

# COINS FROM SOME DEPOSITS IN THE SOUTH STOA AT CORINTH

(PLATES 74-75)

THE publication of coins from excavations is rarely tackled with the enthusiasm and precision accorded to other archaeological material. It almost seems that coins are sacrosanct, and that, whereas the exact context of a lamp or potsherd is naturally published or cited, a coin is somehow otherwise datable. The result is that most Hellenistic bronze coins have only the vaguest forms of chronology. Corinth is a case in point; <sup>1</sup> for the most common coin, of the types *Obv.* Pegasos *Rev.* Trident, is assigned the dates "400-146 B.C.," spanning the whole of the Hellenistic period of the city. This article sets out to publish in full the coins found in connection with other material in five separate deposits from the South Stoa,<sup>2</sup> and I hope to show that the coins from carefully executed excavations merit more than the mere list of specimens and quantities which hitherto have been far too common.

The deposits may be listed and described as follows: <sup>3</sup>

## I POTTERY DEPOSIT FROM SHOP I OF THE SOUTH STOA (PD)

This deposit, containing quantities of potsherds and fifty-three coins, was found in a rectangular hollow below the level of the floor. The exact purpose of the fill is uncertain, but it contains material up to the middle of the second century, the greater quantity being of the third century. The evidence suggests a certain amount of accumulation or addition to the original fill until the destruction of the city by Mummius in 146 B.C.

The main deposit contains the following coins:

<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident and symbol (19)
		Lily- Δ
		EY Ares
		Zeus standing
		Trophy
		Nike- ☉
		Doubleaxe
		ΔO Oinochoe

<sup>1</sup> K. Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, *Coins*, pp. 2-3; *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 243; J. M. Harris, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> I am very grateful to Professor H. S. Robinson for permission to work on the coins at Corinth, and, throughout, this article is indebted to his co-operation, advice, and encouragement, as well as that of Professor Roger Edwards and Miss Judith Perlzweig (now Mrs. Wolfgang Binder). I am happy to rely on their expert judgment for the dating of the deposits.

<sup>3</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 71; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 297 f.

		ΔΩ Amphora	
		H Wreath (2)	
		Torch	
		Σ -Club	
		A-Conchshell	
		illegible (6)	
	Herakles	: Protome of Pegasos	
	Athene	: Pegasos (2)	
	Athene	: Zeus	
<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Athene	: Pan and trophy	277-239
<i>Pelinna</i>	Mantho	: Horseman	3rd c.
<i>Boeotia</i>	Shield	: Trident	ca. 315-288
<i>Athens</i>	Athene	: Fulminating Zeus	early 2nd c.
<i>Megara</i>	—	: Prow	3rd c.
<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: Σ in wreath (8)	3rd c.
	Dove feeding	: Tripod in wreath (6)	3rd-2nd c.
<i>Argos</i>	AR (missing)		
	Wolf's head	: A	4th-3rd c.
<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	: Eagle	246-220
8 illegible			

The following coins were found just above the main pottery deposit, and are probably to be connected with it (hereafter differentiated as ?PD).

<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident and symbol (28)	
		ΔΙ-	
		Thyrsos	
		Cornucopiae	
		Aphlaston	
		H Wreath (2)	
		Torch (2)	
		Griffin	
		Σ -Palm	
		Σ -	
		illegible (17)	
<i>Cassander</i>	Herakles	: Horseman	316-297
<i>Demetrios Poliorketes</i>	Athene	: Prow	306-283
<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Herakles	: Horseman	277-239
<i>Antigonos Doson</i>	Shield	: Helmet	299-220
<i>Amphipolis</i>	Artemis	: Bull	3rd c.
<i>Cierium</i>	Head	: Arne	4th c.
	Poseidon	: Horse	
<i>Boeotia</i>	Shield	: Trident	ca. 315-288
<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: Σ in wreath	3rd c.
	Dove l.	: Σ in wreath	
	Dove l. A	: Σ in wreath	
<i>Pellene</i>	—	: Ram's head	after 196
<i>Kleonai</i>	Herakles	: ΚΑΕΩ in wreath	4th c.
<i>Achaean League</i>	Zeus	: Achaea	3rd-2nd c.
9 illegible			

II TERRACOTTA DEPOSIT FROM SHOP III OF THE SOUTH STOA (TCD).<sup>4</sup>

A filling, mainly of figurines, but containing forty-seven coins. Almost all the material is of the third century, but one vase, an unguentarium,<sup>5</sup> is to be placed towards the middle of the second century. Of the datable coins, that of Philip V (Pl. 74, 20) gives a *terminus post quem* of 220 B.C., but otherwise nothing opposes a late third century, or early second century date. The fine condition of the above coin and of the coin of Ptolemy III (Pl. 75, 17) might indeed confirm such a date for the bulk of the material.

The following coins were found:

<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident and symbol (33)	
		ΔΙ Thyrsos	
		EY Ares (2)	
		Zeus standing (3)	
		Aphlaston	
		⊗	
		ΔΩ Amphora (4)	
		H Wreath (3)	
		Torch	
		Griffin (2)	
		Σ-Palm (2)	
		illegible (13)	
	Herakles	: Protome of Pegasos	
	Athene	: Pegasos	
	Athene	: Zeus	
<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Herakles	: Horseman (2)	277-239
<i>Philip V</i>	Poseidon	: Prow	220-179
<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: Σ in wreath (3)	3rd c.
<i>Argos</i>	Wolf's head	: A (2, 1 missing)	4th-3rd c.
<i>Troizen</i>	Head	: Trident	4th c.
<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	: Eagle	246-220
1 illegible			

The following 31 coins were found close to the Terracotta Deposit, and are probably to be related to it (hereafter differentiated as ?TCD).

<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident and symbol (22)	
		ΔΙ Thyrsos	
		EY Ares	
		Nike- ⊗	
		⊗ -Dove (2)	
		Aphlaston	
		ΔΩ Amphora (3)	
		H-Wreath	
		Griffin	

<sup>4</sup> This deposit was originally dated to the middle of the third century on the evidence of the coins! Cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 559-561; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 105-127; *Corinth*, XII, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> The catalogue number of this piece in the Corinth Museum is C-33-342. The only other sherd to be found is from a third century Megarian bowl.

		Σ -Thunderbolt	
		illegible (10)	
<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Athene	: Pan and trophy	277-239
	Herakles	: Horseman	
<i>Boeotia</i>	Shield	: Trident	ca. 315-288
<i>Phlius</i>	Bull	: Φ	4th c.
<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: Σ in wreath	3rd c.
<i>Andros</i>	Dionysos	: Thyrsos	3rd c.
3 illegible			

### III DEPOSIT FROM SHOP XXXII OF THE SOUTH STOA (S)<sup>6</sup>

This is an accumulated deposit from below the probable floor level. The original fill, possibly of the fourth century, has been added to from time to time up to the middle of the second century, as if the floor had required bolstering. Certain Byzantine intrusions, not included in the list below, lessen our confidence in using the material; but most of the coins must have been placed in the deposit prior to the destruction of 146 B.C.

<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident and symbol (33)	
		Zeus standing	
		Fulminating Zeus	
		Nike-⊙	
		ΔΩ Amphora	
		Aphlaston	
		H Wreath (5)	
		Torch (6)	
		Σ -Star	
		Σ -Thunderbolt	
		Σ -	
		illegible (14)	
	Herakles	: Protome of Pegasos (2)	
<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Athene	: Pan and trophy	277-239
<i>Boeotia</i>	Shield	: Trident	ca. 315-288
<i>Chalkis</i>	Demeter	: Eagle	4th c.
<i>Megara</i>	Prow	: Obelisk	3rd c.
	Prow	: Tripod	
<i>Phlius</i>	Bull	: Φ	4th c.
<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: Σ in wreath	3rd c.
<i>Argos</i>	Wolf's head	: A (2)	4th-3rd c.
<i>Phokaia</i>	Female head	: Griffin's head	4th c.
<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	: Eagle	246-220
11 illegible			

### IV THE WELLS OF THE SOUTH STOA.<sup>7</sup>

The bulk of the material for this article comes from the twenty-three wells which contain coins. In many cases the excavators were able to distinguish between a deposit of habitational fill (here abbreviated "a"), a destruction deposit of the debris from the Mummian destruction of 146 B.C., thrown into many of the wells and closing them

<sup>6</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 566.

<sup>7</sup> For a description of these, see *Corinth*, I, iv, pp. 59 f.

soon after the foundation of the colony in 44 B.C. (abbreviated "d"), and, occasionally, later fills and disturbances (abbreviated "e" for early Roman fills, and "g" for later material).

It is important to distinguish clearly between the various fills, and this is best achieved by a full list well by well. The particular context of individual coins is then seen at a glance, and, more important, the true make-up of the deposits can be more easily appreciated. Eighteen wells contain distinct fills of destruction debris, each datable to 146 B.C., and thus give an overall picture of the coins circulating at the time of the disaster. Similarly, the twelve clear deposits of habitation accumulation give a fair idea of coins found, and perhaps used, at Corinth prior to the destruction of this city. Outside such a picture are, of course, coins from possible hoards. There are two, both of Egyptian coins, one of which has been fully published by Miss Thompson<sup>8</sup> and needs no further comment here. The other is a group of eight coins of Ptolemy III found together in Well XXX, possibly dropped by accident into the habitation fill.

## WELL II

a-d	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (1) A-Conchshell	
		Poseidon	: Bellerophon	Plate 74, 9
	<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Herakles	: Horseman	277-239
	<i>Philip V</i>	Pan	: Horseman	220-179
	<i>Acarmania</i>	Athene	: Chimaera	Plate 75, 4
	<i>Phlius</i>	Bull	: Φ	4th c.
	1 illegible			4th c.
d	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (2) Aphlaston Athene AY	
	<i>Phokis</i> AR	Bull	: Apollo	357-346
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: ΔΙ in wreath	3rd c.
		Dove l.	: ΣΙ in wreath	
	<i>Kleonai</i>	Herakles	: ΚΑΕΩ in wreath	4th c.

## WELL III

a-d	<i>Alliba</i>	Poseidon	: Triton (2)	Plate 75, 5-6	3rd c.
	<i>Philip II</i>	Apollo	: Horseman		356-336
	<i>Alexander III</i>	Herakles	: Bow, quiver and club		336-323
	<i>Cassander</i>	Herakles	: Horseman (2)		316-297
	<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Athene	: Pan and trophy (2)		277-239
	<i>Philip V</i>	Poseidon	: Prow		220-179
	<i>Ambrakia</i>	Apollo	: Obelisk		3rd-2nd c.
	<i>Aitolia</i>	Apollo	: Trophy		3rd-2nd c.
		Apollo	: Spear and jaw-bone		
	<i>Histiaia</i>	Female head	: Bull		3rd-2nd c.
	<i>Salamis</i>	Female head	: Shield		4th c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (6) Torch		

<sup>8</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 355 f.

