastically simplified administrative structure now centered directly upon the imperial household (*oikos*). Some of the old titles were granted out (especially in subsequent and more settled reigns), but apparently mostly as honorifics, and it is difficult to know just which few of them actually still did possess anything resembling their previously well-defined functions. For example, the historian George Acropolites held the classic "offices" of *megas logariastēs*, *logothetēs tou genikou*, and *megas logothetēs* in turn under John III and Theodore II, but the progression from the first to the second is distinctly odd, and for the first and third he is one of only two known holders of the "office," and for the second the only known. And the evidence is cumulative: it has been well observed that even the "office" of *prōtovesiarios* with four known holders, previously the official in charge of the imperial (private) *vestiarion*, simply cannot be demonstrated to have fulfilled any financial functions during the period of exile. Indeed, it was at precisely this period that the old formal distinction between imperial (public) wealth and imperial (private) wealth finally seems to have come to an end.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, an undifferentiated *vestiarion* was duly established during Theodore's reign, and its functioning officials are attested as early as 1216, when a secretary in the imperial *vestiarion* (*en tō basilikō vestiariō grammatikos*) appears in a document. It seems to have been the only major fiscal institution in operation, acting as both the repository of imperial wealth (in essence its previous function) and as the sole instrument of general fiscal administration (a novel function). It is known to have been situated at Magnesia (*sub Sipylo*) during the reign of John III, and there are good grounds for believing it to have been already in place together with the mint under Theodore, as will be seen below. Who headed it at this stage remains unclear, but there must have been a predecessor of the later president of the *vestiarion* (*prokathēmenos tou vestiariou*), an office first recorded in 1278, whether under that name or not.<sup>17</sup>

Quite how this relatively lowly office and function meshed with the higher echelons of the administration again remains unclear, but it is by no means improbable that while the *prokathēmenos* or his predecessor basically accepted and disbursed payments, and ran the revenue-collecting apparatus, policy as

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 27–29; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 428–34.

<sup>15</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 18.

<sup>16</sup> Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 151–55, 206, 330–31; Hendy, *Studies*, 440–43. See also, in general, H. Ahrweiler, "L'expérience Nicéenne," *DOP* 29 (1975), pp. 23–33, for much of what follows.

<sup>17</sup> Hendy, *Studies*, 440–43.



such was decided by whoever was the current head of the general administration, who might or might not be identical with the *mesazōn*, an office and mediatory function inherited from the preceding Comnenian system. This latter is known to have been in existence under Theodore and by 1216 when it was held and exercised by Demetrius Tornices, who continued in power under John III and on until his death in 1247, a remarkable example of continuity.<sup>18</sup>

Other than these, the main institution of central government was the chancery, with its offices and functions of *epi tou kanikleiou* and *mystikos* (the official in charge of imperial confidential correspondence), both again inherited from the Comnenian system.<sup>19</sup> Most of these offices and their functions can be traced back not only into the reign of Theodore, but even well back into the reign, with the year 1207—again the period of truce with the Latins—being the probable point of departure.<sup>20</sup>

The higher court titles that had evolved under the Comneni—and virtually confined to members of the clan—are nearly all attested, and from quite early on in the reign. Theodore created his brother Constantine (presumably the eldest of his siblings) *despotēs*, and his son-in-law Constantine Palaeologus was also awarded the same title, presumably as heir presumptive, although he in fact predeceased the emperor. He created his other brothers Alexius, George, and Isaac *sebastokratores*, a title which, as previously seen, he also gave to his unsuccessful rival Sabbas Asidenus, and to a certain Nicephorus Contostephanus, who was possibly a former governor of Crete, and in any case from his name a member of one of the leading families of the Comnenian court nobility, which had held an “appanage” on the lower Maeander under Alexius III. In both these latter cases it seems clear that Theodore was attempting to conciliate powerful local interests: a novel departure, at least in so overt a fashion. And finally, again as previously seen, he may well have created another unsuccessful rival—but one who retained effective power—Leo Gabalas of Rhodes, *kaisar*.<sup>21</sup>

In matters of regional administration, the twelfth-century pattern of thematic entities seems to have been continued with little basic change. The Comnenian themes of Neokastra, Thrakesion, and Mylassa-Melanudium, stretching down the Anatolian coast from Pergamum to and beyond Miletus, and inland as far as Philadelphia, Tripoli, and Antioch-on-the-Maeander, are all evidenced during the period of exile, with minimal adjustments to territorial boundaries. Indeed, there may have been some degree of reconsolidation of previously subdivided themes, but this remains uncertain, as does the existence of separate regimes for frontier cities like Malagina and Philadelphia.

In the north, the former themes of Opsikion and Optimaton had both been subsumed into the Latin empire as a result of the defeats of 1211, and the remaining themes of Bithynia and (recovered) Paphlagonia were under regimes that are still unclear.

The earliest recorded thematic *doux* of the period seems to be Basil Chrysomalles, duke of Thrakesion in 1213. He was also *epi tou kanikleiou* and *oikeios* (a member of the imperial household), and this set the pattern for the theme, which was the one in which Nymphaeum, the imperial winter capital, lay. Elsewhere, there is no good reason to doubt an essential continuity between the two regimes, with doubtless a certain amount of confusion and disruption over the years 1203/4–7. Thematic *doukes* continued to possess a double, that is, military and civil (fiscal/judicial) competence.<sup>22</sup>

The overall impression is one of relatively little change in administration and economy in the formal sense, but there can be no doubt that change below the surface was considerable, with the directions that it took being complex and sometimes contradictory. On the one hand, the immense burden of supplying a huge capital, with its complex court and bureaucracy and so on, through the direct payment of

<sup>18</sup> Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 150, 155–61.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 161–66.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148–49.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 330; Henty, *Studies*, 106, 133–34. Asidenus: see above, p. 448. Contostephanus in Crete: Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, 148. Gabalas: see above, p. 448, and below, pp. 648–49. For the somewhat mysterious caesar Romanus, see Angold, *op. cit.*, pp. 210, 241; and below, p. 474.

<sup>22</sup> Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, pp. 244–49, 250–58.

tax revenues and levies, had been lifted, and what replaced it locally cannot have been anywhere near as burdensome. But on the other, the destruction of whole areas of the former capital, its relative depopulation, and the installation of a not infrequently hostile regime there, must have reduced its absorptive role as a market to be supplied. And again, although the local military establishment was probably not sensibly larger than that marking the previous regime, nevertheless anything further—the maintenance of an elite standing force, and the even occasional hiring of mercenaries, and so on—had to be supported by a much reduced territorial base. The Lascarid emperors, like their Comnenian predecessors, were nothing if not incessant campaigners, especially from the reign of John III onwards, and military expenses had always formed the largest single item in the imperial budget. This may have been at least one of the major causes behind the increasing use of the indirect method of support—the *pronoia* grant—over the period, for both military and administrative personnel, particularly in the region of Smyrna, rich and conveniently near to Nymphaeum, and particularly under John III. The grant, which was at least in theory economically neutral, may simply have appeared the most acceptable/least burdensome way of supporting any additional personnel, not the least because it need not necessarily have involved the handing over of always scarce and hard-won cash.

Nevertheless, over against these somewhat ambivalent considerations, there are also sure signs of a continually expanding economy. This involved an increase in population, whether urban or rural, and both native and that resulting from immigration from areas fought over and occupied by the Latins, and presumably by the Bulgarians before them. The Aegean islands, as previously noted, seem to have absorbed some of these, but presumably not all, and in any case seem to have given forth their own. The phenomenon of refugees seems to have been particularly accentuated under Theodore I, as indeed might have been expected, and that emperor is known to have positively encouraged their settlement.

It also involved an increasing complexity of landowning, and an increasing intensity of agricultural exploitation, with the reconstruction of old villages, the construction of new ones, the building of mills, and the planting of vineyards and olive groves. It should be remembered that while the presence of a capital city and court and so on may in the long term be parasitic, it may equally well in the first place be a catalyst for economic growth.<sup>23</sup>

The impression is gained that, during the period of exile, the empire as restored in western Anatolia finally began to draw level with the extent of economic expansion which had earlier characterized the outer Balkans. Not the least of the causes behind this phenomenon may have been the application of an increased degree of aristocratic and professional interest that had hitherto been lacking: an excellent example of the fact that large landowning, and institutions such as *pronoia*, are not at all necessarily inimical to stimulation and growth in the medieval, or in any other primitive, economy.

## COINAGE

With the coinage of the first major Byzantine ruler of the post-1203/4 period, one enters a wholly new monetary world from that of the twelfth century: a world of even then small issues, known now from single or at best a small number of specimens, with new issues turning up frequently, and with no assurance whatsoever that the appearance of any such new issue marks the completion of a particular series.

In particular and in part, of course, this results from the transfer of the treasury/mint from Nicaea to the much more southerly Magnesia, with its products therefore subsequently making much less of an impact in the still massive Bulgarian hoard evidence. And in part it also results from the eventual adoption by all three major successor states to the former unitary empire—Nicaea, Thessalonica, and the Latin empire—of an annual change in coin designs, there then being no further chance of the massive issues lasting a full indictional cycle that had marked the twelfth century. And again in part it results from the simple fact of territorial disintegration and a diminution in the actual area controlled by those states.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 102–6. Refugees: see also above, pp. 77–79.

The emergence of indirect forms of payment from the state to its dependents (the increasing use of *pronoia* and so on) may, as previously observed, also already have made a contribution. But in a more general sense it must also have been the result of the running down of the hitherto relatively smooth-working imperial fiscal machine, the cyclical momentum of which seems to have lasted well into the first decade of the thirteenth century—witness the scale of the early Bulgarian imitative series—but which then collapsed into a series of spasmodic judderings, eventually leaving trade and exchange as virtually the only, and relatively weak, motor of monetary production. It was the workings of this fiscal machine that had made the empire and its coinage more than simply the sum of its parts, and their cessation can only have represented a phenomenon on a scale that had not been seen since the collapse of the western Roman machine in the fifth century, and the partial collapse of its eastern counterpart in the seventh.<sup>24</sup>

The coinage of Theodore I is in fact a very restrained one, in both nature and scale. It consists of two denominations only: electrum and billon trachea. In 1969 I also hypothesized the existence of gold hyperpyra in the form of an example with an incomplete inscription from the Ratto Sale of 1930, but this now appears to have been an anomalous piece of Alexius I, and it therefore seems necessary to assume that the introduction of a Nicaean gold coinage was the responsibility not of Theodore but of his successor John III.<sup>25</sup> It should be noted that copper tetartera also do not put in an appearance until the latter reign. This on the one hand is only to be expected: the tetarteron was by tradition not an Anatolian but an outer Balkan denomination. But on the other, the introduction of both hyperpyron and tetarteron under John forms a measure of the seriousness and appropriateness of that ruler's wider pretensions, as in other and similar cases.<sup>26</sup>

The electrum trachy is known from four types, two apparently substantive and two certainly very rare. The order of the two substantive types is not now in serious question: Type B (2.1–4) is on average of an appreciably superior alloy, with a number of specimens actually appearing to contain some gold, while Type D (4.1–8) rarely, if ever, appears to be anything other than silver.<sup>27</sup> In addition, Type B accompanied Type A (1.1–(2): the “coronation issue” of 1208) in the hoard from which the latter is solely known, and from which Type D was absent;<sup>28</sup> and Types D and B occurred together in the Torbalı Hoard, from which Type A was absent.<sup>29</sup> The sequence therefore must proceed: A→B→D. This, of course, leaves Type C (3) in an unsatisfactory state of limbo. The type is of the greatest rarity: indeed, it seems currently to be known only from two specimens, but from different pairs of dies. It should also be noted that it can be treated as a mere variant—although a quite distinctive variant—of Type B, with which it shares its reverse design.

It becomes crucial to know, at this stage, whether the early mint of Nicaea/Magnesia functioned according to the same fifteen-year indictional cycle as its metropolitan predecessor has been previously noted as doing. The point is unfortunately uncertain in current circumstances, but it is at least clear that the mint was not yet functioning according to the annual indictional pattern that it later did. If it was functioning according to the cycle, then one possibility would be to place Type C at the very head of the sequence; to consider Type A simply as a very temporary intrusive ceremonial issue; to consider Type B as the substantive continuation of Type C up until the new indictional cycle began on 1 September 1212; and to consider Type D as substantive after the new indictional cycle and on up until the end of the reign.

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g., Hendy, “From Antiquity to the Middle Ages,” 352–60. See also below, pp. 659–60 (Latin coinages).

<sup>25</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 235–36.

<sup>26</sup> See above, pp. 30, 52–53 and Table 3, and below, pp. 474–75.

<sup>27</sup> Morrisson, “La *Logariki*,” 466, note 29—4 carats fine (B); virtually pure silver (D); Hendy, *Studies*, 525, note 387.

<sup>28</sup> P. Protonotarios, “More Rare or Unpublished Coins of the Empires of Nicaea and Thessalonica,” *NCirc* 82 (1974), 52: the hoard consisted of 3 electrum trachea of Alexius III; 2 trachea of Type A (the “coronation issue”); with the remainder of about 250 coins being taken up by Type B. It reportedly came from near Iznik, but this may have resulted from their “Nicaean” identity. For another hoard, consisting of a single electrum trachy of Alexius III, and 142 trachea of Type B, see Bendall and Sellwood, “The Method of Striking Scyphate Coins,” 97–101.

<sup>29</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 389–90 (but with different lettering): Type B (ex A)—100 specimens; Type D (ex B)—145 specimens.

Treating Types C and B as essentially a single interrupted coinage, the following datable sequence would then emerge:<sup>30</sup>

Type C: 1205(?)–8

Type A: 1208

Type B: 1208–12

Type D: 1212–21

The presence of Christ of Chalcites type on what would have been essentially an “inaugural” but not a coronation issue should be noted.






This schema must clearly remain highly tentative, but it might go some way toward explaining why Type C failed to appear in either of the hoards mentioned above, whereas if its true position lay sandwiched between Types B and D, then it might have been expected to appear at least in the Torbalı Hoard. The balance of probability is again so nice, however, as to render it not worth disturbing the pre-existing lettering for the four types.

The billon trachy is, if anything, in an even worse state of uncertainty and disorder than the electrum one, for there are now no less than seven types listed for Theodore below, only three of which can really be substantiated as definite products of the reign, and one of which (Type E: **(9)**) has only very recently (1993) come to my notice as existing in a private collection in a legible state, with the inscription **ΙΩΔ(ΕCΠΟΤΗC?)** to the left on the reverse—and thus clearly belongs to John III, although in a volume of this complication it is now far too late to make the requisite transfer. Type C (**(7.1(2))**) may well be a similar case.

Types F (**(10.1–2)**) and G (**(11.1–2)**) stand a rather better chance of belonging to Theodore, for specimen **(10.2)** seems to have the letter **Δ** to the left on the reverse, suggesting **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC**, and specimen **(11.2)** has the columnar letters **KOM** to the right on the reverse, clearly **KOMNHNOC**.

Type D (**(8.1–3)**) is denominationally anomalous in that it repeats the obverse and reverse designs of Type D of the electrum trachy, but because of that should clearly belong to Theodore. Types A (“First Coinage”) (**(5a.1–e)**) and B (“Second Coinage”) (**(6.1–10)**) are indubitably of Theodore.

How to make sense of all this remains almost entirely unclear. There is, however, one piece of evidence which suggests that the earlier part of the schema adopted above for the electrum trachy (1205?–12) involving an effectively single coinage of Types C and B, briefly intruded upon by Type A in 1208, may have been paralleled in the billon coinage.

There are three basic varieties to Type A, involving slight distinctions in the decoration of the emperor’s loros above the waist, on the reverse: (a) , (b) , and (c) the rare , with the loros-waist itself normally being of the form , but with the form  also occurring with (b) and (c). Now, these varieties seem at least approximately sequential, with both the silver content and the weight standard falling off over the course of the sequence. Rare examples of the later part of the sequence (e.g., **5d.** below, but the phenomenon is also known from hoards) have asterisks above and to either side of the Virgin’s throne on the obverse. This feature is however the norm, if admittedly not the standard, on Type B, where the asterisks occur above and to either side of Christ’s throne on the obverse. It would thus make good sense to see the basic sequence for the period 1205–12 as one in which the earlier issues of Type A (1205–8) without asterisks were briefly interrupted by Type B (1208) with asterisks, and then continued by the later issues of Type A (1208–12) with only very rare and residual asterisks. This at least seems to do no violence to the continuing and generally declining pattern of weight standards.<sup>31</sup>

If the proposed schema, at least in its earlier phases, proves to be valid, then it becomes clear that the labels “First Coinage”/“Second Coinage”—whether with regard to the electrum or to the billon trachy—are at best only partly accurate, and it is probably better to adhere to and revert to, respectively, a

<sup>30</sup> Grumel, *La chronologie*, 258. The concept of a single interrupted coinage may also be useful for the billon trachy. Cf. below, pp. 545–48 (the billon trachy sequence for Theodore Ducas). All noticeably involved “coronation issues.” For possible confirmatory dates for Type D (1213/14; 1215/16), see above, pp. 111–12 and note 61.

<sup>31</sup> See also above, pp. 89–94. As usual, precision depends on further study.

purely alphabetical type classification. In the catalogue below, both will be given in the case of the billon, so as not to disturb concordance with *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 12 too seriously.

Further than this, it seems unwise, and indeed virtually impossible, to proceed usefully. Type D is presumably contemporary at least in part with its identical electrum Type D, and therefore should date to 1212–21. Which of the remaining types (C, F, G) really belong to Theodore remains uncertain, and therefore how some or all of them fit into the schema remains even more so. It is not, however, impossible that toward the end of the reign there was a move toward an annual change of types, at least in the case of the billon. Such a pattern seems to have become normative in the succeeding reign, with regard to both the electrum and the billon, and also to the gold when eventually introduced. It should also be noted that the pattern was adopted by Theodore Ducas immediately upon his recovery of Thessalonica from the Latins in 1224.<sup>32</sup>

As to the date of the transfer of the treasury and mint from Nicaea to Magnesia that has been previously mentioned, in 1969 I postulated that the event should lie between the suppression of the dynasts (which I then dated 1208–11) and the treaty with the Latins (then 1214). The suppression of the dynasts seems now to have been effected earlier, and in 1985 I replaced it with the defeat of Keyhusrev at Antioch in 1211, and the treaty now at 1212/14.<sup>33</sup>

This still seems to be the most plausible chronological bracket. As I have also pointed out, Emperor Henry's campaign of 1211 seems to suggest that Nymphaeum was even by then of some significance, and there are two occasions at about this time (1213/14, 1216) when the wintertime death of a patriarch seems to have caught Theodore *eis to Thrakēsion* or *en tō themati tōn Thrakēsion*, clearly suggesting that the custom of overwintering in the south had by then already been established. As it happens, the year 1212 would be ideal, for it saw a change in indictional cycle, and it is above all Magnesian billon trachy Type D, dated in the schema above to 1212–21, that occurs in the old excavation material from nearby Sardis (7 specimens), as well as now being the dominant late type from Pergamum (4 specimens).<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> See below, pp. 545–48.

<sup>33</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 231–35; idem, *Studies*, 443–45.

<sup>34</sup> H. W. Bell, *Sardis*, XI, *Coins, Part 1 (1910–1914)* (Leiden, 1916), 107–7; H. Voegtli, *Die Fundmünzen aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon*, *Pergamenische Forschungen* 8 (Berlin-New York, 1993), 64.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA					
<b>Nicaea</b>					
TYPE A					
1.1*	El. 4.18	33	<p>⊙ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΜΡ ΘΥ in two columnar groups. Full-length figures of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, orans, turned to r., and of Virgin, nimbate, orans, turned to l. Between them uncertain kite-shaped object. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; Virgin wears tunic and kolobion. Manus Dei in upper center field.</p> <p>⊙ ΘΕΟ ΔΩ Ρ Ο</p> <p>ΜΡ ΘΥ</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΚΟΜΗΝΟΣ Ο ΛΑΚΚΑΡΗΣ, in two columnar groups. ΙϞ ΧϞ in upper center and r. field. Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Christ, bearded and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., patriarchal cross on three steps. Christ wears tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p> <p>ΚΙ ΜΝ ΗΝΙ ΟΛΙ ΚΚ ΑΡ Η Ϟ</p>	(1208)
(1.2)*	El. 4.10	35	<p>⊙ ΙϞΟ ΙΩ ΙΟ Ϟ</p> <p>ΜΡ ΘΥ</p>	<p>ΕΟ ΡΟϞ ΙϞϞ ΠΟ ΤΗ Ϟ</p> <p>ΚΟ ΜΝ ΝΗΟϞ ΟΛΑ ΚΚ ΑΡ ΗϞ</p>	

- 1.1 From Bank Leu 5.x.70  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *N.Circ* 1974, p. 52, no. 1
- (1.2) Private collection  
*N.Circ* 1974, p. 52, no. 1 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
TYPE B					
			<p>ΙC̄ X̄C̄ in upper field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne with back; holds Gospels in l. hand. Pellets, often ∴, or pellet, in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤ Ο, ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, holding between them long shaft, at head of which a star. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds sheathed sword, point downward, in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sheathed sword, point downward, in l. hand.</p>	(1208–12?)
2.1*	El. 3.20	30	⊙ on Gospels	ΙΔCC Ο,ΘΙ	
2.2	El. 2.83 chipped?	30		ΔCC	
2.3*	El. 3.93	32	Γ on throne, to either side	ΙΟCΔCCΠ ΟOCΓ	
2.4	El. 3.09 chipped	33	Γ on throne, to either side	ΙΔΕCΠ	
TYPE C					
			<p>ΚΕΡΟ ΗΘΕΙ. ΙC̄ X̄C̄ in upper field. Full-length figure of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, standing on dais; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.</p>	Inscr. and type as Var. A	(1205?–8?)
(3)*	El. 2.42 chipped	30		ΘΕΟΔΙ ΙΔΕ Ο	

- 2.1 Peirce 1948  
H. Pl. 30.2–3 (Type A), W. 1, R. 2282
- 2.2 Bertelè 1960
- 2.3 Bertelè 1960
- 2.4 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
- (3) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul  
H. —, W. —, R. —. See above, p. 453.  
Details of the second specimen were kindly supplied by S. Bendall (pers. corr. 13.02.95): 4.21 g, 37 mm.





No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
<b>Magnesia</b>					
TYPE D					
			<p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅ Ο̅ ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛΑ</p> <p>in two columnar groups. Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellets, normally ∴, or single pellet, in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟCΔΕC Ο.ΘΕΟΔ ΩΡΟC</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, hold- ing between them patriarchal cross on long shaft, at the base of which, three steps. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds sheathed sword, point downward, in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sheathed sword, point down- ward, in l. hand.</p>	(1212- 21?)
4.1*	El. 4.26	35	<p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅</p> <p>Ο̅ ΝΘ</p> <p>ΕΜ ΗΛ</p> <p>ΑΜ</p>	ΘCΟΔΩΡΟCΔC Θ.ΘC[ ]ΩΡΟC	
4.2*	El. 4.26	35	<p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅</p> <p>ΕΜ ΝΘ</p> <p>ΜΔ ΗΛ</p>	ΟCΟΔΩΡΟCΔCΘ Θ.ΘC[ ]Ω[	
4.3	El. 2.81 chipped	30	<p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅</p> <p>Ο̅ ΝΘ</p> <p>ΕΜ ΗΛ</p> <p>ΑΜ</p>	ΟCΟΔΩΡΟCΔC Θ.ΘΕ[	
4.4	El. 3.81 chipped	34	<p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅</p> <p>Ο̅ ΝΘ</p> <p>Ε Μ</p> <p>Ε Δ Η</p> <p>Μ Λ</p>	ΙCΔCΘ	

- 4.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 30.4-6 (Type B), W-, R. -
- 4.2 Bertelè 1960
- 4.3 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1936, p. 92, no. 1 This coin
- 4.4 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1936, p. 92, no. 2 This coin





No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
4.5	El. 3.75 chipped	37	$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\text{EO}$ $\text{N}\delta$ $\text{HM}$ $\text{HA}$ $\Lambda$	$\text{I}\Delta\text{O POC}\Delta\text{CC}$	
4.6*	El. 4.01 chipped	34	$\overline{\text{IOC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\text{EM}$ $\text{N}\delta\Lambda$ $\text{MA}$ $\text{H}$	$\text{I}\Delta\text{CC O,}\theta\text{CO}\Delta\text{WP}$	
4.7	El. 2.75 chipped	31	$\text{I}\overline{\text{OC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\text{EI M}$ $\text{N}\delta$ $\text{MA}$ $\text{HA}$	$\theta\text{CO}\Delta\text{WPOC}\Delta\text{CC}$ $\text{O,}\theta\text{CI}$	
4.8	El. 4.10 chipped	33	$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\text{IM}$ $\text{I}\delta$ $\text{MA}$ $\text{HA}$	$\text{IC O,}\theta\text{CO}\Delta\text{I}$	
<p>ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</p> <p><b>Nicaea</b></p> <p>TYPE A ("First Coinage")</p>					
			$\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\text{OV}}$ in field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne without back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.	$\theta\text{EO}\Delta\text{WPOC}$ $\theta\theta\text{EO}\Delta\text{WPOC}$ Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds labarum-headed scepter in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic and breastplate; holds spear in l. hand, resting over shoulder.	(1205–12?)

- 4.5 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1936, p. 92, no. 3 This coin
- 4.6 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1936, p. 92, no. 4 This coin
- 4.7 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1936, p. 92, no. 5 This coin
- 4.8 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1936, p. 92, no. 6 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
5a.1	Bill. 3.64	30		ΘCOΔΨPOC ΘECI IYPI Loros-waist  ; between loros-waist and collar-piece  .	
5a.2*	Bill. 3.33	28		ΘCOΔΨPOC ΘΘEOΔΨI	
5a.3	Bill. 4.00	30		Inscr. obscure	
5a.4*	Bill. 3.87	30		Inscr. obscure	
5a.5	Bill. 3.58	28		ΘEOΔI                      OI IΔΨP	
5a.6	Bill. 3.45 pierced, worn	28		Inscr. obscure	
5a.7	Bill. 2.98 worn, flattened	27		Inscr. obscure	
5a.8	Bill. 2.00	28 x 20		Inscr. obscure	
5b.1*	Bill. 5.53	28		ΘΘEOΛΨP Loros-waist  ; between loros- waist and collar-piece  .	
5b.2	Bill. 3.29	30		Inscr. obscure	
5b.3*	Bill. 3.48	30		IΔΨPO                      OI	
5b.4	Bill. 2.35	28		Inscr. obscure	
5b.5	Bill. 2.96	25		Inscr. obscure	

- 5a.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 30.7–10, W. 4–11, R. —  
H. Pl. 30.7 This coin
- 5a.2 Bertelè 1960
- 5a.3 Bertelè 1960
- 5a.4 Bertelè 1960
- 5a.5 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 30.8 This coin
- 5a.6 Schindler 1960 from Schreiner 1938
- 5a.7 Bertelè 1960
- 5a.8 Schindler 1960
- 5b.1 Schindler 1960
- 5b.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 30.9 This coin
- 5b.3 Bertelè 1960
- 5b.4 Bertelè 1960
- 5b.5 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
5b.6	Bill. 3.21 pierced	28		Inscr. obscure	
5c.1	Bill. 1.85	26		Inscr. obscure Loros-waist  ; between loros-waist and collar-piece  .	
5c.2	Bill. 1.58	27		Inscr. obscure	
5c.3	Bill. 2.41	24		Inscr. obscure	
5c.4	Bill. 2.87	26	Overstruck on Bulgarian Imitative Type C	Inscr. obscure. Overstruck on Bulgarian Imitative Type C	
5c.5	Bill.	24	Overstruck on Bulgarian Imitative Type A(?)	Inscr. obscure. Overstruck on Bulgarian Imitative Type A(?)	
5d	Bill. 3.06	26	* to l. and r. above throne		
5e	Bill.	25 x 19		Emperor and saint hold between them labarum sur- mounting triangular ornament on long shaft.	
<p><b>TYPE B</b> ("Second Coinage")</p>					
			<p>IC XC in field. Christ, bearded and nimbed, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; holds Gospels in l. hand. Asterisk above cushion of throne, to either side.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ Ο ΛΑΚΚΑΡΗΣ, in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia. Asterisk fre- quently on l., or r., or both, of inside of chlamys as it drapes from the arms.</p>	(1208)

5b.6	Schindler 1960
5c.1	Bertelè 1960
5c.2	Bertelè 1960
5c.3	Bertelè 1960
5c.4	Bertelè 1960
5c.5	Bertelè 1960
5d	Schindler 1960
5e	Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6.1	Bill. 2.86	28		ΘΕ ΚΥ ΔΨ Ο Π Η Ο Asterisks on chlamys, to either side.	
6.2*	Bill. 3.34	31	No asterisks	ΚΟΠ ΙΝΙ ΟΣ ΟΛ ΑΣΚ ΑΡ Η Σ Asterisks on chlamys, to r.	
6.3*	Bill. 2.88	30	No asterisks (?)	ΚΟΠ Ε Η ΔΨ Η ΟΣ Pellet on chlamys, to r.	
6.4	Bill. 3.50	30	No asterisks	Ε ΚΟ Ο ΠΙ Η Three pellets, ∙, on chlamys, to l.	
6.5*	Bill. 3.16	32		Ε Κ Ψ Π Ι Ο [?]	
6.6*	Bill. 3.50	28		ΚΟΠ	
6.7	Bill. 2.91	31		ΚΟΠΝ	

- 6.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 31.1–5, W.—, R. 2144 (Manuel I)  
H. Pl. 31.3 This coin
- 6.2 Gift of I.C.G. Campbell, from Istanbul B Hoard (H. pp. 348–49, nos. 254–447)  
H. Pl. 31.2 This coin
- 6.3 Gift of I.C.G. Campbell, from Istanbul B Hoard (H. pp. 348–49, nos. 254–447)
- 6.4 Schindler 1960
- 6.5 Gift of I.C.G. Campbell, from Istanbul B Hoard (H. pp. 348–49, nos. 254–447)
- 6.6 Gift of I.C.G. Campbell, from Istanbul B Hoard (H. pp. 348–49, nos. 254–447)
- 6.7 Whittemore

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6.8	Bill. 4.81	28		KOIN N[ O K	
6.9	Bill. 1.35 clipped	21		KO badly double- M struck to r.	
6.10	Bill. 1.41 clipped	22		KO	
			TYPE C		
			IC XC in field. + + Full-length figure of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wear- ing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.	(ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ?) Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, hold- ing between them labarum on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar- piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand anexikakia, sword hangs point downward to l. of waist. Saint wears short military tunic and breastplate; holds spear in l. hand, resting over shoulder, sword hangs point downward to r. of waist.	(1212-21?)
7.1	Bill. 1.03 clipped	22		Inscr. obscure	
(7.2)*	Bill. 3.30	30		Inscr. obscure	

- 6.8 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 31.4 This coin
- 6.9 Bertelè 1960
- 6.10 Bertelè 1960
- 7.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 31.6-7, W.—, R.—
- (7.2) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul  
H. Pl. 31.7 This coin. Bell, *Sardis*, p. 106, no. 976 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
<b>Magnesia</b>					
TYPE D					
(Inscr. and Types as Electrum Third Coinage)					
			<p>ΙϞ ΧϚ Ο ΕΜΜΑΝΘΗΛ</p> <p>in two columnar groups. Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellets, normally ∴, or pellet, in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>(ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ?)</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, hold- ing between them patriarchal cross on long shaft, at the base of which, three steps. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds sheathed sword, point down- ward, in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breast- plate, and sagion; holds sheathed sword, point down- ward, in l. hand.</p>	(1212-21?)
8.1*	Bill. 3.97	30	<p>ΙϞ      ΧϚ</p> <p>Ο      Ϙ</p> <p>Ε Μ      Ν</p> <p>Μ Ϛ      Λ</p> <p>            Η</p>	Inscr. obscure	
8.2	Bill. 2.03 clipped, flattened	24		<p>ΧϚ</p> <p>ΝϘ</p> <p>ΗΛ</p>	Inscr. obscure
8.3	Bill. 1.64 clipped	25		<p>ΧϚ</p> <p>ΝϘ</p> <p>ΗΛ</p>	Inscr. obscure

- 8.1      Whittemore  
          H. Pl. 31.8-9, W—, R. —  
          H. Pl. 31.8 This coin
- 8.2      Peirce 1948
- 8.3      Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date	
			<b>TYPE E</b> (Recte John III)			
(9)*	Bill.	29	ΙϞ ΧϞ Ο ΕΜΜΑΝΩΗΛ in two columnar groups. Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, holds scroll in l. hand. ✠ in each limb of nimbus cross.	(ΙΩΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΘΘΕΟΔΩΡ ΟΥ?) Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, holding between them shaft, at head of which a star, and at base of which a kite-shaped shield. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter. Saint wears short military tunic and breastplate; holds spear in l. hand, resting over shoulder.		
			ΙϞ      ΧϞ Ο      ΝΘ ΕΜ      ΗΛ ΜΛ	ΘΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ		
			<b>TYPE F</b>			
(10.1)*	Bill. 4.20	34	ΙϞ ΧϞ in field. Beardless, nimbate bust of Christ, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand.	(ΘΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ, in two columnar groups?) Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type (and sagion?); holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr.	(1212–21?)	
				Δ Ε Π Τ		
(10.2)*	Bill. 4.35	31		Δ      Ε		

- (9) Private collection  
 H. Pl. 31.10, W.—, R.—  
 See now: "Uncertain Attribution and Addenda," below, p. 701 (John III, Type A<sup>2</sup>)
- (10.1) Private collection  
 H.—, W.—, R.—  
*NCirc* 1974, p. 52, no. 2 This coin
- (10.2) Private collection  
*NCirc* 1974, p. 52, no. 3 This coin





JOHN III Ducas  
Called Vatatzes  
(1221 – 1254)

BACKGROUND

John III Ducas remains of a parentage as obscure as that of his predecessor; although rather more, and much of that rather fancifully, has been written on the subject. It is clear that John himself, with one possible exception involving a document of disputed authenticity, never signed himself, nor had himself described, as anything other than Ducas, for example, consistently utilizing that name alone upon his seals and coins.<sup>1</sup> His son and successor Theodore II similarly never utilized the name Vatatzes, calling himself Ducas-Lascaris or simply Lascaris.<sup>2</sup> Yet there is no reason to doubt a Vatatzes connection: slightly later sources, both Byzantine and Latin, attest to it, and his hyperpyra are referred to as *perperi boctazati* (at 17 carats fine) in an early fourteenth-century mathematical treatise, clearly reflecting popular usage.<sup>3</sup> The connection was clearly and simply not sufficiently illustrious to be worth advertising, and John's emphasis on the Ducas element of his parentage is no more remarkable than Alexius III's adoption of the name Comnenus in preference to Angelus, or than Theodore I's adoption of the combined names Comnenus-Lascaris. As there were no rules governing such matters, personal considerations and preferences remained dominant, although they could clearly be pushed too far and hence occasion derogatory comment.

The point being of no more than antiquarian interest, it is not proposed to discuss it here, other than to observe that the claim that, through John's adoption of the designs of John II's much earlier Thessalonican hyperpyron for his main gold issue, and his retention of the title *porphyrogennētos* occurring on that coin, he was thereby in some way discreetly advertising his descent from Euphrosyne Ducaena, wife of Alexius III, and a certain Vatatzes with whom she was accused of having an affair, remains quite implausible and untenable. Whether or not the liaison had genuinely existed, and whether or not it had resulted in John's birth, the whole case for his birth having taken place in the porphyry chamber of the Great Palace is absurd: just as Alexius was no Justinian, so Euphrosyne was no Theodora. And in any case, no later Byzantine would have had the remotest idea of what was being advertised so discreetly. The title does not appear on John's earlier issues or on any other denominations, and one must therefore conclude that these imitative designs were adopted, and the title along with them, either through happenstance or at best as an acknowledgment of the high standing of his namesake John II's reputation among the twelfth-century rulers, a reputation that had resulted in his being awarded the nickname Kaloioannes.<sup>4</sup>

As it happens, John III is himself probably the most intelligent and attractive of the rulers of the thirteenth-century successor states: although he doubtless had his share of good luck in such matters, nevertheless he was an immensely successful politician and general, responsible for the extension of

<sup>1</sup> For a recent discussion: J. S. Langdon, "John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile, 1222–54: The Legacy of His Diplomatic, Military and Internal Program for the *Restitutio Orbis*" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1978), 28–43. Seals: Zacos and Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I.1, no. 118, pp. 108–9.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 516–17.

<sup>3</sup> Treatise: Hendy, *Studies*, 527 and note 393 (Columbia University MS).

<sup>4</sup> Langdon, "John III," 41–42. One might note that with Euphrosyne clearly having been "no better than she ought to have been," descent from her would not have been a matter of advertisement among the uptight Byzantines.

Nicaean power into the Balkans, and the eventual suppression of the only serious Byzantine rival to Nicaea, the so-called empire of Thessalonica; despite constant campaigning, he was a prudent husbander of his empire's resources and manager of its expenditures, with some rarely coordinated concepts of an economic program; and he long possessed a reputation for the exercise of justice and mercy, being of good—even saintly—memory. His major item of particular misfortune was to have not been responsible for the recovery of Constantinople, but the evident sheer luck operative in its eventual recovery suggests that it was no lack in his abilities that was responsible for his failure, and it was in any case certainly he who prepared the situation that inevitably resulted in the recovery of the City.

John's reign began in spectacular fashion. Subsequent to the death of Constantine Palaeologus, his son-in-law and hitherto heir presumptive, Theodore had promptly married John to his widowed daughter Irene. There is no evidence that he had also granted John the title of *despotēs*, as he had Constantine, thus making the situation clear as regarding an intended successor, but the position of imperial son-in-law as heir presumptive in default of an heir apparent had a long history, and even if Theodore had not articulated it, the situation must therefore have been well enough understood.<sup>5</sup>

Theodore now seems to have died in 1221, and John to have been crowned toward the very end of that year, but the detailed circumstances remain obscure.<sup>6</sup> What is certain is that Theodore's brothers the sebastocrators Alexius and Isaac shortly after fled to the Latins, and were given military commands by the new emperor Robert, clearly forming a powerful focus of disaffection. A now fragile peace seems to have lasted a further two years, during which time John presumably consolidated his position. The sebastocrators, with the support of a Latin army, then advanced into Anatolia and battle was eventually joined at Poimanium, where the Byzantines had previously been defeated. This time the outcome was very different, and it was the Latins who were thoroughly defeated, losing many of their best men, and seeing others captured. Alexius and Isaac were also taken and suffered blinding for their treason. John, who as previously observed had presumably been preparing for hostilities, pressed home the advantage and during the course of the winter of 1224/25 retook virtually all the Anatolian territory that his predecessor had been forced to cede, effectively leaving to the Latins only the Nicomedian peninsula.<sup>7</sup>

But that was not all: John's forces then crossed the Dardanelles (1225) and attacked the Latin-held cities of Madytus and Gallipoli, at the same time as others of his retook a number of the Aegean islands. The disaster to the Latins was complete. It was the sheer scale of his victory that at this stage encouraged the citizens of Adrianople, in which region his family seems to have originated and to have held local power, to send an invitation to him to send forces to deliver them from the Latins. Despite the recent suppression of a dangerous conspiracy against him, and the clear risk of overextending his forces, the strategic position of the city was too powerful to ignore, and the requisite expedition was duly dispatched and held it momentarily. But it was only momentarily, for at this point the Nicaean forces met up with Thessalonican ones under the personal command of Emperor Theodore Ducas who had retaken that city from the Latins in late 1224, and who was pressing home his own advantage by liquidating Latin possessions in Thrace right up as far as the Maritsa. It was a fraught and significant moment, which passed—just—without overt hostilities, but it ended in the ejection of the Nicaeans in favor of the Thessalonicans, presumably as being better able to protect and nurture the city. Nicaean forces were subsequently withdrawn from Thrace, possibly in the face of a Thessalonican/Bulgarian/Latin accord and potential disaffection at home, but a peace was nevertheless made with the Latins confirming John's handsome Anatolian gains.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 41.

<sup>6</sup> J. Darrouzès, reviewing P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, II, in *REB* 36 (1978), 276 (John's reign begins 15 Dec.).

<sup>7</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 34–35; Langdon, "John III," 68–73; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 489–90, 495–96.

<sup>8</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 36–41; Langdon, "John III," 77–82; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 496–98. John's family origins: Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–26.

The period following the Nicaean ejection from Thrace and the treaty with the Latins (1225–31) was quiet on the western front, and the focus of attention seems to have shifted to the Anatolian one, where a bout of hostilities between John and the Selçuk sultan Keykubad seems to have resulted in the fortification of Tripolis at the head of the Maeander valley.<sup>9</sup>

With the reestablishment of an equilibrium in Anatolia, attention could return once more to the west, but even here momentum was slow to pick up, with an unsuccessful Nicaean naval expedition in support of a Greek rebellion against the Venetians on Crete in 1230; an almost equally unsuccessful one against the overly independent caesar Leo Gabalas on Rhodes in 1233; and an abortive Latin campaign by the new Latin regent and life emperor John of Brienne against Nicaean possessions on the Dardanelles and the Marmara in the same year.<sup>10</sup>

It was in fact really not until 1234—that is, after nearly a decade—that momentum was regained, for at the end of that year John concluded both a marriage alliance and an anti-Latin agreement with the Bulgarian tsar Ivan II Asen, as a result of which in 1235 he launched a major campaign against the Latins, seizing the strategic fortress of Gallipoli, meeting Ivan there, celebrating the marriage of his son Theodore to Ivan's daughter Helena at Lampsacus opposite, and subsequently departing with his ally to conduct the first serious siege of Constantinople since 1203/4. Operations were conducted both by land and sea over the winter of 1235/36, and both ended disastrously: John of Brienne personally led his forces to victory against the combined enemy on land, while a Venetian fleet handsomely defeated a Nicaean fleet, including a contingent supplied by the now apparently reconciled Leo Gabalas who should actually have rather been in alliance with the Venetians (1234). Following this, what was apparently a second combined attack was defeated, and a two-year truce agreed. This truce nevertheless left the Nicaeans in control of southeastern Thrace, as far as the Maritsa—perhaps even the Struma—to the west, and including Tzurulum to the north.<sup>11</sup>

Following this debacle, the Byzantino-Bulgarian alliance broke up in 1236/37, with Ivan demanding that his daughter be returned for a visit, clearly intended to be a permanent one. She was duly sent back, and Ivan promptly made overtures to the Latin authorities, both papal and imperial, in combination with the latter putting Tzurulum under siege. However, he took the shortly following news of the death of his wife and son, and his patriarch, as a sign of divine displeasure at his actions, and both the alliance and Helena were duly restored.<sup>12</sup>

The following years saw something of a further lull in events, although in 1240 the Nicaeans did lose Tzurulum to a combined Latin and Cuman expedition, and suffered yet another naval defeat at the hands of the local Venetians.<sup>13</sup>

Then, in 1241, Ivan II died, leaving a young son Caloman as heir, and thus removing from the scene the last major obstacle to Nicaean expansion in the Balkans. In 1242 John moved against Thessalonica, and despite the ominous intervening news of a Mongol victory over the Selçuks in eastern Anatolia, a precursor of their definitive victory at Köse Dağ in 1243, managed to force John Ducas into doffing the imperial insignia (*basilika symbola*) and accepting in return the rank of *despotēs*.<sup>14</sup>

In 1246, taking advantage of decreasing pressure from the Mongols, John returned to the offensive, with the clear intention of annexing Thessalonica directly, but meanwhile—on hearing of the death of Caloman, and his replacement by an even younger brother Michael—instead annexed a huge swathe of

<sup>9</sup> J. S. Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor: The Documentary Evidence for and Hagiographical Lore about John III Ducas Vatatzes' Crusade against the Turks, 1222 or 1225 to 1231* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1992).

<sup>10</sup> Langdon, "John III," 125–44; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 541–43.

<sup>11</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 48–52; Langdon, "John III," 181–233; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 549–59.

<sup>12</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 52–53, 56–57; Langdon "John III," 233–38; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 556–57, 566–69.

<sup>13</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 55–60; Langdon, "John III," 244–45; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 595–97.

<sup>14</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 64–67; Langdon, "John III," 249–52; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 605–6.

Macedonian territory extending from Scopia in the west, along the course of the upper Maritsa, to join up with his Thracian possessions. This success in turn prompted certain leading Thessalonians to betray that city to him; John Ducas' successor as despot, his brother Demetrius, was deposed and sent into Anatolian exile; and a Nicaean governor was installed. Having overwintered at Nymphaeum, in 1247 John proceeded to tidy up his Thracian possessions by retaking Tzurulum and taking Vizye.<sup>15</sup>

In 1252 John again mounted a major Balkan campaign, this time even further west against Michael Ducas, despot in Epirus, with whom he had a marriage alliance and a not very reliable political/military agreement, for the latter had family claims on Macedonia and Thessalonica itself. John forced territorial concessions in Epirus and Albania, and a much firmer agreement, and after overwintering at Vodena returned to Anatolia—his final appearance in Europe before his death in 1254.<sup>16</sup>

These acquisitions were vast, and effectively doubled the size of the Nicaean empire, bringing within it a city, Thessalonica, that was superior in size and population to its own theoretical capital of Nicaea, let alone to its winter capital of Nymphaeum, and rendering it something that territorially at least approximated to the former unitary empire of the late twelfth/early thirteenth century. It represented a major achievement, and a necessary preparation for the recovery of Constantinople itself.

Administratively, the reign saw the effective continuation of the structure previously set up by Theodore, with its essentially household central government and thematic regional one. This last, however, is much less evident in the newly recovered Balkan regions, where prolonged Latin occupation and Bulgarian wars, together with the political instability evidenced by the emergence of “separatist” entities during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, must have virtually destroyed the administrative structures of the former unitary empire, in a way that had never occurred in Anatolia. Besides, the very nature of the Nicaean reoccupation in effect precluded the relative uniformity evident in Anatolia: often involving as it did negotiations with individual cities and fortresses, and resulting in the recognition of different rights, privileges, and statuses.

As a result, it seems that an effective and uniform thematic structure was never reintroduced into the Balkan regions, and that instead military *kephalai*—who might also have or acquire some civil responsibilities—were appointed to individual cities or regions, with many of the remaining functions of government, such as the assessment of land for taxation and the collection of tax itself, being confided to agents of the central government. This essentially contradictory situation, involving increased regional fragmentation on the one hand, and increased central responsibilities on the other, in significant respects furthered a situation that had already begun to cause problems in the late twelfth century, and did not bode well for the late thirteenth.<sup>17</sup>

The capital of the Nicaean possessions in the Balkans was Thessalonica, also the normal residence of the imperial viceroy, who held a somewhat diffused power over the whole region. A good example of his responsibilities and mode of operation is to be seen in the case of the historian George Acropolites, who was appointed viceroy, with the antiquated title of *praitōr*, by Theodore II in 1256. He held the right of appointment or dismissal over local administrators, tax officials, military commanders, and even regional governors, and had his own assistants and armed guard, and spent the early part of his term (the winter of 1256/57) on the road in Macedonia and Albania, meeting up on the way with city governors, local military commanders, and tax officials. He also had supreme military command, and here he came unstuck, ending up besieged in Prilep, and then on surrender thrown into an Epirot jail, where he stayed for some time.<sup>18</sup>

It is customarily claimed that it was John who established the Nicaean winter capital at Nymphaeum, in a valley to the south of Mount Sipylus, but although this claim may be valid in a formal sense,

<sup>15</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 72–85; Langdon, “John III,” 253–57; Wolff, “The Latin Empire of Constantinople,” I, pp. 629–33.

<sup>16</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 88–92; Wolff, “The Latin Empire of Constantinople,” I, pp. 641–42.

<sup>17</sup> Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 283–95.

<sup>18</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 138–46; Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 289–90.

as the probable builder of the small palace there, there is as previously mentioned little doubt that he had been anticipated by Theodore, both in overwintering in the region and in transferring the *vestiarion* and mint to Magnesia, on the northern slopes of Sipylus. It has also been claimed that John established Nymphaeum almost directly upon his accession, but this is most unlikely, and the evidence utilized in favor of the claim is in fact very much double-edged.<sup>19</sup>

The fact that Emperor Henry is recorded as having “pitched his tents (*skēnai*) right up as far as Nymphaeum itself” on his campaign of 1211/12 has previously been noted. Henry had defeated Theodore on the Rhyndacus on 15 October 1211; he then apparently made his advance southward as far as Nymphaeum; he then returned and was certainly at Pergamum by early January (Epiphany) 1212, for it was from there and at that date that he sent off his victory message to the west. The reason why he had, as it were, left his calling card at Nymphaeum, and the reason why Acropolites thought the fact worth recording, was precisely because it was then winter, and Theodore would normally have been staying there. It was, in other words, a signal act of humiliation and/or contempt.<sup>20</sup>

The fact that, on two occasions of a patriarchal death occurring in winter, a successor could not be elected until the following year, because Theodore was absent from Nicaea and in the region or theme of Thrakesion (in which Nymphaeum lay), has also previously been noted. However the precise dates of the patriarchal reigns involved are necessarily scissored-and-pasted (and the exercise can be little more than that), nevertheless that basic fact must be acknowledged. On the two occasions involved, the years 1213/14 and 1216 may have been the ones in question.<sup>21</sup>

There remains a passage from the ecclesiastic and author Nicephorus Blemmydes’ *Diēgēsis*, describing the beginnings of his own career.<sup>22</sup> Events and chronology are not entirely easy to coordinate, but according to the most recent detailed treatment seem to run as follows.<sup>23</sup> Blemmydes was born in Constantinople between June and August 1197, his family moving to Bithynia after the capture of the City, and he receiving his early education in Prusa and Nicaea. He moved to Smyrna and Ephesus at the age of seventeen (1214), remaining in the area for seven years (1221). He then moved to the imperial court and residence (*en basileōn aulais kai skēnōmasin*), where he stayed for a short time (1221/22?). He then moved on to study under a learned teacher in the region of the Scamander, then still under Latin rule. He returned to Nymphaeum by the same route as he had come (*palindromō pros to Nymphaion ton homoion tropon*), probably in 1224. After his return, he mentions meeting the emperor in Smyrna, having met him previously in his visits to the palace (*tois anaktorois*), obviously in 1221/22(?).<sup>24</sup> Elsewhere—in the context of his having returned to Nicaea in 1224—he alludes to the fact that residences had been built there for the emperors (*kai tois basileusin oikoi dedomēnto*), but that the emperor John preferred to have his imperial residence (*tēn anaktorikēn skēnōsin*) at Nymphaeum.<sup>25</sup>

Now, it is clear that the imperial court and residence at which he stayed in 1221/22(?) was at Nymphaeum, for he later states that he returned from Scamander to Nymphaeum by the same route as he had come. It is also clear that the emperor is throughout assumed to be John and not Theodore, for the emperor that he met at Smyrna in 1224 was the same as that whom he had met previously at Nymphaeum in 1221/22(?). Even given some chronological latitude, this must surely favor the new and earlier date for the death of Theodore and the accession of John (toward 15 December 1221) that recent observation has suggested.<sup>26</sup> It says nothing as to the date and place of the death of Theodore, and

<sup>19</sup> Langdon, “John III,” 64–67.

<sup>20</sup> Nymphaeum: Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 27; see also above, p. 455. Henry: Wolff, “The Latin Empire of Constantinople,” I, pp. 433–34; see also above, p. 450.

<sup>21</sup> Hendy, *Studies*, 444–45.

<sup>22</sup> Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Diēgēsis*, ed. J. A. Munitiz, *Autobiographia sive Curriculum Vitae necnon Epistula Universalior*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca 13 (Turnhout, 1984).

<sup>23</sup> J. A. Munitiz, *Nikephoros Blemmydes. A Partial Account: Introduction. Translation and Notes*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Études et Documents 48 (Louvain, 1988), pp. 14–17.

<sup>24</sup> Blemmydes, *Diēgēsis*, I.6, II.7; I.9, II.7; II.7; ed. Munitiz, pp. 5–6, 49–50; 7, 49; 7.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, I.12, ed. Munitiz, p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> See above, p. 467 and note 6.

nor does any other source: all that is known is that he was buried in the monastery of St. Hyacinth, in Nicaea, along with his father-in-law, the ex-emperor Alexius III, and his wife, Empress Anna.<sup>27</sup> But this means nothing: the body of John II had been brought back from Cilicia to be buried in Constantinople, and in any case at this early stage it is unlikely that there was an appropriate place of burial in Thra-kesion. All that is known of the accession of John is that he was crowned by Patriarch Manuel I, and therefore presumably at Nicaea.<sup>28</sup> Nor can anything be made of the various terms used for the imperial establishment at Nymphaeum: clearly, they are of an entirely generalized kind, and no distinction between court, encampment/quarters, and palace can validly be made. All that can be observed is that it is wildly improbable that at the very commencement of his then probably not very secure reign, John should suddenly decamp from Nicaea; choose and hare off to an alternative location at Nymphaeum; and immediately build himself a palace there. The implication is clear: the location was an already established one, for winter residence, whoever it was that built the still standing palace there—although Theodore is now as clear a possibility as John. And it should be noted in this context that Blemmydes states only that John “preferred” to have his residence at Nymphaeum, not that he actually transferred it there: the preference is clearly for one of two preexisting alternatives.<sup>29</sup>

Such a preference should be seen in the light of two other factors: the previous transfer of the treasury and mint from Nicaea to Magnesia, probably to insure its safety from Latin attack, but quite possibly to partner the establishment at Nymphaeum; and the known tendency of the seasonally transhumant Türkmén to move down into the temperate and rich river valleys and coastal plain, seeking a suitable site for their winter quarters or *kışla*. To counter the latter, Nymphaeum would have been ideally placed.<sup>30</sup>

John continued a program of fortification or refortification that had been initiated by his predecessor, adding Pergamum, Smyrna, Magnesia, Nymphaeum, Tripolis, and very probably others, to the latter’s Pontic Heraclea, Nicaea, and Prusa. The balance shows a clear more southerly tilt, and presumably reflects the same kind of considerations as evident in his favoring of Nymphaeum as his residence.<sup>31</sup>

Unlike his predecessor, John seems to have been sparing in his award of the highest court titles, probably in keeping with his somewhat careful nature. His brother Isaac was indeed awarded the title of *sebastokratōr*, and probably Constantine Tornices, son of the *mesazōn* Demetrius who was himself awarded the title of “Brother of the Emperor,” too. Otherwise, an unknown Romanus held the title of *kaisar*, but this was early on and he may well have been granted it by Theodore.<sup>32</sup>

As previously mentioned, John was seemingly unusual in his seeming possession and implementation of an economic program. It was, as far as can be seen, a predictably autarchic one: on the one hand, on noting that Roman wealth (*ploutos*) was being expended on silks from the Islamic and western worlds, he commanded his subjects, on pain of ignominy, to wear only what Roman farmland and Roman hands produced, so that Roman wealth should remain at home. And on another occasion, he even made clear his disapproval of his son Theodore’s wearing of silk while out hunting, for such gold and silk garments represented the blood of the Romans, and should be worn only in the presence of foreign embassies, so as to manifest Roman wealth, the wealth of the emperors thus being counted as the wealth of their subjects.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, the historian Nicephorus Gregoras, in a lengthy passage, reports that John conscientiously had his own (i.e., imperial) lands put under the plow and vine so as to supply his own table, and others such as the old and needy with the necessities of life, not neglecting the rearing of all kinds of livestock and fowl. The empire was also in the fortunate situation of being able to take advantage of a famine that affected the Selçuk-held areas of Anatolia, receiving huge amounts of Turkish

<sup>27</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 32.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Thus contra Langdon, “John III,” 59–61, 66–67—including the supposed co-optation of John as emperor by Theodore.

<sup>30</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 231–35; *idem*, *Studies*, 114–17, 444–45.

<sup>31</sup> Hendy, *Studies*, pp. 118–22 and map 30.

<sup>32</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 101 (Isaac); Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 64, 91, 330 (Tornicae). For Romanus: above, p. 451 and note 21.

<sup>33</sup> Hendy, *Studies*, 271, 283.

wealth in the form of silver, gold, cloths, and so on, in exchange for a minimum of Roman agricultural produce, livestock, or fowl. As a result, Roman households filled up with wealth, and so did the imperial treasury.<sup>34</sup> The date and cause of this famine remain unclear, but ca. 1243 seems a distinct possibility as it seems connected with the increasing Mongol threat, leading to a treaty with the Selçuks.<sup>35</sup> Later in the reign, John, in response to his increasing illness—he suffered from epilepsy—was able to utilize this accumulation in turning to extensive almsgiving: 36 hyperpyra to each of the poor, and mule loads of gold to churches and monasteries, so it is claimed. Even if there is an element of exaggeration in all of this, for whatever varied reasons, nevertheless it is clear that the reign was later regarded as a golden age.<sup>36</sup>

#### COINAGE

After Theodore, the deluge. For John's coinage is of an extraordinary variety, whether denominationally, or whether as regards the multiplicity of types, varieties, and designs used.

The period subsequent to the publication of *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 12 in 1969 saw the appearance of a plethora of new types and varieties, largely as a result of collectors suddenly recognizing what they already possessed, and beginning to search for novelties, resulting in a spate of often minor publications.<sup>37</sup> As a result, in this volume alone, there are now 17 types of electrum trachy listed below; and 27 of billon trachy, including Type E of Theodore I above and Type D of Theodore II below, both now known to be of John, and Types V–A<sup>2</sup> listed below as part of the “Uncertain Attribution and Addenda.” And in addition there are now 19 major groups of the main gold hyperpyron type.

It has been impossible for me, at least, to keep entire track of the appearance of every new type and/or variety, not the least reason being that publication is now so diffused as to have reached not only national but even local levels, and there is in any case no reason to believe that the appearance of even major new types has come to an end. Nevertheless, what is to be hoped is that the existence of the now extensive lists below will at least insure that it is in future a relatively simple matter to identify even a new type or variety as being either definitely or probably of John, and of the mint of Magnesia—for of course only Magnesian issues are listed here, with Thessalonican ones being listed appropriately later in the volume. (It should here probably be noted as most convenient to continue the alphabetical sequences of types, when the first set of letters becomes exhausted, as Type Z being followed by Type A<sup>2</sup> and then by Type B<sup>2</sup> and so on.)

As previously noted, the sudden appearance of denominational series consisting of numerous types cannot be considered as accurately indicating the existence of a substantial coinage. A glance at the lists below, particularly where the electrum and billon trachy are involved, demonstrates even this collection to be lacking in the majority of types, with most types being known from single specimens, or two or three specimens only, in scattered collections, both public and private. One is here clearly in the presence of a basic change in the pattern of production, and it seems very probable that at some, necessarily quite early, stage of the reign an annual change of design was initiated, the evidence for this having been previously presented. Unfortunately, it is not now known whether such an annual sequence was regular, or interrupted from time to time, as need arose. And it by no means follows that, even if the sequence was at least fairly regular, it could not be supplemented from time to time by special issues. The sequence of billon trachea must surely have been more or less regular, for the number of types now approximates to the years of the reign. But, for example, the dramatic electrum trachy Type N (33.1–2), with its enthroned Virgin on the obverse, and standing emperor in military dress holding labarum and sword, and crowned by a Manus Dei, on the reverse, might well form a special issue. It is to be noted that the palm

<sup>34</sup> Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, II.6, ed. L. Schopen, CSHB (Bonn, 1829), I, pp. 41–44.

<sup>35</sup> Dölger, *Regesten*, I.3, p. 19.

<sup>36</sup> George Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis, De Michaele Palaeologo*, I.24, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1835), I, p. 70. See also Hendy, *Studies*, 234 and note 82.

<sup>37</sup> See, e.g., the Catalogue below.

branch to either side of the Virgin might well denote military victory, and it should equally be noted that the other motif of four interlaced bands also to either side of the Virgin forms the obverse design of copper tetarteron Type A (56.1–5). Again, the emperor stands in military dress on that too. But if this is indeed the case, what victory? It is obviously tempting to connect the issue with the definitive acquisition of Thessalonica in 1246, for John's two earliest types of billon trachy from that mint (A and B: 3.1–7, 4.1–6) both bear the different but quite distinctive signum of an outstretched wing, quite possibly denoting the defeat of the Angeli, as the rulers of the house of Comnenus-Ducas are often disparagingly described by their enemies. The same interlaced bands also occur on a single specimen (6.2) out of four of John's Thessalonican billon trachy Type D, possibly dating the issue as a whole to 1246/47. An attractive thesis, perhaps, but also a not absolutely provable one in current circumstances. Nevertheless, the matching up of designs, signa, and motifs, common to the various denominations, is an obviously fruitful approach for bringing some degree of order to the series as a whole, for identity in such clearly organizational matters almost certainly denotes chronological contemporaneity. As a further example, one may note that the signum  $\mathbf{K}/\mathbf{C}$ , alternatively  $\mathbf{K}/\mathbf{\Theta}$ , found on the obverse of the very next type of electrum trachy (Type O: 34a, 34b), occurs also on the gold hyperpyron (13b: cf. 8e, 10a, 10b), and on Type O of the billon trachy (49.1–2). Several other such examples are noted in the text and lists below. Clearly, more material and further study are needed, although whether a satisfactory degree of order is actually ever going to be attainable, let alone attained, remains a moot point.<sup>38</sup>

The clearest novelties in the coinage of John III are the introduction of a gold hyperpyron and a copper tetarteron; and the adoption of an annual set of signa and designs for the gold, electrum, and billon denominations. The question clearly arises as to whether these novelties were brought in piecemeal or at least in part in concert. If the latter, then the change in indictional cycle on 31 August/1 September 1227 provides an obvious candidate for an institutionally dated pretext.<sup>39</sup> In point of fact, the date is not only plausible organizationally, but also historically, for it comes shortly after John's recovery of the northwestern corner of the Anatolian peninsula from the Latins (1224/25), an event which is itself known to have been followed by a complete fiscal resurvey or *exisōsis* of the region of Scamander by two high-ranking officials, the caesar Romanus and the *meγas domestikos* Andronicus Palaeologus.<sup>40</sup> The fiscal context of coinage and recovery is therefore clear, and it may indeed well have been in 1227 that these measures were taken, with the introduction of hyperpyron and tetarteron completing the traditional set of denominations, something that none of the other successor states had been able, or were subsequently able, to achieve, and doubtless consciously intended to advertise John's newly strengthened position at the head of the only plausible successor to the former unitary empire.

The date 1227 for the introduction of the hyperpyron accommodates the general sequence of gold coinages excellently well, for it has been previously noted that the annual and partly alphabetical sequence of signa on the Second Coinage can be traced back, by way of its own internal organizational logic, to a hypothetical A = 1232.<sup>41</sup> This means that the First and Transitional Coinages are therefore equally automatically datable to the years 1227–32, a bracket into which—as all scarce varieties—they in fact slip quite neatly. Their occurrence in the Agrinion Hoard, consisting largely of coins of John III, has removed any lingering doubt that they are rather issues of John II, although their number (1 First Coinage, 1 Transitional Coinage (3.1–2), as against 240 Second Coinage) illustrates their preliminary nature.<sup>42</sup>

The same date (1227) for the adoption of an annual change of designs for the electrum and billon trachea does somewhat cramp the latter at least, with 27 years for 27 listed types. This coincidence not

<sup>38</sup> See below, pp. 477, 479, 480, 481.

<sup>39</sup> Grumel, *La chronologie*, 258.

<sup>40</sup> Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 210, 241.

<sup>41</sup> See above, pp. 112–19, and below, p. 477 and Table 15, p. 478.

<sup>42</sup> D. M. Metcalf, "The Agrinion Hoard: Gold Hyperpyra of John III Vatatzes," *NC* 140 (1980), 117–29. It is possible that these early coinages are under-represented, whether in hoards or collections, because of a somewhat higher gold content rendering them liable to culling: see below, pp. 476–77.



only looks, but surely must be, too good to be true: after so many years, and so many new types, I simply refuse to believe that no further types will turn up, and indeed would be surprised if several were not already known but have escaped my somewhat intermittent notice. On the other hand, pushing back the date to the very beginning of the reign (1221), for example, would not substantially help the matter, and it is much more likely that one is including here, as previously suggested, a number of special issues put out for whatever kind of reasons or pretexts the mint then acknowledged as operative.

There is indeed one small item of evidence suggesting that 1227 or thereabouts may have been the date at which an annual change was adopted. For the billon trachy Type E (9) attributed to Theodore I, but now known to be rather of John III, was represented in the material from the old Sardis excavations by a single specimen, and from the Pergamum excavations by 3 (possibly 5) specimens.<sup>43</sup> It thus does seem to have represented what passes for a substantive issue in this coinage. It is very probably an early issue of John's—one of the reasons why it was attributed to Theodore in the first place—and, with a plausible date of 1221–27 and represented by at least 4 specimens, would at least be roughly in proportion. This is obviously, however, not very hard evidence.

As to the date of 1227 for the introduction of the tetarteron, there is little evidence other than symmetry for it, but equally nothing against it: in any case, the denomination (never an Anatolian one) seems to have represented something of an exercise in monetary propaganda, for not only is it known from a mere 6 types (A–F), suggesting that it was produced only sporadically, but also its occurrence on archaeological sites is extremely feeble, with a mere 3 single specimens from Troy (Types C and F, and Theodore II Type B), and a single specimen from Pergamum (anonymous Type D), suggesting that it was more of a decoration to the system than an effective item in it—unless, of course and in view of its provenances, it was produced specifically with an eye to the Balkans and contiguous Anatolian areas.<sup>44</sup>

### Gold

John III's two major hyperpyron coinages, together with their transitional phase, represent a degree of debasement when compared with their Comnenian and even Angelan predecessors—at 18/16 carats, down from 20½/19½. But despite a now long-standing interest in their gold content; a number of modern analyses by way of several different methods; and a number of more or less detailed medieval estimates presumably based on contemporary information, the touchstone, or analyses; nevertheless, too little is still known about the subject to carry much assurance in working out the details of what was clearly a sequential debasement, in this period at least confined to relatively small steps, or in identifying and making use of the various minor classes mentioned in contemporary sources.

The historian George Pachymeres states that under John Ducas (i.e., III) the gold content of the hyperpyron stood at two-thirds (*dimoiron*), that is, at 16 carats, and that it remained at that level until after the recovery of the City in 1261.<sup>45</sup> The fourteenth-century Florentine merchant Pegolotti lists a whole series of types and varieties of *perperi* running from John III to Andronicus II, with details of their distinctive signa, and their supposedly precise gold contents, with the relevant section of the list ranging from 18 carats down to 16¾ or 16⅔ carats and thereabouts.<sup>46</sup> Other more or less contemporary documents, of varying nature, also more or less concur: at, for example, 17 carats.<sup>47</sup>

Modern analyses (those done by touchstone excluded) of the hyperpyron of John III, Theodore II, and Michael VIII prior to the recovery of the City in 1261, give readings ranging from a high of 19.0

<sup>43</sup> Bell, *Sardis, Coins*, 107; Voegtli, *Die Fundmünzen von Pergamon*, 64–65.

<sup>44</sup> A. R. Bellinger, *Troy: The Coins*, Supplementary Monograph 2 (Princeton, 1961), 182; Voegtli, *Die Fundmünzen von Pergamon*, 67.

<sup>45</sup> George Pachymeres, *De Michaelē et Andronico Palaeologis, De Andronico Palaeologo*, V, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1835), II, pp. 493–94. See also Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 247 and note 7; idem, *Studies*, 527; Morrisson et al., *L'or monnayé*, I, p. 163, table 11, and p. 253.

<sup>46</sup> Pegolotti, *La Pratica della mercatura*, 288–89. See also Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 250–53, 255–56; idem, *Studies*, 527 and table 23; Morrisson et al., *L'or monnayé*, I, p. 163, table 11, and pp. 251–52.

<sup>47</sup> See above, p. 467 and note 3 (Columbia University MS).

carats to a low of 16.8 carats for John (15 specimens), and from 18.6 carats to 16.3 carats for Theodore (5 specimens), with readings done by touchstone ranging fairly consistently even lower, at an average of 15.7 carats for John (3 specimens), and at 15.7 carats for Michael (2 specimens). The overall average for John is 17.8 carats, and for Theodore 17.1 carats. The lower figures given by the touchstone may result, to some extent, from the difficulty of coping with a ternary (that is, gold/silver/copper) alloy, rather than a simple binary (gold/silver : gold/copper) one. They do nevertheless suggest that both Pachymeres and Pegolotti were probably relying on hearsay and/or personal experiment respectively, but in any case involving an informed use of the touchstone. This of course is not at all improbable in a medieval context.<sup>48</sup>

Pegolotti, interestingly enough, frequently uses the annual signa on the obverse of the coins to identify the various classes of coin given in his extensive list of *perperi* ranging in date from ca. 1227 to ca. 1308. I pointed out, in 1969, that five or six of these classes undoubtedly, from his detailed descriptions of the designs and signa, involve the coinage of John III. These are as follows:<sup>49</sup>

Table 14  
SIGNA AND FINENESSES FOR JOHN III'S HYPERPYRA (PEGLOTTI)

Class	Signum	DOC	Fineness
<i>Perp. ingiallati</i>	—	?	18 carats
<i>Perp. latini</i>	∴/—, ∴/—, ∴/—	<b>4g–(4h), (9a–f)</b>	16½ carats
<i>Perp. comunali</i>	•/—	<b>6a.1–(6d)</b>	16¾ carats
<i>Perp. buoni</i>	—/∴	?	+16⅔ carats
<i>Perp. d'un'altra ragione</i>	—/∴	<b>10a–(10d)</b>	–16⅔ carats
<i>Perp. d'un'altra ragione</i>	—/+	<b>4c.1–4g</b>	–16⅔ carats

Now, a number of these Catalogue identifications are approximations only, for Pegolotti seemingly uses his positional “right” and “left” sometimes from the point of view of the onlooker, and sometimes from that of the herald, but there is no doubt that they are essentially correct. He may nevertheless have made two errors: both —/∴ and —/∴ are unlikely (but admittedly not impossible) signa, and it may rather be that he meant ∴/∴ and ∴/∴ respectively (but the half moon is certainly normally ∴). It is also interesting that he apparently does not know of—he certainly does not mention—the overtly annual alphabetical sequence that commences (as far as is now known) with Θ in 1239, all this possibly reflecting in some way the basis of his information.

What, then, is to be made of Pegolotti's material in the wider context of currently available information? It should in the first place be pointed out that the signa involved basically relate to, and are indeed marks of, the annual sequence, and are at best therefore only secondarily marks of metal content. And in the second that his description of the coin designs also involved do not inspire entire confidence: in this section of the list, for example, the *anexikakia* held by the emperor on the reverse is described as a *pestello* or pestle, and although this is accurate enough as regards appearance, it is clear that he had no idea of its nature and significance. Although he does pick out some of the more obvious and common groups of signa, he by no means mentions them all. Coins with the same signum can sometimes yield satisfyingly close modern readings: coins with the signum —/•, for example, yield 17.4, 17.7, 17.3, 16.8,

<sup>48</sup> C. Morrisson, J. N. Barrandon, and S. Bendall, “Proton Activation and XRF Analysis: An Application to the Study of the Alloy of Nicaean and Palaeologan Hyperpyra Issues,” in W. A. Oddy, ed., *Metalurgy in Numismatics*, Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publication 19 (London, 1988), II, pp. 23–39—replaces Morrisson et al., *L'or monnayé*, I, pp. 238–40.

<sup>49</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 252–53.

and 16.8 carats. But they can also yield disturbingly disparate ones: one specimen with  $\cdot/-$  yields 19.0 carats, while a probably related  $\circ/-$  yields 18.4 carats; one with  $+/+$  yields 17.0 carats, while another with  $+/-$  yields 17.7 carats. Three different methods of analysis are represented here: proton activation; X-ray fluorescence; and specific gravity. Yet most give readings that are above Pegolotti's estimates, which range between 16 and 17 carats. The situation is much the same for the four-year-long reign of Theodore II, where five readings yield 16.3, 17.3, 18.6, 16.8, and 16.7 carats, and where a sequential debasement is unlikely.<sup>50</sup>

The conclusion must be that Pegolotti's material, while inevitably of interest as near contemporary, nevertheless involves very approximate estimates only, and in its apparent precision may well involve little or nothing more than "market wisdom."

Two groups of listed *perperi* are nevertheless of particular interest: *perperi ingiallati* at 18 carats; and *perperi latini* at 16½ carats. The former, to judge from their description (*ingiallato* = "yellowish"), involve early issues: possibly, given Pegolotti's tendency toward low readings, old Comnenian and Angelan hyperpyra with a theoretical content of 20½ carats but which tend to fall off somewhat toward the end of the twelfth century; but also possibly the earlier of John's own issues (that is, his First and Transitional Coinages), which not infrequently appear yellowish in comparison with the browner tint of many pieces of his Second Coinage, clearly deriving from an enhanced admixture of copper.

The latter, one can only assume, involve imitations of John's coinage issued by the Latin authorities, presumably from their Constantinopolitan mint which seems to have been in operation as late as 1259. They are of relatively low gold content (16½ carats or worse), and are surely represented in the Catalogue as **4g–(4h)**, **(9a–f)**, and possibly others: **8c** ( $\cdot\cdot/\ast$ ), for example, with its diagonally sloping loros-waist and probably corroded die, has a distinctly odd look about it, and **(8d)** ( $\text{P}/\ast$ ) is very similar.<sup>51</sup>

As previously noted, the later varieties of John's Second Coinage form an overtly alphabetical sequence that is continued, but starting anew with A, into the following reign. The following equivalents should therefore operate:<sup>52</sup>

Table 15  
SIGNA (LETTERS) AND DATES FOR JOHN III'S HYPERPYRA

Letter		Year	Specimens	Comments
Θ	=	1239	(13a)	
Ī	=	1240	(11a), 11b	} Die with Ī known to have been altered to Λ, resulting in Κ, see (14c). Format: Λ or Κ. For Κ/ϸ see below, p. 480.
Κ	=	1241	8e, (13b), 13c	
Λ	=	1242	(14a)–(14c)	
Μ	=	1243	(15a)–(15c)	
(N)	=	1244	?	} Little (imperial) activity?
(Ξ)	=	1245	?	
Ο	=	1246	(13d)	
Π	=	1247	(16)	
Ρ	=	1248	(8d), (10c), (18a)	} For Δ/P (18a) see above, pp. 113–18. Format: often Ϡ } Format: C. R. 2285 seems a true letter, see (10c) } Some half moons included?
Ξ	=	1249	(10c)	
(Τ)	=	1250	?	} Little (imperial) activity?
(V)	=	1251	?	
(Φ)	=	1252	?	
Χ	=	1253	7d.1, 2	} Alms?
Ψ	=	1254	(17)	

<sup>50</sup> See above, p. 476 and note 48.

<sup>51</sup> See below, pp. 484, 488–89.

<sup>52</sup> See above, pp. 112–19.

Inevitably, the matter is not quite so simple as it might at first seem, for as previously mentioned what we often have in these materials is a number of groupings around a particular letter, involving a double or even triple signum, and the precise significance of this remains obscure: it could involve such factors as twice yearly tax payments inwards, or four monthly military payments outwards, or whatever. It has been previously and very tentatively suggested that this alphabetical sequence continued to be accompanied by coins without signa, as coins with signa had been earlier, and that it is the sequence with signa that was the “imperial” one.<sup>53</sup> If this is indeed the case, then it may just possibly be significant that the two gaps in the alphabetical sequence ( $\text{N}/\text{Ξ} = 1244/45$ , and  $\text{T}-\Phi = 1250-52$ ) represent periods of relative quiescence in imperial military activities, with 1244/45 coming between John’s campaigns of 1242 forcing his Thessalonican namesake to doff his imperial regalia, and that of 1246 resulting in his final acquisition of Thessalonica, and with 1250–52 coming at least partly between John’s tidying up Thracian campaign of 1247, and his last Balkan campaign, against Epirus, in 1252.<sup>54</sup> This does not of course mean that no coins at all were struck during those years (it would indeed be exceedingly dangerous to claim anything so absolute in this series, and would render one liable to retribution with the next sale catalogue or hoard), but the fact that the two gaps involve several years strung together suggests that they could quite well reflect prolonged periods of reduced imperial activity. The converse impact of Manuel I’s expensive Italian campaign of 1155/56 upon the production of his hyperpyra should not be forgotten in this kind of context.<sup>55</sup> The same sort of converse impact—involving the spectacular distribution of alms by the now seriously ailing emperor—might account for the production of  $\text{X} = 1253$  and  $\Psi = 1254$  in a period of otherwise little imperial activity.<sup>56</sup>

As to internal details, it does seem likely that  $\Theta$ ,  $\text{T}$ , and  $\text{K}$  lie early on in the alphabetical sequence, for it is these letters that most tend to be accompanied by older motifs, such as  $\bullet/\text{T}$  (**11b**), and  $\cdot/\ast$  with  $\text{K}$  on throne (**8e**). Several of the composite alphabetical signa also involve letters lying close together in the sequence, such as  $\text{K}/\Theta$  (**13b**), and  $\text{Ϡ}/\text{C}$  (**10c**), and this too may well be of some significance. The fact of the recutting of a die involving the close letters  $\text{T}$  and  $\text{K}$  is also clear (**11a/14c**), and although the actual order of superimposition remains unclear, it would nevertheless surely be overly skeptical to challenge the sequence  $\text{T} \rightarrow \text{K}$ .

