

AN EARLY BYZANTINE AND A LATE TURKISH HOARD FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA¹

(PLATES 59, 60)

I

THANKS chiefly to Michael Metcalf's analysis of several deposits of coins from the Agora and elsewhere in Athens, it has become an established fact that Athens suffered an attack by Slavic invaders during the penultimate decade of the sixth century after Christ.² Further evidence of this event was produced in the 1971 Agora excavations during the continued investigations of a late Roman house on the lower slope of the Areopagus³ and by the discovery along the Panathenaic Way at the opposite, northern, edge of the Agora of the present hoard of two metal vessels and 341 bronze coins.⁴

The hoard appeared against the trench scarp bordering modern Hadrian Street in the course of digging a succession of late Roman levels of the Panathenaic Way. A bronze situla (**A**) and a bronze oinochoe (**B**) were found in soft pockets, 0.20 m. apart, resting on and against rubble stones which subsequently proved to be the ruined walls of the water channel of a water mill, dating to the fifth century after Christ, whose course has been traced for great distances through the Agora.⁵

¹ In the preparation of these notes Mrs. Miller, the excavator of both hoards, contributed the information on the circumstances of their discovery and on the metal vessels in the first hoard. Mr. Kroll and Mr. Miles are responsible for the numismatic aspects of the Byzantine and the Turkish hoards, respectively. For permission to publish this material the authors are indebted to T. Leslie Shear, Jr., Director of the Agora Excavations.

² D. M. Metcalf, "The Slavonic Threat to Greece, ca. 580: Some Evidence from Athens," *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 134-157. It should perhaps be emphasized that the Slavic invaders were under the leadership of the Avars; hence the invaders are variously referred to in the sources as Slavs or Avars. For a convenient collection of references to the sources and to much of the recent literature on the Slavic invasion of Greece, see P. Charanis, "Observations on the History of Greece during the Early Middle Ages," *Balkan Studies*, XI, 1971, pp. 15-16, to which should now be added D. J. Blackman, "Der Halfen von Anthedon: Historical Conclusions," *Arch. Anz.*, 1968, pp. 92, 95-97, and S. Hood, "Isles of Refuge in the Early Byzantine Period," *B.S.A.*, LXIII, 1970, pp. 31-45.

³ See T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," pp. 121-179 of this volume, and *idem*, "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1970," *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 269-270. The latest coin on the floor of the house was a coin of Justin II (year 10, A.D. 574/5), a sure indication that the destruction of the house was contemporary with the destructions of several other buildings in the Agora a few years later in the 580's (full references in H. A. Thompson, "Athenian Twilight, A.D. 267-600," *J.R.S.*, XLIX, 1959, p. 70, note 48).

⁴ The hoard, found on May 26, 1971, was located at J/17-4/18 on the Agora grid in section BF north of the Piraeus-Athens Railroad and east of the Royal Stoa. Its Agora deposit number is J4:1.

The coins were discovered in no discernible order in a soft pocket approximately 0.20 m. in diameter located some 0.50 m. southwest of the oinochoe. The hoard, which was apparently deposited in a series of holes dug through a road level, was covered by hard road metal dated by pottery beneath to the sixth century after Christ.⁶

The oinochoe was found lying on its side with the mouth slanting downward toward the southeast (Pl. 59, a). The situla, which disintegrated completely with cleaning, was nearly upright when found, with one corner of its bottom edge slightly raised so that the lowest part of its mouth was toward the northeast (Pl. 59, b). The total area of the deposit was approximately 1.00 m. north-south by 0.75 m. east-west with the rubble wall of the water-mill channel defining its northern edge. Given the relative locations of the coin hoard and the situla and the upright position of the latter, one cannot reasonably maintain that the coins were buried in the bronze vessel despite its obvious suitability for such a purpose. Rather, one must assume some more ephemeral container, perhaps a cloth bag, of which no traces were recovered.

