

CORINTH IN THE NINTH CENTURY: THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

(PLATES 40–44)

CORINTH is exceptionally rich in ninth-century coins. Virtually all of them, however, were found in the general context of the city plan as it existed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries after Christ, and most of them came from fills which also yielded coins of the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. What, then, is the evidential value of the ninth-century coins? Could they, for example, have been carried to Corinth from other parts of the Byzantine Empire at a much later date, and lost only in the eleventh or twelfth centuries? The purpose of this study is, first, to demonstrate by numismatic arguments that the great majority of the ninth-century finds are beyond doubt ninth-century losses. It will follow that they provide good evidence, in general terms, of the circulation of low-value coinage in Corinth during the ninth century. This shows that the city was in the forefront of the Byzantine economic recovery of the ninth to eleventh centuries, for no other site is known, either in Greece or Asia Minor, where coins of the emperors Theophilus, Michael III, and Basil I are relatively so plentiful. Secondly, even though the site is essentially twelfth- and thirteenth-century in character,¹ a careful screening of the ninth-century finds reveals that a good many of them occurred in layers deposited in the ninth or early tenth centuries. These layers, in spite of having been disturbed by rebuilding, earth movement, rain-wash, and other such happenings in the eleventh and later centuries, can be seen here and there to be in relationship to

¹ The character of the site is delineated very clearly in Professor R. L. Scranton's monograph, *Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth* (Corinth, XVI), Princeton, 1957; this article offers a critique of a small part of that work, but without its guidance this study could hardly have been attempted. Scranton's nomenclature and grid system are used throughout, and the references are to his pages. On the numismatic side, the identification of the coins is based on three articles, cited below as *MN* and *NS*. They are, D. M. Metcalf, "The New Bronze Coinage of Theophilus and the Growth of the Balkan Themes," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, X, 1962, pp. 81-98, and "The Reformed Folles of Theophilus: Their Styles and Localization," *idem*, XIV, 1968, pp. 121-153 (*MN* numbers refer to the plates of those articles, which are consecutively numbered); and D. M. Metcalf, "Ražba Follů Basilia I. a Organizace jejich Mincoven," *Numismatický Sborník*, IX, 1965, pp. 95-127 (in *NS* the numbering of the catalogue and plates corresponds). All the other numbers in the footnotes below refer to the catalogue (and plates) of this article. *BMC* = W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1908, where the catalogue is numbered separately for each reign. For the literary and historical sources, see Scranton, pp. 34-36. It was a great pleasure and privilege to be able to study the ninth-century material at Corinth, and I should like to thank Professor H. S. Robinson and Mr. C. K. Williams for their encouragement and patient help.

earlier walls and complexes. By means of a topographical study of the coin-finds, the view will be advanced that the ninth and early tenth centuries witnessed the expansion of Corinth eastwards, with a large-scale reworking of the Central Area at the end of that period. Buildings just below the West Terrace which had been in use in the mid-ninth century were abandoned, at least for commercial purposes, in about 875 in favour of a series of little buildings abutting onto the remains of the front wall of the South Stoa. These sites in turn were, so to speak, devalued when the south frontage of the Plateia was redeveloped soon after 900. This fairly tight chronology is of special interest for the urban history of Corinth as it emerged from the "dark age" or the so-called "age of barbarism";² but the coins themselves, quite apart from their archaeological interpretation, afford scarce and therefore precious numismatic evidence. A third purpose, then, is to publish the coins in detail and to study their die varieties.

It has become a commonplace that the seventh and eighth centuries at Corinth are a "dark age," that is to say one from which extremely little archaeological evidence has been recovered. The beginnings of the revival in the ninth century are attested by literary and historical sources mentioning the city, which had become the capital of the theme of Peloponnesos, and a garrison. The attempt to trace the city's growth from few and scattered references necessarily leans, however, on argument *a silentio*, and it is this defect which has caused students to devote so much time and ingenuity to assessing the evidence of the copper coins that have been brought to light in the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies. Indices have been constructed by dividing the number of finds from a particular reign by the number of years in that reign. Copper coins, it is true, are a much better guide than gold would be, since they were presumably used for the ordinary, everyday purposes of exchange in shops and in the market place, whereas the use of gold in these centuries is more problematic. While the picture yielded by this method is broadly reliable, as an index of the growth of the monetary sector of the economy and therefore of the commercial development of the area covered by the excavations (which may or may not have coincided with the chief commercial quarter of Corinth in the eighth and ninth centuries), it cannot claim any great accuracy, since it rests on the assumption that coins were lost in the reign in which they were struck. Hardly any hoards of copper coins, from whatever part of the Byzantine world, are known from the eighth or early ninth centuries, but those that there are suggest that a shopkeeper's takings, or a peasant's purse, might well contain coins up to a hundred years old, and perhaps even the occasional Roman coin that had been dug up in the soil and put back into use. The numismatic evidence from Corinth shows a sudden and very striking increase

² The implications are examined further in D. M. Metcalf, "How Extensive was the Issue of Folles during the Years 775-820?," *Byzantion*, XXXVII, 1967, pp. 270-310, especially at pp. 308-10.

in the quantities of copper coins with the reign of Theophilus (A.D. 829-842). There are about 150 of his folles, compared with only twenty-odd from the preceding century (A.D. 713-829). The relative numbers are quite different at Athens, where only 4 folles of Theophilus have been found in the Agora excavations. If the coins from Athens and Corinth are tabulated period by period, they both show a sustained and rapid growth in numbers from the ninth to the eleventh century, but they also show that the development began appreciably earlier at Corinth than at Athens.³

When, as in the eighth century, there are at most three or four coins from a reign, the random particularities of the evidence cannot be discounted. The folles of Theophilus are statistically more satisfactory, and yield a glimpse of the monetary affairs of Corinth as they were in the decades around the middle of the ninth century. These folles are the earliest class of archaeological material sufficiently numerous, and of known date, to throw much light on the beginnings of the Byzantine recovery.

Their more general interest is that they mark a reform of the Byzantine petty currency and establish a tradition which lasted, with modifications, for hundreds of years. The reform was presumably ordered at some intermediate date in the reign of Theophilus, for there are two other types of follis in his name, which stand in the old tradition originated by Anastasius (A.D. 491-518); they have a large **M** on the reverse, signifying 40 (noummia). Fractional coins—20, 10, 5, and 1 noummia—had gradually gone out of use, and the numeral had therefore become almost meaningless. It was replaced by Theophilus with an acclamatory motto, arranged in four lines to take up the whole of the reverse: ✠ ΘΕΟ/ΦΙΛ ΑΥΓ/ΟΒΣΤΕ ΣΥ/ΝΙΚΑΣ. As well as changing the design of the coins, Theophilus (it would seem) made radical administrative innovations in the manufacture of the currency by establishing or re-establishing provincial mints to share with Constantinople the task of supplying the growing needs of the economy. Greece was relatively more important in an Empire which had been cut to another size and shape by the Arab expansion; and the monetary needs of central Greece were now to be met locally, by a mint which was situated (we may guess) at Corinth itself. This, at any rate, makes sense of the different styles and other technical differences which the coins exhibit, and also of the exceptional number of coins of Theophilus that have been excavated at Corinth—an anomaly that can be illustrated by saying that there are as many of the reformed folles in the museum at Old Corinth as in all the other public collections of Europe and America put together. Provenanced specimens, whether from other archaeological sites, or from hoards, can be counted on the fingers. There are not even any of these coins of Theophilus in hoards of later date. Corinth is indeed the site *par excellence* for the study of the ninth-century copper coinage.

Michael III (A.D. 842-867) issued copper coins in Sicily (as Theophilus also

³ This argument is set in its context in D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans*, Thessaloniki, 1965, pp. 17-47.

had done) but not in the Aegean region, nor, until the very end of his reign, in the capital. For some 25 years after the death of Theophilus, therefore, the reformed folles were still the chief available petty currency of Corinth, as of other eastern parts of the Empire. It is certain that they continued in use, for they were called in by Basil (A.D. 867-886), who restruck the old flans with his own name and image. The work of restriking was frequently carried out in such a slovenly fashion that large parts of the earlier design remained recognizable, in what one might call a numismatic palimpsest. The issue of folles by Basil at the beginning of his reign seems to have amounted to a recoinage—an attempt substantially to replace or renovate the currency. Insofar as the attempt was successful, the finds of coins of Theophilus from Corinth are datable to before *ca.* 870. This is a crux for the interpretation of the archaeological evidence, and it must be examined very carefully. It would be improper to suppose without some positive reason that the recoinage was complete. The numismatist's standard method of deciding his answer to such a question would be to work from hoards, making the assumption that their composition will reflect, at least in this respect, the currency that was available at the date of concealment. He would try to assemble a chronological series of as many hoards as possible from the later ninth and the tenth centuries to see how the proportion of coins of Theophilus in them dwindled away. This is unfortunately not a straightforward procedure at Corinth because, as has been indicated, there are scarcely any hoards on which to base an opinion. Out of 149 reformed folles, there are few instances where the association of a little group of coins is at all certain. A cache from the site of the Ceramic Factory (Pl. 40, A) contained only one coin of Theophilus along with two or three of Basil.⁴ Two coins of Theophilus from the Southwest Quarter (Pl. 40, F) may have been concealed together;⁵ and there are three more from a pithos nearby, which were probably early losses.⁶ One which was found along with a follis of Michael III in the East Quarter may possibly have been hidden with it.⁷ The rest of the 149 are, for all one can say to the contrary, single pieces, with no evidence of period of loss except that provided by their state of wear.

There is, however, the negative evidence of the absence of folles of Theophilus from later deposits. Basil's reign yields a very meager record. Apart from the cache that has just been mentioned from the site of the Ceramic Factory, there is one tiny deposit from the East Quarter, represented now by a single coin of Basil, which seems, however, to have lain in the soil together with one of Theophilus. It has been fretted away by the action of ground water, and has taken the impression of the obverse of

⁴ Nos. 49, 452, 457, and possibly 450.

⁵ Nos. 93, 126.

⁶ Nos. 58, 102, 151.

⁷ Nos. 142, 194. These, and all the other listed coins recovered in 1914, except No. 237 (see the Concordance) are from the "East Stoa," i. e. the cryptoporticus of the Julian Basilica, for which see S. S. Weinberg, *Corinth*, I, v.

the coin of Theophilus incusely.⁸ Three coins of Basil which were found quite close to each other in the "Grape Emporium" may perhaps originally have been concealed together.⁹

From the time of Leo VI (A.D. 886-912) there is again no useful hoard evidence, but several contexts which can be dated with some confidence to his reign suggest that earlier coinages were already falling out of use. Part of a marble floor, datable on numismatic grounds to the earlier part of Leo's reign, was discovered in the area of the Glass Factory (Pl. 40, B); beneath the floor there were three coins of Basil and four of Leo.¹⁰ If a large number of coins of Theophilus had been in use alongside those of Leo, there would have been a correspondingly large chance of their being lost, and at least one or two might have found their way into the earth which was moved to level the place for the marble floor. Secondly, in the area of Shops XXXII and XXXIII of the South Stoa (Pl. 40, G) there is a fill which began to accumulate, on top of a floor, in the reign of Leo: sixteen of his coins were found, scattered in various places in three rooms; but only one coin of Basil,¹¹ and none of Theophilus, was found in the same context. Once again, had the earlier coins been in use in any quantity, they would have been present among these casual losses. Similarly, there is an accumulation of 0.40 m. thickness above a floor in a room behind the Central Shops, for which the earlier terminus is provided by six coins of Leo and one of Basil.¹² Again, in another excavation area, at the western end of the South Stoa, 20 coins of Leo were found, and 26 of Constantine VII, but only two of Basil.¹³ The figures from these four examples are cumulative in their force. It will be a fair assumption, then, that coins of Basil made up only a limited proportion of the currency, even in the early decades of the tenth century. Thereafter they can have been of no great significance. *A fortiori* the same is true of the coins of Theophilus. Taking into account the frequent restriking of Basil's early coins on those of Theophilus, the ruthless way in which Basil had murdered Michael III, and the energetic propaganda with which the Macedonian dynasty was established, we shall perhaps be justified in assuming that the great bulk of the reformed coins of Theophilus were called in—at least in Corinth—in the years 868-*ca.* 870. The task of recovering a large proportion of the coins would have been distinctly simpler in the ninth century than in the eleventh, since petty currency was not yet circulating far and wide. Leo had no political motive for withdrawing his father's coins from circulation completely, and it is not surprising that they should have remained current, in trifling proportions, until the end of the eleventh century. A single worn specimen was the oldest piece in

⁸ No. 212.

⁹ Nos. 245, 403, and perhaps 402.

¹⁰ See below, p. 195 and note 48, p. 208.

¹¹ No. 363.

¹² Room AA in the excavations of Agora SE, 1934; No. 221, "the Marble room."

¹³ Agora SW, 1933.

a hoard of 16 folles concealed in the area of the Monastery of St. John *ca.* 1100;¹⁴ the figures of the emperors on the obverse are mere flat patches, and parts of the reverse, too, are virtually flat patches. In this the coin contrasts with most of those found in the excavations, which although they may be corroded or flaked away, are little worn.¹⁵

Finally, hoards from Corinth and its vicinity dating from the reign of Constantine VII (A.D. 913-959) are made up almost exclusively of new issues. The Stimanga hoard of 1955, for example, consisted of 66 folles, all of one type, bearing the name of the co-emperor Romanus I.¹⁶ In Corinth itself, a hoard was discovered in 1934 in the West Shops, consisting of 21 coins of Romanus I and one with the name of Constantine VII.¹⁷ In another hoard of 110 coins of Romanus I, found in Corinth in 1934, there were 63 pieces which could be identified as having been restruck on coins of Leo VI; and most of the others have the appearance of restrikes, even though no recognizable traces of the earlier design can be described.¹⁸ One cannot at present exclude the possibility that the rather large hoards of folles of Romanus I reflect sums paid out directly from some official source drawing on the mint (e. g. to soldiers?), and that the coinage circulating in Corinth at the same time was not generally quite so uniform. Thus, there is a small hoard from St. John's, which consisted of 4 folles corroded together into a lump; 3 were of Romanus I while the fourth was of Leo VI. Secondly, there is a deposit from near the watering trough in the monastery yard, consisting of 4 folles in the name of Constantine VII, one of Constantine VII with Romanus II, and one of Michael III with Basil (A.D. 866-867). Thirdly, there is a handful of coins of Constantine VII from just beneath a floor in a room near the entrance of the Glass Factory.¹⁹ Even these smaller groups, however, are consistent with the picture that has been outlined.

The chances that a coin would be accidentally lost were directly related, *inter alia*, to the number of years during which it remained in use. The folles of Theophilus were in use for roughly 35 years, from *ca.* 835 to *ca.* 870, when they were largely supplanted in the currency by those of Basil. Basil's folles in turn were preponderant for about 35 years, for the plentiful issue showing the bust of Leo VI is thought not

¹⁴ No. 260.

¹⁵ If a coin seemed to be worn in use, the fact was noted at the time when it was being handled by the writer for identification; the record made then has been transcribed without any revision into the final version of the catalogue. Cf. No. 53, "terribly worn"; No. 59, "obv. worn flat"; No. 113, "very worn, pierced"; Nos. 222, 226, 227 (Small Two Busts type); Nos. 308, 313, 401, 480, 482.

¹⁶ *B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, p. 256.

¹⁷ Plus 4 coins which disintegrated on cleaning. The type was *BMC* 11-13. The coins were stuck together when found, in square K:15; cf. 7 coins of the same period from G-J:7-10. Catalogue No. 17 refers.

¹⁸ Found in the excavation section North of the School, 1934 (area of the South Basilica).

¹⁹ St. John's S., May 13, 1938; No. 196; and Agora NC, March 10, 1938.

to have been introduced until *ca.* 905. The various coinages of Constantine VII and his family were spread more widely through his reign, but the issues in the name of Constantine VII alone and of Romanus I alone, which are the only common types at Corinth, were apparently concentrated mainly in the 940's. Class A-1 of the *Rex Regnantium* folles came in *ca.* 970, and it was restruck on the flans of Constantine VII and Nicephorus II, just as the latter had often been restruck on the flans of Leo VI. In brief, it seems to have been a settled policy during the ninth and tenth centuries (in contrast with the eighth) to renew the coinage, restriking the old flans, at intervals of approximately a generation. The four main blocks of coinage—of Theophilus, Basil I, Leo VI, and Constantine VII—each remained in use for roughly the same length of time. There is, on the other hand, a great and progressive increase in the numbers of coin-finds reign by reign at Corinth: 157 for Theophilus, 288 for Basil, 957 for Leo VI, 2284 for Constantine VII and his family. This has a practical corollary; consider the implications when the archaeologist recovers from a fill (and this is an actual example from Corinth) 19 coins, namely one of Constans II, two of Theophilus, 3 of Basil, 8 of Leo VI, 3 of Romanus I, and 2 of Alexius I. It is inconceivable that such a selection of coins represents losses in the time of Alexius I—or even in the time of Romanus I. The numismatist, therefore, will wish to insist that the ninth- and tenth-century coins are in very large measure ninth- and tenth-century losses. But it does not follow that they have lain undisturbed since they were lost. The fill that has been mentioned—and it is typical of many throughout the site—contains sherds of the tenth century but also of the twelfth and even the thirteenth centuries down to its lowest levels.²⁰ How is it, then, that there is a preponderance of coins of Leo VI? There are, in general terms, various possible explanations, of which the more obvious are these:

- (1) Rainstorms may have washed down, from a higher level, material from a

²⁰ The pottery must take precedence in the interpretation of the archaeological record—in this case simply because it is later than the coins; generally, because it is more plentiful than the coins and consists of larger objects. If there are specific reasons for doing so, one may be able to argue that a small number of twelfth-century coins are intrusive in a fill otherwise characterized by, say, tenth-century coins and tenth-century sherds. For example, in St. John's S., area II w, the fill from — 3.90 to — 5.00 m. below datum, excavated on May 14, 1938, comprised a number of coarse-ware jugs and small amphorae, broken in large pieces and more or less complete, together with some sherds of painted white ware. The Field Notebook records "some stratification—nothing significant; — 4.90 to — 5.00 black earth and debris." The coins were 4 of Leo VI, 4 of Constantine VII, 2 of Class A-2, 1 of Nicephorus III, and 1 of Alexius I. The adjacent trench at the same depth yielded pieces of a brown-glaze chafing dish, and fragments of impressed white ware and green-painted white ware, with, again, no twelfth-century sherds. From the underlying stratum in Area II (— 4.90 to — 5.50 m.) came 3 classical coins, one of Theophilus (No. 27), and 4 of Leo VI. Here, one may fairly conjecture that the coins from the time of Alexius are intrusive; and it may be that if the record had distinguished between finds from — 3.90 to — 4.50 m. and — 4.50 to — 5.00 m. the problem would not have arisen; but it is in general virtually impossible to bring the evidence into sharp focus at this degree of detail.

stratum deposited in the time of Leo VI. Here, there is an important distinction to be drawn between, on the one hand, the sandy wash in roadways or open courtyards, into which earlier material might certainly be incorporated in such a way, and on the other hand habitation fill or destruction debris within the walls of a room, which is not subject to contamination in the same way. Rainwash into the Agora area would mostly be from south to north, or south-west to north-east, following the slope of the terrain; and one may note that recent excavation on the slopes above (to the south of) the South Stoa has produced very little evidence that this area was occupied in the ninth century.

(2) In repairing and reconstructing a building, the floor level may have been raised, in the twelfth or thirteenth century, by infilling with earth carted from a tenth-century stratum. Thus, the tenth-century coins may have been carried to their resting-place from somewhere else. This would apply especially to a major phase of rebuilding. If on occasion it were necessary to raise the floor level only slightly, during occupation of the building, the earth could probably have been found near by.

(3) There may have been a stratum from the time of Leo VI in the area beneath a house or courtyard, but repeated digging (of pits, trenches for later walls, etc.) may have entirely confused any traces of the original stratification by bringing earlier material to higher levels, and vice versa.

(4) The work of excavation may not have been recorded in sufficient detail to enable the contexts to be reconstructed in as much detail as one would now wish. This is unfortunately true of the earlier years of excavation at Corinth; sherds from more than one trench may have been stored in the same box, little of the coarse ware may have been retained, and so on.

Nevertheless, it remains true that a great many of the fills contained material stretching over three centuries.²¹ The situation has been very clearly described by Scranton:

Throughout the entire excavated region, inside houses and in open spaces, including streets and the markets, there was an accumulation averaging perhaps a meter in depth of dark earth and a variety of debris of all kinds, frequently thinly veined with streaks of whitewash representing floors or stains caused by the disposal of whitewash after the painting of a floor or a wall. This deposit, which was not a clear-cut stratum pervading the entire area or even a definite part of it but which represents a general condition, commonly produced coins of the tenth through the thir-

²¹ The chronology of the Byzantine pottery found at Corinth, particularly the coarse wares, has not yet been established very precisely. Some "tenth-century" wares may well be rather earlier, for the coins certainly pose a question: if the site was occupied in the ninth century, where are the ninth-century sherds? Cf. Morgan, *Corinth*, XI, *The Byzantine Pottery*, at p. 68: "The essential changes from Roman types of shape and decoration had all been made by the time of the re-establishment of Corinth in the ninth century." Subsequent study by Setton, Charanis, and others has questioned the view that Corinth was lost to Byzantium in the eighth century; and there is no reason to think that the geometrical progression in the quantities of coins reign by reign was matched by any comparable increase in the urban population.

teenth centuries, scattered indiscriminately without regular succession of levels. Thus a coin of Villehardouin might be found near the bottom. Taking into account the possibility of intrusion in many specific instances, there still seems to be a general probability that the deposit accumulated during the thirteenth century, embodying relics of all previous ages. It presumably represents a period of decay, during which the debris from day-to-day living and from the occasional demolition of one wall or the construction of a new one would mount with fair rapidity. If we are right in assigning this to the thirteenth century, it may give some suggestion as to the state of conditions at the time.²²

When so much of the information is inconclusive, particular interest will attach to the clearer contexts, scattered and fragmentary though they may be. Coins from destruction debris within rooms, groups of coins found just above floors, or close together in a wall, or in pithoi will give useful evidence of ninth-century occupation at a particular place within the excavated area. All the ninth-century coins were carefully checked from this point of view, and some of the contexts which seem to be of evidential value are referred to below. Of particular importance is the complex of rooms which formed the front part of the Ceramic Factory (Pl. 40, A). The walls of these rooms are generally of two periods, built one on top of the other, although the line of the upper wall was sometimes changed slightly. In the later period an extra row of rooms was added in the north, encroaching on the Plateia. The lower walls extended from — 0.35 to — 1.40 m. or in some cases — 1.85 m. (from the local datum), and there were remains of stoses at depths varying from — 1.30 to — 1.00 m., with which were associated coins of Theophilus, Basil I, and Leo VI. These fills seem to rest directly on classical levels. Similar stratification can be traced eastwards; in the rooms at the front of the Glass Factory there was a marble floor at *ca.* — 1.00 m. (Pl. 40, B), in and directly under which were found coins of Basil I and Leo VI. The shops in front of the Tower Complex again reveal walls of two periods, at the same levels as before. The eleventh- to thirteenth-century levels in the vicinity were indicated by the rims of various pithoi at ± 0.00 , $+ 0.20$, and $+ 0.45$ m. above the local datum, plaster stoses at $+ 0.10$ and $+ 0.65$ m., and doorways at ± 0.00 , $+ 0.20$, and $+ 0.70$ m. The contexts of a proportion of the coins from the buildings fronting onto the Plateia along its southern side are clearer than in most other parts of excavations, but even there one must rely on the general accumulation of the evidence, and on the fact that the total numbers of ninth-century coins from the area were large.

If the interpretation of the coinage within the site is beset with difficulties, the broader view is by comparison entirely straightforward: the coins found at Corinth can quite safely be assumed to have been lost there, and to be a sample of the currency of the city. Their interest, as local finds, lies in their evidence for mint-attribution, and, in particular, for the possible attribution of certain varieties of ninth-century folles to a mint or mints in central Greece. The coins, both of Theophilus and Basil I, show a considerable range of style. The specimens in the principal museums have

²² Scranton, p. 87.

been catalogued, and arranged into stylistic sequences, in three previous studies.²³ The various sequences undoubtedly include the work of different mints, but the evidence of provenance is still so fragmentary and inconclusive that mint-attributions are bound to be tentative. The Corinth excavation coins offer the opportunity to check the schemes of classification that were worked out on the basis of other material. They are such an important source—and the only remaining one until the accidents of discovery bring a major hoard to light—that every effort has been made to reconsider the criteria of classification and to search for duplicate or near-duplicate dies, which might demonstrate connections between stylistic sequences.

For Theophilus, the quantities of each sequence found at Corinth, together with its provisional mint-attribution, are as follows:

		Catalogue No.	
A	Constantinople	24-43	20
B	Metropolitan region: (?) Asia Minor	44-52	9
A or B	(Obscure)	53	1
Γ	Metropolitan region: small mint in (??) Asia Minor	54-57	4
Δ	Provincial mint: (?) Thessalonica	58-62	5
Ε	Uncertain small provincial mint, possibly in Greece	63-64	2
ϑ	Central or southern Greece: (?) Peloponnesos	65-118	54
ς/Z	"Mule"	119	1
Z	Central or southern Greece: (?) Hellas	120-159	40
ς or Z	(Obscure)	160-162	3
H	Uncertain small provincial mint	163-166	4
ς or H	(Obscure)	167	1
—	Obscure: not assigned to a group	168-172	5
			—
			149

Among these 149 coins are a dozen or more which are of considerable numismatic interest. They include what seems to be a "mule" between Groups ς and Z, and a coin which may eventually help to link Groups Ε and H as the work of a single mint, as well as various blundered examples, which can be interpreted as "experimental" issues, standing early in their respective sequences. The new evidence confirms the identity of Group Γ, and permits a tentative analysis of the working relationship between the mints of Groups A and B; and it suggests that ς and Z are both two-officina mints. The detailed numismatic discussion of the evidence, involving coins

²³ See footnote 1.

in other collections as well as those found at Corinth, has been published elsewhere.²⁴

The proportions of the different varieties among the excavation material demonstrate that Groups ς and Z were dominant in the currency of central Greece; that Groups A and, even more, B and Δ were under-represented; and that Groups Γ and ϵ were scarce varieties in the currency at large. The finds also reveal that MN 35, which was judged to be unique in its style among the specimens catalogued in 1962, is in fact typical of another scarce variety, and it has been designated accordingly as Group H below. The only other provenance recorded for Group H, so far, is Agin, on the upper Euphrates. Against this, however, must be set four coins of Basil I from Corinth, on which H can be identified, with greater or less certainty, as the undertype. The proportions of the various Groups are not put in doubt, as the detailed consideration of the archaeological evidence may be, by any question of the disturbance of fill, or the shifting of earth from one part of the Central Area to another.²⁵ Their evidence for mint-attribution is clear-cut, as far as it goes.

