

THE BILLON TRACHEA OF



MICHAEL

VIII

PALAEOLOGOS

1258-1282

by S. BENDALL and P.J. DONALD

A.H. BALDWIN & SONS LTD.

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INTRODUCTION

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The coinage of the Palaeologan period has received no systematic study since the publication of the British Museum Catalogue by W. Wroth and until the relevant volume of the Dumbarton Oaks Catalogue appears this situation will not be remedied. There is at present no source of material to which the scholar or collector can turn for study or identification except for the occasional publication of a new type in various periodicals.

This short study of the billon *trachea* of Michael VIII does not pretend to be complete and there are few deductions or theories presented here, but perhaps it will lead to further discoveries and research into this neglected but interesting period of the Byzantine coinage.

The following museums and collections were kind enough to supply either casts or photographs, and it is literally true to say that without their help this publication would have been impossible.

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington

The Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris

The British Museum, London

The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

(including the Goodacre Collection)

The American Numismatic Society, New York

The Barber Institute, Birmingham

The Royal Coin Cabinet, Copenhagen

The National Museum, Athens

The Myntkabinet, The Hague

The Coin Cabinet, University of Oslo

Bundessammlung von Medaillen, Vienna

The National Museum, Sofia

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Thanks are also due to M. Hendy for his advice and help.

MICHAEL VIII PALAEOLOGOS

The house of Palaeologos, although not one of the leading Byzantine families, was allied by marriage to many of the most important. Michael had at an early age given evidence of his military qualities and held an important post under John III Vatatzes. During the succeeding reign he had, perhaps with some justification, fallen under the suspicion of Theodore II who was of a distrustful nature. At one point Michael had even fled to the court of the Seljuk sultan, but, showing the capabilities that were later to enable him to deal so successfully with the Empire's troubles, he soon won his way back into favour.

On the death of Theodore II in August 1258, the throne passed to his eight year old son John Lascaris and by machinations, the details of which are far from clear, Michael was elected regent. During the next four months he rose from that position to Grand Duke, to Despot and finally to Emperor. At the double coronation on Christmas Day 1258 it was noted that he was crowned before John Lascaris. John, neglected and later superceded as heir apparent by Michael's own son Andronikos, was blinded and banished not long after Michael had regained Constantinople from the Latins.

The reconquest of Constantinople, which enabled Michael to point to the hand of God helping in his affairs and thus stifle to a certain extent the opposition of the Lascarid supporters, was almost accidentally accomplished by an elderly general exceeding instructions. Thus after fifty-seven years Constantinople was again Byzantine and from henceforth Michael's reign was to be a struggle against his enemies, both internal and external.

While the empire of Nicaea had lacked Constantinople it had, paradoxically, flourished, for to a large extent secure on its western frontiers, it could concentrate on its eastern enemies, the Turks. With the reconquest Michael had to turn his attention to the west and face the certain Latin attempts to retake what they had just lost. The results of this policy were, in the long run, deleterious to the restored empire, as it meant a neglect of the east, and, in an attempt to win western allies, the beginning of a religious controversy that was to dog the Empire for the rest of its existence.

Having overthrown the Lascarid dynasty, Michael's earliest problems came from their supporters although his success in recapturing Constantinople won him much support, especially in the west. These internal difficulties also encouraged the Empire's external enemies. Michael has to face early attacks from the Bulgarians, the ruler of Epirus and the Duke of Achaia. Although the Bulgarians were defeated, the Byzantines suffered reverses in South Greece. Manfred, King of Sicily, already with a hold on the Greek mainland, had designs on the Empire, but as he was an enemy of the Papacy and had indeed been excommunicated, Michael was able to approach the Pope with offers of a union of the Orthodox and Catholic churches in order to counteract this threat. In an age of slow travel Michael was able to stretch out the negotiations for months and even years, while the Pope, ever hopeful of gathering the whole of the Byzantine Empire into the fold, did his best to restrain Michael's western enemies.

In 1266 Manfred was defeated by Charles of Anjou, brother of King Louis IX of France, who was to prove a much more formidable enemy. Charles was a creature of the Papacy and now many of the western powers were allied against Michael. Pope Urban IV had been succeeded by Clement IV who took a much stronger line in the negotiations over church unity and had decided that force might be necessary. By the treaty of Viterbo in 1267 he arranged a series of alliances aimed at the reconquest of Constantinople in the event of further Byzantine procrastination. Michael's resources were not adequate to withstand this new threat and he was forced to turn from intrigue to concession. Unfortunately, in 1268 the Pope died and the seat was vacant for the next three years, leaving Charles of Anjou, who was of course more interested in territorial gain than church unity, as undisputed leader of the newly formed anti-Byzantine coalition. Michael gained some respite when, as a result of Byzantine letters to the French king, Louis persuaded Charles to temporarily postpone his plans and lend his aid to an abortive crusade to North Africa.

In September 1271 a new Pope was elected – Gregory X, who cherished the idea of a new crusade to free the Holy Land. Michael offered help to fight the infidel, but unfortunately the Pope was not prepared to postpone any longer the question of church union. Michael, who had all along felt that the survival of the Byzantine empire was of more importance than the theological differences between the churches knew, however, that this was not the feeling of the majority of his subjects, but the situation was now so serious that he was prepared to use repression to achieve his aims. Opposition was strong, even extending to members of his own family. The situation was made even more serious in 1273 by the death of Baldwin, the displaced Latin emperor of Constantinople, for, by virtue of his daughters marriage to Baldwin's son Philip, Charles of Anjou became king of Albania, Lord of all the French lands in Greece and father-in-law of the new Latin emperor of Constantinople. It became even more imperative for Michael to forestall Charles' attack by fulfilling the papal demands without, if possible, alienating his subjects irreconcilably. He sent delegates, far from representative of the Orthodox church, to a council arranged at Lyons in 1274 where they signed documents formally uniting the two churches. This was a great triumph for Michael for not only were all preparations for the attack on Constantinople called off, but he was now recognised not only as a Catholic prince but also as the rightful ruler of Constantinople. Charles of Anjou was not pleased.

Taking advantage of his recognition, Michael resumed hostilities against the Latin states in Greece, especially as Charles, foiled in his attempt on Constantinople, concentrated his efforts in Albania. These were almost totally foiled by an overwhelming Byzantine victory at Berat in 1281.

By this time Charles was ignoring the provisions of the church union and was, allied with Venice, planning an attack on Constantinople in 1283. Pope Martin IV was elected in 1281 and, being French, was sympathetic to Charles' aspirations. Michael was excommunicated and the Angevin power was now so great that there were few allies to whom he could turn. The most important were Genoa, always the rival of Venice, and strangely, Aragon. King Peter III's wife was the daughter of Manfred of Sicily who had been defeated and killed by Charles.

Charles, cold and austere, and an absentee king on the mainland to his subjects in Sicily, was not loved. In order to finance his expedition he taxed his subjects heavily. The Sicilians, prompted perhaps by Peter of Aragon and Michael and certainly sure of their support, revolted on the 30th March 1282 in an uprising known as the Sicilian Vespers. Peter landed in the island with his army. Charles had to abandon his expedition against Constantinople and the resulting struggles kept the Angevins occupied for over twenty years. It is known that Byzantine gold flowed to the west in great quantity at this time and that envoys and agents travelled back and forth, but while the exact part played by Michael may be uncertain to us, there was no doubt in his mind. Writing in his autobiography soon afterwards he said, "The Sicilians, who had only scorn for the forces remaining to the barbarian king, dared to take arms and deliver themselves from servitude, and, in fact, if I dare to say that God prepared their liberty and that he did it by my own hands, I would be telling only the truth." It was Michael's final and greatest diplomatic success and when he died on 11th December 1282 he had freed the Empire from the threat of invasion from the west.

The scene of Michael's successes had been the west – the east showed nothing comparable, but only neglect. There was some action, but mainly concerned with western schemes. Byzantine agents were active in Cyprus, but only to embarrass Venice.

The results of this neglect were Turkish encroachments, the flight of the population to the fortified towns and their consequent feeling of despair that they had been forgotten by the central government. All these were problems that Andronikos II attempted to solve after his father's death, but although at this time they were still soluble, they needed stronger rulers than those that were about to follow.

TYPES, MINTS AND DATING

With only one hoard published, few find spots recorded and many of the types of considerable rarity, it has proved difficult to arrange the coinage with any certainty. In the following catalogue the types have been attributed, not always with complete confidence, to mints, partly by style and by content and where possible by provenance. Although in the course of the catalogue it has been attempted to give some indication of which issues are early and which are late it has been impossible, in the light of present knowledge, to arrange them in chronological sequence and consequently they have been arranged as an aid to easy identification primarily by reverse types and then subdivided by obverse types as follows:—

Reverse	I Emperor and two figures
	II Emperor and one figure
	III Emperor alone, seated
	IV Emperor alone, standing
Obverse	A Christ
	B The Virgin
	C Saints (in alphabetical order)
	D Other types

Descriptions of the coins, details of costumes, attributes etc., are based on those used by M. Hendy in 'Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081–1261' which is now the standard work for its period.

The catalogue comprises descriptions of about fifty types together with uncertain attributions in a final section. In view of the fact that some of the types are known from only one or two specimens, it is not unlikely that, statistically, there remain others to be discovered. It would seem likely that with this number of types there may perhaps have been an annual change of design at the mints. Hendy would see the mint of Magnesia transferred immediately to Constantinople on the recapture of the City, and certainly the Meander valley was an area of contention between the Turks and the Byzantines in the later part of Michael's reign and was, consequently,

perhaps not the ideal site for a mint. If one postulates annual changes one should arrive at a total of 48/49 types – 2/3 Magnesia, 22 at Constantinople and 24 at Thessalonica.