The latest fully legible coins in the hoard (Nos. 83-84) belong to the fifth regnal year of Tiberius II (A.D. 579). But, as Metcalf has shown with respect to the other Slavic invasion hoards from Athens, the actual burial must have been some years later since two of the hoards (one a savings deposit found near the Panathenaic Way some 85 m. west of the present hoard) contain coins that are not earlier than 582. Although not excluding a date of a year or two later, Metcalf opts for 582/3 as the most probable time for the barbarian attack and the interment of the hoards in question.⁷

The numismatic composition of the hoard is very much what one has come to expect from the deposits discussed by Metcalf and from three contemporary hoards recently excavated at the Isthmus of Corinth that are also to be connected with the Avaro-Slavic invasion.⁸ Some 64 half folles of Justin II and Tiberius II from the

⁶ See A. W. Parsons, "A Roman Water-Mill in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 70-90. The construction of the water mill is dated by lamps, pottery and coins in the fill of the mill; the latest of the coins belong to the reign of Leo I (457-474), to which period Parsons dates the mill (p. 88). The water-mill channel crosses the Agora west of the Stoa of Attalos in a northwesterly direction. When it reaches the Augustan building of the "Northeast Complex" it turns abruptly westward and runs toward the Great Drain near which the hoard was found.

⁷ The area in which the hoard was found was extremely narrow, hemmed in on the south by a deep, modern, cement foundation pier and by the scarp of Hadrian Street on the north. The Panathenaic Way, running here northwest by southeast disappears under Hadrian Street in its westerly direction, but a long stretch of this road metal was followed out to the east. The scarp along Hadrian Street was subsequently cut back even further at this point to ensure having reached the full limits of the hoard. This also revealed the full width of the ruined and much robbed-out water-mill channel.

⁸ Metcalf, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-147. Metcalf's "Osteotheke hoard" has now been republished with illustrations in *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1971, p. 11, pl. 6.

⁹ The Isthmia hoard of 1954 (O. Broneer, "Excavations at Isthmia, 1954," *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 117, 136; discussed in some detail by D. W. MacDowell, *Archaeology*, XVIII, 1965,

mint of Thessalonica make up the overwhelming majority of the larger-flan reformed denominations, while the bulk of the hoard consists of small one-nummus fractions (249 specimens), more than half of which are too worn or too poorly struck to be legible.

As in the hoards cited above and the large hoard of nummi from Zacha in Arcadia published by Adelson and Kustas,⁹ many of the nummi in our hoard (Nos. 95-101, 203-234) are small denominations of the late fourth and early fifth centuries which had remained in circulation for one hundred and fifty to two hundred years. Most of these have been clipped down to give them a size commensurate with the later nummi and are so worn as to have become mere scraps of metal of coin-like shape. Much older still are one or two small bronzes of Hellenistic Athens (Nos. 93, 94), which the owner of the hoard or someone making payment to him had presumably picked up in the city and added to his collection of small change.¹⁰ The most interesting of the nummi, however, are Nos. 126-131. Previously attributed to Justinian, who is customarily believed to have been the last emperor to issue coins of this value, their excellent condition in the hoard suggests that they may well belong to the following reign of Justin II.

The water-mill channel against which the hoard was secreted was destroyed in the late sixth century, almost certainly during the Slavic raid that was responsible for the hoard's burial and for the fact that the owner of the hoard, probably a casualty of the raid, never returned to reclaim it.¹¹ Perhaps the water channel was to have

pp. 264-267); the small Kenchreai deposit of 1963 (R. L. Hohlfelder, "A Small Deposit of Bronze Coins from Kenchreai," *Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, pp. 68-72); the Area B hoard, also found at Kenchreai in 1963 (R. L. Hohlfelder, "A Sixth Century Hoard," *Hesperia*, XLII, pp. 89-101). For the literary and archaeological evidence of an Avaro-Slavic attack on Corinth at this time, see R. L. Scranton, *Corinth*, XVI, *The Mediaeval Architecture*, Princeton, 1959, pp. 8, 27.

