

A SIXTH CENTURY HOARD FROM KENCHREAI

(PLATE 18)

ONE of the more significant finds from the recently completed Kenchreai excavations was a hoard of over two hundred late Roman—early Byzantine bronze/copper coins.¹ The hoard was uncovered during the 1963 campaign in Area B, a water-front district along the ancient quay and near the foundations of one of the prominent structures in this section of ancient Corinth's eastern port. The receptacle which had contained the coins had not survived, although two metal clasps or fastenings from it were found with the coins.

The B Hoard was originally reported as two separate finds made on the same day in the same area, but the coins clearly form a single grouping. The exact number of coins discovered is not entirely certain. The first preliminary account of the 1963 season speaks of two hoards of 114 and 97 coins respectively.² The second preliminary

¹ I wish to thank Professor Robert L. Scranton, Director of the Kenchreai Excavations, for permission to study the coins uncovered during the various campaigns. His support, guidance and encouragement have been unfailing. A National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend for 1968 enabled me to finish a preliminary catalogue of all the coins, including this hoard. A Summer Research Initiation Faculty Fellowship, awarded for 1970 by the Council on Research and Creative Work, University of Colorado, allowed me to continue my study of the excavation *corpus*.

Although not all series of coins cited below have been analyzed by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry or other methods, it appears that most of the late fifth and sixth century AE coins are basically copper with only trace elements of tin, zinc and lead. These coins are commonly called bronze (e.g., *BMC Vandals*), although they might more accurately be designated as copper. See D. M. Metcalf, *The Origins of the Anastasian Currency Reform*, Chicago, 1969, p. 82 (hereafter cited as *Origins*) and the X-ray fluorescence spectrometry analyses cited in this bibliography.

Special abbreviations used in this article are:

BMC—Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. I, London, 1908.

BMC Vandals—Warwick Wroth, *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.

A Bronze Hoard of Zeno—Howard L. Adelson and George L. Kustas, *A Bronze Hoard of the Period of Zeno I*, NNM 148, New York, 1962.

DOC—Alfred R. Bellinger, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, Vol. I: *Anastasius I to Maurice, 491-602*, Washington, D. C., 1966.

"A Hoard of Minimi"—Howard L. Adelson and George L. Kustas, "A Sixth Century Hoard of Minimi from the Western Peloponnese," *ANSMN*, XI, 1964, pp. 159-205.

LRBC—R. A. G. Carson, P. V. Hill, and J. P. C. Kent, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage, A. D. 324-498*, London, 1960.

² Robert L. Scranton and Edwin S. Ramage, "Investigations at Kenchreai, 1963," *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, p. 143.

report mentions only that a hoard of coins had been discovered in Area B.³ The unpublished excavator's workbook records the discovery of 240 coins. But these discrepancies are minor. No doubt they are due to the discovery and recording of the coins in several stages and to the inclusion in the first counting of small stones, pebbles and other objects later discarded. Whatever the actual number of coins may have been, only 108 survived cleaning.

This low percentage of survival provides further testimony to the quality of alloy employed in the minting of these *minimi* and to the corrosive characteristics of Kenchreai's soil, a condition exacerbated by the proximity of the find spot to the sea.⁴ Even the coins that survived cleaning are generally in a poor state of preservation. Excepting the large Justinian issues, rarely are total obverse and reverse designs legible. Often the line between what below has been called an indeterminate monogram and illegibility is a fine one. Although complete details of types, particularly for the monogram coins, are difficult to recover, some new variants are cited below, suggesting again how incomplete the existing record of late Roman—early Byzantine coins is.

Contents of B Hoard

1	TIBERIUS	Corinthian Duovirate Issue
1	ARCADIUS	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE (2)
2	THEODOSIUS II	Cross in Wreath
3	MARCIAN	Monogram
2	LEO	Monogram
2	ZENO	Monogram
5	ANASTASIUS or JUSTINIAN	Monogram
6	JUSTIN I or II	Monogram
1	JUSTIN I or JUSTINIAN	Christogram (pentanummium)
3	JUSTIN I or JUSTINIAN	Christogram
1	JUSTINIAN	Follis

³ Robert L. Scranton and Edwin S. Ramage, "Investigations at Corinthian Kenchreai," *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, p. 172. This, the most recent preliminary account of the Kenchreai investigations, will soon be superseded by final reports which are now in preparation.

