

# THE ATHENIAN AGORA

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS

CONDUCTED BY

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME IX

## THE ISLAMIC COINS

BY

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THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

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## PREFACE

The present catalogue is in a sense the continuation of the catalogue of coins found in the Athenian Agora published by Miss Margaret Thompson in 1954, *The Athenian Agora: Results of the Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Volume II, *Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period*. Miss Thompson's volume dealt with the Roman, Byzantine, Frankish, Mediaeval European and Venetian coins. It was in the spring of 1954 that on Professor Homer A. Thompson's invitation I stopped briefly at the Agora on my way home from a year in Egypt and made a quick survey of the Islamic coins found in the excavations. During the two weeks spent in Athens on that occasion I looked rapidly through the coins and reported that despite their somewhat unalluring appearance and their relative insignificance with respect to the history of the Agora as a whole, they constituted a body of material, almost all of it Turkish, which could not very well be ignored and which was probably not without some purely numismatic interest, however obscure. In the next few years some effort was made, but without success, to find a competent student to prepare a catalogue of these coins. In the end I volunteered to undertake the work myself; and during the autumn of 1958 and the latter half of 1960 I was able to spend several months at the Agora examining and classifying the coins. The introductory matter and the catalogue were finally completed in Princeton and New York in 1961.

I would like to express here my thanks to the many friends who have helped me in the course of my work on these coins, and my appreciation of the facilities afforded by several institutions. Among those to whom I am especially indebted at the Agora and the American School of Classical Studies are Homer A. Thompson, John L. Caskey, Lucy Talcott, Alison Frantz and Poly Pamel Demoulini. I would gladly recount in detail the nature and extent of their assistance, but they have done me the honor of considering me a member of the Agora family and I must be content only with the mention of their names. To my wife, to my daughter, Marian Miles McCredie, and to Miss Anne Barr Bradley go my very warm thanks for their work in Athens on the uninspiring concordances, and to Mrs. Barbara W. Wikoff for the continuation of this work at Princeton. Without the cooperation and assistance of several institutions I could not have undertaken this catalogue: the American Numismatic Society, whose officers facilitated my trips to Greece in 1958 and 1960 by giving me leave of absence from my duties there; the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, where I was made to feel at home as a Member not only in 1958 and 1960 but also in 1956, when I was in Greece for other purposes; the American Philosophical Society, whose grant made possible my trip to Greece in 1958; the American Council of Learned Societies and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, whose grants in 1960 supported me both in my work at the Agora and in other research in Greece; and finally the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, where a membership in the spring of 1961 gave me the opportunity to complete most of the final draft of this catalogue.

All this generous assistance may seem to have deserved a better and a more useful product, but as Kenneth M. Setton has so properly said at the opening of his *Catalan Domination of Athens*, "no chapter in the history of Athens is without importance," and even these unartistic Turkish coins, crude and clumsy as they are and unsatisfactorily published as they may be, must be viewed in the light of this dictum. The work, I may add, has been a labor of love in more senses than one; it has been difficult and in some ways scientifically unrewarding, but on the other hand the personal compensations—the privilege of working with the Agora staff and the vistas that have been opened to me as a consequence of my visits to Greece—have been wholly beyond price.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Anhegger = Robert Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im Osmanischen Reich, I, Europäische Türkei*, I (*Istanbuler Schriften*, No. 2), Istanbul, 1943.

BM = Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, Vols. VIII and X, London, 1883 and 1890.

Babinger, *Mehmed* = Franz Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich, 1953.

Beldiceanu = N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, I, Paris, 1960.

Edhem = Khalil Edhem, *Meskükât-i ‘Osmânîye* (Part VI of *Müze-yi Humâyûn: Meskükât-i Qadîme-yi Islâmîye Qatâloghı*), Constantinople, 1334.

Ghalib = Ismâ‘îl Ghâlib, *Taqvîm-i Meskükât-i ‘Osmânîye*, Constantinople, 1307.

Zambaur, *Prägungen* = E. von Zambaur, “Prägungen der Osmanen in Bosnien,” *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, XLI, 1908, pp. 143–156.

# INTRODUCTION

## GENERAL SURVEY

It will be observed that all but nine of the 6449 coins<sup>1</sup> included in this catalogue are Ottoman Turkish. Of these nine, six are unidentifiable Islamic coins of the 14th–15th centuries. The other three (1–3 in the catalogue) are coppers (*fulūs*) of the Arab Amirs of Crete who ruled over that island from A.D. 827 to 961 (212 to 350 H.).<sup>2</sup> Thus the vast majority of Islamic coins found in the Agora are dated after the Ottoman conquest. The accompanying table shows in general terms the chronological distribution of the coins:

DATE GROUPS	CATALOGUE NUMBERS	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS	
<i>Pre-Ottoman</i>	1–7	9	9
<i>15th–16th centuries</i>			2474
15th-early 16th c.?	8	249	
1413–1421	8A	1	
1481–1512	9–23	183	
1512–1520	24–41	356	
1520–1566	42–85	177	
1566–1574	86–101	85	
1574–1595	101A–120	82	
ca. 1545–1595	121–129	27	
16th c.?	130–135	181	
15th-16th c.	136–137	1133	
		<hr/> 2474	
<i>17th century</i>			127
1595–1603	138–144	17	
1603–1617	145–154	25	
1618–1622	155–158	8	
1622–1623	159	1	
1623–1640	160–166	45	
ca. 1603–1640	167–168	24	
1640–1648	169	2	
1648–1691	170–172	5	
		<hr/> 127	
<i>Single issue of 1688</i>	173	485	485
<i>18th century to 1789</i>			734
1695–1704	174–176	5	
1704–1730	177–199	77	

<sup>1</sup> There is a discrepancy between this figure and the total given in the summaries in Miss Thompson's catalogue (pp. 82 and 86). This discrepancy is probably to be explained either as a simple miscount or as the result of the preliminary attribution of certain unidentifiable coins to the "Turkish" category.

A few coins found in 1959 are not included in the catalogue but their attributions will be found on p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Some observations with regard to the significance of these coins are made in the catalogue, p. 21, below.

DATE GROUPS	CATALOGUE NUMBERS	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS	
1730–1754	200–224	111	
1754–1757	225–233	11	
1757–1774	234–245	134	
1774–1789	246–257	185	
Hoard, 1730–1789	258–259	211	
		<hr/> 734	
<i>Ca. 17th–18th centuries</i>	260–264	42	42
<i>19th century</i>			1190
1789–1807	265–269	189	
<i>ca.</i> 1757–1807	270	3	
1808–1839	271–285	343	
<i>ca.</i> 1757–1839	286, 288–290	393	
Hoard, 1774–1828	287	68	
1839–1861	291–300	82	
1861–1876	301–312	56	
Before 1876	313	12	
1876–1909	314–320	44	
		<hr/> 1190	
<i>20th century</i>			297
1909–1918	321–327	18	
Hoard, 1808–1916	328	278	
1918–1922	329	1	
		<hr/> 297	
<i>19th–20th century tokens</i>	330–335	855	855
<i>Unidentifiable</i>	336	236	236
			<hr/> TOTAL 6449

Some comments on these groups, and particularly on the overlapping of dates in the earlier period, are in order. Of the 5349 identifiable (or roughly identifiable) Ottoman coins (excluding the jewelers' pieces or tokens and the unidentifiable coins), 2474, or 46%, are of the 15th and 16th centuries. The percentage of representation of these early years of Turkish occupation is of course even higher if the Turkish coins dating after the War of Independence are left out of consideration as being of little or no relevance in the archaeological history of Athens.<sup>3</sup> In order to make clear the problem of handling this early material and to explain why its attribution is not, to my mind, perhaps entirely satisfactory, it is necessary to go into some detail.

The vast majority of these 15th to 16th century coins are coppers (*māngır* in Turkish) of the crudest fabric, strips—or “ribbons”—of metal of irregular shape and thickness, seldom completely round, more frequently oval, oblong, square or otherwise angular. The classification of these coins has been a task of very considerable difficulty, in fact the most intractable task of numismatic classification I have ever undertaken. Not only are most of these coins obscure by reason of their primitive fabric, but the dies with which a large proportion were struck are so numerous and so unsystematic that it has been almost impossible to establish any satisfactory criteria for orderly classification. Some, to be sure, have recognizable Turkish legends, and others appear to imitate such legends, but the majority are completely illiterate and present

<sup>3</sup> The date 1839 (rather than the more logical 1828 or 1833) is dictated by the terminal date of Maḥmūd II's rule; his reign overlaps the revolution and many of his coins cannot be assigned accurately to pre- or post-revolutionary dates when the regnal years are effaced.

nothing but a scramble of disorganized dots, lines, swirls and curlicues which appear to be neither imitations of inscriptions nor even degenerations of balanced or systematic abstract figures or arabesques. Attempts at classification resulted at first in several scores of "types," but as the examination proceeded and specimens did not fit into these categories, more and more "types" were recognized until they grew in number to literally several hundred and hence they became quite unmanageable. Anyone who has worked with a large body of obscure excavation material, such as coins of this sort, will be aware of another consideration that compounds the inherent difficulty of classification, that is, the necessity of preserving the provenance data of each specimen, which results in the virtual physical impossibility of spreading out all the material before one's eyes and freely moving pieces from one group to another as similarities or differences in fabric or design become apparent. Coins are too small to permit individual full provenance labeling in ink on the objects themselves, and they must therefore be kept in their envelopes or, where a number of coins from one find-spot are together in one envelope, they must be placed in separate envelopes keyed to the original one on which full excavation data are recorded. Where coins are of recognizable types these problems of organization and handling can be managed, but with unconforming material of the sort under consideration here they become very nearly unsurmountable. Mention should be made of one additional handicap in attributing these coins: there has, so far as I know, been no previous publication of Turkish coins from excavations in Greece or indeed of any Turkish coins collected in Greece, and consequently comparative material is totally lacking.

Eventually after the work of particularization had been exhausted the process of generalization and consolidation was begun, resulting finally in the arrangement presented in the catalogue. I am by no means satisfied with the assignment of coins to the large inclusive groups or with their dating (especially catalogue numbers 8, 133–134, 136–137), but in the circumstances I feel that any further breakdown in classification or any more specific dating is unjustifiable.

The earliest positively datable Ottoman coin from the Agora is a silver *aqche* of Mehmed I, 1413–1421 (no. 8A).<sup>3a</sup> This single specimen predates by approximately 60 years the next earliest definitely attributable coins, those of Bāyazid II, 1481–1512 (nos. 9–20). Probably also his are nos. 21–23 (164 coins), but the attribution of these is not certain. One question in this connection immediately comes to mind: what minor currency was in circulation in Athens between 1456, when 'Ömer Beg took the city,<sup>4</sup> and the accession of Bāyazid in 1481? In fact, one may ask what the common coin of Athens was between the first temporary Turkish occupation by Timūrtāsh in (probably) 1397,<sup>5</sup> and the permanent conquest, or for that matter during the entire period of the Florentine Acciajuoli domination of the city from 1387 until 1456. It may be useful here to review briefly the numismatic evidence at the Agora from the end of Byzantine rule down to the time of Bāyazid II. For the period 1225–1333 there is a fairly abundant representation of the coinages of the Princes of Achaea and the Dukes of Athens (864 coins).<sup>6</sup> Venetian coinage appears to have satisfied the needs of the city during the period of Catalan domination, that is, during most of the 14th century (360 coins). Thereafter, Venetian coinage is reduced to a trickle (42 coins from 1400 to 1423, and 22 coins from 1486

<sup>3a</sup> This coin had formerly been catalogued as a lead token (IL 353) and did not come to my attention until the spring of 1962, when the manuscript of this catalogue had already gone to the printer; hence the sub-number. The coin was found on March 24, 1936, in "Byzantine or later fill" in section P in the north central part of the Agora.

<sup>4</sup> Babinger, *Mehmed*, p. 170; 'Ι. Τραυλός, *Πολιοδομική 'Εξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens, 1960, p. 173. The acropolis surrendered in June 1458 and Muhammad the Conqueror made his triumphal entry into the city in the last week of August of that year. In F. Babinger's article *Atina* in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Leiden and London, 1958, p. 739, the year has been inadvertently omitted.

<sup>5</sup> J. H. Mordtmann, "Die erste Eroberung von Athen durch die Türken," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, IV, 1923, pp. 346–350.

<sup>6</sup> I have for the present purposes regrouped the figures in Miss Thompson's catalogue, pp. 76–81.

to 1501); and for the period from 1423 until Bāyazīd II in 1481 there are no coins whatever. Then, counting the "probable" coins of Bāyazīd together with those certainly his, the flow of coinage increases to 183 specimens for the years 1481 to 1512, and still further to 356 for the rule of Selīm I, 1512 to 1520.

Bearing in mind the complete gap of the period of the Acciajuoli and of Muhammad the Conqueror (1451–1481), I have been tempted to consider the possibility that some of the very crude coppers might be assigned to these years. Among the crudest is a class with altogether unsystematic markings, very few of which bear any resemblance to Arabic (Turkish) characters. The fabric of most of these is exceptionally thin and the shape sharply angular; the strips of metal are sometimes irregularly folded over before striking. A few do reveal traces of what might be considered imitations of Turkish inscriptions (e.g., Pl. I, nos. 20–26). To accommodate the notion that this group might be separated from the bulk of unidentifiable early coppers and assigned to a date earlier than Bāyazīd II, I have assembled them under catalogue no. 8 (249 specimens) and have, with very considerable reserve, designated them "local coinage of the second half of the 15th century." It may, however, well be that the class is not to be distinguished from the much larger group (nos. 130–137), which I have not attempted to attribute more exactly than to the 15th–16th centuries; on the other hand, it is quite possible that if any of the coins are in fact to be assigned to the years before Bāyazīd II, many of those catalogued under nos. 136 and 137 should be included under no. 8, especially those of no. 137 which are characterized by their thin fabric.<sup>7</sup> After the catalogue was completed I found in preparing the concordances of inventory numbers and provenances (see below, p. 19) that the coins of classes 8 and 136–137 are very frequently closely associated in the excavations; but the significance of this incidence is diminished by the fact of the lack of homogeneity, by and large, of the coin finds throughout the excavations (see below, p. 17).

There follow then the coins of Selīm I, 1512–1520, and coins probably to be ascribed to this period, 356 specimens in all (nos. 24–41). These include a very considerable number which may perhaps be local imitations<sup>8</sup> of Constantinopolitan types (some of no. 28 and all of no. 30); see the notes following these two catalogue numbers. The attribution of nos. 37–41 to Selīm I is not certain, but probable. In any case the large number of dated coins (nos. 28 and 33–36) confirms that we are at this point on firm chronological ground.

The number of coins definitely attributable to the long reign of Süleymān I the Magnificent (nos. 42–85) seems, in contrast, curiously small, only 177 specimens. But I have no doubt that this number is to be greatly increased by coins which may well be his but which cannot positively be assigned to him, that is, many of the coins in various inclusive groups between catalogue numbers 121 and 137. These include a number of specimens of the enigmatic mint, Tripolitza (?), discussed on pp. 10–14, below, assigned to Süleymān I, Selīm II or Murād III, and certainly many of the approximately 1300 coins grouped under nos. 133 to 137. The possibility that many of the coins catalogued under nos. 136–137 (1133 specimens) and assigned to the broad group "15th–16th centuries" should be associated with the more restrictive class 8, or alternatively that the latter should be pooled with nos. 136–137, has been discussed above. See also the additional note following no. 137. It may be observed here that many of the types of arabesques and ornaments on these early *māngırs* are common to the coins of all the rulers of the 16th century.

It will be noted that the preponderance of the 15th–16th century coins from the Agora are of copper. Of the small silver *aqches* there are only one of Mehmed I, 15 of Bāyazīd II, four

<sup>7</sup> See also the note following no. 187 in the catalogue.

<sup>8</sup> The word "imitation" here and elsewhere in this introduction and in the catalogue does not mean "counterfeit" or "forgery" but rather "local or provincial copy."

of Selīm I, 42 of Süleymān I, three of Selīm I or Süleymān I, four of Selīm II, 32 of Murād III, and 28 unassigned but probably of the 16th century. Most of these *aqches* are from Balkan mints; see the discussion of the mints on pp. 7–16, below.

In the 17th century the volume of coins unearthed in the Agora decreases in a very marked degree. Not counting the single issue of 1688 (1099 H.), about which more below, only 127 coins can be assigned to the hundred years between 1595 and 1695. Copper virtually disappears entirely: only two specimens of Mehmed III, and a handful of Egyptian dumps of the period ca. 1603–1640. This phenomenon is not restricted to Athens; Ismā‘īl Ghālib Bey describes only four coppers (two of which are African) of this period in his catalogue,<sup>9</sup> and in the British Museum catalogue of Ottoman coins all but a couple of the few copper coins described are of Tripoli and Tunis. The decrease in the volume of Ottoman coinage of all metals is reflected in these catalogues, and one would therefore not be justified in drawing any particular conclusions with regard to the relative prosperity of Athens in the 16th and 17th centuries on the basis of the scant representation at the Agora in the latter century.

As for the new-style emergency copper issue of Süleymān II dated in the year of his accession (1099) and struck in Constantinople in August 1688, of which 485 specimens are recorded (130 of them in two hoards and the rest scattered throughout the excavated area), it should be remarked that this particular coin is known to have been issued in very great quantities and to have flooded the empire. The quantity in circulation in Athens was perhaps not relatively any greater than in other parts of the Ottoman realm, but there may well be some connection between this quantity and the reoccupation of Athens by Turkish troops in 1688 and 1689 after the withdrawal of the Venetians. We are told, incidentally, that the issue was intended chiefly for the payment of the army. The fact that many of these coins are pierced probably indicates that after it became obsolete the coin was popular as a necklace piece. Further observations regarding these coins and the circumstances of their striking will be found following no. 173 in the catalogue.

With the 18th century the volume increases again: over 700 coins down to 1789. The metal is almost exclusively silver, at first from the Constantinople mint, and then, during the reign of Ahmed III (1704–1730) and thereafter, from both the capital and Egypt. Two hoards of this period are discussed under catalogue numbers 258 and 259. It is during the second half of the 18th century that the small wafer-like (“paper-thin”) *paras* and *aqches* begin to appear, and these continue throughout the reigns of ‘Abd ül-Ḥamīd I and Selīm II and well into the first half of the 19th century under Maḥmūd II. The long rule of the latter sultan, from 1808 to 1839, overlaps the period of the revolution,<sup>10</sup> and despite the fact that the new Greek coinage was struck and put into circulation in 1829<sup>11</sup> and that in 1833 a stringent law was enacted prohibiting all use of Turkish coins, the latter appear to have continued to circulate freely.<sup>12</sup> In fact, of the Agora excavation coins of Maḥmūd II that can be precisely dated by year, more were struck after 1829 than before that date (nearly 200 as against approximately 125). Coins of Maḥmūd II were present also in 3 hoards (nos. 286, 287 and 328) with terminal dates of

<sup>9</sup> He remarks (pp. 168, 179) on their complete absence during the reigns of Mehmed III and Ahmed I.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 2 and note 3, above.

<sup>11</sup> On July 28, 1829, the first coins (phoenix, 10 and 5 lepta, and lepton), struck at Aegina on a press formerly used by the Knights of Malta, were sent to the National Assembly at Argos. See F. P. Brewer, “The Coins and Currency of Modern Greece,” *American Journal of Numismatics*, XI, 1877, p. 57; cf. John Tasoulis in *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 1908, pp. 346–348.

<sup>12</sup> Brewer, *loc. cit.*, and cf. the anecdote recounted by William Miller in “The Early Years of Modern Athens,” a lecture delivered before the Anglo-Hellenic League at Athens, March 27, 1925, p. 8: “The old system of local government by the ‘elders’ (ἐργοῦργοι), which had existed during the Turkish period, was still maintained. Their number had been raised from 4, elected in 1831, to 13, to satisfy all parties, and they were popularly known as ἡ ἀνεβασμένη μονεῖα (‘the risen exchange’) in allusion to the 13 Turkish *paras* which the Greek 10 *leptá* piece fetched at Athens; but it was subsequently reduced to 3.”

*ca.* 1828, *ca.* 1839, and 1916. During the course of the 19th century there is a gradual falling-off in the number of Turkish coins, and in the 20th only a handful (aside from the large hoard of 278 specimens, no. 328, possibly the property of a refugee from the First World War or the Smyrna disaster). The number of pierced coins of the late 18th and of the 19th centuries suggests that many of these coins were not actually in circulation but were more commonly worn as ornaments. In fact one still sees today in jewelers' shops throughout Greece necklaces made up entirely of late Turkish silver *aqches* or *paras*.

The absence of gold among the excavation coins is remarkable; only three Turkish gold coins were found, one of Murād III (101A) and two of Maḥmūd II (271 and 272), and it will be recalled that only one gold coin (Venetian) appears in Miss Thompson's catalogue.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *The Athenian Agora*, II, no. 2017 (cf. p. 5).



## THE MINTS

The question of the sources of the Turkish currency found in the Agora is of some interest. Twenty-five mint names are represented: 15 in Europe, seven in Asia and three in Africa. The accompanying table, arranged in descending order of frequency, shows the distribution of coins which can be positively attributed to specific mints. It does not include the many hundreds on which the mint name is effaced but which were certainly struck at Constantinople or at Mişr (Egypt); and in some cases the figure is only approximate for reasons explained in the notes on the individual mints which follow.

Constantinople (and Islāmbül)	1900
Mişr (Cairo)	831
Tripolis, Morea (?)	120
Edirne (Adrianople)	26
Novāberda and Novār (Novobrdó)	16
Serez (Serrai)	10
Qaraṭova (Kratovo)	9
Tripoli, Africa	8
Bursa (Brusa)	6
Tūnis	6
Serbernije (Srebenica)	5
Sidre Qapısı (Sidherokapsa)	4
Belgrād	4
Amāsya (Amasia)	3
Chānichā (Čajniče)	3
Ḥalab (Aleppo)	2
Üsküb (Skoplje)	1
Amid (Diyarbakir)	1
Engüriye (Ankara)	1
Dimishq (Damascus)	1
Tōqāt (Tokat)	1
Qūchāniye (Majdan Kučajna)	1
Yenishehir (Larisa)	1

It will be noted that the only positively identified mints within the boundaries of modern Greece are Serez, Sidre Qapısı and Yenishehir (Larisa). It is embarrassing to have to attach a large query to the third most plentiful mint on the list, Tripolis (?); it may be Tripolitza in the Peloponnesus. More will be said about this difficult problem below. The number of Macedonian, Serbian and Bosnian mints, if not the volume of their representation, is interesting. Most of these coins from Balkan mints are silver *aqches* of the 16th century; none is later than 1640. The Asian contributions are insignificant, as are the African, with the exception of course of Egypt, which begins to figure prominently only toward the middle of the 17th century.