⁹ H. L. Adelson and G. L. Kustas, "A Sixth Century Hoard of Minimi from the Western Peloponnese," *Am. Num. Soc. Mus. Notes*, XI, 1964, pp. 159-205. To the other sixth-century hoards of nummi noted by Adelson and Kustas may be added one of 79 pieces found in the 1892-1895 excavations of the Argive Heraion and published as a hoard of autonomous coins of Argos by H. F. de Cou in C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, II, Boston and New York, 1905, pp. 359-360. On the place of nummi (including unofficial imitations) in the monetary system of the fifth and sixth centuries, see the important remarks of P. Grierson, "The Value of *Solidus*," *J.R.S.*, XLIX, 1959, p. 77.

¹⁰ The phenomenon is widely paralleled in other hoards of nummi of the fifth and sixth centuries. Of the second half of the fifth century: a hoard from Corinth containing bronze coins of Philip II of Macedon and of Classical Athens and Corinth (*Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., XI, 1931, pp. 229-233); a hoard from Dalmatia containing bronze coins of Hellenistic Ceos, Chios, and Erythrae (*Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., XIV, 1934, p. 269); and the Volos hoard with a coin of Philip II of Macedon (*Amer. Num. Soc. N. Mon.*, CXLVIII, 1962, pp. 44, no. 1). Of the sixth century, the Isthmia hoard with a Hellenistic bronze of Corinth (*Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 136) and a new hoard from Corinth that contains a second-century B.C. bronze fraction of Athens (to be published in a future number of *Δελτ.* by M. Krikou).

¹¹ The water mill itself was clearly destroyed by fire at this time; see Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 88,

served as a point of reference to locate the group after the dangers had passed. However, the road level together with the ruinous water channel was thickly blanketed by earth fill, which was then hard-packed through usage as a later road. Our modest treasure lay lost and forgotten, buried in the roadway.

CATALOGUE

A. Bronze situla (disintegrated). Pl. 59, b. P.H. *ca.* 0.15 m.; diam. of mouth *ca.* 0.10 m. Very thin walls; bronze much diseased.

Walls bulged slightly from a flat bottom. With removal of earth the vessel fell apart and with cleaning disintegrated.

B. Bronze oinochoe (Agora inv. B 1363). Pl. 59, c. H. to mouth 0.187 m.; H. to top of handle 0.221 m.; diam. of body 0.118 m.; diam. of foot 0.076 m.; weight 1,085 grams. Dent with hole in body and two small holes in neck; otherwise intact. Body cast in one piece, handle cast separately and soldered to body. The foot is low and flaring. On the underside there are three roughly rectangular knobs which form a resting surface. The plump body is worked with fifteen facets. The tall thin neck is set off from the body by a bulging ridge and terminates in a trefoil mouth which flares abruptly from the top of the neck. The lip is sharp on top but has a rounded overhang. On top of the strap handle is perched a crude figure, perhaps an animal. The handle is soldered at the lip and onto the shoulder where it joins a fleur-de-lis which itself is cast with the body.

The most striking technical detail of the oinochoe is the treatment of foot and handle. The underside of the foot is extremely uneven, and it was only through the working down of the surface to leave three little feet of quite different heights that the vessel could be made to stand. At the base of the handle the roughly shaped fleur-de-lis which should properly be the handle attachment is cast with the body. As a result, the handle is much less securely attached than if it had been joined to the body by the whole surface of the fleur-de-lis, as one would have expected. The figure perched on top of the handle may be an animal with head reared back and with forepaws resting on a ball close to the mouth of the vessel. A flaw such as a bubble in the casting appears to have caused the deformation of much of the uppermost part of what presumably is the head of this creature. Also crude is the reworking of the vessel: the horizontal lines setting off the bulge at the base of the neck and the groove which separates the foot from the body are hastily and unevenly rendered. The bulge on the neck may imitate the ring which normally appears at this point, on oinochoai which are cast in several pieces, at the juncture of two of the parts.¹² Similarly rough and irregular is the fleur-de-lis "attachment" on the shoulder.