A certain interest attaches to the possibility, however, that coins from the metropolitan region or from certain provincial mints might have reached Corinth appreciably later than the date at which the local issues were put into circulation. Four of the five coins of Theophilus of Group Δ are noticeably worn, and in late contexts. The fifth, on the other hand, was found in a pithos along with two other coins of Theophilus (but none of Basil) and is presumably an early loss.²⁶ But in general evidence relating to the exact date of loss of particular coins is inconclusive. Secondly, there are one or two instances where coins from different mints seem to have accumulated as stray losses selectively in particular buildings or complexes. There is one such accumulation in the "shop" at the southern end of the Southwest Street, where, unfortunately, the architectural record is not complete enough to suggest the use to which the building was put in the ninth century. Similarly, there is a group of folles, of Theophilus and Basil, from mints outside central Greece, near the main entrance of the Ceramic Factory. They include four coins that were concealed in a wall and which are in all probability a "traveller's hoard." Metropolitan issues are plentiful, too, in the adjacent parts of the Glass Factory; and just to the north of its entrance there is a concentration of one particular variety of Basil's folles.²⁷ If there are special circumstances in the loss or concealment of some of the metropolitan issues among the Corinth finds, the assessment of the statistics will be that Groups ς and Z may originally have made up a rather larger share of the currency of the city than the overall proportions imply.

Whereas the reformed folles of Theophilus were all of the same design, those

²⁴ See MN 1968.

²⁵ Cf. Scranton, pp. 31 f.

²⁶ No. 58.

²⁷ See the Topographical Notes below.

which Basil issued to replace them were of five different designs. Each design is found in more than one style, and the sequence of issues at the various mints is thus a rather complicated problem. The scheme that has been proposed and published elsewhere is summarized below. It will be seen that the varieties which had been provisionally attributed to the Corinth mint make up an appropriately large share of the Corinth finds: 162 out of 265 specimens for which an attribution can be proposed. Constantinople comes second with 46 specimens.

Varieties, with the provisional
mint-attributions as proposed in *NS*

Issues, in the chronological order proposed in <i>NS</i>	C'ple	Asia Minor (?)	Central Greece (?)	Corinth	Thes- salonica	Obscure
				Large	Small	
Two Busts	—	—	0	16	35	0
	I	II		III		
Two Seated Figures	12	8	—	57	—	5
First Three Busts (hand not raised)	I 2	—	II 5	III 84	IV 0	} 9
Second Three Busts (hand raised)	I 3	IV 0	II 4	III 5	—	
	II	I				
Seated Figure	29	5	—	—	—	6
Totals	46	13	9	162	35	20

Table: The coinage of Basil I. The Roman numerals designate the stylistic varieties. The Arabic numerals show the numbers of specimens found at Corinth.

As with the folles of Theophilus, the excavations yielded some specimens which are individually of much numismatic interest, usually for the “experimental” character of their inscriptions or designs.²⁸ The evidence of the Corinth finds is quite useful, also, for a reconsideration of the mint-attribution of the varieties (which are defined simply in terms of style). “Two Seated Figures, III” and “First Three Busts, III” are so plentiful, and the respective varieties I and II are so scarce, as compared with their representation in other collections, that we may surely accept that the former were minted locally; their rough style and workmanship is analogous to that of Theophilus, Groups s and Z. “Second Three Busts, III,” on the other

²⁸ Nos. 236, 242-44, 272-75, 450, 451.

hand, is scarce at Corinth: its attribution to a local mint should be considered doubtful. Nor is there any parallel, as regards "First Three Busts, II" and "Second Three Busts, II," provisionally attributed to a second mint in Greece, with the roughly equal proportions in which Groups ς and Z occur among the finds. The Corinth coins also re-open the difficult question how the "Two Busts" issue should be divided, although they do not bring forward sufficient new evidence to settle it. The specimens catalogued below are divided into a large variety (sequences a and b) and a small variety (sequences c and d). They add a dozen more examples overstruck on the reformed folles of Theophilus, thus demonstrating how unusual is a coin of sequence a) which is restruck on one of the large pre-reform folles with a numeral M on the reverse.²⁹

If the Corinth finds raise more problems of attribution than they solve, at least the style of the new specimens fully confirms (except for the "Two Busts" design) the stylistic groupings that had previously been worked out by gathering up the material from the major public collections of Europe and America. These produced a total of 163 specimens; from Corinth alone there are 285. The additional provenances cannot, however, in the nature of the case have much to say about the chronological arrangement of the five designs. The scarcity of "Second Three Busts, III" at Corinth will, perhaps, call into question the chronological relationship between the First and Second "Three Busts" designs, when it can be supplemented by statistics from western Asia Minor. Where there are recognizable undertypes among the Corinth coins, they confirm the pattern among those in other museums. The priority of the "Two Busts" issue is borne out by a "Two Seated Figures" coin on which it is the undertype.³⁰ Both "Two Seated Figures, III" and "First Three Busts, III" at Corinth are very frequently found to be restruck on reformed folles of Theophilus. In contrast with the corresponding varieties, style I reflects very different standards of workmanship by the mint-operatives, and is in itself an argument tending to demonstrate the existence of more than one mint. Where the variety of the Theophilan undertype can be recognized, it is often Group ς , Z, or H. The (probable) identification of as many as four undertypes of the rather scarce Group H is intriguing.³¹ One undertype apparently has the blundered reading, not noted among the originals, of ..AAS for [NI]CAS.³²

²⁹ The restruck coins are Nos. 215, 230; 222; 206, 235; 234; 217, 223, 236, 238, 242, 243, 246. The restrike on a pre-reform follis is No. 237. A coin in the writer's collection, very similar to a related specimen of sequence a) (No. 236) in its detail and quality of manufacture, is likewise restruck on a large pre-reform follis. Since so very few pre-reform folles have been found at Corinth (Nos. 19, 22, 23), they cannot have been available for restriking in quantities *ca.* A.D. 870. This suggests that sequence a) may have been minted elsewhere.

³⁰ No. 320.

³¹ Nos. 350, 364, 369, 422.

³² No. 353.

The folles of Theophilus and Basil, totaling more than four hundred, are the basis of the archaeological evidence relating to Corinth in the ninth century. They are sufficiently numerous for their distribution, within the excavated area, to be of some interest for the topography of the city. Their scatter is by no means regular. Finds are, on the one hand, plentiful from the complexes along the south side of the Plateia and from the sandy fill in front of them (Pl. 40, A-E). On the other hand, there are strikingly few coins from the area south of the Bema church (Pl. 40, H), from the whole eastern end of the South Stoa, from the Southeast Building, or from the East Quarter. Nor are there many finds from the Lechaion Road, the North Market, or the other northerly parts of the site.³³ There is at present little comparative material to guide one in putting an interpretation on these facts. One may guess that, where numerous coins were lost, a building was in commercial use, but it is generally more difficult to judge whether an area from which there are few finds was occupied—for example, by dwelling-houses—or simply lay vacant in the ninth century. When a topographical analysis of the eleventh- and twelfth-century coins has been completed³⁴ one should have a much firmer idea of the correlation between the distribution of stray finds and the town plan. For the present, one can say that the axis of ninth-century Corinth—or at least of the excavated area—ran from the road to Acrocorinth, through the Plateia, to the Northeast Road. The Lechaion Road and the South Road, which crossed this line at right angles, were without the same commercial importance.

The most specific evidence, however, is evidence of change. There are, as has been mentioned, complexes where coins of one reign predominate. Thus, on the western corner at the junction of the road to Acrocorinth and the Southwest Street (Pl. 40, F), the ninth-century coins are all of Theophilus;³⁵ and, in the nearby shop at the southern end of the Southwest Street (Pl. 40, G), coins of Theophilus outnumber those of Basil (and most of the coins are from mints in the metropolitan region).³⁶ A small area in the Ceramic Factory yard yielded three coins of Theophilus

³³ Note the following: from the Lechaion Road, Nos. 46, 136, 220, 242, 251, 259, 276, 292, 439, 445; from Temple Hill, south, Nos. 379, 440, 476; from the North Market, Nos. 116, 257, 278, 352.

³⁴ The writer hopes to present the results of a topographical analysis of the Rex Regnantium folles of Class A, i.e. the copper coinage that was current in the period *ca.* A.D. 970-1030.

³⁵ Nine coins of Theophilus were all discovered within a very restricted area. Three were in a pithos (Nos. 58, 102, 151), and two more, from a distance of only one meter away (Nos. 93, 126) are apparently a small deposit. The contexts of the others (Nos. 68, 114, 138, 177) are not specific. The absence of coins of Basil I strongly suggests that all these pieces are early losses, and the same may be true of one further coin of Theophilus (No. 75); they may reflect the existence in the time of Theophilus of a building, probably commercial in character, on the western corner at the junction of the Southwest Street with the road to Acrocorinth. The levels are consistent: several of the coins were found at +0.40 or +0.30 m. above the stylobate. One (No. 114) was from a wall at +0.30 m. See also Nos. 77 and 123.

³⁶ The two classical shops which lay at the western end of the South Stoa show signs of sixth-

to one of Basil,³⁷ and in the part of the Glass Factory yard immediately to the east, where there are traces of walls on a different alignment from those of the factory (Pl. 40, J), there are half a dozen coins of Theophilus as against one of Basil.³⁸ The total numbers are, of course, small, but they are to be assessed in the context of a systematic recoinage at the beginning of Basil's reign, and a currency nearly twice as large under Basil as under Theophilus. On the other side of the Market Avenue, in the area of the southern range of the (twelfth-century) Monastery of St. John, there is again an interestingly high proportion of coins of Theophilus.³⁹ All these little groups, it will be noted, are at the western end of the Plateia. At its eastern end, there is a similar concentration of coins of Theophilus east and northeastwards from the Inn, as far as the Tavern.⁴⁰ The evidence of their architectural context is incomplete, but they seem to lie in topographical relation to the Northeast Road.

In the southern part of the Ceramic Factory yard there are traces of a building where the majority of the coins are of Basil.⁴¹ The building lies just at the front of the South Stoa (Pl. 40, K). There is another little building farther east, situated rather similarly, just to the north of the classical Senate House (Pl. 40, L), where there are provenances for Basil, but not for Theophilus.⁴² More coins of Basil in ones and twos have been found in the vicinity of what seem to have been small, isolated medieval buildings along the front of the Stoa farther to the east again, and also on the site of the South Basilica.⁴³ The most easterly of them is perhaps earlier, for there are two coins of Theophilus from it.⁴⁴ Other contexts where coins of Basil are not outweighed by those of Leo are to be found at the edge of the Plateia, just north of the twelfth-century building line. A scatter of coins of Theophilus and Basil near the entrance of the Glass Factory (Pl. 40, C) includes a group of the "Two Busts" variety, in a context of medieval walls.⁴⁵ North of the Tower Complex, walls

century use. A destruction layer with coins of this period included also one of Theophilus (No. 41) which was doubtless intrusive. A variety of other coins of Theophilus, however, suggest that the building was reoccupied in his reign or in that of Michael III, and continued in use into that of Basil (Nos. 28, 45, 68; 95 and 252 found together; cf. No. 195). The relative scarcity of Basil's issues suggests that the coins of Theophilus are mostly early losses (note No. 52 from a cistern, with one Roman coin).

³⁷ Nos. 32, 98, and 134; cf. Nos. 35 and 78. See also Nos. 479, and 405. For fuller details, see the Topographical Notes below.

³⁸ Nos. 56, 62, 82, 88, 131, 466.

³⁹ Nos. 27, 33, 39, 44, 57, 61, 69, 100, 103, 130, 139.

⁴⁰ Nos. 24, 26, 65, 91, 104, 105, 133, 140, 158, 159, 164.

⁴¹ Various ninth-century coins are from the compact area which the walls of this building define: see Nos. 476; 375; 210 and 424; 258 and 340; 442; and 125.

⁴² Nos. 430, 461.

⁴³ Ninth-century coins are otherwise conspicuously scarce in the area of the South Stoa. See Nos. 310 and 393; and 199 and 312.

⁴⁴ Nos. 149 and 161; and cf. No. 213.

⁴⁵ Nos. 201 and 204 from the underlying stratum; 202 under fallen stones; 205 and 206 from near by.

which extended beyond the later frontage (Pl. 40, D) are again dated by coins of Basil.⁴⁶ The earliest use of the shops and showrooms at the front of the Ceramic Factory, the Glass Factory, and the Bema Church, and likewise the southern part of the Inn, is quite clearly dated to the early tenth century by various contexts,⁴⁷ including the occurrence of scarce coins of Leo, and of Leo with Alexander, near a marble floor,⁴⁸ certain contexts of destruction, and a general preponderance of coins of Leo.⁴⁹

On a general view, therefore, it seems that the ninth and early tenth centuries witnessed the expansion of Corinth eastwards, with a large-scale redevelopment of the Central Area at the end of the period. (One may note that this is consonant with Scranton's interpretation of his cemetery no. 1 as belonging to the eighth century.) Buildings just below the West Terrace which were in use in the time of Theophilus (and Michael III?) were either abandoned or simply abandoned for commercial use, under Basil, in favour of a series of buildings abutting onto the remains of the front wall of the South Stoa. These sites in turn were, so to speak, devalued when the Plateia was enlarged and its southern edge redeveloped *ca.* 900. Some shops north of the Tower Complex, which had been in use in the time of Basil, were apparently cleared away in this process. They, and the finds of coins of Theophilus north-east of the Inn, suggest that the main road of ninth-century Corinth is to be traced diagonally (perhaps on none too straight a course) across the area of the later Plateia, to link the road to Acrocorinth with the Northeast Road. The high proportion of coins

⁴⁶ Later, the building line seems to have been withdrawn; compare No. 265 (black fill, with large stones, which had apparently fallen in) with the directly overlying hard, sandy "plateia" fill, from which came No. 281; see also No. 433. North of the next shop is a thick burnt layer, full of small pieces of marble, and containing a coin of Basil (No. 215). The overlying stratum goes some way to confirm the dating (No. 465); see also Nos. 70 and 335. The whole context was protected by about 4 meters thickness of later fill.

⁴⁷ E.g. when the building line was moved forward. Cf. the contexts of Nos. 280, 154, and 469, which indicate that the level was — 0.70 m. when the change occurred, in what was later to be the room behind the colonnaded entrance to the Ceramic Factory. Westwards from the colonnade, a follis of Basil (No. 431) came from a black, burnt-looking fill from — 0.75 to — 1.00 m., in which the coins, apart from one of Leo VI, were solidly late Roman. Cf. coins from near the large marble threshold, above a (lower) strosis at — 1.30 m. (Nos. 38, 232, 324). Note also a pithos near the Bema Church, with 4 coins which were of Theophilus, Basil, and Leo VI (Nos. 147, etc.).

⁴⁸ Nos. 227, 274, 341. There was a coin of Leo VI between the marbles of the floor; from beneath the floor came, in addition to the coins of Basil, 4 of Leo, one of Romanus, and one of Alexius I. Two of the coins of Leo were of the "Seated Figure" type, and a third showed the two seated figures of Leo and Alexander. Each of these varieties is very scarce at Corinth in comparison with the "Bust" type of Leo. In 1896-1929, there were found 155 "Bust" folles, none of the "Seated Figure" type, and only 3 of the "Two Seated Figures" type. Subsequent excavation (to 1939) has brought to light a dozen "Seated Figure" coins, about 20 of the "Two Seated Figures" type, and more than 750 "Bust" coins of Leo. One may suspect that the scarce types belong to the beginning of Leo's reign.

⁴⁹ E.g. in the Bema Shops (see No. 287), and in the Inn (No. 426, etc.).

of Basil in relation to those of Theophilus from the Lechaion Road ⁵⁰ is in conformity with the architectural evidence of reworking in the ninth or tenth century: ⁵¹ one might postulate redevelopment in the last quarter of the ninth century. Similarly, the coins from the area of the Northwest Shops through to the North Market, even though their contexts are incompletely recorded, are sufficiently numerous to imply at least scattered occupation in the second half of the century. A more exact date, and a hint about the circumstances of the eastwards shift, are offered by an outstandingly important coin of Basil, struck probably early in 869, which came from the Church of St. John. A smaller church on the same site as the twelfth-century building was perhaps repaired, or even newly erected, early in Basil's reign, as part of a general policy of public works in Greece.⁵² Before Basil became emperor, much of the Central Area was occupied—the eastern half as well as the western—but the buildings may have been poor and scattered.

This whole picture is, doubtless, incomplete, but it may serve as a working hypothesis of the growth of the city's fortunes, and as a framework into which to fit, finally, the evidence of types of coinage which have turned up in much smaller quantities. In themselves, there are too few of them to serve as the basis for any conclusions. Since they must, however, be accommodated to what is known about the more plentiful types, they can be of some interest. The issues of Michael III with Basil (Michael as *Imperator* and Basil as *Rex*—the coins were struck "for no other purpose than that of proving, in the face of the gibes of a papal letter of 865, the survival of a

⁵⁰ See note 33.

⁵¹ Scranton, p. 37.

⁵² There are half a dozen ninth-century folles from the area of the church which claim special attention. One of Basil (No. 290) was discovered by the foundation of the south apse wall, where, however, it may have been intrusive. Another, which is a quite exceptionally well-struck and well-preserved coin (No. 236), was "in the south wall of the church, behind the eastern round arch [see Scranton, Fig. 9] about 2 m. above the floor of the church." A third (No. 317) came from "a thin sandy layer above a hard sand strosis." A fourth (No. 318) was "in a wall near, and possibly part of, the church." A coin of Theophilus (No. 48) was recovered from earth under a wall of which a continuation projects eastwards from the southern wall of the south aisle. It is difficult to see how the second coin of Basil mentioned above can be other than a chosen specimen deliberately concealed in the wall—and, if the Field Notebook is taken at face value, part of the south wall of the church, at any rate up to about 4.25 m. above pavement level, would seem to be a wall which was either built or repaired in the ninth century, and re-utilized in the later building. This leads us to the speculation that the church may have had a much longer history than has previously been supposed (that is to say, as a consecrated site). On this hypothesis, the rounded arches at the eastern end (and it is from the eastern end that the ninth-century finds came) are presumably early. Their general proportions suggest a floor level as low as — 5.00 m. This would have been possible provided the church was shorter than it became in its twelfth-century form; its west end could have been some distance to the east of the foundations of the Babbis Monument. However, it is outside the scope of this paper to do more than insist on the critical evidence of the beautiful coin of Basil from the south wall.

knowledge of Latin at the imperial court" ⁵³) were presumably struck in Constantinople,⁵⁴ and from an archaeological point of view their occurrence at Corinth is in that case in the same category as Theophilus, Group A, or the Constantinopolitan varieties of Basil. Their distribution within the Central Area calls for no particular comment.⁵⁵ The Sicilian folles of Michael, of which 14 have been found, are mostly from St. John's, the Glass Factory, or the Tower Complex shops.⁵⁶ Only 2 Italian folles of Basil have been found, and 5 of Theophilus. The latter are very plentiful in the trays of public and private collections, as are those of Michael II, of which only one has been found at Corinth. It is quite clear, therefore, that Sicilian folles were reaching Corinth in quantity during only a restricted period, which began not earlier than *ca.* 845. If these coins in the name of Michael were to be reattributed to Michael II (A.D. 820-29) it would, evidently, make a big difference to one's views of the course of development of monetary affairs at Corinth in the first half of the ninth century. There can, however, be no doubt that they belong to Michael III: if any further proof were needed, the excavations have yielded a restruck specimen, on which the undertype is unmistakably of Theophilus.⁵⁷ The issues of Theophilus were most probably still current in Sicily during Michael's reign, and it will appear probable that several or all of those found at Corinth were carried to Greece after 842.

The coins of Leo IV (A.D. 775-780) have been taken as the earliest which are likely to have been in circulation in Corinth in the ninth century. From his reign until the Theophilan reform (*ca.* 835) the total number of the site-finds is 23. There are, for example, only 3 coins of Nicephorus I. The everyday needs of the garrison, and of the household of the strategos, must therefore have been met without the benefit of a petty currency. One coin of Michael I, and 2 of Leo V, are Sicilian; the rest are from Constantinople. The distribution of the coins over the excavated site is wide. There are, in particular, finds from the area adjoining the Northeast Road, between the Inn and the Tavern,⁵⁸ and from the Lechaion Road.⁵⁹ If there is a pattern in the finds, they follow the line of the main road through the Central Area from west to east. The developments in the later ninth century, therefore, seem to mark an extension of the city's prosperity rather than of its settled area.

The nearly five hundred folles from Corinth catalogued below are, essentially,

⁵³ See P. Grierson, "Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 498-c. 1090," *Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, 1961, pp. 411-453, at p. 440. Pope Nicholas I had written, "quia ridiculum est vos appellare Romanorum imperatores et tamen linguam non nosse Romanam."

⁵⁴ The style of these coins is not inconsistent with their having been minted at Constantinople, but the design is very different from that of the folles of either Theophilus or Basil, and is much more Italian in character.

⁵⁵ See No. 192 ff.

⁵⁶ See No. 179 ff.

⁵⁷ No. 190.

⁵⁸ Nos. 3, 4, 7.

⁵⁹ Nos. 6, 8.

the stray losses from a period of about seventy years (*ca.* 835-905 A.D.). For every coin that was accidentally dropped and not picked up again, there were, one can be sure, hundreds of others which passed safely from hand to hand, year in and year out. There must have been many citizens who did not lose even one follis in Corinth in a lifetime: five hundred coins lost in seventy years on a large site including a market place is not an index of gross carelessness. How many folles, at any particular time, were in circulation in the city and its vicinity to meet the local needs for petty currency? This is a question which is of special interest for the economic history of the Byzantine Empire in the "Age of Recovery." The extreme views—on the one hand that the monetary sector of the economy was severely restricted in scope,⁶⁰ and on the other that there was plenty of copper coinage in circulation in the provinces (regardless of the statistics from site-finds⁶¹)—can be put to the test of systematic, quantitative evidence only through the statistical study of the coins themselves; and they show, beyond reasonable doubt, that the issues originally totaled many millions of folles, for use in all those parts of the Empire where a monetary economy extended. Since a large proportion (perhaps a quarter or a third) of the original total was struck in Greece, it seems clear that the government was meeting a substantial local demand for petty currency.

The method by which the folles were manufactured was to place a blank disc of copper (or an old coin!) between an anvil- and a puncheon-die, on which the designs of the obverse and reverse were cut in intaglio, and then to strike the upper die a heavy blow with a hammer. The repeated hammer blows eventually wore out or destroyed the upper dies, but not before their impression had been set on some thousands of folles. In the currency at large, therefore, there were, for every coin, some thousands of others which were identical with it in the sense that they had been struck from the same dies, or partly identical if they were struck from the same obverse die but a different reverse die. In a random sample drawn from the currency, the relative number of die-identities is an index of the volume of the total currency: if a hundred site-finds of a particular issue were all from one or other of the same six dies, then one could be reasonably sure that only six dies were used for the manufacture of

⁶⁰ E. E. Lipshits, "Gorod i Derevnja v Vizantii v VI—pervoi polovine IX v.," *Actes du XIIe Congrès international d'études Byzantines, Ochride*, I, Belgrade, 1963, pp. 9-20, suggesting that many provincial towns were "agrarianized" and that in the villages a natural economy replaced that of money.

⁶¹ S. Vryonis, "An Attic hoard of Byzantine gold coins (668-741) from the Thomas Whittemore collection and the numismatic evidence for the urban history of Byzantium," *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloshkog Instituta*, VIII, 1, 1963, pp. 291-300. Along with much that is stimulating and valuable, Vryonis claims that the site-finds have been "contaminated," and he does not hesitate in "calling into question the validity of the numismatic evidence uncovered in systematic archaeological work in Greece and elsewhere." I hope that the description of contexts in the topographical survey and the catalogue below will dispose of this line of argument definitively.

that issue; if at the other extreme there were hardly any die-identities among them, then there must originally have been far in excess of a hundred dies. The folles of Theophilus and Basil are almost the earliest coinages from the period of the Byzantine recovery which have survived to the present day in sufficient numbers to be statistically useful. The same statistical tests have been applied to certain issues of folles of the late eighth and early ninth centuries, where, however, the total of available specimens is considerably smaller.⁶² The value of the Corinth site-finds in this respect is that they double the numbers of folles of Theophilus and Basil which can be checked for die-duplication. Calculations based on coins in other museums had previously suggested that there were originally something between 15 and 75 million folles of Basil, and a comparable number (although less certainly defined) for Theophilus. For the period 775-820, the best estimate that can be made is that the total of Constantinopolitan folles in circulation was within the range 10 to 50 millions. If this total is represented by only 15 stray finds at Corinth, while a total of the order of 50 to 75 million folles of Basil I is represented by 285 stray finds, we are on very firm ground, statistically, in concluding that a radical change had taken place at Corinth in the volume or velocity of monetary circulation in the interval.

Improved estimates for the coins of Theophilus and of Basil, giving rather narrower ranges of probable figures, have now been calculated. They are based on a thorough search for die-duplicates both within the Corinth finds, and also between them and the specimens previously studied. Not all the Corinth finds were well enough preserved to be taken into account; those that could be used are identified in the catalogue below by a special diacritical mark.⁶³ There is no reason to think that the better-preserved coins are other than a random sample as regards their die-varieties, although they may of course be un-random in other respects. It should be emphasized that if the sample were in some unforeseen way un-random, the calculations based on it would necessarily yield an underestimate of the total volume of coinage.⁶⁴ The revised figures are explained more fully in an Appendix; briefly, the best estimate than can now be made, taking the Corinth coins into the reckoning, is that the reformed folles of Theophilus were issued, throughout the Empire, to a total of at least 25 million, and quite possibly upwards of 50 million,⁶⁵ and that the folles of Basil were more numerous, with a minimum estimate of the order of 40 million.

⁶² The smaller total unfortunately makes the margins of uncertainty of the estimate wider. See D. M. Metcalf, "How Extensive was the Issue of Folles during the Years 775-820?," *Byzantion*, XXXVII, 1967, pp. 270-310.

⁶³ While at Corinth I made casts of the better coins, and lead-pencil rubbings of the rest of those taken into account. For coins of these particular designs and style, the rubbings proved quite satisfactory for purposes of die-identification.