The probability of the existence of a mint closer to Athens, perhaps in Athens itself, must be considered. This question is of special relevance with respect to the many hundreds of crude coppers of the 15th–16th centuries discussed earlier in this introduction. I found no specimen of this coinage bearing any trace of a legend which might be read آتینا or اتنه, *Atinā*, the Turkish spelling of “Athens”; or استيفه, *Istifa*, the Turkish name of Thebes; or لواءيه, *Livādyā*.

These would be the most likely locations for a mint in Attica or Boeotia in early Turkish times. None of these names figures in Evliya Chelebi's list of 16 Ottoman mints in Roumeli established in the time of Süleymān I,<sup>14</sup> nor do they appear in published Ottoman administrative documents of the period of Mehmed II and Bāyazīd II. But it is, I think, quite obvious that many of the anepigraphic coins as well as those which I have classed as imitations of issues of Constantinople and other mints (e.g., some of nos. 39, 65, 66, 74 and 134, and probably many hundreds of nos. 136–137) were locally struck; and I am prepared to believe that the mint was in Athens. It is unfortunate, as remarked above, p. 3, that we have no record of early Turkish coins excavated or collected elsewhere in Greece, except at Corinth.<sup>15</sup> The Turkish coins from the Corinth excavations have not been published, but I have looked through the scores of thousands of coins of all periods unearthed there (primarily in search of Arab and Seljūq coins) and found very few Turkish coins, a few hundred at most; and of these only a handful are of the crude 15th–16th century type which has been the chief problem and challenge at the Agora. This one bit of negative evidence may perhaps be taken as support for the Athenian origin of the coins under consideration here. As for the coins of the uncertain mint which I have called "Tripolis (?)," the relatively large number of them in the excavations suggests the possibility of there having been some fairly close association between Athens and their place of issuance. But if these coins travelled from Tripolitza to Athens, why were there none at Corinth? The question is discussed in more detail below, p. 14.

In the following identifications of the mints represented at the Agora, the arrangement is alphabetical according to the Turkish spellings. The inclusive dates are those of accession and death or deposition of the respective rulers.

#### EUROPE

1. ادرنه or ادرنه. Edirne = Adrianople. In Turkish Thrace. Approximately 26 specimens.<sup>16</sup> Date range: 816–1049/1413–1640. Adrianople was the earliest Ottoman mint in Europe, the name first appearing on the coins during the period of divided rule following Bāyazīd I (805–825/1402–1422). It may perhaps have been one of the mints at which coins without mint name were struck even earlier under Murād I (761–792/1360–1389). For an imperial ordinance of about 1477 regulating the striking of copper coins at the "mint of Roumelia" (probably Edirne), see Beldiceanu, p. 78, no. 11.

2. اسلامبول. Islāmbūl = Constantinople. Approximately 200 specimens. Date range: 1115–1222/1704–1807. This ceremonial name for Constantinople is of course derived from the vernacular name for the capital, Istanbul (probably from the Greek εἰς τὴν Πόλιν),<sup>17</sup> providing

<sup>14</sup> Evliya Chelebi, *Siyāḥetnāmesi*, I, Istanbul, 1314 H., pp. 566–567. These are supposedly in chronological order of their establishment and in his spellings: تکر بولایر, گلیبولی, ادرنه, اسکوب, نووه بورده, سلانیک, سدره قیسی, سیره پرنیچه, بوسنه and سیره پرنیچه. No specimens of many of these have been preserved, so far as I know. Evliya Chelebi adds that altogether there were 60 mints in the empire, but he names only those of which he had seen coins. Evliya was born in 1611 and died soon after 1678. For administrative documents of ca. 1454–1482 relating to some of these mints, see Beldiceanu.

<sup>15</sup> Surely Turkish coins have been found at many excavation sites in Greece, but so far as I know none has been published and probably very few have been examined or attributed. Professor Carl W. Blegen has shown me the two or three found at Pylos. There are very few in the National Numismatic Museum in Athens. There are many in the museums of Herakleion, Khanya and Rethymno in Crete, but these of course are all of later periods. M. Georges Daux informs me that no Turkish coins have been found in French excavations on Thasos and few if any at Argos; nor, according to Mr. John Boardman, have any turned up in British excavations on Chios. Three 18th–19th century Turkish coins from the Olynthos excavations are illustrated in the reports (*Excavations at Olynthus*, IX, pl. XXXIII, 12 and 28, pp. 248 and 259, and XIV, pl. 173, 16, p. 427), and mention also is made in XIV, p. 427, of 56 "illegible Turkish bronze coins."

<sup>16</sup> Totals in some instances are approximate because attributions to given mints are sometimes problematical or are based on analogies; also the mint name is effaced on many coins which can often with reasonable certainty be assigned to a given mint.

<sup>17</sup> R. M. Dawkins ("The Place-names of Later Greece," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, London, 1933, p. 32) believes that this traditional etymology is, despite criticisms, probably the correct one.

by its spelling and pronunciation a fanciful Moslem etymology for the name, i.e., "Islam-abundant."

3. اسكوب. Üsküb = Skoplje, Macedonia. One specimen, 926/1520. Üsküb first appears as an Ottoman mint under Mehmed II in 880 1475. The silver utilized at this mint probably was mined at Noväberda (see below).<sup>18</sup>

4. بلغراد. Belgräd = Belgrade, Serbia. Four specimens. Date range: 926-1049/1520-1640. Belgräd, which fell to the Turks in 1521, first appears as an Ottoman mint during the reign of Süleymân the Magnificent, i.e., at the time of the earliest specimen found in the excavations (no. 46).

5. چانچا. Chānichā = Čajniče, Cajnice, Chainiche, Chayniche, in southern Bosnia, 38 miles southeast of Sarajevo. Three specimens. Date range: 982?-1026/1574-1617. The town was one of the first in Bosnia to be taken by the Turks; coins were first issued there in the rule of Süleymân the Magnificent.<sup>19</sup> Ismā'il Ghālib identified the mint correctly;<sup>20</sup> Khalīl Edhem, spelling the name چانچا or چانجه, mistakenly placed it in the vilayet of Trebizond (Gümüş-Khāne).<sup>21</sup> In some catalogues the name is wrongly transcribed چانجه, "Khānje."<sup>22</sup>

6. سدره قپسی. Sidre Qapısı (or Qapsı, Qapusu), Greek Σιδηρόκασσα, later Siderókapsi, Sidherokapsa, southeast of Salonika, not far from Nizvoro in the mountainous area of the Chalcidice known as Mademochoria. Four specimens. Dates: 926 and 933/1520-1527. The earliest known issue of the mint is dated 926. The important silver and gold mines in this area were exploited in Byzantine times, if not in antiquity. We know from an imperial Ottoman document dating from the early part of the reign of Mehmed II that the Christian miners here operated under regulations similar to those obtaining at Qaraṭova (see below).<sup>23</sup> The English traveller John Covell mentions Siderókapsi in connection with his visit to Mt. Athos in 1677.<sup>24</sup> Silver was still being extracted at Sidherokapsa when Leake visited the region in 1806.<sup>25</sup> For further details, with full documentation, see Robert Anhegger's *Beiträge*.<sup>26</sup>

Ismā'il Ghālib and Lane-Poole transcribed the name "Sidrekaysi, Sidreh-Keysee," but Khalīl Edhem rendered it more correctly "Sidre Qapısı." It is not certain whether the 15th century Turkish form of the name was "Sidre Qapsı" or "Sidre Qapısı" (one cannot tell from the Turkish orthography), but at all events it is evident that the Turkish name was derived from the Byzantine Σιδηρόκασσα,<sup>27</sup> and that ultimately the second half of the name, *Qapısı*, was a folk-etymologizing adjustment to make the toponym mean *Demir Qapısı*, "Iron Gate."<sup>28</sup> Evliya Chelebi, who visited the place in the second half of the 17th century, spelled the name سدره قپسی or سدر قپسی,<sup>29</sup> and speculated in his usual ingenious fashion on its etymology.

Very curious is a muling of an *aqche* of this mint with one of Qaraṭova (no. 50). The implication would be that on occasion dies were interchanged between these two mints, or perhaps even that the dies of one of these mints were engraved at the other. In any case the muling is inter-

<sup>18</sup> Zambaur, *Prägungen*, p. 146.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>20</sup> Ghālib, p. ٤٠.

<sup>21</sup> Edhem, pp. 259, 387. Cf. also Halil İnalçık, s.v. *Dār al-ḡarb*, *Encyclopaedia of Islām*<sup>2</sup>, where the mint (Djandja) is, I think mistakenly, identified with "a small town to the north of Erzindjān."

<sup>22</sup> E.g., *BM*, pp. 58, 94 and 130.

<sup>23</sup> Beldiceanu, p. 138, no. 48, where interesting details of these operations are given.

<sup>24</sup> See F. W. Hasluck, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVII, 1910-11, p. 113.

<sup>25</sup> W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, III, London, 1835, pp. 159-161; Ghālib, p. ٤٠; Edhem, p. 287.

<sup>26</sup> Pp. 180 ff.

<sup>27</sup> The second element -κασσα, pronounced -*kafsa*, could easily become -*kapsa* in Turkish.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Speros Vryonis Jr., "The Question of the Byzantine Mines," *Speculum*, XXXVII, 1962, pp. 13-14, where the Byzantine name is documented and other important references are cited.

<sup>29</sup> Evliya Chelebi, *Siyāhetnāmesi*, VIII, Istanbul, 1928, pp. 100-102.

esting confirmation of the close administrative relationship between Sidre Qapısı and Qaraṭova hinted at in the Ottoman archival document cited above.


7. سربرنيجه or سربرنجه. Serbernije = Srebrenica, Srebrenitsa, in easternmost Bosnia, near the Drina, 45 miles east-northeast of Sarajevo. Five specimens. Date: 926/1520. The earliest known issue of the mint is of this year. The mines in this region supplied Pannonia and Dalmatia with silver in Roman times. The name first appears in history in 1376 and a document of 1417 mentions it as a mint. After a temporary occupation between 1430 and 1443 the town was definitively captured by the Turks in 1462. The mines themselves were taken in 1454. Some gold also was mined here, but as the name indicates it was known chiefly for its silver.<sup>30</sup>

8. سيرز or سرز. Serez, Sîrûz = Serrai, Siruz, Seres, Serres, in Macedonia, 40 miles east-northeast of Salonika. Approximately 10 specimens. Dates: 918?, 928?/1512?, 1521–2? Serez, taken by the Turks in 1383, was the second Ottoman mint town in Europe, the earliest known issue dating from 816/1413–14. Valuable details on minting processes and mint administration at Serez are given in 15th century documents published by Beldiceanu;<sup>31</sup> and silver mines near Serez are mentioned in 15th century literature.<sup>32</sup>

In all probability there are many more coins from this mint at the Agora than I have been able to identify positively. The name, particularly in its short form سرز, is subject to deformed and cryptic writing on both the silver and the copper coins, and frequently may be disguised as an apparently meaningless wavy line.

9. ...طريد. TRBL... = Tripolitza, modern Tripolis, in the Peloponnesus? Approximately 120 specimens. Dates: 952, 95x, 9(7?)8, 97x, 981, 982, 98(5?), 986?, 98x/ca. 1543–ca. 1579. Three other dates, 959, 960 and 974, are furnished by coins and a lead seal of the same mint published by Khalîl Edhem (see below).

Brief mention has been made above (pp. 4, 8) of the embarrassing problem of the identification of this mint. The specimens from the excavations are catalogued under nos. 75, 92–95, 97–99, 115–119, and 121–125. On no single specimen is the legend completely preserved, and on most specimens only a letter or two are visible. Many of the coins have been attributed to the mint on the basis of the similarity of the obverse designs to those of the obverses of others on which a few letters of the reverse legend are preserved; it is possible that some of these may actually be the products of another mint, and the total may therefore be exaggerated. So far

as I can make it out, the legend has in general this appearance: . This I would take

to be طربلس, or perhaps ...طربلس, if the name is not completely preserved, that is, “copper coin of TRBLS,” or of “TRBLS...”<sup>33</sup>

A few specimens of this obscure mint have been published: ‘Ali (see p. 20) 95 (misread ترايل), Edhem 1061–1062 (dated 959 and mint name read لراى with the comment that it might be طرابلس), Edhem 1062–1063 (dates effaced, slightly variant obverse design), Edhem 1065 (date effaced, variant obverse design), Edhem 1066 (dated 960, mint name read لراى), Edhem 1347 (dated 986 and mint name read لراى), Edhem 1348 (dated 986 by analogy with one in a private collection in Turkey, and mint name read لراى), and Khalîl Edhem, *Qûrshûn Mûhr Qatâloghu*, Constantinople, 1321, p. 64 (drawing of the reverse of one of the specimens in the Istanbul Museum, no date visible, legend read طربلس). Also a lead seal dated 974 (Edhem, *Qûrshûn*, no.

<sup>30</sup> Beldiceanu, no. 7, p. 73, no. 8, p. 74; Anhegger, pp. 134–136; Zambaur, *Prägungen*, p. 147; Ghalib, p. ٤; Edhem, p. 288.

<sup>31</sup> Beldiceanu, nos. 1, 13–16, 59, pp. 65, 79–85, 154–156. Cf. F. Babinger, *Encyclopaedia of Islām*<sup>1</sup>, s.v. *Serres*.

<sup>32</sup> Anhegger, p. 178.

<sup>33</sup> One specimen, no. 115, Plate IV, 15, while resembling this legend in general outline, appears not to read ...طريد but something like طين. If others on which virtually nothing but the letter ط and traces of طربلس are preserved are also to be read so, the argument, already tenuous, for attributing all these coins to TRBL would be severely shaken.

60, with legend also read (فلس طرابلس) is obviously a product of the same locality. Drawings of the reverse of this lead seal and of the reverse of the coin mentioned immediately above are illustrated in Plate III, 69 and 70.

The four preserved letters of the mint name (if it is a mint name) immediately bring to mind some form of the name طرابلس, *Tarāblus* or *Tarābulus*, that is, Tripoli. Two mints by this name are known: Tripoli of Syria (*Tarāblus al-Shām*) and Tripoli of North Africa (*Tarāblus al-Gharb*, i.e., Tripoli of the West). Neither of these can, in my opinion, be the mint represented by these coins. The Syrian Tripoli was in Ottoman hands early in the 16th century, but there is no record of there having been an Ottoman mint there at any time (although there was of course a mint in this place under earlier rulers). It might be argued, despite the lack of corroborative testimony, that these coins are in themselves evidence of a Turkish mint at that locality, but against such an assumption are two almost conclusive numismatic and historical arguments: the fabric is altogether unlike that of contemporary coins of Syrian mints, and secondly, it is wholly improbable that copper coins would migrate in any quantity from Syria to Athens. The same counter-arguments would apply with equal force in the case of the North African Tripoli, and here there is furthermore a chronological objection: the North African town was not taken by the Turks until 1551 and some of our coins are dated as early as 1545. It is true that Tripoli in North Africa is a recognized Ottoman mint from the time of Süleymān the Magnificent down into the 19th century, but again the fabric is totally different from that of the coins in question.

The fabric and the designs of these coins are so similar to those of the bulk of the 16th century coppers found in the excavations, and the quantity of specimens from this mint is so considerable, that there is every reason to seek an attribution somewhere on Greek soil not too far from Athens. None of the localities in Attica or Boeotia which one might *a priori* consider a likely place for a 16th century Turkish mint (see pp. 7–8, above) has a name in any way resembling the letters on the coins under discussion. The only possibility that has occurred to me is Tripolitza (now Τρίπολις) in the Peloponnesus. Despite rather formidable objections I propose, with hesitation and reserve, to attribute these coins to that town.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> In preparing the discussion which follows I have consulted among many others the works listed alphabetically below. Specific references to these works in the footnotes are cited by author or by author and short title.

N. K. Alexopoulos, art. Τρίπολις in Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἑγκυκλοπαίδεια, Athens, 1933, Vol. 23.

F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich, 1933 = *Mahomet le conquérant et son temps*, Paris, 1954 = *Maometto il conquistatore e il suo tempo*, Turin, 1957.

N. A. Bees (Béns), art. Morea in 1st ed. of *Encyclopaedia of Islām* (= art. Mora in the Turkish *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, 1958).

N. A. Bees, Ἡ Τρίπολις πρὸ τοῦ 17ου αἰῶνος, Ἀθηνᾶ, XVIII, 1905–1906, pp. 608–616, also published as a separate pamphlet, Athens, 1907 (cf. *Byz. Zeit.* XVI, 1907, p. 706).

A. Bon, *Le Peloponnèse Byzantin jusqu'en 1204*, Paris, 1951.

C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, Leipzig, 1868–1872.

E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, Gotha, 1851.

E. Darko, Ἑπετ. Ἑταιρ. Βυζ. Σπ. 1933, pp. 454–482.

R. M. Dawkins, "The Place-names of Later Greece," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, London, 1933, pp. 1–45 (cf. a brief report on the same subject in *Classical Association Proceedings*, XXXVIII, London, 1941, pp. 23–26).

Edward Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the years 1801, 1805, and 1806*, II, London, 1819.

Mouradgée D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, VII, Paris, 1824.

Evliya Chelebi, *Siyāḥnāmesi*, VIII, Istanbul, 1928.

J. P. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart & Tübingen, 1830–1836.

George Finlay, *A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*, IV and V, Oxford, 1877.

G. Fougères, *Mantinée et l'Arcadie orientale*, Paris, 1898.

T. Gritsopoulos, *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrbücher*, XIV, 1937–1938, pp. 348–357.

C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin, 1873.

J. H. Krause, "Griechenland im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit," in Ersch und Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, 83, Leipzig, 1866.

S. P. Lambros, "Tavia, eine verkannte mittellgriechische Stadt," *Byz. Zeit.*, VIII, 1898, pp. 309–315.

W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, II, London, 1830.

The principal questions to be resolved are these: did there in 1545 exist in the Peloponnesus a town with the Turkish name of Tripolitza, or the like; secondly, is it likely that a Turkish mint should have operated in this town down to approximately 1579; and, a further consideration, is it probable or improbable that copper coins from this mint circulated in Athens? The first question can, I think, be answered affirmatively. To the other two the weight of evidence suggests a negative answer, but in each case there is just enough doubt to justify a closer examination of the problems involved.

The names *Tripolis* and *Tripolitza* as applied to the present capital of the eparchy of Mantinea and of the nome of Arkadia<sup>35</sup> have nothing to do with "three cities," whether a *synoikismos* of the inhabitants of Καλλία, Δίποινα and Νώνακρις (Pausanias, VIII, 27, 4),<sup>36</sup> or of Tegea, Mantinea and Pallantium,<sup>37</sup> or of mediaeval Moukhli,<sup>38</sup> Nestanes and Thana. The modern name *Tripolis* derives from *Tripolitza*, and the latter from a purely Slavic name *Drobohitsa* (and variant spellings), meaning apparently "plain of oaks" (cf. Russian *drova*, "wood," and *pole*, "field, ground"). The association with the idea of "three cities" is the result of popular etymology. *Tripolitza* officially became *Tripolis* because the *-itsa* or *-itza* ending was known to be Slavic; the Slavic origin of the first part of the name had been forgotten. Within recent memory Tripolis is said to have been called *Drobohitsa* by Arkadian peasants;<sup>39</sup> perhaps it still is. As for *Drobohitsa* (*Drobohitsa*, *Dorboghitza*, *Drobohliza*, *Drobohliza*, *Drobohliz*, Ντρομπολιτζά, etc., etc., and such popularizations as Ὑδροπολιτζά and Ὑδωρ Μολιτζά, etc.),<sup>40</sup> it seems that this town during the later Middle Ages replaced Tavia as the principal town of Arkadia, the latter's predecessor in early mediaeval times having been Nikli, which in turn had replaced the ancient Tegea as the capital of the area.<sup>41</sup> None of these cities was built on the actual site of its predecessor, but there can be little doubt that the neighbouring dead cities (especially Tegea) were quarried at various times by the inhabitants of Tripolitza.<sup>42</sup> Contrary to the belief held some years ago that Tripolitza did not exist before the 18th or 17th century,<sup>43</sup> it is now evident that the town was founded well before the 17th century and perhaps as early as the period of

R. Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (1382-1404)," *Études Byzantines*, I, 1943, Bucharest, 1944 pp. 152-196.

W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge, 1921.

G. Papandreou, art. Τρίπολις in Eleutheroudaki's Ἑγκυκλοπαιδικὸν Λεξικόν, Vol. 12, Athens, 1931, pp. 281-282.

Pauly-Wissowa, art. *Tripolis*.

Pouqueville's *Reise durch Morea und Albanien*, . . . in den Jahren 1798, 1799, 1800 und 1801, transl. K. E. M. Müller, Leipzig, 1805.

L. Ross, *Wanderungen in Griechenland im Gefolge des Königs Otto und der Königin Amalie*, Halle, 1851.

M. B. Sakellarios, Ἡ Πελοπόννησος, Athens, 1939.

Sh. Sāmi, *Qāmūs al-A'lām*, VI, Constantinople, 1898.

C. Sathas, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1880-1890.

J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, II, III, Gotha, 1854-1855.

May I express here my warm thanks to Franz Babinger, Roderic H. Davison, Halil Sahillioğlu, Kenneth M. Setton, George C. Soulis, George Stamires and Peter Topping whom I have consulted in connection with the "Tripolitza problem" and who have offered useful suggestions. I should add, however, that the conclusions arrived at in the following pages are mine, not theirs; there was among most of these and other scholars a consensus that Tripolitza was an improbable location for an Ottoman mint in the 16th century.

<sup>35</sup> The best concise summary of the history of Tripolitza is in Alexopoulos, *loc. cit.*

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *loc. cit.*

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, Bursian, II, p. 221; Ross, I, p. 224; and cf. Leake, II, pp. 335-6.

<sup>38</sup> Curtius (I, p. 234) supposes Moukhli to have been the capital of Arkadia in mediaeval times; on the location of Moukhli see Leake, *loc. cit.*, and on its history and archaeology, Darko.

<sup>39</sup> Dawkins, pp. 19-20.

<sup>40</sup> See especially Bees, Ἡ Τρίπολις (where many variant spellings of the name are given); Dawkins, *loc. cit.*, and Gritsopoulos.

