THE SLAVONIC THREAT TO GREECE *CIRCA* 580: SOME EVIDENCE FROM ATHENS

(PLATE 48)

THERE is clear evidence from the excavations of the Athenian Agora that the late sixth century witnessed some interruption in the peaceful course of town life in Athens. Certain buildings, for example, are known to have been burnt and temporarily or permanently deserted at that time. Finds of coinage, evidently concealed in haste or abandoned in emergency and never recovered, allow a date to be assigned to events, for which, although they are well attested by archaeological discovery, it would otherwise be very difficult to demonstrate a particular historical context.[1] Byzantine chroniclers tell of a Slavonic invasion of Greece which took place apparently at the end of the year 578 or early in 579, as a result of which large numbers of Slavs settled in Greece for some years if not permanently. It is virtually certain that some of the destruction in the Athenian Agora, for which a date in the years immediately following the invasion is here proposed, was the work of the Slavs. Such an equation of the archaeological and historical evidence cannot, in principle, be finally proved; a burnt building may, by a coincidence, have been destroyed by an accidental fire, at roughly the same time as an armed raid. At best, one can submit that the chances are very high that there is a connection.

The documentary accounts of the Slavonic invasion of Greece are neither detailed nor reliable enough for much to be built on their evidence as far as the threat to Athens is concerned. Menander Protector, in his work chronicling the period *ca.* 560-580, writes as follows:

[1] A general account of Athens at this time is given by Homer A. Thompson, "Athenian Twilight: A.D. 267-600," *J.R.S.* XLIX, 1959, pp. 61 ff. I am indebted to Professor Thompson, the Field Director of the Agora Excavations, not only for making facilities for study so freely available to me, but also for reading the typescript and making a number of valuable suggestions. A most generous welcome was given me in the workrooms at the Agora, and I should like to express my appreciation in particular of help and guidance from Miss Lucy Talcott. Mrs. E. Varoukha-Khristodhoulopoulou was kind enough to supply casts of the gold coins, which are in the Greek National Numismatic Collection. Study in Athens was made possible by the tenure of the School Studentship of the British School at Athens.

Special abbreviations: two works by W. Wroth, continually referred to, are cited as follows: *BMC* = *Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, vol. I, London, 1908; *BMC*[3] = *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards, and of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond, in the British Museum*, London, 1911.

. . . about the fourth year of the reign of Caesar Tiberius Constantine, some hundred thousand Slavs broke into Thrace, and pillaged that and many other regions.

As Greece was being laid waste by the Slavs, with trouble liable to flare up anywhere, (ἀπανταχόσε ἀλλεπαλλήλων αὐτὴ ἐπηρτημένων τῶν κινδύνων) and as Tiberius had at his disposal by no means sufficient forces [to contain them . . . he sent a delegation to the Khagan of the Avars . . .][2]

Another contemporary writer, John of Ephesos, gives a similar account of the event:

In the third year after the death of the emperor Justin and the accession of the victorious Tiberius, the accursed people of the Slavs set out, overran all Hellas and the provinces of Thessalonica and all Thrace, took many towns and castles, laid waste, burned, pillaged and seized the country, and dwelt there in full liberty and without fear, as if it belonged to them. Those things lasted four years, and until the present, because the emperor was occupied by the Persian war . . . That is why they flooded the country and quickly spread throughout it . . . until now, that is, up to the year 895 [583/4] they live there and are peacefully settled in the Roman provinces.[3]

Tiberius was created Caesar in December 574, so that Menander's date for the invasion is (roughly) December 577-December 578. Hauptmann has argued that the text of John of Ephesos is inconsistent with itself in the date it gives, and that it should very probably read, " in the third *month*." The arrival of the Slavs in Greece may be taken to have been at the end of the year 578 or the beginning of 579.

The course of events which brought to an end their devastations in Greece is less clear. The invaders were Wallachian Slavs, recognizing the suzerainty of the Khagan, and their activities in Greece may have reflected the successes of his Balkan policy. It is possible that, when news of the reverse suffered by the Byzantine forces in the Balkans through the capture of the important strategic city of Sirmium by the Khagan in 582 reached the Slavs in Greece, they may have been emboldened to lawlessness; the report, inspired by Byzantine diplomacy, of an attack on those of their number who remained in Wallachia, instead of inducing the Slavs, as it was probably intended, to return to the defense of their homeland, angered them into local retaliation. The military forces of the Empire, it would seem, were too fully engaged elsewhere to put down the rising quickly; it may be that the Khagan's retreat from the Black Sea coasts in 583, on the rumour of the approach of a Turkish army towards his own more easterly territories, allowed the Byzantine forces to deal with the situation in Greece.

The great bulk of the coins from the Agora excavations have been discovered

[2] Menander, fragments 47 and 48: Karl Mueller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, vol. iv, Paris, 1851. On Menander, see O. Veh, *Beiträge zu Menander Protektor*, (*Wissenschaftliche Beilage* to the *Jahresbericht 1954/55 des humanistischen Gymnasium Fürth/Bayern*).

[3] John of Ephesos, VI, 25. The translation follows that given by L. Hauptmann, " Les rapports des Byzantins avec les Slaves et les Avares pendant la seconde moitié du VI^e^ siècle," *Byzantion*, IV, 1927/8, pp. 137 ff. The summary which follows is based on Hauptmann's interpretation of the events; reference should be made to his article for the sources and arguments.

one by one. Almost all are pieces of small value, petty coins, which must have been dropped occasionally by accident and never recovered. A search through the cabinets where the coins are now stored in the order in which they were found shows that there are very few sequences of coins, of whatever period, which are recorded or which seem to have been discovered together, or which can be considered as hoards or single deposits. Such few groups as occur are therefore all the more noteworthy. Three groups from the last quarter of the sixth century are among the most important of the medieval deposits of coins from the Agora. One of them consists of four hundred copper coins discovered in a context of destruction by burning, on the site of a flour mill; a second is a parcel of eighteen copper coins, again discovered in a heavily burnt context, near a house to the east of the Tholos; thirdly, a hoard of (again) eighteen copper coins was found a few hundred yards further to the north.[4] Two other coin hoards from Athens will be discussed in connection with the Agora finds, namely a hoard of gold coins recovered from an osteotheke outside the area of the American excavations, to the southeast of the Acropolis, and a bronze hoard, from the same quarter of the city as the Agora finds, found in 1908 at the Dipylon.

Even if all five of these deposits were not concealed or lost in face of the same threat, they all belong within a period of at most a decade, and they give, therefore, several glimpses of one moment in the monetary history of a Byzantine town. Each is so different from the rest that, taken together, they provide a good example, of some general importance to the numismatist, of the way in which deposits may reflect only one aspect or sector of the monetary system. A point of some consequence for Byzantine monetary history is brought out clearly by the Athens finds; they confirm the evidence of the Isthmia hoard of 1954 and the Santorin hoard of 1957 that *nummia*, the tiny unitary copper pieces of the reformed coinage of the sixth century,[5] continued

[4] These three groups of coins are included among the totals of those described in M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, II, Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period,* Princeton, 1954.

[5] The Isthmia hoard of 1954, found on the site of the Temple of Poseidon, consisted of 270 copper coins. 61 of them were illegible *nummia*, while the rest were in excellent condition, and were of Justinian, Justin and Sophia, and (a few) Tiberius II. See *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 117, 136, pls. 46, a, 54, c. I am indebted to Dr. D. W. MacDowall, who plans to publish the hoard in detail, for the information that the latest coin is a Salonican 20-*nummia* of 583/4. The occasion of deposit may therefore well have been the same as that of the coins discussed below. For the Santorin hoard, see *B.C.H.*, LXXXII, 1958, p. 654.

The great reforms of the bronze coinage by Anastasius, for which Marcellinus Comes gives the date 498 (see *BMC*, p. xiii, note 3 for a bibliographical note on the discussion of the text, and R. P. Blake, "The Monetary Reform of Anastasius I and its Economic Implications," *Studies in the History of Culture*, 1942, pp. 84-97), introduced multiples of 5, 10, 20, and 40 of the late Roman petty bronze then in circulation. On the Italian origin of the reforms, see P. Grierson, "The Currency Reform of Anastasius," *Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantine, Palermo . . . 1951*, vol. I, Rome, 1953, pp. 374 f. The account given by Marcellinus Comes is incomplete, since the coins themselves show that Anastasius issues two series of *folles*, of which

in use in Greece long after their minting in any quantity had ceased.[6] It follows that the standard currency in the decades after Justinian's further reform (A.D. 538-9), including as it did five denominations in copper, and not merely the four that were then being issued, was far more flexible, made provision for more trivial transactions, and points to a more pervasive use of coinage in the economy than one could otherwise have supposed. The *nummia* illustrated in Figure 1, which are of types common in the Athens finds, are a good deal larger, small as they are, and in an incomparably better state of preservation than many of the pieces yielded by the excavations; some of the " coins " were scraps of metal no more than four or five millimeters in diameter with no distinguishable inscription or design. The importance of the Dipylon, burnt

FIG. 1. *Nummia* current in the Sixth Century. a and b, " Monogram " Types of Anastasius and Justin I; c, " A " type; d, " Cross in Wreath " type.

mill and Isthmia finds is that they reveal an otherwise unsuspected feature of monetary affairs in central Greece.

