

# THE EARLIEST ATHENIAN NEW STYLE BRONZE COINS. SOME EVIDENCE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA\*

(PLATES 75, 76)

IN the course of the 2nd century B.C., the Athenian Agora was the site of extensive building activity. The most dramatic reshaping of the area took place on the east and south sides. There, the Square Peristyle erected around 325 B.C., probably to house the law courts, and a later, small brick building at the southeast corner of the Peristyle, were demolished. Also torn down were the late 5th century South Stoa I, built, at least in part, to provide offices and dining rooms for magistrates and boards of officials, and several small buildings of the 5th and 4th centuries south of the Tholos.<sup>1</sup> In their place were erected three great stoas. The earliest, the so-called Middle Stoa,<sup>2</sup> was begun in the second decade of the 2nd century and was of enormous size for its date (146 m. long). About three decades later, during the first part of the reign of Attalos II (159–139 B.C.), the Stoa of Attalos<sup>3</sup> was built perpendicular to the Middle Stoa. The new stoa was shorter than its predecessor (116 m.) but had two storeys and a marble façade. Finally, South Stoa II<sup>4</sup> was erected, somewhat later than the Stoa of Attalos and the East Building which connected the South and Middle Stoas, and completed the South Square which now formed an adjunct to the main square to the north.

The early 2nd century date of the Middle Stoa and the fixed relative sequence of the three Hellenistic stoas are of great potential value to the numismatist, who can,

\* In preparing this study, I benefited greatly from consultations with several present and former members of the Agora staff who gave generously of their time and *expertise*. They are acknowledged individually in the following notes. Above all, I am indebted to John H. Kroll, my predecessor as Agora numismatist, who provided advice and encouragement at every stage of my work. Dates suggested for the bronze coinage of Athens in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. are based on Dr. Kroll's unpublished study of these early issues.

The following abbreviations are used: AE = bronze. AR = silver. AV = gold. *Agora*, XIV = H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton, 1972. *BMC* = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1873ff. McClean = S. W. Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 1923–1929. Sv. = J. N. Svoronos, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, Munich, 1923–1926. References to this work are exclusively to plates; Sv.— indicates type was not illustrated.

In the catalogues given below, all coins are AE unless otherwise stated. Specimens illustrated on Plates 75 and 76 are indicated by an asterisk.

<sup>1</sup> *Agora*, XIV, pls. 6 and 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Agora*, XIV, pp. 66–68, 103–104.

<sup>3</sup> *Agora*, XIV, pp. 104–107.

<sup>4</sup> *Agora*, XIV, pp. 68–69.

by studying the coins found in the construction fills of the three buildings and related deposits, attempt to shed some light on the bronze coinage of Athens in the 2nd century B.C. Foremost among the outstanding questions regarding this coinage is the date of introduction of the "New Style" bronze types Athena/Fulminating Zeus. The establishment of a relative sequence for the 2nd century Fulminating Zeus and fractional issues is also important, for the archaeologist as well as the numismatist. In this respect, the material from the three stoas is no less significant for what it does not contain than for what it does contain.

### THE MIDDLE STOA: THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

The Middle Stoa<sup>5</sup> was the first element in the reorganization of the south part of the Agora. The building, which may have been a royal gift to Athens, had unfluted Doric columns on all four sides and was accessible both from the main square and from the south. The stoa was constructed almost entirely of poros from Aigina. Marble was restricted to the south gutter and the metopes, and the floors were of clay. Work on the building was begun at the east end and proceeded westward. The last two bays of the west end were not erected until the main part of the stoa was completed, thereby allowing the old buildings to the west to continue in use as long as possible.<sup>6</sup>

In the course of the excavations of 1933, 1935 and 1953–1954, a vast amount of construction fill for the Middle Stoa was uncovered, including great quantities of pottery, stamped amphora handles and coins. The date at which this fill was closed may be placed around 180 B.C. on the evidence of the amphora stamps, which do not include any varieties datable after 183 or 182 B.C.<sup>7</sup>

The coins catalogued below (Deposit I) are those which were found in areas of the building and north-terrace fill which the excavators regarded as undisturbed and in the

<sup>5</sup> *Agora*, XIV, pp. 66–68, 103–104.