<sup>41</sup> Bon, p. 59; Lambros, p. 315.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, Krause, p. 344; Bursian, II, p. 221; Ross, I, p. 225; and Pouqueville, I, p. 53, where interesting details of the use of classical remains in the Turkish mosques are given.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Fallmerayer, II, p. 436; Ross, I, p. 224.

the Palaeologan Despotate of the Morea.<sup>44</sup> To judge by 15th–16th century maps there appears at least to have existed a castle by the name of *Drobolitza*, etc. (distinct from that of Moukhli and the town of Nikli), and its location, although often only vaguely indicated in the center of Arkadia,<sup>45</sup> was in all probability on the site of Tripolitza.<sup>46</sup> In fact, an important fortress by the name of *Drobolitza* is listed in a 16th century catalogue of Venetian castles in the Morea, with the notation that it was already in ruins in 1467.<sup>47</sup> The fact that official Greek chroniclers and men of letters used classical names such as Mantinea and do not mention towns with to them barbaric names such as *Drobolitza* has been explained either as the result of their ignorance of the actual contemporary state of the Peloponnesus or as evidence of what might be called a sense of delicacy in refusing to admit that foreign invaders had brought about changes in the classical toponymy of Greece.<sup>48</sup>

It would seem, then, that *Drobolitza*, later *Trapolitza*, *Tripolitza*, had existed well before the middle of the 16th century, and in all probability existed when the Ottomans first entered the peninsula toward the end of the 14th century.<sup>49</sup> As for the Turkish version of the name I am unfortunately unable to cite a 16th century Turkish authority, although doubtless such could be found if one had access to the relevant archives. In the 17th century, however, we have a good witness in the famous Turkish traveller Evliya Chelebi (see p. 8, note 14, above),<sup>50</sup> who visited Tripolitza between 1668 and 1670.<sup>51</sup> He calls it طرہ بولیجہ or طرہ بولیجہ, *Ṭarapulichsa* or *Ṭarabulidjsa*, and as usual he displays his etymological virtuosity by explaining that in Greek the name means “bird-cage” or “hen-coop”: Greek *pulya*, “birds,” *pulichsa*, the diminutive. He does not explain *ṭara*. I do not know whether the rather difficult combination of consonants *lichsa* or *lidjsa* is Evliya Chelebi’s own invention or whether the name was actually spelled thus in his day. In any case, it eventually becomes طریبولیجہ, *Ṭarabpolicha*,<sup>52</sup> *Tarabolusa*,<sup>53</sup> *Tarapolizza*,<sup>54</sup> *Tarapolitza*,<sup>55</sup> Ταραπολίτζα, and many other Greek transcribed variants. It is certainly not unreasonable that any of these forms should have become assimilated to the familiar name (Arabic-Turkish) *Ṭarāblus* or *Ṭarābulus*.

One or two details in Evliya Chelebi’s account are interesting and of value in the present discussion. In the first place, he calls the place “the ancient city” of *Ṭarabulichsa*. The year of its conquest by Qāsim Pasha from the Venetians is left blank, but he says that the castle on the west side of the town was originally captured by Muhammad the Conqueror,<sup>56</sup> that it was then reoccupied by the unbelievers, and thereafter was reconquered in the time of Süleymān the Magnificent. The castle itself was unoccupied in Evliya’s day, but the city was then the seat of the *vayvodalik* of the pasha of Mora.<sup>57</sup> Most interesting is the fact that Evliya gives the texts of two inscriptions that he saw at Tripolitza (he was a good epigraphist): one dated 1067 (1656/7) on the ablution tank of the Great Mosque; the other dated 1034 or 1035 (1624–1626)

<sup>44</sup> See especially Bees, ‘Η Τρίπολις, and Bon, p. 59.

<sup>45</sup> Bon, p. 602.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>47</sup> Hopf, p. 205; Fougères, p. 599.

<sup>48</sup> Fougères, p. 600.

<sup>49</sup> For the detailed history of the Turks in the Morea, see Bees’ excellent article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*; on the early years of the Turkish conquest, a well documented summary in Loenertz, details in Babinger; and cf. Zinkeisen, II, p. 190, for the siege of Moukhli.

<sup>50</sup> For Evliya’s career see A. H. Lybyer, “The Travels of Evliya Effendi,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVII, 1917, pp. 234–239; and *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, s. v.

<sup>51</sup> *Siyāḥnāmesī*, VIII, pp. 356–8.

<sup>52</sup> *Sāmi*, VI, p. 4467.

<sup>53</sup> Curtius, I, p. 267.

<sup>54</sup> E. g., D’Ohsson, VII, p. 302.

<sup>55</sup> E. g., Dodwell, II, p. 417.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Zinkeisen und Babinger.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Krause, p. 387.

on a *tekke* or dervish convent. The fact that the town was sufficiently prominent to have had a *tekke* with an apparently well carved inscription in the first quarter of the 17th century and a "Great Mosque" just after the middle of that century, along with Evliya's characterization of the town as "ancient," is not without significance in support of the argument that Tripolitza might possibly have had enough importance in the mid-16th century to have been the location of an Ottoman mint. But however well established or important it may have been, it would seem doubtful that it was the Turkish "capital" of the Morea in the 16th century, although it became so later. The first Turkish administrative center was perhaps Leontarion,<sup>58</sup> and later it appears to have been transferred at times to Mistra, Modon (Methone),<sup>59</sup> and Nauplia.<sup>60</sup> I have found no clear indication that Tripolitza was the seat of the pasha of the *sandjak* of the Morea before the 17th century.<sup>61</sup> This does not, however, exclude the possibility that a mint issuing copper coins could have been located there in the 16th century.

Shortly after Evliya Chelebi's visit, in 1684–1687, the Venetians recovered all of the Morea (except Mistra and Monemvasia) and held the peninsula until the Turkish reconquest of 1715, whereupon the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718 officially recognized the Ottoman reoccupation.<sup>62</sup> From 1786 until 1821 Tripolitza was again in Turkish hands and was the seat of a pasha of "three tails" (*beylerbey*), governor of the *vilayet* of Mora.<sup>63</sup>

Finally, there remains the disturbing question of the presence in considerable numbers of copper *māngurs* of ṬRBL (= *Ṭarabulichsa*, etc.?) in Athens. Certainly one has good reason to argue that it would be unlikely that these humble coins should have circulated so far from their place of mintage. On the other hand there is no evidence of the existence of a copper mint closer than Serez (see pp. 7 and 10, above), unless indeed, as I have suggested (pp. 7–8), there was in Athens itself a local mint where imitations of the coppers of Constantinople, Brusa, Adrianople, Serez, etc., were issued. Tripolitza is in fact not as distant as these cities; and if it were granted that these coins might have been struck at Tripolitza and that the Athenians, lacking an official mint of their own, made use of any small change that came their way, then there is no reason why such coins should not have migrated from Arkadia to Attica. I have observed (p. 8) that their absence from the excavations at Corinth is a further argument against the proposed identification of this mint; but here again a counter-argument could be proposed. Trade between the central Peloponnesus and Attica may in this period have moved more commonly by sea from Nauplia to Piraeus than over the difficult land route via Corinth. We are so poorly informed on commerce and administration in this part of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century that any further discussion of this aspect of the question would be purely speculative.

To sum up, I would conclude that *Drobolitza* = *Ṭarabulichsa* was in existence before 952/1545, that the preserved letters ṬRBL might represent a Turkish spelling (in part, at least) of this name, that there might just possibly have been an Ottoman mint there in 1543–1579, and that it is not impossible that copper coins from Tripolitza circulated in Athens during this period.

10. قرطو. Qaraṭova = Kratovo, about 38 miles east of Skoplje in (Yugoslav) Macedonia. Nine specimens. Date range: 886–982/1481–1574. The town was captured by the Turks as early as 792/1390. The earliest known issue of the mint dates from the rule of Bāyazid II (886/1481), but an imperial ordinance dated 1475 regulating the operations of the mine and

<sup>58</sup> Fallmerayer, II, p. 435; cf. Bon, p. 112.

<sup>59</sup> Krause, p. 387.

<sup>60</sup> See Miller's detailed discussion of the administrative divisions of Greece and the islands, pp. 355–401, especially p. 356.

<sup>61</sup> Fallmerayer, *loc. cit.*, is certainly wrong however in characterizing Tripolitza as "new" at the time of the Treaty of Passarowitz.

<sup>62</sup> For this period see especially Bees in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, and Finlay, IV and V, *passim*.

<sup>63</sup> See, for example, Pouqueville, I, p. 51; Dodwell, II, p. 417; Leake, I, p. 87; d'Ohsson, VII, p. 302; Krause, p. 387; Curtius, p. 234.



stipulating punishments for counterfeiters implies that the mint already existed at that date.<sup>64</sup> Lead and silver mines located here were exploited from Roman times down into the first half of the 19th century.<sup>65</sup> For a muling of a Qaraṭova *aqche* with one of Sidre Qapısı, see above, pp. 9–10. Close relations appear to have existed also between the mining operations of Novāberda (see below) and Qaraṭova.<sup>66</sup>

11. قسطنطينيه. Qusṭanṭīniya = Constantinople. Approximately 1700 specimens and certainly many more on which the mint name is effaced. Date range: 903–1339/1497–1921. Also from the capital mint are the coins bearing the name Islāmbül. The earliest known Ottoman issues of Constantinople date from 886/1481, sixteen years before the earliest coin found in the excavations. In the catalogue the name is always given in its familiar English spelling rather than in the cumbersome Turkish transliteration.

12. قوچانيه. Qūchāniye = Qūchāna, Majdan Kučajna, in eastern Serbia, near Kučevo, 26 miles east-southeast of Požarevac (Passarowitz), southeast of Belgrade. One specimen, attribution uncertain. Date: 982?/1574? Silver and lead mines were located here.<sup>67</sup> The earliest known issue is dated 926/1520.

13. نوابرد. Novāberda = Novobrdo (German Nyeuberghe, Italian Novomonte), in southern Serbia, 14 miles east-southeast of Priština. Three specimens. Date range: 926–1012/1520–1603. The earliest known issue of the mint bearing this version of the Turkish name is dated 926/1520, but for earlier issues see below. Novobrdo was the richest city in the old kingdom of Serbia, famous for its gold and silver mines and an important trade center. It was taken by the Turks for the first time in 845/1441, was then recovered by the Serbs and was finally definitively captured by Muhammed the Conqueror in 859/1455.<sup>68</sup> A number of imperial ordinances of the third quarter of the 15th century and later are preserved, regulating the operation of the mines and the mint and providing for the demonetization of earlier *aqches* and the issue of new ones.<sup>69</sup> There is little doubt that the Turkish Novāberda and Novār, or Nevār (see below) are two renderings of the same name.

14. نوار. Novār (or Nevār) = in all probability Novāberda (Novobrdo), see no. 13, above. Approximately 13 specimens. Date range 886–974/1481–1566. The name in this form, evidently a Turkish simplification of Novobrdo, occurs first on a coin of Murād II.<sup>70</sup> Beginning with Süleymān the Magnificent the two names appear simultaneously on different issues.<sup>71</sup>

15. يenishehir. Yenishehir = Larisa, in Thessaly. One specimen. Date: 1003/1595. I know of no specimen of this mint earlier than this date. Apparently Larisa was called Yenishehir by the Turks from the time of their conquest of the area and was still known to them by this name early in the present century.<sup>72</sup> I think it unlikely that the Yenishehir represented on this coin is the town of that name east of Brusa. The Turks distinguished between the two by calling

<sup>64</sup> Beldiceanu, no. 10, pp. 76–77.

<sup>65</sup> Full details in Anhegger, pp. 163–167; cf. Zambaur, *Prägungen*, p. 146; Ghalib, p. ۲; Edhem, p. 294.

<sup>66</sup> Anhegger, p. 165.

<sup>67</sup> Zambaur, *Prägungen*, p. 146; cf. Anhegger, p. 148; Edhem, p. 296.

<sup>68</sup> Anhegger, pp. 155–159; Zambaur, *Prägungen*, p. 146 (correct the date in footnote 1 to read 859, not 489); Ghalib, p. ۳; Edhem, pp. 64, 315; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, II, Gotha, 1909, pp. 66–67; Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 131–132.

<sup>69</sup> Beldiceanu, nos. 3–6, 15–16, pp. 68–73, 84–85.

<sup>70</sup> Edhem, no. 212. The date is here given as 834/1430–31, which would place the striking of the coin before the accepted date of the Turkish occupation. Only two figures are preserved and I suggest that these figures are 8 and 4, not 8 and 3, and that the coin is to be dated 84X. Zambaur, *Prägungen*, p. 146, intentionally or inadvertently by transposition, gives 843, but this still would antedate the Turkish capture of the city.

<sup>71</sup> E. g., Edhem, nos. 1048–1058.

<sup>72</sup> Sāmi, *Qāmūs al-ʿAlām*, VI, Istanbul, 1316, p. 4805; cf. W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, London, 1835, p. 440. Leake, who was in Larisa in 1805, wrote that Larisa was still “officially” known as Yenishehir.

Larisa "Yenishehir-i Fanār," that is, "New City of Fanār," after Fanāri, the site of ancient Ἰθώμη between Karditsa and Trikkala.<sup>73</sup>

#### ASIA

16. أماسيه. Amāsyā = ancient Amaseia, in northern Anatolia, 50 miles southwest of Samsun. Three specimens. Date range: 926–1003/1520–1595. The earliest known Ottoman coin of Amāsyā dates from the time of Mehmed Chelebi, 806–816/1403–1413.

17. آمد. Amid = Amida, Diyarbakir (Diyarbakır), on the Tigris in Kurdistan. One specimen. Date: 982/1574. The earliest issue of the Ottoman mint at Amid is dated 918/1512.

18. أنقرة. Engüriye = Ankara, Angora, ancient Ancyra, now the capital of the Turkish Republic. One specimen. Date: 886/1481. The earliest Ottoman coin of Ankara is dated 825/1421–22.

19. برسه. Bursa = Brusa, Brussa, etc., ancient Prusa, in Bithynia, earliest capital of the Ottomans. Six or more specimens (cf. no. 65). Date range: 923–928?/1517–1522? The earliest Ottoman coin of Brusa, in fact probably the earliest coin struck by the Ottomans, is dated 727/1326–27.<sup>74</sup> The name of the mint is variously spelled in early Ottoman times, برسا, بروسا, برسه.

20. حلب. Ḥalab = Aleppo, Syria. Two specimens. Date: 926/1520. The earliest Ottoman issue of Ḥalab dates from the immediately preceding year, 925.

21. دمشق. Dimishq (Dimashq) = Damascus, Syria. One specimen. Date: 982/1574. The earliest Ottoman issue of Damascus is dated 923/1517.

22. توقات. Tōqāt = Tokat, in Anatolia, 45 miles northwest of Sivas on the Yeşil Irmak. One specimen. Date: 1012/1603. The earliest known issue of Tōqāt appears to date from the previous reign, 1003/1595.

#### AFRICA

23. تونس. Tūnis = Tunis, in Tunisia. Six specimens. Date range: 1019?–1334/1610?–1916. The earliest Ottoman coins of Tunis date from the reign of Murād III (982–1003/1574–1595).

24. طرابلس, طرابلس. Ṭarablūs, Ṭarāblus (-i Gharb) = Tripoli in Tripolitania. Eight specimens. Date range: 1027?–1223/1617?–1839. The earliest Ottoman issue of Tripoli dates from the time of Süleymān the Magnificent (926–974/1520–1566).<sup>75</sup>

25. مصر. Mişr, Maşr = Cairo, Egypt. Approximately 830 specimens and certainly many more on which the mint name is effaced. Date range: 982–1327/1574–1918. Ottoman coins were first struck in Egypt in 926/1520. The majority of the coins of Mişr found in the excavations are the paper-thin *aqches* of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. One of the three gold coins unearthed in the Agora is of the Egyptian mint (no. 101 A).

<sup>73</sup> Sāmi, *loc. cit.*; Leake, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 270, 509–511.

<sup>74</sup> I. Hakki Uzunçarşılı, "Gazi Orhan Beğ'in Hükümdar olduğu Tarih ve ilk sikkesi," *Belleten* IX, 1945, pp. 207–211. The reference to this article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bursa, should be corrected (*Belleten* IX, not X).

<sup>75</sup> Ghalib, no. 290. Cf. p. 11, above.

## DISTRIBUTION OF THE COINS IN THE EXCAVATIONS

An analysis of the distribution and archaeological contexts of the Islamic coins found in the Agora reveals relatively little of value to the excavator. The provenance of two of the three 9th or 10th century Arab coins is discussed on p. 21. As for the Turkish coins, they were scattered widely throughout the excavations and were absent only in the lowest undisturbed areas. With few exceptions there was little homogeneity in the groups of coins found at a given place and level; more frequently than not the range of dates in any sizable lot of coins from one find-spot ranged from the Hellenistic period to the 19th century. However, a few generalizations can be made:

1. The copper coinage of the 15th–16th centuries was found in almost every section, but heavy concentrations, to the virtual exclusion of later Ottoman coins, occurred in the following areas:

a) Sections AA, BB and HH. Professor Thompson and Mr. John Travlos, Architect of the Agora, are of the opinion that the majority of these coins probably are to be associated with the Panathenaic Way and the east-west road that was blocked in the 17th century by the construction of the Church of Christ.

b) Sections P and Σ. These also probably are to be associated with a road, an important one which followed the general line of the Panathenaic Way but which kept somewhat closer to the Stoa of Attalos.

c) Sections Γ, NN and OO. These areas fall outside the western limits of habitation in the 15th–16th centuries. They lie, however, to either side of an important road which led into the settlement at a point a little to the northwest of the Areopagus. Mr. Travlos suggests that a Turkish market may have met in this area.

d) Sections Z, Π, ΠΠ and Φ. No particular significance appears to attach to these concentrations.

2. It is unfortunate that the coins provide virtually no evidence for the dating of the Turkish pottery found in the excavations. In the ten deposits studied by Miss Alison Frantz<sup>76</sup> there were only three Turkish coins: an illegible copper of the late 15th or 16th century (inventory no. 657.3, catalogue no. 136) in Group 3;<sup>77</sup> a *para* of ‘Abd ül-Ḥamīd I (1774–1789) struck in Egypt (inventory no. 1770.17, catalogue no. 255) in Group 6; and a disintegrated, probably Turkish copper (not catalogued) in Group 9.

The provenances of the several hoards<sup>78</sup> are given in the catalogue, and the exact find-spot of every coin in the excavations can be determined by the use of the concordances described on p. 19, below.

<sup>76</sup> Alison Frantz, "Turkish Pottery from the Agora," *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 1–28.

<sup>77</sup> This coin ("identified as before the eighteenth century") was mentioned in Miss Frantz's article, p. 3.

<sup>78</sup> Catalogue nos. 167, 173, 258, 286, 287, 328 and 334.

## ARRANGEMENT OF THE CATALOGUE

The catalogue is basically numismatic and is arranged chronologically, a separate number being given to each issue, or, where mint, exact date or other particularization is absent, to coins with common characteristics and attributable to approximate dates. Within each reign or period the entries are arranged in the following order: a) metal (gold and silver first, then copper); b) date, or approximate date;<sup>79</sup> c) mint, where present, the mint names being in the order of the Arabic alphabet.

Brief identification is followed, wherever possible, by a reference to a similar published type (abbreviations below, p. 20); where "cf." precedes the reference only approximate similarity to the published issue is implied. Descriptions have been kept to the barest minimum, in the case of the earlier coins because of the virtual impossibility of describing the design or pseudo-legend, and in that of the 17th–20th century coins because the types are conventional and are described in full in published catalogues. The early copper coinage is plentifully illustrated in the plates with two main objectives in view: to assist the excavator of other sites in which Turkish coins of this period may occur, and in the hope that numismatists more experienced than I in this field may be able to decipher some of the "inscriptions" or otherwise to contribute toward the more specific attribution of these obscure coins. It is understood that many coins with incomplete or effaced dates or mints are included under a given catalogue number by analogy with more perfectly preserved specimens. Following the identification and reference is the indication of the number of specimens and the diameter or average diameter, and the plate reference.

Some thought was given to the desirability of giving after each catalogue entry the actual envelope number of each specimen so that the reader could track each coin back to its exact provenance. The idea was abandoned for several reasons: the printing of these thousands of numbers would have added greatly to the expense of publication and also would have been meaningless without the inclusion of several bulky concordances that would enable the reader to associate the envelope number with the relevant page in the field note-books. Furthermore, given the relative unimportance of the material with respect to the history of the Agora, it was evident that the number of archaeologists who might want to know the identification of a particular coin, or where a certain type of coin was found, or the number of numismatists who might want to determine either, would be extremely limited. The cost and effort of printing all this apparatus would indeed have been altogether disproportionate to its scientific value.

The record of the provenance of every coin has, nevertheless, been kept, and is available to any who may wish to consult it, in several copies in the library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, in the catalogue room of the Stoa of Attalos and at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. A few words about the mechanics of these records are

<sup>79</sup> Dates are given according to the Hijrah calendar followed by an oblique stroke and the equivalent Christian date. Dates on Turkish coins are sometimes specific, but more frequently they are simply the accession date of the sultan, followed or supplemented after 1171/1757, by the regnal year. Where no regnal year is present, or where it has been effaced, the Christian date given is the equivalent of the accession year. From the time of Maḥmūd I (1143/1730) on, where no letter or regnal year is given after the accession date, it is understood that the letter or date is effaced. From 1171/1757 on, the presentation of annual issues is consolidated for simplification under single catalogue numbers. The letter X means that a digit or other figure is missing.

necessary. When I began the study of the coins at the Agora they were in their original field envelopes, the non-Turkish coins having been removed as catalogued and placed in separate envelopes. Each field envelope (of course with accompanying data with regard to date and place of finding) contained anywhere from one to a score or more coins. Within each envelope the coins were numbered consecutively, these numbers corresponding to entries in the field note-books for that section, level and date. These field envelopes (more than 2700 containing Turkish coins)<sup>80</sup> were then numbered consecutively ("inventory numbers"). Upon the completion of the catalogue the following concordances (numbering incidentally 150 typewritten pages) were compiled:

1. A list of individual coins by their inventory numbers together with their sub-numbers and of their corresponding catalogue numbers.
2. A list of inventory numbers and of their corresponding field note-book pages.
3. A list of catalogue numbers and the inventory numbers of the coins grouped under each catalogue number.
4. A list of find locations and of relevant inventory numbers.

These concordances together with the printed catalogue itself make it possible to:

1. Determine the identity of any single coin according to its inventory number. For example, in Concordance No. 1, inventory no. 30.2 shows this coin to have the catalogue number 65.
2. Determine what coins were found at a given location. For example, to learn what coins were found at the spot recorded in Section AA, field note-book I, p. 95, consult Concordance No. 4, find inventory no. 30 and by reference to Concordance No. 1, determine that inventory no. 30.2 is catalogued under no. 65 (Edirne or Bursa, or local imitation, *ca.* 928 ?/*ca.* 1521-22 ?, etc.).
3. Determine the find-spot of any coin in the catalogue. For example, to determine the find-spot of one of the coins included in catalogue no. 65, consult Concordance No. 3 and find inventory no. 30.2. Then consult Concordance No. 2 and find for this inventory number Section AA, note-book I, p. 95.

In consulting these concordances it will be found that many inventory sub-numbers are lacking. For example, inventory no. 1083 has only the sub-numbers 1083.8, 1083.9 and 1083.11. The missing sub-numbers represent Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Frankish, Venetian or modern coins originally in the same envelope.