These groups of coins, then, are useful evidence not only of the events which occasioned their deposit, but also of the monetary history of the town of Athens and of the numismatic history of the Byzantine state. The same facts may be of relevance

one is only about half the weight of the other. As only the large coinage was continued by Justin, and as there does not seem to be any evidence that the (scarce) small *folles* are localized in occurrence, it appears probable that the small coins were the first issue. It may therefore have been only the small *folles* that were introduced in 498. Blake translates, " Anastasius . . . nummis suo nomine figuratis . . . placibilem plebi commutationem distraxit," as ". . . Anastasius interfered with a form of exchange which was agreeable to the populace." I suggest that the simplest reading, and the one that recovers the logical connection between the two parts of the sentence, is, " Anastasius, by coins marked with their denomination, prevented the people from exchanging them as they pleased." The numismatic evidence of the Isthmia and other hoards adds perspective to the statement by Malalas (*Chronographia*, XVI, Bonn ed., p. 400) that Anastasius " converted all the small copper coinage into *folles* which circulated thenceforward in the Roman world." This may have been true of Antioch and the East, but the composition of the currency was not uniform throughout the Empire.

[6] See M. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-103.

several times over to afford certain proof for one suggestion and less certain support for another. The dating and character of each deposit will be considered in turn, and general comments reserved to the end. The description of the coins in each group is set out as an Appendix.

It is most unusual for the circumstances in which a large group of medieval coins was deposited to be known so clearly and unambiguously as are those revealed by the excavation of the water mill in the Athenian Agora. The mill house (Fig. 2) was in the northwestern suburb of medieval Athens. It stood, in fact, immediately outside the city wall, into an angle of which it was built (this was the inner line of fortification, the Late Roman Fortification Wall, built soon after the Herulian sack of 267).[7] It consisted of a room roughly twenty feet by twelve feet in size, entered by a door at the northern end, and with a pit for the mechanism at the southern end. The excavators found the original hard earth floor of the northern end of the room covered in great part by a thick layer of carbon and ashes, while in the pit there were charred remains of wood and iron. Lying on the earth floor and covered by the burnt layer were great quantities of coins. In smaller numbers, coins were found also among the rubbish under the charred debris in the pit, and scattered through the earth filling in the southern part of the room.[8] One could not reasonably ask for better evidence, on the one hand, of the occasion of deposit of the coins, and, on the other, of the date of destruction of the building. The coins from the northern part of the room, being the most clearly stratified, are the critical group, and if it were not for one thing there would be no hesitation in saying that they were lost on the very day of the fire. Almost all of them, however, are *nummia*, scarcely greater in diameter than the thickness of an ordinary pencil. Such tiny coins must often have been dropped accidentally and might easily lie unnoticed in a small crevice in the floor. There would be less incentive than for any other denomination to make a protracted search to recover such a coin. They are, furthermore, very small objects indeed in relation to even the most painstaking techniques of excavation. The circumstances of discovery of the coins on the mill room floor are noted on the envelopes in which they are now stored, and, as may be seen more fully from the account in the Appendix, the record appears emphatic that they were found on, and not embedded in, the floor.

Many of the coins have suffered from their exposure to the fire, as may be seen from the enlarged illustrations on Plate 48 of the two 20-*nummia* coins listed as nos. 7 and 8 below. The surface of the first coin has partly flaked away, while that of the second is badly damaged.

The excavator, A. W. Parsons, suggested that the mill-room may have had a

[7] See *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 329-334; VII, 1938, pp. 332-333; *Agora Guide*, pp. 71-72.

[8] Arthur W. Parsons, "A Roman Water-mill in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 70-90.

board floor at the southern end, through the cracks of which the coins that were found there had slipped. The more frequent occurrence of higher denominations among the groups of coins from the southern end of the room and from the pit, compared with those from the northern end, indicates that there certainly was some difference in the circumstances of deposit.

TABLE I

The varying proportions of larger coins among the groups from the flour mill deposit. Note that under b) there are six 5-*nummia* coins, which I suspect may have formed a single group, and which are accordingly reckoned as one item.

Area	Number of Coins	Larger Coins Number	Larger Coins %
a) North of the room	190	4	*2*
b) ? " " " "	116	(6)+1=2	*2*
c) " The mill-room "	49	3	*6*
d) South of the room	22	4	*18*
e) The pit	20	5	*25*
Totals	397	(23) 18	–

If one supposes that the machinery would not have been dismantled to recover anything less than a gold coin accidentally dropped there, the proportion of large coins found in the pit may be taken as a guide to the normal ratio of coins of different denominations accidentally dropped. The evidence which distinguishes between the deposits of the northern and southern parts of the room is not altogether clear-cut, since the areas within which the coins are recorded to have been found, described by reference to the excavators' working grid, overlap and do not coincide with a division of the room into two halves. I have thought that it may be of interest, as an example of the system by which the finds from the Agora were originally recorded, and of the importance which a location to within one square meter can unexpectedly assume, to give a plan of the mill room showing the original grid, to which the numbers quoted in the Appendix refer (Fig. 2). The reader should locate the areas 15-19/Λ-ΛΓ and 15-21/ΚΗ-ΛΓ on the plan, and must make his own estimate of the likelihood of three hundred coins having been dropped and not recovered within a space of no more than two hundred square feet, all of them, to the best of our knowledge, on a single well-defined floor level; it seems to me that unless the miller were an extraordinarily untidy person, who never swept his floor, it is difficult to propose an earlier date of deposit for the bulk of these coins than a few months before the date of the fire, even if a small proportion of them had lain on the floor for many years. If the find-spot of each coin had been recorded to within 10 cm. (an impossibly exacting task, of course), the pattern of the information would probably have yielded much

more detail about the circumstances of deposit; as it is, the evidence has necessarily been destroyed, and regrets will not repair it.

The occurrence of a large quantity of *nummia* in the mill seems to show, whatever precise interpretation is given to it, that the miller's customers used this very small denomination in paying him. Not many years ago in England, bakers' shops were

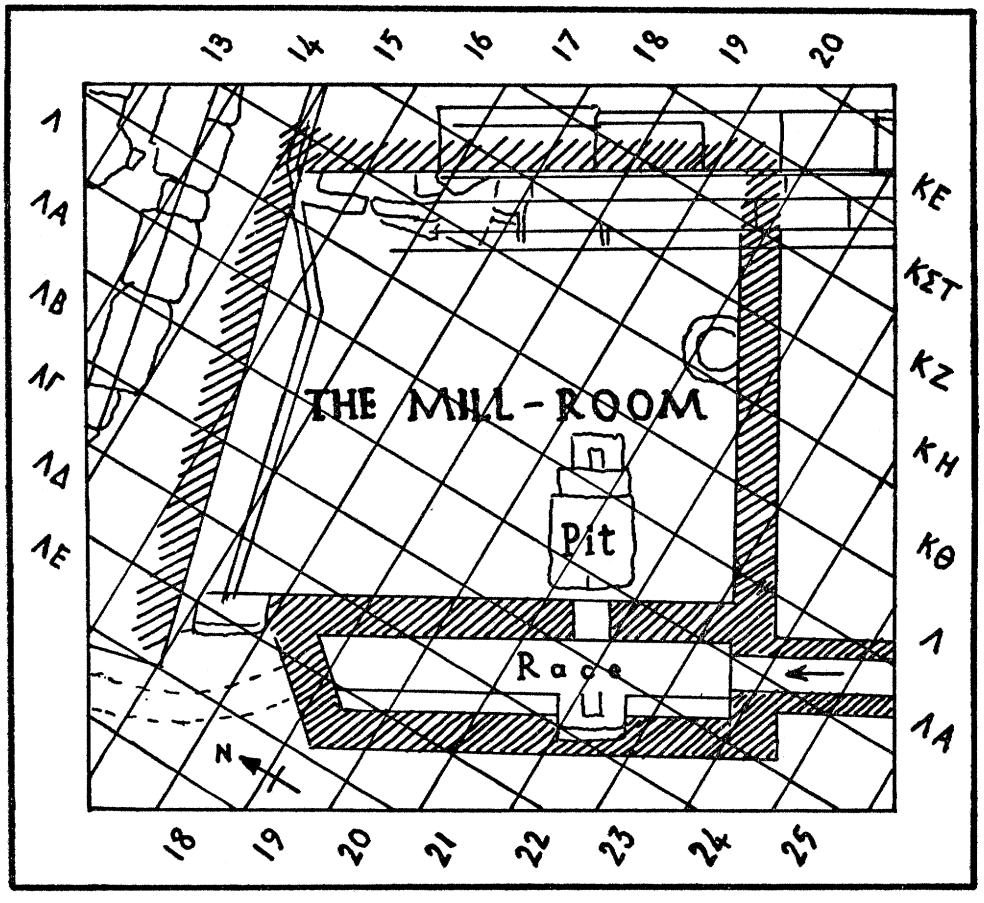

FIG. 2. Plan of the Flour Mill, showing one-meter Excavation Grid of Section Iota (from Section Plan 1:100).

among the few remaining places where farthings were still in use. I have sometimes seen a quantity of them kept in a dish beside the till or on a convenient shelf, and I wonder whether the Athenian miller may not have had very much the same arrangement. It seems possible, although of course this can be no more than a suggestion, that a dish of *nummia* stood on a shelf or ledge at the northern end of the mill-room on the eve of the fire, during which it fell from its place, and the coins were scattered over the floor.