⁶⁴ See C. S. S. Lyon, "The Estimation of the Number of Dies Employed in a Coinage," *Numismatic Circular*, LXXIII, 1965, pp. 180-181.

⁶⁵ An additional series of finds from Turkey is worked into a further revision of the estimate (*Museum Notes*, XIV, 1968, at p. 149), which gives a range of 21 to 98 million.

There is no way of judging at all accurately what proportion of the total issues constituted the currency of Corinth, except from the circumstance that we know of no other city outside the metropolitan region where such conspicuously large quantities of ninth-century coppers were in use. There may have been a few others, but there cannot have been many. It seems safe to suppose, therefore, that the local currency was measured in millions of coins. Although this estimate is vague, it will serve well enough to support the next point to be made, which is that, since there would have been no systematic preference among the stray losses between different stylistic varieties, the issues of the metropolitan region in the currency of Corinth must have been numbered in hundreds of thousands. This is, perhaps, even more surprising than the overall figure. Folles were not carried from Constantinople to Greece in the absence of a local supply; the intermingling of the various issues therefore seems to reflect trade and commerce across the Aegean and, to a lesser extent, between Greece and southern Italy or Sicily. If there was a two-way interchange between Constantinople and Corinth throughout each of the thirty-five year periods when the coins, first of Theophilus, then of Basil, were in use, an inflow/outflow equal to roughly 2-3% of the Corinthian currency per annum would be consonant with the proportions of issues of the different mints among the site-finds. It is impossible to evaluate the evidence more fully, in particular because nothing is known about the availability of silver at Corinth: one does not know whether or not a large number of folles had to be used for transactions which could otherwise have been effected with a smaller number of silver *miliaresia*. Nor can much be said about the purchasing-power of the *follis*, or about its value in relation to the *solidus*. One can, however, be sure that there was no half-*follis*, either as a light-weight or small issue, or in the form of ordinary folles cut in two. Had there been any such denomination at Corinth, specimens would have been found as stray losses; the lower the value of a coin, and the smaller its size, the higher its rate of loss.⁶⁶

Of the three currency metals in use in the Byzantine world of the eighth to tenth centuries, silver is a "blind spot." Copper coins can be studied wherever there are site-finds, and the circulation of gold is documented by hoards (such as a recent hoard of gold *solidi* of Theophilus found at Corinth), although there are fewer of them than one could wish. But silver falls in the middle; a *miliaresion* was worth enough to be looked after closely, but not enough to be chosen as a store of wealth. Although there are so few finds of *miliaresia*, one should assume, pending studies of die-duplication, that they were struck in quantities running into millions.

Even if the numismatic evidence is incomplete, the conclusions drawn from a survey of the copper coinage are largely independent, and one might expect that they

⁶⁶ This can be seen clearly from the Frankish finds at Athens and Corinth, among which the coppers are far more plentiful than billon *deniers tournois*, even though the latter were of quite small value, and are predominant in the hoards.

would be supplemented rather than altered if new information about the use of solidi or miliaresia were forthcoming. The folles suggest that the whole population of the city was reached by a money economy, and that Corinth had a lively inter-regional trade by the middle of the ninth century. The finds support the view that there was an active mint in central Greece; in all probability it was located in Corinth itself. The topographical distribution of the coins helps to show that the city enjoyed a period of growth which began, quite abruptly, *ca.* 835, and which prompted rebuilding and urban development in the reigns of Basil and Leo. The beginnings of the expansion of the petty currency cannot be traced back into the first decades of the ninth century; and the new coinage was on such a scale that an explanation must be sought for it in terms of a program directed by the central government rather than a self-reviving economy in the provinces.

One should not, however, assume that Corinth was a typical provincial city. It was more probably one of the main commercial centers of the Empire. Its evidence for the extent of the monetary extent of the economy is in that case not of general application. "Du moins faut-il distinguer. Il est possible que beaucoup de villes de l'intérieur soient devenues, soit ville de garnison—c'est un autre sujet, lié à l'évolution de l'armée, mais un sujet important qui mériterait d'être étudiée—, soit centre administratif d'un district rural. Mais les villes maritimes, au moins, ont dû garder une activité propre et non nécessairement liée à l'arrière-pays. La trilogie dont le Code Rural fait partie est justement complétée par le Code Militaire et le Code Maritime: ce n'est pas un hasard."⁶⁷ Even if Corinth is a special case, the total quantity of folles which were minted in the ninth century, as revealed by the search for die-duplicates, is a new fact to be taken into account in estimating the scope of commercial activity in the Aegean coastlands.

The abrupt and dramatic increase in the scale of the petty currency *ca.* 835 is demonstrated unambiguously by the archaeological evidence. It is linked with a major reform of the copper coinage and the establishment of provincial mints. Theophilus' policy of stimulating the growth of the economy in the provinces simply through a better supply of coinage succeeded at Corinth, where the conditions were very favourable, but one must suspect that it failed elsewhere. From Thebes, for example, the stray finds of reformed folles of Theophilus so far recorded outnumber those of Basil I and Leo VI. And one or two of the new provincial mints may have proved not to be viable. It was left to Basil to realize the possibilities of a more active intervention in the economy of the provinces by imperial spending, through a program of church building, for example, and other public works.

⁶⁷ P. Lemerle, "Gorod i Derevnja v Vizantii v VI—pervoï polovine IX v.," *Actes du XIIe Congrès international d'études Byzantines, Ochride, I, Belgrade, 1963*, p. 280.

APPENDIX: ESTIMATION OF THE NUMBER OF FOLLES STRUCK BY THEOPHILUS AND BASIL I

The theory and conditions of die-estimation from a random sample have been fully discussed by Lyon, who has also published in a convenient form the statistical tables from which the necessary calculations can be made.⁶⁸ The method will not be explained here, and readers are referred to Lyon's article. The purpose of this note is the purely technical one of recording the instances of die-duplication, and the assumptions, on which the calculations for the coinages of Theophilus and Basil I have been made.

The additional evidence from Corinth makes it clear for the first time that obverse die-linkage is a much more usual form of duplication than reverse linkage or complete identity (12 obverse links, 3 reverse links, one identity). It follows that dies were not kept strictly in pairs, and that obverse dies were used longer than reverse dies. Estimates of the total number of dies will necessarily be made from the obverses, since there are so few reverse links that the margins of uncertainty would be unacceptably wide. Even so, the discrepancy suggests in general terms that there were many more reverse dies used than obverse dies. If the average number of coins struck from one reverse die was nearer 10,000 than 5,000, it will be reasonable to multiply the number of obverse dies by at least 15,000 to obtain an estimate of the total number of folles struck. It should be emphasized that 15,000 is a conservative figure, since Miss Mate has now removed any uncertainty from the proposition that in medieval times obverse dies could be used regularly to produce an average of 30,000 to 40,000 coins each.⁶⁹ Theophilus, Group B in particular shows signs of the very prolonged use of individual obverse dies.

Theophilus. Among the coins listed in *MN* there was one obverse triplet and one reverse pair, both in Group ϵ . Among the Corinth coins there are two obverse links (No. 24 = No. 25 and No. 91 = No. 92), and there is a third link between the two sources, No. 51 = *MN* 22. Thus, a total of 168 obverse dies was checked (95 in *MN*, 73 from Corinth). Of these, 163 were different. Lyon's tables give a first estimate of 2,750 approx. and a minimum probable estimate of 1,487 obverse dies. Multiplying by 15,000, the first estimate of the total number of coins struck is 41 million, and the minimum probable estimate is 22.5 million. However, 2 out of the 5 duplicate dies are in Group ϵ , which seems to have been a small issue with an unusually high survival rate. If Group ϵ is omitted, and the estimations made using the totals 163 and 160 obverse dies, the first estimate becomes 4,500 approx., and the corre-

⁶⁸ C. S. S. Lyon, *Numismatic Circular*, LXXIII, 1965, pp. 180-181.

⁶⁹ M. Mate, "Coin Dies under Edward I and II," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7, IX, 1969, pp. 207-18. See the articles by B. H. I. H. Stewart cited there, and also D. G. Sellwood, "Medieval Minting Techniques," *British Numismatic Journal*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 57-65.

sponding minimum estimate is 1,800 approx. The first estimate of the total number of coins would thus become 67.5 million, and the minimum probable estimate 27 million.

Basil. Among the coins listed in *NS* there were at most 4 obverse links. The Corinth finds yielded 2 obverse and 2 reverse links (No. 272 = No. 273, No. 452 = No. 453; No. 259 = No. 260, No. 467 = No. 468), and there were 3 further links between the sources (No. 252 = *NS* 68, obv. link; No. 451 and *NS* 117 are almost certainly from the same reverse die; No. 470 and *NS* 124 are apparently the same obverse die recut). A total of 280 obverse dies was checked (154 in *NS*, 126 from Corinth). Of these, 272 were different. Lyon's tables give a first estimate of 4,650 approx. and a minimum probable estimate of 2,950. If we multiply by 15,000, the first estimate of the total number of coins struck is 70 million and the minimum probable estimate is 45 million. There is, however, not the same preponderance of obverse die-links as is found among the folles of Theophilus. This may be a random effect, or it may be the result of a change in practice at the mints. It may be preferable, therefore, to choose a lower figure for the average output per lower die, especially in order to achieve a correct impression of the relative volume of the issues of Theophilus and Basil. A figure of 10,000 would give a minimum probable estimate of 30 million. On the other hand, no fewer than 4 of the 8 obverse links were among the 54 specimens of the "Seated Figure" issue. The range calculated from the global figures is therefore likely to be an underestimate.

TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The evidence from each building complex was examined, the Central Area being divided for convenience into ten sections following Scranton's arrangement. Shortage of space precludes presenting the information fully, but the four most important sections have been selected as a sample for brief comment in support of the general interpretation of ninth-century development that has been outlined above. Levels have had to be cited from local datum points, as noted at the beginning of the Catalogue below.

1. *The Ceramic Factory* (5: M-N)

The original functioning of the Ceramic Factory has been reconstructed with conspicuous success by Morgan. He takes the view that it is a late eleventh-century establishment, which Scranton endorses unequivocally: "it should be noted specifically that a review of the evidence reveals that coins of Alexius I were discovered in the walls of integral parts of the complexes, showing that the major surviving construction must date from the end of the eleventh century" (Scranton, p. 68). There are, however, many coins of Theophilus and Basil from the area of the Factory, some of

which were in a stratified context or were close to or underneath walls. An earlier history of the use of the site may therefore remain to be pieced together.

The most obvious concentration of finds is from an area approximately 8 by 4 meters immediately to the north and east of the massive threshold (Fig. 1) of the main entrance, where the excavators encountered a strosis of yellowish red earth at — 1.30 m. (local data from the level of the top surface of the stylobate of the Bema), and in fill from — 0.60 to — 1.30 m. there were one coin of Theophilus and one of Basil (Nos. 38 and 436). A meter or so to the north two small, poor coins of Basil (Nos. 232, 233) and a scarce one of Leo with Alexander were recovered at a similar level from below a very black fill with stones but no pottery (coins at — 0.55 to — 1.00 m.; the fill from ± 0 to — 0.55 m. is described as mostly very black and burnt). Eastwards, just to the north of the entrance threshold in dark fill from — 1.20 to — 1.40 m. there were found two more coins of Basil, likewise in poor condition (Nos. 324, 338), and one of Leo VI, with Classical sherds and Byzantine pottery classified at the time as Rice A2 ("petal" ware, which Morgan dates "as early as the tenth, and possibly the ninth century"). A fine coin of Basil from the metropolitan region (No. 450, an important piece) which had been recovered in black fill in the same area from — 0.55 to — 1.20 m. is perhaps a stray belonging originally with the group recovered from the wall at the southern edge of this trench—a Theophilan follis of Group B, two coins of Basil, both of the "Seated Figure" issue and struck at Constantinople, a Leo, and two earlier coins (Nos. 49, 452, 457; the wall was at X-c: 20-21, and coin No. 450 was from X-c: 21-25). The excavation record is not sufficiently detailed to show whether the Leo and the earlier coins were separate losses, but it is virtually certain that the other coins were a cache. The stray from just to the north of the wall was very probably associated, for it too is a "Seated Figure" coin, and all three apparently belong early in that issue. Taking into account the contrast in the state of preservation of these coins and the ones from the lower fill, it seems likely that we are considering a traveler's hoard, concealed in a wall. Since the "Seated Figure" folles formed a relatively small part of Basil's coinage, the chances are that the date of concealment was during the issue of that type, and that the follis of Leo was a separate loss. South of the wall, a fill from — 0.90 to — 1.30 m. yielded another pierced and fretted coin of Basil (No. 416, from Y-c: 17-20).

Farther east, a coin of Basil was found in a rather mixed fill above a strosis of gray-white ash at approximately — 1.10 m. (No. 473). Another (No. 239), from fill between — 1.00 and — 1.60 m., was with Rice A4 and A5 and classical pottery. Northwards, a coin of Theophilus, of Group B, came from very black fill at — 1.90 to — 2.10 m., with a Roman coin (No. 51).

If we turn now to the more northerly rooms in the complex, fronting onto the Plateia, we can conjecture that they are later additions. In the room behind the colon-

naded entrance, excavation from -0.55 down to -1.10 m. showed a change in the character of the fill at -0.70 m. Below -0.70 m. was sand and gravel, in which one coin of Basil (No. 280) was found among a series of coins very largely of late Roman date. Above -0.70 m. was black earth, with one coin each of Theophilus, Basil, Leo, and Nicephorus III (Nos. 154, 469). Accepting this evidence at its face value, we should say that the building line was pushed forward at a date somewhere

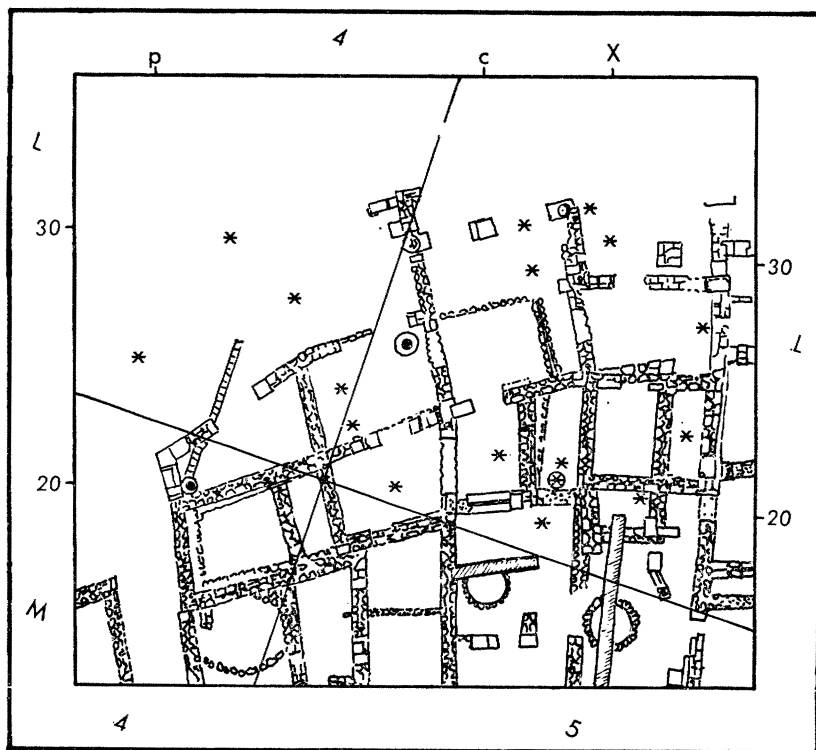


FIG. 1. The northern part of the Ceramic Factory. Scale 1:3000.

towards the end of the ninth century. Still at face value, the theoretical corollaries are interesting: the coin of Theophilus is a late loss; and the sandy Plateia fill is "fossilized"—the material that the excavators recovered was essentially as it had been in the ninth century. A coin of Basil from a little nearer the colonnade (No. 325) was found in medieval fill from -0.40 to -0.90 m. with a coin of Leo and one of Alexius I; from -0.90 m. downwards to -1.30 m. the Field Notebook records "black earth with much sand" and coins of late Roman date, of Justinian, Theophilus (No. 36), and Alexius I. Allowing for some imprecision in the excavation record as regards the black earth and sand in this stratum, it is nevertheless clear that the beginning of the dark, upper fill is to be dated by coins of the late ninth or early tenth century. Beyond the eastern wall of the colonnaded room, the stratification is similar,

although the levels are slightly higher: a follis of Theophilus (No. 108) came from black fill with coins extending through to the thirteenth century, from $+1.30$ to $+0.70$ m.; one of Basil (No. 336), again with later coins, came from brown earth from $+0.30$ m. downwards, changing to sand at -0.30 m. Westwards from the colonnade, a follis of Basil (No. 431) came from a black, burnt-looking fill from -0.75 to -1.00 m. in which the coins, apart from one of Leo VI, were solidly late Roman. Immediately to the west again, we encounter the street fill of the Southwest Street. Excavation there from $+1.00$ to ± 0 m. yielded a coin of Basil in a miscellaneous series ranging from the sixth to the twelfth century; from ± 0 to -0.20 m., in which layer a coin of Theophilus was found (No. 40), the coins were relatively more numerous, and included late Roman issues, but still ranged up to the twelfth century. In the adjacent section, the same stratum of approximately 0.20 m. thickness was particularly rich in late Roman coins, and contained also sixth-century issues, and folles of Basil (No. 344), Leo, Constantine VII, and later rulers. The levels in the complexes along the south side of the Plateia are continued in the area of the Glass Factory, discussed below.

Farther south in the Ceramic Factory yard, two coins of Theophilus and two of Basil (Nos. 35, 78, 454, 479) are from twelfth-century fill, with pottery, down to -1.55 m. Traces of a ninth/tenth century level are provided by red earth at *ca.* -1.85 m., and a late Roman coin with folles of Theophilus (No. 32) and Leo in the intervening 0.30 m. Another follis of Theophilus, similarly, was found with one of Leo and a late Roman coin, and a little pottery, mostly Classical, at -1.10 to -1.25 m. (No. 98). A follis of Basil came from under or around the kiln of the factory, below the level of the earlier floor in which there were four pithoi, and another of Theophilus (No. 134) was found nearby, as were various sherds of Rice A3 pottery. Morgan (pp. 12 f.) describes a room "which seems to have experienced two separate occupations." The earlier use is marked by the four pithoi, three of which were closed with circular stone covers when found. The floor level was raised in the eleventh century when the existing buildings were converted into a factory for ceramics, and vats and a kiln constructed. The earlier floor may thus be ninth century in date, but the evidence is by no means sufficiently clear to afford proof.

In the southern part of the Factory yard there are traces of earlier walls, which had doubtless been destroyed before the end of the eleventh century. Various ninth-century coins were found in the compact area they define. Fill down to -0.60 m. produced a coin of Basil (No. 462; n. b. this is from the local datum used in the excavation section S. Stoa W.), two of Leo, and one of Leo with Alexander, and some later coins. Another coin of Basil (No. 375) and one of Leo came from almost the same position. Directly to the south (against the front wall of the Stoa), two more coins of Basil (Nos. 210 and 424) were found with one of Constantine VII and a later piece. In the adjacent trench eastwards, fill to the same depth of -0.60 m.

produced two further coins of Basil (Nos. 258, 340) along with two Rex Regnantium folles of Class A. Southwards again, the layer ± 0 to -0.40 m. yielded a Basil (No. 442) and 3 Leos, and from nearby came a single coin of Theophilus (No. 125). The evidence is thus fairly clear that there was a building in commercial use from *ca.* 875 onwards, and that that use declined again, quite soon, in the tenth century. The conclusion rests on small numbers of coins, but is matched by that from similar small buildings to the east. It finds some support, too, from the overall proportions of coins

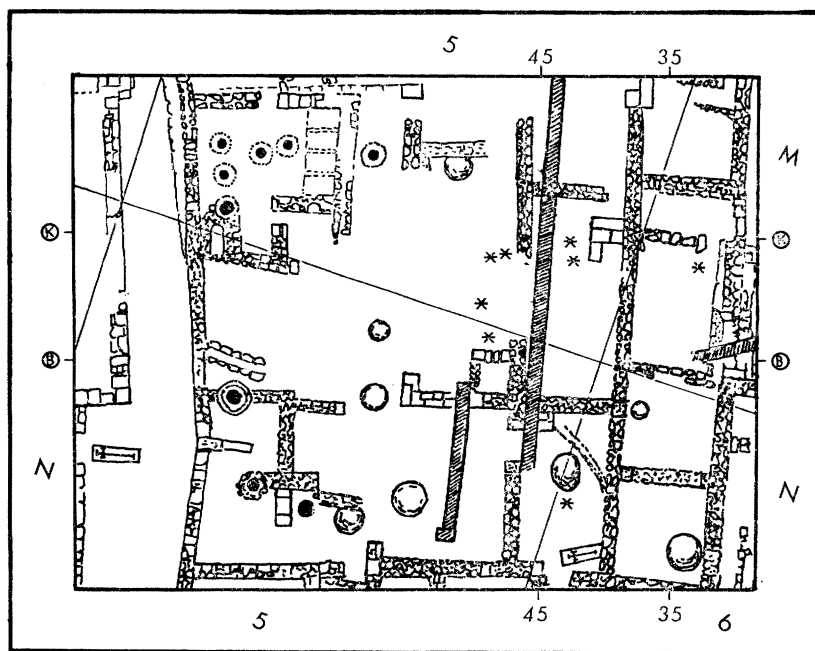


FIG. 2. Probable ninth-century building in the southern part of the Ceramic Factory yard.
Scale 1:3000.

recovered from the section S. Stoa W., which diverge from those for the Central Area as a whole: Theophilus, 4; Basil, 11; Leo, 33; Constantine VII, 37; Nicephorus II, 4; etc.

2. *The Glass Factory* (6: M-N)

Gladys Davidson suggested that the origin of the Glass Factory was to be sought in the years following Al-Hākim's persecutions of A.D. 1007-12 (*A.J.A.*, 1940, pp. 297-324). The presence of three coins of Nicephorus II in the finds from the immediate vicinity of the furnace (*ibid.*) certainly favours a date nearer the beginning than the end of the eleventh century. Against this must be set Scranton's later dating ("the major surviving construction must date from the end of the eleventh century," Scranton, p. 68). One might reasonably imagine that the proprietors of the Factory

carried on their business over a period of three or four generations before prosperity permitted them to rebuild their premises.

Two groups of coins attest the use of the site in the ninth or early tenth century. In a room fronting onto the Plateia the excavators found part of a marble floor, at — 1.00 m. Above the floor was a *Rex Regnantium follis* of Class A; between the marbles of the floor was a coin of Leo VI; from beneath the floor came 3 coins of Basil (Nos. 227, 274, 341), 4 of Leo, one of Romanus I, and one of Alexius I. Two of the coins of Leo were of the "Seated Figure" type, and a third showed the two seated figures of Leo and Alexander. Each of these varieties is scarce at Corinth in comparison with the "Bust" type of Leo:

	Bust	Seated Figure	Two Seated Figures	Two Busts
1896-1929	155	0	3	0

Subsequent excavations (to 1939) have brought to light a dozen "Seated Figure" coins, a score of "Two Seated Figure" coins, still none of the "Two Busts" coins (it has been suggested elsewhere that they are Thessalonican), and more than 750 "Bust" coins. One may suspect that the "Seated Figure" and "Two Seated Figures" issues belong to the beginning of Leo's reign. If so, the marble floor will have been laid down within two or three years (one way or the other) of A.D. 890. Whatever their exact date of issue within Leo's reign, they could not have accounted for three out of four stray losses at any date after about 915, and it would be perverse to regard the coins of Romanus I and Alexius I as other than intrusive. A coin of Basil from a wall nearby (No. 376) may have been lost or concealed at about the same time. It is possible that the scarce varieties, like one of the three coins of Basil from under the floor also, were struck in the metropolitan region.

Secondly, the lower levels of the fill in the courtyard of the Factory, although they have been disturbed by the laying of foundations for later walls, preserve a record of ninth-century use. Thus, in the trench of L-P: 9-12 from — 0.30 to — 0.70 m., the fill—which included a coin of Basil (No. 460) and some tenth-century folles—was adequately dated by several coins of Alexius I. But in the adjacent lower layer at L-P: 8-9 from — 1.20 to — 1.60 m. a dark fill containing stones, tiles, and ash yielded coins of Theophilus and Basil (both from distant mints: Nos. 56, 466); from — 1.80 to — 2.30 m. the material was mostly Classical but with one follis of Theophilus (No. 131) and an intrusive coin of the twelfth century. At L-P: 6-7 the fill from — 1.30 to — 1.40 m. produced a coin of Theophilus of Group Δ (No. 62). Another reformed follis came from fill under a nearby wall (No. 88). Two more were found not far away, but at very much higher levels, with coins mainly of the

twelfth century (Nos. 99, 113). Similarly, one of Theophilus and two of Basil are from a stratum essentially of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Nos. 86, 407, 408); one of Basil, from rather lower down, is among an accumulation of the eleventh to twelfth centuries (Nos. 226); while at — 1.00 to — 1.50 m. there is a coin of Michael III (No. 184), and another of Theophilus is from dark fill with broken tiles at — 1.70 to — 2.30 m. (No. 82). Finally, one more coin of Theophilus is from a fill characterized mainly by Classical sherds, with only a few of Byzantine date, and

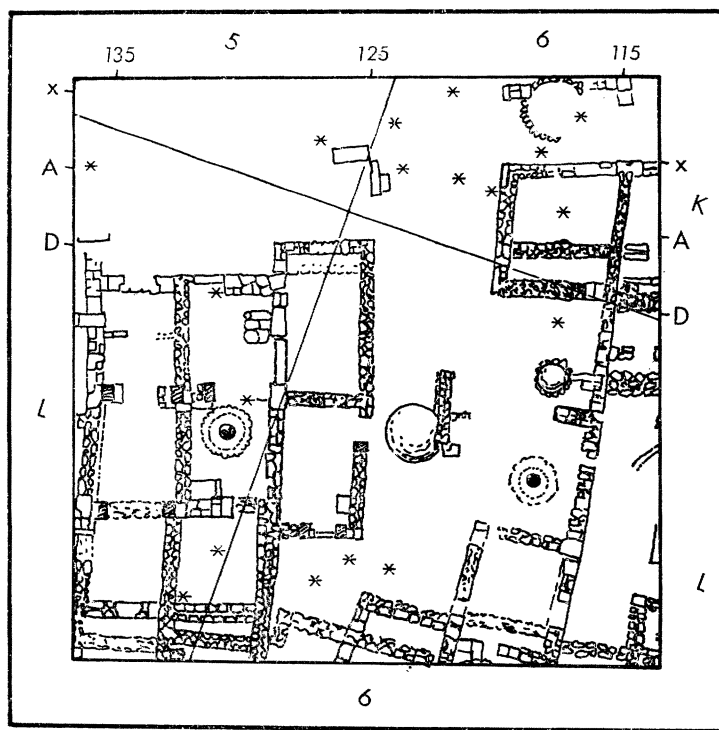


FIG. 3. The northern part of the Glass Factory. Scale 1:3000.

one coin of Maurice (A.D. 582-602), at — 1.25 to — 2.40 m. In the area from which this second group of coins comes, there are several traces of a complex of walls which are more exactly in a north-south orientation than those of the Glass Factory, and which must have been leveled before the courtyard of the Factory was in use. One coin of Theophilus and one of Basil (Nos. 88, 406) are from fill under walls in this area, but the contexts are not described in sufficient detail to support any conclusion about the dates of construction.