While, as will be seen from the following catalogue, the overall number of types does not fall far short of this ideal, it is another matter when it comes to mint attribution. It can generally be said that those issues in a neat style, following the coins of the earlier emperors of Thessalonica and showing the emperor holding an unusual or especially large attribute such as a castle, large lis or patriarchal cross, are likely to be Thessalonican. Often a non-columnar but circular legend is used at this mint as may be stars which are prominent in the field. From what little can be gleaned from find spots, it seems possible that while Constantinopolitan issues may be found both east and west of the Bosphorus, Thessalonican issues are not generally found in Asia Minor. It might be postulated therefore that all coins found to the east of Constantinople should be of Nicaean or metropolitan mintage. Working along all these lines, 16 issues have been assigned tentatively to Thessalonica and 29 to Constantinople. If the uncertain issues are included in these figures there would be 34 types at Constantinople and 22 at Thessalonica. That we are so lacking in issues at Thessalonica is not so surprising. There appear to be comparatively few recorded finds of Palaeologan coins in North Greece. The immediate hinterland of Thessalonica does not seem to have held the same importance as the areas further north; what is now Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania. It will be noted from the catalogue that many of the Thessalonican issues are represented only in the Dumbarton Oaks collection. These were nearly all acquired by T. Bertele when Consul in Skopje and came mainly from the surrounding regions. No doubt more types from this area remain to be discovered.

At Constantinople, however, we are suffering from an *embarras de richesse* for which the reasons are obscure. Perhaps the mint at Nicaea did not close immediately, but continued striking coins for the first few years of the reign. On the other hand, if one believes that there were in fact only two mints working then it is obvious that one or both, for reasons unknown today, changed their types more frequently than once a year. It may be that there were annual issues

at Thessalonica, but Constantinople, being the capital, produced a certain number of supplementary issues. It is also possible that there were one or more other mints at some time. Philadelphia could perhaps have produced issues C.26 and C.27.

IMPERIAL EFFIGIES

The need to vary the design of the coinage frequently at each mint over a long period meant that there were struck a great diversity of types, although many varied only in minor details. The Palaeologan period also saw the final flourishing of Byzantine art which can in many respects hold its own with that of contemporary Italy, and while this is not reflected in the workmanship or art of the coinage it has its effect on the imagination of the designs, especially at Thessalonica which was in close contact with the Latin states.

The portrayal of the Emperor follows directly from that on the coinage of the empires of Nicaea and Thessalonica with the Emperor generally wearing a simplified form of *loros*, which had, by this time, lost any connection with the office of Consul, as had the *anexikakia* which was now only another form of sceptre. There are no innovations of dress and the many variations in type are only differentiated by the Emperor's companions, posture and attributes.

The recapture of Constantinople no doubt saw the introduction of the reverse type depicting Michael, kneeling before Christ, supported by his name Saint, the Archangel Michael – a type that was to remain on the gold for the rest of his reign. This design was also used on the billon coinage appearing on several types. Identification of two of these is uncertain because of lack of legends, but as the type may be described as one of Michael's *par excellence* as the Emperor is supported by his name saint, all coins with this type should probably be assigned to this emperor. The Archangel Michael appears on several reverses, either holding a labarum or sword jointly with the Emperor or sometimes blessing him. The other military saints, St. George and St. Demetrius, also appear frequently, no doubt enlisted in support of Michael's struggle against his many surrounding enemies. Christ and the Virgin are depicted, invariably blessing the Emperor,

thus indicating to his subjects from whom he derived the throne – a very necessary reminder, considering by what means he achieved it.

When the Emperor appears alone, he may be either seated or standing. Seated, on a throne, either with or without back, he holds the usual range of attributes – *globus, labarum, sceptre, anxikakia* or sword. It is probable that all the types representing the Emperor seated were struck at Constantinople. This mint also seems to have struck the more monotonous types with the Emperor standing with the same range of attributes as are shown on the seated figure coins. It is on those issues that may with some certainty be assigned to Thessalonica that there appears the more varied and interesting portrayals of Michael. This mint certainly seems to have had the more imaginative designers. Thessalonican attributes tended to be larger, often equalling in size the figure of the Emperor himself. Apart from the usual attributes the Emperor sometimes holds a model or representation of a city, no doubt representing Thessalonica itself, especially as on a coin of Mannual Comenus-Ducas a similar model is specifically identified as such. A large patriarchal cross or a *fleur de lis* is also held by the Emperor who on some issues even appears winged.

OBVERSE TYPES

As may be expected, the whole range of effigies of Christ and The Virgin that appear on coins of the empires of Nicaea and Thessalonica represent on Michael's coinage. Certain of these representations are of traditional type such as the Virgin Blachernitissa, but we cannot be sure that all are copied from non-numismatic prototypes.

The Saints also show no innovations from previous issues although, as might be expected, the Archangel Michael plays a prominent part in the coinage. St. Demetrius is also depicted frequently. He was especially associated with Thessalonica, and appears often on issues of that city, but unfortunately his depiction is not always proof of Thessalonican mintage. One new type appearing for the first time is a Seraph, although a Cherub had done so on the coins of John III Vatatzes and John Comnenus-Ducas.

Under the Thessalonican and Nicaean empires, non-figurative obverse designs had been restricted, with one exception, to the tetartera. This was a denomination Michael seems not to have struck after the reconquest of Constantinople and these types were consequently used on the billon *trachea*, again often at Thessalonica. A large *fleur de lis*, a patriarchal cross with symbols around, and once winged steps – in fact just the objects that appear on the reverses – were used at Thessalonica. Another feature of this mint is the occurrence of random stars in the field. By the reign of Andronikos III and John V they have become extremely prominent, sometimes as many as five being described around the coin in place of an inscription.

MICHAEL I AND II OF EPIRUS

These two rulers held power in some form during the years 1206–1215 and 1231–1271 and in the past coins have been assigned to both emperors. However, almost all of these attributions are erroneous and there are only a handful of genuine Epirote coins. There are two silver *trachea*, one in a private collection and the other on display in the National Museum, Athens, where it is labelled as a coin of Michael VII Ducas. There cannot be many more billon coins known; the author knows only of the specimen in the British Museum which languishes at present in the 'uncertain' trays. The style of all these coins is very neat and distinctive, being similar to those of Isaac Comnenos of Cyprus, – so similar indeed that Hendy considers the silver copied from them. This, of course, would suggest that they were struck rather by Michael I than by Michael II.

It would seem, therefore, that it is safe to assume that any late scyphate in Palaeologan style and bearing the name Michael can be assigned to Michael VIII.

Die Axes

Invariably 180°

Rarity

Any indication of comparative rarity has been omitted as it is of little or no use except in increasing prices. It should be pointed out that the numbers used to compute average weights will not give an accurate indication of rarity as it was not possible to obtain weights for every coin.

Weights

Although these are probably meaningless in view of the generally poor state of preservation of the material, the highest and lowest weights recorded for each type have been listed together with the average weight and the number of coins from which this has been computed.

Collections

Many of the types are only represented in private collections, but where any are to be found in public collections, these are noted even if the type was previously unpublished.

THE ARTA HOARD

The Arta hoard, published by H. Mattingly in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1923, is the only known hoard containing scyphates of Michael VIII and although it contains only a few of this Emperor's types, it does indicate which were the earliest. Most of the coins were misattributed in the original report, but in view of their condition and the state of knowledge of late Byzantine coinage fifty years ago this may easily be excused. The hoard being found in Epirus, there was a tendency to attribute issues to the kings of Epirus. However, only by a study of many specimens it is usually possible to arrive at a correct identification.

The hoard consisted of the following types:—

Ruler	Hendy	Coins	Arta Class	Bendall Type
Thessalonica				
Theodore Comnenus Ducas	pl.38/6	1	X	—
Manuel Comnenus Ducas	pl.39/3	1	III	—
Manuel Comnenus Ducas	pl.39/11	1	IV	—
John Comnenus Ducas	pl. 40/2	1	II	—
John III Ducas Vatatzes	pl.42/3	1	XVII	—
John III Ducas Vatatzes	pl.42/5	6	XXI	—
John III Ducas Vatatzes	pl.42/9	10	IX	—
John III Ducas Vatatzes	pl.42/11	1	XI	—
John III Ducas Vatatzes	pl.43/3	4	V	—
Theodore II Ducas Lascaris	pl.43/10	8	XIV	—
Nicea				
Theodore II Ducas Lascaris	pl.35/8	1	XIX	—
Theodore II Ducas Lascaris	p.407	1	XII	—
Latin Empire				
Thessalonica type 'B'	pl.28/12	1	XX	—
Bulgaria				
Imitation of Isaac II	pl.24/10	1	XVI	—
Ivan II Asen	pl.46/10	2	XIII	—

Ruler	Hendy	Coins	Arta Class	Bendall Type
Restored Empire				
Michael VIII, Thessalonica	—	13	VI	T.2
Michael VIII, Thessalonica	—	3	VII	T.3
Michael VIII, Thessalonica	—	6	I	T.4
Michael VIII, Thessalonica	—	7	XXII	T.16
Michael VIII, Constantinople	—	3	XV	C.1

Uncertain

Manuel Comnenus Ducas (?) — 1 VIII —
 In style Thessalonican, with a reverse identical to Hendy pl.42/7
 John III Ducas Vatatzes (?) — 1 XVIII —
 In the original report the fact that this coin is a brockage was apparently overlooked. The incuse design is of course protected from wear and this enables a more accurate description of the reverse to be given that would be possible from examination of the relief striking alone.

The type appears to be as follows:—

Full length figure of emperor, wearing *stemma*, *divitision*, *loros* of simplified type and *sagion*; holds in right hand which is placed across chest, a *labarum* headed sceptre and a *globus cruciger* in left hand. In upper left field, four pellets, and in upper right field, *Manus Dei*.¹

The hoard was obviously deposited soon after Michael had recaptured Constantinople. Only one issue can with certainty be assigned to this mint, and presumably this is the first Constantinopolitan issue of any magnitude. Michael was crowned on Christmas day 1258 and recaptured Constantinople in mid-1261 and if one postulates an annual change of type each new year the issues would appear as below:—

	Magnesia	Constantinople	Thessalonica
	1259	x	⊗
	1260	x	⊗
January—June	1261	x	} ⊗
June—December	1261	x?	
	1262	⊗	⊗

⊗ refers to types postulated as present in the hoard.