⁴ For a brief comment on the corrosive qualities of Kenchreai's soil and on the method of cleaning the coins employed, see Robert L. Hohlfelder, "A Small Deposit of Bronze Coins from Kenchreai," *Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, p. 68, note 2 (hereafter cited as "A Small Deposit").

The tiny pieces that form the bulk of this hoard are called either *nummi* or *minimi*. Cf. Bellinger, *DOC*, p. 2; Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of *Minimi*," p. 173; Metcalf, *Origins*, p. 10; *et alii*. *Minimi* is a term of modern numismatic parlance referring to the physical appearance of the coins. *Nummus*, on the other hand, was a contemporary designation for any coin or for a specific unitary value. See Howard L. Adelson and George L. Kustas, "A Bronze Hoard of the Period of Leo I," *ANSMN*, IX, 1960, pp. 148 ff., for a detailed discussion of both terms. Although the terms are usually used interchangeably, Professors Adelson and Kustas have recently suggested that such usage may not be correct: "The *minimi* of the sixth century cannot have been considered *nummi*. They would have been grossly overweight. The explanation for their issuance must await a broader study of the economic history of the period" ("A Hoard of *Minimi*," p. 178).

3	JUSTINIAN	Half-Follis
3	JUSTINIAN	Decanummium
1	JUSTINIAN	VOT XIII
3	JUSTINIAN	Uncertain
12	JUSTINIAN	A Types
5	Sixth Century After Christ	Victory
24	ANASTASIUS — JUSTIN II	Indeterminate monograms (including one pentanummium)
4	JUSTIN II	Monogram
4	'Vandalic'	Palm Tree
2	Ostrogothic — BADUILA	Monogram
1	Ostrogothic — BADUILA	DN REX B
1	Uncertain — BADUILA or JUSTINIAN	Lion (?)
18	Illegible	
<hr/>		
108		

*Catalogue*⁵

TIBERIUS

1. Laureate Head of Emperor I.

Hexastyle temple

Cf. Katharine M. Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, *Coins*, Cambridge, 1933, p. 20, no. 43. This coin was probably struck by the duoviri, L. Arrius Peregrinus and L. Furius Labeo.⁶

20 ↘ 5.77

ARCADIUS

AE 4

*2. Bust r., legend: DN AR...

SALVS REI-PVBLICAE(2)

LRBC, p. 89, nos. 2186-94, *passim*.

13 ↓ 0.58

⁵ The format of this catalogue and the assignment of the coins closely follow Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi." The first line is a description of the obverse type; the second of the reverse; the third offers a reference to a standard study or catalogue; and the lowest line records the maximum diameter of a coin in millimeters, die position and weight in grams in that order. Unless otherwise indicated, the obverse and reverse legends are illegible. Cf. appearing before a standard reference indicates an approximation of type. An asterisk indicates that a coin is illustrated (all photographs by the author). Most of the coins are badly worn; some may have been clipped.

⁶ This coin is so out of character with the rest of the find that it must be judged an intrusion or a keepsake, deposited with the other coins of the hoard. If a keepsake, one wonders if the reverse type, the pagan temple, had any special significance for the owner. A similar anomaly, another Julio-Claudian coin, was found in the E deposit, date of formation *ca.* A.D. 580. See Hohlfelder, "A Small Deposit," p. 69, no. 1.

THEODOSIUS II

3-4. Illegible

Cross in wreath

Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," p. 182, nos. 11-14 and *A Bronze Hoard of Zeno*, pp. 56-58, nos. 139-243.

3. 10 — —

4. 9 — 0.64

MARCIAN

*5. Illegible



within wreath

Adelson and Kustas, *A Bronze Hoard of Zeno*, pp. 62-63, nos. 313-348. This monogram type is here designated as Leo V 1.