Casting a vessel rather than hammering it out of sheet metal is clearly a cheaper method in terms of time and labor even though it is wasteful in terms of material

confirmed by Metcalf, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-141, 146-147. It may be of some interest to note in connection with Slavic troubles that part of a sword was found in the Panathenaic Way some 27 meters to the east of the hoard under consideration (Agora inv. IL 1530), where it was covered by the same hard road metal found over the bronze hoard.

¹² A. Radnóti, *Die römischen Bronzegefäßen von Pannonien*, Budapest, 1938, p. 159.

employed. Offsetting this disadvantage, however, is the distinct advantage of durability.¹³ Numerous examples of bronze vessels cast whole and with separately attached handles are known, especially from provincial areas dating from the first century after Christ and later.¹⁴

It is difficult to hazard a precise date for our oinochoe since little comparative material is known from the late Roman period and that which is known is not on the whole well dated. Particularly in Athens we know little comparable material in the sixth century. The technique of faceting a vessel in the manner of our oinochoe appears to be late Roman, although the chronological limits of this form of decoration are ill defined. A late Roman silver oinochoe from Aquincum (Budapest),¹⁵ although different in shape from our vessel, is broadly faceted in this way. A precise bronze parallel for the shape is not known to us although oinochoai were rendered with infinite variation throughout antiquity.

Turning to other media, the best parallels for shape among Athenian clay oinochoai are of the mid-third century after Christ, although these tend to taper to a narrower foot than our bronze vessel.¹⁶ In terms of proportions our oinochoe finds good parallels among a series of glass bulbous jugs dated to the fourth century found in France, Germany, and Austria.¹⁷ The technique involved in making pottery, glass, and bronze vessels differs markedly, however, and it seems likely that technical factors may to some degree at least have influenced the evolution of shapes in each material. Therefore, without a study of the related morphology among the media, it is dangerous to place weight on similarities of shape unless chronological parallels can also be established. With bronze the additional difficulty when compared with glass and pottery is that by its durability and value a bronze vessel will probably have survived in use longer. A final problem is that bronze vessels will probably have traveled greater distances and there is no evidence to suggest that our oinochoe need be considered the work of an Athenian craftsman.

¹³ Cf. D. K. Hill, "Bronze Working: Sculpture and Other Objects," in *The Muses at Work* (C. Roebuck, editor), Cambridge, Mass., 1969, pp. 80-88.

¹⁴ Cf. Radnóti, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-169. Cf. also a bronze oinochoe of the third century after Christ cast in one piece found at Rheinzabern in Germany, now in the Speyer Museum (inv. no. 517/9); H. Menzel, *Die römischen Bronzen in Deutschland*, I, *Speyer*, Mainz, 1960, pp. 64-65, pl. 44.

¹⁵ P. La Baume, *Römisches Kunstgewerbe*, Braunschweig, 1964, p. 44, fig. 36. Cf. also an echo of this faceting technique in a clay oinochoe of unknown provenience in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn (*ibid.*, p. 43, fig. 35).

¹⁶ H. S. Robinson, *Athenian Agora*, V, *Pottery of the Roman Period*, Princeton, 1959, Group K, pp. 58-72. Cf. especially K82 (Agora inv. P 2278) and K83 (Agora inv. P 2420), pl. 14.

¹⁷ C. Isings, *Roman Glass from Dated Finds*, Groningen, 1957, p. 152 with references.