Type C.1. (Arta class XV) is surely too common to represent the issue at Constantinople for July to December 1261, especially as the transference of the mint from Magnesia would probably not have been a task of immediate importance. If the transfer of the mint in fact took place nearer the end of the year it might account for the rare issue of type C.3. Michael was crowned again in Constantinople shortly after his entry into the capital on 15th August. Type C.3. is exactly the same as the commonest type of Michael's gold *hyperperon* which must have been introduced at this time. It might seem strange that the same design was used for both precious and base metal coinage, but the same phenomenon also occurs with the first issue of Andronikos II. Both these base metal issues are rare and as it is known that at this period small bags containing three gold, three silver and three bronze coins, were thrown to the crowds at coronations, we may here have the coins concerned.

Issues numbers: T.2, T.3, T.4, and T.16, are of the mint of Thessalonica and would represent the four issues of the years 1259—1262, although in which order they were struck is uncertain. Thus we have probably present in the hoard all Michael's issues struck up to and including 1262 on the European side of the Bosphorus, with perhaps the exception of a postulated short issue at Constantinople at the end of 1261.

¹ This identification is confirmed by the recent publication of a well struck specimen by Dr. P. Protonotarios, "More Rare or Unpublished Coins of the Empires of Nicaea and Thessalonica", No.8, Numismatic Circular, Volume LXXXII, No.2, February 1974, Spink & Sons Ltd.

THE JOINT REIGN OF MICHAEL VIII AND ANDRONIKOS II

Soon after the reconquest of Constantinople, and still in the year 1261, Michael proclaimed Andronikos co-Emperor and heir apparent, while in 1272 there was a further ceremony at which Andronikos was crowned co-Emperor with his father. It is unlikely that an Emperor would appear on the coinage until he had been crowned. Michael IX, despite his proclamation as co-Emperor in 1282, was not crowned until 1294 at which time he first appears on the coinage with his father. Thus it would be feasible to expect coinage in the names of Michael VIII and Andronikos II from 1272 to 1282, but does this coinage in fact exist?

With the exception of two issues discussed below it does not seem to, although the reasons for this are not clear. We know that at their coronation in 1272 Andronikos and his bride had conferred on them greater powers than any previous co-Emperor, but this fact alone shows that his powers were not equal to those of his father. Coinage may well have been one area of inequality, especially as Michael had not at the beginning of his reign included John IV Lascaris on the coinage as co-Emperor at a time when his doubtful claim to the throne might have made this act expedient. The position of co-Emperor certainly grew in importance during the Palaeologan period, but this was no doubt due to the weakness of Andronikos II and to the subsequent civil wars. Under a strong ruler like Michael there would have been little change that he did not himself sanction.

Turning to the coinage, there appear to be only two relevant issues – those published by H. Weller in N.C.1969, pp.243/5 as types X and XI. The reverses of these coins basically depict two Emperors, the one on the right having a forked beard and identified as Michael, while the left hand figure is of a young beardless Emperor identified as Andronikos. The latter, although in the senior position, on one issue grasps a patriarchal cross and on the other a sword in a lower position than Michael. It seems inescapable that we have to types depicting an elderly Michael and a young Andronikos which although having the positions reversed from those usually demanded by Byzantine protocol, still retains some indication that the elder figure is the senior. It is only fair to state that some authorities feel that by this time the protocol in these matters was not always strictly adhered to

and that over-strict attention should not always be paid to the *minutiae* of imperial representation. There exists, for example, an issue of billon *trachea* of Andronikos depicting the Emperor and a military saint with their usual positions reversed. It is certain also that these two types cannot be die engravers' errors. Not only are there two types involved, but the first exists in five specimens which are not die duplicates. Weller's type X is certainly an issue of Constantinople while type XI is Thessalonican. The flan and neatness of style and engraving is typical as is the form of panelled *loros* which is identical both to type T.13 as well as to several issues of the earlier Emperors of Thessalonica.

There is thus a minimum of about forty-five types in the sole name of Michael and only two, one from each mint, in the joint names of Michael and Andronikos. This implies that even during the joint reign from 1272 to 1282 coins with the single effigy of Michael were the rule and that the issues with the joint effigy were struck in a single year only. Such exceptional issues, with the two Emperors under the protection of Christ and the Archangel Michael, can only have been struck for a special occasion and one might be forgiven for assuming that this occasion was the coronation of Andronikos II on November 8th, 1272. It is possible that these issues were super-numerary and struck in the last two months of the year which might account for their comparative rarity. It is not known at what time of year the changes of types took place at this period, although it is likely to have occurred with some regularity. These two types perhaps should not be specifically called coronation issues although they are clearly of a celebratory nature.

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Illustrations:

As most Palaeologan scyphates are usually deficient in some part of the design due both to poor striking and preservation, illustrations of any particular coin, or even coins, would fail to reveal all pertinent details. Consequently it has been felt more useful to illustrate the types by line drawings, building up a composite picture from all the coins studied. Of course even with this method of illustration it has not always been possible to depict every detail where the type is only represented by a few poor specimens, but, all in all, the method employed here has been considered the most useful means of identification.

The greatest tribute must here be paid to P.J. Donald who has spent much time and trouble in the preparation of all the illustrations. What little use this article may have is due in no small part to his work.

The scale of all the illustrations is X2.

Catalogue

MAGNESIA

M.1 Obv. Ⓐ Φ in field; Λς in lower field to either side.

Τ Ρ
V N

Full length figure of St. Tryphon, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion; holds small cross in right hand against chest.

Rev. X ΜΡ ΘΥ in field.

Μ ΟΠ
Α Λ
Π Α
Η Ο Γ

Full length figure of emperor on left, crowned by the Virgin, nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type; holds in right hand sceptre cruciger, and in left, anexikakia. Virgin wears tunic and maphorion.

Ref. Hendy Pl. 36/3

Coll. D.O.; Paris

Wt. 2.05 to 2.35; av. (3) 2.21 gms.

Hendy attributes this issue to the mint of Magnesia before the reconquest of Constantinople because of the ligatured letters, the portrayal of St. Tryphon and its similarity of style to the trachea of Theodore II.



M.1.

M.2 Obv. ΙC ΧC in field.

Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion, seated upon throne without back; right hand raised in benediction and in left, Gospels.

Rev. X in left field.

Μ
Δ Ε
C
Π Ο
Τ Η
C

Full length figure of emperor, wearing stemma, divitision and panelled chlamys; holds in right hand, labarum headed sceptre, and in left, globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.

Ref. Hendy P. 36/4

Coll. D.O.; Barber


Wt. 3.04 to 4.25; av. (2) 3.64 gms.

Placed early in the reign at Magnesia by Hendy as the Dumbarton Oaks specimen has the ligatured Η in the reverse legend.



M.2.

CONSTANTINOPLE

C.1 Obv. $\overline{\text{IC}} \quad \overline{\text{XC}}$


Facing bust of Christ, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion, holding scroll in left hand.

Rev. $\overline{\text{X}} \quad \overline{\text{M}} \quad \overline{\text{XC}}$ and variations

$\overline{\text{M}} \quad \overline{\text{IC}} \quad \overline{\text{XC}}$
 $\overline{\text{X}} \quad \overline{\text{M}} \quad \overline{\text{XC}}$
 $\overline{\text{X}} \quad \overline{\text{M}} \quad \overline{\text{XC}}$

On left, emperor kneeling to front, wearing stemma, divitision, collar piece and jewelled loros of simplified type and holding right hand on chest, supported by Archangel Michael, winged and nimbate; Christ on right, seated on throne, wearing tunic and colobion and holding scroll in left hand, crowning emperor.

Ref. B.M.C. 7/8; Arta, Class XV

Coll. B.M.; Paris; Barber; D.O.; Berlin

Wt. 1.15 to 3.15 gms; av. (37) 2.15 gms.

This type may be assigned with certainty to the mint of Constantinople in the year immediately following its recapture in A.D. 1261 for not only is its reverse the same as that of the gold hyperpyra issued at the capital throughout most of the reign, but the type was also present in the Arta hoard, while the next type, also early, was absent. The letters $\text{K} \chi$ perhaps represent the initials of the mint name.



C.1.

C.2 Obv. $\overline{\text{HP}} \quad \overline{\text{OV}}$ in upper field.

The Virgin, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds nimbate head of Christ on breast.

Rev. As type C.1

Ref. Sardis 987; Weller VII; ZfN 1926, 42

Coll. Ashmolean; D.O.; Berlin

Wt. 1.61 to 4.07; av. (23) 2.70 gms.

An early and common issue of Constantinople, although not present in the Arta hoard.



C.2.

C.3 Obv. Circular wall with towers surrounding the bust of the Virgin orans.

Rev. As type C.1

(Not illustrated)

Ref. ZfN. 1926, 43

Coll. -----

Wt. 3.02 gms.

See note regarding this type in the Section on the Arta hoard in the introduction.

- C.4 Obv. IC XC in field.
Bust of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion; holding gospels in left hand.
(Some specimens have ∴ or [] B beneath legend.)
Rev. X to left.

\bar{X}
 \bar{M}
 $\bar{\Delta}$
 $\bar{\Theta}$
 $\bar{\Pi}$
 $\bar{\Gamma}$

Full length figure of emperor on left and of Archangel Michael, winged, beardless and nimbate, holding between them a labarum. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and jewelled loros of simplified type and holds sceptre in right hand. Archangel wears tunic, breastplate and sagion.

Ref. -----
Coll. D.O.; Sofia
Wt. 1.13 to 2.85; av. (3) 1.95 gms.



C.4.

- C.5 Obv. $\bar{H}\bar{\Pi}$ $\bar{\Theta}\bar{V}$ in field.
 \bar{B} \bar{B}

The Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon backless throne; holding nimbate head of Christ on breast.

Rev. legend obscure
Full length figure of emperor on left, crowned by Christ, nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type; holding in right hand, sceptre; in left, anexikakia (?); Christ wears tunic and colobion.