11 — 1.19

6-7. Illegible

Trace of Marcian monogram

6. 8 — 0.35

7. 9 — —

LEO I

8. Bust r.

Trace of Leo monogram

Adelson and Kustas, *A Bronze Hoard of Zeno*, pp. 70-72, nos. 509-588. This monogram type is here designated as Leo V 1.

10 ↓ 0.58

9. Bust r.

Trace of Leo monogram (indeterminate)

8 ↘ 0.81

ZENO

10. Illegible

Trace of Zeno monogram

Cf. Adelson and Kustas, *A Bronze Hoard of Zeno*, p. 82, nos. 896-914. The exact monogram form represented on this coin cannot be determined.

8 — 0.65

*11. Illegible



⁷No similar monogram with the letter, Z, in reverse position and lacking a connecting trans-

As above.

9 — 0.81

ANASTASIOS OR JUSTINIAN

12. Bust r.



in reel border

Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," p. 189, nos. 152-157. This monogram is here designated as type Z 4. Bellinger assigns this series to Anastasius but allows that some of the coins may be from the reign of Justinian. See *DOC*, p. 12, nos. 15.6-15.8 and p. 11, note 15.

11 — 0.89

*13. Illegible



As above. This appears to be a variant of the Z 4 type. No trace of the reel border remains on this specimen.

8 — 0.50

14-15. Bust r.



in reel border

Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," p. 189, no. 151. This monogram is here designated as type Z 3.

14. 7 — 0.44

*15. 8 — 0.55

16. Illegible

Trace of Anastasius or Justinian monogram

8 — 0.50

JUSTIN I OR JUSTIN II ⁸

17-22. Illegible



in reel border

verse ligature was found in the Zacha ("A Hoard of Minimi") or Volo (*A Bronze Hoard of Zeno*) hoards.

⁸ Although this basic form of monogram was commonly used by emperors of the sixth century, monograms without a cross-bar between the left vertical stroke and the diagonal ligature are usually associated with the Justins. Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," pp. 169-170, assign this monogram to Justin I (A.D. 518-527) but allow that some coins bearing this type may have been struck by Justin II (A.D. 565-578) as well. While it is possible that the earlier Justin may have used this monogram on his coins, it is certain that Justin II did employ it as a silver stamp. See E. C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, Washington, 1961, Table II, nos. 20-27 (hereafter cited as *Byzantine Silver Stamps*). One can assume that the same monogram appeared on his coins.

Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," p. 191, nos. 253-271.

17.	9	—	0.80
18.	9	—	0.61
19.	7	—	0.47
20.	8	—	0.64
21.	7	—	0.49
22.	8	—	0.60

JUSTIN I OR JUSTINIAN

23. Bust r.

Christogram in reel border ⁹

Bellinger, *DOC*, pp. 45-46, nos. 21a. 1-21e. 4; p. 82, nos. 35a-35c; *passim*.

13 → 2.35

JUSTIN I OR JUSTINIAN

24-26. Bust r.

Christogram in reel border

Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," p. 195, nos. 344-354.

24.	9	—	0.35
25.	9	—	0.35
26.	8	—	—

JUSTINIAN

Follis, A.D. 527-538, Constantinople

27. Bust r.; legend: DNIVSTINI — ANVSPPAVI ¹⁰

Large M; above, cross; to l., star; to r., cross; below, B; in ex., CON

Bellinger, *DOC*, p. 78, nos. 28b. 1-5.

29 ↓ 18.19

Half-Follis, A.D. 538/9, Constantinople

28. Bust facing; legend: DNIVSTINI-ANVSPPAVC

Large K; above, cross; to l., ANNO; to r., XII; below, A

Bellinger, *DOC*, p. 95, no. 62a.

30 ↓ 10.98

Nummus, A.D. 539/40, Carthage ¹¹

29. Obliterated

⁹ The coins in the *DOC* have letters or symbols to the l. and r. of the Christogram. Letters on this specimen are no longer legible.