The destruction cannot be dated by means of the coins as satisfactorily as might have been hoped, since the attribution of some of the types is controversial, and the condition of many of the later pieces is so poor that their inscriptions cannot be read in full. One 20-*nummia* coin (no. 8, Pl. 48) might possibly belong to Tiberius II, but it is more likely that it is one of the commoner issues of Justin II and Sophia. The coin which gives the latest indisputable *terminus a quo* (no. 6) is another 20-*nummia* piece struck in the year 574/5, while there is a similar coin (no. 5) probably from 571/2. There are proportionately more old coins in the deposit than one would usually find in a hoard of the same date, and the number of the critical coins is small, so that even if the doubtful coin, no. 8, does not belong to Tiberius II, the date of deposit may well have been a few years after the beginning of his reign, say, as late as *ca.* 582.

The great difficulty in the study of the *nummia* found in the excavations of the Agora is that so few of them are well enough struck and preserved for their types to be identified with certainty. Out of more than 350 such coins from the burnt mill deposit, there are only 28 for which one can give a specific *BMC* type with reasonable confidence. It is interesting that, out of the coins of which the general type can be identified, as many as a quarter should be Ostrogothic or Vandalic issues. The bulk of the coins must be presumed to be imperial issues.[9] Monogrammed coins outnumber types of all other groupings, and among them are those with the sequence of quite similar monograms of Anastasius, Justin[10] and Justinian. Any group of *nummia* associated in a deposit is potentially of much value in studying the series and also in constructing an account of their currency and circulation,[11] but progress will, I believe, await the very close examination, coin by coin, of the finds from Athens and other sites.

The date for the parcel of coins from the burnt debris near the Tholos can be determined only a little more satisfactorily. It is largely made up of 20-*nummia* pieces of Justin II and Sophia, of the same kind as those which give a date to the deposit from the mill, but also includes a coin which cannot at present be identified with certainty but which may be provisionally assigned to Tiberius II.

The heavily burnt area within which the 24 coins were discovered was roughly oval in shape and about three meters by two in size. There were no traces of walls, so that if the debris was the burnt remains of a building and its contents, it must have been a simple structure, probably of wood. The size of the burnt area indicates that it cannot have been more than a small shed. Perhaps it was an outbuilding of a house

[9] M. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 101; D. H. Cox, *Coins from the Excavations at Curium 1932-1953* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs,* 145), New York, 1959, p. 118.

[10] *BMC*[3], pl. IV, 14-15; 16-17; 18; 19. For 16-17 I suggest an attribution to Justin I rather than Anastasius since the A present in the other monograms is here absent.

[11] Cf. R. Turcan's brief publication of the Tipasa hoard, "Un Trésor d'Epoque Vandale," *Bulletin de la Société Numismatique Française* 1960, pp. 454 f.

which stood to the east of the Tholos and which, it seems, may have been damaged by fire at the same date as that at which the coins were lost.[12] Of the 24 coins, three disintegrated on cleaning, one was an Athenian Imperial issue, and two were of Theodosius I (379-395). Thirteen out of the remaining eighteen were 20-*nummia* pieces which plainly, whatever one supposes the burnt debris once to have been, were in one person's possession on the eve of the fire, while the five *nummia* which complete the total are only a little less certainly to be associated with the parcel. The latest of the 20-*nummia* coins was struck probably not earlier than 579, and at least two-thirds of the others were issued within the preceding dozen years. All on which the mint-signature can be read are from the mint of Salonica.

The parcel seems to be a sum of money put on one side, rather than miscellaneous cash in hand, and one wonders why it should have been made up exclusively of 20-*nummia* pieces when, as our third and fifth deposits will illustrate, 40-*nummia* pieces were available for saving. The Salonican mint, which did not take part in the reformed issue of 538/9, was closed very probably before 550[13] and did not begin work again until *ca.* 563. From that time, for forty years, it struck nothing larger and, with rare exceptions, nothing other than 20-*nummia* pieces. Thus, it was not until Phokas's new issue of 604, when the age of a uniform imperial coinage struck at many mints was already near its end, that Salonica was brought into line with the mints of the metropolitan region. Possibly, as at Alexandria, there was some traditional local system of weights and measures that the imperial administration was willing to leave unchanged. While the 16-*nummia* denomination and its fractions, issued at Salonica in the first part of Justinian's reign, are scarce and were never important in the currency of central Greece, the Salonican 20-*nummia* pieces of Justin II and Sophia were struck in exceptionally large quantities and outnumber all other issues from their reign combined among the finds from the Athenian Agora. There is therefore no need to suppose that the parcel found near the Tholos must represent a sum of money which had recently been brought to Athens from northern Greece.

The coin which I take to be the latest in date in the parcel (no. 410 below) is unfortunately in a very defaced condition. The enlarged illustration on Plate 48 shows how the coin has been damaged by fire and how the metal has flaked away in places. It might, at first sight, equally well be a 20-*nummia* coin of Justin II and Sophia or one of Tiberius II, the designs of which are similar, since the inscription and date are both lacking. Its interpretation must rest on the style of such parts of the obverse design as remain. Even the scepter held by the empress, a useful criterion,

[12] Homer A. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors* (*Hesperia*, Supplement IV), 1940, pp. 124-125.

[13] The chronology of the 16-*nummia* denomination is uncertain, but see D. M. Metcalf, "The Currency of Byzantine Coins in Syrmia and Slavonia," *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, XIV, 1960, pp. 429 ff., at p. 440.

has flaked away (cf. Pl. 48, a coin of Tiberius II, where the scepter ends in a globus instead of the cross which is usual on coins of Justin and Sophia). A definite attribution of no. 410 to Tiberius would only be possible if one could first argue that no coins of Justin and Sophia had quite the same stylistic features as some which can be made out on this piece. Meanwhile, it is worth comparing the find from the debris near the Tholos with another coin which, by chance (or may it have been not entirely by chance?) was discovered in the same section of the excavations and on the same day, March 1, 1933 (Pl. 48, Coin of Tiberius II).[14] It is undoubtedly of Tiberius II, as is shown by the beginning of the legend ꝺ ꝺ T. . . .[15] The details of the seated figures, especially the representation of the folds of the drapery from the knees, are so similar that careful scrutiny is needed to show that the two coins are not struck actually from the same die. The style of drapery may well turn out to be characteristic of coins of Tiberius II; no. 410 has been provisionally attributed to the later reign. If it is of his regnal year 5, like the coin it so closely resembles, it was struck not earlier than December 578. In any case it would not be earlier than September 578. The deposit may thus be provisionally dated not earlier than 579.[16]

The only common Salonican issues during the reign of Tiberius II are dated 5 and 6 (578/9 and 579/80),[17] of which the former are distinctly more plentiful, from which it appears that the mint was closed or inactive from some time, and probably early rather than late, in the year December 579-December 580. Salonican coins from the first year of the following reign (that of Maurice) have not, so far as I know, been recorded,[18] so that the mint seems not to have been opened again until some date between August 583 and August 584. The four-year interruption in the working of the mint, 580-583, coincides with the four-year period, mentioned cryptically by John of Ephesos, of the Slavonic invasion and with the chronology proposed by Haupt-

[14] Section Z, March 1, 1933, no. 50.

[15] The closed form of the M, not noted by Wroth in *BMC*, p. cvi, is uncertain, but in any case the form of this letter should be compared with that in the same place on *BMC*, pl. XV, 2.

[16] Note the absence of coins of years 12 and 13 of Justin and Sophia, and compare their occurrence in the Dipylon hoard and the Agora finds generally, discussed below at pp. 145-146.

[17] Tiberius II reckoned his reign from the date of his creation as Caesar in December 574 (cf. the extract from Menander quoted above). Although Tiberius was effectively the ruler of the Empire, as Justin was insane, coins were not struck in his name until he became Augustus and sole ruler in September 578. Thus, for example, coins bearing the date 4 were struck between September and December 578, while those dated 5 are from the regnal year December 578 to December 579.

[18] The rare Salonican coin of Tiberius in the British Museum with the date 1 (*BMC* 59) ought perhaps to be mentioned, if only because it has recently been shown that Antiochene coins bearing the name of Tiberius and the dates 1-4 belong in fact to Maurice (J. P. C. Kent, "The Antiochene Coinage of Tiberius Constantine and Maurice 578-602," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th Series, XIX, 1959, pp. 99 ff.) I cannot think that the workmen of the Salonican mint would make the same kind of error, but the interpretation of this particular coin may be left on one side for the present. It could not affect the view of the history of the Salonican mint taken here, since it is a scarce and irregular issue.

mann, and it is tempting to see a connection. The lack of Salonican 20-*nummia* issues for the years 580-83 and the trifling number of 20-*nummia* coins of Tiberius from other mints among the Athens finds as a whole prevent one from assigning a narrow time-bracket to the deposit from near the Tholos; it might well have been lost as late as *ca.* 584.

The third deposit was discovered near the northwestern entrance to the Agora area about 80 meters north of the church of St. George (previously the Temple of Hephaistos), close to the Panathenaic Way. It consisted of eighteen copper coins, of which all but two are 40-*nummia* pieces. The coins were found in loose earth at a depth of about one meter below the modern surface and about two meters above the floor levels of the Byzantine houses that had occupied the area in the 10th-13th centuries. They had evidently been brought towards the surface in the course of modern operations. The similarity in their corrosion suggested that they had all at one time lain together. When discovered, eleven of the coins were together, and another was near the group. The remainder were at a little distance. Most of the coins are very handsome pieces, well-struck on good flans. They seem to have been selected as fine specimens and put on one side as savings. The person who concealed the money may have been killed, or he may have gone away hurriedly and never subsequently had an opportunity to recover his property.

