HASLUCK’S KASOS HOARD OF FOURTEENTH-CENTURY GIGLIATI

Abstract – The Kasos hoard belongs to a string of silver gigliato hoards from the fourteenth century found in south-western Anatolia and the south-eastern Aegean, which document a particular flourish in western imports and in the local coin production. An attempt has been made to assemble all known specimens from this hoard, which was found in the early twentieth century, in order to undertake a renewed analysis of the types, and their attributions and datings, in the light of recent scholarship.

In 1912 Frederick Hasluck saw a hoard of later medieval coins in a jeweller’s shop in Smyrna (Izmir). A year later he managed to transcribe it, acquire a representative selection, and publish it.[1] Hasluck, a former student of King’s College, Cambridge, and Assistant Director and Librarian of the British School at Athens, died on 22/11/1920. In the course of the same year, coins from his collection were bequeathed to the respective Departments of Coins & Medals of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and of the British Museum. The purpose of this short note is to put on record and to briefly discuss the extant specimens from this hoard.

Hasluck and his many writings have attracted renewed interest in recent years.[2] Upon his premature death his wife Margaret Hardie administered his scientific estate and published from it extensively. Following his death, F.W. Hasluck’s papers were initially preserved in Athens, and then taken by his wife to Albania in 1923.[3] Her successive transfers back to Athens in 1939, and further to Egypt a couple of years later, entailed the loss of most of her husband’s manuscripts. There are some eclectic materials now at the bsa,[4] while Hasluck’s correspondence with other scholars, notably his former director R.M. Dawkins, is preserved at the Taylorian Institute, University of Oxford. None of

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* I wish to thank Martin Allen, Barrie Cook, and Marcus Phillips for their help in studying this material; Amilia Kakissis and Amanda Kelly for archival and bibliographical advice.

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this material appears to relate to the Kasos hoard [5], for which we must rely entirely on the information contained in the original publication and at present with the coins themselves (see below).

Hasluck first suggested that the find was made on Kasos in the historical region of the Southern Sporades, between Crete and Rhodes, which now belongs to the Greek nomos of the Dodecanese. The relevant tickets in the 8m call this hoard variously the ‘Kasos’ or the ‘Nisyros’ find, the latter being another island of the Dodecanese, lying between Kos and Tilos, to the north of Rhodes. I have no further information which can clarify this matter, though the established name of ‘Kasos’ [6] is the more convincing since, during the period of the hoard’s formation, Nisyros lay within the territory controlled by the Knights of St. John [7], while the island group of Karpathos/Kasos/Saria had been ruled by the Venetian Cornaro family, independently from the Republic of Venice, since the 1307 contract between Andrea da Cornaro de Cà Mazor and a delegation of local inhabitants [8]. It is well known that the Hospitallers exercised a stringent monetary régime and that their administration would have tried to re-mint all fine silver coinages at the Rhodes mint [9], whereas the mix of issues which can be witnessed in the Kasos hoard is reminiscent of a more laissez-faire attitude [10]. The particular paucity in Rhodian issues, as compared for instance to the Ephesus hoard (see below), underlines emphatically that it would not have originated in the territories controlled by the Knights.

Hasluck listed 12 gros tournois of France; 6 Rhodian gigliati (2 of Roger des Pins, 4 of Raymond de Bérenger); 3 Chiot gigliati; 70 Neapolitan and Provençal gigliati, all in the name of Robert I of Anjou; and 23 coronati of the second half of the fifteenth century. Metcalf suggested that the latter belonged to a separate find, or that this was a double-hoard. The coronati are not further considered in this note.

[5] With regard to the former I rely on the verdict of Amilia Kakissis. I managed to skim through Hasluck’s letters at the Taylorian myself.


[9] Beside a number of mixed gigliato hoards such as the one from Kasos (see below), three further hoards contain exclusively issues of Rhodes: BECKENBAUER 1973; BERNAREGGI 1964; SELTMAN 1964. These hoards do not have secure find-spots, although the last of these may have been from Bodrum, which was part of the Hospitallers’ domain in the early fifteenth century. Amongst Rhodian stray finds, a very large percentage was minted locally: KASDAGLI 2000.