<sup>6</sup> The numismatic finds do not, however, substantiate a later date for the construction fill of the west end of the stoa. The latest coins from the west end of the building fill are similar in character to those from the remainder of the fill: Sv. 81.17–18, Θ-639 (east), ΜΣ-230 (west); Sv. 81.28–29, Θ-286, ΜΣ-316 (east); Sv.—, Θ-641, ΜΣ-14 (east), Θ-148, Θ-155 (west); Sv. 107.55–69, ΜΣ-73 (east), Θ-714 (west); *BMC, Thessaly*, 62–67, Θ-242 (east). See, however, the remarks, below, p. 330, on a period of inactivity at the Athenian mint and the group of coins, below, p. 311, from an area of the Hellenistic fill south of the Middle Stoa, possibly connected with the completion of the west end of the building (Deposit III).

<sup>7</sup> V. R. Grace, "Les timbres amphoriques grecs," *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, XXVII, Paris, 1970, p. 291: "The end date of the [amphora] stamps of the Middle Stoa filling should therefore be set 7 years earlier than that of the Pergamon group; on present estimate, then, 183 or 182 B.C." Cf. also p. 320. Grace, "Stamped Handles of Commercial Amphoras," *Excavations at Nessana*, I, London, 1962, p. 124. I am grateful to Miss Grace for reviewing the amphora stamp evidence with me.

drains and layers which were older than the 2nd century structure.<sup>8</sup> 152 coins were securely identifiable after cleaning.<sup>9</sup>

DEPOSIT I  
Agora Deposit H-K 12-14, Part I

ATHENS

*Second half of 4th century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

A

Rev.  $\Theta$  E or variant. Double-bodied owl, head facing; above, on either side, olive spray.

Sv. 22.41-45. (2)

\*1.  $\Theta$ -274      2.  $M\Sigma$ -93

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Double-bodied owl, as preceding, except below, bakchos ring.

Sv. 22.35-40. (3)

3.  $\Theta$ -268      5.  $M\Sigma$ -1

4.  $A$ -413

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Double-bodied owl, as preceding, except details illegible.

Sv. 22.35-45. (7)

6.  $\Theta$ -270      10.  $M\Sigma$ -218

7.  $M\Sigma$ -26      11.  $M\Sigma$ -221

\*8.  $M\Sigma$ -35      12.  $M\Sigma$ -395

9.  $M\Sigma$ -87

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

Rev. Two owls r. and l.; between them, bakchos ring and A $\Theta$ E or variant; all within olive wreath.

Sv. 24.42-50. (5)

\*13.  $A$ -417      16.  $M\Sigma$ -246

14.  $M\Sigma$ -22      17.  $M\Sigma$ -426

15.  $M\Sigma$ -227

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except between them, A $\Theta$  and kernos; all within olive wreath.

Sv. 24.34-39. (2)

\*18.  $\Theta$ -396      19.  $M\Sigma$ -85

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except between them, A $\Theta$ .

Sv. 24.51-57. (18)

20.  $\Theta$ -264      29.  $M\Sigma$ -229

21.  $\Theta$ -267      30.  $M\Sigma$ -232

\*22.  $\Theta$ -269      31.  $M\Sigma$ -236

23.  $\Theta$ -675      32.  $M\Sigma$ -240

24.  $\Theta$ -713      33.  $M\Sigma$ -243

25.  $M\Sigma$ -10      34.  $M\Sigma$ -247

26.  $M\Sigma$ -29      35.  $M\Sigma$ -248

27.  $M\Sigma$ -49      36.  $M\Sigma$ -251

28.  $M\Sigma$ -198      37.  $M\Sigma$ -263

<sup>8</sup> The undisturbed areas of the fill were excavated in 1933 and 1953-1954 by Dorothy B. Thompson and in 1935 by Arthur W. Parsons. I am indebted to Mrs. Thompson and to Prof. Homer A. Thompson for reviewing the field notebooks with me and helping to assemble the list of relevant coins.