			Σ Palm	
			Σ Hydria	
			illegible (3)	
	Athene	:	Zeus	
<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	:	ΣI in wreath (3)	3rd c.
	Dove r.	:	? in wreath	
	Dove l. ΦI	:	ΣI in wreath	after 196
	Dove l. EY	:	ΣI in wreath	
	Dove feeding	:	Tripod in wreath (2)	
<i>Achaean League</i> AR	(Missing)			
<i>Messene</i>	Demeter	:	Zeus	3rd c.
<i>Argos</i>	Athene	:	Tyche	3rd c.
	Apollo	:	Wolf	
<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	:	Eagle (2)	246-220
WELL IV				
a-d	<i>Cassandra</i>	Herakles	: Horseman	316-297
	<i>Philip V</i>	Poseidon	: Prow	220-179
	<i>Acarnania</i>	Athene	: Chimaera (2)	4th c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (3)	
			H. Wreath	
			illegible (2)	
	<i>Phlius</i>	Bull	: Φ	4th c.
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: ΣI in wreath (4)	3rd c.
		Dove l. ΦI	: ΣI in wreath	after 196
		Dove l. X	: ΣI in wreath	
	<i>Achaean League</i>	Zeus	: Achaea	3rd-2nd c.
	<i>Argos</i>	Wolf's head	: A	4th-3rd c.
		Athene	: Tyche	3rd c.
	<i>Methana</i>	Hephaistos	: MEΘ	4th c.
	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	: Eagle	246-220
	6 illegible			
d	<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Herakles	: Horseman	Plate 74, 19 277-239
	<i>Philip V</i>	Poseidon	: Prow	220-179
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (1)	
			A Conchshell	
		Herakles	: Protome of Pegasos	
		Athene	: Pegasos	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: Σ in wreath	3rd c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (2)	
			Aphlaston	
			Cornucopiae	
		Athene	: Pegasos	
WELL V				
a	<i>Hestiaia</i> AR	Nymph	: Nymph on prow (missing)	196-146
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (2)	
			Σ-Palm	
			illegible	
	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Poseidon	: Bellerophon	
		Ptolemy	: Eagle	246-220
d	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (1)	
			Pileus AY	
		Caesar	: Bellerophon	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove l.	: ΣI in wreath	3rd c.

	<i>Patras</i>	Dove feeding	: Tripod in wreath (2)	
	<i>Achaean League</i>	Athene	: Poseidon	? after 196
	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Zeus	: Achaea	3rd-2nd c.
	1 illegible	Ptolemy	: Eagle	246-220
g	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: ΣI in wreath	
	<i>Anastasius</i>			
	1 illegible			
WELL VII				
a	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: Σ in wreath	3rd c.
a-d	<i>Achaean League</i>	Zeus	: X, trident	Plate 75, 13 196-146
d	<i>Apollonia</i>	Dionysos	: Cornucopiae	early 2nd c.
	<i>Thebes</i>	Herakles	: Club	4th c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (1)	
			illegible	
	<i>Patras</i>	Caesar	: Bellerophon	
	1 illegible	Athene	: Poseidon	early 2nd c.
WELL VIII				
a	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	: Eagle	246-220
e	<i>Boeotia</i>	Demeter	: Poseidon	late 3rd c.
	<i>Chalkis</i>	Demeter	: Eagle	4th c.
	<i>Athens</i>	Athene	: Owl on prow	1st c.
	<i>(Eleusis)</i>	Triptolemos	: Pig	4th-3rd c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Pan's head	
			Trident (6)	
			Pan's head	
			ΔΩ Amphora	
			A	
			illegible (3)	
		Pegasos	: Seated figure	
		Augustus	: Aebutius Hera	
		Augustus	: Priscus Pollio (3)	
		Augustus	: Temple (4)	Plate 74, 12
		Germanicus	: Rudder and globe	
		Helios	: Poseidon	Plate 74, 13
		Agrippina	: Poseidon	Plate 74, 14
		Roma	: Temple	Plate 74, 15
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: ΣI in wreath	3rd c.
		—	: ΣI in wreath	
	<i>Amisos</i>	Apollo	: Dove	2nd c.
	<i>Rhodes</i>	Ares	: Sword	1st c.
	<i>Antiochos III</i>	Nymph	: Rose	late 4th c.
	<i>Rome AR</i>	Apollo	: Elephant	223-187
	4 illegible	Roma	: Warriors	
g	<i>Constantius II</i>			
WELL IX				
a	<i>Alexander III</i>	Apollo	: Horse (2)	336-323
	<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Athene	: Pan and trophy	277-239
	<i>Antigonos Doson</i>	Shield	: Helmet	239-220
	<i>Elea</i>	Persephone	: Cerberus	338-335

	<i>Kerkyra</i>	Amphora	: Grapes	4th c.
	<i>Leukas</i>	Bellerophon	: Chimaera	4th c.
	<i>Salamis</i>	Female head	: Shield (4)	4th c.
	<i>Corinth</i> AR	Pegasos	: Aphrodite	
		Pegasos	: Trident (4)	
			Ivyleaf AP	
			☼ Wreath	
			illegible (2)	
	<i>Phlius</i>	Bull	: Φ	4th c.
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: Σ in wreath	3rd c.
	<i>Argos</i>	Wolf	: Helmet	3rd c.
	<i>Troizen</i>	Apollo	: Trident	4th c.
	<i>Arcadia</i> AR	Zeus	: Pan Plate 75, 14	4th c.
	<i>Heraia</i>	Athene	: H	4th c.
	<i>Tegea</i>	Athene	: Owl	4th c.
	<i>Miletos</i>	Lion	: Star Plate 75, 16	3rd c.
	<i>Salamis, Cyprus</i>	Lion	: Horse	4th c.
d	<i>Megara</i>	—	: Tripod	3rd c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (5)	
			ΔI Thyrsos	
			IE	
			Aphlaston	
			ΔΩ Amphora	
			illegible (1)	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Athene	: Pegasos (2)	
		Dove l. ΦI	: ΣI in wreath (2)	after 196
		Dove l.	: ΣI in wreath (3)	
	4 illegible			
WELL X				
a	? <i>Cassander</i>	Herakles	: Horseman	316-297
	<i>Demetrios Poliorketes</i>	Athene	: Prow	306-283
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (1)	
			ΔI	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove l.	: ΣI in wreath	3rd-2nd c.
d	<i>Athens</i>	Cicada	: Amphora	before 146
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (2)	
			H Wreath	
			illegible	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Tessera		
		Dove l.	: ΣI in wreath	3rd-2nd c.
		Dove feeding	: Tripod in wreath	
	<i>Rome</i> AR (missing)			
g	<i>Michael IV</i>			
	<i>Isaac I</i>			
	<i>Manuel I</i>			
	9 illegible			
WELL XI				
d	<i>Cassander</i>	Herakles	: Horseman	316-297
	<i>Kerkyra</i>	—	: Prow	3rd-2nd c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (2)	
			Torch	
			illegible	



		Athene	:	Pegasos	
		Herakles	:	Protome of Pegasos	
		Poseidon	:	Bellerophon	
	<i>Phlius</i>	Bull	:	Φ	4th c.
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove	:	M	4th c.
		Dove r.	:	ΣI in wreath (2)	3rd c.
		Dove r.	:	? in wreath	
		Dove l.	:	ΣI in wreath (2)	
		Dove l. ΦI	:	ΣI in wreath	after 196
		Dove l. OΛ	:	ΣI in wreath	
	3 illegible				
g	<i>Athens</i>	Athene	:	Double-bodied owl	4th-3rd c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Aurelius			
	<i>Rome</i>	Antoninus Pius			
WELL XII					
d	<i>Acarnania</i>	Athene	:	Chimaera (2)	4th c.
	<i>Aegina</i>	—	:	Incuse	4th c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	:	Trident (3)	
				Torch	
				Σ —	
				Σ Rose	
		(Duovir missing)			
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove l. ΦI	:	ΣI in wreath	after 196
	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	:	Eagle (2)	246-220
	4 illegible				
g	<i>Valentinian I</i>				
WELL XIII					
d	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	:	Trident (2)	
				H Wreath	
				illegible	
WELL XIV					
a	<i>Philip V</i>	Poseidon	:	Prow	220-179
	<i>Acarnania</i>	Athene	:	Chimaera	4th c.
	<i>Athens</i> AR	Athene	:	Owl Plate 75, 8	4th c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	:	Trident (10)	
				Δ-Aphlaston	
				Conchshell	
				Σ-	
				illegible (7)	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove feeding	:	Tripod in wreath	3rd-2nd c.
	<i>Ephesos</i>	Bee	:	Stag	280-258
	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	:	Eagle	246-220
	<i>? Ptolemy V</i>	Ptolemy	:	Eagle (missing)	
	1 illegible				
d	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	:	Trident illegible	
WELL XV					
d	<i>Megara</i>	Apollo	:	MEΓ in wreath	3rd c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	:	Trident (4)	
				Cornucopiae	
				Aphlaston ΔΩ	

			Σ	
			illegible	
	Herakles	:	Protome of Pegasos	
	Athene	:	Pegasos (2)	
<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove	:	Dove	4th c.
	Dove r.	:	ΣI in wreath (2)	3rd c.
	Dove feeding	:	Tripod in wreath	3rd-2nd c.
	Apollo	:	Σ in wreath	
	Dove l. ΦI	:	ΣI in wreath (3)	after 196
	Dove l. EY	:	ΣI in wreath	
<i>Achaean League</i> AR	Zeus	:	Χ (2, 1 missing) Plate 75, 12	
	Zeus	:	Achaea	
<i>Arcadia</i> AR (missing)				
<i>Delos</i>	Apollo	:	Lyre	3rd c.
<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	:	Eagle (3)	246-220
4 illegible				
e <i>Corinth</i>	Zeus	:	Athene	
WELL XVI				
a-d <i>Acarnania</i>	Athene	:	Chimaera	4th c.
<i>Apollonia Pontica</i>	Apollo	:	Anchor	4th c.
<i>Athens (Eleusis)</i>	Demeter	:	Pig	4th-3rd c.
<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	:	Trident (9)	
			ΑΑ Mask	
			Δ Figure 1.	
			ΔI Thyrsos	
			Fulminating Zeus	
			EY Ares	
			Σ	
			illegible (3)	
<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	:	ΣI in wreath	3rd c.
<i>Sidon</i>	Galley	:	King	370-358
<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	:	Eagle	246-220
<i>Rome</i> AR	(missing)			
2 illegible				
d <i>Athens</i>	Athene	:	Owl	4th-3rd c.
g <i>Constantius II</i>				
<i>Valens</i>				
WELL XVIII				
a <i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	:	Trident (1)	
			A	
a-d <i>Philip V</i>	Poseidon	:	Prow (missing)	
	Poseidon	:	Athene Plate 75, 1	220-179
<i>Perseus</i>	Perseus	:	Eagle (missing)	
<i>Leukas</i>	Head	:	Prow	3rd c.
<i>Athens (Delos)</i>	—	:	Cicada	2nd c.
<i>Corinth</i> AR	Pegasos	:	Aphrodite	
	Pegasos	:	Trident (6)	
			Cornucopiae	
			Torch	
			H Wreath	
			Σ -(2)	
			A Conchshell	