Between 538 and the time of Tiberius II the weight of the *follis* (40-*nummia* piece) declined by about a half;[19] almost the whole range of weight is represented in this deposit from the Agora (and in the Dipylon hoard), and there is no selective preference for the heavier coins. Those put aside seem to have been chosen for their fine appearance, above all else. The point of interest here is that bronze *folles* of the largest module must still *ca.* 580 have been very substantially overvalued in relation to the metal they contained, because otherwise the coins of Justinian such as those of his regnal years 12-16 would have been put into the melting pot.[20]

The deposit is dated by a coin of the eighth regnal year of Tiberius, December 581-August 582, and can hardly, therefore, have been concealed before the beginning of 582. As there are so few coins from which to form an impression, and as the age-range of the deposit is large, a bracket of at least three or four years ought to be assigned to its date. We may place it between 582 and *ca.* 585.

The fourth deposit, a hoard of gold coins, must similarly have been concealed not

[19] But not by gradual default; see D. M. Metcalf, "The Metrology of Justinian's Follis," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th Series, XX, 1960, pp. 209-219.

[20] Cf. E. Leuthold, "Monete Bizantine Rinvenute in Siria," *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, 5th Series, I, 1952-53, pp. 31-49, where the absence of the dated series of Justinian's *folles* from an Heraclian hoard is attributed to their having been withdrawn from currency because of a rise in their intrinsic value. The correct explanation, I believe, is that they were not issued in the East in any quantity.

earlier than 582, as it contains two pieces issued by Maurice. Six *solidi* and a *tremissis* were found in an osteotheke, excavated in 1947 by John Threpsiades in Sophroniskos Street, that is, a little distance to the southeast of the Acropolis and to the south of the Temple of Olympian Zeus.[21] They represent a far greater sum of money than any of the other deposits. Five of the seven coins (nos. 434-438) are *solidi* of Tiberius II, and the other two (nos. 439-440) are a *solidus* and *tremissis* of Maurice. Judging by these proportions, their date of concealment was early in the reign of Maurice, and with little hesitation one may suggest a narrow date bracket of September 582-*ca.* 584. The group of 35 vases with which they were found is thus to be dated to the late sixth, and not, *pace* Robinson, the early seventh century. The importance of the hoard lies in the fact that it comes from quite another quarter of the city than the four deposits of bronze coins, and suggests that the disturbance *ca.* 580 was not confined to the western suburb.

The fifth deposit, and the most valuable to the numismatist because of the large number of coins it contained, came from the Dipylon, the western gateway of the outer walls, in 1908.[22] Its find-spot was thus only about 500 yards from the other deposits of bronze coins, and, again, close to the line of the Panathenaic Way. It consisted of 34 *folles*, 74 half-*folles*, 18 *pentanummia* and 472 *nummia*, making 598 coins in all. One wonders whether such a varied accumulation may not have been the petty cash, together with better pieces put on one side, of a shopkeeper or possibly a money-changer trading near or within the city gate. The latest dated coins were of the thirteenth regnal year of Justin II and Sophia, 577/8. The proportion of new coins among the larger denominations in the deposit was quite high, insofar as at least 25 coins were struck in 574/5 or later. 52 out of 56 identifiable 20-*nummia* pieces were of the Salonica mint, and 20 out of the 25 " new " coins were Salonican.

An estimate of the date of deposit turns on the probability of Salonican 20-*nummia* pieces of Tiberius struck in 578/9 and 579/80 occurring in the hoard if it had been concealed as late as, say, 583. The issues of Tiberius are certainly less plentiful than those from the latter part of the reign of Justin and Sophia, and it might be that they were struck in so much smaller quantities that their absence is, for statistical reasons, not significant. One needs to know the relative output of the mint year by year. The best sources of information about the activity of the Salonican mint in the period 563/4-579/80 are the Agora excavations and the Dipylon deposit itself.[23] They may

[21] The coins are now in the Greek National Numismatic Collection. For an account of the discovery, see H. S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora, V, Pottery of the Roman Period, Chronology,* 1959, p. 84.

[22] J. N. Svoronos, *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique*, XII, 1909-10, pp. 6-9.

[23] See M. Thompson, *op. cit.* and J. N. Svoronos, *op. cit.* The text makes certain corrections, which are now accepted, in the attribution of the Salonican coins assigned by Svoronos to Justinian I.

both be expected to give a distorted view of relative mint-output year by year,[24] but it is instructive to see the extent to which they agree:

	Justinian			Justin II and Sophia												Tiberius			
Regnal Year	37	38	39	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	4	5	6	*Total*
Athens finds:	6	1	0	0	1	1	12	17	1	4	8	5	17	13	12	6	0	5	2	111
Dipylon deposit:	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	12	2	2	5	2	6	8	3	3	0	0	0	50

Years 5, 8, 10 and 11 of Justin and Sophia show relatively large totals in both series. The small figure for year 12 in the Dipylon deposit might be interpreted as a falling off attributable to the age-structure of the hoard, in which case one could say that the absence of coins of Tiberius does not preclude a date of deposit as late as *ca.* 583. Until several large hoards have been discovered and their composition analyzed, however, to provide figures that are relatively free from the effects of random variation,[25] the question is still open. One does not even know whether the Salonican mint consigned 20-*nummia* coins to Athens in some years but not in others, in the way that the metropolitan mints consigned *folles*. In light of the other four deposits from Athens, it is tempting to leave open the possibility of a date of concealment as late as *ca.* 582/3.

The date brackets which have been suggested for the various deposits may now conveniently be set out together for comparison:

(1) The flour mill deposit	574/5 – *ca.* 582
(2) The burnt debris (Tholos) find	(?) 579 – *ca.* 584
(3) The savings deposit	January 582 – *ca.* 585
(4) The osteotheke hoard	September 582 – *ca.* 584
(5) The Dipylon hoard	577/8 – *ca.* 582/3 (?)
[(6) The Isthmia hoard of 1954	September 583 – *ca.* 585]

While the numismatic evidence is not sufficiently precise to show that all the deposits belong to a single year, it is certain that three and possible that all of them were concealed not at the time of the arrival of the Slavs in 578/9, but some years subsequently. One would, however, be carrying caution to excess not to associate them with the Slavonic invasion, for the chances of there being as many as five deposits

[24] The hoard may be expected to give a distorted view because the numbers of coins in it reflect the age-structure of the currency at the date when they were withdrawn from circulation, and the site finds, because the chances of a coin's being lost are related, *inter alia*, to the length of time for which it remains in use.

[25] The theory set out in D. M. Metcalf, "Statistische Analyse bei der Auswertung von Münzfundmaterialen," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, IX, 1958, pp. 187-196 applies to the composition of a hoard equally as well as to a number of stray finds. The table on p. 196 gives a series of pairs of figures which are just significantly different.

from Athens from these years, when there are so very few from the whole of the fifth to eleventh centuries, is remote. The most likely occasion of their concealment or loss is the period 582/3 when the Slavs, angered by the news of an attack on their homeland, retaliated by raising to arms and pillaging and devastating in Greece.

How serious was their threat to Athens, it is difficult to judge. The area of the Agora excavations corresponds with only a small part of the city, outside the inner wall; the inner area may not have suffered any destruction. Even in the Agora area, the interruption of an orderly town life seems to have been only temporary, since, for example, coins struck in the reigns of Maurice and his successors have been discovered there in considerable numbers.[26] There is not at present, on a conservative estimate, evidence of more destruction and trouble attributable to the years 579-583 than could have been caused by an armed band entering the city through the Dipylon and advancing along the road towards the inner wall, killing probably a fair number of the Greeks and setting fire to such buildings as could be readily burnt, and then withdrawing. One suspects that the rising was in fact far more serious than this and that it has left traces widely in central Greece which a close study of the evidence of excavations, and not least the numismatic evidence, may yet establish; but the damage and loss associated with our five deposits might well have been occasioned by a band of two or three hundred Slavs in a single evening.

The coins which are described below provide useful evidence because of the way in which they can be dated and because of their particularity; they are the only record that the Slavonic invasion affected Athens. Their main value, however, is in the glimpses they afford into the monetary affairs of the city and into a monetary system of such complexity and variety that a proper understanding of it will not be achieved until very many more deposits have been published, discussed and compared in detail.

In conclusion, I offer a few comments, of purely numismatic interest, on the "Monogram" type of *pentanummia*, for which the Dipylon find is an important provenance.

The common 5-*nummia* pieces, *BMC*, pl. X, 15-16, have been more variously attributed and interpreted than most other Byzantine coin-types. Sabatier and Wroth gave them to Justinian, while Bury, drawing attention to the seal, with a similar monogram, of an orphanotropos, is emphatic that they belong to Justin II and Sophia.[27] They are suggested to have been struck at Constantinople, Cherson (!), and (by Wroth, cautiously) at an uncertain mint, possibly Salonica. More recently, Mrs.

[26] M. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

[27] J. B. Bury, "A Misinterpreted Monogram of the Sixth Century," *Mélanges Offerts à G. Schlumberger . . .*, Paris, 1924, pp. 301 f. Cf. also the monogram stamped on a silver dish with niello enrichment, found in Cyprus, O. M. Dalton, "A Byzantine Silver Treasure from the District of Kerynia, Cyprus, now preserved in the British Museum," *Archaeologia*, LVII, 1900, pp. 159 ff. See also G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*, 1884, p. 85.