<sup>9</sup> The entire deposit of 441 coins consists of the following 366 coins with inventory numbers, 46 of which disintegrated after discovery:  $\Theta$ -148, 155, 186, 187, 240-242, 250, 262-274, 285, 286, 311, 314, 328, 329, 335, 336, 395-400, 633-635, 637, 639-642, 649, 663, 668, 674-677, 699-700, 713, 714;  $A$ -410-414, 417;  $M\Sigma$ -1, 4, 10-14, 17-26, 28-36, 38-40, 47-59, 66-82, 85-88, 93, 94, 105, 114-116, 121-124, 197-201, 204, 208-222, 226-253, 258-263, 265-270, 284-286, 288, 301-319, 356-370, 377, 380-384, 390-392, 395, 396, 402, 403, 405, 407-419, 421, 423, 424, 426-429, 433, 437-441, 443-457, 460-476, 492-497, 504-510, 624-626, 647-653, 656-695. An additional 75 AE coins, without inventory numbers, are missing. Almost all of these had been identified during the early excavations as "Athens, 3rd century B.C.," "Greek," "Illegible" or "Disintegrated" and were subsequently discarded. The designation "Athens, 3rd century B.C." was given to coins which were similar in size and fabric to 3rd century Athenian AE; today they would be classified as "Greek" or "Illegible".

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except details illegible.

Sv. 24.34-57. (2)

38. *MΣ*-358      39. *MΣ*-454

Obv. Athena, uncertain helmet.

Rev. Two owls, as preceding, details illegible.

Sv. 24.34-59. (2)

40. *MΣ*-71      41. *MΣ*-252

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

A

Rev. HΘ Owl l., wings closed: all within olive wreath.

Sv. 22.85-88. (12)

42. Θ-285      \*48. *MΣ*-228

\*43. Δ-410      \*49. *MΣ*-238

44. *MΣ*-31      50. *MΣ*-241

45. *MΣ*-34      51. *MΣ*-242

46. *MΣ*-47      52. *MΣ*-245

47. *MΣ*-122      53. *MΣ*-310

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

AΘ

Rev. H Owl r., wings closed; all within olive wreath.

Sv. 22.80-84. (1)

\*54. *MΣ*-366

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Owl r. in olive wreath, as preceding, except details illegible.

Sv. 22.71-72, 80-84. (1)

55. Θ-329

### *First half of 3rd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

Rev. AΘ or ΘA Owl r., wings closed; all within wheat wreath.

Sv. 22.64-70. (8)

56. *MΣ*-19      \*60. *MΣ*-214

\*57. *MΣ*-20      61. *MΣ*-244

58. *MΣ*-24      62. *MΣ*-267

59. *MΣ*-59      63. *MΣ*-313

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings closed; to r., wreath.

Sv. 22.76-77. (3)

64. Δ-411      66. *MΣ*-197

65. *MΣ*-32

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., wheat ear.

Sv. 22.78-79. (1)

67. *MΣ*-302

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 22.73-79. (4)

68. Θ-634      70. *MΣ*-200

69. *MΣ*-55      71. *MΣ*-308

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

Rev. Owl r., wings closed; details illegible.

Sv. 22.64-84. (9)

72. Θ-241      77. *MΣ*-28

73. Θ-328      78. *MΣ*-54

74. *MΣ*-17      79. *MΣ*-307

75. *MΣ*-18      80. *MΣ*-309

76. *MΣ*-25

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

A Θ

Rev. Two owls r. and l.; between them, Θ or A; all within olive wreath.

Sv. 24.58-59. (3)

81. Θ-250      83. *MΣ*-270

82. Θ-271

### *Second half of 3rd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E Two owls, facing.

Sv. 24.29-31. (1)

84. Θ-314

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings open; to r., amphora.

Sv. 24.10-17. (2)

85. *MΣ*-48 \*86. *MΣ*-261 (struck over AE of Antigonos Gonatas, McClean 3594-3608)

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., kernos.

Sv. 24.33. (1)

87. *MΣ*-58

Obv. Head of Zeus r., laureate.

A

Rev. ΘE Athena standing r., helmeted, holding owl on l. and patera in r. hand; border of dots.

Sv. 25.1-4. (1)

88. *MΣ*-216

Obv. Head of Artemis r., with quiver at shoulder.

