

COINS FOUND AT CORINTH

I. REPORT ON THE COINS FOUND IN THE EXCAVATIONS AT CORINTH DURING THE YEARS 1936-1939¹

Three previous publications² have dealt with the coins found in the excavations at Corinth from 1896 through 1935. The present report is a continuation of these former ones and covers the period after 1935 up to and including the spring of 1939. The number of coins found in these three and one-half years is exceedingly large, 26,521 in all, and forms one half of all the coins found since the beginning of the excavations. The explanation of this large number lies in the fact that the excavations during this time have been conducted almost exclusively in the Agora and that almost the whole of the area has been cleared down to the Roman level of the first century after Christ. In some sections the digging penetrated the Roman level and was continued down to the level of the fifth century before Christ.

Such extensive excavation in late Roman and subsequent fills has naturally had an influence on the type of coins found and the number of coins belonging to the various periods of Corinthian history. That is, there are relatively few Corinthian coins and coins from other Greek states in proportion to the immense numbers of later Roman Imperial and of Byzantine coins which have been brought to light.

A total of 1,101 coins from the Corinthian mint has been found, and of these only 18 are silver; the rest are bronze. The small bronze Pegasos-Trident pieces are again in the majority, 579. Many of them were found in those sections of the Agora where work was done in the Greek strata below the Roman level of the first century after Christ. The number of them found in Roman fill of the first century after Christ seems to corroborate the theory proposed by Edwards that these coins were in circulation when the new Roman colony was founded and continued in use as small change.³

¹ I wish to express my thanks and appreciation to Dr. Oscar Broneer for his kind suggestions and criticisms in the preparation of this paper; also to Miss Sarah S. Atherton, member of the Corinth staff, and Miss Sara Anderson, fellow of the School, for their generous help in tabulating the coins and compiling the figures found in the summary at the end of this report. The coins for the year 1936, 6556 in all, and about 200 coins from the spring of 1937 were identified and catalogued by Dr. Katherine M. Edwards. The remainder were handled by the author. The chart reproduced as Fig. 1 was made by Dr. Wulf Schäfer.

² Alfred R. Bellinger, *Catalogue of the Coins Found at Corinth, 1925*; Katherine M. Edwards, *Corinth, VI, Coins, 1896-1929*, and "Report on the Coins Found in the Excavations at Corinth During the Years 1930-1935," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 241-256. Further, see note 17.

³ Edwards, "Report on the Coins Found in the Excavations at Corinth During the Years 1930-1936," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 243.

They have even been found with Roman coins of all periods and even with Byzantine coins, but this is probably due to accidental intrusion.

The coins issued under the *duoviri* also show an increase in number. The types represented are those which have been previously catalogued, and no new sets of magistrates' names have been discovered. However, the fact that more and more coins of this period are coming to light leads one to hope that when further excavation is made in the fills of the first century before Christ and of the first century after Christ enough *duoviri* coins will be found to enlarge considerably our knowledge of the various chief magistrates of the colony and perhaps complete the list.

Coins from other Greek states have been found throughout the whole Agora, chiefly in the areas where the Greek levels have been reached. The coins exhibit no new types but are of interest because they represent so many different cities in the Greek world. Coins from Italy and Sicily in the west to Ephesus and Alexandria in the east show how widespread was the relation of Corinth to the rest of the ancient world from the fourth century before Christ to 146 B.C. The majority of the coins come, naturally, from the Peloponnesos, Sicyon in particular, but the Macedonian kings are well represented, especially Demetrios Poliorketes, for whom there is a total of 12.

As in previous reports,⁴ there are very few coins from the Roman Republic and from the first years of the Empire. The explanation of this lack doubtless lies in the fact that Corinth issued its own bronze coinage until the reign of Geta. There are 12 coins issued in the imperial mint from the reign of Hadrian, but very few examples of the other imperial issues until the reign of Gallienus. It is not until the period of Constantine I and his family that coins are found in large quantities. There are 92 of Constantine I and 417 of his son, Constantius II. The late fourth and the fifth centuries have been responsible for the greatest number of coins in the Roman period, as may be seen in the summary at the end of this article. A hoard, to be discussed later,⁵ has helped augment the figures, but the masses of small bronze pieces, both the imperial and the so-called Vandalic or barbarian coinage which were found throughout the whole Agora at the same level of excavation, have contributed considerably to the total.

The Byzantine period is notable for the quantity of coins it has produced, 17,796. About half the number belongs to the reigns of Alexius I and Manuel I. The coins themselves exhibit no new types but are of interest chiefly as they reflect the economic history of the city.⁶

The coinage of the Frankish period, both the local issues and the French royal money, continues to be found in rather large numbers. All of the money of this later

⁴ Cf. *Corinth*, VI, *Coins*, pp. 10 and 73-74, and *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 245 and 253.

⁵ See p. 145.

⁶ See pp. 160-161 for a fuller discussion of this topic.

period, Frankish, French, Italo-Sicilian, and Venetian, is of more interest and value historically in its relation to Corinth than numismatically.

The excavations have produced seven hoards in the last three years. Two of them are Roman; four are Byzantine; and one is Venetian. The earliest hoard, in point of the chronology of the coins, is the Gallienus hoard which was found in March, 1936, in the South Stoa. The find contains 64 coins, 27 of which belong to the reign of Gallienus. With the exception of two pieces from the Corinthian mint (one of Marcus Aurelius and one of Septimius Severus) and one of Caracalla from Patrae, the coins are all from the imperial mint and belong to the mid-third century after Christ. They are distributed as follows: Severus Alexander, 2; Julia Mamaea, 1; Maximinus I, 1; Valerian I, 3; Valerian I or Gallienus, 1; Gallienus, 27; Salonina, 5; Gallienus or Salonina, 1; obverse illegible, but reverse of Gallienus, 6; wholly illegible, 14.