<sup>80</sup> Fourteen scattered consecutive numbers are omitted from the concordances because it was found, after they had been numbered, that these envelopes contained no Turkish coins.

# CATALOGUE

The following abbreviations are used in referring to published types:

‘Ali = a series of articles entitled سادہ نقشى سکہلر — اسمسز وتاریخسز سکہلر (“Anonymous and dateless coins — Coins with simple ornaments”) published in *Ta’rīkh-i ‘Osmānī Endjūmeni Medjmu‘ası*, Vol. V, 1330, Vol. VI, 1331 and Vol. VII, 1332, Istanbul.

BM = Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, Vols. VIII and X, London, 1883 and 1890.

Edhem = Khalil Edhem, *Meskükāt-i ‘Osmānīye* (Part VI of *Müze-yi Humāyūn: Meskükāt-i Qadīme-yi Islāmīye Qatāloghu*), Constantinople, 1334.

Ghalib = Ismā‘il Ghālib, *Taqvīm-i Meskükāt-i ‘Osmānīye*, Constantinople, 1307.

Other titles are cited in full.

## ARAB AMIRS OF CRETE

### Copper

#### 1. Shu‘ayb. 2nd half of 3rd/9th c.

لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده لا	رسول
شريك له	الله
	شعيب

1 specimen (20 mm.)

PLATE I, 1

Similar to G. C. Miles, “Coins of the Amirs of Crete in the Herakleion Museums,” *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, X, 1956, p. 367, type A; John Walker, “The Coins of the Amirs of Crete,” *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1953, p. 128, no. 6. A more precise dating of the coins of this type (the commonest of the known Arab coins of Crete) awaits definitive treatment of the coins of these rulers as a whole. A tentative reconstruction of the genealogy of the Amirs of Crete, based largely on numismatic evidence, was presented by the writer at the First Cretological Congress in Herakleion on September 23, 1961. This paper will appear in the second fascicule of the Acts of the Congress. In view of the fact that there exist gold dinars with the name Shu‘ayb dated 271, 275 and 281 H., these coppers are probably to be dated in the late 3rd quarter and early 4th quarter of the 3rd c. H. (4th quarter of the 9th c. A.D.).

This specimen has no archaeological context; it was registered on October 5, 1951, as a casual surface find in an undetermined area of the excavations.

#### 2. ‘Ali b. Aḥmad. 2nd quarter of 4th/10th c. ?.

لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده لا	رسول
شريك له	الله
احمد	على بن

1 specimen (20 mm.)

PLATE I, 2

The only hitherto published specimen of this type was found in excavations conducted recently by K. D. Kalokyri in the ruins of the Byzantine basilica of Sybritos in Crete (near the village of Vyzari, eparchy of Amari, nome of Rethymno).<sup>1</sup> I know of three other specimens

<sup>1</sup> K. Δ. Καλοκύρη, ‘Η Βασιλική τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Συβρίτου, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, XIII, 1959, pp. 31–32. The published illustrations of this and another Arab coin found at this site (pl. 12) are barely legible, but I had the privilege of examining the coins myself on December 1, 1958, and at that time I furnished Mr. Kalokyri with the readings reproduced in this article.

(unpublished): one in the Rethymno Museum; another acquired by the Archaeological Museum in Herakleion after the publication of my article in *Κρητικά Χρονικά* in 1956; and the third found in the excavations at Corinth in 1937. Three others, on which the word *bin* ("son of") apparently is lacking, are known (*Κρητικά Χρονικά*, X, 1956, nos. 19 and 20, and one in the Rethymno Museum). 'Ali b. Aḥmad is unknown to the chroniclers, but on the basis of an unpublished gold coin bearing the same name I propose to date him tentatively in the middle of the 2nd quarter of the 4th/10th century.

This coin was found in 1956 in mixed fill in excavations on the southeast slope of the Kolonos Agoraios (grid reference A 16). No clue to the date is afforded by associated coins which range from Hellenistic to Venetian times.

3. Shu'ayb b. Aḥmad (?). 2nd quarter of 4th/10th c. ?.

لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده لا	رسول
شريك له	الله
احمد	[شعب] ب ؟

1 specimen (19 mm.)

PLATE I,3

Only one other specimen of this type has, so far as I know, come to light: a coin in the Historical Museum in Herakleion (*Κρητικά Χρονικά*, X, 1956, no. 21). The relationship between the two names is uncertain: is this Shu'ayb a son of Aḥmad, or is Aḥmad a son of Shu'ayb, or is there no filial relationship? Very tentatively I am supposing that the coin was issued by a certain Shu'ayb b. Aḥmad and that he was a brother of 'Ali b. Aḥmad (no. 2, above).

The coin was found in 1939 in Turkish fill in the same general area of the excavations as no. 2, that is, on the southeast slope of the Kolonos Agoraios (grid reference B 17). As in the case of no. 2, associated coins have no relevance; they range from Hellenistic to Turkish times. This specimen was mentioned in my article, "The Arab Mosque in Athens," *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 344, note 71.

In the present state of our knowledge these coins struck in Crete during the Arab occupation of the island cannot be dated exactly but it is safe to say that they were issued from the second half of the 9th century into the second quarter of the 10th.<sup>2</sup> This period, and the century and a half preceding it, is perhaps the dimmest in the whole history of the Agora. Aside from the lack of archaeological evidence of structural or ceramic nature, the paucity of Byzantine coins of these years found in the excavations is striking testimony to the decline and poverty of the city.<sup>3</sup> Few if any conclusions can be drawn from the presence of three Arab coins in the vast area of the excavations, but one can hint at least at the possibility of commerce of some sort between Arab-occupied Crete and the mainland of Greece. I have seen two other examples of this coinage in antique shops in Athens and have recorded eight specimens found in the excavations at Corinth. We know also that some years later, probably in the second half of the 10th century or early in the 11th, there appears to have existed an Arab mosque in Athens,<sup>4</sup> suggesting the presence of an Arab colony in the city if not a temporary military occupation.

For a detailed account of the excavations in the area in which two of the three Arab coins were found, see Rodney S. Young, "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens," *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 134ff., especially pp. 286-287 where the period in question is dealt with.

<sup>2</sup> I hope eventually to be able to date the various Arab issues of Crete more accurately after making a thorough revision of the genealogy of the Amirs based on the evidence of all the known coins and on written Arabic and Byzantine testimony. This study, a preliminary, only partially documented, version of which was given at the Cretological Congress mentioned above, is under preparation.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The Athenian Agora*, II, pp. 4, 85-86, and Margaret Thompson, "Some Unpublished Bronze Money of the Early Eighth Century," *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 358-380.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the article referred to above, *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 329-344.

## ILKHĀNID (?)

4. Illegible coins with characteristics suggestive of the coinage of the Ilkhānids (Mongols of Persia), probably 8th/14th c.  
2 specimens (one *AR*)

## SELJŪQS AND SUCCESSORS IN ANATOLIA (?)

5. Unidentifiable, 8th/14th or 9th/15th c.  
2 specimens

## MAMLŪKS OF EGYPT (?)

6. Unidentifiable, possibly Miṣr (Cairo) with date xx7 (?) in words. *Ca.* 9th/15th c.  
1 specimen
7. Illegible fragmentary inscriptions, suggestive of Mamlūk style. *Ca.* 9th/15th c.  
1 specimen

## LOCAL COINAGE OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE 9TH/15TH C. (?)

8. Coins with unsystematic designs or markings, consisting of straight lines, crisscrosses, curlicues, circles and dots. Very few show characteristics that might be interpreted as imitations of Turkish legends. Mostly thin fabric, frequently folded, extremely crude, irregular, angular shapes.

249 specimens (6 to 15 mm.)

PLATE I, 4–26

The problem of the attribution of these coins has been discussed in the introduction to the catalogue, pp. 3–4. Examples of specimens bearing possible Turkish pseudo-legends are illustrated in Plate I, nos. 20–26.

## OTTOMAN SULTANS

MEHMET I, 816–824/1413–1421

*Silver*

- 8A. Edirne. 816. Edhem 112. Ghalib 28.  
1 specimen

PLATE I, 26a

See p. 3, above. This coin predates the definitive occupation of Athens by approximately 45 years.

BĀYAZĪD II, 886–918/1481–1512

*Silver*

9. Edirne. 886. Edhem 476.  
1 specimen

PLATE I, 27

The mint name is spelled *إدرنة*, not *إدرنة* as in Edhem.

10. Edirne. 88x. Cf. Edhem 476–8.  
1 specimen

PLATE I, 28

11. Engüriye. x. Cf. Edhem 488.  
1 specimen



12. Qaraṭova. x. Cf. Edhem 557.

1 specimen

13. Novār. x. Edhem 567.

4 specimens

PLATE I, 29–30

14. Novār (?). x. Cf. Edhem 567?

2 specimens

15. Novār. 891 ?/1486 ?

1 specimen

PLATE I, 31

The date appears to be 861, which is impossible. Perhaps the “6” is intended to be a “9”.  
The type is hitherto unpublished.

16. Mint and date effaced.

3 specimens

17. Bāyazīd II? Mint and date effaced.

1 specimen

### *Copper*

18. Constantinople. 903/1497–8. Edhem 454.

2 specimens

PLATE I, 32–33

One of these (Plate I, 33) is struck with parts of the obverse and reverse dies on both sides.

19. Constantinople. 91(2?)/1506–7?

1 specimen

PLATE I, 34

The coin is largely effaced, but the reverse appears to have a three-line legend (separated by horizontal bars) with Qusṭanṭīniya on the second line, and 91(2?) on the third.

20. Constantinople. No date. Cf. Edhem 474.

1 specimen

PLATE I, 35

The obverse is effaced, but the reverse is similar to Edhem 474, which has an anepigraphic stellar figure obverse.

21. Probably Bāyazīd II. Mint and date if any illegible.

2 specimens

PLATE I, 36

Large heavy characters, with suggestion of بزرید ?

22. Probably Bāyazīd II. No mint, no date. Anepigraphic.

152 specimens (8 to 16 mm., mostly 11 to 12 mm.)

PLATE I, 37–42

This anonymous, dateless type with stellar figure on both sides occurs in several varieties. The assignment of these coins to Bāyazīd II is hypothetical but reasonable. ‘Ali (no. 87) describes a coin with a somewhat similar obverse but an epigraphical reverse, and assigns it to Süleyman I, but (p. 101) he points out that the stellar figure already occurs under Bāyazīd. In Edhem’s catalogue there are a number of types with somewhat similar simple designs assigned to Bāyazīd. I am inclined to believe that these anepigraphic types are not likely to be later than Bāyazīd II.

Not all these coins are identical in design. Plate I, 40–41, for example, are variants of the common type. Plate I, 42 is of thin fabric and is perhaps related to Class 8.

23. Probably Bāyazīd II. Stellar figure on one side, effaced or illegible inscription on the other.

10 specimens (9 to 13 mm.)

PLATE I, 43

## SELİM I, 918–926/1512–1520

*Silver*

24. Edirne (?). Date effaced. Cf. Edhem 643.

1 specimen

25. Qaraṭova. 918?. Cf. Edhem 676.

1 specimen

26. Mint and date effaced.

1 specimen

27. Selīm I (?). Illegible. Syrian mint(?).

1 specimen

*Copper*

28. Constantinople. 918. Edhem 631.

163 specimens (11 to 15 mm.)

PLATE I, 44–55

PLATE II, 1–7

Many of these, including a number whose inscriptions appear to be retrograde, are in all probability local imitations. Plate II, 4 and 5 are examples of retrograde dies, and Plate II, 6 and 7 are typical of the crude fabric of many of these coins. Both sides of Plate II, 2 are overstruck or restruck.

29. Constantinople (?). 918?.

2 specimens (10 to 13 mm.)

PLATE II, 8

These are mulings of two obverses similar to the obverse of no. 28.

30. Possible imitations of no. 28, and related coins.

102 specimens (9 to 16 mm.)

PLATE II, 9–20

These coins are even cruder than those imitations which I have classed with no. 28, above. While the imitations grouped with the Constantinople-918 type are almost certainly copies of that type, those which I have included here are a further step removed, so to speak, from the prototype and in some cases perhaps have no specific prototype. Their legends are not only illiterate but only in a general way do they imitate authentic legends of about this period. Accurate dating is of course out of the question, but I have placed them here under Selīm I because many bear characteristics resembling those of no. 28.

Included in this group are some (for example, Plate II, 16–20) whose fabric resembles that of the class which I have assigned to the 15th century (no. 8).

31. Edirne. 91x. Cf. Edhem 645 (Edirne, 923).

1 specimen

Edhem 645 has an obverse not unlike this, but the reverse is different.

32. Mint effaced. 918?.

1 specimen

PLATE II, 21

33. Constantinople. 922/1516. Edhem 641.

10 specimens (13 to 17 mm.)

PLATE II, 22–24

The obverse segments read *فلوس ضرب قسطنطينيه*, the reverse *في سنة ٩٢٢*. One specimen (Plate II, 24) appears to be a variant.

34. Bursa. 923/1517. Probably similar to Edhem 659.

1 specimen

PLATE II, 25

35. Mint effaced. 923 ?/1517 ?.

1 specimen

36. Constantinople. 92(5)/1519. Edhem 637.

3 specimens (13–16 mm.)

PLATE II, 26

Only one of these is certainly of the cited type; the other two probably are.

37. Probably Selim I. Constantinople and no mint name. No date. Cf. 'Ali 80.

40 specimens (11 to 17 mm.)

PLATE II, 27–34

Coins of this type were assigned to Selim I by 'Ali, and I accept this attribution as reasonable. Some specimens have ضرب and قسطنطينيه (frequently very debased) at the top and bottom respectively of the reverse; sometimes قسطنطينيه appears to be at the top; others have scrolls in place of these words but are in other respects similar.

38. Imitations and probable imitations of no. 37.

12 specimens (9 to 14 mm.)

PLATE II, 35–36

The fabric of the specimen illustrated in Plate II, 36 resembles that of the class grouped under no. 8.

39. Probably Selim I. Constantinople, possibly Serez, and no mint name. No date.

14 specimens (11 to 15 mm.)

PLATE II, 37–44

I have assigned this group to Selim I on the basis of a general resemblance to the type of no. 37. Some specimens evidently bear the name of Constantinople (Plate II, 37–38); others might be interpreted as reading "Serez" (Plate II, 39–41); others have "illiterate" legends or bear probable imitations of these names (Plate II, 42–44). The obverse has a small central star within a hexagonal figure whose points terminate in a sort of trefoil; the several varieties of reverse have the formula عز نصره ضرب and the mint name (or imitation thereof), sometimes separated by horizontal lines.

40. Possibly Selim I. No mint or date.

1 specimen

PLATE II, 45

This specimen is perhaps an imitation of type 39. One side has a star within a hexagon, the other a disorganized pattern of crisscrosses and dots. The fabric, thin and folded, resembles that of type 8.

41. Selim I (?). Serez (?). No date.

1 specimen

PLATE II, 46

The obverse, partly retrograde, suggests the usual legend of Selim I. The coin is obviously an imitation.

#### SÜLEYMÂN I, 926–974/1520–1566

##### *Silver*

42. Edirne. (926). Edhem 765.

1 specimen

43. Edirne (?). (926). Cf. Edhem 765 ?

1 specimen

44. Üsküb. 926. Edhem 781.

1 specimen

PLATE II, 47

45. Amasya. 926. Edhem 787.

2 specimens

46. Belgrād. (926). Probably similar to Edhem 865.

1 specimen

47. Ḥalab. (926). Cf. Edhem 887.

1 specimen

PLATE II, 48

48. Sidre Qapısı. (926). Cf. Edhem 953–964.

1 specimen

49. Sidre Qapısı (?). (926). Cf. Edhem 953–964.

1 specimen

50. Sidre Qapısı, 926 / Qaraṭova, date lacking.

1 specimen

PLATE II, 49

This curious muling suggests a close administrative relationship between Qaraṭova and Sidre Qapısı. See the remarks in the introduction, p. 9–10.

51. Sidre Qapısı. 933/1526–7.

1 specimen

PLATE II, 50

This issue appears to be hitherto unpublished.

52. Serbernije. (926). Cf. Edhem 966.

5 specimens

PLATE II, 51–53

Three of these specimens, found together, are pierced.

53. Qaraṭova. 926. Cf. Edhem 980–985.

4 specimens

54. Qaraṭova. 926. Edhem 982, variant.

1 specimen

PLATE II, 54

The date is beneath the word *sana*, rather than above it as in the published specimen.

55. Constantinople. 926. Edhem 703.

2 specimens

PLATE II, 55–56

One specimen (Plate II, 56) appears to be a variant.

56. Constantinople (?). (926?). Cf. Edhem 703?

1 specimen

57. Novāberda. 92(6). Cf. Edhem 1048–1052.

1 specimen

58. Novār. 926. Edhem 1055.

1 specimen

PLATE III, 1

59. Novār. 926. Cf. Edhem 1053–1057.

4 specimens

PLATE III, 2

60. Mint effaced, and date 92x or effaced.

12 specimens

61. Selīm I or Süleymān I. Mint and date effaced.

3 specimens

Unidentifiable coins with characteristics of the issues of these rulers.

*Copper*

62. Qaraṭova. 926. Cf. Edhem 982.

1 specimen

PLATE III, 3

This specimen resembles Edhem 982, which however is silver. Coppers of Qaraṭova appear to be hitherto unknown.

63. Uncertain mint. 926.

1 specimen

PLATE III, 4

The mint name appears to begin with a *ṣād*. The date is clear. Except for a rosette the reverse is almost entirely obliterated.

64. EdİRne. (928?)/1521–2?. Cf. Edhem 768.

7 specimens (10–17 mm.)

PLATE III, 5–7

The specimen published by Edhem is dated 928. There are several variants of this and the following related types: the stars and pellets on the obverse are not always present, and the position of the large *ḥ* on the reverse varies.

65. EdİRne or Bursa, or local imitations. *Ca.* 928?/*ca.* 1521–2?. Cf. Edhem 768 and 835.

17 specimens (10–17 mm.)

PLATE III, 8–13

The obverses (figure side) of these coins resemble the immediately preceding type (no. 64), but the reverses are illegible, even when not badly worn or damaged. Edhem 835 is a coin of Bursa dated 928 resembling the EdİRne issue. Most of these specimens are probably local imitations of the EdİRne or Bursa types.

66. Serez (?). *Ca.* 928?/*ca.* 1521–2?. Cf. Edhem 768 and 835.

6 specimens (14–16 mm.)

PLATE III, 14–15

These resemble nos. 64–65, but the reverse bears a group of letters which might possibly be read as سرز (“Serez”), but this attribution is offered without much confidence. Perhaps the group belongs with the local imitations of class 65.

67. Uncertain mint. *Ca.* 928?/*ca.* 1521–2?.

2 specimens

PLATE III, 16

Similar to nos. 64–66, but the mint name (if not a meaningless imitation) is illegible.

68. No mint. *Ca.* 928?/*ca.* 1521–2?

1 specimen

PLATE III, 17

Obviously an imitation of types 64–67, with a completely unintelligible and disorganized reverse.

69. No mint. *Ca.* 928?/*ca.* 1521–2?.

1 specimen

PLATE III, 18

The knotted figure, similar to the obverse of nos. 64–68, appears on both sides. No legend.

70. Mint effaced or no mint. *Ca.* 928?/*ca.* 1521–2?.

32 specimens (10–17 mm.)

One side of these specimens carries the knotted figure of nos. 64–69; the other side is obscure or effaced.

71. Mint? 92x?.

1 specimen (13 mm.)

## 72. Mint ? 932/1525-6.

2 specimens (12-15 mm.)

## 73. Constantinople. 942/1535-6. Cf. Edhem 725-727.

1 specimen

PLATE III, 19

The obverse is obscure, probably a geometric design. The reverse is similar to the specimens described by Edhem, but the obverses there are different.

74. Constantinople, possibly EdİRne, and local imitations. *Ca.* 926-942 ?/*ca.* 1520-1536 ?.

43 specimens (9-15 mm.)

PLATE III, 20-28

Edhem 711 and 722, Constantinople, dated 926 and 942, have somewhat similar rosette obverses; and some anonymous undated specimens illustrated by 'Ali (nos. 87, 89-93), with perhaps related figures, are attributed to Süleymān I. Among those which I judge to be local imitations are some thin, folded specimens (e.g., Plate III, 28).

75. Tripolitza (?). 952/1545-6 and 95x/ *ca.* 1543-1552

6 specimens (11-13 mm.)

PLATE III, 29-33

See pp. 10-14 for the discussion of this attribution, and nos. 92-95, 97-99, 115-119, 121-125, below, for later issues attributed to the same mint. Cf. 'Ali 95, which he read *جربل*, and the obverse ornament of which he compared with Edhem 762, an issue of Constantinople dated 972. The obverse design is to be compared with that of the same mint of the year 986 (no. 116, below).

76. Illegible. *Ca.* 960/*ca.* 1552-3.

1 specimen

PLATE III, 34

The coin displays a knot with what appears to be a retrograde imitation of the name of Constantinople beneath; for a possible prototype cf. Edhem 740 (dated 960) and Edhem 736ff. for somewhat similar types.

## 77. EdİRne. 96(4 ?)/1556-7 ?.

1 specimen

PLATE III, 35

Cf. Edhem 772 (EdİRne, 93x), 773 (EdİRne, 963), and 776 (EdİRne, 966) with rather similar rosettes.

78. EdİRne (?). *Ca.* 96x ?/*ca.* 1552-62 ?.

1 specimen

PLATE III, 36

The coin bears a general resemblance to Edhem 776-780 (EdİRne, 966 and 969).

## 79. Mint effaced. 972 ?/1564-5 ?.

1 specimen

PLATE III, 37

## 80. Mint and date effaced, possibly Constantinople, 972/1564-5.

1 specimen

PLATE III, 38

Cf. Edhem 762, with an ornament on the obverse resembling this.

## 81. Mint obscure, possibly Serez. Date effaced.

1 specimen

PLATE III, 39

## 82. Mint and date effaced.

1 specimen

## 83. (Süleymān I ?). Illegible. Anomalous type.

1 specimen

PLATE III, 40

84. (Süleymān I ?). Constantinople.  
1 specimen (16 mm.)
85. Probably period of Selīm I – Süleymān I. *Ca.* 918–974/*ca.* 1512–1566.  
2 specimens (10 × 11 mm.)