Rev. Athena with owl and patera, as preceding.

Sv. 25.5-10. (1)

\*89. Θ-637

Obv. Head of Demeter r., bound with wheat.

AΘ

Rev. E Kernos with wheat ear passed through each handle; to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 104.8-20. (2)

90. Θ-674 (struck over Athens AE, Sv. 24.33)

91. *MΣ*-429 (struck over Athens AE, Sv. 24.10-17, 33)

Obv. Kernos with wheat ear passed through each handle.

Θ

Rev. A E Bakchos ring; all within wheat wreath.

Sv. 104.21-23. (3)

92. Θ-398 94. *MΣ*-82

\*93. A-414

Obv. AΘE above two superimposed pigs l.

A<sup>E</sup>

Rev. Θ<sup>E</sup> Upright bakchos; all within olive wreath.

Sv. 103.41-46. (1)

95. *MΣ*-67

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings closed, on thunderbolt.

Sv. 23.46. (1)

96. *MΣ*-315

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

AΘ

Rev. E Owl r., wings closed, on thunderbolt.

Sv. 23.47-49. (1)

97. *MΣ*-40

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

A

Rev. ΘE Owl r., wings closed, on prow r.

Sv. 23.50-52. (1)

98. *MΣ*-12

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.

AΘ

Rev. E Zeus, nude, standing r., holding thunderbolt in lowered r. hand, extending l. arm; to r., prow r.

Sv. 81.9-16. (1)

\*99. Θ-240

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus holding thunderbolt, as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 81.4-16. (2)

100. Θ-186

101. *MΣ*-11

### *2nd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.

Θ

A

Rev. E Zeus, nude, striding r., hurling thunderbolt in raised r. hand, extending l. arm; to r., star and eagle r.

Sv. 81.17-18. (2)

102. Θ-639

\*103. *MΣ*-230

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding,

Θ

except AE and to l., wheat ear; to r., eagle r.

Sv. 81.28-29. (2)

104. Θ-286

\*105. *MΣ*-316

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.  
 Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding,

A  
 Θ

except E and to r., cornucopiae and eagle  
 r.

Sv. — (4)

\*106. Θ-148 108. Θ-641  
 107. Θ-155 \*109. ΜΣ-14

Obv. Cicada.

Θ

Rev. A E Amphora.

Sv. 107.55-69. (2)

\*110. Θ-714 111. ΜΣ-73

LEMNOS, MYRINA

*4th to 3rd centuries B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian  
 helmet.

Rev. ΜΥΠΙ to l., inward. Owl facing; to r., olive  
 branch.

BMC 2. (2)

112. Θ-187 113. Θ-635

MACEDON, ALEXANDER III

*Mint of Sardis, ca. 321 B.C.*

AV stater

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian  
 helmet decorated with a serpent.

Rev. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ to r., inward. Nike, standing  
 l., holding wreath in outstretched r. hand  
 and stylis in l. hand; to l., Ε and race torch.

M. Thompson and A. R. Bellinger, "A Hoard of  
 Alexander Drachms," *Yale Cl. St.*, XIV,  
 1955, p. 27, no. 11, and p. 39, no. 79.

\*114. ΜΣ-204 (1)

MACEDON, ANTIGONOS GONATAS

*277-239 B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian  
 helmet.

Rev. ΒΑ Pan r., erecting trophy; other details  
 illegible.

McClellan 3594-3608. (2)

115. ΜΣ-222 116. ΜΣ-253

THESSALY, THESSALIAN LEAGUE

*196-146 B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian  
 helmet; other details illegible.

Rev. Horse trotting r.; other details illegible.

BMC 62-67. (1)

117. Θ-242

BOEOTIA, THEBES?

*ca. 220-197 B.C.*

Obv. Head of Demeter, three-quarter face r.,  
 wearing wheat wreath.

Rev. ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ to r., inward. Poseidon, nude,  
 standing l., resting r. foot on rock, leaning  
 on trident in l. hand.

BMC 81-89. (2)

118. Θ-642 119. ΜΣ-305

BOEOTIA, UNCERTAIN MINT

*ca. 338-315 B.C.*

Obv. Boeotian shield.