	<i>Sikyon</i>	Herakles	: Protome of Pegasos	
		Dove r.	: ΣI in wreath	3rd c.
		Dove l. ΦI	: ΣI in wreath	after 196
	<i>Pellene</i>	Apollo	: ΓE in wreath	4th c.
	<i>Elis</i>	Zeus	: Eagle	4th c.
	<i>Orchomenos</i>	Athene	: Artemis	4th c.
	<i>Troizen</i>	Apollo	: Trident	4th c.
	<i>Aptera</i>	Artemis	: Bow	3rd c.
	? <i>Lampsakos</i>	Herakles	: Athene seated	Plate 75, 15
	? <i>Ptolemy II</i>	Ptolemy	: Eagle	285-246
	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	: Eagle (2)	246-220
	8 illegible			
d	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove l.	: ΣI in wreath (2)	3rd-2nd c.
		Dove l.	: ? in wreath	
		Dove l. EY	: ΣI in wreath	
WELL XIX				
a	<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Herakles	: Horseman	277-239
	<i>Philip V</i>	Poseidon	: Prow	220-179
		Poseidon	: Athene	
	<i>Boeotia</i>	Shield	: Trident	ca. 315-288
	<i>Histiaia</i> AR	Nymph	: Nymph on prow	Plate 75, 7 196-146
	<i>Corinth</i> AR	Pegasos	: Aphrodite	Plate 74, 2
		Pegasos	: Trident (19)	
			A-Dolphin	
			M	
			Nike- N	
			Σ Thunderbolt	
			Σ Star (2)	
			Star	
			Σ-	
			A-Bee	
			illegible (5)	
		Athene	: Pegasos	
	<i>Phlius</i>	Bull	: Φ	4th c.
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: ΣI in wreath (2)	3rd c.
		Dove feeding	: Tripod in wreath	3rd-2nd c.
	<i>Argos</i>	Wolf's head	: A	4th-3rd c.
	<i>Tenos</i>	Head	: Dolphin	3rd c.
	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	: Eagle	246-220
	2 illegible			
a-d	<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Herakles	: Horseman	277-239
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (1)	
			Aphlaston	
	? <i>Ptolemy II</i>	Ptolemy	: Eagle	285-246
	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	: Eagle (31)	180-173
	<i>Cleopatra I</i>	Isis	: Eagle	
		Cleopatra	: Two eagles	
	2 illegible			
d	<i>Philip V</i>	Pan	: Horseman	220-179
	<i>Kerkyra</i>	Herakles	: Prow	3rd c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (6)	
			Pileus AY	
			EY Ares	
			ΔΩ Amphora (2)	
			illegible (2)	

	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: ΣI in wreath	3rd c.
		—	: ΣI in wreath	
		Dove l.	: ΣI in wreath (2)	3rd-2nd c.
		Dove l.	: ? in wreath (3)	
		Dove l. ΦI	: ΣI in wreath	after 196
		Dove l. ΙΣ	: ΣI in wreath	
	<i>Achaean League</i>	Zeus	: Achaea	3rd-2nd c.
	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	: Eagle (4)	246-220
	<i>Ptolemy VI</i>	Zeus	: Two eagles (2)	180-145
	3 illegible			
WELL XX				
a	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (1) Ivyleaf AP	
a-d	<i>Demetrios Poliorketes</i> <i>Corinth</i>	Athene	: Prow	306-283
		Pegasos	: Trident (3) Ivyleaf AP Figure r. illegible	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove l. EY	: ΣI in wreath	after 196
d	<i>Issa</i>	—	: Goat	4th c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (2) H Wreath illegible	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: ΣI in wreath	3rd c.
		Dove feeding	: Tripod in wreath	3rd-2nd c.
		Dove	: ? in wreath (2)	
		Dove l. ΦI	: ΣI in wreath	after 196
	<i>Rome</i>	Janus	: Prow Plate 75, 19	after 213
	<i>? Argos</i>	Tessera	: Plate 75, 21	
WELL XXII				
a	<i>Demetrios Poliorketes</i> <i>Corinth</i>	Athene	: Prow	306-283
		Pegasos	: Trident (2) Athene Doubleaxe	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Athene	: Pegasos	
	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Dove l.	: ΣI in wreath	3rd-2nd c.
	1 illegible	Ptolemy	: Eagle (3)	246-220
e	<i>Philip V</i>	Poseidon	: Prow	220-179
	<i>Nikopolis</i>	Augustus	: Nike	32- A.D. 14
	<i>Aetolia</i> AR	Head	: Boar	3rd-2nd c.
	<i>Athens</i>	Athene	: Tripod and thunderbolt	1st c.
		Triptolemos	: Corn ears	
	<i>Corinth</i>	Augustus	: Gaius and Lucius (3) Plate 74, 11	
		Augustus	: Aebutius and Hera	
		Agrippa	: Priscus and Pollio	
		Poseidon	: Dolphin	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: ? in wreath	3rd c.
		Dove l.	: Σ in wreath	3rd-2nd c.
		Dove l.	: ? in wreath	
	3 illegible			

## WELL XXVII

a	<i>Cassander</i>	Herakles	:	Horseman	316-297
	<i>Demetrios Poliorketes</i> AR	Prow	:	Poseidon Plate 74, 16	306-293
	<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Athene	:	Pan and trophy	277-239
	<i>Skiathos</i>	Head	:	Caduceus	4th c.
	<i>Thespiae</i>	Head	:	Lyre	4th-3rd c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	:	Trident (9)	
				Thyrsos	
				Torch	
				illegible (7)	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	:	? in wreath	3rd c.
		Dove feeding	:	Tripod in wreath	3rd-2nd c.
	<i>Achaean League</i>	Zeus	:	Achaia	
	3 illegible				
d	<i>Demetrios Poliorketes</i>	Shield	:	Helmet	306-283
	<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Herakles	:	Horseman	277-239
	<i>Athens</i>	Athene	:	Two owls	4th-3rd c.
	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	:	Trident (8)	
				Torch (2)	
				Σ-Star	
				Σ-	
				A Conchshell	
				illegible (3)	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	:	ΣI in wreath	3rd c.
		Dove feeding	:	Tripod in wreath (2)	3rd-2nd c.
		Dove l. AY	:	ΣI in wreath	after 196
	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	:	Eagle Plate 75, 18	246-220
	4 illegible				
g	<i>Corinth</i>	Julia Domna			

## WELL XXVIII

g	<i>Demetrios Poliorketes</i>	Athene	:	Prow Plate 74, 17	306-283
	<i>Antigonos Gonatas</i>	Athene	:	Pan and trophy (2)	277-239
	<i>Corinth</i>	Herakles	:	Protome of Pegasos	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove feeding	:	Tripod in wreath	3rd-2nd c.
		Dove l.	:	ΣI in wreath (2)	
	<i>Nikephoros III</i>				
	<i>Manuel I</i> (3)				
	2 illegible				

## WELL XXX

a	<i>Philip II</i>	Apollo	:	Horseman	356-336
	<i>Alexander III</i>	Apollo	:	Bow, quiver, and club	336-323
	<i>Cassander</i>	Herakles	:	Horseman	316-297
	<i>Corinth</i> AR	Pegasos	:	Aphrodite	
		Pegasos	:	Trident (6)	
				Athene	
				H Wreath (2)	
				Wreath	
				illegible (2)	
		Herakles	:	Protome of Pegasos	
		Poseidon	:	Bellerophon	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	:	ΣI in wreath	3rd c.
		Dove r.	:	? in wreath	
		Dove feeding	:	Tripod in wreath	

	<i>Argos</i>	Wolf's head	: A (2)	4th-3rd c.
	<i>Ptolemy III</i>	Ptolemy	: Eagle (9)	246-220
	5 illegible			
d	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (3)	
			illegible (3)	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove r.	: ΣI in wreath	3rd c.
		Dove l. EY	: ΣI in wreath	after 196
	1 illegible			
g	<i>Constantius II</i>			
	WELL XXXI			
e	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (1)	
			illegible	
	WELL XXXIII			
d	<i>Corinth</i>	Pegasos	: Trident (4)	
			⊙	
			Wreath	
			illegible (2)	
	<i>Sikyon</i>	Dove l.	: Σ in wreath	3rd-2nd c.

The general catalogue, giving a full description of individual coins, is to be found at the end of the article. It must be remembered that the coins are often in a poor state of preservation due to the corrosion from acids and water in the soil; and, therefore, the catalogue describes only as much of the type as is visible or easily restored. Even when certain identification is possible, dating is usually only vague. The lack of close study of many of the series does not lead to confidence in dates which hang on historical pegs. At Sikyon for example the traditional dates do not agree with the evidence of these deposits, and in the above lists I have taken the liberty of including the dates concluded from the deposits themselves. In general, the more vague the dating, the less likely are we to fall into errors. As far as Corinth is concerned, this article makes only a preliminary examination of the chronology of the coin series, and therefore no dates are here given.

The catalogue describes the coins from seventy-nine mints and monarchs. The coins of Amphipolis and Tenos are of rather doubtful attribution. The types seem clear and are satisfactory; but the flans are unusually small. The coin given to Lamp-sakos (No. 129) has no parallel, but the inscription ΛΑ [M] is clear enough. The coins generally attributed to Alliba in Campania (No. 24) are equally rare, and that two examples occur in the same well is indeed interesting. It definitely suggests the possibility that amongst the coins of the habitation deposit are some which were unacceptable in transactions and were deliberately thrown away by shopkeeper or customer into the shop well. In a similar category may be placed the coins of Salamis, four coming from Well IX, and the odd specimens of Tenos, Ephesos, Miletos, Salamis in Cyprus, Sidon, etc.

A coin of real importance is that of Athens, *obv.* Athene *rev.* Zeus, from the Pottery Deposit (No. 70). This is to be placed without doubt before 146 B.C., and is one of the earliest published contexts for the series.<sup>9</sup> The coin shows considerable wear, although the types are clearly visible, and may well have been in circulation for some time before the laying of the deposit. The beginning of this long and stable series<sup>10</sup> may coincide with the introduction of the controversial New Style silver coinage; and, if so, the apparent wear of this coin, together with its certain deposit prior to 146 B.C., would strongly support an early date for the beginning of that silver series.<sup>11</sup> A further coin of Athens, *obv.* Cicada *rev.* Amphora, from the destruction deposit of Well X (No. 73), indicates a probable date before 146 B.C. for the beginning of that series also.

The Roman uncial bronze from Well XX (No. 145) provides interesting confirmation of the higher dating for the Roman coinage as a whole, recently advocated by R. Thomsen.<sup>12</sup> This issue, with symbol *star*, was dated by Sydenham to *ca.* 155 B.C.;<sup>13</sup> but M. H. Crawford has pointed out to me an overstrike<sup>14</sup> which would place this coin some twenty years later in the relative chronology. The destruction deposit now gives a probable date prior to 146 B.C. for the issue. It must be pointed out, however, at this point that there are a few intrusions which found their way into the débris after the destruction of the city. There are two early duovir coins, and a tessera overstruck on a duovir issue (Plate 74, 10). Two coins of Patras (No. 107), from the same wells as the duovir coins, Wells V and VII, are also usually dated after 146 B.C. However, of the 188 coins from the destruction débris, only these five do not clearly fit a date in the middle of the second century.

There is no need to list other coins from unusual cities, for the catalogue stands as a sufficient commentary on the widespread notion that bronze coins travelled rarely, and but short distances.

The quantities of coins of Ptolemy III are one of the most striking features of the deposits. The numerous later coins of Egypt are mainly from the "hoard" in Well XIX; but the coins of Ptolemy III are scattered throughout the wells and other

<sup>9</sup> The same issue also appears in the Komos Cistern in the Athenian Agora (deposit number M 21:1). This also contains material down to the middle of the second century; D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 276.

<sup>10</sup> J. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 231 f. For discussion of the varieties of this series and of its terminal date see *Num. Chron.*, 1964, pp. 27 f.

<sup>11</sup> For the controversy over the dating of the New Style series started by M. Thompson's *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, see *Num. Chron.*, 1962, pp. 301 f.; *Amer. Num. Soc. Museum Notes*, XI, 1964, pp. 77 f.; D. M. Lewis, *Num. Chron.*, 1962, pp. 275 f.

<sup>12</sup> In *Early Roman Coinage*, II and III *passim*. Cf. the review by C. Hersch in *Num. Chron.*, 1964, pp. 341-353.

<sup>13</sup> E. A. Sydenham, *Roman Republican Coinage*, p. 28, no. 264.

<sup>14</sup> Overstruck on a (?) semis of C. Clovius Saxula (Sydenham, *op. cit.*, p. 40, no. 360a), *Zeit. für Num.*, IV, p. 347 and XIX, p. 78, no. 16.

deposits, and it is therefore difficult to escape the conclusion that these, all of the same type and issue, were used as common currency at Corinth. In noting a similar phenomenon at Asea in Arcadia,<sup>15</sup> Mme. Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou has made the plausible suggestion that this issue represents the payment, mentioned by Plutarch, which Ptolemy gave to Aratus.<sup>16</sup> If this gift was in bronze coin, it may reflect somewhat on our general ideas of the passing of bronze from one city to another. But we must return to this theme later.

To facilitate the appreciation of the general pattern of the circulation at Corinth in the late third and early second century, a brief geographical analysis of the deposits is useful:

	PD	?PD	TCD	?TCD	S	Wells A	Wells D
Corinth	23	28	36	22	35	58	61
Macedonian Kings	1	4	3	2	1	18	6
North Greece	4	4	—	1	4	14	14
Sikyon	14	3	3	1	1	13	55
Peloponnese	2	3	3	1	3	11	11
Egypt	1	—	1	—	3	18	10
Other	—	—	—	1	1	5	6
Illegible	8	9	1	3	11	12	25
Totals	53	51	47	31	59	149	188

Is it possible from the comparison of these deposits to tell how far the coins found were used as currency? The number of coins is not great, and therefore we must be hesitant in making general conclusions. There are, however, three types of deposit. Some are from fills or packing to floors, suggesting the use of rubbish or unwanted material. In these circumstances the coins were probably lost haphazardly, and their *intentional* inclusion, except perhaps for a few possibly useless coins, seems unlikely.<sup>17</sup> The destruction fill of the wells, secondly, is certainly *débris* from a destroyed building, including shops, and the coins are likely to represent currency *in circulation* at the time of the disaster, a few bronze coins abandoned in the last moments of chaos. Thirdly, the habitation fill from the wells is an accumulative deposit, many of the coins, such as those of silver, accidentally lost, but including some, as suggested above,<sup>18</sup> which may have been thrown away intentionally.

<sup>15</sup> In Holmberg, *The Swedish Excavations at Asea in Arcadia*, p. 171, note 1.

<sup>16</sup> Plutarch, *Aratus*, XLI; *Cleomenes*, XIX.

<sup>17</sup> In the case of the Terracotta Deposit the material seems to have come from a sanctuary. It is possible that it is the *débris* from a building destroyed in the Roman capture of Corinth in 198 B.C. (Livy, XXXII, 23, f); in which case the type of deposit should really be classed with the destruction deposit of the wells.

<sup>18</sup> Above, p. 361.



Although the deposits do thus differ in nature, there is a significant similarity of composition. Macedonia is consistently represented, with some increase in numbers in the habitation deposits of the wells, which, it will be remembered, were being formed during Demetrios Poliorketes' and Antigonos Gonatas' occupation of the city. In the habitation fills, of the 23 coins from outside mainland Greece, 18 are of Ptolemy III, 8 of them from the possible "hoard" in Well XXX. This compares with 10 out of 16 in the destruction deposits. Indeed, the proportion of foreign to Corinthian coins in these seven separate lists of coins is so similar that, within reason, we may consider them fairly representative of the types of coin to be found daily at Corinth.

The one notable difference between the habitation and destruction deposits is indeed the opposite of what might be expected. For, in the destruction deposits of the wells, which of all seems most likely to represent a fair cross-section of currency, there is an enormous increase in the numbers of coins of the neighboring city, Sikyon—55 examples as opposed to only 61 Corinthian coins. The habitation deposits have only 13 out of a total of 149; the Terracotta Deposit 3 out of 47.

Fifteen of the fifty-five coins of Sikyon in the destruction deposit are of the series with *obv.* dove flying l. with magistrates' initials; and seventeen are with dove flying l. without such initials, or with the initials illegible. In the other deposits, none of the Sikyonian coins have magistrates' initials, and only one in the ? Pottery Deposit and two in the habitation fills have the dove flying l. This strongly suggests that the series with initials should be dated to the first half of the second century, probably after 196 B.C.<sup>19</sup>

Furthermore, the increase of Sikyonian coins noted above in the destruction deposit seems to be mainly at the expense of the coins of Corinth; for, whereas the total number of coins increases from 149 to 188, there are only 3 more coins of Corinth in the destruction deposit than in that of habitation. In an attempt to explain this apparent infiltration of Sikyonian material, we must consider the coins native to Corinth herself.

There are five main types from the Corinthian mint represented in the deposits, all, except the *obv.* Pegasos *rev.* Trident, of considerable rarity, and, since this rarity extends to the total number of examples extant today, all are possibly of short duration. The *obv.* Pegasos *rev.* Trident is subdivided into numerous series by the symbol on the reverse. At present it is assumed that they continue down to the destruction of the city, and, although this article can be no more than a preliminary discussion of

<sup>19</sup> At present they are dated 251-146 B.C. in the standard catalogues. There is a large hoard of the Sikyonian series with magistrates' initials, lodged in the Corinth Museum. It includes a worn coin of Athens, similar in all respects to that in the Pottery Deposit, and there seems to be little doubt that the hoard is to be dated to the time of the disturbances of 146 B.C. The latest magistrate is EY, of which series three appear in the destruction deposit.

the series,<sup>20</sup> we may inspect the examples found in our deposits with a possible view to chronology.

It is clear at once that, since the types Herakles/Protome of Pegasos, Athene/Pegasos, and Athene/Zeus all appear in the Terracotta Deposit, they date in all probability before 200 B.C. Similarly, two of the four examples of Poseidon/Bellerophon are found in the habitation deposit, from Wells V and XXX, and are probably to be placed some time before 146 B.C. On style it would seem that this last type was a contemporary larger denomination to the two denominations Herakles/Protome of Pegasos and Athene/Pegasos. Athene/Zeus would seem on style to be earlier in the third century.

Herakles/Protome of Pegasos, however, is of the same size, and possibly passed at the same value as the Pegasos/Trident. It is reasonable to assume that two types of the same denomination were not issued at exactly the same time, and therefore we must either place all the Pegasos/Tridents before this type, and before 200 B.C., or we must postulate a gap in their issue with a group that should be clearly discernible in the deposits, dating after *ca.* 200 B.C. In turning to a detailed inspection of the Pegasos/Tridents series in the deposits, we must realize that a bronze coin once issued might stay in circulation for a considerable period of time; and the fact that foreign coins of the fourth century are not rare in the deposits of the first half of the second century must suggest that there was little calling in of old coin at Corinth.<sup>21</sup>

The following varieties of the Pegasos Tridents are found in the destruction and habitation fills of the wells:

## DESTRUCTION

ΔΙ Thyrsos  
ΕΥ Ares  
ΙΕ  
Α Conchshell

Σ - (3)

## HABITATION

Α-Dolphin  
ΙϷleaf ΑΡ (2)  
ΔΙ  
ΔΙ Thyrsos  
Ε Wreath  
Μ  
Conchshell  
Α Bee  
Νike ☉  
Σ - (2)

<sup>20</sup> A detailed study of the bronze coinage of Hellenistic Corinth will be published soon after the appearance of this article.

<sup>21</sup> For this reason the coins of the habitation deposit are of no help in determining the date of the building of the South Stoa, e.g. in *Corinth*, I, iv, p. 64, note 30. From the evidence of the alloy E. R. Caley suggests in *The Composition of Greek Bronze Coinage*, p. 150 that bronze coin could have been called in from time to time.

Σ Star

Cornucopiae

Torch (4)

Athene AY

Pileus AY (2)

H Wreath (4)

Wreath

Aphlaston ΔΩ (2)

Aphlaston Ω (2)

ΔΩ Amphora (3)

Σ Palm

Σ Thunderbolt

Σ Star (2)

Σ T Wreath

Doubleaxe

Torch

Athene (2)

H Wreath (2)

Aphlaston Δ

The main differences between the varieties in the later fill and those in the accumulated deposit are the three ΔΩ Amphora, the EY Ares, IE, two Pileus AY and Cornucopiae. At the same time there are in the habitation fills several varieties not present later. The habitation deposits do not represent the entire accumulation from the beginning of the wells' use; for there is evidence to show that the wells were cleaned out from time to time,<sup>22</sup> so that in the main the material found may cover little more than the last century of occupation. However, it is clear that there is little difference to be noted between the varieties of the Pegasos/Trident coins.

Both the Pottery Deposit and the deposit from Shop XXXII are accumulated fills, and do not add much to help us; but they confirm and supplement the picture of the habitation fill of the wells. Both contain the ΔΩ Amphora variety, the Pottery Deposit contains the EY Ares and the ?Pottery Deposit, Cornucopiae. There are only two varieties, therefore, IE and Pileus AY, which might, on the evidence of the destruction fill, be placed towards the middle of the second century.<sup>23</sup>

Comparison with the late third century Terracotta Deposit takes us a stage further. Two examples of EY Ares and four of ΔΩ Amphora confirm that these were minted before 200 B.C., and on the whole there is remarkably little difference between the varieties here represented, the deposits accumulated down to 146 B.C., and the destruction deposit of the wells. Certainly there is no clear distinction between an earlier group of Pegasos/Tridents prior to the issue of Herakles/Protome of Pegasos, and a later group after *ca.* 200 B.C.; and it is possible that the issue of Pegasos/Tridents had ceased completely before the Herakles/Protome of Pegasos, and there-

<sup>22</sup> I am grateful to Professor Edwards for this information. The cleaning out was not always very thorough, leaving small deposits of early material. But clearly it must reflect on our attitude towards the habitation deposit as a whole.

<sup>23</sup> For EY on the silver staters see Ravel, *Les poulains de Corinthe*, II, p. 268, nos. 1086-1090. to be dated at the end of the fourth century.

fore some time before 200 B.C. The continuation of the coins in circulation naturally accounts for the similarity of composition that we have noted.

Here we may find useful once again the above analysis of the deposits. In the Terracotta Deposit, which we have assumed to contain coin issued before *ca.* 200 B.C., 36 of the total 47 coins are Corinthian. In the accumulated deposits the numbers are considerably less, between a third and half of the total coins being from Corinth. In the destruction deposit of the wells, less than a third are Corinthian. This steady diminution is admittedly based on the handful of coins which happen to be preserved in the deposits and are legible; but it argues against considerable issues from the local mint during the first half of the second century, and substantiates the theory that Corinth had ceased to mint bronze coin by about 200 B.C. For, with the issues of Herakles/Protome of Pegasos, Athene/Pegasos, and Poseidon/Bellerophon seemingly short, and probably before 200 B.C., we must postulate a gap in the autonomous issues from *ca.* 196 B.C. until the destruction of the city of 146 B.C.<sup>24</sup>

Since the settlement of 196 B.C. was supposed to bring freedom to Corinth,<sup>25</sup> it is of considerable surprise to find that Corinth was not issuing her own bronze coin. We find, however, that the mint was producing silver for the Achaean League,<sup>26</sup> and possibly the few bronze League pieces known from Corinth also date to this time.<sup>27</sup> If, then, Corinth was politically subject to the League, the notable quantities of Sikyonian bronze coins found in the destruction deposit take on a new significance. The coinage of the neighboring city was being purposely introduced to supplement the coinage circulating in Corinth herself.

We have noted two issues in these deposits whose regular appearance suggests that they circulated commonly at Corinth, issues of Ptolemy III and of Sikyon. We may return, then, to a further consideration of the use of foreign coin in general. The coins of Sikyon seem to be an official supplement to the coinage in circulation during the first half of the second century. In size the coins are much the same as the Pegasos/Tridents, and, being the smallest denomination at both cities, probably passed at the same value.

Amongst the autonomous issues of Corinth there are three denominations, represented by the types No. 2, Pegasos/Trident (10-13 mm.), No. 4, Athene/Pegasos (13-16 mm.) and No. 6, Poseidon/Bellerophon (16-20 mm.). Corinth issued relatively few of the latter two denominations, and it is illuminating to compare sizes of the foreign coins in these deposits:

<sup>24</sup> Comparison with coins from deposits of the third century confirm the arrangement here suggested from deposits of the second century, and further show that the Pegasos/Tridents came to an end well before 200 B.C.

<sup>25</sup> Plutarch, *Flaminius*, X, 4.

<sup>26</sup> The evidence of the Agrinion hoard is decisive. See M. Thompson, *Num. Chron.*, 1962, p. 320 f.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. *B.M.C. Peloponnese*, p. 12, nos. 139-142.

	C 9-13 mm.	B 13-16 mm.	A 16-20 mm.
Corinth	315	12	4
Macedonian Kings	2	20	31
North Greece	18	25	11
Sikyon	96	20	1
Peloponnese	21	10	8
Egypt	—	—	41
Other	8	2	3

Not included in the above figures are 37 coins of Egypt, mostly belonging to the hoard of Well XIX, and the bronze of Rome in Well XX, all of which are much larger than A, the largest denomination of Corinthian issues. It is clear, however, that with the exception of Sikyon, much of the foreign coin falls into the two larger denominations not represented by Corinth's own issues; and in particular we must note the 31 coins of Macedon and the 41 coins of Ptolemy III, which would seem to provide most of the coin for denomination A. Apart from the influx of Sikyonian small denominations between 196 B.C. and 146 B.C., denomination C was mainly catered for by native coin; whereas the larger denominations B and A came for the most part from outside. This conclusion is of considerable importance, since foreign coin was not only imported and used at Corinth, but its use generally for larger denominations may have been a conscious policy.<sup>28</sup>

In passing we may note the five examples of the Boeotian issue *obv.* Shield *rev.* Trident (No. 59), which in size, type, and denomination could easily have passed for the issue of Corinth. It is not impossible that the introduction of such coins was a deliberate attempt to deceive; but such instances are rare, and the evidence leads us to suppose that, on the contrary, there was wide acceptance of foreign coin, particularly of the larger denominations.<sup>29</sup>

The lack of denomination A at Corinth and elsewhere in the Peloponnese goes far to explain the popularity of the issue of Ptolemy III. The bronze issues of the Achaean League are of the same size, and it is possible that the circulation of both was a conscious political policy to oust the quantities of Macedonian coin of the same denomination which had hitherto circulated in Corinth and other cities.

This article has attempted to present certain problems connected with the use

<sup>28</sup> It is normal for at least a third of the coins from excavations to be from outside the native city. The majority naturally come from surrounding cities, and apart from Corinth there is no clear preference for larger or smaller denominations. However, it urges even greater caution to those who would use the evidence of coins for topography.

<sup>29</sup> It is possible that these were accepted at Corinth at a reduction on the value at which they were originally minted; but even so, it is difficult to believe that they passed as the same denomination as the Pegasos/Tridents.

and function of bronze coinage. A small and insignificant city may be expected to have borrowed coin from a larger neighbor to boost the circulation of her bronze coinage; but these deposits suggest that Corinth, a large and important political center, had ceased to issue autonomous coins by *ca.* 200 B.C., and for the next fifty years, in spite of her supposed freedom, relied considerably on the coins of neighboring Sikyon. Further, the intentional use of foreign coin is noted to an even greater extent in the larger bronze denominations. Even if Corinth was a particularly Panhellenic meeting place, this is an interesting commentary on the ancient attitude as a whole to bronze coin.

## GENERAL CATALOGUE

The coins apart from Corinth are here arranged in geographical order, following B. V. Head's *Historia Numorum* ed. 2. References are to the standard catalogues and publications. All the coins are of bronze unless otherwise stated, and their contexts are given with the following abbreviations:

Pottery Deposit	PD
? Pottery Deposit	? PD
Terracotta Deposit	TCD
? Terracotta Deposit	?TCD
Deposit in shop XXXII	S
Wells	Each well is distinguished by the number of the shop in Roman figures.
Habitation deposit	a
Destruction deposit	d
Early Roman fill	e
Later disturbances	g

If no diameter is given, the coin is broken; if no die axis is given, the coin may be assumed to be illegible on one side.

## CORINTH

- AR Pegasos l. ♀ : Head of Aphrodite l. BMC Corinth pp. 18, Nos. 181 f.  

IX a ↗ (On <i>rev.</i> Δ O )	Hemidrachm	Plate 74, 1
XVIII a-d ↘ 16 2.20 gms. (On <i>rev.</i> Δ )	Drachma	Plate 74, 3
XIX a ↑ 14 2.50 (On <i>rev.</i> Δ l )	Drachma	Plate 74, 2
XXX a ↙ 14 1.80	Drachma	Plate 74, 4
- Pegasos l. ♀ : Trident and symbol Edwards (*Corinth*, VI) No. 11  

A-Dolphin	XIX a ↗ 12
A-Λ Mask	XVI a-d ↓ 13
Ivyleaf AP	IX a ↑ 12
	XX a —
	XX a-d ↙ 14
Δ -Figure r.	XX a-d ↓ 15
Δ -Figure l.	XVI a-d ↙ 11

Lily-Δ	PD	↑	13				
ΔI-	X	a ↘	12	XVI	a-d	13	
	?PD	↑	11				
ΔI-Thyrsos	TCD	↘	13	XVI	a-d	11	
	?TCD	↘	11	XXVII	a	11	
	IX	d ↘	12				
Thyrsos	?PD	↗	11				
Trophy	PD	↑	11				
☼-Wreath	IX	a ↘	—				
IE	IX	d ↘	13				
M	XIX	a ↗	13				
Δ-O Oinochoe	PD	↗	12	III	a-d ↓	12	
EY Ares	PD	↑	11	?TCD	↘	12	
	TCD	↑	11	XVI	a-d ↗	12	
	TCD	↓	12	XIX	d ↗	12	
Athene	XXII	a ↘	12	XXX	a		
Athene AY	II	d ↘	12				
Pileus AY	V	d ↘	12	XIX	d ↘	12	
Nike ☉	XIX	a ↘	12	?TCD	↓	11	
	PD	↓	12	S	↓	11	
☉-Dove	?TCD	↗	11	?TCD	←	11	
Pan head	VIII	e ↓	12				
Zeus standing with scepter and thunderbolt				TCD	↘	10	
				TCD	↘	11	
				TCD	↘	10	
				PD	↓	13	
				S	↓	11	
Zeus hurling thunderbolt	S	↖	12				
	XVI	a-d	12				
Doubleaxe	PD	↗	11	XXII	a ↘	12	
Cornucopiae	?PD	↑	11	XV	d ↓	11	
	IV	e ↗	11	XVIII	a-d ↖	11	
Griffin	?PD	↗	11	TCD	↗	13	
					Plate 74, 5		
	TCD	↓	12	?TCD	↓	11	
Aphlaston	?PD	←	12	?TCD	↘	12	
Δ-Aphlaston	S	↗	12	XIV	a		
Aphlaston ΔΩ	TCD	↑	12	XV	d ↘	13	
	IX	d ↘	11	XIX	a-d ↑	12	
Aphlaston Ω	TCD	↑	12	IV	e ↗	11	
	II	d ↘	12	XXXIII	d ↘	12	
ΔΩ Amphora	PD	↘	12	S	↘	12	
	TCD	↓	11	VIII	e ↗	11	
	TCD	↑	11	IX	d ↘	11	
	TCD	↘	12	XIX	d ↗	12	
	TCD	→	15	XIX	d ↘	12	
	?TCD	↑	12				
	?TCD	↓	11				
	?TCD	↓	10				
Wreath	XVIII	a-d ↑	9	XXXIII	d ↘	12	
	XVIII	a-d	12				
H-Wreath	PD	↗	11	IV	a-d ↗	12	
	PD	↗	12	X	d ↗	12	
	?PD	↓	11	XII	d ↘	12	
	?PD	—	—	XIII	d	—	
	TCD	↓	13	XVIII	a-d ↖	—	

	TCD	↙	12	XX	d ↘	13
	TCD	—	—	XXX	a	12
	?TCD	↓	11	XXX	a ↗	12
	S	↗	12			
	S	↘	14			
	S	↘	11			
	S	↗	13			
	S	—	—			
Torch	PD	↗	12	TCD	↑	12
	?PD	↗	11	III	a-d ↗	11
	?PD	↗	12	XI	d ↗	10
	S	↗	12	XII	d ↗	12
	S	↗	12	XVIII	a-d ↗	11
	S	↗	12	XXVII	a ↗	11
	S	↗	13	XXVII	d ↗	11
	S	↗	12	XXVII	d ↗	12
	S	↗	11			
Σ -	S	↘	12	XVIII	a-d ↘	12
	XII	d ↗	13	XVIII	a-d ↘	12
	XIV	a ↘	12	XIX	a ↗	13
	XVI	a-d ↗	12	XXVII	d ↗	—
	XV	d ↗	12	?PD	↑	—
Σ -Palm	TCD	→	11	III	a-d ↘	12
	TCD	↗	12	V	a ↘	12
	?PD	↘	—			
Σ -Rose	XII	d ↗	12			
Σ -Club	PD	↗	11			
Σ -Hydria	III	a-d ↗	13			
Σ -Thunderbolt	S	↑	12	XIX	a ↗	13
	?TCD	↘	12			
Σ -Star	XIX	a ↗	12	XXVII	d ↗	12
	XIX	a ↗	11	S	↗	13
Star	XIX	a ↗	12			
Σ -T Wreath	XXX	a ↗	11			
A	VIII	e ↓	13	XVIII	a-d	13
A-Bee	XIX	a ↘	13			
Conchshell	XIV	a	—			
A-Conchshell	PD	↗	12	XVIII	a-d ↘	12
	II	a-d ↗	12	XXVII	d ↗	13
	IV	d ↗	12			

A further 115 coins of these types were present with illegible symbols.

3. Bearded ? Herakles r. : Protome of Pegasos r. ? Edwards No. 13
- |     |     |    |        |       |    |
|-----|-----|----|--------|-------|----|
| PD  | ↘   | 12 | XI     | d ↘   | 11 |
| TCD | ↗   | 11 | XV     | d ↗   | —  |
| S   | ↗   | 11 | XVIII  | a-d ↗ | —  |
| IV  | d ↘ | 12 | XXVIII | g ↗   | 11 |
|     |     |    | XXX    | a ↗   | 14 |
- (on rev. Ε) Plate 74, 7.
4. Athene in Corinthian helmet r. : Pegasos r. ? BMC Corinth p. 57, No. 476
- |     |   |    |          |     |    |
|-----|---|----|----------|-----|----|
| PD  | ↘ | 13 | Plate XI | d ↗ | 15 |
|     |   |    | 74, 8    |     |    |
| PD  | ↘ | 13 | XV       | d ↘ | 14 |
| TCD | ↗ | 13 | XV       | d ↗ | —  |



- |    |     |    |  |      |   |   |    |
|----|-----|----|--|------|---|---|----|
| IV | d ↘ | 14 |  | XIX  | a | — |    |
| IV | e ↗ | —  |  | XXII | a | ↑ | 15 |
| IX | d ↘ | 15 |  |      |   |   |    |
| IX | d ↘ | —  |  |      |   |   |    |
5. Athene in Corinthian helmet l. : Zeus standing l. with thunderbolt and scepter Edwards No. 14
- PD ↓ 14 (on rev. torch)  
 TCD ↘ 15 (on rev. pileus) Plate 74, 6  
 III a-d ↗ 14 (On rev. Σ-torch)
6. Poseidon laureate r. : Bellerophon on Pegasus r., striking downwards with spear Edwards No. 12
- II a-d ↑ 17 (on rev. A) XI d ↓ 18 (on rev. A)  
 V a ↗ 19 Plate 74, 9 XXX a 19
7. J. Caesar bareheaded r. : Bellerophon on Pegasus r. Edwards No. 16  
*Laus Iul Corinth* *L Certo Aeficio C. Iulio iivir*
- V d ↗ 24 (XII d)  
 VII d ↗ 25
8. Pegasus r. : Figure seated r. Edwards No. 17  
 VIII e ↗ 23
9. Zeus laureate r. : Athene advancing r. with shield and thunderbolt BMC Corinth No. 525  
*Inst L Cas iivir*
- XV e ↗ 22
10. Augustus bareheaded r. : Facing busts of Gaius and Lucius Caesar; Between CL. Edwards No. 28  
*Caesar Corinthi Corinth* *C Servilio CF Primo Hipparcho iivir*
- XXII e ↗ 21 Plate 74, 11  
 XXII e ↗ 21  
 XXII e ↑ 20
11. Augustus bareheaded r. : Wreath in which P Aebutius Edwards No. 32  
*Augustus Corinth* *PFC io Hera iivir qui iter*
- VIII e 20 VIII e ↗ 21
12. Augustus bareheaded r. : Wreath in which C Mussio Edwards No. 35  
*Corinthi Augustus* *Prisco iivir C Heio Pollione iter*
- VIII e ↗ 19 VIII e 21
13. Augustus bareheaded r. : Wreath in which C Heio Edwards No. 35  
*Polllione iter C Mussio Pr isco iivir*
- VIII e ↘ 19
14. Agrippa bareheaded r. : Wreath in which C Mussio Edwards No. 36  
*Agrippa Caesar Corinthi* *Prisco iivir C Heio Pollione iter*
- XXII e ↘ 20

15. Augustus radiate l. : Hexastyle temple inscribed Edwards No. 40  
*Arrio Peregrino iivir* *Gen Iul L Furio Labeone*  
*iivir Cor*  
VIII e ↘ 21 Plate 74, 12 VIII e ↙ 20  
VIII e ↗ 20 VIII e ↖ 19
16. Germanicus bareheaded l. : Rudder and globe *M. Bellio* Edwards No. 48  
*Proculo iivir Cor*  
(VIII e)
17. Helios radiate r. : Poseidon standing l. with Edwards No. 53  
dolphin and trident *Cor Se*  
VIII e ↖ 16 Plate 74, 13
18. Agrippina r. : Poseidon in hippocamp biga 1. BMC Corinth  
*Agrippina Augusta* *vir Cor* No. 551  
VIII e → 20 Plate 74, 14
19. Roma turreted r. : Tetrastyle temple on Edwards No. 69  
*Romae et imperio* podium to l.  
*Agrippae iivir Cor*  
VIII e ↗ 20 Plate 74, 15
20. Poseidon laureate r. : Dolphin r. Edwards No. 82  
XXII e ↙ 14
21. Pegasos r. *Cor* : Blank Edwards No. 232  
(Overstruck on head of  
J. Caesar r.)  
X d Plate 74, 10
22. M. Aurelius laureate r. : Artemis with torch r. To cf. CopSNG  
*M. Aur Antoninus Aug* l., stag; to r., dog. No. 331  
*CLI Cor*  
XI g ↗ 26
23. Julia Domna r. : Athene l. with spear *CLI Cor* Edwards No. 195  
*Iulia Dom*  
XXVII g ↗ 20

## MAGNA GRAECIA

- (?) ALLIBA 3rd c.
24. Poseidon laureate : Triton l. with oar; below, A BMC Italy  
p. 748  
III ↑ a-d 19 (Obv. l.) Plate 75, 5  
III ↑ a-b 18 (Obv. r.) Plate 75, 6

## MACEDONIA

PHILIP II 359-336

25. Apollo laureate r. : Horse r. Above l., ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ CopSNG No. 581 f.  
III a-d ↖ 19 XXX a ↑ 20

## ALEXANDER III 336-323

26. Apollo laureate r. : Horse r. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ CopSNG  
No. 1029f.

IX a ↓ 14 (Rev. Below, oval shield)  
IX a ↑ —

27. Beardless Herakles r. : Bow in case, club and quiver BA CopSNG  
No. 1034f.

III a-d ↙ 17  
XXX a 17 (Rev. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ)

## CASSANDER 316-297

28. Beardless Herakles r. : Youth on horse r. CopSNG  
No. 1142f.

?PD	↑	19	X	a	20
III	a-d ↘	20	XI	d ↙	—
III	a-d ↘	19	XXVII	a	—
IV	a-d	—	XXX	a ↓	20 (Rev. Below, Θ)

## DEMETRIOS POLIORKETES 306-283

29. AR Prow l., on which Nike : Poseidon hurling trident l. To Newell *Dem. Pol.*  
l., A ; To r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΑ p. 51, 45 (Tarsus)  
Below ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

XXVII a 18 2.7 grms. Hemidrachm. Plate 74, 16

30. Athene r., crested Corinthian helmet : Prow r.; above, BA Newell *Dem. Pol.*  
p. 149, 162

?PD	↗	15 (Aphlaston, Α, and doubleaxe)	XXII	a	—
X	a	—	XXVIII	g ↙	17
XX	a-d ↗	13	(Doubleaxe Α Plate 74, 17)		

31. Shield : Helmet with cheek-pieces ΒΑΣΙ Newell *Dem. Pol.*  
p. 119, 132

XXVII d 15

## ANTIGONOS GONATAS 278-239

32. Athene r., crested Corinthian helmet : Pan crowning trophy r. BA CopSNG  
Nos. 1208f.

PD		(Trident)	IX	a ↗	19
?TCD	↘	18 (Wreath)	XXVII	a ↑	18
S	↙	20	XXVII	a ↙	18 (Helmet)
III	a-d ↑	18 (Obv. Countermark, head r.)	Plate 74, 18		
III	a-d ↘	16 (Helmet)	XXVIII	g ↙	18 (Rose)
			XXVIII	g ↗	18

33. Beardless Herakles r. : Youth on horse r. Below, Α CopSNG  
Nos. 1214f.

?PD	↑	16	II	a-d	20
TCD	↘	14	IV	d ↑	16 (ΦΙ) Plate 74, 19

TCD ↗ 16  
 ?TCD → 20

XIX a 17  
 XIX a-d 18  
 XXVII d —

## ANTIGONOS DOSON 229-220

34. Shield with Gorgoneion : Helmet with cheek-pieces  
 BA-Σ cf. CopSNG  
 Nos. 1122f.  
 (Cassander)
- ?PD ← 16 (A) IX a ↑ 16

## PHILIP V 220-179

35. Poseidon laureate r. : Prow r.; Above, BA Φ CopSNG  
 No. 1247
- TCD ↗ 14 Plate 74, 20 XVIII a-d —  
 III a-d → 14 (M) XIX a ↑ 14  
 IV a-d ↗ 11 XXII e ↓  
 IV d ↘ 13 (M)  
 XIV a ↗ 14 (✱)
36. Poseidon laureate r. : Athene Alkis r. BA Φ I CopSNG  
 XVIII a-d ↘ 19 (Plate 75, 1) XIX a ↑ 17 Nos. 1244-6
37. Young Pan r. : Youth on horse r. BA Φ McClean No. 3652  
 II a-d ↗ 12 XIX a-d ↑ 12
- PERSEUS 178-168
38. Perseus r. in Phrygian cap : Eagle BA CopSNG  
 (XVIII a-d) Nos. 1175f.

## NORTH GREECE

## (?) AMPHIPOLIS 3rd c.

39. Artemis Tauropolos on bull r. : Bull butting l. cf. BMC Macedon  
 ?PD ↘ 11 Plate 75, 3 p. 48, No. 35

## APOLLONIA PONTICA 4th c.

40. Apollo laureate r. : Anchor Δ I  
 XVI a-d 12

## CIERIUM 4th c.

41. Poseidon laureate r. : Horse r. below, Arne kneeling r. CopSNG No. 36  
 ?PD ↗ 18 Plate 75, 2
42. Poseidon laureate r. : Arne kneeling r. BMC Thessaly  
 ?PD ↑ — p. 15, No. 5

## PELINNA 4th c.

43. Mantho veiled : Horseman with spear r. BMC *id.* p. 38, Nos. 6-7.  
 PD ↖ 16

## SKIATHOS 4th c.

44. Head r. : Caduceus [Σ]-K cf. BMC *id.*  
 XXVII a 9 p. 54, No. 5

## APOLLONIA ILLYRICI early 2nd c.

45. Dionysos laureate r. : Cornucopiae with fillets cf. BMC *id.* p. 60,  
 APΘA[ ]. To 1, X Nos. 58-9  
 VII d ↓ 19

## ISSA 4th c.

46. (Athene r.) : Goat lying r. ΙΣΣΑ cf. BMC *id.* p. 82,  
 XX d 21 Nos. 1-4

## AMBRACIA 3rd-2nd c.

47. Apollo laureate r. To 1., Δ : Obelisk AMBP ; all in wreath BMC *id.* p. 94, No. 10  
 III a-d ↗ 20

## ELEA 388-335

48. Persephone frontal : Cerberus r. Below BMC *id.* p. 100, No. 6  
 IX a ↗ 16 Franke Epirus p. 40

## NIKOPOLIS

49. Augustus bareheaded r. : Nike l. with wreath and palm BMC *id.* p. 103, Nos. 10-11  
 XXII e ↖ 22

## KERKYRA 4th c.

50. Amphora KO : Grapes BMC *id.* p. 121,  
 IX a ↗ 16 Nos. 103 f.

51. Young Herakles r. : Prow r. BMC *id.* p. 145,  
 Nos. 482 f.

XI d ↑ 19 XIX ↖ d 19

## ACARNANIA 4th c.

52. Athene r. in Attic helmet : Chimaera r. cf. BMC *id.*  
 p. 174, No. 1 f.

II a-d ↖ 16 (Ξ) Plate 75, 4  
 IV a-d ↖ 16 (A) XII d —

IV a-d ↗  
XII d —

XIV a ↙ 16 (A)  
XVI a-d ↘ 18

LEUKAS 4th-3rd c.

53. Bellerophon on Pegasos r. : Chimaera l. BMC *id.* p. 176,  
Nos. 47 f.

IX a ↓ 16

54. Head : Prow l. BMC *id.* p. 175,  
Nos. 68 f.

XVIII a-d —

AETOLIAN LEAGUE 3rd c.