Ref. -----
Coll. -----
Wt. 1.95 to 2.46; av. (2) 2.21 gms.

Note: Three further specimens examined since the preparation of the illustration seem to show traces of legend:—

\bar{M}
 $\bar{\Delta}$
 $\bar{\Theta}$
 $\bar{\Gamma}$

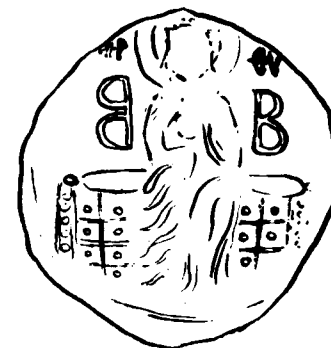
while on the obverse, instead of the letters $\bar{B}\bar{B}$ flanking the Virgin, on one there are the letters $\bar{H}\bar{\Pi}$

- C.6 Obv. $\bar{H}\bar{\Pi}$ $\bar{\Theta}\bar{V}$ in field.
The Virgin, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, seated upon throne with back; holds nimbate head of Christ on breast; on back of throne, \bar{B} \bar{B}
Rev. \bar{X} \bar{X} in field.
 \bar{M}

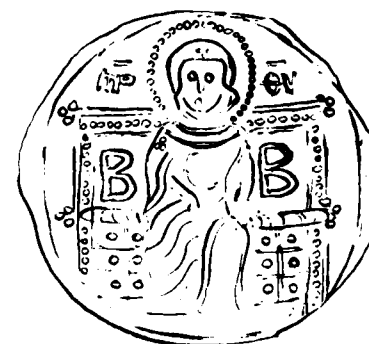
\bar{X}
 \bar{M}
 $\bar{\Delta}$
 $\bar{\Theta}$
 $\bar{\Gamma}$

Full length figure of emperor on left, and of Archangel Michael, winged, beardless and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type, with right hand on breast, and holding anexikakia in left hand. Archangel wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion, with right hand passing behind emperor's back.

Ref. B.M.C. 9; Troy 367
Coll. B.M.; Ashmolean (Goodacre Collection); A.N.S.; Barber; Berlin; Paris
Wt. 1.69 to 4.31; av. (20) 2.55 gms.
Specimens were found in the excavations at Pergamum (Berlin Museum); another was found in excavations at Troy.



C.5.



C.6.

C.7 Obv. $\overline{\text{HP}}$ $\overline{\text{OV}}$ in field.
The Virgin, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, standing orans three quarters left.

Rev. $\overline{\text{X}}$ O in field.

$\overline{\text{M}}$
 Δ
 $\overline{\text{C}}$
 $\overline{\text{PO}}$
 $\overline{\text{T}}$

Full length figure of emperor on left and of St. George, beardless and nimbate, holding between them a labarum. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type and holds sceptre in right hand. Saint wears tunic, breastplate and sagion.

Ref. -----

Coll. Barber; D.O.

Wt. 1.33 to 1.74; av. (3) 1.59 gms.



C.7.

C.8 Obv. O Δ H in field.

$\overline{\text{A}}$
 $\overline{\text{I}}$
 $\overline{\text{S}}$

$\overline{\text{H}}$
 $\overline{\text{P}}$
 $\overline{\text{S}}$

Full length figure of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing short military tunic, breastplate and sagion; holds in right hand spear, and in left, shield. (One specimen recorded with two large stars in lower reverse fields).

Rev. $\overline{\text{X}}$ H and variants in field.

$\overline{\text{M}}$
 Δ
 $\overline{\text{E}}$

$\overline{\text{O}}$
 $\overline{\text{E}}$
 $\overline{\text{L}}$
 $\overline{\text{O}}$
 $\overline{\text{S}}$
 $\overline{\text{L}}$
 $\overline{\text{O}}$
 $\overline{\text{E}}$
 $\overline{\text{O}}$
 $\overline{\text{S}}$

Full length figure of emperor on left and of the Virgin, nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision and loros of traditional type; holds in right hand, labarum on long shaft and in left, anexikakia. The Virgin, wearing tunic and maphorion, crowns emperor.

Ref. Vienna 293/4

Coll. Vienna; B.M (uncertain trays); Paris; Barber; D.O.; Berlin

Wt. 1.39 to 3.10; av. (15) 2.13 gms.

Another common type, probably of Constantinople. Specimens were found in the excavations at Pergamum and Priene.



C.8.

C.9 Obv. A H in field

$\overline{\text{I}}$
 Δ

$\overline{\text{P}}$

Bust of St. Demetrius, nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion; holds in right hand spear resting over left shoulder and in left, shield.

Rev. $\overline{\text{X}}$ O in field.

$\overline{\text{M}}$
 Δ

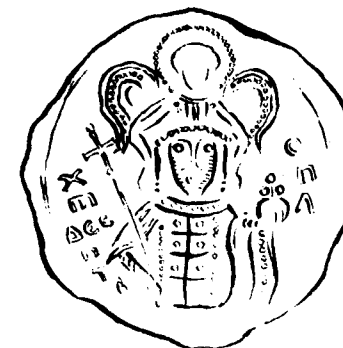
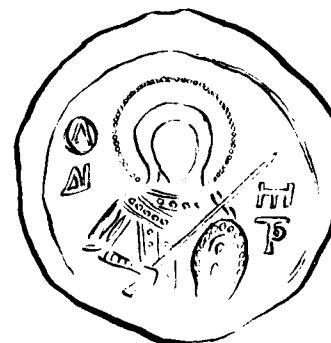
$\overline{\text{O}}$
 $\overline{\text{P}}$
 $\overline{\text{A}}$

Half length figure of emperor supported by Archangel Michael, nimbate, standing behind. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type; holds sceptre cruciger in right hand and globus cruciger in left.

Ref. ZfN. 1926,44

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 1.57 to 2.30; av (2) 1.93 gms.



C.9.

C.10 Obv. O Γ̄ in field.

Γ̄
O
C

Γ̄
P
Γ̄
I

Bust of St. George, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion; holds in right hand spear resting on shoulder, and in left, shield.

Rev. X O in field.

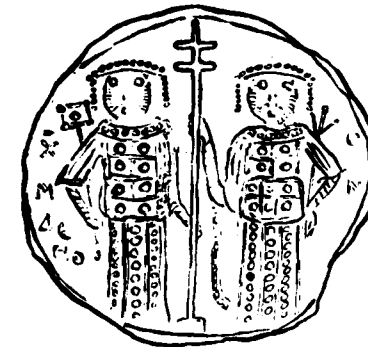
X
M
ΔC
ΠO

Full length figure of emperor on left, and of St. Constantine, bearded, holding between them patriarchal cross. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type and holds labarum headed sceptre in right hand. Saint wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and simple loros and holds trilobate sceptre in left hand.

Ref. -----

Coll. D.O.; Paris

Wt. 2.16 to 3.14; av. (5) 2.78 gms.



C.10.

C.11 Obv. X̄ in upper right field.

X̄
M

Half length figure of Archangel Michael, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, loros of simplified type and sagion, holding trilobate sceptre in right hand, resting on shoulder, and in left hand, globus.

Rev. X A in field.

O
C

Full length figure of emperor on left and of St. Demetrius (?), beardless and nimbate, holding between them a labarum headed sceptre on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type and holds cruciform sceptre in right hand. Saint wears tunic, breastplate and sagion.

Ref. Weller III

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 1.76 to 3.28; av. (11) 2.48 gms.

Although this issue is represented by several specimens, all are more than usually badly struck notably the legend and the consequent identity of the Saint on the reverse in uncertain.



C.11.

C.12 Obv. inscription illegible; type as No. C.11. but saint holds spear (?).

Rev. X̄ Ā in field.

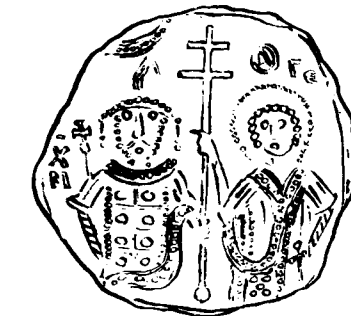
X̄
M
Γ̄

Half length figure of emperor on left and of St. George, beardless and nimbate, holding between them a patriarchal cross. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type and holds sceptre cruciger in right hand. Saint wears tunic, breastplate and sagion, left hand resting on sword in scabbard. *Manus Dei* descends from clouds above emperor's head.

Ref. -----

Coll. D.O.; Paris

Wt. 1.93 to 3.13; av. (4) 2.37 gms.



C.12.

C.13 Obv. Θ (and variants) in field.

ΑΓΙ ΕΘΔ
ΡΟC

Half length figure of St. Theodore, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion, holding in right hand, spear which rests on left shoulder, and in left hand, a shield.

Rev. $\bar{\chi}$ $\bar{\rho}$ in field.

Μ ΧC
ΟΠ
ΑΛ
ΕΟΛ
ΟΓ

Full length figure of emperor left and of Christ, bearded and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type; holds sceptre cruciger in right hand and anexikakia in left. Christ, wearing tunic and colobion, crowns emperor.

Ref. ZfN. 1926,52/3; Weller V.

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 1.46 to 3.78; av. (6) 2.59 gms.



C.13.

C.14 Obv. $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\chi}$ in field.

Bust of Christ, nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion and holding Gospels.

Rev. \bar{M} \bar{X} Π in field.

ΔΕC

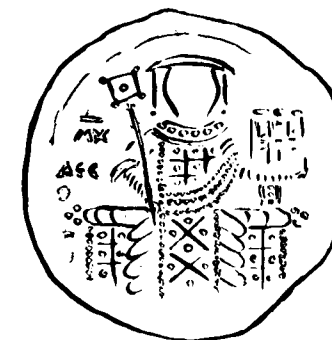
Full length figure of emperor, seated upon throne without back, wearing stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type; holds labarum headed sceptre in right hand and model of city in left.

Ref. -----

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 1.60 to 2.82; av. (4) 2.15 gms.