Thus, in the northern half of the area of the Glass Factory, as in the northern half of the Ceramic Factory, we can recognize a ninth-century level at approximately

— 1.5 m. downwards, much disturbed by later development, but protected by more than a meter of overlying fill from the eleventh or later centuries.

Directly to the north and north-east of the entrance to the Glass Factory there are signs, in traces of walls and floors unrelated to the Factory or the Central Shops, and also in the concentration of coins of Theophilus and Basil, of some structure which was in use in the ninth century, but which was subsequently destroyed—perhaps in the eleventh century. The stratification is similar to that in front of the Ceramic Factory. Sandy plateia fill in the area g-t: 114-118 from + 1.50 to + 1.00 m. (local data from the top of the toichobate of the Julian Basilica) contains many late Roman coins, one follis of Basil (No. 263), one of Leo, 2 of Constantine VII, 2 of Rex Regnantium A, and later pieces; at about + 0.50 m. the sand gives way to burnt, black fill, with some 500 coins from the stratum + 1.00 to + 0.40 m., mostly late Roman, which disintegrated on cleaning, but also 2 of Theophilus and one of Basil (Nos. 34, 174, 204); from + 0.40 to ± 0 m. there were by contrast hardly any coins: 4 classical, one of Basil (No. 201), one of Leo, and one Rex Regnantium Class A. The evidence is thus of a ninth- or early tenth-century level at *ca.* ± 0.40 m. which was subsequently silted over.

There is an intriguing concentration of Basil's "Two Busts" issue in this area. Five out of 6 coins belong to what seems to be a particular stylistic variety within that issue (Nos. 201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 250; see the stylistic analysis in the Catalogue), and may be travelers' coins. If they had been in the sandy plateia fill, they would have been of some theoretical interest as suggesting that the coins from the fill had not traveled far from the point at which they had originally been dropped. Two, however, belong to the underlying stratum (Nos. 201 and 204); a third (No. 202) came from fill under a few large fallen stones; the fourth (No. 206), found along with a coin of Leo and Alexander, was from sandy fill giving way to burnt black earth (at + 0.80 m.), and the fifth was from nearby.

Sandy fill from + 1.50 to + 1.00 m. (g-t: 114-118—see above) is replaced immediately to the south (t-A: 114-118) by soft, dark fill from + 1.50 to + 0.90 m. It is the difference, already observed in the front part of the Ceramic Factory, between indoors and outdoors: the wall at t defines the building line of the edge of the Plateia in the ninth century. From inside the room came one coin of Theophilus, no fewer than 5 of Basil, 3 of Leo, 3 of Constantine VII, one of Nicephorus II, one of Rex Regnantium Class A (Nos. 54, 358, 421, 422); it was at the corner of this room that there were the few large fallen stones.

The exceptional concentration of folles of Theophilus and Basil in the sandy plateia fill within a few yards of these ninth-century levels implies a scatter which is related in some way to the building, and argues that rain-wash has not, at least in this case, carried the coins over distances so great as to rob them of all value for the topography of the site.

3. *The area of the Tower Complex and the Bema Church* (6-8: K-L)

The area on the south side of the Plateia between the Glass Factory and the South Road has yielded a quantity of coins of Theophilus and Basil, many of which were from the sandy plateia fill.

Of the shops to the north of the Tower Complex, Scranton writes, "The remains show several periods of construction in some places, but nothing to suggest that the general arrangement was ever substantially different" (Scranton, p. 59). The numerous ninth-century coins from the westernmost shop at *ca.* + 0.50 m. have already been discussed under the heading of the Glass Factory. In the adjacent shop to the east, two coins of Theophilus were found; their stratification was not very exactly recorded, but they were quite probably *in situ* (Nos. 29, 119). There were no ninth-century coins in the next two shops. In the fifth shop, the Notebook records dark Byzantine fill from + 0.80 to + 0.60 m., then a black burnt layer; this whole stratum, from + 0.80 to + 0.30 m., yielded a coin of Theophilus (No. 137) and two of Leo. In the northern half of the same room, black fill from ± 0 to -0.70 m., containing one coin of Basil (No. 265), was full of large stones, which had apparently fallen in. Another coin of Basil was found in the room's western wall, which is described in the Notebook as a "first-period wall". Walls which are possibly also early extend northwards into the Plateia beyond the line of the shops. Later, however, the building line seems to have been withdrawn, for, directly above the fill from ± 0 to -0.70 m., there was hard, sandy plateia fill from + 0.50 to + 0.30 m., with a coin of Nicephorus and two of Alexius I (No. 281). The same stratum in an adjacent trench produced coins through to Manuel I (No. 448). Immediately to the north and north-east of the sixth shop the ninth/tenth century layer is present again, at the same depth: there is a thick burnt layer, full of small pieces of marble, with a coin of Basil (No. 215) from + 0.50 m. just on the very top of the black layer. The overlying stratum down to + 0.70 m. confirms the dating, with single coins of Basil, Leo, and Constantine VII, and 7 Rex Regnantium folles of Class A (No. 465). In the next trench three coins, of Theophilus, Basil, and Leo were found in the stratum + 0.80 to + 0.30 m. The whole context was protected by a substantial thickness of twelfth- and thirteenth-century fill.

In front of the Plateia shops north of the Bema Church the ninth/tenth century stratum is defined by several more groups of coins (Nos. 269 and 413, and 343 with a Leo; No. 331 with a Leo; No. 249 with two of Leo; etc.). Its exact depth is not recorded, but at the corner of the South Road it seems to have risen to *ca.* + 0.70 m. This level is matched on the other side of the road, in the Inn. The rooms to the south may have been the back rooms of the shops at this date, although the architectural history of the complex is obscure. The fill from + 1.40 to + 0.30 m. in the central of the three rooms attests occupation throughout the tenth century: there were 2 coins of Basil (Nos. 287, 356), 8 of Leo, 5 of Constantine VII, and 3 Rex Regnantium

Class A. The overlying layer, from $+ 2.30$ to $+ 1.40$ m., was of the eleventh to early twelfth century. In the adjacent trench westwards there were again numerous coins of Leo and Constantine VII. There may have been some rebuilding at the beginning of the eleventh century, for coins of Leo and also of Rex Regnantium Class A are recorded from directly under a wall nearby.

Immediately to the north of the church there are traces of ninth-century occupation, in two coins of Basil from a fill at $+ 0.20$ to ± 0 m. (Nos. 359, 377), and in four coins—of Theophilus, Basil, and Leo—from a pithos (Nos. 147, 369).

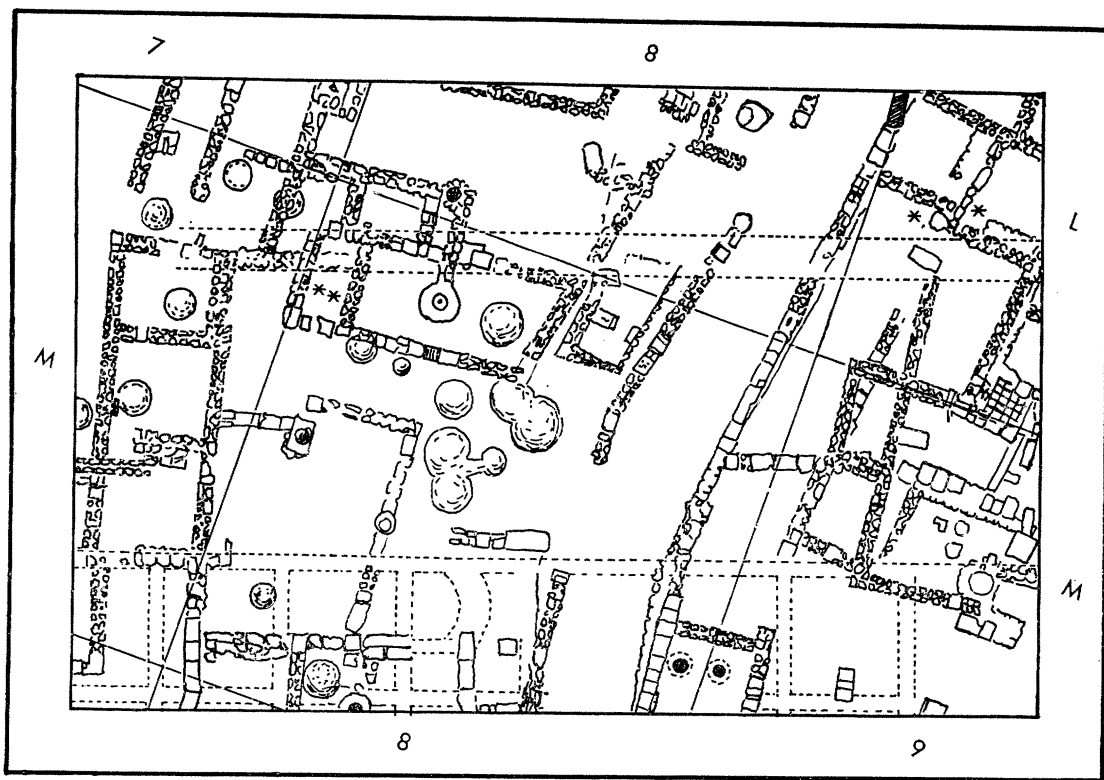


FIG. 4. The South Stoa (middle section). Scale 1:3000.

The church itself and the Tower Complex, and the ground to the south, were bare of ninth-century coins, except for two folles of Basil in a room adjoining the Ceramic Factory, south of the church (Nos. 430, 461). They were found along with a large deposit of Rex Regnantium folles of Classes F and H, but can hardly have formed part of it, since they are in good condition. A more likely explanation, in the light of similar contexts in the southern part of the excavated area, is that the building apparently had only a brief phase of commercial use in the ninth century.

4. *The South Stoa and the South Basilica* (6: M-N to 11: L-N)

Traces of a building, dated by coins of Basil, at the front of the South Stoa, have been discussed above. Except in that little complex, and in and around the shop at the southern end of Southwest Street, ninth-century coins are conspicuously scarce in the area of the Stoa. Two folles of Basil apparently date a brief phase of occupation of a medieval complex just to the north of the Classical Senate House. Two other complexes further to the east each yielded one follis of Basil (Nos. 310, 393). Further east again, two coins of Theophilus and one of Basil were found not far apart (Nos. 149, 161, 213).

At the south-western corner of the South Basilica, paving stones of, perhaps, eleventh-century date protected a sandy fill of the erosional type familiar from the Plateia, in which a thin stratum, rich in late Roman coins, included an Italian follis of Basil (No. 199) as well as a miliaresion of Justinian II and an unusually early assemblage of Byzantine sherds (Petal Ware, 2 pieces; Rice A1, 3 pieces; A3, green, 6 pieces; orange, 2 pieces; metallic brown glaze, one piece). Another follis of Basil came from the same building (No. 312).

CATALOGUE

Explanatory notes

1. The catalogue includes all the coins struck between A.D. 775 and 886 from the seasons of excavation up to and including 1939. Finding references to the coins from the early years of excavation (1896-1914) are to the numbers of the trays in which they are stored (in good order) in the National Numismatic Collection at Athens. For all later finds, the reference is to the envelope in which the coin is stored in the Old Corinth Museum. The earlier finds were published in K. M. Edwards, *Coins, 1896-1929* (Corinth Reports, VI), 1932, and the later finds (to 1939) were summarily listed in Edwards, "Report on the coins found in the excavations at Corinth during the years 1930-1935," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 241-256, and J. M. Harris, "Coins found at Corinth. I. Report on the coins found in the excavations at Corinth during the years 1936-1939," *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 143-155.

2. The coins are numbered consecutively. The reformed folles of Theophilus run from No. 24 to 172, and the corresponding issues of Basil from No. 201 to 485. Note that the total number of items catalogued is 487, as there is a number 184 bis.

3. Coins marked * before the number are illustrated on Plates 41-44.

4. Those marked § have been checked for die-duplication, but note that many of them are annotated "obv. die not checked" or "rev. die not checked." In describing the coins, three phrases are used as terms of art to assess the degree of die-similarity, viz., "near-duplicate," "extremely similar," and "very similar." The usage follows that of *NS*, etc.

5. The attempt has been made to arrange the coins fully into their striking sequence, within each stylistic group, starting where possible from what seem to be early, "experimental" dies. The illegible specimens grouped at the end of a sequence, however, are merely in the order of their discovery.

6. Where a Map reference to Scranton's grid is omitted, the information is either lacking or uncertain.

7. The Context is noted only for those coins to which a specific reference has been made in the foregoing text, or where it is of obvious interest. All references to coins of Constantine VII (in the text as well as in the Catalogue) should be understood to include the folles in the name of Romanus I, etc., i.e. all the issues from the years A.D. 913-959.

8. Reference from the Field Notebooks (stored at Corinth) to the Catalogue can be made by means of the Concordance at the end.

9. Levels are recorded from the local datum, originally used in each excavation-section, as follows:

St. John's S.	Stylobate of archaic temple	84.86 m. above sea-level
Agora SW., and S. Stoa	Toichobate/stylobate of S. Stoa	81.55 m. above sea-level
Agora SC, autumn 1936-1938	Stylobate of Bema	81.11 m. above sea-level
Agora NE 1937, NC 1937	Toichobate of outer wall of Julian Basilica	78.54 m. above sea-level
Agora NC 1937 (from March 17) and 1938	Bedding for pavement of Roman Agora	78.48 m. immediately west of Julian Basilica; 78.16 m. at north-western corner of Bema; 78.64 m. immediately east of Temple of Hermes. (These three measurements were taken on <i>in situ</i> marble slabs. Subtract about 10 cm. to get to the bedding.)

LEO IV, A.D. 775-80

1. Follis, with Constantine VI, *B.M.C.* 15-17. 18-19 mm. Edwards 77.
Map: 2-4: C-D. Reference: North Market, July 26, 1929.
2. Similar, *B.M.C.* 11-14. Edwards 76.
Reference: Odeion, May 23, 1927.
3. Similar.
Map: 9: J. Reference: Agora NE, May 7, 1937, 17-24.

CONSTANTINE VI, A.D. 780-97

4. Follis, with Irene, *B.M.C.* 10.
Map: 10: H. Reference: Agora NE, March 9, 1937, 19-22.

NICEPHORUS I, A.D. 802-11

5. Follis, *B.M.C.* 2-3. Edwards 78. Reference: 1898 (tray 621).
6. Similar.
Map: 8: G. Context: found while cleaning the Byzantine ramp north of the Propylaia. (Most of the stones of the ramp were removed in 1926—see *Corinth*, I, i, p. 159.) Reference: 1926/269a.
7. Similar.
Map: 10: I. Reference: Agora NE, April 16, 1937, 11-16.

MICHAEL I, A.D. 811-13

8. Follis. Obv. "Two Busts"? (extremely worn). Rev. close in style to *B.M.C.* plate XLVII, 5. Edwards 79.
Map: 8: G approx. Context: pithoi in Lechaion Road. Reference: 1926/270.
9. Follis, *B.M.C.* 4.
Map: 8: K. Context: north of the Bema Church, from wall at p-t: 77, in stone (cross walls, resting on fill, in the building at m-x: 72-85). Reference: Agora NC, October 28, 1937, 1.
10. Follis, *B.M.C.* 12.
Map: 7: K. Reference: Agora NC, November 24, 1937, 11-20.

LEO V, A.D. 813-20

11. Follis, *B.M.C.* 6.
Map: 6: L. Context: fill at — 0.80 to — 1.10 m.; in lower strata there are only late Roman coins. But cf. No. 214, and note the nearby marble floor at — 1.00 m.
Reference: Agora SC, December 3, 1937, 10-18.
12. Follis, with Constantine, *B.M.C.* 7.
Map: 4-5: K. Reference: St. John's S., June 6, 1938, 1-15.
13. Similar.
Map: 5: L. Reference: Agora SC, April 16, 1938, 18-47.
14. Similar, *B.M.C.* 8.
Map: 8: K. Reference: Agora SC, November 2, 1936, 1-8.
15. Similar, *B.M.C.* 7 ff.
Reference: Agora 1934 miscellaneous.
16. Similar.
Map: 5: J? Reference: St. John's S., March 23, 1937, 21-26.
17. Follis, with Constantine, provincial mint, *B.M.C.* 22-26.
Map: 2: M. Context: with 7 coins of Romanus I (associated?) just above Agora level.
Reference: Agora SW, November 1, 1934, 2-12.
18. Follis, with Constantine, provincial mint, *B.M.C.* 35-37.
Map: 10: J. Reference: Agora SE, May 22, 1933, 22-35.

MICHAEL II, A.D. 820-29

19. Follis, with Theophilus. *B.M.C.* 6-10. Cut down in size. Edwards 80.
Reference: Agora SW, March 28, 1933, 13.
20. Follis, with Theophilus, provincial mint. *B.M.C.* 20-27. Edwards 81.

THEOPHILUS, A.D. 829-42

21. Miliaresion, *B.M.C.* 14. Edwards 82.
22. Follis, *B.M.C.* 15-16. Obv. with unusually small lettering for this type. Reference: 1902 (tray 604).
23. Similar.
Map: 10-11:K. Reference: Agora SE, May 8, 1933, 10-15.

REFORMED FOLLES

Groups A and B

The stylistic Groups A and B, which were defined largely in terms of their obverse characteristics, were assigned (in *MN*) to the metropolitan region. Group A was given to Constantinople, and Group B to an active mint "not far from Constantinople, perhaps on the Asian side of the Propontis" i.e. analogous to Nicomedia in the sixth century. A more detailed consideration of the evidence, including that from Corinth, reveals similarities between certain reverse dies of Groups A and B. The connections are restricted to a small number of coins in each group, in each case apparently standing early in the sequence; but the generalization to which the least uncertainty attaches is that the reverse dies of Group B are a far more compact series, in style, than are those of Group A. On balance, a move to attribute both A and B to the Constantinople mint would seem to raise more difficulties than it dismissed, and the best guess is still the one originally proposed. Until a hoard comes to light, and serves to remedy the rather low survival rate of Groups A and B, one can only speculate on the mint organization which is reflected in the near linkage of reverse dies. There might, for example, have been a decision, a month or so after the new folles were introduced, to speed up the rate of coinage by increasing the personnel of the mints and decentralizing their work.

Group A. There are few obvious clues to the internal arrangement of Group A, and given the possibility of more than one officina, it is advisable to place the obverses and reverses into order separately, in order to keep problems of mint organization out of the analysis in the first instance. The obverses vary a good deal: formal differences are in the number of dots in the tufa (the crest of the head-dress), the number of dots on the transverse panel of the loros (from 5 to 7½ pairs), and on the skirt panel (from 2½ to 4 pairs), the free end of the loros (dotted or undotted squares, a fringe, etc.), and the staff of the labarum (behind or in front of the arm). Diagnostic details are to be found in the lines used to mark the drapery over the emperor's right arm and over his left leg; the shape of the neckline; the shape of the banner of the labarum and the angle of its pendants; the size of the lettering; and the shape of the free end of the loros. The clear obverses available are still too few to establish tightly interlocked sequences, but the limited conclusions that can be reached should be at least of some value when the possible amalgamation of stylistic groups under the rubric of a single mint-attribution is under review. At one end of the scale are coins with careful and realistic drapery, and many dots on the loros, and at the other are some characteristic pieces with simplified drapery, fewer dots on the loros, the staff of the labarum in front of the arm, and a conspicuous fringe to the free end of the loros. The logic of the area between these two extremes remains elusive. As a first approximation, one might guess at four subgroups, of which the criteria are summarized in diagrammatic form in Fig. 5.

Subgroup A/4 is the most distinctive, and it seems to contain a larger proportion of underweight coins—no doubt because of a falling away from the original careful standards of manufacture of the reformed coinage. Subgroups A/1 and A/2 are not far apart; translating style and detail into mint organization, therefore, one might think of two or three die-cutters working closely together, and a chronological progression towards less careful, less elaborate dies.

Within that framework, the dies that are irregular, experimental, or blundered in character are few. *MN* 10 has an experimental treatment of the free end of the loros; re-cutting on *B.M.C.* 20 (Pl. 41, A), which is otherwise of neat workmanship, reveals second thoughts about the drapery to the lower right; the same is true of Ashm. 2; on Nos. 24 and 25 a lopsided tufa has perhaps been altered after the pattern of dots has been inserted. *MN* 4 lacks pendants and has 6 dots in the tufa.

The reverses are much more consistent in style. The lettering on some is large and in a nervous, "seriffed" manner not unlike that of Group ς . The majority of the specimens, however, display a tempered and cultivated workmanship. The most obvious variable is the shape of the letter ς , which is usually consistent on closely similar dies.

	A 1	A 2	A 3	A 4
Shading				
Neckline				
Lettering	A	A	large; A	large; A
	••••	{ •••• ••	{ •••• •••• ••	•••
	7½ 6½	6½ 5½	6½ 5½	6½
	5 4	4 2½	4	3½ 2½
Labarum				

FIG. 5. The reformed folles of Theophilus:
tentative classification of the varieties
of Group A.

The Corinth excavations have yielded two blundered dies. Each reads $\text{AS}\varsigma\text{OVST}\epsilon$ for $\text{AV}\varsigma\text{OVST}\epsilon$. The two coins share an obverse die. They are presumably early.

The coins listed in *MN* are to be divided among the subgroups as follows:

- A/1. *MN* 1, 2, 13, Paris 826, Berlin 2.
A/2. *MN* 10, Ashm. 2, *MN* 6, ANS 8, *MN* 3, 14.
A/3. *MN* 8, 7, Vienna 4, Vienna 2.
A/4. *B.M.C.* 20, *MN* 9, Ashm. 5, *MN* 11, 12, 4, 5.

Group A/1

- §24. Obv. $\Theta\epsilon\text{OFIL}$, bASIL , Blundered tufa. Rev. $\text{AS}\varsigma$ in large letters.

Map: 9:I. Context: in front of the Tavern, with 5 coins of Constantine VII and one later coin. Cf. No. 105 below, from an overlapping trench, 0.20 m. deeper. Reference: Agora NE, April 20, 1937, 49-53.

- *§25. Obv. same die as No. 24. Rev. near-duplicate of No. 24, also blundered.
Map: 2-3:H. Reference: Road N. of St. John's S., March 8, 1933, 4.

26. Obv. extremely similar to *MN* 1. Rev. extremely similar to *MN* 4.
Map: 9: J. Reference: Agora NE, May 27, 1937, 10-15.
- §27. Obv. die fragmentary, but different from No. 26, *MN* 2, *MN* 13, and Paris 826.
Rev. extremely similar to No. 25.
Map: 4: K. Context: 3 ancient coins, this one, a Leo with Alexander, and 3 Leos.
Reference: St. John's S., May 16, 1938, 18-25.
28. Obv. small, neat labarum. Tufa with 6 dots. Diamond-shaped panels in free end of loros (cf. Nos. 24-25). Rev. cf. *MN* 2. [Group A, but attribution to A/1 not certain.]
Map: 4: O. Context: the Shop at the southern end of Southwest Road; mainly sixth-century coins. Cf. No. 45. Reference: Agora SW, May 10, 1933.

Group A/2

- §29. Obv. (partly destroyed) cf. Paris 826 and Berlin 2. Rev. extremely similar to Ashm. 2 and *MN* 6.
Map: 6: K. Reference: Agora NC, February 23, 1938, 21-25.

Group A/3

- §30. Obv. somewhat spade-shaped tufa, i.e. pointed at the top. Cf. No. 31. Rev. cf. *MN* 5.
Map: 11: H. Reference: Agora NE, March 10, 1937, 1-8.
- *§31. Obv. extremely similar to *MN* 8 and *MN* 7 (bAS is a near-duplicate detail). Rev. cf. *MN* 7.
Map: 9: I. Reference: Agora NE, May 11, 1936, 26.
- §32. Obv. (partly destroyed) tufa marked ··:··. Small, square labarum, and small dots in tufa suggest attribution to A/3. Rev. extremely similar to No. 31.
Map: 5: M. Context: Ceramic Factory, —1.55 to —1.85 m., with some red earth (Roman?) at bottom; a late Roman coin, this one, and a Leo. Reference: Agora SC, March 12, 1938, 2-6.
- §33. Obv. (incomplete, and cannot be checked against No. 32). Rev. cf. 32. (Attribution to A/3 not certain.)
Map: 4: J. Context: with No. 470 at the pavement bedding level. Reference: St. John's S., February 10, 1938, 1-3.
- *§34. Obv. free end of loros is wider at bottom. Rev. large € in Θ€Ο.
Map: 6: K. Reference: Agora NC, March 1, 1938, 161-70.

Group A/4

- §35. Obv. largely destroyed, but the bold dots on the free end of the loros are visible. The globus cruciger is extremely similar to that on *B.M.C.* 20. Rev. cf. *MN* 11.
Map: 5: M. Context: Ceramic Factory. In a fill with tiles, stones, etc., down to —1.55 m. Late Roman, No. 78, and various other coins through to the twelfth century. Cf. No. 454. Rice A3 and A4 pottery, C38-277-287. Reference: Agora SC, March 10, 1938, 16-25.
- *§36. Obv. four dots in tufa. Three conspicuous dots as fringe of free end of loros. Rev. cf. No. 35.
Map: 5: L. Reference: Agora SC, April 30, 1938, 1-13.
- §37. Obv. cf. *MN* 5. Rev. cf. *MN* 5 and *MN* 11.
Map: 6: L. Reference: Agora NC, March 8, 1938, 32-39.
38. Obv. cf. *MN* 11. (Attribution to A/4 not certain.)
Map: 5: M. Context: Ceramic Factory, —0.60 to —1.30 m., where a strosis of yellowish-red earth was reached; with No. 436. Reference: Agora SC, March 24, 1938, 1-2.
- §39. Obv. cf. *MN* 4 and *MN* 5. Rev. cf. *MN* 5. (Obv. die not checked.)
Map: 4: K. Reference: St. John's S., May 4, 1938, 21-22.