The year involved is presumably the indictional one 1 September–31 August, for so much of what has been discovered underlying the coinage reflects the fiscal cycle: the dates given in Table 15 therefore extend back to the preceding 1 September.

In the list below, I have utilized my own notes on the material in the Bergama, Koçaeli, and Sinekli Hoards, in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, and now published in brief format as “Seventeen Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Hoards” (*Coin Hoards* 6 [1981], 61–72), as a basis, and have added material from various other hoards and collections, and from such sale catalogues as have come to my attention, all in addition of course to that in the collection. *GRBS* 1960 = D. M. Metcalf, “John Vatatzes and John Comnenus: Questions of Style and Detail in Byzantine Numismatics,” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 3 (1960), 203–14; *NC* 1980 = idem, “The Agrinion Hoard: Gold Hyperpyra of John III Vatatzes,” *Numismatic Chronicle* 140 (1980), 113–31. Again, yet more material and further study are needed.

#### Electrum

The 17 types of electrum trachy (actually by now in many cases of silver only, and in some probably of alloyed silver) listed below superficially form an impressive body of material, but it should again be emphasized that many of them are known from very few, even single, specimens, indicating both the small quantities produced and the brief duration of their production.

<sup>53</sup> See above, pp. 119–20.

<sup>54</sup> See above, pp. 469, 470.

<sup>55</sup> See above, pp. 285–86.

<sup>56</sup> See above, p. 473 and note 36.

As previously noted, it seems clear that, at least after 1227, the designs were changed annually, with the individual set of designs thus itself forming the equivalent of a signum on the gold. But this is not always the case, for several types also bear signa, and these are repeated on other denominations. The classic case is that of Type E (24a.1–24b), with the signum  $\Delta/P$ , which is also found on the gold (18a) and on John's Thessalonican billon type showing him crowning the despot Michael Ducas (3a, b), all therefore being datable to 1248. A second case of Type N (33.1), with the double signum of palm branch and  $\times/\times$ , and with a more elaborate form of the latter appearing as the obverse design of tetarteron Type A (56.1–5), the emperor in both cases depicted as standing in military dress, and both just possibly being datable to 1246 or 1247. A third case is Type O (34a, b) with the signa  $K/C$  or  $(K?)/\Theta$ , which are also found on the gold (13b) and on billon trachy Type O (49.1–2). The date should be 1241 ( $K$ ) or possibly 1239 ( $\Theta$ ), but neither seems to offer an obvious pretext for inclusion in what are clearly a set of special issues.

Other than that, Type I (28) is clearly linked to billon trachy Type G (41), by the curious pronged decoration to the back of the Virgin's throne on the obverse, which is common to both (if barely visible on the billon specimen illustrated).

As might well have been expected, with mint operatives and/or die-cutters necessarily, and perhaps rather desperately, searching around for a novel set of designs, certain of the designs listed below are obviously derivative of earlier ones: for example, Type J (29) imitates Manuel I's Type C (4a.1–4d), and Type K (30) imitates Alexius III's substantive type (2a.1–2d.3)—in the latter case, down to the pointed beard characteristic of the original but not of John's coinage, on which he normally sports a forked one, except uniformly in the case of his equally imitative gold. Even his electrum "coronation issue" is clearly derived from Andronicus I's substantive gold type (1.1–9)—an odd choice, one might have supposed. Doubtless, other examples could be found, these being merely the most obvious.

The order of issue remains almost totally obscure. As in the case of Theodore I, and again without prejudice to my views on "coronation issues" as an institutionalized class, I am nevertheless disposed to accept both that Types A (20) and B (21) are early—probably the earliest—issues, simply from the care with which they were struck and from the elaboration of their designs, and that Type B, with its reverse design of Christ Chalcites crowning the emperor repeating that of Theodore's Type A (1.1–2), although even more directly deriving from Andronicus I's gold, indeed forms something of a "coronation issue." Both types are exceedingly rare, and the fact that, of the single specimen of Type A and the 4 of Type B in the British Museum, 3 (the singleton of A, and 2 of B) derive from the H. P. Borrell Sale of 1852, suggests that they originated in an Anatolian hoard (he was British consul at Izmir). Wroth indeed remarks on their common "bracteate-like" appearance. In which case, Type B comes first, and is followed by Type A (there seems no point in altering the lettering so as to signal this: so much of the remainder still being obscure).

Type C is probably near in time and therefore also early: it shares with Theodore's billon Type E (9)—now known to be early John—the star on long shaft held between the two reverse figures. Type F (25) may also be early, with its elaborately detailed ceremonial costume and elongated face (but forked beard). All these are among the more spread in fabric of John's types, but this cannot be the only criterion involved.

Types M (32.1–2) and Q (34 ter), on the other hand, are certainly late. Both already have very much the feel of Theodore II's coinage. Note, for example, the virtually identical reverse designs of John's Type M and Theodore's billon trachy Type C (11a.1–11b.2), and in particular the triangular-shaped loros-end as it falls from the emperor's left arm which is common to both. Similarly, the obverse designs of John's Type Q and Theodore's Type IV (8), with their seated imperial figures, are virtually identical.

Other than this, there is really remarkably little to be said about a body of material currently consisting of 17 distinct types.

## Billon

The 27 types of billon trachy listed in this volume, in their several locations, reflect the history of the volume itself, with—at one period of its compilation—new types appearing constantly, and having to be incorporated at the start of every season’s short bout of work, shared out between Theodore I, John III, and Theodore II, as often as not on the basis of style and design, rather than on that of a convenient but all too rare identificatory inscription. The spate has now abated, at least temporarily, and a good deal of cosmetic reorganization has meanwhile been achieved, if inevitably not as much as might have been desired. As a consequence, there are now four “caches” of John’s Magnesian trachea: actually less alarming than it may sound, for only two are substantive and genuine, with each of the other two consisting of a “phantom” entry involving a single misattributed type that it has proved impossible to “retrieve.”

The basic list is of course still that directly below, consisting of the 21 Types A–U. This is supplemented, under the title “Uncertain Attribution and Addenda” at the end of the volume, by the six further Types V–A<sup>2</sup>. The supplementary list includes two types, V (1.1–2) and A<sup>2</sup> (5 bis), that have also been incorrectly listed elsewhere as issues of Theodore I (Type E (9) = John III Type A<sup>2</sup>; see pl. xxviii) and Theodore II (Type D (12.1–6) = John III Type V; see pls. xxxvi and LIV). These “phantom” entries for the two Theodores should therefore now be deleted. It is nevertheless an accurate enough reflection of the sheer intractability of the material that I should have accumulated 5 specimens of what is now Type V (including 4 from the old Sardis excavations) before coming across a single identificatory inscription, and 6 specimens of what is now Type A<sup>2</sup> before coming across two such inscriptions.

More or less whatever has been written above with regard to the general nature of the electrum series can be repeated with regard to that of billon: a multiplicity of types, all now surviving in small quantities, and betokening original small-scale and brief production.

The signum K/Ϟ on Type O (49.1–2) is also found on the gold (13b) and on electrum trachy Type O (34a, b), virtually completing the denominational spread. It is to be wondered whether actual completion is not represented by tetarteron Type D (59a.1–59b) with its crescent-shaped ornament, in a similar fashion to electrum trachy Type N (33.1–2) and tetarteron Type A (56.1–5) with their four interlaced bands. This would imply the presence of a greater degree of sophistication and complexity behind the organizational structure of the coinage than its otherwise rather blowsy appearance might suggest. It might well also imply that the dominant letter in the bipartite signum was not the *kappa* to the left (= 1241), but the half moon also functioning as a *sigma* to the right, thereby dating it to 1249. Now, this was the date of the main thrust of the naval/military campaign mounted by John to recover Rhodes from its seizure by the Genoese: the signum K/Ϟ (= 1249) would then follow on from the similarly composed Δ/Ρ (= 1248) which has previously been discussed at some length and dated with some precision. And this in turn might be taken as suggesting that it was at least normally the motif/letter to the right in such composite signa that was definitive, thus accounting for the distinct tendency for letters, when single, to occur on the right. The signum ⚡, possibly \*/⚡, on Type Q (51) is also found on the gold (e.g., 8c), which might be taken as counteracting any suggestion that the latter, with its somewhat peculiar style, is a *perpero latino*. Clearly, much work remains to be done on such matters.

As to more normal issues, virtually all that can be said is that Types E (of Theodore I (9), now known to be of John), E (39.1, 2), and M (47.1–3), in their resemblance to the coinage of Theodore, are early: noticeably two of these include St. Constantine as part of the reverse design, as does the early electrum Type A (20). Type M also achieves significance by being overstruck by Latin Imitative Type O.<sup>57</sup> To the contrary, Types A–C (35.1–37.2), depicting the emperor crowned by Christ (of Chalcites type), which have been claimed as “coronation issues,” with their full, rounded faces and distinctive forked beards, are rather middle to late with the possible exception of C, from the Sardis material. If Christ Chalcites is a required element for this somewhat dubious class of issue, then Type H (42.1, 2)—where the label *Chalkitēs* is specific—might prove to be a better bet.

<sup>57</sup> See above, pp. 90–91, and below, pp. 664–65.

## Copper

It has previously been suggested that the copper tetarteron was a largely formal addition to the set of Nicaean denominations (for the sake of completeness), or that it was at best aimed at the Balkan holdings of the empire (which would also imply that it was a late phenomenon), the two suggestions not being mutually exclusive. If, as also previously suggested, its reverse designs tended to be derived from the signa characterizing the gold, electrum, and billon denominations, then the case for exceptional status would obviously be strengthened. Such a suggestion has already been made with regard to Types A (56.1–5), with its four interlaced bands (cf. electrum Type N—33.1–2), and D (59a.1–59b) with its crescent-shaped ornament (cf. gold variety—13b; electrum Type O—34a, b; and billon Type O—49.1–2). Much the same may now be suggested of Type B (57), with its cherub head and four wings, two above and two below, for what looks suspiciously like a simplified form of the top half of this design, that is, head and two wings above, occurs in the form  $\delta$  on the gold variety (12)—otherwise a very odd signum. The only relatively common item in the series is Type C (58), represented by 12 specimens in the collection, and noticeably bearing the perfectly banal obverse design of a bust of St. George.

Type G (62a.2–62c) is known to be overstruck on Type D (59a.1–59b).<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup> S. Bendall, "Four Byzantine Notes," *NCirc* 95 (1987), 4.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
<p>HYPERPYRON NOMISMA</p> <p><b>Magnesia</b></p> <p>FIRST COINAGE</p>					
1a.1	A/ 4.61	28	<p><b>ΚΕΡΟ ΗΘΕΙ. ΙC XC</b> in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.</p>	<p><b>ⲛⲱⲔⲉⲥⲡ ⲙⲡ ⲉⲩ</b> in upper r. field. Half-length figure of emperor on l., and of Virgin nimbate, holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds anexikakia in r. hand. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion. Manus Dei in upper l. field.</p>	(1227–32?)
1a.2*	A/ 4.28	29	No signum	<b>ⲛⲱⲔⲉⲥⲡ</b>	
(1b)	A/	26	•• to r. above throne	<b>ΙCΠ</b>	
(1c)	A/	27	* to l. and r. above throne		
<p>TRANSITIONAL COINAGE</p>					
(2a)*	A/ 4.15	30	Type as Second Coinage (lacks <b>ΚΕΡΟ ΗΘΕΙ</b> ) <b>+</b> to l. above throne	(A) Type as First Coinage	(1232?)
(2b)	A/ 4.30	34	<b>+</b> to l. and r. above throne		











- 1a.1 Peirce 1948 from Raymond ii.30  
H. Pl. 31.11–12, W. (John II) 8–9, R. —  
H. Pl. 31.12 This coin
- 1a.2 Whittemore  
H. Pl. 31.11 This coin
- (1b) W. (John II) 8
- (1c) W. (John II) 9
- (2a) Private collection  
*NCirc* 1974, p. 52, no. 4 This coin  
See now also *NC* 1980, p. 117, no. 54
- (2b) Private collection  
*NCirc* 1974, p. 391, no 1 This coin  
The owner of this coin has revised his opinion as to its authenticity, and now considers it a modern forgery (personal communication, 10.ix.78). (2a) remains unaffected.



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
				(B)	
			Type as First Coinage (has ΚΕΡΟ ΗΘΕΙ)	Type as Second Coinage	
(3.1)*	A/ 4.38	27		<p>ΙΨ    Ψ Three dots on shaft  ΟΠ of labarum  ΦϞ  V</p>	
(3.2)*	A/	29		<p>Ψ Three dots on shaft  ΠΟΡ of labarum.  Φ[  P</p>	
SECOND COINAGE					
			<p>Ιϸ Χϸ in field.  Christ, bearded and nimbate,  wearing tunic and kolobion,  seated upon throne without  back; r. hand raised in bene-  diction, holds Gospels in l.</p>	<p>ΙΨ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΤΨ(Ψ)  ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΨ (usually  abbreviated in two columnar  groups. ΜΡ ΘV in upper r.  field. Full-length figure of  emperor on l., crowned by  Virgin nimbate. Emperor  wears stemma, divitision,  collar-piece, and paneled  loros of simplified type; holds  in r. hand labarum on long  shaft, and in l., anexikakia.  Virgin wears tunic and  maphorion.</p>	(1232–54?)
A: "Early" Style					
4a*	A/ 4.11	19	No signum	<p>ΠΟ  ΦV  ΡΟ  Γϸ  ΝΗ  Τ</p>	
4b*	A/ 4.38	28	* to l. and r. above throne	ΙΩΑΝΝΗϸ[	

(3.1) Private collection  
*NCirc* 1974, p. 391, no. 2 This coin  
See now also *NC* 1980, p. 117, no. 55

(3.2) Private collection  
4a Whittemore  
H. Pls. 31.13–15, 32.1–2  
4b Whittemore

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date																		
4c.1*	A/ 4.34	27	✚ to l. above throne	Collar-piece 																			
4c.2	A/ 4.51 pierced, flattened	29	Same die as 4c.1, but slightly recut.	Same die as 4c.1.																			
4c.3	A/ 4.15	27		Same die as 4c.1.																			
4d*	A/ 4.17 flattened	27	✚ to l. and r. above throne	Collar-piece 																			
(4e)	A/	27	✚ to l., ✚ to r., above throne	Collar-piece 																			
(4f)	A/	28	✚ to l. above throne	Collar-piece 																			
4g*	A/ 4.30	31	✚ to r. above throne	<table style="border: none;"> <tr> <td>ΙΩ</td> <td>⚓</td> <td>Collar-piece </td> </tr> <tr> <td>ΙCC</td> <td>Π</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>ΙΟ</td> <td>Φ</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Ρ</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>ΓΕ</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Ν</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	ΙΩ	⚓	Collar-piece 	ΙCC	Π		ΙΟ	Φ			Ρ			ΓΕ			Ν		
ΙΩ	⚓	Collar-piece 																					
ΙCC	Π																						
ΙΟ	Φ																						
	Ρ																						
	ΓΕ																						
	Ν																						
(4h)	A/	31	✚ to l. and r. above throne	<table style="border: none;"> <tr> <td>ΙΩ</td> <td>⚓</td> <td>Collar-piece </td> </tr> <tr> <td>ΙεC</td> <td>Π</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>ΙΟ</td> <td>Φ</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>ν</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Ρ</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	ΙΩ	⚓	Collar-piece 	ΙεC	Π		ΙΟ	Φ			ν			Ρ					
ΙΩ	⚓	Collar-piece 																					
ΙεC	Π																						
ΙΟ	Φ																						
	ν																						
	Ρ																						
4i*	A/ 4.10 pierced	33		<table style="border: none;"> <tr> <td>ΙΩ</td> <td>⚓</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ΔΕ</td> <td>ΠΟΡ</td> </tr> <tr> <td>CΠ</td> <td>ΦV</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ΟΤ</td> <td>ΡΟΓ</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Η</td> <td>ΕΝ</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Τ</td> </tr> </table>	ΙΩ	⚓	ΔΕ	ΠΟΡ	CΠ	ΦV	ΟΤ	ΡΟΓ	Η	ΕΝ		Τ							
ΙΩ	⚓																						
ΔΕ	ΠΟΡ																						
CΠ	ΦV																						
ΟΤ	ΡΟΓ																						
Η	ΕΝ																						
	Τ																						

4c.1 Whittemore

4c.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus

4c.3 Whittemore

H. Pl. 31.13 This coin

4d Whittemore

H. Pl. 31.14 This coin

(4e) Foreign Ambassador Sale (Glendining 7.iii.57), lot 690

The part signum to r., a palm branch, also occurs on Electrum Trachy Type N; however, they do not appear to be contemporary.

(4f) W. 5

4g Whittemore

H. Pl. 32.2 This coin

(4h) Vogel Sale (Hess, Frankfurt, 25.iii.29), lot 1060

NC 1980, p. 122, no. 72 has +/✚ on obv., and normal collar-piece on rev.; art. cit., p. 123, no. 74 has ✚/✚ or ✚/+ on obv., and normal collar-piece on rev.

4i Whittemore

Exceptionally thin, deeply concave fabric, and neat, elongated style. A Thessalonican issue? If so, then 1246–54.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
B: "Transitional" to "Late" Style					
5.1	A' 4.32 pierced	29	No signum	ἸϞ    Ϟ ΛΕ    Π ΙΠ    Φ	
5.2	A' 4.30	28		Ϟ ΠΟ ΦΙ	
5.3	A' 4.30	29			
5.4*	A' 4.31	29			
5.5*	A' 4.27	28			
5.6	A' 4.70	27			
5.7	A' 4.24 flattened	29		Ϟ ΠΟΡ ΦΥ ΡΟ ΓΕ Ι	
5.8	A' 4.00	28			
5.9*	A' 4.62	27			
5.10	A' 4.43	28		ἸϞ    Ϟ ΔΣΣ    Π ΠΟ    Φ Τ    Γ Ν	
5.11*	A' 4.24 pierced	30			

- 5.1 Whittemore  
H. Pl. 32.3-5
- 5.2 Peirce 1948
- 5.3 Whittemore
- 5.4 Peirce 1948 acq. 15.iii.24
- 5.5 Whittemore
- 5.6 Peirce 1948 acq. in Sofia
- 5.7 Whittemore
- 5.8 Friend 1957
- 5.9 Whittemore  
H. p. 12, no. 78 This coin (s.g. 15.7 = 17.5 carats A')
- 5.10 Whittemore
- 5.11 Whittemore

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
5.12*	<i>A</i> 5.07	28		Τ Ο ΠΙ Π V	
5.13	<i>A</i> 4.32	26			
5.14	<i>A</i> 4.40	27		Ι ΠΡ ΦV Γ	
5.15*	<i>A</i> 4.40	26			
5.16	<i>A</i> 4.26	27		ΙΩ ΔC Π· Τ	Ι Π Φ Γ
5.17	<i>A</i> 3.86	25			
6a.1*	<i>A</i> 4.21	28	• to l. above throne		
6a.2	<i>A</i> 4.24	27	● to l. above throne	ΙΩ Ι ΠΙ ΦΙ Ρ	
6a.3*	<i>A</i> 4.60	29	• to l. above throne	ΙΩ ΙC C· Ι	Ι Π Φ
6b.1	<i>A</i> 4.34	25	• to r. above throne		

- 5.12 Whittemore  
 5.13 Whittemore  
 5.14 Peirce 1948  
 H. p. 12, no. 79 This coin (s.g. 15.6 = 17.5 carats *A*)  
 5.15 Whittemore  
 5.16 Whittemore  
 H. Pl. 32.5 This coin  
 5.17 Bertelè 1960  
 6a.1 Peirce 1948 acq. 9.iii.24  
 6a.2 Whittemore  
*NC* 1980, pp. 123–25, nos. 79–125  
 6a.3 Peirce 1948  
 6b.1 Whittemore  
 H. p. 12, no. 80 This coin (s.g. 15.4 = 17.0 carats *A*)

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6b.2	A/ 4.50	27	Same die as 6b.1.	Same half-die as 6b.1.	
6b.3*	A/ 4.35	25		⚭ Π Φ	
6b.4	A/ 3.72 clipped?	24			
6b.5	A/ 4.44 pierced	28			
6b.6*	A/ 4.40	27			
6b.7*	A/ 4.49	27			
6b.8	A/ 4.14 clipped?, link attached	24			
6b.9	A/ 2.56 clipped	20			
6c	A/ 3.23 clipped	23	• to l. and r. above throne		
(6d)	A/ 4.31		•• to r. above throne		
(7a)	A/ 4.02	27	⚭ to l. above throne		
(7b)	A/		⚭ to r. above throne		
7c	A/		⚭ or ⚭ to l. and r. above throne		

- 6b.2 Whittemore  
H. Pl. 32.4 This coin
- 6b.3 Whittemore  
H. p. 12, no. 81 This coin (s.g. 15.4 = 17.0 carats A/)
- 6b.4 Whittemore
- 6b.5 Whittemore
- 6b.6 Peirce 1948 acq. in Plovdiv
- 6b.7 Whittemore
- 6b.8 Whittemore
- 6b.9 Whittemore
- 6c Whittemore
- (6d) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Sinekli Hoard [No. 1])
- (7a) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 3])
- (7b) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 2])
- 7c + Whittemore (Transitional style)  
H. Pl. 31.15 This coin  
⚭ BN (Late style) } probably two distinct signa

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
7d.1	A/ 3.74	24	✕ or ✕ to r. above throne		
7d.2*	A/ 4.37	25			
(8a)	A/		* to r. above throne		
(8b)	A/ 4.30	27	• to l., * to r., above throne	J ΠΟ ΡΦ VP ΓC NH T	
8c*	A/ 4.27	28	•• to l., * to r., above throne	Diagonal loros, corroded die(?)	
(8d)	A/ 4.24	27	¶ to l., * to r., above throne	Style very similar to 8c	
8e*	A/ 3.64 flattened	25	• to l., * to r., above throne, K to l. on throne		
(9a)	A/ 4.26	30	•• to l. above throne		
(9b)	A/		•• to l. above throne		
(9c)	A/		•• to r. above throne		
(9d)	A/	25	•• to r. above throne		
(9e)	A/	24	•• to r. above throne		

- 7d.1 Whittemore  
Also known from the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Trays, Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 32], Koçaeli Hoard [2 specimens]). At least two obv. dies known  
This signum can, obviously, be read as the letter *chi*; cf. (13a)–(18)
- 7d.2 Peirce 1948 from Royall Tyler xii.29  
Paler gold than is usual
- (8a) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Trays)  
(8b) Private collection  
At least two obv. dies known
- 8c Whittemore  
(8d) *GRBS* 1960, p. 205, no. 17 (Erymantheia Hoard)
- 8e Peirce 1948 from Platt 24 (?)
- (9a) Hess 24.iii.59, lot 435  
Also known from the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 28])
- (9b) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 27])
- (9c) Glendining 24.i.45, lot 74  
Also known from the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Koçaeli Hoard [2 specimens]). At least two obv. dies known
- (9d) Kress 8.ii.65, lot 1119  
(9e) Kress 8.ii.65, lot 1120

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(9f)	<i>A</i> 4.46	27	❖ to r. above throne		
10a*	<i>A</i> 3.90	26	☉ to l. above throne		
10b*	<i>A</i> 3.19 clipped, flattened	22	☉ to r. above throne		
(10c)	<i>A</i>	27	☿ to l., ☉ to r., above throne		
(10d)	<i>A</i>	26	⊕(?) to l., ☉ to r., above throne		
(11a)	<i>A</i>		♄ to r. above throne		
11b	<i>A</i> 3.97	26	♄ to l., ♄ to r., above throne		
(12)	<i>A</i> clipped	20	♁ to r. above throne		
(13a)	<i>A</i>		☽ to l. on throne		
(13b)	<i>A</i> pierced	23	♁ to l., ☽ to r., above throne		
13c*	<i>A</i> 3.46	27	♁ to ., ☉ to r., above throne		
(13d)	<i>A</i>		☉ to l. above throne		

- (9f) *GRBS* 1960, p. 205, no. 16 (Erymantheia Hoard)  
Also known from the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [Nos. 29–31]), and *Kress* 4.xii.61.  
At least three obv. dies known
- 10a Whittmore  
H. Pl. 32.3 This coin. See also above, p. 476.
- 10b Peirce 1948 acq. in Sofia x.27  
Also known from the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 1], Koçaeli Hoard [2 specimens]), and W. 19. At least two obv. dies known
- (10c) R. 2285  
Also known from Foreign Ambassador Sale (Glendining 8.iii.57), lot 691(?). The Ratto coin appears to have a true *sigma*, rather than a lunette, to the r.
- (10d) Glendining 8.iii.57, lot 691  
Reading to l. uncertain; could be the same as (10c)
- (11a) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [Nos. 5, 7], Koçaeli Hoard [4 specimens]).  
Also known from *Kress* 10.x.60, lot 1206. At least four obv. dies known
- 11b Bertelè 1960  
Rev. “improved” by recutting
- (12) Apostolo Zeno (II) Sale (Dorotheum 8.vi.56), lot 2558  
Also known from the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 4]). See also above, p. 481.
- (13a) In trade (1982)
- (13b) Private collection  
This signum also known for electrum trachy Type O (34b)
- 13c Peirce 1948  
Also known from the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Koçaeli Hoard [2 specimens]), and the Schindler Collection.  
At least two obv. dies known
- (13d) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 13])

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(14a)	<i>A</i>		Λ or Λ to r. above throne		
(14b)	<i>A</i>		Λ to r. above throne		
(14c)	<i>A</i>		Κ to r. above throne		
(15a)	<i>A</i>		Ϡ or Μ to r. above throne		
15b	<i>A</i> 3.14 clipped	22	Ϡ to l. on throne		
(15c)	<i>A</i> 4.30	23	• to l., Ϡ to r., above throne		
(16)	<i>A</i> 4.49	27	Π to r. above throne		
(17)	<i>A</i>		Ψ or Ψ to r. above throne		
(18a)	<i>A</i>		Δ to l., Ϙ to r., above throne		
(18b)	<i>A</i> 4.11	31	Δ to l., and r. above throne		
(19a)	<i>A</i>		No signa above, or on, throne, ✚ on Gospels		
(19b)	<i>A</i>		No signa above, or on, throne, ○ on Gospels		
(19c)	<i>A</i>		• to l. above throne, ✚ on Gospels		

- (14a) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Trays, Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 34], Koçaeli Hoard). At least three obv. dies known
- (14b) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Koçaeli Hoard)
- (14c) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 6])  
This signum known to have been altered to, or from, that on (11a) (Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 8])
- (15a) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Trays)  
At least two obv. dies known
- 15b Peirce 1948 acq. in Sofia x.27
- (15c) Kress 28.x.60, lot 1205
- (16) *GRBS* 1960, p. 212, no. 21 (Thessaly Find)  
Paler gold than is usual  
Also known from the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 35])
- (17) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Trays, Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 36], Koçaeli Hoard)  
At least three obv. dies known
- (18a) W. 17  
Also known from the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Koçaeli Hoard), and Kress 8.ii.65, lot 1122  
This signum also known for Electrum Trachy Type E, 24a.1–(24b), and for Thessalonican Billon Trachy Var. B of John III and Michael II. See also above, pp. 115–18.
- (18b) *JC* 1980, p. 125, no. 126 (Agrinion Hoard)  
This signum should almost certainly be distinguished from the preceding, which it superficially resembles, and very probably lies toward the beginnings of the sequence—see above, pp. 118–19.
- (19a) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [Nos. 11–12], Koçaeli Hoard)  
Also known from Foreign Ambassador Sale (Glendining 8.iii.57), lot 704  
At least two obv. dies known
- (19b) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [No. 10], Koçaeli Hoard)
- (19c) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Bergama [II] Hoard [Nos. 16, 18])  
At least two obv. dies known



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA					
<b>Magnesia</b>					
TYPE A					
(20)*	El.		<p>IC XC in upper field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; holds Gospels in l. hand. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>ΙΩΔΕCΠΟΤΙΙ ΘΚΥΡΑΝΤΙΝ Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Constantine, bearded and nimbate, holding between them long shaft at head of which a star and transverse bar. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds scepter cruciger in r. hand. Saint, similarly dressed, but with sagion in addition, holds anexikakia in l. hand.</p>	(1221-54)
TYPE B					
(21)*	El.		<p>MP ΘV in field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.</p>	<p>ΙΩΔΕCΠΟΤΙC ΘΧΛΛΚΙΤΗC. IC XC in upper r. field. Full-length figure of emperor on l. crowned by Christ Chalcites. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, paneled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr. Christ wears tunic and kolobion, holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	(1221?)

- (20) W. 25  
H. Pl. 32.6, R.—
- (21) W. 26-29  
H. Pl. 32.7, R.—

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(22)*	El.		<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE C</p> <p>ΙϞ ΧϞ in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>ΙΩΔΕCΠΟ ΤΙC Ο,Ο ΕΟΔΩΡ (1221-54) Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, holding between them long shaft, at the head of which a star. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds sheathed sword, point downward, in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sheathed sword, point downward, in l. hand.</p>	(1221-54)
(23a)*	El. 2.57 flattened	32	<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE D</p> <p>ΙϞ ΧϞ Ο ΕΜΜΑΝΘΗΛ in two columnar groups. Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; Holds scroll in l. hand. Pellets, ❖, in each limb of nimbus cross.</p> <p>ΙϞ            ΧϞ                   И                   ΘΗ                   λ</p>	<p>ΙΩΙ            ΟΛΓΙΟCΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC (1221-54) Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft and three steps. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and paneled chlamys; holds sheathed sword, point downward, in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sheathed sword, point downward, in l. hand.</p> <p>ΙΩΙ            ΟΛΓΙΟΙ</p>	(1221-54)

- (22) R. 2286  
H. Pl. 32.8, W.—
- (23a) DO (Hoard)  
H. Pl. 32.9, W.—, R.—

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(23b)*	El.	31	N ϝ	⊕ ⊖ ϵ Δ	
			TYPE E		
			<p>ⲚⲢ̅ Ⲙ̅ in upper field. Virgin, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast. Δ to l., Ϣ to r., on back of throne.</p>	<p>Ⲛ̅ ΔϸϢⲠⲐⲐⲒϸ Ⲡ ΔϝⲒⲐⲐⲐ, in two columnar groups. ⊕ in upper r. field. Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Constantine, holding between them long shaft, at the head of which a cross-within-circle, and at the base of which, a globe. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds scepter cruciger in r. hand. Saint, similarly dressed, holds scepter cruciger in l. hand.</p>	(1248)
24a.1	El. 2.70 flattened, gilded, traces of mount	30		<p>Ⲛ̅ ⊕ Saint's stemma Δ Δ has triangular ⲒϢ ϝ decorations. ⲒⲠ Ⲓ</p>	
24a.2*	El. 2.67	30		<p>⊕  Ϣ ⲠⲠ ϝ Ⲑ Ⲓ</p>	
24a.3*	El. 2.75 flattened, battered			<p>Ⲛ̅ ⊕</p>	

(23b)

Seen in trade

24a.1

Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x.28

H. Pl. 32.10–11, W.—, R.—

H. Pl. 32.10 This coin

This signum also known for gold hyperpyron (var. [18]) and for Thessalonican Billon Trachy Var. B of John III and Michael II Ducas. See also above, pp. 115–18.

24a.2

Whittemore

H. Pl. 32.11 This coin

24a.3

Gift of P. Grierson 19.vii.71, from H. A. Cahn 15.vi.71

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(24b)*	El. 2.65	28		Inscr. obscure. Long shaft has cross above circle, saint's stemma lacks triangular decorations.	
			TYPE F		
			<p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅ Ο̅ ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ, in two columnar groups. Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellets, ∴, in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>Ι̅Υ̅ ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC Ο̅ ΔΥ̅ΚΑC, in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor, standing on dais, wearing stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr. Manus Dei in upper r. field.</p>	(1221–54)
(25)*	El.	34		<p>Ι̅Υ̅            Ο̅ ΔC C        Δ Π Ο         ϝ               Κ Λ               C</p>	
			TYPE G		
			<p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅ Ο̅ ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ, in two columnar groups. Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand. Pellets, ∴, in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>Ι̅Υ̅ ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC Ο̅ ΔΥ̅ΚΑC, in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor, wearing stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., anexikakia. * on sagion beneath r. arm. Manus Dei in upper r. field.</p>	(1221–54)
26*	El. 2.71 pierced twice	29	<p>Ι̅C̅            Χ̅Ι̅ Ο̅Ε            Η̅Ι̅ Ι̅Η̅            Η̅Ι̅</p>	<p>Ι̅Υ̅            Ο̅ Ι̅Ε            Δ Ι̅Π            ϝ Ι̅Τ            Κ               Λ</p>	

(24b) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul

(25) R. 2287

H. Pl. 32.12, W.—

26 Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 32.13, W.—, R.—

H. Pl. 32.13 This coin. Sabatier Pl. LXXV, No. 8 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
27*	El. 2.68	29	<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE H</p> <p>Full-length figure of archangel Michael, nimbate, wearing divitision, paneled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand scepter(?), and in l., gl. cr.</p>	<p>ΙΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Ο ΔΘΚΑC, in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., patriarchal cross on three steps, which he holds by the shaft.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Ο ΔΙ Κ Λ</p>	(1221-54)
(28)*	El. 2.89	32	<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE I</p> <p>Ⲛⲓⲡⲓ ⲘⲪ in upper field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.</p>	<p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Christ, beardless and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand anxikakia, and in l., gl. cr. Christ wears tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Two asterisks between figures.</p>	(1221-54)
			<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE J</p> <p>ΙC ΧC in field. * * Full-length figure of Christ, standing on dais, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	<p>ΙΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC (1221-54) Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, holding patriarchal cross on long shaft at base of which a large globe. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds sheathed sword, pointed downward, in r. hand.</p>	(1221-54)

27

Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 32.14, W.—, R.—

H. Pl. 32.14 This coin

(28)

Hess 16.iv.64, lot 473 This coin

H. p. 240, W.—, R.—

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(29)*	El. 2.50	30		Saint wears short military tunic and breastplate; holds sheathed sword, point downward, in l. hand. <b>ΙΩΔCC ΠΤ ΘΕΩΔΟΡ</b>  TYPE K	
			<b>ΙϞ̄ ΧϞ̄</b> in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.	<b>ΙΩΔΕ ΠΟΤ</b> Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Constantine, nimbate, holding between them labarum surmounting ovoid decoration, on long shaft. Emperor and saint wear stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; emperor and saint hold scepter cruciger, emperor in r. hand, saint in l.	(1221-54)
(30)*	El. 4.80	34			
			<b>ΙϞ̄ ΧϞ̄</b> in upper field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne with back; holds Gospels in l. hand.	TYPE L <b>ΙΩΔΕCΠ ΟΔϞΚΑC</b> Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.	(1221-54)
(31)*	El. 2.66	31			
			<b>ΙϞ̄ ΧϞ̄</b> in field. + + Bust of Christ, beardless and and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand.	TYPE M <b>ΙϞ̄ ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC Ο ΔϞΚΑC</b> , in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.	(1221-54)

- (29) Private collection  
H. Pl. 51.5 (Theodore I), W.—, R.—  
*NCirc* 1974, pp. 52-53, no. 6 This coin
- (30) Private collection  
H.—, W.—, R.—  
*NCirc* 1976, p. 46, no. 1 This coin
- (31) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul  
H.—, W.—, R.—

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date	
(32.1)*	El. 2.84	31		ΙΥ ΔΕ Π <sup>C</sup> Ο Η C	Ο Δ α Κ Α C	
(32.2)*	El.	27			Ο Δ ϝ Κ Α C	
			TYPE N			
(33.1)*	El. 2.05 clipped?, flattened	28	ΜΡ ΘΥ in field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne without back; holds nimbate, beardless head of Christ on breast. Palm branch and ✕ to l. and r. above throne.	ΙΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Ο ΔΥΚΑΣ, in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor standing on dais, wearing stemma, short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., sword, point downward. Manus Dei in upper r. field.	(1221–54)	
(33.1)*	El. 2.05 clipped?, flattened	28		ΙΥ ΔΕC ΠΗ C	Ο Δ Κ	
(33.2)*	El.	33		ΙΥ ΕC ΠΟ ΗC	ΟΔϝ ΚΑ C	
			TYPE O			
(33.2)*	El.	33	ΙC ΧC in upper field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion,	ΙΥ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Ο ΔΥΚΑΣ Full-length figure of emperor, wearing stemma, divitision,	(1221–54)	

(32.1) Bank Leu 4/5.v.76, lot 545 This coin

H. p. 406, W.—, R.—

(32.2) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

H. p. 406 This coin

(33.1) Private collection

H.—, W.—, R.—

*NCirc* 1974, p. 52, no. 5 This coin

The motif of four interlaced bands also forms the obverse design of Type A of the copper tetarteron, and is known for John's Thessalonican billon trachy Type D (6.1–5).

(33.2) Private collection

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(34a)*	El. 2.47	29	seated upon throne with back; holds Gospels in l. hand. <b>Κ</b> to l., <b>Ϟ</b> to r., on back of throne	jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., anexikakia. Lys on sagion, below r. arm. <b>ΙΠΟ</b> <b>ϞΙΣΟΔΧΚ</b>	
(34b)	El. 1.19 pierced, clipped	21	<b>Θ</b> to r. on back of throne (?)	Inscr. obscure	
TYPE P					
(34 bis)	El.	29	<b>ΙϞ</b> <b>ΧϞ</b> in field. Bust of Christ, beardless(?) and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll or Gospels in l. hand.	<b>(ΙΨΔΕΣΠΟΤΙϞ?)</b> <b>ΓϞ</b> <b>Ψ</b> <b>Γ</b> Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. George, nimbate, holding between them sword in sheath, point upright. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds scepter cruciger(?) in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic and breast-plate; holds spear in l. hand.	(1221–54)
TYPE Q					
(34 ter)	El.	31	<b>ΙϞ</b> <b>ΧϞ</b> in field. <b>Β • • Ϟ</b> Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll or Gospels in l. hand.	<b>ΙΨ</b> <b>Ο</b> <b>ΔΕϞ</b> <b>Δ</b> <b>ΠΟ</b> <b>Ϟ(?)</b> <b>Τ</b> <b>Κ</b> Emperor seated on throne with back; wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia.	(1221–54)

- (34a) Private collection  
H.—, W.—, R.—  
*NCirc* 1974, p. 53, no. 7 This coin  
This signum also known for billon trachy Type O (49.1–2)
- (34b) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul
- (34 bis) Private collection  
H.—, W.—, R.—
- (34 ter) Private collection  
H.—, W.—, R.—  
Hendy, *Studies*, Pl. 34.11 This coin  
Also known from a second specimen: 2.36 g, 31mm (private collection)



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
<b>ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</b>					
<b>Magnesia</b>					
<b>TYPE A</b>					
35.1	Bill. 4.06	31	<p>Δ <math>\bar{\chi}</math> in upper field.            Three-quarter-length figure of archangel Michael, wearing short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand sword, resting over shoulder, and in l., globus.</p>	<p>Ϟ̄ Ϟ̄ <math>\bar{\chi}</math> C in upper field.            Δ            €            C            Π            O            Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Christ, bearded and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand anexikakia, and in l., gl. cr. Christ wears tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	(1221–54)
35.2*	Bill. 3.66	30		Inscr. obscure	
35.3*	Bill. 2.87	31		Inscr. obscure	
<b>TYPE B</b>					
(36)*	Bill. 1.72 clipped	28	<p>O            Γ€            A            WP            Π            OC            Figure of St. George, beardless and nimbate, wearing short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, and in l., shield.</p>	<p>Ϟ̄Ϟ̄Δ€            Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Christ, bearded and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr. Christ wears tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	(1221–54)

- 35.1 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 33.1, W.—, R.—, Sabatier Pl. LXXVII, No. 2  
 H. Pl. 33.1 This coin
- 35.2 From H. Weller 19.iv.74
- 35.3 From H. Weller 19.iv.74
- (36) Bell, *Sardis*, p. 105, nos. 969–70  
 H. Pl. 33.2, W.—, R.—  
 H. Pl. 33.2 This coin. Bell, *Sardis*, p. 105, no. 969 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date	
			TYPE C			
37.1*	Bill. 3.36	30	<p> <math>\overline{\text{MP}} \overline{\text{OV}}</math> in field.  <math>+</math> <math>+</math>            Full-length figure of Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.         </p>	<p> <math>\text{O}</math> <math>\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}</math> in upper r. field.  <math>\Delta\delta</math>  <math>\text{KA}</math>  <math>\text{C}</math>            Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Christ, bearded and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and paneled chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., anxikakia. Christ wears tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.         </p> <p>Inscr. obscure</p>		
(37.2)*	Bill.	29		<p> <math>\text{O}</math>  <math>\Delta\text{I}</math>  <math>\text{KI}</math>  <math>\text{C}</math> </p>		
			TYPE D			
38.1*	Bill. 1.73 broken	26	<p> <math>\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}</math> in upper field.  <math>+</math> <math>+</math> in lower.            Full-length figure of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.         </p>	<p> <math>\text{I}\omega\Delta \text{PI}[\text{?}] \text{NP} (= \overline{\text{MP}}?)</math>            Figure of emperor on l., and of Virgin nimbate, holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.         </p>	(1221-54)	
(38.2)*	Bill. 3.02	29		Inscr. obscure		

- 37.1 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 33.3, W.—, R.—  
 H. Pl. 33.3 This coin  
 (37.2) Private collection  
 38.1 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 33.4, W.—, R.—  
 H. Pl. 33.4 This coin  
 (38.2) Private collection

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE E		
			IC XC OE IΘ ΗΗ ΗΛ Λ Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wear- ing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellets, ∴, in each limb of nimbus cross.	IW OΔ ΔΕ ΘΚ Λ C Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Constantine bearded, holding between them patriarchal cross at the base of which, three steps. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds labarum-headed scepter in r. hand. Saint simi- larly dressed, holds scepter cruciger in l. hand.	(1221-54)
39.1*	Bill. 4.46	31		IW OΔ ΔΕ	
(39.2)*	Bill. 4.01	30		IW OΔ IEC ΘΚ Λ C	
			TYPE F		
			IC XC in upper field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in bene- diction, holds Gospels in l. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.	IW O IEC Δ IOT Θ HC KA C Full-length figure of emperor, wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.	(1221-54)
40*	Bill. 3.69	32			

- 39.1 Whittemore  
 H. Pl. 33.5, W.—, R.—  
 H. Pl. 33.5 This coin
- (39.2) Private collection
- 40 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 33.6, W.—, R.—  
 H. Pl. 33.6 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
41*	Bill. 1.80 chipped	28	TYPE G		(1221-54)
			<p>ⲏⲡ̅ ⲑ̅ⲩ in upper field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.</p>	<p>ⲓⲰ            Δ                  Ⲅ                  K</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr. Asterisk often on sagion to l. or to r. (or both?).</p>	
(42.1)*	Bill. 3.01	29	TYPE H		(1221-54)
			<p>ⲓ̅    ⲗ̅Ⲙ̅ X    Kⲓ ΛΛ   TH</p> <p>Full-length figure of Christ Chalcites, standing on dais, wearing tunic and kolobion; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>ⲓⲰ            O                  Δ                  Ⲅ                  KⲓΛ                  C</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor standing on dais, wearing stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., sheathed sword, point downward.</p>	
42.2	Bill. 2.83	29		<p>O X Δ Λ</p>	

- 41 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 33.7-8, W.—, R.—  
H. Pl. 33.8 This coin. For other specimens of this type: Bates, *Byzantine Coins* (Sardis), pp. 143-44, nos. 1210-21, from which the existence of a var. on which the emperor holds a globus surmounted by a patriarchal cross in his l. hand appears probable. For the characteristic decoration of the Virgin's throne, cf. electrum trachy Type I (28).
- (42.1) W. 30  
H. Pl. 33.9, R.—  
H. Pl. 33.9 This coin
- 42.2 From Baldwin 14.vii.77

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
43*	Bill. 3.07	30	TYPE I		(1221-54)
			<p>ⲓⲡ ⲑⲩ in upper field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds nimbate, beardless head of Christ on breast.</p>	<p>ⲒⲰⲀⲤⲤⲡ ⲙⲀⲔⲀ Full-length figure of emperor, wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand anxikakia, and in l., globus surmounted by labarum, which he holds by the shaft.</p>	
44*	Bill. 3.26	30	TYPE J		(1221-54)
			<p>ⲒⲤ ⲪⲤ in field. Bust of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellets, ⲛⲛ, in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>Half-length figure of emperor, wearing stemma, divitision, paneled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.</p>	
45.1	Bill. 3.96	28	TYPE K		(1221-54)
			<p>Ⲁ ⲡⲓ Ⲁⲓ ⲒⲤ ⲓⲡ Full-length figure of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, and in l., shield.</p>	<p>ⲒⲰ ⲀⲤⲤⲡ ⲒⲀⲔ ⲀⲒ Full-length figure of emperor, seated upon throne with back, wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., g. cr.</p>	
			<p>Ⲁ Ⲁⲓ (recut die?) Ⲁⲓ ⲓⲡ ⲓⲡ ⲡⲓ Ⲁ</p>	<p>ⲒⲰ ⲀⲤⲤⲡ ⲒⲀⲔ ⲀⲒ</p>	

- 43 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 33.10, W.—, R.—  
H. Pl. 33.10 This coin
- 44 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 33.11, W.—, R.—  
H. Pl. 33.11 This coin
- 45.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 33.12, W. 31, R.2289  
H. Pl. 33.12 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
45.2*	Bill.	30	O ΔI Η	ΙϜI Ϸ	
			TYPE L		
			ΜΡ ΘV in field. Half-length figure of Virgin nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion.	ΙΨ Half-length figure of emperor, on l., and of Virgin nimbate (holding between them labarum on long shaft?). Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type, holds scepter cruciger in r. hand. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.	(1221-54)
(46)*	Bill.	27			
			TYPE M		
			ΙC XC in field. Full-length figure of Christ, standing on dais(?), wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.	ΙΨ O, KΨ or ΙΨ O KΨ Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Constantine, nimbate, holding between them sword, half-sheathed, point downward. Emperor and saint wear stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; emperor and saint rest hand on shield, emperor r. hand, saint l. hand.	(1221-54)
(47.1)*	Bill. 2.20	31		ΙΨ O KΨ CT	
(47.2)*	Bill.	31			
(47.3)	Bill.			ΙΨ [ ] O, KΨI	

- 45.2 Whittemore  
R. 2289 This coin
- (46) Yale University Collection  
H. Pl. 33.13, W.—, R.—  
H. Pl. 33.13 This coin
- (47.1) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul  
H.—, W.—, R.—  
Bell, *Sardis*, p. 108, no. 988 This coin
- (47.2) Information: W.R.O. Hahn via S. Bendall
- (47.3) Sardis Excavations  
Photograph supplied by G. E. Bates

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE N		
			<p>ⲬⲪ Ⲭⲩ in field.            Three-quarter-length figure of Virgin nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion.            * to l. and r. in lower field.</p>	<p>ⲒⲰ      Ⓞ                      Ⓚ                      ⓔ                      ⲗ</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, holding between them sheathed sword, point downward, resting on shield. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds labarum-headed scepter in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic and breastplate, holds spear in l. hand.</p>	(1221-54)
(48a)*	Bill. 3.00	32		Shield plain	
(48b)*	Bill.	27		Shield has cross	
48c	Bill. 2.67	30		Shield uncertain	
			TYPE O		
			<p>Ⓞ            Ⓚ</p> <p>Three-quarter-length figure of St. George nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, resting over shoulder, and in l., shield. Ⓚ to l., Ⓢ to r., in field.</p>	<p>ⲒⲰⲗⲘ Ⲙⲓ Ⓚ ⲗⲮⲕⲗⲘ</p> <p>Half-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr.</p>	(1221-54)
(49.1)	Bill. 3.20	29	<p>Ⓞ            Ⓚ</p> <p>Ⓚ to l., Ⓢ to r., in field.</p>	ⲒⲰ            Ⓚ      Ⲙⲕ	
(49.2)*	Bill.	30	<p>Ⓞ            Ⓚ</p> <p>Ⓚ to l., in field.</p>	ⲒⲰⲗⲘ    Ⲙⲓ Ⓚ	

- (48a) Private collection  
 H.—, W.—, R.—  
*NCirc* 1972, p. 56, no. 3 This coin
- (48b) BN (Schlumberger 3790)
- 48c From Baldwin 24.vi.77
- (49.1) Barber Institute, Birmingham  
 H. Pl. 51.6, W.—, R.—  
 H. Pl. 51.6 This coin  
 This signum also known for electrum trachy Type O (34a)
- (49.2) Private collection

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
TYPE P					
(50a)*	Bill. 3.70	33	<p>Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ, in two columnar groups. Half-length figure of St. Theodore nimbate, wearing tunic and breastplate; holds in r. hand sword, resting over shoulder, and in l., shield.</p> <p>Plain shield(?)</p>	<p>ΙΩ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Ο ΔΥΚΑΣ, in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., patriarchal cross on globe, which he holds by the shaft.</p> <p>ΙΩ ΔΥ ΙC ΚΙ Η C</p>	(1221–54)
(50b.1)*	Bill. 4.41	31	<p>Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ Ϡ on shield</p>	<p>Ο Δ Κ Α</p>	
(50b.2)*	Bill.	31	<p>Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΟΡ</p>	<p>Ο Δ Κ</p>	
(50c)*	Bill. 3.91	30	<p>Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ Ϡ on shield</p>	<p>Ο Δ Κ Α C</p>	
TYPE Q					
(51)*	Bill. 2.00	28	<p>Θ ΔΗ Three-quarter-length figure of St. Demetrius nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand sword, resting over shoulder, and in l., shield. * on shield.</p>	<p>ΙΙCΟΔΥΚΑΣ Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr. Manus Dei in upper r. field. • in l. field.</p>	(1221–54)

(50a) Private collection

H.—, W.—, R.—

*NCirc* 1972, p. 56, no. 2 This coin

(50b.1) Private collection

(50b.2) Private collection

(50c) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul

(51) Archaeological Museum, Athens

H.—, W.—, R.—

*NCirc* 1974, p. 53, no. 8 This coin. \* on obv., and • on rev., may form a complete signum—see, for example, gold hyperpyron, Second Coinage, B: 8c. Even if the • alone forms the signum, it is more appropriate to Magnesia than to Thessalonica.



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE R		
(52)*	Bill. 2.10	28	<p>ΙC XC in field. Bust of Christ nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll(?) in l. hand.</p>	<p>ΟΔΘΚΑ Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand anexikakia, and in l., gl. cr.</p>	(1221-54)
			TYPE S		
(53.1)	Bill. 1.62	28	<p>ΙC XC in field. Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll(?) in in l. hand.</p>	<p>ΔΘΚΛ Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, on which ✠, and in l., anexikakia. Manus Dei in upper r. field.</p>	(1221-54)
(53.2)	Bill. 1.57	25			
53.3*	Bill.	27	Same as rev., incuse(?)		
			TYPE T		
			<p>Ⓢ                    Ⓝ B                    B Full-length figure of St. George nimbate, wearing short military tunic, breast-plate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear resting over shoulder, and in l., shield, resting on ground.</p>	<p>ΙΘ                    ΙΔΘΚ Full-length figure of emperor, seated upon throne with back, wearing stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand sword, and in l., sheath, horizontally across knees.</p>	(1221-54)

(52) Private collection

H.—, W.—, R.—

*NCirc* 1974, p. 53, no. 9 This coin

(53.1) Private collection

H.—, W.—, R.—

*NCirc* 1976, p. 46, no. 2 (a) This coin

(53.2) Private collection

*NCirc* 1976, p. 46, no. 2(b) This coin

53.3

From H. Weller 19.iv.74

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
54.1*	Bill. 2.79 flattened	29		Inscr. obscure	
54.2	Bill. 4.12	28		Inscr. obscure	
(54.3)*	Bill.	31	O ΑΓ	ΙΨ      ΙΔΘΚ	
			TYPE U		
			<p>ΙC X̄C in field. Full-length figure of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; standing on dais(?), r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l. * to l., and r., in field.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">ΠΟ ΔΘΚΛC</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor, wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand anexikakia, and in l., star on long shaft surmounting lys.</p>	(1221-54)
(55)*	Bill.	30		Overstruck (?), remains of labarum to l. (?)	
			TETARTERON NOUMMION		
			<b>Magnesia</b>		
			TYPE A		
			<p>Square, formed of four interlaced bands ornamented with pellets.</p>	<p>ΙΨ ΔΕCΠΟΘΗC Ο ΔΘΚΛC, in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in l. hand sword, resting over shoulder, and in r., sheath, point downward.</p>	(1221-54)
56.1*	Æ 2.15	22		ΙΨ            O Δ Κ Α C	

- 54.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 35.12-13 (Theodore II), W.—, R.—  
H. Pl. 35.12 This coin
- 54.2 Schindler 1960 from Schreiner, Vienna, 38  
H. Pl. 35.13 This coin
- (54.3) Private collection
- (55) Barber Institute, Birmingham  
H.—, W.—, R.—  
Rev. same as *NC* 1974, p. 170, no. 1046 (Theodore II)
- 56.1 Peirce 1948  
H. Pl. 34.1-2, W.—, R. 2291  
H. Pl. 34.1 This coin  
The design is also to be seen as a subsidiary feature, possibly forming the whole or part of a signum, on Type N (33.1, 2) of the electrum trachy, and is known for John's Thessalonican billon trachy Type D (6.1-5).

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
56.2*	Æ 2.14	22		<p style="text-align: center;">O Δ K A C</p>	
56.3*	Æ 2.15	20		<p style="text-align: center;">Ϡ ΔCC ΠO H</p> <p style="text-align: center;">O ΛV K A C</p>	
56.4	Æ 2.01	19		<p style="text-align: center;">Ϡ Δ EC Π</p> <p style="text-align: center;">O Δ C</p>	
56.5	Æ 3.65	23	Obscured by modern cmk.	<p style="text-align: center;">Ϡ Δ CC</p>	
TYPE B					
			Head of cherub with four wings; triangle of three pellets in field to either side.	<p style="text-align: center;">Ϡ ΔECΠOYC ΔCKAC,</p> <p>(1221–54) in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr.</p>	
57*	Æ 3.41	24		<p style="text-align: center;">Ϡ</p> <p style="text-align: center;">O Δ Ϟ K</p>	
TYPE C					
			Ⓢ Ⓜ in field. Bust of St. George, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, resting over shoulder, and in l., shield.	<p style="text-align: center;">Ϡ ΔECΠOYC ΔCKAC,</p> <p>(1221–54) in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., anexikakia.</p>	

56.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x.28

56.3 Bertelè 1960

56.3 H. Pl. 34.2 This coin. R. 2291 This coin

56.4 Whittemore

56.5 Whittemore

57 Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 34.3, W. 32–35, R.—

H. Pl. 34.3 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
58.1	Æ 2.68	20		ἸϞ ΔCC ΠΟ Ο ΛϞ Κ Α C	
58.2	Æ 2.57	21		ἸϞ ΔΕ ΠC Ο ΔϞ Κ Α C	
58.3	Æ 2.23	21	Ⓜ	ἸϞ ΔC C Ο ΔϞ	
58.4	Æ 2.92	21		ἸϞ ΔΕ Ο ΔϞ Κ Α C	
58.5	Æ 2.58	19		ἸϞ ΔΕC Π· Ο ΔϞ Κ Α C	
58.6	Æ 2.68	22		Ο ΔϞ Κ Α C	
58.7	Æ 2.50			Ο ΔϞ Κ Α C	

- 58.1 Schindler 1960 from Trinks 1898  
 H. Pl. 34.4–5, W. 36–39, R. 2290  
 H. Pl. 34.4 This coin
- 58.2 Bertelè 1960
- 58.3 Bertelè 1960
- 58.4 Bertelè 1960
- 58.5 Shaw 1947
- 58.6 Peirce 1948 acq. vii.28
- 58.7 Whittemore

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
58.8	Æ 2.73	21	Ⓐ	ΙΨ ΔCC ΠΟ Τ	
58.9*	Æ 2.96	21	Ⓐ	ΔCC Π Ο	Ο Δ ϝ Κ Α C
58.10	Æ 2.49	20		ΙΨ ΔΕ ΠΟ Τ	
58.11*	Æ 3.00	21	Ⓐ	Τ Ψ ΔΕC	Ο Δϝ Κ Α
58.12*	Æ 1.61	20		ΙΨ ΔCC Π,	ΟΔϝ Κ Α C
TYPE D					
			Cross within crescent-shaped ornament decorated with pellets.	ΙΨ ΔΕCΠ ΟΔϝ or ΙΨ Ο Δ	(1221–54)
59a.1*	Æ 2.54	18 x 17	• in lower r. sector of cross	Δϝ Emperor holds gl. cr.	
59a.2*	Æ 2.34	21	Lacks dot	ΙΨ      C C Π	

- 58.8 Friend 1947  
58.9 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 34.5 This coin  
58.10 Bertelè 1960  
58.11 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x.28  
58.12 Bertelè 1960  
59a.1 Gift of M. F. Hendy 20.i.68  
H. Pl. 34.6, W—, R. 2292  
59a.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x.28  
H. Pl. 34.6 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
59a.3*	Æ 1.55	17 x 15		<p>ΙΩ Δ</p>	
59a.4	Æ 1.69	20 x 12		No inscr.	
(59b)*	Æ			<p>Ω Emperor holds globus surmounted by patriarchal cross</p>	
TYPE E					
			<p>Ιϸ Xϸ in field. Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand.</p>	<p>ΙΩ      Ο Δϸϸ      Δ ΠΟ      ϝ Τ Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.</p>	(1221-54)
60.1	Æ 2.37	12			
(60.2)*	Æ	18		<p>ΙΩ Δϸϸ ΠΟ Τ</p>	
(60.3)	Æ 1.66	17 x 13		<p>Ο Δ ϝ</p>	
(60.4)*	Æ	17		<p>ΙΩ Δϸϸ</p>	
TYPE F					
			<p>* * in field. Three-quarter-length figure of Virgin nimbate and orans, wearing tunic and maphorion, turned slightly to r.</p>	<p>ΙΩΔΕϸΠ    ΟΔϝΚ Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., globus surmounted by patriarchal cross, which he holds by the shaft.</p>	(1221-54)

- 59a.3 From H. Weller 19.iv.74  
59a.4 From H. Weller 22.vi.74  
(59b) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford  
R. 2292 This coin  
60.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 34.7, W.—, R.—  
(60.2) BN (Ex Longuet)  
(60.3) ANS  
H. Pl. 34.7 This coin  
(60.4) Private collection

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(61.1)	Æ	19		ΙΩΔΕC OΔϞ	
(61.2)*	Æ	21		ΙΩΔΕCΠ ΙΔϞK	
61.3	Æ 1.63	18		Inscr. consists of dots	
61.4*	Æ 3.73	22 x 24	$\overline{\text{HP}}$ $\overline{\text{OV}}$ * *	Inscr. consists of dots	
TYPE G					
			$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ in field. Patriarchal cross on three steps.	$\overline{\text{IW}}$ ΔΕ Half-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr.	(1221-54)
(62a.1)*	Æ 2.90	22		$\overline{\text{IW}}$	
(62a.2)	Æ			$\overline{\text{IW}}$	
(62b)*	Æ			ΔΕ Emperor holds scepter cruciger	
62c*	Æ 1.93	19	Shaft of cross extended down through steps	ΔΕ	

- (61.1) BN  
H. Pl. 34.8, W.—, R.—  
H. Pl. 34.8 This coin
- (61.2) Private collection
- 61.3 From H. Weller 1.vii.70
- 61.4 From Baldwin 24.vi.77
- (62a.1) Private collection  
H. Pl. 36.8 (Uncertain Nicaean Attribution), W.—, R.—, Sabatier Pl. LVIII, No. 14 (Alexius V)  
*NCirc* 1972, p. 56, no. 4 This coin
- (62a.2) Barber Institute, Birmingham  
H. p. 266 (Whitting Collection)
- (62b) Private collection
- 62c Schindler 1960  
H. Pl. 36.8 This coin

## THEODORE II Ducas-Lascaris

(1254 – 1258)

### BACKGROUND

Theodore II was the only son of John III by Irene, the daughter of Theodore I to whom he had been married shortly after the death of her previous husband, the despot and heir presumptive Constantine Palaeologus, and was born in 1221/22. It is possible, but perhaps not probable, that he had been created co-emperor well before his father's death, with 1241 being the suggested date,<sup>1</sup> but in any case he is known to have succeeded during a patriarchal *sede vacante*, and may either not have been crowned at all, or only later by the new patriarch Arsenius, the main sources being contradictory or ambiguous.<sup>2</sup> Technically, the point was immaterial: he was raised upon a shield as customary (*hōs ethos*), and acclaimed *autokratōr* by all, at Nymphaeum, it being November, and that was what counted.<sup>3</sup>

His reign was short: he suffered from an accentuated form of the epilepsy that had afflicted his father. It was, however, mouvementée. At the news of John's death, the Bulgarian tsar Michael Asen sent his forces into the Nicaean possessions in Macedonia and Thrace (which had themselves been acquired by John in similarly dubious circumstances in 1246), and it took two hard-fought campaigns led by Theodore personally, in 1255 and 1256, to restore the status quo.<sup>4</sup> At the same time (1256) he managed to force the cession of Dyrrhachium and Servia—both key fortresses—by the Epirots, through tricking Theodora, the despot Michael II's wife, into territorial concessions in return for a marriage alliance which had in fact been arranged as long ago as 1248.<sup>5</sup> Nicephorus, Michael's son, was indeed married to Maria, Theodore's daughter, but the trickery involved caused bad blood, and from 1257 onwards open warfare ensued, and it was as a result of this that the historian George Acropolites found himself in captivity: for the moment, much of John III's acquisitions in western Macedonia had been lost.<sup>6</sup> Theodore, however, in virtually his last major act, managed to secure a firm peace with the Bulgarians: in 1257 Michael Asen was assassinated, and circumstances eventually brought to the throne one Constantine Asen-Tich, a Serbian distant relative of the dynasty. In order to strengthen his position, Tich offered to marry Theodore's daughter Irene, for she was herself Ivan II Asen's granddaughter. The offer was accepted, and the marriage was celebrated in early 1258.<sup>7</sup>

Externally, Theodore enjoyed a measure of success, and his Macedonian losses posed no general threat to the Nicaean position in the Balkans, or to the emperor's own position vis-à-vis his subjects. It was rather in his internal dealings that Theodore unwittingly set the scene for the downfall of his dynasty, for he almost perversely set about alienating key elements in society.

It is clear that he commenced an extensive reorganization of the Nicaean army, which it may well have needed, for it had started out largely as a defensive force based on Anatolia, and had subsequently

<sup>1</sup> But see Munitiz, *Nikephoros Blemmydes*, 21, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 106; Blemmydes, *Diēgēsis*, I.74, ed. Munitiz, p. 37; Gregoras, *Historia*, III.1, ed. Schopen, I, p. 55. Only the last—much the latest in date—actually mentions the coronation by the new patriarch, but it is at least implied by Blemmydes.

<sup>3</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford, 1957), 158.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 159–60.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 162–66.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.



assumed an offensive poise with extensive and long-standing commitments in the Balkans. Part and parcel of this reorganization was a reduced reliance on foreign mercenaries, for he resented the considerable sums expended upon their hiring, maintenance, and remuneration, and in pursuit of his aim for a native army he cut mercenary stipends (*rhogai*), earning foreign resentment.<sup>8</sup> He also favored the promotion and employment of men of ability, regardless of their social origins, and in pursuit of this preference he appointed a number of men of relatively low birth to high offices, dismissing their current aristocratic holders abruptly, and punishing their supposed defects cruelly. A particular focus of aristocratic hatred was provided by the Mouzalon brothers, who typified Theodore's new appointees, with his boyhood companion George Mouzalon being placed at the head of the court hierarchy, and his two brothers Andronicus and Theodore also being given high rank and titles.<sup>9</sup> His conscious marriage policy of allying well-born women to lowborn favorites perhaps proved even more unpopular, striking as it did at the very basis of the aristocracy's existence. The resentment of the by now well established Nicaean aristocracy, much of it having pre-conquest antecedents and being related to the ruling dynasties of the period 1081–1204, as well as to the current one, therefore formed a source of deep potential trouble.<sup>10</sup>

Theodore also seems to have undertaken a considerable degree of financial and monetary reform, as previously noted, and as to be briefly reexamined below.<sup>11</sup> His achievements, both positive and negative, were considerable when it is considered that the reign lasted four years only, and that much of it was spent on campaign.

#### COINAGE

It is really owing to an allusion by the historian George Pachymeres concerning the reign of Theodore II that it happens to be known that John III had stored away a huge amount of money at Magnesia (*chrēmatōn plēthos enapothēsaursimenon en Magnēsia*), and that Theodore had set up a further store of his own at Aстыtziūm on the Scamander. The treasury (*tamieioi*) at Magnesia at least was guarded by a detachment of axe-bearing Celts (*Keltikon kai pelekuphoron*), or members of the Varangian Guard.<sup>12</sup> It is clear from this that the main *vestiarion* had been established at Magnesia, and that some kind of supplementary treasury had been established at Aстыtziūm. There are good reasons for believing that the originator of the main treasury at Magnesia had been Theodore I and not John,<sup>13</sup> and it has been suggested that the establishment of the secondary one at Aстыtziūm by Theodore II had been connected with the finances of the Nicaean possessions in the Balkans, and more particularly with the distrustful Theodore's closure of the Thessalonican mint in 1255.<sup>14</sup> Be that as it may, where the main *vestiarion* was, so the mint: in other words, at Magnesia. Hankerings after a mint at nearby Nymphaeum should be resisted. True, the small, still standing palace was overlooked by the fortress on a nearby hill, and true it could apparently be defended, but although it presumably once had a dependent complex of which there are now no visible traces, it does not seem to have been walled. The alternative and known axis of treasury and mint at Magnesia, and largely winter palace at Nymphaeum, therefore makes excellent sense.

Theodore's coinage is the tidiest, indeed most rigidly symmetrical, of the entire post-conquest period: organizationally far leaner than the somewhat flabby one of his predecessor, and in this respect rivaled only by those of the Thessalonican Ducas. It is indeed not impossible that Thessalonican personnel had been drafted in, as that mint was closed abruptly at very much this time.

The gold and electrum coinages are both systematically dated: this I already suspected in 1969, but the large amount of material that has since come to light has simply and uniformly confirmed the

<sup>8</sup> Pachymeres, *De Michaelē Palaeologo*, I, ed. Bekker, I, p. 54; Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 185–96.

<sup>9</sup> Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 76–78.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 78–79.

<sup>11</sup> See above, pp. 102, 119–20.

<sup>12</sup> Pachymeres, *De Michaelē Palaeologo*, I, ed. Bekker, I, pp. 68–71; see also above, p. 420 and note 2, pp. 470–72.

<sup>13</sup> See above, pp. 455, 470–72.

<sup>14</sup> Henty, *Studies*, 443 and note 323. See also above, p. 102.

suspicion.<sup>15</sup> The dating takes the form of a letter placed prominently in the field of the obverse design. Although this probably represents an alphabetical sequence (as in the case of John), it also certainly denotes a numerical year, for there are four letters (A–Δ) for the four years of reign, and it is to be assumed that the year is the indictional rather than the regnal one (Theodore even died tidily: in August 1258, just as the indictional year was coming to an end). The letter/date equivalences are therefore as follows:

A = Nov. 1254–31 Aug. 1255	(format: <b>Α</b> or <b>Α̅</b> )
B = 1 Sept. 1255–31 Aug. 1256	
Γ = 1 Sept. 1256–31 Aug. 1257	
Δ = 1 Sept. 1257–Aug. 1258	(format: <b>Α</b> or <b>Α̅</b> )

The gold coinage demonstrates an interesting and almost certainly significant feature in its organizational development. For there are throughout the coinage two distinct varieties, at first depending upon whether a single or a double letter/date is present on the obverse, and later upon the form of reverse inscription, with the transfer from one system to the other taking place in year B (= 1255/56).

The sequence commences with two letter varieties (**1a**: –/A; **1b**: A/A) and a common columnar inscription **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Ο ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ**. It then develops into two letter varieties and two inscription varieties (obviously the point of transition), the currently known combinations being: **2a** –/B and **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΔΥΚΑΣ Ο ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ**; **2b** –/B and **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΤΩ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΩ**; and **2c** B/B and **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΔΥΚΑΣ Ο ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ**. And finally, it crystallizes out as a common double letter but with two inscription varieties, thus: **3a** Γ/Γ and **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΔΥΚΑΣ Ο ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ**; and **3b** Γ/Γ and **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΤΩ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΩ**; and again **4a** Δ/Δ and **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΔΥΚΑΣ Ο ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ** and **4b** Δ/Δ and **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΤΩ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΩ**.

It has been suggested that this double sequence betrays the workings of two *officinae*, and this may be valid as far as it goes, but I would also prefer to see it in the wider context of the binary structure noticed elsewhere during this period, and as having served to distinguish between two different accounts: the public and the private. In any case, it clearly continues in a different and more subtle fashion the distinction between coins with and without signa that had marked the preceding reign.<sup>16</sup>

The electrum coinage continues with the preceding practice of changing types each year, but is additionally dated by a developing obverse alphabetical sequence: –/A, Γ/Γ, Δ/Δ, and with the reverse inscription moving from **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Ο ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ** in the first year to **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΔΥΚΑΣ Ο ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ** in the second and subsequent years, clearly paralleling some of the developments on the gold. The second-year coins are in fact not dated in that they do not have the obverse letter/date, but it may be that the exaggerated ligature **Ϙ** of the saint's name: **ΤΡΥΦΩΝ** was thought to be sufficiently like a B as to render the latter unnecessary.<sup>17</sup> In any case, their position in the sequence need not be doubted.

The billon coinage currently consists of three known types, and not four as in the list below, for Type D (**12.1–6**) is now known to belong rather to John III, and is therefore also to be found listed correctly as Type V (**1.1–2**) of that emperor under the heading “Uncertain Attribution and Addenda” at the end of the volume. This almost inevitably means, of course, given the otherwise uniform symmetry of the coinage, that there is a type missing or—worse—misattributed. The order, and therefore dates, of the three known types remain uncertain, for although undoubtedly annual, the types are not lettered/dated, the **B /Ϙ** on the obverse of Type A (**9.1–3**) being in the nature of ornament and already present on the coinage of John III. Type B (**10a.1–10b**), with its standing figure of St. Tryphon on the obverse, must surely partner electrum Type II (**6.1–4**) and therefore similarly date to 1255/56. Type C (**11a.1–11b.2**), with its tendency toward a simple inscription: **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Ο ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ** or **Ο**

<sup>15</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 260.

<sup>16</sup> S. Bendall, “A Hyperpyron of Theodore II Ducas-Lascaris, A.D. 1254–1258,” *NCirc* 83 (1975), 104.

<sup>17</sup> Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 251 suggests in addition that employment of the lys on the obverse alludes to the fact that Tryphon's feast occurs in February, i.e., the second month of the year. This seems to me to be fanciful.

**ΔΘΚΑC** on the reverse, might parallel the equivalently simple form found on the first-year gold and electrum issues, and therefore similarly date to 1254/55. This leaves Type A (9.1–3), and the presumed still missing type, available for 1256/57 and 1257/58. If the missing type proves to be as signally rare as the electrum Type IV (8)—currently unique—then it may partner it, but this is little more than speculation.

The copper coinage is certainly not lettered/dated, and to judge from that of the preceding reign, is probably not even annual. Type B (14) continues the obverse of John III's Type D (59a.1–59b), with a star instead of a cross inside the crescent-shaped ornament. The specimen from the Troy excavations also has two dots at the entrance to the crescent, which are at least not visible on the specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale and illustrated here.<sup>18</sup> John's Type D has been tentatively dated to 1241 or 1249: if the latter, it might well be that emperor's last issue, and thus explain its continuation by Theodore, whose first type it would be. Again, this is little more than speculation.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Bellinger, *Troy*, 182 ("John I Vatatzes").