The other Roman hoard was also found in the South Stoa, in a Roman bath, in the fall of 1937.⁷ The coins were tightly packed in a small, bottle-shaped jug, and, when they were found, were so corroded and stuck together within the jug that it was not possible to ascertain exactly how many there were. After the cleaning the count totalled 387, but it is presumable that originally there may have been more.⁸ The hoard contained the following coins: Sicyon, 323-251 B.C., 1; Numerianus, 1; Constantine I, 1; Constantius II, 1; Valentinian I, 1; Marcian, 6; Leo I, 3; Zeno, 9; Anastasius I, 92; Justinian I, 6; uncertain emperors of the fifth century, Victory with wreath, 48; no legend or type but each piece with a small raised point, like a boss, in the center, 19; coins with traces of obverse head or bust but with reverse illegible, 12; wholly illegible, 185. The hoard appears to have been buried during the reign of Justinian I since no coins after his rule are included. The number of Anastasius coins would lead one to suppose that most of the hoarding was done during his reign. It is interesting to find a coin of Sicyon and one each of Numerianus, Constantine I, Constantius II, and Valentinian I among so many of the late fifth and the early sixth centuries. These five coins are all well preserved and do not appear to have been long in circulation. Why they should have been found among so many of a later period is a matter of conjecture. Because of their larger size and better condition they may have been regarded by the hoarder as having more value. It is possible also that he might have been a coin-collector in a small way, or at least, because of their antiquity, he might have thought them lucky pieces. Whatever the reason for their inclusion, they stand out among the poorly made, crudely designed coins of the later period.

⁷ Morgan, "Excavations at Corinth, Autumn, 1937," *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 363, where it is stated the hoard was found "in the hypocaust of the *tepidarium*."

⁸ *Ibid.* An estimated total of 378 is given. Subsequent cleaning changed this number, and, considering the poor state of preservation of the coins, it is more than likely that some of them disintegrated in the process of cleaning.

The four Byzantine hoards are interesting because they offer an almost complete record of the Byzantine emperors from Basil I and his sons to Manuel I. The first hoard, found October, 1936, in the South Stoa, contains 54 coins of the Anonymous Byzantine Coinage usually assigned to John I Zimisce and his followers, 969-1034.⁹ They are of large flan and are all in a fairly good state of preservation.

The second hoard was found in November of 1937, in the south central area of the Agora. The coins number 95 and belong to the following emperors:¹⁰ Basil I, Constantine, and Leo VI, 869-879, 1; Leo VI, 886-912, 1; Romanus I, 919-944, 1; John I Zimisce and followers, 969-1034,¹¹ 7; Michael IV, 1034-1041, 8; Constantine IX, 1041-1055, 3; Michael VI, 1056-1057, 1; Isaac I, 1057-1059, 2; Constantine X, 1059-1067, 6; Romanus IV, 1067-1071, 1; Michael VII, 1071-1078, 9; Nicephorus III, 1079-1081, 7; Alexius I, 1081-1118, 19; John II, 1118-1141, 12; Manuel I, 1141-1180, 7.

The last two Byzantine hoards contain coins of Manuel I. One, found in the spring of 1938, containing 30 gold coins of Manuel I, has been published in *A.J.A.*¹² The other was found in February, 1937, in the area of St. John's,¹³ in a glass factory not far from the site where later the gold coins came to light. There were 516 coins in the hoard; 42 of John II and 474 of Manuel I. It is interesting to note that about 400 of the Manuel coins belong to one type; obverse, bust of Manuel facing, with *labarum* and *globus cruciger*; reverse, the monogram of Manuel, .¹⁴

The Venetian hoard is of interest both for the number and the type of coins it includes and for the period to which it belongs. It was found in the section of St. John's in the Agora on November 10, 1936,¹⁵ and was presumably buried there at the end of the fifteenth century. With a few exceptions the coins belong to the Venetian colonial coinage of the reign of Agostino Barbarigo (1486-1501). There are 185 colonial coins of this Doge, and 947 which appear to be local imitations of the same type. In addition, there are 406 which are wholly illegible but which by their fabric and size appear to be the same type, and 40 which are partly illegible but which

⁹ Bellinger, *The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage, Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 35, p. 16; Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, *Coins*, p. 138.

¹⁰ The dates of each emperor's reign are given to show that this hoard in itself contains an almost complete list of the rulers of the Middle Byzantine period.

¹¹ These emperors and their dates are: John I Zimisce, 969-976; Basil II and Constantine VIII, 976-1025; Constantine VIII, 1025-1028; Romanus III, 1028-1034.

¹² Harris, "A Gold Hoard from Corinth," *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 268-277.

¹³ Cf. Morgan, "Excavations at Corinth, 1936-1937," *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 541.

¹⁴ Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, *Coins*, p. 146, no. 149; Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, II, p. 580.

¹⁵ Cf. Morgan, *loc. cit.* The report contains a brief notice of this hoard together with a picture of the coins and the container in which they were found.

preserve enough of the type to warrant their classification with this group. One other Doge, Michele Steno (1400-1413), is represented by 2 coins of his colonial issue. Of the remaining coins, 1 is of Constans I; 2 of William Villehardouin; 1 of William de la Roche; 7 of Guy II de la Roche; 9 of Charles VIII of France (from the following mints: Teatina, 5; Aquilana, 3; Ortona, 1); 4 of the Republic of Ancona (thirteenth century); 2 of Alphonse V, of Aragon, King of the Two Sicilies (1416-1458); and one post-Byzantine coin, which is uncertain. That such a large hoard should have been in existence in Corinth at the end of the fifteenth century is an interesting fact, for the city at this time had already been invaded and conquered by the Turks.¹⁶

A list of the coins found during the years 1936-1939 is appended to the report. The totals are as follows:

Greek	
Corinth	1101
Other Greek States	725
Roman	4073
Byzantine	17796
Foreign and Modern	2498
Unclassified	328
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TOTAL	26,521

SUMMARY OF COINS FROM THE EXCAVATIONS AT CORINTH 1936-1939

COINAGE OF CORINTH

SILVER	18
Sixth century	3
Fifth century	2
Fourth century	13
Drachmas	1
Fractional pieces	12
BRONZE	
Greek Period	
400-146 B.C., Pegasus-Trident	579
400-300 B.C.	4
300-243 B.C.	30
Second century B.C.	8
Roman Period	
Under <i>duoviri</i>	239
Anonymous	44
With name of emperor	115
Tesserae	6
Uncertain	58
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	1101

¹⁶ Finley, "Corinth in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, VII, 1932, p. 477.