Group A, not assigned to a subgroup

- §40. Rev. similar to *MN* 6 and *MN* 14. Possibly A/2 or A/3. (Obv. die not checked.)
Map: 4:M. Reference: Agora SC, March 23, 1938.
41. Close to *MN* 11. Tufa obscure. A/4?
Map: 4:0. Context: Shop at the southern end of the Southwest Road; among nearly a thousand coins in a layer 0.10 to 0.20 m. thick, at about + 0.30 to + 0.10 m. Reference: Agora SW, May 9, 1933, 986-993.
42. Cf. *MN* 9. Possibly A/4?
Map: 11:K. Reference: Agora SE, May 18, 1933, 48.
43. Obv. obscure. Cf. *MN* 10? Rev. cf. *MN* 11. Very fretted. Perhaps A/4?
Reference: 1902 (tray 603).

Group B

Group B presents an interesting problem of stylistic analysis. The reverse dies make up a very compact group. The obverses can be divided into two separate styles according to the treatment of the drapery; the secret-marks correspond fully and convincingly with this division. We can specify, therefore,

- B/1, with an elongated tufa, and the mark $\cdots\cdots$;
B/2, with a half-moon tufa and various secret-marks.

The drapery is illustrated in Fig. 6.

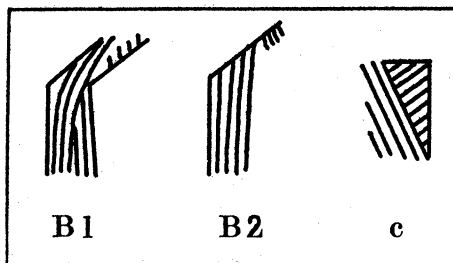


FIG. 6. The reformed folles of Theophilus:
stylistic criteria for Groups
B/1 and B/2.

The evidence for sequence within B/1 and B/2 is conflicting and inconclusive. Coins lacking pendants to the labarum (*MN* 22 and 23) and a generally blundered piece (Munich 3, and with it No. 44) would seem to be early, but it may be that sense can be made of the coins only by rejecting the view that the reading *bASILC* is an early detail. *MN* 17 (reading *bASILC*) and Vienna 3 (normal) stand together: they share an unusual form of drapery, which is illustrated in Fig. 6, c. In turn, *MN* 19 and 20 belong with them.

There are a good many affinities between the reverses of B/1 and B/2. *MN* 25 and 19 are particularly close, and one should mention also the similarities between *MN* 22 and 26, and *MN* 24 and Munich 3.

The reverse similarities between Groups A and B are clearest between the following specimens:

Group A		Group B
<i>B.M.C.</i> 20	and	<i>MN</i> 24
<i>MN</i> 9	and	<i>MN</i> 25
Ashm. 5	and	Berlin 7
No. 36	and	<i>MN</i> 26

The best hypothesis, therefore, seems to be that which places *MN* 24, 26, etc. early, and sees the link between A and B most closely in the early coins of A/4 and the early coins of B/1. New evidence, however, might show how this view could be modified.

The excavation coins from Corinth are intriguing because there is a preponderance of variety B/1. The totals (7:2) are not large enough to be statistically conclusive, but they serve to draw attention to the absence, also, of variety A/3, and the possibility that mint operation was reflected in the currency by the consignment of folles.

Group B/1

- §44. Obv. obscure (die not checked). Rev. cf. *MN* 24.
Map: 3:K. Reference: St. John's S., April 20, 1938, 52-58.
- 45. Obv. and rev. cf. style of *MN* 24 and 26. Obv. reads **basil** /
Map: 4:N. Context: Shop at southern end of Southwest Road; with late Roman, Justinian, and Leo VI in front part of Shop XXXIII.
Reference: Agora SW, May 11, 1933, 32-48.
- 46. Obv. cf. *MN* 25. Rev. cf. *MN* 26?
Map: 8:H approx. Reference: Lechaion Road, 1930, no. 28.
- §47. Obv. obscure, but a long, angular tufa (die not checked). Rev. cf. *MN* 26.
Map: 6:J. Reference: Agora NC, January 31, 1938, 11-12.
- §48. Obv. cf. Berlin 7. Rev. cf. Berlin 6; and cf. also *MN* 17 (B/2).
Map: 3:J. Context: near southern apse of St. John's church, from earth under wall at a:26/m:25 [= southern wall of southern annex?]. Cf. No. 318, found the same day.
Reference: St. John's S., May 24, 1937, 2-7.
- *§49. Obv. note the shading at the right shoulder. Rev. cf. Berlin 6. The bottom serif of the € comes inside that of the bar, which rises. The three €s are near-duplicates. Berlin 6 is the only parallel in Group B/1. The only other parallel (B/2 and A/4 searched) is Vienna 3.
Map: 5:M. Context: Ceramic Factory, front complex, from wall; 2 late Roman, this, Nos. 452, 457, and a Leo. Reference: Agora SC, April 2, 1938, 17-23.
- 50. Obv. apart from the tufa, the outline of the figure is much as on *MN* 22. Rev. obscure; cf. *MN* 24?
Map: 8:K. Reference: Agora NE, November 13, 1937, 62-74.

Group B/2

- §51. Obv. from the same die as *MN* 22. Rev. closest to *MN* 18, and with a large O in OVS, as on *MN* 19.
Map: 5:L. Context: Ceramic Factory; very black fill at —1.90 to —2.10 m., with a Roman coin. Reference: Agora SC, April 8, 1938, 6-8.
- 52. Obv. tufa (with 4 dots), etc., extremely similar to *MN* 18. Rev. cf. *MN* 18.
Map: 4:O. Context: in a cistern, with one Roman coin. Reference: Agora SW, May 22, 1933, 11-12.

Group B or Γ

- 53. Worn and obscure, but probably either Group B or Γ.
Map: 7:K. Reference: Agora NC, December 2, 1937.

Group Γ

The dotted style, the dotted panels of the free end of the loros, the sloping fingers, and the curved central panel of the loros are all confirmed as criteria on the few further specimens now made available for study. The mark in the tufa, however, is obliterated in all but one specimen

(No. 56), where it is normal. Nos. 54 and 55 preserve margins to the flan. The dots on the central part of the loros are not unusually large except on No. 55; and the C in Π CAS is not fully characteristic. On the obverse, the outline of the tufa, the sardonic cast of features, and the curve of the neckline seem characteristic; on the reverse, the break in level of the base-line between Φ Λ and Λ V ς is standard, as is the τ compressed at top and bottom in OVST ϵ .

Chronological arrangement. No. 54 is a quite exceptional coin, and doubtless stands at the beginning of the sequence. Its reverse die links it firmly to a coin in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. One might ask oneself whether the obverse was not borrowed from the workshop of Group A, but the long, high forefinger and the experimental treatment of the drapery of the arm associate it firmly with Group Γ . The large number of dots on the panel of the loros over the skirt must be interpreted, therefore, as merely an early variation. The die-cutter seems thereafter to have settled down to 2½ or 3 pairs of dots in this position; there is no evidence of progressive diminution in their number. Apart from the experimental die, the whole group is very compact, and the chronological order is not clear.

*§54. Obv. near-duplicate of *MN* 15 (but smaller labarum). The dots in the panels of the free end of the loros are bold. Rather tall cross on globus, which is held low. Rev. near-duplicate of *MN* 15, with the same deeply rounded cutting of the letters. The O of Θ EO shows an error at the bottom.

Map: 6:K. Context: Glass Factory, y-D:115-119 at +0.90 to +0.40 m.; with Nos. 358, 421, 422, 2 coins of Leo, and 4 of Rex Regnantium Class A. Reference: Agora NC, March 11, 1938, 1-6 (part of 1-12).

*§55. Obv. rounded, dotted neckline (an early detail?). Pronounced curve in the central part of the loros. Intermediate in style between *MN* 15 and 16. Rev. cf. *MN* 15 and 16, and Schl. 3025 (Pl. 41, B).

Map: 4-5:L-M. Reference: Agora SC, February 12, 1938, 1-2.

§56. Obv. characteristic fingers. Intermediate between *MN* 15 and 16. Rev. very similar to *MN* 15.

Map: 6:M. Context: Glass Factory, dark fill from —1.20 to —1.60 m., with stones, tiles, and ash. Practically no Byzantine pottery. With No. 466. Cf. 62. Reference: Agora SC, November 5, 1937, 7-8.

§57. Obv. fingers, etc., characteristic. Rev. destroyed (die not checked).

Map: 4:L(?). Reference: St. John's S., October 16, 1936, 15-29.

Group Δ

The few coins of Group Δ from Corinth are too worn to be of any use as regards their stylistic arrangement, which is discussed in detail in *MN* XIV using specimens from other sources. The general style of the Group is illustrated from *MN* 60 (Pl. 41, C). Of the 3 examples listed by Miss Edwards as half-folles, only one was in fact of Group Δ . The scarcity of the Group at Corinth is an obstacle to the view that it was a fractional denomination. Coins of smaller value are, as a general rule, relatively far more plentiful among stray losses than the more valuable pieces are.

58. Obv. cf. *MN* 27. Rev. small lettering, as on *MN* 27.

Map: 4:M. Context: the Southwest Quarter, in a pithos with Nos. 102 and 15. Reference: Agora SW, May 24, 1933, 11-14.

59. Obv. worn flat. Rev. cf. *MN* 28.

Map: 6:K. Reference: Agora NC, February 26, 1938, 38-43.

60. Very obscure. Cf. *MN* 28?

Reference: June 9, 1915.

61. Very obscure. Cf. *MN* 28 or 29?

Map: 4:K. Reference: St. John's S., April 30, 1938, 49-60.

62. Obscure. Cf. *MN* 30?

Map: 6:M. Context: Glass Factory, L-P:6-7 at — 1.30 to — 1.40 m. Cf. No. 56.
Reference: Agora SC, November 4, 1937, 42-43.

Group €

A point that was not noted when the style of Group € was originally identified is that the emperor's arm, holding the labarum, on *MN* 36 and 37, is distinctive. The treatment is, however, more normal on the Stockholm coin and on No. 64, while No. 63 is obscure. It is just possible that Group € is related to Group H, which is discussed below.

*§63. From different dies from the four coins in *MN*.

Map: 10:L. Reference: Agora SE, April 27, 1934, 24-34.

64. Pierced, and obscure. The obverse is apparently as Group € (small tufa of characteristic shape; very small, square labarum, with dot-pendants almost at the corners). The rev. is apparently extremely similar to *MN* 6, and raises the interesting possibility of a link between Groups A and €.

Map: 9:J. Reference: Agora NE, May 25, 1937, 37-44.

Group ζ

The many coins of Group ζ from Corinth confirm the criteria by which the issue has been defined. They serve to show that *MN* 38-41 and 43-44 are representative of a closely interrelated group of dies, while *MN* 42 (with pendants) is typical of a smaller group which is connected but relatively separate—probably, it will be suggested, late. The primary criteria which mark ζ off from A are a flaring skirt, and the consistent shape of the letter € on the reverse. Within the circle of the globus cruciger there are 3 fingers in Group ζ, but 4 in A.

There are two irregularities which require consideration as being possibly early or experimental details. The obverse inscription occurs in a shortened form on a number of coins, including some of particularly careful manufacture. The shortest version is Θ€OFI bASI; the final sign in each word could be a letter I, but it is probably better regarded as a mark of abbreviation (see No. 79). On this and related coins, the letters of bASI, bASI, or bASIL are large, and their positioning, in regard to each other and to the globus cruciger, is often the easiest way of checking that dies are not duplicates. Secondly, a naturalistic treatment of the tufa provides a starting point for the sequence of Group ζ. *MN* 38 is typical of the die-related group of specimens on which it is found; they are characterized by the dotted style. Taking these two groups as early, it would seem very difficult to combine all the coins into a single, developing sequence. The two obverse varieties are, on the other hand, related by die-similarities among their reverses. The best hypothesis, therefore, may well be that there were two artists cutting dies concurrently in the Group ζ mint. Their workmanship can be distinguished as follows:

ζ/1. The locks of hair are shaded in lines parallel with the curve of the jaw. Dotted intersections of the free end of the loros are normal in, and restricted to, this variety. Naturalistic treatment of the tufa on early specimens.

ζ/2. The locks of hair are shaded in lines running outwards, i.e. approximately at right angles to the jaw. Plain loros end. Large lettering, and abbreviated inscription, on early specimens. The pattern of die similarity suggests an active initial phase of mint operation (note, for example, the blunder Θ€FIL bASI). The reverse dies, in particular, are all very much alike, and it is only by systematic checking that one can be sure that there are no instances of die duplication.

There are (? late) specimens, having ···· in the tufa and pendants to the labarum, with the locks of hair as in either ζ/1 or ζ/2. *MN* 42, which seemed to stand at some distance, in terms of style, from the other available coins, is confirmed as belonging with Group ζ by the Corinth find No. 78, of which the obverse die is a near-duplicate, while the reverse is more like *MN* 40.

Group ε/1

- *§65. Obv. ΘΕΟΦΙΛ βασιλ/. Cf. *MN* 38, but with naturalistic treatment of tufa. Characteristic εs. Reference: as No. 26.
- §66. Obv. cf. *MN* 38, 39. Semi-naturalistic treatment of tufa, cf. No. 65. Rev. long V in ΑΥΘ and η in ΗΙΚΑΣ.
Reference: Temple E, May 30, 1932.
- §67. Obv. cf. *MN* 39. Dotted intersections. ΘΕΟΦΙΛ βασιλ/. Rev. cf. *MN* 38. Near-duplicate of Nos. 66 and 65.
Reference: Temple E, November 3, 1932.
- §68. Obv. dotted staff of labarum. Rev. different die from No. 67; not otherwise checked.
Map: 3: M. Context: Southwest Quarter. Reference: Agora SW, October 18, 1934.
- *§69. Obv. dotted staff of labarum. Dotted intersections. Closest to *MN* 38.
Map: 5: K. Reference: St. John's S., May 4, 1938, 17-18.
- §70. Obv. prominently dotted intersections. Extremely similar to *MN* 39.
Map: 7: K. Context: with No. 335 and a Leo, at + 0.80 to + 0.30 m.
Reference: Agora NC, November 22, 1937, 19-22.
- §71. Obv. dotted intersections. ΘΕΟΦΙΛ βασιλ/. Very similar to *MN* 39.
Map: 9: J. Reference: Agora NE, May 20, 1937, 12-13.
- §72. Obv. dotted staff to labarum. ΘΕΟΦΙΛ βασιλ/. Near-duplicate of *MN* 39. Rev. near-duplicate of No. 65.
Map: 6: K. Context: Glass Factory, d-v: 118-122 at + 1.00 to + 0.50 m., sandy fill with large scattered areas of burnt black fill. Nos. 13-184 include many late Roman, 14 "Vandalic," 2 of Anastasius, a Justinian, etc., as well as this coin, Nos. 144, 286, 346, and 360. Cf. also No. 135.
Reference: Agora NC, March 11, 1938, 113-132 (part of 13-184).
- *§73. Obv. dotted intersections; bolder style, larger lettering; near-duplicate of *MN* 38. Rev. more deeply rounded lettering.
Reference: Agora NE, May 29, 1937, dump.
- *§74. Obv. extremely similar to *MN* 38. Rev. extremely similar to No. 79.
Map: 10: K-L. Reference: Agora SE, April 27, 1934, 17-19.
- *§75. Extremely similar to No. 74, but different dies.
Map: 4: M. Context: Southwest Quarter, — 0.40 m. from stylobate level. Cf. No. 77.
Reference: Agora SW, May 12, 1933, 35.
- §76. Obv. largely destroyed, but a near-duplicate of *MN* 38. Rev. closest to *MN* 38. (Rev. die only checked.)
Map: 5: J. Reference: St. John's S., March 26, 1937, 15.

With 6 dots in tufa

- *§77. Obv. cf. *MN* 41. Small, neat labarum, with pendants; and 6 dots in tufa. Rev. closest to *MN* 44.
Map: 4: M. Context: Southwest Quarter, π: 12, + 0.40 m. above stylobate.
Reference: Agora SW, April 26, 1933, 15.
- §78. Obv. near-duplicate of *MN* 42. Rev. closest to *MN* 40.
Reference: as No. 35.

Group ε/2

- §79. Obv. ΘΕΟΦ' βασιλ'. Large flan and neat work. Rev. rather small lettering. An early and critical coin.
Map: 9: J. Context: the Inn, in the room at the southwestern corner, with 5 coins of

Romanus I and C37-2732 and C37-1151/54. The extremely fine preservation of this coin makes it certain that it is an early loss, and this is of some interest, although not conclusive, for the dating of the Petal Ware mug, Morgan cat. no. 165. Note that No. 81, a closely similar coin, comes from the adjacent room at about the same level. Reference: Agora NE, June 1, 1937, 18-23.

- §80. Near-duplicate of No. 79. (Obv. only checked.)
Map: 9-10: H. Reference: Agora NE, March 27, 1936, 1-8.
81. Obv. close to *MN* 40. Rev. extremely similar to No. 79.
Map: 9: J. Reference: Agora NE, June 1, 1937, 31-36.
- §82. Obv. ΘΕΟΦΙ βαΣΙΛ in large letters, but otherwise extremely similar to the preceding coins. Prominent dots at corners of banner of labarum, and at tips of fingers holding globus. Rev. closest to *MN* 38. (Rev. die not checked.)
Map: 6: L. Context: Glass Factory, I-M: 15-23, dark fill with broken tiles, at — 1.70 to — 2.30 m., this one coin. Reference: Agora SC, April 28, 1937, 1-2.
- §83. Obv. ΘΕΟΦ βαΣΙ in large letters. Extremely similar to *MN* 40 and No. 79. Rev. extremely similar to No. 79 and *MN* 41.
Map: 11: H. Context: East Quarter, from wall; with 2 coins of Constantine VII. Cf. Nos. 30 and 298 from nearby, also in a "Constantine VII context." Reference: Agora NE, March 10, 1937, 21-22.
- §84. Obv. ΘΕΟΦΙ βαΣΙ. Extremely similar to No. 79, but a different die. Rev. cf. No. 65. Widely spaced lettering.
Map: 6: K. Context: Glass Factory, v-y: 118-122, + 0.90 to + 0.30 m., sandy fill with much late Roman coinage. This is the latest coin. Reference: Agora NC, March 12, 1938, 87-106 (part of 27-138).
- §84. Obv. ΘΕΟΦΙ βαΣΙ. Extremely similar to No. 79, but a different die. Rev. cf. No. 65. experimental detail? Extremely similar to No. 84. Rev. extremely similar to *MN* 39.
Map: 5: N. Context: South Stoa, from Shop XXVIII, to ca. 0.30 m., with 5 coins of Manuel I. Cf. the group a little to the north, discussed under the heading of the Ceramic Factory. Reference: S. Stoa W., October 8, 1937, 18-19, etc.
- §86. Obv. horizontal shading of the locks of hair. Generally very similar to *MN* 43. Rev. near-duplicate of *MN* 43.
Map: 6: L. Reference: Agora SC, November 15, 1937, 37-52.
- *§87. Obv. ΘΕΟΦΙ βαΣΙ. Six dots in tufa (but no pendants). Rev. very large letters for ΠΙΚΑΣ, and the S is bent to accommodate it to the circular border.
Reference: Peribolos, 1930.
- §88. Obv. ΘΕΟΦ' βαΣΙ[L]. Near-duplicate of No. 91. Rev. near-duplicate of *MN* 44, and of No. 91.
Map: 6: M. Reference: Agora SC, November 8, 1937, 4-7.
- §89. Obv. ΘΕΟΦΙ βαΣΙ. Close to *MN* 40. Rev. close to *MN* 40 and cf. *MN* 44.
Map: 0 to — 1: K-L. Reference: South of Museum, June 9, 1926.
- §90. Obv. ΘΕΟΦΙ βαΣΙ. Near-duplicate of *MN* 44. Rev. closest to No. 92.
Map: 7: K. Reference: Agora NC, December 1, 1937, 41-50 (part of 1-86).
- §91. Obv. ΘΕΦΙΙ βαΣΙ (*sic*). Extremely similar to *MN* 44. Rev. near-duplicate of *MN* 44, and extremely similar to No. 65.
Map: 9: I. Context: north of the Inn, near the kiln. Cf. Nos. 158, 159, from the same trench the next day. Reference: Agora NE, May 20, 1937, 25-26.
- *§92. Obv. almost certainly from the same die as No. 91. Rev. extremely similar to *MN* 44.
Map: 6: L. Context: Glass Factory, classical fill, with only a few Byzantine sherds; this and a coin of Maurice. Reference: Agora SC, November 16, 1937, 3-6.
- *§93. Obv. ..ΟΦΙ βαΣΙΙ. Cf. *MN* 43 and 44. Rev. extremely similar to No. 91.

Map: 4: M. Context: the Southwest Quarter. A small deposit?—this and No. 126 from ρ : 5, + 0.30 m. above stylobate. Reference: Agora SW, April 26, 1933, 16-17.

- §94. Obv. extremely similar to No. 93. Rev. closest to No. 91.

Map: 6: K. Context: north of the entrance to the Glass Factory, soft dark fill from + 1.50 to + 0.90 m.; with Nos. 235, 264, 327, 328, 362, 3 of Leo, 3 of Constantine VII, 1 of Nicephorus II, 1 Rex Regnantium Class A, and 1 of Alexius I. Reference: Agora NC, February 28, 1938, 53-61.

- *§95. Obv. cf. *MN* 43. Rev. extremely similar to No. 86.

Map: 4: O. Context: Shop at the southern end of Southwest Road; grid H: 14, with No. 252 and a Constantine VII. Reference: Agora SW, May 22, 1933, 8-10.

- §96. Obv. obscure, but $\varsigma/2$ (locks of hair, S in bASI). Near-duplicate of No. 91, but not, apparently, the same die (different eyebrows). Rev. cf. No. 91.

Map: 9: I (probably). Reference: Agora NE, May 10, 1937, 28-33.

97. Obv. cf. No. 96. Large S in bASI, locks of hair shaded horizontally.

Map: 11: I. Reference: Agora NE, February 12, 1937, 56.

Six dots in tufa, and pendants on labarum

- §98. Obv. neat workmanship; near-duplicate of *MN* 41. Rev. largely destroyed.

Map: 5: M. Context: Ceramic Factory, in a mainly classical fill at — 1.10 to — 1.25 m.; a late Roman coin, this, and one of Leo. Reference: Agora SC, March 3, 1938, 3-6.

- *§99. Obv. obscure, but there are pendants to the labarum. Extremely similar to *MN* 41 and 43. Rev. obscure; extremely similar to *MN* 44?

Map: 6: M. Reference: Agora SC, October 25, 1937, 77-93.

Group $\varsigma/1$ or $\varsigma/2$: probably $\varsigma/1$

- §100. Obv. dotted intersections? Similar to No. 72? Rev. extremely similar to No. 91.

Map: 5: K. Reference: St. John's S., May 26, 1938, 11-17.

- §101. Obv. dotted intersections? Fingers of hand holding globus provide a simple check for die duplication. Rev. large, rough lettering, cf. No. 69. Reference: June 10, 1915.

102. Obscure. Cf. *MN* 38. Low weight.

Reference: as No. 58.

103. Obscure. Cf. *MN* 38.

Map: 5: K. Context: Area I E, — 4.20 to — 4.60 m.; one ancient coin, one of Phocas, this, one Leo, 2 Rex Regnantium Class A, a Nicephorus III, and 15 of Alexius I, 1 of Manuel I. Reference: St. John's S., May 14, 1938, 1-30.

104. Very similar to *MN* 39.

Map: 9: I. Reference: Agora NE, May 11, 1937, 7-12.

105. Cf. *MN* 39.

Map: 10: I. Reference: Agora NE, April 10, 1937, 39-47.

106. Obv. destroyed. Rev. cf. *MN* 39.

Map: 8: J. Reference: Agora NC, October 11, 1937, 56.

107. Obv. obscure, but apparently extremely similar to *MN* 40. Rev. near-duplicate of *MN* 39. Map: 6: K. Context: Glass Factory, d-C: 122-126, at + 1.20 to + 0.70 m.; ancient, Roman, and "Vandalic" coins, this, Nos. 205, and 333. Reference: Agora NC, March 23, 1938, 1-10 (part of 1-21).

Group $\varsigma/1$ or $\varsigma/2$: probably $\varsigma/2$

108. Obv. extremely similar to *MN* 44. Rev. cf. *MN* 43 and 39.

Map: 5: L. Reference: Agora SC, April 21, 1938, 1-20.

109. Obscure. Cf. *MN* 43?
Reference: 1898 (tray 621).
110. Obscure. Cf. *MN* 43.
Reference: November 18, 1914 (tray 702).
111. Obv. largely destroyed, but the section of the loros over the skirt, and the free end of the loros, are somewhat as on *MN* 40. Rev. cf. *MN* 43 or 39. Large letter F.
Map: 5:N. Context: from foundation of S. Stoa in front of Shop XXXI. Reference: S. Stoa W., October 22, 1937, 4-6.
112. Similar to *MN* 44.
Map: 9:K (?). Reference: Agora SE, April 24, 1934, 1-20.
113. Very worn. Pierced. Cf. *MN* 39.
Map: 6:M. Reference: Agora SC, October 23, 1937, 3-23.
114. Obv. destroyed. Rev. "seriffed" style of *MN* 39 and 43.
Map: 4:M. Context: Southwest Quarter; wall at π -o:1-6 (plan, Field Notebook p. 54); cf. No. 138.
Reference: Agora SW, May 10, 1933, 62-72.
115. Obscure. Not certainly ς .
Reference: October 18, 1919.
116. Bent.
Reference: 1926/273 (north of Temple).
117. Very battered.
Map: 8-9:C-D. Reference: April 8, 1929 (1929 supplementary, not included in the totals in Edwards, *Corinth*, VI).
118. A fragment. Cf. *MN* 38?
Map: 10:I. Reference: Agora NE, March 26, 1937, 47-49.

ς /Z mule?