<sup>19</sup> See above, p. 477 and Table 15, p. 477.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
<b>HYPERPYRON NOMISMA</b>					
<b>Magnesia</b>					
			$\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$ in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.	Inscr. in two columnar groups. $\overline{\text{MP}} \overline{\text{OV}}$ in upper r. field. Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Virgin nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., anexikakia. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.	
<i>Var. I</i>					
(A to r., or A to l. and r., above throne on obv; inscr. ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Ο ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ to r. on rev.)					
1a*	A/ 4.29	25	A to r. above throne	ΠΟ ΤΗC ΟΛ Κ ΡΙ	(1254/55)
(1b)*	A/ 4.32	26	A to l., A to r., above throne	ΘΕ ΔΕ ΠΟ ΤΗ ΟΛΑ ΚΑ Ρ	
<i>Var. II</i>					
(B to r., or B to l. and r., above throne on obv; inscr. ΔΥΚΑC Ο ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙC, or ΤΨ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΨ, to r. on rev.)					
(2a)*	A/ 4.30 flattened	25	B to r. above throne	Δ Κ ΟΛ Κ Ρ	(1255/56)

- 1a From Baldwin 24.vi.77  
H. Pl. 34.9-14, W. 1-2, R. —  
Also known from BN (Ex Rollin, from Bursa/Izmir Hoard. H. pl. 34.10 This coin)
- (1b) Private collection  
Leu 29/30.iv.75, lot 779 This coin
- (2a) Private collection  
Also known from *NCirc* 1975, p. 104 (B on obv. reversed)

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(2b)*	A/ 4.29	24	<b>B</b> to r. above throne	Ι Π Φ	
(2c)*	A/	23	<b>B</b> to l. and r. above throne	Η Δ Κ ΟΛ Κ ΙC	
3a*	A/ 4.19 flattened	24		Δ ΚΑ ΟΑ ΚΑ Ρ	(1256/57)
			<i>Var. III</i>		
			(Γ to l. and r. above throne on obv.; inscr. ΔΥΚΑC Ο ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙC, or ΤΨ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΨ, to r. on rev.)		
(3b)*	A/ 4.15	23		Ι Π Φ Ρ	
			<i>Var. IV</i>		(1257/58)
			(Δ to l. and r. above throne on obv.; inscr. ΔΥΚΑC Ο ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙC, or ΤΨ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΨ, to r. on rev.)		
(4a)*	A/	26	<b>Α</b> to l., <b>Α</b> to r., above throne	ΔV ΚΑ ΟΛΑ ΚΑ Ρ C	
(4b)*	A/ 4.34	26	<b>Α</b> to l. and r. above throne	ΟΔΨ ΡOC ΔEC Η	Ι Π Φ

(2b) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul

Also known from Kress 8.ii.65, lot 1123 (John III)

(2c) Barber Institute, Birmingham (Ex Hendy, acq. in Athens 62) H. Pl. 34.12 This coin

3a Peirce 1948 from Platt. H. Pl. 34.13 This coin

(3b) Private Collection *NCirc* 1974, p. 53, no. 10 This coin. Also known from BN (Ex Rollin, from Bursa/Izmir Hoard. H. Pl. 34.9 This coin)






(4a) BN (Ex Rollin, from Bursa/Izmir Hoard. H. Pl. 34.14 This coin)

(4b) Private collection. *NCirc* 1972, p. 57, no. 5 This coin (found in Thessaly)



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6.1*	El. 2.73	30	⊕ ΦΝ	ΙΕΘ ΙΨ ΙΟC  Δ ΚΑC ΟΛΛ ΚΑ ΡΙ	
6.2	El. 1.68 pierced, flattened, clipped(?)	25	Ο ΙV ΦΨ N	Inscr. obscure	
(6.3)*	El. 2.70	28	⊕ ΦΝ	Κ Ο ΛΑC ΚΑ Ρ	
(6.4)*	El.	28	⊕ ΦΝ	ε ΔΟ ΟC C  Δ Κ ΟΛ ΑC ΚΑ ΡΙ C	
TYPE III					(1256/57)
			<p>ΙC ΧC in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC ΔΥΚΑC Ο ΛΑCΚΑΡΙC Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΤΡΥΦΩΝ, in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Tryphon, beardless and nimbate, holding between them labarum on long shaft at the base of which a lys. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger. Saint wears tunic and kolobion.</p>	

- 6.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 35.4–5 (Type C), W.—, R.—  
H. Pl. 35.4 This coin. *Numismatica* 1936, p. 93, no. ii This coin
- 6.2 Peirce 1948, gift of Raymond
- (6.3) Private collection
- (6.4) Private collection  
Bank Leu 29/30.iv. 75, lot 780 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date	
7.1*	El. 2.76 flattened	29	Γ to l., Γ to r., above throne	ΙΕ Ο ΙΨ ΙΟC ΙΕC ΠΟ Η C	Loros-waist  ⊗ ΨV ΦΨ ΔϺΙ COΛ CK ΠΙ	
7.2*	El. 2.86 split	27	Γ to l., Γ to r., above throne	ΙΟC ΔΕC ΠΟ ΗC	Loros-waist  ΨV ΦΔ ↓ ΚΑC ΟΛΛ CKΛ ΠΙ	
(7.3)*	El. 2.57	32	Γ to l., Γ to r., above throne		Loros-waist  ⊗ ΤΡV ΦΨ ΚΑC ΟΛΛ ΚΑ ΠΙC	
(7.4)*	El.	31	Γ to l., Γ to r., above throne	ΡΟC ΔΕC ΠΟ Η	Loros-waist  ΨV ΦN ↓ ΑϺK ΑCΛ ΑCΚ ΑΡ C	
(7.5)*	El. 2.58	30	Γ to l. and r. above throne		Loros-waist  ΨV ΦN ↓ ΑϺK Same ΑCΟΛ die as ΑCΚ (7.4) (?) ΑΡ C	

7.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 35.1-2 (Type A), W-, R.—  
ZN 1926, p. 34, no. 110 This coin



7.2 From Bank Leu

(7.3) Hess 16.iv.64, lot 474

(7.4) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford  
NC 1945, p. 40, no. 12 This coin

(7.5) Hess 7.iv.60, lot 452



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
8*	El. 2.77	25	<p>TYPE IV</p> <p>ⲛⲓⲣ̅ ⲛ̅ⲩ in field. Virgin, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate, head of Christ on breast.</p> <p>Δ to l, Α to r., on back of throne</p>	<p>Αⲩ</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor seated upon throne with back, wearing stemma, divitision, paneled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr.</p>	(1257/58)
9.1*	Bill. 3.16	29	<p>ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</p> <p><b>Magnesia</b></p> <p>TYPE A</p> <p>ⲒⲚ̅ ⲛ̅Ⲛ̅ in field. B B Full-length figure of Christ bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, standing on dais; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΔΥΚΑΣ Ο ΛΑΚΚΑΡΙΣ, in two columnar groups. ⲛⲓⲣ̅ ⲛ̅ⲩ in upper r. field. Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Virgin nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., gl. cr. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.</p> <p>ΘΕ                      Loros-waist </p> <p>Δ</p> <p>Ψ</p> <p>ΙΟC                      ΚΛ</p> <p>ΔΕC                      ΟΛΛ</p> <p>Π·                      ΚΙ</p> <p>Ϝ</p>	(1256/57?)
9.2*	Bill. 2.95 broken	29		<p>Loros-waist </p> <p>Ϝ</p> <p>ΔϚ</p> <p>ΚΛC</p> <p>ΟΛΛC</p> <p>ΚΛ</p> <p>HC</p>	

- 8 From Baldwin 16.vi.77  
H.—, W.—, R.—
- 9.1 From H. Weller 19.iv.74  
H. Pl. 35.6, W. 6, R.—
- 9.2 From H. Weller 19.iv.74

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(9.3)*	Bill. 3.60	27	<p>IC XC in field. BB</p>	<p>Loros-waist ☒            Η            ΔΥ            Κ            Λ            C</p>	(1255/56)
10a.1*	Bill. 3.81 flattened	28	<p>⊕ ϕ Lys to l. and r. in            ΦV lower field.            Full-length figure of St.            Tryphon, beardless and nim-            bate, wearing tunic and            kolobion; holds cross in r.            hand.</p>	<p>TYPE B            ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ            ΔΥΚΑC Ο ΛΑCΚΑΡΙC, in            two columnar groups.            Full-length figure of emperor            wearing stemma, divitision,            and paneled chlamys; holds            in r. hand labarum-headed            scepter and in l., gl. cr. Manus            Dei in upper r. field.</p>	
10a.2	Bill. 1.28 clipped	22		<p>ΑΥ            ΚΑC            ΟΛΑ            CKA            ΠΙ            C</p>	
(10b)*	Bill.	30		<p>ΑΥ            ΚΙ            ΟΙ            CΙ            ΚΙ Globus            CΙ surmounted            ΛΙ by patriarchal            ΚΙ cross</p>	(1254/55?)
			<p>Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC, in two            columnar groups.            Full-length figure of St. Theo-            dore, bearded and nimbate,            wearing short military tunic,            breastplate, and sagion; holds            in r. hand spear, and in l.,            shield.</p>	<p>TYPE C            ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC            ΟΛΑCΚΑΡΙC or ΟΔΥΚΑC, in            two columnar groups.            Full-length figure of emperor            wearing stemma, divitision,            jeweled loros of simplified            type, and sagion; holds in r.            hand labarum on long shaft,            and in l., globus surmounted            by patriarchal cross.</p>	

(9.3) BN (Ex Longuet)

10a.1 Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 35.7–8, W. 5, R.—

H. Pl. 35.7 This coin

10a.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x.28

H. Pl. 35.8 This coin

(10b) ANS, New York

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date	
11a.1*	Bill. 4.34	31	A Π ς Ϟ Ρ	Θ Ε Ο ]Ψ ΡΟC ]C	ΠΟ ΤΗ ΟΙ ΑC	
11a.2*	Bill. 2.94 flattened	30	Ο Α Π Ο C	Θ	ΛΛ C Κ C	
11b.1*	Bill. 2.14	28	Ο Α Π ]C	ΔΨ ΡΟ C	Ο Δ Κ	
(11b.2)	Bill.	30	Α Γ Ι	Θ Ε	· Ϟ ΚΑ C	
TYPE D (Recte John III)						
			<p>ΙC ΧC Ο ΕΜΜΑΝΥΗΛ, in two columnar groups. Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC Ο ΔΥΚΑC Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΤΡΥΦΩΝ, in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor on l, and of St. Tryphon, beardless and nimbate, holding between them long shaft, at the head of which lys, and the base of which small globe. Emperor wears stemma, divition, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds labarum on long shaft in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds scepter with triple head in l. hand.</p>		

11a.1 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x.28

H. Pl. 35.9-11, W.—, R.—

H. Pl. 35.9 This coin

11a.2 Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 35.10 This coin

11b.1 Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 35.11 This coin

(11b.2) Private collection

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
12.1	Bill. 2.91	26	(Lacks Ο ΕΜΜΑΝΥΗΛ?)	ΨV Φ ΔΥ Κ[	
12.2	Bill. 2.02	26			
12.3	Bill. 1.52	25			
(12.4)*	Bill. 3.20	30		Ψ Φ ΔΕ Π	
(12.5)*	Bill.	28	ΟΕ            Λ ΙΗ            Ν		
12.6	Bill. 2.19	28			
TETARTERON NOUMMION					
<b>Magnesia</b>					
TYPE A					
			Lys. Pellet in upper and lower field, to either side.	ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ, in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., anexikakia.	
(13a)*	Æ	21		ΔΕC Π ΔΨ    Ο ΡΟC    Η C	
13b*	Æ 0.95	17	Pellet in lower field, to either side, between petals of lys, only.		

- 12.1 From H. Weller 19.iv.74  
H. p. 407, W.—, R.—  
See now "Uncertain Attribution and Addenda," below, p. 699 (John III, Type V)
- 12.2 Bertelè 1960
- 12.3 Bertelè 1960
- (12.4) Private collection  
*NCirc* 1974, p. 53, no. 11 This coin
- (12.5) Private collection
- 12.6 Bertelè 1960
- (13a) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford  
H. Pl. 35.14, W.—, R.—  
*Numismatica* 1936, pp. 93–94, no. iii This coin
- 13b Whittemore

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(14)*	Æ	19 x 16	<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE B</p> <p>✠ within crescent-shaped ornament decorated with pellets.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Θ € O</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., globus surmounted by patriarchal cross, which he holds by the shaft.</p>	

(14) BN  
H. Pl. 35.15, W.—, R.—  
Bellinger, *Troy: The Coins*, p. 182, no. 364 (John III)  
H. Pl. 35.15 This coin

## MICHAEL VIII Ducas-Angelus-Comnenus-Palaeologus

(1259 – 1261 at Nicaea/Nymphaeum)

Colleague: John IV Lascaris (1258 – 1261)

### BACKGROUND

At his death in August 1258, Theodore left as heir his young son John, variously estimated as being between six and nine years of age—but in any case a minor—and as regent and guardian George Mouzalon. This represented just about as unrealistic an arrangement and as unstable a situation as that left by Manuel I in 1180, and the results were indeed in some ways similar.<sup>1</sup>

There is little doubt that the delicate poise of the situation was recognized by Michael Ducas-Angelus-Comnenus-Palaeologus, as he formally termed himself, from the very start, and that he promptly began to “massage” it and to move it in his own favor.<sup>2</sup> Michael, at that stage in his mid-thirties, was—as his quite impossible full name indeed perfectly genuinely suggests—of distinguished ancestry, being the great-grandson of Alexius III through the latter’s daughter Irene, who had been married to Alexius Palaeologus at the same time as Anna had been married to Theodore Lascaris. And the Palaeologan interrelationship with the Comneni and Ducae went right back to the generation of Alexius I.<sup>3</sup> He was also able and unscrupulous, and already experienced, with a history of antipathy toward both John III and Theodore II, both of whom had, however, recognized and employed his talents. Indeed, John had appointed him to the new office of *megas konostaulos*, in charge of the empire’s Latin mercenaries—a fateful appointment.

Michael’s first move was to have George Mouzalon removed from the scene, despite his ostensible support for the latter’s exalted position. This occurred during the course of a memorial service for the late emperor at Magnesia, when the regent and his brothers—present and in the company of much of the aristocracy, clergy, and military—were butchered, at the apparent instigation of the Latin mercenaries, and with the presumed connivance of their current commander: an episode which, if the plausible presumption is accurate, involves more than a modicum of cynical nastiness.

It was nevertheless clear that Mouzalon would have to be speedily replaced as regent and guardian, and that a candidate of aristocratic birth, and of military ability and experience, was required . . . At an assembly of the aristocracy Michael was therefore duly selected, and at an assembly of the people and the military was confirmed in the office, with the title of *megas doux* and an access to the treasury at Magnesia (which is ultimately how we come to know of the existence of the *vestiarion* and mint there).<sup>4</sup>

Michael’s next move was to use the funds now available to him to secure support, and to be seen to need an even higher status so as to exercise his responsibility effectively. The clergy apparently obliged, pointing out that Michael’s grandfather Alexius had been *despotēs*, and recommending the grandson for the same title, a recommendation that was accepted with some opposition, for most people of any sense

<sup>1</sup> For much of what follows, see D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 16–32 (previous career), 33–46 (rise to power), 47–115 (events 1259–61).

<sup>2</sup> Michael is at this stage of his career always called “Comnenus” by Acropolites, thus utilizing the most eminent of all his family names.

<sup>3</sup> Polemis, *The Doukai*, 74–75 (no. 27, Anna Doukaina m. George Palaiologos); Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, 120.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 515 and note 12.

must have recognized the process that was now nearing its climax, and a number of people must equally have realized that now was their last chance to put a stop to it.

As *despotēs*, Michael felt able not only to reward his adherents, but also to punish his opponents, for the Lascarid party—with senior members of the family still alive, and support among the population—was still a powerful one. Finally, on 1 January 1259, Michael was raised on a shield and acclaimed as emperor, at Nymphaeum or Magnesia, and shortly after was crowned by Patriarch Arsenius at Nicaea, with the patriarch eventually succumbing to pressure to crown Michael and his wife Theodora first, with normal imperial crowns, and the young John second, with only a hemispherical headpiece ornamented with stones and pearls (*kekryphalō hēmītumbiō, lithois kai margarois kekosmēmēnō*), thereby effectively abandoning him to an all too obvious fate.<sup>5</sup>

The whole process had taken some four months, and for all Michael's own claims to the contrary, resulted from the exercise of amoral political skill, rather than from the wills of the people and of the Almighty.

The reign, however, began well: Michael was confronted with the chaotic situation in western Macedonia that had characterized the close of Theodore's reign, with Michael II now being in a powerful alliance with Manfred the Hohenstaufen king of Sicily, and William II of Villehardouin, the prince of Achaia. His response was commendably immediate, sending out his brother John with a large army into the field. This had apparently already been done well before his coronation, for he had to send out to John, whom he created *sebastokrator*, the insignia of his rank. Much of the territory that had been lost was soon recovered, but the situation again soon became critical with the conjunction of Epirot troops and those of Achaia, led by William himself, and of Sicily. The several armies met up at Pelagonia in the fall of 1259 and—partly because of the desertion of the Epirot army—the result was the complete and spectacular defeat of the alliance, including the capture of William and most of his nobility.

Encouraged by this success, and presumably having in any case consolidated his own position the meanwhile, Michael determined to make an attempt on Constantinople itself, apparently hoping to gain entrance into the City through a prearranged treachery. This failed to come off, and after an abortive attack on Galata, Nicaean forces withdrew, having previously agreed to a truce.

In addition to his military measures, Michael also entered into extensive diplomatic relations, and during the spring and summer of 1261 came to an agreement with the Genoese, the long-standing rivals of the Venetians who held a virtual monopoly of Latin trade in the area. The Treaty of Nymphaeum provided Genoese naval aid to the Byzantines—much needed, for it was an area in which, despite sporadic attempts to construct and man a powerful fleet, they had long been deficient—in return for extensive commercial concessions by the Byzantines in favor of the Genoese, who were effectively excluded from the region and who had suffered recent setbacks in the Latin east.

The end of the period of exile, for which all of this was but a preparation, nevertheless came speedily and ironically enough essentially by chance. In the summer of 1261, the caesar Alexius Strategopoulos (promoted for his role at the battle of Pelagonia) was dispatched to the Bulgarian frontier with a small force, being instructed on the way to make a threatening demonstration before Constantinople. Alexius did so, and was approached by a group of Byzantine inhabitants of the area, whose allegiance had hitherto shifted between Latins and Byzantines at will. Members of this group promised Alexius entry into the City (by what precise means remains uncertain), and unlike the individual who had promised the same a year earlier, they came up with the goods. The Venetian fleet, together with virtually all of the garrison, happened to be absent besieging the Nicaean island of Daphnusia not far from the mouth of the Bosphorus at its Black Sea end. (The Latins were thus already contravening the truce, just as was now Alexius.) On 25 July 1261 Alexius and his Nicaean forces, aided by their internal informants/allies, pen-

<sup>5</sup> The date, for long uncertain, was finally fixed by R. J. Loenertz, "La Chronique brève de 1352: Texte, traduction et commentaire. Première partie, de 1205 à 1327," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 29 (1963), 333, 342–44; Pachymeres, *De Michaele Palaeologo*, II, ed. Bekker, I, p. 104: a *stemmatogyron*? See above, p. 167.

etrated the walls; the Latin emperor Baldwin II fled, leaving behind his regalia to be forwarded to Michael;<sup>6</sup> the returning fleet and soldiery were distracted by a strategically set fire; and the City thus returned to Byzantine rule.

The news was broken to Michael at Meteorium in Bithynia on the morning of 26 July, and he made his triumphal entry into the City on 15 August, the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, via the Golden Gate, processing to the Great Church to be recrowned with his wife Theodora, and to have proclaimed as heir apparent his eldest son Andronicus. Shortly afterwards, on 25 December, Christmas Day, the young emperor John Lascaris was blinded at his orders—by a new and more sophisticated method than the one previously used: of course.<sup>7</sup>

### COINAGE

It is difficult to be certain, in the majority of cases, of the precise division between Michael's coinage issued at Magnesia, and that issued after the reconquest at Constantinople. (And here it should be mentioned that no coinage is known for John IV, whether alone or in company with Michael, and it is extremely unlikely that any such was ever issued: the short period August 1258–January 1259 was probably covered, if it was covered at all, by the continuation of Theodore's last coinages.)<sup>8</sup>

What is clear, on examination of the probable coinages of this short and preliminary reign, is the slippage of the tight control that had characterized production during the preceding one: whether it had been Theodore himself who had exercised this degree of control (unlikely), or one of the Mouzalon brothers (somewhat more likely), or indeed someone else entirely, the phenomenon was confined to that reign, and neither the preceding nor the succeeding one equaled it.

The letter/date equivalences that might have been expected would have run as follows:

A = 1 Jan. 1259–31 Aug. 1259

B = 1 Sept. 1259–31 Aug. 1260

Γ = 1 Sept. 1260–31 Aug. 1261

Of this, there is not all that much actual trace. The gold coinage of the period (1), discovered as late as 1965, bears on its obverse the signum  $\mathfrak{D}/\cdot\ddagger$ , that is, reverting to the system in use during the middle and later years of the reign of John III: indeed, it might well have involved the reuse of two earlier half-dies.<sup>9</sup> Other signa may well come to light in the future, and it will be of interest to see just what format they take. This is the only gold coinage that can be securely attributed to the mint of Magnesia and the period 1259–61: the argument that its great rarity dictates that another of Michael's coinages at least began at Magnesia in 1260 will not hold, for Theodore II may have accumulated so much gold in coin at Magnesia and Astytzium that it sufficed for much of Michael's early expenditures.

The electrum coinage is, it has to be said, an organizational mess. This is not meant to imply that the actual organization of production was itself in an equivalent mess, for presumably note was duly kept of types, dates, and the officials responsible, but rather that the sheer transparency of the system in operation under Theodore II very soon disappeared for good.

Not the least of the problem is that it is clear that with the effective abandonment of Nymphaeum as capital, the *vestiarion* and mint at Magnesia were removed to Constantinople. Precisely when this occurred remains, and is likely to remain, uncertain, but the sheer inconvenience of having the capital at Constantinople and the *vestiarion*/mint at Magnesia (or even Astytzium) must surely favor the move having taken place shortly after 25 July 1261, and possibly having even been coincident with Michael's triumphal entry on 15 August. The axis Constantinople: Magnesia is, in other words, simply not comparable to that of Nymphaeum: Magnesia, which is itself similar in scale to that of London: Winchester, well known for medieval England.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 578 note 4, p. 659.

<sup>7</sup> Pachymeres, *De Michaelae Palaeologo*, III, ed. Bekker, I, pp. 191–92.

<sup>8</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 261.

<sup>9</sup> O. Iliescu, "Le dernier hyperpère de l'empire byzantin de Nicée," *Byzantinoslavica* 26 (1965), 94–99.



All this means, of course, that such factors as style and detail, because of the institutional continuity involved, as opposed to the change of geographical location, cannot for a number of years be utilized: that is, until the relocated mint had evolved an individual set of qualities.

The only electrum issue that is attributable to this mint and period with any degree of certainty is Type B (3), which in its bearing the obverse signum Γ/Γ is surely datable to 1260/61, and was therefore in production at the moment of the recovery of the City. The tetarteron issue (6.1–2), with its identical obverse design of Christ standing on a dais, presumably accompanied it.

Other than this issue, there are several that have a plausible claim, but—on the assumption that the practice of striking one type to a year did not immediately lapse with the accession of Michael VIII—obviously only two more can be accommodated.

Type A (2) is a clear further candidate: with its large, spread flan and a perfectly congruent style, it could well be an issue of the mint and period. Other than this, the clearest candidate is an issue not listed below, and known from an apparently unique specimen now in a private collection (Bank Leu Sale 13, 29.iv.75, Lot 756).<sup>10</sup> The obverse design is a half-length figure of the archangel Michael, wearing divitision, loros, and sagion, holding a sword in his right hand, resting it over his shoulder, with his left hand resting on its sheath. The reverse design is of a full-length figure of the emperor on the left, crowned by a bearded and nimbate Christ. The emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type, and holds a labarum-headed scepter in his right hand. Christ wears a tunic and kolobion. Again, fabric and style are entirely congruent, and suggest it to be at least early. More—to take a leaf out of the “coronation issues” protagonists’ book—the obverse design (with Christ being of the Chalcites type) clearly echoes the equivalent first/ceremonial issues of Theodore I and John III. The order of issues might well therefore run: First Coinage (as above), 1259; Second Coinage (2), 1259/60; Third Coinage (3), 1260/61.

There are a number of other possibilities: one issue with a seated Virgin and the letters **B /B** on the back of the throne, and the emperor embraced/protected by the archangel Michael, might possibly provide the Second Coinage and date to 1259/60;<sup>11</sup> another with a full-length figure of St. Tryphon, and the emperor with a military saint, might provide a further coinage.<sup>12</sup> Both these latter, however, seem to me to be early but not so early, **B /B** in particular being by now as much of a blazon as a letter/date. Much the same seems true of a further issue with a seated Virgin and a seated emperor.<sup>13</sup> All three would seem more at home in an early Constantinopolitan context.

No billon issue is of an undoubtedly Magnesian derivation: Type A (4) nevertheless both has St. Tryphon as its obverse design and seems of early fabric and style; and Type B (5.1–2) has a standing figure of the emperor as its reverse design that very much resembles Theodore II’s Type B (10a.1–10b). The issues involved must await the publication of the fifth volume of the *Dumbarton Oaks Catalogue*, but one must equally doubt that definitive solutions can be formulated for them.

<sup>10</sup> S. Bendall, “The Silver Coinage of Michael VIII, A.D. 1258–1282,” *NCirc* 90 (1982), p. 121, no. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121, no. 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121, no. 7.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122, no. 9.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(1)*	A/ 4.12	26	<p style="text-align: center;">HYPERPYRON NOMISMA</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Magnesia</b></p> <p>ⲓⲚ̅ Ⲛ̅Ϣ in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.</p> <p>☉ to l., ☩ ro r., above throne</p>	<p>ⲭ Ⲑ      ⲘⲢ Ⲛ̅ⲩ in ⲙ ⲡⲌ      upper r. field. ⲉⲎ ⲕⲎ ⲡ Ⲛⲕ ⲧ Ⲓ</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Virgin nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., anexikakia. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.</p>	(1259–61)
			<p style="text-align: center;">ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Magnesia</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">TYPE A</p> <p>Ⲛ̅ ⲙ</p> <p>Full-length figure of archangel Michael, nimbate, wearing short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand sword, resting over shoulder, and in l., (?).</p>	<p>Ⲛ̅      Ⲛ̅ ⲙ      ⲙ ⲉⲎ      ⲉⲎ</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor on r., and of St. George, beardless and nimbate, holding between them long shaft at the top of which a labarum and at the base of which a globe. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger. Saint wears short military tunic and sagion; holds shield or sword, point downward, in l. hand.</p>	(1259–61)
2*	El.	29			

- (1) Archaeological Museum, Bucharest  
H. Pl. 36.1, W. —, R. —  
*Byzantinoslavica* 1965, pp. 94–99 This coin
- 2 From Bank Leu 24.xii.69  
H. —, W. —, R. —  
*NCirc* 90 (1982), p. 121, no. 5 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
3*	El. 1.67 chipped	27	<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE B</p> <p>IC XC in field. Full-length figure of Christ, standing on dais, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.</p> <p>Γ to l. and r. in field.</p>	<p>X O M Π ICC Λ IO Γ T /</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and paneled chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., gl. cr. Manus Dei in upper r. field.</p>	(1260–61)
4*	Bill. 2.24	26	<p style="text-align: center;">ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Magnesia</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">TYPE A</p> <p>⊕ Φ Lys to l. and ϜV Ψ r. in lower field. Full-length figure of St. Tryphon, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds cross in r. hand.</p>	<p>X MP ΘV in M Π upper r. field. Δ Π Λ Ϝ Γ</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Virgin nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.</p> <p>M for MP</p>	(1259–61?)

3 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 36.2, W. —, R. —, *NCirc* 90 (1982), p. 122, no. 10  
*ZN* 1926, p. 14, no. 41 This coin

4 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 36.3, W. p. 225, R. —  
H. Pl. 36.3 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
5.1* 5.2	Bill. 4.25 Bill. 2.02 flattened	27 27	<p style="text-align: center;">Type B</p> <p>ΙϞ ΧϞ in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.</p>	<p>X M ΛΕ C ΠΟ Ϡ C Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and paneled chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.</p> <p>X O</p>	(1259-61?)
6.1*	Æ 1.52	20	<p style="text-align: center;">TETARTERON NOUMMION</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Magnesia</b></p> <p>ΙϞ ΧϞ in field. Full-length figure of Christ, standing on dais, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.</p>	<p>X O Π M ΛΕ ΟΛ Γ Ϡ Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum- headed scepter, and in l., anexikakia. Manus Dei in upper r. field.</p> <p>X O Π M ΛΕ ΟΛ Γ Ϡ</p>	(1259-61)

- 5.1 Gift of M. F. Hendy  
H. Pl. 36.4, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 36.4 This coin
- 5.2 Bertelè 1960
- 6.1 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x.28  
H. Pl. 36.5-6, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 36.5 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6.2*	Æ 1.74	19		O Π Λ Λ C Γ	

## COINS OF ANONYMOUS TYPE OR UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTION

There is very little of real value that can be said of this group of trachea and tetartera. All are of appropriate fabric and design for a “Nicaean,” that is, Magnesian attribution, but the circumstances behind their issue remain entirely obscure. Certainly, they are much too numerous to be explained as in some way “interregnal,” or as resulting from “political uncertainty,” to use traditional terminology.

The electrum and billon trachea (1 and 2 respectively) probably make up a set of denominations with Type C of the tetarteron (5.1–2), with their common and specific reverse design of Christ Chalcites. The tetarteron seems to represent the same kind of punning allusiveness as seen under John III with its transforming of gold signa into copper designs, for the obverse patriarchal cross on stand clearly also forms part of the inscription  $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \text{NIKA}$ , with the *iota* being formed by the stem of the cross and the *alpha* by the curious stand  $\Lambda$ .

As for the remaining tetartera, Types D (6.1–4), E (7.1–8), and F (8) all contain elements of design or motifs that are at home in a Magnesian context, with Type F having as its obverse design a flower-head similar to that on Type T (33) of the small module trachy attributed to John Ducas of Thessalonica (1237–42/44), which may well say something about the approximate date of both, but not necessarily about priority of issue. Type G (9.1–3), with its reverse design of a standing figure of St. Theodore, is surely late, and could be sufficiently so as to be an issue of Theodore II.

Types A (3.1–5) and B (4) are not strictly anonymous given the seated imperial figure which A has as its reverse design, and the standing figure which B has as its design. But the five specimens of A fail to reveal more than a couple of dots where the identificatory inscription should be, and B really is so ill struck as to remain of uncertain attribution. Both types, however, are presumably late. Dots in place of the inscription also occur on Type F (61.3–4) of John III.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date										
1*	El. 1.85 pierced, chipped	25	<p>ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</p> <p>MP̄ ΘV̄ in field. Full-length figure of Virgin, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion. ★ to r. on maphorion, beneath arm.</p>	<table> <tr> <td>IC̄</td> <td>X̄C</td> </tr> <tr> <td>O</td> <td>K</td> </tr> <tr> <td>X</td> <td>H</td> </tr> <tr> <td>A</td> <td>TH</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Λ</td> <td>C</td> </tr> </table> <p>Full-length figure of Christ Chalcites, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	IC̄	X̄C	O	K	X	H	A	TH	Λ	C	(1227–61?)
IC̄	X̄C														
O	K														
X	H														
A	TH														
Λ	C														
2*	Bill. 3.05	28	<p>ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</p> <p>ΓΕ ΠΙ Ϸ OS</p> <p>Full-length figure of St. George, beardless and nimbate, wearing short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, and in l., shield.</p>	<table> <tr> <td>IC̄</td> <td>X̄C</td> </tr> <tr> <td>•</td> <td>K</td> </tr> <tr> <td>X</td> <td>H</td> </tr> <tr> <td>A</td> <td>TH</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Λ</td> <td>C</td> </tr> </table> <p>Full-length figure of Christ Chalcites, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	IC̄	X̄C	•	K	X	H	A	TH	Λ	C	(1227–61?)
IC̄	X̄C														
•	K														
X	H														
A	TH														
Λ	C														
3.1*	Æ 4.24	23	<p>TETARTERON NOUMMION</p> <p>TYPE A</p> <p>Letter <b>Ϸ</b> decorated with pellets; ✦ to l., ✦ to r., in field.</p>	<p>Full-length figure of emperor, seated upon throne with back; wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia.</p>	(1227–61?)										

- 1 Bertelè 1960  
H. —, W. —, R. —
- 2 Peirce 1948  
H. —, W. —, R. —
- 3.1 Whittemore  
H. Pl. 36.7, W. —, R. —, Sabatier Pl. Lxx.17

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date																				
3.2	Æ 2.53	20																							
3.3	Æ 2.16	20 x 14																							
3.4	Æ 1.58	16																							
3.5*	Æ 1.99	19		Paneled loros.																					
				TYPE B																					
			Complex of interlaced bands decorated with pellets.	Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand uncertain object on long shaft, and in l., uncertain object.	(1227–61?)																				
(4)*	Æ	18		TYPE C																					
			<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;"> <math>\bar{\text{C}}</math></td> <td style="text-align: center;"><math>\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{C}}</math></td> <td style="text-align: center;"> <math>\bar{\text{C}}</math></td> <td style="text-align: center;"><math>\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{C}}</math></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">N</td> <td style="text-align: center;">K</td> <td style="text-align: center;">O</td> <td style="text-align: center;">K</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">X</td> <td style="text-align: center;">H</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">A</td> <td style="text-align: center;">H</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">Λ</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	$\bar{\text{C}}$	$\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{C}}$	$\bar{\text{C}}$	$\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{C}}$	N	K	O	K			X	H			A	H			Λ		Full-length figure of Christ Chalcites, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.	(1227–61?)
$\bar{\text{C}}$	$\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{C}}$	$\bar{\text{C}}$	$\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{C}}$																						
N	K	O	K																						
		X	H																						
		A	H																						
		Λ																							
5.1*	Æ 2.30	21																							
(5.2)*	Æ	20	Same die as 5.1.	Same die as 5.1.																					

- 3.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 36.7 This coin
- 3.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x.28
- 3.4 Whittemore
- 3.5 From Baldwin 28.iv.76 (Ex J. R. Stewart, ex Grantley 4271 [Cyprus])
- 4 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford  
H. —, W. —, R. —
- 5.1 Grierson 1956 from Glendining 30.xii.47, lot 186  
H. Pl. 36.9, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 36.9 This coin
- (5.2) Private collection



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
TYPE D					
6.1*	Æ 2.31	22	Cross, radiate, with lunate ornaments, decorated with pellets, at ends.	<p> <math>\overline{M}P</math> <math>\overline{O}V</math> in field.            Half-length figure of Virgin nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion.         </p>	(1227–61?)
6.2*	Æ 2.52	20			
6.3	Æ 1.32	19			
6.4	Æ 1.73	19			
TYPE E					
			<p> <math>I</math> <math>\overline{C}</math>  <math>X</math> <math>\overline{C}</math> </p> Cross, decorated with pellets.	Two <b>B</b> s, back to back, decorated with pellets; pellet in loops of letter to r.	(1227–61?)
7.1	Æ 1.91	20			
7.2	Æ 1.81	20			
7.3*	Æ 2.16	21 x 17			
7.4	Æ 2.55	20			
7.5	Æ 2.26	18			
7.6	Æ 2.17	20			
7.7	Æ 1.90	16			
7.8*	Æ 2.03	19			

- 6.1 Grierson 1956 from Baldwin 4.xii.45 (Ex Grantley)  
H. Pl. 36.10, W. —, R. —, Sabatier Pl. LXX.11–12  
H. Pl. 36.10 This coin
- 6.2 Whittemore
- 6.3 Bertelè 1960  
Very crude style
- 6.4 Bertelè 1960  
Very crude style
- 7.1 Peirce 1948  
H. Pl. 36.11, W. —, R. 2227, Sabatier Pl. LXX.18  
H. Pl. 36.11 This coin
- 7.2 Peirce 1948
- 7.3 Peirce 1948
- 7.4 Bertelè 1960
- 7.5 Bertelè 1960
- 7.6 Whittemore
- 7.7 Whittemore
- 7.8 From H. Weller 19.iv.74

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(8)*	Æ	21	Head of flower.	<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE F</p> Two <b>B</b> s, back to back, decorated with pellets; pellet in loops of letter to r.	(1227–61?)
				<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE G</p> Radiate, floriate, cross.	<p style="text-align: center;">O ΛΓΙΟC ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟC, in two columnar groups. Three-quarter-length figure of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand sword, resting over shoulder, and in l., shield.</p>
(9.1)*	Æ 2.13	22		O            ΘΕ ΛΓΙ        ΟΔΟ Ο           ΡΟC C	
(9.2)	Æ 2.60	21		O            ΘΕ ΛΓ         ΟΔΟ ΙΟC       ΡΟC	
9.3*	Æ 2.07	20		O            Θ[ ΛΓΙ        ΟΛ[ Ο           Ρ[ C	

- (8) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —
- (9.1) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *NCirc* 1976, p. 47, no. 10
- (9.2) Private collection  
*NCirc* 1976, p. 47, no. 10 This coin
- 9.3 From H. Weller 1.vii.70

## B. THE EMPIRE OF THESSALONICA



## THEODORE Comnenus-Ducas

Called Angelus

(Acclaimed 1225?; Crowned 1227 – 1230)

### BACKGROUND

Theodore Comnenus-Ducas (often called Angelus by Nicaean-favoring contemporary or near contemporary historians) was a legitimate son of the sebastocrator John Ducas, the uncle of Emperor Isaac II, and the son of Theodora Comnena the daughter of Emperor Alexius I. Hence the two family names which Theodore (and his immediate relations) used, with the disparaging Angelus deriving from Theodora's having married the (then) obscure Constantine Angelus, to the apparent displeasure of her parents and the not too great pride of their own progeny.<sup>1</sup> Theodore had succeeded his illegitimate half-brother Michael on the latter's assassination in ca. 1215, at the high point of his career in constructing a western successor state to the former unitary empire, and a conscious rival to the eastern Lascarid one.<sup>2</sup>

The careers and coinages of both Michael, and of Theodore before his recovery of Thessalonica from the Latins, must be held over for the moment and until later in this volume, for the complications of treating the history and coinages of Arta/Epirus ca. 1205–24, of Thessalonica 1224–46, of Arta/Epirus again ca. 1236–68, and then of Thessalonica again 1246–58, just in order to keep the Comnenus-Ducas histories and coinages integral, would simply be too great: Arta/Epirus ca. 1205–68, and Thessalonica 1224–58, will therefore be treated separately, with the historical being preferred over the dynastic, and with the greater entity (Thessalonica) being preferred over the lesser (Arta).

Theodore had taken Thessalonica in very late 1224, and swiftly proceeded to take full advantage of the devastating blow that its loss represented to the Latins. Previously, the whole of northern and western Greece, extending from the Adriatic to the Aegean, and southward to include most of Thessaly, had been in his hands. Now to this, in 1225, he added a swathe of Macedonian territory up as far as the Maritsa and northward along it into Thrace, including Didymotichum and, as noted previously, expelling the still recently installed Nicaean garrison from Adrianople, eventually reaching Vizye in southeastern Thrace and the walls of the City itself. The years 1224/25 were thus disastrous for the Latins, in both east and west. His gains were secured by a marriage alliance with Ivan II Asen, the hitherto clearly preeminent ruler in the Balkans.<sup>3</sup>

It is at this stage not at all clear what his “constitutional” position actually was. Prior to his taking of Thessalonica, and indeed for some time after it, he was addressed simply as *authentēs* (“ruler”) or sim-

<sup>1</sup> Acropolites, for example, always calls Theodore “Angelus.” Varzos, *Hē genealogia tōn Komnēnōn*, I, no. 90, pp. 641–49 (John Ducas, *sebastokratōr*).

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 621–22.

<sup>3</sup> For much of what follows, see Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 103–12. But cf. L. Stiernon, “Les origines du despotat d'Épire: À propos d'un livre récent,” *REB* 17 (1959), 90–126; idem, “Les origines du despotat d'Épire (suite): La date du couronnement de Théodore Doukas,” in *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Ochride 10–16 septembre 1961*, II (Belgrade, 1964), 197–202.

ilar, and referred to himself as such. In other words, in no way was he *despotēs*—at least in the strict and formal sense—as often formerly supposed, let alone *basileus*. It is nevertheless quite conceivable that he had had himself acclaimed *basileus*, as Theodore Lascaris had earlier in 1205, prior to his coronation in 1208: a precedent of which Theodore Ducas can hardly have been unaware. The combination of electrum trachy Type C and billon trachy Type E standing, as will appear below, at 1225/26 or 1226/27, and featuring Christ (Chalcites), might be taken as suggesting something of the kind. In any case, like Lascaris, he immediately proceeded to issue a regular and complex coinage: of this there can now be no reasonable doubt, as will be seen below.<sup>4</sup>

The date of his formal coronation has been much discussed, with 1225 and 1227/28 being the favored polar opposites. The most recent study, relying on the previously unpublished letters of John Apocaucus, has come up with the firm chronological bracket 3 April through August 1227, and it may now be possible to narrow this down even further.<sup>5</sup> The reasons for his apparently waiting so long may well have been complex: certainly, there was the embarrassment of having the restored metropolitan of Thessalonica, Constantine Mesopotamites, refuse to perform the ceremony, which would have impinged upon the supposed right of Nicaea, and the consequent necessity of having to convene a synod of western bishops so as to permit the archbishop of Ochrida, Demetrius Chomatenus, to perform it. But there may well have been a more formal and hitherto neglected reason, as well, as again will be seen below.<sup>6</sup>

In any case, once endowed with the diadem, purple tunic, and scarlet buskins, Theodore began to exercise those imperial rights to which he had as much effective (if somewhat less formal) claim as his Anatolian contemporary, John Ducas: using the full entitulation; signing in vermilion ink; and appointing to even the highest court ranks such as *despotēs* and *sebastokratōr* (all according to the massive disdain of George Acropolites, from the viewpoint of the wildly more sophisticated Anatolian court). Certainly he awarded the rank of *despotēs* to his brother Manuel, and apparently to his other brother Constantine as well.<sup>7</sup>

Theodore conducted a vigorous diplomacy. In 1228/29—that is, apparently long before John III began to operate on similar lines—he made a serious bid to cultivate the friendship and gain the support of the western emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, the long-standing enemy of the papacy, and at least no friend to the Latin empire.<sup>8</sup>

It was, however, with the fate of the Latin empire, which at this stage appeared to be quite moribund, that he chiefly concerned himself. In 1228 the Latin emperor Robert died, leaving as heir the minor Baldwin II. The dowager empress Maria (the widow of Theodore Lascaris), who seems to have been acting temporarily as regent, died shortly after, and it therefore became clear that the appointment of a more permanent regent was an urgent necessity.

At this point Ivan II, the supposed ally of Theodore, entered the scene, apparently putting forward his own candidacy, offering a marriage alliance (his daughter to be betrothed to the young Baldwin), and promising to recover the territory conquered by Theodore. This was, of course, a heavily loaded offer: were it to be accepted, Ivan would be placed in a position where he might quite easily anticipate the marriage and any half-Asenid progeny that it might produce, and simply take over what remained of the empire, and/or retain for himself any territory recovered from Theodore. The Latins eventually refused the offer, and called in John of Brienne whom they appointed regent and life-emperor, thus insuring that Ivan's daughter Helena eventually married John III's son Theodore as part of their Bulgarian/Nicaean anti-Latin alliance.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Stiernon, "Les origines du despotat d'Épire (suite)," 200.

<sup>5</sup> E. Bees-Seferles, "Ho chronos stepseōs tou Theodōrou Douka hōs prosdiorizetai ex anekdotōn grammatōn Iōannou tou Apokaukou," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 21 (1971–76), 272–79.

<sup>6</sup> Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 64–66.

<sup>7</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 33–34. Despots: *ibid.*, pp. 43, 62; Stiernon, "Les origines du despotat d'Épire," 113.

<sup>8</sup> See also below, p. 549.

<sup>9</sup> Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 513–34; J. Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), 169–71. Bulgarian-Byzantine alliance: above, p. 469.

Theodore, however, clearly took note of his supposed ally's diplomatic maneuverings and the nature of his promises, continuing military preparations—ostensibly with what remained of the empire in mind. In 1230, leading his army from Adrianople, instead of turning east and down the Maritsa, he however turned west and up the river, into Bulgarian territory. Ivan II hurried south with a small army of Cuman mercenaries, and the two armies met at Klokotnitsa, by the Maritsa and on the road from Adrianople to Philippopolis. Theodore's army was completely defeated by an opposing one of—so it is claimed—less than a thousand men (gone forever were the days when an imperial army, stretched out in a pass, extended for ten miles), and the emperor himself together with many of his aristocracy were taken prisoner. Much of the territory painfully accumulated by Michael and by Theodore himself almost immediately fell into Bulgarian hands: a great swathe stretching from the Maritsa to the Adriatic; only to be recovered by John III in 1246. Ivan's victory inscription of 1230 at Turnovo, which has previously been mentioned, gives some impression of the sweeping nature of his victory and gains: Theodore Comnenus and all his nobles captured; territory from Adrianople at least up to Dyrrhachium occupied; and the Latin empire reduced to Constantinople itself, surviving only through his permission. Theodore himself, despite his duplicitous aggression, was treated well until, being found involved in domestic conspiracy, Ivan had him blinded.<sup>10</sup>

Virtually nothing of any systematic nature is known of Theodore's administrative arrangements, and as the main source of information is the casual writings of regional ecclesiastics, rather less is known of the center and rather more of the peripheries. At the center, the cardinal office of *mesazōn* is attested. A mention of a *chartouarios tēs mikras sakellēs*, in implying the existence of a *megalē sakellē*, offers the fascinating hint of a continuing distinction between imperial (public) wealth and imperial (private) wealth, as represented by the *dēmosion* (sometimes *mega*) *vestiarion* and the *oikeiakon vestiarion* respectively, that had still marked the twelfth century, but that had ceased with the formation of the Nicaean state. But this may well be stretching the minimal evidence beyond its very limited breaking point. A senate was also (re-)established.<sup>11</sup>

In the regions, a number of *doukes* are recorded, but these appear to have exercised authority over individual cities and towns, and even *episkepseis*, and were certainly not the equivalents of the former *strategoi/doukes* of the earlier period. They do, however, seem to be the precursors of the Nicaean regime established after 1246. Arta, as the earlier capital of the nascent state, may subsequently have been awarded special status: a *despotēs* Euthymius Tornices is implied as exercising authority there.<sup>12</sup>

## COINAGE

Theodore's Thessalonican coinage is a denominationally impressive one, consisting of electrum (as usual probably more accurately silver) trachea, billon trachea, and copper tetartera and half-tetartera: in other words, lacking only the gold hyperpyron from the traditional system.

It is clear that he commenced the issue of coinage effectively directly upon his recovery of the city in 1224, and that therefore—like Theodore Lascaris, whose parallel case has already been noted—he anticipated his formal coronation in 1227. It is equally clear that the key to any solution to the problem presented by the internal chronology of the coinage is going to be principally provided by the billon trachy, the seven major types of which should on the face of it be at least relatively evenly spread over a six-year reign.

In 1969, I suggested that the billon coinage of the period 1224/54 might well have been produced on the basis of one type to a year.<sup>13</sup> Since then (1975) I have been commended for having expressed reser-

<sup>10</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 41–44; Ivan's inscription—above, p. 87; see also Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 534–37.

<sup>11</sup> Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 67, 68, 74 note 52 (*sakellē*). Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines*, 161 (*mega vestiarion*: presumably the public one). See also above, pp. 450–51.

<sup>12</sup> Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 67–68; see also above, p. 470.

<sup>13</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 268.

vations on the point.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, it must be clear to anyone with any historical sense that Theodore's seven major types for a six-year reign; Manuel's seven major types for a seven-year reign; and John's 6 + 6 (or 8 + 8) major types for a five-year reign as emperor and two-year reign as despot must almost of necessity be recognized as possessing an at least approximately annual basis. And with the additional evidence already discovered in the course of this volume concerning the significance of the indictional cycle and year for the production of coinage, the suggestion now surely has to be accepted as basically valid.

It has been pertinently observed that Theodore's coinage breaks down into two main reverse inscriptional varieties, on the one of which he is termed merely  $\Delta\Theta\text{ΚΑC}$ , and on the other of which he is normally termed  $\Delta\text{ΕCΠΟΤΗC}$  (and, uniquely,  $\text{ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ}$ ), with the suggestion being that the distinction marks his pre- and post-coronation modes respectively. This would certainly conform well with the written evidence regarding entitulation mentioned above.<sup>15</sup>

When taken in conjunction with the context of an annual and indictional change of types, the observation and suggestion do indeed have much to recommend them. For there are three types of billon trachy with  $\Delta\Theta\text{ΚΑC}$  (Types A, D, and E), and four with  $\Delta\text{ΕCΠΟΤΗC}$  (Types B, C, F, and G).

The combination of evidence so far, with one important adjustment remaining for discussion, suggests the following table.

TABLE 16  
BASIC CHRONOLOGICAL DIVISIONS IN THE BILLON TRACHY COINAGES OF THEODORE DUCAS

Indictional Year/Dates	Inscription	Type
Ind. 13= Late 1224 – 31 Aug. 1225	$\Delta\Theta\text{ΚΑC}$	{ Type A Types D, E
Ind. 14= 1 Sept. 1225 – 31 Aug. 1226		
Ind. 15= 1 Sept. 1226 – 31 Aug. 1227		
Ind. 1: Coronation – 1 Sept. 1227	$\Delta\text{ΕCΠΟΤΗC: } \Delta/\Delta$	{ Type B
Ind. 1= 1 Sept. 1227 – 31 Aug. 1228	$\Delta\text{ΕCΠΟΤΗC}$	{ Types C, F, G
Ind. 2= 1 Sept. 1228 – 31 Aug. 1229		
Ind. 3= 1 Sept. 1229 – Early/mid 1230		

Now, it has been equally pertinently observed that Type A (4.1–20) is actually also the first coinage (by luck almost as much as by judgment: the alphabetical listing is designed to indicate a previous uncertainty as to order). It is the commonest, and it is also the one type known not to be overstruck on others: a hoard of more than 250 pieces demonstrated this latter conclusively. It was probably intended to replace completely the preceding Latin imitative coinage. It also has the reverse inscription  $\Delta\Theta\text{ΚΑC}$ .<sup>16</sup>

To the contrary, Type C (6.1–5) is late, being known to be overstruck on Types B (5a.1–d.2) and F (9.1–7). All have the reverse inscription  $\Delta\text{ΕCΠΟΤΗC}$ .<sup>17</sup> Type G (10a.1–d.2) also occurs over Type D (7a–d.2).<sup>18</sup>

So far, then, so good. What might be termed the joker in the pack is provided by Type B. This always, as far as is known, has the signa  $\Delta/\Delta$  to the left and right above Christ's throne on the obverse. Now this—on virtually all the evidence so far produced in this volume—and whether part of an alphabetical or a numerical series, should denote its position in the sequence: in this case an annual sequence,

<sup>14</sup> Touratsoglou, "The Edessa Hoard," 69.

<sup>15</sup> P. Protonotarios, "Le monnayage du 'despotat' d'Épire," *RN* 25 (1983), 89. The consequent division of the several coinages between Arta and Thessalonica is, however, incorrect (see also below, pp. 623–24). For what is basically the same article: idem, "Hē nomismatokopia tou byzantinou kratous tēs Epeirou (1204–1268)," *Epeirōtika Chronika* 24 (1984), 135.

<sup>16</sup> S. Bendall, "A Hoard of Billon Trachea of Theodore Comnenus-Ducas of Thessalonica (A.D. 1224–1230)," *NCirc* 98 (1990), 8–9.

<sup>17</sup> S. Bendall, "An Overstrike of Theodore Comnenus-Ducas of Thessalonica, A.D. 1224–1230," *NCirc* 84 (1976), 416; idem, "Another Overstrike of Theodore Comnenus-Ducas of Thessalonica, A.D. 1222–1230," *NCirc* 87 (1979), 61.

<sup>18</sup> Personal communication, S. Bendall 19 July 1993.



and an indictional sequence. It therefore denotes a Year 4, and necessarily a fourth indictional year (it cannot denote an actual indictional Year 4, because the nearest is 1230/31). The fourth indictional year after Theodore recovered the city began on 1 September 1227, and as we now know, Theodore's coronation took place between 3 April and through August 1227: the conclusion must surely be that Theodore was actually crowned on 1 September 1227, the first day of both a new indictional year and a new indictional cycle.<sup>19</sup> Type B therefore forms his "coronation issue": very probably an "intrusive" issue (as Theodore Lascaris' may well have been), and followed by a more regular annual one (which interpretation has the advantage of reducing the number of regular types to the number of years of the reign).

This solution does little, if any, real violence to the written evidence, and demonstrates Theodore to have conformed (whether consciously or not) to something of a precedent, for there is good reason for believing Alexius I to have crowned his eldest son John on 1 September 1092, also the beginning of a new indictional year and cycle, and for believing John II to have crowned his eldest son Alexius on 1 September 1119, the beginning of a new indictional year but admittedly not a cycle (to have to wait to perform this kind of ceremony for up to fourteen years seems an awfully long time, but if the point was conveniently near, then it evidently might be worth waiting for).<sup>20</sup>

Alongside this special issue of billon trachy in 1227 there should clearly be placed Type B (**2a.1–2c**) of the electrum trachy which also regularly has the signa Δ/Δ to left and right above the obverse columnar inscription (and also \*—**2b**—cf. \* on billon **5b**), and the copper tetarteron Variety A (**11**) with the fullest and most formal kind of imperial entitulation. This should in itself serve as a useful warning against an overly rigid identification of particular designs with "coronation issues," for neither the electrum trachy (standing Virgin/emperor with St. Demetrius), nor the billon (seated Christ/emperor with St. Demetrius), fulfill the iconographical requirements that have been put forward.<sup>21</sup>

It therefore follows that Types A (**1a.1–c**) and C (**3a.1–c**) of the electrum trachy are to be dated 1224–27 (with ΔΘΚΑΚ); that Variety B (**12.1–6**) of the copper tetarteron is to be dated 1227–30; and that Types B (**14**) and C (**15a.1–b3**) of the copper half-tetarteron are to be dated 1224–27 (with ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟC and ΔΘΚΑΚ), and Type A (**13**) 1227–30 (with ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC). This suggests a concentration of precious metal at the beginning of the reign and of base metal at the end, but with billon extending right through.

As to the establishment of the precise order of the several denominational sequences, much remains moot. It should be noted that Type A of the electrum trachy, with its reverse design of emperor and St. Demetrius holding between them a cross-within-circle surmounting a triangular decoration, all on a long shaft, is essentially equivalent to Type A of the billon (the emperor wearing a loros on the former, a chlamys on the latter). Both presumably therefore belong together at 1224/25.

Type C of the electrum trachy, with its reverse design of emperor crowned by Christ (Chalcites) is similarly essentially equivalent to Type E of the billon (the emperor wearing a clear sagion on the former, a much less clear one on the latter). Both again presumably therefore belong together at 1225/26 or 1226/27. The signa Γ/P common on the electrum may in part stand for a third indictional year (= 1226/27), but the suspicion arises that the Γ/P may stand for Γ(ΕΨ)Ρ(ΓΙΟC) as IC/AK surely stands for IC(A)AK(ΙΟC) on Type A—both presumably mint officials. The evidence is clearly inconclusive, but I am on the whole inclined to place Types C and E at 1225/26. Which leaves billon Type D at 1226/27, unaccompanied (as yet at least) by an electrum equivalent.

Of the post-coronation billon types (which have no electrum equivalents), Type C is known to be overstruck on Type F as previously noted, and I would without much conviction postulate the sequence F (1227/28), C (1228/29), and G (1229/30). The last has two unusual features of design: the reverse type alone in the two trachy series consists simply of the unaccompanied imperial figure, permitting the

<sup>19</sup> Grumel, *La chronologie*, 258–59.

<sup>20</sup> See above, pp. 15–16, 244.

<sup>21</sup> Touratsoglou and Protonotarios, "Les émissions de couronnement," 75 (electrum trachy Type C: **3a.1–c** is there proposed, but it reads ΔΘΚΑΚ, thus disqualifying it).

unique deployment of the double family name *Kōmnēnos ho Doukas*: in its impressive simplicity it may just have been issued with Theodore's clearly premeditated, but disastrous, campaign of 1230 in mind. It also has three basic obverse inscriptional varieties, which again might be taken as suggesting enhanced production.

The post-coronation tetarteron type (Variety B) is clearly the product of a very limited number of dies, and may well have been confined to the year 1227/28: it is also to be noticed that Theodore's successor Manuel apparently failed to issue the denomination, suggesting that it was at least not in regular production in 1230.

The two pre-coronation half-tetarteron types—B and C—exist in three main varieties, Types B (14), C (15a.1–4), and C (15b.1–3), suggesting datings to the years 1224/25, 1225/26, and 1226/27. Type B has the name Comnenus alone, unusual in this series, although it always comes first in the combination Comnenus-Ducas. It may therefore belong at 1224/25. In which case, Type C (15a.1–4), with its more “normal” obverse design of St. Demetrius with spear in right hand and shield in left, may precede C (15b.1–3), with shield in right and spear in left (the distinction seems quite deliberate and was presumably intended as a formal mark of organizational differentiation), C (15a.1–4) therefore belonging at 1225/26, and C (15b.1–3) belonging at 1226/27.

There seems nothing particularly ceremonial about the design of post-coronation Type A, and it may well accompany tetarteron Variety B at 1227/28: again, Manuel apparently failed to issue the denomination.

It should not have to be emphasized just how tentative many of the sequences/dates proposed above actually are. The basically symmetrical structure of the coinage nevertheless seems established, and doubtless the advent and study of further material will clarify matters to some degree at least.

And finally, two further items deserve brief mention. On occasion a type normally confined to a particular metal is unusually found in another: as a particular example, electrum trachy Type B (the “coronation issue”) has been found in billon, in the excavation material from the church of St. Achilleus by Lake Prespa.<sup>22</sup> This kind of phenomenon can arise through mistake, or through intention—particularly in a mint under pressure of work, or lacking immediately needed dies, or both. It cannot be considered as creating a new type: the normative is to be preferred to the rare.<sup>23</sup>

The same hoard referred to above as establishing the billon trachy Type A as also the first coinage, brought to light a previously unknown variety, probably also of Theodore. The single specimen features a seated figure of Christ on the obverse (rather than the normal bust of Christ), and a mild variant of the reverse. The draftsmanship of the specimen has been characterized as quite crude and as more similar to the Latin than the Thessalonican coinage. Although undoubtedly interesting, I would regard it as no more than a trial-piece, quickly superseded by the more satisfactory normative type.<sup>24</sup>

The coinage of Theodore Comnenus-Ducas as currently known thus appears as in the following table.

TABLE 17  
CONSPECTUS OF THE COINAGES OF THEODORE DUCAS

Denomination	1224/25	1225/26	1226/27	1.ix.27	1227/28	1228/29	1229/30
El. Trachy	Type A	Type C	—	Type B	—	—	—
Bill. Trachy	Type A	Type E	Type D	Type B	Type F	Type C	Type G
Æ Tetarteron	—	—	—	Var. A	Var. B	—	—
Æ Half-Tetarteron	Type B	C (15a.1–4)	C (15b.1–3)	—	Type A	—	—

<sup>22</sup> M. Karamessini-Oikonomides, “Contribution à l'étude de la numismatique byzantine du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Monnaies trouvées dans les fouilles de la basilique de Saint-Achillée,” *RN*<sup>6</sup> 9 (1967), no. 56, pp. 258–59.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. electrum trachy Type B of Manuel Ducas: below, p. 568.





<sup>24</sup> See above, p. 546 and note 16.

According to the chronicler Richard of San Germano, in November 1229 a certain Greek (*quidam Greci*) sent to Frederick II a gift of horses with golden equipages, gold woven silk cloths, and innumerable gold coins (*cum dextrariis in sellis et frenis aureis et cum pannis sericis auro textis, et cum innumeris aureis nummis*). This Greek could have been Theodore, who is mentioned under his family name of Commianus as having sent an ambassador *cum magnis muneribus* to Frederick in October of the same year, but if so it is curious that he is not further identified on the shortly following second occasion, and it could well be that it was John III, engaging in diplomatic rivalry with Theodore, who was responsible.<sup>25</sup> It should be noted that John III, who probably began to issue gold coinage at much the same time as Theodore was crowned, could have sent his own gold coins, whereas, on present showing, Theodore would have had to content himself with those of earlier emperors.<sup>26</sup> Other than that, the gifts were of a nature traditional for Byzantine emperors.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Richard of San Germano, *Chronica*, anno 1229, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH, SS 19 (Hannover, 1866), pp. 356, 357.

<sup>26</sup> See above, pp. 112–19, 474–78.






<sup>27</sup> Hendy, *Studies*, 268–70.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA					
<b>Thessalonica</b>					
TYPE A					
			<p>IC XC in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l. Pellets, normally ⋄ or ⋄ in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟCΔΞΚΑ ΟΑΓΙΟCΔΙΜΙΤΡΙΟC Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them cross-within-circle, surmounting triangular decoration on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and jeweled loros of traditional type. Saint (standing on dais) wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sword in l. hand, resting over shoulder.</p>	(1224/25?)
1a.1	El. 2.62 pierced, flattened, clipped(?)	27	IC to l., AK to r., above throne.	Loros-waist  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟCΔΞΚΑ	
1a.2*	El. 3.10 chipped, gilt	32	IC to l., AK to r., above throne.	Loros-waist  ΘΕΙ                      ΙΚΑ	
1b	El. 1.87 chipped	31	⋄ to l. and r. above throne.	Loros-waist  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC[                      ΟΛΓΙ	
1c*	El. 1.87 chipped	29	† to l. and r. above throne.	Loros-waist  Inscr. obscure	

- 1a.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 37.1-2, W. 1-2, R. —  
H. Pl. 37.1 This coin
- 1a.2 Bertelè 1960
- 1b Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 37.2 This coin
- 1c Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
TYPE B					
			<p>ΜΡ ΘΥ Η ΑΓΙΟΣΩΡΗΤΗΣΑ in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of Virgin Hagiosoritissa nimbate, orans, facing, wearing tunic and maphorion.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΔΕΣΠΟ ΟΛΓΙΟΣΔΙΜΙΤΡΙΟΣ Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, giving a castle with three towers into the hands of the emperor. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; saint (standing on dais) wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion. Manus Dei in upper center field.</p>	(1227?)
2a.1	El. 2.48	28	<p>ΗΑ ΩΡ Δ to l. and r. ΓΗ ΗΤ above inscr. ΟC ΗC Α</p>	<p>ΟCΟΔΥΡΟCΔC ΟΛΓΙ</p>	
2a.2*	El. 1.95	29	<p>ΗΑ ΩΡ Δ to l. and r. ΓΗ ΗΤ above inscr. ΟC ΗC Λ</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΔΕC</p>	
2a.3	El. 1.41 pierced, flattened, worn	26	<p>ΗΙ ΩΡ Δ to l. and r. ΓΙ ΗΤ above inscr. ΟΙ ΗC Α</p>	<p>Inscr. obscure</p>	
2b	El. 2.23	28	<p>ΩΡ ΡΗ ΙΤ ΤΗ ΛC CΔ *</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΙ Ι ΟΓΙΟΙ</p>	
2c*	El. 1.57	26	<p>ΙΑ ΡΟ No signa. ΓΙ ΤΗ ΑC CΙ</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΙ ΙΔCΣΠΟ ΟΛΓΙΟΣΔΙΜΙ</p>	

- 2a.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 37.3–4, W. —, R. —, *Starinar* n.s. 1954/55, pp. 349–55  
H. Pl. 37.3 This coin  
This signum also known for Billon Trachy Type B
- 2a.2 Bertelè 1960
- 2a.3 Bertelè 1960
- 2b Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 37.4 This coin
- 2c Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE C		
			<p>ΜΡ ΘΥ in upper field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΥΚΑC ΙC ΧC in upper field. Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Christ, bearded and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand sheathed sword, point downward, and in l., anexikakia. Christ wears tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	(1225/26?)
(3a.1)	El. 3.27	29	Γ to l., Ρ to r., on throne.	Loros-waist  Inscr. obscure	
(3a.2)*	El.	30	Γ to l., Ρ to r. (?), on throne.	Loros-waist  Inscr. obscure	
(3a.3)	El. 3.19	30	Γ to l., Ρ to r., on throne.	Loros-waist  ΔΥΚΑC	
(3b)	El. 2.74 pierced	28	Lys to l. and r. on throne.	Loros-waist  ΘΕΟΔΩΡC ΔΥΚΑC	
(3c)*	El. 3.50	31	No signa.	Loros-waist  , Ο on Gospels ΙΥΡC	

- (3a.1) Barber Institute, Birmingham  
H. Pl. 37.5–6, W. (Theodore II) 3–4, R. —  
H. Pl. 37.5 This coin
- (3a.2) ANS, New York
- (3a.3) W. (Theodore II) 4  
H. Pl. 37.6 This coin
- (3b) W. (Theodore II) 3
- (3c) Private collection

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA					
<b>Thessalonica</b>					
TYPE A					
			<p>Ι̅C X̅C Ο ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛΑ</p> <p>in two columnar groups. Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand, ✱ in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΣΚ ΟΛΓΙΟΣ ΔΙΜΙΤΡ</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them cross-within-circle, surmounting triangular decoration on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sword in l. hand, resting over shoulder.</p>	(1224/25?)
4.1*	Bill. 4.59	29	<p>Ι̅C X̅C</p> <p>ΟΕ ΝΘ</p> <p>ΜΙ ΗΛ</p> <p>Α</p>	<p>ΘΕΙ Ι ΟΛΓΙCΔΙΜΤΙ</p>	
4.2*	Bill. 3.74	29	<p>Ι̅C X̅C</p> <p>ΟΕ ΝΘ</p> <p>ΜΙ</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΙ ΙΔΘ ΟΑΙ</p>	
4.3*	Bill. 3.54	30	<p>Ι̅C</p> <p>ΙΕ</p> <p>Ψ</p> <p>Μ</p> <p>Δ</p>	<p>•• in each limb of nimbus cross.</p> <p>ΘΕΟΔΟΡΔΘ</p>	
4.4	Bill. 3.38	28	<p>Ι̅C X̅C</p> <p>ΟΕ ΝΘ</p> <p>ΜΜ ΗΛ</p> <p>Α</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΟΡCΔΘ ΟΑΙ</p>	

- 4.1 Whittemore  
H. Pl. 37.7–9, W. 3, R. 2274–75
- 4.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 37.7 This coin
- 4.3 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 37.8 This coin
- 4.4 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 37.9 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
4.5*	Bill. 4.23	33 x 25	$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ ∴ in each limb of $\text{OE}$ $\text{N}\delta$ nimbus cross.	$\text{I}\Delta\text{OPOC}\Delta\text{XK}$ $\text{OAGIOC}$	
4.6	Bill. 2.71	30	Inscr. obscure	$\text{OAGIOC}\Delta\text{IM}$	
4.7	Bill. 4.02 buckled	32	$\text{X}$ $\text{N}\delta$ $\text{H}$	Inscr. obscure	
4.8	Bill. 4.01	33	$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\text{OE}$ $\text{H}$ $\text{M}$	$\text{I}\Delta\text{OPOC}\Delta\text{X}$	
4.9	Bill. 4.13	30	Inscr. obscure	Inscr. obscure	
4.10	Bill. 3.47	33	Inscr. obscure; badly double-struck.	Inscr. obscure; badly double-struck.	
4.11	Bill. 3.48 pierced, worn	34 x 26	$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\text{OE}$ $\text{N}\delta$ $\text{M}$	$\Theta\Delta\text{P}\Delta\text{K}\Delta$ $\text{OAI}$	
4.12	Bill. 2.91	31	$\text{C}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\text{IE}$ $\epsilon$ $\Psi$	Inscr. obscure	
4.13	Bill. 3.26 flattened	31	Inscr. obscure	Inscr. obscure	
4.14	Bill. 4.18	30	Inscr. obscure: ∴ in each limb of nimbus cross.	Inscr. obscure	
4.15	Bill. 3.73	34	$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\text{OE}$ $\text{OE}$ $\text{M}$ $\text{M}$	$\text{IC}\Delta\text{X}$ $\text{IMITP}$	
4.16	Bill. 3.43	27	$\text{OE}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\text{N}\delta$	$\text{I}\text{OC}\Delta\text{IMITP}$	

- 4.5 Bertelè 1960  
 4.6 Bertelè 1960  
 4.7 Bertelè 1960  
 4.8 Bertelè 1960  
 4.9 Bertelè 1960  
 4.10 Schindler 1960  
 4.11 Bertelè 1960  
 4.12 Bertelè 1960  
 4.13 Bertelè 1960  
 4.14 Bertelè 1960  
 4.15 Bertelè 1960  
 4.16 Bertelè 1960



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
4.17	Bill. 2.99	27 x 20	Inscr. obscure	ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΓΗΘΟΣ ΔΙ	
4.18	Bill. 2.57 broken	28	ΙῙC̄ X̄C̄ Ε        ϝ Μ Λ Ν		
4.19	Bill. 1.99	23	Inscr. obscure	ΟΑΓΗΙ	
4.20	Bill. clipped?	19	ῙC̄ X̄C̄ ΟΕ ΝϞ Μ Λ	Inscr. obscure	
TYPE B					
			ῙC̄ X̄C̄ in field. Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, l. hand raised, holding scroll.	ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕC ΠΟΤ ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΙΜΙΤ ΡΙ Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia. Saint (standing on dais) wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sheathed sword, point downward, in l. hand.	(1227?)
5a.1*	Bill.	35	Δ to l. and r. above throne	ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΟΤ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΙ	
5a.2	Bill. 4.70	31	Δ to l. and r. above throne	ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΙ Π above anexikakia.	
5a.3*	Bill. 3.57	29	Δ to l. and r. above throne	ΙΜΙΤΡΙΟ	

- 4.17 Bertelè 1960  
4.18 Bertelè 1960  
4.19 Bertelè 1960  
4.20 Bertelè 1960  
5a.1 Whittemore  
H. Pl. 37.10–12, W. —, R. 2273  
R. 2273 This coin  
This signum also known for Electrum Trachy Type B  
5a.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 37.11 This coin  
5a.3 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
5a.4*	Bill. 3.01	34	Δ(?) to l., Δ to r., above throne.	ΘΕΟΔΙ ΙΣΔΕΣ ΟΛΓΗΟΣΔΗΙ	
5b*	Bill. 3.30	31	Δ to l., Δ to r., above throne. *	ΟΛΓΙΟΣΔΙΜΤΡ	
5c	Bill. 2.56 flattened	32	Δ to l., above throne.	ΘΕΟΔΩΙ ΙΟΣ ΟΙ	
5d.1	Bill. 3.33	30	Signa obscure	ΘΕ ΔΟΡΣΔ ΟΛΓΙΟΣΔΙΜ	
5d.2	Bill. 4.82 flattened	33	Signa obscure	ΙΔΕΣ ΠΟΤ ΟΛΓΙΟΣΔΙΜ	
TYPE C					
			<p>MP ΘV in upper field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΔΕΣΠΤ ΟΛΓΙΟΣΘΕΟΔΩΡ Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, holding between them cross-within-circle, surmounting triangular decoration on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds sheathed sword, point downward, in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds shield, resting on ground, in l. hand.</p>	(1228/29?)
6.1*	Bill. 3.27	32		ΙΡΟΣΔΣ Π Τ ΟΛΓΙ	
6.2	Bill. 3.07 pierced, flattened	31		ΟΛΓΙΣΘΕΟ ΔΡ	

- 5a.4 Bertelè 1960  
5b Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 37.10 This coin  
5c Bertelè 1960  
5d.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 37.12 This coin  
5d.2 Bertelè 1960  
6.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 38.1-2, W. —, R. —, Sabatier Pl. Lxvi.2 (Theodore II)  
H. Pl. 38.1 This coin  
6.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 38.2 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6.3*	Bill. 2.89 flattened	30	ⲙⲡ	ΟΛΓΙΟϸ	
6.4*	Bill. 2.23	31	ϸⲙ	ΙϸΠ Ο ϸ Ι ΛΩΡ	
6.5	Bill. 1.27 clipped	23		Inscr. obscure	
TYPE D					
			Ⲓϸ ⲗϸ in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in bene- diction, holds Gospels in l. Pellet normally in each limb of nimbus cross.	ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟϸΔϸΚ X M Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of archangel Michael nimbate, giving a castle with three towers into the hands of the emperor. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds labarum-headed scepter in r. hand. Saint wears divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds jeweled scepter in l. hand. Manus Dei in upper center field.	(1226/27?)
7a*	Bill. 6.24	33	✠ to r. above throne.	ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟϸΔϸ X M	
7b.1*	Bill. 4.29	31	Λ to r. above throne.	ΘΕΟΙ ΔϸΚ	
7b.2*	Bill. 3.54	30	Λ to r. above throne.	ΡΟϸΔΚ X M	
7c	Bill. 1.71 pierced, clipped, worn	23	ⲛⲓ to l. on throne	X M	

- 6.3 Bertelè 1960  
6.4 Bertelè 1960  
6.5 Bertelè 1960  
7a Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 38.3–4, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 38.3 This coin  
7b.1 Bertelè 1960  
7b.2 Bertelè 1960  
7c Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
7d.1	Bill. 3.16	29	Signa obscure	ΙΕΘΔΙ ΙΔϞ X M	
7d.2	Bill. 4.62	33	Signa obscure: part brockage.		
				TYPE E	
			<p>ΜΡ ΘV * *</p> <p>Full-length figure of Virgin nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion.</p>	<p>(ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ?) ΔϞ IC XC in upper field. Full-length figure of emperor on left, crowned by Christ, bearded and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, paneled loros of simplified type, and sagion, holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia. Christ wears tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	(1225/26?)
8.1*	Bill. 2.39	30		* to r., in field.	
(8.2)*	Bill.	29		* ro r., in field.	
				TYPE F	
			<p>Ο ΛΓΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΠΤΡΙΟΣ in two columnar groups. St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, seated upon throne without back; wears tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds hilt of sword in r. hand and sheath in l., horizontally across knees.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΔΕC. ΜΡ ΘV in upper field. Half-length figure of emperor on l., and of Virgin nimbate, holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft, at the base of which, a small globe. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds scepter cruciger in r. hand. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion. Manus Dei in upper l. field.</p>	(1227/28?)

7d.1 Bertelè 1960

7d.2 Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 38.4 This coin

8.1 Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 38.5, W.—, R.—

H. Pl. 38.5 This coin

(8.2)

Private collection

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
9.1*	Bill. 2.88	32	Ο ΔΗ ΛΓ ΜΗ Ο ΡΙ	ΙΟCΔΕ ΜΡ	
9.2*	Bill. 2.69	31	Ο ΔΙ ΜΗ ΠΙ ΤΡ C Ι	ΙΡΟC ΜΡ ΘV	
9.3	Bill. 2.80 pierced three times, flattened	29	Ο Δ Α ΓΙ Ι Ο C	ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟCΔΕC ΜΡ ΘV	
9.4	Bill. 2.69 chipped?	30	Inscr. obscure	Inscr. obscure	
9.5	Bill. 2.43 pierced, flattened, chipped	29	Α ΓΙ C	Inscr. obscure	
9.6*	Bill. 2.36	27	ΔΙ? ΜΗΙ? ΡΙΟC	ΘΙ	
9.7	Bill. 2.21 clipped? worn	26	Α Δ ΓΙ	Inscr. obscure	
TYPE G					
			<p>ΙC ΧC, ΙC ΧC or ΙC ΧC Ο * *</p> <p>ΕΜΜΑΝΘΗΛ, in two columnar groups. Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellet, or pellets, in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟC Ο ΔΥΚΑC</p> <p>in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, paneled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l. globus surmounted by single- or double-barred cross. Manus Dei in upper r. field.</p>	(1229/30?)

- 9.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 38.6-7, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 38.6 This coin
- 9.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 38.7 This coin
- 9.3 Bertelè 1960
- 9.4 Bertelè 1960
- 9.5 Bertelè 1960
- 9.6 Bertelè 1960
- 9.7 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
10a.1*	Bill. 3.62	31	ῙC̄ X̄C̄ in field.	Holds globus surmounted by double-barred (patriarchal) cross. ΘΕ ΚΟ ΟΔΨ ΜΙ ΡΟC ΗΙ ΔΕC ΟCΟΙ ΠΟΤ ΞΚ ΗC ΑC	
10a.2	Bill. 2.83 flattened	32	As preceding.	As preceding: ΚΟ Μ ΗΗ ΝΟ CΟ ΔΞ ΚΛ C	
10a.3	Bill. 4.14	33	As preceding.	As preceding: Ε ΚΟ ΔΟ ΗΙ? ΗΙ? ΟCΔΞ Κ ΑC	
10b.1*	Bill. 3.87	35	As preceding.	Holds globus surmounted by single-barred cross. ΟΕ Κ Ο ΟΔΟ Ν ΡΟC Η ΔΕC Η Η ΠΟΤ ΟC ΗC ΔΙ	
10b.2*	Bill. 4.37	36	As preceding.	As preceding: ΘC ΚΟ ΟΔΟ Μ ΙΟC ΗΗ ΙΕC ΟCΟ ΙΤ ΞΚΙ	

- 10a.1 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 38.8–9, W. 4, R. 2276  
 H. Pl. 38.9 This coin
- 10a.2 Bertelè 1960
- 10a.3 Bertelè 1960
- 10b.1 Bertelè 1960
- 10b.2 Schindler 1960 from Scheiger

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
10c.1	Bill. 1.79 clipped, pierced, flattened	25	$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ in field. * *	As preceding: OC KO $\Delta\text{U}$ OC OC CC OVK T AC	
10c.2	Bill. 3.92	28	As preceding.	As preceding: O KO C IH C T HH OCO C $\Delta\text{X}$ KA C	
10d.1*	Bill. 3.53 flattened	30	$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ in field. OE N $\text{X}$ M HA A	As preceding: $\theta\text{C}$ OAO POC $\Delta\text{EC}$ ΠOT CO HC $\text{X}\Lambda$	
10d.2	Bill. 3.53	30	$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ e N $\text{X}$ M HA	As preceding: $\theta\text{C}$ KOM OAO H POC H $\Delta\text{CC}$ O Π CO $\Delta$ TH $\text{X}\Gamma$ $\Delta$	

- 10c.1 Bertelè 1960  
R. 2276 This coin  
10c.2 Bertelè 1960  
10d.1 Bertelè 1960  
10d.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 38.8 This coin





No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
12.4	Æ 1.87 clipped	17	As 12.1	Inscr. obscure	
12.5*	Æ 2.63	22	ΤΟΠΣΕΔ ΒΟΔΟΧΗ	ΘΕΟΔΙ            ΙΔΙΜ	
(12.6)*	Æ 5.50	23	As 12.1	ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΔΕΣΠ	
HALF-TETARTERON					
<b>Thessalonica</b>					
TYPE A					
			<p>ⲠⲢ ⲪⲪ in field. Bust of Virgin nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion.</p>	<p>ΔΕΣ ΠΟΤΙ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ Full-length figure of emperor turned slightly to l., wearing stemma, divitision, collar- piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand gl. cr., and in l., labarum on long shaft.</p>	(1227/28?)
13*	Æ 1.35	16		ΔΕΣ ΠΟΤΙ ΘΕΟΔΙ	
TYPE B					
			<p>Ο            Δ ΑΓ          Η Μ ΗΟ          ΤΡ C Half-length figure of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, resting over shoulder, and in l., shield.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ Full-length figure of emperor turned slightly to r., wearing stemma, divitision, collar- piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand scepter, and in l., gl. cr.</p>	(1224/25?)
14*	Æ 1.47	17		ΘΣΙ            ΙΟΜΗΝΙΟΣ	

- 12.4 Bertelè 1960  
Apparently clipped down to the size and weight of a half-tetarteron
- 12.5 Bertelè 1960  
See W. 6 for retrograde inscr.
- (12.6) BN (Ex Longuet)
- 13 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 38.12, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 38.12 This coin
- 14 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 38.13, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 38.13 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE C		
15a.1*	Æ 1.97	18	<p>O            Δ</p> <p>ΑΓ          Η Μ</p> <p>ΗΘ          ΤΡ</p> <p>C</p> <p>Half-length figure of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, resting over shoulder, and in l., shield or shield in r. hand and spear in l.</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΟΔΥΚΑΚ</p> <p>normally in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of emperor turned slightly to l., wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand gl. cr., and in l., labarum-headed scepter.</p>	(1225/26?)
15a.2*	Æ 1.75	18	<p>O</p> <p>Γ            Η</p> <p>Ο</p> <p>C</p> <p>Spear in r., shield in l.</p>	<p>ΘΕ</p> <p>Ο</p> <p>Δ</p> <p>Ψ</p> <p>Ρ</p> <p>C</p>	
15a.3*	Æ 1.98	17	<p>ΑΓ            Δ</p> <p>ΗΘ          ΗΜ</p> <p>C            ΤΡ</p>	<p>Ψ</p> <p>Δ    Κ</p> <p>Ο    Λ</p> <p>Ρ    C</p> <p>Ο</p> <p>C</p>	
15a.4	Æ 2.04	20	<p>Δ</p> <p>ΗΜ</p> <p>ΤΡ</p>	<p>Ο</p> <p>Δ</p> <p>Υ</p> <p>Κ</p> <p>Α</p> <p>C</p>	

- 15a.1 Schindler 1960 from Balvin  
H. Pl. 38.14–15, W. —, R. —
- 15a.2 Bertelè 1960
- 15a.3 Shaw 1947
- 15a.4 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 38.14 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
15b.1*	Æ 1.89	20	Shield in r. hand, spear in l. O Δ ΑΓ ΜΗ ΗΘ ΗΤ C ΙΡ	ΟΕ Ο ΡΟ Κ C Λ C	(1226/27?)
15b.2	Æ 2.07	19	O Δ ΑΓ Η Μ ΗΘ Η Τ C Ρ	ΘΕ Ο Ο Δ Δϛ Ψ ΚΑ ΡΟ C C	
15b.3	Æ 1.97	18	ΑΓ ΗΘ C	ΘΕΨΔΟΡC ΟΔϛΚΑ	

15b.1 Bertelè 1960

15b.2 Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 38.15 This coin

15b.3 Bertelè 1960

## MANUEL Comnenus-Ducas

(Despot 1230 – 1237)

### BACKGROUND

Manuel, whom Theodore had already created *despotēs*, managed to escape from his brother's disastrous rout at Klokotnitsa, and returned to Thessalonica, where he seems to have met no resistance in assuming power.<sup>1</sup>

As he was Ivan II's son-in-law (it was he who had married Asen's illegitimate daughter Maria, thereby providing Theodore with his Bulgarian marriage alliance of 1225), the Bulgarian ruler made no difficulty in permitting the territorially now much reduced Thessalonican state a continued existence. However, quite possibly in part in order to allay any suspicions or sensibilities that Ivan might justifiably have in such an area, Manuel seems never to have assumed the title of, or to have been crowned as, emperor, instead ruling in his capacity as despot, while retaining imperial prerogatives such as the use of vermilion ink—an affectation that caused the Nicaeans, who must have been delighted at their hitherto all too successful rivals' discomfiture, an amused contempt.<sup>2</sup>

Manuel's policies were inevitably dominated by the patron-client relationship now existing between Bulgaria and Thessalonica, and the apparent inconsistencies evident in them can generally be attributed to the relationship. For example in 1231, taking advantage of a peace between Frederick II and Gregory IX, Manuel renewed ties with the one and attempted to create ones with the other—a policy with which Ivan could not have quarreled. But then in 1232 he broke off negotiations with Rome and opened up alternative ones with the patriarchate at Nicaea—with which Theodore had inevitably quarreled. This change was in itself influenced by Ivan's own ecclesiastical/political tergiversations which led to the recognition of an autocephalous patriarchate of Turnovo by Nicaea, and to the Bulgarian/Nicaean alliance of 1234/35 against the Latin empire.<sup>3</sup> But the consequent recognition of patriarchal rights by Thessalonica also inevitably implied the recognition of Nicaean imperial ones by Manuel, a position which his own only quasi-imperial status as despot must have emphasized.