This coin illustrates two divergent statements made in the introduction — firstly that coins depicting the emperor holding a model city should be attributed to Thessalonica, and secondly, that the type with seated emperor is Constantinopolitan. Because of its style and its affinity to the other seated figure types, this should be an issue of the capital.



C.14.

C.15 Obv. $\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\nu}$ in field.

Β Β

Full length figure of the Virgin, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, orans, standing threequarters left.

Rev. $\bar{\chi}$ Ο in field.

Μ Ε Π
Π Ε
Γ Λ

Full length figure of emperor seated upon backless throne, wearing stemma, divitision, collar piece, loros of simplified type; holds labarum headed sceptre in right hand and globus with patriarchal cross in left.

Ref. ZfN. 1926,47; Weller VI

Coll. D.O.; Berlin

Wt. 1.31 to 3.01; av. (7) 2.17 gms.



C.15.

- C.16 Obv. $\overline{\text{MP}} \overline{\text{OV}}$ in field.
 Bust of the Virgin, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, orans.
 Rev. $\overline{\text{XM}} \text{ OPA}$ (and varieties) in field.

$\begin{array}{c} \Delta \\ \epsilon \\ \Pi \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \Lambda \\ \Gamma \\ \text{O} \end{array}$

Full length figure of emperor seated upon throne with back, wearing stemma, division and loros of traditional type and holding sword across knees.

Ref. ZfN. 1926, 45

Coll. B.M.; Barber; D.O.; Berlin; The Hague

Wt. 1.45 to 3.10; av. (16) 2.25 gms.



C.16.

- C.17 Obv Γ Γ in field.

$\begin{array}{c} \text{OA} \\ \Gamma\epsilon \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \Gamma \\ \text{O} \end{array}$

Half length figure of St. George, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion, and holding in right hand, spear resting upon left shoulder, and in left hand, shield.

Rev. $\overline{\text{X}} \text{ CO}$ (and variants) in field.

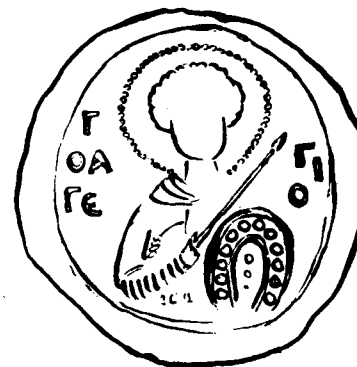
$\begin{array}{c} \text{MI} \\ \Delta\epsilon \\ \text{PO} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{PAL} \\ \epsilon\text{O}\Lambda \\ \text{O} \\ \Gamma\text{O} \\ \text{C} \end{array}$

Full length figure of emperor seated upon throne without back, wearing stemma, division, collar piece and loros of simplified type; holds labarum headed sceptre in right hand and anexikakia in left.

Ref. ———

Coll. D.O.; Paris

Wt. 1.71 to 2.41; av. (4) 1.93 gms.



C.17.

- C.18 Obv. No legend. Head of Seraphim, with four wings, with two hands holding spears.

Rev. OPA in right field; m (?) in right field on one specimen.

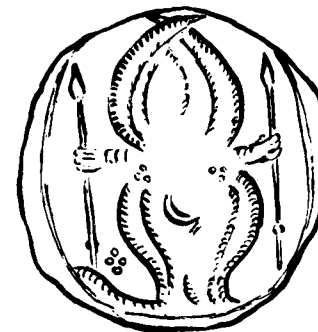
Full length figure of emperor seated upon throne with back, wearing stemma, division, collar piece and loros of simplified type; holds labarum headed sceptre in right hand and anexikakia in left.

Ref. ZfN. 1926, 51

Coll. D.O.; Barber; Ashmolean

Wt. 1.19 to 3.18; av. (9) 1.84 gms.

Not definitely an issue of Michael VIII, but probably so.



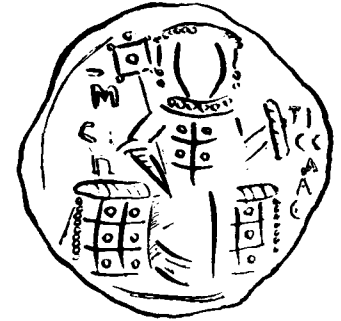
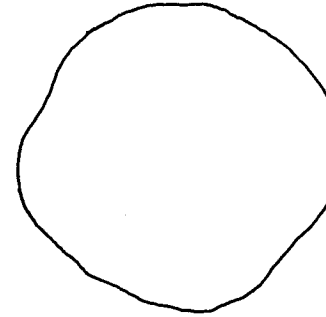
C.18.

C.19 Obv. illegible.
 Rev. X TI in field.
 Δ Π C
 C O Π
 A
 Λ

Full length figure of emperor, seated upon throne without back, wearing stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type; holds labarum headed sceptre in right hand and anexikakia in left.

Ref. St. Achilee, 79
 Coll. Athens
 Wt. 2.34 gms.

Although the only recorded specimen of this issue was found, badly preserved, in the excavations of St. Achilee, it is here attributed to Constantinople solely because of the reverse with seated emperor.



C.19.

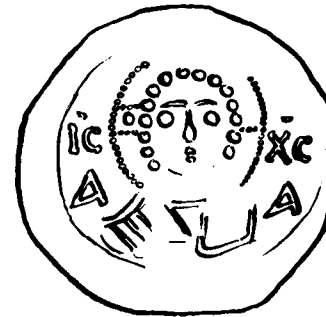
C.20 Obv. IC XC in field.
 Rev. X M
 O Π
 A Λ
 E O
 Λ O
 Γ

Bust of Christ, nimbate and beardless, with curly hair, wearing tunic and colobion; holds Gospels (?) in left hand.

Rev. X M in field.

Full length figure of emperor, wearing stemma, divitision, loros of simplified type and sagion; holds labarum headed sceptre in right hand and globus surmounted by patriarchal cross in left.

Ref. Weller IV
 Coll. D.O.
 Wt. 1.87 to 2.80; av. (3) 2.29 gms.



C.20.

C.21 Obv. As type C.2 but lower half of throne more elaborately panelled.
 Rev. X O (and variants) in field.
 M Π A
 Δ E C Λ E
 Π O O Λ O
 T C Γ

Full length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, loros of simplified type and sagion; sword in scabbard in both hands horizontally across waist.

Ref. B.M.C. 10
 Coll. B.M.; Ashmolean; Paris; D.O.; Berlin
 Wt. 1.37 to 2.99; av. (10) 2.23 gms.



C.21.

C.22 Obv. ΔΟ Γ in field.

Γ
Π Ε

Full length figure of St. George, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion and holding in right hand, spear, and in left, shield.

Rev. Ο in field.

Μ Π Α
Δ Ε Λ Ε
Π Ο
Τ Ι Κ Γ Λ

Full length figure of the emperor wearing stemma, divitision, panelled loros of simplified type and sagion; holds in right hand a labarum on long shaft, and in left, anxikakia.

Ref. -----

Coll. B.M.; D.O.

Wt. 1.24 to 2.89; av. (9) 2.16 gms.

C.23 Obv. Χ Χ or Χ Χ in field.

Μ Μ
Α Μ

Full length figure of Archangel Michael, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion; holds in right hand, sword resting over shoulder, and in left hand, shield.

Rev. Ο in field.

Μ Π Α
Δ Ε Λ Ε
Ο Π
Ο Τ Γ
Ι Σ

Full length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, panelled loros of simplified type and sagion and holding in right hand a labarum headed sceptre, and in left, anxikakia.

Ref. Weller VIII; B.M.C. 12; R. 2220

Coll. B.M.; Barber; D.O.; The Hague; Sofia; Paris

Wt. 1.37 to 3.66; av. (35) 2.22 gms.

C.24 Obv. Χ Λ

Π

Full length figure of Archangel Michael, beardless and nimbate wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion, holding in right hand, sword over shoulder, and in left, scabbard.

Rev. Ο in right field.

Μ Π Α
Δ Π Λ Ε
Γ Ο Λ

Full length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, simple loros and sagion; holds in right hand, trilobate sceptre with cross bar, and in left, globus cruciger.

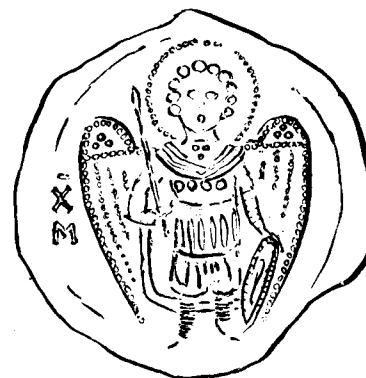
Ref. -----

Coll. Copenhagen

Wt. 2.20 to 2.74; av. (2) 2.47 gms.



C.22.



C.23.



C.24.

C.25 Obv. $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ NI in field.
 AG
 I KO
 AA

Bust of St. Nicholas, bearded and nimbate, wearing episcopal vestments (sticharion, felonion and omphorion) and holding Gospels.

Rev. X OP in field.

M
 ΔΕ Λ
 ΠΟ Γ
 ΤΙ

Full length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, loros of simplified type and sagion; holds in right hand, sceptre cruciger, and in left, anexikakia; above right, *Manus Dei* appearing from cloud.

Ref. R. 2221.; B.M.C. 11 = Sab.Pl. 59/14; Vienna 295

Coll. Ashmolean (Goodacre loan); B.M.; Vienna; Paris; D.O., The Hague
 Wt. 1.65 to 3.03; av. (8) 2.29 gms.



C.25.

C.26 Obv. Large cross, with smaller diagonal cross at centre; $\Lambda/\Delta\Phi/\Pi/\epsilon$ in four angles.

Rev. X Π in field.

ΔΕC Λ
 ΠOT
 H

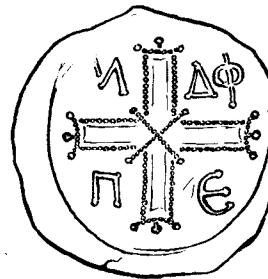
Full length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and panelled loros of simplified type; holds in right hand, labarum headed sceptre, and in left hand, globus cruciger.