OTHER GREEK STATES

ITALY

Rhegium, 203-89 B.C.	1
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SICILY	3
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Syracuse	2
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413-400 B.C.	1
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413-357 B.C.	1
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Lipara, <i>ca.</i> III cent. B.C.	1
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MACEDONIA	39
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Kings

Alexander III, 336-323 B.C.	2
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Cassander, 316-297 B.C.	6
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Demetrios Poliorketes, 306-283 B.C.	12
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Antigonos Gonatas, 277-239 B.C.	9
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Philip V, 220-176 B.C.	5
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Uncertain King	2
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Cities

Amphipolis, after 168 B.C.	1
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Thessalonica, Nero, 54-69 A.D.	1
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Under Romans, Domitian, 81-96 A.D.	1
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THRACE	3
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Moesia, <i>ca.</i> III-II cent. B.C.	1
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Marcianopolis, Elagabalus, 218-222 A.D. ...	1
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Anchialos, Gordian III, 238-244.	1
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THESSALY	3
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Federal, 196-146 B.C.	1
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Gallienus, 253-268 A.D.	1
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Uncertain	1
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NORTHWEST GREECE	7
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Illyricum, Apollonia, 229-100 B.C.	1
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Nicopolis, Faustina I, 138-140 A.D.	1
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Leucas, <i>ca.</i> 430-400 B.C.	1
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Aetolia	4
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291-168 B.C.	1
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279-168 B.C.	3
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CENTRAL GREECE	81
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Locri Opuntii, 338-300 B.C.	2
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Phocis	2
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371-357 B.C.	1
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339-146 B.C.	1
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Boeotia	16
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244-197 B.C.	3
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197-146 B.C.	6
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Tanagra, Roman Imperial.	1
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Thebes, 379-338 B.C.	3
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Thespieae, Domitian, 81-96 A.D.	3
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Euboea	3	
Chalcis, 369-336 B.C.	2	
Histiaea, 197-146 B.C.	1	
Athens	40	
339-322 B.C.	7	
297-255 B.C.	1	
255-229 B.C.	2	
229-83 B.C.	3	
220-83 B.C.	7	
229-30 B.C.	4	
Roman Imperial	11	
Uncertain date	1	
Tessera	1	
Eleusis, <i>ca.</i> IV cent. B.C., in name of Athens	3	
Megaris	11	
Megara	10	
<i>Ca.</i> III-II cent. B.C.	9	
Antoninus Pius, 138-161 A.D.	1	
Pagae, Commodus, 176-192 A.D.	1	
Aegina	7	
After 404 B.C.	5	
<i>Ca.</i> III-II cent. B.C.	2	
PELOPONNESOS	339	
Phlius	18	
400-360 B.C.	16	
<i>Ca.</i> III cent. B.C. or later.	2	
Sicyon	215	
400-300 B.C.	1	
323-251 B.C.	191	
306-283 B.C.	1	
250-146 B.C.	20	
Commodus, 176-192 A.D.	1	
Caracalla, 198-217 A.D.	1	
Achaea	12	
Patrae	9	
146-32 B.C.	3	
Augustus, 27 B.C.-14 A.D.	1	
Domitian, 81-96 A.D.	1	
Marcus Aurelius, 161-180 A.D.	1	
Lucius Verus, 161-169 A.D.	1	
Caracalla, 198-217 A.D.	2	
Pellene, 370-322 B.C.	3	
Achaean League	9	
Aegium, after 280 B.C.	1	
Dyme, after 280 B.C.	1	
Messene, after 191 B.C.	1	
Sicyon, after 280 B.C.	1	
Tegea, after 280 B.C.	1	
Uncertain city	4	
<i>Ca.</i> 270-260 B.C.	1	
<i>Ca.</i> 280-146 B.C.	3	

Elis		3
323-191 B.C.	1	
312-271 B.C.	1	
After 191 B.C.	1	
Cephalenia		1
Same, <i>ca.</i> 370-189 B.C.	1	
Zacynthus		2
357-250 B.C.	1	
191-43 B.C.	1	
Messenia		11
Messene, 280-146 B.C.	5	
Pylos, Septimius Severus, 193-211 A.D. .	1	
Mothone, Plautilla, 202-212 A.D.	1	
Thuria	3	
<i>Ca.</i> 220-182 B.C.	1	
Julia Domna, 193-217 A.D.	1	
Caracalla, 198-217 B.C.	1	
Uncertain City, Roman Imperial.	1	
Laconia		9
Lacedaemon	8	
266-210 B.C.	1	
146-32 B.C.	3	
<i>Ca.</i> IV-III cent. B.C.	1	
<i>Ca.</i> II-I cent. B.C.	1	
Antoninus Pius, 138-161 A.D.	1	
Commodus, 176-192 A.D.	1	
Gythium, Septimius Severus, 193-211 A.D. .	1	
Cythera, 250-146 B.C.		1
Argolis		47
Argos	32	
Before 421 B.C.	1	
350-228 B.C.	9	
322-229 B.C.	6	
228-146 B.C.	4	
Antoninus Pius, 138-161 A.D.	3	
Lucius Verus, 161-169 A.D.	1	
Commodus, 176-192 A.D.	2	
Septimius Severus, 193-211 A.D. .	2	
Caracalla, 198-217 A.D.	3	
Plautilla, 202-212 A.D.	1	
Nemea, Antoninus Pius, 138-161 A.D.	2	
Corinth or Argos		
Septimius Severus, 193-211 A.D.	1	
Cleonae, <i>ca.</i> 235 B.C.	2	
Epidauros	4	
370-323 B.C.	1	
323-240 B.C.	2	
Antoninus Pius, after 146 A.D.	1	
Hermione, 370-300 B.C.	3	
Methana, Geta, 211-212 A.D.	1	