Waage has proposed an Antiochene, and Miss Thompson a Salonican provenance (mentioning the possibility that several mints struck the type), the former accepting an attribution to Justin and Sophia, and the latter to Justinian.[28] The argument for mint-attribution used by both of them rests on the frequent occurrence of the type among the finds which they published.

The problem is less difficult than that of dating the coins. The privy-marks that have been recorded for the type are as follows: A, B, Γ, Δ, K, N, Θ and ✚. It is the marks K and N which catch the eye, and a very strong argument would be needed to override the obvious suggestion that they stand for Kyzikos and Nikomedia.[29] The marks A, B, Γ, and Δ could be the *officinae* of either Constantinople or Antioch, which were the only mints with as many as four *officinae*. The coins might, conceivably, have been struck at both; that is to say, there might have been two series of coins with no distinguishing features in their design. In favor of an attribution to Antioch is the fact that the 5-*nummia* denomination was extremely plentiful there, where it seems to have had the same role in the currency as the *nummion* in Greece. In support of a Constantinopolitan attribution may be mentioned the absence of coins of the fifth *officina*, E; this reflects, I believe, the organization of the Constantinople mint, in which *officina* E for copper coins was " supernumary " in character.[30] At Antioch, Γ was the only common *officina*-signature from Justinian's regnal year 30 onwards. Further, the proportion of coins marked ✚ is unexpectedly high at 50 per cent of the identifiable specimens in the Antioch finds, compared with only 20 per cent in the Dipylon deposit. The Monogram type as a whole is relatively less common at Antioch than among the *pentanummia* in the Greek finds. The cross would be an appropriate symbol for " the great city of God," Theoupolis. The variant in which the position of the letters Φ and Y of the monogram is reversed has been noted only with the privy-mark ✚, and might accordingly be dismissed as a typically Antiochene blundered inscription, with no special significance except as an indication that the specimens belong late in the issue.

Although site-finds are a very reliable guide to the currency of the district from which they come,[31] the problem is complicated by the consignment of bronze coinage to various provinces by the Constantinople (and also the Nikomedian) mints. The Dipylon hoard, for example, reflects the consignment of *folles* from both those mints to Athens in the regnal years 6, 8, and 10 of Justin and Sophia, and it is clear that

[28] Dorothy B. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, Part 2, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Crusaders' Coins*, 1952, p. 156, and M. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 104-105.

[29] The mark K has already been interpreted as standing for Kyzikos, by P. Grierson in an unpublished note mentioned by D. H. Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[30] See D. M. Metcalf, " The Organization of the Constantinople Mint for the Follis of the Anastasian Reforms," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th Series, XXI, 1961, pp. 131-143.

[31] This point is demonstrated in D. M. Metcalf, " Provincial Issues among the Byzantine Bronze Coinage of the Eleventh Century," *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, V, 1962, pp. 25-32.

folles were consigned to Athens, and likewise to Antioch, in some years but not in others during Justinian's reign also.[32] The occurrence of as many as five Nikomedian *pentanummia*[33] along with six of the A - Δ series in the Dipylon find suggests very strongly that the smaller denomination was also being supplied for the currency of Greece by consignment from the mints of the metropolitan region. Similarly, consignment of *pentanummia* to the East may have taken place. The proportions of different varieties of *pentanummia* in the Antioch finds cannot, therefore, be taken as a straightforward guide to their place of mintage.

The mark Θ, which is very scarce, might seem at first glance to stand for Thessalonika; two of the three known specimens to which provenances attach are from the Dipylon find and the Athenian Agora excavations. A decisive objection to such a reading is that the mint-signature for Thessalonika during the reigns of Justinian and of Justin and Sophia is invariably ΤЄS. The signature ΘЄC was introduced only in the course of the fifth regnal year of Heraclius, 614/5,[34] from which date it was equally invariable until the closure of the mint in the latter part of Heraclius's reign. Θ on the monogrammed *pentanummia* cannot possibly be as late as 614 (the Dipylon deposit places it before *ca.* 585). It must, I believe, stand for Theoupolis.

The date of the " Monogram " type of *pentanummia*, and its place among other types of the same denomination, is best approached by a study of metrology. The largest and heaviest of Justinian's *pentanummia* (*BMC* 139-145), which are of good style and careful workmanship, are obviously part of the reformed issue of the years immediately following 538-9, when for a brief period the size and weight of the *follis* were greater than at any other time in the sixth century. The average weight of the museum specimens is over 3 gm., or more than an eighth of the weight of the 40-*nummia* coin, which was struck at 15 to the pound, theoretically 21.80 gm.[35] Similar *pentanummia* with the mint-signatures ΚΥ and CΛR (*BMC*, Justinian 264, 394-397) are sufficiently close to the theoretical weight of 2.73 gm. for it to be likely that they were part of the same reformed issue. The *pentanummia* of Justin I of Constantinople, Nikomedia and Antioch and another series of *pentanummia* of Justinian, which may belong to the later years of his reign (*BMC*, Justin 40-48, 75-82, Justinian 146-152), all average about 2 gm. or a little more, a figure equal to or a little

[32] See the article cited in note 30.

[33] They are characteristically smaller than the other issues, being about 13 instead of about 15 mm. in diameter. Cf. *BMC* Justinian 426-427, also about 13 mm., and struck on dumpy, squarish flans.

[34] A Salonican *follis* of Heraclius's fifth year marked ΤЄS is described and illustrated in J. Tolstoi, *Monnaies Byzantines*. Similar coins signed ΘЄC are relatively plentiful.

[35] See D. M. Metcalf, " The Metrology of Justinian's Follis," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th Series, XX, 1960, pp. 209-219.

above one-eighth of the weight of the *folles* of that period. The weight of each of these issues varies only within reasonable limits. The significant thing about the " Monogram " *pentanummia* is the very considerable variation in weight that they show. The heaviest specimens weigh more than 3 gm. (*BMC* 424, 425), while the *BMC* specimens of the variant with the blundered monogram (429-430) weigh less than 1½ gm., and the finds from the burnt mill (nos. 17-19 below) weigh only around 1 gm. Such coins weigh far less than one-eighth the weight of the *follis* under Justin and Sophia (*ca.* 13.5 gm. ⅛ = *ca.* 1.7 gm.). Even if one makes an allowance for wear, they must have been struck below standard. The general conclusion to which the evidence points is that the type was already being struck at a date close to 538-542, and that its issue continued for a period of many years, during which the weight-standard came to be less fully maintained.[36] There is every reason to expect that a detailed stylistic study of a large number of *pentanummia* of the " Monogram " type would be fruitful, and, of course, should a group of them turn up in a hoard that was concealed not later than, say, the middle of Justinian's reign, a solution of the problem would be brought much nearer.

The coin marked Θ from the Athens finds, which is in a fairly worn condition, weighs exactly 2.45 gm.[37] and may therefore be supposed to belong early in the series. There is one gap into which it can be fitted, with some show of probability, in the Antiochene system of mint-signatures. This carefully maintained system was elaborate, ingenious and, so far as one can see, without any useful purpose. The mint-signature took one form on the 40-*nummia* and 10-*nummia* denominations, and a different one on the 20-*nummia* denomination. Throughout much of Justinian's reign the form of the mint-signature was varied at five-yearly intervals. From the last years of Justinian's reign through that of Phocas, the form of the signature became immobilized and was not so strictly maintained as it had been before. No *pentanummia* are attributed by *BMC* to the Antioch mint for any of these reigns. There are, however, three varieties of the " Monogram " type for which an Antiochene attribution has been proposed above. If one looks for some correspondence between the mint-signatures of the 20-*nummia* and 5-*nummia* to match the parallel between the 40-*nummia* and 10-*nummia* coins, the period to which the variety marked Θ appears to belong is regnal years 10-14 of Justinian. Subsequently, the Latin letters ϚH were always used instead of Θ in the mint-signature. The mark ✚ may have been intended to match the monogrammatic signatures found on the 20-*nummia* coins from

[36] The *pentanummia* of Tiberius II and Phokas still weigh about 2g., far more, correspondingly, than the normal *folles* of those emperors. They are very scarce and should be regarded as in some sense " specimen " issues (might they have been used as largesse at imperial ceremonies?). One cannot readily suppose that an issue as plentiful as that of the " Monogram " type would have been struck on other than a normal weight-standard.

[37] Miss Judith Perlzweig kindly examined the coin for me and had it weighed.

year 20 onwards and may have been the first of the marks to become immobilized. The proposed dating of the variety with Θ has the advantage of explaining its scarcity, since the Antioch mint was active only in year 13 of that five-year period. One specimen occurred in the Antioch finds. If the argument is accepted, it provides a date, *ca.* 540, for the introduction of the " Monogram " type. The Antiochene system of mint-signatures is summarized in Table 2.

TABLE 2

The Antiochene system of mint-signatures under Justinian and in the following reigns. The attributions for *pentanummia* that have been suggested in the text are included.

Issue	M	K	I	Є
Justinian				
527-528	ANTIX			
ca. 528-539				
a) " Profile " type, (i)	$\overline{\text{ΘΥ}}$ΠΟΛS			
(ii)	✚THЄЧ℘	TH		
b) " Seated figure "		ЄЧ		
type, (i)	"	O		
(ii)	✚THЄЧP	P	THЄЧP	
ca. 536/7-540/1 (Years 13, 14)	ΘV̄ΠO	Θ$\overline{\text{Y}}$		Θ (?)
ca. 541/2-545/6 (Year 16)	ƆHЄЧPO	ƆH		
546/7-550/1 Years 20-24	ЧHЧ✠	✠	ЧHЧ✠	✚ (?)
551/2-555/6 Years 25-29	ƆHЧ✠	P	ƆHЧ✠	immobilized?
556/7-560/1 Years 30-34	ƆHЧ℘	℘	ƆHЧ℘	"
561/2-565 Years 35 onwards	ƆHЄЧP	immobilized	ƆHЄЧP	"
Justin II and Sophia	immobilized: ƆHЄЧP′	"	immobilized, as for *folles*.	"
Tiberius, Maurice, Phocas	ƆHЄЧPO, etc.	"		(?)