[10] Stray coin losses in Cyclades during the fourteenth century were a mix of Venetian and other: BAKER 2009.
List of coins that can be attributed to this hoard

The coins from the hoard have been divided into six categories and have been given individual numbers. Those coins whose data are shown in brackets, while being from the respective Hasluck bequests to the Fitzwilliam and the BM, cannot be attributed to the hoard with complete confidence. The tickets in the BM invariably note the origin of the listed coins as 'Nisyros', 'Kasos', or 'Smyrna' 1913. The only BM coin which has been bracketed is ii·1, whose ticket was devoid of this kind of information. At the Fitzwilliam some tickets from the Hasluck bequest provide disparate pieces of information, for instance purchases in Constantinople or Athens. Such coins have been omitted from the present list. There is, however, a large group of coins featuring original tickets which have no ulterior indications of origin. It is certain that at least some of these coins were part of the hoard, since coins iii·2 and 3 were already illustrated by Hasluck in the original article. While the summary manuscript list made by Coin Room Assistant Harold Shrubbs in the 1920s cannot shed further light on this, Philip Grierson seems to have been able to discern coins from the hoard since he considered i·2 as belonging to it. Unfortunately, his papers relating to the hoard and the coinages in question are currently not accessible.

I. GIGLIATI OF NAPLES – ROBERT I (1309–1343)

![Image](Fig. i·1 – BM 1920-9-7-738 = Hasluck, ‘Sporades’, pl. xv.7: uncertain group)

![Image](Fig. i·2 – Fitzwilliam = MEC 14.iii, no. 713: Baker, group 3bis [11])

II. GIGLIATI OF PROVENCE – ROBERT I (1309–1343)

![Image](Fig. ii·1 – BM 1920-9-7-1250: Testa 2011, p. 579, serie D)

![Image](Fig. ii·2 – Fitzwilliam: Testa 2011, p. 576, serie A – variante A2)

III. ANATOLIAN IMITATIONS OF GIGLIATI OF NAPLES AND PROVENCE – ROBERT I (1309–1343)

Fig. iii.1 – BM 1920-9-7-737 = Hasluck, ‘Sporades’, pl. xv.10: Provence

Fig. iii.2 – Fitzwilliam = Hasluck, ‘Sporades’, pl. xv.8 = MEC 14 iii, no. 717: Naples
IV. GIGLIATI OF CHIOS

Fig. iv·1 – BM 1920-9-7-550 = Hasluck, ‘Sporades’, pl. xv.2: Schlumberger, pl. xiv.5 [12]

Fig. iv·2 – BM 1920-9-7-549 = Hasluck, ‘Sporades’, pl. xv.3: Schlumberger, pl. xiv.7

Fig. iv·3 – Hasluck, ‘Sporades’, pl. xv.4: Schlumberger, pl. xiv.7

V. GIGLIATI OF RHODES

Fig. v·1 – BM 1920-9-7-624 = Hasluck, ‘Sporades’, pl. xv.1: Raymond de Bérenger (1365-71)

Fig. v·2 – BM 1920-9-7-625: Raymond de Bérenger (1365-71)

VI. GROS TOURNOIS OF FRANCE

Discussion

The Naples mint emitted *gigliati* in the name of King Robert I of Anjou (1309-43) during most of the fourteenth century and later. The coins’ epigraphy and typology, combined with the evidence of some key hoards, have allowed me to propose chronologies especially during the posthumous period [13]. The latter was initially marked by group 3, which dominated the Casalbore hoard, featuring a broader flan than previously, bold lettering from single punches, and a round, smiling face. Following the Hungarian interlude in 1348, which led to the creation of the short-lived group 4, the Naples mint apparently resumed minting in a style which was reminiscent of group 3, but inferior. This group 3bis, prominent in the hoard from Episcopia, was minted until ca. the 1380s, after which there was an ulterior reduction in the physical aspect of Neapolitan *gigliati* in Robert’s name. Kasos coin i-2 belongs to group 3bis. Coin i-1 is relatively neatly constructed, not dissimilar in many aspects to coin i-2 and therefore perhaps of similar date, but the shape of the king, and especially the elongated face and symmetrical hair, are outside of the general developments of the Neapolitan issues. It is presently not possible to say whether this is an issue of Naples. It does not seem to be a local Aegean imitation, but it is well known that posthumous and immobilized issues in the name of Robert of Anjou with

Neapolitan reverse legends were minted in Provence \[^{[14]}\]. Gaetano Testa has recently devoted an article to this question \[^{[15]}\]; the present piece from the Kasos hoard is stylistically quite close to his ‘serie D’ (compare coins ii·1, ii·6, and ii·7 from the hoard), although it lacks the distinctive ℛObverse abbreviation. The jury is still out on coin i·1·1.