Psophis, Caracalla, 198-217 A.D.	1	
Troezen, 370-300 B.C.	1	
Arcadia		11
Federal	2	
370-363 B.C.	1	
363-280 B.C.	1	
Heraea, 417-370 B.C.	1	
Megalopolis	2	
234-146 B.C.	1	
Caracalla, 198-217 A.D.	1	
Orchomenos, Julia Domna, 197-217 A.D.	1	
Pheneus	2	
300-240 B.C.	1	
146-31 B.C.	1	
Tegea, after 146 B.C.	2	
Thelpusa, Septimius Severus, 193-211 A.D.	1	
ASIA MINOR AND ADJACENT ISLANDS.....		19
Pontus	1	
Dioscurias, Mithridates Eupater, 120-63 B.C.	1	
Mysia	1	
Lampsacus, 190- <i>ca.</i> 85 B.C.	1	
Troas	2	
Cumae, Gordian III, 238-244 A.D.	1	
Ilium, after 189 B.C.	1	
Lesbos	1	
Mytilene, <i>ca.</i> II-I cent. B.C.	1	
Ionia	3	
Ephesus, Marcus Aurelius, 161-180 A.D.	1	
Miletus, <i>ca.</i> 190 B.C.	1	
Magnesia ad Maeandrum, 350-190 B.C....	1	
Chios	3	
Before 350 B.C.	2	
190-88 B.C.	1	
Cos, 190-166 B.C.	1	
Rhodes, <i>ca.</i> 43 B.C.-96 A.D.	1	
Lycia	1	
Patara, <i>ca.</i> 168 B.C.-I cent. A.D.	1	
Lydia	1	
Maeonia, Septimius Severus, 193-211 A.D.	1	
Cilicia	2	
Aegiae, <i>ca.</i> II-I cent. B.C.	1	
Celendria, I cent. B.C. or early Imperial..	1	
Palestine	2	
EGYPT		38
Ptolemaic Kings	33	
Ptolemy I, 323-284 B.C.	1	
Ptolemy III, 243-222 B.C.	31	
Cleopatra, 45-30 B.C.	1	

Cities	5
Alexandria	5
Caligula, 37-41 A.D.	1
Hadrian, 117-138 A.D.	2
Gallienus, 253-268 A.D.	1
Uncertain emperor	1
CYRENE, KOINON ISSUE, <i>ca.</i> 250 B.C.	1
UNCERTAIN GREEK STATES.....	17
UNCLASSIFIED	174
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	725

ROMAN COINAGE		Gallienus or Salonina.....	1
REPUBLICAN	8	Quietus, 269	1
Third century B.C.....	1	Claudius II, 268-270.....	5
<i>Ca.</i> 81-31 B.C.....	7	Quintillus, 270.....	1
IMPERIAL		Aurelian, 270-275.....	26
Augustus, 27 B.C.-14 A.D.....	6	Probus, 276-282.....	15
Agrippa, <i>ca.</i> 27-12 B.C.....	1	Carus, 282-283	1
Tiberius, 14-37 A.D.....	1	Carinus, 283-285.....	4
Caligula, 37-41	1	Numerianus, 283.....	1
Claudius, 41-54.....	4	Diocletian, 284-305.....	17
Nero, 54-68	3	Maximian Hercules, 286-205.....	24
Domitian, 81-96	4	Diocletian or Maximian Hercules.....	1
Trajan, 98-117	7	Helen, 306-328	2
Hadrian, 117-138.....	12	Galerius Maximian, 293-311.....	9
Antoninus Pius, 138-161.....	8	Maximinus II, 305-313.....	4
Faustina I, 138-141.....	2	Licinius I, 307-323.....	8
Marcus Aurelius, 161-180.....	3	Constantine I, 306-337.....	92
Faustina II, 161-175.....	6	Crispus, 317-326	6
Commodus, 176-192	8	Constantinople under Constantine....	5
Septimius Severus, 193-211.....	4	Rome under Constantine.....	7
Julia Domna, 193-217.....	2	Constantine II, 317-337.....	31
Caracalla, 198-217	2	Constantius II, 324-361.....	417
Plautilla, 202-212	1	Constans I, 333-350.....	71
Geta, 209-212	1	House of Constantine.....	2
Elagabalus, 218-222	1	Constantius II or Constans I.....	7
Aquila Severa, 220-222.....	1	Delmatius, 335-337	1
Severus Alexander, 222-235.....	5	Vetranio, 350	1
Julia Mamaea, 222-235.....	4	Magnentius, 350-353	2
Maximinus I, 235-238.....	2	Decentius, 351-353.....	1
Gordian III, 238-244.....	6	Constantius Gallus, 351-354.....	9
Philip I, 244-249.....	5	Julian II, 355-363.....	28
Trajan Decius, 249-251.....	2	Jovian, 363-364	1
Trebonius Gallus, 251-253.....	2	Valentinian I, 364-375.....	78
Valerian I, 253-259.....	4	Valens, 364-378	64
Valerian or Gallienus.....	1	Valentinian I or Valens.....	7
Gallienus, 253-268	43	Procopius, 365-366	1
Salonina, 253-268.....	6	Gratianus, 375-383	27
		Valentinian II, 375-392.....	124
		Theodosius I, 379-395.....	258

Flacilla, 379-388.....	5	Justin II, 565-578.....	122
Magnus Maximus, 383-388.....	1	Tiberius II, 578-582.....	10
Eugenius, 392-394.....	1	Maurice Tiberius, 582-602.....	25
Honorius, 395-423.....	50	Phocas, 602-610.....	34
Valentinian III, 425-455.....	16	Heraclius, 610-641.....	18
Arcadius, 395-408.....	277	Constans II, 641-668.....	25
Theodosius II, 408-450.....	99	Constantine IV, 668-685.....	2
House of Theodosius I.....	7	Justinian II, 685-695 and 705-711....	2
Marcian, 450-457.....	35	Constantine V, 741-775.....	4
Leo I, 457-474.....	30	Leo IV, 775-780.....	1
Zeno, 474-491.....	14	Constantine VI and Irene, 780-797...	1
Unclassified.....	108	Nicephorus I, 802-811.....	12
Roman Provincial.....	21	Michael I and Theophylactus, 811-813	2
Roman Imperial.....	87	Leo V, 813-820.....	3
FIFTH CENTURY COINAGE		Leo V and Constantine, 813-820.....	4
EMPEROR UNCERTAIN		Michael II, 820-829.....	1
Reverse types of contemporary or		Theophilus, 829-842.....	96
earlier emperors		Michael III, 842-867.....	10
Victory with captive.....	2	Michael III and Basil I, 866-867.....	2
Victory with wreath.....	84	<i>Ca.</i> X cent., emperor illegible.....	1
Victory facing.....	2	Basil I, 867-886.....	33
One emperor.....	1	Basil I and Constantine, 869-879.....	87
Cross potent.....	7	Basil I, Constantine, and Leo VI, 870-	
Plain cross.....	1	879.....	73
VOT.. in wreath.....	3	Basil I, Leo VI, and Alexander.....	2
Non-Roman coins used as currency in		Leo VI, 886-912.....	610
Corinth in the last half of the Fifth		Leo VI and Alexander, 886-912.....	16
and the first half of the Sixth century		Constantine VII and Zoe, 913-918....	30
VANDAL.....	2	Romanus I, 919-944.....	568
Huneric, 477-484.....	2	Constantine VII, alone, 945.....	544
OSTROGOTHIC.....	7	Constantine VII and Romanus II,	
Theodoric, 493-526.....	3	946-959.....	101
Theodohad, 534-536.....	1	Nicephorus II, 963-969.....	133
Baduila, 541-552.....	3	John I Zimisces and Successors, 969-	
OF UNCERTAIN ORIGIN.....	19	1034.....	1910
☩.....	2	Michael IV, 1034-1041.....	381
☩.....	9	Constantine IX, 1042-1055.....	284
Palm tree.....	7	Theodora, 1055-1056.....	39
M in wreath.....	1	Michael VI, 1056-1057.....	264
COINS UNSTAMPED OR ILLEGIBLE.....	1775	Isaac I, 1057-1059.....	197
	4073	Constantine X, 1059-1067.....	54
BYZANTINE COINAGE		Romanus IV, 1067-1071.....	29
IMPERIAL		Michael VII, 1071-1078.....	142
Anastasius I, 491-518.....	156	Nicephorus III, 1078-1081.....	1091
Justin I, 518-527.....	9	Alexius I, 1081-1118.....	4495
Justinian I, 527-565.....	69	Alexius I and John II, before 1118...	1
		John II, 1118-1143.....	393
		Manuel I, 1143-1180.....	4106
		Andronicus I, 1183-1185.....	31
		Isaac II, 1185-1195.....	89
		Alexius III, 1195-1203.....	65