## SELİM II, 974–982/1566–1574

*Silver*

86. EdİRne. 974. Cf. Edhem 1085.  
1 specimen PLATE III, 41
87. Qaraṭova. 974. Cf. Edhem 1144.  
1 specimen PLATE III, 42
88. Constantinople. Date effaced. Cf. Edhem 1076?  
1 specimen
89. Mint and date effaced.  
1 specimen

*Copper*

90. Constantinople. 974.  
1 specimen PLATE III, 43  
The obverse is obscure but appears to have a knot and sprig design. It is not similar to Edhem 1077–1084.
91. Constantinople. 977/1569–70. Cf. Edhem 1077.  
4 specimens (12–16 mm.) PLATE III, 44–45  
These are probably similar to the coin described by Edhem, who points out that the arabesque is like one on a coin of Selīm I (Edhem 634).
92. Tripolitza (?). [9](7?)8/1570–1?  
1 specimen PLATE III, 46  
See pp. 10–14.
93. Tripolitza (?). 97x/*ca.* 1562–1572.  
1 specimen PLATE III, 47  
The obverse is perhaps related to the type of the year 982 (see no. 98, below). See pp. 10–14.
94. Tripolitza (?). 97x/*ca.* 1562–1572.  
2 specimens PLATE III, 48–49  
The obverse type is indeterminate. See pp. 10–14.
95. Tripolitza (?) 97x/*ca.* 1562–1572.  
1 specimen PLATE III, 50  
The obverse is effaced. See pp. 10–14.
96. Constantinople. (980?/1572–3?). Probably similar to Edhem 1080 (dated 980).  
1 specimen PLATE III, 51
97. Tripolitza (?). [9]81 and 98x (probably 981)/1573–4.  
2 specimens PLATE III, 52–53  
The obverses are effaced.

**98. Tripolitza (?). 982/1574–5.**

35 specimens (9–16 mm.)

PLATE III, 54–67

See pp. 10–14. Edhem 1065 has a similar obverse design, a star surrounded by a pattern consisting of three knots and various points. The reverse of this specimen, the date of which is effaced, bears a legend which almost certainly is the same as that on our coins. Edhem left the question of the reading open (he transcribed simply تارابلس), but he observed that there was a possibility that the legend might be read طرابلس, Ṭarāblus. This legend also occurs on Edhem 1061–1062, dated 959, with a different but somewhat similar obverse pattern; and on Edhem 1063–1064, also (one gathers) dated 959 but with a variant obverse design. Edhem 1066, dated 960 on the obverse, is also a product of the same mint.

Because of their exceedingly obscure condition the attribution of at least a dozen of the 35 specimens which I have assigned to this class is by no means certain.

**99. Tripolitza (?). [982?]/[1574–5 ?].**

1 specimen

PLATE III, 68

A variant of type 98.

[PLATE III, 69 and 70 illustrate a lead seal and coin in Khalil Edhem, *Qūrshūn Mühr Qatāloghu* (Constantinople, 1321), no. 60. See the discussion of Tripolitza (?), p. 10, above.]

**100. Unidentifiable coins probably attributable to the period of Süleymān I to Selīm II, 926–982/1520–1574.**

30 specimens (7–13 mm.)

PLATE IV, 1–5

Coins with little preserved except traces of knots and rosettes suggestive of the known issues of this period.

**101. Anomalous unidentifiable coins probably attributable to the period of Süleymān I to Selīm II, 926–982/1520–1574.**

2 specimens (16–19 mm.)

PLATE IV, 6–7

Both these large flan coins are probably from Syrian mints. One has a marginal legend: خدا ملکہ و سلطانہ

**MURĀD III, 982–1003/1574–1595***Gold***101 A. Miṣr. 982. Edhem 1357–1360.**

1 specimen (3.20 gr., 20 mm.)

PLATE IV, 7a

This gold coin (*altūn*) did not come to the writer's attention until the spring of 1962 after the catalogue had been completed. Hence the sub-number. It was found on April 12, 1939, in Turkish fill on the lower slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs.

*Silver***102. Edirne. 982?. Cf. Edhem 1191?**

1 specimen

Plate IV, 8

**103. Edirne (?). [982?]. Cf. Edhem 1191?**

1 specimen (12 mm.)

**104. Amāsyā. [982]. Probably similar to Edhem 1204.**

1 specimen (9 mm.)

**105. Amid (?). 982. Cf. Edhem 1221?**

1 specimen

PLATE IV, 9



106. Chānichā (?). [982]. Cf. Edhem 1274?

1 specimen

PLATE IV, 10

This specimen is probably silver although in its cleaned state it has the appearance of copper.

107. Dimishq. [982]. Cf. Edhem 1317.

1 specimen

PLATE IV, 11

108. Constantinople. 982. Cf. Edhem 1167.

3 specimens (10–13 mm.)

PLATE IV, 12

The date is not preserved on two specimens (not illustrated), and there is some question whether they are silver or copper.

109. Qūchāniye (?). [982?]. Cf. Edhem 1350?

1 specimen

PLATE IV, 13

110. Miṣr. [982]. Cf. Edhem 1364.

2 specimens (13–16 mm.)

PLATE IV, 14

111. [Miṣr?]. [982?]. Cf. Edhem 1364?

8 specimens (13–16 mm.)

112. Mint and date effaced.

3 specimens (10–12 mm.)

113. Probably Murād III. Mint and date effaced or illegible.

8 specimens (10–13 mm.)

114. Probably Murād III. Mint (probably Syrian) and date effaced.

1 specimen


### *Copper*

115. Tripolitza (?). 98(5?)/157(7–8?).

1 specimen

PLATE IV, 15

The obverse type is an obscure geometrical figure. The inscription on the reverse in general resembles that of the other coins which I have assigned to Tripolitza (nos. 75, 92–95, 97–99,

116–119, 121–125), but the letters appear to be something like this: . It may perhaps

be a different mint. This is the specimen referred to in the preliminary discussion (p. 10, note 33) which shakes any conviction I might have in the attribution of these coins to Tripolitza.

116. Tripolitza (?). Perhaps 986/1578–9.

23 specimens (10–16 mm.)

PLATE IV, 16–30

These coins are probably similar to Edhem 1348, dated 986 by comparison with a better preserved specimen in a private collection. Edhem read [ط]ربل and entered the specimen under the heading of “Ṭarablūs.” The obverse figure, perhaps not always identical, is not unlike that of no. 75, above, of the year 952.

117. Tripolitza (?). Date lacking, probably *ca.* 986/*ca.* 1578–9.

9 specimens (11–15 mm.)

PLATE IV, 31–36

The obverse of these in general resembles that of no. 116.

118. Tripolitza (?). [9]8x, probably 986/1578–9.

4 specimens (9–12 mm.)

PLATE IV, 37–40

Similar to Edhem 1347, dated 986. Edhem transcribed: [طربلوس]

119. Mint effaced [Tripolitza?]. *Ca.* 986/*ca.* 1578–9.

9 specimens (9–14 mm.)

PLATE IV, 41–42

The reverses of these specimens are effaced, but the obverses are similar to or variants of no. 118. The coins may, of course, be the product of some other mint.

120. Mint effaced. *Ca.* 986?/*ca.* 1578–9?.

1 specimen

PLATE IV, 43

The obverse is similar to no. 118; the reverse possibly a debased form of the conventional *عز نصر* legend.

121. [Selīm II or Murād III?]. Tripolitza (?) Date effaced, probably *ca.* 98x/*ca.* 1572–1581.

14 specimens (8–13 mm.)

PLATE IV, 44–48

These coins are perhaps similar to ‘Ali 92, on which he read *أربى* and compared the obverse design with Edhem 743 (Constantinople, 963 H.). There is indeed a resemblance to this figure, but the evidence for precise dating to 963 is not sufficiently strong, and in view of the number of others attributable to the 980’s, this group has been assigned here.

122. [Süleymān I, Selīm II or Murād III?]. Tripolitza (?) Date effaced, probably *ca.* 952–98x/*ca.* 1545–1581.

1 specimen

PLATE IV, 49

This specimen has an exceptional knotted obverse type and a reverse differing from the others attributed to this mint in that it has a knot above the mint name.

123. [Süleymān I, Selīm II or Murād III]. Tripolitza (?). Obverse effaced, date lacking, probably *ca.* 952–98x/*ca.* 1545–1581.

4 specimens (7–13 mm.)

PLATE IV, 50–53

124. [Süleymān I, Selīm II or Murād III]. [Tripolitza?]. Reverse obscure, date effaced, probably *ca.* 952–98x/*ca.* 1545–1581.

3 specimens (10–13 mm.)

PLATE IV, 54

125. [Süleymān I, Selīm II or Murād III]. [Tripolitza?]. Possibly *ca.* 952–98x/*ca.* 1545–1581.

3 specimens (10–13 mm.)

PLATE IV, 55–57

Possibly imitations of type 124. Two specimens (Plate IV, 55 and 57) are curious examples with a series of verticals on the reverse, which might be interpreted as vestiges of the mint legend.

126. [Süleymān I, Selīm II or Murād III]. *Ca.* 926–1003/*ca.* 1520–1595. Novāberda. Date effaced.

1 specimen

PLATE IV, 58

The coin appears to be copper, and if so it is, to my knowledge, the first known specimen in this metal.

127. Constantinople. 988/1580–1. Edhem 1180–1182.

2 specimens (12–15 mm.)

PLATE IV, 59

128. Constantinople. Date effaced, *ca.* 98x/*ca.* 1574–1581. Cf. Edhem 1175ff.

1 specimen

PLATE IV, 60

Somewhat similar types in Edhem’s catalogue are dated in the 980’s.

129. [Probably Selīm II or Murād III]. Ḥalab. *Ca.* 974–1003/1566–1595.

1 specimen (AR, 16 mm.)

## 10TH CENTURY (?) / 16TH CENTURY (?)

*Copper*

130. Mint and date effaced. Little if anything preserved aside from border of dots.  
15 specimens (10–16 mm.)

The fabric is characteristic of this century.

131. Mint and date effaced. Anomalous type.  
1 specimen

PLATE IV, 61

Large characters, crude fabric. Probably this period.

132. Illegible coins of anomalous types.  
3 specimens (9–14 mm.)

PLATE IV, 62–63

133. Miscellaneous geometric figures and arabesques.  
50 specimens (9–18 mm.)

PLATE IV, 64–75

Some of these bear unclassifiable figured types on both sides, others have one side completely effaced. They are probably of the 10th/16th century.

For illustrations of the infinite variety of geometrical and arabesque figures on Turkish coppers of the late 15th and 16th centuries see in addition to the catalogues of Edhem and Ghalib and 'Ali's articles, Mubarek Ghalib, "Notice sur les monnaies turques avec ornements," *Rev. Belge de Num.*, 1899, pp. 303–312.

134. Miscellaneous illegible imitations of Turkish legends.  
84 specimens (9–15 mm.)

PLATE IV, 76–77

PLATE V, 1–16

These coins are in all probability "illiterate," and I have not been able to assign them to any particular group of probable imitations such as nos. 28, 30, 39, 65, 66, etc. They are probably of the 10th/16th century.

*Silver*

135. Unidentifiable probably 10th/16th c. silver *aqches*.  
28 specimens (R, ca. 10–14 mm.)

## 9TH–10TH CENTURY/15TH–16TH CENTURY

*Copper*

136. Illegible and unclassifiable coins of "ribbon fabric."  
1095 specimens (8–16 mm.)

See the note under no. 137, below.

137. Illegible and unclassifiable coins of thin, frequently folded "ribbon fabric."  
37 specimens (8–16 mm.)

PLATE V, 17–23

Many specimens included under no. 136 might have been placed in this category, but it was not until rather late in my preliminary classification of the coins that I realized that thinness might constitute a criterion of some sort for classification. Toward the end I began to note this characteristic on the cards, but it was then too late and impractical to begin again and reexamine the many hundreds of "illegible ribbons" and reclassify them consistently according to their thickness or thinness. Aside from other considerations, the expenditure of this time and effort seemed scarcely justifiable in view of the fact that I was unable to establish any different chronological or other significant attribution for these two characteristics. Whether the thin fabric has any significance, either chronological or geographical, must remain an open question.

In any case it seemed to me perhaps worthwhile to preserve in the published catalogue this differentiation in fabric at least wherever I had made a note of it. In this connection attention is drawn to the discussion of class 8 in the introduction. A few characteristic specimens of the thin, usually sharply rectangular, frequently folded fabric are illustrated in the plate.

MEHMET III, 1003–1012/1595–1603

*Silver*

138. Constantinople. 1003. Cf. Ghalib 396.  
1 specimen PLATE V, 24
139. Constantinople (?). [1003]. Cf. Ghalib 398.  
3 specimens (11 mm.) PLATE V, 25
140. Mişr. 1003.  
3 specimens (14–15 mm.)
141. Novāberda. [1003?]. Cf. Ghalib 403?  
1 specimen (10 mm.)
142. Yenishahir. 1003. Cf. Ghalib 406.  
1 specimen (10.5 mm.) PLATE V, 26
143. Mint effaced. [1003?].  
6 specimens (10–11 mm.)

*Copper*

144. Mint effaced. [1003?].  
2 specimens (13–16 mm.)

AHMED I, 1012–1026/1603–1617

*Silver*

145. Edirne. 1012. Ghalib 437.  
2 specimens (11–12 mm.) PLATE V, 27
146. Tōqāt. [1012]. Type of Ghalib 456 of Damascus.  
1 specimen PLATE V, 28
147. Tūnis. 1019 (?)/1610–1 (?). Cf. Ghalib 461–463.  
1 specimen PLATE V, 29
148. Tūnis. Date effaced. Cf. Ghalib 461–463.  
2 specimens (11 × 12 mm.) PLATE V, 30
149. Chānichā. 1012. Ghalib 447–449.  
2 specimens (16 × 18 mm.) PLATE V, 31
150. Constantinople. 1012. Cf. Ghalib 436.  
2 specimens (11–14 mm.)
151. Mişr. 1012. Cf. Ghalib 459.  
6 specimens (14–17 mm.) PLATE V, 32
- The date is effaced on several of these specimens, but it is almost certainly the accession year.
152. Mişr (?). [1012?]. Cf. Ghalib 459?  
6 specimens (14–17 mm.)

153. Mişr (?). [1012?]. Cf. Ghalib 460?  
1 specimen (13 mm.)
154. Mint effaced. [1012].  
2 specimens (10–11 mm.)

## ‘OSMÂN II, 1027–1031/1618–1622

*Silver*

155. Ṭarāblus. [1027?].  
2 specimens (18 mm.)  
Not in Ghalib or the BM.
156. Mişr. [1027?].  
1 specimen PLATE V, 33  
Not in Ghalib or the BM. عثمان in the center.
157. Mişr (?). [1027?].  
1 specimen PLATE V, 34  
Not in Ghalib or the BM; it differs from Ghalib 491 of Mişr. بن احمد in the center.
158. Mint effaced. 1027 and [1027].  
4 specimens (10–12 mm.)

## MUŞTAFÂ I (SECOND REIGN), 1031–1032/1622–1623

*Silver*

159. Mişr. [1031].  
1 specimen (13 × 15 mm.)  
Not in Ghalib or the BM.

## MURÂD IV, 1032–1049/1623–1640

*Silver*

160. Edirne. 1032. Ghalib 503.  
1 specimen PLATE V, 35
161. Belgrād. [1032].  
3 specimens (10–12 mm.) PLATE V, 36  
Not in Ghalib or the BM.
162. Constantinople. 1032 and [1032]. Cf. Ghalib 502.  
9 specimens (9–12 mm.)
163. Constantinople. [1032?].  
1 specimen (10 mm.)  
Not in Ghalib or the BM. مراد in the center, his title and father's name around the margin.
164. Mişr. 1032. Cf. Ghalib 508.  
8 specimens (15–16 mm.)  
Mint and date are obscure or lacking on several specimens.
165. Mişr. [1032?]. Cf. Ghalib 510?  
2 specimens (11–13 mm.)

166. Mint and date effaced.

21 specimens (9–12 mm.)

A dozen of these specimens are very obscure and are attributed to Murād IV on the basis of their general appearance only.

PERIOD OF AḤMED I TO MURĀD IV, *ca.* 1012–1049/*ca.* 1603–1646

*Copper*

167. Miṣr. Large thick Egyptian dumps.

15 specimens (13–20 mm.)

PLATE V, 37–44

These coins constitute a hoard found in a hole on the west side of the Panathenaic Way opposite the Eleusinion (grid reference S 20). They range in thickness from 3 to 5 mm. For the general type see Ghalib 511, struck at *Miṣr mahrūsah* in 104x. Only one date is preserved, a dubious 103x (PLATE V, 43). Where preserved the reverse legends are عز نصره ضرب مصر, or, in one case, مصر محروسه. The obverse designs are crude and various: a rosette, a polygon and pellets, a crisscross pattern, and an uncertain figure accompanied by a legend (?).

168. Miṣr. Coins resembling those under no. 167, no dates preserved.

9 specimens (8–20 mm.)

PLATE V, 45–47

These were found in various parts of the excavations. Thickness ranges from 3 to 4 mm. At least one specimen has مصر محروسه (PLATE V, 45), one has سلطان احمد (?) (PLATE V, 46), another احمد بن (?) (PLATE V, 47). Obverse designs include a knot, a rosette in a polygon, and a crisscross pattern.

IBRĀHĪM, 1049–1058/1640–1648

*Silver*

169. Constantinople. 1049. Ghalib 516–519.

2 specimens (13.5–15 mm.)

PLATE V, 48

MEḤMED IV, 1058–1099/1648–1687

*Silver*

170. Miṣr. [1058]. Cf. Ghalib 555.

1 specimen (15 mm.)

171. Mint effaced. [1058?].

3 specimens (12–15 mm.)

SÜLEYMĀN II, 1099–1102/1687–1691

*Silver*

172. Constantinople. [10]9x?.

1 specimen

PLATE V, 49

The attribution is uncertain. I find nothing similar in Ghalib or the BM.

*Copper*

173. Constantinople. 1099/1688. Ghalib 566.

485 specimens (19–20 mm.)

PLATE V, 50<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The well-preserved specimen illustrated is not from the Agora excavations but in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.

One group of 103 specimens of this issue was found together below the foundations of a modern house in the northwest corner of the Agora (grid reference K 9); and another lot of 27 pieces, stuck together by oxidization, was found in a mass of plaster in the middle of the Agora (grid reference K-M 9-11). The remainder were scattered throughout the excavations. Many specimens are pierced.

Brief mention of this plentiful issue has been made in the introduction (p. 5). The accession of Süleymân II occurred at a time when the Ottoman Empire was in dire economic straits and various efforts were made to remedy the critical fiscal situation. Among these expedients was the decision to issue a copper token coinage to take the place of silver, and in Shawwâl 1099 (August 1688) a firman authorized the striking of this coin. A special mint was set up for this purpose in the quarter of Constantinople known as *Ṭaushân Tashı*, apparently on the site of the abandoned pre-conquest Byzantine mint. New machinery was installed under the direction of an ingenious Italian renegade by the name of Muṣṭafa Agha (also known as Hezârfenn), whose idea it had been to issue this token coinage, and an Englishman by the name of Morgan; and at this mint (as well as later at a mint in Sarajevo) these new-style emergency *mānghurs* were forthwith issued in immense quantities, 800 of the coins being minted from one oke (2.8 pounds) of copper. At first the new coin was officially valued at one-half of the *aqche*, but a few months later (Safar 1100/December 1688) continuing inflation caused the *mānghur* to be equated with the silver at 1:1. Evidently the situation was even further exacerbated by the importation of counterfeit *mānghurs* of this type from Europe. Eventually the unfortunate Hezârfenn was blamed for the fiscal crisis and had to pay for the experiment with his life.<sup>6</sup>

Some observations with regard to the possible relevance of the quantity of this issue found in the Agora will be found in the introduction, p. 5.

#### MUSTAFA II, 1106-1115/1695-1704

##### Silver

174. Mint and date effaced.

1 specimen (18 mm.)

The attribution to Muṣṭafa II cannot be considered certain. The fabric suggests a North African mint.

175. Mint and date effaced.

1 specimen (18 mm.)

##### Copper (or brass)

176. Constantinople. 1106. Ghalib 590-591.

3 specimens (37-39 mm.)

#### AHMED III, 1115-1143/1704-1730

##### Silver<sup>7</sup>

177. Islāmbül. 1115. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 637-638.

1 specimen (15 mm.)

178. Islāmbül. 1115/ṛ. *Para*. Ghalib 638.

1 specimen

PLATE V, 51

<sup>6</sup> This episode in Ottoman economic history is well documented. See Von Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, p. 755; Joseph v. Karabacek, "Geschichte der Kupferwährung unter Sultan Suleiman II. bis zu ihrer Aufhebung nach dessen Tode," *Wiener Numismatische Monatshefte*, III, 1867, pp. 198-218; BM VIII, p. xxxiv; Ghalib, pp. 239-240; Zambaur, *Prägungen*, pp. 151-155.

<sup>7</sup> A good many of the smaller coins (*paras* and *aqches*) are pierced, indicating that they have been put to use as ornaments.

179. Constantinople. [1115]. *Yirmilik*. Ghalib 616.

1 specimen (30 mm.)

180. Constantinople. 1115. *Onlūq*. Ghalib 618.

1 specimen (26 mm.)

181. Constantinople. [1115]. Half *zōlota*. Ghalib 622.

1 specimen (27 mm.)

182. Constantinople. 1115. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

33 specimens

PLATE V, 52

These *paras* and those catalogued under nos. 183–191, below, range between 13 and 15 mm. in diameter.

183. Constantinople. 1115/ب. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

3 specimens

184. Constantinople. 1115/ح. *Para*. Ghalib 625.

6 specimens

PLATE V, 53

185. Constantinople. 1115/د. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

1 specimen

186. Constantinople 1115/ذ. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

1 specimen

187. Constantinople. 1115/ع. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

1 specimen

188. Constantinople. 1115/ف. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

2 specimens

189. Constantinople. 1115/ا. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

1 specimen

190. Constantinople. 1115/و? *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

3 specimens

191. Constantinople. 1115/ز. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

2 specimens

192. Constantinople. 1115. *Para* (?). Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

3 specimens

These and nos. 193–196, below, are similar to nos. 182–191, but are smaller in diameter, ranging between 10 and 12 mm.

193. Constantinople. 1115/ح. *Para* (?). Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

2 specimens

194. Constantinople. 1115/د. *Para* (?). Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

3 specimens

195. Constantinople. 1115/ذ. *Para* (?). Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

1 specimen

196. Constantinople. 1115/ف. *Para* (?). Cf. Ghalib 624–625.

1 specimen

197. Constantinople. 1115. *Aqche*. Ghalib 632.

4 specimens (8–9 mm.)

PLATE V, 54



198. Miṣr. 1115. *Para*. Ghalib 655.  
4 specimens (14–15 mm.)

PLATE V, 55

199. Miṣr. 1115. *Aqche*. Ghalib 656.  
1 specimen

PLATE V, 56

## MAḤMŪD I, 1143–1168/1730–1754

*Silver*

200. Ṭarāblus (North Africa). [1143?].  
1 specimen (13 mm.)