Less work has been done on the typology of the Provençal issues in the name of Robert I of Anjou (1309–43), apart from the cited recent article, the focus of which is however on the posthumous period and the issues with the Neapolitan reverse legend. There are no significant published hoards which can contribute to the subject matter. It is certain that Provence produced *gigliati* over a long period during the fourteenth century \[^{[16]}\]. The seven coins which may have been contained in the Kasos hoard divide into a number of stylistic groupings. Coin ii·2 belongs to the most commonly encountered variety of Provençal issues, with the fine, spindly figure of the king and the small and neat and rounded shape of the lettering and rev. lilled cross \[^{[17]}\]. This is undoubtedly early. The remainder of the coins correspond to Testa’s ‘serie C’ and ‘serie D’, which are to be dated to mid-century or even later on the grounds of their analogies to the Neapolitan series, and to the Provençal *gigliati* in the names of Louis and Joanna (1349–62), known principally from the Ephesos hoard, but unjustifiably attributed by Rolland to the Naples mint \[^{[18]}\]. It is clear that a closer analysis of the available specimens would allow one to break down these ‘serie C’ and ‘serie D’ coins further: for instance coins ii·4 and ii·5 have very similar figures of the seated king and tilted crown, and are quite different to ii·3. None of the seven listed Provençal *gigliati* are attributed to the Kasos hoard with complete confidence. Nevertheless, this assemblage has an internal consistency, and also harmonizes well with the two Neapolitan specimens (i·1·2), allowing one to believe that they can provide us with a representative picture of the hoard’s original content.

There is little doubt that Robert’s Neapolitan and Provençal *gigliati* were imitated in the Anatolian emirates, presumably during the 1320s and 1330s. One of the three available specimens (iii·3) is unusual in terms of the obv. seated king and the gothic form of the lettering. The other two specimens, copying respectively an issue of Provence and Naples (iii·1·2), are within the bolder and coarser style which has been well established, for instance through the coins contained in the Ephesos hoard \[^{[19]}\].

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\[^{[14]}\] Rolland 1956, p. 161–162.
\[^{[15]}\] Testa 2011.
\[^{[17]}\] Illustrated for instance in Rolland 1956, p. 215 and pl. ii·51 (two specimens).
\[^{[18]}\] Baker 2006, p. 374–375; Rolland 1956, p. 150, no. 74.
The Chiot Maona Company issued *gigliati* sometime after 1347. The complex typology and the dating of these issues have recently been re-considered [20]. The two types contained in the Kasos hoard – with the pointed form of lettering and the hat that runs into the initial cross patty (iv-2-3); and with the rounded lettering and more prominent hat (iv-1) – are well known, but not the earliest of the Chiot issues, which was the type encountered at Ephesos with the low, crouching figure of the doge [21]. The absolute chronology of these three issues remains difficult to pinpoint, and the Kasos hoard is best dated by the Rhodian issues.

Coins of Grand Master Raymond de Bérenger (1365-71), the last to be contained in the hoard, are stylistically diverse, especially in terms of the design of the lettering and the interpunctuation [22]. The two to three coins of Raymond in the Kasos hoard (v-1, 2, 4) are comparatively harmonious, with all letters (particularly the Es and Us) of the rounded design, and simple annulets separating the main components of the legends.

The French *gros tournois* first arrived in Greece in the late thirteenth century, and received a surge in circulation there and in the wider Aegean during the first two decades of the fourteenth [23]. This was rather short-lived and the Kasos hoard is the sole *gigliato* hoard of the eastern Aegean to have contained such issues. The present piece (v1-1) is the only one of originally twelve specimens to survive. Phillips had already suspected that Hasluck’s attribution to King Phillip VI (1328-50) was incorrect. This is vindicated by the identification of v1-1 as an issue of Philip IV (1285-1314) in the light of van Hengel’s system, or indeed an imitation thereof [24].

In conclusion, the best means of dating the *gigliato* component of Hasluck’s Kasos hoard remains the Rhodian series, despite the rather small overall quantity (six), and the question marks that hang over the dating of the posthumous Neapolitan and Provençal series in the name of Robert I. The issues in Raymond de Bérenger’s name appear immature, and a concealment date of about 1370 is probable. The presence of gros tournois, which are absent in the Ephesos hoard, situate the Kasos hoard in a southeast Aegean sphere of circulation. Kasos also has comparatively more Chiot issues, which might date the main part of that series later than had previously been assumed. The ratio of ‘*rober-tini*’ to Rhodian issues in the Kasos hoard is particularly unfavourable to the latter, at 70+6 (at Ephesos this ratio is 1442+786). It would be premature to

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[24] I owe this verdict to Marcus Phillips.
seek to explain this, but the particular profile of these ‘robertini’, especially the rather late dating of the known Neapolitan and Provençal specimens \[^{25}\] , might be at least partially responsible for this imbalance.

**REFERENCES**


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\[^{25}\] Note that in the Ephesos hoard the genuine ‘robertini’ date much earlier, and that imitative ‘robertini’, which are also relatively early, are much more prominent: Baker 2006, p. 373-377.

Mazarakis 2003 = A. Mazarakis, Τα νομίσματα της Χίου, Athens.