(COINS (Pl. 60, a)¹⁸

FOLLES (40 NUMMI)

1. JUSTINIAN I	Constantinople	Period 527-538	DO I, p. 78, 28b
2. JUSTIN II	"	Year 3 (567/8)	" p. 205, 24c
3. "	"	Year 4 (568/9)	" p. 206, 25d
4. "	"	Year 8 (572/3)	" p. 210, 34e
5. "	"	Year 9 (573/4)	" p. 211, 36e
6. "	Nicomedia	Year 7 (571/2)	" p. 228, 97a
7. "	"	Year 9 (573/4)	" p. 229, 99b
8. "	Antioch	Year 7 (571/2)	" p. 243, 152b ¹⁹

HALF FOLLES (20 NUMMI)

9. JUSTINIAN I	Constantinople	Period 538-561 (year and officina illegible)	" pp. 95 ff., 62-75
10. "	Thessalonica	Year 36 (562/3)	" p. 108, 104
11. "	"	Year 38 (564/5)	" p. 109, 106
12. "	"	Year 36, 37, or 38 (illegible)	" pp. 108 f., 104-106
13. "	Antioch	Year 26 (552/3)	" p. 150, 243
14. "	"	Year 20-27 (illegible)	" pp. 149 f., 237-244
15-16. JUSTIN II	Constantinople	Year 4 (568/9)	" pp. 214 f., 47a, 47d ²⁰
17. "	"	Year 6 (570/1)	" p. 215, 49 ²¹
18. "	"	Year 12 (576/7)	" p. 217, 58 ²²
19. "	Thessalonica	Year 1 (565/6)	" p. 220, 61
20. "	"	Year 3 (567/8)	" p. 221, 63. 3
21. "	"	Year 1, 2, or 3 (illegible)	" pp. 220 f., 61-64
22-24. "	"	Year 4 (568/9)	" p. 221, 64, 65 (2 coins)
25-27. "	"	Year 5 (569/70)	" pp. 221 f., 66 (2 coins), 67
28-31. "	"	Year 7 (571/2)	" pp. 222 f., 71, 72, cf. 73 (2 coins) ²³
32-36. "	"	Year 8 (572/3)	" p. 223, 73 (2 coins), 75 (2 coins)
37-39. "	"	Year 9 (573/4)	" p. 223, 76
40-44. "	"	Year 10 (574/5)	" pp. 223 f., 78 (4 coins), 81 ²⁴
45-48. "	"	Year 11 (575/6)	" pp. 224 f., 83
49-57. "	"	Year 12 (576/7)	" p. 225, 84 ²⁵
58-59. "	"	Year 10, 11, or 12 (illegible)	" pp. 223 f., 77-84

¹⁸ The coin inventory numbers are BF 467-807. Abbreviations used in the catalogue are:

BMC—W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards (and of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicea and Trebizond) in the British Museum*, London, 1911.

DO I—A. R. Bellinger, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, I, Washington, D. C., 1966.

LRBC—R. A. G. Carson, P. F. Hill and J. P. C. Kent, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage, A.D. 324-489*, London, 1960.

MN XI—Adelson and Kustas, *op. cit.* (note 9).

60-65.	"	"	Year 13 (577/8)	"	p. 225, 85
66-73.	"	"	Year illegible	"	pp. 220 ff., 61-85 ²⁶
74.	"	Nicomedia	Year 4 (568/9)	"	p. 232, 106
75.	"	Nicomedia?	Year 6 (570/1)	"	p. 232, 108(?)
76.	"	Antioch	Year 5 or 6	"	p. 246, 164 or 165
77-78.	JUSTIN II or TIBERIUS II	Thessalonica	Year 5 (569/70 or 579)	"	p. 222, 68 or p. 277, 23
79-82.	"	"	Year illegible	"	As Nos. 66-73 above or Nos. 85-86 below
83-84.	TIBERIUS II	"	Year 5 (579)	"	p. 277, 23
85-86.	"	"	Year 5, 6, 7, or 8 (illegible)	"	p. 277, 23-26

PENTANUMMIA

87-88.	ANASTASIUS— JUSTINIAN I	Period 491-565	Obverses worn illegible
89-92.	JUSTIN II	Constantinople	Period 565-578
			<i>DO</i> I, pp. 219 f., 60a, 60b (2 coins), 60c ²⁷

¹⁹ Note an apparent misprint in the way *DO* I records the date. On the present coin and all other examples known to us, the arrangement is $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{Ϡ} \\ || \end{smallmatrix}$

²⁰ Except that on the present specimen of *DO* I, no. 47d, the date is recorded $\begin{smallmatrix} || \\ || \end{smallmatrix}$.