¹⁰ Except for irregularities of the ultimate letter of the legend, variant letter forms have not been reproduced for nos. 27-34.

¹¹ While Wroth had originally assigned this issue and others cited below to the Vandals, Bellinger *et alii* now see this petty series as the lowest denomination of the official monetary system, the nummus. But cf. the comments of Adelson and Kustas cited above, note 4.

VOT in linear border within wreath
XIII

Bellinger, *DOC*, p. 167, nos. 302. 1. – 2. His suggestion that the Vota inscriptions were used as yearly dates at this mint seems most probable. If so, this coin was issued in the year 13 or A.D. 539/40.

10 — 0.67

Half-Follis, A.D. 547/8, Antioch

30. Bust facing; legend: DNIVSTINI — ANVSPPAVI

Large K; above, cross; to l., ANNO; to r., XXI; ¹² below, 

Bellinger, *DOC*, p. 149, nos. 238.1–3.

30 ↑ 9.26

Decanummium, A.D. 549/50, Constantinople

31. Bust r., legend illegible

XX

Large I; above, cross; to l., ANNO; to r., III; below, CON ¹³

Cf. Bellinger, *DOC*, p. 99, nos. 84. 1 – 2 but date is rendered differently on these specimens.

16 ↓ 3.89

Decanummium, A.D. 558/9, Constantinople

32. Bust r.; legend obliterated

X

Large I; above, cross; to l., ANNO; to r., XX; below, CON

II

Cf. Bellinger, *DOC*, p. 101, no. 90, but date is rendered slightly differently on this specimen.

16 ↓ 4.58

Decanummium, A.D. 559/60, Constantinople

- *33. Bust r.; legend: DNIVSTI — NIANVS

X

Large I; above, cross; to l., ANN; to r., X; below, CON ¹⁴

X

III

Cf. Bellinger, *DOC*, p. 101, nos. 92. 1–2.

17 ↓ 2.73

¹² The symbol below the demonination mark is read by Bellinger as *polis*. See "Byzantine Notes: 4. The Antiochene Copper of Justinian," *ANSMN*, XII, 1966, p. 95.

¹³ The date of this coin is not clear. It might also be read as 18 = A.D. 544/5 or 33 = A.D. 559/60.

¹⁴ There are several uncommon features about the reverse of this coin. The rendering of the date is different—the X's are not in a vertical arrangement. Secondly, the initial A of ANNO bears no cross-bar or connecting ligature. Thirdly, the ultimate letter of ANNO is omitted. Finally, there is no line separating the main reverse type from the mint designation in the exergue. Cf. *BMC*, p. 39, no. 137. It is possible that this may be a barbarous issue.

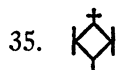
Half-Follis, A.D. 563/4, Thessalonica

34. Bust facing; legend obliterated
Large K; above, cross; to l., ANNO; to r., [X] XX; below, TES
411

Bellinger, *DOC*, pp. 108-109; nos. 105. 1-3.

22 ↓ 5.39

UNCERTAIN



Obliterated

Cf. Bellinger, *DOC*, p. 193, no. 375. The Kenchreai coin features a reverse type similar to the one cited here but this coin is too badly worn to be certain of type. It is possible that it may be a poorly executed A type (see below, nos. 38-48).

7 — 0.40

- *36. Obliterated

Six-pointed star



As above, but reverse device of the *DOC* coin is an eight-pointed star. This type may be a barbarous or badly rendered Christogram.

8 — 0.41

- *37. Bust facing



in wreath

Cf. Bellinger, *DOC*, p. 193, nos. 373. 1-3 but letters beneath cross are different.¹⁵

10 ↓ 0.62

- 38-48. Bust r.

Large A in reel border

Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," pp. 195-196, nos. 355-372. Also Bellinger, *DOC*, p. 82, nos. 36. 1-2., who comments that Wroth's assignment of this series to the Vandals is at least partially incorrect (*BMC Vandals*, p. 34, nos. 141-148). Some, if not all, of the coins of this series were imperial issues of the lowest denomination.