In the negotiations between Ivan II and John III, and in their subsequent campaign against Constantinople in 1235/36, Manuel played no part, and does not appear to have been asked to: in any case, doubtless a policy of lying low, if inglorious, was safer than any alternative.

Manuel did, however, make one move which might have occasioned Ivan's displeasure: he extended support to the Serbian tsar, Stephen Radoslav who called himself Ducas by way of his descent from Euphrosyne Ducaena, the wife of Alexius III, and who was in any case married to Anna Comnena, the daughter of Theodore. Manuel himself had previously been married to a daughter of Stephen I, so ties were close. Radoslav had adopted a distinctly pro-Byzantine/Thessalonican stance (evidenced numis-

<sup>1</sup> For much of what follows, see Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 113–25.

<sup>2</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 43–44. Cf. Stiernon, "Les origines du despotat d'Épire," p. 110, no. 82, and p. 111, no. 85. For a seal of Manuel, see T. Bertelè, "L'imperatore con una palma su una bulla e monete bizantine del sec. XIII," in P. Wirth, ed., *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg, 1966), 82–89. On the seal Manuel is wearing the stemmatogyryon and chlamys and holding a palm-frond scepter (*baïon*)—much as the despot Michael II does on an issue of 1248: see below, p. 630. The coin types are D (6.1–4) and E (7.1, 2).

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 469, and below, pp. 657–58.

matically, as will be seen below), and after 1230 had fallen foul of Ivan, who claimed suzerainty over Serbia and who supported the claims of Radoslav's brother Stephen Vladislav, who was married to one of his own daughters. In 1233 Radoslav was dethroned and exiled, but was briefly given asylum by the city of Ragusa, which Manuel promptly rewarded with immunity for its merchants. (As an exercise in the complications and ephemeral nature of Balkan marriage alliances, it should be noted that Manuel's Bulgarian second wife Maria eventually married Vladislav.)<sup>4</sup>

Manuel's own hold over the remaining western territories of the Epirot/Thessalonican state was weak from the start, and by 1231 a degree of authority there had already been assumed by Michael (II) Comnenus-Ducas, a son of Michael I who had been set aside and exiled on the latter's assassination, by his uncle Theodore. At first, Michael apparently ruled in the name of Manuel and issued coin appropriately, as will be seen below, but by 1236 he was issuing his own charters, and by not too long after that coins in his own name. His position will also doubtless have been strengthened by Manuel's removal from the scene, although there is no evidence of hostility between the two.<sup>5</sup>

Manuel's reign was abruptly terminated in 1237 with Theodore's release by Ivan II (who had become enamored of and married Theodore's daughter Irene) and his surreptitious gaining of entry into Thessalonica, where a conspiracy was speedily formed and Manuel deposed and sent into exile. Manuel, once released in Selçuk Attalia, made straight for John III's court, appealing for aid in his restoration and promising to acknowledge Nicaean suzerainty in the event of his success. John duly gave the required support in ships and money, and Manuel returned to Thessaly, where he had some success in acquiring territory—sufficient at least for Theodore to come to an agreement with him whereby Manuel retained control of Thessaly, Theodore controlled a stretch of territory in western Macedonia, and Theodore's son John reigned under his father's tutelage in Thessalonica. This, in addition to Michael's now independent position in Epirus/Albania, for the moment completely fragmented what had briefly been a unitary state of some considerable extent and pretensions.<sup>6</sup>

## COINAGE

The denominational simplicity of Manuel's coinage which—at least as far as is currently known—consists of electrum and billon trachea only, may well be an effective indication of the Thessalonican state's reduced circumstances, but it has to be noted that Theodore's own later coinage betrays much the same simplicity, with the billon alone being produced regularly and annually across the two reigns. The contrast with the contemporary Nicaean coinage of John III which, for all its denominational pretensions, is a much more consistently produced affair, is very marked, and again emphasizes the point that—economically and fiscally speaking—it was the Anatolian state alone that demonstrated the long-term capacity to act as a successor to the former unitary empire.<sup>7</sup>

Manuel's coinage currently consists of two types of electrum trachy and seven types of billon trachy, with the latter equaling, more or less, the number of years of the reign. In this case a "coronation issue" cannot be expected (although it has been postulated) for, as Acropolites makes quite clear, there was no coronation, and Manuel simply ruled as despot, but with imperial affectations.<sup>8</sup> In addition, it is not known precisely either when in the year 1230 Theodore was defeated and captured at Klokotnitsa, or when in the year 1237 Manuel was deposed and exiled, but the full indictional years 1230/31–1236/37 provide seven annual slots for the seven types, with the possibility of at least one part-year (up to 31 August 1230), and conceivably two (from 1 September 1237), providing further potential part slots for any types that may yet come to light.

<sup>4</sup> Polemis, *The Doukai*, p. 132, no. 102; Stiernon, "Les origines du despotat d'Épire," p. 110, no. 81. See also below, p. 635.

<sup>5</sup> Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 128–40; Stiernon, "Les origines du despotat d'Épire," p. 110, no. 83. See also below, pp. 623, 624.

<sup>6</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 60–62.

<sup>7</sup> See above, pp. 52–53 and Table 3, 473–74.

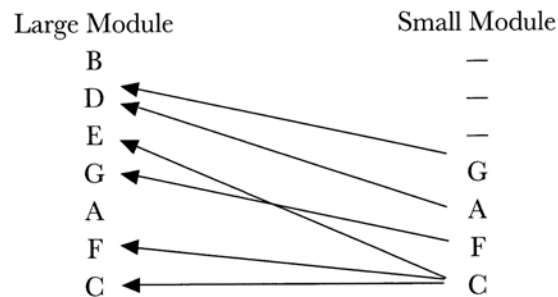
<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 566 and note 2. Cf. Touratsoglou and Protonotarios, "Les émissions de couronnement," 75 (here billon trachy Type

Of the two known types of electrum trachy, Type B (2.1–3) has the more unusual reverse design—that of Manuel and the archangel Michael holding between them a sheathed sword—and is also known from a billon strike (2.3), so it could conceivably form something of an “inaugural issue,” but this represents little more than plausible guesswork.<sup>9</sup>

The ordering of the seven known types of billon trachy remains uncertain. All, except Type B (4a.1–c.2), which is represented in the collection by ten specimens, are rare, some exceptionally so. This could indicate that Type B heads the sequence, possibly complementing electrum Type B with its similar Virgin/ruler and archangel designs. Type G (9.1–6) is well known for its striking reverse type—that of Manuel and St. Demetrius seated and holding between them the city of Thessalonica—but whether the iconography indicates anything as to its position in the sequence remains equally unknown. The former (1969) Type E, which even then was of somewhat dubious attribution, subsequently proved to be of Michael II of Epirus rather than of Manuel of Thessalonica, and can now be found below as Type A (2.1–2) of that ruler. It has been replaced by an issue that came to light too late to be included in the main (1969) list, and that had to be confined to a “Supplementary Note.”<sup>10</sup>

It should be noted that Manuel is always entitled *despotēs* on his coinage, and never simply *Doukas*, emphasizing the distinction in Theodore’s coinage between his pre-coronation (*Doukas*) and his post-coronation (*despotēs*, etc.) mode.

An alternative and less direct method of ascertaining the order of billon trachy types was communicated to me some years ago by Mr. Simon Bendall, and involves the order of overstriking not of the large-module series, but of its small-module counterpart. Such small specimens, as will be seen in the lists below, become rapidly more common during the reign, without achieving anything like the impact to be achieved under Manuel’s successor John. They are also distinguishable in being increasingly manufactured in their own right, as later ones apparently are. This difference may well be significant in itself, as bearing upon the identity of their producers, a question remaining for discussion below.<sup>11</sup> In any case, the following interesting schema emerges:



The methodology involved is not quite watertight: it depends upon the small-module type being systematically produced and contemporary with its large-module counterpart. This could undoubtedly be the case, for small C is known overstruck on large C from several cases. But in fact such overstriking must not only be in particular later, it could be in general quite considerably later (C, for example, is also known overstruck on F and E). At least it should not be earlier, and in this it confirms the evidence of an early group of hoards containing Latin imitative types, from the region of Thessalonica and to the north, in which the small-module series is clearly somewhat later than its large-module counterpart.<sup>12</sup>

The schema must at least give an accurate general impression of the sequence, and may actually be accurate in detail: there are at least no contradictions. Noticeably, Type B remains at the head of the se-

<sup>9</sup> The only occasion when a common design ran officially right down through the denominational structure seems to have been on that of the coronation of John II/monetary reform of 1092. Most or all other occasions seem anomalous to some degree or other.

<sup>10</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 279, 407; Protonotarios, “Le monnayage du ‘despotat’ d’Épire,” pp. 94–95, no. 13.

<sup>11</sup> See below, pp. 579–82.

<sup>12</sup> See above, p. 81.

quence, and the billon strike from electrum Type B fails to appear, suggesting that it was not substantive.

The following type/date sequence could therefore be involved. Type B: 1230/31; Type D: 1231/32; Type E: 1232/33; Type G: 1233/34; Type A: 1234/35; Type F: 1235/36; Type C: 1236/37.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
<b>ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</b>					
<b>Thessalonica</b>					
TYPE A					
1.1*	El. 1.87 pierced	27	<p>IC XC in field. Bust of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; r. hand raised in benediction; holds Gospels in l. hand. Pellets, ∙∙, in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>MANΘHΛΔΕ      MP ΘV in upper r. field. Full-length figure of ruler on l., crowned by Virgin nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., anexikakia. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.</p> <p>MANΘHΛΔ</p>	(1230–37)
(1.2)*	El.	26		MANΘHΛΔC[	
TYPE B					
(2.1)*	El. 3.16 pierced	32	<p>MP ΘV in field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne without back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.</p> <p>∙ to l. and r. above throne.</p>	<p>MANΘHΛΔECΠ      X      X    P      or      M</p> <p>Full-length figure of ruler on l., and of archangel Michael, beardless and nimbate, holding between them sheathed sword, point downward. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and jeweled loros of traditional type; holds scepter cruciger in r. hand. Archangel wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds labarum-headed scepter in l. hand.</p> <p>MANΘHΛΔE[</p> <p style="text-align: right;">X P</p>	(1230–37)

- 1.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 39.1, W. 1, R. —  
H. Pl. 39.1 This coin
- (1.2) W. 1 This coin
- (2.1) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *NCirc* 1969, p. 331 This coin



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(2.2)*	El. 3.00	33	♣ to l. and r. above throne.	ΜΑΝΘΗΛΔΕΣΠ X M	
(2.3)*	Bill. 2.99	28	♣ to l. and r. above throne.	ΜΑΙ Archangel stands on dais(?).	
ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA					
<b>Thessalonica</b>					
TYPE A					
			ΘΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ in two columnar groups. Bust of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, and in l., hilt of sword (or cross?).	ΜΑΝΘΗΛΔΕΣ ἸϞ ΧϚ in upper field. Full-length figure of ruler on l., crowned by Christ, bearded and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and paneled chlamys; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anxikakia. Christ wears tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.	(1230–37)
(3a.1)	Bill. 3.55	28	Ο ΔΙ ΛΓ ΜΗ ΟC TP O	ΜΑΝΘΗΛΔΕC * to r. in field	
(3a.2)*	Bill. 3.30	30	Ο Δ Γ ΜΗ	Inscr. obscure * to r. in field	
3a.3	Bill. 1.42 chipped	23		Inscr. obscure * to r. in field	
3b	Bill. 1.50 chipped	22	Ο ΑΓΙ C	Inscr. obscure * to r. in field. ☾	

- (2.2) Private collection  
*NCirc* 1974, p. 53, no. 12 This coin
- (2.3) Private collection  
Apparently unique in this metal
- (3a.1) Private collection  
H. Pl. 39.3, W. —, R. 2145 (Manuel I)
- (3a.2) Private collection
- 3a.3 Bertelè 1960
- 3b Schindler 1960 from Krammel (Vienna) 18.viii.53

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
3c.1*	Bill. 2.47 chipped	28	O Δ ΑΓ ΗΜ ΙΟ ΙΤ C OC	Inscr., signa, obscure	
3c.2	Bill. 2.19 torn	29	O ΑΓ ΟΙ C	Inscr., signa, obscure	
3c.3	Bill. 1.31	21		Inscr., signa, obscure	
TYPE B					
			<p>MP ΘV in upper field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.</p>	<p>MANΘΗΛΔΕCΠOT</p> <p style="text-align: right;">X M X P</p> <p>Full-length figure of ruler on l., and of archangel Michael nimbate, holding between them labarum on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar- piece, and paneled loros of simplified type. Archangel wears short tunic and (sagion?) held wrapped around him.</p>	(1230–37)
4a.1	Bill. 2.71 clipped	23	•• to l. and r. on throne.	MANΘΗΛΔCCTOT	
4a.2	Bill. 3.75 flattened	30	As 5a.1	<p>MAIΘΗΛΔCCTO</p> <p style="text-align: right;">X M P</p>	
4a.3	Bill. 2.55	28	As 5a.1	<p>MAIΓ</p> <p style="text-align: right;">X P</p>	

- 3c.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 39.3 This coin. R. 2145 This coin
- 3c.2 Bertelè 1960
- 3c.3 Bertelè 1960
- 4a.1 Schindler 1960 from Freitag 1938  
H. Pl. 39.4–5, W. —, R. 2125 (Manuel I)
- 4a.2 Whittemore
- 4a.3 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 39.5 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
4a.4*	Bill. 2.43	28	As 5a.1	ΜΛΙΟΥΗΛΔΣΣΠ X M X P	
4a.5	Bill. 1.73	28	As 5a.1	ΜΛΝΟΥΗΛΔΣΣΠ	
4b.1*	Bill. 2.77	28	•• to r. on throne.	ΜΑΝΘΙ X M X P	
4b.2	Bill. 2.95 chipped	29	As 5b.1	Inscr. obscure	
4b.3	Bill. 2.84	29	As 5b.1	Inscr. obscure	
4c.1*	Bill. 2.83	28	Signa obscure	Inscr. obscure	
4c.2	Bill. 1.85	27	Signa obscure	Inscr. obscure	
TYPE C					
			<p>MP ΘV in field. * * Bust of Virgin nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion.</p>	<p>ΜΑΝΘΗΛΔΕΣΠ ΟΛ (ΔΙΜ ΙΤΡΙΟΣ?) ΓΙ ΟC</p>	(1230-37)
				<p>Full-length figure of ruler on l., and of St. (Demetrius?), beardless and nimbate, giving a globus surmounted by a patriarchal cross into the hands of the ruler. Ruler wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds scepter cruciger in r. hand. Saint wears divitision and chlamys; holds spear in l. hand.</p>	

- 4a.4 Schindler 1960 from Scheiger 26.x.47, found in Albania
- 4a.5 Bertelè 1960
- 4b.1 Bertelè 1960
- H. Pl. 39.4 This coin
- 4b.2 Bertelè 1960
- R. 2125 This coin
- 4b.3 Bertelè 1960
- 4c.1 Bertelè 1960
- 4c.2 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
5.1*	Bill. 2.26	30	* *	ΟΛ ΓΙ ΟC	
5.2	Bill. 2.31 flattened	32	* *	ΜΑΝΘΙ ΟΛ ΓΙ ΟC	
5.3	Bill. 2.29	27	* *	ΜΑΝΘΙ	
5.4	Bill. 0.90	18	Brockage	ΜΑΝΙ ΙΘ	
5.5	Bill. 0.55	20	Brockage	ΜΛΙΘΙ Emperor and saint hold gl. cr.	
TYPE D					
			X X Ρ Μ Half-length figure of arch-angel Michael nimbate, wearing divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand sword, resting over shoulder, and in l., sheath.	ΜΑΝΘΗΛΔΕC ΟΚΩΝCΤ ΑΝΤΙΝΟC or ΜΑΝΘΗΛΔΕC ΟΛΓΙΟCΚΟCΤ Full-length figure of ruler on l., and of St. Constantine (with forked beard), holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft at the base of which, three steps. Ruler wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds palm-frond in r. hand. Saint, similarly dressed, holds palm-frond in l. hand.	(1230-37)
(6.1)*	Bill.	33		ΚΥΝCΤΑΝ	
(6.2)*	Bill.	30		ΟΛΓΙ	

- 5.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 39.6, W. 5, R. —  
H. Pl. 39.6 This coin
- 5.2 Bertelè 1960
- 5.3 Bertelè 1960
- 5.4 From Baldwin 24.vi.77  
Small module
- 5.5 Bertelè 1960  
Small module
- (6.1) BN (Ex Longuet)  
H. Pl. 39.7, W. —, R. —, Edwards in *Classical Studies in Honor of E. Capps*, pp. 103-5; *RN* 1943, pp. 137-44; Bertelè in *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, pp. 84-85, nos. 3-4  
*RN* 1943, pp. 137-44 This coin
- (6.2) Private collection

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(6.3)*	Bill. 3.00	31		ΜΑΝΙ ΙΔΕC	
6.4	Bill. 1.41 clipped	22 x 15		ΜΛΙ	
				TYPE E	
			ΚΕΡΟ ΗΘΕΙ. ΙC X̄C in field. Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand.	ΜΑΝΘΗΛΔΕC ΠΟΤ ΟΚΩΝCΤ ΑΝΤΙΝΟC Full-length figure of ruler on l., crowned by St. Constantine. Ruler wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds anexikakia in l. hand. Saint, similarly dressed, holds labarum-headed scepter in l. hand.	(1230–37)
(7.1)*	Bill. 3.30	28		ΜΑΝΘΗΛΔΕ CΠ	
(7.2)*	Bill. 2.20 pierced	28		ΙΘΗΛΔC ΠΟ ΚΥΝCΤΙ	
				TYPE F	
			Ε Λ Ο Θ ΟΔ Ψ Bust of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic.	ΜΑΝΘΗΛ ΟΛ Half-length figure of ruler on l., and of beardless, nimbate military saint (Demetrius?), holding between them sheathed sword, point downward. Ruler wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type. Saint wears tunic, breastplate, and sagion. In upper center field a cloud, with star in the center, out of which extends Manus Dei, crowning the ruler.	(1230–37)

- (6.3) Private collection
- 6.4 From Baldwin 24.vi.77  
Smaller module
- (7.1) Private collection  
H. Pl. 51.7–8, W. —, R. —  
*NCirc* 1974, pp. 53–54, no. 13 This coin
- (7.2) Private collection

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
8.1*	Bill. 3.35	27 x 23		MI	
8.2	Bill. 0.66 broken	20			
				TYPE G	
			X X P M Full-length figure of archangel Michael nimbate, wearing short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand sword, which he is in the act of unsheathing; sheath held horizontally in the l. hand.	MANHΛΔEC (ΠOT)I ΠOΛIC ΘECCA ΛON IKH OAGIOCΔIMITPIOC The ruler on l., and St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, seated upon throne without back, holding between them the city of Thessalonica represented as a walled town with three towers. Ruler wears stemma, divitision, and jeweled loros of traditional type; holds labarum-headed scepter in r. hand. Saint wears tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sword in l. hand, resting over shoulder.	(1230-37)
9.1*	Bill. 3.81	30	X R	X M MANYI	ΠOΛHC ΘE CCAA ONIK
9.2	Bill. 1.77 chipped	25	X AP	MANHΛΔE IOI IIMITPI	OΓC OAG CCAA ANI K
9.3	Bill. 1.64	28			ΠOΛ ΘEC ΛΛO N

- 8.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 39.9, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 39.9 This coin
- 8.2 From Baldwin 24.vi.77  
Small module
- 9.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 39.10-11, W. 2, R. —  
H. Pl. 39.11 This coin
- 9.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 39.10 This coin
- 9.3 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(9.4)*	Bill. 2.27	28		ΜΑΝΩΗΛΔΕ ΠΟΛΙΣΘ ΕΣΣΑ ΛΟΝ ΙΚΗ	
(9.5)*	Bill. 3.09	30		ΜΑΝΩΗΛΔΣΣΠΟΤΙ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΘΕΣΣΑ ΛΟΝ ΙΚΗ ΟΛΓΙΟΣΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	
9.6	Bill. 0.54	17			

(9.4) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

(9.5) BN (Ex Longuet)

*RN* 1943, pp. 137–44 This coin. Bertelè/Morrisson, *Numismatique byzantine*, Pl. vi, no. 85 This coin

9.6 From Baldwin 24.vi.77

Small module

## JOHN Comnenus-Ducas

(Emperor 1237 – 1242; Despot 1242 – 1244)

### BACKGROUND

John Comnenus-Ducas was—presumably—the elder of Theodore’s two sons, and clearly still a youth at the time of his father’s return to Thessalonica, for he is always portrayed as beardless on his coins, and as both beardless and appreciably shorter than St. Demetrius who accompanies him on his seals. Additionally, Acropolites makes it entirely clear that while it was John who subsequently reigned, it was nevertheless Theodore who ruled, and he does so in a fashion that suggests that John was indeed young and not simply spineless.<sup>1</sup>

Theodore felt himself ineligible to simply resume his imperial status, by reason of his blindness (and indeed, apart from anything else, the single precedent of Isaac II on his restoration in 1203/4 was not an auspicious one). He therefore named John as emperor, and himself invested him with the scarlet buskins of office, and ordered him to sign his acts in the vermilion ink of imperial prerogative. He certainly utilized the full imperial entitulation on his seals. It is clear that there was no reenactment of Theodore’s own ecclesiastical rite, for that might even have been impossible, and it would certainly have been foolishly provocative, but such was quite unnecessary, for he could take advantage of the undoubted right of an emperor (normally, it is true, a reigning one) to create a colleague and co-emperor. This does not, however, mean that no ceremonial was involved, and Acropolites’ account suggests that some degree of formality was indeed involved: at least an investment with the insignia of office, and an acclamation.<sup>2</sup>

Of John’s reign, virtually nothing direct and in detail is known, and of his character only a little more, for Acropolites—probably at least partly in order to denigrate by contrast his brother and successor—emphasizes his piety and chastity, and above all his religiosity.<sup>3</sup>

In 1242, and probably late in the year, John was forced by his Nicaean rival John III to doff the scarlet buskins, and the pearl-ornamented *pyramis* with a ruby atop it, that were the symbols of imperial rank, and instead to accept from him the insignia of a despot.<sup>4</sup> In 1244 he died—young and of an unknown cause.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Zacos and Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I.1, pp. 105–6, no. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70–71.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67: *ta erythra pedila . . . kai ten perimargaron pyramida, eis hen kai lithos hyperkathetai kokkinos, basilika tauta symbola*. Acropolites (ed. cit., p. 19) remarks that Isaac II had lost much of the imperial *parasēma*, including the *pyramides*, on the occasion of his defeat by the Bulgarians in 1190. It is clear from both the contexts that the imperial diadem or stemma is involved, and that this occurred in sets of different colors (see above, p. 165). Hence the plural on the latter occasion. Cf. also (Acropolites, ed. cit., p. 185, and also above, p. 165 and note 87) the description of Baldwin II’s regalia (*symbola*), including the crown (*kalyptra*), which, although of Latin type, again had a ruby atop it, and which was lost at the retaking of the City in 1261. Again, it is clear that the diadem or crown was involved. Quite why it should have been termed a *pyramis* remains uncertain: it is, however, worth noting that historically a pyramid and a cone could be and were confused: see K. D. Keele, *Leonardo da Vinci’s Elements of the Science of Man* (New York-London, 1983), 131–58, esp. p. 153: *konos = pyramis* apud Eugenius of Sicily on Ptolemy. See also *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., XII (Oxford, 1989), 931. “Cone,” while still not precise as a description of anything other than a straight-sided cone, would be much nearer the actual shape involved. See also below, p. 659.

<sup>5</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 70.



## COINAGE

John's coinage, unlike his reign, is remarkable, for there are listed below, and for a five-year reign, no less than 30 types of billon trachea, in addition to one of half-tetarera, no electrum trachea or copper full tetarera currently being known. The situation is in fact not as chaotic as it may at first sound for, as I pointed out in 1969, three sequences or series are involved, with two certainly being concurrent, and the third very probably at least in part being so.<sup>6</sup>

Series I (1–6) consists of coins of large module, regular fabric, and fine style, in basic continuity with the coinages of Theodore and Manuel: six types are listed below. Their order remains unknown.

Series II (7.1–12) consists of coins of somewhat smaller module, and therefore somewhat thicker fabric (the weight range seems to be at least approximately the same as that for Series I), but still of fine style. It seemingly has a tendency toward a more adventurous repertoire of designs, with its obverses including an eagle with outstretched wings (8); a seated figure of St. Demetrius with sword across knees (9) and a fleur de lys (12), and its reverses including a reversion to an eleventh-century miliaresion design (8); a half-length figure of the emperor (9); and another reversion, to a Thessalonican debased gold trachy design of Alexius I (12). Six types are listed below. Their order again remains unknown.

Series III (14.1–38) is something else altogether, consisting of coins of small module, light weight, and clipped and/or irregular fabric, and often of slapdash style but with again an adventurous repertoire. This latter includes obverses with a winged cherub (25a.1–6), a crescent with asterisks and pellets (29.1–2), an outstretched wing (31a.1, 2; 35), a radiate cross (30), a flower-head (33), and a cross-within-crescent (36). Its reverses include the emperor standing with sword and castle (30), the emperor with standard (31a.1, 2), the emperor with wings (34), the emperor with wings surmounting city walls (35), and the emperor and a saint holding between them a lys-on-shaft (37). Twenty-five main types, several of these with related or subordinate ones, are listed below.

What is perhaps even more curious is that virtually every pair of obverse and reverse designs in Series I and II is also present in Series III (14.1, 2–24a, b). The sole exception involves Series I Type D, which is apparently not yet so present, but this results presumably simply from the incompleteness of the record. The remaining obverse and reverse designs in Series III are apparently quite independent.

All this is very extraordinary: coins of a similar small module are now known for both Theodore and Manuel, and are indeed represented in this collection, but they tend to be rare (the previously mentioned hoard of Theodore's billon trachy Type A contained 11 possibles only out of more than 250), and they all represent the known larger types: they are, in other words, simply smaller versions of the larger types, and there are no independent designs.<sup>7</sup>

It seems that the reign of John Ducas witnessed fundamental changes in the basis of Thessalonican coin production. The change involving the existence of Series I and II is the least difficult of explanation: each is currently known in six types, and these therefore represent annual and necessarily concurrent coinages, in continuation of the formerly single series known for both Theodore and Manuel. The reign very probably covered the five full indictional years 1237/38–1241/42, but there is no problem in assuming either that each series includes an extra "coronation" or "inaugural" issue, or that an extra part indictional year was involved at the beginning or the end of the reign (or possibly even at both).

It has previously been suggested that the overt binary structure of this coinage represents a distinction between accounts, that is, the public and the private, and that the equivalent is to be seen in the gold coinages of both John III and Theodore II; occasionally way back into the twelfth century; and indeed into at least the second half of the eleventh, with its two Constantinopolitan mints.<sup>8</sup> There remains, however, Series III, and this is not readily susceptible to a similar and relatively simple solution.

<sup>6</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 286–88. The attribution of 6 types each to Series I and II should now be seen in the light of the excavation material from Turnovo (below, p. 582 and note 22), with both being increased to 8 types.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 546.

<sup>8</sup> See above, pp. 22–28, 119–23.

It nevertheless now seems clear that, unless there was a quite unprecedented burst of coining at Thessalonica over the years 1237/38–1241/42, the 25 main types (11 duplicating Series I and II, and 14 independent) cannot be accommodated within the five-year reign of John, and therefore that they must extend beyond it. The obvious preliminary question is: by how much?

The sheer systematic nature of the duplication of Series I and II (11 of the 12 types are found in Series III) strongly suggests that such duplication took place contemporaneously or at least at very short remove. This is confirmed by the known fact that small-module coins of Manuel Ducas tend to be overstruck on clipped-down large-module coins of the same ruler—in one case (Type C—5.1–5) involving coins of the same type.<sup>9</sup> There then remain on current showing 14 main types of small-module coins of independent design. On the assumption that John's right of coining ceased with his demotion to despot in 1242, at the rate of one type to a year the date for the cessation of Series III would be 1256: noticeably plumb in the middle of the reign of Theodore II who seems to have closed the mint of Thessalonica after one annual issue of large-module trachea (i.e., presumably in 1255).<sup>10</sup> The near coincidence of date may or may not be fortuitous: it is unlikely that no further small-module types of independent design will not come to light—and indeed they may well already have done so during the final years of the composition of this volume. There are also several other assumptions that may or may not be valid. The order of the phenomenon is nevertheless at least of some interest.

Two other factors nevertheless suggest that the life of Series III may have extended for quite some time after 1242: the identity of the designs that the series seems to have borrowed from others; and the identity of the designs that the series seems to have lent to others.

It seems unlikely to be a matter of mere happenstance that Series III seems to have borrowed a number of design features/motifs from the coinage of John III and of the Nicaean anonymous series. For example, the winged cherub of Type L (25a.1–6) could well have been derived from that of John III's tetarteron Type B (57); the crescent with asterisks and pellets of Type P (29.1–2) could well have been derived from that of John III's tetarteron Type D (59a.1–59b), or of Theodore II's tetarteron Type B (14); the radiate cross of Type Q (30) could well have been derived from the radiate cross of Anonymous tetarteron Type D (6.1–4) or the cross of Anonymous tetarteron Type E (7.1–8); and the flower-head of Type T (33) could well have been derived from that of Anonymous tetarteron Type F (8). Finally, the cross-on-base with **Ϡ** of Type L (25b) could equally well have been inspired by a combination of the cross-on-base of Anonymous Type C (5.1–2), and the **Ϡ** of Type A (3.1–5). There is a clear pattern here, and the fact that one should be able to cross-link the designs of these rare issues of Balkan trachea and Anatolian tetartera so easily and so concentratedly lends some weight to the previously made suggestion that Nicaean tetartera, as evidenced in the Troy and Pergamum excavation material, were made with the Balkans at least largely in mind.<sup>11</sup>

The date of these tetartera is difficult to establish with any degree of precision: John III's Type D has been tentatively dated to 1241 or—perhaps more likely—to 1249, and Theodore's Type B must of course date to 1254–58.<sup>12</sup> Assuming that the lending was from Anatolia and the borrowing from the Balkans, plausible enough on the face of it, either date would be sufficient to insure that Series III continued after 1242. A late date for Series III is also suggested by the fact that it seems itself to have provided models for the designs of Palaeologan issues from the mint of Thessalonica, extending well into the reign of Andronicus II (1282–1328).<sup>13</sup>

Now, whether or not these numerous Series III types actually emanated from the city of Thessalonica, and the evidence of hoards and single finds suggest that they did, it is somewhat unlikely that they emanated from the official mint, and if the types of independent design continued appreciably

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 568.

<sup>10</sup> See below, p. 615.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 475.

<sup>12</sup> See above, p. 479.

<sup>13</sup> S. Bendall, "Thessalonican Coinage of the Mid-Thirteenth Century in the Light of a New Hoard," *NC*<sup>7</sup> 18 (1978), 115.

into the period after the Nicaean takeover of 1242/44, it is surely inconceivable that they did so.<sup>14</sup> For John III would have had no obvious reason to continue issuing the coinage of the defunct regime, and even if he had had a now obscure such reason, there would have been nothing to stop him having his own bearded portrait placed on it—as indeed he did on his undoubted coinage from the mint.

Any suggestion that Series III formed some kind of official “trade” coinage for regions that would accept nothing else must be abandoned: the coinage is not even truly “immobilisé” in the normal sense, for novel types continued to be evolved, with the only feature common to them all being the beardless portrait of John Ducas. A regional willingness to accept novel types—some of those in the particular case being almost bizarre—but only if they bore a beardless imperial portrait, would be strange indeed. And a willingness on the part of the new Nicaean regime to humor such a strangeness, even in a search for profit, would be most un-Byzantine in character.

It is therefore difficult to avoid the conclusion that, even if Series III is indeed to be seen in terms of some kind of “trade” coinage, it was nevertheless an unofficial one. In fact, instead of thinking in terms of the regions that might have refused coinage except that in the names of the Thessalonican Ducas dynasty (not an obviously fruitful exercise), it might well at this stage be more fruitful to think in terms rather of sectors of Thessalonican society—or perhaps more accurately sectors of society in Thessalonica—that might have been reluctant to recognize the acquisition of the city by the Nicaean regime, to the point indeed at which they continued to issue a preexisting unofficial coinage in the name of John Ducas (of Thessalonica) rather than in that of John III Ducas (of Nicaea). This would surely exclude all native sectors of society—not necessarily on the grounds that all such sectors were pro-Thessalonican Ducas (for which there is no evidence whatsoever), but more plausibly on those of the unlikelihood of the Nicaean regime permitting so public and clear an example of continuing contumacy.

The finger of suspicion must therefore surely point in the direction of an extraneous (at least by origin) sector in that society, and in that case very probably a Latin community, and in that case in turn almost certainly the Venetian one. Relations between the Byzantine successor states and Venice were inevitably fraught with at best ambiguity and at worst outright enmity. But with regard to Thessalonica it is known that Theodore had cleverly maneuvered Venice into a treaty with him in 1218, to last for five years; that the treaty was actually prolonged beyond its legal life; and that it was only briefly broken between 1228 and ca. 1231/32 owing to the exercise of state rights over shipwrecks—the same rights that Andronicus I had long ago attempted to curb or abolish.<sup>15</sup>

With regard to Nicaea, the situation is equally but oppositely suggestive. For although Theodore I is known to have signed a five-year treaty with the republic in 1219, itself possibly a renewal of a treaty signed in 1214, virtually nothing further is directly known of relations between the two. John III, in sending a naval expedition in support of a native rebellion against the Venetians in Crete in 1230, must have earned their hostility, and this is confirmed by the signing of a treaty between the recalcitrant Leo Gabalas of Rhodes and the republic in 1234—clearly an anti-Nicaean action, and specifically mentioning aid for the Cretan Venetians in the event of Nicaean attack, and for Gabalas in the event of an equivalent one. The Venetians also acted as the principal and most consistent protectors of Latin Constantinople, defeating John III’s naval forces on several occasions in 1235/36, and in 1240/41. They will therefore scarcely have been pleased at John’s seizure of Thessalonica in 1246. There is also, in this connection, the remarkable fact that, over the later period of exile (1219–61), there is no actual evidence at all of Venetian trade with the empire of Nicaea in the form of commercial documentation. The two sides seem to have existed throughout in a situation of hostile stalemate.<sup>16</sup>

There is also the remarkable fact that a clause in the treaty of 1219 stipulates that neither side will issue imitations of the other’s (gold) *yperperi*, (electrum) *manuelati*, or (billon) *stamena*, with the clear implication that either the Venetians or another (presumably Latin) party had been doing precisely that with regard

<sup>14</sup> Thus contra Bendall, “Thessalonican Coinage of the Mid-Thirteenth Century,” 107–8.

<sup>15</sup> Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 53, 106, 126 note 6; Wolff, “The Latin Empire of Constantinople,” I, pp. 508–10.

<sup>16</sup> Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 114. See also above, pp. 469–70; and below, pp. 648, 658.

to Theodore's coinages. The more detailed inferences to be drawn from this clause must remain for discussion below, but it is precisely among the main body of small-module types (A–G) of the Latin imitative series that Type G (36a.–36c.2) is found imitating Theodore's billon trachy Type A/"First Coinage" (5a.1–5.e).<sup>17</sup>

Now, if the Venetians had taken to imitating in small module the coinages of Theodore and Manuel Ducas, and more particularly of John Ducas, they will have been confronted with a major dilemma in 1246: imitating the coinage of the incoming Nicaean regime would have irrevocably breached the clause in the treaty of 1219 on the subject (which had admittedly probably technically lapsed in any case), and of course it would also have effectively recognized John III's position—which they may not have wanted to do. The solution arrived at was to abandon the practice of clipping down current imperial issues, and to continue imitating John Ducas' types, subsequently even embellishing the series with novel types of independent design, much as the Latins ended up doing with their own later Constantinopolitan imitative series.<sup>18</sup> It is for this reason that the equivalents of John Ducas' Series I and II can be glimpsed in the coinages of John III for the period 1246–54—but not the equivalent of his Series III.<sup>19</sup> It is in fact noticeable that, although the Venetians imitated in small module both the Constantinopolitan and Thessalonican Latin imitative series, and the coinages of the Ducas rulers of Thessalonica, with the one early exception of Theodore I's Type A, they did not do the same with the coinages of the Lascarid emperors. Whether this was because they had bound themselves by treaty not to do so, or whether they simply did not wish to do so, remains uncertain. They were quite prepared, however, to use Nicaean designs as very general models.

The connection between the small-module coinages in the two Latin series, and in the Thessalonican Ducas series, which I pointed out in 1969, therefore now begins to make some consistent sense in the light of a specific historical explanation.<sup>20</sup> For this reason alone, any interpretation of these small-module coinages as genuinely fractional ones should be abandoned. But it also reinforces the evidence earlier marshaled to demonstrate them to be simply coinages on a different standard—or standards—than their large-module originals.<sup>21</sup>

It is by no means certain, but it does seem quite possible, that John's right to issue coin in his own name lapsed with his demotion to despot in 1242. It is true that Manuel had issued coin with that status, but the circumstances were clearly anomalous and indeed remarked upon, and it seems all too likely that John's arrangement with John III will have involved some such stipulation. The anonymous billon trachy with its two main varieties listed below under the name of Demetrius Comnenus-Ducas may therefore alternatively belong to the period 1242–44.

The recent (1992) publication of the numismatic material from the excavations at Turnovo—a most welcome and significant event—has resulted in the addition of several new types of billon trachea of John Ducas. The most important of these involve Series I and possibly II. There are therefore now Series I equivalents of Series III Type O (28) and Type U (34), and possibly Series II equivalents of Type P (29.1–2) and Type Q (30). Other additions to Series II proposed in the publication seem to me less convincing, not least because (for example) they imply the representation of a single obverse/reverse combination in all three series (Type O being a case in point). This seems to me unlikely in view of the already well-established pattern, and it seems more likely that such specimens merely represent rather larger than normal sizes for Series III. A Series III equivalent to Series I Type D has also appeared, although for the reason already given I doubt its appearance in Series II as well. The situation clearly needs watching and further evaluation. The general result is nevertheless to increase Series I and possibly II to eight types each, and this at least very strongly implies that John did after all continue to issue coin after his demotion to despot (i.e., over the period 1242–44).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See below, pp. 670–71.

<sup>18</sup> See below, pp. 663, 665. It is also possible that the Venetians simply feared to antagonize John III.

<sup>19</sup> See below, pp. 601–2.

<sup>20</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 286–88.

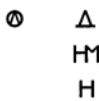

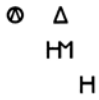
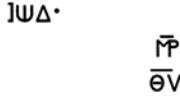
<sup>21</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 287.

<sup>22</sup> Dochev, *Moneti i parichno obrushtenie v Turnovo*, pp. 59, 221, and pl. 7, nos. 7, 8 (Types O and U); pp. 60–61, pp. 222–23, and pl. 7, nos. 9, 12 (Types P and Q). For Type O supposedly in Series II in addition: op. cit., p. 60, p. 222, and pl. 7, no. 10.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA		
			<b>Thessalonica</b>		
			SERIES I		
			TYPE A		
1*	Bill. 1.49 broken half-piece	27	<p>Γ ΟΛ ΔΗ St. Demetrius nimbate, seated upon throne without back.</p>	<p>ΙΨΑΙ Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of Virgin nimbate, holding between them cross- within-circle, surmounting triangular decoration on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds anexikakia in r. hand. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.</p>	(1237–42?)
			TYPE B		
2.1*	Bill. 2.59	29	<p>Γ Δ Lys in field, ⊙ ΘΕΟ to either side. Full-length figure of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, wearing short mili- tary tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, and in l., shield.</p>	<p>ΙΨΑΝΗCΔC CΠΤ ΟΔΕΙ Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by St. Deme- trius, beardless and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum- headed scepter, and in l., anexikakia. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sword, point resting on ground, in l. hand. Asterisk in upper center field.</p>	(1237–42?)
(2.2)*	Bill.	28		<p>ΙΨ</p>	
(2.3)	Bill. 2.08	28		<p>ΙΨΑΝΗCΔC CΠΤ ΟΔΕΙ</p>	

- 1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 40.1, W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1950, p. 61, no. 1  
H. Pl. 40.1 This coin. *Numismatica* 1950, p. 61, no. 1 This coin. For the full type, see Series III Type A (14.1–2)
- 2.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 40.2, W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1960, p. 62, no. 7  
H. Pl. 40.2 This coin, *Numismatica* 1960, p. 62, no. 7 This coin
- (2.2) Private collection
- (2.3) Barber Institute, Birmingham



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE F		
(6)*	Bill. 1.71	24	Cross-within-circle, surmounting triangular decoration on long shaft, between outstretched wings. On either wing, below forepart, a human head.	Full-length figure of beardless emperor on l., crowned by bishop-saint (Nicholas?), bearded and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia. Saint wears episcopal vestments, of which omophorion is visible; holds Gospels in l. hand.	(1237-42?)
			SERIES II		
			TYPE A		
7.1*	Bill. 2.26	23	 <p>Half-length figure of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand sword, resting over shoulder, and in l., sheath.</p>	 <p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Virgin nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., anexikakia. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.</p>	(1237-42?)
7.2*	Bill. 1.80	24	 <p>• to l. and r. in field.</p>		

- (6) Archaeological Museum, Athens  
H. p. 408, W. —, R. —, *RN* 1969, p. 261, no. 77  
H. p. 408 This coin. *RN* 1969, p. 261, no. 77 This coin
- 7.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 40.6 (Type F), W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1950, p. 62, nos. 3-4  
H. Pl. 40.6 This coin, *Numismatica* 1950, p. 62, no. 3 This coin
- 7.2 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1950, p. 62, no. 4 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE B		
8*	Bill. 1.69	23	Eagle with wings outstretched, head turned to l.	<p>ΙΩΔΙ      ΘΔΙΜ</p> <p>Half-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them a patriarchal cross-crosslet, on long shaft, at the base of which, three steps. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type. Saint wears tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds spear in l. hand.</p>	(1237–42?)
			TYPE C		
9*	Bill. 2.01	23	<p>Θ ΔΙ</p> <p>St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, seated upon throne without back; wears tunic (breastplate?) and sagion; holds in r. hand sword, and in l., sheath, held horizontally across knees. Lys above cushions of throne, to either side.</p>	<p>ΙΩΔ ΕΣΠ</p> <p>Half-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, paneled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., gl. cr.</p>	(1237–42?)
			TYPE D		
10.1*	Bill. 2.63	25	<p>X Half-length figure of M archangel Michael nimbate, wearing divitision, loros, and sagion; holds in r. hand sword, resting over shoulder, and in l., gl. cr.</p> <p>Inscr. obscure</p>	<p>ΙΩΑΝΝΙC ΔΕCΠOΤHC</p> <p>Emperor seated upon throne without back. Wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia.</p>	(1237–42?)
10.2*	Bill. 2.05	27	<p>X + to l. and r.</p> <p>M above throne.</p>	<p>ΙΩΑΝΝΙC ΙΕCΠΙ</p> <p>ΙΩΑΝΝΙC ΔC CΠOΤHC</p>	

- 8 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 40.7 (Type G), W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1950, p. 64, no. 17  
H. Pl. 40.7 This coin. *Numismatica* 1950, p. 64, no. 17 This coin
- 9 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 40.8 (Type H), W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1950, p. 64, no. 18  
H. Pl. 40.8 This coin. *Numismatica* 1950, p. 64, no. 18 This coin
- 10.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 40.9–10 (Type I), W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1950, p. 64, nos. 19–20  
H. Pl. 40.9 This coin. *Numismatica* 1950, p. 64, no. 19 This coin
- 10.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 40.10 This coin. *Numismatica* 1950, p. 64, no. 20 This coin



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			<b>TYPE E</b>		
(11.1)*	Bill. 1.17	22	IC XC in field. Bust of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.	IΩANNIC ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Half-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., anexikakia.	(1237–42?)
(11.2)*	Bill. 1.88	25		IΩI INI CΔI ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ	
			<b>TYPE F</b>		
(12)*	Bill. 2.32	25	Large fleur de lys.	IΩΔCCΠ IΩΔCC ( <i>sic</i> ) Full-length figure of emperor facing on r., and of beardless and nimbate military saint, turned to r. and handing to emperor letter <b>B</b> on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type; and sagion(?); holds anexikakia in r. hand.	(1237–42?)
			<b>HALF-TETARTERON</b>		
			<b>Thessalonica</b>		
13.1*	Æ 1.98	22	+IΩΔ KOMNH NOCOΔO VKAC	IC XC in field. Cross potent on three steps.	(1237–42?)
13.2*	Æ 1.68	21	Same die as 13.1.	Same die as 13.1.	

- (11.1) Private collection  
 H. —, W. —, R. —, *NC* 1978, p. 111, nos. 385–86  
*NC* 1978, p. 111, no. 386 This coin
- (11.2) Private collection  
*NC* 1978, p. 111, no. 385 This coin
- (12) Private collection  
 H. —, W. —, R. —, Bertelè/Morrisson, *Numismatique byzantine*, Pl. vi, no. 88  
 Bertelè/Morrisson, *Numismatique byzantine*, Pl. vi, no. 88 This coin  
 The reverse design harks back, presumably consciously, to that of the Thessalonican debased pre-reform trachea of Alexius I (4.1–5b.4).
- 13.1 Whittemore  
 H. Pl. 40.11, W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1950, p. 65, nos. 22–23  
*Numismatica* 1950, p. 65, no. 23 This coin
- 13.2 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 40.11 This coin. *Numismatica* 1950, p. 65, no. 22 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA <b>Thessalonica</b> SERIES III (SMALL MODULE) TYPE A ( <i>Obv. and rev. as Type A [Series I]</i> )					
14.1	Bill. 1.24	19	ΜΗ ΤΡΙ Ο	ΜΙΤΡΟΣΘΛ ( <i>sic</i> )	(1237–42?)
14.2*	Bill. 1.10	17	Δ ΠΗ	ΙΩΙ ΙΝΙΔΕC	
TYPE B ( <i>Obv. and rev. as Type B [Series I]</i> )					
15.1	Bill. 0.94 broken	20	⊙	ΟΛΓΙΟCΔΙ	(1237–42?)
15.2	Bill. 0.44 broken	17	Γ ⊙	ΙΩΑΝΝΙ	
15.3*	Bill. 0.66	18	Type and inscr. obscure	ΟΛΓΙ	
(15.4)	Bill.	21		Inscr. obscure	
TYPE C ( <i>Obv. and rev. as Type C [Series I]</i> )					
(16.1)*	Bill. 1.12	20		ΙΩΑΝΝΙCΔ	(1237–42?)
(16.2)*	Bill. 0.86	19		ΙCΠΟΤΙ	
(16.3)	Bill. 0.90	22		Inscr. obscure	

- 14.1 Whittemore  
H. Pl. 40.12–13, W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1950, pp. 61–62, no. 2  
H. Pl. 40.12 This coin. *Numismatica* 1950, pp. 61–62, no. 2 This coin
- 14.2 Schindler 1960 from Pendl 15.iv.49
- 15.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 40.14, W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1950, pp. 62–63, nos. 8–9  
*Numismatica* 1950, pp. 62–63, no. 8 This coin
- 15.2 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1950, p. 63, no. 9 This coin
- 15.3 From Baldwin 24.vi.77
- (15.4) Archaeological Museum, Sofia (Oustovo Hoard)  
H. Pl. 40.14 This coin
- (16.1) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *Numizmatika* 1977, pp. 16–17, no. 8  
*NC* 1978, p. 112, no. 496 This coin
- (16.2) Private collection  
*NC* 1978, p. 112, no. 498 This coin
- (16.3) Private collection  
*NC* 1978, p. 112, no. 497 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
TYPE D					
<i>Var. A</i>					
<i>(Obv. and rev. as Type E [Series I])</i>					
17a.1	Bill. 1.24	20	⊙ ε	Inscr. obscure	(1237–42?)
(17a.2)*	Bill.	21	⊙ Δ	ΙΔΕCΠ ⊙ΔΗΜΗΤΙ	
<i>Var. B</i>					
<i>(Obv. and rev. as preceding, but full-length figures on obv.)</i>					
(17b)	Bill.	20			(1237–42?)
TYPE E					
<i>(Obv. and rev. as Type F [Series I])</i>					
(18.1)*	Bill.	20		Inscr. obscure	(1237–42?)
(18.2)*	Bill.	18		Inscr. obscure	
TYPE F					
<i>(Obv. and rev. as Type A [Series II])</i>					
19.1	Bill. 1.07	20	⊙	ΙΨ Ᾱ ᾶ	(1237–42?)
19.2*	Bill. 1.68	20 x 16	Inscr. obscure	ΙΨ Ᾱ ᾶ	
TYPE G					
<i>(Obv. and rev. as Type B [Series II])</i>					
(20.1)	Bill.	22 x 15			(1237–42?)
(20.2)	Bill.	21			

- 17a.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 40.15, W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1950, p. 63, no. 11  
H. Pl. 40.15 This coin. *Numismatica* 1950, p. 63, no. 11 This coin
- (17a.2) Private collection, from a hoard from eastern Thrace
- (17b) Archaeological Museum, Pazardzhik (Tri Voditsi Hoard)  
H. Pl. 41.1, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 41.1 This coin
- (18.1) BM  
H. —, W. —, R. —, Bertelè, *L'imperatore alato*, p. 34, no. 53  
Bertelè, *L'imperatore alato*, p. 34, no. 53 This coin. See now *Hesperia* 66 (1997), p. 184, no. 59 (Corinth excavations).
- (18.2) Private collection
- 19.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 41.2 (Type D), W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1950, p. 62, nos. 5–6  
H. Pl. 41.2 This coin. *Numismatica* 1950, p. 62, no. 5 This coin
- 19.2 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1950, p. 62, no. 6 This coin
- (20.1) Archaeological Museum, Pazardzhik (Dorkovo Hoard)  
H. Pl. 41.3–4 (Type E), W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 41.3 This coin
- (20.2) Archaeological Museum, Pazardzhik (Tri Voditsi Hoard)  
H. Pl. 41.4 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
<b>TYPE H</b> <i>(Obv. and rev. as Type C [Series II])</i>					
21.1	Bill. 0.74	15	Inscr. obscure	Brockage	(1237-42?)
(21.2)*	Bill. 0.70	19	Ϡ      Δ	ΙΨ Δ	
<b>TYPE I</b> <i>(Obv. and rev. as Type D [Series II])</i>					
(22)*	Bill. 0.85	18		ΙΨΑΝΙ	(1237-42?)
<b>TYPE J</b> <i>(Obv. and rev. as Type E [Series II])</i>					
23.1*	Bill. 0.55	14	Brockage	Inscr. obscure	(1237-42?)
(23.2)	Bill.	16	Brockage	ΙΨ(?)	
(23.3)	Bill.	15	Brockage	Inscr. obscure	
<b>TYPE K</b> <i>Var. A</i>					
			Bust of archangel Michael (?) nimbate, wearing divitision and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand sword, resting over shoulder (?).	(As Type F [Series II])	(1237-42?)
(24a)*	Bill. 1.04	21		•ΔΙΜ	

- 21.1 From Baldwin 24.vi.77  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *Numizmatika* 1977, p. 17, no. 9
- (21.2) Private collection  
*NC* 1978, p. 111, no. 483 This coin
- (22) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *NC* 1978, p. 111, nos. 484-88  
*NC* 1978, p. 111, no. 488 This coin
- 23.1 From Baldwin 24.vi.77  
H. Pl. 41.15-16 (Type N), W. —, R. —
- (23.2) Archaeological Museum, Sofia (Preslav Hoard)  
H. Pl. 41.15 This coin
- (23.3) Archaeological Museum, Sofia (Preslav Hoard)  
H. Pl. 41.16 This coin
- (24a) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *NC* 1978, p. 112, nos. 493-95  
*NC* 1978, p. 112, no. 493 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(24b)*	Bill.	18	Full-length figure of archangel Michael (?), wearing short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion (?); holds in r. hand sword, resting at side (?).	<p><i>Var. B</i> (As preceding)</p> <p>Inscr. obscure</p>	(1237–42?)
25a.1*	Bill. 1.26	19	Head of cherub nimbate, with four wings.	<p>TYPE L <i>Var. A</i></p> <p>ΙΨ ΟΛΓ Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of beardless, nimbate, saint (Demetrius?) in military dress, holding between them cross, surmounted by globule, on long shaft (sheathed sword, point downward?). Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds anexikakia in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sword in l. hand, resting over shoulder.</p>	(1237–?)
25a.2	Bill. 1.16	18		No inscr.	
25a.3	Bill. 0.47	18		No inscr.	
25a.4	Bill. 0.47	17		No inscr.	
25a.5	Bill. 1.02 flattened	21		ΙΨ ΟΛΓ	
(25a.6)*	Bill.	18		No inscr.	

(24b) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —

25a.1 Whittemore  
H. Pl. 41.5–6 (Type F), W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1950, pp. 63–64, nos. 13–16  
For a probable var. of this type, on which the obv. figure is full-length and orans, see *JC* 1973, p. 172, no. 1106. The saint in no case seems winged, and therefore cannot be St. Michael.

25a.2 Whittemore

25a.3 Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 41.6 This coin. *Numismatica* 1950, p. 64, no. 15 This coin

25a.4 Bertelè 1960

*Numismatica* 1950, p. 64, no. 16 This coin

25a.5 Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 41.5 This coin. *Numismatica* 1950, p. 63, no. 13 This coin

(25a.6) Private collection, from a hoard from eastern Thrace

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(25b)*	Bill. 1.06	23	<p><math>\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}</math> in field. Cross on base, top of shaft formed by large, retrograde letter <b>B</b>.</p>	<p><i>Var. B</i> (As preceding)</p> <p>No inscr. or obscure</p>	(1237-?)
				TYPE M	
(26)*	Bill. 0.63	19	<p>Wing or uncertain winged object.</p>	<p>Full-length figure of emperor on r., and of saint (Demetrius?) in military dress, holding between them cross, surmounted by globule, on long shaft (sheathed sword, point downward?). Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece (?), and jeweled loros of simplified type (?); holds jeweled scepter (?) in l. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds spear in r. hand.</p> <p>No inscr. or obscure</p>	(1237-?)
				TYPE N	
			<p><math>\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}</math> Patriarchal cross, <math>\text{NI KA}</math> radiate, on step.</p>	<p>Full-length figure of beardless emperor on l., and of beardless, nimbate saint (Demetrius?) in military dress, holding between them castle with two towers. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion.</p>	(1237-?)

(25b) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *NC* 1978, p. 112, no. 499  
*NC* 1978, p. 112, no. 499 This coin

(26) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *NC* 1978, p. 112, nos. 490–92  
*NC* 1978, p. 112, no. 491 This coin

This is probably the issue appearing as no. 58 in A. H. Baldwin and Sons Ltd., *List 11* (February 1993): in that case, a cherub-head with upstretched wings on the obv., and St. Demetrius and emperor with sword, point downward, on the rev.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
27a	Bill. 1.46 flattened	22			
(27b.1)	Bill. 0.90	20	Lacks $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ ; cross plain.		
(27b.2)*	Bill	20			
27c	Bill. 0.51	18	Completely obscure		
				TYPE O	
			$\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\text{OV}}$ in field. Virgin seated upon throne without back.	$\Delta\text{E}\Sigma\text{ΠOΤΙC}$ $\text{ΙΩΑΝΝΙC}$ Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter; and in l., anxikakia. Manus Dei in upper r. field.	(1237-?)
28*	Bill. 1.64	20		$\Delta\text{C}\Sigma\text{ΠOΤΙ}$ $\text{ΙΩ}$	
				TYPE P	
			Crescent between four asterisks and pellets in groups of four.	Full-length figure of beard- less emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter; and in l., gl. cr.	(1237-?)
29.1	Bill. 0.53	14	Brockage		
(29.2)*	Bill. 1.40	19			

- 27a Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 41.7-8 (Type G), W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 41.7 This coin
- (27b.1) "Peter and Paul Hoard"  
NC 1973, p. 172, no. 1107 This coin
- (27b.2) Private collection
- 27c From Baldwin 24.vi.77
- 28 From Baldwin 24.vi.77  
H. Pl. 41.9 (Type H), W. —, R. —  
For a specimen of this type which seems to be of larger module (Series I or II?), see *Numizmatika* 1977, p. 16, no. 7.  
For a specimen of this type in which the emperor holds a scepter cruciger and the inscr. is dotted, see NC 1973, p. 172, no. 1112.
- 29.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 41.10 (Type I), W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 41.10 This coin
- 29.2 Private collection, from a hoard from eastern Thrace  
NCirc 1974, p. 54, no. 14 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
30*	Bill. 1.12	20	Cross, radiate, decorated with pellets.	<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE Q</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ΔΕ</p> Full-length figure of beardless emperor wearing stemma, short military tunic (breast-plate?), and sagion; holds in r. hand sword, resting over shoulder, and in l., castle with three towers.	(1237-?)
				<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE R</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Var. A</i></p> Outstretched wing. <p style="text-align: center;">ΙΥ Δ in l. field.</p> Half-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and jeweled loros of traditional type; holds in r. hand large standard decorated with two crosses-within-circle, and in l., cross on long shaft.	(1237-?)
31a.1*	Bill. 0.94	20	Large letter <b>B</b> .	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Var. B</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">ΙΥ Δ</p> ΙΥ Δ in l. field. <p style="text-align: center;">As preceding type.</p>	(1237-?)
31a.2*	Bill. 1.49	23		<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE S</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ΜΡ ΘΥ</p> Large letter <b>B</b> on l., and standard decorated with two crosses-within-circle on r. <p style="text-align: center;">ΜΡ ΘΥ in field.</p> Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne without back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.	(1237-?)
(31b)	Bill.				
(32)	Bill.	21			

- 30 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 41.11 (Type J), W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1950, p. 65, no. 21  
H. Pl. 41.11 This coin. *Numismatica* 1950, p. 65, no. 21 This coin
- 31a.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 41.12–13 (Type K), W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1950, p. 65, no. 25  
H. Pl. 41.13 This coin. *Numismatica* 1950, p. 65, no. 25 This coin
- 31a.2 Gift of M. F. Hendy 67  
H. Pl. 41.12 This coin
- (31b) *Numismatica* 1950, p. 65, no. 26  
H. p. 284 (Type L), W. —, R. —
- (32) Archaeological Museum, Sofia (Oustovo Hoard)  
H. Pl. 41.14 (Type M), W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 41.14 This coin



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(33)*	Bill.		Head of flower.	<p>TYPE T</p> <p>MP ΘV in field. Full-length figure of Virgin nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion.</p>	(1237-?)
(34)*	Bill. 1.04	20	<p>MP ΘV in field. ✱ ✱ Bust of Virgin nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion.</p>	<p>TYPE U</p> <p>ΙΥ in upper r. field. Full-length figure of winged emperor, wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., anexikakia.</p>	(1237-?)
(35)*	Bill. 1.35	22 x 16	Wing.	<p>TYPE V</p> <p>Winged, beardless, bust of emperor, wearing stemma, and holding anexikakia (?), surmounting the crenelated walls of a city.</p>	(1237-?)
(36)*	Bill. 1.27	18	Cross with pellets in each angle (?) within crescent-shaped ornament (?).	<p>TYPE W</p> <p>ΙΥ Δ in upper center field. Half-length figure of beardless emperor beneath arch with towers at each corner, wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; in r. hand holds scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia.</p>	(1237-?)

- (33) Münzkabinett, Vienna  
H. p. 285 (Type Q), W. —, R. —, *NZ* 1957, pp. 56–57, no. 328  
*NZ* 1957, pp. 56–57, no. 328 This coin
- (34) *Numismatica* 1950, p. 65, no. 24  
H. Pl. 41.17 (Type O), W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 41.17 This coin
- (35) Private collection  
H. Pl. 41.18 (Type P), W. —, R. —  
*NC* 1978, p. 111, no. 467 This coin. The type is now also known from the Corinth excavations of 1976: J. E. Fisher, "Coins: Corinth Excavations, 1976, Forum Southwest," *Hesperia* 49 (1980), p. 28, no. 219.
- (36) BN  
H. —, W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(37)*	Bill. 0.60	18	Brockage	<p>TYPE X</p> <p>ΙΩΙ ΙΝΔC Busts (?) of emperor on l., and of beardless, nimbate saint (Demetrius?), holding between them (?) large lys on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma.</p>	(1237-?)
				<p>TYPE Y</p> <p>ΟΛΓΗΟCΔΗ ΜΗΤΡΙΟC Full-length figure of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; in r. hand holds sword, resting over shoulder, and in l., shield, resting on ground.</p> <p>ΙΩΑΝΝΗC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗCΟK Full-length figure of beardless emperor wearing stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; in r. hand holds labarum on long shaft, and in l., anxikakia.</p>	(1237-?)
(38.1)*	Bill.	23	ΟΛΓΗΟCΔΗ ΜΗΤΡΙΟC	ΙΝΙC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC	
(38.2)*	Bill. 1.69	24	ΙΓΗΟCΔΗ ΜΗΤΡΗ•	ΙΩΑΝΝΗC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗCΟK	
(38.3)	Bill. 2.15 pierced	22	ΟΛΓΗΟCΔΗΜ ΗΤΡΗΟ	ΙΩΑΝΝΗC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC	

- (37) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *NC* 1978, p. 111, nos. 473–76  
*NC* 1978, p. 111, no. 474 This coin
- (38.1) Münzkabinett, Berlin  
H. p. 288, W. —, R. —, Sabatier, Pl. LXII.18 (John V)
- (38.2) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul
- (38.3) Private collection

## DEMETRIUS Comnenus-Ducas

(Despot 1244 – 1246)

### BACKGROUND

Demetrius Comnenus-Ducas, the younger son of Theodore, was apparently a complete contrast to his brother: raffish and immoral. His title was nevertheless legitimate: on John's death, he sent an embassy to Emperor John III requesting that he be permitted to succeed to his brother's title, and the emperor, for the moment distracted by the Mongol menace, agreed.<sup>1</sup>

In 1246, after his campaign resulting in major territorial acquisitions from the Bulgarians, John III was at Melnik, when he was unexpectedly approached by a member of the pro-Nicaean clique in Thessalonica, with an offer to betray the city to him if he would guarantee its preexisting rights and privileges. John naturally agreed to do so—arranged entry into the second city of the former unitary empire would obviate the necessity of an expensive and time-consuming siege—and duly marched on the city, demanding that Demetrius present himself before him. Demetrius twice refused, and John was indeed faced with the prospect of a wintertime siege, when during a skirmish between the two sides a sea gate was opened from the inside by the conspirators, permitting the entry of Nicaean forces. At the intercession of his sister Irene, the widow of Ivan II, Demetrius was treated leniently and sent off to detention in Anatolia. Thessalonica thus came under Nicaean control.<sup>2</sup>

### COINAGE

No coins of Demetrius Ducas in his own name are known, and it is probable that none were struck. It is possible that the anonymous billon trachy issue with its two varieties, listed below, belongs to the years 1244–46, but it could almost equally well belong to the years 1242–44, when John was despot. An attribution to this period has been doubted on the supposed grounds of its larger size and greater commonness than the issues of John, and an alternative interregnal slot of 1230 suggested. Both objection and suggestion are at best frivolous, particularly if the issue runs over two years, and the dating 1242–44/1244–46 should be retained.<sup>3</sup> If, as now appears to be the case, John was coining in his own name during the years 1242–44, then Demetrius and the years 1244–46 appear inevitable as an identification for this issue.

<sup>1</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 70–71.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 79–83, 84.

<sup>3</sup> Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 265. The recent attribution of the type to Michael II of Epirus carries equally little conviction: M. Karamessini-Oikonomides, I. Touratsoglou, and E. Tsourte, "Symbolē stēn ereuna tēs kyklophorias tōn byzantinōn nomismatōn stēn Epeiro (1204–1332)," in E. Chrysos, ed., *Praktika Diethnous Symposiou gia to Despotatou tēs Epeirou (Arta, 27–31 Maiou 1990)* (Arta, 1992), 104, 115.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
<b>ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</b>					
<b>Thessalonica</b>					
			<p> <math>\overline{\text{IC}}</math> <math>\overline{\text{XC}}</math> in field; sometimes with <math>\text{O}</math> <math>\text{EMMAN}\delta\text{HA}</math> in two columnar groups.            Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand.         </p>	<p> <math>\overline{\text{X}}</math> <math>\overline{\text{X}}</math> in lower field.  <math>\text{P}</math> <math>\text{M}</math>            Full-length figure of archangel Michael nimbate, wearing divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., gl. cr.         </p>	
1a.1*	Bill. 2.50	28	$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\text{OE}$ $\text{N}\delta$ $\text{MM}$ $\text{HA}$ $\Lambda$	$\overline{\text{X}}$ $\overline{\text{X}}$ $\text{P}$	
1a.2	Bill. 1.98 flattened		$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\text{OE}$ $\text{N}$ $\Delta$		
1b.1	Bill. 2.42	30	$\overline{\text{IC}}$	$\overline{\text{X}}$ $\text{P}$	
1b.2*	Bill. 3.03	26	$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$	$\overline{\text{X}}$ $\times$	
(1c)*	Bill.	29	$\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ No inscr. in r. $\text{OE}$ hand column. $\text{MM}$		

1a.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 40.20–21, W. (Isaac II) 37, R. —  
H. Pl. 40.20 This coin

1a.2 Bertelè 1960

1b.1 Bertelè 1960

1b.2 Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 40.21 This coin

(1c) Private collection

Glendining 24.v.78, lot 86 This coin

Use of two obv. dies has in this case obviously resulted in the “muling” of the two obv. vars.

## UNCERTAIN THESSALONICAN ATTRIBUTION

The small-module billon trachy issue listed below undoubtedly and in general belongs with John Ducas' Series III. The emperor/ruler is, however, portrayed as bearded, whereas John's named issues all portray him as beardless. Whether this distinction derives simply from a mistake, or has some real significance, remains obscure.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
1.1* (1.2)*	Bill. 1.31 Bill. 1.60	23 20	Wing, from which extends an arm holding a sword; above and below, an asterisk.	Full-length figure of emperor, bearded, on r., and of beardless, nimbate saint (Demetrius?) in military dress, holding between them partially sheathed sword, point downward. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds scepter in l. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds (spear?) in r. hand. In upper center field, an asterisk.	

- 1.1 Bertelè 1956  
H. Pl. 41.19, W. —, R. —, Bertelè, *L'imperatore alato*, p. 33, no. 52  
H. Pl. 41.19 This coin. Bertelè, *L'imperatore alato*, p. 33, no. 52 This coin
- (1.2) Private collection  
*NCirc* 1974, p. 55, no. 15 This coin

JOHN III Ducas  
Called Vatatzes  
(1246 – 1254 at Thessalonica)

BACKGROUND

John III's acquisition of Thessalonica has been described immediately above, and his reign as a whole in the appropriate section of the Magnesian sequence above, and therefore little need be added here.

Thessalonica now became the seat of the viceroy of Nicaean possessions in the Balkans, the first of which officials was Andronicus Palaeologus, father of the future emperor Michael VIII, but he died shortly after his appointment, and was replaced by Theodore Philes. The position and mode of operation of the viceroy have been previously noted with regard to George Acropolites, appointed *praitōr* by Theodore II in 1256. The city itself also had its own governor. And, as pointed out above, John III had to promise to observe its preexisting rights and privileges before gaining entrance to it, just as Baldwin I had had to on an earlier occasion.<sup>1</sup>

COINAGE

John III recommenced or continued the issue of coinage at Thessalonica immediately upon his acquisition of the city, and on much the same basis of production as last definitely seen during the reign of John Ducas as emperor: both electrum and billon trachea are currently known for the reign, with 2 types of the former, and no less than 13 of the latter—it being clear that in general there are two annual sequences involved, continuing the former distinction between Series I and Series II, but of course without Series III.

Type A (**1**) of the electrum, apparently known from a single specimen in that alloy, is in fact a strike from the much more normal Type G (**9.1–6**) of the billon, continuing a practice already seen on several earlier occasions.<sup>2</sup> Type B (**2**), again known from a single specimen, is—so it seems—a true type, just possibly accompanying Type F (**8.1–4**) of the billon, with its obverse Virgin and reverse emperor and St. Demetrius.

As already mentioned, the 13 Types A–M of the billon trachy apparently continue the distinct Series I/II sequences previously observed under John Ducas. The former probably accounts for 8 types, the latter for 5, with the two sequences separating out as follows:

Series I	Series II
Type A: <b>3.1–7</b> ; Type B: <b>4.1–6</b>	Type D: <b>6.1–5</b> ; Type E: <b>7.1–3</b>
Type C: ( <b>5</b> ); Type F: <b>8.1–4</b>	Type K: <b>13</b> ; Type L: <b>14.1–3</b>
Type G: <b>9.1–6</b> ; Type H: <b>10.1–5</b>	Type M: ( <b>15</b> )
Type I: <b>11.1–9</b> ; Type J: <b>12.1–5</b>	

<sup>1</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 91, 139; see also above, p. 469 (*praitōr*). Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, II, p. 88 (Baldwin); Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 287, 289.

<sup>2</sup> For a possible Thessalonican gold (hyperpyron) strike, see above, p. 483 (**4i**) and pl. xxix.

The distinction between the two series by module and fabric is not always easily made in the case of a particular coin (cf., for example, **12.1** and **12.4**), but examination of the run of coins in a type will generally settle the question of attribution as between series. The two are also somewhat different in iconography, with Series II being confined to single imperial figures, presumably because of the somewhat smaller flans involved.

It seems clear that the annual change of designs characteristic of the coinages of the Ducas rulers (and indeed for his own Magnesian coinage) was maintained: for the eight virtually whole indictional years 1246/47–1253/54, there are thus 8 main types for Series I, if admittedly only 5 such for Series II. At least one further issue (John III and Michael II: **1.1–2**—possibly a special issue) also has to be accommodated within Series I.

The early section of the sequence for Series I has been previously discussed in preliminary fashion: Types A and B open it at 1246/47 and 1247/48, in whichever order. Types C and the two John and Michael varieties come next, but again in uncertain order. As there are already 8 main types for the eight virtually whole indictional years of the reign (John took the city in October/November of 1246, thus slightly curtailing one indiction, and died in late October of 1254, thus adding only a sliver—1 September–October—of another), I am now inclined to place Type C at 1248/49 and to regard the two John and Michael varieties as “intrusive” at 1248. Type C is currently and unusually known from a single specimen only, and thus may well have had to share its year with something else.<sup>3</sup>

A nice equivalent to the latter phenomenon is to be seen in the case of Type D (Series II). On the reverse of this type, there normally occurs a large asterisk in the upper right field. In one certain instance (**6.2**) among the five specimens in the collection, the asterisk is replaced by the signum ✕. Now, this is also known from both John’s Magnesian electrum trachy Type N (**33.1–2**) and from his copper tetarteron Type A (**56.1–5**), and has been dated tentatively to 1246 or 1247. The evanescent and “special” character of such rare signa and their issues, common across several Magnesian denominations, or across the two mints, thereby becomes clear, with Δ/P on Variety B of the two John and Michael varieties forming a parallel, and dated to 1248.<sup>4</sup>

Types A and B are therefore to be dated 1246/47 and 1247/48, with the precise order remaining uncertain for the moment, and Type C is to be dated 1248/49, with the two John and Michael varieties sharing a year with it at 1248. The sequence beyond this remains entirely uncertain, and the production of the coinage in any case deteriorates suddenly, the regular fabric becoming decidedly ragged, and the neat style being replaced by a decidedly sprawling and slovenly one.

The sequence and dating for Series II remain almost entirely unknown, but three factors may be of some marginal significance in this respect. In the first place, whereas Series I starts out in fine fabric and style, and then after three coinages deteriorates rapidly, Series II is uniformly of the same deteriorated fabric and style. In the second, whereas Series I currently consists of 8 main types, Series II consists of 5 only. These, in combination, would seem to support a *prima facie* case for supposing Series II to have (re)commenced later than Series I—that is, sufficiently later for it not to have participated in coining in the fine early mode of Series I. There are possible objections to at least some of this: for example, it is conceivable that among the 8 types of the Series I sequence, and particularly late on in it, there is at least one type misattributed to that series, which should be attributed rather to Series II, thus tending to equal up the number of types; and/or it is all too conceivable, in this tangled neck of the numismatic woods, that one or more additional types will eventually turn up for Series II, thus equaling up numbers in a different manner.


The *prima facie* case is nevertheless a temptingly plausible one as the two sequences now stand, for it would permit Series II to (re-)commence after the third of the fine main Series I coinages, and the special John III and Michael II issues, that is, in 1249/50, with the result that the first (deteriorated) type of

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 115–18.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 113–15, 472–73.



Series II would parallel the fourth (and first deteriorated) type of Series I, with the fifth type of Series II consequently ending the reign alongside the eighth of Series I—in other words, numerically precisely as the sequences now stand. Tempting, perhaps, but also extremely fragile, as it needs only the discovery of a new type in either of the two sequences to force at least a revised argument or a readjustment of the whole case.