Rev. ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ Ornamented trident; to r.,  
 dolphin; below, uncertain symbol.

BMC 57-62. (2)

120. Θ-273 121. ΜΣ-77

EUBOEIA, CHALCIS

*ca. 369-336 B.C.*

Obv. Female head facing, wearing diadem with  
 five disks, over which passes a sacrificial  
 fillet.

Rev. Eagle flying r., holding serpent in beak and  
 claws; other details illegible.

BMC 70-78. (1)

122. ΜΣ-94

EUBOEIA, UNCERTAIN MINT

*ca. 369-336 B.C.*

Obv. Bull standing r.; above, sword with strap.

Rev. Bunch of grapes; to r., trophy.

BMC 22. (1)

123. Θ-399

ATTICA, ELEUSIS

*Second half of 4th century B.C.*

- Obv. Triptolemos seated l. in winged chariot drawn by two serpents, holding wheat ears in r. hand.  
 Rev. ΕΛΕΥΣΙ or ΑΘΕ above pig standing r. on bakchos; below, uncertain symbol.  
 Sv. 103.1-13, 33-39. (3)  
 124. Θ-395 126. ΜΣ-213  
 125. ΜΣ-150
- Obv. Triptolemos in chariot, as preceding, except seated r.  
 Rev. Pig on bakchos, as preceding, except ΕΛΕΥΣΙ above.  
 Sv. 103.15-16. (1)  
 127. ΜΣ-319
- Obv. Demeter or Triptolemos seated l. in winged chariot drawn by two serpents, holding wheat ears in r. hand.  
 Rev. Pig standing r. on bakchos; below, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ; all within wheat wreath.  
 Sv. 103.17-24. (7)  
 128. Θ-263 132. ΜΣ-226  
 129. Θ-311 133. ΜΣ-234  
 130. Θ-400 \*134. ΜΣ-249  
 131. ΜΣ-219
- Obv. Triptolemos l., mounting winged chariot drawn by two serpents, holding wheat ears in r. hand.  
 Rev. Pig on bakchos, as preceding, except above, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ.  
 Sv. 103.25. (1)  
 135. ΜΣ-284
- Obv. Triptolemos mounting chariot, as preceding.  
 Rev. Pig on bakchos, as preceding, except ΕΛΕΥΣΙ below.  
 Sv. 103.26-28. (4)  
 136. Α-412 138. ΜΣ-36  
 137. ΜΣ-33 139. ΜΣ-233
- Obv. Triptolemos seated in or mounting serpent chariot.  
 Rev. Pig on bakchos, as preceding.  
 Sv. 103.17-24, 26-28. (1)  
 140. ΜΣ-51
- MEGARIS, MEGARA  
*ca. 307-243 B.C.*  
 Obv. Prow l.; on it, a tripod.
- Rev. ΜΕΓ or ΜΕΓΑ between two dolphins swimming in a circle; border of dots.  
*BMC 21-29.* (3)  
 141. Θ-262 143. ΜΣ-56  
 \*142. Θ-266
- Obv. ΜΕΓΑ above prow l.  
 Rev. Tripod between two dolphins; border of dots.  
*BMC 30-34.* (3)  
 144. Θ-265 146. Θ-668  
 145. Θ-649
- AEGINA  
*4th century B.C.*  
 Obv. Α between two dolphins upward.  
 Rev. Incuse square; details illegible.  
*BMC 206-222.* (1)  
 147. ΜΣ-57
- 3rd to 2nd centuries B.C.*  
 Obv. ΑΙΓΙ above prow r.  
 Rev. Head of ram r.; below, ΑΓΛΑ; border of dots.  
*BMC 230-232.* (1)  
 \*148. ΜΣ-53
- ACHAEA, PHLIUS  
*431-370 B.C.*  
 Obv. Bull l., butting.  
 Rev. :Φ:  
*BMC 16-17.* (1)  
 149. Θ-272
- ACHAEA, SICYON  
*306-283 B.C.*  
 Obv. Dove flying l.  
 ΔΗ  
 Rev. Μ in olive wreath.  
*BMC 161.* (1)  
 150. Θ-335
- ARGOLIS, ARGOS  
*ca. 250-229 B.C.*  
 Obv. Head of Hera r., wearing stephanos inscribed ΑΡΓΕ.  
 Rev. Athena l., holding spear in raised r. hand and shield in l. hand.