Michael VIII, 1261-1282.....	1	Louis IX, 1226-1270.....	22
Late Byzantine, uncertain emperor....	54	Charles VIII, 1483-1498.....	9
Unclassified	1355	Teatina	5
NON-IMPERIAL		Aquilana	3
Emperors of Thessalonica.....	3	Ortana	1
Theodore Angelus Comnenus,		Louis XIII, 1610-1643.....	1
1222-1230	2	Louis XVIII, 1814-1824.....	1
Manuel Angelus Comnenus,		Seigniorial	22
1230-1232	1	St. Martin of Tours, XIII cent.	7
Emperors of Nicaea.....	17	Bishop of Maguellone, XIII cent.	1
Theodore I Lascaris, 1204-1222	5	Fulke IV or V, 1060-1129.....	1
Theodore II Lascaris, 1254-1258	1	Comte de Champagne, XIII cent.	3
John I Ducas Vatatzes, 1222-		Alfonse Comes, 1249-1271....	5
1254	11	Poitu	2
	<hr/>	Provence	3
	17796	Provence, Charles I of Anjou,	
FOREIGN		1246-1285	4
BYZANTINE PERIOD, EASTERN RULERS....	37	Anna Maria de Bourbon, Prin-	
Princes of Antioch		cesse de Dombes, 1660-1693	1
Bohemond, 1098-1111	1	Unclassified	3
Tancred, 1104-1112	9		<hr/>
Eastern, Uncertain Origin.....	27		65
FRANKISH		ITALO-SICILIAN	17
Princes of Achaea.....	462	Henry II, 1004-1024.....	2
Wm. Villehardouin, 1245-1278.	390	Roger Borsa, 1085-1111.....	1
Charles I of Anjou, 1278-1285.	10	Roger II, 1130-1154.....	3
Charles II of Anjou, 1285-1287	11	William I, 1154-1166.....	1
Florent of Hainaut, 1289-1297.	9	Henry IV, 1194-1197.....	1
Isabelle Villehardouin, 1297-1301	12	Frederick II, 1218-1250.....	2
Philip of Savoy, 1301-1307....	21	Alphonse V, 1416-1458.....	2
Philip of Tarentum, 1307-1313	7	Nicolas of Monforte, 1450-1462..	3
Mahaut of Hainaut, 1313-1318	2	Uncertain Ruler	2
Dukes of Athens.....	61	VENETIAN	1611
Wm. de la Roche, 1280-1287....	34	State coinage	3
Guy II de la Roche, 1287-1308	27	Aloisius Mocenigo, 1200-1209	1
Triarch of Euboea.....	2	Pietro Gradenigo, 1289-1311	1
Wm. Villehardouin, 1255.....	2	Anonymous	1
Despots of Epirus	19	Colonial coinage	1608
Philip of Tarentum, 1294-1331	19	Levantine	
John II Orsini, 1323-1335.....	1	Marco Cornari, 1365-1368....	1
Uncertain Frankish	58	Andrea Contarini, 1368-1382	3
	<hr/>	Antonio Venerio, 1382-1400.	4
	602	Michele Steno, 1400-1413....	3
FRENCH		Tomaso Mocenigo, 1414-1423	1
Kings of France.....	40	Agostino Barbarigo, 1486-	
Philip Augustus, 1180-1223....	2	1501	198
Louis VIII, 1223-1226.....	5	Imitations	947
		Leonardo Loredan, 1501-1521	2
		Uncertain Doge	12
		Candia, 1610-1619	2

Corfu, Cephalonia, and Zante, ca. 1688	1	ENGLISH	7
Isole and Armata, 1686-1690..	3	Short Cross, 1180-1247.....	6
Armata and Morea, 1691-1710.	9	Long Cross, 1247-1279.....	1
Dalmatia and Albania, XVIII cent.....	4	TURKISH, MODERN	108
Unclassified	418	GREEK, MODERN	32
ANCONA, XIII CENTURY	4	JETONS	15
		COMPLETELY UNCLASSIFIED	328
			<hr/> 2826

II. NUMISMATIC REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF CORINTH

The coins discussed in the previous report increase to over 50,000 the total number which has been found in the excavations at Corinth since 1896. The question naturally arises as to what contribution they make to our knowledge of the history of Corinth. With that in mind a chart (Fig. 1) has been prepared showing the numerical distribution of the coins over the centuries from the earliest to the latest. The total of the coins, as seen in the chart, is 43,000 but this number is smaller than the total actually found because only those coins which could be assigned with a fair degree of certainty to a definite city, state, or emperor were used in making the chart. A great many coins are so illegible that it can only be said that they are Greek, or Roman, or Byzantine, and no more definite identification is possible. For that reason they have been omitted. The horizontal axis of the chart, showing the length of time covered, has been divided into known historical periods. The vertical axis shows the number of coins within those periods.¹⁷