This exceptionally important coin is from a reverse die which is certainly of Group Z (compare the reverse die of No. 122, also on Pl. 42). The obverse die is problematic. The free end of the loros is dotted, as on Group ς /1, and the outline of the locks of hair is characteristic of Group ς /1 rather than Z. The \mathbf{b} of \mathbf{bASIL} is obscure, but seems to be normal for ς , and the carefully "seriffed" S of the same word would be exceptional in Group Z. The 4 dots in the tufa are small and neat. Other details, such as the dotted fingers of the hand holding the globus, and the lack of cleavage between the shoulder and the globus, are inconclusive; the labarum, unfortunately, is not struck up, but its staff is dotted. The coin evidently stands very early in the sequence of Group Z, and the question is whether the obverse is from a borrowed die cut by the artist of Group ς /1, or is a mechanical copy of ς /1 by the Group Z artist, who subsequently cultivated his own style. The obverses of Nos. 67 and 70 are close to No. 119, but are by no means near-duplicates. In default of evidence from another coin of Group ς , it must remain a matter of opinion how No. 119 should be interpreted.

Post scriptum: since these lines were written, two more ς /Z mules have turned up *dans le commerce*, and it is hoped to discuss them, together with the evidence of related dies of Groups ς and Z, in a separate note.

*§119. Obv. cf. Nos. 67 and 70? Rev. cf. Nos. 135, 120; near-duplicate of *MN* 46. Reference: as No. 29.

Group Z

The coins of Group Z are in general so incompletely struck and poorly preserved that it is not possible to suggest any precise arrangement of the dies into chronological order. The Corinth

coins amply confirm the criteria that have been proposed, in particular the leaning **b** on the obverse and the bold style. Special attention was paid to the possibility of reverse links between Groups ς and Z, such as might indicate that they were all from the same workshop. (Any such link could, on grounds of general style, only be between $\varsigma/1$ and Z, and it will be noted that the hair-styles conflict, and that the free end of the loros does not extend to the edge of the coin in Group Z. There is, however, the one precious coin described above as No. 119.) No reliable check could be made on the pendants of the labarum, but it would seem that they occur infrequently; and that, unlike Group ς , the coins with pendants still have only 4 dots in the tufa (Munich 1 checks).

The Corinth coins support a stylistic division of Group Z into coins on which the banner of the labarum is squarely placed with reference to the axis of the design (*MN* 46, 48, 49), and those on which it leans to the left (*MN* 45, 47, 50, 51). The former, which will be called Z/1, are neater, and apparently include all the coins with pendants (cf. Munich 1 again). The latter, Z/2, include a couple of excavation coins with inscriptional errors—in one case ΠIAS for ΠICAS , and in the other MICAS for ΠICAS . So far as one can judge from the reverses, Z/1 and Z/2 are the parallel issues of one mint, but the condition of most specimens is so poor that this is on the level of conjecture. There is a good criterion for the obverses, which fully confirms the division into Z/1 and Z/2, in the shape of the hand holding the labarum. It is very fat and clumsy on Z/2, while on Z/1 it is thinner, sharply bent at the wrist, and with twig-like fingers.

The coins listed below have been described in the first instance according to similarity with the obverses of the specimens illustrated in *MN*, in the order 49, 48, 46; 50, 45, 47, 51. They have not been stated to be of variety Z/1 or Z/2 unless the critical details were clear.

Group Z/1 (obverse similarities to MN 49, 48, 46)

- §120. Z/1. Near-duplicate of *MN* 49. (With pendants.)
Map: 6: L. Context: Glass Factory, from cistern. Reference: Agora SC, June 12, 1937, 2.
- 121. Z/1. Very similar to *MN* 49. (With pendants.)
Map: 10: K. Reference: Agora SE, April 26, 1934, 21-23.
- *122. Very similar to *MN* 49.
Map: 2: K. Context: west side of the monastery complex. Reference: St. John's S., April 22, 1935, 7.
- 123. Obv. cf. *MN* 49. Rev. cf. *MN* 45.
Map: 4: L. Context: road to Acrocorinth. Reference: Agora SC, April 27, 1938, 96-132.
- §124. Z/1. Obv. cf. *MN* 49. Rev. extremely similar to *MN* 46.
Map: 5: N. Context: Ceramic Factory, north of shops XXIX-XXX at *ca.* + 0.50 m.; this, No. 456, and later coins. Reference: S. Stoa W., October 15, 1937, 28-33.
- *§125. Obv. extremely similar to *MN* 49. Rev. extremely similar to *MN* 46. Large flan.
Map: 6: M. Context: Glass Factory, but this probably belongs with the adjacent group of coins from the Ceramic Factory: 28-35: F-J, in the foundation for the front of the Stoa. Reference: S. Stoa W., October 5, 1937, 13.
- 126. Obv. cf. *MN* 48. Rev. cf. *MN* 46.
Reference: as No. 93.
- 127. Obv. extremely similar to *MN* 48. Rev. obscure; cf. *MN* 51?
Map: 10: I. Reference: Agora NE, March 17, 1937, 31-33.
- 128. Obv. cf. *MN* 46. Rev. cf. *MN* 47, but with larger L in FIL, and large letters $\tau\epsilon\varsigma$.
Map: 10: I. Reference: Agora NE, March 29, 1937, 6-8.
- 129. Obv. cf. *MN* 46. Rev. cf. *MN* 45, 46.
Map: 9: J. Reference: Agora NE, May 24, 1937, 33-37.
- 130. Cf. *MN* 46.
Map: 4: K. Context: St. John's, Area III (monastery courtyard), at — 4.60 to — 4.90 m.; one Roman coin, this, and 3 from the time of Alexius I. Reference: St. John's S., April 16, 1938, 77-91.

*§131. Z/1. Obv. cf. *MN* 46. Rev. cf. *MN* 45 and 50.

Map: 6:M. Context: Glass Factory, mostly Classical fill at — 1.80 to 2.30 m.; this and a coin of Manuel. Cf. Nos. 56 and 466 from directly above. Reference: Agora SC, November 6, 1937, 1-7.

Group Z/2 (obverse similarities with MN 50, 45, 47, 51)§132. Z/2. Obv. extremely similar to *MN* 50. Rev. near-duplicate of *MN* 50, but reads MICAS. Large, bold lettering (early style?).

Map: 6:K. Context: Glass Factory, d-C:122-126, at + 1.60 to + 1.20 m.; 18 classical or late Roman, sixth century, this, No. 342, 4 of Leo VI, 3 of Constantine VII, 1 Rex Regnantium Class A. Reference: Agora NC, March 22, 1938, 21-40 (part of 1-50).

*§133. Cf. *MN* 45 and 47. Rev. reads ΠΙΑΣ.

Map: 10:H. Reference: Agora NE, March 31, 1937, 1-5.

134. Cf. *MN* 50, 51.

Map: 5:M. Context: Ceramic Factory, from room with pithoi and vats; a late Roman coin and this one, Rice A3 and coarse Byzantine glazed pottery. Cf. No. 244. Reference: Agora SC, March 4, 1938, 1-6.

§135. Z/2. Obv. near-duplicate of *MN* 51. Tilted labarum, no pendants, fat hand, etc. Rev. extremely similar to *MN* 51. Large, "early" letters.

Map: 6:K. Reference: Agora NC, March 14, 1938, 19-21.

§136. Z/2. Cf. *MN* 45.

Reference: Lechaion Road, August 1, 1926 (1926/271).

§137. Z/2 (fat hand). Obv. cf. *MN* 45. Rev. cf. *MN* 50.

Map: 7:K. Context: Tower Complex Shops, u-B:97-101, + 0.80 to + 0.30 m.; dark Byzantine fill down to + 0.60 m., then a black burnt layer. This and 2 coins of Leo. Cf. Nos. 265, 433. Reference: Agora NC, December 4, 1937, 8-11.

138. Z/2. Obv. cf. *MN* 45 and 47. Rev. cf. *MN* 45, with large τ as on *MN* 47.

Map: 4:M. Context: Southwest Quarter; (late) fill with coins of Constans II and XI-XII centuries; square π : 11, 1.50 m. above stylobate. Cf. Nos. 77, 93, 114. Reference: Agora SW, April 25, 1933, 16-19.

§139. Obv. obscure. Cf. *MN* 47 and 51? Rev. large but neat lettering. Extremely similar to *MN* 50.

Map: 5:K. Context: St. John's, Area I W, — 4.60 to — 5.15 m., black earth and debris; this, No. 351, 2 of Leo, 2 of Constantine VII. Cf. No. 100. Reference: St. John's S., May 25, 1938, 1-12.

140. Obv. cf. *MN* 50. Rev. cf. *MN* 45. Small and thin.

Map: 9:I. Context: from wall. Reference: Agora NE, May 12, 1937, 1-9.

141. Cf. *MN* 45.

Reference: 1898 (tray 621).

142. Near-duplicate of *MN* 45.

Reference: November 12/13, 1914, envelope 19.

143. Very similar to *MN* 45.

Map: 10:K. Reference: Agora SE, April 25, 1934, 1-14.

*§144. Z/2. Close to *MN* 47. (Rev. not checked.)

Reference: as No. 72.

§145. Z/2. Cf. *MN* 51.

Map: 10:J. Reference: Agora NE, April 12, 1937, 27-36.

§146. Z/2. Cf. *MN* 51.

Reference: Museum W., 1939.

- *147. Obscure: cf. *MN* 51.
Map: 8:K. Context: Bema church, in pithos, with No. 369. Reference: Agora SC, May 20, 1936, 1-6.
- §148. Obv. rough workmanship. Extremely similar to *MN* 51. Rev. very similar to *MN* 51.
Map: 5:K. Reference: Agora NC, April 1, 1938, 25-34.
149. Obv. cf. *MN* 50, 51. Long neck.
Map: 9:L. Context: S. Stoa. Cf. Nos. 161, 213. Reference: Agora SE, April 1, 1935, 10-12.

Group Z, not arranged

150. Obv. cf. *MN* 47, 50? Rev. cf. *MN* 50.
Map: 5:O. Context: Shop at southern end of Southwest Road. Reference: Agora SW, 1933/no. 450.
151. Obscure: cf. *MN* 48, but 4 dots instead of linear cross on labarum.
Reference: as No. 58.
152. Obscure. Rev. cf. *MN* 47.
Reference: Peribolos of Apollo, June 10, 1910 (tray 753).
153. Cf. *MN* 48?
Reference: May 8, 1915 (1915-19/no. 233).
154. Cf. *MN* 49-50.
Map: 5:L. Context: Ceramic Factory, X-c:27-30, from —0.55 to —1.10 m.; above —0.70 m. were 2 late Roman coins, this, No. 469, one of Leo, and one of Nicephorus III, in black fill; below —0.70 m. were sand and gravel. Reference: Agora SC, April 15, 1938, 34-35.
155. Obscure.
Reference: June 14, 1915.
156. Cf. *MN* 47.
Reference: July 7, 1915.
157. Cf. *MN* 47.
Map: 9:J. Reference: Agora NE, May 6, 1937, 24-25.
158. Obv. cf. *MN* 46, 50. Rev. cf. *MN* 45, 49.
Map: 9:I. Reference: Agora NE, May 21, 1937, 15-19.
159. Cf. *MN* 51? Small.
Reference: as No. 158.

Group ζ or Z

160. Reference: Peribolos (dump), July 6, 1910.
161. Reference: Agora SE, April 4, 1935, 20-22.
162. Reference: Agora NE, May 15, 1936, 7-13.

Group H

A coin which was left on one side in the original classification (*MN* 35) was described as having the triangular loros-end of Group Δ, and the mark ∙ ∙ ∙ in the tufa, but as being of greater size and weight. The material from Corinth showed that *MN* 35, although unique among the coins in other main museums, belonged to a stylistic grouping of similar pieces. Since there are no certain links with any of Groups A-Z, these few coins are here given the status of a separate Group, and numbered H. It is possible, however, that the two scarce Groups € and H are consecutive issues from the same mint: although the reverses are in very different styles, the obverse of No. 163 is strongly reminiscent of Group €. This critical coin is illustrated below. The asymmetrical placing of the cross on the globus, on several Group H coins, is likewise reminiscent of Group €.

The mark on the tufa seems to be regularly ..., and the flaring free end of the loros is characteristic. The coins, although evidently related, are by no means die-duplicates; the survival rate from Corinth, that is to say, is relatively low. A coin from the upper Euphrates, published in *MN* XIV, hints at an easterly mint-attribution for Group H.

- *§163. Obv. "experimental" die?—note the pointed forefinger. The outline of the labarum and of the tufa and the cast of the features are all reminiscent of Group ϵ ; cf. especially No. 63. $\Theta\epsilon OFI$ / $\mathfrak{b}ASIL$ / The mark in the tufa is almost certainly Rev. note the heavily beaded border. Similar in general style to Group ς .
Map: 11: J. Reference: Agora SE, April 12, 1933.
- *§164. Obv. very similar to No. 163. $\Theta\epsilon OFI$ $\mathfrak{b}ASI$. Rev. note the "hump-backed" η .
Map: 10: H. Reference: Agora NE, March 12, 1937, 59-61.
- *§165. Obv. $\Theta\epsilon OFII$ / $\mathfrak{b}ASIL$ / Broadly triangular loros-end. Tufa with ... or ... Very deep neckline; tufa on long "stalk." Cross on globus is markedly asymmetrical.
Reference: 1896 (tray 724).
- §166. Obv. $\Theta\epsilon OFIL$ / $\mathfrak{b}ASI$. (Rev. die obscure, and not checked.)
Reference: NW Stoa, June 16, 1908.

Group ς or H

- §167. (Fragmentary). Obv. cf. No. 163, but with large letters. Tufa apparently with Rev. cf. No. 164.
Map: 10: K? Reference: Agora NE, June 11, 1937, 5-8.

Unclassified

- 168-70. Three of the coins found in 1926, one from south of Glauke, the others from south of the Museum. Obscure, but two of the three, at least, appear to be of Groups ς or Z.
- 171-72. Miscellaneous: Agora 1934, no. 27; and Area N. of Temple, 1930, no. 294. Not located in the Museum in March 1965.

Italian folles

- 173. *B.M.C.* 44-48.
Reference: Agora SE, 1933/no. 451.
- 174. Similar.
Reference: as No. 34.
- 175. *B.M.C.* 49-52.
Reference: Odeion N., April 28, 1927; Edwards 86.
- 176. Similar.
Reference: Agora SE, March 10, 1934, 81-86.
- 177. Similar.
Reference: as No. 250.

Contemporary forgery?

- 178. Cf. *B.M.C.* pl. XLVIII, 16, but in (?) billon.
Reference: New Museum, April 1, 1931.

MICHAEL III, A.D. 842-67

- 179. *B.M.C.* 16-17.
Reference: July 30, 1926; Edwards 88.
- 180. Similar.

- Reference: Great Staircase, May 9, 1931.
181. Similar.
Reference: Road N. of St. John's, March 9, 1933, 8.
182. Similar.
Reference: Agora SE, March 5, 1934, 60-69.
183. Similar.
Reference: Agora SC, February 6, 1937.
184. Similar.
Reference: Agora SC, December 2, 1937, 11-12.
- 184bis. Similar.
Reference: Agora SC, December 10, 1937, 1-6.
185. Similar.
Reference: St. John's S., February 18, 1937, 2-6.
186. Similar.
Reference: Agora NC, December 3, 1937, 131-140.
187. Similar.
Reference: Agora NC, December 11, 1937, 11-20.
188. Similar.
Reference: St. John's S., April 18, 1938, 44-61.
189. Similar.
Reference: Agora NC, February 8, 1938, 129-135.
190. Similar. Restruck on a coin of Theophilus.
Reference: as No. 34.
191. *B.M.C.* 20.
Reference: St. John's S., February 10, 1937, 1-15.

IMPERATOR/REX folles

192. *B.M.C.* 11-12.
Reference: 1900-01 (tray 592).
193. Similar.
Reference: April 8, 1908 (tray 749).
194. Similar.
Reference: East Stoa, November 12, 1914 (tray 702). Cf. No. 142.
195. Similar.
Reference as No. 41.
196. Similar.
Context: St. John's, (?) associated with 5 coins of Constantine VII. Reference: St. John's S., April 10, 1935, 4-10.
197. Similar.
Reference: Agora NE, April 8, 1937, 36-40.
198. Similar.
Reference: as No. 250.

BASIL I, A.D. 867-86

199. *B.M.C.* 33.
Reference: South Basilica, October 5, 1936, 1-17.
200. Similar.
Reference: as No. 410.

FOLLES IN METROPOLITAN STYLE

"Two Busts" issue

Corinth has yielded half a dozen specimens which are of value for the scheme of classification. The most notable is the superb follis which came from a wall at the south of the Church of St. John (No. 236). The reverse is exceptional in reading **BASILO** but **ROMAON**, while the obverse inscription, **+ BASILIOSSCONAΥ99** in unusually large, careful letters, marks the die as experimental and—doubtless—early. The coin which stands closest to No. 236, and which is extremely similar in general style, *NS* 60, has **CONSTAΥ99**, and **ROMAIN**. *NS* 62, with the normal **ROMAION** will come next; and Nos. 237, 238, and *NS* 59 define the sequence.

Secondly, several of the Corinth coins serve to draw attention to *NS* 64, which is unusual in that the crosses of the crowns interrupt the obverse inscription. On *NS* 64 the inscription is very abbreviated: **+ BASI / [CO] / N / AΥ99 /**; and the banner of the labarum is marked X. No. 244 is the only other example to have come to light so far with X on the labarum. The inscription is just broken by Basil's crown: **+ bA/SI/L / S** etc. On No. 245, which is in the same style, with tall figures and long ties hanging from the brooches of the chlamydes, the inscription is **+ BASILS/SCONSTANTAΥ99**. The same long inscription, broken at the same point, is found on No. 242, of which the obverse die is clearly experimental. And No. 243 reads **+ BASILI/SSCONSTANTAΥ99**. The reverse style of *NS* 55 offers further evidence that **CONSTANT** (on the obverse) is an early form.

It seems clear, then, that the "large" variety of the "Two Busts" issue needs to be divided into two sequences, of which the normal criteria are the length of the ties of the chlamydes, the cross on the labarum, and the breaks in the obverse inscription:

- a) No. 236, *NS* 60, *NS* 62, Nos. 237, 238, *NS* 59, *NS* 61, (?) *NS* 63, *NS* 65;
- b) Nos. 242, 243, 245, *NS* 64, No. 246, *NS* 67, *NS* 66.

The two series of obverses are evidently the work of different die-cutters. The reverses, however, cannot be distinguished on grounds of style; and No. 237, in particular, seems to be close to *NS* 66.

Some further rearrangement of the "Two Busts" issue may be required, to take account of the large numbers found in central Greece, the possibility of two-officina mints, and so on. The hair style, especially, of *NS* 47, 50-51 etc., seems to mark them off as a separate little grouping: they account for most of the smaller coins with a titulus above the letters **ΘΟ**. *NS* 41 and 42, also with the titulus, are sufficiently like No. 237 to be transferred, conjecturally, to the large variety, now that the spelling **ROMAON** is attested in the large variety. The small variety might then be split into two as follows:

- c) *NS* 37, 38, 39, 40, 55, 43, 44, 49?, 45, 46, 56;
- d) *NS* 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 58.

There is a concentration of "Two Busts" coins in a small area just to the north of the entrance of the Glass Factory. Out of 7 coins, 6 were sufficiently well preserved to be identified closely. Careful inspection showed that 5 of the 6 belonged with sequence (c), while the sixth was of a large variety. Almost all the other identifiable specimens of the small variety from Corinth belong with sequence (d). There is some encouragement to think, therefore, that the distinction between (c) and (d) is a real one, and that the coins of sequence (c) localized north of the Glass Factory may call for some special explanation.

Many of the Corinth finds, however, are in a poor state of preservation. The better specimens have, so far as possible, been identified (obverses and reverses separately) by reference to the coins illustrated in *NS*. The catalogue below follows *NS* in listing the small variety first.

Small variety, sequence (c)

- §201. Obv. extremely similar to *NS* 38 and 39. Rev. extremely similar to *NS* 39 (early style).
Map: 6:K. Context: Glass Factory, fill from +0.40 to ±0 m., with one ancient, 3 late Roman, this, a Leo VI, and a Rex Regnantium follis, Class A. Reference: *Agora NC*, March 2, 1938, 1-13.
- §202. Obv. closest to *NS* 40, and cf. No. 201. Rev. very similar to *NS* 39.
Map: 6:K. Context: Glass Factory, from fill under a few large fallen stones; this, and a coin of Nicephorus II. Reference: *Agora NC*, March 14, 1938, 1-3.
- §203. Obv. begins + IAS (die not checked). Rev. small; the lettering is apparently of early style. Reference: *Agora SC*, March 15, 1938, 28-36.
- *§204. Obv. IASILIOSSCONSTAΥϞϞ. Cf. *NS* 43 and 44. Rev. the very careful striking, and the blundered final O, are matched on *NS* 43. Reference: as No. 34.
- §205. Obv. . . . LIOSSCONSTAΥϞϞ. Apparently 3 dots in labarum, thus: .'. . Cf. *NS* 46 and also 47. Rev. ROMAΙΝ; titulus. Reference: as No. 107.
- §206. Obv. + BASILIOSS. . . . Small, square labarum, rounded locks, etc. Cf. *NS* 39. Rev. obscure. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, probably of Group Z.]
Map: 5:K. Context: Glass Factory, at +1.20 to +0.80 m., sandy "plateia" fill with a little burnt black earth at +0.80 m.; this and a Leo with Alexander. Cf. No. 250. Reference: *Agora NC*, April 2, 1938, 1-5.
207. Obv. small, square labarum, etc. . . . SSC . . . AΥϞϞ.
Reference: *Agora SE*, April 24, 1934, 41-52.
- §208. Obv. obscure (not checked). Rev. large initial b, so perhaps of sequence (c). Cf. *NS* 44. Reference: *Agora SE*, May 13, 1935, 51-71.

Small variety, sequence (d)

- *§209. Obv. bold, oblong banner to labarum; style generally very similar to *NS* 51. Note U in BASILIOSSCONSTAΥϞϞ. Rev. large lettering, deeply rounded Ϟs, cf. *NS* 51.
Map: 10:I. Reference: *Agora NE*, March 18, 1937, 15-18.
- §210. Obv. cf. *NS* 51. Large brooch on Basil's left shoulder (i.e. to right).
Map: 5:M. Context: Ceramic Factory, by the front wall of the Stoa in front of Shops XXVIII-XXIX. With No. 424, a coin of Constantine VII, and one of Alexius I. Reference: *S. Stoa W.*? October 13, 1937, 4-9.
- §211. (Obv. die not checked.) Rev. narrow bs, deeply rounded Ϟs. [Restruck, probably on a similar coin.]
Reference: North of Peribolos, May 22, 1929.
- §212. (Obv. die not checked.) Rev. initial b with small loop. Cf. *NS* 52. [This coin, which is very fretted, seems to have lain in the soil with one of Theophilus and to have taken the impression of its obverse incusely on the obverse.]
Reference: *Agora NE*, June 12, 1937, 5-12.
213. Neat, slightly angular lettering; oblong banner of labarum, with short pendants.
Map: 11:L. Context: South Stoa; with one coin of Leo and one of Constantine VII. Cf. No. 149. Reference: *Agora SE*, April 12, 1935, 1-3.
- *214. Obv. careful lettering. + IASILIOSSCONSTAΥϞϞ. Rev. narrow bs; titulus; OMAΙON.
Map: 5:L. Context: Ceramic Factory, I-L:26-29, from -1.50 to -1.75 m., where black burnt earth was reached; this one coin. But cf. No. 227. Reference: *Agora SC*, December 11, 1937, 5.
- §215. Obv. oblong labarum. Rev. very narrow initial b; titulus. Cf. *NS* 51. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, very probably of Group A.]

Map: 7:K. Context: Tower Complex Shops, a thick burnt layer, full of small pieces of marble; this coin from + 0.50 m. just on the very top of the black layer. Cf. No. 465, and also No. 335. Reference: Agora NC, November 13, 1937, 9.

- §216. Obv. inscription ends **CONTAΥ**. Very similar to No. 209. Rev. similar to No. 212, but ends **OMAION**; titulus.

Reference: 1902 (tray 602).

- §217. (Obv. obscure, not checked.) Rev. begins + **IASIL**. Cf. NS 54. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]

Map: 9:J. Reference: Agora NE, May 7, 1937, 10-16.

Small variety, not distinguished as between sequences (c) and (d)

218. Reference: 1902 (tray 602).

219. Die-axis *ca.* 345°. Good style.

Map: 3:J-K. Reference: July 13, 1929.

220. Reference: Lechaion Road, 1930.

221. Map: 9:K. Reference: Agora SE, March 10, 1934, 67-79.

222. Worn. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, very probably of Group ς .]
Reference: Agora SE, May 19, 1934, 14-16.

223. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]

Map: 9:I. Reference: Agora NE, May 2, 1936.

224. Rev. **OMAION**.

Map 10:I-J. Reference: Agora NE, April 10, 1937, 61-69.

225. Rev. **OMAION**.

Reference: as No. 224.

226. Very worn.

Map: 6:L. Reference: Agora SC, November 18, 1937, 6-13.

227. Very worn. (Could be a "Two Seated Figures, III" coin?)

Map: 5:L. Context: Glass Factory, beneath marble floor at I-L:26-29, — 1.00 m.; this, Nos. 274, 341, a Leo and Alexander, 3 Leos, a Constantine VII, and an Alexius I. Cf. No. 214. Reference: Agora SC, December 10, 1937, 10-19.

228. Rev. **OMAION**.

Map: 3:K. Reference: St. John's S., May 3, 1938, 25-33.

229. Rev. **OMAION**.

Map: 3:K. Reference: St. John's S., May 13, 1938, 159-160.

230. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, perhaps of Group A.]
Reference: as No. 100.

231. Obscure. Rev. ends **OMAION**.

Map: 5:M. Context: Ceramic Factory, at — 1.15 to — 1.70 m.; fill with Greek and Roman material, and also Rice A3 and A4 pottery (C38.277-280); this coin. Reference: Agora SC, March 15, 1938, 22-25.

232. Broken fragment.

Map: 5:M. Context: Ceramic Factory, very black earth and stones, with this, No. 233, and a coin of Leo with Alexander; no pottery. Reference: Agora SC, April 1, 1938, 1-6.

233. Broken fragment (possibly part of the same coin as No. 232?)

Reference: as No. 232.

234. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus in poor style.]

Reference: Agora NC, February 24, 1938, 1-7.

235. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus of Group Z, cf. MN 51.]

Reference: as No. 94.

Large variety, sequence (a). (Dotted cross in labarum, short ties on chlamys.)