One already possible objection to the case (representing the third factor mentioned above) is that it has been previously postulated that the occasion of the occurrence of the rare signum  that is common to both the Magnesian and the Thessalonican series was the territorial acquisitions of 1246, with the signum itself occurring in that year, or perhaps more probably in 1247 (the acquisition of Thessalonica itself occurring in October/November 1246)—but in any case too early to have appeared on Type D, even if it was the earliest in the Series II sequence. But the postulate was never intended as anything other than tentative, and the occasion of the signum might quite as well have been the recovery of Rhodes from the Genoese in 1250—an important victory and one which would in fact fit in quite well as the required occasion: there are simply too many historical and numismatic imponderables present to permit more than the construction of a very loose general case based on possibilities and at best probabilities.<sup>5</sup>

One minor but intriguing question remaining to be asked (but not of course answered) is: just why did John's fine early style, continuing on from the Ducas rulers' equivalent, collapse into an at least relative squalor so precipitately? In very general terms, the phenomenon has about it the air of a drafting in of Nicaean personnel, for the "deteriorated" Thessalonican style is not that far removed from the normal Magnesian one. The subordinate question then arises as to whether such a drafting in was the result of policy or of necessity: in other words, as to whether Thessalonican personnel were deliberately replaced, or whether—for whatever reason—they had moved elsewhere, thereby necessitating their replacement. There is no real answer to either the principal or the subordinate question, save that there is an intriguing hint that an *Isaakios* who signed an electrum trachy for Theodore, probably in 1224/25, may also have signed one for Michael II at some quite uncertain date (cf. Theodore: **1a.1–2** and Michael: **1**), together with the fact that at no apparent stage of his rule does Michael seem to have been unable to command workmanship of Thessalonican status and style for his coinage.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 473–74 (Thess.), 116–18 (Rhodes); and below, p. 649.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 121, and below, p. 624.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(1)	El.		ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA <b>Thessalonica</b> TYPE A <i>(Inscr. and Types as Billon Trachy Type G)</i>		(1249/ 50-54?)
			<p> <math>\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}</math> in field.            Bust of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.         </p>	<p> <math>\overline{\text{IY}}</math>  <math>\Delta</math>            <math>\Gamma</math>  <math>\Pi</math>            <math>\text{O}\Lambda</math>                             <math>\Delta</math>                             <math>\text{M}</math>                             <math>\text{T}</math> </p> <p>           Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them castle with three towers. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds labarum-headed scepter in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sword, point resting on ground, in l. hand.         </p>	
(2)*	El. 2.25	31	TYPE B		(1249- 50-54?)
			<p> <math>\overline{\text{MP}} \overline{\text{OV}}</math> in upper field.            Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.         </p>	<p> <math>\overline{\text{IY}}</math> <math>\text{O}</math> </p> <p>           Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them labarum on long shaft at the base of which a small globe. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand anexikakia. Saint wears short military tunic and breastplate.         </p>	

(1) BM  
H. p. 294, W. —, R. —

(2) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —  
*NCirc* 1972, p. 56, no. 1 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA					
<b>Thessalonica</b>					
TYPE A					
			<p>ΜΡ ΘV in field. + + Bust of Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion.</p>	<p>ΙΩ ΔΕ Δ CΠ ΕC ΟΤ or ΠΟ ΗC ΤΗ C Full-length figure of emperor, wearing stemma, divitision, and jeweled loros of tradi- tional type; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., anexikakia. In l. field, an outstretched wing; in upper r. field, Manus Dei.</p>	(1246– 48/49?)
3.1	Bill. 2.46	29		<p>ΔΕ CΠ ΟΤ ΗC</p>	
3.2	Bill. 2.45	27		<p>ΙΩ ΔΕ CΠ ΟΤ ΗC</p>	
3.3*	Bill. 3.90 worn	27		<p>ΙΩ Δ ΕC ΠΙ ΤΗ C</p>	
3.4	Bill. 1.91	28		<p>ΙΩ ΔΙ CΠ ΤΙ C</p>	
3.5*	Bill. 2.48	29		<p>ΙΩ Δ ΕC ΠΟ ΤΗ C</p>	

- 3.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 42.1–2, W. (John Ducas, Sebastocrator) 1, R. 2293 (John Ducas, Sebastocrator)  
H. Pl. 42.1 This coin
- 3.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 42.2 This coin
- 3.3 Bertelè 1960  
Bertelè, *L'imperatore alato*, p. 28, no. 36 This coin
- 3.4 Bertelè 1960
- 3.5 Bertelè 1956  
Bertelè, *L'imperatore alato*, p. 28, no. 35 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
3.6	Bill. 2.16 chipped	28		Δ CΠ TH C	
3.7	Bill. 2.07 clipped, pierced, flattened	23		ΙΩ Δ ΕΙ ΠΙ TH C	
				TYPE B	
			Ρ Χ Μ Bust of archangel Michael nimbate, wearing divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand sword, resting over shoulder, and in l., gl. cr.	ΙΩ ΔΕC ΠO TH C Emperor seated upon throne without back, wearing stemma, divitision, and jeweled loros of traditional type; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia. In l. field, an outstretched wing; in upper r. field, Manus Dei.	(1246– 48/49?)
4.1	Bill. 4.19	29		ΙΩ ΔΕC Π O	
4.2*	Bill. 2.74	29		ΙΩ Δ ΕC Π T	
4.3	Bill. 3.28	27		ΙΩ ΔΕC ΠΙ ΤΙ C	
4.4*	Bill. 2.19	25		ΙΩ Δ Ε ΠO	

- 3.6 Bertelè 1960  
3.7 Schindler 1960 from Trinks 1898  
4.1 Bertelè 1956  
H. Pl. 42.3–4, W. p. 228 (John Ducas, Sebastocrator), R. —  
H. Pl. 42.3 This coin. Bertelè, *L'imperatore alato*, p. 28, no. 37 This coin  
4.2 Schindler 1960 from Trinks  
H. Pl. 42.4 This coin  
4.3 Bertelè 1960  
4.4 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
4.5	Bill. 2.00 chipped, flattened	28		Inscr. obscure	
4.6	Bill. 2.80 battered	30		ΙΩ	
				TYPE C	
			Ιϸ ϸϸ in field. Bust of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, holds Gospels in l. hand.	ΙΩ Δϵ CΠO N T H Bust of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar- piece, and paneled loros; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia.	(1246- 48/49?)
(5)*	Bill. 2.00	27		TYPE D	
			Γ ΠI OΛ OC ΔH MH *	ΙΩ O Δ ϝ Full-length figure of emperor wearing short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., anexikakia. Large asterisk in upper r. field.	(1249/50- 54?)
6.1	Bill. 1.79 chipped	26	Γ ΠI OΛ OC ΔH MH *	O Δ ϝ	
6.2	Bill. 1.95 chipped	26	ΠI OC *	Inscr. obscure X in upper r. field.	

4.5 Bertelè 1960

4.6 Bertelè 1960

(5) Private collection

H. —, W. —, R. —, *NCirc* 1976, pp. 46–47, no. 8 (Uncertain Nicaea) This coin

6.1 Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 42.5–6 (Type C), W. —, R. —, *NC* 1923, pp. 42–43, class xxi (Arta Hoard)

H. Pl. 42.5 This coin

6.2 Bertelè 1960

This signum is also known for John's Magnesian Type N (33.1, 2) and as the obverse type of his tetarteron Type A (56.1–5).

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6.3	Bill. 2.02	24	Inscr. obscure	Inscr. obscure	
6.4*	Bill. 1.49	25	Γ OA ΔH *	Ο Δ	
6.5*	Bill. 1.51 chipped	26	Δ FI M OC	ΙΨ Δ ϝ	
TYPE E					
			Γ FI OA O I C *	ΙΨ Ο Δ ϝ K	(1249/ 50-54?)
			Bust of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sword, resting over shoulder in r. hand.	Full-length figure of emperor, wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds labarum on long shaft in l. hand.	
7.1*	Bill. 2.26	25	Γ FI OA O I C	Ψ Δ ϝ	
7.2	Bill. 1.57 flattened	24	Φ O C	Ψ Ο Δ ϝ	
7.3*	Bill. 1.37 battered	25	Φ	ΙΨ Δ ϝ K	

- 6.3 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 42.6 This coin
- 6.4 Bertelè 1960
- 6.5 Bertelè 1960
- 7.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 42.7-8 (Type D), W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 42.7 This coin
- 7.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 42.8 This coin
- 7.3 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE F		
			<p>MP ΘV in field.            Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne without back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast. Lys above cushion of throne, to either side.</p>	<p>ΙΩ Ο            Δ Δ            Π Μ            Τ Τ            Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them patriarchal cross. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion.</p>	(1249/ 50–54?)
8.1*	Bill. 2.98	27		ΙΩ	
8.2	Bill. 2.48 pierced	27		ΙΩ ὀ Δ Δ Π Μ Τ Τ	
8.3*	Bill. 1.81 chipped	26		ΙΩ Ο Λ Δ Μ Τ Ο	
8.4	Bill. 1.82	27		ΙΩΔΠΤ ΟΔΙΜ	

- 8.1 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 42.9–10 (Type E), W. —, R. —, *NC* 1923, pp. 37–38, class ix  
 H. Pl. 42.9 This coin
- 8.2 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 42.10 This coin
- 8.3 Bertelè 1960
- 8.4 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
TYPE G					
			<p>IC XC in field. Bust of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">           Γ            Δ ΙΨ ΟΛ            Π <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">Δ Μ? Τ</span> </p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them castle with three towers. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds labarum-headed scepter in r. hand. Saint wears military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sword, point resting on ground, in l. hand.</p>	(1249/50-54?)
9.1*	Bill. 2.61	29		<p style="text-align: center;">           Δ ΙΨ Ο            Π Δ         </p>	
9.2	Bill. 2.46	30		<p style="text-align: center;">           ΙΨ Γ            ΟΑ         </p>	
9.3	Bill. 2.47 chipped	30		<p style="text-align: center;">ΙΨ</p>	
9.4*	Bill. 2.92	30		<p style="text-align: center;">           ΙΨ Γ            ΟΑ         </p>	
9.5	Bill. 3.35 flattened	29		<p style="text-align: center;">ΙΨ</p>	
9.6	Bill. 0.81 corroded	25		<p style="text-align: center;">ΙΨ</p>	

- 9.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 42.11-12 (Type F), W. —, R. —, *NC* 1923, p. 38, class xi(?)  
H. Pl. 42.11 This coin
- 9.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 42.12 This coin
- 9.3 Bertelè 1960
- 9.4 Bertelè 1960
- 9.5 Bertelè 1960
- 9.6 Bertelè 1960



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE H		
			<p> <math>\overline{\text{MP}} \overline{\text{ΘV}}</math> in field.            * *            Full-length figure of Virgin nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion.         </p>	<p> <math>\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{Ω}} \quad \text{⊙}</math>  <math>\Delta\text{Π} \quad \Delta\text{I}</math>  <math>\text{O}\Delta \quad \text{M}</math>  <math>\text{K} \quad \text{T}</math> </p> <p>           Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them labarum surmounting triangular decoration on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds sword, point resting on ground, in r. hand. Saint wears divitision and chlamys; holds sword, point resting on ground, in l. hand.         </p>	(1249/50-54?)
10.1*	Bill. 2.23	30		<p> <math>\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{Ω}}</math>  <math>\Delta\text{Π}</math>  <math>\text{O}\Delta</math>  <math>\text{K}</math> </p>	
10.2	Bill. 3.01 flattened	32		<p> <math>\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{Ω}} \quad \text{⊙}</math>  <math>\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{Π}} \quad \Delta</math>  <math>\text{M}</math>  <math>\text{T}</math> </p>	
10.3	Bill. 2.38 pierced, flattened	29		<p> <math>\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{Ω}}</math>  <math>\text{O}</math>  <math>\Delta</math>  <math>\text{K}</math> </p> <p> <math>\text{O}</math>  <math>\Delta\text{I}</math>  <math>\text{M}</math>  <math>\text{T}</math> </p>	
10.4*	Bill. 1.90	26		<p> <math>\overline{\text{Ω}}</math>  <math>\text{⊙}</math>  <math>\Delta\text{I}</math>  <math>\text{M}</math>  <math>\text{T}</math> </p>	
10.5	Bill. 1.84 clipped? chipped	23		<p> <math>\Delta</math>  <math>\text{M}</math>  <math>\text{T}</math> </p>	

- 10.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 43.1-2 (Type G), W. —, R. —
- 10.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 43.2 This coin
- 10.3 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 43.1 This coin
- 10.4 Bertelè 1960
- 10.5 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE I		
			Γ P Ⓞ Π ΓΕ Ο Ψ C Bust of St. George, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, resting over l. shoulder, and in l., shield.	ἸΨ Δ Δ Π Μ Τ Φ Half-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them cross-within-circle surmounting triangular decoration on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type. Saint wears tunic, breastplate, and sagion.	(1249/50-54?)
11.1*	Bill. 2.07	29	ἸΨ Ψ ΓΕ Π Ρ Ο	ἸΨ Δ Δ Μ	
11.2	Bill. 2.58	28	Γ Ο Ⓞ Ο ΓΕ C	ἸΨ Δ Δ	
11.3	Bill. 4.26	28	Γ Ο ΓΕ Ψ	Ψ Δ Δ Μ Φ	
11.4	Bill. 2.77	27	Ο Π ΓΕ OC	ἸΨ Δ Π Τ	Μ Φ
11.5*	Bill. 2.37 worn	29	Inscr. obscure	Ψ Ο Δ	
11.6	Bill. 2.58 chipped, battered	28	Γ Ο Γ ΓΕ Ο Ψ C	ἸΨ Δ Π Τ	Ⓞ Δ Μ Τ

- 11.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 43.3-4 (Type H), W. —, R. —, *NC* 1923, p. 35, class v (John Comnenus-Ducas)  
H. Pl. 43.3 This coin
- 11.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 43.4 This coin
- 11.3 Bertelè 1960
- 11.4 Bertelè 1960
- 11.5 Bertelè 1960
- 11.6 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
11.7	Bill. 1.59 chipped	25	Inscr. obscure	Ψ C M Π	
11.8	Bill. 2.41 worn, chipped	28	Γ Ο ΓΙ ΓΕ Ο Ψ	Ϊ Δ Δ Π Μ Τ Φ	
11.9	Bill. 1.48 chipped, flattened	23	Γ Π Ε Ψ	Π Δ Μ Φ	
TYPE J					
12.1*	Bill.	30	Ο ΦΙ Δ ΟC Μ Full-length figure of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, and in l., shield.	Ο Ψ Δ Half-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., gl. cr.	(1249/ 50-54?)
12.2	Bill. 2.38	29	Δ Μ Τ	Κ Λ Ο Δ	
12.3	Bill. 3.74	27	Μ ΙΦ	Ο Δ	
12.4*	Bill. 2.13	24	Ο ΦΙ Δ ΟC Μ	Ο Δ	
12.5	Bill. 1.68	24	Δ Μ	Ο Ψ Δ	

- 11.7 Bertelè 1960  
 11.8 Bertelè 1960  
 11.9 Bertelè 1960  
 12.1 Whittemore  
 H. Pl. 43.5-6 (Type I), W. —, R. 2288  
 R. 2288 This coin  
 12.2 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 43.5 This coin  
 12.3 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 43.6 This coin  
 12.4 Bertelè 1960  
 12.5 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1948, p. 88, fig. 1 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
13*	Bill. 2.48	26	TYPE K		(1249/ 50–54?)
			<p>○ Π</p> <p>Full-length figure of St. Peter, bearded and nimbate, turned to l.; holds two keys in r. hand.</p>	<p>Half-length figure of emperor, wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.</p>	
14.1	Bill. 2.14	24	TYPE L		(1249/ 50–54?)
			<p>ΙϞ ΧϚ in field.</p> <p>Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand.</p>	<p>Half-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr.</p>	
14.2*	Bill. 1.48	22			
14.3*	Bill. 1.79	21		* in lower r. field.	
(15)*	Bill.	20	TYPE M		(1249/ 50–54?)
			<p>(ΙϞ ΧϚ in field)</p> <p>Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	<p>Half-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., gl. cr.</p>	

- 13 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 43.7 (Type J), W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1948, p. 88, fig. 1  
H. Pl. 43.7 This coin. *Numismatica* 1948, p. 88, fig. 1 This coin
- 14.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 43.8–9 (Type K), W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 43.9 This coin
- 14.2 Bertelè 1960
- 14.3 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 43.8 This coin
- (15) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —

## THEODORE II Ducas-Lascaris

(1254 – 1258)

### BACKGROUND

Theodore's brief reign, as previously described, was nevertheless an eventful one, and marked by prolonged Balkan campaigning. The Bulgarian tsar Michael was the first to open hostilities, in an attempt to recover for his state what had been lost to John III at the death of Caloman and his own succession in 1246. Campaigning personally during the years 1255 and 1256, Theodore had with some difficulty brought the disputed territories back under Nicaean control, with at least two periods of residence at Thessalonica.

Taking advantage of the naivety of Theodora, Michael II's wife, whose son Nicephorus had long been betrothed to Theodore's daughter Maria, the emperor then managed to extort the cession of Dyrrhachium and Servia, but at the cost of resentment which led first to an Albanian rebellion incited by Michael, and then to a full-scale invasion of western Macedonia by the latter, supported by Serbian forces. At the time of Theodore's death, much of western Macedonia had been temporarily lost, not to be regained until early in the reign of his eventual successor Michael VIII.<sup>1</sup>

### COINAGE

Theodore's Thessalonican coinage as currently known consists of a single issue of billon trachea, and while it is quite conceivable that more material will come to light, it is unlikely that it will be on a scale sufficient to counteract the conclusion that he closed the mint quite early in his reign, and probably as early as 1255. This, of course, was while he was himself campaigning in the Balkans, which may sound implausible, but the closure has previously been connected with the creation of a treasury at Astitzium on the Scamander, which would have been well placed to act as a secondary repository to the principal *vestiarion* and mint at Magnesia, and to have forwarded funds to the emperor when in the Balkans. This would suggest that the most important source of Nicaean funds was still Anatolia—which is itself not at all implausible. The issue is probably to be dated 1254/55.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 514, 529.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 102, 515.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
<b>ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</b>					
<b>Thessalonica</b>					
			Large cross with floriate ends to limbs; in center, small linear cross, or dot.	<p>Λ ΘΕΟΔ  Κ Ψ Ρ Ο  Ο Δ  ΛΑ Μ  C K A Ξ  Π  C</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them castle with three towers, surmounted by large asterisk. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds labarum-headed scepter in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds spear, resting over shoulder, in l. hand.</p>	(1254/55?)
1.1*	Bill. 2.86	29	Dot in center	<p>ΘΕΟΔ Δ  Ψ Ρ  Α Ο  Κ Δ  Ο Μ  ΛΑ Ξ  C K A  Π  C</p>	
1.2*	Bill. 1.72 pierced	24		<p>ΘΕΟΔ  Ψ Ρ  Ο  Α  Μ</p>	
1.3	Bill. 1.46	24		<p>ΘΕΔΨ  Δ</p>	

- 1.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 43.10, W. —, R. —, *NC* 1923, p. 40, class xiv (Theodore Comnenus-Ducas)  
H. Pl. 43.10 This coin
- 1.2 Bertelè 1960
- 1.3 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
1.4*	Bill. 1.64	24	Cross in center	Inscr. obscure	
(1.5)*	Bill.	29	Dot in center	<p style="text-align: center;">ΘΕΟΔ Ψ</p> <p>Δ K Λ</p>	
(1.6)*	Bill.	30		<p style="text-align: center;">O ΑΙ M</p>	

- 1.4 Bertelè 1960  
(1.5) BN (Ex Schlumberger)  
(1.6) Private collection





C. EPIRUS / ARTA, ETC.



MICHAEL I Comnenus-Ducas

(ca. 1204 – ca. 1215)

THEODORE Comnenus-Ducas

(ca. 1215 – 1230 at Arta)

MANUEL Comnenus-Ducas

(1230 – ca. 1236 from Thessalonica)

MICHAEL II Comnenus-Ducas

(ca. 1236 – ca. 1268)

#### BACKGROUND

Michael Comnenus-Ducas was an illegitimate son of the sebastocrator John Ducas, with five certain legitimate brothers—Isaac, Alexius, Constantine, Theodore, and Manuel—all of whom except the first two played prominent or important secondary roles in the history of the successor state of Epirus/Thessalonica during the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

His career, long controversial, now seems securely established in its main lines, although particular dates frequently remain imprecise.<sup>2</sup> He first appears as among the hostages given by Isaac II to Frederick I during the Third Crusade in 1190. He was subsequently *doux kai anagrapheus* of Mylassa-Melanudium during the reign of Isaac II, and apparently again during that of Alexius III, rebelling abortively against that emperor in ca. 1200, and fleeing to the Selçuks as a consequence of his failure.

By September 1204 he was already in the company of Boniface of Montferrat, in the region of Thessalonica, and whom he had accompanied from Constantinople. Shortly after, he left Boniface for what was probably Arta (possibly Larissa), and ended up by marrying what was probably the widow (possibly the daughter) of the local governor or dynast.

In 1204/5, having turned against the Latins, he was already involved in military operations in Aetolia and Epirus, the Morea and Albania. Although his expedition to the Morea quickly ended in failure, by 1205 he was probably already in barely disputed control of Aetolia and Epirus, with his coastal territory probably stretching from perhaps Avlona in the north to Naupactus in the south, and with an extension inland as far as Ioannina. He was thus protected on the west by the Adriatic and Ionian seas, with the Venetians—to whom the area had been awarded by the terms of the *Partitio Romaniae*—being unwilling to hold or incapable of holding more than strategic coastal points, and on the east by the Pindus Mountains with the Latin empire and its dependents being distracted by the establishment of their own

<sup>1</sup> Varzos, *Hē genealogia tōn Komnēnōn*, I, no. 90, pp. 648–49.

<sup>2</sup> For much of what follows, see Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 7–46; Stiernon, “Les origines du despotat d’Épire,” 90–126; R. J. Loenertz, “Aux origines du despotat d’Épire et de la principauté d’Achaïe,” *Byzantion* 43 (1973), 377–89; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, no. 190, p. 134, and no. 211, pp. 148–49.

positions and by hostilities with their neighbors. In 1210 the Venetians confirmed Michael's territorial holdings more or less along these lines in fief, and in return for what was a purely nominal acknowledgment of their suzerainty, together with the annual payment of 42 lbs. of hyperpyra (i.e., 3,024 hyp.), half in May and half in September—the two traditional tax-points of the Byzantine fiscal year—and of various other gifts.<sup>3</sup> In 1209 he had already averted a threat from the Latin empire through a marriage alliance between one of his daughters and Eustace, Emperor Henry's brother.

With his position thus secured, insofar as it could be, Michael turned to a policy of aggression and expansion, in virtually complete disregard of the commitments that he had recently entered into. After an initial lack of success in the direction of Thessalonica, he then turned elsewhere—and fruitfully so, for by 1213 he was in control of much of (Latin) Thessaly and (Venetian) Dyrrhachium, and by not long after then he had added the (Venetian) island of Corfu to his territories. In ca. 1215, at the height of his career, he was assassinated, for motives that remain unknown, although it may be not altogether lacking in significance that his immediate successor was his (half-)brother Theodore, and not his son Michael—who may or may not have been identical with a previously mentioned son named Constantine, and who was sent into exile.

Michael seems never to have been given or even to have adopted the title of despot, and the supposition that he had been granted it by his cousin the ex-emperor Alexius III, whom he had ransomed from Boniface of Montferrat in 1206/7, and to whom he had subsequently given support and encouragement to claim back his position from his own Anatolian rival Theodore Lascaris, cannot be sustained.<sup>4</sup>

Theodore Comnenus-Ducas had himself originally served the cause of Theodore Lascaris—a nice indication of the geographical fragmentation of many noble/aristocratic families after 1203/4—but had subsequently been recalled by Michael, on the grounds that he had no legitimate adult son, a quite possible indication that his eventual successor Michael (II) was the illegitimate minor son whose existence is implied by Acropolites' report on the matter, and that it was this that caused Theodore to replace and exile Michael.<sup>5</sup>

Theodore, profiting from his predecessor's territorial acquisitions, immediately turned once again to the problem of Thessalonica, and its recovery from the Latins preliminary to an eventual recovery of the City itself became his prime goal. He first insured security from his north and northeast by cultivating alliances with Albania and Serbia, the latter also providing a counter to any threat from even more easterly Bulgaria. He then began a push toward Thessalonica, in 1216 taking Ochrida and Prilep.

A diversionary but psychologically important coup followed in 1217, when the incoming Latin emperor Peter of Courtenay fell into his hands in obscure circumstances. The latter had foolishly attempted to take the overland route between Dyrrhachium (which he unsuccessfully besieged), Thessalonica, and Constantinople. Theodore seems to have "disappeared" Peter in much the same fashion as Kaloyan had earlier dealt with Baldwin I. The ructions that followed (he had also captured a cardinal of the Roman church) were worth pure gold in terms of propaganda, and his eventual freeing of the cardinal also secured him protection from Venice, which in 1218 was in effect papally forced to conclude a five-year treaty with him.

During the following years Theodore gradually completed his stranglehold on Thessalonica: in 1218 Neopatras and Lamia in the south of Thessaly and the crucial Platamona in the northeast were added to his territories; in 1221 Serres, just northeast of Thessalonica itself and a strategic point, followed; and in 1223 Servia and a number of other fortresses and cities. By 1223 he was thus in control of all mainland Greece north of a line between Naupactus and Neopatras in the south, and south of a line between Dyrrhachium, Ochrida, Prilep, Strumitsa, and Serres, with Melnik still being held by his ally the Bulgarian Slav.

Despite frantic last-minute efforts by both the Latin empire and the papacy to avert the inevitable,

<sup>3</sup> G.L.F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, II, 1205–1255 (Vienna, 1856), 119–23; Henty, *Studies*, 159–60. The sum involved must have been as nominal as the suzerainty.

<sup>4</sup> Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 14–15; controverted by Stiernon, "Les origines du despotat d'Épire," 122–24.

<sup>5</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 24. For much of what follows, see Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 47–63.

Theodore proved inexorable: he laid siege to Thessalonica in early 1223 and soon reduced it to severe straits. The end came in late 1224, when the garrison, realizing that no further help could be expected, surrendered.

After Theodore's defeat and capture in 1230, and as previously noted, his brother Manuel took power in Thessalonica and seems to have been at least formally acknowledged throughout what remained of the formerly powerful state, even in its more western sections. By 1231, however, Michael, the possibly illegitimate son of Michael I, who had been displaced and exiled by Theodore on his father's assassination in ca. 1215, had already assumed some degree of control in the west, and although he apparently never quarreled with his uncle, by 1236 was issuing his own charters, a sure sign of at least effective sovereignty, and was also in control of Corfu.<sup>6</sup>

Michael's subsequent career was long and of a greatly varying fortune, and it is not proposed to go into its details here. But in 1244/46 he was confronted with the disappearance of an independent Thessalonican state, as it became incorporated into the Nicaean one, the two successor states of Epirus and Nicaea thereby becoming contiguous neighbors. Relations between them proved consistently difficult, degenerating into armed neutrality at best and active hostility at worst. But in 1248 Michael became allied to John III through the betrothal of Michael's son Nicephorus to John's granddaughter Maria, a marriage that did not finally take place until 1256. Nevertheless, the occasion seems to have been marked by the offer on the part of John, and the acceptance on the part of Michael, of the title of *despotēs*, with the clear and inevitable implications of their respective positions of dominance and dependence, however theoretical the relationship involved might be. This is the first regular occasion on which Acropolites terms any of the Epirot rulers (Manuel of course excepted) despot, and it also called forth an issue of coin illustrating the relationship, as will be seen below.<sup>7</sup>

## COINAGE

### Michael I Comnenus-Ducas

Michael's coinage consists, as far as is currently known, of a single issue of electrum trachea. The obverse and reverse designs, a bust of Christ Emmanuel and a standing figure of the ruler respectively, are seemingly derived from those of a billon trachy (Type B, 3.1–2) of Isaac Comnenus usurper in Cyprus, which are themselves derived from those of an electrum trachy (Type D, 5a.1–c.3) of Manuel I. The reverse details of all three are somewhat unusual, the ruler being dressed in stemma, skaramangion, and sagion, and the Epirot issue clearly derives from the Cypriot imitation rather than the Constantinopolitan original, for Michael holds a scepter cruciger, as does Isaac, while Manuel holds a labarum-headed scepter. Other than that, the obverse identificatory inscription (Ω ΕΜΜΑΝΩΗΛ) interestingly utilizes an *omega* rather than *omicron* for the definite article, a presumable illiteracy, rather than the vocative case, which is nevertheless useful, for it ties this issue in with the following ones of Theodore and Manuel. Michael is styled simply ΔΘΚΑΚ, paralleling his known signature and seals as was appropriate, and as was followed by Theodore. The mint is presumably Arta.<sup>8</sup>

### Theodore Comnenus-Ducas

Again, Theodore's coinage consists, as far as is currently known, of a single issue of electrum trachea. The obverse and reverse designs are the same as those used for his predecessor, and the same misuse of an *omega* for the definite article occurs. Again, Theodore is styled simply ΔΘΚΑΚ, as was appropriate, and as is known for his early Thessalonican coinage. The mint is obviously the same.

An attempt to attribute further coinage to Theodore, while still based on Arta, and involving both other electrum trachea and also billon trachea and copper half-tetartera, is historically and numismati-

<sup>6</sup> Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 131–34; Stiernon, "Les origines du despotat d'Épire," 109–10.

<sup>7</sup> See above, pp. 115–18, 514. Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 88, 132–33. See also above, p. 602; and below, pp. 625–26.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., the text of Michael's agreement of 1210, above, p. 622: *Ego Michael Comnanus Dux* (i.e., Ducas).

cally most implausible. Arta, at this stage, and for some time beyond, can only have been the original one-horse town, an extremely rural place to which no Constantinopolitan gentleman would ever have resorted, save in the most extreme circumstances. The issues involved fit perfectly well into the pre-coronation Thessalonican series, and moreover the double obverse signum **IC/AK** occasionally found on the electrum trachea clearly does not stand for **A(PTHC) K(ACTPON)**, but for **IC(A)AK (IOC)**—presumably some treasury or mint operative.

Theodore therefore commenced his regular coinage, consisting of largely annual types, immediately upon his recovery of Thessalonica in late 1224, and no earlier.<sup>9</sup>

#### Manuel Comnenus-Ducas

Predictably, Manuel's coinage consists of a single issue of electrum trachea, with the same obverse type as those of his predecessors, but with a very different and more complex reverse: the ruler and St. Demetrius in chlamys and holding a sword. The misuse of the *omega* for the *omicron* continues, tying in this issue with those of his predecessors. It presumably dates from quite early in his reign, while Michael (II) was still acknowledging his suzerainty, in other words, at some fairly short remove from 1230. He is here appropriately termed *despotēs*.

#### Michael II Comnenus-Ducas

Michael II's coinage is the only one of the rulers of Epirus at this period consisting of other than electrum trachea, for, in addition to his single issue of that denomination, he also has two types of billon trachea.

His electrum trachy differs in both its obverse and its reverse types from those of his predecessors: a seated figure of Christ on the obverse, and the ruler and St. Constantine holding a labarum on the reverse. As previously noted, the double or triple signum  $\overset{\times}{\text{M}}/\overset{\star}{\text{AK}}$  found on the reverse is also found in part in the form **IC/AK** on certain Thessalonican electrum trachea of Theodore. Here, the **AK** is clearly meant to be combined with the  $\overline{\text{C}}$  of the identificatory  $\overline{\text{IC}}/\overline{\text{XC}}$ , once again giving **IC/AK**. Isaac and Michael—and possibly a third official signing with a lys—again were presumably treasury or mint officials.<sup>10</sup>

The date of the two billon issues remains uncertain: Type B certainly reads **ΜΙΧΑΗΛΟΔΣ**, but Type B more probably reads **ΜΙΧ[ΑΗΛ]Δ**, which can only be expanded as **ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ**. If this is indeed the case, then Type B could date before 1248, the year of Michael's acceptance of the title of *despotēs* from John III, and Type B could consequently date after that year and event. There is no decisive evidence that Michael was despot in the formal sense and in good standing before 1248, although he may loosely have termed himself such: the suggestion that he had been awarded the title by his uncle Manuel is improbable, for Manuel himself was formally never more than despot, and a despot cannot properly have created a despot. In any case, the year 1248 and after is a late date for an issue with an impeccable Thessalonican style—that style collapsing at Thessalonica itself with the issue of 1249/50—and it may be that there is here some independent evidence of a transfer of Thessalonican personnel to Arta.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Protonotariois, "Le monnayage du 'despotat' d'Épire," 89–92; see also above, p. 121. The latest Greek treatments of the subject also on the whole reject the attribution: M. Karamessini-Oikonomides, "Anaskopēsē tēs nomismatokopias tou 'despotatou tēs Epeirou'," in Chrysos, ed., *Praktika Diethnous Symposiou gia to Despotatou tēs Epeirou*, 95–99; Karamessini-Oikonomides et al., "Symbolē stēn ereuna tēs kyklophorias tōn byzantinōn nomismatōn stēn Epeiro," *ibid.*, pp. 101–23.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 121.

<sup>11</sup> This contra Protonotarios, "Le monnayage du 'despotat' d'Épire," 97, and despite Michael's charter of 1236 (Stiernon, "Les origines du despotat d'Épire," p. 110, no. 83).

JOHN III (Emperor), with MICHAEL II (Despot)  
(1248)

The occasion and date of this issue of billon trachea have been previously discussed. It consists certainly of two varieties, and just possibly of three. The general context of Varieties A and B is clear: an emperor wearing the stemma is crowning someone wearing a despot's stemmatogyron, an accentuatedly dome-shaped ceremonial headpiece. The emperor is certainly John III, for the reverse reads **ΙΩΕΝΧ** (*Ioannēs en Christō*) to the right, and the despot is almost certainly Michael II, for the reading  $\frac{\text{X}}{\text{M}}$  (Michael) has been made to the left. Despite exaggerated doubts as to the identity of the despot, nevertheless the attribution should be accepted.<sup>12</sup>

The two varieties differ basically in their obverse designs: on Variety A (1.1–3) a half-length figure of the archangel Michael; on Variety B (2) a three-quarter-length figure of the Virgin. Variety B also bears the double signum  $\frac{\text{X}}{\Delta} / \frac{\text{X}}{\text{P}}$ , and this, as previously noted, is also found on both John's Magnesian gold and electrum coinages. The signum has been described as **A/P**, largely on the improbable assumption that it identifies the mint: **AP(TA)**. However, the parallel occurrence of the Magnesian signum  $\frac{\text{X}}{\text{M}}$  on John's Thessalonican coinage clearly makes the reading  $\Delta$  or **A** superior to **A**. The mint is therefore Thessalonica and not Arta, although specimens of both varieties were in fact found in the course of archaeological excavations at Arta.<sup>13</sup> But this is entirely unremarkable: the connections between Thessalonica and Arta were necessarily close, whether historically, politically, or economically, and to suppose that because a coin was found at Arta it was necessarily minted there, is merely to perpetuate the kind of false supposition that led to the Arta Hoard long bedeviling numismatics of the period  $\pm$  1260 with a whole series of unfounded attributions.<sup>14</sup> The date of issue was 1248: the year of John III and Michael II's marriage alliance and of Michael's formal appointment as *despotēs*.

Much more problematic is Variety C (3a, b), which has been associated with the other varieties. The obverse design is that of a stylized representation of a city, with walls, tower, and gate; and the reverse is that of an emperor crowning another person. The suggestion has been made that the two individuals involved in Variety C are the same as those on Varieties A and B: but this is to be strongly doubted. It should in the first place be noted that both figures wear the stemma, and not stemma and stemmatogyron, and that both wear the loros. In the second place, the figure to the right, which should have John's characteristic long forked beard, does not, instead having a pointed or rounded close beard. And in the third place, the variety seems to be essentially anepigraphic: on the three pieces known, nothing more than the hint of lettering occurs, and in this it seems to resemble a rather similar issue, listed under the title of "Uncertain Attribution and Addenda" at the end of this volume (Type B: 9). This latter type has now turned up in some numbers (4 specimens) both in excavations at Arta and in the Arta Hoard, and therefore does perhaps have a reasonable claim to have been minted there. It is possible that two histor-

<sup>12</sup> Thus again contra Protonotarios, "Le monnayage du 'despotat' d'Épire," 97–98.

<sup>13</sup> Protonotarios, "Le monnayage du 'despotat' d'Épire," pp. 96 no. 16, 98; Karamessini-Oikonomides et al., "Symbolē stēn ereuna tēs kyklophorias tōn byzantinōn nomismatōn stēn Epeiro," 116.

<sup>14</sup> H. Mattingly, "A Find of Thirteenth-Century Coins at Arta in Epirus," *NC* 3 (1923), 31–46; cf. S. Bendall and P. J. Donald, *The Billon Trachea of Michael VIII Palaeologus 1258–1282* (London, 1974), xii–xiv. The original attributions to Arta/Epirus were quite understandable in the circumstances, but equally they were almost entirely erroneous, with the hoard being overwhelmingly Thessalonican.

ical individuals are represented on one or both these types, but it is equally possible that we have here a ruler and St. Constantine, with Manuel Ducas' billon trachy Type E (7.1, 2) providing a precise parallel: the ruler crowned by Constantine. The jury is therefore still out on both these issues.<sup>15</sup>

The attribution of Varieties A and B to John III and a Michael—and therefore to Michael II—has now been confirmed by an undoubted reading. See S. Bendall, "The Coinage of Michael II, Angelos of Epirus, 1231–1265," *NCirc* 104 (1996), pp. 3–5. A number of the other attributions in the article are nevertheless questionable.

<sup>15</sup> Arta Hoard: Mattingly, "A Find of Thirteenth-Century Coins," p. 37, class viii; Arta excavations: Karamessini-Oikonomides et al., "Symbolē stēn ereuna tēs kyklophorias tōn byzantinōn nomismatōn stēn Epeiro," 116 (Michael II and Nicephorus)—the identification is that of Protonotarios, "Le monnayage du 'despotat' d'Épire," pp. 96–98, no. 17.



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
MICHAEL I COMNENUS-DUCAS ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA					
<b>Arta</b>					
(1.1)*	El. 2.4	31	<p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅ Ψ ΕΜΜΑΝΘΗΛ, in two columnar groups. Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellet ∙, or pellets ∴, in each limb of nimbus cross.</p> <p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅ ΨΕ ΝΘ ΜΑ ΗΛ</p>	<p>ΜΗΧΑΗΛ ΔΘΚΑC Full-length figure of Michael Ducas standing on dais, wearing stemma, skaramangion or divitision, and sagion; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia. Manus Dei in upper r. field.</p> <p>ΜΗΧΤΤΗΛ ΔΘΚΑC</p>	(ca. 1204–15)
(1.2)*	El. 3.8	30	<p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅ ΨΕ ΝΘ ΙΑ ΗΛ</p>	<p>ΜΙ ΙΑΗΛ ΛΘΚΑC</p>	
THEODORE COMNENUS-DUCAS ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA					
<b>Arta</b>					
(1)*	El.	32	<p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅ Ψ ΕΜΜΑΝΘΗΛ, in two columnar groups. Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellets ✕ in each limb of nimbus cross.</p> <p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅ ΙΕ ΝΘ ΙΑ ΗΛ</p>	<p>ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC ΔΘΚΑC Full-length figure of Theodore Ducas standing on dais(?), wearing stemma, skaramangion or divitision, and sagion; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia. Manus Dei in upper r. field.</p> <p>ΘΙ ✕ ΑΘΚΑC</p>	(ca. 1215–30)

(1.1) Archaeological Museum, Athens  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *JLAN* 1908, p. 314, no. 11 (Michael VII)  
*JLAN* 1908, p. 314, no. 11 This coin

(1.2) Private collection  
*RN* 1983, p. 87, no. 2 This coin

(1) BM  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *RN* 1983, p. 89, no. 3  
*RN* 1983, p. 89, no. 3 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(1)*	El.	31	<p style="text-align: center;">MANUEL COMNENUS-DUCAS ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Arta</b></p> <p>IC XC in field.            WE NΞ            MA HA            Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">MANUΗΛΔΕCΠOΤ OAI</p> <p>Full-length figure of Manuel Ducas on l., and of beardless, nimbate saint (Demetrius?), holding between them labarum surmounting triangular decoration on long shaft. Ruler wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds sheathed sword, point resting on ground, in l. hand. Saint, similarly dressed, holds sheathed sword, point resting on ground, in r. hand.</p>	(ca. 1230–36)
(1)*	El. 2.70	28	<p style="text-align: center;">MICHAEL II COMNENUS-DUCAS ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Arta</b></p> <p>IC XC in field.            Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction; holds Gospels in l.</p> <p>X M to l., AK to r., above throne.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">IIXAHI KYI ITINI</p> <p>Full-length figure of Michael Ducas on l., and of St. Constantine, bearded, holding between them labarum surmounting triangular decoration on long shaft. Ruler wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds scepter cruciger(?) in r. hand. Saint, similarly dressed, holds scepter cruciger in l. hand.</p>	(ca. 1236–68)

(1) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford  
 H. Pl. 39.2 (Thessalonica), W. —, R. —  
 H. Pl. 39.2 This coin

(1) *RV* 1938, p. 12, no. 15 (Michael VIII with Andronicus and Constantine)  
 H. —, W. —, R. 2204? (Alexius III)  
*RV* 1938, p. 12, no. 15 This coin

The signa IC AK (presumably for Ισαακτος), and the lys, are both also found on the Thessalonican electrum trachy Type A of Theodore Ducas. The signum of a lys is also found on the Thessalonican electrum trachy Type B of Manuel Ducas, and on the Thessalonican billon trachy Types B (Series I) and C (Series II) of John Ducas. As a main obv. type it occurs on the Thessalonican billon trachy Type F (Series II) of the same emperor.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
<b>ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</b>					
<b>Arta</b>					
<b>TYPE A</b>					
2.1*	Bill. 1.83	26	<p>IC XC in field. Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellets, ∙, in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>ΜΙΧΑΗΛΔ Full-length figure of Michael Ducas on l., crowned by nimbate archangel Michael, holding between them sheathed sword, point downward. Ruler wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds scepter cruciger in r. hand. Archangel Michael wears tunic and kolobion.</p> <p>Δ</p>	(ca. 1236–68)
(2.2)*	Bill.	27		<p>ΜΙΧΙ</p>	
<b>TYPE B</b>					
(3)*	Bill. 1.37 broken	25	<p>Ρ Μ Half-length figure of archangel Michael, beardless and nimbate, wearing divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand jeweled scepter, and in l. (?).</p>	<p>ΜΙΧΑΗΛΟΔΘ Full-length figure of Michael Ducas on l., crowned by Virgin nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., anexikakia. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.</p>	(ca. 1236–68)

- 2.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 39.8 (Manuel Comnenus-Ducas), W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 39.8 This coin
- (2.2) BM
- (3) *Numismatica* 1951/52, pp. 17–18  
H. p. 296, W. —, R. —  
*Numismatica* 1951/52, pp. 17–18 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			JOHN III (EMP) WITH MICHAEL II (DESP) ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA <b>Thessalonica</b>		
				<i>Var. A</i>	
(1.1)*	Bill. 2.87	26	X X P M Half-length figure of arch-angel Michael, beardless and nimbate, wearing divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand jeweled scepter, and in l., globus.	Inscr. in either columnar or circular form. Full-length figure of emperor John, on r., crowning despot Michael on l. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, paneled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds scepter cruciger in l. hand. Despot wears stemmatogyrion, divitision, and chlamys; holds palm-frond in r. hand.	(1248)
(1.2)*	Bill. 2.22	25		ΔΓ ΙΩΕΝΧΓ ΙΩ	
(1.3)	Bill.	24		X M ΙΩ	
				<i>Var. B</i>	
(2)*	Bill.	28	Π̄ Ϝ̄ Θ̄ V̄ in field. Three-quarter-length figure of Virgin, nimbate and orans, wearing tunic and maphorion.	Type and inscr. as preceding.	(1248)
			X X in field. Δ P	ΙΩΓ	

- (1.1) Private collection  
 H. —, W. —, R. —, *RN* 1970, pp. 143–48 (John III and John Comnenus-Ducas), *LAI* 1974, pp. 319–22  
*RN* 1970, p. 144, no. 1 This coin
- (1.2) Private collection  
*RN* 1970, p. 144, no. 2 This coin
- (1.3) Archaeological Museum, Bucharest  
*LAI* 1974, pp. 319–22 This coin
- (2) Archaeological Museum, Athens (from excavations at Arta)  
 H.—, W.—, R.—, *RN* 1983, p. 96, no. 16 This coin  
 This signum also known for John III A' hyperpyron, Second Coinage, Magnesia ([18]), and for electrum trachy Type E, Magnesia (24a.1–(24b))

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
				<i>Var. C</i>	
(3a)*	Bill.	27	Stylized representation of city with walls, towers, and gate.	Full-length figure of emperor (?) on r., crowning despot (?) on l. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds scepter cruciger in l. hand. Despot, similarly dressed, holds r. hand to chest.	(1248?)
(3b)*	Bill.	25		Emperor holds palm-frond(?).	

- (3a) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *NCirc* 1978, p. 178, no. 2  
*NCirc* 1978, p. 178, no. 2 This coin
- (3b) Private collection



## D. OTHER RULERS





## STEPHEN Ducas (Radoslav)

Tsar of Serbia

(1228 – 1233)

Stephen Ducas (Radoslav) was the son of Stephen the First-crowned and Eudocia Ducaena, the youngest daughter of Alexius III and Euphrosyne Ducaena. He married Anna Ducaena, a daughter of Theodore Comnenus-Ducas, and was thus a Ducas by both descent and marriage. He was perhaps inevitably pro-Byzantine, and as tsar too pro-Byzantine for his fellow-Serbs' liking, becoming exposed, with the fall of his powerful father-in-law in 1230, to the intrigues of the victorious Bulgarian tsar Ivan II Asen in favor of his younger brother Stephen Vladislav, himself a son-in-law of Ivan, and he was consequently deposed and exiled after a short reign in 1233.<sup>1</sup>

Stephen's coinage consists of electrum and billon trachea, on which he is uniformly entitled **CTEΦANOC ΠΙΖ Ο ΔΘΚΑC**, an entitulation that he is known to have utilized elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

The electrum issue (1), known from a number of disparate single specimens, has as its obverse design a half-length figure of the archangel Michael, and as its reverse the tsar crowned by Christ. The figure of Christ is of the pattern normally termed Chalcites, but on the coins it is termed rather **Ο ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ**. The issue is now known also to have been the subject of a billon strike, but as the 17/18 known specimens all derive from a single hoard, it is likely to have been a very limited one.<sup>3</sup>

There are two distinct billon issues. Type A (2.1, 2) utilizes as its obverse design a seated figure of Christ, and as its reverse the standing figures of the tsar and St. Constantine. Type B (3.1, 2) utilizes a bust of Christ Emmanuel as its obverse design and the tsar crowned by the Virgin as its reverse.

What is quite extraordinary about all three issues is their clear Thessalonican derivation in repertoire and style. The electrum reverse design is very close to that of Theodore's Type C (3a.1–3c) tentatively placed at 1225/26; the billon Type A reverse design is very close to that of Manuel's Type D (6.1–4); and the billon Type B reverse design is very close to that of the same ruler's electrum Type A (1.1, 2).

The specimens of the billon strike from dies normally used for electrum (a not unknown phenomenon at Thessalonica itself)<sup>4</sup> all display the same odd feature: none has the appropriate obverse design imprinted upon it, and instead all are blank. It has been plausibly deduced that the dies were actually cut at Thessalonica, and then forwarded to the Serbian mint, but that when the exhaustion of, or damage to, the obverse dies occurred, the mint could not itself replace them and merely continued to strike with an effective reverse die and a blank obverse one. It may indeed well have been this exhaustion/damage which caused the demotion of the type from electrum to billon.<sup>5</sup>

The discovery of this hoard, and the primitive mint in the archaeological context of which it was found, permitted the precise identification of the fortress of Ras, the early Serbian capital. Specimens of

<sup>1</sup> Polemis, *The Doukai*, p. 132, no. 102; Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, 60, 73 notes 34–35, 122–23; Stiernon, "Les origines du despotat d'Épire," p. 110, no. 81.

<sup>2</sup> See above, note 1 (Polemis and Nicol).

<sup>3</sup> D. Gaj-Popović, "Monnaie du roi Radoslav," in V. Kondić, ed., *Frappe et ateliers monétaires dans l'Antiquité et Moyen Âge* (Belgrade, 1976), 128–30.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 548, 551 (Th. Type B); 568, 570–71 (Man. Type B); 601, 604 (J. III Type A).

<sup>5</sup> M. Popović, "La découverte d'un dépôt de monnaie du roi Stéphane Radoslav dans la forteresse de Ras," in Kondić, ed., *Frappe et ateliers monétaires dans l'Antiquité et Moyen Âge*, 119.

both normal billon types were also found in the same general context, and there seems no good reason why all the types involved should not have been struck there.<sup>6</sup>

The similarity of this coinage to that of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan II Asen suggests the operation of similar procedures in that case too.

<sup>6</sup> Popović, "La découverte d'un dépôt de monnaie du roi Stéphane Radoslav," 117.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(1)*	El. pierced	23	<p style="text-align: center;">ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Ras</b></p> <p>X X MH P</p> <p>Half-length figure of arch-angel Michael, beardless and nimbate, wearing divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand sword, resting over shoulder, and in l., sheath, point downward.</p>	<p>C IC XC TE ON ΦA AN NOC TO PIZ KP OΔ AT OK OP AC</p> <p>Full-length figure of tsar on l., crowned by Christ Pantokrator, bearded and nimbate. Tsar wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; in l. hand holds gl. cr. Christ wears tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	(1228–33)
(2.1)*	Bill.	28	<p style="text-align: center;">ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Ras</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">TYPE A</p> <p>IC XC in field.</p> <p>Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	<p>TEΦANOCPIZOΔ ☉ KOCT ANTN</p> <p>Full-length figure of tsar on l., and of St. Constantine, with forked beard, holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft. Tsar wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type. Saint, similarly dressed, holds labarum-headed scepter in l. hand.</p>	(1228–33)
(2.2)	Bill.	30			

- (1) Archaeological Museum, Belgrade  
*Starinar* 1968, p. 204, Pl. I.7–8 This coin  
 This type is now known to have been struck also in billon: Gaj-Popović in *Frappe et ateliers monétaires dans l'antiquité et moyen âge*, pp. 121–32.
- (2.1) BM  
*Starinar* 1968, p. 204, Pl. I.5–6
- (2.2) Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge  
 H. Pl. 47.1 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
<b>TYPE B</b>					
			<p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅ Ο ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ, in two columnar groups. Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand.</p>	<p>ΤΕΦΑΝΟΣΡΙΖΟΔ. ΜΡ Θ̅V̅ in upper r. field. Full-length figure of tsar on l., crowned by Virgin nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds gl. cr. in l. hand. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.</p>	(1228–33)
(3.1)*	Bill. 3.13	27	<p>Ι̅C̅ ΧC ΟΕ ΝϞ ΜΑ ΗΛ</p>	ΤΕΦΛΙΟΣΡΙΖΟΔ	
(3.2)*	Bill. 2.91	29	<p>Ι̅C̅ Χ̅C̅ ΟΕ ΝϞ</p>	ΤΕΦΑΙΟΣΡΙΖ	

- (3.1) Hermitage, St. Petersburg  
*Starinar* 1968, pp. 203–4, Pl. I.3–4 This coin
- (3.2) Private collection  
*Starinar* 1968, pp. 203–4, Pl. I.1–2 This coin

IVAN II Asen  
Tsar of Bulgaria  
(1218 – 1241)

Ivan II Asen, like John III Ducas, was widely acknowledged as being one of the more attractive personalities of his age and region, although tantalizingly little evidence now survives as witness to his reign and policies. He was a son of Ivan I Asen, and had spent much of his childhood and youth, since the death of Kaloyan in 1207, in exile in Russian Galicia. Having reached his majority, and profiting from the insecure position of the reigning tsar Boril, he returned to Bulgaria in 1217, and after a short siege of Turnovo, effected the deposition and blinding of Boril in 1218, then assuming power himself.

His reign nevertheless really only took off with his swift, unexpected, and decisive victory over Theodore Comnenus-Ducas at Klokotnitsa in 1230, as a result of which he acquired—or reacquired—an extensive swathe of territory for Bulgaria in the southern Balkans. The victory inscription which he had carved on a column in his preexisting church of the Forty Martyrs at Turnovo is well-known, and scarcely exaggerates the preeminent position that he had suddenly gained as a result of the battle, in mentioning the effective subordination of Byzantium, Albania, and Serbia, and even the Latin empire, in the Balkans. His title subsequently became “Tsar of the Bulgarians and the Greeks,” and his relations with the Anatolian Byzantines on an effectively equal footing, culminating in the grant of autocephaly for the Bulgarian church and the formation of an alliance with John III, have been previously noted. He died suddenly and unexpectedly in 1241, leaving the throne to a minor, Caloman, with the usual unfortunate results.<sup>1</sup>

Ivan’s Byzantine style coinage, consisting of gold hyperpyra and billon trachea, forms an interesting parallel to Stephen Radoslav’s, with which at least in part it is probably contemporary, and by which it may well have been inspired, its tendency toward Macedonian provenances suggesting that it was issued subsequent to, and if so then probably as a result of, Klokotnitsa.

The hyperpyron, probably the only issue of that denomination struck in the Balkans (with the quite possible exception of Latin Constantinople) during the period 1203/4–61, is clearly Thessalonican-derived, and although it bears Old Bulgarian inscriptions, thus demonstrating Ivan’s appropriately greater confidence when compared to Stephen’s, nevertheless the dies were probably also cut in that city. The standing figure of Christ on the obverse, of Chalcites type, is labeled *Tsar na Slavata* or King of Glory, in something of a parallel to Stephen’s Pantokrator. The figures of Ivan and St. Demetrius on the reverse perhaps find their closest parallel in Theodore’s electrum trachy Type B (2a.1–2c), the “coronation issue” of 1227, although the sheathed sword held downward between them finds its closest particular parallel in Manuel’s electrum trachy Type B (2.1–3), with its tear-drop pommel.

The billon trachy, which is actually not uncommon (with 23 specimens in the collection), occurs in both hoards and as site finds. Its closest Thessalonican parallel is Theodore’s Type A (4.1–20) of 1224/25, the obverse and reverse designs of which it indeed virtually repeats, although the star on long shaft held between the tsar and St. Demetrius has at this stage only Magnesian parallels (e.g., Theodore I, electrum trachy Types B and C (2.1–4, 3); Theodore I, billon trachy Type E (9) = John III; John III, electrum trachy Type C (22)).

<sup>1</sup> Bozhilov, *Familiyata na Asenevtsi*, no. 7, pp. 77–92.

With a tendency toward Macedonian provenances, the mint may well also have been Macedonian, in which case Ochrida would be an obvious candidate. In contrast to the coinage of his successor Constantine, Ivan's has not turned up in the excavation material from Turnovo in quantities suggesting that it was minted there.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 297; Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe*, 133; Dochev, *Moneti i parichno obrushtenie*, 65–68, 226.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date												
(1)*	A/ 4.33 pierced	32	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>HYPERPYRON NOMISMA</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Uncertain Mint (Ochrida?)</b></p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>IC XC in field.</p> <p>Ϡ CA</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">AB</p> <p>⧫ ⧫</p> <p>Full-length figure of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, standing on dais; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p> </td> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <table border="0"> <tr><td>Ⲡ</td><td>C</td></tr> <tr><td>AC</td><td>⧫</td></tr> <tr><td>⧫</td><td>Δ</td></tr> <tr><td>Ⲡ⧫</td><td>M</td></tr> <tr><td>Ϡ⧫</td><td>T</td></tr> </table> <p>Full-length figure of tsar on l., crowned by St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, standing on dais, and holding between them sheathed sword, point downward. Tsar wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion.</p> </td> </tr> </table>		<p>IC XC in field.</p> <p>Ϡ CA</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">AB</p> <p>⧫ ⧫</p> <p>Full-length figure of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, standing on dais; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	<table border="0"> <tr><td>Ⲡ</td><td>C</td></tr> <tr><td>AC</td><td>⧫</td></tr> <tr><td>⧫</td><td>Δ</td></tr> <tr><td>Ⲡ⧫</td><td>M</td></tr> <tr><td>Ϡ⧫</td><td>T</td></tr> </table> <p>Full-length figure of tsar on l., crowned by St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, standing on dais, and holding between them sheathed sword, point downward. Tsar wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion.</p>	Ⲡ	C	AC	⧫	⧫	Δ	Ⲡ⧫	M	Ϡ⧫	T	(1230–41?)
			<p>IC XC in field.</p> <p>Ϡ CA</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">AB</p> <p>⧫ ⧫</p> <p>Full-length figure of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, standing on dais; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	<table border="0"> <tr><td>Ⲡ</td><td>C</td></tr> <tr><td>AC</td><td>⧫</td></tr> <tr><td>⧫</td><td>Δ</td></tr> <tr><td>Ⲡ⧫</td><td>M</td></tr> <tr><td>Ϡ⧫</td><td>T</td></tr> </table> <p>Full-length figure of tsar on l., crowned by St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, standing on dais, and holding between them sheathed sword, point downward. Tsar wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion.</p>	Ⲡ	C	AC	⧫	⧫	Δ	Ⲡ⧫	M	Ϡ⧫	T			
Ⲡ	C																
AC	⧫																
⧫	Δ																
Ⲡ⧫	M																
Ϡ⧫	T																
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Uncertain Mint (Ochrida?)</b></p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>IC XC in field.</p> <p>Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand. Pellets, normally ∴, in each limb of nimbus cross.</p> </td> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <table border="0"> <tr><td>Ⲡ AC⧫N⧫ Ϡ CBAT⧫I</td></tr> </table> <p>ΔHMHTPIE, in two columnar groups.</p> <p>Full-length figure of tsar on l., and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them long shaft surmounted by star. Tsar wears stemma, divitision, and paneled chlamys; holds scepter cruciger in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sword, point downward, in l. hand.</p> </td> </tr> </table>		<p>IC XC in field.</p> <p>Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand. Pellets, normally ∴, in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<table border="0"> <tr><td>Ⲡ AC⧫N⧫ Ϡ CBAT⧫I</td></tr> </table> <p>ΔHMHTPIE, in two columnar groups.</p> <p>Full-length figure of tsar on l., and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them long shaft surmounted by star. Tsar wears stemma, divitision, and paneled chlamys; holds scepter cruciger in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sword, point downward, in l. hand.</p>	Ⲡ AC⧫N⧫ Ϡ CBAT⧫I	(1230–41?)												
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Ⲡ AC⧫N⧫ Ϡ CBAT⧫I																	

(1)

Archaeological Museum, Sofia

IBAI 1934, pp. 361–68 This coin

Gold content 18 carats fine (personal communication, Th. Gerassimov, 27.xii.70); technique: specific gravity

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
2.1	Bill. 2.25	26	ⲓϥ̄ ⲗϥ̄	ⲓϯ ⲓϥ ϣ ϥ̄ ⲗⲓ Δ	
2.2*	Bill. 2.56	28		ϥ̄ ⲗⲓ	
2.3	Bill. 2.85 pierced	28		Inscr. obscure	
2.4	Bill. 2.78 flattened, worn	30		Inscr. obscure	
2.5	Bill. 3.05	27		ⲓϯ ϥ̄ ⲗⲓ	
2.6	Bill. 2.41	26		Inscr. obscure	
2.7	Bill. 1.92 clipped	24		ϥ̄ ⲗⲓ Δ H	
2.8	Bill. 2.32	25		Inscr. obscure	
2.9	Bill. 2.63	30		Inscr. obscure	
2.10	Bill. 2.91 flattened	31		Inscr. obscure	
2.11	Bill. 2.92	30		Inscr. obscure	
2.12	Bill. 4.38	30		AC ⲧ H ⲧⲓ Hⲓ TP ε	

- 2.1 Bertelè 1960  
Moushmov, *Monetite i pechatite na Bulgarskite Tsare*, pp. 69–71, nos. 4–6
- 2.2 Bertelè 1960
- 2.3 Bertelè 1960
- 2.4 Bertelè 1960
- 2.5 Bertelè 1960
- 2.6 Bertelè 1960
- 2.7 Bertelè 1960
- 2.8 Bertelè 1960
- 2.9 Bertelè 1960
- 2.10 Bertelè 1960
- 2.11 Bertelè 1960
- 2.12 Bertelè 1960



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
2.13	Bill. 3.50	30	İC X̄C	İ̄Ψ      C̄T IC      ΛI † N Φ̄	
2.14	Bill. 2.81 flattened	29		Inscr. obscure	
2.15	Bill. 4.87	29		Inscr. obscure	
2.16	Bill. 3.49	29		Inscr. obscure	
2.17	Bill. 2.41 pierced, gilt	27		Inscr. obscure	
2.18*	Bill. 2.58	27		İ̄Ψ      C̄T † Δ	
2.19	Bill. 3.02	28		Inscr. obscure	
2.20	Bill. 2.89	28		Inscr. obscure	
2.21	Bill. 3.01	29		Inscr. obscure	
2.22	Bill. 3.36	27		Ψ      CT ΛI Δ H M H T	
2.23	Bill. 2.00 clipped?	24		ΔC †	

- 2.13 Bertelè 1960  
 2.14 Bertelè 1960  
 2.15 Bertelè 1960  
 2.16 Bertelè 1960  
 2.17 Bertelè 1960  
 2.18 Bertelè 1960  
 2.19 Bertelè 1960  
 2.20 Bertelè 1960  
 2.21 Bertelè 1960  
 2.22 Bertelè 1960  
 2.23 Bertelè 1960

MITSO Asen  
(ca. 1256 – 1263)

Mitso Asen, a son-in-law of Ivan II, was one of several contenders for the throne after the death of Michael Asen in 1256, but was unable to maintain his position against Constantine Asen (Tich). He is known from rare billon trachea in a Byzantinizing style, having as their obverse design a bust of St. Nicholas, and as their reverse a half-length figure of the pretender, in stemma, collar-piece, divitision, and paneled loros, and holding a triple-headed scepter, and the ligatured inscription  $\text{M-Y} / \text{b} \text{P}$ . Their provenances suggest that he may have held, and issued coin from, Preslav, although Mesembria as his capital is also a possibility. The derivation of the designs remains uncertain: the obverse could quite conceivably derive from the Constantinopolitan Latin Type U (21.1–5), and the reverse from a Magnesian or Thessalonican type of John III. The coins have turned up in quite reasonable numbers (10 single finds) in the excavation material from Turnovo.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J.V.A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, 1987), 171–76, 196; Dochev, *Moneti i parichno obrushtenie*, 76–78, 226: on these numbers, a brief reign for Mitso in Turnovo seems by no means impossible.

## CONSTANTINE Asen (Tich)

(1257 – 1277)

Constantine Tich, or Tichomir, was an Asen by courtesy only, seemingly being the son of a daughter of Stephen the First-crowned of Serbia and a governor of Scopia. He was elected tsar by the nobility following the assassination of Michael Asen, and promptly married Irene, the daughter of Theodore II, who was herself the granddaughter of Ivan II, in order to give himself a degree of legitimacy. Constantine and Irene, together with the sebastocrator Kaloyan and his wife, are portrayed in the Boyana frescoes of 1259.<sup>1</sup>

His Byzantine-style coinage consists of billon trachea, with designs of a decidedly eclectic and derivative nature. The principal source of inspiration was clearly provided by the coinage of Nicaean and Palaeologan Thessalonica. Of the four main types involved here (others are now known), Type A with its obverse bust of Christ and + / + in the field, and its reverse standing figure of the tsar, fairly clearly derives from John III's billon Type A (3.1–7) but with Christ replacing the Virgin; Type B with its obverse cross and stars and/or pellets, and its reverse seated tsar, probably derives from a combination of Theodore II's only type (1.1–6) or more probably one of Michael VIII (Bendall, "Billon Trachea," T7), and John's Type B (4.1–6); Type C with its reverse tsar on horseback probably derives from a Selçuk original (an overstrike involving Bulgarian Imitative Type C—"Alexius III"—over a Selçuk equine copper is known from the Assenovgrad Hoard) but possibly from a Latin seal;<sup>2</sup> and Type D (Var. B) with its obverse bust of the Virgin surmounting two stars may derive from Manuel's Type C (5.1–5). The derivation of Type D's reverse does not seem immediately obvious. On all his issues, Constantine brazenly uses the family name Asen. It seems clear, in this case, that the dies are local products: the mint is Turnovo, from the excavation materials of which large numbers of coins have turned up.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bozhilov, *Familiyata na Asenevtsi*, no. 24, pp. 115–18; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 172–96; see also above, p. 167 and note 99.

<sup>2</sup> Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 327; Zacos and Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I.1, pp. 102–4, nos. 112–14.

<sup>3</sup> Dochev, *Moneti i parichno obrushtenie*, 69–75, 227–28.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			<b>ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA</b>		
			<b>Turnovo</b>		
			TYPE A		
(1)*	Bill. 1.90	27	<p>IC XC in field. + + Bust of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.</p>	<p>ΚΟCΤΑΝΘΗΝΒ ΑCΘΝΒ ЦΑΡΒ Full-length figure of tsar, wearing stemma, divitision, paneled loros of traditional type, and sagion(?); holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., globus.</p> <p>KO           ϕ CT           AC A N</p>	(1257–77)
			TYPE B		
(2)*	Bill.	28	<p>Large cross; stars and/or pellets in interstices.</p>	<p>ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΘΗΝΒ ΑCΘΝΒ ЦΑΡΒ Tsar seated upon throne without back, wearing stemma, divitision, and jeweled loros of traditional(?) type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., anexikakia. Manus Dei in upper r. field.</p> <p>KΩ C T</p>	(1257–77)
			TYPE C		
(3)*	Bill. 3.82	27	<p>IC XC in field. Bust or head of Christ, bearded and nimbate.</p>	<p>ΚΩCΤΑΝΑΗΝΒ ΑCΘΝΒ ЦΑΡΒ Tsar on horseback, riding to r., wearing stemma, divitision, and sagion(?); holds in r. hand scepter cruciger or surmounted by patriarchal cross.</p> <p>KΩC ANA N</p>	(1257–77)

- (1) Archaeological Museum, Sofia  
Moushmov, *Monetite i pechatite na Bulgarskite Tsare*, pp. 80–83, nos. 20–29  
Moushmov, *Monetite i pechatite*, p. 82, no. 26 This coin
- (2) Moushmov, *Monetite i pechatite na Bulgarskite Tsare*, pp. 78–80, nos. 16–19
- (3) Archaeological Museum, Sofia  
Moushmov, *Monetite i pechatite na Bulgarskite Tsare*, pp. 76–78, nos. 11–15  
Moushmov, *Monetite i pechatite*, pp. 76–77, no. 12 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
<b>TYPE D</b>					
(4a)	Bill.		<p><math>\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}</math> in field.                      Bust or half-length figure of Christ, wearing tunic and kolobion; r. hand raised in benediction; holds Gospels in l. hand. Star to l. and r. below bust or figure.</p>	<p><i>Var. A</i>  <math>\text{KOC T A N A H N } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ A C } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ N } \overline{\text{B}} \text{ } \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{B}}</math>                      Full-length figure of tsar wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand cross-within-circle on long shaft, and in l., anexikakia. Stars in field.</p>	(1257-77)
(4b)	Bill.	23	<p><math>\text{H A } \overline{\text{G}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{O}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{I}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{C}} \overline{\text{A}}</math>                      Bust of Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion. Star to l. and r. below bust.</p>	<p><i>Var. B</i>                      Type and inscr. as preceding.</p>	(1257-77)

(4a) *Arkheologiya* 1967 (iii) pp. 26-28, nos. 1-11  
 (4b) *Arkheologiya* 1967 (iii), p. 28, no. 12

LEO Gabalas  
(Caesar in Rhodes ± 1235)

JOHN Gabalas  
(Ruler in Rhodes ± 1250)

When Nicephorus Blemmydes visited Rhodes in 1232/33, he found in control of the island a caesar with the family name of Gabalas. The caesar is known from diplomatic and other written sources, and from numismatic ones, to have borne the personal name of Leo.<sup>1</sup>

Blemmydes describes Leo's political situation well: the caesar's authority (*to archein*) derived not from a (higher) power, but had come to him as a hereditary bequest (*patrikon klērodotēma*), passed on to him as successor by a predecessor. It was therefore not his concern to submit to that power, but rather to administer the things that were his—the islands, of which he ruled many; the soldiers, of which he commanded many; and everything around—just as he wished. For he could ally himself where he chose to, and not act under command. The emperor, being displeased with the situation, sent out a powerful expedition in ships.<sup>2</sup> Acropolites adds that the emperor stationed himself at Stadia (on the Cnidian peninsula), and sent the *meḡas domestikos* Andronicus Palaeologus at the head of the naval force.<sup>3</sup>

Both authors—Blemmydes being an eyewitness—agree that the island was duly ravaged, and Acropolites clearly regards the expedition as successful in its outcome.

The very next year (1234), the expedition notwithstanding, Leo allied himself with the Venetians. Styling himself Lord of Rhodes, and of the Cyclades Islands, and caesar (*Dominus Rhode et Cicladum insularum Ksserus*), he promised aid to the Cretan Venetians in the event of attack by John III (this in the light of the latter's expedition of 1230), in return for Venetian aid to himself in the event of attack by John (this obviously in the light of the latter's attack of 1233). Nevertheless, a lesson had been both taught and learned, for Leo apparently took part in John's naval expeditions against Constantinople in 1235/36, and fought against the Venetian fleet.<sup>4</sup>

It remains uncertain as to how long he ruled. Certainly, he was already dead and had been succeeded by his brother John by 1248,<sup>5</sup> but the date of his accession to rule is entirely obscure. Nicetas Choniates mentions in his list of dynasts (1203/4) merely that another (*allos*) presided over the island of Rhodes; and Acropolites and Blemmydes both fail even to give his personal name at this point, although Acropolites gives it later on.<sup>6</sup> It is by no means certain, and it is indeed perhaps unlikely, that it was he

<sup>1</sup> A. Sabbides, "Hē byzantinē dynasteia tōn Gabaladōn kai hē hellēnoitalikē diamachē gia tē Rhodo to 13. aiona.," *Byzantina* 12 (1983), 405–28; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, no. 214, pp. 150–51.

<sup>2</sup> Blemmydes, *Diēgēsis*, II.23, ed. Munitiz, p. 56. The date of Blemmydes' visit remains uncertain, but an overwintering on the island is certain, and the date probably 1232/33: Munitiz, *Nikephoros Blemmydes, A Partial Account*, pp. 18–20. The Byzantine expedition would therefore have taken place in the spring of 1233.

<sup>3</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, pp. 45–46.

<sup>4</sup> Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II, pp. 319–22. See also above, p. 469 (1230, 1235/36); Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 543–44, 552–53.

<sup>5</sup> When the Genoese attacked the island: above, pp. 116–18.

<sup>6</sup> See below, note 8.

who took over in 1203/4, for although a period of rule of over thirty years is not at all impossible, Blemmydes surely implies the existence of at least one predecessor.<sup>7</sup>

Nor apparently was his title of caesar hereditary or rather quasi-hereditary, for his brother John did not possess it: Acropolites terms him merely John Gabalas ruler (*kratōn*) and brother of the caesar Leo Gabalas;<sup>8</sup> and he does not himself utilize the title on his coins. As to where Leo obtained the title from, and when, that remains equally uncertain—the Latins after 1204, Theodore I in ca. 1205, and John III in 1225 are all possibilities—and obviously to quite some extent depends on the length of his rule. Any one may be correct: all may be equally incorrect.<sup>9</sup> John Gabalas is known virtually from his being mentioned as campaigning alongside John III in 1248, and from his coins.

The rule of the family over Rhodes seems not to have been restored after its final recovery from the Genoese in 1250: presumably the cost of its recovery by imperial forces was reckoned to have canceled out any familial claims to the island. Certainly, John Palaeologus was shortly after appointed to its governorship, and probably in 1256.<sup>10</sup>

The coins of the two brothers consist of aniconic flat copper coins, the denominational name and value of which remain quite unknown, but which at least from their thin fabric and weight seem not to be tetartera. Those of Leo, interestingly without giving his personal name, nevertheless term him *kaisar* and *doulos tou basileōs*, the latter being formulaic but particularly inappropriate in the circumstances. The emperor involved is presumably John III. Those of John, while giving his personal name, term him simply *authentēs tēs Rhodou*.

Also appended to the list are two rather similar quasi-anonymous types, containing elements of the name *Gabalas*, the more precise attribution of which remains impossible. They could be earlier than, or contemporary with, Leo and John, but are unlikely to be later.

<sup>7</sup> The phrase “hereditary bequest/*patrikon klērodotēma*” surely implies this: thus contra Sabbides, “Hē byzantinē dynasteia tōn Gabaladōn,” p. 408.

<sup>8</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 86.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 448 (Theodore I), p. 468 (John III); below, pp. 655–56 (Latins: Branas, etc.). The clear possibility is that there was an unknown Gabalas who took control of the island in 1203/4, and that it was his successor Leo who received the title of *kaisar*—automatically entailing the status of *doulos tou basileōs*—from John III. This unknown Gabalas could, for example, have been either Stephen or John, both known to have been members of the metropolitan maritime bureau at the very end of the 12th century: Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, p. 151, no. 2. Given his name, John is perhaps the more likely candidate.

<sup>10</sup> Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile*, 249.

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
LEO GABALAS					
1.1*	Æ 1.32	19	ΚΑΙCΑΡ Ο ΓΑΒΑΛΑC in three lines.	Ο ΔΟΝΛΟC ΤΟΝ ΒΑCΙ ΛΕ(ΨC) in three lines.	(± 1235)
1.2*	Æ 1.32	18	ΚΑΙC ΑΡ•ΟΓΑ ΙΛΑC	ΛΟCϞ ΒΑCϞΚΕ +	
1.3*	Æ 0.86	17	ΚΑΙ CΑΡΟΙ ΒΛΚΛΙ	ΙCϞ ΑCΚΕ +	
JOHN GABALAS					
(1)*	Æ	18	+ΙΩ Ο ΓΑΒΑΛΑC in three lines.	Ο ΑΝΘΕΝΤΗC ΤΗC ΡΟΔΟΝ in three lines.	(± 1250)
			ΙΩ ΟΓΑΒΑ ΛΑC	ΝΘϞΝ ΤΗCΤΙ ΟΑΟΥ	
PERIOD OF LEO AND JOHN GABALAS					
(1)	Æ		Α	Cross	(ca. 1200– 1250)
(2)	Æ		Α / Β / (?) / Γ in angles of cross.	Traces of inscr. (?)	(ca. 1200– 1250)

1.1 Bertelè 1960  
Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, p. 215

1.2 Bertelè 1960

1.3 Bertelè 1960

(1) BM  
Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, p. 216

(1) Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, p. 216 This coin

(2) Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, p. 216 This coin



## E. THE LATIN STATES



## THE EMPIRE AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

(1204 – 1261)

### BACKGROUND

The Latin occupation of a stretch of the seawall of Constantinople on the Golden Horn late on 12 April 1204, and their further intrusion into the City on the following morning, were followed by a period of chaos: murder, arson, looting, and sacrilege on the part of the Latins; flight on the part of the Byzantines—abroad by the aristocracy and administrative classes, to the sanctuary of local churches by the remainder. The City was given over to a thoroughgoing pillage, and much of the accumulated wealth of nine hundred years suddenly changed hands and was subsequently dispersed, representing redistribution on an enormous scale, of which there remains still some hint in the ecclesiastical edifices and treasuries of the west. The crusading sources make much of Latin elation and relief at temporary quartering, and of the wealth, sights, and relics of the City; the Byzantine ones—and essentially the eyewitness account of Nicetas—make correspondingly much of the violence involved, and the wanton destruction of precious and historical works of art. Both, doubtless, and in their own way, are accurate reflections of the respective experiences undergone during the tumultuous period subsequent upon the taking of what was overwhelmingly the largest and wealthiest city of the Mediterranean world.<sup>1</sup>

With the restoration of some kind of order, the decision was taken to combine the entirety of the booty gained, so as to allow its equal division between the crusaders and the Venetians, as previously arranged. According to Villehardouin, the crusaders' half came to some 450,000 marks, making a total of some 900,000 marks or some 3,600,000 hyperpyra. The Venetians were then paid off the remaining crusading debts of some 50,000 marks, and the rank and file of the crusading army was paid 100,000 marks, with the balance presumably accruing to the feudal upper echelons of the same army. There was, of course, much cheating, so the figures should be treated as minima, and Clari himself remarks on the disproportion in the division as between the higher echelons and the rank and file of the army, with the former taking whatever they wanted in the form of golden jewelry or gold-woven silk (*joiaus d'or ou dras de soie a or*), and with the latter being left the plain silver like the silver pitchers (*païeles d'argent*) used by the ladies of the City to carry to the baths.<sup>2</sup>

With the division of the booty, there may well have gone the division of the land (the *Partitio Romaniae*), although the chronology of the latter remains uncertain. In any case, it seems clear that the crusaders were still able to rely on the aid of Byzantine fiscal documentation, and presumably of Byzantine administrators to interpret and utilize it (facts indeed attested by Nicetas), although the division itself was made in terms of western feudal principals and practices, thus, among other things, insuring that the state element in the new empire remained feeble, and that the public element in its coinage was virtually nonexistent. Tendencies that had already existed in a subordinate role in the old empire were therefore brutally brought to their logical conclusion.<sup>3</sup>

A previous decision to elect an emperor was also implemented, and a college of twelve electors—six

<sup>1</sup> For much of what follows, see Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I; Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople*; R. L. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261," in K. M. Setton and H. W. Hazard, eds., *A History of the Crusades*, II, *The Later Crusades 1189–1311*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1969), 186–233.