At the very outset it is to be remembered that only about 200 gold or silver coins have been found; the vast majority are bronze. Most of the gold coins belong to two hoards, one containing fifty-one coins of Philip II and Alexander the Great; the other, thirty coins of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I. There are also several other gold coins all belonging to the late Byzantine period. About fifty Corinthian silver coins have been found and half of these belong to the period before bronze coins were produced. A few silver pieces of other Greek states have come to light. Most of the Roman silver is Republican, but there are a few early imperial pieces. The later imperial pieces, the *Antoniniani*, although they are classified in the catalogues as silver,¹⁸ have been included with the bronze, since, when they are found in Corinthian

¹⁷ For publications dealing with the coins found in the excavations at Corinth see above, note 2; further cf. Alfred R. Bellinger, *Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage, Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 35; Josephine Harris, "A Gold Hoard from Corinth," *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 268-277. In addition, the various reports on the excavations, published in *A.J.A.*, contain brief notices of important coin finds.

¹⁸ H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, pp. 125-131. The author discusses the *Antoninianus* in its relation to the denarius and its continuous debasement until it was only 4% silver, and then by the time of Gallienus merely silver coated. In the volumes of Mattingly and Sydenham's *Roman Imperial Coinage*, the *Antoniniani* are listed separately before the bronze.

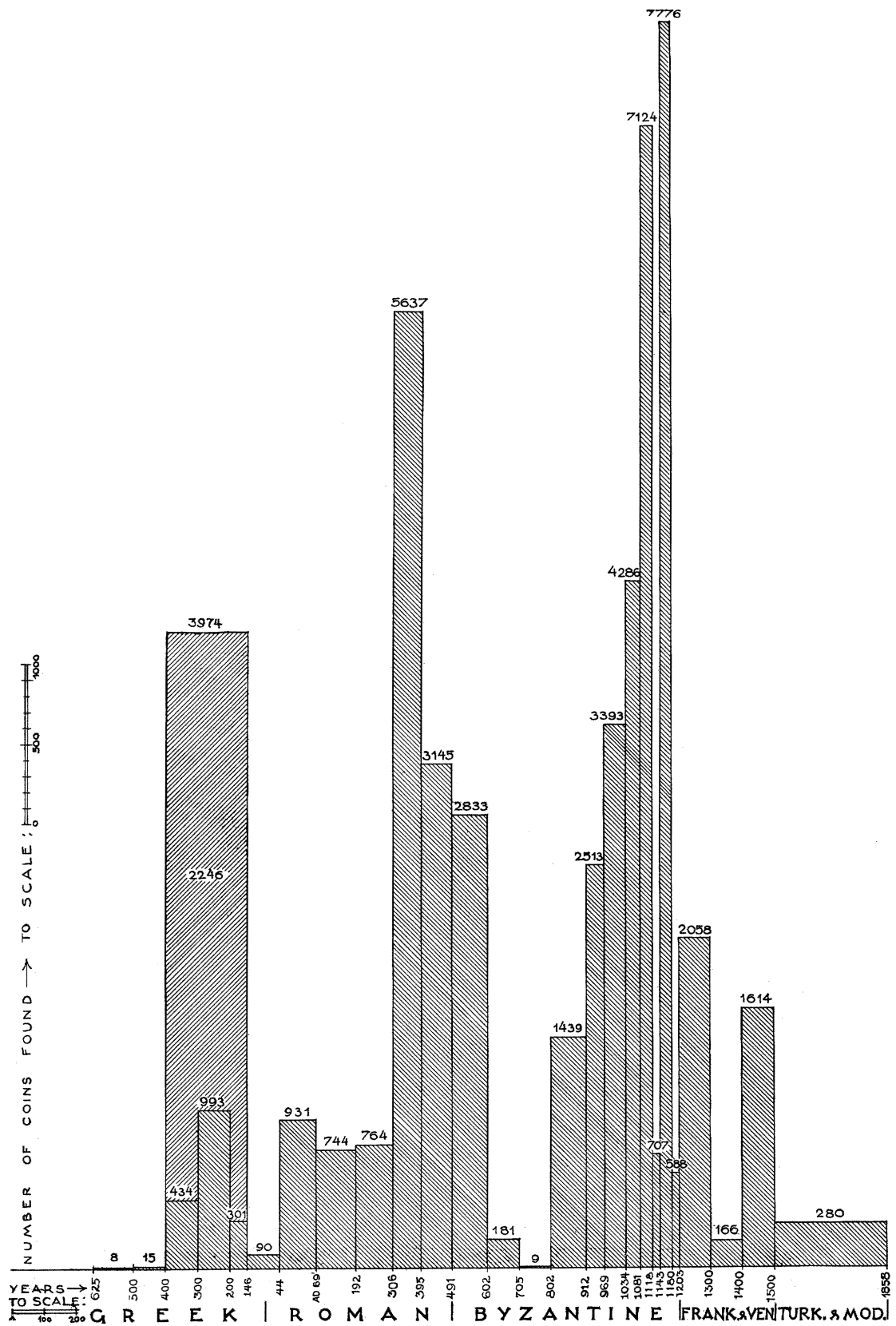


Fig. 1. Chart Showing Proportion of Coins to Number of Years of Corinth's History

soil, all traces of silver have disappeared and the bronze core remains. The Byzantine period has yielded only two or three silver coins, very badly corroded, but in the Frankish period, and more especially the Venetian, the number of silver coins increases a little. A few Turkish gold and silver coins have also been found.

We are not chiefly concerned, therefore, with the precious metals, but with a type of coinage which would be accessible even to the poor. It is likely, then, that the abundance or scarcity of bronze money is more indicative of the conditions at Corinth than the number of gold or silver coins from each period.