BMC 106-108.	(1)	Obv. Head of young Zeus Ammon r., laureate.
*151. <i>MΣ</i> -304		NI
TENOS		Rev. TH Bunch of grapes; to l., trident.
3rd to 2nd centuries B.C.		BMC 9-13. (1)
		152. Θ-336

A second group of coins associated with the erection of the Middle Stoa (Deposit II) made up part of the Hellenistic fill immediately south of the building.<sup>10</sup> The bulk of this fill contained material contemporary to that in the construction fill of the Stoa itself (Deposit I). As Deposit I, Deposit II may be dated *ca.* 180 B.C. on the basis of the stamped amphora handles in the fill.<sup>11</sup> 37 coins were securely identifiable after cleaning and are catalogued below.<sup>12</sup>

## DEPOSIT II

## Agora Deposit H-K 12-14, Part II

ATHENS		Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except details illegible.
<i>Second half of 4th century B.C.</i>		Sv. 24.34-57. (2)
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.		159. K-1295 160. K-1367
A		
Rev. Θ E or variant. Double-bodied owl, head facing; above, on either side, olive spray; details illegible.		Obv. Athena, uncertain helmet.
Sv. 22.35-45. (2)		Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except details illegible. (1)
153. K-1365 154. K-1377		Sv. 24.34-59. (1)
		161. K-1303
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.		
Rev. Two owls r. and l.; between them, bakchos ring and AΘE or variant; all within olive wreath.		Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
Sv. 24.42-50. (2)		A
155. K-1359 156. K-1428		Rev. HΘ Owl l., wings closed; all within olive wreath.
		Sv. 22.85-88. (2)
Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.		162. K-1324 163. K-1357
Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except between them, AΘ.		
Sv. 24.51-57. (2)		Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
157. K-1300 *158. K-1301		AΘ
Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.		Rev. H Owl r., wings closed; all within olive wreath.

<sup>10</sup> The area south of the Middle Stoa was excavated in 1953-1954 by Eugene Vanderpool. I am grateful to Professor Vanderpool for reviewing his field notes with me and helping to assemble the list of coins from the Hellenistic fill.

<sup>11</sup> Above, note 7.

<sup>12</sup> The entire deposit of 131 coins consists of the following 120 coins with inventory numbers, 10 of which disintegrated after discovery: K-1290-1303, 1308-1313, 1324-1327, 1333-1338, 1355-1361, 1363-1369, 1376-1378, 1422-1428, 1432, 1822-1855, 1857-1876. An additional 11 AE coins, without inventory numbers, are missing.



Sv. 22.80–84. (1)  
164. K-1355

*First half of 3rd century B.C.*

AR triobol

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

A

Rev. E Θ Owl facing, wings closed; on either side,  
an olive branch.

Sv. 21.43–52. (1)  
\*165. K-1356

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian  
helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings closed; to r., wheat ear.  
Sv. 22.78–79. (1)

166. K-1360

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., uncertain  
symbol.

Sv. 22.73–79. (3)  
167. K-1309 169. K-1313  
168. K-1311

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian  
helmet.

A Θ

Rev. Two owls r. and l.; between them, Θ or A;  
all within olive wreath.

Sv. 24.58–59. (1)  
170. K-1425

*Second half of 3rd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings open; to r., amphora.  
Sv. 24.10–17. (1)  
\*171. K-1294

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., uncertain  
symbol.

Sv. 24.10–17, 33. (2)  
172. K-1333 173. K-1427

Obv. Kernos with wheat ear passed through each  
handle.

Θ

Rev. A E Bakchos ring; all within wheat wreath.

Sv. 104.21–23. (1)  
\*174. K-1298

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian  
helmet; border of dots.

AΘ

Rev. E Zeus, nude, standing r., holding thunder-  
bolt in lowered r. hand, extending l. arm;  
to r., prow r.