Ref. -----

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 1.40 to 1.92; av. (3) 1.71 gms.

This and the following similar issue have basically the same design except for the variable letters on the obverse. Their meaning is uncertain, but from their prominence they should be more than mere sigla as on the gold coins of the succeeding reign. Neither this combination nor that on the following type are represented amongst the sigla of Michael's gold.



C.26.

C.27 Obv. As previous issue but letters $\Phi/\Lambda/\Lambda/\Phi$ in angles of cross.

Rev. X OP in field.

M
 ΔΕC Λ
 CΠO ε
 Hc

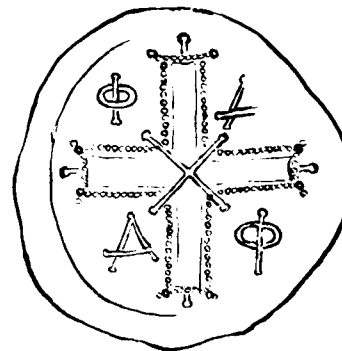
Full length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision and loros of simplified type; holds in right hand, labarum on long shaft, and in left, globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.

Ref. Vienna 296

Coll. Vienna

Wt. 1.80 gms.

As with the previous issue the meaning of the letters on the obverse are unknown. It is probable that types C.26 and C.27 are from the same mint and are possibly consecutive issues.



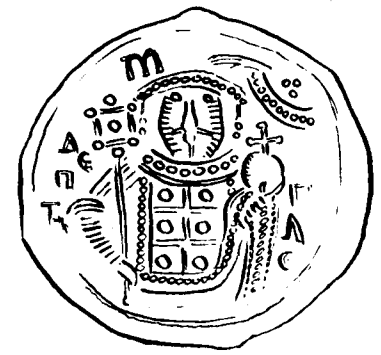
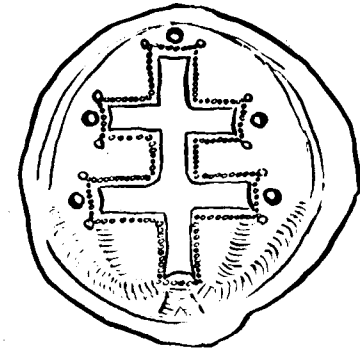
C.27.

C.28 Obv. No legend. Large patriarchal cross with ornate base.
 Rev. M in field.

ΔΕ Π Η
 Π Λ
 Ε

Half length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar piece and panelled loros of simplified type; holds in right hand, labarum headed sceptre and in left, globus cruciger; above right, *Manus Dei* appearing from cloud.

Ref. Sab. Pl. LIX/13
 Coll. Copenhagen; Paris; D.O.
 Wt. 1.98 to 2.70; av. (6) 2.29 gms.



C.28.

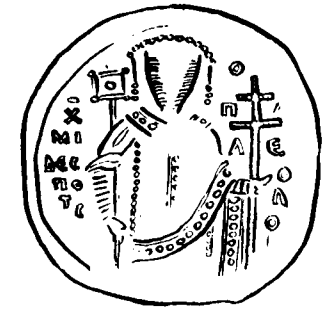
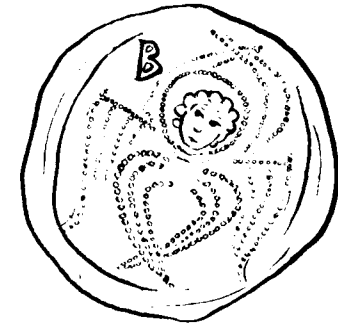
C.29 Obv. Β in field. Nimbate seraph with two upper wings and four lower.

Rev. Χ in field.

MI Ο Π Α
 Δ Ε C Λ Ε
 Π Ο Λ Ο
 T C Γ

Full length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision and loros of simplified type; holds in right hand, labarum on long shaft, and in left hand, globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.

Ref. Weller IX
 Coll. -----
 Wt. 1.41 to 2.26; av. (2) 1.83 gms.



C.29.

THESSALONICA

T.1 Obv. $\begin{matrix} \text{O} & \text{A} \\ \Delta & \text{PI} \end{matrix}$ M in field.

St. Demetrius, nimbate, seated facing upon throne without back, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion; holds sword across knees.

Rev. ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΙΣΟΠ around; IC XC in field.

Half length figure of emperor on left, and of Christ, bearded and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision and loros of simplified type and holds labarum headed sceptre in right hand and anexikakia in left; Christ wears tunic and colobion, crowns emperor and holds Gospels in left hand.

Ref. _____

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 1.39 to 2.67; av. (4) 2.19 gms.

Both by style and non-columnar form of legend this type should be assigned to Thessalonica.

T.2 Obv. as type T.1.

Rev. ΟΙΛΟΛΠ around left; ΠΙ or Ο above; \bar{X} in lower right field (and variants).

Full length figure of emperor on left crowned by nimbate Archangel Michael. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type; holds sceptre cruciger in right hand and anakakia in left. Archangel wears tunic, breastplate and sagion.

Ref. Arta class VI; St. Achillee 61. (Catalogued as Michael II of Epirus in both publications.)

Coll. B.M.; D.O.; Athens

Wt. 1.31 to 4.22; av. (30) 2.11 gms.

Although numerically this is one of the commoner issues, 43% come from the Arta hoard, and all, but one specimen noted are either in the British Museum or Dumbarton Oaks. From the hoard evidence this must be an early issue, by style from Thessalonica, perhaps even predating the recapture of Constantinople.

T.3 Obv. $\begin{matrix} \Gamma & \text{MH} \\ \text{OA} & \text{PI} \\ \Delta & \text{O} \\ & \text{C} \end{matrix}$ in field.

Bust of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion; holds in right hand, sword resting over right shoulder, and in left, a shield.

Rev.ΛΔΕC around left.

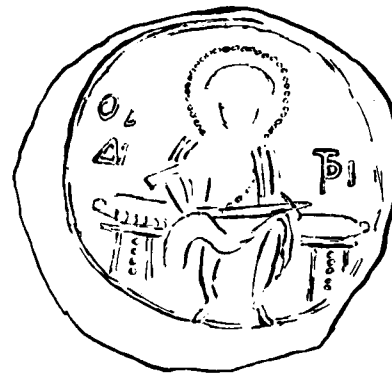
Full length figure of emperor on left, and of Archangel Michael, nimbate, holding sword between them. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type; and places right hand on breast. Archangel wears tunic, breastplate and sagion. *Manus Dei* in centre above.

Ref. Arta class VII

Coll. B.M.; D.O.; Paris; Sofia

Wt. 1.28 to 3.04; av. (7) 2.19 gms.

Style and find spots – Arta, Sofia and trade in Thessalonica – indicate and early issue from Thessalonica.



T.1.



T.2.



T.3.



T.4 Obv. \bar{X} M- in upper left field.

Full length figure of Archangel Michael, nimbate, with wings spread, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion, and holding spear in right hand, and in left, shield.

Rev. $\bar{X}M$ OAI (and varieties) in field.
 ΔEC ΔH
 M

Half length figure of emperor on left and of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them a large cross within circle on long shaft. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type and holds sceptre cruciger in right hand. Saint wears tunic, breastplate and sagion and holds spear in left hand.

Ref. Arta class I; Schlumberger pl. XIII/21

Coll. B.M.; D.O.; Copenhagen; Paris; Barber; The Hague

Wt. 1.42 to 3.31; av. (24) 2.26 gms.

Another early type present in the Arta hoard and assignable to Thessalonica.



T.4.

T.5 Obv. MX in upper right field.

Type — as No. C.11.

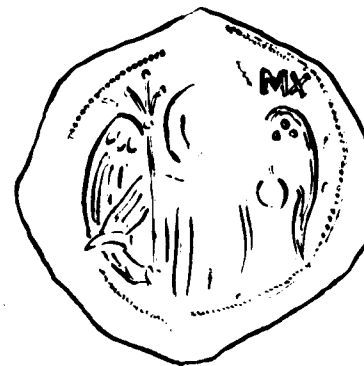
Rev. MIXA around.

Half length figure of the emperor left and of the Virgin, nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type and holds sceptre cruciger in right hand. The Virgin wears tunic and maphorion and crowns emperor.

Ref. ———

Coll. The Hague

Wt. 3.25 gms.



T.5.

T.6 Obv. Large patriarchal cross flanked by a star above and a lis below on each side.

Rev. MIXAHL ΔECΠ ΔHM around; sometimes with \bar{X} M to left.

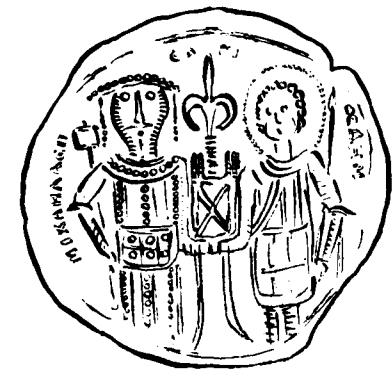
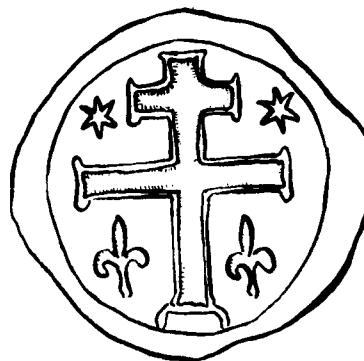
Full length figure of emperor on left and St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them a castle with two towers. Emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type and holding labarum headed sceptre in right hand. Saint wears tunic, breastplate and sagion and holds in left hand, spear resting on left shoulder; in centre field above castle, a lis.

Ref. R. 2219

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 0.81 to 3.11; av. (5) 2.01 gms.

By style almost certainly an issue of Thessalonica. Coins of Theodore and Manuel Comnenus-Ducas also depict the emperor holding the model of a castle or town between them.



T.6.

T.7 Obv. A large cross; stars in the four angles.

Rev. O in field.