²¹ Officina Γ (not recorded in *DO* I).

²² Officina A (not recorded in *DO* I).

²³ Coins Nos. 30 and 31 are of a variety not given in *DO* I. On their reverses: above, $\begin{smallmatrix} * \\ M; \end{smallmatrix}$ to the right, $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{Ϡ} \\ || \end{smallmatrix}$.

²⁴ Coins Nos. 43 and 44 are overstruck, No. 44 on a coin of Justinian I.

²⁵ The date on one of these may read XIII, thus representing Justin's thirteenth year but in an arrangement not recorded under *DO* I, 85.

²⁶ Two of these are overstruck, one on a Justin and Sophia half follis of Thessalonica.

²⁷ The good condition of these four monogram/ϵ coins confirms their attribution to Justin II (most recently accepted in *DO* I).

²⁸ Although *DO* I and *MN* XI attribute coins of this type to Justinian I, the present six examples are distinctly sharper and fresher in appearance than any other nummi in the Agora hoard, including those attributed to Justinian and Baduila on the basis of inscriptions or monograms (Nos. 117-125, 133-140). The obverses of the latter all show clear signs of wear, whereas the asymmetrical-alpha nummi are virtually in mint condition. Hence it becomes attractive to assign them to an emperor closer in time to the interment of the hoard, the most probable candidate being Justin II.

To judge from *MN* XI, pl. 30, fig. 401, the asymmetrical-alpha coins in the Zacha hoard were also singularly fresh. If Adelson and Kustas are right in dating this hoard to shortly after 550 (p. 178), their attribution of the type to Justinian could not be questioned. But the hoard may be later, though not necessarily as late as the Slavic invasion deposits from Athens and the Isthmia. The fact that as many as ten asymmetrical-alpha nummi were counted in the Olympia material summarized in *MN* XI, p. 165, as opposed to less than half this number of any of the other nummi ordinarily assigned to Justinian, suggests that they were the latest (or at least the most easily legible) nummi in that lot (most and probably all of which come from hoards) as well.

NUMMI OR EQUIVALENTS

93. ATHENS, 1st century B.C.	(Athena/Dionysos)	J. N. Svoronos, <i>Les Monnaies d'Athènes</i> , Munich, 1923-1936, pl. 25, 44-50 Cf. <i>ibid.</i> , pl. 107, 55-75
94. (?) ATHENS, 2nd century B.C.	(?Cicada/illegible)	
95. VALENTINIAN I or II, or colleague, period 364-375	(GLORIA ROMANORVM, Emperor with captive)	Cf. <i>LRBC</i> , pp. 79 ff., 1709 and passim to 1814
96. ARCADIVS or HONORIUS, period 393-395	(SALVS REIPVBLICAE, Victory with captive)	Nicomedia: <i>ibid.</i> , p. 95, 2434-2435
97-99. VALENTINIAN II or colleague, period 383-395 (imitations?)	(Similar)	Cf. <i>BMC</i> , pp. 17 ff., 1-22
100-101. THEODOSIVS II, period 425-450	(Cross in wreath)	Cf. <i>LRBC</i> , p. 90, 2234
102. ZENO, 474-491	(Monogram)	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 91, 2281
103-111. ANASTASIVS I, 491-518 (or JUSTINIAN I)	(Monogram)	<i>DO I</i> , pp. 11 f., 15; cf. <i>MN XI</i> , pp. 189 f., 158-223
112-113. " "	(Monogram)	<i>MN XI</i> , p. 190, 224-225
114-115. JUSTIN I, 518-527	(Monogram)	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 192, 273-296
116. JUSTINIAN I, 527-565 (or JUSTIN I)	(Christogram)	<i>DO I</i> , p. 170, 311; cf., <i>MN XI</i> , p. 195, 344-353
117-121. JUSTINIAN I	(Alpha)	<i>DO I</i> , p. 82, 36, p. 170, 309; <i>MN XI</i> , pp. 195 f., 355-380
122. " "	(Christogram with alpha, omega)	<i>DO I</i> , p. 193, 374
123-125. JUSTINIAN I or BADVILA	(Lion r.)	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 179, 332, or <i>MN XI</i> , p. 203, 498-510
126-131. JUSTINIAN I (or later) ²⁸	(Asymmetrical alpha surrounded by three stars)	<i>DO I</i> , p. 170, 310; <i>MN XI</i> , p. 198, 399-408
132. ATHALARIC (Ostrogoth king), 527-534	(Monogram)	<i>BMC</i> , pp. 66 ff., 46-56
133-134. BADVILA (Ostrogoth king), 541-552	(Monogram)	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 89, 24-27; <i>MN XI</i> , p. 201, 447-459
135-140. " "	(*/DN REX/B)	<i>BMC</i> , p. 90, 28-36; <i>MN XI</i> , pp. 201 f., 461-470