55. AR Head r. : Boar r. cf. BMC *id.*  
p. 196, Nos. 16 f.

XXII e ↘ 15

56. Apollo laureate r. : Trophy ΑΙ[ΤΩΛΩ]Ν BMC *id.* p. 197,  
No. 39

III a-d ↓ 16

57. Head r. : Spearhead and jaw-bone of  
boar ΑΙΤΩ[ΛΩΝ] BMC *id.* p. 198,  
Nos. 43 f.

III a-d ↓ 19

PHOKIS 4th c.

58. AR Bull's head facing : Apollo r. ΦΩ BMC Cent. Gr.  
II d ↓ 14 2.12 gms. on exhibition p. 21, No. 78 f.

BOEOTIA ca. 315-288

59. Shield : Trident. To r., dolphin  
ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ BMC *id.* p. 38,  
Nos. 57 f.

PD ↑ 12  
?PD 14

?TCD 13  
S 12 (Star)  
XIX a ↑ 12

Late 3rd c.

60. Demeter facing : Poseidon l., foot on rock  
ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ BMC *id.* p. 41,  
Nos. 81 f.

VIII e ↖ 16

THEBES 4th c.

61. Herakles r. : Club ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ cf. BMC *id.* p. 85,  
Nos. 172 f.

VII d 18

THESPIAI 4th-3rd c.

62. Head r. : Lyre BMC *id.* p. 92,  
Nos. 14 f.

XXVII a ↖ 16

## CHALKIS 4th c.

63. Demeter frontal : Eagle r. with snake BMC *id.* p. 112,  
Nos. 70 f.

S ↗ 13 VIII e ↙ 12

## HISTIAIA 3rd-2nd c.

64. AR Female head r. : Nymph r. on prow. ΙΣΤΙΑΙΕΩΝ BMC *id.* p. 128,  
Nos. 34 f.

(V a) XIX a ↖ 13 (Δ) 2.2 gms. Tetrobol  
Plate 75, 7

65. Female head r. : Bull r., head facing. Behind, BMC *id.* p. 128,  
vine with two bunches of Nos. 21 f.  
grapes. ΙΣΤΙ

III a-d ↙ 18

## ATHENS 4th-2nd c.

66. AR Athene r., Attic helmet : Owl r., to l., olive sprig. cf. Svoronos *Athènes*  
Shallow incuse. pl. 19  
XIV a ↙ 24 14.46 grms. Tetradrachm Plate 75, 8

67. Athene r., Attic helmet : Owl r. cf. *id.* pl. 22, 73 f.  
XVI d ↑ 10

68. Athene r., Attic helmet : Doublebodied owl *id.* pl. 22, 35 f.  
XI g ↓ 12

69. Athene r., Attic helmet : Two owls facing over *id.* pl. 24, 42 f.  
Kalathos. To r., AOE  
XXVII d ↘ 13

70. Athene r., Corinthian helmet : Zeus fulminating r. To l., *id.* pl. 73, 13  
cornear; to r., eagle  
PD ↘ 19

71. Athene r., Attic helmet : Owl on prow r. *id.* pl. 23, 51-2  
VIII d-e ↑ 13

72. Athene r., Attic helmet : Tripod and thunderbolt *id.* pl. 80, 1 f.  
AO[E]  
XXII e ↑ 17

73. Cicada : Amphora *id.* pl. 107, 55 f.  
X d ↗ 9

74. Head r. : Cicada *id.* pl. 107, 30 f.  
XVIII a-d 11

75. Triptolemos l. in snake : Pig r. Above, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ *id.* pl. 103, 1 f.  
chariot  
VIII e ↗ 16

76. Head r. : Pig r. *id.* pl. 103, 57 f.  
XVI a-d ↗ 13
77. Triptolemos in snake : Crossed cornears, AΘE, *id.* pl. 104, 46 f.  
chariot l. in wreath  
XXII e 15
- AEgina
78. (Dolphins) : Five part incuse BMC Attica  
XII d p. 143, Nos. 206 f.
- Salamis 4th c.
79. Female head r. : Shield on which sheathed sword. BMC *id.* p. 116,  
Nos. 1 f.  
III a-d 15 IX a ↓ 17  
IX a ↘ 16 IX a —  
IX a ↑ 17
- Megara 4th-3rd c.
80. Prow (?) : Obelisk BMC *id.* p. 121,  
Nos. 35 f.  
S ↑ 13
81. Prow l. : Tripod BMC *id.* p. 120,  
Nos. 30 f.  
S ↙ 13 IX d
82. Prow r. : (Dolphins) cf. BMC *id.*  
p. 120, Nos. 21 f.  
PD 12
- 82a. Apollo laureate r. : MEΓ in wreath BMC *id.* p. 120,  
Nos. 19-20  
XV d —

## SIKYON

- 4th c.
83. Dove flying l. with snake : Dove flying l. in wreath BMC  
p. 43, Nos. 87-88  
XV d ↑ 13
84. Dove flying l. : M Below, wreath BMC *id.* p. 44,  
Nos. 103-5  
XI d ↗ 11
- 3rd c.
85. Dove flying r. : ΣI in wreath BMC *id.* p. 42,  
Nos. 138 f.  
PD ↘ 12 IV a-d ↙ 13  
PD ↘ 14 Plate 75, 9 IV a-d ↗ 13



PD ← 13  
 PD ↓ 12  
 PD ← 12  
 PD ↘ 12  
 PD ↓ 11  
 PD ↗ 12  
 ?PD ↘ 15  
 TCD ↗ 11  
 TCD ↗ 13  
 TCD ↗ 12  
 ?TCD ← 12  
 S ↗ 15  
 II d ↗ 11  
 III a-d ↓ 14  
 III a-d ↑ 14  
 III a-d ↗ 14

86. Dove flying r.

IV d ↑ 13  
 VII a ↗ 13  
 VIII e ↖ 12

87. Dove flying r.

III a-d 14  
 XI d 14  
 XXII e 15

(?) AFTER 196

88. Dove flying l.

?PD ↖ —  
 II d → 15  
 V d ↗ 14  
 IX d → 13  
 IX d ↗ 14  
 IX d ↖ 14  
 X a ↘ 14  
 X d ↘ 14

89. Dove flying l.

XXII e ↓ 12

90. Dove flying l.

XVIII d  
 XIX d  
 XIX d

PROBABLY AFTER 196

91. Dove flying l. to r.,  $\Phi$  l.

III a-d ↑ 15  
 IV a-d ↗ 14

IV a-d ← 14  
 IV a-d ↑ —  
 V g ↘ 14  
 XI d ↗ 12  
 XV d ↑ 13  
 XV d ↘ 14  
 XVI a-d ↖ 14  
 XVIII a-d ↓ 14  
 XIX a ↑ 13  
 XIX a ↖ 13  
 XIX d ↖ 15  
 XX d ↓ 10  
 XXVII d ↑ 14  
 XXX d ← 14

:  $\Sigma$  in wreath

IX a ↘ 13  
 XXX a ← 14

: ? in wreath

XXVII a 12  
 XXX a

:  $\Sigma$  l in wreath

XI d ↗ 14  
 XI d ↘ 14  
 XVIII d ↗ 14  
 XVIII d ↑ —  
 XIX d ↖ 13  
 XIX d ↓ 13  
 XXII a ↗ 12  
 XXXVIII g ↘ 12  
 XXVIII g ↓ 14

:  $\Sigma$  in wreath

XXXIII d ↑

: ? in wreath

XIX d  
 XXII e

:  $\Sigma$  l in wreath

XV d ↗ 14  
 XV d ↑ 14

BMC *id.* p. 43,  
Nos. 89-91BMC *id.* p. 47,  
Nos. 143-5BMC *id.* p. 43,  
No. 92BMC *id.* p. 53,  
Nos. 213-4

- |     |     |    |  |       |       |    |
|-----|-----|----|--|-------|-------|----|
| IX  | d ↑ | 13 |  | XV    | d ↑   | —  |
| IX  | d ↙ | 14 |  | XVIII | a-d ↑ | 14 |
| XI  | d ↘ | 14 |  | XIX   | d ↙   | 15 |
| XII | d ↑ | 14 |  | XX    | d ↘   | 12 |
92. Dove flying l. EY : ΣI in wreath BMC *id.* p. 53,  
No. 210
- |       |       |    |              |     |       |    |
|-------|-------|----|--------------|-----|-------|----|
| III   | a-d ↗ | 12 |              | XX  | a-d ↘ | 13 |
| XV    | d ↙   | 15 | Plate 75, 10 | XXX | d ↘   | 14 |
| XVIII | d ↘   | 14 |              |     |       |    |
93. Dove flying l. A : ΣI in wreath cf. BMC *id.* p. 52,  
No. 205
- ?PD ↘ 13 IV a-d ↗ 14 (X)
94. Dove flying l. ΙΣ (?) : ΣI in wreath
- XIX d ↘ 13
95. Dove flying l. ΟΛ (?) : ΣI in wreath
- XI d ↙ 14
96. Dove flying l. ΑΥ (?) : ΣI in wreath
- XXVII d ↗ 14
97. Dove feeding r. ΣI : Tripod in wreath BMC *id.* p. 50,  
Nos. 178 f.
- |     |       |    |              |        |     |    |
|-----|-------|----|--------------|--------|-----|----|
| PD  | ↖     | 14 |              | XIV    | a ↙ | 15 |
| PD  | ↗     | 15 |              | XV     | d ↙ | 16 |
| PD  | ↘     | 15 |              | XIX    | a ↓ | 14 |
| PD  | ↘     | 17 | Plate 75, 11 | XX     | d   | —  |
| PD  | →     | 16 |              | XXVII  | a ↖ | 14 |
| PD  | ↘     | 14 |              | XXVII  | d → | 14 |
| III | a-d ↑ | 17 |              | XXVII  | d ↗ | 14 |
| III | a-d → | 17 |              | XXVIII | g   | 15 |
| V   | d ↗   | 17 | (On rev. EY) | XXX    | a ↖ | 15 |
| V   | d ↘   | 15 |              |        |     |    |
| X   | d ↗   | 17 |              |        |     |    |
98. Dove ? : Σ in wreath
- XIX d
99. Dove ? : ΣI in wreath
- VIII e
100. Dove ? : ? in wreath
- XX d XX d
101. Apollo laureate r. : Dove l. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ BMC *id.* p. 55,  
Nos. 236 f.
- VIII e ↘ 20
102. Apollo laureate r. : Σ in wreath BMC *id.* p. 50,  
Nos. 170 f.
- XV d ↘ 14

## PELOPONNESE

PHLIUS 4th-3rd c.

103. Bull butting l. : ☼ BMC *id.* p. 34, No. 16  
 ?TCD ↘ 12 IX a ↗ 12  
 S ↘ 12 XI d ↗ 12  
 II a-d ↖ 11 XIX a ↑ 13
104. Bull butting l. : Φ in wreath BMC *id.* p. 34, Nos. 18 f.  
 IV a-d ↗ 12

ACHAEAN LEAGUE 3rd-2nd c.

105. AR Zeus laureate r. : ✕ in wreath  
 (III a-d)  
 VII a ↖ 16 1.8 grms. Trident (= Clerk p. 186 Mantinea) Plate 75, 13  
 XV d ↖ 15 Plated NA (= Clerk p. 192 f. Mantinea) Plate 75, 12  
 (XV d)
106. Zeus standing l. with Nike : Achaea seated l. with wreath and scepter.  
 ?PD ↘ 18  
 IV a-d 18 (Megara = CopSNG No. 334)  
 V d ← 18 (Pheneus cf. BMC Pelop p. 15, No. 168)  
 XV d ↓ 17 (Sikyon = CopSNG, Nos. 330-1)  
 XIX d ↑ —  
 XXVII a 17

PATRAE ? after 146

107. Athene r., Corinthian helmet : Poseidon hurling trident r. BMC *id.* p. 22, No. 5  
 V ↑ d VII d ↖ 17

PELENE 4th c.

108. Apollo laureate r. : IE in wreath BMC *id.* p. 31, Nos. 3-4  
 XVIII a-d ← 11
109. Head : Ram's head in wreath BMC *id.* p. 31, Nos. 6 f.  
 ?PD ↓ 12

ELIS 3rd c.

110. Head : Eagle l. cf. BMC *id.* p. 74, Nos. 141-2  
 XVIII a ↘ 16

MESSENE 3rd c.

111. Demeter l. : Zeus striding r.; to l., tripod BMC *id.* p. 109, Nos. 4-5  
 III a-d ↓ 19

## ARGOS 4th-3rd c.

## 112. AR (PD)

113. Wolf standing l. : Crested Corinthian helmet l. cf. BMC *id.* p. 143, No. 86

IX a ↓ 13

114. Wolf's head l. : A BMC *id.* p. 143, Nos. 98 f.

PD ↗ 11 (Altar)

TCD ↗ 11 (Altar)

(TCD)

S ↗ 10 (Altar)

S ↘ 13 (Θ)

IV a-d ↖ 12 (Θ)

XIX a ↙ 11 (Θ)

XXX a ↗ 11 (ΘΘ)

XXX a ↗ 13 (Helmet)

115. Athene r. Corinthian helmet. : Tyche with patera and cornucopiae BMC *id.* p. 144, No. 109

III a-d ↑ 16

IV a-d ↗ 18

116. Apollo laureate l. : Wolf l. Above, ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ BMC *id.* p. 146, Nos. 125-6

III a-d ↑ 16

## METHANA 3rd c.

117. Hephaistos r. : ΜΕΘ BMC *id.* p. 163, No. 2

IV a-d ↙ 9

## KLEONAI

118. Young Herakles r. : ΚΛΕΩ in wreath BMC *id.* p. 154, Nos. 9-10

II d ↓ 13

?PD ↑ 14

## TROIZEN

119. Apollo laureate l. : Trident BMC *id.* p. 156, Nos. 12-14

TCD ↓ 14

IX a —

XVIII a-d 18

## ARCADIAN LEAGUE

120. AR Zeus laureate l. : Pan seated l. on rock. BMC *id.* p. 178, Nos. 76 f.

IX a → 16 2.2 grms.  
Plate 75, 14

(XV d)

## HERAIA

121. Athene r., Attic helmet. : H BMC *id.* p. 183, Nos. 24-5

IX a ↑ 14

## ORCHOMENOS

122. Hero r., Attic helmet : Artemis shooting r. with bow cf. BMC *id.*  
 EP- $\overline{\Gamma\text{P}}$  p. 190, Nos. 3-4  
 XVIII a-d ↗ 17

## TEGEEA

123. Athene r., Attic helmet : Owl l. To l., TE BMC *id.* p. 201,  
 No. 10  
 IX a ↓ 16

## OTHER MINTS

## ANDROS 4th c.

124. Dionysos laureate l. : Thyrsos Paschalis J.I.A.N  
 Countermark, kantharos. 1898, pl. 1Δ . No. 15  
 ?TCD ↓ 18

## APTERA, CRETE 3rd c.

125. Artemis r. : Bow. Above, ΑΠΤ [ ] BMC Crete p. 8,  
 No. 4  
 XVIII a-d ↘ 12

## DELOS 4th-3rd c.

126. Apollo laureate r. : Lyre Svoronos *Athènes*  
 pl. 105, Nos. 64-74  
 XV d ↖ 10

## (?)TENOS 4th-3rd c.

127. Head laureate r. : Dolphin l. in wreath BMC Crete p. 131,  
 No. 39  
 XIX a → 10

## AMISOS 3rd-2nd c.

128. Ares r. : Sword in sheath BMC Pontus p. 17,  
 Nos. 40 f.  
 [ ] ΣΟΥ  
 VIII e ↓ 18

## (?)LAMPSAKOS 3rd cent.

129. Young Herakles r. : Athene seated r. Α-Α[M]  
 XVIII a-d ↑ Plate 75, 15

## EPHESOS 4th c.

130. Bee ΕΦ : Stag r. Above, quiver. BMC Ionia p. 57,  
 Nos. 80-1  
 [ΑΠ] ΟΛΛΟΔ[ΩΡΟΣ]  
 XIV a ↑ 15

## MILETOS 4th c.

131. Lion l., head reversed : Star; ΜΕΝΩΝ BMC Ionia p. 188,  
No. 48  
IX a ↙ 13 Plate 75, 16

## PHOKAIA 4th c.

132. Female head l. : Head of griffin l. BMC *id.* p. 216,  
Nos. 91 f.  
S ↑ 11

## RHODES 4th c.

133. Apollo r. : Rose P-O BMC Caria p. 237,  
Nos. 70 f.  
VIII e ↑ 11

## SALAMIS, CYPRUS 4th c.

134. Lion l. Above, ram's head : Horse l. Above, star.  
To l., ankh BMC Cyprus p. 60,  
Nos. 69-73  
IX a ↑ 13

## ANTIOCHOS III (Antioch) 222-187

135. Apollo laureate r. : Elephant l. To l., anchor.  
[ΒΑ]ΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Newell *WSM*  
pl. xxxi, 13.  
VIII e ↑ 11

## SIDON 4th c.

136. (Galley) : King and charioteer l. BMC Phoenicia  
p. 147, Nos. 46 f.  
XVI a-d 15

## EGYPT

(All axes are vertical unless marked otherwise)

## PTOLEMY II 284-247

137. Zeus laureate r. : Eagle on thunderbolt l.  
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Svoronos *Ptol.* pl.  
xiii, Nos. 21-4.  
XVIII a-d 25 XIX a-d 29

## PTOLEMY III 247-222

138. Ptolemy diademed r. : Eagle on thunderbolt l.  
To l., cornucopiae Svoronos *Ptol.*  
pl. xxx, No. 8  
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ  
PD 20 XVIII a-d 21  
TCD 19 Plate 75, 17 XVIII a-d 19

S		19	XIX	d	18
S		20	XIX	d	19
S		20	XIX	d	18
III	a-d	21	XIX	d	
III	a-d	19	XIX	a-d	20
IV	a-d	18	XIX	a	
V	a	20	XXII	a	18
V	a	20	XXII	a	19
V	a	20	XXII	a	
V	d		XXVII	d	19 Plate 75,18
VIII	a	20	XXX	a	20
XII	d	19	XXX	a	19
XII	d	19	XXX	a	19
XIV	a	20	XXX	a	19
XV	d	18	XXX	a	19
XV	d	20	XXX	a	19
XV	d	19	XXX	a	18
XVI	a-d	19	XXX	a	18
			XXX	a	19

139. PTOLEMY V 204-181  
(XIV a)

CLEOPATRA I ca. 181-174

140. Isis r.

: Eagle l. on thunderbolt  
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

Svoronos *Ptol.*  
pl. xl, Nos. 11-12

XIX	a-d	28	(Α)
XIX	↖ a-d	27	"
XIX	a-d	25	"
XIX	a-d	27	(Α)
XIX	a-d	25	"
XIX	a-d	27	"
XIX	a-d	27	"
XIX	a-d	27	"
XIX	a-d	29	"
XIX	a-d	27	"
XIX	a-d	25	"
XIX	a-d	27	(Α)
XIX	a-d	27	(Α')
XIX	a-d	25	(Π)
XIX	a-d ↖	26	(Π')

XIX	a-d	23
XIX	a-d	25
XIX	a-d	22
XIX	a-d	25
XIX	a-d	26
XIX	a-d	25
XIX	a-d	28
XIX	a-d	25
XIX	a-d	28
XIX	a-d	28

cf. Thompson,  
*Hesperia*, XX, 1951,  
pp. 355 f.

Fragments of six other coins of the same types  
were found in the same fill of Well XIX.

PTOLEMY VI-VIII 181-146

141. Head r.

: Two eagles on thunderbolt  
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

Svoronos *Ptol.*  
pl. xl, viii, No. 11

XIX	a-d	28
-----	-----	----

142. Zeus Ammon

: Two eagles on thunderbolt  
To l. caduceus ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ  
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

XIX	d	25
-----	---	----

XIX	d	22
-----	---	----

## ROME

143. AR (XVI a-d)  
(X d)
144. AR Roma 1. : Two warriors fighting over fallen body Q HERM MF Sydenham No. 592  
VIII e ↘ 18 Plate 75, 20 (where photo of obverse must be rotated to r.)
145. Janus : Prow r. Above, star. Sydenham No. 264  
Roma  
XX d ↘ 30 Plate 75, 19
- ANTONINUS PIUS
146. Emperor laureate r. : Tiber seated on waves Mattingly and  
*Antoninus Aug Tiberis SC* Sydenham No. 691a  
XI g 33
- CONSTANTIUS II
147. Bust r. : Two standards between two Kent I, No. 901  
*Fl Iul Constantius Nob C* soldiers *Gloria Exercitus*  
*SMHA*  
VIII g AE/3
148. Bust r. *Constantius* : Emperor spearing fallen Kent II, No. 1902  
horseman *Fel Temp Reparatio*  
XIV g AE/3 S|D\*  
XXX g AE/3 ASISC
- VALENTINIAN I
149. Bust r. : Emperor with labarum cf. Kent II,  
*DN Valentinianus PF Aug* dragging captive r. No. 1718  
*Gloria Romanorum*  
XII g AE/3
- VALENS
150. Bust r. : Victory l. with wreath and Kent II, No. 2077  
palm *Securitas Reipublicae*  
*Consa*  
XVI g AE/3
- ANASTASIUS
151. Bust r. : EA in border BMC Byz. I, p. 9,  
Nos. 69-73  
V g 12



## MICHAEL IV

152. Christ facing ] NOYHA  $\overline{\text{XC}}$  : Cross on two steps

BMC Byz. II,  
p. 497, No. 6

X g 30

## ISAAC I

- 153.

IS XS  
: BAΣ IAE  
BAΣ IΛ-

BMC Byz. II,  
p. 513, Nos. 5-6

X g

## NIKEPHOROS III

154. Christ facing : Cross  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{C} \phi \\ \text{N} \Delta \end{smallmatrix}$

BMC Byz. II,  
p. 538, No. 12

XXVIII g

## MANUEL I

155. Emperor with labarum  
and globe

:  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{†} \\ \text{†} \end{smallmatrix}$

BMC Byz. II,  
p. 580, Nos. 79-85

X g 15  
XXVIII g

XXVIII g  
XXVIII g

## TESSERA—?ARGOS

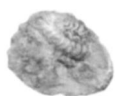
156. Unstruck :  $\text{⌘}$   
XX d 15 Plate 75, 21

unpublished type.

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THE BRITISH MUSEUM  
LONDON, ENGLAND

PLATE 74



1 (1)



2 (1)



3 (1)



4 (1)



5 (2)



6 (5)



7 (3)



8 (4)



9 (6)



10 (21)



11 (10)



12 (15)



13 (17)



14 (18)



15 (19)



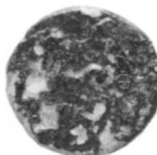
16 (29)



17 (30)



18 (32)



19 (33)



20 (35)



