

# COIN HOARDS FROM THE GYMNASIUM AREA AT CORINTH

(PLATES 37–40)

FOUR COIN HOARDS were found during the eight seasons of excavation (1965–1972) in the Gymnasium area of ancient Corinth.<sup>1</sup> Although the dates for the

<sup>1</sup>The excavation was conducted by the University of Texas at Austin for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Funds for the excavation were provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Ford Foundation, the University of Texas at Austin, and numerous private donors. Professor James R. Wiseman, now of Boston University, directed the work; I am grateful to him for permission to publish these hoards. The most recent discussion of the excavation is by Wiseman, "Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C.–A.D. 267," (= Wiseman, 1979; see abbreviations below), with figure 2 locating the Gymnasium area on a map of ancient Corinth and figure 10 showing a plan for the area of excavation. Preliminary reports of the first five seasons were published by Wiseman, "Excavations at Corinth, the Gymnasium Area, 1965," *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 13–41; "Excavations at Corinth, the Gymnasium Area, 1966," *ibid.*, pp. 402–428; "Excavations in Corinth, the Gymnasium Area, 1967–1968," *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 64–106; "The Gymnasium Area at Corinth, 1969–1970," *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 1–42; "Ancient Corinth, the Gymnasium Area," *Archaeology* 22, 1969, pp. 216–225, and "The Fountain of the Lamps," *Archaeology* 23, 1970, pp. 130–137. For summaries of the results of the later seasons see H. W. Catling, "Archaeology in Greece, 1971–72," *JHS-AR* 18, 1972, p. 9; C. K. Williams, II, "Excavations at Corinth," *Δελτ* 26, 1971, B' 1 [1974], p. 96 and "Corinth Excavations," *Δελτ* 27, 1972, B' 1 [1976], pp. 223–224; and J. P. Michaud, "Chronique des fouilles en 1970," *BCH* 95, 1971, p. 858 and "Chronique des fouilles en 1971," *BCH* 96, 1972, p. 638. The photographs were taken by I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti and paid for by a grant from the Research Board of the Graduate School of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. I wish to thank the members of the Corinth excavation staff, particularly Charles K. Williams, II, Nancy Bookidis, and Joan E. Fisher, who always made me welcome at Corinth even when I arrived at inconvenient times.

Works frequently cited will be abbreviated as follows:

- "Agora SW Hoard" = (published in) Edwards, 1937, p. 249  
*BiblNat* = C. Morrisson, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, *D'Anastase I<sup>er</sup> à Justinien II*, 491–711, Paris 1970  
*BMC* = *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, London 1873–  
*BMCB* = W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, London 1908  
*BMCV* = W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards, and of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond, in the British Museum*, London 1911 (reprinted as *Western and Provincial Byzantine Coins of the Vandals, etc.*, Chicago 1966)  
*CNI* = *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, XI, *Toscana (zecche minori)*, Rome 1929  
Cohen = M. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, 2nd ed., Paris 1880–1892  
"Dalmatia" = (hoard published in) J. W. Pearce and M. E. Wood, "A Late Roman Hoard from Dalmatia," *NC*, ser. 5, 14, 1934, pp. 269–283  
*DO* = A. R. Bellinger, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, I, *Anastasius I to Maurice, 491–602*, Washington, D.C. 1966

burials of the earliest and latest hoards are more than 600 years apart, their discovery in a single area of controlled excavation warrants their publication together. Coin hoards found in excavations permit a comparison of their contexts and contents that is not often possible with hoards discovered under other circumstances. This comparison can

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- Edwards, *Corinth* VI = K. M. Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, *Coins*, Cambridge, Mass. 1933
- Edwards, 1937 = K. M. Edwards, "Report of the Coins Found in the Excavations at Corinth during the Years 1930–1935," *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 241–256
- Gregory = T. E. Gregory, "The Late Roman Wall at Corinth," *Hesperia* 48, 1979, pp. 264–280
- Hahn = W. Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*, I, *Von Anastasius I bis Justinianus I*, 491–565, *einschliesslich der östgotischen und vandalischen Prägungen*; II, *Von Justinus II bis Phocas*, 565–610 (Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, vols. 109 and 119. Veröffentlichungen der numismatischen Kommission, I and IV), Vienna 1973 and 1975
- Harris = J. M. Harris, "Coins Found at Corinth," *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 143–162
- "Isthmia" = (hoard published in) O. Broneer, "Excavations at Isthmia, 1954," *Hesperia* 24, 1955, pp. 117 and 136, and D. MacDowall, "The Byzantine Coin Hoard Found at Isthmia," *Archaeology* 18, 1965, pp. 264–267
- "Kenchreai" = (hoard published in) R. L. Hohlfelder, "A Sixth Century Hoard from Kenchreai," *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 89–91
- "Korinth" = (hoard published in) M. Krikou-Galani, "Εὑρημα Κορίνθου μικρῶν χαλκῶν ὑποδιαρέσεων Ε' καὶ ΣΤ' αἰ.μ.Χ.," *Δελτ* 28, 1973, A' [1975], pp. 138–158
- Kroll = J. H. Kroll, G. C. Miles and Stella G. Miller, "An Early Byzantine and Late Turkish Hoard from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 301–311
- LRBC = R. A. G. Carson, P. V. Hill and J. P. C. Kent, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage, A.D. 324–498*, London 1965
- Mattingly = H. Mattingly, "A Late Roman Hoard from Corinth," *NC*, ser. 5, 2, 1931, pp. 229–233
- Metcalf = D. M. Metcalf, "Coins of Lucca, Valence, and Antioch. Some new hoards and stray finds from the time of the Crusades," *HBN* 22/23, 1968/1969 [1972], pp. 443–470
- RIC = *Roman Imperial Coinage*, H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson, edd., IX, J. W. E. Pearce, *Valentinian I–Theodosius I*, London 1951
- "Roman Wall Hoard" = (published in) Edwards, 1937, pp. 248–249 and Gregory, pp. 272–274
- Scranton, *Corinth* XVI = R. L. Scranton, *Corinth*, XVI, *Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth*, Princeton 1957
- SNGCop = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Copenhagen*, Copenhagen 1942–
- "South Stoa Hoard" = (published in) Harris, p. 145
- "Volo" = (hoard published in) H. L. Adelson and G. L. Kustas, *A Bronze Hoard of the Period of Zeno I*, *ANSMN* 148, New York 1962
- Walker = A. S. Walker, "Four AE Coin Hoards in the Collection of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens," *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 40–48
- Wiseman, 1979 = J. R. Wiseman, "Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C.–A.D. 267," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, II, *Principat*, H. Temporini and W. Haase, edd., VII, i, Berlin and New York 1979, pp. 438–548
- "Yale" = (hoard published in) H. L. Adelson and G. L. Kustas, "A Bronze Hoard from the Period of Leo I," *ANSMN* 9, 1960, pp. 139–188
- "Zacha" = (hoard published in) H. L. Adelson and G. L. Kustas, "A Sixth-Century Hoard of Minimi from the Western Peloponnese," *ANSMN* 11, 1964, pp. 159–205

add to our understanding of the hoard and the architectural features surrounding it. A preliminary total of 2,256 coins was recovered from the excavation of the Gymnasium area; almost one third, 733 coins, belongs to the four hoards.<sup>2</sup> Those not from the four hoards will be published later.

### HOARD I: FROM THE TIME OF THE INVASION OF ALARIC THE GOTH

The earliest of the hoards has been published in a preliminary report of the Gymnasium excavations by James R. Wiseman.<sup>3</sup> But my initial reading of the coins, given in Wiseman's article, was made before they were completely cleaned. I was able to read more details and correct some errors when I reread them in the summer of 1969. The following notes and catalogue supercede the information about the coins given in the preliminary publication.

The 18 AE II<sup>4</sup> near the northwest corner of a protecting spur of the Epistyle Wall, a segment of the city wall in the Late Roman period.<sup>5</sup> In addition, three other coins (appended at the end of the catalogue below) were found in this same corner. They were slightly removed from the hoard but may have formed part of the original group at the time of concealment. I have kept these coins separate from the others of the hoard because one of them, No. 21 of Constantius II, A.D. 341–346, has an earlier date of minting and smaller denomination (AE III) than this otherwise very consistent group of coins. This coin may be a stray lost near the hoard or it may be the oldest piece in the hoard.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup>This is the total of the Corinth coin inventory numbers used for the excavations of the Gymnasium area. By year of excavation:

65-797–65-912 = 116

66-460–66-571 = 112

67-887–67-1143 = 257

68-1261, 68-1262, 68-1265–68-1479, 68-1485–68-1491, 68-1495–68-1515, 68-1520, 68-1521, 68-1523–68-1548 = 273

69-341–69-777 = 437

70-271–70-277, 70-280–70-512 = 240

71-532–71-1350 = 819

72-4, 72-5 = 2.

While the total number of extant coins in the hoards is 733, including two coins in Lot 7113 not given inventory numbers, the total of Corinth coin inventory numbers used for the hoards is 740. The discrepancy is accounted for by coins which disintegrated in cleaning or objects given a coin number which were not coins.

<sup>3</sup>*Hesperia* 38, 1969, p. 92 and pl. 29:b for the findspot with the hoard *in situ* and pl. 29:c for all the obverses which are, from left to right in the top row, Nos. 12, 11, 6, 5, 15; in the second row, Nos. 10, 16, 8, 2, 4; in the third row, Nos. 3, 9, 7, 1, 18; and in the bottom row, Nos. 14, 13, 17 of the catalogue on pp. 151–153 below.

<sup>4</sup>The second largest of the four standard denominations in Late Roman *aes* coinage.

<sup>5</sup>For a discussion of the wall, its date and relation to the topography of Corinth, see Wiseman, *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 87–92 and *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 5–7, and Gregory, pp. 264–280. See, for the discovery and excavation of the hoard, Corinth Field Notebook 419, p. 130, and p. 75 for the three coins found near by.

<sup>6</sup>Supporting the association of the coin of Constantius II with the rest of the hoard are the remarks of K. M. Edwards (Edwards, 1937, p. 248) about a hoard from Corinth buried in the early 5th century after

The other 20 coins were all minted between A.D. 378 and 383. They are of the REPARATIO REI PUB[LICAE] issues of Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I. Only eight of the AE II coins are significantly more than 0.4 g. underweight. Despite corrosion, the other 12 cluster about the average weight of 4.92 g. determined for the coinage from Siscia.<sup>7</sup> Although the coins are sometimes difficult to read because of corrosion, they appear to have had only a little wear from circulation (where this can be determined despite the corrosion).<sup>8</sup> Only the wear on No. 21 suggests that it spent a longer time in circulation than the others. The wear on the coins is consistent with the date for the concealment of the hoard suggested by the findspot. Wiseman suggests that the Epistyle Wall was built, with material from buildings destroyed in the earthquakes of A.D. 365 and 375, to protect this area of Corinth before the invasion of Alaric the Goth in 395/396.<sup>9</sup> This collection of 18 (or 21) coins was hidden in the wall either by a Corinthian defender or a Gothic invader and then not recovered. The later plastering-over of this part of the wall sealed in the coins.<sup>10</sup>

This Corinth hoard is remarkably similar to a hoard of 16 AE II coins found near Laurion in Attica.<sup>11</sup> With the exception of No. 21, minted at Cyzicus, both hoards

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Christ: "the presence of coins of Constantius II with a hoard of much later date is not surprising as many coins of his enormous mintage continued in use in Greece until the end of the Roman period." The hoard found at Isthmia which was buried in 395/396 contained 12 coins of Constantius II; A. Beaton and P. Clement, "The Date of the Destruction of the Sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth," *Hesperia* 45, 1976, pp. 268–269.

<sup>7</sup>A. Alföldi, *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien*, Berlin 1924, p. 10; Pearce, *RIC* IX, p. xxxi.

<sup>8</sup>On the importance of distinguishing wear from corrosion on excavation coins, see A. Walker, "Worn and Corroded Coins: Their Importance for the Archaeologist," *JFA* 3, 1976, pp. 329–334.

<sup>9</sup>The evidence for the dates of the earthquakes and Alaric's invasion are collected by Wiseman (*Hesperia* 36, 1967, p. 409, note 19), who dates the attack on Corinth to 395. Timothy E. Gregory (Gregory, pp. 269–270) and A. Beaton and P. Clement (*op. cit.* [footnote 5 above], pp. 267–279) date the attack in 396; the evidence is based on Zosimus and is discussed by Paul A. Clement ("The Date of the Hexamilion," *Essays in the Memory of Basil Laourdas*, Thessaloniki 1975, pp. 159–164 and "Alaric and the Fortifications of Greece," *Ancient Macedonia II [Papers Read at the Second International Symposium Held in Thessaloniki, 19–24 August 1973]*, Thessaloniki, Institute for Balkan Studies, vol. 155, 1977, pp. 135–137). I do not think that either 395 or 396 is certain and have therefore dated Alaric's attack 395/396. Favoring a date just before Alaric's invasion for the Epistyle Wall is Wiseman (*op. cit.*, pp. 411–412 and *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 87–92). In *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 5–7, Wiseman adds the possibility that the wall was constructed shortly after Alaric's raid in fear of other attacks. Although this could have happened, it is not as consistent with the date of the issues in the hoard and its secretion. Perhaps the outer, northern face of the Epistyle Wall was constructed first, followed by Alaric's attack, and the construction of the southern face occurred later to strengthen the Corinthian defenses at the prospect of a return of the Goths or other attacks. Recent excavations at Isthmia have produced a hoard of 97 coins which confirms Alaric's destruction of that site in 395/396 (Beaton and Clement, *loc. cit.*). Gregory (p. 276) dates the Epistyle Wall to just before Alaric's attack on the evidence of this hoard. The rest of the Late Roman Wall, into which the Epistyle Wall was incorporated, he dates after the retreat of Alaric, to the first two decades of the 5th century (p. 270).

<sup>10</sup>Wiseman, *Hesperia* 38, 1969, p. 91 and fig. 13.

<sup>11</sup>V. Kallipolitis, *Δελτ* 19, 1964, B' 1 [1966], pp. 73–74, pl. 72. Whether these were a grave offering or were hidden in an area of disturbed burials could not be determined.

consist of the same issues of the same emperors minted at almost all the same mints, with the representation of the emperors and mints in both hoards approximately the same.

	CORINTH	LAURION
EMPERORS:		
Gratian	10	5
Valentinian II	2	4
Theodosius I	7	7
MINTS:		
Arles	0	1?
Rome	5	4
Aquileia	1	0
Siscia	1	2
Thessalonica	5	4
Constantinople	1	1
Antioch	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
Total identified mints	13	13

Although it is possible that two residents of Attica and Corinth both lost small hoards of very similar size and content by coincidence, it may be that these two similar hoards are connected in some way. It is possible that they may represent the currency in the possession of two of the Gothic invaders. This suggests that Alaric may have paid his troops during his invasion of Attica and Corinth with issues that had been minted more than ten years before. Alternatively, it may only mean that some of his forces seized a collection of these issues *en route*.

CATALOGUE: HOARD I  
(Plate 37)

The Corinth Museum inventory number follows the catalogue number.

AE II, A.D. 378–383

*Obverse*: Bust of emperor, pearl diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.

*Reverse*: Emperor standing facing, head l., holding Victory on globe in l. hand, r. hand raising kneeling, turreted woman.

AQUILEIA, *RIC* IX, p. 100, no. 30a

DN G[RATI]A–NVS [PF] AVG	REPARATIO–[REI PVB]	S]MAQP
1. 68-1405 25 mm. 4.06 g. ↑		

ROME, *RIC* IX, pp. 125, 126, no. 43a, d

DN GRATIA–NVS PF AVG	REP[ARATIO–RE]I PVB	SMRP
2. 68-1406 24 mm. 4.55 g. ↓		

	DN GRATIA–NVS PF AV[G	REPARATIO–REI PVB	SMRQ
3. 63-1407	26 mm. 3.49 g. ↓		
	DN GRATIA–[NVS PF AVG]	REPARATIO–REI PVB	SMRQ
4. 68-1408	23 mm. 5.24 g. ↑		
	DN THE]ODO–SIVS PF AVG	REPARAT]T[IO–]REI PVB	SMRQ
5. 68-1418	24 mm. 4.23 g. ↓		
	DN THEODO–SIVS PF AVG	R[E]PA[RA]TIO–[R]EI PVB	SMRT
6. 68-1417	24 mm. 4.84 g. ↓		
SISCIA, <i>RIC</i> IX, p. 150, no. 26a			
	DN GRATIA–[NVS P]F AVG	REPARATIO–[R]EI PVB	*ASISC*
7. 68-1409	23 mm. 5.24 g. ↓		
THESSALONICA, <i>RIC</i> IX, p. 181, no. 37a, d			
	DN GRATIA–NVS [PF A]VG	REP[A]RA[T]IO–REI [PVB]	S[MT]ES in field r. Δ
8. 68-1410	25 mm. 4.04 g. ↓		
	DN ]GRATIA–NVS PF AV[G	REPARAT]TIO–REI PV[B]	[S]MTES in field r. Δ
9. 68-1411	24 mm. 6.01 g. ↘		
	D[N GRATIA]–NVS PF AVG	RE]PARAT[IO–REI PVB]	SMT[ES
10. 68-1412	24 mm. 4.26 g. ↑		
	DN] TH[EODO]–SIVS P[F AVG	R]EPARATIO–[REI PV]B	SMTES
11. 68-1419	23.5 mm. 5.90 g. ↑		
CONSTANTINOPLE, <i>RIC</i> IX, p. 226, no. 54c			
	DN THEODO–SIVS PF AVG	REPARATIO–REI PVB	CONSB
12. 68-1420	26 mm. 3.98 g. ↑		
(mint mark illegible) Cohen, pp. 26–30			
	DN V[ALE]NTINIANVS PF AVG	REPAR[ATIO–REI PV]B	
13. 68-1415	24 mm. 4.81 g. ↑		
	D]N VALENTINI[ANV]S PF AVG	REPARAT]TIO–REI PV[B]	
14. 68-1416	22 mm. 4.28 g. ↑		
	DN THEODO–SIVS PF AVG	REPARATIO]–REI PVB	
15. 68-1421	23 mm. 5.04 g. ↑		
	DN GRATIA–[NVS PF AVG]	REPARATIO–[REI PVB]	
16. 68-1413	24 mm. 4.82 g. ↓		
	DN] GR[ATIA]–NVS PF AV[G	[REPARATIO–REI PVB]	
17. 68-1414	23 mm. 4.74 g. ↓		
	Illegible (Gratian, Valentinian II or Theodosius I)	REPARAT]TIO–[REI PVB	
18. 68-1422	21 mm. 4.50 g. ↓		

The following were found close to the hoard:

Same as No. 11 above:

	DN THEODO-[SIVS PF AVG]	REPARAT[IO]-REI PVB	ΣMTES
19. 68-1333	23 mm. 5.05 g. ↑		in field r. Δ

Same as No. 15 above:

	DN THEOD[O-SIVS PF AVG]	REPAR]ATIO-[REI PVB]
20. 68-1334	21 mm. 4.42 g. ↓	

#### CONSTANTIUS II, A.D. 341-346

CYZICUS, *LRBC*, no. 1306

	DN CONSTAN-[TIVS PF AVG]	VOT	
	Bust of Emperor, pearl diademed,	XX	
	draped and cuirassed, r.	MVLT in wreath	SMKA
		XXX	
21. 68-1335	AE III 15 mm. 1.71 g. ↑		

#### HOARD II: FROM THE LATER 6TH CENTURY

On October 30 and November 1, 1971, a large concentration of coins mixed with at least 45 other objects was excavated on the east side of the bath-fountain complex (Fountain of the Lamps).<sup>12</sup> It was located in an area directly west of, and even partially under, a marble monument base found at about the center of the hemispherical exedra. The base projected over the edge of the pool and was in line with a number of other blocks which also overlapped the pool's edge. The hoard lay just below the top of the swimming pool, on and inside its east edge, extending southward beside and under some of the blocks in line with the marble base and eastward on the edge of the pool in the exedra. Its western boundary was defined by one of the late rubble walls built early in the reign of Justin II.<sup>13</sup> Smaller concentrations of coins were scattered near by to the

<sup>12</sup>For the name, "Fountain of the Lamps", see Wiseman, *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 75-78 and note 22. The possibility that this complex is the Fountain of Lerna mentioned by Pausanias, II.4.6, is suggested by Wiseman (Wiseman, 1979, pp. 511-512). For the location of the bath-fountain complex in the ancient city of Corinth, see Wiseman, 1979, fig. 2 and *idem*, *Hesperia* 41, 1972, fig. 1 opp. p. 1. The most recent plan of the area of excavations is Wiseman, 1979, fig. 10.

<sup>13</sup>Period 7 of the use of this area, according to the report of Williams, Δελτ 27, 1972, B' 1 [1976], p. 224; see also Wiseman, *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 23-24. Once the pool was silted in, the rubble walls were built and the area became a rubbish dump. The hoard was deposited in its findspot before the dump fill covered the walls and before the construction of a large lime kiln within the exedra. The findspot of the hoard is located in grid squares M/N-35 of figure 4 in Wiseman, *Hesperia* 41, 1972, p. 10. The excavation of the main part of the hoard was recorded in Corinth Field Notebook 537, pp. 43 and 46, Basket 53, Lots 7007 and 7113 (for objects other than coins in the hoard). Pottery from the dumped fill was plentiful around and above the hoard. The greatest concentration of coins was in an area about 0.75 m. in diameter, 0.02 m. below the edge of the pool; the approximate elevation above mean sea level was 46 m. The hoard was first recorded in pp. 40-41, Baskets 49 and 50, Lot 7007, but when the size of the hoard was observed, most of the deposit (matrix) in which it was found was excavated with a separate pottery basket. It was, at the most, about ten centimeters thick but was recovered from elevations between *ca.* +45.60 and +45.35 m.

south and east, slightly above and below the elevation of the large concentration. These do not differ in content from the main body of the hoard and were found in the same dumped fill. They have all been incorporated in the catalogue below.<sup>14</sup> No evidence of a container for the hoard could be observed; the pottery in the area consisted of only non-joining sherds which could never have been united into a vessel to hold the hoard. Why then was the hoard not recovered by those who filled in this region, and how did it come to be spread in a thin lens over a fairly wide area? It seems impossible to consider the findspot of the hoard as the place in which it was originally concealed. It covers too large an area and would have been open to view by all passersby. A natural displacement, such as that caused by an earthquake, appears to be a more likely explanation. The hoard may have been hidden at first above the pool, probably near the top of the semidome of the exedra, easily reached from the high ground east of it. At some later date, a major earthquake might have destroyed at least the portion of the semidome concealing the hoard, throwing it down to the pool below, and spreading it in the manner in which it was found.<sup>15</sup> Earth and debris from behind the semidome perhaps fell after the hoard and covered it. The whole area was leveled off later with dumped fill, possibly debris from cleaning after the same earthquake, before the construction of the lime kiln in the exedra.

<sup>14</sup>Because of the size of the area over which the hoard was spread, it could not be excavated together but was recorded with different pottery baskets and context lot numbers. Thus, the concentrations of coins near the hoard are really only the extension of it into areas excavated at different times. In a test excavation through the hoard area on September 20, 1971 coins had already been encountered at about the same level as the bulk of the hoard; this test is recorded in Corinth Field Notebook 528, p. 61, Basket 35. This was later grouped with the deposit of Corinth Field Notebook 537, pp. 51, 63, 65 and 67, Baskets 58, 59, 64, 66 and 69, from directly south and east of the area of the large concentration of coins at about the same elevation, into Lot 7012, which includes 51 coins (Nos. 7, 13, 18, 53–57, 78, 84, 94, 96, 98, 99, 139–143, 147, 173, 194, 200, 238, 280–285, 319, 325, 558–576 of the catalogue below and No. 36 of the catalogue of other objects in the hoard, immediately following). There are channels in the upper surfaces of the poros blocks that form the edge of the pool in the hoard area; although the earth filling them was no different from that surrounding the rest of the hoard, they were excavated separately as recorded, *ibid.*, p. 45, Basket 52, Lot 7008, which contained ten coins (Nos. 4, 47, 48, 66, 92, 135, 148, 526–528). The final group associated with the hoard was removed from the fill of a square cutting in the edge of the pool in the hoard area, which was excavated separately and recorded, *ibid.*, p. 66, Basket 67, Lot 7011, even though the earth was not different. It included two coins (Nos. 116 and 557 in the catalogue below, and also No. 15 of the catalogue of other objects in the hoard). Because of the area over which the hoard was dispersed, it is not impossible that a stray coin or coins may have been included in the catalogue. But comparison with other contemporary hoards has not revealed any specimens unlikely to have been part of the original group.

<sup>15</sup>Analogous circumstances are suggested to explain the findspot of a similar group; see “Agora SW Hoard”, of which Edwards writes that the coins “were scattered on the pavement at one end of the shop, where they had fallen seemingly from some receptacle above. The excavators of the Agora believe that this whole section was destroyed by an earthquake and abandoned in haste. The proprietor then fled in a panic, leaving his money in the money-drawer, from which it fell with the upper structure of the shop and was scattered on the floor below. The inference is clear.” Scranton (*Corinth* XVI, p. 8) associates this hoard with an earthquake recorded for the year 551. But since this hoard contained five palm-tree nummi, it seems likely that it was associated with a later earthquake, which might also be the same one that I suggest scattered Gymnasium Hoard II.



At first some of the coins in the hoard were collected individually. But, as its full extent became apparent, most were grouped in large find envelopes and cleaned before being given individual coin numbers. Thus we cannot now know how many coins were originally excavated, but a total of 579 have survived cleaning.<sup>16</sup> Only 200, or slightly more than one third of these, however, are attributable. The reasons for the poor condition of the coins include the wetness of the Fountain of the Lamps, which speeds the corrosion of bronzes, the wear on many of the coins, and the careless minting techniques employed at the time the coins were issued.<sup>17</sup> The following is a summary of the contents of the hoard:

## GREEK: 4

Philip II of Macedon	1
Sikyon	3

## LATE ROMAN, first half of 4th century: 5

Constantine I, A.D. 341–346	1
Constantine II, A.D. 321–324	1
House of Constantine, A.D. 335–337	3

## Second half of 4th century: 8

Theodosius I, A.D. 379–388	1
Arcadius, A.D. 393–395	1
Emperors of A.D. 383–395	6

## First half of 5th century: 41

Period of Theodosius II, A.D. 425–450	40
Valentinian III, A.D. 425–455	1

<sup>16</sup>In the filling of one of the find envelopes in the field, the number of coins put in it was counted as 252. When cleaned, there were 115 coins and one bronze droplet (Corinth coin inventory numbers 71-778–71-893), or almost a 55% loss in cleaning. Since this was the only count made in the field, it cannot be known if the loss was the same for the rest of the hoard. From the condition of the pieces which survived cleaning, however, it is more than likely that what was lost was not legible. The original count in the field may also have included fragments of green earth and pebbles from the corrosion products around the hoard coins. A similar percentage of survival for a hoard of about the same date is reported for “Kenchreai”, pp. 89–91, and also for the “Agora SW Hoard” from Corinth, where the excavator reported 900 coins and only 460 survived cleaning. The coins that were put separately into envelopes in the field were assigned numbers at the end of each day with the rest of the excavation coins, while the ones that were collected in groups were not assigned numbers until later, after they were cleaned. This circumstance explains the great variation in the Corinth coin inventory numbers assigned to the hoard coins. Of those collected individually, only two were lost in cleaning (71-544 and 71-546).

<sup>17</sup>Water continues to flow from the Fountain of the Lamps, which, if it is not drained off, floods the pool area well over the level at which the hoard was found; see Wiseman, *Hesperia* 41, 1972, p. 23. M. Thompson (*The Athenian Agora*, II, *Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period*, Princeton 1954, p. 102) comments on the crude minting technique of the nummi of the “Vandalic” coinage. Edwards (*Corinth* VI, p. 11) contrasts the number of illegible and legible “Vandalic” nummi from the Corinth excavations. Other hoards have similar large numbers of illegible nummi; see “Korinth”, pp. 138 and 157, a hoard of 626 coins of which only 273 could be attributed, and “Agora SW Hoard”, with 900 coins originally counted, which had only 460 after cleaning of which 245 were legible. Many of the “Vandalic” issues are now considered early Byzantine nummi; see Hahn, I and II, *passim*.

Second half of 5th century: 8	
Marcian, A.D. 450–457	3
Leo, A.D. 457–474	1
Zeno, A.D. 474–491	3
Aelia Zenonis, A.D. 475–476	1
BYZANTINE, folles: 5	
Justinian I, Constantinople, A.D. 527–532	1
Antioch, A.D. 527–528 and A.D. 564–565	2
Justin II, Constantinople, A.D. 573–574	1
Nicomedia, A.D. 565–578	1
half-folles: 3	
Justin II, Cyzicus, A.D. 574–575	1
Thessalonica, A.D. 569–570 and 574–575	2
decanummia: 3	
Justin I or Justinian I, A.D. 518–565	1
Justinian I, Constantinople, A.D. 549–550	1
Nicomedia, A.D. 561–562	1
pentanummia: 10	
Justin I or Justinian I, A.D. 518–565	2
Constantinople, A.D. 518–565	1
Justinian I, Constantinople, A.D. 542–552	5
Carthage(?), A.D. 537–538	1
Justin II, A.D. 567–575	1
nummi: 113	
Anastasius I, A.D. 491–518 or Justinian I, A.D. 527–565	12
Justin I, A.D. 518–527	7
Justinian I, A.D. 527–565	35
Carthage, A.D. 539–540 and 547–552	8
Ostragothic king: Baduila, A.D. 541–552	1
Asymmetrical alpha	1
Domino Nostro	1
Palm tree	12
Victory to l.	23
Monogram	13
<i>Legible and partially legible</i>	TOTAL: 200
LATE ROMAN, AE II fragments	4
AE III clipped to AE IV	1
AE III fragments	8
AE IV	13
AE IV halves	6
Anastasius through Justin II, half-follis	1
decanummium	1
pentanummia	6
nummi	339

*Illegible*

TOTAL: 379

Greek coins of Philip II and Sikyon are not unusual in these late hoards.<sup>18</sup> Their fairly well preserved condition (see Pl. 38:4) is a clear indication that they were picked up in Corinth and had not been in regular circulation for 800 years or more. These coins and the bronze scraps found with the hoard, appended to the end of the catalogue, probably circulated with the worn nummi, many of which, if they had ever been struck, were so used that the types had been completely obscured.<sup>19</sup> It is noteworthy that all the metal objects with the hoard are fragmentary. The collector of our hoard was apparently a scavenger at Corinth collecting what metal he could find. The bronze droplets might have come from one of the earlier bronzeworking areas in Corinth.<sup>20</sup> The iron and lead scraps were probably found in this scavenging but the glass mosaic tessera may have been included with the hoard during excavation because of its greenish, bronze-like color. The 4th-century Roman coins in the hoard may have continued in circulation for up to 200 years but others, including some of the legible ones, may also have been chance finds from Corinth.<sup>21</sup> Many of the large-denomination coins have

<sup>18</sup>Bronzes of Philip II were included in another hoard from Corinth, along with two other Greek coins of Athens and Corinth (Mattingly, p. 229), and in a hoard from north Greece ("Volo", p. 44, no. 1). Margaret Thompson has reported an example of bronze of the same type as No. 1, inscribed with Alexander's name, in the American Numismatic Society collection. It is possible that this coin could be one of his rare issues of this type. Sikyonian coins were in two other hoards from Corinth, "Agora SW Hoard" and "South Stoa Hoard". The latter included three other Greek coins, two of Corinth and one of Rhodes. Other late hoards with Greek coins in them include the following:

Corinth, "Roman Wall Hoard" with one of Messene and "Korinth" (p. 144), no. 1, of Athens.

Isthmian Sanctuary of Poseidon, "Isthmia" with one of Corinth.

Athens, Kroll, p. 308, nos. 93 and 94, both of Athens.

Farther northwest, "Dalmatia" (p. 269), seven Greek coins including one each from Asia Minor, Ceos, Chios and Erythrae.

<sup>19</sup>Other late hoards which contained somewhat similar objects include "Isthmia" with two small bronze pieces, "Zacha" (p. 159) with 60 crumbling metal fragments, and "Volo" (p. 1) with nine specimens which were not struck, 20 very thin "tapped" pieces, and about 100 slivers of brittle metal.

<sup>20</sup>See Wiseman, *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 67–69 for the casting pit in the Gymnasium area; for others at Corinth, see C. C. Mattusch, "Corinthian Metalworking: The Forum Area," *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 380–389.

<sup>21</sup>Worn, 4th-century bronzes are common in late hoards:

- 13 "Korinth" (p. 144, nos. 2–15)
- 31 "Roman Wall Hoard"
- 10 "Agora SW Hoard"
- 3 "South Stoa Hoard"
- 86 Mattingly, pp. 229–230
- 7+ "Isthmia Hoard"
- 3 "Kenchreai" (pp. 91–92, nos. 2–4)
- 10 "Zacha" (pp. 180–182, nos. 1–10)
- 97 "Yale" (pp. 159–168, nos. 1–97)
- 75± "Volo" (pp. 45–52).
- 5 Kroll, p. 308, nos. 95–99
- 400± "Dalmatia"
- 4 Walker, p. 45, BCB 1–4
- 2 hoard from Thera (G. Daux, "Chronique des fouilles en 1957," *BCH* 82, 1958, p. 654).

been clipped or cut up into fractions. The Late Roman AE IV coins which were halved were probably then equal to the standard nummus of currency after the Anastasian reform.<sup>22</sup> This likelihood suggests that currency circulated by weight and not stamped type at the time of the burial of the hoard.<sup>23</sup>

The latest certainly datable coins in the hoard belong to the reign of Justin II. On Plate 38, the follis No. 144 shows some wear from circulation, more in fact than that of Justinian I, No. 90 (Pl. 37), of A.D. 527–532. The two half-folles of Justin II, Nos. 147 and 148, of A.D. 574–575 are much more worn and too poorly preserved for photography. No. 147 has been halved. With a few exceptions the coins of later date are worn and cut, suggesting that they circulated for quite a while before they were buried with the hoard. Despite the wide range of the dates of the coins in the hoard, it should not be considered the savings of several generations. The wear and small size of the coins suggest instead that it is a currency hoard and that the currency of late 6th-century Corinth included small bronze scraps as well as struck coins of any type whatsoever. While it would be reasonable to date the burial of the hoard by the date of its latest coin, to the end of Justin II's reign in 578, other, historical considerations make a date in the 580's, at the time of the Avaro-Slavic invasion, more likely.<sup>24</sup> Given the apparent

<sup>22</sup>D. M. Metcalf, *The Origins of the Anastasian Currency Reform*, Amsterdam 1969.

<sup>23</sup>Compare "Kenchreai" (p. 101).

<sup>24</sup>D. M. Metcalf ("The Slavonic Threat to Greece Circa 580: Some Evidence from Athens," *Hesperia* 31, 1962, pp. 134–157) analyzed coin deposits from Athens; Kroll, pp. 301–309 is an additional hoard. Scranton (*Corinth* XVI, pp. 8 and 27) summarized the literary and archaeological evidence for the Avar and Slav attack on Corinth, which he dated A.D. 586–587. The date of ca. 580 for the attack on Athens, with that on Corinth following shortly thereafter, appears to fit better with the dates of the latest coins in the relevant hoards. Two hoards, "Isthmia" and "Kenchreai", plus another group (R. L. Hohlfelder, "A Small Deposit of Bronze Coins from Kenchreai," *Hesperia* 39, 1970, pp. 68–72) and another hoard possibly from the Peloponnessus (Walker, pp. 41–42 and 45–47), have also been associated with this attack. Other, unpublished 6th-century hoards may also be related to the Slavic invasion. These include a hoard from Palaiochori in the Peloponnessus mentioned by A. Bon (*Le péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204*, Paris 1951, p. 17, note 3), two from the ancient Odeon at Patras and one from Olympia found in 1911 (all three in the Athens Numismatic Museum and mentioned under "Korinth" [p. 139, note 4]), and other hoards from Olympia mentioned under "Zacha" (p. 164, note 9): "F. Adler in *Olympia*, *Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veraushalteten Ausgrabung*, Berlin, 1897, p. 97, refers without further description to two hoards of small bronze buried one in 565 and the other in 576. R. Weil in the same volume, pp. 128, 129, notes that Olympia has yielded more than 20 hoards, most from late antiquity . . . . He classes the hoards of small bronze under three groupings: 1) hoards of Justinian I without coins of the German kingdoms; 2) hoards of Justinian with Vandalic and Ostrogothic pieces; and 3) hoards reaching down to Justin II." The excavation coins from Olympia were published by A. Postolakas, *Νομίσματα ἐν τῷ Ἑθνικῷ Νομισματικῷ Μουσείῳ κατατεθέντα ἔτι ἀκαδημαϊκῷ ᾠπυγ'–ᾠπδ'*, Athens 1885, pp. 57–66, but, unfortunately, with no distinction drawn between hoards and chance finds. The late 5th- through 6th-century coins from the early excavations at Olympia are summarized under "Zacha" (pp. 164–165), based upon the report of Postolakas. It is also possible that some hoards dated earlier in the 6th century were hidden at the time of the Slavic invasion, much later than the latest datable coin in them. Kroll (p. 307, note 28) suggests that "Zacha" dates later than 550, and Hahn appears to date it after 597–601; see footnote 29 below. The archaeological evidence for the Slavic invasion at Corinth is collected by G. R. Davidson ("The Avar Invasion of Corinth," *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 277–240), who dates it in 588. This is not consistent with the date of the latest datable coins in the hoards which have been associated with the invasion and appear to place it in the

scarcity of newly minted coins, suggested by the hoard's contents, the absence of dated coins later than 575 is not unexpected.

I have left the discussion of the date of the nummi in the hoard until after that of the larger, dated denominations because their small size and poor quality present certain problems. Five, Nos. 153–157 of the 12 examples with a palm tree on the reverse, are as well preserved as the latest coins in the hoard. On Nos. 158–164 the palm tree is clearly legible, although the obverse is corroded. Such nummi have been shown to belong to a standard type of a palm tree with six fronds and three dots, two above and one below, on each side at the bottom of the trunk. This type has been attributed to the mint of Carthage in the reign of Maurice, A.D. 597–601.<sup>25</sup> If this were correct, our hoard ought then to have a burial date of *ca.* 600 at the earliest, 15 or more years later than the Slavic invasion with which it has been associated.<sup>26</sup> The argument linking the palm-tree-reverse nummi with the mint of Carthage under Maurice is founded on his use of the palm tree and three dots on Carthaginian issues of pentanummia with his name on the obverse.<sup>27</sup> No. 153 with two partially legible letters on the obverse might well read M]AV[RIC. The inscription, however, is open to other interpretations.<sup>28</sup> In addition, hoard evidence weakens the attribution to Maurice. Seven other hoards containing nummi of palm-tree reverse have been published, all of which are associated with the Slavic invasion.<sup>29</sup> It seems likely from the fresh condition of the palm-tree

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first part of the decade rather than at its end. The literary, numismatic, and archaeological evidence is reviewed by G. L. Huxley ("The Second Dark Age of the Peloponnese," *Λακωνικά Σπουδαί* 3, 1977, pp. 84–110). Additional objects from the period of the Slavic invasion are published by G. (Davidson) Weinberg ("A Wandering Soldier's Grave in Corinth," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 512–521).

<sup>25</sup>Hahn, II, p. 124, no. 134. This attribution might just be possible if the coins were minted from the beginning of Maurice's reign in 582 and the Slavic invasion occurred after 582. The small size of the flans of these coins often preserves only a part of the type, which can result in the identification of two- and four-frond palm trees and fewer or no dots at all.

<sup>26</sup>The literary sources and numismatic evidence place this invasion early in the 580's; see the works by Huxley, Metcalf, Kroll, and Scranton cited in footnote 24 above.

<sup>27</sup>Hahn, II, pp. 72–73, 124, nos. 130 and 131.

<sup>28</sup>Adelson and Kustas (under "Zacha", p. 165, note 13) report that A. Postolakas, on one of the coins with the palm-tree reverse from the Olympia excavations, read GEL AMER, which, if verified, would associate the palm-tree-type nummi with the Vandal king Gelimer, A.D. 530–534. Although this is somewhat early, it is still more appropriate to the date of the other dated hoard coins. The inscription on No. 153 could then read GEL]AM[ER. I have read No. 153 twice and both times thought I could see an A and not a D, but I cannot be certain of the second letter which appears closest to an E without the central bar and with very short bars at the top and the bottom. This could clearly be the remains of N, M, or V as well as other letters. Nor do I know if the two letters are the start of the inscription, its middle, or end. If it is the first, DN would be a more likely reading. Postolakas' reading of Gelimer's name has not been confirmed. Hahn records in his catalogue seeing palm-tree reverses in the Athens numismatic collection and does not mention such an obverse reading. It is possible that Postolakas misread one of the examples but it may also be that Hahn did not happen to see the coin which Postolakas read. In addition, the palm tree would not normally be associated with Gelimer's coinage. His epigraphic coins have reverse types of letters or monograms (Hahn, I, p. 132, nos. 12 and 25), and the larger-denomination bronzes which are attributed to him, although his name does not appear on them, contain a horse's-head reverse type (Hahn, I, p. 132, nos. 22–24).

<sup>29</sup>There were five examples in the "Agora SW Hoard"; four in "Kenchreai" (p. 98, nos. 83–86); 24 in "Zacha" (pp. 199–200, nos. 418–440 and pl. XXX where the fresh condition of no. 423 can be seen; see

reverse nummi in these hoards that they were first minted during the reigns of Justin II or Tiberius II.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps Maurice minted only pentanummia with the palm-tree reverse, adopting the type from nummi minted by his immediate predecessors.

The notes on the various issues of nummi in the catalogue of the hoard below refer to other details about their date and attribution. In general, the nummi that are not corroded show as little wear as the larger, dated denominations of Justinian I and Justin II, suggesting that they were minted during the period of their reigns and not much earlier. Their large number in comparison with the few late 5th-century monogram types of Marcian, Leo, Zeno and Aelia Zenonis, only eight of which could be identified, is consistent with the late 6th-century date of the hoard.

The peculiar location of this hoard is clarified by two other Corinthian hoards, one of 56 bronzes, the other of 20, which were discovered with two skeletons in the room of a building west of the Lechaion Road. The two individuals had apparently been killed when a severe earthquake resulted in the collapse of the building in which they were found; the latest datable coins in the hoards were of Justin II.<sup>31</sup> This discovery helps to

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footnote 24 above for the burial date of this hoard); from Athens, six in Kroll, p. 309, nos. 142–147, one in the Burnt Flour Mill (Metcalf, *op. cit.* [footnote 24 above], p. 154, no. 26), five in Walker, p. 46, nos. 62–66 and pl. 7 where the good condition of no. 62 can be seen; and perhaps as many as six coins in a group published by H. Fletcher De Cou from the Argive Heraeum (C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum II*, Boston and New York 1905, pp. 359–360, nos. 32, 45–49). Since the nummi in “Isthmia” have not been published, we do not know if it too contained types with the palm-tree reverse. These are absent in three other hoards in which the latest coin is dated in the 6th century before the Slavic invasion: two are from Corinth, “Roman Wall Hoard” and “South Stoa Hoard”, buried during the reign of Justinian I, the other from the Thera hoard (Daux, *op. cit.* [footnote 21 above], p. 654). Palm-tree types are also absent in three hoards in which the latest coin belongs to the 5th century: “Volo” with 2231 coins buried in the reign of Zeno, “Yale”, found between Corinth and Dalmatia with 928 coins of which 515 were legible, buried in the reign of Leo, and “Dalmatia” with 2197 coins buried in the reign of Leo. Although negative evidence cannot prove the point, the size of these hoards, even though the nummi in them are often poorly preserved and badly struck, should allow for the inclusion of a few legible palm-tree types if these were circulating in the later 5th and first half of the 6th centuries. The fresh condition of the palm-tree reverses in the hoards of late 6th-century date suggests that they are likely to have been minted in the reigns of Justin II, Tiberius II or even perhaps early in the reign of Maurice. It is interesting that Hahn (II, p. 124, no. 134) cites the hoard “Zacha” in his catalogue of palm-tree reverse types attributed to Maurice. He must be dating the burial of the hoard later than 597–601, although the latest datable coins suggest that it was hidden around 550; see footnote 24 above.

<sup>30</sup>See footnote 25 above. If it should turn out that Hahn is correct in his attribution of the palm-tree reverse type to late in the reign of Maurice, A.D. 597–601, it would necessitate a rethinking of the burial of Gymnasium Hoard II and the others now related to the Slavic invasion of the early 580's (footnotes 24 and 25 above). It might be that the invasion created a mood for hoarding, but few coins of larger denomination were circulating at Corinth. Therefore, the collector of the Gymnasium hoard had to make do with nummi minted after the reign of Justin II, which he continued to collect until the earthquake (on this hypothesis to be dated after 597–601) scattered the hoard over the pool area. I think, however, the dated coins in a number of similar hoards are sufficient evidence to favor the minting of the palm-tree reverses before the Slavic invasion.

<sup>31</sup>O. Broneer, “Area North of the Basilica,” *AJA* 30, 1926, pp. 52–53; Scranton, *Corinth XVI*, pp. 8 and 16. All but eight coins of the 56 in Coin Hoard 1925-1 disintegrated in cleaning. These include three attributed to Justin II, A.D. 565–578, one attributed to Justinian I, and four nummi: three with legible

confirm the hypothesis that our hoard was found where it had been scattered by an earthquake. From this evidence, it seems likely that soon after the Avars and Slavs sacked Corinth, there was an earthquake of very destructive force. The date of the earthquake is in the 580's and not *ca.* 570.<sup>32</sup> This earthquake, because of the dating of the nummi with the palm-tree reverse, would now appear also to have been the one that resulted in the final destruction of the West Shops at Corinth in which "Agora SW Hoard" was found, and not the earlier, documented one of 551.<sup>33</sup>

The number of the nummi in Gymnasium Hoard II is the equivalent of 11.3 folles. The larger denominations in the hoard are the equivalent of 7.785 folles, and the earlier Greek and Roman coins are estimated at 4.475 folles.<sup>34</sup> The total coins of the extant hoard are equal to 23.56 folles or 942.4 nummi.<sup>35</sup> It is clear, however, that the weight of the follis was changed at various times.<sup>36</sup> The folles of Justinian I, Nos. 90 and 92, are close to their ideal weight of 18.19 g. (corrosion has greatly reduced the weight of No. 91). Late in the reign of Justin II, the ideal weight of the follis was 13.64 g., which weight Nos. 144 and 145 approach. Consequently, instead of counting the number of the various denominations in the hoard, an estimation of the hoard's value may be gained by measuring its weight, even if corrosion, cleaning and losses during cleaning may have significantly reduced it. The sum of all the coins whose weight is given in the catalogue below is 152.52 g. The rest of the coins in the hoard were weighed in groups whose total is 233.91 g. (excluding the two nummi, Nos. 578 and 579, concreted to the iron nail). Thus the weight of all the coins in the hoard is 386.43 g. The bronze scrap weighs 55.03 g., resulting in a total weight of 439.46 g. for all the bronze in the hoard.

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busts, one with monogram reverse, and two with cross-potent reverses. All 20 coins in Coin Hoard 1925-2 disintegrated. I am grateful to Nancy Bookidis for supplying this information.

<sup>32</sup>Scranton (*Corinth* XVI, index *s.v.* earthquake) dates it to 570. Documented Byzantine-period earthquakes are listed by V. Grumel, *Traité d'études byzantines*, I, *La chronologie*, Paris 1958, pp. 476-481. The relevant recorded earthquakes occurred in 568, 580/581 (the third year of the reign of Tiberius), 583, 584/5, 588, 601, 611 and 618. The first is too early and the last two are too late, but any of the others might have been locally severe at Corinth, resulting in the spreading of Gymnasium Hoard II over the pool area and the death and burial of the two individuals whose pockets contained Corinth Hoards 1925-1 and 1925-2. An unrecorded earthquake during the same period could also have had the same results. See footnote 30 above.

<sup>33</sup>Scranton, *Corinth* XVI, p. 8.

<sup>34</sup>The M on the reverse of the follis indicates that it was worth 40 nummi, the K on the half-follis is for 20 nummi, the I on the decanummi is for 10 nummi, and the E on the pentanummi is for 5 nummi. Fragments of the larger denominations are counted at their fractional value: thus No. 87 = 2.5 nummi, No. 89 = 1 nummus, No. 93 = 3 nummi, Nos. 146, 147 = 10 nummi each, No. 320 = 5 nummi, and No. 327 = 1 nummus. I have estimated the earlier coins as follows: Nos. 1-4 = pentanummi for a total of 20 nummi, Nos. 6 and 8 = 1 nummus each, and the rest through No. 58 = 2 nummi each. (Thus, Nos. 1-58 may have been valued at a total of 126 nummi.) Nos. 59-65 = 1 nummus each or 7 nummi, No. 287 = 2 nummi, Nos. 288-290 = 1 nummus each, Nos. 291 and 292 = 2 nummi each, No. 293 = 1 nummus, Nos. 294-299 and 300-312 = 2 nummi each, and Nos. 313-318 = 1 nummus each. This is a total of 179 nummi, or 4.475 folles, for the pre-Byzantine coins in the hoard.

<sup>35</sup>Compare the values of the Kroll hoard at 54 folles and "Korinth" at 15.5 folles, as counted by Walker, p. 42, note 5.

<sup>36</sup>See the summaries in Hahn, I, pp. 19-27 and II, pp. 14-17.

For the years A.D. 570–578 and for 580–614, the ideal weight of the follis was 13.64 g.<sup>37</sup> Dividing the total weight of the coins in the hoard by this figure gives the coin value as 28.34 folles, while that of all the bronze (coins plus scrap) is 32.22 folles. During the years just mentioned, there were 24 folles in a pound; from 570 to 578, it required 30 pounds of bronze to equal 1 gold solidus, which dropped to 25 pounds for the years 580–614. The present weight of the bronze in the hoard is about 1 1/3 pounds, which was worth slightly more than a thirtieth or a twenty-fifth of a gold solidus at the time the hoard was collected and buried.

# CATALOGUE: HOARD II (Plates 37, 38)

An asterisk beside the number indicates that the coin is illustrated. The Corinth Museum coin inventory number follows the catalogue number. Where the denomination is not named, it is a nummus or the equivalent.<sup>38</sup> Where the weight and die position are omitted, either the obverse or the reverse is illegible.

## MACEDON

### PHILIP II, 359–336 B.C.

Traces of head of youth r.	[ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ] Horseman riding r.	<i>SNGCop</i> 609 or 612
1. 71-1272 15 mm. 2.69 g. ↓		

## GREECE

### SIKYON, 4th–2nd centuries B.C.

Dove flying l.	[Σ] in olive wreath	<i>BMC</i> 92
2. 71-1178 14 mm. 2.08 g. ↗		
Traces of beak and head of dove flying r.	Symbols or letters illegible	cf. <i>BMC</i> 94–105
3. 71-749 13 mm. 2.09 g. ↗		
Dove flying l.	Tripod lebes in olive wreath	<i>BMC</i> 146
*4. 71-1214 18 mm. 2.36 g. ↗		

## CONSTANTINE I, A.D. 341–346

### NICOMEDIA

[DNCONSTANTI–NVS PF AVG]	VN MR below ΣMN	<i>LRBC</i> 1148,
Head r., veiled	Emperor veiled, standing r.	1152, 1155
5. 71-754 AE III 14 mm. 1.20 g. ↓		

## CONSTANTINE II, as Caesar, A.D. 321–324

DN F[CL CONSTANTII]NVS NOB [C	IO]VI CONS–[ERVATORI	Cohen 133
Bust r.	Jupiter standing l., holding Victory on globe in r. hand; eagle with wreath l. on ground	
6. 71-778 quartered AE III		

<sup>37</sup>Hahn, II, pp. 15–16. Between 578 and 580, the follis was raised to an ideal weight of 18.19 g. as it had been earlier under Justinian I.

<sup>38</sup>Also called a minimus; see Hahn, I, pp. 23–27, “Yale”, pp. 148–155, and “Kenchreai”, p. 90, note 4 for the distinction in the usage of the two terms.



## HOUSE OF CONSTANTINE, A.D. 335–337

## GLOR]IA EXERC-IT[VS

Bust r. Two soldiers, between them a single standard

7. 71-1277 AE III 16 mm. 0.79 g. ✓  
 8. 71-1181 halved AE III (reverse legend illegible)  
 9. 71-973 AE III (obverse and reverse legend illegible)

## THEODOSIUS I, A.D. 379–388

DN THEODO-SIV[S PF AVG] VOT X MVL T X Cohen 68

Bust r. In wreath

10. 71-882 AE IV 13 mm. 1.00 g. ✓

## ARCADIUS, A.D. 393–395

## CONSTANTINOPL

DN ARC]ADI-V[S PF AVG SALVS REI [PVBLICAE] below CON LRBC 2193

Bust r. Victory dragging captive l. † to l.

11. 71-751 AE IV 15 mm. 0.85 g. ↓

## VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, OR ARCADIUS, A.D. 383–392

Bust r. Two Victories holding wreath<sup>39</sup>

- 12, 13. 71-1242, 71-1320 AE IV

## THESSALONICA

Bust r. Camp gate<sup>40</sup>

14. 71-886 AE IV 11 mm. 0.71 g. ↓

(obverse illegible)

- 15, 16. 71-1241, 71-1196 AE IV the latter, clipped

## THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, OR HONORIUS, A.D. 393–395

Bust r. SALVS REI]-PVBLIC[AE

Victory dragging captive l.

17. 71-1124 AE IV 13 mm. 1.14 g. ↓

## PERIOD OF THEODOSIUS II, A.D. 425–450

Bust r. Cross in wreath<sup>41</sup>

18. 71-1278 AE IV 0.90 g. ↑

<sup>39</sup>This type is also used on AE IV coins of Constans and Constantius, A.D. 341–346. Without at least a portion of the reverse legend preserved, either attribution is possible. I have chosen the later series because there are more late 4th-century coins in the hoard than those from the first half of the century.

<sup>40</sup>Although these all are probably the camp-gate type minted only at Thessalonica (*RIC* IX, pp. 186–187, no. 62a) and they all appear to have been of AE IV size, the lack of legible inscriptions and the worn types make it impossible to rule out entirely some being large flan, crude camp-gate reverses of the DOMINVS NOSTRO obverse (*BMCV*, p. 28, no. 83, pl. 3, no. 40).

<sup>41</sup>These are all probably Theodosius II, but the type is also found on a rare issue of Valentinian III, minted at Rome (*LRBC*, no. 867); see “Zacha”, p. 182, note 40 and “Volo”, p. 56, note 20. The size of all the coins appears to have been originally AE IV, but the worn types, lack of legible inscriptions, and the number in the hoard allow the possibility that these might also be large flan nummi (*BMCV*, pp. 40–41, nos. 186–200, pl. 4, nos. 38–43).

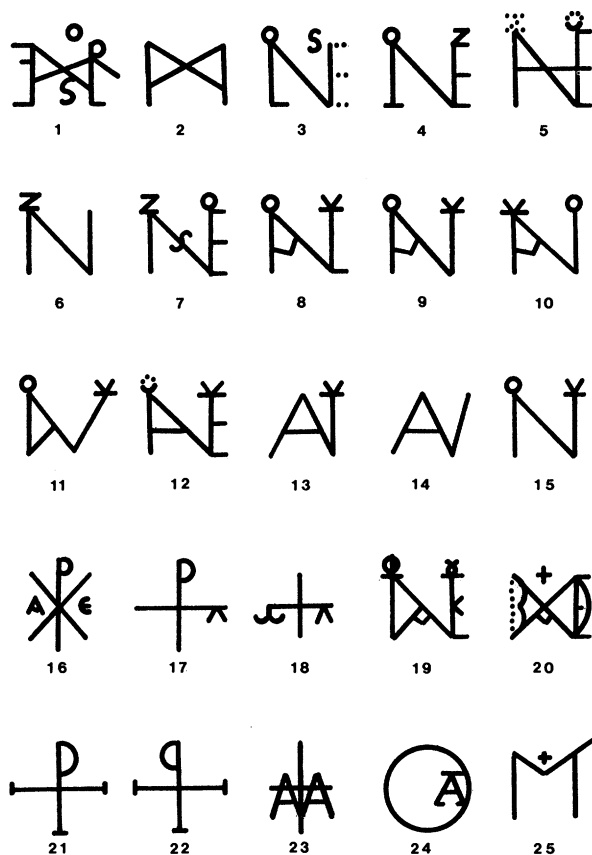


FIG. 1. Monograms and christograms from Hoard II

(obverse illegible)

19-57. 71-783, -784, -895-901, -964-969, -1048-1052, -1105, -1131-1134, -1186-1188, -1217, -1218, -1232-1235, -1282, -1294-1297 (39 coins)

#### VALENTINIAN III, A.D. 425-455

##### ROME

Bust, pearl diademed, r.

Camp gate with star between turrets

*LRBC*853, 855,  
858-859

58. 71-953 AE IV 12.5 mm. 0.94 g. ↑

#### MARCIAN, A.D. 450-457

Bust l.

(Fig. 1:1)<sup>42</sup> in wreath

59. 71-955 10 mm. 0.61 g. ↓

DN[illegible letters]

Bust r.

(Fig. 1:1) but not preserving the O or  
the R, in wreath

60. 71-1034 12 mm. 0.67 g. ↑

<sup>42</sup>I have not found a parallel for the bust left or this exact variety of Marcian monogram. It appears, however, to be a variety of "Volo", monograms 14 and 15, p. 66, nos. 400, 401.

(obverse illegible)

(Fig. 1:2) in wreath<sup>43</sup>

61. 71-1136

LEO, A.D. 457-474

Bust r.

(Fig. 1:3) in wreath<sup>44</sup>

62. 71-777 10 mm. 0.61 g. ↓

ZENO, A.D. 474-491

Trace of bust r.

(Fig. 1:4) in wreath<sup>45</sup>

63. 71-1103 7.5 mm. 0.57 g. ↓

(obverse illegible)

(Fig. 1:5) in wreath<sup>46</sup>

64. 71-763 10 mm. 0.84 g.

(Fig. 1:6) in wreath

65. 71-792

AELIA ZENONIS, A.D. 475-476

(obverse illegible)

(Fig. 1:7) in wreath

*LRBC* 2287,  
"Volo" 1043-  
1058

66. 71-1215

ANASTASIUS I, A.D. 491-518, OR JUSTINIAN I, A.D. 527-565

Bust r., trace of letters

(Fig. 1:8) in wreath<sup>47</sup>*LRBC* 2288, *DO*  
15.1, Hahn 40,  
*BiblNat* 1-10

67. 71-1179 8.5 mm. 0.40 g. ↑

68. 71-1123 8.5 mm. 0.57 g. ↘

<sup>43</sup>This monogram is incompletely preserved, but it can only be one of Marcian; compare the monogram tables in *LRBC*, p. 110, "Volo", p. 89, "Zacha", p. 205, and "Korinth", p. 143.

<sup>44</sup>This monogram is incompletely preserved, but it can only be that of Leo; compare the monogram tables in footnote 43 above.

<sup>45</sup>This monogram is probably a variation of *LRBC*, p. 110, Zeno monogram no. 4, "Volo", p. 89, Zeno monogram no. 5, and the Zeno monogram illustrated by J. A. Seeger, "A Hoard of Late Roman Bronze Coins," *Coin Hoards* 2, 1976, p. 60, no. 187.

<sup>46</sup>Although this monogram is incompletely preserved, it is surely *LRBC*, p. 110, Zeno monogram no. 1 and "Volo", p. 89, Zeno monogram no. 1.

<sup>47</sup>Adelson and Kustas (under "Zacha", p. 188, note 54) suggest that this and the following variations of Anastasius' monogram were minted both by him and Justinian I, although no obverse legends with Justinian's name have been noted. This suggestion has been accepted by Bellinger in *DO*, p. 11, no. 15. But Hahn (I, pp. 33-35 and 58-60) does not even note the possibility. Other hoard evidence supports the attribution of these monograms to Justinian I as well as to Anastasius I; the following legible examples were found in hoards associated with the Slavic invasion of the early 580's: "Kenchreai", p. 93, no. 12; Kroll, p. 308, nos. 103-113; Walker, p. 45, nos. 14-17 and 30, 31. Two hoards buried during the reign of Justinian I also contain them: "Roman Wall Hoard" (Gregory, p. 273, note 24) and "Korinth", pp. 151-154, nos. 87-179 and no. 246 with an obverse inscription reading . . . CSRIC.

- Bust r., trace of letters (Fig. 1:9) in wreath *DO* 15.6–8,  
“Zacha” 188–223
69. 71-954 9 mm. 0.50 g. ↑  
70. 71-1042 10 mm. 0.40 g. →  
71. 71-1039 8 mm. 0.37 g. ✓  
72. 71-771 7 mm. 0.47 g. ↘
- Bust r. (Fig. 1:10) in wreath<sup>48</sup>  
73. 71-1223 8.5 mm. 0.56 g. ↓
- Bust r. (Fig. 1:11) in wreath  
74. 71-952 9.5 mm. 0.43 g. ↓ A variation of “Korinth” 144
- Bust r. (Fig. 1:12) in wreath  
75. 71-1044 8.5 mm. 0.39 g. ↓ Possibly a variation of *DO* 15.5
- (obverse illegible) (Fig. 1:13) in wreath “Zacha” 224–  
227, “Korinth”  
177, 178
- 76, 77. 71-1227, 71-1228  
(obverse illegible) (Fig. 1:14) in wreath<sup>49</sup>  
78. 71-1290

## JUSTIN I, A.D. 518–527

- Bust r., diademed (Fig. 1:15) in wreath<sup>50</sup> Hahn 34, “Za-  
cha” 281–296,  
“Korinth” 197,  
198
79. 71-892 8 mm. 0.46 g. ↑
- Bust r. in border of dots (Fig. 1:15) in wreath  
80. 71-775 9 mm. 0.38 g. ✓
- Bust r. (Fig. 1:15) in wreath  
81. 71-776 9 mm. 0.41 g. ↑  
82. 71-949 8 mm. 0.52 g. ↑
- (obverse illegible)  
83–85. 71-1185, 71-1289, and 71-791 (3 coins)

<sup>48</sup>I do not know of a parallel for this variation of Anastasius’ monogram.

<sup>49</sup>Not enough is preserved of this monogram to determine if this is Anastasius’ or one attributed only to Justinian I (compare Hahn, I, no. 94; *DO*, no. 372; “Zacha”, nos. 381, 382).

<sup>50</sup>Under “Zacha”, pp. 169–170, and “Kenchreai”, p. 93, note 8, it is suggested that this monogram could have been used also on nummi minted in the reign of Justin II because of the attribution of a silver stamp with this monogram on it to him (E. C. Dodd, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, VII, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, Washington 1961, pp. 13–14). Hahn (I, pp. 33 and 40–41), on evidence from metrology, limits the nummi with this monogram to Justin I; the “Roman Wall Hoard”, buried early in the reign of Justinian I, contained ten legible monograms like this of Justin I (Gregory, p. 273, notes 22–24).

## JUSTIN I OR JUSTINIAN I, A.D. 518–565

*DECANUMMIUM*

Bust r. I, to l. and r. stars, letters below<sup>51</sup> in circle  
 86. 71-893 13 mm. 1.47 g. \

*PENTANUMMIA*

## CONSTANTINOPLE

Bust r. (Fig. 1:16)<sup>52</sup>  
 87. 71-765 halved 15 mm. 1.39 g. \

(mint mark illegible)

Bust r. (Fig. 1:16) but the letters to l. and r. are illegible<sup>53</sup>  
 88. 71-885 13 mm. 2.07 g. \  
 89. 71-1226 fragment

## JUSTINIAN I, A.D. 527–565

*FOLLES*

## CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 527–532

DN IVSTI[NI-A]NVS PP AVC	M, cross above, star to l. and r.,	<i>DO</i> 30e, Hahn
Bust r. with diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum without star on shoulder	Γ below, CON in exergue	83, <i>BiblNat</i> 8–10
*90. 71-753 32 mm. 17.37 g. ↗		

## ANTIOCH, A.D. 527–528

DN IVSTINI-A[NVS PP AVC]	M, cross above, star to l. and r.,	<i>DO</i> 202c, Hahn
Bust r. with diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum	Γ below, ANTIX in exergue	125, <i>BiblNat</i> 1
91. 71-881 31 mm. 12.42 g. \		

<sup>51</sup>Decanummia of this type were minted at Constantinople in the reign of Justin I from A.D. 522 to 527 (Hahn, I, no. 24, *DO*, no. 17), in the joint reign of Justin I and Justinian I in 527 (Hahn, I, no. 6), and in the reign of Justinian I from 527 to 537 (Hahn, I, no. 92, *DO*, no. 34). At the mint of Cyzicus, these were only issued in the reign of Justinian I from 538 to 552 (Hahn, I, no. 122 and G. E. Bates, *Archaeological Exploration of Sardis*, I, *Byzantine Coins*, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, p. 39, no. 250). At Carthage they were minted under Justinian I from 533 to 538 (Hahn, I, no. 188 and *BiblNat*, no. 14).

<sup>52</sup>Pentanummia of this type were minted in the reign of Justin I from A.D. 522 to 527 (Hahn, I, no. 32, *DO*, no. 21a, and *BiblNat*, nos. 24, 25) and in the reign of Justinian I from A.D. 527 to 537 (Hahn, I, no. 93 and *DO*, no. 35a).

<sup>53</sup>For pentanummia of this type from the mint of Constantinople see footnote 52 above, to which add for Justin I: Hahn, I, no. 33, *DO*, no. 22, and *BiblNat*, nos. 26–34. For the mint of Nicomedia see, in the reign of Justin I from A.D. 522 to 527, Hahn, I, nos. 46, 47, *BiblNat*, nos. 8, 9, *DO*, nos. 36, 37, and under Justinian I, no. 114 (this was attributed by Hahn to Justin I); in the reign of Justinian I from A.D. 527 to 537, Hahn, I, no. 111.

A.D. 564–565

DNUSSOL-AUCVP

M, cross above A to l. X to r.

DO 234, Hahn

Bust facing, in helmet with plume and  
 diadem with trefoil ornament in front,  
 and cuirass. In r. hand, globus cruci-  
 ger. On l. shoulder, shield with horse-  
 man device. In field, cross.

N X

150 year 38, *Bibl*

N X

*Nat* 59<sup>54</sup>

O CIII

Γ below, CΘCYP in exergue

\*92. 71-1212 34 mm. 18.27 g. ↘

*DECANUMMIA*CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 549–550<sup>55</sup>

Bust r.

I, A to l. [X] to r.

DO 84.2, Hahn

N X

99 year 23

N II[I]

O

93. 71-1224 14.5 mm. 0.88 g. ↓ Only about one third of the coin is preserved.

NICOMEDIA, A.D. 561–562

(obverse illegible)

I, X to r.

DO 159, Hahn

XX

118a year 35, *Bibl*

C

*Nat* 44

NIK in exergue

94. 71-1281 3.41 g.

*PENTANUMMIA*

CONSTANTINOPLE, small size, A.D. 542–552

DNIV[STINIANVSPP]AVC

€ cross to r. in circle<sup>56</sup>

DO 97e 1–4, 6–

Bust r., diademed

10, Hahn 103,

*BiblNat* 99

\*95. 71-1176 14 mm. 1.73 g. ↓

DNIVSTINI]ANVSPP[AVC

96. 71-1308 13 mm. 1.74 g. ↓

(traces of letters)

97. 71-1177 12.5 mm. 1.72 g. ↓

(no letters legible)

98. 71-1288 11 mm. 1.39 g. ↘

99. 71-1276 14 mm. 2.07 g. ↓

<sup>54</sup>The obverse legend is different from that read in *DO* and *BiblNat*.<sup>55</sup>The year is certain because the size and spacing of the legible X require a second X to be restored above it. The spacing of the two legible I's requires a third to be restored to the right.<sup>56</sup>Hahn (I, p. 60 and note 60) points out that the circle as well as the style of these pentanummia with a cross makes it possible to attribute them to Constantinople and to distinguish them from the pentanummia with a wreath minted at Carthage (Hahn 203) and in the reign of Justin II at Rome (Hahn 86).

CARTHAGE, A.D. 537–538 OR THESSALONICA, A.D. 538–565<sup>57</sup>

(traces of letters)			Hahn 189, <i>DO</i>
Bust r.	€ to r.	s	97f
100. 71-755	12 mm.	1.88 g. ↗	
<i>NUMMI</i>			
CARTHAGE, A.D. 539–540			
]IVŞT[	VOT		<i>DO</i> 302, Hahn
Bust r.	XIII	in circle	205, <i>BiblNat</i> 65,
			66
*101. 71-883	11 mm.	0.57 g. ↗	
A.D. 542–547			
Bust r.	Christogram (as in Fig. 1:16 but without A or € ) in circle or double circle <sup>58</sup>		
102. 71-749	9 mm.	0.65 g. ↘	
103. 71-770	10 mm.	0.65 g. ↓	
104. 71-762	8 mm.	0.38 g. ↙	
(obverse illegible)			<i>DO</i> 311, Hahn
			206, “Zacha”
			344–353
105. 71-1182			
A.D. 547–549			
Bust facing	(Fig. 1:17) in wreath		
106. 71-766	12 mm.	1.19 g. ↑	
(obverse illegible)			Hahn 209
107. 71-1239			
A.D. 549–552			
Bust facing in helmet	(Fig. 1:18) in wreath <sup>59</sup>		
			<i>DO</i> 373, Hahn
			210, “Zacha”
			392–398
108. 71-768	10 mm.	0.68 g. ↑	

<sup>57</sup>Hahn (I, p. 69) attributes this issue on stylistic grounds to Carthage. Bellinger (*DO*, p. 104) includes it with the pentanummia of Constantinople but notes that P. Grierson suggests Thessalonica as the mint. An eastern mint is supported by the eastern provenance of the six other examples catalogued by Hahn (I, p. 126): Athens, National Museum; Curium, D. H. Cox, *ANSNM*, CXLV, *Coins from the Excavations at Curium*, New York 1959, no. 679; Sardis, Bates, *op. cit.* (footnote 51 above), p. 36, nos. 219–221, who attributes them to the mint of Thessalonica, giving Grierson's reasons for doing so, p. 9.

<sup>58</sup>Bellinger (*DO*, pp. 169–170) and Hahn (I, p. 71) attribute nummi of this type to Justinian I, mint of Carthage, but Adelson and Kustas (under “Zacha”, p. 195, note 73) followed by Hohlfelder (under “Kenchreai”, p. 94, nos. 24–26), Kroll (p. 308, no. 116), and Walker (p. 47, no. 45), suggest that Justin I may also have minted this type.

<sup>59</sup>Hahn (I, p. 71) assigns this reverse type to Carthage but Bellinger (*DO*) classifies it as from an uncertain mint.

## UNCERTAIN MINT OR MINTS

Bust r.	A in circle <sup>60</sup>	
*109. 71-773 8 mm. 0.30 g. ↗		
110. 71-764 10 mm. 0.54 g. ↑		
111. 71-769 8 mm. 0.36 g. ↑		
112. 71-1041 11 mm. 0.45 g. ↓		
113. 71-772 8 mm. 0.39 g. ↑		
114. 71-774 7 mm. 0.24 g. ↑		
115, 116. 71-757, 71-1274		

(obverse illegible)

DO 36, 309,  
Hahn 193, *Bibl*  
*Nat* 74-80

117-143. 71-781, -894, -958-961, -1045-1047, -1103, -1104, -1126-1130, -1183, -1184, -1216, -1229-1231, -1291-1293, -1309, -1319 (27 coins)

## JUSTIN II, A.D. 565-578

## FOLLES

## CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 573-574

DNIVSTI-NVSPPAVC	M, cross above, A to l., $\mathfrak{G}$ to r.	DO 36e 4, Hahn
Justin with Sophia on r. nimbate, facing	N II	43a year 9
enthroned. He holds in r. hand a glo-	N I	
bus cruciger; she holds a cruciform	O	
scepter	€ below, CON in exergue	
*144. 71-946 30 mm. 13.17 g. ↑		

## NICOMEDIA, A.D. 565-578

DNIVSTI[NVSP]PAV[C]		DO 92-103,
<i>Ibid.</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , except B below, NIK[O] in ex-	Hahn 46a, <i>Bibl</i>
	ergue and date corroded away	<i>Nat</i> 1-35
145. 71-947 30 mm. 13.19 g. ↗		

<sup>60</sup>Many appear to be without serifs, but the condition of these makes it impossible to be sure if this is intentional or the result of misstriking, wear and corrosion. Examples without serifs or with a bar over the alpha are known from Sardis (Bates, *op. cit.* [footnote 51 above], pp. 9-10, 44, nos. 290-297), where they are classified as from unknown mints. Bellinger (*DO*, p. 82, no. 36), however, assigns those of careful workmanship to Constantinople and those that are less carefully made to Carthage (p. 170, no. 309). The quantity of these reverses noted in hoards from Greece suggests that they were minted at one or more eastern mints: five in "Korinth", nos. 247-251, five in Kroll, nos. 117-121, three in Walker, nos. 46-48, 26 in "Zacha", nos. 355-380. Some of the more obscure alpha reverses might have had a rho or a cross above the alpha. Hahn (178-179) attributes these to the mint of Thessalonica from A.D. 538 to 542, following D. M. Metcalf, *The Coinage of Thessalonica under Justinian I* (Denkschriften der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, vol. 127. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Numismatik, V), Vienna 1976, p. 46, no. 312. The possibility cannot be eliminated entirely that some of the more obscure alphas once formed parts of monograms; I have tried to be sure of the single alpha reading.



*HALF-FOLLES*

THESSALONICA, A.D. 569–570

(inscription illegible)

K, € to r. T€[S] below

DO 66, 67, Hahn  
70 year 5, *BiblNat*  
9, 10*Ibid.*

146. 71-750 halved 25 mm. 3.89 g. ↓

A.D. 574–575

[DNIVSTI]–NVS

K, cross above, X to r.

DO 77, Hahn 70a  
year 10*Ibid.*

T€S in exergue

147. 71-1318 halved 23 mm. 3.98 g. ↓

CYZICUS, A.D. 574–575

(inscription illegible)

K, A to l., X to r.

DO 133, 4–6,  
Hahn 51, *BiblNat*  
23–27*Ibid.*

N

N

O

KVZ in exergue

148. 71-1213 24 mm. 5.23 g. ↑

*PENTANUMMIUM*

(Fig. 1:19)

€ to r. A

DO 60a, Hahn  
45, *BiblNat* 52–  
54

\*149. 71-948 16 mm. 1.50 g. ↗

## OSTROGOTHIC KING: BADUILA, A.D. 541–552

TICINUM?

Traces of bust r.

(Fig. 1:20)

Hahn 87, *BMCV*  
24–27, “Zacha”  
447–456

150. 71-779

## OTHER NUMMI OR EQUIVALENTS

Traces of bust facing

Asymmetrical alpha or delta surrounded  
by three stars<sup>61</sup>Hahn 213, DO  
310

\*151. 71-1035 10 mm. 0.63 g. ↘

<sup>61</sup>Only the star on the left is legible. Hahn (pp. 71–72, no. 213) reads the letter as a delta and attributes this type to Justinian I, mint of Carthage from A.D. 562 to 565, presumably because one of the two examples in DO 310 was found at Carthage. Kroll (nos. 126–131) reads an asymmetrical alpha and (note 28) suggests that their more sharp and fresh condition as compared to the coins of Justinian I and Baduila in the hoard would make it more likely that they were minted in the reign of Justin II. The attribution of all these types to Carthage would also appear uncertain from the number of them found in Greek hoards: one in “Kenchreai”, no. 49, 11 in “Zacha”, nos. 399–409, and three in Walker, nos. 56–58. Six are known from Caesarea, H. Hamburger, “Minute Coins from Caesarea,” *Atiqot, Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities* 1, 1954, p. 136, no. 114.

- DOMIN]ONOST[RO  
Bust r. Emperor(?) standing l. holding in out- *BMCV*, p. 24,  
152. 71-1180 9 mm. 0.61 g. → stretched r. hand a globus(?) or a no. 54  
standard(?)<sup>62</sup>
- Α[  
Bust r. Palm tree with six fronds. Three dots to  
153. 71-1038 10 mm. 0.59 g. → r. and l. below in circular border<sup>63</sup>
- (traces of letters) *Ibid.*  
154. 71-887 12 mm. 0.79 g. ↘ The center is triangularly pierced.
- (inscription illegible) *Ibid.*  
Often only a trace of the bust  
\*155. 71-950 10 mm. 0.64 g. ↑  
156. 71-891 9 mm. 0.50 g. ↓  
157. 71-1043 10 mm. 0.62 g. ←  
158-164. 71-780, -962, -1195, -1125, -1236-1238 (7 coins)
- Crude bust r. in border of dots (Fig. 1:21) in wreath  
165. 71-715 8 mm. 0.30 g. ↗
- (obverse illegible) Cf. *BMCV*, p. 36,  
no. 158; pl. 4, no. 27
- 166-170. 71-904, -1053-1056 (5 coins)
- (illegible letters) (Fig. 1:22) in wreath  
Crude bust r.  
171. 71-957 9 mm. 0.80 g. ↓
- (obverse illegible)  
172. 71-963
- Crude bust r. Victory advancing l. with wreath and  
palm<sup>64</sup>
173. 71-748 12 mm. 0.52 g. ↑  
174. 71-951 8 mm. 0.27 g. →
- (obverse illegible)  
175-195. 71-785-787, -902, -903, -970-972, -1057-1060, -1106, -1135, -1189-1194, -1291 (21 coins)

<sup>62</sup>Although the obverse is clear, the reverse is not. It is possible that this might be a very crude version of a Victory advancing r., with a wreath, but the coins with the same obverse as No. 152 have the Victory advancing l. (*BMCV*, p. 19, nos. 15, 16, pl. 3, nos. 4, 5).

<sup>63</sup>See pp. 159-160 and footnotes 25-29 above for the attribution and dating of these types. No. 153 shows only three dots on the left while No. 158 has only one dot on the left and right each; the dots on the others are off the flan or obliterated. Many do not have all six palm fronds preserved.

<sup>64</sup>See *BMCV*, pp. 20-22, nos. 21-41, pl. 3:8-16 and "Zacha", nos. 317-330 and p. 193, note 68 for the evidence for dating these Victory types to the 6th century.

- Crude bust r. N with \* above in two borders of dots<sup>65</sup>  
 \*196. 71-890 10 mm. 0.70 g. ✓  
 (obverse illegible) Part of wreath surrounded by circle<sup>66</sup>  
 197. 71-1243  
 Crude bust r. (Fig. 1:23)  
 Double alpha overstruck by cross<sup>67</sup>  
 \*198. 71-1040 10 mm. 0.40 g. ↑  
 Crude bust r. (uncertain monogram, Fig. 1:24)  
 199. 71-889 10 mm. 0.40 g. ↑  
 Crude bust r. (uncertain monogram, Fig. 1:25)  
 200. 71-752 10 mm. 0.70 g. ↑  
 Crude bust r. (traces of monogram)  
 201-209. 71-543, -793-800 (9 coins)  
 (obverse illegible) (traces of monogram)  
 210-239. 71-758, -905-908, -987-995, -1068-1077, -1107-1110, -1206, -1321 (30 coins)  
 Crude bust r. (illegible)  
 240-286. 71-716, -756, -812-815, -909-911, -974-984, -1064-1068, -1112-1114, -1137-1141, -1198-1203,  
 -1244, -1245, -1298-1301, -1310, -1322 (47 coins)  
 (Illegible, but pierced through center  
 with square hole)  
 287. 71-1207

## UNCERTAIN AND ILLEGIBLE 4TH-5TH CENTURY

*AE II FRAGMENTS**Ca. one quarter*

288. 71-914

*Ca. one eighth*

289-291. 71-985, 71-1115, 71-1349 (3 coins)

No. 289 with traces of hair on head

*AE III CLIPPED TO AE IV*

292. 71-1063

*AE III FRAGMENTS**Ca. one half*

293. 71-913

<sup>65</sup>This reverse might be only a misstruck monogram in wreath with the edge of the die creating the second border; but compare *BMCV*, p. 36, no. 156, pl. 4:26 and "Zacha", p. 194, no. 340.

<sup>66</sup>This is likely to be a misstruck monogram in wreath with the edge of the die creating the outer circle.

<sup>67</sup>If this is not a misstruck or overstruck monogram, it may be an imitation of a monogram on an issue with an obverse of an emperor facing. Compare "Zacha", p. 198, no. 410 attributed to Justinian I, but Hahn (II, p. 49, no. 87) attributes this issue to Justin II, mint of Rome (or perhaps Carthage).

*Ca. one third*

(illegible)

Emperor standing l. holding standard or  
spear in l. hand, r. hand outstretched

294. 71-789

*Ca. one quarter*

(illegible)

Two facing figures

295-297. 71-788, 71-811, 71-986 (3 coins)

(illegible)

298-300. 71-912, 71-996, 71-1142 (3 coins)

*AE IV*

301-313. 71-801-810, -997, -1111, -1350 (13 coins)

Traces of figures or busts on some

*AE IV HALVES**Ca. one half*

314-319. 71-790, -816, -817, -915, -1078, -1197 (6 coins)

A few with traces of figures

## ANASTASIUS THROUGH JUSTIN II

*HALF-FOLLIS*

(obverse illegible)

K

320. 71-545 quartered 0.25 g.