201. Constantinople. 1143/. *Gurūsh*. Cf. Ghalib 675–678.  
1 specimen (39 mm.)

PLATE V, 57

202. Constantinople. 1143. *Gurūsh*. Cf. Ghalib 675–678.  
1 specimen (40 mm.)

203. Constantinople. [1143?]. *Onlūq*. Cf. Ghalib 685–688?  
1 specimen (24 mm.)

204. Constantinople.<sup>8</sup> 1143/ص. *Para*. Ghalib 693.  
4 specimens

These *paras* and those catalogued under nos. 205–212, below, range between 14 and 17 mm. in diameter. Where no letter follows the date, the letter is effaced on the coin.

205. Constantinople. 1143/ع. *Para*. Ghalib 691.  
4 specimens

206. Constantinople. 1143/ع. *Para*. Ghalib 692.  
8 specimens

207. Constantinople. 1143/ع. *Para*. Ghalib 697.  
1 specimen

208. Constantinople. 1143/علي? *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 691–698.  
1 specimen

209. Constantinople. 1143/ف. *Para*. Ghalib 694.  
6 specimens

210. Constantinople. 1143 ن. *Para*. Ghalib 695.  
2 specimens

211. Constantinople. 1143/.. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 691–698.  
2 specimens

212. Constantinople. 1143 and [1143]. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 691–698.  
40 specimens

213. Constantinople. 1143/ح. *Aqche*. Cf. Ghalib 699–701.  
1 specimen

This *aqche* and those catalogued under nos. 214–218, below, range between 11 and 12 mm. in diameter.

214. Constantinople. 1143/ص. *Aqche*. Cf. Ghalib 699–701.  
1 specimen

<sup>8</sup> Many of these *paras* and *aqches* are pierced.

215. Constantinople. 1143/ع. *Aqche*. Cf. Ghalib 699–701.  
1 specimen
216. Constantinople. 1143/ل. *Aqche*. Ghalib 699.  
2 specimens
217. Constantinople. 1143/ف. *Aqche*. Cf. Ghalib 699–701.  
1 specimen
218. Constantinople. 1143 and [1143?]. *Aqche*. Cf. Ghalib 699–701.  
6 specimens
219. Miṣr. 1143/س. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 715–718.  
1 specimen
- The *paras* of Miṣr range between 14 and 17 mm. in diameter.
220. Miṣr. 1143/س. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 715–718.  
1 specimen
221. Miṣr. 1143/ع. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 715–718.  
1 specimen
222. Miṣr. 1143/س. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 715–718.  
1 specimen
223. Miṣr. 1143 and [1143?]. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 715–718.  
21 specimens
224. Mint effaced. [1143?]. *Para*?  
2 specimens (15–16 mm.)

Coins of Maḥmūd I also were found in two hoards. These are listed under nos. 258 and 259, below.

‘OṢMĀN III, 1168–1171/1754–1757

*Silver*<sup>9</sup>

225. Constantinople. 1168/ح. *Para*. Ghalib 741.  
2 specimens (15–16 mm.)
226. Constantinople. 1168/ل (?) *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 741–742.  
1 specimen
227. Constantinople. 1168. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 741–742.  
1 specimen
228. Constantinople. 1168/ح. *Aqche*. Ghalib 743.  
1 specimen
229. Miṣr. 1168/ح (?) *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 747.  
1 specimen

PLATE V, 58

This and the following *paras* of Miṣr are paper-thin and range between 15 and 16 mm. in diameter.

230. Miṣr. 1168/س. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 747.  
1 specimen

<sup>9</sup> Many of these are pierced.

231. Mişr. 1168/•. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 747.

1 specimen

232. Mişr. 1168/٧٠ (?). *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 747.

1 specimen

233. Mişr. 1168. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 747.

2 specimens

One other coin of 'Osmān III, found in a hoard, is catalogued under no. 258, below.

### MUSTAFA III, 1171–1187/1757–1774

#### *Silver*<sup>10</sup>

234. Islāmbūl. 1171 with regnal year/1757–1765. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 786–788.

22 specimens (14–16 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
1	1
2	2
3	4
4?	1
5	2
7	4
8	7 (one an imitation?)
9 (Ghalib 786)	1

235. Islāmbūl. 1171 with abbreviated Hijrah year/1766–1773. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 786–788.

28 specimens (14–16 mm.)

YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
80	1
81	3 (one a counterfeit?)
82	5
83 (Ghalib 787)	5
84	4
86 (Ghalib 788)	4
87	6

236. Islāmbūl. 1171, year effaced. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 786–788.

16 specimens (14–16 mm.)

237. Islāmbūl. 1171:84. *Aqche*. Cf. Ghalib 789.

2 specimens (11.5–13 mm.)

238. Islāmbūl. 1171:ف 86. *Aqche*. Cf. Ghalib 789.

1 specimen (12 mm.)

239. Constantinople. 1171 with various years and letters. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 798.

7 specimens (14–16 mm.)

YEAR OR LETTER	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
س	1
مط	1
6	1
7	1

<sup>10</sup> These coins are paper-thin. Many are pierced.

YEAR OR LETTER	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
11 ?	1
Effaced	2

240. Miṣr. 1171 with various letters. *Para.* Cf. Ghalib 809–812.  
23 specimens (14–16 mm.)

LETTER	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
ح	4
ص ?	1
ء	1
ع	1
علي (Ghalib 812)	8
مد	1
مد ?	1
مصا (Ghalib 810)	1
مصر	1
مط	2
من	1
.	1

PLATE V, 59

241. Miṣr. 1171 with regnal year/1757–1764. *Para.* Cf. Ghalib 809–812.  
8 specimens (14–16 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
1 (Ghalib 811)	4
2	2
4	1
8	1

242. Miṣr. 1171 with abbreviated Hijrah year/1767–1773. *Para.* Cf. Ghalib 809–812.  
10 specimens (14–16 mm.)

YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
81	1
82	1
83	2
86	3
87	2
200 ?	1

243. Miṣr. 1171, year effaced. *Para.* Cf. Ghalib 809–812.  
12 specimens (14–16 mm.)

244. Mint effaced. [1171]. *Para?* Uniface.  
4 specimens (15–16 mm.)

245. Mint effaced. [1171?]. *Aqche?* Uniface. Cf. Ghalib 790?  
1 specimen (14 mm.)

Other coins of Muṣṭafa III, found in hoards, are catalogued under nos. 258 and 286, below.

‘ABD ŪL-ḤAMĪD I, 1187–1203/1774–1789

#### Silver

246. Constantinople. 1187:3/1776. *Zōlota.* Cf. Ghalib 843–845.  
1 specimen (35 mm.)

247. Constantinople. 1187 with regnal year/1774–1789. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 858–861.  
50 specimens (15 mm.)<sup>11</sup>

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
1	1
2 (Ghalib 858)	2
3	8
4	9
5 (Ghalib 859)	1
6	5
7	2
8	2
9	3
10	1
11	4
12	3
14	7
15	1
16 (Ghalib 861)	1

248. Constantinople. 1187, year effaced. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 858–861.  
12 specimens (15 mm.)
249. Constantinople. 1187:5?/1778? *Aqche*. Cf. Ghalib 862–865.  
1 specimen (11 mm.)
250. Constantinople. 1187:7/1780. *Aqche*. Cf. Ghalib 862–865.  
1 specimen (12 mm.)
251. Mişr. 1187 with regnal year/1774–1781. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 875–877.  
23 specimens (14–16 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
1 (Ghalib 876)	1
2 (Ghalib 877)	6
3	5
5	1
7	1
8	9

252. Mişr. 1187 with figure 200. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 875–877.  
4 specimens (14–16 mm.)
253. Mişr. 1187 with figure 201. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 875–877.  
1 specimen (15 mm.)
254. Mişr. 1187 with letter ٢. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 875–877.  
2 specimens (14–16 mm.)
255. Mişr. 1187, without regnal year or letter, or such effaced or illegible. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 875.  
82 specimens (14–16 mm.)

Other *paras* and *aqches* of ‘Abd ül-Ḥamīd I, found in hoards, are catalogued under nos. 258, 286 and 287, below.

<sup>11</sup> These coins and the following *paras* and *aqches* are paper-thin. Many are pierced.

256. Mint effaced. 1187, regnal year or letter effaced or illegible. *Para*.  
5 specimens (14–16 mm.)

*Copper*

257. Ṭarāblus (North Africa). Date, if any, effaced. Cf. BM VIII, 737 (dated 1188).  
3 specimens (20–22 mm.)

258. Hoard of silver coins of Maḥmūd I, ‘Osmān III, Muṣṭafa III and ‘Abd ül-Ḥamīd I,  
1143–1203/1730–1789.  
173 specimens (15–40 mm.)<sup>12</sup>

MINT	DATE	DIAMETER	DENOMINATION	REFERENCE	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
Constantinople	1143/ع	25	<i>Onlūq</i>	Ghalib 686	1
„	1143/س	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 693	1
„	1143/ع	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 692	1
„	1143/x	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 691–698	4
„	1143 ?/x	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 691–698 ?	2
Miṣr	1143	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 715–718	5
Constantinople	[1168]	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 741–742	1
Islāmbūl	1171/85	35	<i>Zōlota</i>	„ 771	1
„	1171/3	24	<i>Onlūq</i>	„ 778–781	1
„	1171/8	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 786–788	1
„	1171/81	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 786–788	1
„	1171/82	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 786–788	1
„	1171/x	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 786–788	10
Miṣr	1171/87	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 809–812	1
„	1171/87 ?	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 809–812 ?	1
„	1171/x	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 809–812	6
Islāmbūl	[Before 1187]	15	<i>Para</i>		2
„	1187/3	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	2
„	1187/4	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	2
„	1187/5	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 859	1
„	1187/6	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	1
„	1187/7	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	3
„	1187/8	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	3
„	1187/9	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	1
„	1187/10	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	1
„	1187/11	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	2
„	1187/12	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	1
„	1187/13	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	2
„	1187/15	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	2
„	1187/x	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	9
Miṣr	1187/87	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 875–877	1
„	1187/8 ?	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 875–877	2
„	1187/x	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 875–877	28
Constantinople	[ca. 1143–1187]	15	<i>Para</i>		8
Miṣr	[ca. 1143–1187]	15	<i>Para</i>		10

<sup>12</sup> Many of the paper-thin *paras* are pierced.

MINT	DATE	DIAMETER	DENOMINATION	REFERENCE	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
Mint effaced	[ca. 1143–1187]	15	<i>Para</i>		49
Mint effaced	[ca. 1143–1187]	Approximately 100 fragments from less than 1/2 complete to almost powder, all probably parts of the more or less intact coins in the hoard. Some of these fragments broke off in my own handling of them because of their fragility.			
Austria	1780	40	Maria Theresa Thaler		1

This hoard of 173 coins (so counted at the time of cleaning), tied up in a cloth bag which was still recognizable as such when excavated, was found on May 13, 1933, at the bottom of a Turkish refuse pit within the area of the Temple of Ares (grid reference K 8). It will be noted that the latest preserved date is 1187/15, that is 1786 or 1787, but there might have been issues of the following year among the specimens whose dates are incompletely preserved. In any case the date of loss or burial was in all probability not later than 1789.

259. Hoard of silver coins of Maḥmūd I, Muṣṭafa III and ‘Abd ül-Ḥamīd I, 1143–1203/1730–1789.

38 specimens (13.5–16 mm.)<sup>13</sup>

MINT	DATE	DIAMETER	DENOMINATION	REFERENCE	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
Constantinople	[1143?]	15	<i>Para</i>	Ghalib 691–698?	1
„	1143	13.5	<i>Aqche</i>	„ 699–701	1
Miṣr	1143/س	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 715–718	1
„	1143/ع	16	<i>Para</i>	„ 715–718	1
Islāmbūl	1171/6	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 786–788	1
„	1171/7	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 786–788	1
„	1171/83	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 787	1
„	1171/86	14–15	<i>Para</i>	„ 788	2
„	1171/x	14–15	<i>Para</i>	„ 786–788	2
Miṣr	1171/1	14–15	<i>Para</i>	„ 811	2
„	1171/87	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 809–812	1
„	1171/x	14–15	<i>Para</i>	„ 809–812	3
„	1172 ( <i>sic</i> ?)	15	<i>Para</i>		1
Constantinople	1187/2	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858	1
„	1187/7	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	1
„	1187/8	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	2
„	1187/10	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	1
„	1187/12	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	1
„	1187/13	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	1
„	1187/15	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 858–861	1
Miṣr	1187/8	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 875–877	1
„	1187/or no year	15	<i>Para</i>	„ 875	6
Constantinople	[ca. 1143–1187]	15	<i>Para</i>		3
Miṣr	[ca. 1143–1187]	15	<i>Para</i>		2

This hoard was found on May 11, 1936, just beneath the latest floor level of the Church of Christ in a mass of bones. As with the hoard catalogued under no. 258, above, the date of loss or burial appears to have been between 1786 and 1789.

<sup>13</sup> Many are pierced.

260. Unidentifiable Syrian silver, *ca.* 11th-end of 12th c./*ca.* 17th-end of 18th c.  
1 specimen (15.5 mm.)
261. Unidentifiable Syrian silver, *ca.* 11th-end of 12th c./*ca.* 17th-end of 18th c.  
2 specimens (18 mm.)
262. Unidentifiable probably Syrian copper, *ca.* 11th-end of 12th c./*ca.* 17th-end of 18th c.  
2 specimens (17–21 mm.) PLATE V, 60
263. Unidentifiable probably North African silver, *ca.* 11th-end of 12th c./ *ca.* 17th-end of 18th c.  
1 specimen (9 mm.)
264. Unidentifiable small silver coins, *ca.* 11th-end of 12th c./*ca.* 17th-end of 18th c.  
36 specimens (9–16 mm.)

## SELİM III, 1203–1222/1789–1807

*Silver*

265. Islāmbül. 1203:12/1799–1800. Cf. Ghalib 898.  
1 specimen (41 mm.)
266. Islāmbül. 1203 with regnal year/1789–1806. *Para.* Cf. Ghalib 909–910.  
52 specimens (15 mm.)<sup>14</sup>

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
1	1
2	4
3	5
4	1
5	2
6	2
7	2
8	4
9	3
10?	1
11	1
12	2
13	3
16	1
17	1
18 (Ghalib 910)	1
x	18

267. Miṣr. 1203 with regnal year/1789–1807. *Para.* Cf. Ghalib 920.  
133 specimens (12–15 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
1	7
2	3
3	3
5	4
6	5

<sup>14</sup> These *paras* are paper-thin and most are pierced. Some are uniface. A good many are undoubtedly jewelers' imitations.



REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
7	6
8	4
9	1
10	1
11	5
12	2
13	2
14 (Ghalib 920)	2
15	3
16	3
20?	1
x	81

268. Mint effaced. 1203 with regnal year effaced. *Para*.

2 specimens (15 mm.)

Other silver coins of Selīm III found in hoards are catalogued under nos. 286 and 287, below.

#### Copper

269. Ṭarāblus (North Africa). Date?

1 specimen

PLATE V, 61

CA. 1171–1222/CA. 1757–1807

#### Silver

270. Islāmbül. Date and ruler effaced.

3 specimens (14–16 mm.)

The approximate dating of these paper-thin *paras* is based upon their fabric and the use of the mint name Islāmbül.

MUṢṬAFA IV, 1222–1223/1807–1808

One coin of Muṣṭafa IV was found in a hoard catalogued under no. 287, below.

MAḤMUD II, 1223–1255/1808–1839

#### Gold

271. Constantinople. 1223:1/1808. One-quarter “İstānbül Zer Maḥbūbi.” Cf. Ghalib 954–956.

1 specimen (16 mm., pierced)

272. Constantinople. 1223:24/1830–1. One-quarter “New *altın*.” Cf. Ghalib 983 (border variant).

1 specimen (13 mm., pierced)

#### Silver

273. Ṭarāblus (North Africa). 1223:24/1830–1. *Ghurūsh*. Cf. Ghalib 1091–1092.

1 specimen (37 mm.)

274. Constantinople. 1223:15/1821–2. *Djedid ikilik*. Ghalib 1004.

1 specimen (38 mm.)

275. Constantinople. 1223:22/1828–9. *Djedid beshlik*. Ghalib 1012.

1 specimen (38 mm.)

276. Constantinople. 1223:26/1832–3. *Djedīd beshlik*. Ghalib 1015.

1 specimen (39 mm.)

277. Constantinople. 1223 with regnal year/1827–1835. *Ghurūsh*. Cf. Ghalib 1019–1022.

9 specimens (25–29 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
21 ?	1
23 (Ghalib 1020)	2
24 (Ghalib 1021)	1
28	5

PLATE V, 62

Two of the issues of the year 28 (of which one is illustrated in the plate) are characteristic of a very considerable number of the coins of Maḥmūd II which may be imitations. In some cases the legends are quite barbarous, and these surely are imitations. In others the engraving is on the whole quite good, but the regnal year is barbarously written. This is particularly true of the year 28. Frequently it is difficult to distinguish between a genuine coin and an imitation, although doubtless metrological tests would establish the necessary criteria. But in view of the relative insignificance of the material, numismatically or archaeologically, it was not considered worthwhile to take the time and trouble to make such an inquiry.

For the same reason I have not in the series below made the effort to establish the exact comparative references to Ghalib's catalogue; in fact this cannot be done because that catalogue does not illustrate the several types. Specimens which are, to my mind, clearly imitations, or jewelers' ornaments ("sequins") are marked with an asterisk. Many of these pieces, including many which are probably genuine, are pierced for use as jewelry.

278. Constantinople. 1223:3/1810. *On paralıkk*. Cf. Ghalib 987.

1 specimen (21 mm.)

279. Constantinople. 1223 with regnal year/1827–1838. *Yirmi paralıkk*. Cf. Ghalib 1023–1031.

100 specimens (17–23 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
*21	2
23	2
*25	34 (found together)
25	2
26	1
*27	2
27	4
*28	20
28	22
29	1
2x	1
*31	1
*32	1
32	1
*71 ( <i>sic</i> )	2
x	4

See under 277 for the meaning of the asterisk(\*).

280. Constantinople. 1223 with regnal year/1808–1834. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 990–992.

8 specimens (14–16 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
1	2
2	1
4	2
8	1
10?	1
18	1

281. Constantinople. 1223 with regnal year/1833–4. *On paralıh*. Cf. Ghalib 1032–1033.  
15 specimens (14–16 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
27	1
*28	4
28	10

See under 277 for the meaning of the asterisk(\*).

282. Constantinople. 1223, regnal year effaced. *On paralıh*?  
5 specimens (14–16 mm.)

283. Constantinople. 1223 with regnal year/1808–1818. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 990–992.  
15 specimens (12–14 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
1	4
2	1
3	6
4	1
6	1
7?	1
12	1

284. Constantinople. 1223 with regnal year/1823–1836. *Para*. Cf. Ghalib 1034.  
20 specimens (12–14 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
17	1
21	2
*22	2
27?	1
*28	2
28	4
30	2
x	6

See under 277 for the meaning of the asterisk(\*).

285. Mişr. 1223 with regnal year/1808–1835. *Aqche*. Cf. Ghalib 1071–1073.  
164 specimens (12–13 mm., a few 11, 14 and 15 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
1	4
2	1
3	3
5	4

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
8	3
9	2
10	1
11?	5
12	13
14	1
15?	2
16	2
17?	1
18	1
20?	2
23	1
29	1
61?	1
x or no year	116

These coins are paper-thin, and at least a dozen are uniface. Many are pierced.

Other coins of Maḥmūd II, found in hoards, are catalogued under nos. 286, 287 and 328 below.

286. Hoard of paper-thin silver coins of Muṣṭafa III, ‘Abd ül-Ḥamīd I, Selīm III and Maḥmūd II, 1171–1223+/1757–*ca.* 1839.

11 specimens (13–15 mm.)

MINT	DATE	DIAMETER	DENOMINATION	REFERENCE	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
Miṣr	1171/1?	14	<i>Aqche</i>	Cf. Ghalib 811	1
„	1187/x	15	<i>Para</i>	Cf. Ghalib 875	3
„	1203/x	15	<i>Para</i>	Cf. Ghalib 920	2
„	1223/x	14	<i>Aqche</i>	Cf. Ghalib 1071–1073?	2
„	<i>ca.</i> 1171–1223+	14	<i>Aqche</i>		1
Mint effaced	<i>ca.</i> 1171–1223+	13	<i>Aqche</i>		2

These coins were found on March 21, 1938, in late fill over a broken floor to the south of the Eleusinion and east of the late Roman fortification (grid reference U 22).

287. Hoard of paper-thin silver coins of ‘Abd ül-Ḥamīd I, Selīm III, Muṣṭafa IV and Maḥmūd II, 1187–*ca.* 1244/1774–*ca.* 1828.

68 specimens (13–15 mm.)

MINT	DATE	DIAMETER	DENOMINATION	REFERENCE	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
Miṣr	1187/x	15	<i>Para</i>	Cf. Ghalib 875	1
„	1203/x	15	<i>Para</i>	Cf. Ghalib 920	2
„	1222/x	14	<i>Para</i>	Cf. Ghalib 946	1
Constantinople	1223/7	13	<i>Para</i>	Cf. Ghalib 990–992?	1
„	1223/17	13	<i>Para</i>	Cf. Ghalib 1034?	1
„	1223/18	13	<i>Para</i>	Cf. Ghalib 1034?	1
„	1223/x	15	<i>Para</i>		1

MINT	DATE	DIAMETER	DENOMINATION	REFERENCE	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
Miṣr	1223/2?	15	<i>Para</i>	Cf. Ghalib 1070?	1
„	1223/3	13	<i>Aqche</i>	Cf. Ghalib 1071-1073?	1
„	1223/11	13	<i>Aqche</i>	„	1
„	1223/12	13	<i>Aqche</i>	„	3
„	1223/13	13	<i>Aqche</i>	„	1
„	1223/15	13	<i>Aqche</i>	„	2
„	1223/16	13	<i>Aqche</i>	„	2
„	1223/17	13	<i>Aqche</i>	„	1
„	1223/18	13	<i>Aqche</i>	„	5
„	1223/22	13	<i>Aqche</i>	„	3
„	1223/x	13-14	<i>Aqche</i>	„	13 (some uniface)
„	[ca. 1187-1223]	13	<i>Aqche</i>		5
No mint	[ca. 1187-1223]	13	<i>Aqche</i>	(Uniface, toghra only)	9
Mint effaced	[ca. 1187-1223]	13-15			13

This hoard was found on April 1, 1937, at the north foot of the Areopagus (grid reference L 18) in association with a male skeleton, together with a bullet, a snuff box, a silver seal-ring and a bronze seal. The snuff box was found under the right armpit of the skeleton; the seals and coins under the left armpit. Some of the coins were stuck to the ring. The seal-ring (Agora J 21), illustrated in Plate V, 63, contains a carnelian seal bearing the following inscription (Plate V, 64):

عبدہ سليمان 'Abduh<sup>u</sup> Sulaymān  
 بندہ منان Servant of the All-Bountiful  
 ١٢١٣ 1213 [1798/9]

The flat oval bronze seal (Agora B 428), fitted with a handle ending in a suspension ring, illustrated in Plate V, 65-66, reads:

ابو بكر Abu-Bakr  
 بن عبدالله son of 'Abdullāh  
 ١٢١٧ 1217 [1802/3]

The latest preserved date in the coin hoard is the twenty-second year of the reign of Maḥmūd II, i.e., 1828/9 A.D. Was the skeleton that of Sulaymān or of Abu-Bakr? And did this poor little lot of coins play a part in what appears to have been a violent death? We can only speculate, but there can be little doubt that the incident occurred about the year 1829, perhaps in the course of the chaotic events of the year when Albanian soldiers under Aslan Bey occupied the Acropolis.<sup>15</sup> The orientation of the body, lying on its back in modern fill with the head toward the west (not toward Mecca) suggests an informal burial; there were no traces of a grave cutting.