Another factor which probably helped to determine the number of coins lost in the earth is the purchasing-power of the coins. This problem has not yet been settled nor will it be discussed at length here. It is a reasonable assumption, however, that more coins are in circulation and hence are likely to be lost at a time when each coin has less purchasing-value. When, consequently, many small coins are found, as in the fourth, fifth, and eleventh centuries, one may possibly conclude that the coinage has been debased. This is known to have occurred in the eleventh century under Alexius I,¹⁹ whereas in the late fourth and the fifth centuries such a debasement was the logical result of the disintegration of the empire itself and of the attendant barbarian invasions. This is significant in view of the large number of coins found in the fourth and eleventh centuries as compared with those of the period 400-146 B.C. It does not necessarily follow that Corinth was a larger and more important city in these two later centuries because more coins were found then than in the Greek period. It may be rather that the coins of the Greek period had a greater purchasing-value and consequently such great numbers would not be in circulation.

While the above conjecture may have its influence on the difference in total numbers of coins at different periods, there is a further, very practical reason which helps account for the disparity. In the excavations at Corinth the major part of the digging has been done in Byzantine and late Roman fill. This fact is especially true in the Agora, which has yielded most of the coins, where the area has been cleared down to the Roman level of the first century after Christ, and only in a few limited areas has the Greek level been reached. These sections produced a considerable number of bronze Greek coins, Corinthian and otherwise, and it is probable that the total number of coins for the Greek period, especially the bronze money, will be considerably increased when the whole area is cleared.

The earliest coin as yet found in the excavations is a silver drachma dated 625-585 B.C.²⁰ Thus 625 B.C. has been chosen as the beginning-date for the chart. The number of coins found from this early period and the fifth century seems very small, but the sudden increase in 400 B.C. is due to the introduction of bronze coinage at this

¹⁹ Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, Introduction, pp. lx-lxiii.

²⁰ Cf. O. Ravel, *Les "Poulains" de Corinthe*, pp. 45-53, for the type.

time. The year 400 B.C.²¹ is the earliest date given for the small bronze Pegasos-Trident series. The number of these coins, which is comparatively large, 2246, has been indicated in the chart as continuing from 400 to 146 B.C., since at present there is no method of dating the coins more closely within each century.

In addition to these Pegasos-Trident pieces, bronze coins from other Greek cities and Corinthian coins of different types have been found which can be dated more closely. Thus we have 434 coins from 400 to 300 B.C., 993 coins from 300 to 200 B.C., and 301 coins from 200 to 146 B.C. These figures combined with that of the Pegasos-Trident group give a total of 3974.

Corinth was sacked by Mummius in 146 B.C. and for a period of 100 years was supposed to have been desolate. That this was not literally so is indicated by ninety coins belonging to that period. It is true that this is not a large number, but it is ten times as many as were found over a similar period of years in the eighth century after Christ. These ninety coins are not Corinthian, but belong to other states in Greece, chiefly Argos, Lacedaemon, and Sicyon. It is possible that during part of this period the site was occupied in a small way.²²

After Corinth was refounded as a Roman colony by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C., the local government was administered by two magistrates, *duoviri*, who had the right to strike bronze coinage in their own names, a privilege which lasted until 69 A.D.²³ The number of coins from this period, 931, may seem relatively small when we consider that the city had once more become an important trading center. Miss Edwards proposes the theory that the *duoviri* coins represented larger denominations and that the Pegasos-Trident coins continued in use at this period as small change.²⁴ Many of them occur in Roman contexts. It is an interesting point in the administration of the local provincial government that most of the coinage of this period is from the local mint and in the name of the *duoviri*, and very few pieces originating at Rome, either Republican or Early Imperial, have been found.

After 69 A.D. the local mint continued in operation until the end of Geta's reign in 221,²⁵ but in the name of the emperor not the *duoviri*. After Geta the local mint was closed, and from that time only imperial coinage is found. The two centuries and more from 69 to 306 A.D. have both yielded almost the same number of coins. This seems to indicate that the city continued on more or less the same economic level for over 200 years. To some extent this may probably be true, but within these centuries there are definite periods of increase and decline; that is, there is not an equal

²¹ Cf. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Corinth*, p. 53; Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, *Coins*, p. 14. In *Hist. Num.*², p. 403, Head places the upper limit at ca. 350 B.C. The evidence from the excavations seems to favor the earlier date.

²² Cf. Joseph de Waele, "The Greek Stoa North of the Temple at Corinth," *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 410-411, and footnote 1 on page 411.

²³ *Corinth*, VI, *Coins*, p. 4.

²⁴ Cf. Edwards, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 243.

²⁵ *Corinth*, VI, *Coins*, p. 8.

number of coins belonging to each reign. This cannot be shown easily on the chart but can be seen readily in the summary,²⁶ which gives the number of coins found belonging to each emperor.

With the reign of Constantine the Great and the subsequent moving of the capitol from Rome to Constantinople, Corinth seems to have had an increased business activity. At least, the number of coins belonging to the emperors of the fourth century is exceedingly large. It is interesting to note that the emperor most represented is Constantius II, whose coinage extends over a long period, from 324 to 361. The second half of the century, as a whole, has not yielded as many coins as the first, but those of Valentinian II and Theodosius I are very numerous.

After the death of Theodosius I in 395 Corinth begins to decline. In that same year there was a great earthquake, and in the following year the city was overrun by the Visigoths.²⁷ The city seems to have recovered to some extent from these catastrophes, for coins have been found of all the fifth-century rulers of the Eastern Empire, from Arcadius, whose reign began in 395, to Zeno, who died in 491. Only two of the western emperors, Honorius and Valentinian III, are represented in any considerable number.

Byzantine coinage begins with the reign of Anastasius I (491-518).²⁸ During the first century of Byzantine rule Corinth seems still to have been of importance, especially under Justinian I and Justin II, whose coins are fairly numerous. After Justin II there is a steady decline in the number of coins until the end of the century when there is an abrupt drop, and for 200 years almost no coins are found.

In this connection mention should be made of a group of coins which belongs both to the fifth and the sixth centuries, and in a sense links them together. The group is composed of small bronze pieces which have reverse types of contemporary or earlier emperors but whose obverses are so indistinct or poorly made that it is uncertain which emperor is represented. These coins have been called Vandalic and barbarian and are said to have been struck by the barbarians in imitation of well-known imperial types.²⁹ This is possible in view of the fact that many of these coins are of different fabric and are more crude in workmanship than those known definitely to be from the imperial mints. It is also true, however, that the imperial mints themselves had degenerated to such an extent that Anastasius felt the need of reform.³⁰ Nevertheless, even after the style was changed and the module enlarged, small bronze pieces in the former style continued to be made, doubtless in smaller quantities, during Anastasius' reign and in the reigns of Justin I and Justinian I. Whether all of these

²⁶ See p. 152, above.