38.	7	—	0.32
39.	9	—	0.48
40.	9	—	—
41.	8	—	0.57
42.	9	—	0.44
*43.	7	—	0.27
44.	8	—	0.43
45.	8	—	0.67
46.	8	—	0.80

¹⁵ The letters appearing under the cross are not clear. The letter to the l. is read as an A; it might be K. The letter to the r. is rendered as Λ ; it may be an A.

47.	7	—	0.52
48.	8	—	0.36

*49. Bust facing



in reel border

Cf. Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," p. 198, nos. 399-409, who present this A type with a star to r. and below and with a projected leg on the A. All of these details are not visible on this reverse.

9	—	0.39
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SIXTH CENTURY AFTER CHRIST

50-54. Obliterated

Victory l., holding wreath and palm

Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," p. 193, nos. 317-330, especially note 68 for the basis of their attribution. Cf. *BMC Vandals*, p. 20, nos. 21-31, *passim*.

*50.	8	—	0.37
*51.	9	—	0.76
52.	9	—	0.60
53.	9	—	0.54
54.	10	—	0.37

ANASTASIUS THROUGH JUSTIN II

Indeterminate Monograms¹⁶

55-78. Bust r.; legend obliterated

Trace of a monogram

55.	12	↘	1.73 (pentanummium)
56.	10	—	0.45
57.	9	—	0.52
58.	9	—	0.95
59.	9	—	0.44
60.	8	—	0.68
61.	9	—	0.70
62.	9	—	—
63.	...	NVSPPA	—
	12	—	0.72
64.	8	↓	0.53
65.	9	—	—
66.	9	—	0.99
67.	10	—	0.63
68.	8	—	0.96
69.	8	—	0.51
70.	8	—	0.76

¹⁶ The monograms on these coins are largely obliterated and/or partially off the flan. While some of these issues may date from the fifth century, the date of the deposition of the hoard would suggest a later provenance for most.

71.	9	—	0.70
72.	8	—	0.32
73.	8	—	0.41
74.	8	—	0.26 (only fragments of this coin remain)
75.	7	—	0.64
76.	8	—	0.77
77.	8	—	—
78.	8	—	—

JUSTIN II

Pentanummium, A.D. 565-578, Constantinople ¹⁷

79-82.  in reel border

Large E; to r., variable letter; in reel border

Bellinger, *DOC*, pp. 218-220, nos. 60a. 1-60e. 5.

79.	15	↑	1.97
80.	13	↓	1.41 (monogram surmounted by a small cross)
81.	14	↗	1.44

Nummum

82. Obliterated

Monogram as above

The assignment of the visible trace of monogram to Justin II is somewhat tenuous. The coin may be a very badly worn pentanummium.

9 — 0.86

'VANDALIC' COINAGE ¹⁸

83-86. Obliterated

Palm tree with fruit in reel border

Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," p. 199, nos. 418-432; *BMC Vandals*, pp. 26-27, nos. 68-72.

83.	8	—	0.63 (four-branch palm with three dots = fruit in lower l.)
84.	7	—	0.68 (six-branch palm, a piece of fruit in lower l. and r.)
85.	8	—	0.36 (six-branch palm, other details illegible)
86.	8	—	0.68 (trace of palm tree design)

¹⁷ The attribution of this monogram to Justin II, made by J. B. Bury, "A Misinterpreted Monogram of the Sixth Century," *Mélanges Schlumberger*, Vol. 2, Paris, 1924, pp. 301 ff., has recently been challenged by D. M. Metcalf, "The Slavonic Threat to Greece ca. 580: Some Evidence from Athens," *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 147 ff. Bellinger, *DOC*, p. 218, note 60, supports Bury's interpretation. Unfortunately, no exact representations of this monogram appear in Dodd's *Byzantine Silver Stamps*. It seems more like the complex monograms of Tiberius and Maurice than the simpler form employed by Justinian. See Dodd's Table II.