- *§236. Obv. large lettering, "experimental" version of inscription + **basilio** Σ **constan** τ **ty**. Generally very similar to NS 62. Rev. begins + **basilo**, ends **omaon**; titulus. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.] Well-centered, deeply struck, and in a superb state of preservation.
Map: 4:J. Context: in south wall of church behind east round arch *ca.* 2.00 m. above floor of church. Reference: St. John's S., April 24, 1937, 1.
- *§237. Obv. ... **constan** τ **ty**. Cf. NS 59. Rev. + **basil** Σ ; **omaon**; titulus. [Restruck on a large follis of Michael II with Theophilus.]
Reference: May 2, 1914 (tray 689).
- *§238. Obscure, but cf. NS 61, and No. 237. (Rev. die not checked.) [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: 1926/no. 277 (Temple Hill).
- *§239. (Obv. die not checked.) Rev. + **basilo**; titulus. Cf. NS 61.
Map: 5:L. Context: Ceramic Factory, T-V:17-19, at —1.00 to —1.60 m.; this coin only, with Rice A4 and A5 and Classical material; cf. No. 473. Reference: Agora SC, November 22, 1937, 3-4.
- §240. Obv. figures at different heights. Rev. **A** with central "foot." Generally similar to NS 61.
Map: 9:I. Reference: Agora NE, April 15, 1937, 23-25.
- §241. (Obv. die obscure, not checked.) Rev. cf. NS 65.
Map: 10:I. Reference: Agora NE, March 18, 1937, 6-9.

Large variety, sequence (b). (Linear cross on labarum, long ties on chlamys.)

- *§242. Obv. ... / **constan** τ **ty** / Boldly dotted style (eyes, hand, etc.), asymmetrical labarum. Experimental die. Rev. double-struck and somewhat obscure, but closest to NS 65. Small titulus. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: Lechaion Road, April 18, 1927; cf. No. 292, found shortly before.
- *§243. Obv. + **basil** / **ssconstan** τ **ty**. A little earlier than NS 63? Rev. obscure. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: as No. 100.
- §244. Obv. X on banner of labarum (cf. NS 64).
Map: 5:M. Context: Ceramic Factory, from under and around kiln, below floor level; cf. No. 134. Reference: Agora SC, March 3, 1938, 1.
- *§245. Obv. rounded features—extremely similar to NS 64 (different die). Rev. + **basilio**. Cf. NS 64. Die-axis 0°.
Map: 9:J. Reference: Agora NE, May 5, 1937, 2-4.
- *§246. Obv. prominently dotted labarum. Conspicuous difference in height of figures. Near-duplicate of NS 63, and extremely similar to NS 64. (Rev. die not checked.) [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Map: 4:L? Reference: Agora SW, November 9, 1934, 2-17.
- §247. Obv. ... **constan** τ **ty** [9]. Cross in labarum. Tall figures with long ties on the chlamys of Constantine, etc. Rev. [+ **basil**] **ilio** or **ilio**; [om] **ai** **on**.
Reference: 1907 (tray 614).

Two Busts, variety uncertain

- §248. Sequence (b) or (d)? Heads nearly the same height.
Reference: Agora SC, December 1, 1937, 80-81.
- §249. Sequence (b) and (c)? Dotted cross in labarum, steeply arched crowns, Basil slightly taller, large bobs of hair. Rev. cf. NS 55.
Map: 8:J. Reference: Agora NC, October 2, 1937, 1-8.

§250. Large variety; large lettering; sequence (a)? Rev. **OMAION**.

Map: 5:K. Context: Glass Factory, s-E:126-132, at +1.10 to +0.70 m., "plateia" fill, with late Roman, sixth-century coins, Nos. 177, 198, 364, etc. Reference: *Agora NC*, April 2, 1938, 6-15.

§251. Rev. **ΑΟΝ**. Cf. Nos. 239-241 above?

Reference: Lechaion Road, May 6, 1927.

"Two Seated Figures" issue

The Corinth finds fully confirm the division of the "Two Seated Figures" issue into varieties I, II, and III; I and II, reading + **basILO** and + **basILIO** respectively, with the ends of the *loroi* falling outwards and inwards respectively, are quite distinctive in style. The new specimens of variety I do not throw any very clear light on the sequence of its issue, although the die-linked coin, No. 252, with the blunder **AbSIL€**, is welcome. There is one coin, No. 263, on which, as on *NS* 79 and 82, the ends of the *loroi* both fall to the right, and one, No. 258, on which they both fall to the left. The relative scarcity of variety II affords some confirmation that it is variety I which is the product of the Constantinople mint. Variety III is copiously represented at Corinth, and we may be confident that it was struck in Greece. The balance of the evidence shows that three vertical rows of dots on Basil's chest, and a single vertical row on the free end of the *loros*, are standard elements in the design of variety III. Basil's *loros* almost always falls inwards. These criteria help to draw attention to a few coins which do not conform with them. A specimen in the collection of the American Numismatic Society has an obverse legend unbroken by Basil's crown: + **basILIOSSCINTAN**, **basILIS**, and four vertical rows on Basil's chest; the *loroi* fall outwards. A similar coin, with an unbroken legend + **basILIOSSCONSTANbasIL**, and three vertical rows of dots on Basil's chest, is closely similar in style. Similar reverses associate two Corinth finds with these experimental obverses. They share an obverse die which is also experimental. The panels on Basil's chest run diagonally, and the ends of the *loroi* fall outwards. (The same tendency can be seen on the *ANS* coin.) The legend is broken, and reads + **basIL** / **SCONSTAN** **basIL**. In a closely related but better style is another early coin, No. 275, on which the ends of the *loroi* both fall (very unusually) to the right. Only the cross of Basil's crown is allowed to break the (blundered) obverse legend, which reads **basIL** | **S** / **SCONST** **basILIS**. Nos. 274 and 276 are related.

The tentative division of variety III into IIIa (small, round face; fringed *loros*) and IIIb (long face; unfringed *loros*) is confirmed by the material from Corinth in the sense that there are many obverse dies which are clearly characteristic of one or the other grouping. But the incomplete striking, overstriking, or poor preservation of the majority of specimens hinders a more precise interpretation. All that can be said is that the better obverse inscriptions are on IIIa, and that IIIb often has the reading + **basL**. A lack of correlation with the style of the reverse dies hints, again, at a two-officina mint. If this guess is correct, the narrow-shouldered, thin figures of No. 286 may possibly mark the early style of the die-cutter whose work is identified as variety IIIb.

A check for die-identities or die-similarities between the large "Two Busts" coins and variety III of the "Two Seated Figures" issue was made difficult by the defective striking of the coins. Nos. 290 and 295 show some resemblance to Paris 833; and No. 296 apparently has *N* in place of *η* in **ηINOS**—as *PDW* 1444 also seems to. Neither coin is as clear as one could wish. While No. 296 is intriguing, one might have expected more numerous similarities if the two types had been struck concurrently.

Two Seated Figures, I

*§252. Obv. same die as *NS* 68, reading **AbSIL€**. Rev. unseriffed style.

Reference: as No. 95.

*§253. Obv. extremely similar to *NS* 69 (different die). Rev. cf. *NS* 68, 69.

Map: 4:J. Reference: *St. John's S.*, February 9, 1938, 9-16.

- §254. (Obv. obscure.) Rev. cf. *NS* 69 and No. 255.
Reference: 1898 (tray 621).
- §255. Obv. near-duplicate, but almost certainly not a duplicate, of *NS* 70. Rev. cf. *NS* 69.
Reference: St. John's S., October 15, 1936, 12-21.
- §256. Obv. Four vertical rows of dots on Basil's chest. The inscription ends **CONSTANT BASIL**;
cf. *NS* 78 (different die). Rev. apparently closest to *NS* 72.
Map: 9: I. Reference: Agora NE, May 9, 1936, 1-5.
- §257. Obv. cf. *NS* 72, 73. Rev. cf. *NS* 72.
Reference: Market N. of Temple, July 9, 1929.
- §258. Obv. ends of loroi both fall to left; otherwise cf. *NS* 75. Rev. cf. *NS* 80, and also *NS* 75.
Map: 5: N. Context: southern part of Ceramic Factory, x-K: 45-55 at *ca.* — 0.60 m.,
with earlier coins, one of Maurice, No. 340, and 2 Rex Regnantium folles of Class A.
Reference: S. Stoa W., October 12, 1937, 11-21.
- §259. Obv. very small (oblong) labarum. Cf. *NS* 75-77. Rev. cf. *NS* 75.
Reference: Lechaion Road, 1930, no. 29.
- §260. Obv. obscure (not checked). Rev. same die as No. 259. Very appreciably worn, i.e. the
figures of the emperors are flat patches, and parts of the reverse are virtually flat patches.
Map: 4: K. Context: in hoard. Sixteen coins, dated by folles of Alexius I, *B.M.C.* Types
3 and 9, all together between two stones in the wall, and evidently a cache. Reference: St.
John's S., April 16, 1938, 1-13.
- §261. Obv. ... **SCONSTANT BASIL**. Five vertical rows of dots on Basil's chest, but the general
style seems to be close to *NS* 80-81. Rev. cf. *NS* 81.
Map: 6: M. Reference: S. Stoa W., November 22, 1937, 1-13.
262. Obv. loroi fall outwards. Rev. + **basILO**.
Map: 4: M. Reference: Agora SW, May 23, 1933, 10-11.
- §263. Obv. ... **SCONST A 4 99** (or **9ST**). Small banner of labarum. The ends of both
loroi fall to the right. Cf. *NS* 79, 82. Rev. + **basILO**, etc., cf. No. 261.
Map: 6: K. Reference: Agora NC, February 28, 1938, 31-42.

Two Seated Figures, II

- §264. Obv. inscription begins + **basILIO**. Rev. close to *NS* 84, 85. (Obv. die not checked.)
Reference: as No. 94.
- §265. Rev. cf. *NS* 85? (Obv. die not checked.)
Map: 7: K. Context: Tower Complex Shops, t-x: 97-101, black fill from ± 0 to — 0.70 m.,
full of large stones which had fallen in; this and one object which turned out not to be a coin.
Reference: Agora NC, February 17, 1938, 1-2.
- §266. Obv. ... **SCONSTABASI** ... (The figure of Basil has flaked away.) Rev. cf. *NS* 88, 89.
Reference: June 10, 1915.
- *§267. Very similar to *NS* 89.
Reference: Agora SC, March 19, 1938, 16-18.
- *§268. Obv. ends of both loroi fall to left, cf. *NS* 89-91. Rev. cf. *NS* 89.
Reference: Peribolos of Apollo, March 26, 1931.
- §269. Obv. ends of both loroi fall to left; cf. No. 268. Rev. rather small lettering.
Map: 7: J. Reference: Agora NC, October 20, 1937, 1-9.
270. Obv. ends of loroi fall inwards, and each has two rows of dots and is fringed. Rev.
+ **basILIO**.
Reference: as No. 118.
271. Obv. ends of loroi fall inwards. Rev. + **basILIO**.
Map: 9: J. Reference: Agora NE, April 20, 1937, 32-38.

Two Seated Figures, III

- *§272. Obv. rough style. Diagonal drapery on Basil's chest. See comment in text above. Rev. + **basilo**/.
Reference: Agora NE, April 9, 1937, 100-101.
- *§273. Obv. same die as No. 272. Rev. + **basilio**.
Reference: St. John's S., November 11, 1936, 13-23.
- *§274. Obv. + **basil** | O/SCO Ends of loroi fall outwards. Rev. similar in style to NS 94.
Reference: as No. 227.
- *§275. Obv. + **basili** S/CONST, **bailis**. Ends of both loroi fall to right. Rev. extremely similar to No. 274.
Map: 9:I. Reference: Agora NE, April 28, 1936, 30-38.
- §276. Obv. + **basilo** S/CONST.... Basil's loros prominently fringed, cf. NS 94. Rev. cf. NS 93?
Reference: Lechaion Road, April 30, 1927.
- *§277. Variety IIIa. Obv. ...CONST**bas**.... Rev. + **basilo**. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Map: 10:J. Reference: Agora NE, April 12, 1937, 42-49.
- §278. Variety IIIa. Obv. ...CONST**basil**. Rev. + **basilo**. Extremely similar to No. 277, and cf. NS 95. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: N. Temple Slope (south of road), 1929/995.
- §279. Variety IIIa. Labarum with large banner. Rev. + **basilio**. Large lettering, similar to that on No. 277.
Reference: May 4, 1915.
- §280. Variety IIIa. Labarum with large banner. Large lettering. Rev. extremely similar to No. 278, and near-duplicate of No. 279. Cf. NS 107?
Map: 5:L. Context: Ceramic Factory, X-c:27-30, sandy fill from —0.70 to —1.10 m.; this among a largely late Roman find-assemblage. Cf. No. 469.
Reference: Agora SC, April 15, 1938, 46-71.
- §281. Variety IIIa. Labarum with large banner. Basil with round face, fringed loros. Extremely similar to No. 279, and cf. NS 109. + **basile**/CONST**bas**.... Rev. die obscure, and not checked.
Map: 7:K. Reference: Agora NC, December 4, 1937, 1-7.
- §282. Obv. ... CONST**basil**. Rounded face, labarum with very large banner. Cf. No. 301, and NS 108-09. Rev. extremely similar to No. 280. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: S. of Museum, October 27, 1925.
- *§283. (Obv. die not checked.) Rev. cf. No. 273? Note rising bar of L in **basileis**. Possible similarity of style to "Two Busts" issue?
Map: 5:K. Context: St. John's, Area I, —5.50 to —6.00 m., a late Roman coin, this, and 3 of Leo. Reference: St. John's S., May 18, 1938, 1-8.
- §284. Obv. cf. NS 104. (Rev. die not checked.) [Restruck.]
Map: 10:K. Reference: Agora SE, April 27, 1934, 20-23.
- §285. Obv. rather long, and prominent, pendants to the large banner of the labarum. Rev. L in **basileis** as on No. 283.
Map: 8:J. Context: Bema Shops, n:72, occupation debris 0.75 m. above strosis; this, a Leo, 6 of Constantine VII, 2 Rex Regnantium Class A, and 1 of Alexius I. Reference: Agora NC, September 25, 1937, 1-13.

Variety IIIb

- §286. Obv. narrow figure. Arched eyebrows. Rev. narrow L in **basileis**.
Reference: as No. 72.

- §287. Obv. + **basl** / **SCONCTbasl**. Cf. *NS* 107. (Rev. die not checked.)
Map: 8:K. Context: Bema Shops, t-x:79-82, + 1.40 to + 0.30 m.; this, No. 356, 8 of Leo, 5 of Constantine VII, 3 Rex Regnantium Class A. Reference: Agora NC, October 11, 1937, 28-37 (part of 28-49).
- §288. Rev. cf. *NS* 93, 94.
Map: 4:N. Context: Shop at southern end of Southwest Road; front wall of shop XXXIII. Reference: S. Stoa W., October 31, 1938, 5.
- *§289. Obv. + **basl**... Rev. + **basilio**. Straight-topped Ss. Cf. *NS* 107.
Map: 10:J. Reference: Agora NE, April 10, 1937, 13-18.
- §290. Obv. + **basl**... Rev. very similar to *NS* 94.
Map: 4:J. Context: St. John's church, by foundation of south apse wall.
Reference: St. John's S., May 12, 1937, 9-11.
- §291. Obv. very long faces. ... **SCONCTbasil**. Rev. + **basilo**. Flat-topped Ss, etc; very similar to No. 289.
Reference: Odeion, July 26, 1929.
- §292. Obv. long faces. The figure of Constantine is tall. (Rev. die not checked.)
Reference: Lechaion Road, April 15, 1927.

Variety IIIa or IIIb

- §293. Variety IIIb? (Basil's face long). Rev. note dot in **INOS·ENEO**.
Reference: St. John's S., April 8, 1938, 19-25.
- §294. (Rev. die not checked.) [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: Agora SW, March 19, 1934, 7-9.
- §295. (Obv. die not checked.) Cf. *NS* 94.
Map: 10:J. Reference: Agora NE, April 12, 1937, 1-7.
- §296. Rev. apparently N in **INOS**, cf. *NS* 64 ("Two Busts" issue), or is this merely an effect of restriking? Similar style to *NS* 60? [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Map: 9:I. Reference: Agora NE, April 29, 1936, 35-40.
- §297. (Obv. die not checked.) Rev. flat-topped Ss. Cf. No. 282.
Map: 5:L. Reference: Agora SC, April 9, 1938, 26-37.
- §298. Variety IIIb? Obv. cf. *NS* 108. Rev. bold lettering. Cf. No. 295.
Reference: as No. 30.
- *§299. (Obv. die not checked.) Rev. cf. *NS* 107-109 and No. 295.
Reference: St. John's S., November 17, 1936, 15-20.
300. Reference: Agora SC, December 10, 1937, 79-82.
301. The figure of Constantine is small. Rev. **basilio**.
Reference: May 4, 1915.
302. Die-axis 0°.
Map: 9:I. Reference: as No. 296.
303. Reference: St. John's 1907 (tray 614).
304. Reference: Trench south of Glauke, July 18, 1905 (tray 615).
305. Rev. ... **SILIO**.
Reference: July 3, 1908 (tray 749).
306. (Not certainly variety III.)
Reference: Temple E, May 14, 1932.
307. Map: 2:M-N. Reference: Agora SW, May 16, 1934, 1-6.
308. Rev. + **basilo**.
Map: 10:J. Reference: Agora SE, May 26, 1933, 37-43.
309. Map: 10:J. Reference: Agora SE, March 5, 1934, 3.
310. Map: 10:L. Context: S. Stoa, from earth in or under wall, 12 yards north of Room with Exedra; also a coin of Justin II. Reference: Agora SE, May 17, 1934, 4-6.

311. Map: 9: L. Context: picked up along the S. Stoa wall, just north of the big mosaic house.
Reference: Agora SC, May 6, 1936, 15.
312. Map: 9: N. Reference: South Basilica, November 3, 1936, 1-7.
313. Very worn.
Reference: St. John's S., November 11, 1936, 13-23.
314. Fragment.
Map: 10: J. Reference: Agora NE, April 6, 1937, 112-117.
315. Map: 9: J. Reference: Agora NE, April 21, 1937, 6-11.
316. Fragment.
Reference: as No. 315.
317. Map: 4: J. Context: from a thin sandy layer above a hard sand strosis.
Reference: St. John's S., April 10, 1937, 7-9.
318. Map: 3: J. Context: in a wall near, or possibly part of, the church.
Reference: St. John's S., May 25, 1937, 1.
319. Pierced.
Reference: S. Stoa W., September 24, 1937, 39-42.
320. [Restruck on a "Two Busts" coin.]
Reference: Agora NC, September 28, 1937, 28.
321. Fragment.
Map: 4: K. Reference: St. John's S., February 7, 1938, 1-8.
322. Map: 3: L. Reference: St. John's S., May 26, 1938, 20-24.
323. Reference: St. John's S., June 4, 1938, 1-4.
324. Broken.
Map: 5: L. Context: Ceramic Factory, X-c: 21-25, medieval fill from — 1.20 to — 1.40 m., with this, No. 338, and a Leo, Rice A2, and Classical sherds. Cf. No. 450, etc. Reference: Agora SC, April 2, 1938, 14-16.
325. Fragment.
Map: 5: L. Reference: Agora SC, April 29, 1938, 4-10.
326. Map: 6: K. Context: Tower Complex Shops, g-w: 105-109, at +0.60 to +0.20 m., sandy "plateia" fill, with third- and fourth-century Roman coins, this, and a Rex Regnantium follis of Class F.
Reference: Agora NC, February 10, 1938, 1-10.
327. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: as No. 94.
328. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: as No. 94.

Variety not determined (I, II, or III)

329. Reference: October 16-17, 1914.
330. May: 3: J. Reference: St. John's S., October 10, 1936, 36-44.
331. Map: 7: K. Reference: Agora NC, October 18, 1937, 8-9.
332. Not located in March 1965.
Reference: as No. 417.
333. Not located in March 1965.
Reference: as No. 107.

"First Three Busts" issue

Of the three main varieties, I and II are conspicuously scarce at Corinth. Variety III is by contrast the most plentiful of any stylistic group. The locks of Basil's hair make it easily recognizable. Because of striking and poor workmanship, however, there are few specimens on which

the end of the obverse inscription ($\Lambda\chi$ / or $\Lambda\chi\theta\theta$ /) can be distinguished; and there are many coins about which it is not possible to be sure whether there is a cross at the bottom of the reverse design. The range of general style is approximately the same as in sequence *NS* 25-35. There are many closely similar dies, but, among those that can be checked, no duplicates. It would seem, therefore, that the survival rate, although higher than for some of the other varieties, is not radically different for the local issues. The number of jeweled squares in the *loros* is variable: on the transverse panel there may be a double row of 4 dots; or 4 above and 5 below; or an empty square plus 4 above, and 5 below; or 5 pairs. On the end of the *loros* hanging down over the skirt there are normally 4 jeweled squares, but there may be 5, and occasionally there are only 3. The coins in careful style, and with large dots on the *loros* (*NS* 30), read $\Lambda\chi\theta\theta$ / and have a cross on the reverse. The internal chronology of the issue remains problematic; the coins catalogued below are simply arranged in accordance with the order in *NS*.

First Three Busts, I

*§334. Obv. + $\text{LEONBASILS}\text{CON}\text{STAV}\theta$ /. Closest to *NS* 2. Rev. with *. Cf. *NS* 11.

Map: 11: H. Reference: Agora NE, February 10, 1937, 23-28.

§335. Obv. ... $\text{CON}\text{STAV}\theta\theta$ /. Cf. *NS* 10. Rev. with *. Cf. *NS* 10.

Reference: as No. 70.

First Three Busts, II

*§336. Obv. very similar to *NS* 14. Rev. sprawling *Ss* in BASILS —early style? [Restruck twice, (i) on a “Two Busts” coin with rev. beginning + BASILIO , (ii) on a reformed *foliis* of Theophilus.]

Map: 5: L. Context: Ceramic Factory, + 0.30 to — 0.40 m. (brown earth changing to sand at — 0.30 m.); cf. No. 108. Reference: Agora SC, April 28, 1938, 1-11.

§337. Obv. cf. *NS* 13, 16. Rev. cf. *NS* 13, 16.

Reference: Road N. of St. John's, March 17, 1933.

§338. Obv. extremely similar to *NS* 16 (different die). Rev. near-duplicate of *NS* 13 and 16 (different die). Broken. Die-axis *ca.* 220°.

Reference: as No. 324.

*§339. Obv. ... CONSTAV /. Cf. *NS* 21. Rev. with *. Cf. *NS* 22, 24.

Reference: St. John's S., May 12, 1938, 1-20.

§340. Obv. obscure. Rev. with *. Cf. *NS* 24, 25.

Reference: as No. 258.

First Three Busts, III

§341. Obv. modeled style reminiscent of *NS* 25-27. The skirt panel of the *loros* is very small. Early die? Rev. extremely similar to *NS* 26.

Reference: as No. 227.

§342. Obv. ... $\text{SIL}\cdot\text{COS}\text{TA}\chi\theta\theta$ /. Obscure, but apparently very similar to *NS* 26. Rev. with +. Cf. *NS* 30. [Restruck on a reformed *foliis* of Theophilus.]

Reference: as No. 132.

*§343. Obv. obscure. Rev. very large cross and large lettering. Cross interrupts $\text{ROM}/\epsilon\text{ON}$. (Obv. die not checked. [Restruck on a reformed *foliis* of Theophilus, probably of Group ς .])

Reference: as No. 269.

§344. Obv. bold lettering; the cross of Basil's crown points to SIL/CON . Square-shouldered figure of Basil, cf. *NS* 28. Rev. large ϵ in LEON ; extremely similar to *NS* 26 (different die). No cross?

Map: 4: M. Context: Ceramic Factory, h: 23-26, m: 23-24, at *ca.* ± 0 to — 0.20 m.

- Many late fourth-century coins, sixth-century coins, this, one of Leo, one of Constantine VII, and two Rex Regnantium folles of Class A. Reference: Agora SC, March 31, 1938, 81-100 (part of 33-123).
- §345. Obv. cf. *NS* 27. Only 3 dots on skirt-panel of loros. Rev. obscure. Sloping bar of **τ** in **CONSTAN**. No cross? (Rev. die not checked.)
Map: 7:J. Reference: Agora NC, October 15, 1937, 45-54.
- §346. Obv. the jeweled squares at the emperor's left shoulder (i.e. to the right) are enlarged and irregular in shape. Inscription ends **AΥ**? Rev. cf. *NS* 27, 342, 344. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, probably of Group Z.]
Reference: as No 72.
- *§347. Obv. cf. No. 346 (different die). Rev. cf. *NS* 26. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Map: 2:J? Reference: July 13, 1929.
- §348. Obv. irregular, as No. 346 (different die). Rev. large +. Seriffed style. Extremely similar to *NS* 30 and No. 360 (different dies). [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: as No. 246.
- §349. Obv. elongated panels at shoulder, as No. 346 (different die). Four pairs of dots on transverse panel of loros, and 4 below. Inscription ends **AΥΥΥ** υ. Rev. with +. Letter **L** in **LEON** with rising bar. Seriffed as *NS* 30?
Map: 6:L. Context: Glass Factory, A-K:114-118, at +0.60 to +0.10 m., all soft dark fill, with this, No. 420, a Leo, a Constantine VII, and an Alexius I. Reference: Agora NC, March 2, 1938, 17-21.
- *§350. Obv. extremely similar to No. 349 (different die). Rev. an early die? [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, apparently of Group H; (?) . . . in tufa.]
Map: 7:K. Context: Bema Shops, from debris of walls. Reference: Agora NC, November 1, 1937, 1-5.
- §351. Obv. (fragmentary). Transverse panel of loros is of erratic workmanship. Rev. fragmentary (not checked).
Reference: as No. 139.
- §352. Obv. poor loros, but taller cross on crown. Rev. destroyed.
Reference: Market N. of Temple, July 1929/no. 999.
- §353. Obv. extremely similar to No. 348 (different die). Rev. destroyed. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, which seems to have a blundered reverse inscription, ending Map: 3:K. Reference: St. John's S., May 14, 1938, 72-75.
AAS.]
Map: 3:K. Reference: St. John's S., May 14, 1938, 72-75.
- §354. Obv. the figure of Basil is tall and straight, with a prominent cross on the crown. (Rev. die not checked.) [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, Group ζ, cf. *MN* 43, 44.]
Map: 7:K. Reference: Agora NC, November 6, 1937, 1-14.
- §355. Obv. similar to No. 354, but the figure of Basil is broader. Rev. large, well-spaced lettering, e.g. in **CONSTAN**. Cf. *NS* 30. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: April 20, 1915.
356. Obscure. Similar?
Reference: as No. 287.
357. Obscure. Similar? [Restruck on a reformed folis of Theophilus.]
Map: 7:K. Reference: Agora NC, October 21, 7-8.
- *§358. Obv. careful workmanship; bolder dots on the loros. Inscription ends **AΥΥΥ** υ. Rev. with +. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, perhaps of Group B.]
Reference: as No. 54.
- §359. Obv. very similar to No. 358. Five pairs of dots on loros, and only 3 below. Rev. bold lettering. With +.