The one serious objection to dating the type to *ca.* 540 is in the interpretation of the monogram, and in particular the letters K and Φ, which caused Bury to suggest IϬ[TINϬ KAI [OΦIAE. The metrology of the sixth-century *pentanummia* as a whole and the occurrence of the mark Θ are, I submit, strong reasons for an attribution to Justinian as well as to Justin and Sophia and for the need to find another explanation of the K and Φ in the monogram. Φ. A. IϬ[TINIANϬ. K., or some such

reading,[88] may after all be correct; the same monogram, being suitable, may then have been used again with a different meaning in the following reign, in the same way that Justin I and Justinian had preserved on their *nummia* monograms similar to that of Anastasius.

APPENDIX: DESCRIPTION OF THE DEPOSITS

Note that weights are correct to the figure shown, that is, to one decimal place in grammes for larger coins and to two places for *nummia*. Dimensions are in general maxima, except where two measurements are given. A die-adjustment of, for example, 150° means that the "twelve o'clock" position on the obverse (imperial) side corresponds with a point on the reverse 150° clockwise from the "twelve o'clock" position on that side; "normal" die-adjustment means 180.°

Deposit from the Burnt Flour Mill

(Grid Reference Q 13)

Within the mill-room, the coins were found scattered in various places, and may be arranged in groups according to their discovery as follows:

a) *Coins found on the floor in the north of the room (355 coins).* All of these coins were found below a layer of black, burnt earth, lying on an earth floor. Most of them were recovered between April 21st and 28th, 1933, in the area 15-19/Λ-ΛΓ (original excavation grid reference, Fig. 2) and 15-21/ΚΗ-ΛΓ, and were added to the numismatic collection day by day, apparently in parcels as they were brought in for their accession to be recorded. Many of the parcels end with a quantity, stored in one envelope, of unidentifiable *nummia*, which suggests that the order of accession within each group is not related to the discovery of the coins. These groups, with their finding-references and the total, for each group, of coins which survived cleaning and are now in the collection, are identified in the list of coins below by small Roman numerals:

From 15-19/Λ-ΛΓ: (i) April 21, 1933, nos. 42-88 (34 coins); (ii) April 21, nos. 89-123 (29 coins); (iii) April 22, nos. 25-79 (49 coins); (iv) April 22, nos. 91-106 (15 coins); (v) April 24, nos. 1-30 (30 coins); (vi) April 24, nos. 39-67 (25 coins); (vii) April 24, nos. 69-76 (8 coins).

From 15-21/ΚΗ-ΛΓ: It is not certain, but nevertheless appears very probable, that the following groups were excavated in the *north* of the room. See Figure 2 for the extent of the excavation area. (viii) April 26, nos. 39-52 (14 coins); (ix) April 26, nos. 55-82 (27 coins); (x) April 27, nos. 2-23 (21 coins) Note: group (x) includes what may be a group of 5-*nummia* (see under no. 12 below); (xi) April 27, nos. 27-83 (44 coins); (xii) April 28, nos. 18-27 (10 coins).

From "the floor of the mill-room (burnt layer)": It is not clear whereabouts in the room the following coins were found, but one may perhaps assume its northern side. (xiii) July 3, nos. 1-21 (21 coins); (xiv) July 3, nos. 26-50 (26 coins); (xv) July 5, nos. 21-22 (2 coins).

The note written on the envelopes of the first one or two coins recovered from the floor in

[88] J. Sabatier, *Description Générale des Monnaies Byzantines*, vol. I, Paris, 1862, p. 191.

the north of the room (April 21) emphasizes that they were found *on* the floor, that is presumably to say, not embedded in it. For the remainder, the same form of words is used to note the circumstances of discovery, but the word " on " has not been underlined; one may assume that what was stated about the first few coins to be documented applies equally to most if not all of the rest.

b) *Coins found on or in the floor in the south of the room (22 coins).* Excavated in the area 15-21/KH-AΓ on April 25, 1933; found " above and beside a tile floor ": (xvi) April 25, 1933, nos. 3-13 (11 coins); (xvii) April 25, nos. 16-27 (11 coins).

c) *Coins found in or near the pit for the millstones (20 coins).* These few coins were found and their accession recorded before it had been fully realized that the area from which they came was the site of a mill. They were discovered on April 20 in a trial trench at 19-20/KΘ-AB, at a depth of -4.50 m. to -5.0 m. (cf. -4.50 m. for the floor), and on April 20 and 21 in " a rectangular pit " at 20/AA:

From 19-20/KΘ-AB: (xviii) April 20, nos. 34-39 (5 coins).

From 20/AA: (xix) April 20, nos. 21-22 (2 coins); (xx) April 21, nos. 124-136 (13 coins).

40-*nummia* coins

1. Justinian I, 527-565, " Asterisk, Cross " type, before 538, Constantinople, Γ (*BMC* 30-31, pl. V, 3). The asterisk seems to have only 5 rays instead of the usual 6. 15.3 g. (rather light for a regular issue?); 30.2 mm. (i).
2. – – , after 538, Constantinople, B. Year 24 = 550/1 (*BMC* 86-87, pl. V, 5). 17.4 g.; 34.1 mm. (xix).

20-*nummia* coins

3. Justinian I, 527-565, Antioch (*BMC* 314 or 315, pl. VIII, 7 or 8). 6.2 g.; 23.5 mm. (xiii).
4. Justin II, 565-578, Salonica (*BMC* 101 ff., pl. XI, 14 ?). The date is apparently I, but may be incompletely preserved. 4.7 g.; 19.2 mm. (xx).
5. – – , Salonica. Year Z = 571/2 (*BMC* 112). Above the K, a cross. 5.0 g. (the fabric partly flaked away); 20.4 mm. (xvii).
6. – – , Salonica. Year X = 574/5 (*BMC* 177-119). The Rev. is very sharply struck and well-preserved, while the Obv. has completely disappeared, perhaps by the flaking away of the fabric. 4.2 g.; 21.7 mm. (xvii).
7. – – , Salonica. Poor condition; very probably Justin II. 4.6 g.; 19.5 mm. (iii). Deposit associated with that of no. 8? Pl. 48.
8. – – , uncertain coin of Two Seated Figures Type, which may possibly be of Tiberius II, but is more like to be similar to nos. 4-7 above. 5.1 g.; 20.7 mm. (iii). Deposit associated with that of no. 7? Pl. 48.
9. Uncertain 20-*nummia*. (xiii).

10-*nummia* coin

10. Justinian I, 527-565, uncertain mint. Year 30 = 556/7 (*BMC* 135-136). 1.27 g.; 14.7 mm. (xviii).

5-*nummia* coins

11. Anastasius, 491-518, after 498, or Justinian, 527-565. (The attribution of this and the following coins is uncertain.) 1.12 g.; 12.3 mm. (xx).
12. – – – , 1.29 g.; 12.6 mm. (x). From what is apparently a small group of coins of this denomination, set on one side probably somewhere in the north of the room. See nos. 13, 17, 18, 20, 21.
13. – – – , 1.29 g.; 13 mm. (x).
14. – – – , 1.23 g.; 13.5 mm. (xvi).
15. Justin I, 518-527, Constantinople, Γ (*BMC* 45, pl. III, 10). 1.43 g.; 13.7 mm. (xx).
16. – – , or non-imperial of the same period

(*BMC*³, p. 52, 37 ff., pl. VI, 16 f.). 1.43 g.; 12.6 mm. (xii).

17. Justin II (?), "Monogram" type, Constantinople, B (*BMC*, Justinian I, 417 f., pl. X, 15). 0.94 g.; 15.6 mm. (x).
18. – –, Kyzikos (*BMC* 424). 1.15 g.; 13.0 mm. (x).
19. – –, privy-mark obscure (*BMC* 414-428). 1.01 g.; 14.9 mm. (vi).
20. Uncertain 5-*nummia*. 0.48 g.; 10.5 mm. (x).
21. – –, 1.45 g.; 13.7 mm. (x).
22. – –, 0.78 g.; 11.4 mm. (xvi).
23. – –, a large coin, 1.31 g. (xiii).

Nummia

The careless engraving and striking and the poor state of preservation of these *nummia* are such that it is rarely possible to be certain of their type, unless it is one that is characteristic. The similarity of many of the monograms makes attribution especially difficult. Where a monogram has a number of related forms or crude derivatives, the type which is stated should be taken to refer to the group as a whole. Where I have given the weight and size of a coin, this indicates that the attribution is reasonably sure. A *BMC*³ plate reference unaccompanied by weight and size should be accepted only with reserve, or as an indication of the general type to which the coin belongs.

