

Coin Hoards and Hoarding in the Roman World

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The Interface between East and West in Hoards from Southern Greece and Macedonia

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The aim of this chapter is to present and discuss coin hoards discovered in the territory of modern Greece, which were deposited between the reigns of Augustus and Constantine. The geographical area covered here complies with neither ancient geography nor Roman administration: it is a necessary compromise for the needs of the Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire Project. The material we have gathered derives mostly from Greek journals and archaeological reports, publications of site finds and monographs, proceedings of local congresses, and various volumes. Some data were also found in proceedings of international congresses and international journals.

We have divided the material into two sections. The first includes hoards discovered in the Roman province of Achaia, with the addition of those discovered on the Greek islands in the Aegean, as well as Crete. The second section covers the largest part of the Roman province of Macedonia, the part that is situated within the borders of the modern Greek state. The Macedonian hoards discovered in Bulgaria and in the Republic of North Macedonia have not been included in this chapter. The reason for this division into sections is twofold. First, the nature of the material is different: for the province of Macedonia, the majority of the hoards were found in burials; this is the result of local customs, as well as the numerous excavations of cemeteries that have taken place over recent decades in northern Greece due to the construction of the modern Egnatia motorway. For Achaia, we only have four attested burial hoards out of a total of 99 findspots. Savings and accumulation hoards certainly tend to include a larger number of coins of precious metal than burial hoards, and this is a distinction that should be kept in mind when examining the material. A second reason for this geographical division is that we identified differences in the hoarding patterns between these two regions.

We gathered information on 331 hoards: 99 hoards from Achaia and 232 from Macedonia. To what extent coin hoards reflect the actual circulation patterns remains an open question. When examined in large numbers, however, hoards offer important information. As a consequence, the large number of hoards from Macedonia and Greece allows us to discuss questions related to the use of Roman and local currencies in these areas: to what extent Roman imperial coins penetrated the provinces, how their circulation developed over the centuries, and which denominations were more popular. In addition, hoards offer valuable evidence of the circulation range of local provincial coins.

ACHAIA AND THE ISLANDS

Roman versus local coins in hoards from Augustus to Gallienus (27 BC–AD 268)

Of the 99 hoards from Achaia and the islands that we have gathered, 78 were buried in the period between the reign of Augustus and that of Gallienus (when provincial coinage definitively ceased in the region). The majority of these 78 hoards come from central Greece (27); many come from the Peloponnese (19) and Crete (12), while a relatively small number was found in the Aegean Islands (8) and Epirus (5). A single hoard comes from Thessaly and another from the Ionian islands. Of these finds, 40 hoards (51%) contained only Roman imperial coins, 17 (22%) contained only local coins, whereas 21 (27%) are mixed hoards. If we count the total number of coins in the hoards, Roman and local coins are found in more or less equal quantities (c. 11,300 Roman coins versus c. 10,270 local). This balance, however, changed in the second century where the number of Roman coins is significantly larger: 693 Roman coins against 36 local coins. This is due, to a large extent, to the sizeable Krani/1850 hoard from Cephalonia that contained 595 *denarii*.¹ If we exclude this hoard from our statistics, we have 98 Roman coins (73%) versus 36 local coins (27%) for the second century. It appears therefore that, in second-century hoards from southern Greece, Roman coins were dominant. It should be noted that local issues in the hoards we are examining are all made of bronze, with the exception of some drachms of Rhodes and the Cretan Koinon. This is no surprise since mints in Achaia only exceptionally struck silver coins, and none of these rare coins was apparently found in hoards.²

If we now examine the province of Achaia, excluding the islands of the eastern Aegean and Crete that belong to a different circulation zone, the presence of Roman coins is even stronger. In Achaia alone, only 24% of the coins discovered

¹ *CH* II 231; *ArchDelt* 26 (1971) B1 *Chronika*: 11; *ArchDelt* 28 (1973) B1 *Chronika*: 8.

² For the few silver coins of Antoninus Pius and Faustina I at Nicopolis, see Karamessini-Oikonomidou (1975: 92, nos 12α–γ, 13–14, and 93–4, nos 30α–ζ, 31–2).

in hoards are local coins, whereas 76% are Roman. The 758 local coins (versus 908 Roman) in the first-century hoards come from two large hoards of Athenian coins,³ 595 out of the 693 Roman coins (versus ten local) in the second-century hoards were found in the Krani/1850 hoard cited above, whereas most of the Roman coins in the third-century hoards (8,480 Roman versus 2,368 local) come from the Sparta, Magoula/1939 hoard of 5,026 *antoniniani*⁴ and the Akriai/1988 hoard of 2,500 *sestertii*.⁵ It is clear that the evidence of a small number of larger hoards may influence the general picture, one way or another, but the dominance of Roman coins is significant, especially if we compare with the picture in Macedonia, as shown below.

As is apparent from the figures mentioned above, local bronzes were very rarely hoarded in Achaia in the second century. These coins continued to circulate, and appeared only later in hoards of the first half of the third century. Second-century local coins are present in at least 14 hoards buried in the third century, up to the reign of Gallienus, and even though their exact numbers are unknown, we can nevertheless count at least 481 of them. It should be noted that, at least in Achaia, most local mints stopped producing bronze coins after Caracalla and that second-century bronzes continued to be used.⁶

It is interesting to compare the hoard evidence with the evidence of site finds. In a study on the numismatic circulation at Athens and Corinth that we have published elsewhere,⁷ we have shown that, at Athens, the percentage is 12% Roman coins versus 88% local coins (mostly Athenian), whereas at Corinth the percentage of Roman coins is larger (21% versus 79%). These percentages for the site finds appear the exact opposite of what we find in hoards: it may be the case that the widely accepted Roman coins tended to be hoarded and not accidentally lost. The relatively larger presence of Roman coins in site finds from Corinth compared with those from Athens is certainly due to the fact that Corinth was the capital of the province of Achaia and seat of the Roman administration, as well as an international trading centre that attracted visitors from more distant regions.

Overview of hoards from Augustus to Domitian (27 BC–AD 96)

In the first century, Roman and local coins were hoarded separately.⁸ Of the 14 hoards we have recorded, eight contain Roman denominations, mostly *denarii* (871), but also some *aurei* (37), constituting together 45% of the coins in

³ Aghia Varvara/1932 (*CH I* 112; *IGCH* 341; Kroll 1972: 86–120) and Chaidari/1929' (*CH I* 113; *IGCH* 342; Kroll 1972: 86–120).

⁴ *BCH* 63 (1939): 288; *BCH* 71 (1947–8): 394; Touratsoglou and Sidiropoulos (2000: 291); Touratsoglou (2006: 207, no. 459).

⁵ Touratsoglou (2006: 207, no. 458).

⁶ For a detailed account of the cessation in the operation of mints, see Touratsoglou (2006: 35).

⁷ Kremydi and Iakovidou (2015: 457–83).

⁸ Only one small mixed hoard was discovered in Crete (Crete/before 1979) and it contained one denarius and one silver coin of Rhodes (*CH IX* 332; Ashton and Weiss 1997: 27).

first-century hoards. Republican issues, naturally frequent in the early hoards, survive up to the reign of Domitian. These hoards come almost exclusively from the province of Achaia,⁹ and more specifically from major urban centres with strong ties with Rome, such as Patras¹⁰ and Messene,¹¹ as well as from the ports of Oropos¹² and Chalkis.¹³ The seven first-century hoards with local bronze coins that we were able to trace come from Attica, Crete, and Rhodes. They show that provincial issues circulated within the limits of the city that issued them. The two hoards from Attica¹⁴ only contain bronzes of Athens and of the Athenian cleruchies, whereas few pre-Augustan Athenian issues survived in these finds. The three Rhodian hoards¹⁵ contain exclusively Rhodian coins whereas the two Cretan hoards¹⁶ contain both Cretan and Rhodian coins. The circulation of Rhodian currency in Crete is known since the second century BC, and apparently continued in the imperial period.¹⁷

Overview of hoards from Nerva to Commodus (AD 96–192)

Roman bronzes make their appearance in hoards of the second century AD where they are mixed with local coins. They become the dominant denomination of the era, comprising 42% of the coins in hoards. Their significant role in the region's economy is also evident from the stray finds of the province of Achaia, as their percentage reaches 30–50% of the total number of single finds in certain areas.¹⁸ The hoards contain mainly second-century *sestertii* and a few *dupondii*, which are never mixed with silver denominations. These hoards are from a limited geographical range: Athens,¹⁹ Salamis,²⁰ Thebes,²¹ and Corinth.²² The only two silver hoards that have come to light are the hoard of almost 600 *denarii* from Krani in Cephalonia²³ and the Acarnania/1976–7 hoard of 42 *denarii*.²⁴

⁹ With the exception of the hoard mentioned in the previous note. We also know of two more hoards of unknown provenance: Greece/? (Crawford 1969, no. 533) and Greece/1977 (*ArchDelt* 32 (1977): 2).

¹⁰ Patras/1976 (*CH* VI 92; Touratsoglou 1978: 41–52; Agalopoulou 2012: 43); Patras/1971 (Agalopoulou 2012: 45–6).

¹¹ Messene/2002 (Sidiropoulos 2011: 1025–36).

¹² Oropos/1984 (Agalopoulou 1996: 29–34).

¹³ Chalkis/1873 (Tsourti and Papageorgiadou 1996: 174).

¹⁴ See above, note 3.

¹⁵ Rhodes (?)/1975a (*CH* II 136), b (*CH* III 82) and c (*CH* II 127; *CH* VII 146).

¹⁶ Crete/before 1979 (*CH* IX 332; Ashton and Weiss 1997: 27), Aghios Nikolaos, Crete/1978 (Davaras 1985: 197).

¹⁷ Stefanakis and Stefanaki (2006: 165–90).

¹⁸ Touratsoglou (2010: 243). For the cases of Corinth and Athens, see Kremydi and Iakovidou (2015: 466–7, 477).

¹⁹ Agora P 7:10/1936 (Kroll 1973: 317–18, note 23b; Kroll 1993: 315) and Akademia Platonos/1939 (Touratsoglou 1993: 22, note 21).

²⁰ Panagia Vrontou, Salamina/1961–2 (*ArchDelt* 17 (1961/2): 6).

²¹ Thebes/1975 (Vlachogianni 2001–2: 57–71).

²² Corinth Theatre/1928 (Shear 1928: 477).

²³ See above, note 1.

²⁴ *CH* IV 108. See also Agalopoulou (2012: 46) and Carradice (1983: 173, no. 1).

As already noted, local coins from second-century hoards are very few, and they derive from only four finds in Crete,²⁵ Thebes,²⁶ Corinth,²⁷ and Athens.²⁸ The composition of the hoards changes radically compared with the previous century. With only one exception, the local bronzes are now always accompanied by Roman bronzes, especially *sestertii*. In fact, the Thebes/1975 hoard is made up of *sestertii* to which a single bronze of the Koinon of Cyprus was added. The presence of a coin of Cyprus in Boeotia is exceptional and, according to Vlachogianni, could indicate that the owner of the hoard was probably a travelling soldier or an administrator.²⁹ Hoards reveal the immobility of provincial issues, since they are normally found only in their issuing city.

Overview of hoards from Pertinax to Carinus (AD 193–284)

The number of hoards containing Roman coins in the third century is significantly larger. Whereas only 15 published hoards are gathered for the first and second centuries, we have 52 hoards for the third century, of which 28 close under Gallienus (253–68). *Denarii* become scarcer and they are present in hoards down to the reign of Gallienus only in very small numbers. Out of a total of c. 10,346 Roman coins, we recorded only 57 *denarii*. Forty-one of them belong to the Patras/1977 hoard³⁰ which contains *denarii* covering the period from Vespasian to Septimius Severus (its closing might be connected with the debasement of the *denarius* in the reign of the latter). With the exception of this hoard, *denarii* are never hoarded alone in the third century. They are present in small numbers in mixed hoards with *antoniniani* and/or Roman bronzes. In hoards from Athens,³¹ Larissa,³² Lesbos,³³ and Crete,³⁴ they are found together with provincial coins.

Antoniniani, on the other hand, first appear in small numbers in two hoards buried under Gordian III, but their presence becomes systematic only in hoards closing under Gallienus. Although the number of hoards dated before the sole reign of Gallienus is small,³⁵ the surviving finds show a certain tendency for hoarding *antoniniani* that belong to the earlier reigns of Gordian III and Philip I, whereas *antoniniani* of Trajan Decius and Trebonianus Gallus are four times less

²⁵ St. Nikolaos/1978 (*ArchDelt* 33 (1978) *Chronika* B2: 389; Touratsoglou and Sidiropoulos 2000: 296).

²⁶ See above, note 21. ²⁷ See above, note 22.

²⁸ See above, note 19 (Agora P 7:10/1936). ²⁹ Vlachogianni (2001–2: 64).

³⁰ Agallopoulou (2012: 47–8). ³¹ Athens/1956 (Kroll 1973: 318, note 23d).

³² Larissa/1992 (Touratsoglou 2006: 131–2).

³³ Mytilene-Sourlanga/1988 (Archontidou-Argyri and Labarre 1996: 119–40).

³⁴ Western Crete/1973–4 (*ArchDelt* 29 (1973–4) *Chronika* B3: 929–30; Touratsoglou and Sidiropoulos 2000: 296; Touratsoglou 2006: 207, no. 464).

³⁵ Because we have no information about the dates of the coins in the two hoards buried under Gordian III, we consider here only the hoards ending with coins issued under Trebonianus Gallus and the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus.

represented. On the contrary, hoards buried under Gallienus contain very small quantities of earlier *antoniniani*, and the great bulk of these coins belong to his sole reign.³⁶

In the third century, both the *denarii* and the *antoniniani* are often hoarded with local and Roman bronzes, although hoards containing only *antoniniani* are more frequent. Most of the *antoniniani* hoards include a few dozen or hundreds of coins, with the exception of the Sparta, Magoula/1939 hoard³⁷ which includes over 5,000 *antoniniani* struck between Caracalla and Gallienus and one Lacedaemonian bronze. Hoards of *antoniniani* of the second half of the third century contain no issues before Gallienus.

The dominant bronze denomination in third-century hoards are the *sestertii* of the second and third centuries. They are found in 28 hoards, out of which 12 contain only Roman bronzes (3,534 *sestertii* and ten *dupondii*). Our data corroborate Touratsoglou's view that the *sestertii* hoards were common in southern Greece in contrast with Macedonia, Epirus or Thessaly.³⁸ Indeed, most of the hoards were found in the Peloponnese³⁹ but also in Crete,⁴⁰ central Greece,⁴¹ Rhodes,⁴² and an unknown site in Greece.⁴³ With only one exception,⁴⁴ all the *sestertii* hoards date to the third century, and mostly between the reigns of Gordian III and Gallienus.

In his publication of two hoards from Eleusis and the Athenian Agora, Kroll discussed the hoarding of large Roman bronzes and suggested that the influx of the debased *antoniniani* to the markets gradually drove the good *sestertii* out of circulation into savings accumulation.⁴⁵ The gathering of a substantial number of hoards in our study corroborates his conclusion. Despite the fact that we do not always have detailed information, we can nevertheless assert that almost half (49%) of the *sestertii* in the third-century hoards date up to the reign of Gordian III, when the *sestertius* started to suffer successive reductions in weight,⁴⁶ and, more importantly, that 39% of them are second-century issues. We can therefore

³⁶ For similar conclusions regarding hoards buried in Greece and adjacent areas, see Spoerri Butcher and Casoli (2012: 116–22).

³⁷ See above, note 4. ³⁸ Touratsoglou (1993: 22); see also Vlachogianni (2001–2: 58–9).

³⁹ Lousoi/1993 (Oikonomidou 2008: 93–6); Kamari/1969 (?) (*ArchDelt* 25 (1970), *Chronika* B1: 10); Akriai/1988 (Touratsoglou 2006: 207, no. 458); Skarmiga Pyliia/1953 (*BCH* 78 (1954), 99; Touratsoglou 2006: 199, no. 373); Sparta/1955 (*BCH* 80 (1956): 228 B; Touratsoglou 2006: 181, no. 96); Gonoussa, Sicyon/1934 (Touratsoglou 1993: 22, note 21).

⁴⁰ Kasteli, Kisamos/1996 (Touratsoglou 2006: 199, no. 375); Chersonese/1990 (Touratsoglou and Sidiropoulos 2000: 296; Touratsoglou 2006: 199, no. 376); Argypolis/1887 (Touratsoglou and Sidiropoulos 2000: 296; Touratsoglou 2006: 207, no. 463).

⁴¹ Kallion/1975–6 (Zapheirou 1982: 12).

⁴² Rhodes, Papatheodorake land property/2000–3 (*ArchDelt* 56–9 (2001–4), *Chronika* B6: 257).

⁴³ Greece-donation Stefanides/1977 (*ArchDelt* 32 (1977): 2).

⁴⁴ We know of only one hoard dating to the second century (Akademia Platonos/1939, see Touratsoglou 1993: 22, note 21).

⁴⁵ Kroll (1973: 320–1). ⁴⁶ Harl (1996: 134–6).

certainly detect the general tendency of the population to avoid hoarding later underweight *sestertii* and collect the older ones as a hedge against debasement and inflation.

One can summarize the general picture of Roman denominations in third-century hoards as follows: the dominant denomination seems to be the *antoniniani* (we recorded c. 6,086 *antoniniani* deriving from 30 hoards). As for the bronze coinage, practically only the *sestertius* was hoarded (4,114 *sestertii* and only 11 *dupondii*), whereas the *denarius* is hardly present at all. One should nevertheless keep in mind that 5,026 *antoniniani*, as well as the 2,500 *sestertii*, come from two single finds (Sparta, Magoula/1939 and Akriai/1988),⁴⁷ which, if excluded, reveal a more or less equal percentage of *antoniniani* and *sestertii* in hoards.

The local coins are present in 27 hoards, of which ten contain only provincial issues, whereas 17 are mixed. These coins completely disappear from hoards after the reign of Gallienus.⁴⁸ The general pattern is similar to that of the second century, and local bronzes are very often saved together with Roman bronzes. Just before the reign of Gallienus, the *antoniniani* were also buried in mixed hoards. Hoards containing only provincial bronzes all close under Trebonianus Gallus and Gallienus, and they come from Attica,⁴⁹ Aetolia,⁵⁰ Sparta,⁵¹ Samos,⁵² and Epirus.⁵³ Most of them contain from a few dozen to just over one hundred coins. The only exception is a large hoard that was discovered during the German excavations at the Heraion of Samos in 1911: it contains 6,700 coins, mainly of Samos, and closes under Gallienus.⁵⁴

During the third century, there is a radical change in the mobility of local issues. Although, for example, some third-century hoards from Attica, Nicopolis, or Crete only contain coins of the local mint, a significant number of hoards contain bronzes from neighbouring and sometimes even distant, regions (see Table 6.1). Peloponnesian issues seem to travel in the Peloponnese as seen in hoards from Sparta and Corinth, a coin of Thessalonike and one of Argos were found in a hoard from Eleusis, whereas coins from Syria, Athens, and Alexandria Troas are found in Crete. In the islands of the eastern Aegean this is even more

⁴⁷ See above notes 4 and 5.

⁴⁸ Note that as Bonchev shows in chapter 8 of this volume, local coinage in Moesia Inferior continued to circulate until the reign of Diocletian, long after it ceased being struck.

⁴⁹ Agora, South House-B 17:1b/1948 (Kroll 1993: 303); Agora, South House-B 17:1c/1948 (Kroll 1993: 303); Agora F 10:2/1934 (Kroll 1973: 317, note 23a; Kroll 1993: 307).

⁵⁰ Plakanida/1967 (Karamessini-Oikonomidou 1967: 93–107).

⁵¹ Sparta, Acropolis/1964 (Karamessini-Oikonomidou 1966: 376–82).

⁵² Samos/1911 (Noe 1925, no. 171; Noe 1937, no. 903; Schultz 1997: 231–52; Nicolet-Pierre 2009: 398–400); Samos/1973–4 (*CH* II 154).

⁵³ 'Nikopolis'/(Old find) (Karamessini-Oikonomidou 1967: 107–14); 'Epirus'/1934 (Karamessini-Oikonomidou 1975: 170–8); Vathy, Preveza/2007 (Calomino 2011: 572, note 9).

⁵⁴ See above, note 51.

Table 6.1. The movement of local coins (AD 193–268).

Hoard	Coins	Last reign	Roman coins	Local coins	Bibliography
Ierapetra/1980	29	Philip I	<i>sestertii, dupondii, asses</i>	AE Knossos, Athens	<i>ArchDelt</i> 35 (1980) <i>Chronika</i> B2: 518;
Agora, South House-B 17:1a/1947	58	Decius or Gallienus	<i>sestertii, antoninianus</i>	AE Athens, Chios, Tripolis in Lydia	Touratsoglou and Sidiropoulos (2000: 296) Kroll (1973: 318–20); Kroll (1993: 303)
Mytilene- Sourlanga/1988	50	Gallus	<i>antoniniani, denarii, sestertii, dupondius</i>	AE Koinon of Lesbos, Mytilene, Julia Gordos, Temnos (?), Philadelpia in Lydia, Cyme	Archontidou-Argyri and Labarre (1996: 119–40)
Corinth/1936	64	Gallienus	Roman (unknown denominations)	AE Corinth, Patras	Morgan (1936: 481); Harris (1941: 145); Broneer (1954: 134)
Eleutherna/1991–2	42	Gallienus	bronzes	AE Knossos, Kydonia, Koinon of Crete, Alexandria Troas	Touratsoglou and Sidiropoulos (2000: 296); Touratsoglou (2006: 207, no. 462)
Corinth, Isthmus (?)/1962	35	Gallienus	<i>sestertii, antoniniani</i>	AE Athens	<i>ArchDelt</i> 18 (1963), <i>Chronika</i> B1: 5–6;
Corinth-Theatre district/1930	29	Gallienus	<i>antoniniani</i>	AE Nicopolis, Aegira, Aegium, Argos, Corinth, Heraea, Lacedaemon, Orchomenos, Phigaleia, Sicyon	Touratsoglou (2006: 207, no. 456)
Western Crete/1973–4	206	Gallienus	<i>sestertii, antoninianus, denarii</i>	AE Province of Syria, Koinon of Crete	Shear (1931: 139–51); Spoerri Butcher and Casoli (2012: 143–4, no. 12)
Eleusis/1902	972+	Gallienus	<i>sestertii</i>	AE Athens, Thessalonike, Argos	<i>ArchDelt</i> 29 (1973–74) <i>Chronika</i> B3: 929–30; Touratsoglou and Sidiropoulos (2000: 296); Touratsoglou (2006: 207, no. 464)
Sparta, Acropolis/1964	72	Gallienus		AE Lacedaemon, Gytheion, Mantineia	Svoronos (1904: 107–42); <i>CHI</i> 128; Kroll (1973: 312–33)
Samos/1973–4	21+	Gallienus		AE Samos, Pergamum, Smyrna, Clazomenae, Metropolis, Nysa	Karamessini-Oikonomidou (1966: 376–82) <i>CH</i> II 154
Samos/1911	6,700	Gallienus		AE Samos, Ephesos, Naxos	Noe (1925, no. 171); Noe (1937, no. 903); Schultz (1997: 231–52); Nicolet-Pierre (2009: 398–400)

intense. A hoard from Lesbos contains issues of Temnos, Philadelphia, and Cyme and another small hoard from Samos contains coins from Pergamum, Smyrna, Clazomenae, Metropolis, and Nysa, cities on the Asia Minor coast that are situated at quite a distance.⁵⁵ This widening of the circulation zone of provincial bronzes in the third century is also attested in Macedonia and is discussed below.

Hoard closing under Gallienus

Over half (52%) of the third-century hoards close with the reign of Gallienus. These were buried mostly in Attica, but also in the Peloponnese, Crete, Boeotia, Phocis, and the islands of the Aegean. This significant concentration of hoards within a short period is usually connected with the Herulian invasion of Greece in AD 267/8⁵⁶ and tends to be considered as further testimony of the panic and turmoil that took place during the invasion and led the inhabitants to bury their savings rapidly in order to protect them.⁵⁷

There should, however, be some reservations regarding the connection of all the hoards buried under Gallienus with the invasion. First of all, many of these hoards are not published in detail and therefore their *termini post quos* cannot be accurately dated within the reign of Gallienus. Furthermore, the date of the actual deposition of a hoard can be precisely determined only when the hoard has been discovered in a secure archaeological context. As a result, only a few of the hoards can be dated safely to the time of the invasion of the Heruli, thanks to their discovery in layers of destruction connected with the attack. This is true, for example, for some hoards from Athens, where the impact of the Herulian invasion in the city has been vividly documented by the excavations in the Athenian Agora.⁵⁸

Further archaeological research, as well as the systematic publishing of a larger number of hoards, will certainly add more to our knowledge of the period and to the actual circumstances of the burial of these hoards. Until then, it is also worth envisaging the monetary debasements as another possible explanation for this

⁵⁵ Cf. also a coin of Septimius Severus from Elis restruck in Blaundus, Lydia, for Volusian: <http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/9/746/1/>.

⁵⁶ Further associations between hoards and the invasions of the period may be inferred in the future from the discovery of a new historical fragment from Dexippus' *Scythica*. Its interpretation has recently led to the conclusion that an earlier Gothic invasion took place in the province of Achaia in c. 262 (Mallan and Davenport 2015: 203–26).

⁵⁷ See for example Karamessini-Oikonomidou (1966: 376–82); Touratsoglou (2006: 146–54, 156–7); Vlachogianni (2007–8: 107–64).

⁵⁸ Kroll (1973: 317–21; 1993: 117–18). Regarding the ambivalence about the association of hoards from certain sites with the invasion, see Spoerri Butcher and Casoli (2012: 130–2).

significant number of hoards closing with the reign of Gallienus.⁵⁹ We know, for example, that by the end of his reign the *antoniniani* had reached a weight of 2.9 g and a silver fineness of very approximately 2.5%.⁶⁰ We cannot, therefore, exclude the possibility that the owners would tend to hoard the older coins and not the new ones that were gradually losing their intrinsic value.

Overview of hoards from Diocletian to Arcadius (AD 284–408)

The 15 published fourth-century hoards contain over 37,500 coins. Most of them, however, belong to the exceptional Syme/2000 hoard⁶¹ discovered in a shipwreck between the islands of Astypalaia and Kos in the southeastern Aegean. The find contains over 35,000 *antoniniani* struck between Aurelianus and Diocletian/Maximianus. Part of the material has been cleaned and studied. Touratsoglou suggested that this large assemblage of coins was intended for military payments.⁶² All other hoards contain mostly *nummi*, with the exception of three, where a few Hellenistic, Cretan and Roman bronzes of the first and second centuries survived.

MACEDONIA

The second part of this chapter is based on the study of 232 hoards from Macedonia that were concealed between the time of Augustus and the end of the fourth century. Over 80% of the hoards we have studied come from burials that usually contain a very small number of coins of low value. Given the great number of burial hoards, as well as their different contents, we have decided to treat them separately from accumulation and emergency hoards. On the whole, although the number of hoards from Macedonia is much larger than those from Achaia (232 versus 99), the number of coins they contain is considerably smaller (7,067 versus 59,827).

Burial hoards

The custom of accompanying the dead with coins in their burial was widespread in Macedonia. It is first attested in the Classical period with the obol of Charon, placed in the mouth of the deceased; in the Hellenistic period, when the use of

⁵⁹ For similar conclusions and scepticism regarding the interpretation of hoards as a result of enemy invasions, see also chapter 8 by Bonchev (Moesia Inferior) and chapter 5 Mairat (Gallic Empire) in the present volume.

⁶⁰ Bland (2012: 517).

⁶¹ *ArchDelt* 55 (2000), *Chronika* B2: 1208–9; *ArchDelt* 56–9 (2001–4), *Chronika* B6: 571–2.

⁶² Touratsoglou and Delaporta (2006: 389–96).

bronzes was established, we find bronze coins in larger numbers buried in graves with other offerings. This practice continued in the Roman period, when we often find a silver *denarius* in the mouth of the deceased and a cluster of bronzes by the body or on the chest. Archaeologists assume that these were originally placed in purses hung around the neck or placed in the hand of the deceased. The idea that funerary offerings could be of physical value to the dead is well recorded in ancient sources⁶³ and the texts of comic poets imply that money continued to be used in the underworld.⁶⁴ Not all graves, however, contained coins.

Grave hoards in Macedonia come from Amphipolis and the surrounding area, from the area around Kavala, a modern city on the Thasian mainland, from Ierissos and Nea Potidaia in the Chalcidice, as well as from Thessalonike, Pella, and the region of Pieria. An outstanding group of 127 small hoards was discovered in a cemetery by the modern village of Nea Kerdyllia/Strovolos to the east of Amphipolis, on the Strymonic coast. The cemetery was systematically excavated during the construction of the Egnatia motorway and its finds were published a few years later.⁶⁵ Of the 246 excavated graves, 127 contained hoards with up to 34 coins as offerings. The cemetery was probably connected to the city of Amphipolis.

In all these hoards, local coins are clearly dominant. A few first-century burial hoards have survived. We know only 11: seven come from the cemetery at Strovolos, and the other four also come from eastern Macedonia. All these hoards contain a small number of bronze coins that belong to the neighbouring mints of Amphipolis and Philippi. The Serres/2003 hoard from eastern Macedonia that contains seven coins of Thessalonike is exceptional.⁶⁶ From the material of Strovolos alone, it becomes clear that apart from a few Roman specimens, 88% of the coins come from the only two mints of the region.

The second-century burial hoards from Macedonia are more numerous and contain a larger number of coins. We know of 61 hoards, of which 44 come from Strovolos. They contain provincial coins (with one exception) and 22 of them, about one-third, are mixed hoards that also contain a few Roman coins, either silver or bronze. The only find without provincial coins comes from the western cemetery of Pella and contains two *sestertii*.⁶⁷ In burial hoards of the second century, provincial coins start to appear at a somewhat greater distance from the city in which they were minted. For Strovolos, for example, from where we have a considerable number of hoards, we conclude that whereas in the first century hoards only contain coins from Amphipolis and the neighbouring mint of Philippi, in the second century they also contain isolated specimens from the Macedonian Koinon, Thessalonike, Edessa, Pella, Cassandreia, Dion, and also

⁶³ Kurtz and Boardman (1971: 206).

⁶⁴ Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2006: 16).

⁶⁵ Malama and Darakis (2008).

⁶⁶ Liampi (2009: 385–93).

⁶⁷ Pella/west cemetery 2006 (Ker. 23) (*AEMth* 20 (2006): 664–5).

even Thessaly and Parium in Mysia. During the same period coins of Thessalonike and the Macedonian Koinon are also found in burials from Pieria.⁶⁸ Coins of Thessalonike travel to Amphipolis⁶⁹ and Pontoherakleia⁷⁰ and coins of the Macedonia Koinon to Ierissos.⁷¹ Furthermore, coins of Topeiros, a small mint in Thrace, appear around Kavala.⁷² It becomes, therefore, clear that from the second century provincial coins started to travel around more than they did before.

For the third century 83 hoards are known so far, of which 48 come from Strovolos. The pattern of hoards containing provincial bronzes with the addition of a few Roman coins continues, only now the Roman bronzes become rarer. After Gallienus, hoards containing *denarii* give way to those containing *antoniniani*, and the provincial bronzes are even more varied. Especially after the reign of Gordian III, coins from various Macedonian mints often co-exist in Macedonia. Provincial coins minted outside Macedonia are, however, hardly ever found in burial hoards.

After the cessation of provincial coinage under Gallienus, local coins disappeared from hoards. Burial hoards of the last decades of the third century contain only *antoniniani*, whereas hoards of the fourth century contain the new bronze denomination, the *nummus*. A group of nine unpublished bronze hoards from a cemetery in the area of Thessaloniki (Sindos) that range from the reign of Philip I to Constantine shows how denominations replaced each other between the middle of the third century and the time of Constantine (Table 6.2). From the fourth century, the *nummus* becomes the dominant denomination. The frequent monetary reforms of Roman coinage after the middle of the third century drove the earlier denominations out of circulation and as a result, the chronological range of the coins that were buried together is much smaller than before.

Non-burial hoards

A total of 43 non-burial hoards have been published from Macedonia for the period we are examining: three from the first century, eight from the second century, 23 from the third century, and nine from the fourth century. From Augustus to Gallienus, we recorded a total of 2,011 Roman and 2,438 provincial coins; for the later reigns, 325 hoarded Roman coins, mostly fourth-century *nummi*.

⁶⁸ Koukos, Pieria (II)/1980 (Touratsoglou 1993: no. 1); Sevasti, Pieria (4)/1987 (idem: no. 7); Sevasti, Pieria (5)/1987 (idem: no. 9); Sevasti, Pieria (7)/1987 (idem: no. 8); Sevasti, Pieria (12)/1987 (idem: no. 6);

⁶⁹ Amphipolis/1953 (Touratsoglou 1988: no. 11).

⁷⁰ Pontoherakleia/1922 (*Op. Athen.* 9 (1969): 37).

⁷¹ Ierissos/1976 (Touratsoglou 1993: no. 14).

⁷² Lithochori, Kavala/2006 (T11) (*AEMth* 20 (2006): 159).

Table 6.2. Unpublished bronze hoards from the cemetery of Sindos.

Closing reign	Dates of the closing reign	Number of coins	Denominations	Chronological range of coins
Philip I	244–9	47	44 provincial bronze coins, 2 <i>denarii</i> , 1 <i>sestertius</i>	98–249
Philip I	244–9	31	30 provincial, 1 <i>denarius</i>	161–249
Probus	276–82	15	15 post-reform <i>antoniniani</i>	273–82
First tetrarchy	286–306	31	6 <i>antoniniani</i> , 21 post-reform radiate fractions, 4 <i>nummi</i>	273–99
Fourth tetrarchy	308–11	5	5 <i>nummi</i> , unreduced and reduced	294–311
Fourth tetrarchy	308–11	4	4 <i>nummi</i> , reduced	308–11
Constantine I	306–37	14	1 radiate fraction, <i>nummi</i> , half <i>nummi</i>	295–320
Constantine I	306–37	2	2 <i>nummi</i>	324
Constantine I	306–37	7	7 <i>nummi</i>	319–24

Unlike the burial hoards, these finds tend to contain only either Roman or local denominations, but not both. Unlike Achaia, no hoards of *aurei* and no hoards of Roman bronzes (before the fourth century) have, so far, come to light in Macedonia. The sizes of the hoards are moderate: the largest does not exceed 1,600 coins.⁷³

A hoard dating from the time of Augustus contains a considerable number of Republican *denarii* together with Augustan issues.⁷⁴ The later hoards of *denarii* that have survived date to the reigns of Marcus Aurelius⁷⁵ and Commodus.⁷⁶ *Denarii* continue to appear in hoards until the middle of the third century but they are usually found in small numbers in hoards where the *antoninianus* is then the dominant denomination. Since these hoards are not fully published, it is not possible to draw any conclusions concerning the date of the *denarii* in the third-century hoards. As in Achaia, *antoniniani* first appear in hoards under Gordian III and become current under Gallienus. The *antoniniani* in hoards of the third century from Macedonia and Greece have been systematically studied in a recent publication by Spoerri Butcher and Casoli. The authors have suggested that 'new issues replaced the older ones on a much faster basis than in the northwestern peripheries of the Empire (e.g. Britain).'⁷⁷ This conclusion is in accordance with

⁷³ This is the exceptional Dion/1999 hoard, see note 76, below.

⁷⁴ Xerias, Kavala/1966 (Crawford 1969, no. 509). ⁷⁵ Thessaloniki/1922 (*BCH* 1923: 504).

⁷⁶ South or south-west Macedonia/1996 (*NC* 158 (1998): 289); North Stoa-Palace of Galerius/Thessalonike 1998 (*AEMth* 12 (1998): 103–4).

⁷⁷ Spoerri-Butcher and Casoli (2012: 136).

what we noted for the third- and fourth-century bronzes from the group of burial hoards from Sindos. Roman bronzes are very rare in Macedonian (non-burial) hoards. They appear in very small numbers in two second-century hoards from Dion⁷⁸ and in a hoard from Kilkis, dated to the reign of Philip I.⁷⁹ In both cases they are found together with a large number of provincial bronze coins.

Provincial coins from first-century hoards come mostly from the city where they were issued, a pattern which is also found in the burial hoards of the first century. But unlike the burial hoards, the picture does not change significantly in the second century. The hoard from Agios Achillios in western Macedonia contains only seven bronzes of the Macedonian Koinon.⁸⁰ The three hoards from Dion point to the same direction: they were discovered during excavations, in three clay vases buried next to the walls of a building very close to the Roman theatre outside the city walls.⁸¹ All three have a very similar composition and might be part of one and the same hoard buried in three different vases. The only substantial difference between them lies in their size: 1,590 bronzes in Dion/1999, 129 bronzes in Dion/2000 and 81 in Dion/1988. Together, the three vases have a total of 1,800 coins. Out of these, 92% (1,644) come from the local mint of the city, 3% (52 coins) are issues of the Thessalian Koinon (minted at Larissa), 2% (41 coins) are of the Macedonian Koinon, 1% (18 coins) of Thessalonike, and 1% (eight coins) of Philippi. Edessa is represented by two coins, and Amphipolis by a single bronze. Coins from the neighbouring mint of Pella are absent, but we find two coins from Corinth, one from Magydus in Pamphylia, one from Tralles in Lydia, and one from Ilium in Troas. These five coins are the only non-Macedonian provincial bronzes to be found in all Macedonian hoards of the Imperial period, but their numbers are mostly insignificant. The hoard also contains 1% of Roman bronzes dated between Domitian and Antoninus Pius. Chronologically, 82% of all the coins belong to the reign of Pius (including the 'pseudo-autonomous' bronzes), 12% to Hadrian, 5% to Trajan whereas we have no more than six first-century bronzes. These hoards must have been buried towards the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius, around 150–60. Whatever the reason for their concealment, they do not seem to be connected to military events, and they probably give a representative picture of coin circulation at Dion at the time of their burial.

For the third century, we count 23 hoards, of which 13 contain only provincial bronzes. They are buried from the reign of Gordian III onwards, with a peak under Gallienus, and they are often considered emergency hoards related to the barbarian invasions.⁸² They confirm the general picture that, in the third century

⁷⁸ Dion/1998 (Kremydi-Sicilianou 2004: 141–8) and Dion/1999 (Kremydi-Sicilianou 2004: 97–127).

⁷⁹ Kentriko Kilkis/1981 (Touratsoglou 1988: no. 7).

⁸⁰ Ag. Achillios-Lyka/1999 (*AEMTh* 13 (1999), 606).

⁸¹ Kremydi-Sicilianou (2004; 2004–5: 93–112).

⁸² For the discussion of emergency hoards in Achaia under Gallienus see above pp. 119–20. See also Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996b: 123–38); Vlachogianni (2007–8: 116–22).

provincial coins had a regional, and not only a local, circulation. After the cities stopped striking local coinage, under Gallienus, their coins also disappeared from hoards. From the period of the first tetrarchy to the reign of Arcadius, we gathered eight hoards that contain the new bronze denominations, the *nummus* and its fractions. In only one small hoard of ten coins from Kavala probably dated to the reign of Gratian (367–83), we still find two provincial coins of Philippi.⁸³ These are just 'left overs', similar to the Hellenistic coins that are sometimes found in small numbers in first- and second-century hoards. *Antoniniani* only appear in a hoard from Drama dated to the reign of Diocletian.⁸⁴

CONCLUSION

Hoards from the two regions we have studied are of modest size and value, especially if we compare them with hoards from the northern Balkans or the western provinces. They represent private savings of individuals, and not large assemblages related to public payments. This particularity should certainly be related to the fact that these two regions were non-military zones, at a considerable distance from the borders of the Empire. The only hoard that stands out for its size is the hoard of 35,000 *antoniniani* from the shipwreck near the island of Syme, in the southeastern Aegean; but its findspot was accidental due to conditions that caused the sinking of the ship. These coins were apparently being transported to the east.

For Achaia, however, we have a smaller number of hoards that contain a much larger number of coins. Furthermore, they contain a larger percentage of Roman imperial coins than Macedonian hoards, where the provincial (local) bronzes are dominant.

Coins of high value, such as the *aurei*, are very rare. We only find them in two hoards from Patras, a maritime colony on the western coast, but only in small numbers. So far they have never been found in Macedonia. *Denarii* were the silver coins hoarded in the region, but they were gradually replaced by *antoniniani* after the reign of Gordian III.

Sestertii were often hoarded in Achaia in the second and third centuries. They were practically the only Roman bronze denomination in the hoards, no doubt because of their larger value. Second-century *sestertii* were often buried in third-century hoards. In Macedonia, however, Roman bronzes were very rarely hoarded. They have only been found in very small numbers in hoards containing mostly provincial bronzes. The reason behind this difference between the two provinces is unclear, but the statement that Macedonia produced large amounts of local bronzes and therefore did not need the Roman coins does not seem very

⁸³ Kryoneri, Kavala/1965 (*ArchDelt* 20 (1965): 7–8).

⁸⁴ Drama-Philippoi/? (*Touratsoglou* 2006: no. 545).

convincing. In any case, the preponderance of Roman silver in contrast to bronze in Macedonian hoards is in accordance with the epigraphic sources: in Macedonia, inscriptions very often refer to *denarii*. One inscription referring to citizens of Philippi, the most ‘Romanized’ colony in Macedonia, mentions *sestertii*.⁸⁵ References to *asses* are also very rare, and it is impossible to discern whether they refer to Roman *asses* or to local coins (*assaria*).⁸⁶

The behaviour of provincial bronzes in hoards shows a gradual change. In the first century, provincial bronzes are locally hoarded. The few hoards that belong to this period contain coins that were minted in, or very near to, their place of issue. From the second century, coins from more distant mints start to appear in hoards, a tendency that becomes dominant in the third century. Provincial coins, therefore, gradually evolve from a local currency to a more regional currency, as attested both in Achaia and in Macedonia. In a study of the mint of Dion published many years ago, we noted that the third-century Macedonian bronzes of different mints tended to follow the same weight standard.⁸⁷ While the weight and the size of an *as* could vary a lot between different mints in the first century, by the third century their weights tend to converge. This could have been the result of a more centralized production, but it seems mostly to be connected with the wider circulation of the coins, and, perhaps, with a wider acceptance of ‘foreign’ coins from neighbouring cities.

ABBREVIATIONS

AEMTh *To Archaialogiko Ergo sti Makedonia kai Thraki*
ArchDelt *Archaialogikon Deltion*

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⁸⁵ Pilhofer (2000: 716). See also Brelaz (2014: 375–87), who discusses a group of Latin inscriptions found in the Jewish cemetery in Thessalonike referring to citizens of Philippi. The author concludes that the inscriptions were erected at Philippi and transported to Thessalonike at a later date.

⁸⁶ Amandry and Kremydi (2018).

⁸⁷ Kremydi-Sicilianou (1996a: 107–23, esp. 120).

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