- Map: 8: K. Context: near Bema church, x-A: 82-85, at $+ 0.20$ to ± 0 m.; this, No. 377, and a coin of John II. Reference: Agora NC, October 21, 1937, 4-6.
- §360. Obv. very similar to No. 358 (different die). Rev. extremely similar to *NS* 30. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: as No. 72.
- §361. Obv. very similar to No. 358 (different die). Rev. obscure (not checked).
Map: 6: K. Reference: Agora NC, March 11, 185-186.
- §362. Obv. five pairs of dots, (?) 3 below. Rev. very similar to No. 360.
Reference: as No. 94.
- §363. Obv. near-duplicate of No. 360; 5 pairs of dots, 4 below, but the fourth is smaller. Elaborate neckline. Rev. with $+$; very similar to No. 360 (different die). [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Map: 4-5: O. Reference: S. Stoa W., February 8, 1938, 26-32.
- *§364. Obv. very similar to No. 362. Rev. obscure (not checked). [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, with triangular free end to loros—probably Group H.]
Reference: as No. 250.
- §365. Obv. large dots on loros, 4 and 5 on transverse panel. (Rev. die not checked.)
Map: 8: K. Reference: Agora NC, October 9, 1937, 84-88.
- §366. Obv. extremely similar to No. 365. Rev. obscure (not checked). [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, and perhaps also on a previous striking of Basil.]
Map: 9: I. Reference: Agora NE, May 14, 1936, 10-18.
- §367. Obv. shallow neckline, with prominent space between hem of undergarment and V of loros. Rev. large ϵ s.
Map: 10: I. Reference: Agora NE, March 27, 1937, 6-10.
- §368. Obv. large dots; empty square plus 4, 5 on the lower transverse row, (?) 3 on skirt panel. Neckline extremely similar to No. 367 (different die). Rev. extremely similar to No. 367, but rather larger lettering. Large $+$. Cf. No. 343.
Map: 4: K. Reference: St. John's S., May 24, 1938, 26-39.
- *369. Similar to Nos. 367 and 368. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, probably of Group H.]
Reference: as No. 147.
- §370. Obv. extremely similar to No. 368. Similar neckline. Five pairs of dots, 5 below. (Rev. die not checked.)
Map: 3: K. Reference: St. John's S., April 10, 1935, 24-27.
- *§371. Obv. exceptionally large dots throughout, and exceptionally careful workmanship. Inscription ends $A\psi\theta\gamma$. More elaborate neckline. Rev. flaked away (not checked).
Reference: Agora SE, May 31, 1933, 17.
372. Obv. large crosses on crowns. Rev. with $+$.
Map: 8: K. Context: Bema Shops, p-t: 80-82, at $+ 1.10$ to $+ 0.20$ m.; this and 2 of Constantine VII. Reference: Agora NC, October 11, 1937, 24-27.
373. Obv. large dots. Five on skirt-panel of loros. Rev. seriffed style. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Map: 7: K. Reference: Agora NC, October 29, 1937, 9-16.
374. Obv. obscured by the undertype. Rev. extremely similar to *NS* 34, and also No. 368. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Map: 11: H. Reference: Agora NE, February 6, 1937, 19.
375. Map: 5: M. Context: Ceramic Factory, G-K: 37-44, with one earlier coin, this, a Leo, a Constantine VII, and a follis of Nicephorus II.
Reference: S. Stoa W., October 8, 1937, 12-17.
376. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]

- Map: 5:L. Context: Glass Factory, from wall at L-K:28-31. Reference: Agora SC, May 3, 1938, 51.
377. Reference: as No. 359.
378. Reference: Agora SW, November 2, 1934, 5-10.
379. Reference: 1926/nos. 36-38. Three coins in one envelope (one was on exhibit in the Museum) with some possibility of confusion. This one is apparently from Temple Hill S., Cut II, June 18, 1925.
380. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, almost certainly of Group 5.]
Reference: as No. 100.
381. Reference: 1902 (tray 604).
382. Worn.
Reference: 1907 (tray 614).
383. Reference: 1902/03 (tray 726).
384. Battered.
Reference: 1904 (tray 673).
385. Worn.
Reference: July 3, 1908 (tray 749).
386. Reference: May 12, 1909 (tray 751).
387. Reference: July 12, 1911 (tray 755).
388. Reference: October 8-10, 1914 (tray 700).
389. Reference: October 16, 1914 (tray 700).
390. Without cross on rev. ?—incrusted.
Reference: November 25, 1914 (tray 703).
391. Obv. flaked away. Apparently ends *COST·A*ϣ. Rev. characteristic small letters. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, apparently of Group 5 or Z.]
Reference: June 19, 1926 (1926/no. 30).
392. Cut down in size.
Reference: Roman building south of Oakley House, October 30, 1933.
393. Obscure.
Map: 10:M. Reference: North of School, March 15, 1934, 10-16.
394. Flaked and broken.
Map: 11:J. Context: on the western tip of the large circular base—directly on the base. Comment in the Field Notebook: "This should date the earliest period of the road and the destruction of the orthostate." Reference: Agora SE, April 11, 1933, 3.
395. Flaked away. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, probably of Group Z.]
Map: 10:J. Context: at the southern end of the third small shop, close to floor level—comment in Field Notebook: "should date the fill in the shops." Cf. No. 163.
396. Reference: Agora SE, April 12, 1933, 5.
397. Reference: Agora SE, March 30, 1935, 14-15.
398. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, certainly of Group B.]
Reference: Agora SE, April 24, 1-2.
399. Map: 9:L. Context: from wall at S:18 (eastern wall along the Southeast Road). Note: 4 yards farther north in the same run of wall, 4 coins of the period of Constantine VII on top of the drum of a Doric column built into the wall (see Scranton's Plan VII, 9:K), and immediately below the drum, another coin of Constantine VII.
Reference: Agora SC, March 12, 1936, 1.
400. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: Agora SC, May 6, 1936, 14.
401. Very worn.
Reference: S. Basilica, February 27, 1936, 1-19.
402. Map: 9:J. Reference: Agora NE, April 28, 1937, 52-56.

403. Very large crosses on crowns. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: as No. 245.
404. Map: 9: J. Reference: Agora NE, May 18, 1937, 35-41.
405. Map: 5: M. Reference: Agora SC, November 12, 1937, 67-69.
406. Map: 6: M. Context: Glass Factory, under wall at L-K: 9-12, this and a coin of Constantine VII. Reference: Agora SC, November 13, 1937, 29-30.
407. Map: 5-6: L. Reference: Agora SC, November 16, 1937, 10-29.
408. Reference: as No. 407.
409. Reference: Agora SC, December 7, 1937, 81-100.
410. Map: 5: N. Context: Ceramic Factory, north of Shop XXVIII, to *ca.* + 0.20 m. with No. 200 and a Leo. (Cf. No. 462, found the previous day.)
Reference: S. Stoa W., October 8, 1937, 7-11.
411. Reference: Agora SE, May 29, 1934, 1-14.
412. Map: 8: J. Reference: Agora NC, September 20, 1937, 28-37.
413. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, probably of Group Z.]
Reference: as No. 269.
414. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Map: 5: K. Reference: St. John's S., May 21, 1938, 4-8.
415. Reference: St. John's S., June 3, 1938, 1-14.
416. Pierced and fretted.
Map: 5: M. Reference: Agora SC, March 28, 1938, 1-5.
417. Map: 8: K. Context: from under the bottom course of the wall running north from the north-west corner of the Bema; No. 332, this, No. 418, and a Leo. (Note: this wall runs over a drain. The floor over the drain was plundered stone from the drain, and was laid when the wall was built.) Reference: Agora SC, May 27, 1938, 3-4.
418. Reference: as No. 417.
419. Map: 6: K. Reference: Agora NC, February 9, 1938, 41-50.
420. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: as No. 349.
421. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: as No. 54.
422. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, very probably of Group H.]
Reference: as No. 54.
423. Map: 2: M. Reference: Agora SW, October 24, 1934, 31-36.
424. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus.]
Reference: as No. 210.

"Second Three Busts" issue

The mere handful of specimens of the "Second Three Busts" issue from Corinth is evenly divided between varieties I, II and III. The scarcity of variety III calls in question its attribution to the same mint as "First Three Busts" III.

Second Three Busts, I

- §425. Obv. CONST in large letters. Rev. cf. NS 152 (variety II!).
Reference: see under No. 379. This coin is apparently a surface find from south of the Museum, July 2, 1925.
- §426. Obv. cf. NS 138. Rev. extremely similar to NS 138.
Map: 9: J. Reference: Agora NE, June 1, 1937, 3-10.
427. Obv. cf. NS 146. Rev. obscure.
Map: 5: K. Reference: Agora NC, April 1, 1938, 11-14.

Second Three Busts, II

- §428. Rev. extremely similar to NS 153 (different die). Obv. obscure (not checked).
Map: 10: J. Reference: Agora NE, April 12, 1937, 15-20.
- §429. Rev. cf. NS 149, 152. Obv. obscure (not checked).
Map: 5: K. Reference: Agora NC, April 6, 1938, 42.
430. Obv. sloping panels in loros. Rev. cf. NS 154.
Map: 8: M. Context: 17-19: $\theta-\mu$, in a space 1.50 m. square, this and many eleventh-century coins, "not a collected hoard," says the Field Notebook, although the numismatic evidence must be that they were concealed at the same date. To judge from its good state of preservation, it is highly unlikely that the coin of Basil was lost or concealed at the same time, unless it was an accidental discovery which had recently been put back into circulation. Cf. No. 461, apparently found very close by. Reference: S. Stoa M., May 16, 1936, 1-10 (part of 1-47; 48-63 from slightly farther south.)
- §431. Obv. extremely similar to No. 430. Rev. extremely similar to No. 429 (different die).
Map: 4: L. Context: Ceramic Factory, i-t: 27-31, black fill from —0.75 to —1.00 m.; this and one coin of Leo, otherwise solidly late Roman. Reference: Agora SC, April 16, 1938, 163-191.

Second Three Busts, III

- §432. Obv. cf. NS 158. Rev. cf. NS 155. (Obv. die not checked.)
Reference: April 29, 1915.
- §433. Obv. cf. NS 160. Rev. cf. NS 160.
Map: 7: K. Context: Tower Complex Shops, in a "first period" wall.
Reference: Agora NC, February 15, 1938, 5.
434. Obv. cf. NS 158. Rev. obscure.
Reference: August 2, 1905 (tray 616).
- §435. Obv. cf. NS 159. Rev. cf. NS 155.
Map: 9: J. Reference: Agora NE, June 1, 1937, 37-48.
436. Obv. destroyed. Rev. variety II or III?
Reference: as No. 38.

Variety not identified

The following coins, which are too indistinct to identify in detail, are apparently all "Three Busts" coins of one variety or another.

437. "Second Three Busts"? Obv. destroyed. Rev. lemon-shaped Os, seriffed Is.
Map: 9-10: H. Reference: Agora NE, April 6, 1936, 30-50. Cf. No. 478.
438. "Second Three Busts"?
Reference: 1900-01 (tray 592).
439. Reference: Lechaion Road, Byzantine Shops, August 11, 1925.
440. Reference: see No. 379. This coin is apparently from Temple Hill S., July 16, 1925.
441. Map: 11: I. Reference: Agora NE, February 17, 1937, 5.
442. Cut segment (could be a half?).
Map: 6: N. Context: Ceramic Factory, i-y: 38-46, at ± 0 to —0.40 m.; this, 3 of Leo, and one Rex Regnantium follis of Class A.
Reference: S. Stoa W., October 7, 1937, 1-6.
443. Map: 5: L. Reference: Agora SC, May 9, 1938, 1-28.
444. Map: 11: N. Reference: North of School, May 11, 1934, 6.
445. Reference: August 1, 1926.

"Seated Figure" issue

The coins from Corinth are closely similar to those that have previously been catalogued. They confirm the division into varieties I (end of loros falls to the left and is fringed) and II (end of loros falls to right). Variety I, in the finest style, is, as elsewhere, scarce. The stylistic devolution of variety II appears to be straightforward: *NS* 118, with the end of Basil's loros falling to the left, is an experimental variant, standing, no doubt, at the head of the sequence. This allows us to establish the initial shape of the lyre-backed throne. The original single curves become double curves; and the number of dots, both on the end of the loros and on the right-hand side of the throne, diminishes.

One precious coin from Corinth is unique in having double legs to the throne. It was probably part of the traveler's cache from the area of the Ceramic Factory. Its closest parallel is in *NS* 116, which is of special note in that it has a cross instead of the usual X on the banner of the labarum. These two coins would seem to be either experimental or to constitute a separate group. The obverse of the Corinth find is unfortunately partly flaked away, and nothing definite can be said about the appropriate classification.

Seated Figure, I

- *§446. Obv. cf. *NS* 112-113. Rev. rather small letters in **ROMEON**. Note the fine style of the **Є**s. Reference: *New Museum*, April 29, 1931.
- §447. Obv. destroyed. Rev. cf. *NS* 113. (Obv. die not checked.)
Map: 5: L. Context: Glass Factory, from wall and fill around it; with one coin of Leo VI. Cf. No. 450. Reference: *Agora SC*, March 24, 1938, 3-5.
- *§448. Obv. cf. *NS* 115. Rev. cf. *NS* 115.
Map: 7: J. Reference: *Agora NC*, November 22, 1937, 1-10.
- §449. Obv. obscure (not checked). Banner of labarum and outline of head are as on variety I. Rev. cf. *NS* 115.
Map: 7: K. Reference: *Agora NC*, November 9, 1937, 27-30.
- *§450. Obv. (partly flaked away). Double legs to throne. Square banner of labarum, with dotted pendants. Back of throne at right curves in sharply. Rev. cf. *NS* 116. [Restruck on a reformed follis of Theophilus, probably Group A, or possibly B.]
Map: 5: L. Context: Ceramic Factory, X-c: 21-25, black medieval fill with stones, from — 0.55 to — 1.20 m. Cf. Nos. 452, 457. Reference: *Agora SC*, April 1, 1938, 7.

Seated Figure, II

- *§451. Obv. experimental die, earlier than *NS* 119. End of loros falls to left; vertical lines on right side of throne are curved to follow the outline of the throne. Rev. almost certainly from the same die as *NS* 117.
Map: 10: J. Reference: *Agora NE*, April 12, 1937, 13-14.
- §452. Obv. cf. *NS* 119 (long l in **ASILO**). Rev. cf. *NS* 118.
Map: 5: M. Reference: as No. 49.
- *§453. Obv. same die as No. 452. Rev. cf. No. 451, *NS* 118.
Map: 4: M. Reference: *Agora SC*, March 22, 1938, 41-66.
- 454. Obv. destroyed (not checked). Rev. early variety II?
Map: 5: M. Context: Ceramic Factory, a-h: 9: 12, medieval fill — 1.00 through — 1.55 m. to — 1.75 m.; with a Leo and a Rex Regnantium follis, Class A. Reference: *Agora SC*, March 11, 1938, 9-15.
- §455. Obv. cf. *NS* 118. Rev. cf. No. 452.
Map: 3: J. Context: in nave of church, 1.00 to 2.00 m. below floor; this, 2 of Constantine VII, 5 Rex Regnantium folles, Class A.
Reference: *St. John's S.*, May 19, 1937, 2-12.

- §456. Obv. cf. *NS* 117. Close to No. 455. Rev. cf. *NS* 117.
Reference: as No. 124.
- §457. Obv. cf. *NS* 117-118, and No. 453. Rev. closest to No. 456, and cf. also No. 453. (Nos. 457 and 453 are fragmentary, and the two reverses cannot be checked against each other, but the style is the same.)
Reference: as Nos. 452 and 49.
- §458. Obv. cf. *NS* 117-118. Rev. closest to No. 456. Note small $\epsilon\omicron$ in *ROMEON*.
Map: 9: J. Reference: Agora NE, May 5, 1937, 49-51.
- §459. Obv. destroyed (not checked). Rev. extremely similar to No. 458.
Reference: Agora NC, March 15, 1938, 5.
- §460. Obv. cf. *NS* 117. Rev. cf. *NS* 118.
Map: 6: M. Reference: Agora SC, November 4, 1937, 26-29.
- §461. Obv. cf. *NS* 117, 118; No. 458. Rev. cf. *NS* 117; Nos. 456, 458.
Map: 8: M. Context: room near Ceramic Factory.
Reference: S. Stoa M., April 18, 1936, 2.
- §462. Obv. cf. *NS* 118, 124. Rev. cf. *NS* 118, 124.
Map: 5: M. Context: Ceramic Factory, at K: 37-45, to *ca.* — 0.60 m. In this group, 2 coins of Leo, and a Leo with Alexander; later coins up to Rex Regnantium Class F.
Reference: S. Stoa W., October 7, 1937, 45-52.
- §463. Obv. cf. *NS* 121; No. 452. Rev. cf. *NS* 122.
Map: 8: K. Reference: Agora SC, April 4, 1936, 4.
- §464. Obv. cf. *NS* 122. Rev. closest to *NS* 121.
Reference: May 29-31, 1915.
- §465. Obv. cf. *NS* 120-121. Rev. cf. *NS* 121-122.
Map: 7: K. Reference: Agora NC, November 12, 1937, 54-65.
- §466. Obv. cf. *NS* 123. Rev. cf. *NS* 124, 125.
Reference: as No. 56.
- §467. Obv. cf. *NS* 123. Rev. closest to *NS* 121, 123; cf. *NS* 128.
Reference: Agora NC, September 29, 1937, 1-6.
- §468. Obv. cf. *NS* 124. Rev. same die as No. 467.
Map: 11: J. Reference: Agora SE, May 2, 1933, 7.
- §469. Obv. cf. *NS* 124, 123. Rev. cf. *NS* 128; closest to No. 267.
Reference: as No. 154.
- §470. Obv. *NS* 124 seems to be this die recut. Rev. close to No. 472.
Reference: as No. 33.
- §471. Obv. obscure (not checked). Rev. cf. *NS* 124.
Map: 10: I. Reference: Agora NE, April 20, 1937, 27-31.
- §472. Obv. cf. *NS* 123. Rev. closest to *NS* 124.
Reference: 1898 (tray 621).
- §473. Obv. obscure (not checked). Rev. cf. *NS* 124.
Map: 5: L. Context: Ceramic Factory, above a strosis of gray-white ash; an Arcadius, this, a Leo, and a coin of Alexius I. Cf. No. 239.
Reference: Agora SC, December 1, 1937, 70-74.
- §474. Obv. end of loros as on *NS* 124. Throne as on *NS* 122, 125. Rev. closest to *NS* 125 and No. 472.
Map: 4: K. Reference: St. John's S., May 24, 1938, 20-25.
475. Obscure; cf. *NS* 125.
Map: 9: J. Reference: Agora NE, May 11, 1937, 24-27.
- §476. Obv. cf. *NS* 127, and also 124. Rev. cf. *NS* 127.
Reference: July 9, 1925.
477. Obv. destroyed. Rev. cf. *NS* 127.
Reference: as No. 435.

- §478. Obv. cf. *NS* 128. Rev. closest to *NS* 128, and cf. also 129. Letters € have drooping bars.
Reference: as No. 437.
- §479. Obv. cf. *NS* 128, 129. Rev. obscure (not checked).
Map: 5:M. Context: Ceramic Factory, fill from — 1.00 to — 1.55 m.
Reference: Agora SC, March 11, 1938, 6-8.

Seated Figure: variety not determined

480. Variety I?
Map: 9:I. Reference: Agora NE, May 9, 1936, 1-5.
481. Variety II?
Map: 3:M. Reference: Agora SW, October 18, 1934, 11-19.
482. Variety II?
Reference: Agora SE, March 29, 1933.
483. Very obscure.
Reference: October 21-22, 1914.
484. Not located in March 1965.
Map: 10:I. Reference: Agora NE, April 12, 1937, 37.
485. Not located in March 1965.
Map: 10:I. Reference: Agora NE, April 12, 1937, 50-55.

MINT OF CHERSON

486. *B.M.C.* 34-35. Edwards 93.
Reference: April 23/24, 1915.

CONCORDANCE

The coins are listed according to the date on which they were excavated, to facilitate reference to the Catalogue.

1896	165.
1898	5, 109, 141, 254, 472.
1900-01	192, 438.
1902	22, 43, 216, 218, 381.
1902-03	383.
1904	384.
1905	304, 434.
1907	247, 303, 382.
1908	193, 386, 166, 305, 385.
1910	152, 160.
1911	387.
1914	237, 388, 329, 389, 483, 390, 142, 194, 110.
1915	355, 486, 432, 301, 279, 153, 464, 60, 101, 266, 155, 156.
1919	115.
1925	379, 425, 476, 440, 439, 282.
1926	6, 8, 116, 238, 89, 391, 168, 179, 136, 445, 170, 169.
1927	242, 292, 175, 276, 251, 2.
1929	278, 211, 257, 352, 219, 347, 291, 1.
1929 supplementary	117.

- Peribolos, 1930 87, 268.
 Lechaion Road, 1930 46, 259, 220.
 Area N. of Temple, 1930 172.
 New Museum, 1931 178, 446, 180.
 Temple E, 1932 66, 306, 67.
 Road N. of St. John's, 1933 25, 181, 337.
 Roman Building S. of Oakley House 392.
 North of School, 1934 393, 444.
 Miscellaneous 15, 171.
 Agora SW, 1933 19, 138, 77, 93, 126, 150, 195, 41, 28, 114, 45, 75, 95, 252, 52, 173, 262, 58, 151, 102.
 Agora SW, 1934 294, 481, 307, 68, 423, 17, 378, 246, 348.
 Agora SE, 1933 482, 394, 395, 163, 468, 23, 42, 18, 308, 371.
 Agora SE, 1934 309, 182, 176, 221, 207, 112, 143, 121, 74, 284, 63, 396, 310, 222, 411.
 Agora SE, 1935 397, 149, 161, 213, 398, 208.
 St. John's S., 1935 196, 370, 122.
 St. John's S., 1936 330, 255, 57, 273, 313, 299.
 St. John's S., 1937 191, 185, 16, 76, 317, 236, 290, 455, 48, 318.
 St. John's S., 1938 321, 253, 33, 470, 293, 260, 130, 188, 44, 61, 228, 69, 39, 339, 229, 103, 353, 27, 283, 414, 474, 368, 139, 351, 380, 230, 100, 322, 243, 415, 323, 12.
 South Basilica, 1936 401, 199, 312.
 South Stoa M., 1936 461, 430.
 South Stoa W., 1937 261, 319, 125, 442, 462, 410, 200, 375, 85, 258, 340, 210, 424, 456, 124, 111.
 South Stoa W., 1938 363, 288.
 Agora NE, 1936 80, 437, 478, 275, 296, 302, 223, 256, 480, 31, 366, 162.
 Agora NE, 1937 374, 334, 97, 441, 4, 298, 30, 83, 164, 127, 241, 209, 270, 118, 367, 128, 133, 314, 197, 272, 289, 105, 225, 224, 295, 451, 428, 145, 484, 277, 485, 240, 7, 471, 271, 24, 315, 316, 402, 245, 403, 458, 157, 217, 3, 96, 104, 475, 140, 404, 71, 91, 159, 158, 129, 64, 65, 26, 73, 426, 79, 81, 477, 435, 167, 212, 50.
 Agora NC, 1937 412, 285, 320, 467, 249, 365, 372, 356, 287, 106, 345, 331, 269, 413, 343, 359, 377, 357, 9, 373, 350, 354, 449, 465, 215, 448, 335, 70, 10, 90, 53, 186, 281, 137, 187.
 Agora NC, 1938 47, 189, 419, 326, 433, 265, 119, 234, 29, 59, 263, 94, 235, 264, 327, 328, 362, 34, 204, 174, 190, 201, 349, 420, 37, 358, 54, 421, 422, 286, 144, 346, 360, 72, 361, 84, 202, 135, 459, 132, 342, 107, 205, 333, 427, 148, 206, 250, 177, 364, 198, 429.
 Agora SC, 1936 399, 463, 400, 311, 369, 147, 14.
 Agora SC, 1937 183, 82, 120, 113, 99, 460, 62, 466, 56, 131, 88, 405, 406, 86, 92, 407, 408, 226, 239, 473, 248, 11, 184, 409, 184bis, 274, 227, 341, 300, 214.
 Agora SC, 1938 55, 244, 98, 134, 78, 35, 479, 454, 32, 231, 203, 267, 453, 40, 436, 38, 447, 416, 344, 232, 233, 450, 324, 338, 49, 457, 452, 51, 297, 154, 469, 280, 13, 431, 108, 123, 336, 325, 36, 376, 443, 332, 417, 418.
 Museum W., 1939 146.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL ON PLATES 41-44

Some scarce varieties or important specimens not represented among the Corinth finds have been included in the plates in order to facilitate comparisons. Also, the opportunity has been taken to illustrate several coins from the excavations in the Athenian Agora, not all of which were illustrated in *NS*.

- A *B.M.C.* 20 (London).
- B Schlumberger 3025 (Paris).
- C *MN* 60.
- D Schl. 3028.
- E *NS* 37.
- F *NS* 43.
- G *NS* 44; Athenian Agora, Σ', 11 February 1938, 31.
- H *NS* 48; Athenian Agora, Σ', 12 February 1938, 4.
- J *NS* 65; Athenian Agora, ΣΤ' 1 April 1932, 11.
- K *NS* 80.
- L *NS* 85.
- M *NS* 110; Athenian Agora, Ξ', 19 March 1935, 2.
- N *NS* 111 (Stockholm).
- O *NS* 112 (Cleja hoard).
- P *NS* 117.
- Q *NS* 128; Athenian Agora, Π Π', 22 July 1947, 4.

D. M. METCALF

ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD



Mediaeval Walls in the Central Area of Corinth (part), after Scranton, *Corinth*, XVI,
Mediaeval Architecture, pl. VII. Grid lines at 20 m. intervals.

D. M. METCALF: CORINTH IN THE NINTH CENTURY: THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE