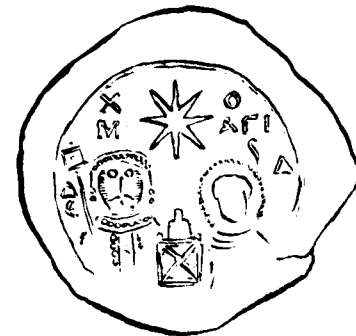
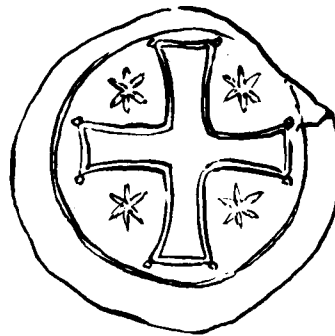
$\bar{\chi}$ M
 Δ E
 A Γ I
 Δ

Half length figure of the emperor left and St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, holding between them a castle. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type and holds labarum headed sceptre in right hand. Saint wears tunic, breastplate and sagion and in left hand holds spear resting on left shoulder; large eight pointed star in centre field above the two figures.

Ref. _____

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 1.57 to 1.86; av. (2) 1.71 gms.



T.7.

T.8 Obv. A winged patriarchal cross on three steps.

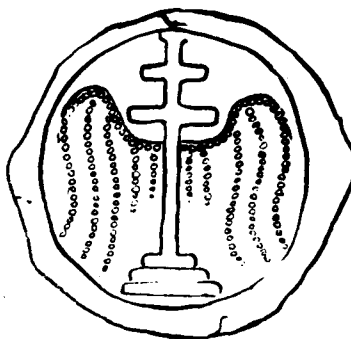
Rev.ΛΧΛΥΛΛΣΠΤ ΟΔΗΜ around.

Full length figure of emperor left and St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type and holds labarum headed sceptre on long shaft in right hand. Saint wears tunic, breastplate and sagion, places right hand on breast and holds spear in left hand.

Ref. L'imp. Alato 39

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 1.31 gms.



T.8.

T.8A Obv. As T.8.

Rev. M̄ in left field.

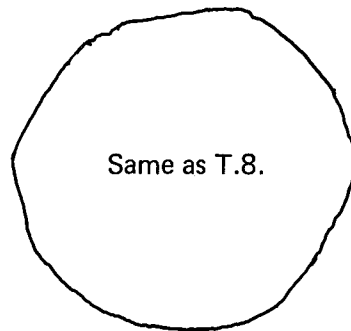
Δ
 ϵ

The as 8, but Emperor and Saint hold sword, point downwards, between them. Eight pointed star in centre field above sword pommel.

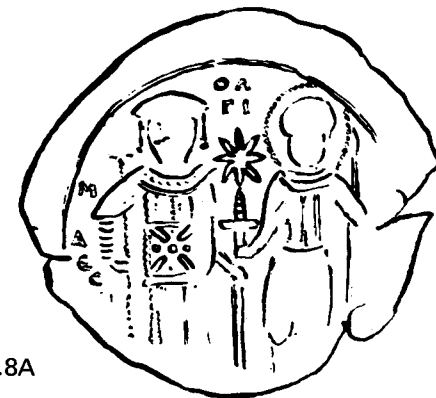
Ref. _____

Coll. Paris

It is possible that the emperor and saint on type 8 hold a sword between them and that what appears to be St. Demetrius' right arm placed on his breast is in fact a die flaw. If this is so then the star in the reverse field is the only difference between this and the previous issue.



Same as T.8.



T.8A

T.9 Obv. $\bar{\Gamma}\bar{C}$ $\bar{X}\bar{C}$ in field.

Christ, hearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion, seated upon backless throne, right hand raised in benediction.

Rev. $\bar{X}\bar{M}$ and $\bar{B}\bar{B}$ in field.

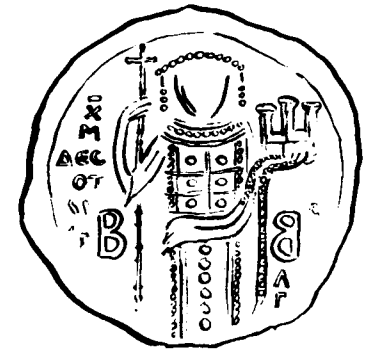
$\Delta\epsilon\sigma$
 Γ
 OT
 IC

Full length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type; holds long sceptre cruciger in right hand and model of city with three towers in left hand.

Ref. _____

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 1.66 to 2.18; av. (3) 1.96 gms.



T.9.

T.10 Obv. Γ H in field.

OA PI
 ΔH C
 M

Half length figure of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion; holds in right hand, cross before chest.

Rev. $\bar{X}\bar{M}\bar{V}\bar{X}\bar{A}\bar{H}$ - $\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\rho}$ around, with variable legend breaks.

Threequarter length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, panelled loros of simplified type and sagion; holds in right hand, labarum on long shaft, and in left, globus surmounted by patriarchal cross.

Ref. _____

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 1.50 to 2.85; av. (4) 2.28 gms.

An issue similar to No. T.15 both in style and in the form of circular reverse legend. Find spots of both types indicate an issue of Thessalonica.



T.10.

T.11 Obv. Γ $\bar{\Pi}$ (and variants) in field.

OA C
 ΔI
 M

St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion, seated upon backless throne and holding sword (?) across knees.

Rev. \bar{M} in left field.

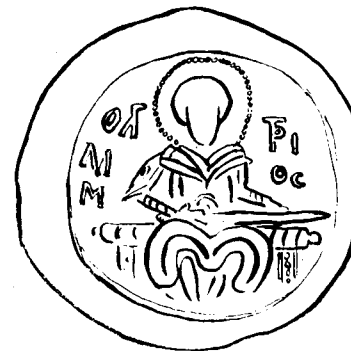
Full length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, panelled loros of simplified type and holding in right hand, large patriarchal cross, and in left, anxikakia.

Ref. N.C. 1923, P. IV/8

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 1.81 to 2.68; av. (3) 2.35 gms.

The Lord Grantley specimen, now in a private collection, was published in 1923 in the Numismatic Chronicle as probably being a coin of Michael II of Epirus with the possibility that it could be a coin of Michael VIII struck in Greece as Lord Grantley was well aware that the style was that of a Greek mint rather than that of Nicaea. The style is indeed Thessalonican and this mint also seems to have had the monopoly of types showing the emperor holding large crosses, lis, city models etc.



T.11

T.12 Obv. Γ Π or Γ ΔI in field.

OA	Π	or	Γ	ΔI	in field.
ΔI	IO		OA	MH	
M	C		*	ΠI	
				*	

Bust of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion and holding in right hand a small cross before chest.

Rev. X M lower left, or M X to left and right, or X M to right.

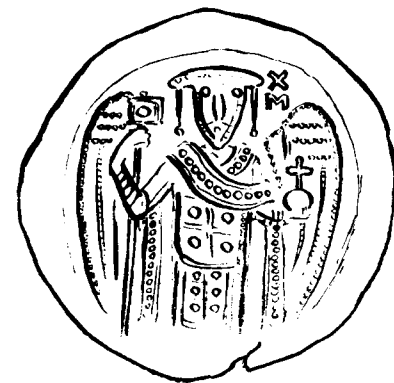
Full length figure of winged emperor wearing stemma, divitision, panelled loros of simplified type and sagion; holds in right hand, labarum on long shaft, and in left, globus cruciger.

Ref. L'imp. Alato 4-7

Coll. D.O.; Paris

Wt. 1.65 to 2.44; av. (5) 2.04 gms.

By style and imperial attributes this is an issue of Thessalonica.



T.12.

T.13 Obv. O ΔH in field.

A	ΔH	in field.
Γ	MH	
	ΠI	
	O	

Full length figure of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion; holds spear in right hand and shield in left.

Rev. X M Δ E C in left field.

X	M	Δ	E	C
---	---	---	---	---

Full length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar piece, panelled loros of simplified type and sagion; holds in right hand, sceptre cruciger with long shaft, and in left, a large fleur de lis.

Ref. -----

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 1.66 to 2.52; av. (3) 2.09 gms.



T.13.

T.14 Obv. O Δ ΔI in field, with or without star.

ΓI	ΔI	in field,
*	HH	with or without star.

Full length figure of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion; holds in right hand, spear, and in left, shield.

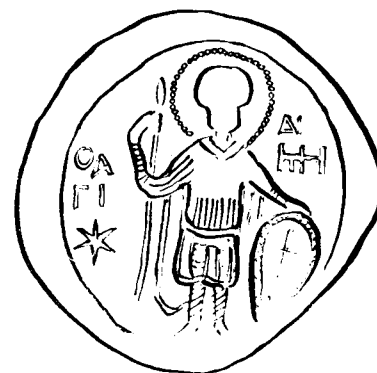
Rev. ΜΙΧΑΝΑ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΙΣΟΠΑ around.

Half length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar piece, panelled loros of simplified type and sagion; holds in right hand, a large fleur de lis, in left, a labarum on long shaft.

Ref. -----

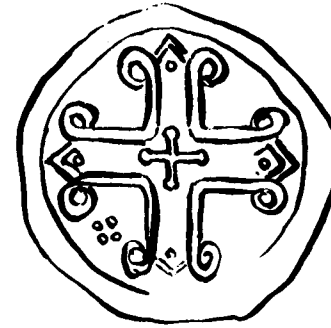
Coll. Copenhagen; D.O.

Wt. 1.29 to 2.03; av. (3) 1.73 gms.



T.14.

T.15 Obv. Elaborate cross with double outline, small cross in centre.
 Rev. ΜΥΧΗΛ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΙΚΟ around.
 Half length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, and panelled loros of simplified type; holds labarum headed sceptre in right hand and globus cruciger in left.
 Ref. Weller II; St. Achillee 80
 Coll. Athens; D.O.
 Wt. 0.77 to 2.19; av. (3) 1.42 gms.
 An issue of Thessalonica; not only were two specimens found in the excavations at Lake Prespa, but the obverse type had already been used under Theodore II Ducas-Lascaris.