²⁷ Finley, *Speculum*, VII, 1932, p. 477.

²⁸ *B.M.C. Byz. Empire*, I, p. xii.

²⁹ Cf. *B.M.C., Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards*, Introduction; also *Corinth, VI, Coins*, p. 120.

³⁰ *B.M.C. Byz. Empire*, I, p. xii.

small pieces are products of the imperial mints or whether some of them are barbarian is a question which for Corinth at least has not yet been settled. Some are definitely barbarian since they have the name or monogram of Gothic and Vandalic kings, but the number of these is very small. It seems reasonable to suppose, however, that those pieces which seem never to have had a type stamped on them were possibly made to serve the needs of an invading army or of a populace which had been deprived of its usual currency. Whatever the origin of these coins may be, imperial or barbarian, it is a fact that at a certain level throughout the Corinthian Agora they have been found in large numbers, and usually with other coins that can be identified either as late Roman or as early Byzantine. It is the presence of these coins in such quantities that has caused the total number of coins for the two centuries to be so high.

During the seventh and eighth centuries Corinth appears to have suffered misfortunes, if one may judge from the number of coins that belong to this period. Indeed, in the eighth century the city seems to have been more desolate than in the hundred years after the destruction by Mummius. The eighth century was a period of great invasions, and Corinth may have been in the hands of the invaders or at least thoroughly plundered and ruined by them. It seems likely, at least, that, if some part of the populace survived, it had no trade relations and apparently no money.

In the ninth century conditions seemingly became settled and the city once more began to grow. Few coins belonging to the first thirty years of the century have been found, but beginning with the reign of Theophilus (829-842) there is a steady and continuous increase in the number of coins until a peak is reached under the Comneni. The years 886 to 1081 cover the period of the great Macedonian dynasty and the twenty-five years of unrest and confusion which followed its end in 1056. Within this period it is possible to make further subdivisions since the coins themselves seem to fall logically into definite groups showing very clearly the rapid economic rise of the city in a comparatively short space of time. The ninth century has been left undivided in the chart and is ended in 912 with the death of Leo VI. The division 912-969 includes the long reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his family and the ten years of Nicephorus II. The anonymous coinage of John I Zimisces and his successors, Basil II, Constantine VIII, and Romanus III, belongs to the years 969-1034. The last section, 1034-1081, contains the end of the Macedonian House and the subsequent rulers to Alexius I. Although this was a period of unrest and anarchy throughout parts of the Empire,³¹ Corinth does not seem to have been greatly affected. At least, the number of coins found continues to increase, so much so that those of the last emperor in the section, Nicephorus III (1078-1081), are the most numerous.

The three great Comneni emperors, Alexius I, John II, and Manuel I, rule for the next 100 years. During this time Corinth seems once more to have been a wealthy

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. lx.

and industrious city. One of the most interesting things about this period is the fact that so very few coins of John II have been found, and this is the reason that the total number of coins of each emperor has been given in the chart. Corinth itself did not suddenly sink to the condition of a small village under John II and as suddenly rise again under Manuel I. It seems rather, from the evidence of other finds, to have continued to be prosperous. No satisfactory explanation has been found as yet for this scarcity of John II coins. Possibly he did not mint as many coins, or perhaps he did not begin to mint till toward the end of his reign and the coins of Alexius continued in use. Certainly it is true that the coins of John II which have been found at Corinth are of better fabric and workmanship than those of Alexius or Manuel.

Corinth was captured in 1147 by Roger II³² of Sicily and a large part of the population carried off. Perhaps this disaster accounts for the great quantity of Manuel coins which have been found scattered throughout the Agora. If this is so, it would tend to indicate that almost all the types of Manuel bronzes were minted in the first four years of his reign since they have all been found at Corinth. The majority of the coins, it is true, belong to two or three types only, and since Corinth continued to exist the others may have been introduced later. It is not impossible, of course, that all the types were set in the first four years, but since there are twelve or more of these, it does not seem probable.

After the destruction by Roger II, and certainly after Manuel I, economic life at Corinth sank to a level from which it never really rose again. During the period of the Frankish occupation there is an increase in the number of coins. This is probably due to the fact that at the beginning of the reign of William Villehardouin, and possibly during that of his predecessor, Geoffrey II,³³ the official mint was at Corinth. Coins struck at the Corinthian mint are fairly abundant and form the majority of those belonging to the thirteenth century. French and English coins of the same period are also found and are sufficiently numerous to indicate a certain amount of foreign trade.

The colonial coinage of Venice appeared in the fourteenth century and continued in the fifteenth. In neither century did it occur in any large quantity. The fairly large total for the fifteenth century, as shown on the chart, is due to the fact that a hoard of Agostino Barbarigo coins was found in the Agora. The hoard, containing 1607 coins in all, of which 1578 belong to the reign of this Doge, dates from about 1500. Such a hoard indicates merely that one person had acquired money and not that there was general wealth, and leaves a very small remainder to be distributed throughout the rest of the century. It was during this time that Turkish invasions

³² Finley, *loc. cit.*, pp. 482 f.

³³ *Corinth*, VI, *Coins*, p. 12; Bellinger, *Corinth*, III, Part 1, *Acrocorinth*, *Excavations in 1926*, p. 66 f.

became more frequent and Corinth itself was captured some time before the end of the century.³⁴

Very few coins have been brought to light from the 300 years of Turkish occupation and the subsequent period of Greek Independence. It is not clear whether this indicates that Corinth had become a poor village with little or no business activity. Excavations have revealed that the civic center of Corinth occupied the same site continuously from the classical period to the Venetian conquest. That this was so in the Turkish period is not certain. It is possible that under the Turkish rule the Agora was moved northward to the site it now occupies in the present village. If such were the case it might in part account for the smaller number of Turkish coins found, since the excavations have tended to show that many more coins are found in the business center than in the residential sections, and the town square of the modern village has not been excavated.

The chart ends with the year 1858, since in that year Corinth was once more destroyed by an earthquake and many of the inhabitants moved away to found the city of New Corinth.

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³⁴ Finley, *loc. cit.*, p. 497.