The question will doubtless be settled as more relevant hoards of certain date are published. In the meantime, it may be noted that there is no internal evidence that speaks against a later reattribution. The coins' obverses (with facing bust between crosses) are anepigraphic. And, although Bellinger (*DO I*, p. 170, note 310.1) suggests a connection between the stars on their reverse and those on a specific Justinianic victory issue, stars frequently appear as filling decoration on various denominations from Anastasius through Justin II and later, and need not have any greater significance here.

OTHER NUMMI OF SIXTH-CENTURY FABRIC		
141.	(N/IIII)	<i>BMC</i> , p. 7, 12-14
142-147.	(Palm tree)	<i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 26 f., 68-72; <i>MN</i> XI, pp. 199 f., 418-440
148-149.	(Bust r./cross)	Cf. <i>BMC</i> , pp. 38 ff., 173-200
150.	(Bust r./bust r.)	Unpublished (mule?)
151.	(Bust r./ A N)	Unpublished
152-202.	(Indistinct monogram or letter)	(51 coins)
ILLEGIBLE		
203-234.	4th-first half of 5th century, AE 4.	(32 coins)
235-341.	Late 5th-6th century fabric.	(107 coins)

II

The second hoard from the 1971 Agora season was found with the demolition of a modern house facing onto Hadrian Street.²⁹ Directly below the basement level

²⁹ The hoard, found on June 10, 1971, was located at L/16-5/20 on the Agora grid. Its Agora deposit number is L5:1.

an ordinary-looking flower pot³⁰ appeared which contained a hoard of coins (Pl. 60, b). Pieces of cloth adhering to the bottom of the pot and to one of the coins indicate that the coins were originally concealed in a cloth purse. Fragments of paper adhering to one of the other coins (No. 24) proved upon unfolding to be from a letter or document handwritten in Greek. All that can be read of it, however, is the year date "1806" on a scrap that appears to be from the upper edge of the page. A number of the coins are slightly encrusted with some green copper chloride, the source of which cannot be identified.

The hoard consisted of 23 early 19th century Ottoman gold and silver coins, three Maria Theresa silver dollars of 1780 and two silver 8-reales pieces of Charles IV of Spain (one from the Potosi [Bolivia], the other from the Mexico mint).³¹ A certain interest attaches to the presence of the Ottoman gold coins; only three Turkish gold coins were found in the earlier excavations in the Agora.³² The latest coins in the hoard are dated 1223 H., regnal year 12, that is, A.D. 1818/19. The fact that three of the quarter sequins are pierced is evidence that at least part of the hoard was at one time mounted as jewelry.³³

CATALOGUE

GOLD: "Rumi Altın" (or "double sequin"), 27 mm., 4.81 gr.