*DECANUMMIUM*

Traces of bust r.

I

321. 71-888 13 mm. 1.36 g.

*PENTANUMMIA*

Traces of bust r.

€ cross to r.

322. 71-884 14 mm. 1.36 g.

(obverse illegible)

cross illegible or absent

323-327. 71-782, -1125, -1240, -1286, -998 (5 coins)

The last coin quartered

## ILLEGIBLE FRAGMENTS: MOSTLY NUMMI

328-577. 71-760, -818-880, -916-945, -999-1033, -1079-1102, -1116-1122, -1143-1175, -1204, -1205  
 -1208-1211, -1220-1222, -1243-1270, -1275, -1279, -1280, -1283-1285, -1302-1307, -1311-1317, -1323  
 (250 coins)

578, 579. Corinth Lot 7113 Nummi concreted to iron nail shaft, 37 below.

OTHER OBJECTS IN HOARD<sup>68</sup>

BRONZE: Total weight 53.03 g.

1. Cast buckle fragment (Pl. 38:G). Max. dim. 0.02 m.<sup>69</sup>
- 2–9. Eight bent wire fragments from chain links or other circular fastenings (Pl. 38:B, the four best preserved). Min. dim. 0.01–0.025 m.<sup>70</sup>
10. Lip fragment of small vessel or lamp (Pl. 38:C). Max. dim. 0.03 m.
- 11, 12. Two small nail fragments. 71-1036 (Pl. 38:A). Max. p. L. 0.02 m. with head 0.003 m. in diameter. The second is only a shaft fragment, 71-1061.
13. Pointed wire fragment, perhaps end of pin, needle or very small nail. L. 0.01 m.
14. Small attachment fragment of cut sheet pierced by iron tack head. Max. p. dim. 0.015 m.
15. Rectangular fragment of cut sheet with delta-like punch mark on one side. L. 0.022 m., 71-1273.
- 16–36. Twenty-one droplets of bronze, many completely corroded and uncleaned (e.g. Pl. 38:D), while others (including 71-761, -1037, -1062, -1271, -1287) survived cleaning (e.g. Pl. 38:F). Max. dim. 0.007–0.013 m.

IRON: Total weight 46.00 g.

- 37, 38. Pointed end of nail or spike shafts.
37. L. 0.04 m. Two nummi concreted to it above the point, one of which is facing the viewer in Plate 38:H.
- 38 (Pl. 38:J). L. 0.055 m. Two fragments of lead concreted to it.  
Small pebbles concreted to both.
39. Disk head of nail, 0.03 m. in diameter.
- 40–42. Three oxidized lumps which might originally have been head or head and part of shaft of nails, but the oxidation has completely obscured the shapes (e.g. Pl. 38:I); small pebbles concreted to them. Max. dim. 0.02–0.035 m.

LEAD: Total weight 3.52 g.

43. Cast strip (Pl. 38:E). Max. dim. 0.02, max. Th. 0.003 m.
44. Droplet. Max. dim. 0.008 m.

GLASS

45. Half a green glass tessera from a mosaic. L. 0.01 m.

## HOARD III: FROM THE 6TH CENTURY

On November 5, 1971, a small hoard of bronze coins was found sealed in a basin along the wall of the easternmost fountain chamber cut through the south wall of the bath-fountain complex.<sup>71</sup> A block with cuttings that suggest that it was originally a

<sup>68</sup>Metal objects readily distinguished from the coins in the hoard were collected and recorded as Corinth Lot 7113. Other objects were included with the coins and given Corinth coin inventory numbers which I have reported below. Because of their inclusion in the hoard, I provide a catalogue of these fragmentary items.

<sup>69</sup>Compare G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, *The Minor Objects*, Princeton 1952, p. 272, nos. 2202, 2204–2206, pl. 114, dated to the early mediaeval period, not later than the 10th century.

<sup>70</sup>Compare *ibid.*, p. 128, nos. 858 and 860, pl. 63 and p. 194, no. 1455, pl. 88, dated to the Roman and Byzantine periods.

<sup>71</sup>Located in grid squares O/P–38/39 in fig. 4 of Wiseman, *Hesperia* 41, 1972, p. 10 and briefly described by Williams, *Δελτ* 27, 1972, B' 1 [1976], pp. 223–224. The excavation of the hoard is recorded in

statue base covered the basin and hoard. Although this hoard was found ten meters south of Gymnasium Hoard II, both were at about the same elevation.<sup>72</sup> The number of coins in the hoard was counted as 36 when they were excavated but only 31 coins survived cleaning.<sup>73</sup> All the coins are corroded from the wetness of the fountain area, and, as far as one can determine in spite of the corrosion, all appear worn from circulation.<sup>74</sup> All but two of the coins are nummi or the equivalent, and only ten are partially legible. The two nummi, Nos. 8, 9, with the alpha reverse of Justinian I, A.D. 527–565, are the latest coins in the hoard and establish a *terminus post quem* for the burial of the hoard. The wear on the half-follis of Justin I, No. 6, is consistent with this or possibly even a later burial date. The similar elevations of this and Gymnasium Hoard II support the possibility of the same burial date for both after the Slavic invasion of the early 580's.<sup>75</sup> The absence of identifiable coins dated after 527–565 might be explained by the great amount of corroded examples in the hoard and its small size in general. It is clear, in addition, from the quantity of earlier worn coins in Gymnasium Hoard II that the scarcity of freshly minted small change in the later 6th century kept old, worn coins in circulation. But the presence in Gymnasium Hoard III of a larger-denomination coin of Justin I and the absence of any large denominations from before the time of Justinian I in Gymnasium Hoard II may indicate an earlier date for the burial of this small hoard. The absence of palm-tree nummi may also support an earlier date; it is, then, not impossible that Gymnasium Hoard III was secreted in the basin before the documented earthquake of 551 closed off this part of the fountain house.<sup>76</sup> The 29 nummi, one half-follis and one pentanummium of this hoard are equivalent to only 1.35 folles; this is such a small sum that it must have been a fortuitous collection of small change.<sup>77</sup> Omitting No. 6, the weight of all the coins in the hoard totals 13.18 g. With No. 6 included, it weighs a total of 21.05 g. If one calculates with the ideal weight of the follis which was in use in the later part of Justinian's reign, 18.19 g., the value of the surviv-

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Corinth Field Notebook 538, p. 62, Basket 27, Lot 7036. For the location of the bath-pool complex see the references in footnote 12 above.

<sup>72</sup>The elevation of the findspot of this hoard was +45.556 m. See footnote 13 above for the elevation of Gymnasium Hoard II.

<sup>73</sup>Five coins were collected separately and given Corinth coin inventory numbers; the rest were gathered together in one large find envelope and were not given Corinth coin inventory numbers until after they were cleaned. One of the Corinth coin inventory numbers (71-733) was used for what proved to be, when cleaned, two illegible nummi, Nos. 18, 19. There may have been 37 coins in the hoard if 71-733 was counted as only one of the original 36 coins. Also compare footnote 16 above.

<sup>74</sup>See footnotes 8 and 17 above.

<sup>75</sup>See footnotes 24, 30 and 32 above.

<sup>76</sup>Scranton, *Corinth* XVI, p. 8; C. Roebuck, *Corinth, XIV, The Asklepieion and Lerna*, Princeton 1951, p. 164; and for the coin evidence of the latest use of the Fountain of the Lamps in the reign of Justinian I, A.D. 546–547, Wiseman, *Hesperia* 41, 1972, p. 164. Palm-tree reverse nummi are discussed in footnotes 25 and 28–30 above.

<sup>77</sup>Walker suggests that his hoard with a total equivalent to 5.5 folles may have been dropped from a purse. The hoards of 20 and 56 coins found over the waists of two skeletons, discussed in footnote 31 above, support the theory that this Gymnasium hoard was the small change carried by a person in 6th-century Corinth.

ing weight of the hoard is just less than 1.2 folles. Using the ideal weight of the follis during the reign of Justin II, 13.64 g., the present weight of the hoard is valued at 1.5 folles.<sup>78</sup>

## CATALOGUE: HOARD III

(Plate 38)

An asterisk beside the number indicates that the coin is illustrated. The Corinth Museum coin inventory number follows the catalogue number. Where the denomination is not named, it is a nummus or the equivalent. Where the weight and die position are omitted, either the obverse or the reverse is illegible.

## PERIOD OF THEODOSIUS II, A.D. 425-450?

Slight traces of bust r.

Cross in wreath<sup>79</sup>

1-5. 71-1325-1329 (5 coins)

## JUSTIN I, A.D. 518-527

*HALF-FOLLIS*

CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 518-522

[DNIVSTI]-NVSPPAVC

DO 14e, Hahn

Bust r. with diadem, cuirass and paludamentum

K, long cross to l., € to r.

18, *BMC* I 35

\*6. 71-730 28 mm. 7.87 g. ↘

*NUMMUS*

Traces of bust r.

(Fig. 1:15) in wreath<sup>80</sup>Hahn 34, "Za-  
cha" 281-296,  
"Korinth" 197,  
198

7. 71-731 6 mm. →

## JUSTINIAN I, A.D. 527-565

Traces of bust r.

A in circle<sup>81</sup>

8. 71-694 8 mm. ↘

9. 71-1330 7 mm.

## ILLEGIBLE 4TH-5TH CENTURY

*AE IV*

10. 71-732 halved

## ANASTASIUS THROUGH JUSTINIAN

*PENTANUMMIUM*

Bust r. with diadem

€ in circle

11. 71-1324 11 mm.

<sup>78</sup>Hahn, I, p. 27 and II, pp. 15-16.<sup>79</sup>See footnote 41 above. But on these examples, I am even less sure of the attribution.<sup>80</sup>See footnote 50 above.<sup>81</sup>See footnote 60 above. I am fairly sure, however, that these two alphas do not have serifs.

## NUMMI

Bust r.

(illegible)

12-17. 71-1331-1336 (6 coins)

(illegible)

18-31. 71-733 which is given to two coins, 71-1337-1348 (14 coins)

## HOARD IV: FROM SHORTLY AFTER THE FIRST CRUSADE

On September 13, 1971, while clearing the deep deposit over the Roman Bath and Fountain of the Lamps, a billon hoard of 100 dinari was found underneath a large piece of rock collapsed from the cliff edge, between 2.5 and 3.25 m. below the modern surface.<sup>82</sup> Two other dinari, Nos. 101 and 102, were found slightly above the main body of the hoard and are probably part of it. The earth matrix at the findspot of the hoard was no different from the rest of the earth around it except for a concentration of snail shells about the coins.<sup>83</sup> The coins were found together in a small area (0.044×0.037×0.08 m. deep) which may indicate the size of the original container or pocket of earth into which they were placed. The other material found around and above the hoard and with the two other dinari contained nothing that could be dated later than the 6th or 7th century after Christ.<sup>84</sup>

All 102 coins were struck with the mint mark of the Tuscan mint of Lucca. The majority of the coins, 82 dinari, are of the types introduced by Henry II of Saxony, Emperor and King of Italy, A.D. 1004-1024, which were continued by Henry III, IV, and V of Franconia, Emperors and Kings of Italy, A.D. 1039-1125, and 18 dinari are of Conrad II of Franconia, Emperor and King of Italy, A.D. 1026-1039.<sup>85</sup> The two dinari found near the hoard are one each of Henry and Conrad II. No other coins of Conrad II have yet been identified from the Corinth excavations. Three strays and five dinari in a hoard from the middle of the 12th century, all with the name of Henry and the mint mark of Lucca, were found at Corinth.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>82</sup>For the bath-pool complex see the references cited in footnote 12 above, and for the findspot of the hoard, see Wiseman, *Hesperia* 41, 1972, p. 10, fig. 4, in grid square O-41. The excavation of the hoard was recorded in Corinth Field Notebook 494, pp. 97-101, 103, and 109 (the two other dinari are recorded on p. 93). The elevations of the surface of the trench, which sloped down from south to north, were from +51.947 to +51.195 m. The hoard was found nearer the higher south end of the trench at an elevation of +48.653 m.

<sup>83</sup>These presumably terrestrial mollusks were not saved nor further identified. If they were a species of scavenger, they would have collected around the hoard to feed off the rotting material of its container.

<sup>84</sup>Pottery from the hoard area is in Lot 6944, while that from around the two other coins is in Lot 6945.

<sup>85</sup>This supersedes the attribution of all 100 to Henry II in J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 96, 1972, p. 638 and Williams, *Δελτ* 27, 1972, B' 1 [1976], p. 223.

<sup>86</sup>For the hoard see Edwards, *Corinth* VI, pp. 12 and 158, no. 45, found with bits of cloth adhering to some of the coins. The nine coins of the Bishops of Valence date the hoard (*ibid.*, p. 157, no. 41). J. Duplessy and D. M. Metcalf, "Le trésor de Samos et la circulation monétaire en orient latin aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *RBN* 108, 1962, p. 203, suggest that the five dinari belong to Henry IV, A.D. 1056-1106, which is more consistent with the date of the other nine coins in the hoard. Metcalf also discusses this hoard in



No coins of Henry or Conrad II have been published from the excavations of the Athenian Agora.<sup>87</sup> A large number of coins struck in the name of Henry have been recorded as stray finds and in hoards from northern Syria throughout the period from after A.D. 1098 to *ca.* 1175.<sup>88</sup> Metcalf concludes that the Henry coins from Syria were all minted during the reigns of Henry III, IV and V or later and that the latest of them is an imitative series that may have been produced at Pisa or even in the Latin East to fill the needs for currency of the new Latin kingdoms there.<sup>89</sup> According to Metcalf, in the period after the First Crusade until the princes of Antioch and kings of Jerusalem began to strike their own billon coinage, the Lucca type with the Henry name became one of the “few ‘approved’ or preferred types of western dinari. Merchants would have got to know which types were acceptable and would have arranged to carry those coinages with them on their outward journeys. Thus a stock of billon currency may have been built up in Syria, commensurate with the region’s needs.”<sup>90</sup> Metcalf uses stylistic and metrological analyses, as well as the study of the other dated coins in the hoards, to support his explanation for the presence of these coins in the East.<sup>91</sup> I have repeated Metcalf’s arguments in some detail because the dinari of Gymnasium Hoard IV, although earlier in date, appear to be consistent with the Syrian and Corinthian hoards. The 19 dinari of Conrad II are all among the most worn coins in the hoard. A few of the Henry dinari are as worn as those of Conrad II. While these might be of Conrad’s predecessor, Henry II (A.D. 1004–1024), it is more likely that they are coins minted early in the reign of Henry III (A.D. 1039–1056). The better preserved dinari are likely to be from Henry IV (A.D. 1056–1106), or possibly early in the reign of Henry V (A.D. 1106–1125). I do not think any of the billon in this hoard is at all likely to have been

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*Coinage in the Balkans 820–1355* (Institute for Balkan Studies No. 80), Thessalonica 1965, p. 251, and in Metcalf, pp. 448 and 468, where he proposes a date of the middle of the 12th century for the deposit or loss of this hoard, and where two of the Henry coins are illustrated on plate 18: nos. 21, 22. One of the stray coins is reported from the years 1930–1935 (Edwards, 1937, p. 256) and two from the years 1936–1939 (Harris, p. 154); their findspots are recorded by Metcalf, p. 468. I was able to locate only one of these coins to confirm that it was Henry (and not Conrad II) with the mint mark of Lucca (Agora SC 16/2/38). It appears to be more like those in the hoard from Corinth than those in Gymnasium Hoard IV; compare Metcalf, pl. 18:21, 22. The Corinth coin-index cards for the other two give the mint of Lucca. I was able to check the Corinth index cards of the unpublished coins in August 1972 and found no others attributed to Henry II–V or Conrad II, nor any others minted at Lucca. Joan E. Fisher has not published any of these from recent Corinth excavations.

<sup>87</sup>Thompson, *op. cit.* (footnote 17 above).

<sup>88</sup>Metcalf, pp. 443–452, 458–462 and 467–469.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 444 and 452, from the extensive commercial interests of the Pisans in Syria and Palestine after the First Crusade and the evidence assembled by D. Massagli, “Dissertation sur les monnaies frappées à Lucques sous les empereurs de Germanie et les rois d’Italie dans les X<sup>e</sup>, XI<sup>e</sup>, et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Revue numismatique française*, n.s. 8, 1863, pp. 22–42. On this same issue, see also the discussion by D. Herlihy, “Pisan Coinage and the Monetary Development of Tuscany, 1150–1250,” *ANSMN* 6, 1964, pp. 143–168; see footnote 107 below.