<sup>2</sup> Ferrard, "The Amount of Constantinopolitan Booty," 98–99; Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Lauer, p. 81. See also above, p. 426 and note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Oikonomides, "La décomposition de l'empire byzantin," 4–13. But cf. A. Carile, "Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae," *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965), 125–305, who dates the *partitio* to September 1204.

crusaders and six Venetians—was appointed to the task, basically that of choosing between the two leading candidates: Boniface of Montferrat and Baldwin of Flanders, although there was apparently a strong early feeling in favor of the elderly Enrico Dandolo, the Venetian doge. The election of Baldwin on 9 May 1204 was evidently the product of a compromise: Dandolo having too much against him, the Venetians settled for the least unpalatable of the two remaining candidates. Baldwin was considered to represent the stronger source of potential manpower, and moreover was—unlike Boniface—not a native of land lying close to Venice’s acute rival, Genoa. Baldwin’s coronation took place on 16 May, with most of the regalia and possibly some of the ritual being Byzantine in origin.<sup>4</sup>

The euphoria of the moment soon succumbed to the hard realities of the situation: even in support of Alexius IV in 1203, the crusaders had been unable to make much of an impact upon the regions, save lower Thrace, and they were now required to force into submission the whole of what had remained to the former empire in 1203/4, if their wider plans were to stand any chance of full implementation. In the end, of course, they were never so implemented, and not the least of the reasons for this failure was the early decision to award Boniface, the defeated candidate in the election, not the entirety of the Anatolian regions beyond the Bosphorus as previously agreed, but instead the kingdom (*roialme*) of Thessalonica and the island of Greece (*isle de Grece*). There has been much discussion of what precisely the latter means—whether Crete (which Boniface apparently already possessed, by grant from Alexius IV), or the Morea—but in either case the decision represented an immediate and fateful limitation of effort to the Balkans, and a deferral of major action in Anatolia, where Theodore Lascaris was by now already beginning to consolidate a power base.<sup>5</sup>

In the event, the submission of most of the Balkan regions proved relatively and perhaps deceptively easy to secure: the four major Byzantine personalities of the area—the emperors Alexius III and Alexius IV in Thrace, and the dynasts Leo Sgouros, who controlled Nauplion, Argos, and Corinth, and Leo Chamaretus who controlled Lacedaemonia—were all eliminated without much difficulty in the course of the remainder of 1204 and early 1205, despite a quarrel between Baldwin and Boniface, and although Sgouros remained besieged in the Acrocorinth until 1208, and Michael Ducas, after his brief flirtation with the Latins, was beginning to consolidate his own Epirot power base.<sup>6</sup>

Where the Latins failed catastrophically, however, was in failing to identify the most significant of their opponents, or potential opponents, and act appropriately and concentratedly, and in failing to recognize the dangers inherent in dividing their forces and fighting simultaneously on both the Balkan and Anatolian fronts.

In November 1204 Henry, brother of Emperor Baldwin, finally began a major advance into Anatolia. Despite his small forces, and the time for preparation that his opponents had had (since July 1203 in the case of Theodore Lascaris), as previously mentioned he defeated the latter’s forces first at Poimanenum in December 1204, and then more seriously on the Rhyndacus in March 1205, leaving Anatolia effectively open to him.<sup>7</sup>

At the same time that Henry set out, Renier of Trit had also set out to take possession of his fief of Philippopolis, there being recognized and made welcome by its inhabitants who valued the prospect of his aid against their enemy, the Bulgarian tsar Kaloyan, which he accordingly, but dangerously, gave. Dangerously, because Kaloyan had previously made overtures to the Latins, early in 1204 and before their capture of the City, offering his subordination in return for a crown—and had been arrogantly rebuffed.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, II, pp. 60–68; Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Lauer, pp. 91–95; Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, pp. 596–97; see also above, pp. 143–45.

<sup>5</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, II, pp. 64, 71; Oikonomides, “La décomposition de l’empire byzantin,” 6–8; see also above, pp. 447–48.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 423, 425, 617–18.

<sup>7</sup> See above, pp. 447–48.

<sup>8</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, II, pp. 118, 120; Wolff, “The Latin Empire of Constantinople,” I, pp. 234–35.

The spark that eventually caused an explosion was the revolt of the cities of middle Thrace against the Latins and the calling in of Kaloyan. The revolt began at Didymotichum in March 1205, and quickly spread to Adrianople, thereupon becoming generalized. Baldwin was forced to recall his brother Henry from Adramyttium where he had his headquarters, thereby abandoning his momentary gains, and giving a further respite to Theodore Lascaris who, as previously seen, at very much this time had himself acclaimed emperor.<sup>9</sup>

On 25 March, Baldwin and Louis of Blois left Constantinople, and on 29 March arrived before Adrianople, now held in the name of Kaloyan, subsequently being joined by Enrico Dandolo. On 13 April, Kaloyan arrived in the vicinity with a large army of Vlachs, Bulgarians, and Cumans. On 14 or 15 April, battle was joined, ending in the defeat of the Latins, the capture of Baldwin, the death of Louis of Blois, and the retreat of the army to Rhaedestus and Constantinople.

The loss of the battle, and the numerous deaths involved, represented a shattering disaster: virtually the only cities left to the Latins in Thrace were Rhaedestus and Selymbria, and in Anatolia Pegae. A further real loss occurred when the elderly but vigorous and intelligent Dandolo, probably exhausted by his exertions, fell ill and died shortly afterwards (June 1205).<sup>10</sup> The worst of the disaster was retrieved by the abilities of Henry, Baldwin's brother, and now regent of the empire, but even he, writing to Innocent III on 7 June 1205, recognized that things had changed radically, and that the future was likely to be grim.

The immediate future was indeed grim for eastern Macedonia and Thrace: Henry was able to recover Tzurulum, Arcadiopolis, Vizye, and eventually Adrianople, in the interior; but, on the other hand, Kaloyan was able to raze Serres, Philippopolis, Aprus, Rhaedestus, Panidus, Heraclea, and Tzurulum, and yet others, and the next few years, until the deaths of both Boniface of Montferrat and Kaloyan (1207), witnessed the kind of massive and systematic destruction and deliberate depopulation previously seen only in the Byzantine-Bulgarian wars of the period 1190–1202.<sup>11</sup>

Two vignettes of the period are worth notice in passing, with reference to points previously made. The Latins were so reduced in power and confidence that, in the case of Adrianople and Didymotichum, they handed over the possession and defense of the cities to a Byzantine, Theodore (Comnenus-)Branas. Theodore was the son of the successful general Alexius Branas, whose native power base had been Adrianople, who had rebelled against Isaac II in 1187, and who had been killed in battle outside Constantinople against imperial forces led by the caesar Conrad of Montferrat, brother of Boniface. Theodore had eventually married Agnes-Anna, daughter of Louis VII of France, who had been betrothed to Alexius II and married by Andronicus I, and who was in the Boucoleon Palace when Boniface took it in 1204. The daughter of the union later married the caesar Narjot of Toucy, twice regent of the empire. Branas, in turn, had thrown in his lot with the crusaders, along with Michael Ducas, one of the few Byzantine nobles to do so, and had been given the city of Aprus. The Byzantine allies of Kaloyan, seeing the appalling damage being done to Thrace by the latter, approached Branas, appealing to him to request Henry and the Venetians to give him Adrianople and Didymotichum, in return for which they would change sides and enter into an alliance with the Latins. The agreement was duly made, and was confirmed by the Venetians (before September 1206), to whom Adrianople had been awarded by the terms of the *Partitio*. The document, which survives, is drawn up in the names of the Venetian *podestà*, Marino Zeno, and the *felicissimus Caesar, nobilissimus Comnianus, dominus Theodorus Branas*, with the latter receiving the city and its appurtenances in return for an annual payment of 25 lbs. *manolati* (= *manuelati/manouēlata*; electrum trachea). By whom the caesar Theodore Comnenus-Branas had been given his title remains uncertain, but the Latin authorities are clearly a possibility, and such a grant by them would not be at all unparalleled. Adrianople was in fact saved from Kaloyan, but Didymotichum was taken and razed, and its population carried off by him as usual. The whole episode is a complex and

<sup>9</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, II, pp. 142–50. See also above, pp. 447–48.

<sup>10</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, II, pp. 158–98.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 200–235. See also above, pp. 77–79, 365–66, 397–98.

fascinating one, full of implications and ironies. Nevertheless, it is clear that Branas was very much subordinate to the Latin empire and the Venetian republic (unlike Leo Gabalas, his Rhodian fellow caesar, to John III), and it is scarcely likely that he was ever in a position to issue the trachea attributed elsewhere in this volume to Theodore Mancaphas.<sup>12</sup>

The taking and destruction of Philippopolis by Kaloyan in mid-1205 is also of interest. The event is described by both Villehardouin and Nicetas. According to the former, the city yielded on the promise of immunity from retribution, but no sooner was Kaloyan in possession than he reneged on his promise, committing atrocities against its leading citizens, leading off the remainder in chains, and dismantling its defenses and putting its buildings to the torch. According to the latter, the city was taken by assault, and was the object of Kaloyan's particular animus for having resisted him for so long, consequently being looted and put to the sword, in fact razed to the ground to remain a conspicuous ruin. But Nicetas also adds that certain of its citizens, fearing Kaloyan's vengeance, fled to Theodore Lascaris in the east, while others fled to Adrianople, and yet others fled to the Latins at Didymotichum, and it was they who approached Theodore Branas. Whatever the precise truth, it is clearly very much in this context that the citizens of Melnik who claimed to John III in 1246 that they had originated from Philippopolis should be understood. For the safest route from Philippopolis to some kind of safety (whether or not right through to Anatolia itself) was at this stage indeed probably not eastward, but westward and southward through the passes of the Rhodope, with the further option of crossing over to Anatolia by way of the Aegean ports and islands. This is precisely what the pattern of early thirteenth-century coin hoards and other sources of evidence previously noticed confirm to have happened as a more general phenomenon. And if this was so in  $\pm$  1205, then it is likely to have been so earlier, during the period 1190–1202, when similar circumstances obtained. This generalized displacement of population thus had both contemporary monetary, and hence modern numismatic, repercussions.<sup>13</sup>

In August 1206, on confirmation of Baldwin's death in captivity, Henry of Flanders was crowned emperor, there not having been an effective emperor for some fourteen months—a point that Nicetas caustically and percipiently notes in comparison with his own compatriots' penchant for deposing emperors with all speed.<sup>14</sup> Henry was fortunate in having only one year to cope with Kaloyan's repeated and destructive raids into middle and lower Thrace (although his own raids and counter-offenses were not at all unsuccessful), for the tsar died in the course of an attack upon Thessalonica in late 1207, and his eventual successor Boril (1207–18) had neither the abilities nor the position to continue his murderous activities on any similar scale. Indeed, his first major campaign against the Latins (1208) resulted in his severe defeat at Philippopolis, the loss of the land between Adrianople and that city, and an alliance against him between Henry and Slav of Melnik, who held power in the middle Rhodope. At much the same time (1207), Henry had been able to conclude the two-year truce with Theodore Lascaris that has been previously noticed, thus insuring a much-needed period of relative peace on either side of the Straits. His good fortune should not, however, disguise his own real abilities and good qualities, which were recognized by both Latins and Byzantines alike.<sup>15</sup>

Henry's first several years as emperor (1208–9/10) were dominated by the affairs of the kingdom of Thessalonica, where Boniface of Montferrat, who had been killed just prior to Kaloyan's death, had left a minor, Demetrius, as heir, and by the necessity of bringing the Lombard-dominated regency there—which seems to have had its own program of eventual dominance over the area—into submission. They were also marked by the first real Latin experience of the duplicity and expansionist policies

<sup>12</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, II, pp. 50, 52, 214, 216, 226, 236, 256; Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, p. 629; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II, pp. 17–19; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 273–75, 284–89. See also above, pp. 392–96.

<sup>13</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, II, p. 212; Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, p. 627. See also above, pp. 70–80.

<sup>14</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Faral, II, pp. 252, 254, 256; Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, p. 642; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 291–99.

<sup>15</sup> Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 341–44, 359–64. See also above, pp. 91–95, 448–49.

of Michael Ducas, now securely dominant in Epirus and Aetolia, and beginning to push into eastern Macedonia. Both these concerns have been previously noticed.<sup>16</sup>

In 1211/12 Henry was able to take (somewhat unscrupulous) advantage of Theodore Lascaris' weakness after his victory over the Selçuks and his father-in-law Alexius III at Antioch-on-the-Maeander, and to defeat Theodore on the Rhyndacus, to advance deep into western Anatolia, and to force a treaty from him recognizing Latin control over a considerable slice of northwestern Anatolia. Again, this has been previously noticed.<sup>17</sup>

At his death in 1216, at Thessalonica again, quite possibly in response to the recent and ominous advances of Theodore Ducas in Macedonia, Henry nevertheless left the Latin empire far more secure and of considerably larger territorial extent than he had found it in 1205/6, and there is little doubt that, with the exception of the first euphoric year 1204/5, his reign marked the apogee of that empire.<sup>18</sup>

On Henry's death, the able veteran of the Fourth Crusade, Conon of Béthune, was named regent and *sebastokrator*, and a search began for a suitable successor. The choice eventually fell upon Peter of Courtenay, a brother-in-law of the Flanders brothers, who was crowned at Rome in 1217, who attempted to make his way to Constantinople overland on the old Via Egnatia, and who consequently ended up a victim of Theodore Ducas and dying through whatever cause in an Epirot prison, as previously noticed.

Peter's wife Yolanda, sister of Baldwin and Henry, nevertheless did arrive at Constantinople safely, and shortly afterwards gave birth to a son, Baldwin. She ruled as empress until her death in 1219, when the former regent Conon was again called upon to perform the office, while the electors considered a successor. Eventually, Yolanda's second son Robert was chosen, and was crowned at Constantinople in March 1221.<sup>19</sup>

During the interregnum, nothing of a disastrous nature had occurred, although the Latin empire and its dependencies had continued to suffer from the continual and piecemeal encroachments of Theodore Ducas upon its western territories, a particular strategic danger being presented by the loss of Serres in 1221, as again previously noted.<sup>20</sup>

The year 1225, however, paralleled that of 1205, as being one when the sky fell in: Theodore Ducas had taken Thessalonica in late 1224, and advanced dramatically eastward in the course of the following year; John III had defeated a Latin-supported rebellion by the brothers of the late emperor Theodore in 1224, and proceeded to roll up the Latin possessions in Anatolia, crossing the Dardanelles and advancing into the Balkans again in the course of the following year. The Latin empire was thereby reduced to a few cities in lower Thrace on the one hand, and to the Nicomedian peninsula on the other. Emperor Robert shortly afterwards fled back to Europe as a result of a scandal in his personal life (he had married secretly and beneath him, and when this was discovered violence was offered to his wife, and he was unable to avenge it), and was returning to Constantinople only under papal pressure when he died in 1228. The sudden and catastrophic collapse in the Latin position in 1225 had presumably not helped his peace of mind, and in this case there was to be no recovery as there had been in 1205.<sup>21</sup>

At the death of Robert, the heir presumptive was his younger brother Baldwin, born in Constantinople in 1217, and therefore still a minor. The inevitable regency was briefly assumed first by Empress Maria, widow of Theodore I and Robert's sister, possibly during the latter's absence abroad and before his death, and then by Narjot of Toucy as caesar (1228–31).<sup>22</sup>

It was at about this stage that the Latins apparently offered the regency to Ivan II Asen, and then

<sup>16</sup> See above, pp. 92–95, 621–22.

<sup>17</sup> See above, pp. 449–50.

<sup>18</sup> Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 440–44. See also above, p. 622.

<sup>19</sup> Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 451–83. See also above, p. 622.

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 622.

<sup>21</sup> See above, pp. 93, 468, 543; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 510–14.

<sup>22</sup> Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 508, 515. See also above, p. 655.

withdrew the offer, giving offense to the tsar and effectively insuring that he allied with John III against them, resulting in their combined attacks of 1235/36. The empire was unable even to take advantage of Theodore Ducas' defeat by Ivan II at Klokotnitsa in 1230, with the whole of the territorial gains going directly to the Bulgarians.<sup>23</sup>

On the occasion of the attacks of 1235/36, the situation was saved on land by the personal bravery of the new regent and life-emperor John of Brienne (crowned in 1231), and at sea by the Venetian fleet, but John III was nevertheless left in control of an appreciable section of lower Thrace, as far north as Tzurulum, and as far west as the Maritsa—possibly even the Struma.<sup>24</sup>

Despite his having been chosen for his military abilities, and his actually having demonstrated them against the Bulgarians and Byzantines outside the City, John of Brienne proved unable to break out of the desperate situation in which the Latin empire now terminally found itself. The last throw of the dice occurred when John briefly entered into an alliance with Ivan Asen against John III in 1236/37 and the two sides unsuccessfully besieged Tzurulum, but Ivan soon returned to the Nicaean alliance with little or nothing effected, and by this stage John himself had died (March 1237).<sup>25</sup>

John's death necessitated yet another regency, for although Baldwin had by now reached his majority (he was twenty), he had actually been in the west since 1236 on a quest for men and money for the empire, and did not return until 1239, more or less empty-handed on both counts, despite strong papal support and even though he had meanwhile sold the already mortgaged relic, the Crown of Thorns, to Louis IX of France. The regents for the period were Anseau of Cayeux (1237–38) and Narjot of Toucy for a second time (1238–39).<sup>26</sup>

Despite the brief recovery of Tzurulum by a combined Latin and Cuman force in 1240, and a further naval defeat for John III at the hands of the Venetians in the same year, Baldwin, like John of Brienne before him, proved simply unable to break out of a generally weakening position, made worse by the death of Ivan II in 1241, and the accession of a minor, permitting John III to move against Thessalonica in 1242 and 1246. The latter's final acquisition of the city effectively sealed the fate of the Latin empire, for it meant that Nicaea became the paramount power in the Balkans, as well as the paramount Christian power in Anatolia, with no real prospect of further Bulgarian intervention in the one, and none at all of Selçuk intervention in the other after the shattering defeat of their forces by the Mongols at Köse Dağ in 1243 (there had been attempts at a Latin/Selçuk alliance against Nicaea in 1242/43, but they had come to nothing). In 1243 Baldwin returned to the west, and was absent from his capital for a full five years, during part of which time at least Philip of Toucy acted as regent—and both Baldwin and Philip attended Louis IX while on his absurdly unrealistic eastern crusade, in 1249 and 1251 respectively, begging for yet more money and hawking their few remaining relics to the credulous French.<sup>27</sup>

The Latin empire subsequently seems to have been permitted a continually miserable and precarious existence only because the emperors who were in a position to terminate it could not be bothered to do so, or were otherwise engaged, or both: after 1235/36, John III seems to have mounted no further grand expeditions against Constantinople (save possibly in 1248, but even that is not certain); Theodore II was engaged much further west; and even Michael VIII intended only to alarm the Latins when he dispatched his minor but fateful expedition to the Bulgarian frontier in 1261. The final loss of the City jolted the west almost as if from a sleep.

<sup>23</sup> See above, pp. 469, 544–45.

<sup>24</sup> B. Hendrickx, "Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204–1261): Le pouvoir impérial (l'empereur, les régents, l'impératrice)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974), esp. 97–98. See also above, p. 469.

<sup>25</sup> See above, p. 469; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, p. 559.

<sup>26</sup> Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 557–59, 568, 579–93; R. L. Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," *Speculum* 29 (1954), 45–84.

<sup>27</sup> Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 608–12, 634–37.



Remarkably little is known of the basic structures of the Latin empire: indeed, much of what is known of the empire tends to concern its formal and diplomatic aspects, rather than its internal workings. It thus ends up as a state with a single dimension only, and in this respect remains in a far worse position than the other crusading states, whether those in the Near East or those in mainland Greece.

What nevertheless does seem clear is that, although certain Byzantine forms were retained, these were superficial only: Baldwin I is known to have been crowned in straightforward Byzantine regalia, although the Byzantine format of the ceremonial order is somewhat less clear; but Baldwin II's regalia (*basilika symbola*), captured on the recovery of the City in 1261, was at least partly Latin in form (*latinikē to schēma*), particularly the crown (*kalyptra*), although this was admittedly accompanied by the traditional scarlet buskins (*pedila*), and a sword with a scarlet silk-covered sheath (*spathē sērikon kokkobaphēs endedymentē prokalymma*). The imperial seals are basically Latin in form, although with an obverse Greek inscription in the cases of Henry and Robert. They are somewhat more Byzantine in form, with the emperor wearing stemma and loros, and calling himself *porphyrogennētos*, in that of Baldwin II—but here we have evidence that the actual crown worn by Baldwin was Latin in form. And none of them in any case resemble seals of the Comnenian and Angelan emperors, or those of their post-conquest Byzantine successors.<sup>28</sup> The Latin emperors, or authorities, are known to have appointed sebastocrators and caesars on occasion, presumably to give the appointees—whether Byzantine or Latin—added authority, and the doge ranked as a despot, but the household offices were of an entirely Latin nomenclature: marshal, seneschal, constable, and so on. The same dichotomy occurs, as previously noticed, with regard to the *Partitio Romaniae*: clearly based on Byzantine fiscal documentation, the actual shares are nevertheless made in entirely western feudal terms.<sup>29</sup>

The conclusion must surely be that, although Byzantine forms and terminology may have been preserved in an unsystematic sense, nevertheless where structural realities are concerned the pattern is uniformly western. Useful comparisons might be made here with the principality of Antioch (probably much on a par with the empire), and with the kingdom of Sicily (probably somewhat more thoroughly Byzantinizing than the empire). As previously implied, the personnel of court and administration simply left the City for the regions in 1204. There is therefore little point in looking for any great degree of sophistication in subsequent Latin parallels.

An interesting case in point is provided by a document, probably to be dated to late 1228, and probably representing a draft of the offer finally made to John of Brienne concerning his assumption of a life-emperorship in April 1229.<sup>30</sup> It deals with the proposed marriage between the Courtenay heir (Baldwin [II]) and John's daughter, that was to provide the personal basis of the offer; with the nature and extent of John's power, and of Baldwin's after John's death; with Baldwin's maintenance until the age of twenty; with Baldwin's proposed subsequent territorial holdings, and with John's proposed territorial legacy at death (in both cases the purest fantasy, consisting of either Anatolian land held by John III or of Balkan land held by Theodore Ducas and others); with the relations between John's heirs at death and the new emperor Baldwin; with the niceties of homage and enfeoffment; and with the dowry of John's daughter and the maintenance of his wife. All this saving the laws and honor of the Venetians, and the churches.

Despite the fact that this document was clearly drawn up at the behest of the Latin authorities, and that it deals with the imperial heir and an emperor-to-be, and with their various relations, involving maintenance and income, the whole is dominated by land (*terra*) and its possession, and there is in it not

<sup>28</sup> See above, pp. 143–44 (B.I), 165 (B.II), 165 note 87 (seals). See also Hendrickx, "Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople," 91–139.

<sup>29</sup> See above, pp. 657, 658 (grant of Byzantine titles); B. Hendrickx, "The Main Problems of the History of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 52 (1974), 788–89; Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople*, 130–31 (offices); above, pp. 653–54 and note 3 (*Partitio*). See also A. Carile, "La cancellaria sovrana dell'Impero latino di Constantinopoli (1204–1261)," *Studi Veneziani*, n.s. 2 (1978), 37–73; idem, *Per una storia dell'Impero latino di Constantinopoli (1204–1261)*, 2nd ed., Il mondo medievale, Sezione di storia bizantina e slava 2 (Bologna, 1978), p. 217, table VIII (Latin/Greek office equivalents). See now also, P. Lock, "The Latin Emperors as Heirs to Byzantium," in P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994), 295–304.

<sup>30</sup> Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," I, pp. 516–23; cf. Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II, pp. 265–70.

a single word concerning an overarching state structure, or any of the administrative features that might be expected to derive from it, such as taxation or personnel. It thus stands in extraordinary contrast to similar kinds of arrangements described by fourteenth-century Byzantine sources (when the empire was far more “feudalized” than it had been in the twelfth): for example, the settlement arrived at between John VI and John V in 1354, where it was agreed that, of the moneys collected through public taxes, the treasurers should spend the customary amounts on military salaries and naval equipment and so on, and that the remainder should be shared equally by the two emperors to provide for the expenses of their households; or the arrangement arrived at in 1328 to pay the ex-emperor Andronicus II the annual revenues of the Constantinopolitan fisheries, and as much again from the imperial treasury, for his own and his dependents’ support; or again the arrangement arrived at in 1322 to pay the junior emperor Andronicus III an annual sum from public funds for the expenses of his household, and another for the salaries of his military.<sup>31</sup>

Again, then, the conclusion must surely be that there was no generalized state taxation of land, a vital and uniform feature of the empire both before and after the Latin period. Support for the emperors and their families came directly from their own lands, and that for their inferiors came similarly from their fiefs. This differed even from *pronoia*. It is therefore no wonder that one of the first things that John III appears to have done on his recovery of northwestern Anatolia from the Latins in 1224/25 was to submit the area to an *exisōsis* or thorough fiscal reassessment: it had not been taxed for over a decade.

The sales and import/export tax, the *kommerkion*/*commercium* did still continue to exist, but—given the immunity of Venice as the dominant trading nation within the empire—it is unlikely to have brought in much revenue. The poverty of the Latin emperors was unsurprisingly long-standing and notorious. Their coinage was appropriately feeble in all its aspects.

The same document also sheds interesting light on the position of the Latin emperor with regard to his chief barons. For Baldwin, as heir to the empire, was nevertheless at the age of twenty to swear an oath to John to serve him on the basis of the preceding agreement, and to give the service owed to the empire with his men on the basis of the land assigned to him (*et ipse Balduinus tenebitur facere servicium debitum imperio de hominibus suis pro terra sibi assignata*), and Baldwin’s men were to do liege homage to John for the land that they possessed (*et homines Balduini istius terre quam habebit facient homagium ligium . . . Joanni*). The whole tenor of the relevant passages is that of western feudalism, with its reciprocal ties of lordship and dependence. There is nothing here of the traditional position of the imperial office with regard to its subjects, and to its virtually absolute legal status. It is true that the Comnenian structure, with its quasi-imperial ranks and titles and its clan system, had to a certain extent already diluted the uniqueness and impact of the imperial office by raising a whole set of other ranks too near to it, but the situation here evidenced is something quite else: the emperor and the heir simply *primi inter pares* with regard to the baronage and knighthood.<sup>32</sup>

It is clear that Byzantines, however high in political and social status they might have been, could not normally hope to be absorbed into, and achieve a position in, this structure. Both Boniface of Montferrat and Emperor Henry had used Byzantines, and indeed Nicetas contrasts Baldwin I’s exclusiveness with Boniface’s Byzantinizing inclusiveness, but by the reign of Baldwin II this had long ceased: Blanche of Castile, wife of Louis IX, apparently heard that Baldwin had two Byzantines on his council, and mentioned this unfavorably in a letter to him. He replied (1243) denying this: “We declare and swear to you that we have never used the advice of any Greeks, nor do we, nor shall we” (*vobis asserimus et juramus quod consilio aliquorum grecorum nullatenus usi sumus, nec utimur, nec utemur*); and he proceeded to state, furthermore, that whatever was done was done with the counsel of the noble and good men of France who were with him. There is absolutely no reason to disbelieve any of this: it is scarcely to be wondered that

<sup>31</sup> Hendy, *Studies*, 161, 205–6.

<sup>32</sup> Wolff, “The Latin Empire of Constantinople,” I, p. 521; II, p. 1338.

any Byzantine of status emigrated, so as to take advantage of less exclusive regimes, whether Slav or Byzantine, where the services even of Latins were appreciated and regularly utilized.<sup>33</sup>

Virtually the only positive trace of the Latin regime's near sixty years' existence in Constantinople is the fresco cycle devoted to the life of St. Francis of Assisi, discovered in the twelfth-century church, now a mosque, of Kalenderhane, which was subsequently bricked over, presumably at the time of the recovery of the City in 1261. It too is of predominantly western character, but it also does have incidental implications for the identification of the Latin coinage.<sup>34</sup>

#### COINAGE

There are four major documentary items in the dossier for the existence of a Latin coinage, three of which were utilized in *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 12, in the process of identifying it for the first time.<sup>35</sup>

Nicetas Choniates, the former *megas logothetēs*, left the City on 17 April 1204, as part of a whole crowd of refugees, and stopped at Selymbria where he and his family resided until sometime in 1206, when forced to return to the City for fear of Kaloyan and his Vlachs and Cumans. He resided in the City for six months, and then left for Nicaea, so odious had the Latin regime become to him.<sup>36</sup>

It is in a passage of his main history that is at least placed physically after his return to Constantinople that Nicetas mentions a celebrated ancient statue, a bronze horse and rider, that had been among those stationed along the wall and moat so as to ward off enemies and already committed to the fire (*pyri*), that was also eventually sent along to the smelting-place of the silver assayers (*to . . . tōn argyrogōmonōn chōneia*).<sup>37</sup>

In a separate excursus, devoted mainly to the ancient statuary destroyed by the Latins, he commences by claiming that they first broke open the tombs of the emperors and looted them of their contents of gold, pearls, and gemstones, and that they then broke up the baldachino of the Great Church, weighing many tens of thousands of pounds of heavily gilded silver. (Several of the later emperors had already robbed the imperial tombs, presumably of their outer embellishments only; and it is to be wondered how the baldachino had succeeded in escaping the attentions of Alexius IV and Alexius V; but no mind, there is no good reason to disbelieve either claim).<sup>38</sup>

He then proceeds to the bronze statuary. The gigantic statue of Hera standing in the Forum of Constantine (where the money changers were stationed) was struck into staters and given over to the smelting-place (*kekoptai eis statēras kai chōneia paradidotai*). Paris and Aphrodite followed her.<sup>39</sup> An equally huge weather vane device (called Anemodoulion) was delivered over to the smelters (*tois choaneutais*).<sup>40</sup> The statuary in the Hippodrome and other works were struck into coin (*kekophasin eis nomisma*), exchanging great for small, with things wrought at great expense giving instead worthless small change (*outidanōn . . . kermatōn*).<sup>41</sup> The she-wolf that had suckled Romulus and Remus was included: so, for the sake of a few copper staters (*statērōn de bracheōn, kai toutōn chalkeōn*), the venerable monuments of the nation were delivered over and reached the smelting-place (*chōneutērion*).<sup>42</sup>

The list is long, and both impressive and depressing, with only those cases in which smelting and/or coining are explicitly mentioned being included above. It is nevertheless clear that, whatever happened to the contents of the imperial tombs, and to the product of the baldachino, the bronze statuary and ornaments of the City were being directly turned into coin on a large scale. This was apparently observed by Nicetas on his return in 1206, but there is no good reason to doubt that the process went back to 1204.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., I, p. 614; II, p. 1394; Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, p. 598 (B.I), p. 599 (Boniface).

<sup>34</sup> See above, pp. 83–84 and notes 81, 82.

<sup>35</sup> Henty, *Coinage and Money*, 199–217.

<sup>36</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, pp. 588–89, and p. 635 note.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 643–44.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 647–48. See also above, pp. 420–21, 425.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., I, p. 648. For the statue and the changers, see above, p. 109.

<sup>40</sup> Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, I, pp. 648–49.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., I, p. 649.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., I, p. 650.

In 1259 Michael VIII, on receiving ambassadors from Baldwin II who made quite preposterous territorial demands, in turn mockingly requested a share in the Constantinopolitan *kommerkion*, and a half of the revenue (*eisodon*) of the *chrysepsēteion* there. The latter, in the particular case denoting a (presumably imperial) gold foundry, but being one of several terms, normally refers to the mint, which naturally involved the smelting and working of gold and/or other metals. Unless Michael was taking his mockery right up to the limit—knowing, that is, that the Latins did not impose the *kommerkion*, and that they no longer operated a mint—the clear implication is that in 1259 there still was such a mint to derive an income from.<sup>43</sup>

That the Latins had, at least at some stage, a mint that produced gold coin is also implied by Pegolotti's mention of *perperi latini*, which has been previously noted. This last mention in fact gives a clue as to what was going on, for it is clear from the position of *perperi latini* in the list involved, and from the description given, that they were in fact basically imitations of the standard Magnesian hyperpyra of John III and Theodore II, and of Michael VIII himself.<sup>44</sup>

It is therefore clearly within such a context that a clause in the treaty between Theodore I and the Venetians, signed in 1219 and to last for five years, possibly a renewal of an earlier (1214) treaty, should be understood. The treaty is between Theodorus Comnanus Lascarus and Jacobus Teupolo (i.e., Jacopo Tiepolo), *podestà* of the Venetians in Romania, on behalf of the doge Pietro Ziani, *despota imperii Romaniae* and *dominator quarte partis et dimidie eius imperii*, the regular dogal title of the time. The clause concerned reads: *Conventum est inter hoc, quod nec imperium meum, neque tuus dispotatus habeat licentiam formare yperperos, vel manuelatos, aut stamena equalis forme alterius partis*: "It is also agreed that neither my empire nor your despotate shall have the license to issue *hyperpyra*, *manouelata*, or (*hi*)*stamena* that are the same in design as those of the other party."<sup>45</sup>

It is in passing worth noting that Theodore's full family name as used on his "coronation issues" of 1208 is also used here, and that the Latin comprehension of a despotate as possessing a territorial quality is also present. It is also worth noting that the copper *tartaro-tetartēron* does not seem to have been thought worth including in the provision, for whatever reason. Other than that, although the two parties in theory agree not to imitate each other's coinages, nevertheless it is in effect the Venetians who are promising not to imitate Theodore's. For Venetian *grossi* and *denari* of Pietro Ziani on the western model are well known, as are Byzantine *manouēlata* and *stamena* (i.e., electrum and billon trachea)—but not hyperpyra so far—of Theodore on the traditional Alexian pattern. What are not (so far) known are Venetian coinages on the Alexian pattern that would have provided the possibility of Theodore's imitating them.

In addition, it does not necessarily follow that it was the Venetians who actually had been imitating Theodore's coinages (but presumably somebody had been, for the clause is unique), although it does follow that it was either the Venetians or a (presumably related) third party which the Venetians might be thought likely to emulate.

There are clearly a number of possibilities here, but in the light of both the documentary and the hoard evidence, I chose in 1969 to attribute the extensive large-module series of billon trachea (Types A–Y) listed below to the Latin emperors; the more curtailed large-module series (Types A–C, with half-tetartera) to the kings of Thessalonica; and the small-module series (Types A–G) to a kind of limbo. For reasons that have been previously mentioned, I now still see no good reason to revise these attributions to any radical degree.

It should be noted that, although the two large-module series have been labeled "imitative," this is in fact the case only in a rather loose sense. The Bulgarian imitative series is truly such in that it sets out to reproduce the original imperial designs. The small-module series is equally so in that it sets out to

<sup>43</sup> Acropolites, *Historia*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 163; Hendy, *Studies*, 259–60.

<sup>44</sup> See above, pp. 475–77.

<sup>45</sup> Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II, pp. 205–7, esp. 207; S. Brezeanu, "Le premier traité économique entre Venise et Nicée," *RESEE* 12 (1974), 143–46.

reproduce the original Constantinopolitan, Thessalonican, and Nicaean designs. The two large-module Latin series to the contrary are surely inspired by earlier imperial designs, but they rarely set out to reproduce them precisely. Indeed, in several cases, care seems to have been taken to insure a small but vital element of differentiation between originals and imitations. Constantinopolitan Type A (**1.1–14**), for example, is surely inspired by Manuel I's Third Coinage (**1a.1–g.6**), and indeed follows its designs closely—but in the case of the imitation the emperor holds an *anexikakia*, whereas in that of the original he holds a *globus*. Similarly, Thessalonican Type A (**24.1–6**) is surely inspired by John II's Second Coinage (**10a.1–b.11**)—but in the case of the imitation Christ is enthroned, whereas in that of the original he is in bust only. This does not always hold good: Constantinopolitan Type H (**8.1–5**) reproduces Andronicus I's substantive type (**3a.1–c.4**) precisely. And many of what are clearly the later types are in only the most general sense imitative or derivative. This distinction between the two main imitative series has nevertheless permitted the evolution of the ethnically neutral term “direct copies” / *pistes apomimēseis*, also identified as “first Latin issues” / *prōtes latinikes kopēs*, for the Bulgarian imitative series, by certain Greek authors and their outside emulators.<sup>46</sup>

This tendency toward early differentiation provides yet another reason for disqualifying the Bulgarian imitative series from a reattribution to the early Latin imitative one: the two series are simply not the same.

<sup>46</sup> See above, pp. 61, 68 and note 35.

## CONSTANTINOPLE

(1204 – 1261)

The 20 Types A–T of 1969 have since been joined certainly by a further 3 (U–W), and in all probability by a further 5 (that is, including Types X and Y, to be found below, under the title “Uncertain Attribution and Addenda”), with the distinct possibility of there being yet more to come.<sup>47</sup>

The “hiving-off” of the middle and late Types D–T (and presumably U–Y), and their reattribution to the tsars of Bulgaria, have been previously exposed as the wretched nonsense that it always was, and therefore need be of no further concern.<sup>48</sup> The tetarteron type of 1969 has subsequently proved to be an issue of the joint reign of Isaac II and Alexius IV (1203/4) and has now been previously catalogued as such.<sup>49</sup>

What are clearly the earliest types of the series have previously been dated, very tentatively, as follows: Type A (**1.1–14**): 1204–± 1208; Type B (**2.1–10**): ± 1208–± 1212; Type C (**3.1–4**): ± 1212–? At some subsequent but uncertain stage, the mint seems to have moved over to an annual change in designs, as those of Magnesia did, probably with the change of indictional cycle in 1227, and Thessalonica, certainly in 1224. The equivalent Constantinopolitan date thus presumably lies at ± 1225. Before that date there is clearly still room for several issues, and Type D (**4.1–10**) at least presumably lies there, probably with Type F (**5.1–2**) which may indeed simply be a variant of Type D, both therefore at ± 1215.<sup>50</sup>

There are at about this stage three previously noted, and crucial, overstrikes to be taken into account. Constantinopolitan Type O (**15.1–16**) is known to occur overstruck on Thessalonican Type C (**26.1–8**), placed at ± 1212–± 1220, and quite possibly continuing on right up until the recovery of the city by the Ducae in 1224. This is useful but unexceptional. Type O is, however, also known to occur overstruck on John III’s Type M (**47.1–3**), and this is both useful and interesting for it potentially pushes Type O into the second half of the twenties: as previously noted, possibly to ± 1225, and most probably not later than ± 1230.<sup>51</sup>

Now, Type O is actually quite interesting in itself, for its reverse design—the emperor in military dress holding a labarum on long shaft and globus cruciger, with the columnar inscription  $\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{U}} \text{ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΤΩ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΩ}$ —is clearly lifted directly from John II’s metropolitan First Coinage (**9.1–3**), although its obverse one of a standing Christ of Chalcites type is very much a thirteenth-century product. It was, of course, as only just previously noted, in 1231 that John of Brienne, who had been brought in precisely because of his military capacities, was crowned Latin life-emperor. This coincidence, or at least near-coincidence, looks promising: it is not necessary to suppose that this issue was actually intended as a properly named coinage in a sea of pseudo-named ones, for it would not need a terribly intelligent mint operative (“Thank God for someone with a decent Roman name at last”) to recognize the coincidence of names and qualities, and to search about for an appropriate design. (The entitulation *porphyrogennētos*

<sup>47</sup> See below, pp. 698, 702. It should be noted here that although these types occur in the excavation material from Turnovo, they do not do so in quantities that would be expected if they were minted there: Dochev, *Moneti parichno obrushtenie*, 33–37, 212–23; 32 specimens among the single finds, *ibid.*, p. 179. Cf. the finds from Kalenderhane, above, p. 84. The possibility that they were minted at Dubrovnik is risible.

<sup>48</sup> See above, pp. 80–88.

<sup>49</sup> See above, pp. 421–22, 424.

<sup>50</sup> See above, pp. 94, 112–23, 82–83.

<sup>51</sup> See above, pp. 90–91, 94.

is presumably meaningless and simply comes with the original design, in precisely the same way as did John III's identical entitulation, again from an original hyperpyron of John II). The issue can therefore quite easily be looked on as simply providing a punning allusion—in much the same way as some of John III's issues do.

There is, however, a possible alternative. For an extremely rare issue of what appears to be a half-tetareron, which I had earlier attributed to Latin Thessalonica, tentatively, and on more or less purely denominational grounds, bears identical obverse and (anepigraphic) reverse designs (Type C: **29.1, 2**). If the two issues—trachy and tetareron—really do belong together at Constantinople and 1231–37, then that would form a unique nexus, and would require one to think very seriously about the possibility of some kind of “coronation issue,” dated to 1231 (the presence of Christ Chalcites here may or may not be fortuitous).

Type N (**14.1–7**) also requires mention in this context, for its reverse design—the emperor and St. George holding between them a patriarchal cross on long shaft and three steps—is equally clearly “lifted” directly from John II's metropolitan electrum trachy (Var. II: **8c.1–d.5**), again a military type, although its obverse design, a three-quarter-length figure of the Virgin orans, is also more appropriate to the thirteenth century. It is currently not at all closely datable, having occurred in the “Peter and Paul” Hoard, the Dolna Kabda Hoard, and the Serres Hoard, but this does no more than anchor it firmly in the general period in question.<sup>52</sup>

Types O and N nevertheless share in the rare distinction of having had their obverse designs “lifted” directly from a known earlier type (Type H: **8.1–5**—Andronicus—also so shares, but is irrelevant here), and are not far apart stylistically (some specimens such as O, **15.1**—note the unligatured **ΤΨ** of the original—and N, **14.5**, actually have quite carefully rendered reverse dies). They are both in the name of John, and both cannot be too distant from 1231–37 in date. They are probably to be accompanied by Type O's half-tetareron analogue. The possibility that there is here a coinage for, or of the period of (rather than simply “of”), John of Brienne, should therefore not at all be excluded. Certainly a degree of consistent deliberation seems present.

Type M (**13**), the only other issue of the series apparently in the name of a John (the inscription reads **Κ Ν Ι** counterclockwise from ten o'clock) does not seem to derive from a known earlier design, and seems rather to have stylistic and inscriptional affinities with Types J and K (**10.1–5; 11**—note the **ΟΠΩΧ**): it may well therefore not form part of this nexus.

Type P (**16.1–14**) is known to occur overstruck by Manuel Ducas' Type A (**3a.1–c.3**), thus giving it a terminus ante quem of 1230/37, and probably dating it to not too long before that bracket, for it has distinct affinities with Type O in particular. If Manuel's Type A stands at 1234/35 as now suggested, then the case becomes all the stronger.<sup>53</sup>

The anonymous types with the more egregious religious designs seem to lie later in the series, although precisely how much later remains obscure. This interesting nexus involves Types S (St. Peter/the Virgin Hagiosoritissa: **19.1–3**); T (the Virgin Hagiosoritissa/Sts. Peter and Paul embracing: **20.1–9**); and U (St. Nicholas/St. John the Baptist: **21.1–5**).

Of these types, S occurred in the Dolna Kabda and “Peter and Paul” Hoards; T in the Mogilitza, Tri Voditsi, Dorkovo, Serres, and “Peter and Paul” Hoards; and Type U in the Dolna Kabda, Serres, and “Peter and Paul” Hoards. In most of these hoards, the latest certainly identifiable coins are of John III and of the Thessalonican mint (and therefore of the period 1246–54). The exceptions are the Mogilitza Hoard, which consisted of 23 pieces only, and where the latest coin was of Manuel Ducas (1230–37); the Serres Hoard, where the latest coins were of John Ducas (1237–42/44); and the “Peter and Paul” Hoard, where the latest coins were claimed to be of Theodore II, but were in fact again of John III.<sup>54</sup> Types T

<sup>52</sup> See above, pp. 61 note 9, 71 note 39, 80 note 64.

<sup>53</sup> See above, pp. 90, 568–69.

<sup>54</sup> HENDY, *Coinage and Money*, 217; see also above, pp. 665 note 52 for the Dolna Kabda, “Peter and Paul,” and Serres Hoards.

and U also occurred in a large hoard of uncertain Balkan provenance, where, at least in the published parcel from it, the latest coins were of John III of the Magnesian mint.<sup>55</sup>

On this basis, it has been claimed that the end of the Constantinopolitan Latin series occurred no later than 1243/48, and possibly even some years earlier. There are, however, several reasons for doubting this. In the first place, the fact that no certain coins of Theodore II or Michael VIII occurred in this pattern of hoards is not necessarily of significance: as previously pointed out, Theodore seems to have closed the mint of Thessalonica (from which the bulk of conveniently datable coins might be expected to have come) as early as 1255, and Michael did not reopen it until some early but quite uncertain date in his reign (therefore in or after 1259). No Thessalonican coins of the period 1255/60 can therefore be expected to have occurred, and Magnesian coins probably filtered through in vestigial quantities and at some remove from their date of issue. Even Thessalonican coins of the period 1246/54 apparently did not reach Turnovo to appear as single finds in the excavations there.<sup>56</sup>

In the second place, several of these hoards (Dolna Kabda, Dorkovo, Serres, and that of uncertain Balkan provenance) contain quite large quantities, in both types and numbers, of the Series III coinages of John Ducas—which as previously noted very probably extend quite handsomely beyond the end of that ruler's reign (1242/44).<sup>57</sup> The central problem is, of course, that with the trivial exceptions of Arta, Ras, and Ochrida(?), Thessalonica was the only mint in the Balkans producing a readily datable coinage between 1224 and 1255—and even here the coinage of the period 1230–42/44 (that of the reduced Thessalonican state) is now remarkably rare, presumably indicating its originally restrained scale of production. Anything else had to come in from outside: effectively, and inevitably residually, from Magnesia. We are therefore simply not in a position, for the moment at least, to be sure just how reliable the apparently terminal dates for this late pattern of hoards actually are.

In the third place, John III's Thessalonican Type K (13: the ex-Type J of 1969), which occurred in the "Peter and Paul" Hoard, has as its obverse design a figure of St. Peter with his keys, and this has been seen, whether rightly or wrongly, as an allusion to the negotiations between Nicaea and Rome that marked the later years of John's reign. The issue must nevertheless date to 1246–54 at the outside, and quite possibly as previously noted to 1250–54 more particularly. But Types S (St. Peter with keys) and T (Sts. Peter and Paul embracing) of the Latin series under discussion also feature the saint, and this can surely be no mere coincidence. It is not clear who was imitating whom, but originator and imitator are unlikely to have been seriously out of step, and Types S and T are thus already by implication placed beyond their suggested date bracket of 1243/48.<sup>58</sup>

And finally, even if the Constantinopolitan Latin series was being produced on the basis of an annual change of design by this stage, it is not at all necessary to suppose that it formed an unbroken sequence: the position of the empire was so desperate by now that it is not improbable that the sequence was broken, whether once or on a number of occasions.

It would therefore be wise, in the current state of knowledge, to resist the temptation to attempt too great a degree of precision as regards dating: what has been attempted here is to provide several nexus of approximately dated types, for the early, middle, and late sections of the sequence, around which the remaining types may eventually be grouped.

Of these remaining types, W (23.1–11) is of some interest, for it normally occurs roughly clipped, as if the operation had been carried out officially after manufacture, but before the coins had been put into circulation. It occurred in the Dolna Kabda, "Peter and Paul," and Uncertain Balkan Hoards, and could well have taken its obverse design of a cross-on-base and I/C N/K from that of the Magnesian

<sup>55</sup> Bendall, "Thessalonican Coinage of the Mid-Thirteenth Century," p. 106, table 1, and pp. 109–12.

<sup>56</sup> Metcalf, "The Peter and Paul Hoard," 149–50.

<sup>57</sup> See above, pp. 579–81.

<sup>58</sup> D. Lathoud and T. Bertelè, "Les clefs de Saint Pierre sur une monnaie de Jean III Doucas Vatatzès, empereur de Nicée (1222–1254)," *Unitas* 1 (1948), 189–96; Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 294. See also above, pp. 602–603 for the narrower date bracket.



anonymous tetarteron Type C (5.1, 2) which it much resembles. The reverse design of an emperor in military dress in turn closely resembles that on Type O, with the difference being that the emperor holds a spear rather than a labarum. The two presumably lie close in date and therefore both possibly at around 1231/37.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Hendy, *Studies*, p. 319 and pl. 32.4.

## THESSALONICA

(1204 – 1224)

The three types of billon trachy A–C attributable to this mint and date have been previously examined and dated, very tentatively, as follows: Type A (24.1–6): 1204–± 1206; Type B (25.1–9): ± 1206–± 1212; Type C (26.1–8): ± 1212– ± 1220/24. The sequence is known, for Type B is commonly overstruck on Type A, although Type C is not commonly overstruck on Type B, and there is a clear possibility of there having been a hiatus between the cessation of Type B and the commencement of Type C.<sup>60</sup>

The three billon types are accompanied by three types of copper half-tetartera, but this is pure coincidence and no parallelism is implied. Type A (27.1, 2) is given to this mint and date largely on the grounds of there having been a long Thessalonican tradition for the issue of this denomination. Type C (29.1, 2) has been previously reexamined, and I would now prefer to place it alongside of Constantinopolitan billon trachy Type O, with which it shares its obverse and reverse designs, both probably lying at 1231/37.<sup>61</sup>

Type B (28.1–6), on the other hand, has good reason to be where it is, for the designs of St. Helena (obverse) and St. Constantine (reverse) together parallel the reverse design of the trachy Type C, with the splitting-up of the two saints on the half-tetarteron presumably necessarily resulting from the smallness of the flans, and consequently of the space available for the designs. The two figures are both turned slightly to one side, Helena to the right, and Constantine to the left, and this unusual feature is repeated on the half-tetarteron Types A–C of Theodore Ducas, the ruler who liquidated the Latin regime in 1224, and on a half-tetarteron type of Michael VIII. The type should presumably be dated ± 1212– ± 1220/24.

As previously noted, two attempts have been made to cast doubt on the attribution to Thessalonica. Neither is remotely convincing.<sup>62</sup> The first proposes that Type C at least—but by implication Types A and B as well—is the product of a second Constantinopolitan mint, an arrangement presumably following on from the twelfth century. The utter improbability of such an arrangement in the light of what has just been written above concerning the primitive nature of Latin fiscality and administration should need no emphasis. Nor is the supposed evidence of the Yenimahalle Hoard—as previously pointed out an *apokombion* of 150 trachea, probably resulting from the combination of two earlier and separate *apokombia*, one Constantinopolitan, the other Thessalonican—significant in this context: indeed, if anything it insures that Types A and B cannot be divorced from Type C.

The second proposes that Type C is Nicaean(!), or alternatively (it really does not seem to matter much) that Types A–C are Venetian, presumably Constantinopolitan, again apparently reflecting an urge to create a second Latin metropolitan mint. The latter case, if such it may be termed, is argued on the grounds of the types in question having been found in the Aegean islands (the Amorgos and Thera Hoards). Why this should point to Constantinople rather than to Thessalonica is a matter on which one is not favored with enlightenment: indeed, it is difficult to see how one could be so favored, for there is no logic here at all.

<sup>60</sup> See above, pp. 93–94.

<sup>61</sup> See above, pp. 129–30, 664–65.

<sup>62</sup> See above, pp. 94–95.

Two items of evidence seem to have somehow been elided: (a) the Struma Valley pattern of hoards that has been previously utilized, and that demonstrates a very early showing for Type A, and to a lesser extent for Type B, and (b) the affinity existing between the half-tetarteron Type B and Theodore Ducas' succeeding types have both been conveniently ignored.<sup>63</sup>

Not the least of the problem involved is that those who simply assume that trade is the only effective factor in the production, distribution, and circulation of coinage—particularly where a state such as the Byzantine is concerned—are inevitably going to get their fingers burned when other, entirely relevant, factors are also taken into account. For the explanation that provides an answer to the question of how and why coins of the Bulgarian imitative series achieve such a remarkably patchy impact in Greek hoards also provides an answer as to how and why coins of Types A–C appear so strongly in some island hoards: the common factor is population displacement—from out of the war-wracked center of the Balkans into the relatively peaceful Aegean periphery and the islands.<sup>64</sup>

The evidence of two other hoards again argues strongly for a Thessalonican attribution. The Arta Hoard, which was of an almost entirely Thessalonican composition, and which seems to have been buried in  $\pm$  1260, nevertheless contained two much earlier coins: a specimen of Bulgarian imitative Type B (“Isaac II”); and a specimen of Thessalonican Latin imitative Type B. The previously mentioned hoard of Theodore Ducas' first billon trachy type (A) also contained one earlier coin: again a specimen of Thessalonican Latin imitative Type B. The case is therefore closed.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> See above, pp. 93–94, 95. Note also the reuse of Alexian pendilia forms (p. 95).

<sup>64</sup> See above, pp. 78–79.

<sup>65</sup> See above, pp. 546, 625.

## SMALL-MODULE (“VENETIAN”) TRACHEA

(±1206 – 1261[?])

This item forms the last major question to be treated in this volume, and it also forms one of the most puzzling, the situation—which was complex enough in 1969—having meanwhile become even more so through the recognition that types other than the seven main ones represented in the catalogue below also quite regularly have their small-module analogues.

The data seem to be as follows.

(1) Large-module coins seem to be somewhat earlier than their small-module analogues. The point is well illustrated in the case of the previously mentioned and very early Struma Valley pattern of hoards: there, Constantinopolitan Type A is the strongest represented of all the large-module issues, and sometimes outnumbers, is sometimes outnumbered by, its small-module analogue, Type A (30.1–22). Thessalonican large-module Types A and B are also represented, as is Theodore I’s large-module Type A, but their small-module analogues, Types D (33.1–5), E (34.1–3), and G (36a.–c.2) respectively, are all absent. By contrast, a somewhat later pattern of hoards, with a geographical concentration somewhat to the east, gives a very different impression: there, all the large-module issues are present, but are equally all overwhelmingly outnumbered by their small-module analogues, Types A–G.<sup>66</sup>

(2) Overstrikes seem to confirm the point made above. Specimens of the small-module issues are occasionally found overstruck on the clipped-down flans of earlier large-module types. For example, small-module Type E has been found (probably) over Thessalonican large-module Type B, and again over Thessalonican large-module Type A. The same seems to occur in the case of the coinages of the later Thessalonican Ducae: for example, Manuel’s small-module Type A is found over his large-module Type D; and his small-module Type C is found over both its own large-module analogue and his large-module Types E and F.<sup>67</sup>

(3) A fundamental extension of the phenomenon took place under John Ducas. Hitherto, however large or small the issues involved, small-module types had always had large-module analogues: with John, although matters seem to start out this way, with (virtually) all of his large-module issues (both Series I and Series II) having small-module analogues (Series III), they subsequently develop into a situation where the numerous small-module types have no large-module analogues—and almost certainly never did. The clear suspicion is that the issue of these independent small-module types must extend beyond the end of John’s reign (1242/44), and in support of this suspicion there militates the fact that there are no small-module issues of John III (1246–54 at Thessalonica): the supremacy or actual reign of John III thus seems to have put an end to the Thessalonican issue of large-module/small-module analogues, although that of independent small-module types in the name of John Ducas presumably continued.<sup>68</sup>

(4) The issue of large-module/small-module analogues, whether on a large or small scale, involved the Constantinopolitan Latin series 1204–61; the Thessalonican Latin series 1204–24; and the coinages of the Thessalonican Ducae 1224/42/44. It did not involve the Bulgarian imitative series (although some of its latest coins are not very different in size), suggesting yet again that the Latin and Bulgarian series are quite separate. It did not—with one interesting exception (Theodore I’s large-module Type

<sup>66</sup> See above, pp. 53–55, 93–94.

<sup>67</sup> See above, pp. 89–90, 568–69.

<sup>68</sup> See above, pp. 579–81.

A/small-module Type G)—involve the coinages of the Lascarid emperors, whether at Nicaea, Magnesia (1205–61), or at Thessalonica (1246–61). It did not involve the coinages of the restored empire, whether at Constantinople after 1261, or at Thessalonica after 1259/61. Small coins of the unaffected coinages can always be found, but not seemingly as resulting from a deliberate and consistent policy/practice.<sup>69</sup>

(5) In 1219 Theodore I and Jacopo Tiepolo signed a treaty, possibly renewing an earlier one of 1214, among the clauses of which was one forbidding the imitation of each other's Byzantine-style coinages. Quite what provoked the inclusion of this unique clause remains uncertain, but it seems more likely that it resulted from the Venetians' or the Latins' having copied Theodore's coinage, rather than vice versa.<sup>70</sup>

As previously noted in a preliminary fashion, the only solution meeting all of the requirements of these data is that it is these small-module issues that form a Venetian coinage for Romania, and that it was Type G among the 7 main early types—imitating Theodore I's Type early A—that caused the inclusion of the monetary clause in the treaty of 1219. In fact, the clause would be even more readily understandable if the treaty were indeed, as has been suggested, a renewal of one signed in 1214, for at that earlier date Theodore's Type A would still have been the major Nicaean issue in circulation.<sup>71</sup>

As observed elsewhere, the widespread clipping-down of surviving earlier large-module coins, and even of much more recently issued ones, that is evident in coin hoards of the mid-thirteenth century suggests that the relationship of the large : small issues was not that of unit : fraction, but that of differing standards, with the one being brought down to an approximation of the other. The point is well illustrated in the case of Constantinopolitan Type W, which is normally clipped-down, to such an extent indeed that very few coins escaped the operation, possibly indicating that it took place before the issue left the mint: the smaller-module versions of the type nevertheless remain unaffected (cf. **23.1–7**—large/clipped, and **23.8–11**—small/unaffected).

Attempts to find weight standards for these small-module issues may well prove illusory, for the suspicion must be that in any quantity they generally passed by weight, but enclosed in purses or *apokombia*, as seen in the case of several earlier hoards where the more regular issues were nevertheless still capable of passing by number.

There remains the problem of mint(s). Again, attempts to identify them may also prove illusory, for if, as seems to be the case, the Venetian community in Constantinople was issuing imitations, and that in Thessalonica was also issuing them (there seems to be a tendency for Thessalonican imitations to be over-struck on cut-down earlier Thessalonican flans), then there may have been no effective limit: with the collapse of earlier strong state structures, and the evolution of newer and mostly much weaker ones, regulation may have been impossible, and in this context it may be no coincidence that it was the Nicaean empire—which probably retained something of the earlier strong pattern—that prevailed upon the Venetian authorities to cease imitating its coinage. Corinth, where specimens of John Ducas' Types E and V (**18.1, 2; 35**) were found in excavations, remains, for example, a further possibility.<sup>72</sup>

In essence, therefore, these small-module issues will have formed something in the way of a "Romanian" equivalent of the Venetian *quartarolo*, noticeably first struck by Enrico Dandolo, presumably in ca. 1194/1201, and at a silver content of 0.3%.<sup>73</sup>

In any case, whatever the mint(s), the otherwise startling contrast in their solid presence among the Corinth excavation materials (where a Venetian impact might well be expected), and their virtual absence among the Athens ones (where such an impact might be much less expected), would be readily

<sup>69</sup> See above, pp. 581–82.

<sup>70</sup> See above, p. 662.

<sup>71</sup> See above, pp. 581–82, 662.

<sup>72</sup> See above, pp. 589, 595. Cf. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe*, 239–47.

<sup>73</sup> Lane and Mueller, *Money and Banking*, I, p. 114, and p. 528, table A.3. Cf. Henny and Charles, "The Twelfth-Century Byzantine Trachy," 20–21.

explicable on the basis posited above. Indeed Corinth was, technically, a Venetian dependency, and was acknowledged as such in 1209 by Geoffrey of Villehardouin, the Venetians then gaining a formally privileged position in the Principality of Achaia.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Metcalf, *Coinage in South-eastern Europe*, 240; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II, pp. 96–100: *De Corintho ita teneor ego [sc. Gofredus] et mei heredes et successores domino Duci, quam de alia terra*. Venice kept directly in the Morea only the strategic Coron and Modon, the “eyes of the Peloponnese.”

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA (LARGE MODULE)					
<b>Constantinople</b>					
TYPE A					
			<p>ⲙⲠ Ⲫⲩ in upper field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.</p>	<p>ΜΑΝΟΝΗΛ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ or ΜΑΝΟΝΗΛ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝ— frequently blundered and/or retrograde. Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., anxikakia.</p>	(1204–61)
1.1	Bill. 3.28	31 x 24		ΙΦΟΓΤΟΠΩΔ	
1.2*	Bill. 3.59	26		ΜΛΙΝΙ	ΙΣΣΠΙ
1.3	Bill. 4.72	26			ΔΣΣΠ·ΤΚΗΣ
1.4*	Bill. 3.33 pierced, flattened	29		ΛΘΟΙΑΜ	
1.5	Bill. 3.35	26		ΜΛΗΘΙ	
1.6	Bill. 2.15	28		ΜΙ	
1.7	Bill. 2.34	29 x 22		ΜΑΙ	ΙΕΣΠΟΤΣ
1.8*	Bill. 4.43	31		Μ Α	ΕΣ Labarum shaft decorated with two dots.  Τ Ι C
1.9*	Bill. 3.43	31			Inscr. obscure. Labarum shaft decorated with one dot.

- 1.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 25.6–10, W. (Manuel I) 58, R. —  
H. Pl. 25.6 This coin
- 1.2 Bertelè 1960
- 1.3 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 25.10 This coin
- 1.4 Bertelè 1960
- 1.5 Peirce 1948, gift of Royall Tyler vii.34
- 1.6 Bertelè 1960
- 1.7 Bertelè 1960
- 1.8 Schindler 1960
- 1.9 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
1.10	Bill. 3.28 flattened	31		ΔCCΠΟΤΗΣ	
1.11	Bill. 3.81	30		ΜΛΙΝΟ	
1.12	Bill. 4.06	30		Inscr. obscure	
1.13*	Bill. 3.18	26		Inscr. obscure	
1.14	Bill. 3.36	30 x 22		ACCΠOΤI Labarum shaft decorated with one dot.	
TYPE B					
			IC XC in upper field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne with back; holds Gospels in l. hand.	MANOVHΛ ΔECPOTHC or MANOVHΛ ΠOPΦVPOΓEY— frequently blundered and/or retrograde. Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand sword, point resting on ground, and in l., gl. cr.	(1204–61)
2.1	Bill. 3.64	30		ΡΦΙΡΟΓΕΝΙΤ ΜΑΝΥΛ	
2.2	Bill. 4.16	33 x 26		ΝΑΝ-ΥΗ ΔCCΠOΤ	
2.3	Bill. 3.52	29		ΜΑΝΟΥΗ ΔCCΠOΤ	
2.4*	Bill. 3.22	32		ΝΑΛΝI ΔΗΠOΤΥ	
2.5*	Bill. 4.74	31		ΝΑΝΟVΗ ΔECPOT	
2.6	Bill. 2.64	33		ΜΑΝΟV* Δ ECPOTC	

- 1.10 Bertelè 1960  
 1.11 Bertelè 1960  
 1.12 Bertelè 1960  
 1.13 Bertelè 1960  
 1.14 Bertelè 1960  
 2.1 Schindler 1960  
 H. Pl. 25.11–12, W. —, R. —, Sabatier Pl. lvi.1 (Manuel I)  
 2.2 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 25.12 This coin  
 2.3 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 25.11 This coin  
 2.4 Gift of I.C.G. Campbell 11.viii.67, from Istanbul B Hoard  
 2.5 Gift of I.C.G. Campbell 11.viii.67, from Istanbul B Hoard  
 2.6 Schindler 1960



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
2.7*	Bill. 4.07	29		ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΜΑΙΟΝΗ	
2.8*	Bill. 3.81	32		ΙΣΠΟΤΗ Ο-ΜΛΙΟΝΛ	
2.9	Bill. 3.02 pierced, worn	31		ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΜΑΝΟΛ	
2.10	Bill. 4.43	30		ΙΑΙΟΙΑ	
TYPE C					
			ΜΡ ΘV in upper field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.	ΑΛΕΞΙΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤ Emperor seated upon throne without back, wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., anexikakia. Manus Dei in upper r. field.	(1204-61)
3.1*	Bill. 2.38	30	Overstruck on Type B.	ΔΕΣΠΙ Overstruck on Type B.	
3.2*	Bill. 0.91 clipped, worn	19		ΔΕΣΠΟΤ	
3.3*	Bill. 0.68 clipped, worn	21		ΙΣΠΟΤΙ	
3.4*	Bill. 1.12 clipped	16		ΙΕΣΠ-ΤΗ	
TYPE D					
			ΙC XC in field. Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.	ΜΑΝΟΝΗΛ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., gl. cr.	(1204-61)

2.7 Gift of I.C.G. Campbell 11.viii.67, from Istanbul B Hoard

2.8 Gift of I.C.G. Campbell 11.viii.67, from Istanbul B Hoard

2.9 Bertelè 1960

2.10 Bertelè 1960

3.1 Bertelè 1960

H. Pl. 25.13, W. —, R. —

H. Pls. 25.13, 46.6 This coin

3.2 Schindler 1960 from Bertelè 1.vi.49

3.3 Bertelè 1960

3.4 From H. Weller 19.iv.74

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
4.1	Bill. 3.93	30 x 24		ΙΟVΗ Δ	
4.2*	Bill. 3.23	28		ΙΝΟΙ ΔCCΠΙ ΙΤΙ	
4.3	Bill. 3.69	29		ΙΗΛ Δ CCΠΟΤΗ	
4.4*	Bill. 3.23	28		Inscr. obscure	
4.5*	Bill. 3.81	26		Δ ΙCΠΟΤΙ	
4.6	Bill. 2.54	28		Inscr. obscure	
4.7	Bill. 4.30	28		ΜΑΝΟVΗΛ Δ ΕCΠΟΤΗC	
4.8	Bill. 1.72 roughly clipped	19		Inscr. off flan	
4.9	Bill. 1.18 roughly clipped	20		Inscr. off flan	
4.10	Bill. 1.12 roughly clipped	19		Inscr. off flan	
TYPE E					
			ΙC X̄C Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.	(ΜΑΝΟVΗΛ ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC?) Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum- headed scepter, and in l., globus surmounted by patri- archal cross.	(1204–61)
5.1*	Bill. 3.43	29		Inscr. obscure	
5.2*	Bill. 2.45	25		Inscr. obscure	

- 4.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 25.14–15, W. (Manuel Ducas) 4, R. —  
H. Pl. 25.14 This coin
- 4.2 Bertelè 1960
- 4.3 Bertelè 1960
- 4.4 Bertelè 1960
- 4.5 Shaw 1947
- 4.6 Bertelè 1960
- 4.7 Peirce 1948  
H. Pl. 25.15 This coin
- 4.8 Bertelè 1960
- 4.9 Bertelè 1960
- 4.10 From H. Weller 1974
- 5.1 Schindler 1960 from Trink's 1898  
H. Pl. 26.1, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 26.1 This coin
- 5.2 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
TYPE F					
6.1*	Bill. 2.72 flattened	29	<p>IC XC in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.</p>	<p>(MANOVHA ΔΕCΠ?) Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Virgin. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., anexikakia. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.  Inscr. obscure</p>	(1204–61)
6.2*	Bill. 1.66	22		Inscr. obscure	
TYPE G					
7.1*	Bill. 3.21	26	<p>MP ΘV in upper field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.</p>	<p>MANOVHA (ΔΕCΠ?) Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of a beardless, nimbate military saint, holding between them labarum on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds scepter cruciger in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, (breastplate?), and sagion; holds jeweled scepter in l. hand.  ΑΗΘΗ // Δ</p>	(1204–61)
7.2	Bill. 1.94	24 x 16		Inscr. obscure	
7.3	Bill. 1.67	16 x 13		Inscr. obscure	
(7.4)*	Bill. 3.73	27		MAN I	

- 6.1 Bertelè 1956  
H. Pl. 26.2, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 26.2 This coin
- 6.2 Schindler 1960
- 7.1 Grierson 1956 from Baldwin 4.xii.45 (Ex Grantley)  
H. Pl. 26.3, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 26.3 This coin
- 7.2 Bertelè 1960
- 7.3 Bertelè 1960
- (7.4) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE H		
			<p>ΜΡ ΘΥ in upper field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.</p>	<p>ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΙC X C in upper r. field. Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Christ, bearded and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, paneled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr. Christ wears tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	(1204–61)
8.1*	Bill. 3.80 pierced	32		ΚΙ ΙΟΙ ΔΙ	
8.2	Bill. 2.94	28		Inscr. obscure	
8.3	Bill. 3.61	29		Inscr. obscure	
8.4	Bill. 1.14 roughly clipped	20		Inscr. off flan	
(8.5)*	Bill. 4.53	29		ICA[N?]KOC ΔCCΙ	
			TYPE I		
			<p>ΜΡ ΘΥ in field. Full-length figure of Virgin nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion, turned to r., standing on dais. Manus Dei in upper r. field.</p>	<p>ΑΝΔ ΤΟΚΟ ΙC X C in upper r. field. Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Christ, bearded and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand cross on long shaft, and in l., anexikakia. Christ wears tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	(1204–61)
(9)	Bill. 5.75	30			

- 8.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 26.4–5, W. —, R. —
- 8.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 26.4 This coin
- 8.3 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 26.5 This coin
- 8.4 Bertelè 1960
- (8.5) Private collection  
*Coins and Antiquities Ltd.*, No. 3 (1971) (Isaac II) This coin  
The change in the rev. inscr. is not easily explicable.
- (9) BN  
H. Pl. 26.6, W. —, R. —, *BNC* 62/Cp(B)02 (Andronicus I)

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
TYPE J					
			Full-length figure of archangel (Michael?) nimbate, wearing short military tunic, (breast-plate?), and sagion; holds in r. hand jeweled scepter, and in l., gl. cr.	<p>ΙΨΧ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand sword resting over shoulder, and in l., gl. cr.</p>	(1204–61)
10.1	Bill. 3.66	29		ΝΨΧ	
10.2*	Bill. 3.61	30		ΔΣΣΠΟΤΗΣ	
10.3	Bill. 3.62	27		Inscr. obscure	
10.4*	Bill. 3.33 pierced	28		Inscr. obscure	
10.5	Bill. 1.78 roughly clipped, flattened	21		Inscr. blundered	
TYPE K					
			<p>Ι̅C̅ X̅C̅ in field.</p> <p>Bust of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	<p>ΧΙΨΧ</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.</p>	(1204–61)
11*	Bill. 3.32	29			

- 10.1 Bertelè 1956  
H. Pl. 26.7–9, W. —, R. —, *ZfN* 1926, pp. 35–36, no. 113 (Constantine Ducas, Sebastocrator)  
H. Pl. 26.7 This coin, *ZfN* 1926, pp. 35–36, no. 113 This coin
- 10.2 Schindler 1960 from Korli (Vienna) 1938
- 10.3 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 26.8 This coin
- 10.4 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 26.9 This coin
- 10.5 Peirce 1948
- 11 Bertelè 1956  
H. Pl. 26.10, W. —, R. —, *ZfN* 1926, p. 35, no. 112 (Constantine Ducas, Sebastocrator)  
H. Pl. 26.10 This coin, *ZfN* 1926, p. 35, no. 112 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
12*	Bill. 1.99	28 x 18	<p>TYPE L</p> <p>IC XC in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.</p>	<p>KNOC</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, paneled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., sword, point resting on ground.</p>	(1204–61)
13*	Bill. 2.92	30	<p>TYPE M</p> <p>X X P M</p> <p>Full-length figure of archangel Michael nimbate, wearing collar-piece, short military tunic (and loros?); holds in r. hand sword, resting on shoulder, and in l., gl. cr.</p>	<p>ΔVI ΔΕCΠΟΤ</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, paneled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr.</p> <p>IVI A CСΠ</p>	(1204–61)
			<p>TYPE N</p> <p>MP ΘV in field. Three-quarter-length figure of Virgin nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion.</p>	<p>IV</p> <p>Δ</p> <p>EC O</p> <p>ΠO Γ</p> <p>T E</p> <p>HC</p> <p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. George, beardless and nimbate, holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft and three steps. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds sword in l. hand, point resting on ground.</p>	(1204–61)

- 12 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 26.11, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 26.11 This coin
- 13 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 26.12–13, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 26.12 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
14.1	Bill. 4.03	27		<p>                     ]Ψ                      Δ                      CC                      ΠΟ                      Τ                      ] C                 </p>	
14.2	Bill. 3.69 flattened	27		<p>                     ]Ϊ [ ]  Γ                      Η                      C Ε                 </p>	
14.3*	Bill. 3.65 flattened	29		Inscr. obscure	
14.4*	Bill. 4.11 flattened	31		Inscr. obscure	
14.5	Bill. 3.36	29		Inscr. obscure	
14.6	Bill. 2.86	32		Inscr. obscure	
14.7*	Bill. 2.78	30		<p>                     Ψ                      Δ                      Ε Ο Γ                      Ρ                 </p>	
			TYPE O		
			<p>                     IC XC in field.                      Full-length figure of Christ, standing on dais, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l. Pellet normally in each limb of nimbus cross.                 </p>	<p>                     ]Ϊ Ψ                      ΔCC ΠΟ                      ΡΦ                      Π V                      Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand labarum on long shaft, and in l., gl. cr.                 </p>	(1204–61)

- 14.1 Bertelè 1956  
H. Pl. 26.14–15, W. —, R. —, *ZN* 1926, pp. 12–13, nos. 36–38 (John II)  
H Pl. 26.15 This coin. *ZN* 1926, pp. 12–13, no. 36 This coin
- 14.2 Bertelè 1956  
*ZN* 1926, p. 13, no. 37 This coin
- 14.3 Bertelè 1960
- 14.4 Bertelè 1956  
*ZN* 1926, p. 13, no. 38 This coin
- 14.5 Shaw 1947  
H. Pl. 26.14 This coin
- 14.6 Bertelè 1960
- 14.7 From H. Weller 19.iv.74

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
15.1	Bill. 3.60	27		Ψ ICC ΤΨ ΠΡΦ ΟΙ	
15.2	Bill. 3.63	25		Ψ ΠΛ ΓΙ	
15.3	Bill. 3.90	26		Ψ Π	
15.4	Bill. 2.87	28		Τ Ψ ΠΟ ΡΦ VI	
15.5*	Bill. 2.78	28		Inscr. obscure	
15.6	Bill. 2.88	27		Ψ IC Τ Ψ Π Φ	
15.7*	Bill. 3.04	27		Inscr. obscure	
15.8	Bill. 3.55	25		Τ U ΠΡ Φ C Π	
15.9	Bill. 3.05	24		Τ Ψ Π Ρ	

- 15.1 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 27.1-2, W. —, R. 2101-2 (John II)  
 H. Pl. 27.2 This coin. R. 2101 This coin
- 15.2 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 27.1 This coin. R. 2102 This coin
- 15.3 Schindler 1960
- 15.4 Bertelè 1960
- 15.5 Bertelè 1960
- 15.6 Bertelè 1960
- 15.7 Bertelè 1960
- 15.8 Bertelè 1960
- 15.9 Schindler 1960 from Trinks 1898



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
15.10	Bill. 3.10 flattened	27		Inscr. obscure	
15.11	Bill. 2.16	25		<p>                     Ψ            Τ                      ΔC           Ψ                      C            ΠO                                    ϕ                 </p>	
15.12	Bill. 2.56	26		Inscr. obscure	
15.13	Bill. 3.11	29		Inscr. obscure	
15.14*	Bill. 2.79	25		<p>                     Τ                      U                      Π                      I                 </p>	
15.15	Bill. 1.05 roughly clipped	21		<p>                     IΨ                      ΔCC        Π                      Π                 </p>	
15.16	Bill. 1.15 roughly clipped	19		Inscr. off flan	
TYPE P					
			<p>                     IC XC in field.                      Bust of Christ, beardless and                      nimbate, wearing tunic and                      kolobion; holds scroll in l.                      hand. Pellet in each limb of                      nimbus cross.                 </p>	<p>                     X    X                      A    M                      Full-length figure of archangel                      Michael nimbate, wearing                      short military tunic, breast-                      plate, and sagion; holds in r.                      hand jeweled, trifold scepter,                      and in l., gl. cr.                 </p>	(1204-61)
16.1	Bill. 3.79	31			
16.2	Bill. 3.28	28			

- 15.10 Bertelè 1960
- 15.11 Bertelè 1960
- 15.12 Bertelè 1960
- 15.13 Bertelè 1960
- 15.14 Bertelè 1960
- 15.15 Bertelè 1960
- 15.16 From H. Weller 19.iv.74
- 16.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 27.3-4, W. 1-7, R. 2280-81 (W. and R. both John and Demetrius Comnenus-Ducas)
- 16.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 27.3 This coin
- 16.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 27.4 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
16.3	Bill. 3.62	25			
16.4*	Bill. 3.09	27			
16.5	Bill. 3.42	28			
16.6*	Bill. 3.04	28 x 21			
16.7*	Bill. 3.22	27			
16.8	Bill. 3.37	28			
16.9	Bill. 3.36	25			
16.10*	Bill. 2.86	28			
16.11	Bill. 3.12	26			
16.12	Bill. 3.80	28			
16.13	Bill. 2.01 roughly clipped	22			
16.14	Bill. 1.11 roughly clipped	16			
TYPE Q					
			<p>MP ΘV in upper field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds beardless, nimbate head of Christ on breast.</p>	<p>X M Full-length figure of archangel Michael nimbate, wearing divitision, and sagion; holds in r. hand (labarum?) on long shaft, and in l., globus (cruciger?).</p>	(1204–61)
17*	Bill. 5.22	29			

- 16.3 Bertelè 1960  
 16.4 Bertelè 1960  
 16.5 Bertelè 1960  
 16.6 Bertelè 1960  
 16.7 Bertelè 1960  
 16.8 Bertelè 1960  
 16.9 Bertelè 1960  
 16.10 Bertelè 1960  
 16.11 Bertelè 1960  
 16.12 Bertelè 1960  
 16.13 Schindler 1960 from Baumgartner 1.ii.51  
 16.14 Schindler 1960  
 17 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 27.5, W. —, R. —  
 H. Pl. 27.5 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE R		
			<p>IC XC in field.            Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l. Pellet in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>MP OV in field.            Full-length figure of Virgin nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion.</p>	(1204-61)
18.1	Bill. 3.42	26			
18.2	Bill. 3.60	28			
18.3*	Bill. 4.21	28			
18.4	Bill. 3.54	28 x 22			
18.5*	Bill. 4.12	25			
18.6	Bill. 3.22	27			
18.7	Bill. 3.14	27			
18.8	Bill. 2.70	26			
18.9*	Bill. 3.17	25			
18.10	Bill. 1.70 chipped	25			
18.11	Bill. 1.86 roughly clipped	22			

- 18.1 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 27.6-7, W. —, R. —  
 H. Pl. 27.6 This coin
- 18.2 Schindler 1960  
 H. Pl. 27.7 This coin
- 18.3 Bertelè 1960
- 18.4 Bertelè 1960
- 18.5 Peirce 1948
- 18.6 Bertelè 1960
- 18.7 Bertelè 1960
- 18.8 Bertelè 1960
- 18.9 Bertelè 1960
- 18.10 From H. Weller 19.iv.74
- 18.11 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE S		
19.1*	Bill. 3.88 flattened silvered	32	<p>Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of St. Peter nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and in l., two keys.</p> <p>Ο Π Α Τ Γ Ι Ρ Ο C Ο</p>	<p>ΜΡ ΘΥ Η ΑΓΙΟΣΟΡΙΤΙCΑ in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of Virgin Hagiosoritissa nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion, turned to r. Manus Dei in upper r. field.</p> <p>Π Α Τ Ι Ο C Ο Λ Ρ Ι</p>	(1204–61)
19.2*	Bill. 2.89	27	<p>Λ Γ Ι Τ Ο C</p>	<p>Α Ι Ο Ο</p>	
19.3	Bill. 3.46 flattened	29	<p>Α Γ Ι Ο C</p>	<p>Ο Α Ο</p>	
			TYPE T		
20.1	Bill. 3.76	29	<p>Inscr. obscure</p>	<p>Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ in two columnar groups. Full-length figures of Saints Peter (on l.) and Paul (on r.), nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, embracing each other. St. Peter has short beard, St. Paul a long one.</p> <p>Ο Α Ο Α Γ Ι Ο C Γ Π Ε Ι</p>	(1204–61)

- 19.1 Whittemore  
H. Pl. 27.8–9, W. —, R. —, *ZfN* 1926, pp. 30–31, nos. 101–2  
H. Pl. 27.9 This coin
- 19.2 Bertelè 1956  
*ZfN* 1926, pp. 30–31, no. 101 This coin
- 19.3 Bertelè 1956  
H. Pl. 27.8 This coin. *ZfN* 1926, p. 31, no. 102 This coin
- 20.1 Bertelè 1956  
H. Pl. 27.10–11, W. —, R. —, *ZfN* 1926, pp. 31–32, nos. 103–8  
H. Pl. 27.10 This coin. *ZfN* 1926, p. 31, no. 103 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date	
20.2	Bill. 3.39	32	Inscr. obscure	O AΓI OC ΠΕ T	O A C Π	
20.3*	Bill. 3.49	29	ΜΡ ΗΑ ΠI O C	O Γ C		
20.4*	Bill. 3.45 chipped	30	ΜΡ AΓI CO P I	Inscr. obscure		
20.5*	Bill. 4.49	31	ΜΡ OA I	O Γ I Π T	Λ Γ Λ	
20.6	Bill. 3.19	32 x 23	A ΓIC CO PI	Inscr. obscure		
20.7	Bill. 1.87	23	Inscr. obscure		O ΛΓ IO ΠΛ VΛ	
20.8	Bill. 1.62	22	Inscr. obscure	O A ΓI		
20.9	Bill. 1.05	23	Inscr. obscure	Inscr. obscure		

- 20.2 Bertelè 1956  
H. Pl. 27.11 This coin. *ZN* 1926, p. 31, no. 104 This coin
- 20.3 Bertelè 1956  
*ZN* 1926, p. 31, no. 105 This coin
- 20.4 Bertelè 1956  
*ZN* 1926, pp. 31–32, no. 107 This coin
- 20.5 Bertelè 1956
- 20.6 Bertelè 1956  
*ZN* 1926, p. 31, no. 106 This coin
- 20.7 Bertelè 1956  
*ZN* 1926, p. 32, no. 108 This coin
- 20.8 Bertelè 1960
- 20.9 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
TYPE U					
(21.1)*	Bill. 3.92	29	<p>Ο ΛΓΙΟC ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟC in two columnar groups. Half-length figure of St. Nicholas, bearded and nimbate, orans; wears episcopal vestments, of which omophorion is visible.</p> <p>Ο Α Ν Γ Ι Ο C</p>	<p>ΛΓΙΟC ΙΨ Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟC in two columnar groups. Full-length figure of St. John the Baptist, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and cloak; holds in r. hand patriarchal cross on long shaft, and holds l. hand outstretched(?).</p> <p>Α Ι Ψ Γ Ι Ο Π Α Ρ Ο Μ Ο C</p>	(1204–61)
(21.2)*	Bill.	28	<p>Ο Ν Α Κ Γ Ι ΛΛ Ο C Ο C</p>	<p>ΙΨ Ο Π</p>	
21.3*	Bill. 1.82 clipped	22	Inscr. obscure	<p>ΙΨ Ο Π</p>	
21.4*	Bill. 1.73	24 x 17	Inscr. obscure	Inscr. obscure	
21.5	Bill. 2.48	23	Inscr. obscure	<p>ΙΨ Ο Π</p>	
TYPE V					
(21.1)	Archaeological Museum, Istanbul H. —, W. —, R. —, <i>JNC</i> 1973, p. 166, nos. 323–42 (Unidentified saint and St. Paul) For the identity of the saint: <i>JNC</i> 1979, p. 212		<p>Ο ΛΓΙΟC Full-length figure of beardless and nimbate saint wearing short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, and in l., shield.</p>	<p>ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟC Full-length figure of emperor seated upon throne with back, wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr.</p>	(1204–61)

- (21.1) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *JNC* 1973, p. 166, nos. 323–42 (Unidentified saint and St. Paul)  
For the identity of the saint: *JNC* 1979, p. 212
- (21.2) Barber Institute, Birmingham
- 21.3 Bertelè 1960
- 21.4 Bertelè 1960  
Smaller module
- 21.5 Bertelè 1960  
Smaller module

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
22.1*	Bill. 2.90	33	Inscr. obscure	K[Λ?]	
22.2*	Bill. 4.36	30	ΛΛΙ [	Inscr. obscure	
(22.3)	Bill.	20		KOMNHOC	
(22.4)	Bill. 1.93	26	ΙΛΟΓ	Inscr. obscure	
				TYPE W	
			I C Cross on base.	Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, and in l., gl. cr.	(1204–61)
			N K		
23.1*	Bill. 1.02 roughly clipped	18			
23.2*	Bill. 0.94 roughly clipped	18			
23.3*	Bill. 1.41 roughly clipped	19			
23.4	Bill. 0.82 roughly clipped	16			
23.5	Bill. 0.66 roughly clipped	14			
23.6	Bill. 0.95 roughly clipped	18			

- 22.1 Bertelè 1956  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *ZN* 1926, p. 36, no. 18  
*ZN* 1926, p. 36, no. 18 This coin
- 22.2 Bertelè 1960
- (22.3) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford  
*NC* 1973, p. 163, nos. 168–76, Pl. 8.29 This coin
- (22.4) Private collection  
*NCirc* 1978, p. 179, no. 9 This coin
- 23.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *NC* 1973, p. 164, nos. 193–205
- 23.2 Bertelè 1960
- 23.3 Peirce 1948
- 23.4 Bertelè 1960
- 23.5 Bertelè 1960
- 23.6 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
23.7*	Bill. 0.93 roughly clipped	17			
23.8	Bill. 1.73	21			
23.9	Bill. 1.25	21			
23.10	Bill. 1.63	20			
23.11	Bill. 1.06	20			
<b>Thessalonica</b>					
TYPE A					
			<p>IC XC in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; holds Gospels in l. hand. Asterisk above cushion of throne, to either side.</p>	<p>Half-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand scepter cruciger, and and in l., gl. cr.</p>	(1204–24)
24.1	Bill. 2.36	24			
24.2	Bill. 2.76	26			
24.3*	Bill. 3.81 flattened	26			
24.4*	Bill. 2.40	27			
24.5	Bill. 2.24	27			
24.6	Bill. 2.62	26			

- 23.7 Bertelè 1960  
 23.8 Bertelè 1960  
 23.8–23.11 probably smaller module  
 23.9 Bertelè 1960  
 23.10 Bertelè 1960  
 23.11 Bertelè 1960  
 24.1 Bertelè 1956  
 H. Pl. 28.1–4, W. —, R. 2104 (John II)  
 24.2 Bertelè 1956  
 H. Pl. 28.4 This coin  
 24.3 Bertelè 1956  
 24.4 Schindler 1960  
 24.5 Bertelè 1956  
 24.6 Bertelè 1960



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE B		
25.1	Bill. 1.92	26	IC XC O NϞ EM HA MA Bust of Christ Emmanuel, bearded ( <i>sic</i> ) and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand.	ΤΥΚΟΝ Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr.	(1204–24)
25.2*	Bill. 2.10	28 x 22	IC XC O NϞ EM H A		
25.3	Bill. 2.46	28	IC XC O NϞ M H		
25.4	Bill. 1.96	26	IC O EM Λ	ΠΟ	
25.5	Bill. 2.59	26	Inscr. obscure		
25.6	Bill. 1.92	24	Inscr. obscure		
25.7	Bill. 1.48	24	Inscr. obscure		
25.8*	Bill. 1.37	24	Inscr. obscure. Overstruck on preceding type.	Overstruck on preceding type.	
25.9	Bill. 1.13	23	Inscr. obscure. Overstruck on preceding type.	Overstruck on preceding type.	