#### PAPER-THIN SILVER, ca. 1171-1255/ca. 1757-1839

288. Constantinople. Dates and rulers effaced.

7 specimens (10-14 mm.)

289. Miṣr. Dates and rulers effaced.

121 specimens (11-15 mm.)<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> George Finlay, *A History of Greece* (ed. Tozer), VII, London, 1877, p. 40.

<sup>16</sup> A half-dozen of these are uniface (toghra only).

290. Mint, dates and rulers effaced.

254 specimens (10–15 mm.)<sup>17</sup>

Other coins of this category were found in the hoard catalogued under no. 286, above.

‘ABD ÜL-MEDJĪD, 1255–1277/1839–1861

*Silver*

291. Constantinople. 1255:17/1854–5. *Medjidiye*. Cf. Ghalib 1161–1162.

1 specimen (37 mm.)

*Copper*

292. Constantinople. 1255 with regnal year/1846–1859. *Ghurūsh*. Cf. Ghalib 1168.

11 specimens (37 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS	
9	1	
19	7	PLATE VI, 1–2
20	1	
21	1	
x	1	

One of the specimens of the regnal year 19 (Plate VI, 2) bears at least three counterstamps: on the toghra side a) the Greek letters ΔΠ, and b) an involved Turkish inscription in a cartouche, only partially preserved; and on the other face, the Greek script capital λ. By comparing the Turkish counterstamp with similar ones more perfectly preserved in the collection of the American Numismatic Society I have been able to identify the legend as *يبلمار بلديسى*, i.e., “Municipality of Ploumari.” ΔΠ stands for *Δῆμος Πλουμαρίου*. Beneath the Turkish counterstamp are traces of another stamp, probably a script capital π, which is to be read together with the letter on the other side as *Πλουμάρι*.

These, and a number of other curious countermarks on copper coins of ‘Abd ül-Medjīd and ‘Abd ül-‘Azīz, have not, so far as I know, been thoroughly studied, although doubtless there are still living inhabitants of the areas in which these coins circulated who could explain fully their meaning and purpose. The indefatigable F. W. Hasluck collected a number of specimens (now in the British Museum) and in a posthumous article<sup>18</sup> identified and commented on some of them. With regard to the countermarked coppers of Ploumari (*Pilmār* in Turkish), a town on the south coast of Mytilene and under Turkish rule the capital of a *qaza* of the same name, Hasluck states that the copper piasters of ‘Abd ül-Medjīd were issued by the government to the island at 20 *paras* and were then withdrawn and issued again at the same value by the Municipality of Ploumari with the additional counterstamp ΔΠ. The cursive capital countermark πλ was said to be that of the church of Ploumari.<sup>19</sup> Hasluck adds that “now” (his travels in Greece and Turkey were in the years 1899–1916) these coins passed freely at 5 *paras* along the Asiatic coast opposite Mytilene. This piece (and others of the same general type) appear to represent two sorts of token coinage, municipal and church, the Turkish stamps and the ΔΠ having been placed on the coin by the municipality and the πλ perhaps by the clergy. Dates sometimes accompany the Turkish legends: I have seen, for example, 1301 (1883–4) on one of Mytilene, and 1306 (1888–9) on one of Ploumari. In general, the circulation of these and

<sup>17</sup> About 15 of these are uniface (toghra only).

<sup>18</sup> F. W. Hasluck, “The Levantine Coinage,” *Num. Chron.* 1921, pp. 72ff. The church community countermarked Turkish coppers of the island of Thasos are described and illustrated by John FF. Baker-Penoyre, *J. H. S.*, XXIX, 1909, pp. 248–250.

<sup>19</sup> Hasluck (*op. cit.*, p. 74, note 87) actually wrote Δ(ημορχεῖον) Π(λουμαρίου) (*sic*), but had he lived to see these notes through the press he would no doubt have corrected this to read Δ(ῆμος) Π(λουμαρίου).

other types of tokens in the Aegean area seems to have been occasioned by a shortage of small change.

Another countermarked piaster (of 'Abd ül-'Azîz) is described under no. 304, below.

293. Constantinople. 1255 with regnal year/1839–1842. *Yirmi paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1150–1151.  
22 specimens (20 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
1 (Ghalib 1150)	6
2 (Ghalib 1151)	4
3	5
4	4
x	3

294. Constantinople. 1255 with regnal year/1857–1859. *Yirmi paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1169.  
4 specimens (31 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
20	1
21	3

295. Constantinople. 1255 with regnal year/1839–1840. *On paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1152–1153.  
3 specimens (17 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
1	2
2	1

296. Constantinople. 1255 with regnal year/1853–1859. *On paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1170.  
13 specimens (27 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
16	2
19	5
20	2
21	1
x	3

297. Constantinople. 1255 with regnal year/1850–1857. *Besh paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1171.  
12 specimens (22 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
13	2
14	1
15	1
16	1
17	1
18	1
19	3
x	2

298. Constantinople. 1255 with regnal year/1845–1857. *Bir paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1172–1173.  
4 specimens (13.5 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
8 (Ghalib 1172)	1
16	1
19	1
x	1

299. Miṣr. 1255:15/1852-3. *On paralık*. Ghalib 1187.  
1 specimen (30 mm.)

300. Miṣr. 1255 with regnal year/1840-1851. *Besh paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1184, 1188.  
11 specimens (19.5-22 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
2	1
13	2
x	8

PLATE VI, 3

Other coins of 'Abd ül-Medjīd were found in a hoard catalogued under no. 328, below.

'ABD ÜL-'AZİZ, 1277-1293/1861-1876

#### Silver

301. Constantinople. 1277:5?/1864-5? *Ghurūsh*. Cf. Ghalib 1208.  
1 specimen (15 mm.)

#### Copper

302. Tūnis. 1289/1872. Two *kharrūbah*. Ghalib 1233.  
1 specimen (31 mm.)

303. Constantinople. 1277:4/1863-4. *Ghurūsh*. Cf. Ghalib 1210.  
1 specimen (37 mm.)

304. Constantinople. 1277:x. *Ghurūsh*. Cf. Ghalib 1210.  
1 specimen

PLATE VI, 4

This specimen bears five counterstamps: on the toghra side a) the Greek letters ΔΠ, b) and c) two cartouches with complex Turkish legends, and d) a single Greek letter (?); and on the other face of the coin, e) a Greek script capital λ. Enough is preserved of one of the two Turkish cartouches to identify it as *بلدية سي*, "Municipality of Ploumari"; the other may be *بلدية سي*, "Municipality of Mytilene" (a known counterstamp). The Ploumari Municipality Turkish stamp as well as the ΔΠ and πλ stamps are discussed above under no. 292.

305. Constantinople. 1277 with regnal year/1861-1864. *On paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1214.  
13 specimens (31-32 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
1	1
4	11
x	1

306. Constantinople. 1277 with regnal year/1861-1864. *On paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1212.  
12 specimens (28 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
1 (Ghalib 1212)	2
4	8
x	2



307. Constantinople. 1277 with regnal year/1863–1864. *Besh paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1213.  
14 specimens (23 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
4	9
x	5

308. Constantinople. 1277 with regnal year effaced. *Besh paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1215.  
1 specimen (23 mm.)

309. Mişr. 1277:4/1863–4. *Ghurūsh*. Cf. BM VIII, 1172.  
1 specimen (37 mm.)

310. Mişr. 1277 with regnal year/1862–1866. *Yirmi paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1228.  
2 specimens (32 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
3	1
6	1

311. Mişr. 1277 with regnal year/1863–1870. *On paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1229.  
6 specimens (29.5 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
4 (Ghalib 1229)	1
5	1
6	1
9	1
10	2

312. Mişr. 1277 with regnal year/1863–4. *Dört paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1230.  
3 specimens (22 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
4 (Ghalib 1230)	2
x	1

#### ILLEGIBLE 13TH/19TH CENTURY TURKISH COINS BEFORE 1293/1876

313. 12 specimens

‘ABD ÜL-ĤAMĪD II, 1293–1327/1876–1909

#### Silver

314. Constantinople. 1293 with regnal year/1885–1903. *Ghurūsh*. Cf. Ghalib 1269.  
8 specimens (15 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
11	2
16	2
20	1
25	1
28	1
29	1

*Copper*

315. [Tūnis]. Date effaced. Muḥammad al-Hādi. 1320–1324/1902–1906.

1 specimen (27 mm.)

316. Constantinople. 1293 with regnal year/1878–1888(?). *Besh paralık*. Cf. Ghalib 1260.

16 specimens (22 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
3	8
4	4
13?	1
x	3

317. Constantinople. 1293 with regnal year/1900–1904. *On paralık*.

13 specimens (18 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
26	4
27	8
30	1

318. Constantinople. 1293 with regnal year/1899–1901. *Besh paralık*.

3 specimens (15 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
25	2
27	1

319. Miṣr. 1293 with regnal year/1886–1906. One-half of one-tenth *ghurūsh* (2 *para*). Cf. Ghalib 1285.

2 specimens (20 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
12	1
32	1

320. Medalet, date effaced 1908, commemorating the proclamation of the constitution.

1 specimen (27 mm.)

Crossed flags with the words عدلک, “justice,” مساوات, “equality,” اخوت, “fraternity.”

Other coins of ‘Abd ūl-Ḥamīd II found in a hoard are catalogued under no. 328, below.

## MEHMET V, 1327–1336/1909–1918

*Nickel*

321. Tūnis. 1334/1916-A. 5 centimes.

1 specimen (25 mm.)

322. Constantinople. 1327 with regnal year/1912–1916. 40 *para*.

3 specimens (24 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
5	1
8	2

323. Constantinople. 1327 with regnal year/1910–1913. 20 *para*.

3 specimens (21 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
2	1
5	2

324. Constantinople. 1327 with regnal year/1911–1916. 10 *para*.  
7 specimens (19 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
3	1
4	1
7	2
8	1
x	2

325. Constantinople. 1327 with regnal year/1911. 5 *para*.  
2 specimens (16 mm.)

REGNAL YEAR	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
3	1
x	1

326. Mişr. 1327:2/1910. One-half of one-tenth *ghurūsh* (2 *para*).  
1 specimen (20 mm.)

327. Mişr. 1327:4/1911–12. One-quarter of one-tenth *ghurūsh* (1 *para*).  
1 specimen (17.5 mm.)

Other coins of Mehmed V were found in the hoard catalogued immediately below, no. 328.

328. Hoard of silver, copper and nickel coins of Maḥmūd II, ‘Abd ül-Medjīd, ‘Abd ül-Ḥamīd II and Mehmed V, 1223–1334/1808–1916.  
278 specimens (16–27 mm.)

MINT	DATE	DIAMETER	DENOMINATION	REFERENCE	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
<i>Silver</i>					
Constantinople	1223/x	27	<i>Ghurūsh</i>	Cf. Ghalib 1019–1022	1
„	1223/4	21	10 <i>para</i>	Cf. Ghalib 987	1
„	1223/24	21	20 <i>para</i>	Ghalib 1024	1
„	1223/27	21	20 <i>para</i>	Ghalib 1027	5
„	1223/28	21	20 <i>para</i>	Ghalib 1028	1
„	1223/29	21	20 <i>para</i>	Ghalib 1029	7
„	1223/31	21	20 <i>para</i>	Ghalib 1031	2
<i>Copper</i>					
Constantinople	1255/2	20	20 <i>para</i>	Ghalib 1151	3
„	1255/4	20	20 <i>para</i>	Cf. Ghalib 1150–1151	4
„	1255/x	20	20 <i>para</i>	„	3
„	1255/5	17.5	10 <i>para</i>	Cf. Ghalib 1152–1153	1
„	1255/x	17.5	10 <i>para</i>	„	1
„	[1223 or 1255]	21	20 <i>para</i>		9
„	1293/25	18	10 <i>para</i>		4
„	1293/26	18	10 <i>para</i>		12
„	1293/27	18	10 <i>para</i>		16

MINT	DATE	DIAMETER	DENOMINATION	REFERENCE	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
Constantinople	1293/28	18	10 <i>para</i>		3
„	1293/30	18	10 <i>para</i>		2
„	1293/x	18	10 <i>para</i>		3
„	1293/27	15	5 <i>para</i>		2
„	1293/28	15	5 <i>para</i>		2
<i>Nickel</i>					
Constantinople	1327/5	21	20 <i>para</i>		2
„	1327/6	21	20 <i>para</i>		1
„	1327/2	19	10 <i>para</i>		2
„	1327/3	19	10 <i>para</i>		16
„	1327/4	19	10 <i>para</i>		11
„	1327/5	19	10 <i>para</i>		33
„	1327/6	19	10 <i>para</i>		11
„	1327/7	19	10 <i>para</i>		17
„	1327/8	19	10 <i>para</i>		2
„	1327/x	19	10 <i>para</i>		1
„	1327/2	16	5 <i>para</i>		1
„	1327/3	16	5 <i>para</i>		15
„	1327/4	16	5 <i>para</i>		26
„	1327/5	16	5 <i>para</i>		36
„	1327/6	16	5 <i>para</i>		22
„	1327/x	16	5 <i>para</i>		3

This hoard was found on March 27, 1935, in a corner of the cellar of one of the refugee shanties on the east slope of the Kolonos Agoraios south of the Tholos (grid reference D 14). The coins were wrapped in a handkerchief. Most of the coins of Maḥmūd II and ‘Abd ūl-Medjīd, and a few of the later ones, are pierced.

#### MEḤMED VI, 1336–1341/1918–1922

##### *Nickel*

329. Constantinople. 1336:4/1920–1. 40 *para*.  
1 specimen (24 mm.)

#### TOKENS

330. Brass. Istanbul-Galata bridge tokens, 20th century. 20 *para*.  
8 specimens (19 mm.)

#### “SEQUINS,” JEWELERS’ PIECES

In this category are several types of coin-like pieces of copper, brass and base metal, all of the 19th and 20th centuries. As observed in the note under no. 277, above, many of the specimens of the small paper-thin silver of Maḥmūd II, especially of the regnal year 28, should perhaps be classed here.

331. Imitations of gold coins of Maḥmūd II, roughly the type of Ghalib 973.  
8 specimens (12–20 mm.)

**332.** Imitations of silver coins of Maḥmūd II, Constantinople and Miṣr, 1223 H. Some are uniface.

9 specimens (12–21 mm.)

**333.** Imitations of coins of Maḥmūd II, North African types.

4 specimens (15–16 mm., one 36 mm.)

**334.** Imitation toghra on one face, central star and 5 surrounding crescents, enclosed by a border of stars, on the other.

819 specimens (15–22 mm.)

804 of these were found together in a modern cesspool on the northeast slope of the Areopagus (grid reference O 20). There was no trace of a container but almost all of this lot appeared in the same shovelful of earth.

**335.** Anomalous types with unintelligible imitation Turkish characters.

7 specimens (13–20 mm.)

PLATE VI, 5

#### UNIDENTIFIABLE TURKISH AND PROBABLY TURKISH COINS

**336.** Unidentifiable copper coins of Turkish fabric.

236 specimens

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Not included in the catalogue are 24 Turkish coins found at various spots during the course of limited excavations and cleaning operations in the spring and summer of 1959 (in sections EA and ΠA). These coins can be assigned to the following catalogue types:

CATALOGUE NO.	NUMBER OF SPECIMENS
8	1
114	1
136	8
137	1
152	1
173	2
175a (Ghalib 588)	1
182	1
202a (Ghalib 683)	1
243	2
264	1
266	1
283	1
336	2

# INVENTORY NUMBERS OF COINS ILLUSTRATED IN THE PLATES

PLATE	INV. NO.	PLATE	INV. NO.	PLATE	INV. NO.	PLATE	INV. NO.	PLATE	INV. NO.
I 1	2717.1	I 47	36.47	II 38	1864.4	III 28	1842.28	IV 2	389.11
2	2719.8	48	740.4	39	2243.7	29	151.2	3	1182.3
3	1870.128	49	1579.3	40	584.3	30	781.13	4	2265.3
4	1450.1	50	1116.18	41	1042.6	31	2551.16	5	550.8
5	2362.2	51	1855.22	42	2476.4	32	2388.5	6	612.3
6	37.8	52	1903.11	43	2080.12	33	2435.5	7	2215.7
7	132.16	53	2379.30	44	753.26	34	2524.1	8	1724.8
8	312.39	54	1353.5	45	1559.14	35	363.25	9	2124.24
9	147.13	55	1937.6	46	2392.1	36	2082.7	10	1639.1
10	2067.14	II 1	1119.23	47	711.11a	37	212.6	11	1614.5
11	2066.15	2	2339.98	48	570.5	38	1158.11	12	1310.8
12	2172.5	3	2479.7	49	191.13	39	1608.2	13	1486.12
13	2245.11	4	561.2	50	1960.1	40	2452.24	14	259.9
14	791.2	5	1656.11	51	175.33	41	1815.5	15	835.5
15	1677.20	6	1122.49	52	175.34	42	1574.3	16	205.18
16	2246.8	7	1423.19	53	1809.4	43	303.1	17	467.5
17	615.3	8	1824.2	54	2026.4	44	419.8	18	579.39
18	848.5	9	21.41	55	1202.13	45	1348.1	19	586.2
19	324.32	10	2535.8	56	272.16	46	2628.1	20	686.8
20	513.1	11	34.37	III 1	2518.2	47	2507.14	21	999.14
21	615.6	12	1304.4	2	428.2	48	868.11	22	1180.7
22	1657.3	13	2502.2	3	610.1	49	1788.4	23	1208.2
23	49.45	14	1551.5	4	2282.57	50	1792.2	24	1233.2
24	797.6	15	2245.8	5	1418.8	51	467.6	25	1236.8
25	1698.5	16	1501.11	6	2252.1	52	188.10	26	1290.6
26	2245.7	17	2000.14	7	1647.3	53	245.13	27	1321.5
27	2477.5	18	2356.2	8	52.29	54	47.41	28	1428.4
28	2018.17	19	2385.12	9	852.21	55	50.23	29	1862.14
29	60.24	20	162.11	10	1062.10	56	50.26	30	2716.7
30	1101.19	21	840.2	11	1859.5	57	229.10	31	84.18
31	1658.15	22	1158.12	12	1983.3	58	246.41	32	327.6
32	2487.7	23	2537.3	13	2615.5	59	445.7	33	422.1
33	583.27	24	1881.3	14	1494.7	60	516.3	34	983.27
34	765.49	25	623.12	15	2468.7	61	670.5	35	1527.17
35	2514.1	26	2703.8	16	1562.25	62	879.3	36	2328.23
36	554.16	27	846.20	17	2090.11	63	898.1	37	245.6
37	1559.15	28	2385.21	18	54.17	64	1472.391	38	257.2
38	1950.7	29	139.30	19	2521.2	65	1712.23	39	402.15
39	36.49	30	1952.3	20	792.41	66	2521.3	40	1483.37
40	1395.12	31	901.2	21	1062.8	67	2704.2	41	218.49
41	2331.28	32	2437.8	22	601.86	68	2583.2	42	614.4
42	2248.3	33	2087.15	23	1859.3	69	Istanbul	43	189.5
43	44.50	34	415.2	24	105.4		Museum	44	406.8
44	1230.5	35	2182.1	25	1672.6	70	Istanbul	45	410.137
45	1119.23	36	2245.9	26	2695.6		Museum	46	801.7
46	798.15	37	1091.2	27	2550.6	IV 1	334.6	47	935.2

## INVENTORY NUMBERS OF COINS ILLUSTRATED IN THE PLATES

<b>PLATE</b>	<b>INV. NO.</b>	<b>PLATE</b>	<b>INV. NO.</b>	<b>PLATE</b>	<b>INV. NO.</b>	<b>PLATE</b>	<b>INV. NO.</b>	<b>PLATE</b>	<b>INV. NO.</b>
<b>IV 48</b>	<b>1344.1</b>	<b>IV 68</b>	<b>993.19</b>	<b>V 11</b>	<b>280.9</b>	<b>V 31</b>	<b>2164.3</b>	<b>V 51</b>	<b>1513.9</b>
<b>49</b>	<b>192.7</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>2485.15</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>553.15</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>1546.1</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>985.23</b>
<b>50</b>	<b>191.11</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>2535.9</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>799.22</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>1308.1</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>2042.7</b>
<b>51</b>	<b>402.19</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>588.9</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>854.55</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>232.103</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>1051.4</b>
<b>52</b>	<b>879.8</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>376.23</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>2387.14</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>223.39</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>1772.2</b>
<b>53</b>	<b>1026.3</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>502.4</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2394.1</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>1137.16</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>1597.20</b>
<b>54</b>	<b>1591.7</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>2198.26</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>54.14</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>278.1</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>651.1</b>
<b>55</b>	<b>242.29</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>2372.5</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>776.18</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>278.2</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>2126.17</b>
<b>56</b>	<b>363.32</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>54.18</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1358.1</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>278.3</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>2190.14</b>
<b>57</b>	<b>367.29</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>324.33</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1659.3<sub>a</sub></b>	<b>40</b>	<b>278.5</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>191.3</b>
<b>58</b>	<b>1659.3</b>	<b>V 1</b>	<b>622.3</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1910.1</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>278.8</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>862.28</b>
<b>59</b>	<b>451.4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>434.3</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>1131.6</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>278.10</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>1727.28</b>
<b>60</b>	<b>1268.4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1222.3</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>2064.1</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>278.11</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>J21</b>
<b>61</b>	<b>1058.11</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1307.5</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>2578.5</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>278.14</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>J21</b>
<b>62</b>	<b>2339.92</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2035.5</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>41.57</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>390.33</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>B428</b>
<b>63</b>	<b>2382.28</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2203.4</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>1781.8</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>1379.3</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>B428</b>
<b>64</b>	<b>34.35</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>336.49</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>2132.5</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>2402.24</b>	<b>VI 1</b>	<b>2519.7</b>
<b>65</b>	<b>307.3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1968.2</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>2044.1</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>1309.8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1899.2</b>
<b>66</b>	<b>752.20</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2229.17</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>314.37</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>495.6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1184.33</b>
<b>67</b>	<b>836.14</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>24.9</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>291.3</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>ANS</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>832.3</b>
								<b>5</b>	<b>2555.33</b>