A. *Coins which there is good reason to suppose are non-imperial issues*

24. *BMC*³, II, 20-21 (Vandalic: Gelimer, 530-533). 0.74 g.; 9.4 mm. (vi).
25. – –, 0.74 g.; 9.3 mm. (i).
26. *BMC*³, III, 35-36 (Palm-tree type). 0.47 g.; 8.7 mm. (i).
27. *BMC*³, V, 8-9 (Ostrogothic: Odovacar, 476-493). (i).
28. – –, (xiv).
29. *BMC*³, VIII, 16-19 (Ostrogothic: Athalaric, 526-534). 0.88 g.; 10.2 mm. (xiii).
30. *BMC*³, IX, 11 (Ostrogothic: Theodahad, 534-536). 0.63 g.; 10.7 mm. (xviii).
31. *BMC*³, XI, 14-15 (Ostrogothic. Baduila, 541-552, Type B). 0.41 g.; 9.2 mm. (ii).
32. – –, 0.68 g.; 9.0 mm. (xiv).
33. – –, 0.64 g.; 10.0 mm. (xvi).
34. *BMC*³, XI, 16-21 (the same, Type C). 0.64 g.; 9.4 mm. (ii).
35. – –, (ii).

B. *Late Roman and Byzantine coins with an imperial monogram*

36. *BMC*³, IV, 4-7. (Monogram of general type of Marcian, 450-457). 0.91 g.; 10.8 mm. (i).
37. – –, 0.76 g.; 9.4 mm. (i).
38. – –, (i).
39. – –, (vii).
40. *BMC*³, IV, 9-10. (Monogram of type of Leo I, 457-474). (xiv).
41. – –, (xiv).
42. *BMC*³, IV, 11 (the same). (xiv).
43. *BMC*³, IV, 14-15. (Monogram Type—cf. comment in text). 0.54 g.; 8.2 mm. (i).
44. – –, 0.36 g.; 9.4 mm. (ii).
45. – –, 0.55 g.; 8.3 mm. (ii).
46. *BMC*³, IV, 14-19 (the same). 0.66 g.; 9.0 mm. (xiii).
47. – –, 0.69 g.; 9.4 mm. (xiv).
48. – –, (v).
49. – –, (xiii).
50. – –, (xiv).
51. – –, (xvii).
52. – –, (xvii).
53. – –, (perhaps IV, 16-17). 0.51 g.; 8.4 mm. (i).
54. – –, – –, 0.50 g.; 7.8 mm. (ii).
55. – –, – –, (i).
56. – –, (perhaps IV, 18). 0.29 g.; 8.8 mm. (ii).
57. – –, – –, (xiv).
58. – –, (perhaps IV, 19). (vi).
59. Uncertain type with monogram (*BMC*³, pl. IV, 1-19, etc.). (iv).
60. – –, (xi).
61. – –, (xii).
62. – –, (xii).

C. *Coins with other Types*

63. *BMC*³, IV, 20-21 ("A" Type). 0.22 g.; 8.2 mm. (ii).
64. – –, 0.47 g.; 7.2 mm. (ix).
65. – –, 0.66 g.; 10.3 mm. A fine specimen. (xiii).
66. *BMC*³, IV, 24 (Letter M Type). Apparently with a letter S below the M. 0.34 g.; 8.3 mm. (ii).
67. *BMC*³, IV, 28 or 29 (Chi-rho Monogram Type). 0.41 g.; 9 mm. (ix).
68. – –, 0.45 g.; 8.5 mm. (xiii).
69. *BMC*³, IV, 31 (Asterisk Type). 0.56 g.; 7.5 mm. (vii).
70. *BMC*³, IV, 42-43, etc. (Cross in Wreath Type). 0.43 g.; 9 mm. (vii).
71. – –, (iv).
72. – –, (xi).

D. *Coins of which the Types are Illegible.*

73. Uncertain. (vi).
74. –, (vi).
75. –, (vi).
76. –, (xv).
77. –, (xv).
78. –, (xviii).
79. –, (xviii).
80. –, (xviii).
81. –, (xix).
82-105. – , 24 coins = 14.28 g. Average, 0.59 g. (i).
106-125. – , 20 coins = 11.51 g. Average, 0.57 g. (ii).
126-142. – , 17 coins = 9.08 g. Average, 0.54 g. (iii).
143-172. – , 30 coins = 12.55 g. Average, 0.42 g. (iii).
173-185. – , 13 coins = 5.05 g. Average, 0.39 g. (iv).
186-214. – , 29 coins = 13.22 g. Average, 0.46 g. (v).
215-233. – , 19 coins = 9.89 g. Average, 0.52 g. (vi).
234-238. –, 5 coins = 1.70 g. Average, 0.34 g. (vii).
239-252. – , 14 coins = 7.19 g. Average, 0.51 g. (viii).
253-277. – , 25 coins = 9.22 g. Average, 0.37 g. (ix).
278-292. – , 15 coins = 9.16 g. Average, 0.61 g. (x).
293-328. – , 36 coins = 14.88 g. Average, 0.41 g. (xi).
329-334. –, 6 coins = 2.08 g. Average, 0.35 g. (xi).
335-341. –, 7 coins = 3.83 g. Average, 0.55 g. (xii).
342-354. – , 13 coins = 7.67 g. Average, 0.59 g. (xiii).
355-372. – , 18 coins = 8.08 g. Average, 0.45 g. (xiv).
373-380. –, 8 coins = 4.72 g. Average, 0.59 g. (xvi).
381-387. –, 7 coins = 2.92 g. Average, 0.42 g. (xvii).
388-397. – , 10 coins = 5.01 g. Average, 0.50 g. (xx).

Parcel from the Burnt Debris near the Tholos

(Grid Reference H 11)

Twenty-four coins were discovered on March 1, 1933, within a heavily burnt area, roughly oval in shape and about three by two meters in extent, among a mass of debris containing ash, charcoal, broken pottery and glass, scraps of iron and bronze, and bones of animals. The pottery was mostly coarse domestic ware and was described as late Roman. There were no walls connected with the deposit.

On the envelopes of ten of the coins, the grid reference for the find-spot is incorrectly recorded. The error is noted in the excavator's

diary (Z. I), where it is made clear that all the coins were from the same area. Their finding-reference is Z, March 1, 1933, nos. 1-22.

398. Justinian I, 527-565, 20-*nummia*, of uncertain mint and date. Die-adjustment *ca.* 150°. 3.9 g. 21 mm.

399. Justin II and Sophia, 565-578, 20-*nummia*, Salonica. Year 5 = 569/70. Cf. *BMC* 110-111, pl. XI, 14. Die-adjustment uncertain. 5.7 g. 20-22 mm.

400. – , – , (?) Year 7 = 571/2. (The reading ЧII is uncertain on this specimen. Cat. Photiades, no. 214.) Broken. Die-adjustment normal. 3.0 g., 22 mm.

401. – , – , Year 8 = 572/3 (ЧIII). ✚ and M above K. *BMC* 114. Die-adjustment uncertain. 5.0 g., 24-25 mm.

402. – , – , Year 9 = 573/4 (ЧI/III). Die-adjustment 0°. 5.0 g., 20 mm.

403. – , – , Year 10 = 574/5. *BMC* 117-119. Die-adjustment normal. 7.3 g. (Note that easily the heaviest *BMC* specimen of this denomination and mint weighs 7.6 g. and is of the same year and cf. no. 431 below.) 23-25 mm.

404. – , – , Year 10. Die-adjustment normal. 4.8 g., 22 mm.

405. – , – , Year 11 = 575/6. Φ✚ C above K. *BMC* 121. A well-preserved specimen. 5.5 g., 21-23 mm.

406. – , – , Year uncertain. Die-adjustment uncertain. 4.8 g.

407. – , – , Year uncertain, perhaps 5? Die-adjustment normal. 3.7 g. (broken and very much defaced) 21 mm.

408. – , mint and year uncertain, perhaps Salonica. Die-adjustment normal. 4.6 g., 20 mm.

409. – , mint, date and die-adjustment uncertain. 3.1 g., 20 mm.

410. Probably Tiberius II, 578-82, 20-*nummia*, Salonica (see p. — above). The coin is very defaced. Die-adjustment normal. 4.9 g., 22 mm.

411. Uncertain ruler, *nummion*, probably of the monogram type, *BMC*[3] plate IV, 14-19. 0.49 g., 9 mm.

412. – , – , probably similar. 0.64 g., 10 mm.

413. – , – , " " 0.43 g. size not noted.

414. – , – , uncertain type. 0.17 g., 8 mm.

415. – , – , " " 0.62 g., 7 mm.

Savings Deposit from the Northwestern Corner of the Agora

(Grid Reference F 3)

A deposit of 18 copper coins was discovered on March 7, 1936 at the north foot of the hill on which stands the Temple of Hephaistos ("Theseum"). The excavation of the area is recorded in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 338, 342, fig. 3. When found, the coins were uniformly corroded.

416. Justinian I, 527-565, 20-*nummia*, Nikomedia, Year 15 = 541/2. *BMC* – , this date. Die-adjustment normal. 10.0 g., 28 mm. Well-centered on flan with margin.

417. – , 40-*nummia*, Constantinople, *officina* Є, Year 19 (X/ЧI/III) = 545/6. *BMC* 78. Die-adjustment normal. 19.3 g., 34 mm. Compact flan of good fabric.

418. – , – , Constantinople, *officina* B, Year 20 (X/X) = 546/7. *BMC* – , this *officina*. Die-adjustment normal. 18.2 g., 34 mm. The flan is somewhat ragged and slightly wedge-shaped.