- 25.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 28.5–8, W. —, R. 2075 (Alexius I), 2143 (Manuel I)  
H. Pl. 28.5 This coin. R. 2143 This coin. For the inscription, see H. pp. 201, 205 and Pl. 46.7.
- 25.2 Bertelè 1960  
R. 2075 This coin
- 25.3 Schindler 1960  
H. Pl. 28.6 This coin
- 25.4 Bertelè 1960
- 25.5 Bertelè 1960
- 25.6 Bertelè 1960
- 25.7 Bertelè 1960
- 25.8 Bertelè 1960
- 25.9 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
TYPE C					
			<p>ΙϞ ΧϞ in field.            Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l. Cross above cushion of throne, to r.</p>	<p>ΗΑΓΙΑΕΛΕΝΗ ΘΚΟΤΑΝΤ            Full-length figures of Saints Helen (on l.) and Constantine (on r.), holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft and step. Both wear stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; St. Helen holds jeweled scepter, St. Constantine, scepter cruciger.</p>	(1204–24)
26.1	Bill. 3.04	30		ΙΛϞΙ	
26.2*	Bill. 2.43 clipped	24		ΙΛΓΗΙ      ΘΚΟΤΙ	
26.3*	Bill. 2.57	26		Inscr. obscure	
26.4	Bill. 1.65 pierced	22		Inscr. obscure	
26.5	Bill. 1.61	22		Inscr. obscure	
26.6	Bill. 2.00	24		Inscr. obscure	
26.7	Bill. 2.58	24		Inscr. obscure	
26.8*	Bill. 1.20 clipped, flattened	21		ΙΝΗ ΚΩΝΤΑΝΤ	

- 26.1 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 28.9–10, W. —, R. 2089 (Alexius I), *Numismatica* 1948, p. 93, nos. 1–10  
 H. Pl. 28.10 This coin. R. 2089 This coin. *Numismatica* 1948, p. 93, no. 1 This coin
- 26.2 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1948, p. 93, no. 2 This coin
- 26.3 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1948, p. 93, no. 3 This coin
- 26.4 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1948, p. 93, no. 6 This coin
- 26.5 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1948, p. 93, no. 7 This coin
- 26.6 Bertelè 1960
- 26.7 Bertelè 1960
- 26.8 Schindler 1960 from Beisser 6.ii.48

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
<b>HALF-TETARTERON NOUMMION</b>					
<b>Thessalonica</b>					
TYPE A					
27.1	Æ 1.85	17 x 13	<p>ⲙⲠ ⲬⲪ in field. Bust of Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion.</p>	Leaved patriarchal cross.	(1204–24)
27.2*	Æ 1.39	17			
TYPE B					
28.1*	Æ 1.69	19	<p>Ⲭ ⲀⲒⲀ ⲈⲘⲈⲛⲬ, in columnar group to l. Full-length figure of St. Helena nimbate, turned slightly to r., wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds patriarchal cross with flourish on shaft in l. hand.</p>	<p>ⲠⲀⲒⲒⲠⲠ ⲘⲠⲛⲦⲀⲛⲦ Full-length figure of St. Constantine, turned slightly to l., wearing stemma, diviti- sion, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand patriarchal cross, and in l., anexikakia.</p>	(1204–24)
			<p>ⲬⲀ ⲈⲘⲈ ⲛⲬ</p>	ⲘⲠⲛⲦⲀⲛⲦ	
28.2	Æ 1.67	18	<p>Ⲓ ⲒⲀ Ⲓⲛ Ⲭ</p>	ⲘⲠⲛⲦⲀⲛⲦ	
28.3*	Æ 1.35	19	<p>ⲬⲀ ⲒⲀ ⲒⲀⲒ</p>	ⲠⲀⲒⲒ- ⲘⲠⲛⲦ ⲒⲛⲦⲀ	

- 27.1 Peirce 1948  
H. Pl. 28.11, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 28.11 This coin
- 27.2 Grierson 1956 from Cahn 30.ix,46, ex Grantley, lot 4250
- 28.1 Bertelè 1956  
H. Pl. 28.12–14, W. —, R. —, *ZN* 1926, pp. 32–33, nos. 114–17  
*ZN* 1926, p. 32, no. 114 This coin
- 28.2 Bertelè 1956  
H. Pl. 28.14 This coin. *ZN* 1926, p. 32, no. 115 This coin
- 28.3 Peirce 1948

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
28.4	Æ 1.74	18	Inscr. obscure	ΚΟΤΔΤΗΤ	
28.5	Æ 1.54	16	Η ΑΓΙ ΑΕ ΛΕ Ν	ΟΛΓΗΟC ΚΟΡΑΤΗΤ	
28.6*	Æ 1.46	17	И ΑΓΙ Α ΕΛΕ	ΛΓΛ Κ.ΨΙ Ι	
				TYPE C	
			ΙC XC in field. Full-length figure of Christ, standing on dais, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.	Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear(?), and in l., gl. cr.	
29.1*	Æ	16			
29.2*	Æ 1.26	16			
			ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA (SMALL MODULE)		
			TYPE A ( <i>Obv. and rev. as Constantinopolitan Type A [Large Module]</i> )		(1204–?)
30.1	Bill. 1.40	25 x 19			
30.2*	Bill. 1.68	22			
30.3	Bill. 1.15	23		ΔΕCΙ	



- 28.4 Bertelè 1956  
H. Pl. 28.13 This coin. *ZfN* 1926, p. 32, no. 116 This coin
- 28.5 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 28.12 This coin. *ZfN* 1926, pp. 32–33, no. 117 This coin
- 28.6 Whittemore
- 29.1 Whittemore  
H. —, W. —, R. —, Sabatier Pl. LXX, no. 7  
For a reevaluation of this type, see now above, pp. 664–65.
- 29.2 Bertelè 1960
- 30.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 29.1–3, W. —, R. 2077 (Alexius I)
- 30.2 Bertelè 1960
- 30.3 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
30.4*	Bill. 1.30	23		MAN Δ II	
30.5	Bill. 2.08	24			
30.6*	Bill. 2.52	24		ΔΕCΙ	
30.7	Bill. 1.67	23		INIC	
30.8	Bill. 2.11	23			
30.9	Bill. 1.45	21			
30.10	Bill. 1.87	23			
30.11	Bill. 1.64	22		ΔΠΤΗ	
30.12	Bill. 1.60	22			
30.13	Bill. 1.24	23			
30.14	Bill. 1.31	22			
30.15	Bill. 2.35	22			
30.16	Bill. 1.99	22			
30.17	Bill. 1.39	22			
30.18	Bill. 2.62	21		MNI IΛI	
30.19	Bill. 2.79	23 x 16			

- 30.4 Bertelè 1960  
 30.5 Bertelè 1960  
 30.6 Bertelè 1960  
 30.7 Schindler 1960  
 30.8 Schindler 1960  
 30.9 Schindler 1960 from Lanz 20.vi.52  
 30.10 Bertelè 1960  
 30.11 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 29.2 This coin  
 30.12 Bertelè 1960  
 30.13 Schindler 1960  
 H. Pl. 29.3 This coin  
 30.14 Schindler 1960  
 30.15 Schindler 1960  
 30.16 Bertelè 1960  
 30.17 Bertelè 1960  
 30.18 Bertelè 1960  
 H. Pl. 29.1 This coin  
 30.19 Bertelè 1960

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
30.20	Bill. 1.81	25			
30.21	Bill. 1.60	21			
30.22	Bill. 1.41	23			
			TYPE B <i>(Obv. and rev. as Constantinopolitan Type B [Large Module])</i>		(1204—?)
31.1	Bill. 1.12	18		ΙΣΠΟ ΠΤΙΣ	
31.2*	Bill. 2.03	22		ΙΠΤΙ Ι	
31.3	Bill. 0.97	19			
31.4*	Bill. 1.08	18			
			TYPE C <i>(Obv. and rev. as Constantinopolitan Type C [Large Module])</i>		(1204—?)
32.1*	Bill. 2.57	26 x 20		ΙΛΕΣΙ Ι      ΔΣΣΠ	
32.2*	Bill. 1.63	22		ΔΣΣΠΤ	
32.3	Bill. 2.31	22			
			TYPE D <i>(Obv. and rev. as Thessalonican Type A [Large Module])</i>		(1204—?)
33.1*	Bill. 1.19	21			
33.2	Bill. 1.20	24			

- 30.20 Bertelè 1960  
30.21 Bertelè 1960  
30.22 Schindler 1960 from Lanz 20.vi.52  
31.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 29.4–6, W. —, R. 2147 (Manuel I)  
H. Pl. 29.5 This coin. R. 2147 This coin  
31.2 Schindler 1960  
31.3 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 29.4 This coin  
31.4 Bertelè 1960  
32.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 29.7–9, W. — R. —, Edwards, *Corinth*, p. 147, no. 158 (Alexius III)  
H. Pl. 29.7 This coin  
32.2 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 29.8 This coin  
32.3 Bertelè 1960  
33.1 Bertelè 1956  
H. Pl. 29.10–12, W. —, R. 2105–6 (John II)  
33.2 Schindler 1960  
H. Pl. 29.10 This coin

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
33.3	Bill. 1.05	21			
33.4*	Bill. 1.39	20			
33.5	Bill. 0.71	16			
			TYPE E ( <i>Obv. and rev. as Thessalonican Type B [Large Module]</i> )		(1204–?)
34.1*	Bill. 0.88	22			
34.2*	Bill. 1.22	23			
34.3	Bill. 1.59	23			
			TYPE F ( <i>Obv. and rev. as Thessalonican Type C [Large Module]</i> )		(1204–?)
35.1*	Bill. 1.67	22			
35.2*	Bill. 3.09	23			
35.3	Bill. 1.30	22			
			TYPE G ( <i>Obv. and rev. as Theodore I, Lascaris, Nicaea, First Coinage [Large Module]</i> )		(1205–?)
36a	Bill. 1.68	24		Loros-waist 	
36b	Bill. 1.91	23		Loros-waist 	
36c.1*	Bill. 1.13	22		Loros-waist uncertain	
36c.2*	Bill. 1.29	19			

- 33.3 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 29.11 This coin
- 33.4 Bertelè 1956
- 33.5 Bertelè 1956
- 34.1 Schindler 1960  
H. Pl. 29.13–15, W. —, R. 2076 (Alexius I)
- 34.2 Schindler 1960  
H. Pl. 29.14 This coin
- 34.3 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 29.13 This coin
- 35.1 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 29.16–18, W. —, R. —, *Numismatica* 1948, p. 93, nos. 1–10  
H. Pl. 29.18 This coin. *Numismatica* 1948, p. 93, no. 8 This coin
- 35.2 Bertelè 1960  
*Numismatica* 1948, p. 93, no. 9 This coin
- 35.3 Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 29.17 This coin. *Numismatica* 1948, p. 93, no. 10 This coin
- 36a Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 29.19–20, W. —, R. —  
H. Pl. 29.20 This coin
- 36b Bertelè 1960  
H. Pl. 29.19 This coin
- 36c.1 Schindler 1960
- 36c.2 Bertelè 1960

## UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTION AND ADDENDA

(Plate LIV)

There is little to be said about the issues catalogued below—all of them billon trachea—and indeed a number have already been dealt with at appropriate places in the text above.

## John III

Type V (**1.1, 2**), assigned above to Theodore II (see Pl. xxxvi, **12.4, 5**), subsequently proved to be of John, and has been mentioned appropriately in the text above at pp. 480 and 516.

Type W (**2.1–3**) appears to be of John, but is possibly a Thessalonican issue.

Type X (**3**) is certainly in the name of John, but could belong to the Constantinopolitan Latin series, being similar to Type Y (**7**) catalogued below. Alternatively, both could belong to John III.

Type Y (**4**) is probably of John, but could be of Theodore II.

Type Z (**5.1, 2**) is again probably of John, but again could be of Theodore II.

Type A<sup>2</sup>, assigned above to Theodore I (see Pl. xxxviii, **9**), subsequently proved to be of John, and has been mentioned appropriately in the text above at pp. 454 and 480.

## Latin Emperors

Type X (**6**) should belong to this series.

Type Y (**7**) should also belong to this series, but is similar to Type X (**3**) catalogued above under John III. Alternatively, therefore, both could belong to John.

## Thessalonica/Arta

Type A (**8.1, 2**) is a tantalizing “mystery type”: the style seems Thessalonican, but then the billon issues of Michael II from Arta share the same style. Arta (?).

Type B (**9**) has been given on two occasions to Michael II and his son the despot Nicephorus, but is more probably of a ruler (quite possibly Michael II) and St. Constantine. It has been mentioned appropriately in the text above at pp. 625–26.



No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTION AND ADDENDA					
ASPRON TRACHY NOMISMA					
JOHN III					
<b>Magnesia</b>					
TYPE V					
			<p> <math>\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}</math> in field.                      Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand.                 </p>	<p> <math>\overline{\text{I}\overline{\text{U}}}</math>      <math>\overline{\text{F}}</math>  <math>\Delta\epsilon\text{C}</math>      <math>\Phi</math>                                       <math>\downarrow</math>                                       <math>\Delta\delta</math>                                       <math>\text{K}</math> </p> <p>                     Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Tryphon, beardless and nimbate, holding between them long shaft, at the head of which lys, and the base of which, small globe. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagion; holds labarum on long shaft in r. hand. Saint wears short military tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds scepter with triple head in l. hand.                 </p>	(1221–54)
(1.1)*	Bill.	25		<p> <math>\overline{\text{I}\overline{\text{U}}}</math>  <math>\text{IC}</math> </p>	
(1.2)*	Bill.	27		<p> <math>\overline{\text{F}}</math>  <math>\Phi</math>  <math>\downarrow</math>  <math>\Delta\delta</math>  <math>\text{K}</math> </p>	

(1.1) Private collection  
 H. —, W. —, R. —, *NCirc* 1978, pp. 306–7  
*NCirc* 1978, pp. 306–7 This coin  
 See also “Theodore II” Type IV (Pl. xxxvi.12.4, 5)

(1.2) Private collection

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE W		
(2.1)*	Bill. 2.29	27	<p>MP OV in field. Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne without back.</p>	<p>(IV?) Half-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, jeweled loros of simplified type, and sagon; holds in r. hand sword, point downward, and in l., globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.</p>	(1221-54)
(2.2)	Bill. 1.55	21			
2.3	Bill. 1.48	25 x 18			
			TYPE X		
(3)*	Bill. 1.64	28	<p>IC XC in field. Bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand.</p>	<p>IVAE Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of Virgin nimbate, holding between them patriarchal cross(?) on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.</p>	(1221-54)
			TYPE Y		
4*	Bill. 1.99	32	<p>(MP OV in field.) Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne without back; holds beardless, nimbate, head of Christ on breast.</p>	<p>Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., cross(?). Large letter <b>Ϟ</b> to l. and r. in field.</p>	(1221-54)

- (2.1) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *NCirc* 1978, p. 178, no. 3  
*NCirc* 1978, p. 178, no. 3 This coin
- (2.2) Private collection
- 2.3 Bertelè 1960
- (3) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *NCirc* 1978, p. 178, no. 4  
*NCirc* 1978, p. 178, no. 4 This coin
- 4 From H. Weller 19.iv.74  
H. —, W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TYPE Z		
5.1*	Bill. 1.71	26	<p>ΙC XC in field. Full-length figure of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, standing on dais; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l. ✱ to l. and r. in field.</p>	<p>(ΔΘΚΛC?) Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand scepter with triple head, and in l., sheathed sword, point downward.</p>	(1221–54)
(5.2)*	Bill.	28		<p>(ΔΘΚΛC?) Δ(Θ?)</p>	
			TYPE A <sup>2</sup>		
(5 bis)	Bill.	29	<p>ΙC XC Ο ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ, in two columnar groups. Bust of Christ Emmanuel, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds scroll in l. hand. ∴ in each limb of nimbus cross.</p>	<p>(ΙΩΔΕCΠΟΤΗC ΘΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC?) Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, holding between them shaft, at the head of which a star, and at the base of which a kite-shaped shield. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter. Saint wears short military tunic and breastplate; holds spear in l. hand, resting over shoulder.</p>	(1221–54)
				ΙΩΔ	

- 5.1 From H. Weller 19.iv.74  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *NCirc* 1976, p. 46, no. 4
- (5.2) Private collection  
*NCirc* 1976, p. 46, no. 4 This coin
- (5 bis) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —  
See also “Theodore I” Type E (Pl. xxviii.9)

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			IMITATIVE COINAGE OF THE LATIN EMPERORS		
			<b>Constantinople</b>		
			TYPE X		
(6)*	Bill.	30	<p>IC XC in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.</p>	<p>Full-length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds in r. hand labarum-headed scepter, and in l., gl. cr.</p>	(1204–61)
			TYPE Y		
(7)*	Bill. 3.34	27	<p>IC XC in field. Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion, seated upon throne without back; r. hand raised in benediction, holds Gospels in l.</p>	<p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of Virgin nimbate, holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and paneled loros of simplified type; holds anexikakia in r. hand. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.</p>	(1204–61)
			COINAGE OF THE MINT OF THESSALONICA OR ARTA		
			TYPE A		
8.1*	Bill. 1.26	25	<p>IC XC in field. Bust of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and kolobion; holds Gospels in l. hand.</p>	<p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., crowned by Virgin nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, and chlamys; holds jeweled scepter(?) in r. hand. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.</p>	(1224– ca. 68)
(8.2)*	Bill.	26			

(6) Archaeological Museum, Istanbul  
H. —, W. —, R. —, Bell, *Sardis*, p. 101, no. 953 ("Alexius I")  
Bell, *Sardis*, p. 101, no. 953 This coin

(7) Private collection  
H. —, W. —, R. —

8.1 Peirce 1948  
H —, W —, R. —

(8.2) Private collection

No.	Metal Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Date
(9)*	Bill.	26	<p style="text-align: center;">TYPE B</p> <p>Bust of beardless and nimbate military saint wearing tunic, breastplate, and sagion; holds in r. hand spear, resting over shoulder, and in l., hilt of sword, or scroll. <b>Α</b> in field, to r.</p>	<p>Full-length figure of emperor on l., and of St. Constantine, holding between them patriarchal cross on long shaft and base(?). Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar-piece, and jeweled loros of simplified type; holds scepter in r. hand. Saint, similarly dressed, holds scepter in l. hand.</p>	(1224–ca. 68)

(9) BM  
H. —, W. —, R. —, *NC* 1923, p. 37 class viii (Michael II and Nicephorus)  
*NC* 1923, p. 37, class viii This coin  
See now *RN* 1983, p. 95, no. 14

## BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
ANS	American Numismatic Society (New York)
ANSMN	<i>American Numismatic Society: Museum Notes</i>
ArchDelt	<i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i>
BAR, Int. Ser.	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BSFN	<i>Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique</i>
ByzF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CS	Collected Studies, Variorum Reprints
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DOC	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Catalogue</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
EB	<i>Études byzantines</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
HBN	<i>Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik</i>
IAI	<i>Izvestiya na Arkheologicheskiya Institut</i>
IAPN	International Association of Professional Numismatists
IBAI	<i>Izvestiya na Bulgarskiya Arkheologicheski Institut</i>
JLAN	<i>Journal international d'archéologie numismatique</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JÖBG	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
<i>ScriptRerGerm</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum</i>
SS	<i>Scriptores</i>
MMAG	Münzen und Medaillen A. G. (Basel)
MNZ	<i>Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung</i>
MÖNG	<i>Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft</i>
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
NCirc	<i>Spink's Numismatic Circular</i>
NNM	Numismatic Notes and Monographs (ANS)
NZ	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift</i>
RBN	<i>Revue belge de numismatique</i>
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
RESEE	<i>Revue des études sud-est européennes</i>
RIN	<i>Rivista italiana di numismatica</i>
RN	<i>Revue numismatique</i>
RSN	<i>Revue suisse de numismatique</i>
SCMB	(Seaby's) <i>Coin and Medal Bulletin</i>
SCN	<i>Studii și Cercetări de Numismatica</i>
TM	<i>Travaux et mémoires</i>
VV	<i>Vizantiiski Vremennik</i>
ZfN	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i>

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## INDEXES

As customary in this series of catalogues, the index has been classified under a number of distinct sub-headings—in this case five—similar to, but not identical with, those in the preceding volumes. In this volume, coin inscriptions have been accorded somewhat less weight, amounting to a curtailment (Index IV), due to the effective impossibility of reproducing and ordering satisfactorily the vertical, i.e., columnar, inscriptions that are so characteristic of the coinage of the period; the capacity of such inscriptions for variation, frequently almost with the individual die; and the overwhelmingly fragmentary nature of any lettering that survives (because of the constant ill-striking by pairs of concave/convex dies). In addition to these difficulties, one must also attempt to cope with the phenomenon of a very restricted repertoire of dynastic personal names (a fact that for long bedeviled the correct attribution of whole series of these issues to their individual rulers). There are, for example, five emperors named Alexius, five Johns—several of them contemporary (including the Bulgarian Ivan II Asen and possibly the Latin John of Brienne) and all identified by the cursorily abbreviated form  $\overline{\text{I}\Psi}$  and the ubiquitous and all-embracing title *despotēs*, but not necessarily by a further familial indication—three Theodores, and so on. And that includes only the more “regular” rulers, and excludes usurpers and the more minor figures of this exceedingly complex period, particularly its latter part, with multiple annual coin sequences mostly ill-struck in minimal quantities.

To the contrary, somewhat more weight than usual has been placed upon technical terms and unusual words, here classified separately (Index III). I have tended to quote original sources *in extenso* throughout the volume and have included a substantial chapter on imperial ceremonial costume and regalia (Chapter 6). I have also taken notice of such diverse matters as the increasingly complex nature of imperial and quasi-imperial ranks and the increased complexity of the denominational structure of the coinage, together with particular terminologies that this entailed with regard to both denominations and individual issues of coinage (Chapter 2, B–E). The provision of a separate index along such lines therefore appears appropriate.

With these two exceptions, the indexes follow—more or less—the already established pattern:

- I Emperors, Other Rulers (including Usurpers), and Their Relatives
- II Mints
- III Technical Terms (including Non-imperial Offices, Titles, and Ranks) and Unusual Words (Greek, Latin, and Others)
- IV Inscriptions and Epigraphy
- V General Index (including People, Places, Hoards, and Sources)

# INDEX I

## EMPERORS, OTHER RULERS (INCLUDING USURPERS), AND THEIR RELATIVES

Confined to rulers of the period who issued and/or appeared on coins; for other emperors and general references to those below, see Index V.

Comm. = Commentary; Cat. = Catalogue.

- Alexius I Comnenus, coinage of, 181–201 (Comm.), 202–43 (Cat.); *see also* Index V
- Alexius III Angelus (Comnenus), coinage of, 397–403 (Comm.), 404–19 (Cat.)
- Alexius IV Angelus, *see* Isaac II Angelus, restored
- Andronicus I Comnenus, coinage of, 343–45 (Comm.), 346–53 (Cat.)
- Constantine Asen (Tich), coinage of, 645 (Comm.), 646–47 (Cat.); *see also* Index V
- Demetrius Comnenus-Ducas, *despotēs*, coinage of, 597 (Comm.), 598 (Cat.); *see also* Index V
- Irene Ducaena (wife of Alexius I), appearance of on coins of Alexius I, 192–93, 199 (Comm.), 224, 225–26, 228, 231, 234 (Cat.)
- Isaac II Angelus: coinage of, 365–69 (Comm.), 370–91 (Cat.); restored, coinage of with Alexius IV Angelus, 420–23 (Comm.), 424 (Cat.)
- Isaac Comnenus, usurper, coinage of, 354–57 (Comm.), 358–64 (Cat.); *see also* Index V
- Ivan II Asen, coinage of, 639–40 (Comm.), 641–43 (Cat.); *see also* Index V
- John II Comnenus: appearance of on coins of Alexius I, 192–93, 196, 199 (Comm.), 224, 225–26, 228, 231, 234 (Cat.); coinage of, 244–54 (Comm.), 255–74 (Cat.); *see also* Index V
- John III Ducas (Vatatzes), coinage of: in Magnesia, 467–81 (Comm.), 482–513 (Cat.); with Michael II Comnenus-Ducas, 625–26 (Comm.), 630–31 (Cat.); misattributed to Theodore I, 454 (Comm.), 465 (Cat.); misattributed to Theodore II, 516 (Comm.), 525–26 (Cat.); in Thessalonica, 601–3 (Comm.), 604–14 (Cat.); uncertain attribution to, 698–701; *see also* Index V
- John Comnenus-Ducas, emperor/*despotēs*: coinage of, 578–82 (Comm.), 583–96 (Cat.); uncertain attribution to, 536; *see also* Index V
- John Gabalas, *authentēs*, coinage of, 648–49 (Comm.), 650 (Cat.); *see also* Index V
- John of Brienne, possible coinage of, 664–65 (Comm.), 680–84, 694 (Cat.); *see also* Index V
- Leo Gabalas, *kaisar*, coinage of, 648–49 (Comm.), 650 (Cat.); *see also* Index V
- Manuel I Comnenus, coinage of, 275–88 (Comm.), 289–339 (Cat.)
- Manuel Comnenus-Ducas, *despotēs*, coinage of: in Arta, 624 (Comm.), 628 (Cat.); in Thessalonica, 566–69 (Comm.), 570–77 (Cat.)
- Michael I Comnenus-Ducas, coinage of, 621–23 (Comm.), 627 (Cat.)
- Michael II Comnenus-Ducas, *despotēs*: coinage of, 624 (Comm.), 628–29 (Cat.); uncertain attribution to, 625, 698; *see also* John III Ducas and Index V
- Michael VIII Palaeologus (Ducas-Angelus-Comnenus), coinage of, 528–31 (Comm.), 532–35 (Cat.); *see also* Index V
- Mitso Asen, coinage of, 644
- Stephen Ducas (Radoslav), coinage of, 37, 635–36 (Comm.), 637–38 (Cat.); *see also* Index V
- Theodore I Comnenus-Lascaris, coinage of, 447–55 (Comm.), 456–66 (Cat.); *see also* Index V
- Theodore II Ducas-Lascaris, coinage of: in Magnesia, 514–17 (Comm.), 518–27 (Cat.); in Thessalonica, 615 (Comm.), 616–17 (Cat.); uncertain attribution to, 536
- Theodore Comnenus-Ducas (Angelus), coinage of: in Arta, 623–24 (Comm.), 627 (Cat.); in

- Thessalonica, 543–49 (Comm.), 550–65 (Cat.); *see also* Index V  
Theodore Mancaphas, usurper, coinage of, 133, 392–95 (Comm.), 396 (Cat.)

## INDEX II

### MINTS

For issues of individual emperors, *see* Index I.

- Arta, 134–35, 623–24, 627–29; uncertain attribution to, 698, 702–3  
Constantinople, 128–29; duplication of mints in, palace/fiscal and city/exchange, 25; position of in Alexian reformed coinage, 34–35  
“Cyprus,” 132; Isaac Comnenus, 35, 132, 354–64  
Magnesia, 134; Theodore I, 452–55, 458–59, 464–66  
Nicaea, 133–34; Theodore I, 452–57, 459–63  
Ochrida (?), 136; Ivan II Asen, 639–43  
Philadelphia, 133; Theodore Mancaphas, 35, 393–96  
Ras, 97, 135–36; Stephen Ducas, 97, 136, 635–38  
Rhodes, 136; Leo and John Gabalas, 648–50  
Thessalonica, 129–30; position of in Alexian reformed coinage, 34–35; possible mint of “signed” folles from Constantine X onward in, 23, 27  
Trebizond, 35, 131–32, 427–34  
Uncertain/other mints: Bulgarian imitatives in Stara Zagora/Turnovo, 436–43; Constantine Asen in Turnovo, 136–37, 645–47; Greek, 34, 131; Mitso Asen in Preslav/Mesembria/Turnovo, 137, 644

## INDEX III

### TECHNICAL TERMS (INCLUDING NON-IMPERIAL OFFICES, TITLES, AND RANKS) AND UNUSUAL WORDS (GREEK, LATIN, AND OTHERS)

- Aetos*, 159–61, 164 n. 80, 165 n. 86  
*Aima* (*ex aimatos/kath' aimā vel sim.*), 182–83, 245, 365  
*Archōn tēs charagēs*, 96, 98–99  
*Authentēs*, 141, 543–44  
*Bdelliōn* (bee), 165 n. 86; as “hornets”/“droplets,” 161 n. 70  
*Caiiere*, 143  
*Cange*, apud Robert of Clari, 23, 109  
*Cauches*, 143  
*Charagma*, 24, 99  
*Chartēs* (= *anexikakia*), 176; *see also* *Anexikakia/akakia* (Index V)  
*Chōneia* (*vel sim.*), 96 n. 2, 661; *choneusis*, 420  
*Chrysepsēteion*, 96 n. 2, 120  
*Chrysophysia/chrysiophysioi*, 96 n. 2  
*Chrysourgion*, 96 n. 2, 120 and n. 108, 128  
*Clavus: auroklavon*, 157 n. 55; = *tiraz*, 162 n. 76  
*Collegantia*, between Romano Mairano and Domenico Giaccobe (1167), 44  
*Corone*, 143  
*Cote*, 143  
*Croisete*, 143  
*Domestikos, megas*, 120; carries imperial sword, 174; Gregory Pacourianus as, 161; John Axouch as, 185, 245; skaranikon of, 158  
*Doulos tou basileōs*, 141  
*Doux kai anagrapheus* (*vel sim.*), 186, 246, 621  
*Doux, megas*: fiscality of entails removal of mint under John II, 251; Michael VIII as, 528; Michael Stryphnos as, 398; and *praitōr*, 186; skaranikon of, 158  
*Epithōrakios stolē*, 157  
*Espee*, 143  
*Fanol*, 143  
*Fremal*, 143  
*Gonfanon*, 143  
*Hetairarchēs* (*epi tōn thēsaurōn*), Constantine, 420 and n. 2

- Hormathoi* (= pendilia), 165; *see also* Pendilia (Index V)
- Hyperplea/hypertima* (“additional fulfillments/values”), apud John Zonaras, 41 n. 40, 184
- Kalyptra* (= stemma), 165 and n. 87, 659; *see also* Stemma (Index V)
- Kamarai* (arches, of crown), 167
- Kastōr*, 159–61
- Kodix* (= anexikakia), 169, 176; *see also* Anexikakia/akakia (Index V)
- Kouboukleion*, 149–50 and n. 27
- Krama*, 120
- Logariastēs* (*tōn sekretōn* = *megas logariastēs*), 32, 183; Andronicus Kappadokes as, 245; effective office of discontinued (post-1204), 450; John Belissariotes as, 245, 398, 399; John Poutzes as, 50, 110, 245–46
- Logothetēs* (*tōn sekretōn* = *megas logothetēs*), 183; effective office of discontinued (post-1204), 450; Gregory Camaterus as, 245, 399; John Belissariotes as, 398; Nicetas Choniates as, 398, 661; Theodore Castamonites as, 366
- Lonkhē* (*vel sim.*), 164 n. 80, 176
- Mandyas* (= chlamys), 151–52; *see also* Chlamys (Index V)
- Manikellia*, 176
- Mantel*, 143
- Monēta*, apud Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 22–23
- Narthēx*, 171
- Oxykastōron* (bright purple), 161
- Palle*, 143
- Pedila* (= *kampagia*, *tzankia*), 165 n. 87, 578 n. 4, 659; *see also* Kampagia (Index V)
- Persikia*, 172, 175
- Phibla/phiblon*, 152, 153 n. 39
- Podopsella*, 176
- Prōtopatharios*: John, 158–59; promotion to, 161–62
- Prōtvestiarios*: effective office of discontinued (post-1204), 450; Gregory Taronites as, 245
- Pteryges*, 158
- Pume*, 143
- Pyramis* (= stemma), 165 and n. 87, 578 and n. 4; *see also* Stemma (Index V)
- Sakellē*, *mikra/megalē*, 545
- Sakkion* (purse), 106 and n. 43
- Saullers*, 143
- Scipio* (scepter), 170; *see also* Scepters (Index V)
- Seirai* (= pendilia), 165; *see also* Pendilia (Index V)
- Septre*, 143
- Skaranikon*, 158, 161
- Skeuē*, 172, 174, 190 n. 24, 420
- Stemmatogyron*, 167, 566 n. 2
- Thalassa*, 159–61 and nn. 65, 70
- Thoimation*, 158–61
- Tomos* (= anexikakia), 169, 176; *see also* Anexikakia/akakia (Index V)
- Trabea*, 153
- Trittōtai* (“triplers”), apud John the Oxite, 41 n. 40
- Tzitzakion*, 156

## INDEX IV

### INSCRIPTIONS AND EPIGRAPHY

As previously noted, general developments in the overall design and inscriptional format of the coinage during the period under discussion entailed the swift and virtually complete abandonment of any standardized epigraphical/inscriptional patterns (see pp. 138–42), with the widespread but unsystematic use of ligatured letters adding a yet further complication to the task at hand.

Confronted with a potential for such effectively endless but largely meaningless variation, I have therefore found it necessary to adopt a policy of even more drastic “normalization” of letter and inscriptional forms than in the previous volumes, omitting unusual/“aberrant” forms except where patently significant.

I have indicated the existence of the now prevalent columnar—i.e., vertical—form of inscription (e.g., “2 cols.”), but have rendered the inscriptions in linear form, with the only break marked being that between the columns, so as to take account of the normal lack of a standard arrangement of letters within each column. I have similarly “consolidated” numbers of minor variant inscriptional forms in

order to end up with a manageable range of forms—again, except where patently significant, as, for example, in the case of the continuing binary sequence evident in the gold coinage of Theodore II. All incomplete inscriptions have been omitted, as have the basic identificatory abbreviations  $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$  (*Iēsous Christos*), and  $\overline{\text{MP}} \overline{\text{ΘV}}$  (*Mētēr Theou*) in their various forms, with only further qualifications noticed where present (e.g., *Chalkitēs/Hagiosōritissa*). The increasing variety of saints in contemporary designs has, on the other hand, been more inclusively treated.

All this still leaves an index of some size and complexity, and I have therefore broken it down into three subsections: (A) obverse (i.e., mainly “religious”) inscriptions; (B) reverse (i.e., mainly “imperial”) inscriptions; and (C) ligatured letters. It should be noted that on a number of occasions, particularly during the earlier part of the period, an initial invocatory obverse inscription (e.g.,  $\text{ΚΕΡΟ ΗΘΕΙ}$ , *Kyrie boēthei*) is subsequently continued on the reverse, as indicated by the adoption of the appropriate—that is, dative—case (e.g.,  $\text{ΑΛΕΞΙΩ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΤΩ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΩ}$ , *Alexiō Despotē tō Komnēnō*). Later on, even without the invocatory obverse, the dative is not infrequently adopted on the reverse (e.g.,  $\overline{\text{IΩ}} \text{ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΤΩ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΩ}$ , *Iōannē Despotē tō Porphyrogennētō*), indicating either that the invocation was implied, or that the inappropriate form was chosen as a result of inattention or simple illiteracy, in imitation of pre-existent formulae.

### (A) Obverse Inscriptions

#### (1) Cruciform Monograms / Quadriform Letter Patterns

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Α Β (?) Ͻ (quadriform, Gabalas [?]), 650  | Κ Φ Α Δ (quadriform, <i>Kyrie phylasse Alexion Despotēn</i> , Alexius I), 240–43                             |
| Α Λ Δ Ρ (quadriform, <i>Alexios Despotēs Rhōmaiōn</i> , Alexius I, Trebizond), 429  | Μ Λ Δ Κ Π (cruciform monogram, <i>Manouēl Despotēs Komnēnos Porphyrogennētos</i> , Manuel I), 333–34, 335–37 |
| Γ Α (Gabalas [?]), 650  | С Φ Μ Δ (quadriform, <i>Staure phylasse Alexion Despotēn</i> , Alexius I), 236–38                            |
| $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \overline{\text{NI}} \overline{\text{KA}}$ (quadriform, <i>Iēsous Christos Nika</i> ), 213–14, 429, 538, 539, 592–93 |  |
| Ι С Ν Κ (quadriform, <i>Iēsous Christos Nika</i> ), 689–90  |  |
| Κ Φ Α Δ (cruciform monogram, <i>Kyrie phylasse Alexion Despotēn</i> , Alexius I), 238   |  |

#### (2) Linear Inscriptions in Field

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| +ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΕΝΧΩΤΩΘΩΠΙΣΤΟΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ-<br>СΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡΡΩΜΑΙΩΝΟΔΩΚΑΣ (7<br>lines, + <i>Theodōros en Christō tō Theō Pistos Basileus<br/>kai Autokratōr Rhōmaiōn o Doukas</i> , Theodore<br>Comnenus-Ducas), 562 | + <i>Theodōros Despotēs o Doukas</i> , Theodore Com-<br>nenus-Ducas), 562–63 |
| +ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΔΕΣΠΟΤΗCΟΔΩΚΑΣ (5 lines,   | +ΙΩΟΓΑΒ ΑΛΑΣ (3 lines, + <i>Iōannēs o Gabalas</i> , John<br>Gabalas), 650    |
|   | ΚΑΙCΑΡΟΓΑΒ ΑΛΑΣ (3 lines, <i>Kaisar o Gabalas</i> ,<br>Leo Gabalas), 650     |

#### (3) Linear (Circumferential) / Columnar (Vertical) Inscriptions

- |  |   |
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| ΓΟΑΓΕΩ ΡΓΙΟC (2 cols., <i>O Agios Geōrgios</i> ),<br>612–13                              | ΓΟΑΔΗΜΗ ΤΡΙΟC (2 cols., <i>O Agios Dēmētrios</i> ),<br>607–8                                    |
| ΟΑΓΙΟC ΓΕΩΡ (2 cols., <i>O Agios Geōrgios</i> ), 499, 537                                | ΟΑΓΙΟC ΔΗΜΙΤΡΙΟC (2 cols., <i>O Agios Dēmētrios</i> ),<br>558–59, 563, 564–65, 571–72, 583, 588 |
| ΘΓΕ ΨΡΓΙΟC (2 cols., <i>O Agios Geōrgios</i> ), 329–31,<br>337, 353, 362, 415–17, 418–19 | ΘΔΗΜΗ ΤΡΙΟC (2 cols., <i>O Agios Dēmētrios</i> ),<br>272–74, 503–4, 506                         |
| ΟΑΓΗΟCΔΗ ΜΗΤΡΙΟC (2 cols., <i>O Agēos Dēmē-<br/>trios</i> ), 596                         | ΟΔΜ ΤΡΙΟC (2 cols., <i>O Agios Dimitrios</i> ), 613   |

- Ο ΔΗΜΗ (r. columnar, *O Agios Dēmētrios*), 585, 586 (?)
- ΔΙΜΙΤΙ ΔΕΣΠΤΙ (2 cols., *O Agios Dēmētrios/Despotē, Alexius I*), 204–6
- ΔΙΜΤ ΙΨΔΕΣΠΤ (l. columnar, r. linear, *Dimitrios Iōannē Despotē, John II* [w. Alexius I and Irene Ducaena]), 234–35
- ΗΜΗΔΩΟΙΠΛΟ ΑΛΕΞΙΨΔΕΣΠ (*O Agios Dēmētrios* [retr.] *Alexiō Despotē, Alexius I*), 211–12
- ΙΨΔΕΣΠΤ +ΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙ (*Iōannē Despotē +Kyrie boēthei, John II* [w. Alexius I and Irene Ducaena]), 224, 225–26, 228–29, 231 (?)
- ΗΑΓΙΑΕΛΕΝΗ (1 col. l., *Ē Agia Elenē*), 693–94
- ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ (2 cols., *O Agios Theodōros*), 466, 506, 575 (?), 583, 584
- ΘΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ (1 col. l., *O Agios Theodōros*), 456
- ΟΘΕ ΟΔ (2 cols., *O Agios Theodōros, Trebizond*), 431
- ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΚΟΝΣΤΑΝΤ (2 cols., *O Agios Kōnstantinos*), 693–94
- ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ (2 cols., *O Agios Nikolaos*), 688
- ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ (2 cols., *O Agios Petros*), 686
- Ο Π (*O Agios Petros*), 614
- ΗΑΓΙΟΣΨΡΗΤΗΣΑ (2 cols., *Ē Agiosōrētēssa*), 551, 647, 686–87
- ΟΤΡΥ ΦΩΝ (2 cols., *O Agios Tryphōn*), 521, 524, 533
- +ΕΜΜΑ ΝΟΥΗΛ (+*Emmanouēl*), 208
- ΟΕΜΜΑ ΝΟΥΗΛ (*O Emmanouēl*), 363
- ΟΕΜΜΑ ΝΟΥΗΛ (2 cols., *O Emmanouēl*), 296–97, 300–302, 360, 361, 458–59, 464, 465, 492–93, 494, 501, 525–26, 553–55, 561, 598, 638, 691, 701
- ΨΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ (2 cols., *Ō Emmanouēl*), 627, 628
- +Θ̄Κ̄ΕΡΟ ΗΘΕΙ (+*Theotoke boēthei*), 347–48
- +ΘΚΕ ΡΟΗΘ (+*Theotoke boēthei*), 211
- +ΘΚΕΡΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΨCΨΔΟΝΛΨ (+*Theotoke boēthei tō sō doulō, Alexius I*), 210
- +ΚΕΡΟ ΗΘΕΙ (+*Kyrie boēthei*), 214–23, 258–59, 289–96, 409–14, 433 (?)
- ΚΕΡΟ ΗΘΕΙ (*Kyrie boēthei*), 228, 405–7, 457, 482, 483
- +Κ̄ΕΡΟ ΗΘΕΙ (2 cols. vertically, +*Kyrie boēthei, Alexius III*), 404–5
- ΚΕΡΟ ΑΛΕΞΙΨ (••*Kyrie boēthei Alexiō, Alexius I*), 204–5
- +ΚΕΡΟ ΑΛΕΞΙΨ (+*Kyrie boēthei Alexiō, Alexius I*), 205–6, 225
- +ΚΕΡΟΗΘ ΑΛΕΞΙΨ (+*Kyrie boēthei Alexiō, Alexius I*), 221, 223, 230
- ΧΡ ΧΜ (2 cols., *Archangelos Michaēl*), 574–75, 606–7, 629 (?), 630, 637, 680
- Χ Μ (l. columnar), 586
- ΧΑΛ ΚΙΤΗΣ (2 cols., *Chalkitēs*), 502

## (4) Other

ЦР СЛАВ (2 cols., *Tsar na Slavata, Ivan II Asen*), 641

## (B) Reverse Inscriptions

## (1) Cruciform Monograms / Quadriform Letter Patterns

- IC XC NI KA (cruciform, *Iēsous Christos Nika, Alexius I*), 213
- Α Λ Β Ρ (quadriform, *Alexios Basileus Rhomaiōn, Alexius I*), 432–33
- Ε Θ Ξ arranged around Υ (*Eugenios, Trebizond*), 434
- Ε Ε Ε Ε (quadriform, *Eugenios x 4* [?], Trebizond), 431
- IC XC NI KA (quadriform, *Iēsous Christos Nika*), 429, 430
- Φ Χ Φ Π (quadriform, *Phōs Christou phainetai pasi, Trebizond*), 430

## (2) Linear Inscriptions in Field

- ΑΛΕΞΙ ΨΔΕΣΠΟ ΤΗΤΨΚΟ ΜΗΗΝΨ (4 lines, *Alexiō Despotē tō Kōmnēnō, Alexius I*), 211
- ΟΑΥΘΕΝΤΗCΤΗCΡΟΔΟΝ (3 lines, *O Authentēs tēs Rhodou, John Gabalas*), 650
- ΟΔΟΝΛΟCΤΟΝΒ ΑCΙΛΕ (3 lines, *O Doulos tou Basileōs, Leo Gabalas*), 650
- +Θ̄Κ̄Ε ΡΟΗΘΕΙ ΑΛΕΞΙΨ ΔΕCΠΟΤ ΤΨΚΟΜ ΝΗΗΝΨ (6 lines, +*Theotoke boēthei Alexiō Despotē tō Kōmnēnō, Alexius I*), 211
- +ΙΨΔΚΟΜΝΗΝΟCΟΔΝΚΑC (4 lines, +*Iōannis Despotēs Kōmnēnos o Doukas, John Comnenus-Ducas*), 587



+X̄Ē ΡΟΗΘΕΙ ΑΛΕΞΙΩ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ  
ΤΨΚΟΜΝΗ ΝΨ (6 lines, +*Christe boēthei Alexiō  
Despotē tō Komnēnō*, Alexius I), 211–12

С̄ĒPCVN EPΓEIBA CΙΛEIAΛ EΞIΩ (4 lines,  
*Sōtēr synergei Basilei Alexiō*, Alexius I), 213–14

(3) *Linear (Circumferential) / Columnar (Vertical) Inscriptions*

⊙ ΔΙΜΙ (2 cols., *O Agios Dimitrios*, Trebizond), 432  
ΗΑΓΙΑΕΛΕΝΗ ΘΚΟCΤΑΝΤ (2 cols., *Ē Agia Elenē  
o Agios Kōstantinos*, Latins Thess.), 692

ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟΣ (2 cols., *O Agios Theodoros*),  
540

ΟΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΔ (2 cols., *O Agios Theodōros*, Tre-  
bizond), 432

ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩΟΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ (2 cols., *Agios Iōannēs o  
Prodomos*, Latins Cpl.), 688

ΚΩΝ ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC (l. retr., *Kōstantinos Despotēs*,  
Latins Cpl.), 679

X̄P̄ X̄M̄ (2 cols., *Archangelos Michaēl*), 598

ΧΑ ΧΜ (2 cols., *Archangelos Michaēl*, Latins Cpl.),  
683–84 (?)

ΟΑΓΙΟCΠΕΤΡΟC ΟΑΓΙΟCΠΑΥΛΟC (2 cols., *O  
Agios Petros o Agios Paulos*, Latins Cpl.), 686–87  
ΗΑΓΙΟCΟΡΙ ΤΙCΑ (2 cols., *Ē Agiosoritissa*, Latins  
Cpl.), 686

ΟΧΑΛ ΚΙΤΗC (2 cols., *O Chalkitēs*), 537, 538

+ΑΛΕΞΙΩΔΕC ΠΟΤΤΨΚΟΜΝΗΝΨ (+*Alexiō Des-  
potē tō Komnēnō*, Alexius I), 202

ΑΛΕΞΙΩΔΕCΠΟΤ(Τ, /ΤΗ) ΤΨΚΟΜΝΗΝΨ (2  
cols., *Alexiō Despotē tō Komnēnō*, Alexius I), 214–23

+ΑΛΕΞΙΩΔΕC ΠΟΤΤΨΚΟΜΝΗ+ (+*Alexiō Des-  
potē tō Komnēnō*, Alexius I), 208

ΑΛΕΞΙΩΔΕCΠΟΤ ΤΨΚΟΜΝΝ (2 cols., *Alexiō  
Despotē tō Komnēnō*, Alexius I), 224–25, 229

+ΑΛΕΞΙΩΔΕC ΠΟΤΤΨΚΟΜΝ (+*Alexiō Despotē  
tō Komnēnō*, Alexius I), 210

+ΑΛΕΞΙΩΔΕC ΠΟΤ, ΤΨΚΜ (+*Alexiō Despotē tō  
Komnēnō*, Alexius I), 203–4

+ΑΛΕΞΙΩΔΕC ΠΟΤΤΨΚΜ (+*Alexiō Despotē tō  
Komnēnō*, Alexius I), 206–8

+ΑΛΕΞΙΩΔ ΠΟΤΤΨΚ (+*Alexiō Despotē tō Kom-  
nēnō*, Alexius I), 209–10, 234

+ΑΛΕΞΙ ΔΕCΠΟΤΤΨΚ (+*Alexiō Despotē tō Kom-  
nēnō*, Alexius I), 213

+ΑΛΕΞΙΩΔΕ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΥΓΥ (+*Alexiō Despotē Ei-  
rēnē Augoustē*, Alexius I w. Irene Ducaena), 224,  
225–26, 228–29, 231 (?), 234–35 (?)

ΑΛΕΞΙΟCΔΕCΠ ΘΚΩΝΤΑΝΤΙ (*Alexios Despotēs o  
Agios Kōstantinos*, Alexius III), 404, 405–6, 407–8

ΑΛΕΞΙΩΔΕCΠ ΘΨΚ. ΤΨΚΟΜΝΗΝΨ (center

vertical top r., *Alexiō Despotē o Agios Kōstantinos  
tō Komnēnō*, Alexius III), 404–5, 406, 409–14

ΑΛΕΞΙΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC (*Alexios Despotēs*, Alexius  
III, Latins Cpl.), 415–17, 675

ΑΛΕΞΙC ΔΕCΠ (*Alexios Despotēs*, Alexius III),  
415, 417

ΑΛΕΞΙ ΔΕCΠΟΤΗ (*Alexiō Despotē*, Alexius III),  
418–19

+ΑΛΕΞΙ ΔΕCΠ (+*Alexiō Despotē*, Alexius I), 430

+ΑΛΕΞΙΩ ΔΕCΠΤ (+*Alexiō Despotē*, Alexius I),  
226–27

+ΑΛΕΞΙΩ ΔΕC (+*Alexiō Despotē*, Alexius I),  
232–33, 239 (?)

+ΑΛΕ ΔΕC (+*Alexiō Despotē*, Alexius I), 227,  
231–32

ΑΛΕ ΔΕC (*Alexiō Despotē*, Alexius I), 228, 238–  
39 (?)

ΨΙΞΘΛΑ+ (*Alexiō* [retr.], Alexius I), 229

ΑΛΕ ΞΙ (*Alexiō*, Alexius I), 240–43

+Λ C Ξ (+*Alexiō*, Alexius I), 235–36

– ΑΛΕ (nothing to l., *Alexiō*, Alexius I), 240

ΑΛΕΞΙΩ ΤΨΚΟΜΝΗΝΨ (*Alexiō tō Komnēnō*, Alex-  
ius III), 419

ΔΕCΠΟΤΗ ΤΨΚΟΜΝ (2 cols., *Despotē tō Komnēnō*,  
Alexius I), 230

ΤΨΚ Ο ΜΝΗ (*Tō Komnēnō*, Alexius I), 236–38

ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC (*Andronikos Despotēs*,  
Andronicus I, Latins Cpl.), 346–47, 348–50,  
351, 353, 678

ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΩ ΔΕCΠΟΤΗ (*Andronikō Despotē*, An-  
dronicus I), 347–48

ΑΝΔΡΟ ΝΙΚΟC (*Andronikos*, Andronicus I), 352–53

ΑΝΔ (*Andronikos*, Andronicus I), 353

ΑΝΔ ΤΟΚΟ (*Andronikō tō Komnēno*, Latins Cpl.), 678

+ΘΔΡ ΒΜ (2 cols., +*Theodōros Basileus o Magka-  
phas*, Theodore Mancaphas, usurper), 396

ΘΕΟ (1 col. l., *Theodōros*, Theodore II), 527

ΘΕΟΔΨΡΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC (2 cols., *Theodōros Des-  
potēs*, Theodore I [?]/Theodore II), 465, 526

ΔΕCΠΟΤΙ ΘΕΟΔΨΡΟC (*Despotis Theodōros*, Theo-  
dore Comnenus-Ducas), 563

ΘΕΟΔΨΡΟCΔΕC (*Theodōros Despotēs*, Theodore  
Comnenus-Ducas), 558

- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΥΚΑΣ (*Theodōros Doukas*, Theodore Comnenus-Ducas), 552, 558 (?), 627
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΟΔΥΚΑΣ (2 cols., *Theodōros o Doukas*, Theodore Comnenus-Ducas), 564–65
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΟΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ (2 cols., *Theodōros Despotēs o Laskaris*, Theodore II), 518, 520 (?), 524
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΔΥΚΑΣ ΟΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ (2 cols., *Theodōros Despotēs Doukas o Laskaris*, Theodore II), 518–19, 520–21, 523–24
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΤΨΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΩ (2 cols., *Theodōros Despotēs tō Porphyrogennētō*, Theodore II), 519
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ (2 cols., *Theodōros Despotēs o Komnēnos*, Theodore I [?]), 466
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ (*Theodōros Komnēnos*, Theodore Comnenus-Ducas), 563
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ ΟΔΥΚΑΣ (2 cols., *Theodōros Despotēs Komnēnos o Doukas*, Theodore Comnenus-Ducas), 559–61
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ ΟΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ (2 cols., *Theodōros Despotēs Komnēnos o Laskarēs*, Theodore I), 456, 461–63
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΙΜΙΤΡΙΟΣ (*Theodōros Despotēs o Agios Dimitrios*, Theodore Comnenus-Ducas), 551, 555–56, 562
- ΔΚΟΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡ ΟΔΜΤΡ (3 cols., *Doukas o Laskaris Theodōros o Agios Dimitrios*, Theodore II, Thess.), 616–17
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΥΚΑ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΙΜΙΤΡΙΟΣ (*Theodōros Doukas o Agios Dimitrios*, Theodore Comnenus-Ducas), 550, 553–55, 562–63
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ (*Theodōros Despotēs o Agios Theodōros*, Theodore Comnenus-Ducas), 556–57
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ (*Theodōros Despotēs o Agios Theodōros*, Theodore I), 457, 458–59
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΘΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ (*Theodōros o Agios Theodōros*, Theodore I), 459–61, 463 (?), 464
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΥΚΑ ΧΜ (l. linear, r. columnar, *Theodōros Doukas Michaēl*, Theodore Comnenus-Ducas), 557–58
- ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΟΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΔΥΚΑΣ ΟΛΑΣΚΑΡΙΣ (2 cols., *Theodōros Despotēs o Agios Tryphōn Doukas o Laskaris*, Theodore II), 521–22
- ΙΣΑΑΚΙΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ (*Isaakios Despotēs*, Isaac II/Isaac Comnenus, usurper), 358–59, 361–62, 363, 364, 433
- ΙΣΑΑΚΙΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ (2 cols., *Isaakios Despotēs*, Isaac II/Isaac Comnenus, usurper), 358, 360, 362–63, 377–87, 388–91
- ΙΣΑΑΚΙΟΣ ΔΕΣ (*Isaakios Despotēs*, Isaac Comnenus, usurper), 361
- ΙΣΑΑΚΙΟΣ (2 cols., *Isaakios*, Isaac II), 391
- ΙΣΑΑΚΙΟΣ Ο ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ (l. linear, r. columnar, *Isaakios o Agios Geōrgios*, Isaac Comnenus, usurper), 359–60
- ΙΣΑΑΚΙΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΧΑΡΧΜΙ (l. linear, r. columnar, *Isaakios Despotēs o Archangelos Michaēl*, Isaac II), 370–77
- ΙΣΑΑΚΙΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΙΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ (*Isaakios/Alexios Despotēs*, Isaac II [restored] w. Alexius IV), 424
- ΙΩΑΝΝΙΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ (*Iōannis Despotēs*, John Comnenus-Ducas), 584, 586, 587, 588, 590
- ΔΕΣΠΟΤΙΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΣ (*Despotis Iōannis*, John Comnenus-Ducas), 593
- ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ (*Iōannēs Despotēs o Komnēnos*, John Comnenus-Ducas), 596
- ΙΩΑΝΝΙΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ (?) (*Iōannis Despotēs* [?], John Comnenus-Ducas), 583, 588, 596
- ΙΩΔ• (*Iōannis Despotēs*, John Comnenus-Ducas), 585, 589, 594, 595
- +ΙΩ ΔΕΣ (+*Iōannē Despotē*, John II), 272–74, 513
- +ΙΩΔΕΣΠ (+*Iōannē Despotē*, John III), 482
- ΙΩΔΕΣΠ ΙΩΔΕΣ (*Iōannis Despotēs* x 2, John Comnenus-Ducas), 587
- ΙΩΔ ΕΣΠ (*Iōannis Despotēs*, John Comnenus-Ducas), 586, 590
- ΙΩΔΕΣΠΟ (1 col. l., *Iōannēs Despotēs*, John III), 499, 500 (?)
- +ΙΩΔΕΣ ΠΟΤ (+*Iōannē Despotē*, John II, John III), 270–71, 496
- ΙΥΧ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ (l. retr., *Iōannēs Despotēs*, Latinus Cpl.), 680
- ΙΩΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ (1 col. to l., *Iōannē Despotē*, John II), 258–59
- +ΙΩΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ (+*Iōannē Despotē*, John II), 255–56
- +ΙΩΔΕΣ ΠΟΤΗ (+*Iōannē Despotē*, John II), 271–72
- ΙΩ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ (r. columnar, *Iōannēs Despotēs*, John III, Thess.), 605–7
- ΙΩΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΟΔΥΚΑΣ (*Iōannēs Despotēs o Doukas*, John III), 496, 497–98, 503, 505, 506 (?), 507 (?), 508 (?)
- ΙΩΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΟΔΥΚΑΣ (2 cols., *Iōannēs*

- Despotēs o Doukas*, John III), 493–94, 495, 496–97, 498, 500, 501, 502, 506, 508–11, 512
- ΙΩ ΔΕΣΠ ΟΔϞ (*Iōannēs Despotēs o Doukas*, John III), 511–12
- ΙΩ ΟΔϞ (r. columnar, *Iōannēs o Doukas*, John III, Thess.), 607–8
- ΙΩΔΕΣΠΟΤΤΩΠ ΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΗΤ (2 cols., *Iōannē Despotē tō Porphyrogennētō*, John II, John III, Latins Cpl.), 256–58, 264–65, 267, 269–70, 483–90, 681–83
- ΙΩΔΕΣΠΟΤΤ ΠΦΥΡΟΓΝΤ (*Iōannē Despotē tō Porphyrogennētō*, John II), 265–69
- ΙΩΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΘΓΕΨΡΓΙ (2 cols., *Iōannē Despotē o Agios Geōrgios*, John II, John III [?], Latins Cpl.), 261–64, 498, 680–81
- ΙΩΑΝΙΔΕΣΠΟ ΟΑΓΙΟΣΔΙΜΙΤ (•*Iōannis Despotēs o Agios Dimitrios*, John Comnenus-Ducas), 584
- ΙΩΑΝΗΣΔΕΣΠΤ ΟΔΕ (*Iōannēs Despotēs o Agios Dēmētrios*, John Comnenus-Ducas), 583, 588
- ΙΩΔΕΣΠΟ ΟΔΗΜΗΤ (*Iōannis Despotēs o Agios Dēmētrios*, John Comnenus-Ducas), 584, 588
- ΙΩΔ ΟΔΙΜ (*Iōannis Despotēs o Agios Dimitrios*, John Comnenus-Ducas), 586, 589
- ΔΠ ΙΩ ΓΟΑΔΜΤ (2 cols., l. and r., center in upper field, *Despotēs Iōannēs o Agios Dēmētrios*, John III, Thess.), 604, 610, 612
- ΙΩΔΠΤ ΟΔΜΤ (2 cols., *Iōannēs Despotēs o Agios Dēmētrios*, John III, Thess.), 609, 610
- ΙΩΔΠΟΔΚ ΟΛΔΙΜΤ (2 cols., *Iōannēs Despotēs o Doukas o Agios Dimitrios*, John III, Thess.), 611
- ΙΩΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΘΘΕΟΔΨΡΟΣ (*Iōannes Despotēs o Agios Theodōros*, John III), 465, 492–93, 495–96
- ΙΩ ΘΘΕΔ (1 col. r., *Iōannēs o Agios Theodōros*, John III), 505
- ΙΩΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΘΚΨΤΑΝΤΙΝ (*Iōannē Despotē o Agios Kōnstantinos*, John III), 491
- ΙΩ ΟΚΨ (*Iōannēs o Agios Kōnstantinos*, John III), 504
- ΙΩΔΕΣ ΤΡΥΦΩΔϞΚ (2 cols., *Iōannēs Despotēs Tryphō Doukas*, John III), 699
- ΙΩΔΕΣΠΟΤΙΣ ΟΧΑΛΚΙΤΗΣ (*Iōannēs Despotis o Chalkitēs*, John III), 491
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ (*Manouēl Despotēs*, Manuel I, Latins Cpl.), 308–12, 324–26, 673–76
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛ ΔΕΣΠΟΤ (*Manouēl Despotēs*, Manuel I, Latins Cpl.), 303–4, 312–23, 329–31, 337
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛ ΔΕΣΠ (*Manouēl Despotēs*, Manuel I, Latins Cpl.), 305–7, 323–24
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛ ΔΕΣ (*Manouēl Despotēs*, Manuel I, Manuel Comnenus-Ducas), 327–29, 570, 571–72
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ (*Manouēl Despotē*, Manuel I), 296–98, 307–8, 327, 332–33, 334–35, 338–39
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΟΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΣ (2 cols., *Manouēl Despotēs o Porphyrogennētos*, Manuel I), 300–302
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΤΨΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΩ (2 cols., *Manouēl Despotē tō Porphyrogennētō*, Manuel I), 289–96
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛΔΕΣΠΟΤ ΟΑ(ΓΙΟΣΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ?) (*Manouēl Despotēs o Agios [Dēmētrios?]*, Manuel Comnenus-Ducas), 628
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΘΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (l. linear, r. columnar, *Manouēl Despotē o Agios Dēmētrios*, Manuel I), 304–5
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛΔΕΣΠ ΟΑΓΙΟΣ (ΔΙΜΙΤΡΙΟΣ?) (l. linear, cent. columnar, *Manouēl Despotēs o Agios [Dimitrios?]*, Manuel Comnenus-Ducas), 573–74
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛ ΘΘΕΟΔΨΡΟΣ (l. linear, r. columnar, *Manouēl o Agios Theodōros*, Manuel I), 298–300
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛΔΕΣ ΟΚΨΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ or ΟΛΓΙΟΚΚΟΚΤ (*Manouēl Despotēs o Agios Kōnstantinos*, Manuel Comnenus-Ducas), 574–75
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛΔΕΣΠ ΧΡ or ΧΜ or both (l. linear, r. columnar, *Manouēl Despotēs o Archangelos or Michaēl*, Manuel Comnenus-Ducas), 570–71, 572–73
- ΜΑΝΩΗΛΔΕΣΠΟΤΙ ΠΟΛΙΣΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΙ ΟΑΓΙΟΣΔΙΜΙΤΡΙΟΣ (l. and r. linear, cent. columnar, *Manouēl Despotis Polis Thessalonikē o Agios Dimitrios*, Manuel Comnenus-Ducas), 576–77
- ΜΗΧΑΗΛ ΔϞΚΑΣ (*Mēchaēl Doukas*, Michael I Ducas), 627
- ΜΙΧΑΗΛΟΔϞ (*Michaēl o Doukas*, Michael II Ducas), 629
- ΜΙΧΑΗΛΔ (?) (*Michaēl Despotēs [?]*, Michael II Ducas), 629
- ΧΜΔΕΠΤ ΟΠΑΛΕΟΛΓ (2 cols., *Michaēl Despotēs o Paleologos*, Michael VIII), 532, 533, 534–35
- ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΚΨΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ? (*Michaēl o Kōnstantinos?*, Michael II Ducas), 628
- ΧΜ Δ ΙΩΕΝΧΨ (l. columnar, *Michaēl Despotēs Iōannēs en Christō*, John III w. Michael II Ducas), 630
- ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟCPIZOΔ (*Stephanos Rix o Doukas*, Stephen Ducas [Radoslav]), 638

CTEΦANOCPIZOΔ ΘKOCTANTN (*Stephanos Rix o Doukas o Agios Konstantinos*, Stephen Ducas [Radoslav]), 637

CTEΦANOCPIZOΔCKAC OΠANTOKPATOPO (2 cols., *Stephanos Rix o Doukas o Pantokrator*, Stephen Ducas [Radoslav]), 637

## (4) Other

ἸΩΑCῚNῚЦP CBATῚΔHMHTPIE (2 cols., *Iōannēs Asen Tsar Svati Dēmētrīe*, Ivan II Asen), 641–43

KOCTANTHNῚ ACῚNῚ ЦAPῚ (2 cols., *Kostantin Asen Tsar*, Constantine Asen [Tich]), 646–47

## (C) Ligatured Letters

⊙, ⊙, etc. (OA), 261–64, 273, 299–300, *passim*  
 Ϡ (AP), 570, 572–73, 574–75, 576–77, 606–7, 629, 630, 637  
 Ⱬ (ΓWP), 505, 507, 509–11  
 ΔH (ΔH), 272–74, 586, 590, 607, 613  
 ΔV (ΔV), 519  
 HΛ (HΛ), 295, 554 (ΛH), 650 (Hκ)  
 ΘΔ (ΘΔ), 506  
 MH (MH), 272–74, 374, 503, 559, 565, 571, 585 (HM), 588, 607, 637  
 MM, MH, etc. (MM), 459, 501, 553, 561, 598  
 MN (MN), 219–23, 224–25, 229, 230, 405, 409, 456, 462 (MH, MN), 563 (M), 691  
 MNH (MNH), 212, 215–23, 236–38, 405 (MNH)  
 MNH (MNH), 404, 405, 406, 419  
 MNH (MNH), probable engraver's error, 413  
 MNN (MNN), 202  
 NH (NH), 212, 256–58, 264, 267, 269–70, 289–95, 301–2, 409, 429, 430, 456, 483, 488, 560 (NH, H), 561 (HH)  
 NHN (NHN/NNH), 301  
 NN (NN), 483

NNH (NNH), 291–95, 301–2  
 ΠH (ΠH), 497  
 Ϛ, Ϛ, etc. (OV), 289–339, 493–513, 521, 522, 524, 525, 526, 550, 552, 553, 554, 555, 557–58, 560–61, 562, 564–65, 570–77, 607–8, 627, 629, 637, 673, 674, 677, 699  
 T (CT), 404, 408, 409, 491, 637–38, 692, 694  
 H (TH), 493, 497, 498, 506, 518–19, 522, 523–24, 525, 526, 533, 534, 537, 538, 650  
 Ϛ (TOV), 650  
 P (TP), 503–4, 506, 521, 522, 524, 526, 533, 607–8, 609, 612–13, 616, 699  
 TPV (TPV), 521  
 P (CP, Old Bulg.), 641–43, 644, 646  
 T (TW), 290–96, 405, 406, 483–90, 519, 532, 681, 682  
 Φ (ΦV), 521, 522, 524, 699  
 V (V), 434  
 P (WP), 262, 329–31, 337, 353, 415–17, 418, 419, 537  
 Ϛ/Ϛ (WP), 261–64, 359

## INDEX V

## GENERAL INDEX (INCLUDING PEOPLE, PLACES, HOARDS, AND SOURCES)

Abu Imran, sons of, forced to strike coin, 98  
 Abū Ubayd al-Bakrī, on anexikakia, 169  
 Acropolites, George: appointed *praitōr* in Europe by Theodore II (1256), 470, 601; in Epirot prison, 514; on imperial pretensions of Manuel Comnenus-Ducas, 566 n. 2, 567; on imperial pretensions of Theodore Comnenus-