Sv. 81.9–16. (1)  
175. K-1336

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus holding thunderbolt, as preceding,  
except to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 81.4–16. (1)  
\*176. K-1327

*2nd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian  
helmet; border of dots.

Θ

A

Rev. E Zeus, nude, striding r., hurling thunder-  
bolt in raised r. hand, extending l. arm;  
to r., star and eagle r.

Sv. 81.17–18. (2)  
177. K-1290 178. K-1337

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding,  
Θ  
except AE and to l., wheat ear; to r., eagle r.  
Sv. 81.28–29. (2)

179. K-1293 180. K-1368

Obv. Cicada.

Rev. A<sup>Θ</sup><sub>E</sub> Amphora.

Sv. 107.55–69. (2)  
181. K-1296 182. K-1325

MACEDON, DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES

*306–283 B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian  
helmet.

Rev. BA above prow r.; below, uncertain mono-  
gram.

McClellan 3585–3589. (1)  
183. K-1326

## ATTICA, SALAMIS

*First half of 4th century B.C.*

Obv. Female head r.; details illegible.

Rev. Shield of Ajax; details illegible.

*BMC* 1-11184. *K*-1424

(1)

Obv. ΜΕΓΑ above prow l.

Rev. Tripod between two dolphins; border of dots.

*BMC* 30-34.

(3)

186. *K*-1299188. *K*-1366187. *K*-1358

IONIA, ERYTHRAE?

*ca.* 200-133 *B.C.*

## MEGARIS, MEGARA

*ca.* 307-243 *B.C.*

Obv. Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev. ΜΕΓΑ ΡΕΩΝ to r. and l. of lyre.

*BMC* 12-14.185. *K*-1310

(1)

Obv. Head of young Herakles r., in lion's skin.

Rev. ]ΤΕΛΕΣΦΟΡ[ below bow in case r. and club; other details illegible.

Cf. *BMC* 153-196.

(1)

189. *K*-1422

The group of coins catalogued below (Deposit III) was found in the Hellenistic fill south of the Middle Stoa near the northwest corner of the Heliaia.<sup>13</sup> This fill contained material later in date than that which made up the building fill proper (Deposit I) and the bulk of the Hellenistic fill south of the Stoa (Deposit II). A small group of stamped amphora handles was also uncovered in this area. The stamps post-date those in Deposits I and II and are possibly as late as the early third quarter of the 2nd century *B.C.*, i.e., *ca.* 140 *B.C.*<sup>14</sup> Deposit III therefore documents later activity in the area immediately south of the Middle Stoa, perhaps in connection with the completion of the west end of the building. 14 coins from this group were securely identifiable after cleaning.<sup>15</sup>

## DEPOSIT III

Agora Deposit H-I 14:1

## ATHENS

*Second half of 4th century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E or variant. Double-bodied owl, head facing; above, on either side, olive spray; details illegible.

Sv. 22.35-45.

(3)

190. *K*-1445192. *K*-1465191. *K*-1459

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing uncertain helmet.

Rev. Two owls r. and l. within olive wreath; details illegible.

Sv. 24.34-59.

(1)

193. *K*-1612*First half of 3rd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

<sup>13</sup> Above, note 10.<sup>14</sup> Information courtesy of V. R. Grace.<sup>15</sup> The entire deposit of 40 coins consists of the following 39 coins with inventory numbers, 6 of which disintegrated after discovery: *K*-1440-1442, 1444, 1445, 1454-1460, 1465-1467, 1490-1492, 1610-1612, 1877-1893. One additional AE coin, without inventory number, is missing.