¹⁸ Although the overwhelming majority of coins uncovered at Kenchreai were struck at eastern mints, it is certainly likely that 'Vandalic' coinage was used in the seaport. But it seems equally possible that the coins may have been struck at an eastern mint, perhaps even locally at Corinth or Athens. See p. 100.

OSTROGOTHIC COINAGE — BADUILA

87-88. Obliterated



in wreath

Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," p. 201, nos. 447-457; *BMC Vandals*, p. 89, nos. 24-27.

87.	9	—	0.67 (a simplified variant of the above)
*88.	10	—	0.54

*89. Bust r., legend: . . . ΛΖΤ . . .

DN̄ REX
B

Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," p. 201, nos. 461-467 and p. 202, nos. 471-478. It is not clear if the reverse inscription is surmounted by a star, which is often the case, or in a wreath.

9	—	0.84
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UNCERTAIN — BADUILA OR JUSTINIAN

90. Bust facing

Lion r.

Cf. *BMC Vandals*, p. 94, nos. 50-52 and p. 113, nos. 35-36. Without a legible obverse legend, positive assignment is not possible.

8	↓	0.59
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91-108. Illegible¹⁹

A deposition date for this hoard is suggested by the monogram issues of Justin II (nos. 79-82). Although this series cannot be assigned a specific date, it does provide a *terminus*. Most probably, the hoard was sequestered shortly before or after Justin's death in A.D. 578. At about the same time in another section of the city, a commercial district designated as Area E, a purse of 34 bronze/copper coins was dropped on a road or plateia and never recovered.²⁰ The closing date for this deposit is based on the latest of the coins, a 40 nummia piece also issued by Justin II in the year, A.D. 575/6. Both dates, *ca.* A.D. 580, coincide with the beginnings of the Avaro-Slavic incursions into central Greece. As has been discussed elsewhere, it seems reasonable to assume that the deposition of the B Hoard and the loss of the coin purse in Area E were associated in some way with the uncertainty, fear and destruction evoked by barbarian attacks or the apprehension of them.²¹ As with other cities in

¹⁹ At least one of these illegible coins appears not to have been struck on one side. Such coins were also found in the Zacha Hoard. See Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," p. 160.

²⁰ Hohlfelder, "A Small Deposit," pp. 68-72.

²¹ The beginnings of the Avaro-Slavic incursions, with specific reference to Kenchreai, are discussed in my "Barbarian Incursions into Central Greece in the Late Sixth Century A.D.: New

central Greece, Kenchreai appears to have suffered badly at the hands of these invaders.²²

Both the E deposit and the B Hoard provide testimony to an impressive diversity of coinage in use at the time of the coming of the Avars and Slavs to Kenchreai. The bulk of the hoard consists of various issues of the tiny bronze/copper coins called *minimi* or *nummi*.²³ Many series of these *minimi*, once thought to be exclusively barbarian coinage, are now seen as the lowest denomination of the reformed monetary system of Anastasius.²⁴ The number of variants of *minimi*, found in this and other sixth century hoards, suggests that these petty coins were issued in extremely large quantities, no doubt to meet the continuing need of the Empire for small change.²⁵

Specific chronological assignments and mint attributions for these *minimi* are not yet possible. The B Hoard provides little new data for resolving these questions. Regarding the question of mintage, however, it is most likely the majority of official issues in this hoard came from the East or from Greece itself. Throughout the history of Roman Kenchreai, the coins used in this port were struck at eastern mints or at Corinth when a mint was in operation there. The numismatic record is consistent on this point. Given the geographical location of the town, this situation was not unexpected. The *raison d'être* of Kenchreai was to serve as Corinth's eastern *emporium*. It seems likely that the numismatic pattern continued into the sixth century as well. Certainly during normal times, supply by the sea would have remained easy. One suspects that many of the *minimi* in the hoard probably came from Constantinople by this route. But it also remains a possibility that, as the political stability of the Balkan region was increasingly threatened and disrupted by Avaro-Slavic incursions, Greece might have been thrown back on her own resources. A local mint may have been reopened sometime during the sixth century to supply small coinage which was

Evidence from Kenchreai," to be published in the *Proceedings* of the XIVth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Bucharest, 1971. A résumé of this paper has been published in *Résumés-Communications, XIV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, Bucharest, 1971, pp. 246-247. Note five of this article provides an introduction to the vast body of literature dealing with the coming of the Avars and Slavs to Greece.