<sup>90</sup>Metcalf, p. 446. He points out a similar pattern in Frankish Greece where the diniers tournois of Philippe Auguste and Louis VIII and IX and abbatial issues of Saint-Martin de Tours were the earliest billon currency: “The Pylia Hoard: Diniers Tournois of Frankish Greece,” *ANSMN* 17, 1971, pp. 173–227.

<sup>91</sup>Metcalf, pp. 448–452.

minted after 1125 because, although most of the Henry coins are in better condition than those of Conrad II, they all show some signs of wear. It also appears unlikely that dinari of Conrad II could remain in regular circulation up to a hundred years after they were minted.

The study of the weights of the coins in the hoard is aided by Metcalf's analysis of the Henry types with the Lucca mint mark. The 19 Conrad II coins have an average weight of 1.036 g. while the 83 coins of Henry have an average weight of 1.062 g., both of which are higher than the highest of Metcalf's hoards.<sup>92</sup> While the total number of Conrad's dinari is so small that we cannot be sure whether the sample is representative, the 0.026 g. difference in the two averages suggests that the coins of Conrad II in the hoard have lost more of their weight through wear than have those of Henry types.<sup>93</sup>

Frequency tables of the two types of dinari in the hoard indicate its compactness:<sup>94</sup>

Conrad II:

1.20 \_  
1.15 \_ \_  
1.10 \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.05 \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.00 \_ \_ \_ \_  
0.95 \_ \_ \_ \_

Percentages:

1.20 \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.15 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.10 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.05 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.00 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
0.95 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

Henry:

1.25 \_  
1.20 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.15 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.10 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.05 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.00 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
0.95 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
0.90 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
0.85 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

Percentages:

1.25 \_  
1.20 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.15 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.10 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.05 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
1.00 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
0.95 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
0.90 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_  
0.85 \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

<sup>92</sup> Metcalf, p. 449, the Izmir hoard: 36 coins, 0.973 g.

<sup>93</sup> The coins in the body of the hoard were cleaned as if they were made of silver. Copper corrosion products had leached to the surfaces of the two coins found above the hoard so that, like all billon at Corinth, they could not be distinguished from bronze coins in the field. Those two coins, consequently, were cleaned like bronze coins by electrochemical reduction which plated them with a copper coating. The coins were all weighed after cleaning.

<sup>94</sup> I have followed the practice of Metcalf, p. 459: "The weights are given below correct to two places; 0.95 g., for example, includes actual readings from 0.946 to 0.955 g. The histograms . . . are based on steps of 0.05 g., e.g. 0.96 g.—1.00 g., or actual readings between 0.056 and 1.005 g. inclusive." The coins in all the Gymnasium hoards were weighed on a simple chemist's balance surrounded by glass. Perhaps because of the intense heat, high winds or frequent earthquakes at Corinth, or just the fatigue of the operator, the balance is occasionally inaccurate. I have included two frequency charts each for the Conrad and Henry coins in the hoards: The first is the actual count, which stresses the relative numbers of the two groups in the hoard. The second has had the totals converted to percentages to permit comparison with the histo-

The Henry coins form a clear peak between 1.05 and 1.10 g., and the Conrad II coins cluster at the same interval, but most of them are 0.05 to 0.10 g. below the standard of the Henry coins. Comparing the frequency tables of our hoard with those of the Eastern hoards, it is clear that the Henry coins in Gymnasium Hoard IV are closer in weight standard to those of the two earlier hoards, Izmir and First Subak, than to those in the later Second Subak hoard. It is also obvious that the coins in the Gymnasium hoard have much less of a tail on the lower end of the frequency tables than those of any of the hoards from the East. The smaller number of underweight coins and the compactness of the frequency tables of the Gymnasium hoard are sure indications that it is earlier than the Eastern hoards tallied by Metcalf.<sup>95</sup>

To test the possibility that the coins were hoarded shortly after minting, I tried to do a die study of them. The monogram and Lucca mint mark are not aligned within each die with the inscriptions around the outer edge. The letters of the inscriptions and the size of the monograms and mint marks also vary considerably. Thus any coins in the hoard made from the same dies, even if poorly struck or worn, should be readily apparent. There are no coins from the same dies in the hoard, nor are any dies even very close in any of the variables so noted. It would seem that this hoard was collected after the coins had been in circulation so that it would be unlikely for die-linked examples to be included.

Gymnasium Hoard IV is in agreement with the stylistic observations that Metcalf made about the Eastern and Corinthian hoards: "The extremes of style are, on the one hand, coins with small, neat lettering, quite well struck on round flans, and, on the other hand, coins with thick, crowded lettering, of rude workmanship on flans tending towards a square shape, and often with a damaged impression . . . ."<sup>96</sup> He suggests that these stylistic extremes reflect an earlier and a later variety. He cautions that the coins are not easily grouped and that there are gradations between the stylistic extremes. This, too, the Gymnasium Henry and Conrad II coins reflect, but they belong to Metcalf's earlier, neater group. Part of the problem with these billon dinari is that they are often so hurriedly struck that the die impression can range from very shallow to very deep, sometimes on opposite edges of the same coins. In addition the dies were used until they became so worn that the types are almost illegible, particularly the legend around the edges.

This hoard of billon dinari is certainly a traveler's hoard because it consists of coins not in general circulation in the area in which it was found.<sup>97</sup> Byzantine coinage supplied

grams of Metcalf, p. 451, fig. 2. The percentages have been rounded off to the nearest whole number in the same fashion as with the weights of the coins. On the use of such statistics in numismatic studies, see J. Guey, "Propos de numismatique statistique, II. Un domaine sous-développé de la numismatique descriptive: l'étude des dispersions: écart-type, coefficient de variation," *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* 23, 1968, pp. 270-273.

<sup>95</sup>Metcalf, p. 451, fig. 2.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 448. Six more of degenerate style are reported from a Near Eastern hoard by M. S. Phillips, *Coin Hoards* 4, 1978, p. 154, no. 450.

<sup>97</sup>Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans* (see footnote 86 above), pp. 249-258; he lists only two travelers' hoards, both from Yugoslavia, dating before the First Crusade.

the currency for Corinth in the 11th and 12th centuries. From the Corinth excavations between 1896 and 1939, 23,738 Byzantine coins, minted after the end of the reign of Nicephorus II in 969 through the reign of Alexius II (A.D. 1195–1203), were published.<sup>98</sup> In contrast, there are a total of 223 coins from European mints and only 19 from other Eastern mints of the same two centuries.<sup>99</sup> Several of the European issues continue into the 13th century. A great many of them probably arrived as a consequence of the Norman sack of Corinth led by Roger of Sicily in 1147.<sup>100</sup> Thus it is clear that the bulk of coins lost in Corinth in the 11th and 12th centuries were Byzantine, but occasionally European and other Eastern coinages were lost. The traveler who hid Gymnasium Hoard IV was probably a merchant from Pisa, perhaps on his way to the East where Pisa had large trading interests, bringing with him the local coinage of Lucca, which would also circulate in the Latin kingdoms of the East. He stopped at the Byzantine commercial center in Greece on his way, perhaps to establish trade with Corinth.<sup>101</sup> He obviously was concerned about his welcome and hid his money before entering the town. Whether his reception was cooler than he anticipated or he sickened and died before he could reclaim his hoard, we cannot know. But sometime in the first quarter of the 12th century he concealed his hoard, and it remained where it was hidden until 1971.

In the following catalogue I have separated the Conrad II and Henry coins. Within each group, I have tried to organize them from most worn to least worn but, given the varying depths at which the coins were struck and the crudeness of the letter and monogram forms, the order is often rather arbitrary.<sup>102</sup> The two coins found above the hoard are included at the very end of the catalogue.

<sup>98</sup>4,523 in Edwards, *Corinth* VI, pp. 138–147, 165–166; 5,644 in Edwards, 1937, p. 255; 13,571 in Harris, pp. 153–154.

<sup>99</sup>149 European and two from other Eastern mints in Edwards, *Corinth* VI, pp. 150, 155–160; 57 European and seven from other Eastern mints in Edwards, 1937, pp. 255–256; 17 European and ten from other Eastern mints in Harris, pp. 154–155. These totals apparently do not include the hoard of 73 coins discovered in the theater, T. L. Shear, "Excavations in the Theatre District and Tombs of Corinth in 1928," *AJA* 32, 1928, pp. 481–482; this hoard included a coin referred to as "a so-called anonymous Crusader's coin," but the parallel cited is class IX of A. R. Bellinger, *ANSNM*, XXXV, *The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage*, New York 1928, p. 7, which indicates that this coin would now be attributed to Nicephorus II, A.D. 1078–1081; see Thompson, *op. cit.* (footnote 17 above), pp. 109–115. The other coins in the hoard included one each of Michael IV, A.D. 1034–1041, Theodora, A.D. 1055–1056, and Constantine X, A.D. 1059–1067, and 69 Islamic coins of which five are illustrated in Shear, *op. cit.*, fig. 5. The last bring the total of the coins from other Eastern mints at Corinth up to 88. The Byzantine coins in this hoard have not been added into the totals.

<sup>100</sup>See Scranton, *Corinth* XVI, p. 50; R. Carpenter and A. Bon, *Corinth*, III, ii, *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town*, Cambridge, Mass. 1936, p. 132; and the sources cited in both.

<sup>101</sup>See references in footnote 100 above. At Corinth, Venice's trading privileges began in 1126, Genoa's in 1169 and Pisa's in 1170. The Gymnasium hoard may be the first evidence that the Pisans preceded the Venetians in their interest in trade with Corinth.

<sup>102</sup>I regret that funds did not permit all the coins in the hoard to be photographed. I have selected slightly more than one third of the total, attempting to cover all aspects of the hoard in the coins which are illustrated.

## CATALOGUE: HOARD IV

(Plates 39, 40)

An asterisk beside the number indicates that the coin is illustrated. The Corinth Museum coin inventory number follows the catalogue number.

CONRAD II OF FRANCONIA  
EMPEROR AND KING OF ITALY, A.D. 1026–1039

*Obverse*: Debased monogram of Otto (Fig. 2) in a border of dots which becomes a wide circle as the die is worn; around, +IHPERATOR in crude, block letters.<sup>103</sup>

*Reverse*: LVCA in a cruciform arrangement about a central pellet; around, +CHVINRADV~ in crude, block letters.<sup>104</sup>



FIG. 2. Debased monogram of Otto

	+IHPERATOR	+ [CHVINRA]DV ~	CNI 1–5
*1. 71-654	15 mm. 1.06 g. →		
	+IH[PERATO]R	+CHV[INRA]DV ~	
*2. 71-661	16 mm. 0.97 g. →		
	+IH[P]ERA[TO]R	+CHVIN[RAD]V ~	
3. 71-635	15 mm. 1.07 g. ↑	+CHVINRADV ~	
	+IHPER[ATOR]	+CHVIN[R]ADV ~	
4. 71-598	17 mm. 1.03 g. ↗	+CHVINRADV ~	
	+IHPERATO[R]		
5. 71-631	14 mm. 1.05 g. ↘	+CHVINRADV ~	
	+ [IHPE]RATOR		
6. 71-651	17 mm. 1.05 g. ↗	[+CHV]INRADV ~	
	+IHPERATOR	+CHVINRADV ~	
*7. 71-600	16 mm. 0.95 g. ↘		
	+ [IHPE]RATOR		
*8. 71-665	15 mm. 1.18 g. ↘		

<sup>103</sup>While occasionally the letters are fairly clear and well formed, more often they are so poorly made and misshapen as to suggest that the die cutters were illiterate. The horizontal bar of the H is very short and thin compared with the two verticals. Where it can be clearly read, it is often at a slight incline, or with a bend at the center as if an N or M were implied. Thus, I have not separated clear N's from H's because there are so many variations in between.

<sup>104</sup>The N has a clearly slanted bar in a great majority of the legible examples, but sometimes it is more horizontal, like an H, if it is not, in fact, an H. The I is often almost square and is clearly a mistake as in the debased monogram of Otto, since Conrad was spelled Chuonrat in Franconia and Latinized to Chuonradus. I am grateful to Professor James Marchand for this information.

	[+IHP]ERAT[OR]	[+CHVI]NRADV ~	
9. 71-593	16 mm. 1.07 g. ✓		
	+ [IHP]ERATOR	+CH[VIN]RDV ~	CNI 6, 7 and 9
*10. 71-626	16 mm. 1.03 g. ↑		
	+IHPER[AT]OR	+CHVINRDV ~	
11. 71-672	14 mm. 0.99 g. ↘		
	+IHPER[ATO]R	+CH[VINRD[V ~	
*12. 71-612	17 mm. 1.03 g. ↘		
	+IHPERATOR	+CHVINRDV ~	
*13. 71-625	18 mm. 1.02 g. ↘		
	+IHPERΛ[TOR]	[+CHV]INRDV ~	
*14. 71-641	15 mm. 1.05 g. ↑		
	+IHPER[AT]OR	+CHVINRDV ~	
*15. 71-649	16 mm. 0.98 g. →		
	+IHPERATOR	+CHVIN[RD]V ~	
16. 71-605	17 mm. 0.99 g. ↑		
	+IHPERATOR	+CHVINRDV ~	
*17. 71-607	17 mm. 1.09 g. →		
	+IHPERATOR	+CHVINRDV ~	
*18. 71-653	16 mm. 1.10 g. ↘		

HENRY III, IV AND V OF FRANCONIA  
EMPERORS AND KINGS OF ITALY, A.D. 1039–1125<sup>105</sup>

*Obverse:* as above.

*Reverse:* as above except +ENRICV~ in crude, block letters.<sup>106</sup>

	+IHP[RATO]R	+E]N[RICV ~	CNI 1-4, 6-12
*19. 71-624	17 mm. 1.16 g. ↓		
	[+IHPERA]TOR	+]EN[RI]CV[~	
20. 71-587	17 mm. 0.86 g. ↑		
	+IH[P]ERATOR	+E]NRIC[V ~	
21. 71-652	16 mm. 1.03 g. ↘		
	+IHPERΛ[T]OR	+ENRICV ~	
*22. 71-580	18 mm. 0.97 g. ↑		
	+ [IHPE]RATOR	+ENR[I]CV ~	
23. 71-620	15 mm. 0.88 g. ↘		

<sup>105</sup>It is not impossible that a few of the most worn of these dinari belong to Henry II of Saxony, Emperor and King of Italy, A.D. 1004–1024.

<sup>106</sup>See footnote 104 above. The R of both the reverse and obverse is often spread out so that it looks like a lower case n with a small triangle as its tail.