419. – , – , Kyzikos, *officina* A, Year 20 (X/X) = 546/7. Cf. *BMC* 247. The form of the mint-signature here is KV≤ (with a serif at the bottom of the V). Die-adjustment *ca.* 165°. 19.5 g., 37 mm. A beautifully made coin, well centered on flan with margin, and highly struck.

420. – , – , Antioch, *officina* A, Year 22 (X/X/II) = 548/9. *BMC* – , this *officina*. The form of the mint-signature is,

as usual, ЧhЧП, but note that the right-hand stroke of the first letter is bent over to the left at the top, and note the cursive H (?). Die-adjustment *ca.* 220°. 18.8 g., 37 mm. Well made.

421. – , – , mint uncertain, perhaps Antioch, *officina* very uncertain, perhaps B. Year 27 (X / X / ꟼI) = 553/4; or perhaps Year 28? Die adjustment 210°. 18.1 g., 35 mm.

422. – , – , Antioch, *officina* Γ, Year 33 (X / X / X / III) = 559/60. Cf. *BMC* 309. The form of the mint-signature is, as usual, ꞆHЧP, but note the abbreviation-mark after the P, instead of joined to it. Die-adjustment *ca.* 210°. 19.2 g., 36 mm.

423. – , – , Antioch, *officina* A, Year 35 (X / X / X / Ч) = 561/2. *BMC* – , this *officina*. The mint-signature is not clear, but is apparently ꞆHЧ . . . (!) Die-adjustment normal. 18.0 g., 32-37 mm. Flan of irregular shape. (No comment on envelope.)

424. Justin II and Sophia, 565-578, 40-*nummia*, mint and *officina* very uncertain, possibly Constantinople B. Year 4 (II/II) = 568/9. Die-adjustment normal. 15.0 g., 30 mm.

425. – , – , Nikomedia, *officina* B, Year 4 (II/II) = 568/9. Cf. *BMC* 132. Die-adjustment 0°. 14.4 g., 30-32 mm. A large specimen, neat workmanship.

426. – , – , Constantinople, *officina* Δ, Year 5 (Ч) = 569/70. Cf. *BMC* 44. Die-adjustment 0°. 12.9 g., 27 mm.

427. – , – , Nikomedia, *officina* A, Year 6 (ꟼ) = 570/1. Cf. *BMC* 134. Die-adjustment normal. 11.4 g., 29-32 mm. See also no. 428.

428. – , – , Nikomedia, *officina* A, Year 6 (ꟼ) = 570/1. Cf. *BMC* 134. Die-adjustment normal. 11.9 g., 29-32 mm. Reverse die *not* closely similar to that of no. 427.

429. – , – , Antioch, *officina* Γ, Year 7 (U / II) = 571/2. *BMC* 197 ff. Border of dots. The form of the mint signature is ꞆHЄUP, Die-adjustment normal. 14.0 g., 33 mm.

430. – , – , Constantinople, *officina* Є. Year 10 = 574/5. Cf. *BMC* 75-76: ✚ above M. Die adjustment 150°. 13.0 g., 28 mm.

431. – , 20-*nummia*, (?) Salonica, Year 10 = 574/5. *BMC* 117-119. Die-adjustment 0°. 7.1 g. (See note on no. 403). 23 mm.

432. Tiberius II, 578-582, 40-*nummia*, Constantinople, *officina* Γ, Year 7 (ꟼI) = 580/1. *BMC* 31. Die-adjustment 0°. 12.1 g., 31-32 mm.

433. – , – , Constantinople, *officina* Γ, Year 8 (ꟼII) = 581/2. *BMC* 36. Die adjustment 0°. 13.3 g., 31 mm. Neat workmanship.

Osteotheke Hoard of Gold Coins

Seven gold coins were found in an osteotheke in Sophroniskos Street, excavated by Threpsiades in 1947. They are now in the Greek National Numismatic Collection.

434. Tiberius II, 578-582, *solidus*, Constantinople, Δ at end of inscription, *cf.* BMC 1-8.

435. – , – , Z at end of inscription, "sketchy" lettering on obverse.

436. – , – , Θ at end of inscription.

437. – , – , I at end of inscription.

438. – , – , I at end of inscription, "sketchy" lettering on obverse.

439. Maurice Tiberius, 582-602, *solidus*, Constantinople, I at end of reverse inscription. *BMC* 13-14. Broad face.

440. – , *tremissis*, Constantinople, *BMC*, 17-23.

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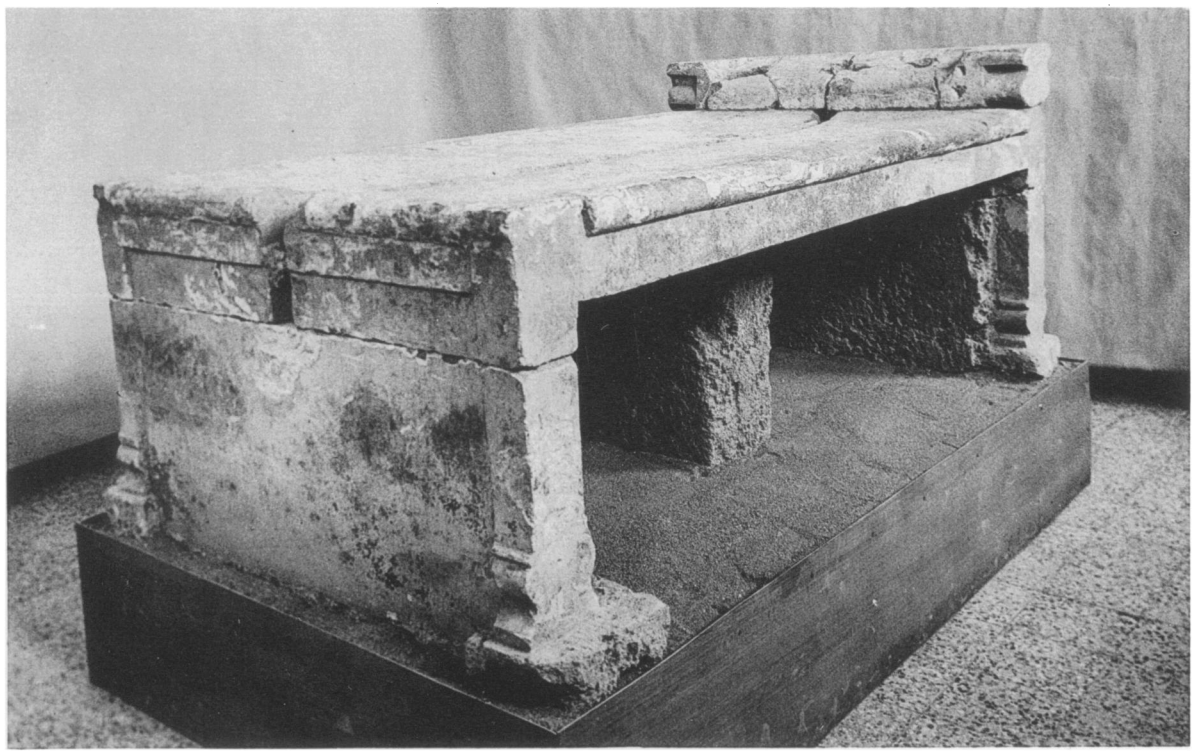
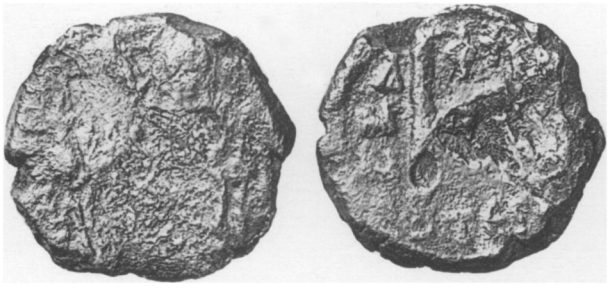
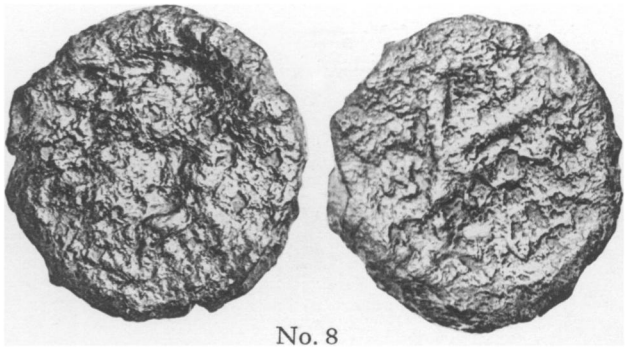


a. Limestone Funeral Couch from Chamber Tomb. Fourth Century B.C.

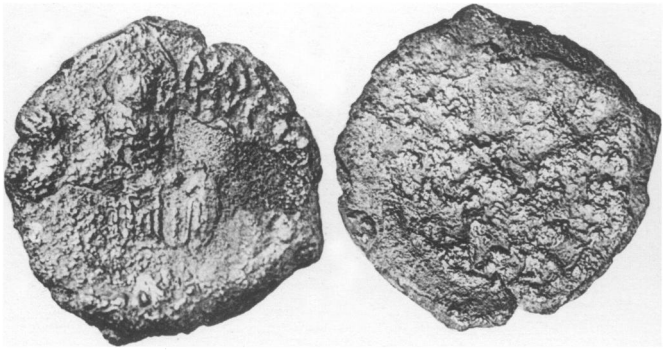
HENRY S. ROBINSON : EXCAVATIONS AT CORINTH, 1960



No. 7



No. 8



No. 410

Coin of Tiberius II

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