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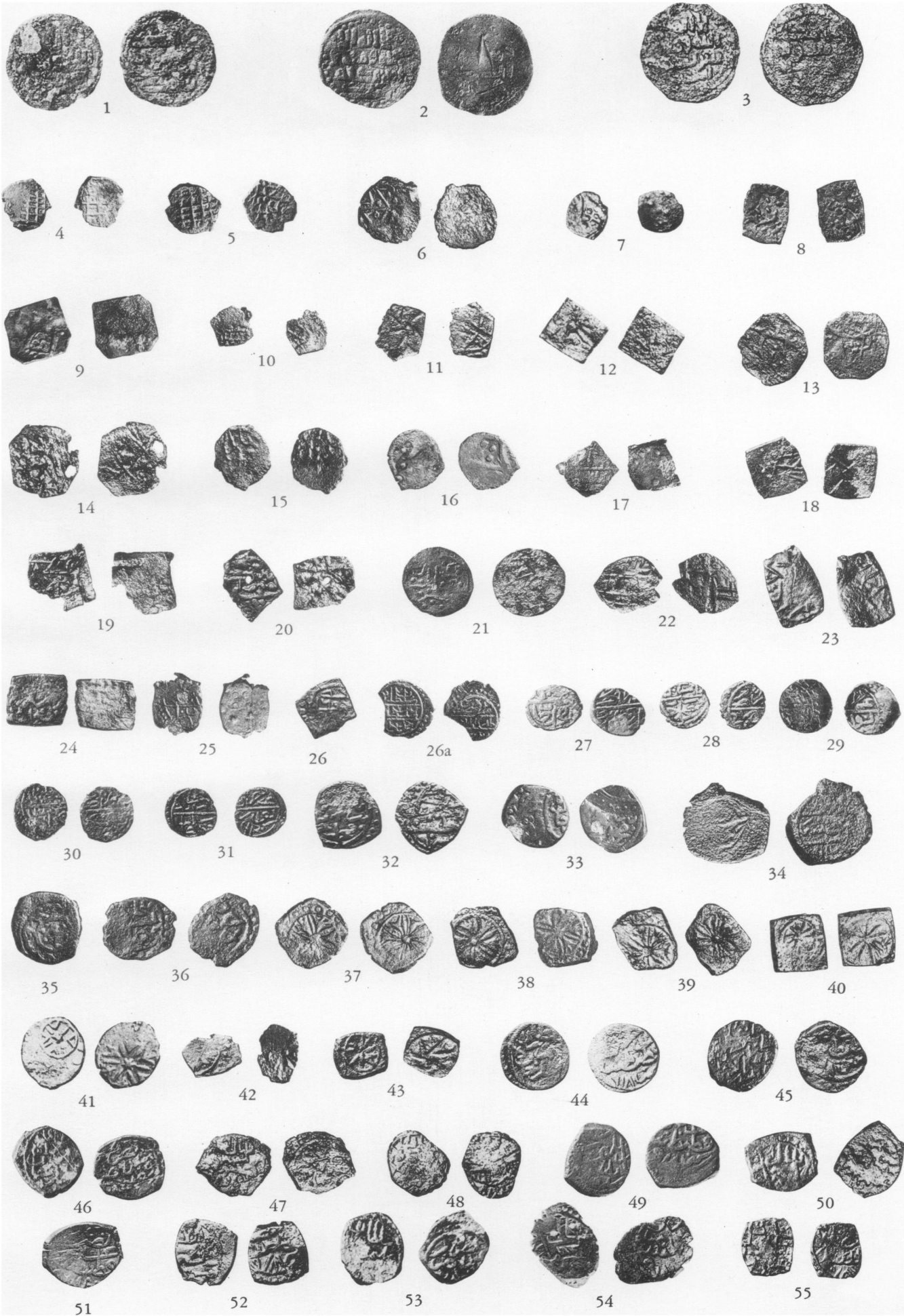
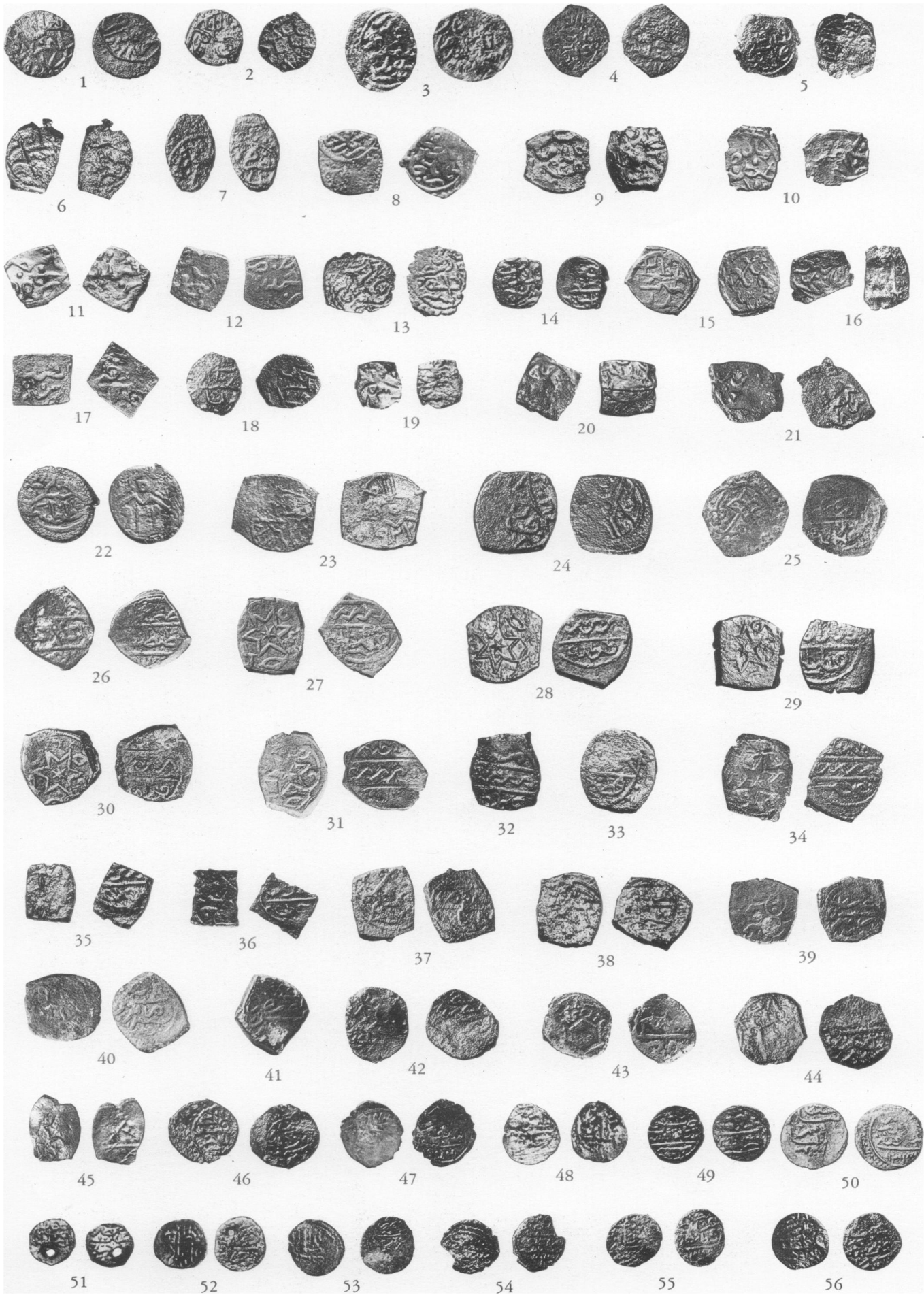


PLATE II



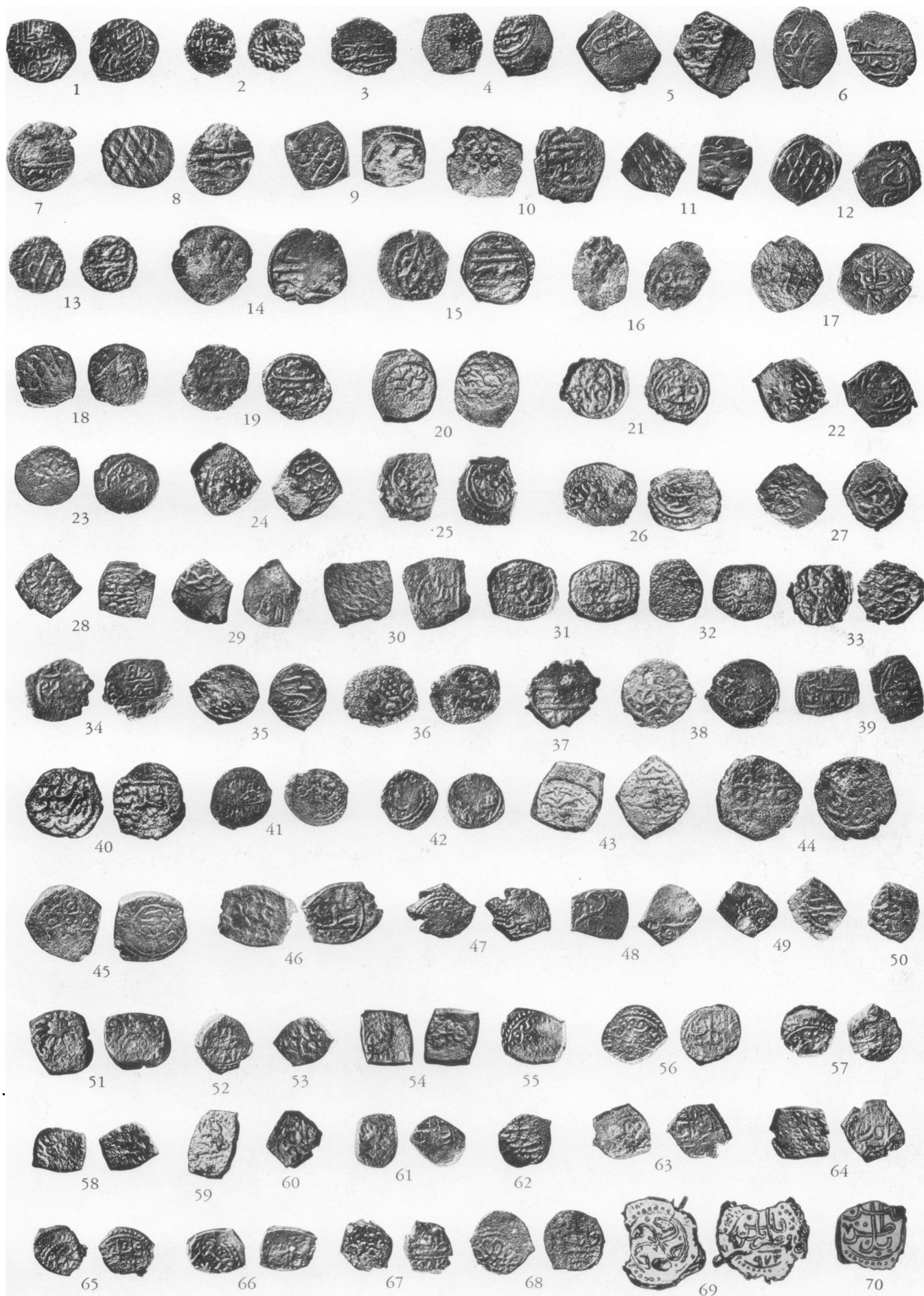
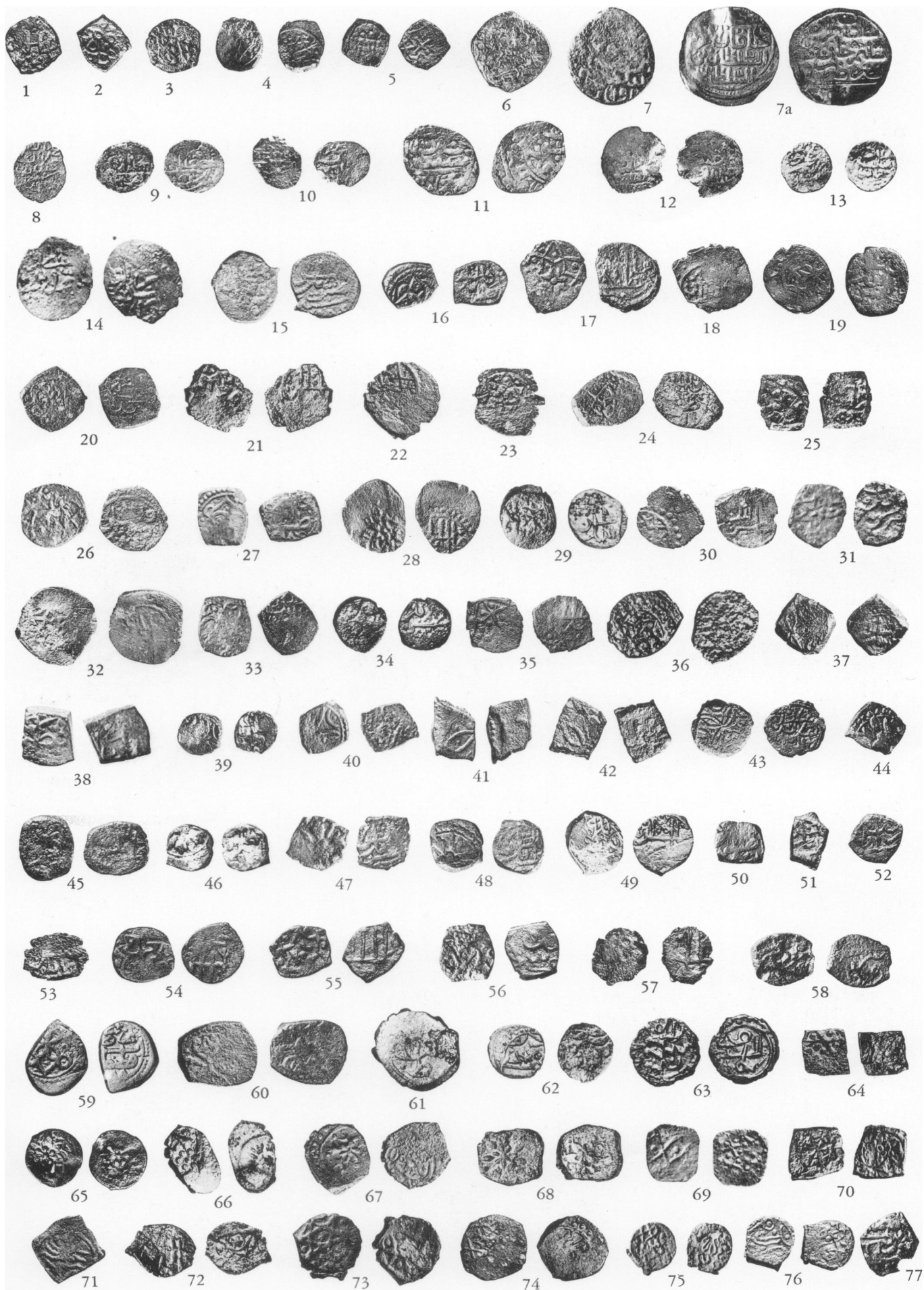




PLATE IV



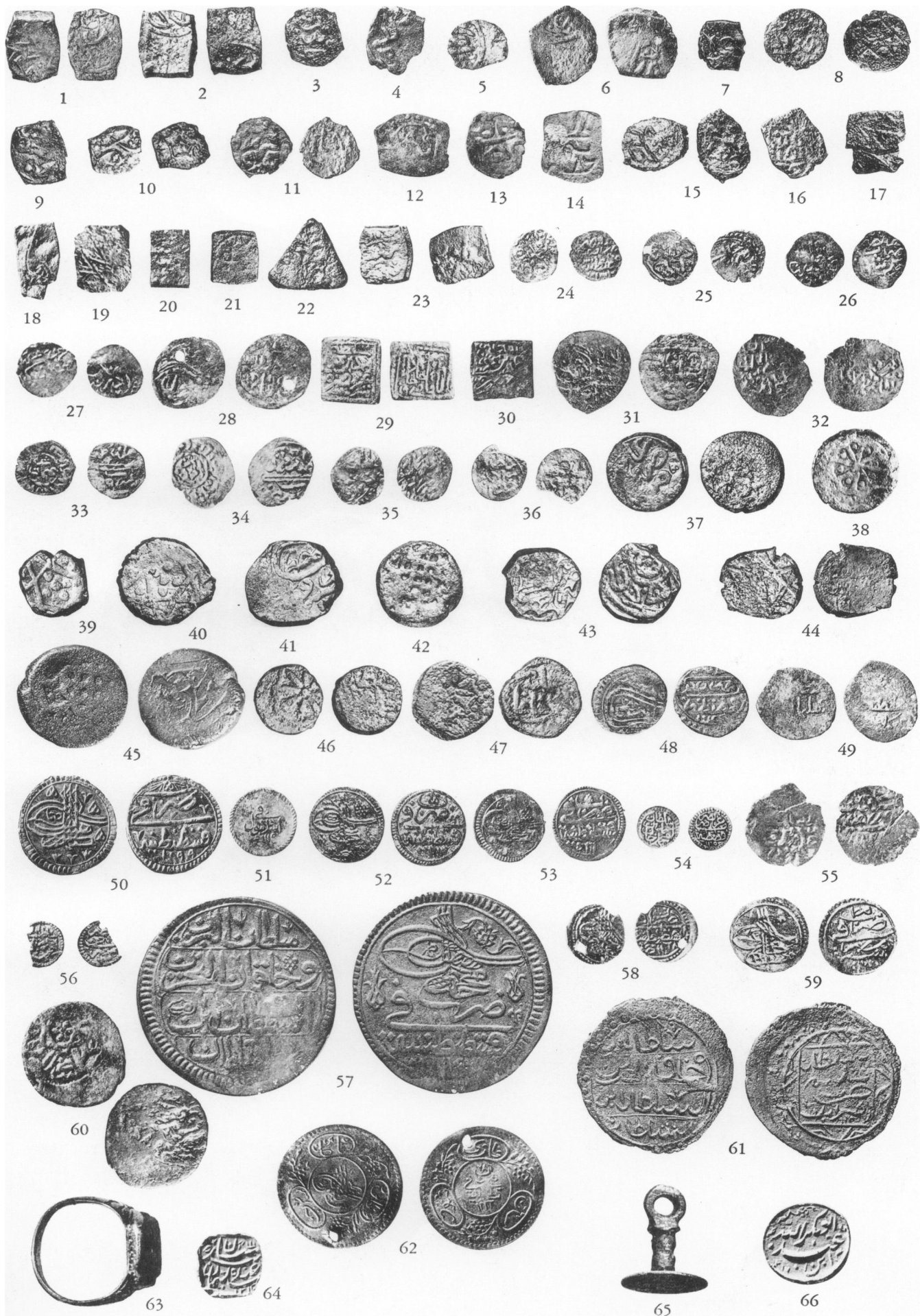
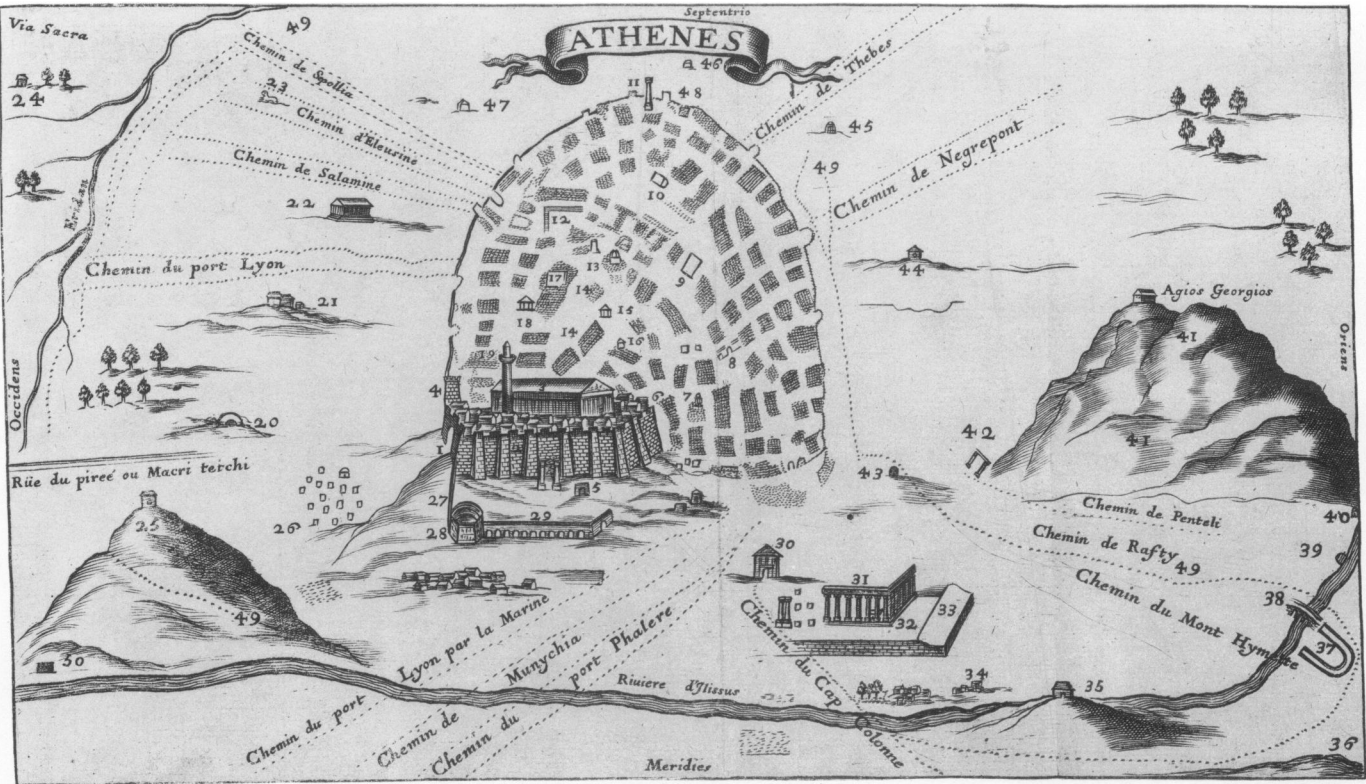


PLATE VI



Athens in 1676 (after J. Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant fait aux années 1675 and 1676*)