Ducas, 544; on imperial symbols and Baldwin II's regalia, 165 and n. 87; on John III's Genoese campaign in Rhodes and Epirot marriage alliance, 116–18, 648 n. 5; on John Comnenus-Ducas, 578; on John Gabalas, 648, 649; on loss of Isaac II's regalia to Bulgars, 173; on Michael VIII's demand of revenue

- from Latin mint, 120 n. 107; on population of Melnik (1246), 79 n. 60; state offices of, 450
- Adramyttium, battle of (1205), 448, 655
- Adventus*, ceremonials for Leo V, Nicephorus II, Theophilus, and Basil I, 159–60, 174; *see also* Triumph
- Aegean islands, as refuge from Balkan wars, 79
- Agrinion Hoard, 113, 118–19 and n. 104, 126, 474, 478
- Akasia, *see* Anexikakia/akakia
- Alamanikon*, tax, 276
- Albus* (aspron trachy nomisma), electrum, 44, 252, 276
- Alexander, emperor, mosaic of, 169
- Alexius I Comnenus: building programs of in Constantinople, 148–49; character of (apud John Zonaras), 185; portrait of (on Angheran roundel), 147–48; *see also* Reform, monetary, and Index I
- Alexius II Comnenus, 340–42
- Alexius V Ducas, 425–26
- Almsgiving, vast scale of: under Isaac II, 367; under John III, 473; under Michael IV, 21–22
- Amorgos Hoard, 70 table 4, 73, 75 and table 5, 79, 92, 668
- Anastasius I, accumulation of reserve by, 20
- Anatolian (?) parcels,  $\pm$  1204 coinage in, 91–92
- Andronicus II Palaeologus: annual revenues of, 660; coin designs of as presaged by those of John Comnenus-Ducas, 580
- Andronicus III Palaeologus, annual revenues of, 660
- Anexikakia/akakia, 126, 153 and n. 39, 168, 169–70
- Angheran roundel, 145–50, 153, 155, 156
- Annual issues of coin, 97–99; *see also* Indiction, fiscal year
- Anonymous coin type(s): in Magnesia, 536–40; in Thessalonica, 597–98
- “Ansbert,” *Historia de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris*: on arrival of Frederick I in Philadelphia, 392; on German attack on Bacon/Batkoun, 66 and n. 26
- Anthropology, economic, 14
- Aphrodisias, excavations at, 23, 69; coin of Theodore Mancaphas from, 392 n. 3, 393
- Aphrodisias II Hoard, 69 and n. 37
- Apokombion* (sealed purse), 40, 104, 106–7, 124, 276; in Kaloyanovets Hoard, 105–7; in Loukovo Hoard, 106; in Suedinenie Hoard, 104; in Vermania Hoards, 93; in Yenimahalle Hoard, 92–93, 106
- Arcadiopolis: battle of (1194), 77, 366; history of in 13 c., 86–87; *see also* Lüleburgaz
- Arhavi Hoard, 69, 254
- Arta, excavations at, 625–26
- Arta Hoard, 102, 134, 625–26, 669
- Asidenus, Sabbas, usurper/*sebastokratōr*, 448, 451
- Assenovgrad Hoard, 70 table 4, 71, 82, 83, 645
- Astaforte, financial expertise of under Manuel I, 279–80 and n. 16
- Astytzium, treasury at under Theodore II, 102, 515, 530, 615
- Athens, excavations at: absence of small-module Latin series from, 671–72; evidence for overstriking in material under Alexius I from, 199; evidence for tetartera under Andronicus I from, 344; evidence for tetartera and half-tetartera under John II from, 200–201, 249–50 and n. 21; increase in representation of folles of Nicephorus III at, 27
- Augousta*, numismatic use of title, 142
- Augustalis*, of Frederick II, metallic composition of, 42
- Axouch, John Comnenus “the Fat,” usurper, 96, 276, 399–400, 402
- Bachkovo, monastery of (Theotokos Petritzonitissa), 48, 66, 161, 277; *see also* Gornoslav Hoard
- Bañon (palm-frond), 171, 566 n. 2
- Balas-ruby, of Manuel I (1162) and Baldwin I (1204), and of Black Prince (?), 151–52 and n. 34
- Baldwin I: in campaign against Ivan I Asen (1205), 655; coronation ritual and regalia of (1204), 143–44, 654, 659; death of (1206), 656
- Baldwin II: ambassadors of and Michael VIII (1259), 129; attempts of to raise money, 658; birth of (1217), 657; exclusion of Byzantines from government of, 660; proposed marriage of, 659; regalia of, 165, 659; relations of with John of Brienne, 659–60
- Baldwin III of Jerusalem, meeting of with Manuel I (1159), 276
- Balling, J., on Lindos Hoard, 42 and n. 44
- Banya Hoard, 252
- Basil II: accumulation of reserve by, 20; possible annual basis of coin production under, 25–26, 98

- Basileus* (en *Christō tō Theō* . . .), 140–41, 244, 247
- Batkoun Hoard, 66, 105, 108
- Bayındır Hoard, 69
- Belissariotes, John: as *megas logariastēs*, 245, 398, 399; as *megas logothetēs*, 398; presiding over court of enquiry (1196), 399
- Bendall, S.: attribution of Thessalonican Latin Types A–C to Constantinople by, 94–95, 668; identification of coinage of Trebizond by, 427 and n. 6; on mid-13th-c. hoard, 80 n. 64
- Bergama Hoard, 91 and table 6
- Bergama II Hoard, 113, 119 n. 104, 478
- Bisanti copoliti di Cipri* (aspron trachy nomisma), electrum, 357; value of, 44
- Blachernae Palace: additions to by Alexius I, 148–49; Latins find *vestiarion* in (1204), 276
- Blanche of Castile (wife of Louis IX), correspondence of with Baldwin II, 660
- Bland, R., 28 n. 96
- Blazons, of Mamluk officials, 174
- Blemmydes, Nicephorus: early career of, 471–72; flees Constantinople (1204), 79 n. 60; visits Rhodes (1232/33), 648
- Boniface of Montferrat: Alexius III captured and deposed by (1204), 423, 447; Alexius III released by, 449; Alexius IV accompanied on campaign by (1203), 420–21; award of Thessalonica and isle of Greece to, 654; death of (1207), 655, 656; employment of Byzantines by, 660; Michael I in company of, 621; role of in coronation of Baldwin I (1204), 143, 654
- Boucoleon, *see* Great Palace
- Bounardzhik Hoard (Plovdiv), 196, 197
- Branas, Alexius, revolt of (1187), 365–66, 655
- Branas, Theodore (Comnenus-), *kaisar*: as candidate for coinage of Theodore Mancaphas, 394–95; career of, 655–56
- Brazen Gate, 159–60 and n. 65, 172
- Bryennius, Nicephorus, *kaisar*: as husband of Anna Comnena, 181, 244; on imperial expenditure and debasement under Nicephorus III, 21; on revolt in Antioch (1074), 16
- Bulgarian hoards: evidence for Bulgarian imitative series in, 70–73 and table 4, 75–77 and table 5 and map; evidence for operation of *officinae* from Manuel I to Alexius III in, 107–8 and table 8
- Bulgarian imitative coinage, 46–47, 59, 60, 66–80, 435–43
- Bulgarian revolt, 365–66; 1186 as probable date of commencement of, 365; effects of on monetary circulation, 77–80
- Bulgarian Thessalonican series, under Ivan II Asen, 37
- Bursa Hoard, 69, 91 and table 6
- Caesar, *see Kaisar*
- Callicles, Nicephorus, on decoration of *kouboukleion*, 149–50
- Calomodius, *kollybistēs*, 400
- Camaterus, Gregory, *megas logothetēs*, 245, 399
- Camytzes, Manuel, *prōtostratōr*, revolt of in Thessaly (1201/2), 131, 398
- “Centralizing dot,” in die-cutting, 125
- Chamaretus, Leo, dynast: revolt of in Morea (1201/2), 131, 400; suppression of (1204/5), 654
- Chiaton* (nom.), 58
- Chlamys, 151–52, 153 n. 39, 157, 164, 172, 174, 247
- Choniates, Nicetas: on adoption of name Comnenus by Alexius III, 400–401; on capture of Philippopolis (1205), 656; on confiscations by Isaac II and Alexius IV, 420, 421, 422; on cost of Italian campaign of Manuel I (1155/56), 280–81; on debasement of billon by Manuel I, 283 n. 30; on debasement of electrum and billon by Isaac II, 367; on destruction of Forum of Constantine by fire (1203), 129 n. 5; on employment of Byzantines by Latins (post-1204), 660; flees Constantinople (1204), 79 n. 60, 661; on forked beard of Andronicus I, 345; on lineage of Theodore I, 447; on profligacy of Alexius III, 399; on revolt of and striking of coin by Theodore Mancaphas, 392–93; on turning of statuary into coin by Latins (post-1204), 661
- Christ Philanthropos, monastery of, foundation of by Alexius I, 148, 247
- Chrysos, Dobromir, revolt of against Alexius III (1196–1202), 77–79, 398
- Cinnamus, John: on reception of Kılıç Arslan II by Manuel I, 151–52, 182–83; on reception of Louis VII by Manuel I, 182
- Clipped trachea (neatly), 45–46, 59, 60, 61, 62–66, 402
- Comet (Feb. 1106), depiction of on electrum trachea of Alexius I, 129, 195
- Comnena, Anna, 181; on crowns of *sebastokrator*

- and *kaisar*, 165; on defeat of Alexius I at Silistra (1087), 190 n. 24; on devastation of Anatolian coast by Turks (ca. 1108), 194; on presences of Alexius I at Philippopolis, 196–97; on trials of Nicephorus Diogenes (1094) and Michael Anemas (1106/7), 182
- Comnena, Theodora, marriage of to Baldwin III (1158), 276
- Comnenus, Alexius, creation of as emperor (1119), 244
- Concave (*trachy*) fabric, 11, 33
- Confiscation, as element of economic policy: from churches, under Isaac II, 367; of ecclesiastical plate, under Alexius I (used as framework for dating pre-reform coinage), 188–90; general, under Isaac II and Alexius IV, 420, 421, 422; of Venetian property, under Manuel I, 279
- Constantine, financial official under Constantine X, 110 n. 57
- Constantine V, accumulation of reserve by, 20
- Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De Caerimoniis*: on anexikakia with loros and stauros, 169; on ceremonial journeys, 158; on chlamys, 151; on colored crowns, 165; on coronation of Leo I, 172; on coronation rite, 144 and n. 2; on division, 157; on imperial entries into Constantinople, 160, 172 and n. 119, 174, 176; on imperial swords, 174, 176; on *kaisar*'s crown, 166; on loros, 153, 154–55, 157; on minor items of regalia, 176; on *monēta* near church of St. Mocius, 22–23, 110; on reception of Arab ambassadors (946), 160–61; on sagion/thorakion, 156–57, 158; on skaramangion, 158, 161, 162; on stauros (scepter), 170
- Constantine X: opening of second (suburban) metropolitan mint by, 22–28; possible use of indictional cycle as basis of coin production under, 26 and n. 86
- Constantine Asen (Tich): in Boyana frescoes, 167; dies used under, 97, 645; *see also* Index I
- Corinth, excavations at: absence of Latin Types D–Y from, 82, 85; evidence for tetartera under Andronicus I from, 344; evidence for tetartera and half-tetartera under John II from, 200–201, 249–50 and n. 21; increase in representation of folles of Nicephorus III at, 27; material under Alexius I from, 199; presence of small-module coins of John Comnenus-Ducas in, 671
- Corinth II Hoard, 285, 287 n. 44
- “Coronation”/“inaugural” coinage issues, of: Alexius I, 35; John III, 89 n. 99, 479; John III and Michael II, 37; John Comnenus-Ducas, 579; John of Brienne, 89 n. 99, 664–65; Manuel Comnenus-Ducas, 567–68; Michael VIII, 89 n. 99, 531; Theodore I, 37, 89 and n. 99; Theodore Comnenus-Ducas, 544, 546–47
- Coronation rite and regalia, 143–45; *see also* Shield-raising
- Critopoulos, Constantine, *de la zecha/del bancho*, 109
- Cyprus: career of Isaac Comnenus, usurper in, 354–55; presence of Thessalonican electrum under Manuel I in, 288; revenues from, 276, 288; *see also* *Bisanti copoluti di Cipri*
- Dalassenus, John/Roger, *kaisar*, 340; revenues of, 245
- Debasement, 15–22; of billon under Isaac II, 42, 367; of billon under Manuel I, 42, 283; of copper, reduction in weight of (ca. 1030–90), 39; of electrum under Isaac II, 42, 367; of electrum under Theodore I, 453 and n. 27; of electrum under Theodore Comnenus-Ducas, 545; of electrum and billon under Alexius III, 401–2; of gold (ca. 1040–90), 38–39; of gold under John III, 475–77; of silver (ca. 1070–90), 39; ultimate degree of under Alexius I, 12, 187–88
- Dēmētraton* (nom.), 57
- Demetrius Comnenus-Ducas, *despotēs*, deposition and exile of, 470; *see also* Index I
- Derivative coin designs, of: John III, 479; John Comnenus-Ducas, 579; Isaac Comnenus of Cyprus, 357
- Despotēs*, 141, 447, 448, 451, 468, 528–29, 544, 545
- “Dévaluation d’expansion,” *see* Fisher’s equation; Morrisson, C.
- Diacharagma* (nom.), 56
- Diadem, *see* Stemma
- Dibellion* (pennon), 175–76
- Dies, double (hammer), 124–26, 247, 282 and n. 25, 598 (1c)
- Distinctive (*officina*) marks, 108, 248, 249, 402; nature and significance of, 102–3; *see also* *Officinae*
- Divitision (sakkos), 153 n. 39, 157, 164, 172, 174
- Dolna Kabda Hoard, 70 table 4, 71 n. 39, 72, 82, 86, 665, 666

- Dorkovo Hoard, 665, 666
- Dumbarton Oaks roundel, 145–50, 153, 155, 156
- Duo tetartōn* (nom.), 38
- Enina Hoard, 68
- Epilo(u)rikon*, 160–61
- Euphrosyne Ducaena (Camatera), empress: confiscations from (1203), 420; as supposed mother of John III, 467 and n. 4; as wife of Alexius III, 398, 399
- “Exchange” mint (Constantinople), 22–28, 109–11, 126; *see also* Forum of Constantine
- Expansion, economic, as characteristic of 11th–12th c., 15–16
- Fethiye (Makre) Hoard, 194
- Firathi, N., director of National Archaeological Museum (Istanbul), 84 n. 83
- Fisher’s equation (MV=PT), use of to explain “dévaluation d’expansion,” 19–21
- Follis (*obolos*): abandonment of, 34; “anonymous” and “signed,” from duplication of metropolitan mints, 23–28; apud John Zonaras, 12; apud Nicetas Choniates, 50; place of in monetary system, 38, 58; apud Ptochoprodromos, 50–51 and n. 68; reduction in weight of, 10; survival of term in 12th-c. texts, 50–51 and n. 68
- Forum of Arcadius (Xerolophos), 110
- Forum of Constantine: imperial processions to, 160, 172; as site of exchange/mint (1203/4), 23, 109, 111, 126, 128–29
- Frederick II of Hohenstaufen: *augustalis* of, 42; correspondence of with John III, 117; crown of, 165–66
- Gabalades, Stephen and John (late 12th c.), 649 and n. 9; *see also* John Gabalas; Leo Gabalas
- Gabras family, 157, 427; independence of in Trebizond (ca. 1075–1140), 131
- Gerakario Hoard, 393
- Globus cruciger, 168
- Golden Gate, 160, 530
- Gornoslav Hoard, 33 n. 5, 48, 85 n. 88, 105, 196, 252, 281, 285, 287
- Great Church (Hagia Sophia): abortive election of Constantine Lascaris as emperor in (1204), 425; annual grant to under Manuel I, 278; confiscations from (1203), 420–21; general assembly in (1204), 421; imperial processions to, 143, 160, 172, 530; mosaics in, 169, 170
- Great Palace (Boucoleon), 156, 158; church of Christ in, 162; imperial processions to, 143, 159–60, 425; as site of palatine mint/treasury, 22, 96, 109, 128, 276
- Greek hoards, evidence for Bulgarian imitative series in, 68, 69, 70 table 4, 73–77 and table 5 and map, 79–80
- Gregoras, Nicephorus: on economic policies of John III, 472–73; on imperial crown of Michael IX, 165 and n. 90
- Grierson, P., on mint(s) for “anonymous” and “signed” folles, 23, 27 n. 93, 28
- Hagia Sophia, *see* Great Church
- Hagiogeōrgaton* (nom.), 57
- Haldon, J. F.: on *bdellia*, 161 n. 70; on *dischista maniakata*, 162 n. 76
- Harun-ibn-Yahyā, on anexikakia, 169
- Harvey, A. L., works of on economy, 14, 16 n. 48, 22 n. 65
- Hexagion* (nom.), 56
- Histamenon (nom.), 26 n. 86, 33, 37–38, 44; debasement of, 10; replacement of by hyperpyron, 34
- Holy Roman Empire, costume and regalia of, 145
- Hyperpyron (nom.), 43; gold content of (ca. 1090–1200), 41–42; introduction of by Alexius I (1092), 11; under Ivan II Asen, 639; apud John Zonaras, 12; position of in Alexian reformed coinage, 33–34; reintroduction (1227) and debasement of by John III, 474–78; *see also* *Perperum*
- Indiction, 15-year fiscal cycle: as basis of production between 1081 and 1204, 97; as basis of production under Alexius III, 400–403; as basis of production under John II, 250–51, 547; as basis of production under Manuel I, 284–87; inception of new cycle of under Alexian coinage reform, 187, 192; as possible basis of production for *Λ*, *℞*, *Æ* (“signed” folles) under Constantine X, 26 and n. 86; as possible basis of production under Theodore I, 453–55; transfer of to annual basis under



- John III (1227), 474–75; utilized for coronation/coinage of Theodore Comnenus-Ducas (1227), 547
- Indiction, fiscal year (1 Sept.–31 Aug.): as possible basis of production for *AV*, *R*, *Æ* (“anonymous” folles) under Basil II, 25–26; as probable basis of production under John III at Thessalonica (1246), 602–3; as probable basis of production under Thessalonican Ducaea (1230–46), 545–48, 567–69, 579, 582, 597; reintroduction of as basis of production under John III (1227), 474–75
- Inkstand, used as symbol of office by Theodore Stypeiotes, 175
- Inscriptions, 138–42; aniconic/inscriptional designs, 139, 141; columnar, introduction of, 140; coordination of under Alexius I, 99–100
- Irene Angelina (wife of Philip of Swabia), crowns of, 166
- Isaac Comnenus, usurper: brief reign of in Cyprus, 132; imperial standard of, 172; *see also* Index I
- Isaccea VII Hoard, 395
- Istanbul A Hoard, 42 and n. 47, 63, 64
- Istanbul B Hoard, 69, 83, 91 and table 6, 92, 462
- Ivan I Asen (Kaloyan): campaign of against and agreement of with Alexius III (1202), 398; campaign of against Latins/battle of Adrianople (1205), 79 n. 60, 655–56, 661; death of (1207), 78, 655; population policy of, 78 n. 57
- Ivan II Asen: alliance of with John III against Latins (1235/36), 469, 566, 657–58; commercial concessions of to Ragusans, 85–86, 87; conflict of with Theodore Comnenus-Ducas, 82, 544–45; marriage alliance of with Manuel Comnenus-Ducas, 97, 566; relations of with Stephen Ducas, 566–67, 635; *see also* Index I
- Ivanko-Alexius, revolt of against Alexius III (1199–1200), 77–78, 79, 397–98
- Iznik (Nicaea) hoards, 89, 453 n. 28
- John II Comnenus: portrait of (on Dumbarton Oaks roundel), 147–48; triumph of (1133), 176; *see also* Index I
- John III Ducas (Vatatzes): alliance of with Ivan II Asen against Latins (1235/36), 469, 566, 658; Genoese campaign and Epirot marriage alliance of, 116–18; *see also* Index I
- John IV Lascaris, 528, 529, 530
- John V Palaeologus: mosaic of, 170; settlement of with John VI (1354), 660
- John VI Cantacuzene: creates John and Manuel Asen *sebastokratores*, 167; settlement of with John V (1354), 660
- John Comnenus-Ducas, emperor/*despotēs*: double series (I, II) of billon trachea under, 121–22; forcefully divested of imperial insignia by John III (1243), 469, 578; small-module series (III) under, 671; *see also* Index I
- John Ducas, *kaisar*, seals of, 166
- John Gabalas, *authentēs*, loses Rhodes to Genoese (1248), 116–18; *see also* Index I
- John of Brienne: appointed regent and life-emperor, 658, 659–60, 664; Latin campaign of, 469; *see also* Index I
- John Orphanotrophos (brother of Michael IV), eunuch, responsible for public finances, 21–22
- John the Oxite, on exactions by Alexius I, 41 n. 40, 182, 184, 399
- Kainourgion* (*novus*, nom.), 56
- Kaisar* (caesar): dress of, 153 and n. 39, 165, 166; numismatic use of title, 141; revenues of, 245
- Kaisarikion*, 153 and n. 39, 160, 166
- Kalenderhane, church of (Istanbul): excavations at, 69, 250 n. 21, 421–22; frescoes in, 83–84, 661; possible construction of by Isaac II, 367
- Kaloyan, *sebastokratōr*, in Boyana frescoes, 167
- Kaloyanovets Hoard, billon of Isaac II in, 92, 104–8
- Kamelaukion, 158
- Kampagia (*tzankia*), 160, 163–64 and n. 80, 172
- Kappadokes, Andronicus, *megas logariastēs*, 245
- Kastoria Hoard, 33, 281
- Kecharitomene, monastery of, 247
- Kecharitomene Typikon (ca. 1110): on payments in trachea/noummia, 49 n. 62; use of term *nomismata palaias poiōtētos* in, 56 n. 85
- Keration*, 58
- Kılıç Arslan II: reception of by Manuel I, 151–52, 182–83, 276; uses Gabras as envoy, 157
- Klokotnitsa, battle of (1230), 85, 545
- Koçaeli Hoard, 113, 119 n. 104, 478
- Komnēnaton theotokion nomisma*, 195
- Kontomanikion*, 157
- Korten Hoard, 70 table 4, 393
- Krasen Hoard, 393

- Labarum, 145, 172, 174, 248
- Lascaris, Constantine (Comnenus-), 392–93, 425, 447–48, 451
- Lascaris, Nicholas (Comnenus-), 447 and n. 1
- Latin imitative coinage, 53–55, 60–61, 80–88, 661–63; in Constantinople, 664–67, 673–90, 698, 702; small-module (“Venetian”), 670–72, 694–97; in Thessalonica, 668–69, 690–94
- Lavra, monastery of, court of enquiry into privileges of (1196), 399
- Lazania Hoard, 42 n. 46, 248, 249, 254, 285
- Lead, *see* Tetarteron, lead
- Leo I, coronation of (457), 172
- Leo V, ceremonial entry of into Constantinople (813), 159–60
- Leo Gabalas, *kaisar*, independence of in Rhodes, 448, 451, 469; *see also* Index I
- “Light-weight” electrum trachea, mistaken identification of, 282
- Lincoln College Typikon: imperial family portraits in, 151; *sebastokratōr*’s crown in, 167; skaranika pictured in, 158
- Lindos Hoard, 42 n. 44, 252, 286, 288; gold content of electrum coins from, 281–82
- Loros, 157, 164; limited use of, 153; simplified type of, 154–56, 162; traditional type of, 153–54
- Loukovo Hoard, 70 table 4, 107 table 8, 254; billion of Isaac II and John II in, 106
- Lüleburgaz (Arcadiopolis), Latin imitative series from, 82, 85, 86, 87
- Magnesia (*ad Sipyllum*), treasury and mint at, 96, 450, 515, 528, 530; abandoned under Michael VIII, 530
- Mairano, Romano, *collegantia* with Domenico Giaccobe (1167), 44
- Maniakion (*vel. sim.*, collar-piece?), identity and nature of, 161–63
- Manouēlaton* (nom., *manuellatus vel. sim.*), 57, 252, 276, 281, 581, 662; value of, 43
- Manuel II Palaeologus, family portrait of (in MS Ivoires 100), 151
- Mavrozomes, Manuel, usurper, 448
- Maxentius, accumulation of reserve by, 20
- Melissenus, Nicephorus, usurper/*kaisar*: as probable issuer of overstruck folles, 27–28; seal of as *kaisar*, 166
- Melnik: as capital of Slav, 78; refugees from Philippopolis in, 79 and n. 60, 656
- Metcalf, D. M.: attribution of Thessalonican Latin Type C to Nicaea/Venice by, 94–95 and n. 128, 668; attribution of Thessalonican tetartera to Constantinople by, 250; on Bulgarian imitative series, 61 and n. 9, 66–67 nn. 28 and 31, 68 and n. 35, 73 and n. 48, 78 n. 57; on clipped trachea, 64–66; on date of latest Latin issues from Constantinople, 666; on denominational structure, 11–12 and n. 34; on form of loros, 155 and n. 47; on Latin imitative series, 61 and n. 9, 68 and n. 35, 81–82, 85, 87 n. 94; on Morphou Hoard, 288 and n. 45; on population movements and coinage in Balkans, 78 n. 57
- Michael, financial official under Alexius I, 110 n. 57
- Michael II Comnenus-Ducas, *despotēs*: independence of from Manuel Comnenus-Ducas in Thessalonica, 567, 623; marriage alliance of with John III, 117–18, 470; *see also* Index I
- Michael IV, responsible for initiating debasement of gold coinage, 21–22
- Michael VII Ducas: financial skills of, 19; *Michaēlaton* of (1108), 56 n. 85
- Michael VIII Palaeologus (Ducas-Angelus-Comnenus), demands of revenue from Latin *chrysepsēteion* by, 120, 129, 662; *see also* Index I
- Miliaresion, 26 n. 86, 58; abandonment of, 33; increasingly sporadic issue and debasement of, 10; place of in monetary system/value of, 38, 40, 41, 44
- Mogilitsa Hoard, 665
- Monetary system, values and denominations of: before 1092, 37–41; between 1092 and 1204, 41–51; between 1204 and 1261, 51–53
- Morrisson, C., on “dévaluation d’expansion,” 10 and n. 30, 19–22
- Mouzalon, George, and brothers, 515, 528, 530
- Mule, presence of in Bulgarian imitative Types A and C, 71
- Myriocephalum, battle of (1176), 157, 278
- National Archaeological Museum (Istanbul), excavations at, Latin imitative series from, 84
- Nicephorus II Phocas, ceremonial entry of into Constantinople (963), 159–61
- Nicephorus III Botaniates/Michael VII, portrait of (in MS Coislin 79), 152 and n. 38, 153, 158, 159, 161

- Nicephorus Comnenus-Ducas, marriage of to Maria (daughter of Theodore II), 117–18
- Nicosia I Hoard, 248, 252, 254, 282, 286 n. 42
- Nicosia II Hoard, 248, 254
- Nomisma, basic terminology and epithets, 55–56
- Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, on *moneta*, 110
- Novo Selo Hoard, 107 table 8, 285
- Nymphaeum: abandoned as capital under Michael VIII (1261), 530; not Nicaean mint, 515; reached by Latin emperor Henry (1211), 92, 450, 455, 471; supposed building of palace at by John III, 470–72; treaty of (1261), 119–20, 529; as winter capital of Nicaea, 116, 455
- Obolos*, see *Follis*
- Officinae* (workshops), 249, 281–82; numbers and operations of, 103–8, 253; see also *Distinctive (officina) marks*
- Oikos* (household), imperial: administration centered upon (post-1204), 450; under Alexius I, 182
- Orphanotropheion*, reconstruction of by Alexius I, 148
- Overstriking: of “anonymous”/“signed” folles, as part of fiscal process, 24–25; of Bulgarian imitative Type B on Type C, 72 n. 43; in coinage under Isaac Comnenus of Cyprus, 357; in coinage under Theodore Comnenus-Ducas, 546, 547; in Latin/Nicaean/Thessalonican coinages, 89–91; in Latin series (including issue of John of Brienne?), 665; in possible issue of Nicephorus Melissenus, 28; of small-module Latin series on large-module types, 670; in small-module sequence under Manuel Comnenus-Ducas, 568–69; of tetarteron Type G on Type D under John III, 481
- Pachymeres, George: on gold content of hyperpyron, 51, 475; on Senacherim’s comment upon recovery of Constantinople (1261), 9
- Pacourianus, Gregory, *meγas domestikos*, gift of *oxykastōra* to Bachkovo monastery from, 161
- Palaeologus, Andronicus, *meγas domestikos*: as *exisōtēs*, 102, 474; as *praitōr*, 601; sent to Rhodes, 648
- Palatia kai Nea Logarikhē*, 99, 184, 193, 195, 198; aspron trachy nomisma in, 43; denominational relationships (pre-1081) in, 16–17, 24, 38; supposed monetary confusion in, 40–41
- Palaiokainourgion* (*paleokenurgius*, nom.), 56 and n. 85
- Palaion* (*vetus*, nom.), 40, 56
- Pantokrator, monastery of Christ: foundation of by John II, 247; interment of Manuel I in, 280
- Pantokrator Typikon (1136): on alms/value of tetarteron, 47, 48; mention of *sebastokratores* in, 245 n. 2
- Parakoimōmenos tēs sphendonēs*, carries imperial sword, 174
- Partitio Romaniae*, 399, 621, 655, 659; basis and date of, 653 and n. 3
- Pazardzhik Hoard, 70 table 4, 82, 83
- Pegae: battle of (1211), 449; meeting of John III with Epirot delegation at (1248), 117–18
- Pegolotti, Francesco Balducci: on gold content of hyperpyron, 51, 475–77 and table 14; on weighing of *perperi*, 124; see also *Perperum*
- Pelagonia, battle of (1259), 529
- Pen boxes, used as symbol of office by John Poutzes, 110 n. 56
- Pendilia: apud Anna Comnena and Nicephorus Gregoras, 165; particular form of at Thessalonica, 100
- Pergamum, excavations at, 23, 69, 455, 475–76, 580
- Perperum*, 43, 44, 51, 276, 475, 662; *perperi boctazati*, 51, 467; *perperi ingiallati*, 477; *perperi latini*, 53, 113 n. 75, 119, 120, 476–77 and table 14, 662; see also *Hyperpyron*
- Peter (Theodore) Asen, as candidate for coinage of Theodore Mancaphas, 393–95
- “Peter and Paul” Hoard, 61 n. 9, 86, 665, 666
- Philippopolis: prolonged presences of Alexius I in, 196–97; refugees fleeing from (1205), 79 and n. 60, 656; revolt of Ivanko-Alexius in, 77
- Philotheus, *Klētorologion*: on insignia, 162; on *kaisar’s* crown, 166; on kontomanikia, 162; on *loros*, 155, 157; on *stauros* (scepter), 170; on *thorakion*, 157, 162
- Phlamoulon*, 174, 175
- Plovdiv Region Hoard, 73, 394 n. 14
- Poimanium, battles of: (1204/5) 448, 654; (1224) 468
- Porphyrogennētos*: supposed significance of title as used by John III, 141, 467 and n. 4; use of title by Baldwin II, 659; use of title by John of Brienne, 664–65
- Poutzes, John, *meγas logariastēs*: career of, 110; financial policies of, 245–46, 251, 279; miserly

- behavior of (apud Nicetas Choniates), 50; use of colored pen boxes by, 110 n. 56
- Prestwich, M. C., on budget and reserve in relation to monetary stock, 21 n. 62
- Processional cross, *see* Stauros
- Prokathēmenos tou vestiariou*, 450–51
- Pronoia*, possible effect of on coinage, 8–9 and n. 23, 277, 453
- Propaganda, role of in coin production, 29–30
- Protimētaion* (nom.), 56
- Protimōmenon* (nom.), 56
- Prōtostratōr*, carries imperial sword, 174
- Psellus, Michael: on financial skills of Michael VII, 19; on *kaisar's* crown, 166
- Pseudo-Codinus, *De Officiis*: on anexikakia, 169–70; antiquarian predilections of, 151; on baïon, 171; on coronation rite, 144; on empress's diadem, 166; on imperial sword, 174; on *mandyas*, 151; on skaranikon, 158; on *stematogyrion* of *despotēs*, 167
- Pseudo-Lucian, *Timarion*, on Thessalonican life, 280
- Ptochoprodromos, poems of: appearance of folles in, 50–51 and n. 68; on ceremonial items, 159 n. 65; on metropolitan life, 275 n. 1, 280; on skaranikon worn above kamelaukion, 158; use of term *stamenon* in, 44 and n. 55
- Quartarolo*, Venetian, 671
- Ragusa (Dubrovnik): commercial concessions to by Ivan II Asen/role of in circulation of coinage, 85–86, 87; grants asylum to Stephen Ducas, 567
- Recutting, of dies: in electrum trachy, 248; in gold coinage, 247
- Reform, monetary, of Alexius I (1092), 11–12, 16; denominational complexity and spread of values under, 28–29; denominational structure and need for compatibility with preceding system under, 32–34
- Reserve, accumulation of by emperors, 20
- Rhabdas, Nicholas, on operations of imperial *chryourgion*, 120 and n. 108
- Rhodes, island/city: independence of (1203/4), 448; invasion of by Genoese (1248–50), 116–18
- Richard of San Germano, on Byzantine gifts to Frederick II (1229), 549
- Right of coining: post-1204, 36–37; pre-1204, 35
- Robert of Clari: on *cange* in Forum of Constantine, 23, 25, 109, 128–29; on coronation of Baldwin I (1204), 143–44, 158; on division of booty (1204), 653; on “orb of gold,” 168; on *palle* (loros), 155
- Safranbolu Hoard, 33, 253
- Sagion, *see* Thorakion
- St. Achilleus, church of (Prespa), excavations at, 548
- St. Francis of Assisi, chapel of (Istanbul): fresco cycle in, 84; Latin imitative coinage from, 83–84
- St. Helena, *augousta*, 155, 192
- St. Mary Peribleptos, monastery of, marble panel from, 146
- St. Mocius, church of, 11; procession to, 22–23, 110
- St. Stephen, church of, insignia stored in, 172
- Sts. Peter and Paul, representations of on Latin imitative series, 87–88, 666
- Saraçhane (Istanbul), excavations at, 69; half-tetartera from, 250 n. 21; Latin imitative series from, 84; lead tetarteron from, 199
- Sardis, excavations at, 23, 69, 455, 475, 480
- Scepters, 170–73; long-shafted, 172–73, 174; short-shafted, 170–71
- Sebastokratōr*: Conon of Béthune appointed as, 657; crown of, 165–67; revenues of, 245
- Senacherim, *prōtasēkrētis*, on recovery of Constantinople (1261, apud George Pachymeres), 9
- Serbian hoards: evidence for Bulgarian imitative series in, 68, 69, 74; evidence for coinage under Theodore Mancaphas in, 393
- Serbian Thessalonican series, under Stephen Ducas, 37
- Serres Hoard, 80 n. 64, 665, 666
- Sgouros, Leo, dynast: revolt of in Morea (1201/2), 131, 400; suppression of (1204/5–8), 654
- Shield-raising: of Michael VIII (1259), 529; as probable reinvention of post-1204 period, 144 n. 2, 151; of Theodore II (1254), 514
- Sicily, Norman kingdom of: costume and regalia in, 145, 166; sale of base metal for gold by, 99
- Signa (13th c.): A–A (= yr. 1–4) under Theodore II, 516–17; A/A and A/A under Theodore II, misinterpretation of meaning of, 135; B/B and Δ/Δ (= 1213/14 and 1215/16) under Theodore I, 111–12 n. 61; Δ/Δ (= 1235?) under John III, 118–19; Δ/Δ (= 1227/28),

- IC/ΑΚ (= Isaakios), and Γ/Ρ (= Georgios?) under Theodore Comnenus-Ducas, 121, 135, 547, 603; Δ/Ρ under John III, 113, 115–18; Δ/Ρ and ✕ under John III at Thessalonica, 602–3; adoption of by John III, 119; annual nature of under Theodore II, 101–2, 119, 135; erratic, under Michael VIII, 530–31; group, existence of, 114; on *perperi* of John III, 476–78 and tables 14, 15
- Silistra (Vitrinon/Vetren) Hoard, 190 n. 24, 288, 393
- Sinekli Hoard, 113, 119 n. 104, 478
- Skaramangion, 158, 164, 174; colors and decorations of, 162 and n. 76; *kastōrion*, 159–61
- Skoutarion* (shield), 151, 164 n. 80, 175, 176
- Slav of Melnik, Bulgarian dynast, 78, 656
- Spathē* (sword), 173–75, 160, 176, 659
- Spyridonakes, John, revolt of against Alexius III (1201), 77–79
- Stamenon/staminum* (aspron nomisma), billon, 581, 662; use of term, 44; *see also* Histamenon
- Stara Zagora Hoard, 70 table 4, 393
- Stauraton* (*stafratus/stauratus*, nom.), 57, 252, 276, 285
- Staurahagiodēmētraton* (nom.), 57, 190
- Stauromanuellatus*, 57, 281, 285
- Stauros = processional cross, 160, 172–73, 174; = scepter cruciger, 153 and n. 39, 176; *see also* Scepters
- Stemma (diadem), 165–67, 247
- Stephen Ducas (Radoslav): possible mint operating under, in fortress of Ras, 97, 135–36; relations of with Ivan II Asen, 566–67, 635; *see also* Index I
- Stiernon, L., on Comnenian hierarchy, 251
- Strez, Bulgarian dynast, 78
- Struma Valley hoards: evidence for Bulgarian imitative series in, 75–77 and table 5 and map; evidence for main issues in (± 1204), 78–79, 93–94 and table 7, 669, 670
- Suedinenie Hoard, billon of John II in, 104, 249
- Tablion*, 152
- Tartaro* (= tetarteron), 47
- Tetarteron (nom.), 47–51; gold, nature and purpose of, 37–38; introduction and debasement of, 10; lead, 197–200; metropolitan, cessation of, 402–3; position of in Alexian reformed coinage, 12, 34; reintroduction of by John III (1227), 474–75; scarcity of in Bulgaria, 18 n. 55; transfer of from gold to billon/copper, 11
- Thebes Hoard, 82, 83
- Theodore I Comnenus-Lascaris: earliest coinages under, 88–90; treaty of with Venetians concerning copying of coin (1219), 53, 129, 662, 671; *see also* Index I
- Theodore Comnenus-Ducas (Angelus): career of prior to capture of Thessalonica (1204–24), 622–23; conflict of with Ivan II Asen, 82, 544–45; *see also* Index I
- Theophanes Continuatus, on entry of Leo V into Constantinople (813), 159–60
- Theophylact of Ochrida: on land and taxation, 16 n. 48; on *trikephalon nomisma*, 195 n. 43
- Theotokion* (nom.), 57, 195
- Theotokos in Pharos, church of, insignia stored in, 172–73
- Thera Hoard, 70 table 4, 73, 75 and table 5, 79, 92, 668
- Thorakion: for loroi, 157, 162; mistaken identification with, 155; = sagion, 156–57, 164, 174
- Tiepolo, Jacopo (Giacomo), treaty of with Theodore I (1219), 129, 662, 671
- Tishanovo Hoard, 67 n. 29, 70 table 4, 75 table 5, 81
- Titulature, imperial and quasi-imperial, 140–41
- Torbali Hoard, 89, 111 n. 61, 453, 454
- Toubia/kamptouba*, 153 n. 39, 163, 164 n. 80, 165 and n. 86
- Toynbee, A. J., views of on economy, 14
- Trachy (aspron nomisma), billon, 44–45; debasement of by Alexius III, 402; debasement of by Isaac II, 367; debasement of by Manuel I, 42, 283; introduction of by Alexius I (1092), 11; apud John Zonaras, 12; position of in Alexian reformed coinage, 12, 33–34; silver content of, 42
- Trachy (aspron nomisma), electrum, 43–44; debasement of by Alexius III, 401, 402; debasement of by Isaac II, 367; gold content of, 42; introduction of by Alexius I (1092), 11; apud John Zonaras, 12; position of in Alexian reformed coinage, 12, 33–34; under Theodore I, 453–54
- Trachy nomisma, 127; meaning of term, 33 and n. 6, 56
- Trachy palaion (aspron nomisma), electrum, 40
- Trebizond, empire of, coinage of anomalous nature from, 36
- Tri Voditsi Hoard, 70 table 4, 72, 81, 86, 665

- Trikephalon* (*trimenus*, nom.), 57–58, 195
- Triumph, of: John II (1133), 176; Michael VIII (1261), 530; *see also* *Adventus*
- Troad Hoard, 83, 91–92 and table 6
- Troy, excavations at, 475, 580
- Tunic, short military (*thoimation stratiōtikon/epilōrikon*), 158–61
- Turnovo: coins of Constantine Asen indicating mint at, 645; coins of John Comnenus-Ducas from excavations at, 579 n. 6, 582; coins of Mitso Asen from excavations at, 644; coins of Theodore Mancaphas from excavations at, 393; inscription in church of Forty Martyrs at, 87, 545, 639; limited quantity of coins of Ivan II Asen from excavations at, 640
- Turnovo III Hoard, 393
- Tzankia*, *see* *Kampagia*
- Vermania Hoards, 49 n. 62, 93
- Venice/Venetians: alliance of with Leo Gabalas of Rhodes (1234), 469, 648; appointment of Theodore Branas as *kaisar* at (1206), 655–56; break of with Manuel I (1171), 279, 286; hostilities of against John II (1122–26), 246; possibly responsible for small-module coins of John Comnenus-Ducas, 581–82; ranking *podestà* as *despotēs*, 662; relations of with Michael I (1204/5–10), 621–22; responsible for small-module Latin imitatives, 670–72; role of in Byzantine economy, 10, 13–14; role of in election of Latin emperor (1204), 653–54; role of in Fourth Crusade (1203/4), 421, 425–26 and n. 4; share of in booty (1204), 653; siege of Nicaean island by, 529; treaty of with Theodore I (1219), 53, 581–82, 662
- Vestiarion*: private (*oikeiakon*), 96, 144, 168, 450, 545; state (*dēmosion/mega*), 96, 128, 144, 450, 545; state and private combined, 450
- Villehardouin, Geoffrey, marshal/historian: on Alexius III still controlling large portion of empire (1204), 423; on amount of Constantinopolitan booty (1204), 425–26 and n. 4, 653; on capture of Philippopolis (1205), 656; on Corinth as Venetian dependency, 672; on payments to crusaders (1203), 420
- Vitrinon/Vetren Hoard, *see* *Silistra Hoard*
- Vrasta Hoard, 281
- William II of Villehardouin, prince of Achaëa: captured at battle of Pelagonia (1259), 529; grant of right to coin to (1249/50), 131; role of in Genoese occupation of Rhodes (1249), 116–17
- Yenimahalle Hoard, 83, 91 and table 6, 92–93, 668
- Ḥarb-i-enderūnī/būrūnī*, Ottoman mints in Constantinople, 109
- Zgurli Hoard, 33 n. 5, 252
- Zlataritsa II Hoard, 252
- Zonaras, John: on character of Alexius I, 185; on characteristics of Comnenian regime, 181–82; on debasement of coinage by Alexius I, 12, 184; on exactions by Alexius I, 41 and n. 40, 184
- Ḥōnē* (*vel sim.*, belt), 151, 160; = *diadēma*, 163, 164 n. 80
- Ḥōstē patrikia*, promotion of, 157

# PLATES





ALEXIUS I, PRE-REFORM

CONSTANTINOPLE



El.('A')(T1a.1)



El.('A')(T1a.3)



El.('A')(T1b)



Æ ('A')2b.2



Æ ('A')2c.1



THESSALONICA



Æ ('A')(2c.3)



Æ ('A')3.5



Æ ('A')3.6



El.('A')4.1



El.('A')(4.2)



Æ ('A')5a.1



Æ ('A')5a.2



B.('A')5b.2



B.('A')5b.3



B.('A')5b.4



ALEXIUS I, PRE-REFORM

CONSTANTINOPLE



El.('A')(6a)



El.('A')(6b)



AR('A')(6c.9)



AR('A')(6c.13)



AR('A')(6c.15)



AR('A')(6c.19)



THESSALONICA



AR('A')(7.1)



AR('A')(7.4)



AR('A')(7.5)



AR('A')(8.4)



AR('A')(8.6)



B.('A')(9.1)



B.('A')(9.3)



CONSTANTINOPLE



AR 10.2



B.('R')(10.3)



B.('R')(11)



B.('R')(12.2)

THESSALONICA



B.('R')(13.2)



THESSALONICA



AE 18.3



AE 19.1



AE 19.3



ALEXIUS I, POST-REFORM

CONSTANTINOPLE



A 20a.2



20a.4



20b.1



20b.3



20c.2



20c.8



20e.1



20e.3



20f.1



20f.3



20g.4



20g.5



20g.20



ALEXIUS I, POST-REFORM

THESSALONICA



A<sup>v</sup> 20h.4



20i



(20k)



(20l)



20m.1



PHILIPPOPOLIS



(20m.2)



20n.2



(20o.1)



(20p)



CONSTANTINOPLE



E1.21



22.1



22.2



(22.3)



ALEXIUS I, POST-REFORM

THESSALONICA



El.23a.1



(23a.2)



23b



(23c)



CONSTANTINOPLE



B.24.1



(24.2)



25a.2



25b.3



25b.4



25b.8



25b.12



26.2



26.4



ALEXIUS I, POST-REFORM

THESSALONICA

PHILIPPOPOLIS



B.27



28



(29)



(30)



(31b)



CONSTANTINOPLE



Pb.32.1



32.2



32.3



Æ 33.3



33.5



33.11



34.1



34.2



35.2



35.7



36.1



36.2



THESSALONICA



Pb.37.1



37.2



37.6



Æ38.3



38.4



39.4



39.5



ALEXIUS I, POST-REFORM

THESSALONICA



Æ 40a.4

40a.12

(41)

UNCERTAIN MINT(S)



Pb.42.1

42.2

42.3

Æ (43)

THESSALONICA (?)



44.1

44.2

UNCERTAIN MINT



45a.3

45a.6

45b.3

JOHN II

CONSTANTINOPLE



A1a.1

1a.2

1a.7

1b.1

1b.2





JOHN II

CONSTANTINOPLE



El.8a.1



8b.1



8c.1



8c.3



8c.6



THESSALONICA



8d.1



8d.2



8d.3



8e.1



(8e.2)



CONSTANTINOPLE



B.9.2



10a.2



10a.7



10b.6



10b.9



JOHN II

THESSALONICA



B.11.1



11.2



11.3



11.4



CONSTANTINOPLE



Æ12a.6



12a.9



12b.5



13.6



13.7



THESSALONICA



Æ 14a.3



14b.6



(15)



16a.5



16b.6



17.9



17.10



17.11



MANUEL I

CONSTANTINOPLE



A 1a.2



1a.5



(1a.7)



1b.1



1b.5



1b.6



1c.2



1c.4



1d.5



1e.5



THESSALONICA



1e.10



(1f.1)



1f.2



MANUEL I

CONSTANTINOPLE



El.2a.2



2b.2



3a.2



3b



4a.3



4b.2



4c.4



4d



5a.1



5b.1



5b.4



5c.1



MANUEL I

CONSTANTINOPLE



El.6b.1



6b.2



6c.1



6c.2



6d



THESSALONICA



8



9.4



9.5



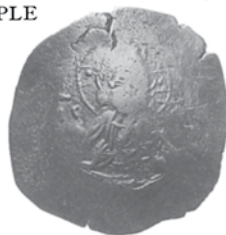
9.6



9.7



CONSTANTINOPLE



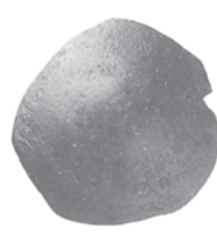
B.10a.2



10a.4



10b.4



10b.6

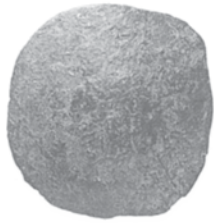


MANUEL I

CONSTANTINOPLE



B.11a.1



11a.3



11b.2



11b.3



12a.4



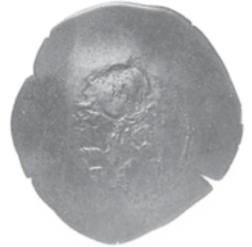
12a.11



12a.15



12b.2



12b.4



12c



12e



12f.3



12g.1



12g.5



12a.4



12a.11



12a.15



12b.2



12b.4

MANUEL I

CONSTANTINOPLE



B.13a.1



13b.7



13c.19



13d.9



13f.1



13f.17



13g.1



13g.2



13i.1



13i.2



13i.10



13j.1



13j.2



13k.2



13k.4

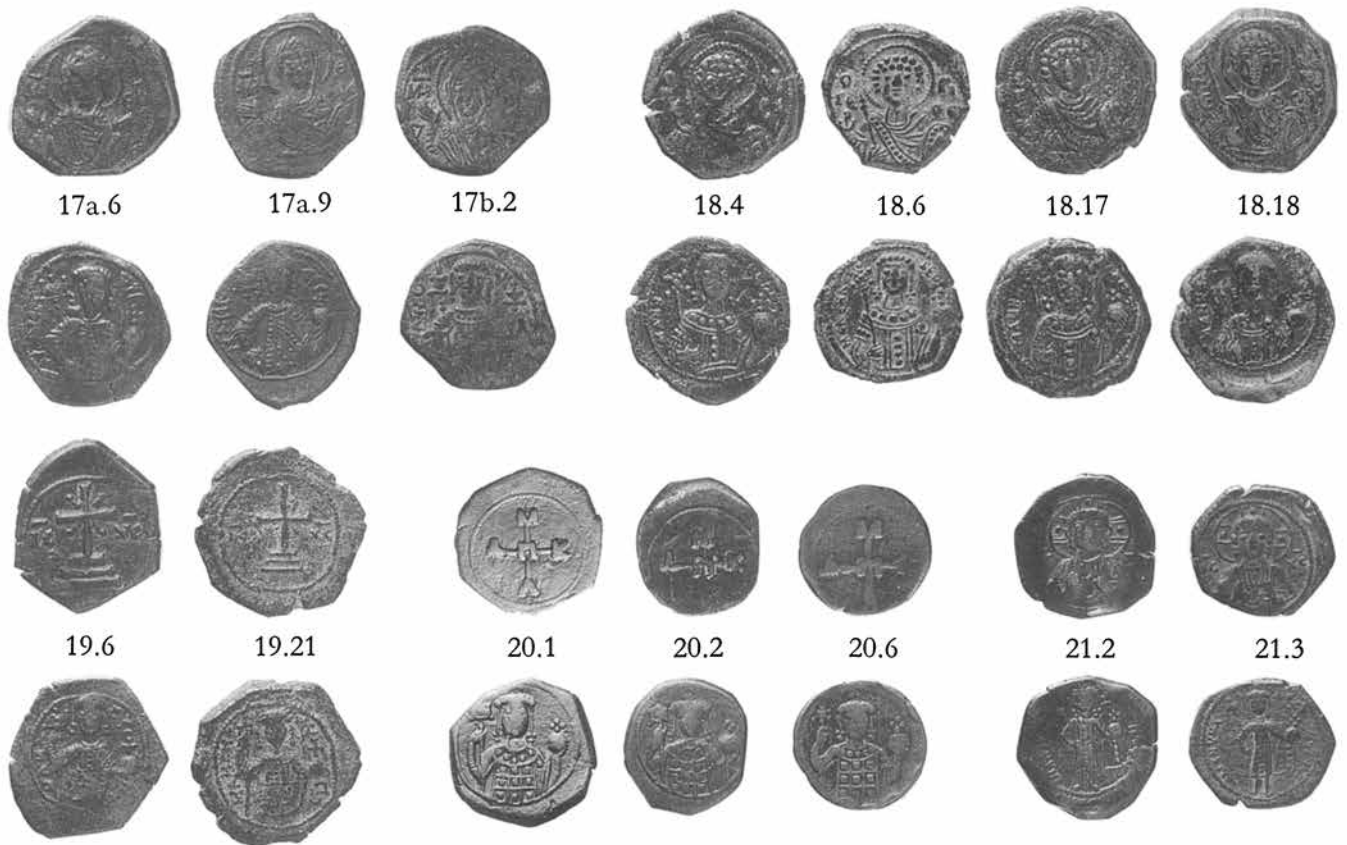


MANUEL I

CONSTANTINOPLE



THESSALONICA



UNCERTAIN GREEK MINT





ANDRONICUS I

CONSTANTINOPLE



A' 1.2



1.4



1.7



1.9



El.2a.2



2a.3



2b.1



2b.4



2b.5



B.3a.2



3a.4



3b.6



3b.7



ANDRONICUS I

THESSALONICA



B.(4)



CONSTANTINOPLE



Æ 5b.2



5b.3



5b.8



5b.9



THESSALONICA



6.1



6.6



(7)

UNCERTAIN GK. MINT



8.2



ISAAC COMNENUS

MAIN MINT



El.(1.2)



B.2.3



2.5



3.1



3.2



ISAAC COMNENUS

SECONDARY MINT



B.(4)



(5)

MAIN MINT



Æ6



(7)



(8.1)



(8.2)



(8.3)



SECONDARY MINT



(9.1)



(9.2)



(10a.2)



(10a.3)

MAIN MINT



11



ISAAC II

CONSTANTINOPLE



A/1a



1b.1



1b.3



1b.4



1b.5



ISAAC II

CONSTANTINOPLE



A' 1c



1d.1



1d.4



1d.5



1d.6



El.2a.1



2a.10



2a.13



2a.14



2a.15



2b.1



2b.2



2c.1



2c.7



(2c.9)



ISAAC II

CONSTANTINOPLE



B.3a.2



3b.5



3c.1



3d.4



3e.1



3e.6



3f.8



3f.12



3g.2



3h.1



3h.4



3i.1



THESSALONICA

UNCERTAIN  
GK. MINT



Æ4a.1



4a.4



4b.2



4b.3



5a.3



5c.2



(6)



THEODORE MANCAPHAS

PHILADELPHIA



El.(1)



B.(2.1)



(2.2)



(2.3)



(2.4)



ALEXIUS III

CONSTANTINOPLE



A1a.1



1a.3



1b.3



1b.5



1b.6



1b.7



ALEXIUS III

CONSTANTINOPLE



El.2a.3



2a.4



2b.1



2b.3



2b.6



2b.7



2c.1



2c.6



B.3a.3



3b.1



3c.4



3d.1



3e.1



3f.1



3f.4



ALEXIUS III

CONSTANTINOPLE



B.3g.1



3h.3



3i.2



3j.2



THESSALONICA



Æ 4



5a.1



5a.2



5a.10



5b.1



5b.2



CONSTANTINOPLE

THESSALONICA



(5c)



6



7.1



7.3



8a.1



8b.2



ISAAC II AND ALEXIUS IV

CONSTANTINOPLE



Æ1a.1



(1b.1)

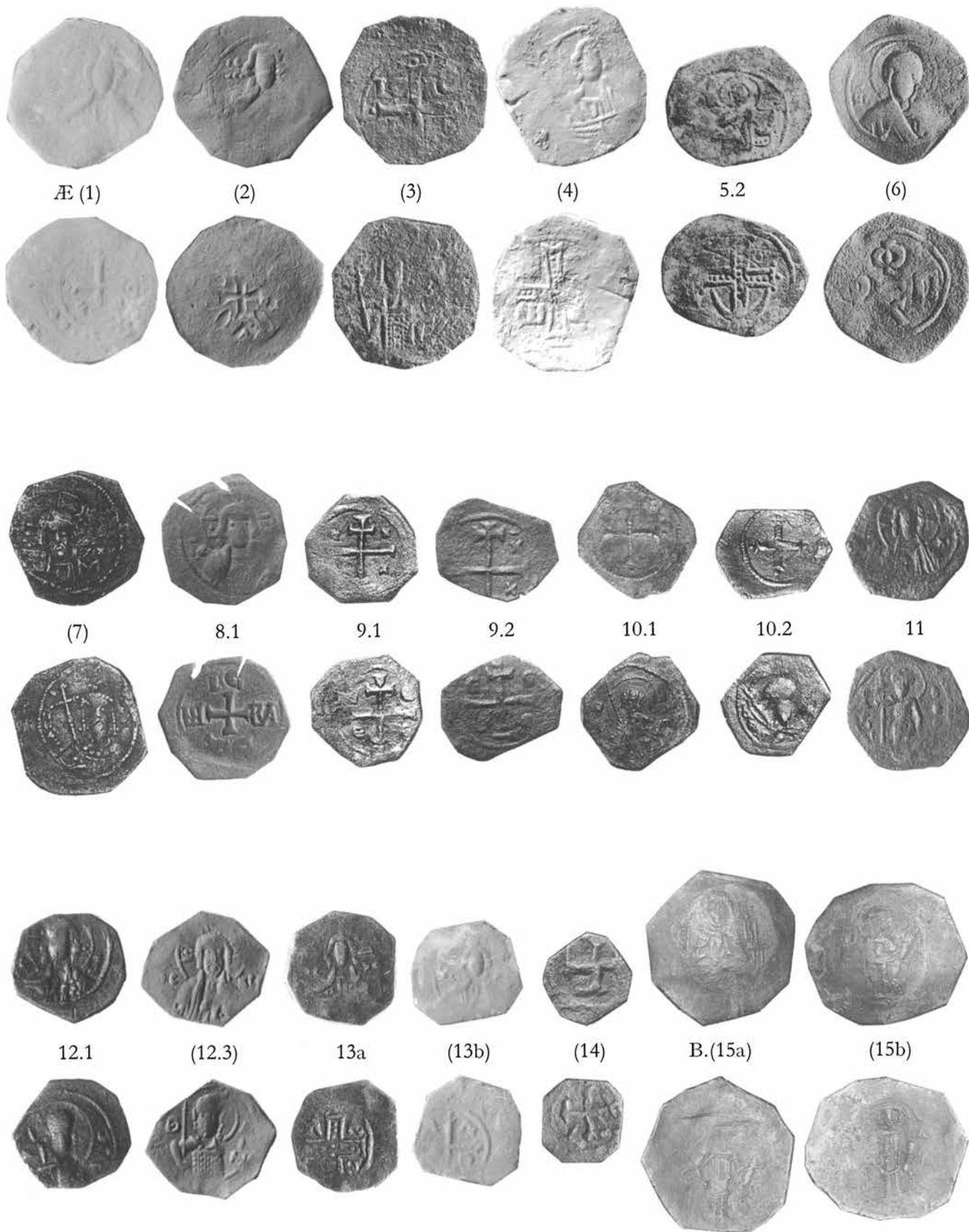


1b.2





TREBIZOND *ca.* 1080-*ca.* 1200



BULGARIAN IMITATIVE



B.1a.3



1a.5



1a.16



1a.18



1a.22



1a.40



2.4



2.6



2.11



3a.1



3b.3



3b.7



3c.1



3c.2



3d



3f.1



THEODORE I

MAGNESIA



El.1.1



(1.2)



2.1



2.3



(3)



4.1



4.2



4.6



NICAEA



B.5a.2



5a.4



5b.1



5b.3



THEODORE I

NICAEA



B.6.2



6.3



6.5



6.6



MAGNESIA



(7.2)



8.1



(9)



(10.1)



(10.2)



(11.1)



(11.2)



JOHN III

MAGNESIA



A'1a.2



(2a)



(3.1)



(3.2)



4a



4b



4c.1



4d



4g



4i



5.4



5.5



JOHN III

MAGNESIA



A' 5.9



5.11



5.12



5.15



6a.1



6a.3



6b.3



6b.6



6b.7



7d.2



8c



8e



10a



10b



13c



JOHN III

MAGNESIA



El.(20)



(21)



(22)



(23a)



(23b)



24a.2



24a.3



(24b)



(25)



26



27



(28)



(29)



(30)



(31)



JOHN III

MAGNESIA



El.(32.1)



(32.2)



(33.1)



(33.2)



(34a)



B.35.2



35.3



(36)



37.1



(37.2)



38.1



(38.2)



39.1



(39.2)



40





JOHN III

MAGNESIA



B.41



(42.1)



43



44



45.2



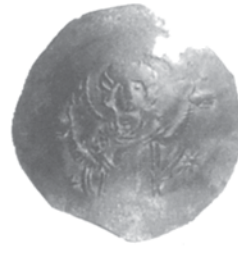
(46)



(47.1)



(47.2)



(48a)



(48b)



(49.2)



(50a)



(50b.1)



(50b.2)



(50c)



JOHN III

MAGNESIA



B.(51)



(52)



53.3



54.1



(54.3)



(55)



Æ 56.1



56.2



56.3



57



58.9



58.11



58.12



59a.1



59a.2



59a.3



(59b)



(60.2)



(60.4)



(61.2)



61.4



(62a.1)



(62b)



62c



THEODORE II

MAGNESIA



A1a



(1b)



(2a)



(2b)



(2c)



3a



(3b)



(4a)



(4b)



El.(5.1)



(5.2)



6.1



(6.3)



(6.4)



7.1



7.2



MAGNESIA

THEODORE II



El.(7.3)



(7.4)



(7.5)



8



B.9.1



9.2



(9.3)



10a.1



(10b)



11a.1



11a.2



11b.1



(12.4)



(12.5)



Æ (13a)



13b



(14)

MICHAEL VIII

MAGNESIA



A' (1)



E1.2



3



B.4



5.1



Æ 6.1



6.2



ANONYMOUS OR UNCERTAIN



E1.1



B.2



Æ 3.1



3.5



(4)



5.1



(5.2)



6.1



6.2



7.3



7.8



(8)



(9.1)



9.3



THEODORE COMNENUS-DUCAS

THESSALONICA



El.1a.2



1c



2a.2



2c



(3a.2)



(3c)



B.4.1



4.2



4.3



4.5



5a.1



5a.3



5a.4



5b



THEODORE COMNENUS-DUCAS

THESSALONICA



B.6.1



6.3



6.4



7a



7b.1



7b.2



8.1



(8.2)



9.1



9.2



9.6



10a.1



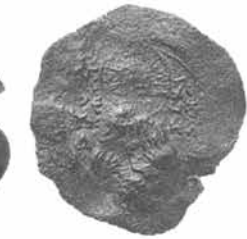
10b.1



10b.2



10d.1



THEODORE COMNENUS-DUCAS

THESSALONICA



Æ(11)



12.1



12.3



12.5



(12.6)



13



14



15a.1



15a.2



15a.3



15b.1



MANUEL COMNENUS-DUCAS

THESSALONICA



E1.1.1



(1.2)



(2.1)



(2.2)



B(2.3)





MANUEL COMNENUS-DUCAS

THESSALONICA



B.(3a.2)



3c.1



4a.4



4b.1



4c.1



5.1



(6.1)



(6.2)



(6.3)



(7.1)



(7.2)



8.1



9.1



(9.4)



(9.5)



JOHN COMNENUS-DUCAS

THESSALONICA



B.1



2.1



(2.2)



3



4



5



(6)



7.1



7.2



8



9



10.1



10.2



(11.1)



(11.2)



(12)



Æ 13.1

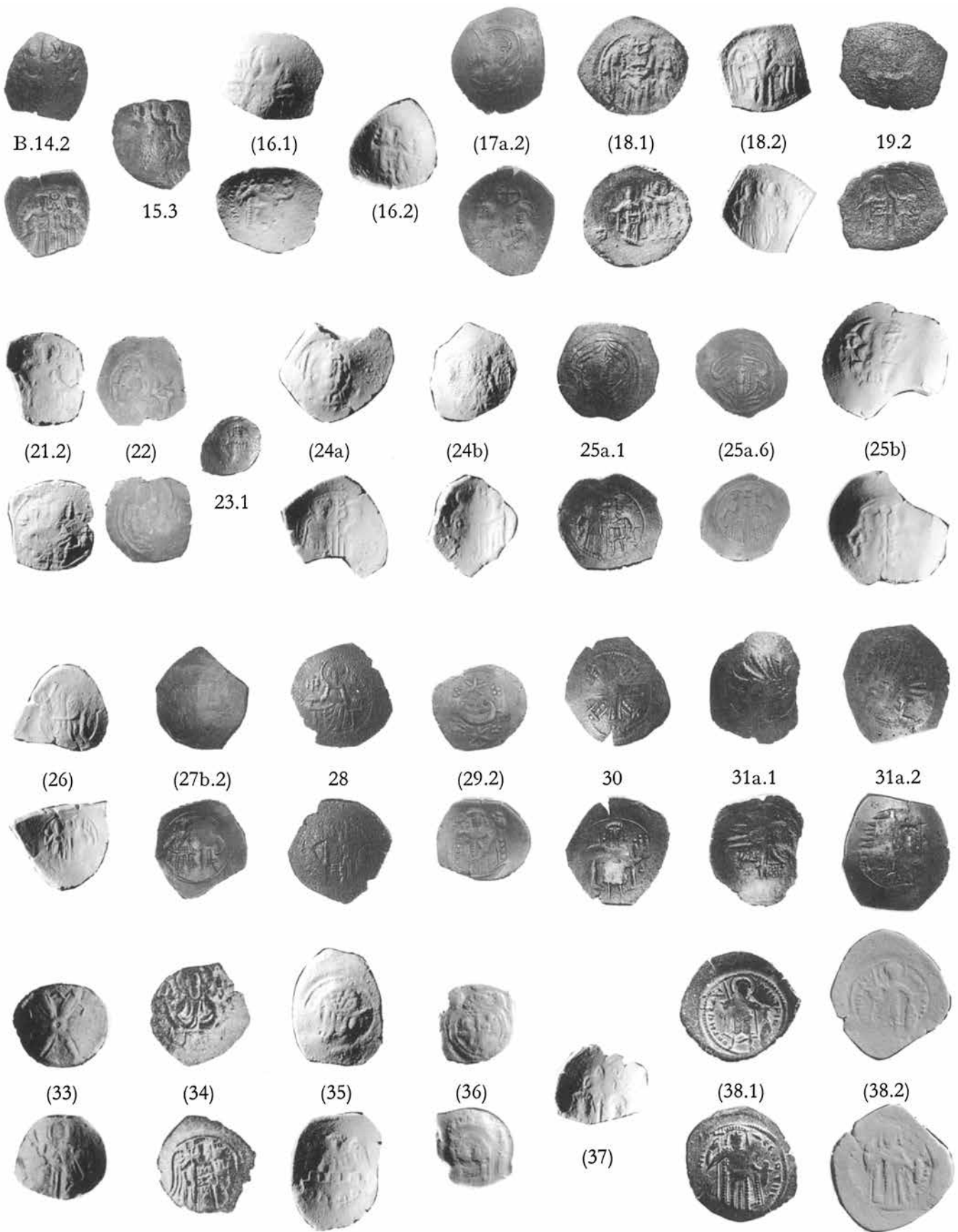


13.2



JOHN COMNENUS-DUCAS

THESSALONICA



DEMETRIUS COMNENUS-DUCAS

UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTION

THESSALONICA



B.1a.1



1b.2



(1c)



1.1



(1.2)



JOHN III

THESSALONICA



E1(2)



B.3.3



3.5



4.2



4.4

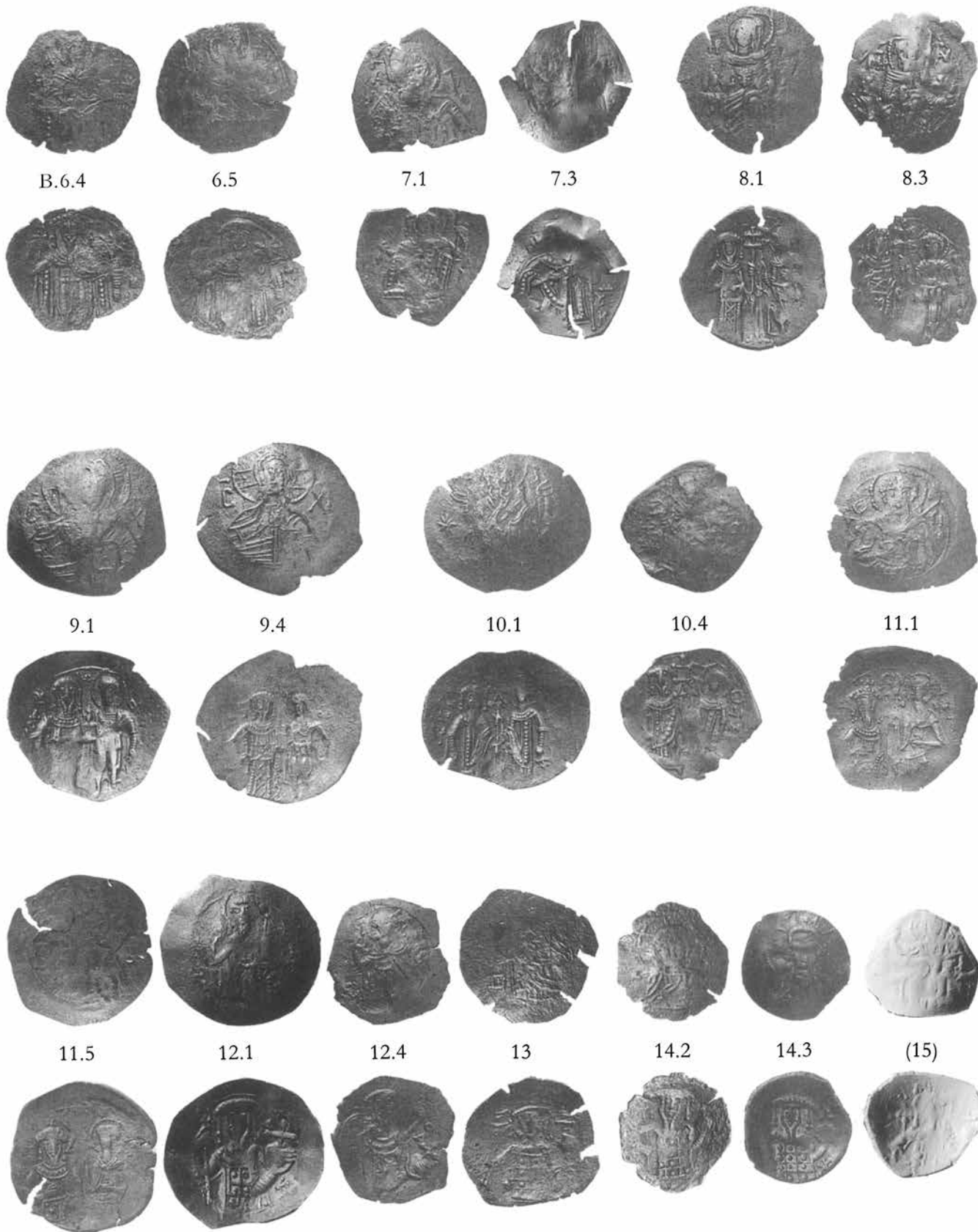


(5)



JOHN III

THESSALONICA



THEODORE II

THESSALONICA



B.1.1



1.2



1.4



(1.5)



(1.6)



MICHAEL I  
COMN.-DUCAS

THEODORE  
COMN.-DUCAS

MANUEL  
COMN.-DUCAS

MICHAEL II  
COMN.-DUCAS

ARTA



El.(1.1)



(1.2)



(1)



(1)



(1)



B.2.1



(2.2)



(3)



JOHN III AND MICHAEL II

THESSALONICA



B.(1.1)



(1.2)



(2)



(3a)



(3b)



STEPHEN DUCAS (RADOSLAV)

Ras



El.(1)



B.(2.1)



(3.1)



(3.2)



IVAN II, ASEN

UNC. MINT (OCHRIDA ?)



A(1)



B.(2.2)



(2.18)



CONSTANTINE ASEN (TICH)

TURNOVO



B.(1)



(2)



(3)



LEO GABALAS

JOHN GABALAS

RHODES



Æ1.1



1.2



1.3



(1)



LATIN IMITATIVE

CONSTANTINOPLE



B.1.2



1.4



1.8



1.9



1.13





LATIN IMITATIVE

CONSTANTINOPLE



B.2.4



2.5



2.7



2.8



3.1



3.2



3.3



3.4



4.2



4.4



4.5



5.1



5.2



6.1



6.2



7.1



(7.4)



LATIN IMITATIVE

CONSTANTINOPLE



B.8.1



(8.5)



10.2



10.4



11



12



13



14.3



14.4



14.7



15.5



15.7



15.14



16.4



16.6



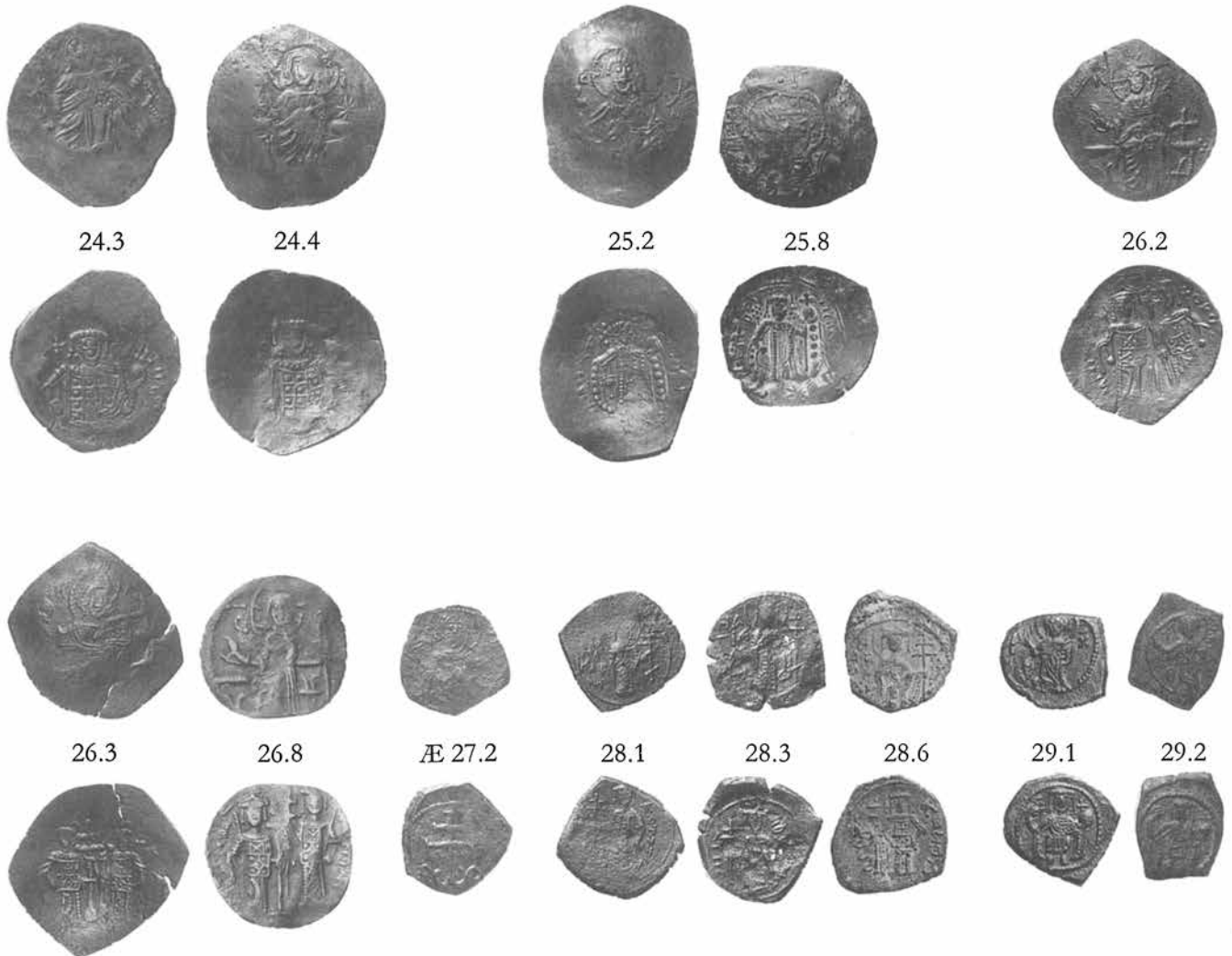


LATIN IMITATIVE

CONSTANTINOPLE



THESSALONICA



LATIN IMITATIVE (SM)



LATIN IMITATIVE (SM)



B.31.2



31.4



32.1



32.2



33.1



33.4



34.1



34.2



35.1



35.2



36c.1



36c.2



CLIPPED TRACHEA

CONSTANTINOPLE

MANUEL I



B.12a.16



12b.11



12g.2



12g.3



13d.22



13f.38



CLIPPED TRACHEA

CONSTANTINOPLE

ANDRONICUS I



B.3a.12



ISAAC II



3f.21



ALEXIUS III



3a.7



3c.22



3c.24



3d.3



UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTION AND ADDENDA

JOHN III, MAGNESIA



B.(1.1)



(1.2)



(2.1)



(3)



4



5.1



LATIN, CONSTANTINOPLE UNC., THESSALONICA / ARTA



(5.2)



(6)



(7)



8.1



(8.2)



(9)