T.15.

T.16 Obv. No legend. Large fleu de lis.

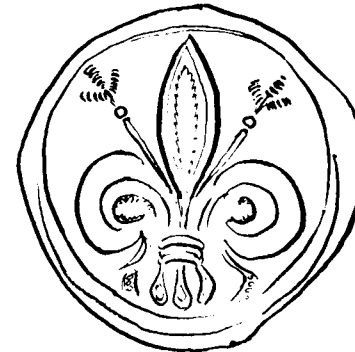
Rev. X in field.

ΔΜ
 Ε ΠΤ
 Ο ΠΑ
 ΛΕ
 Ο Λ
 ΓΟ C

Full length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, collar piece and panelled loros of simplified type; holds in right hand, large long cross, and in left, anexikakia; fleur de lis in left field.

Ref. Arta, Class XXII; St. Achillee 78
 Coll. D.O.; Athens; B.M.; Paris; Sofia
 Wt. 1.58 to 3.87; av. (17) 2.13 gms.

An early issue at Thessalonica; 7 specimens in the Arta Hoard.



T.16.

UNCERTAIN ISSUES

All the following issues are represented each by only one or two coins, in too poor a condition to allow accurate identification. All represent only a single emperor which means that if the coins are of the Palaeologan period, they must be assigned to either Michael VIII or Andronikos II. As museums were only asked for details of coins of Michael VIII, it may be that some of the following types exist, identified and perhaps even published.

CONSTANTINOPLE

UC.1 Obv. $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ in field.

Figure of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion, seated on backless throne, right hand raised in benediction; Gospels in left hand.

Rev. $\overline{\text{X}}$; $\overline{\text{K}}$ or $\overline{\text{N}}$ in left field; $\overline{\text{XC}}$ to right.

As type 1.

Ref. -----

Coll. Barber; A.N.S.

Wt. 2.49 to 2.58; av. (2) 2.53 gms.

The lettering on the better preserved coin is very badly formed, being little more than an assembly of meaningless strokes. The reverse type is typical of Michael VIII. A similar three figure type does exist for Andronikos II although on it Archangel Michael is replaced by the Virgin.

UC.2. Obv. No. legend. Small cherubs head surrounded by four crosses and four stars.

Rev. $\overline{\text{IC}}$ top centre; $\overline{\text{XC}}$ in left field.

As type C.1.

There is no legend visible in the left reverse field and, as with the previous issue, it is probably of Michael VIII.

UC.3 Obv. $\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{Δω}}$ in field.

$\overline{\text{Θ}}$ $\overline{\text{Pζ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ε}}$

Bust of St. Theodore, nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion; holds in right hand, sword resting over right shoulder, and in left, shield.

Rev. $\overline{\text{TOP}}$ in field.

$\overline{\text{XH}}$
 $\overline{\text{Ap}}$

Full length figure of emperor left, and of Archangel Michael, winged and nimbate, holding labarum on long shaft between them. Emperor wears stemma, divitision and loros of simplified type; holds sceptre cruciger in right hand. Archangel wears tunic, loros and sagion; holds trilobate sceptre in left hand.

Ref. -----

Coll. -----

Wt. 1.46 to 2.95; av. (6) 2.26 gms.

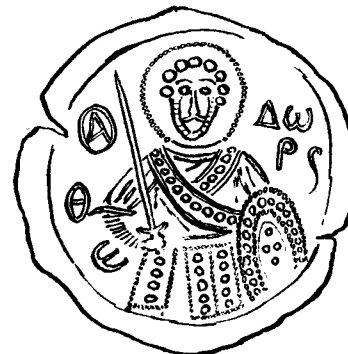
On none of the six specimens examined is there a vestige of the emperor's name, but the issue can perhaps be attributed to Michael with some confidence because of the presence of the emperor's name saint on the reverse. On two of the six coins the emperor's loros is of a diamond and not rectilinear pattern. The condition of all the coins is too poor to judge whether two issues are involved.



UC.1.



UC.2.



UC.3.



UC.4 Obv. $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ in upper field.

Full length figure of Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing tunic and colobion, standing on dais, right hand extended.

Rev. ΠO in right field.

Π
 ΛE
 $\text{O}\Lambda$
 ΓO

Full length figure of emperor seated upon throne with back, wearing stemma, divitision, collar piece and panelled loros of simplified type; holds labarum headed sceptre in right hand and globus in left.

Ref. -----

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 2.16 to 2.43; av. (3) 2.36 gms.

Although none of the specimens examined has a legible inscription in the left reverse field, it is probable that the issue should be assigned to Michael VIII.



UC.4.

UC.5 Obv. no legend; type as No. C.21

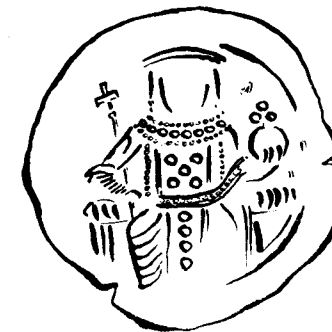
Rev. no legend visible.

Figure of emperor seated upon backless throne, wearing stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type; holds sceptre cruciger (?) in right hand, and globus cruciger in left.

Ref. -----

Coll. -----

Wt. 2.00 gms.



UC.5.

THESSALONICA

UT.1 Obv $\overline{\text{IP}}$ in left field.

Half length figure of the Virgin, nimbate and wearing tunic and maphorion, orans.

Rev..... $\Delta \Pi$ around.

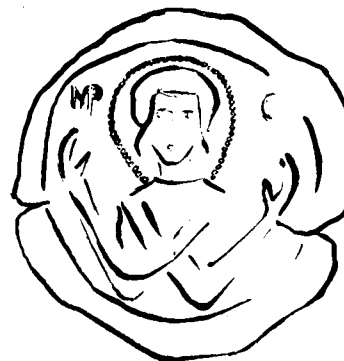
Half length figure of emperor on left, and uncertain saint. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type and holds sceptre in right hand. Saint, nimbate, wears tunic (?); uncertain object in cloud, above (?).

Ref. -----

Coll. -----

Wt. 1.27 gms. (damaged).

Whether a coin of Michael VIII or Andronikos II, certainly an issue of Thessalonica with circular inscription. The only noted specimen was acquired in Lamia and found near the site of ancient Melitea, Thessaly.



UT.1.

UT.2 Obv. No legend; large eight pointed star.

Rev..... $\Delta \epsilon$ around $\Theta \bar{\nu}$ in right field.

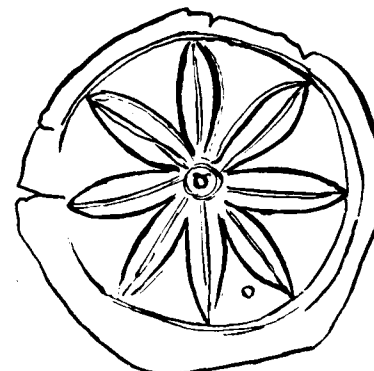
Bust of emperor on left, and the Virgin, holding large patriarchal cross between them. Emperor wears stemma, divitision, collar piece and loros of simplified type. The Virgin, nimbate, wears tunic and maphorion; two stars in field.

Ref. R.2100

Coll. -----

Wt. -----

Although ascribed by Ratto to John II Comnenus, presumably on account of the similarity of the reverse type with his gold trachea, the issue must be of either Michael VIII or Andronikos II; probably the latter.



UT.2.

UT.3 Obv. Γ $\overline{\text{PI}}$ in field.

$\begin{matrix} \text{OA} \\ \text{AH} \end{matrix}$

$\begin{matrix} \overline{\text{PI}} \\ \text{OC} \end{matrix}$

Full length figure of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion, holding spear in right hand and shield in left.

Rev. $\overline{\text{PA}}$ in right field.

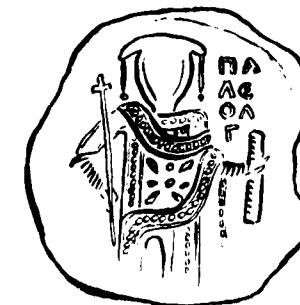
$\begin{matrix} \text{AE} \\ \text{OA} \\ \text{F} \end{matrix}$

Full length figure of emperor wearing stemma, divitision, panelled loros of simplified type and sagion; holds in right hand, sceptre and in left, anexikakia.

Ref. -----

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 1.00 to 1.41; av. (2) 1.20 gms.



UT.3.

UT.4 Obv. Γ | ϣ in field.

Δ
MH

Full length figure of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion, holding spear in right hand and shield in left; large cross in right field.

Rev. legend illegible.

Full length figure of emperor with single wing to right, wearing stemma, divitision, panelled loros of simplified type and sagion; holds in right hand, large patriarchal cross; star to left.

Ref. L'imp. Alato 2-3

Coll. D.O.

Wt. 2.53 to 2.67; av. (2) 2.60 gms.

From the same mint as the previous issue, probably Thessalonica. When Bertele published No. 2. he discerned the letters X/Δ below the emperor's arm in the right field and the issue could well be one of Michael VIII.



UT.4.

UT.5 Obv. Δ
M in right field.

Bust of St. Demetrius, beardless and nimbate, wearing tunic, breastplate and sagion, holding spear in right hand and shield in left.

Rev. no legend.

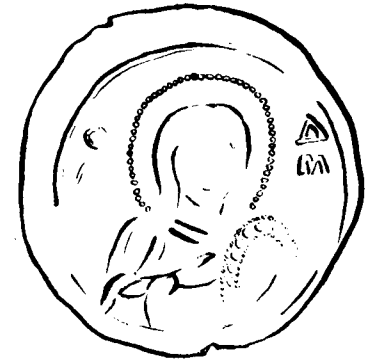
Full length figure of emperor, wearing stemma, divitision, collar piece, panelled loros and sagion; holds in either hand, a large patriarchal cross; stars to right and left.

Ref. St. Achilee 81

Coll. Athens.

Wt. 1.81 gms.

Mint of Thessalonica; specimen found in excavation in north central Greece.



UT.5.

NOTES