	[+IHP]ER[Λ]TOR	+E[NRI]CV ~
24. 71-610	16 mm. 1.12 g. → +IHPER[Λ]TOR	+ [ENR]ICV ~
25. 71-678	17 mm. 0.97 g. → +IH[PERΛ]TOR	+E[NR]ICV ~
*26. 71-669	16 mm. 1.04 g. → +IHPER]ΛTO[R	+EN[R]ICV ~
27. 71-633	17 mm. 1.17 g. ↓ +IHPER[Λ]TOR	+E[NRI]CV ~
28. 71-636	16 mm. 1.09 g. ↘ +IHP]ERATO[R	[+E]NRICV ~
29. 71-642	17 mm. 1.09 g. ↑ [+I]HP[ERΛ]TOR	+ENRI[CV] ~
30. 71-648	15 mm. 0.96 g. ↓ [+IH]PERΛTOR	+ENRICV ~
31. 71-622	15 mm. 0.97 g. ↗ (mint mark almost illegible) +[IHPER]ΛTOR	+ENRIC[V] ~
32. 71-658	17 mm. 1.01 g. ✓ +IHPER[Λ]TOR	+ENRICV ~
*33. 71-613	16 mm. 1.05 g. ↗ +I[H]PERΛTOR	+ENRICV ~
34. 71-596	16 mm. 1.09 g. → +I[HPE]RATOR	+EN[R]ICV ~
35. 71-597	16 mm. 1.08 g. ↘ +IHPE[R]ATOR	+ENRI[C]V ~
36. 71-599	16 mm. 1.15 g. ↘ [+IHPER]ΛTOR	+ENR[IC]V ~
37. 71-627	14 mm. 0.88 g. ↓ [+IHPER]ΛTOR	+EN[R]ICV ~
38. 71-628	17 mm. 1.21 g. ↓ +I]HPER[Λ]TOR	+EN[RICV] ~
39. 71-655	17 mm. 1.05 g. ↘ +IHPE[RAT]OR	+ENRI[CV] ~
*40. 71-594	17 mm. 1.17 g. ↓ +IHP[ERΛ]TOR	+E[NR]ICV ~
41. 71-679	17 mm. 1.11 g. ↘ +IH[P]ERAT[O]R	[+]ENRICV ~
42. 71-591	16 mm. 1.12 g. → [+IHP]ERATOR	+ENRI[C]V ~
43. 71-606	17 mm. 1.15 g. ↑ +I]HPERΛTO[R	+ENR[IC]V ~
*44. 71-650	15 mm. 1.00 g. ✓	

	[+IHPE]RATOR	[+]ENRICV ∼
45. 71-617	16 mm. 1.14 g. ↗	
	+IHPE]RAT[OR	+ENRI[CV] ∼
46. 71-674	15 mm. 1.10 g. ✓	
	+IHPERAT[O]R	+ENRICV ∼
*47. 71-666	15 mm. 1.14 g. ↘	
	+ [IH]PERATOR	[+EN]RICV ∼
48. 71-592	15 mm. 1.00 g. ↓	
	+IHPERA[TOR]	+EN[R]ICV ∼
49. 71-614	16 mm. 1.06 g. ↗	
	+IH[PE]RATO[R]	+]ENRICV[ ∼
50. 71-657	15 mm. 0.96 g. ↗	
	+IHPERATOR	+ENRICV ∼
*51. 71-601	17 mm. 1.13 g. ↓	
	[+I]HPERATOR	[+]ENRICV ∼
52. 71-588	16 mm. 0.85 g. ↘	
	[+]IHP[ER]ATOR	+ENRICV ∼
53. 71-589	16 mm. 0.85 g. ←	
	+IHPE[RA]TOR	+EN[R]ICV ∼
*54. 71-611	18 mm. 1.11 g. ✓	
	+IHP[ER]ATOR	+ENR[ICV] ∼
55. 71-618	15 mm. 0.98 g. ↘	
	+IHPERAT[O]R	+ENR[ICV] ∼
56. 71-629	17 mm. 1.01 g. ✓	
	+I]HPERATO[R	+ [E]NRICV ∼
*57. 71-676	15 mm. 1.00 g. ↗	
	+IH[P]E[RA]TOR	+ENR[I]CV ∼
58. 71-608	17 mm. 0.98 g. →	
	[+I]HPERATOR	+EN]RICV[ ∼
59. 71-673	16 mm. 1.04 g. ↑	
	[+]IHPERATOR	+E[NRI]CV ∼
60. 71-675	17 mm. 1.07 g. ↘	
	+IH[P]ERA[TO]R	+ENRICV[ ∼]
*61. 71-634	16 mm. 1.13 g. ↘	
	+IH[PE]RATOR	+ENRICV ∼
62. 71-590	16 mm. 1.05 g. ↓	
	+IHPERATOR	[+]ENRIC[V] ∼
63. 71-609	17 mm. 1.06 g. ↓	
	+ [IH]PERATOR	+E[N]RICV ∼
64. 71-638	16 mm. 1.02 g. ↑	
	+IH[PE]RATOR	+ENRIC[V ∼]
*65. 71-660	17 mm. 1.08 g. ↘	



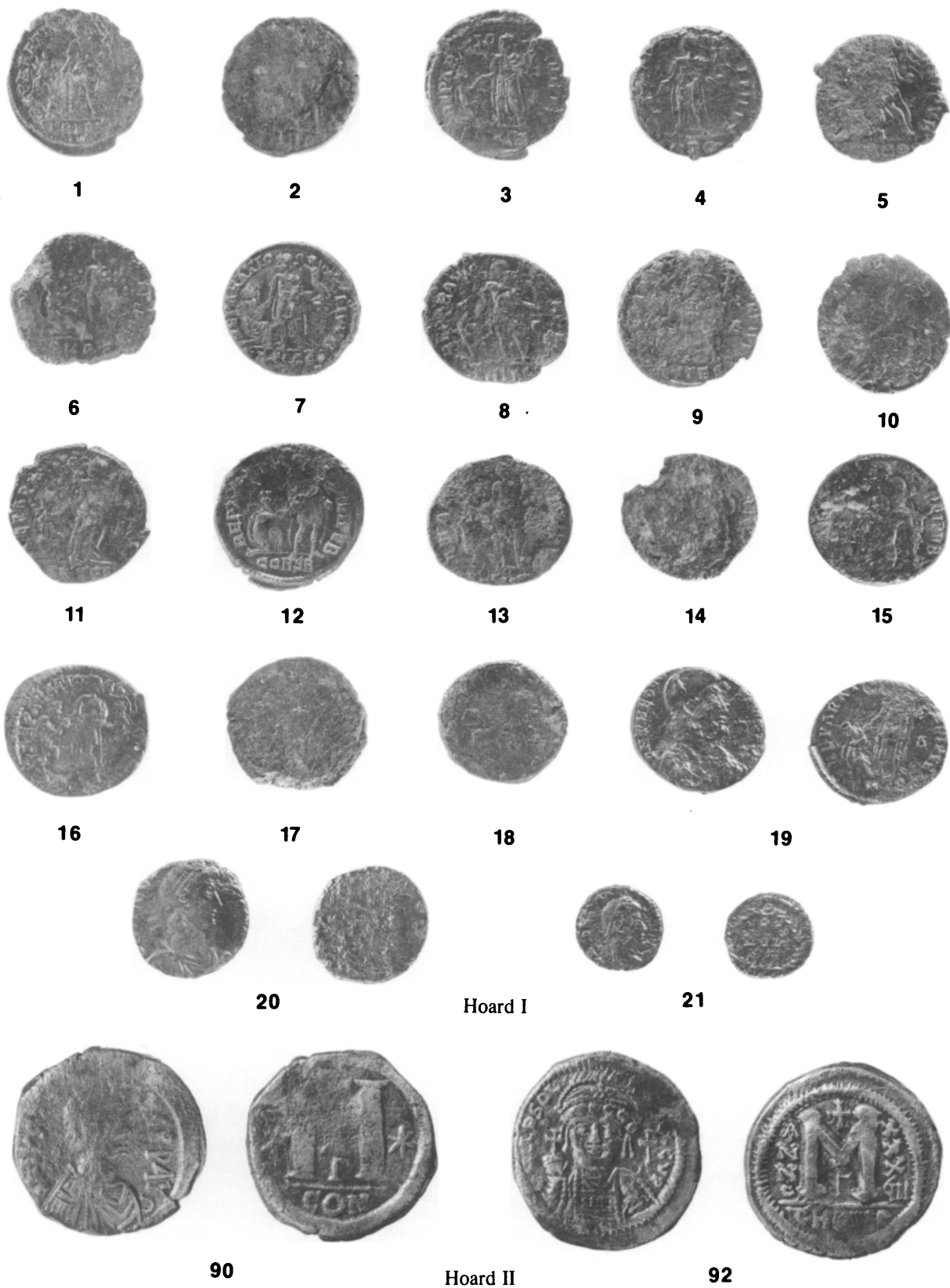
	+IHPE[RATO]R	+ENRICV ∞
66. 71-646	17 mm. 1.06 g. →	
	+IHP[E]RATO[R]	+EN[R]ICV ∞
67. 71-670	17 mm. 1.05 g. ↘	
	+IHP[ER]ATOR	+ENR[IC]V ∞
68. 71-602	17 mm. 1.01 g. ↗	
	+IHPERATOR	+ENRICV ∞
*69. 71-619	18 mm. 1.03 g. ↗	
	+IHP[ER]ATOR	[+]ENRICV ∞
70. 71-630	17 mm. 1.13 g. ↗	
	+IHPERA[TO]R	+ENR[IC]V ∞
71. 71-640	16 mm. 1.02 g. ↗	
	+IHPERATOR	+E[NRI]CV ∞
72. 71-664	17 mm. 1.07 g. ↘	
	[+]IHPERAT[O]R	+ENRICV ∞
73. 71-677	17 mm. 1.15 g. ↘	
	+IHPER[Λ]TOR	+ENRICV ∞
74. 71-668	16 mm. 1.08 g. ↑	
	+IHP[E]RATOR	+ENRICV ∞
*75. 71-644	17 mm. 1.09 g. →	
	[+]IHPERATOR	+ENRICV ∞
76. 71-663	17 mm. 1.12 g. ↘	
	+IHPER[AT]OR	[+]ENRICV ∞
77. 71-632	16 mm. 1.08 g. ↘	
	+IHPER[Λ]TOR	+ENRICV ∞
78. 71-583	17 mm. 1.10 g. ↑	
	+IHPERATOR	+ENRICV[∞]
79. 71-595	16 mm. 1.01 g. →	
	+IHPERATOR	+EN[R]ICV ∞
*80. 71-585	16 mm. 1.09 g. ↓	
	+IHPERATO[R]	+E[N]RICV ∞
81. 71-659	16 mm. 1.04 g. →	
	[+IH]PERATOR	+E[NR]ICV ∞
82. 71-667	17 mm. 1.15 g. ↘	
	+IHPERATOR	[+E]NRICV ∞
83. 71-656	17 mm. 1.03 g. ↗	
	+IH[PER]ATOR	+ENRICV ∞
84. 71-645	16 mm. 1.06 g. ↓	
	+IH[P]ERATOR	+ENRICV ∞
85. 71-647	16 mm. 0.99 g. ↗	
	+IHPERATOR	+ENRICV ∞
*86. 71-623	16 mm. 1.11 g. →	

87. 71-643	17 mm.	1.06 g.	↖		
*88. 71-639	16 mm.	1.01 g.	↖		
89. 71-637	17 mm.	1.04 g.	←		
*90. 71-584	17 mm.	1.05 g.	↗		
91. 71-586	17 mm.	0.88 g.	←		
*92. 71-604	17 mm.	1.01 g.	↖		
93. 71-581	18 mm.	1.16 g.	↓		
*94. 71-616	17 mm.	0.97 g.	↗		
*95. 71-662	16 mm.	0.94 g.	↘		
*96. 71-615	18 mm.	1.09 g.	↗		
+IHPERΛTOR				[+]ENRIC ~	Not paralleled in CNI <sup>107</sup>
*97. 71-603	17 mm.	1.18 g.			
+IH[PER]ΛTOR				[+E]NRECV ~	
*98. 71-621	16 mm.	1.05 g.	→		
+IHPER[AT]O[R]				[+EN]RECV ~	
*99. 71-671	16 mm.	1.03 g.	↘		
+IHP[ER]ΛTOR				+ENRECI ~	
*100. 71-582	17 mm.	0.94 g.	↗		
<i>Found above the hoard:</i>					
Same variety as Nos. 10–18					
+IH]PERAT[OR				+CHVINRDV ~	
101. 71-534	16 mm.	0.95 g.	↖		
Same variety as Nos. 19–96					
+IHPERAT[OR]				+ENRICV ~	
102. 71-537	16 mm.	1.07 g.	→		

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<sup>107</sup>Nor have I found these misspellings recorded in G. Sambon, *Repertorio generale delle monete coniate in Italia e da Italiani all' ester dal secolo V<sup>e</sup> al XX<sup>o</sup>*, I, *Periodo dal 476 al 1266*, Paris 1912 or in the following studies of the mint at Lucca: G. Cordero di San Quintino, *Della zecca e della monete degli antiche marchesi della Toscana*, 2nd ed., Pisa 1821; *idem*, *Della zecca e della monete di Lucca nei secoli di Mezzo*, and D. Barsocchini, *Delle vicende della zecca Lucchese sotto Carlo Magno e sua stirpe in Italia*, XI, [i], *Memorie e documenti per servire alla storia di Lucca*, Lucca 1860; D. Massagli, *Introduzione alla storia della zecca e delle monete Lucchesi*, XI, ii, *Memorie e documenti per servire alla storia di Lucca*, Lucca 1870; and the references in footnote 89 above.



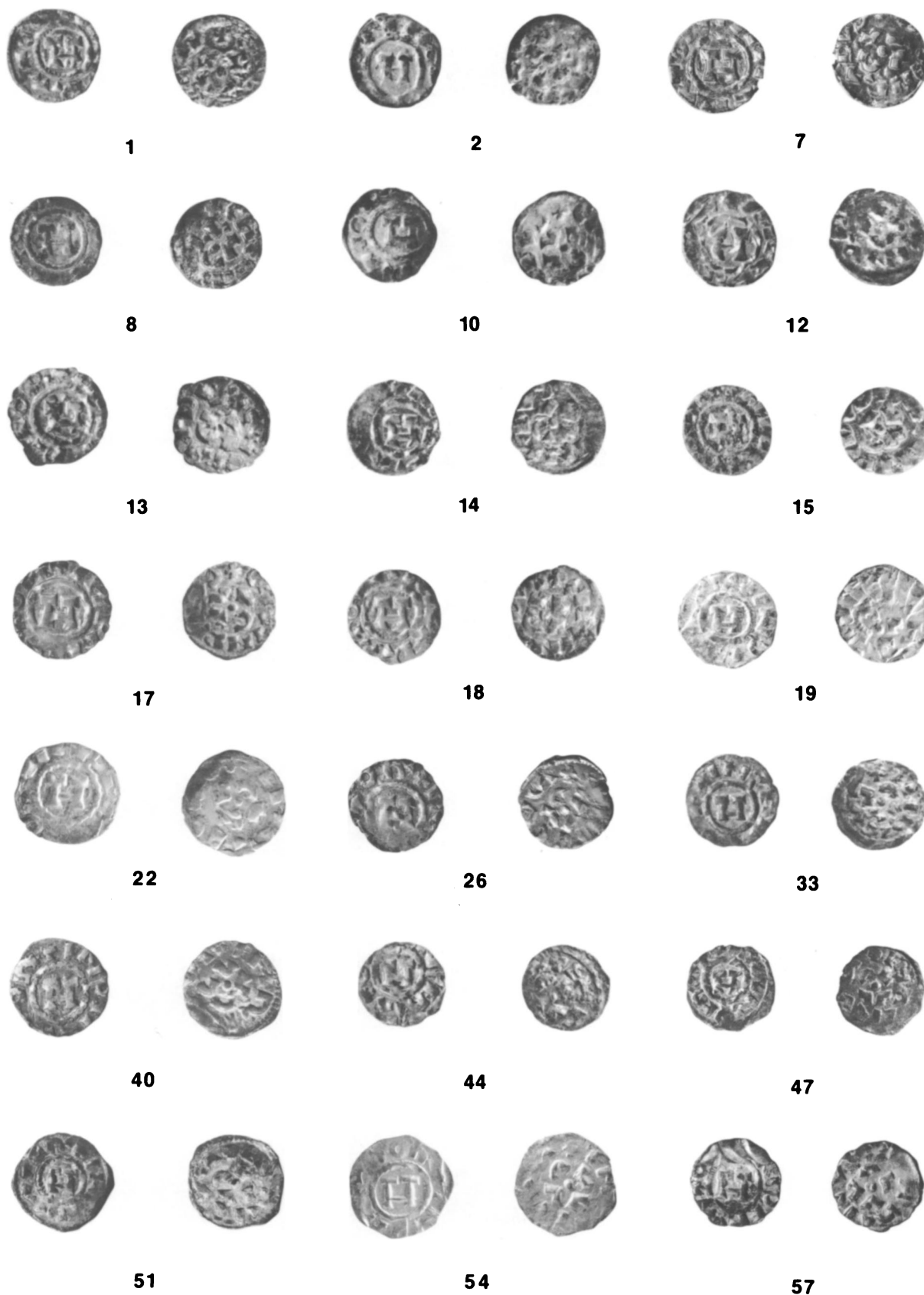


Hoard II



6

Hoard III



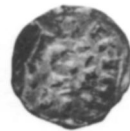
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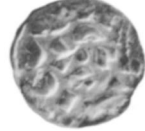
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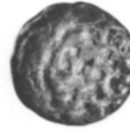
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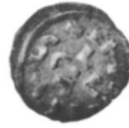
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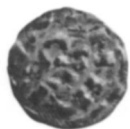
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86



88



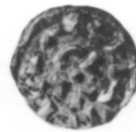
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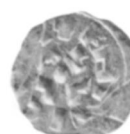
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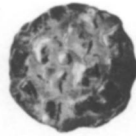
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96



97



98



99



100



Hoard IV