1. MAḤMŪD II, Constantinople, 1223: regnal year 12 = A.D. 1818/19. Cf. Ölçer, 051 ff.³⁴

GOLD: "Rubiye" (or "Çeyrek" or "quarter sequin"), 14 mm., avg. 0.79 gr.

2. SELĪM III, Islāmbül, 1203: regnal year ? = A.D. 1789-1807. Cf. B.M. VIII, 763 ff.³⁵
3. MAḤMŪD II, Constantinople, 1223: regnal year 8 = A.D. 1814/15. Cf. Ölçer, 031 ff.
4. " " " : regnal year 8? = A.D. 1814/15?
5. " " " : regnal year 9 = A.D. 1815/16.
6. " " " : regnal year 10 = A.D. 1816/17.
- 7-9. " " " : regnal year 11 = A.D. 1817/18.
- 10-11. " " " : regnal year 12 = A.D. 1818/19.

SILVER: "Cihadiye beş kuruş" (or "old beşlik"), 40 mm., avg. 25.41 gr.

12. MAḤMŪD II, Constantinople, 1223: regnal year 2 = A.D. 1809/10. Cf. Ölçer, 305 ff.
13. " " " : regnal year 3 = A.D. 1810.
14. " " " : regnal year 4 = A.D. 1811.

³⁰ Inv. P 28547. Preserved H. 0.085 m.; preserved diam. 0.142 m.

³¹ For what it may be worth, we note that a third silver coin from the Spanish New World turned up in the Agora during the 1971 season, an 8-reales piece of Philip IV (1624-1665), also from Potosi (E. A. Sellschopp, *Las Acuñaciones de las cecas de Lima, La Plata y Potosi*, Barcelona, 1971, no. 532). Inv. PP 25.

³² G. C. Miles, *The Athenian Agora*, IX, *The Islamic Coins*, Princeton, 1962, p. 6.

³³ The field inventory numbers are BF 808-835.

³⁴ References for the coins of Maḥmūd II are to Cüneyt Ölçer, *Sultan Mahmud zamanında darp edilen Osmanlı madeni paraları*, Istanbul, 1970.

³⁵ Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Turks in the British Museum (Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, VIII)*, London, 1883.

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| 15-17. | " | " | " | : regnal year 5 = A.D. 1812. |
| 18. | " | " | " | : regnal year 7 = A.D. 1813/14. |
| 19. | " | " | " | : regnal year 8 = A.D. 1814/15. |
| 20-21. | " | " | " | : regnal year 9 = A.D. 1815/16. |

SILVER: "Para", 16 mm., 2.39 gr., 0.19 gr.

22. SELĪM III ?, Constantinople, 1203: regnal year? = A.D. 1789-1807? Cf. *B.M.* VIII, 945.
 23. SELĪM III or MAḤMŪD II, Miṣr (Egypt), *ca.* 1788-1818.

SILVER: AUSTRIA, "Maria Theresa Dollar", 39 mm., 28.04 gr.

- 24-26. Probably original issue of 1780, Günsburg mint. Cf. Davenport, no. 1151.³⁶

SILVER: Spain, "Eight Reales", 39 mm., 25.92 gr.

27. Charles IV, 1797, Potosi mint, mint-master P. P. Cf. Yriarte, no. 1159.³⁷
 28. Charles IV, 1803, Mexico mint, mint-master F. T. Cf. Gutttag, no. 2752.³⁸

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³⁶ John S. Davenport, *European Crowns, 1700-1800*, London, 1964.

³⁷ Jose de Yriarte y Leopoldo Lopez-Chaves, *Catalogo de los Reales de a Ocho Españoles*, Madrid, 1965.

³⁸ *Catalogue of the Collection of Julius Gutttag*, New York, 1929.



a. Oinochoe as Found



b. Situla as Found



c. Oinochoe

JOHN H. KROLL, GEORGE C. MILES, STELLA G. MILLER: AN EARLY BYZANTINE AND A LATE
TURKISH HOARD FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA.



a. Coins of Byzantine Hoard



b. Turkish Hoard

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