²² Kenchreai appears not to have recovered fully from the tumultuous events, *ca.* A.D. 580. A break in the continuity of life appears to have taken place at this time, signaling the end of an epoch for this city.

²³ See above note 4.

²⁴ Although a topic of much scholarly consideration, the monetary reforms of Anastasius and the fiscal policies of the subsequent century are still incompletely understood. In his recent study, *Origins*, D. M. Metcalf provides an excellent introduction to the problem as well as a good bibliography. The basic study on the Anastasian reforms, Robert P. Blakes's "The Monetary Reform of Anastasius I and its Economic Implications," *Studies in the History of Culture: The Discipline of the Humanities*, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1942, pp. 84-97, should also be consulted.

²⁵ See Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of *Minimi*," p. 161, note 4, who there list other published sixth century hoards.

no longer available through normal channels. Corinth or Athens would be likely candidates for a temporary mint site.²⁶

In addition to late fifth and sixth century minimi, the hoard also contained barbarian issues and official series struck before the coinage reforms of Anastasius over one-half century before deposition. Such coins appear to have circulated freely and were accepted in the commercial activities of this port town. The earliest of the pre-reform coins is the Tiberian issue (No. 1). The appearance of this coin in the hoard clearly presents an anomaly. It is more likely that the other pre-Anastasian coins (Nos. 2-11) were still circulating to the time of deposition. If so, a circulation life of well over 100 years for such coins apparently was not uncommon.²⁷ Although issues of a different monetary system, these minimi had survived reform and probably had been retariffed locally. Weight of bullion, not age or issuing agency, was most likely the primary consideration in the market stalls of Kenchreai. Such was also the case for the coins of probable barbarian provenance (Nos. 83-90).

There were too few coins in this hoard to subject it to a detailed metrological analysis. But it might be useful to compare one aspect of the Kenchreai data to another, large sixth century hoard, the Zacha Hoard, which has been analyzed so thoroughly by Professors Adelson and Kustas.²⁸ They concluded that minimi were struck at the theoretical weight of four Roman carats or 0.76 grams. It also was apparent from their study that Imperial mints tolerated a considerable margin of error of minting. The average weight of monogram coins in the Zacha Hoard was 0.61 grams with 0.57 grams for other issues. The average weight of coins from the B Hoard of clear sixth century provenance is 0.55 grams, slightly lower than the comparable average for the Zacha coins. When allowance is made for the extremely poor condition of these specimens and the inaccuracy of minting, the Kenchreai average weight fits well with their suggestion of theoretical weight.

The deposition of these coins came during a moment of extreme crisis for Kenchreai and for Greece, *ca.* A.D. 580. Formed at this time, the B Hoard offers another look at circulation and currency in sixth century Greece. It is an important incremental addition to a growing body of numismatic data which may eventually provide a fuller understanding of the monetary system for which these coins provide evidence.

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²⁶ A brief discussion and bibliography on this question appear in Hohlfelder, "A Small Deposit," p. 69, note 6. My comments follow closely those of Margaret Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, Vol. II, *Coins*, Princeton, 1954, pp. 101-102.

²⁷ Pre-reform coinage of both fourth and fifth century provenance was also found in the Zacha Hoard. See Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," pp. 170 ff. Such was also the case for a hoard of sixth century coins found at Isthmia. See David W. MacDowall, "The Byzantine Coin Hoard Found at Isthmia," *Archaeology*, XVIII, 1965, pp. 264-267.

²⁸ Adelson and Kustas, "A Hoard of Minimi," pp. 170-178.

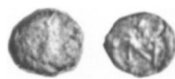
PLATE 18



2



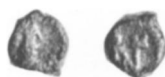
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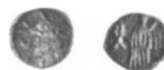
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