- A  
Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings closed; to r., uncertain symbol.  
Sv. 22.73–79. (1)  
194. K-1454  
Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.  
Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except details illegible.  
Sv. 22.64–84. (1)  
195. K-1455  
*Second half of 3rd century B.C.*  
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.  
A  
Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings open; to r., amphora.  
Sv. 24.10–17. (1)  
196. K-1442  
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.  
AΘ  
Rev. E Owl r., wings closed, on thunderbolt.  
Sv. 23.47–49. (2)  
197. K-1456 \*198. K-1466  
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.  
A  
Rev. ΘE Owl r., wings closed, on prow r.  
Sv. 23.51–52. (1)  
\*199. K-1610  
*2nd century B.C.*  
Obv. Head of Zeus r., bound with taenia.  
Rev. Athena, striding r., hurling thunderbolt in raised r. hand, holding shield on extended l. arm; details illegible.
- Sv. 22.53–58. (1)  
200. K-1458  
THESSALY, THESSALIAN LEAGUE  
*ca. 196–146 B.C.*  
Obv. Head of Apollo r., laureate.  
Rev. ΘΕΣΣΑ ΛΩΝ to l. and r. reading inward.  
Athena Itonia striding r., brandishing spear in raised r. hand, holding shield on extended l. arm; details illegible.  
BMC 49–60. (1)  
\*201. K-1467  
ATTICA, ELEUSIS  
*Second half of 4th century B.C.*  
Obv. Triptolemos seated l. in winged chariot drawn by two serpents, holding wheat ears in r. hand.  
Rev. ΕΛΕΥΣΙ above pig standing r. on bakchos; below, uncertain symbol.  
Sv. 103.1–13. (1)  
202. K-1457  
MEGARIS, MEGARA  
*ca. 307–243 B.C.*  
Obv. Prow l.; on it, a tripod.  
Rev. ΜΕΓ or ΜΕΓΑ between two dolphins swimming in a circle; border of dots.  
BMC 21–29. (1)  
203. K-1611

The Athenian coins from Deposits I–III are summarized below in Table 1.

TABLE 1: ATHENIAN COINS FROM THE MIDDLE STOA DEPOSITS

I: *Construction fill of the Middle Stoa, ca. 180 B.C.*

II: *Hellenistic fill south of the Middle Stoa, ca. 180 B.C.*

III: *Hellenistic fill near the northwest corner of the Heliaia, ca. 140 B.C.*

	I	II	III
Athena/Double-bodied owl Sv. 22.35–45	12	2	3
Athena/Two owls Sv. 24.34–59	32	8	1
Athena/Owl l. Sv. 22.85–88	12	2	
Athena/Owl facing (AR triobol) Sv. 21.43–52			1

Athena/Owl r., wings closed Sv. 22.64–84	27	5	2
Athena/Two facing owls Sv. 24.29–31	1		
Athena/Owl r., wings open Sv. 24.10–17, 33	3	3	1
Zeus/Athena with owl and patera Sv. 25.1–4	1		
Artemis/Athena with owl and patera Sv. 25.5–10	1		
Demeter/Kernos Sv. 104.8–20	2		
Kernos/Bakchos ring Sv. 104.21–23	3	1	
Two pigs/Bakchos Sv. 103.41–46	1		
Athena/Owl on thunderbolt Sv. 23.46–49	2		2
Athena/Owl on prow Sv. 23.50–52	1		1
Athena/Zeus holding thunderbolt Sv. 81.4–16	3	2	
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, star Sv. 81.17–18	2	2	
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, wheat ear Sv. 81.28–29	2	2	
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, cornucopiae Sv. —	4		
Cicada/Amphora Sv. 107.55–69	2	2	
Zeus/Fighting Athena Sv. 22.53–58			1
<i>Total</i>	<u>111</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>11</u>

## THE STOA OF ATTALOS: THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

The Stoa of Attalos<sup>16</sup> was a gift to Athens from Attalos II, king of Pergamon, 159–138 B.C. The building had two storeys with a row of 21 shops behind the colonnade on each level. Pentelic marble was employed for the columnar façade and the interior trim; the walls were of poros from Peiraieus. The 45 main columns of the ground floor were of the Doric order and were unfluted in their lower parts. The interior colonnade consisted of 22 entirely unfluted Ionic columns. The upper outer colonnade comprised 45 fluted double Ionic half columns with a marble balustrade between them. The inner columns of the second storey were unfluted and had

<sup>16</sup> *Agora*, XIV, pp. 104–107. H. A. Thompson, *The Stoa of Attalos II in Athens*, Picture Book No. 2, Princeton, 1959.

Egyptian palm capitals. In its final form, the Stoa of Attalos was 116 m. long and 20 m. deep, but the original plan called for three fewer shops on each level. The change in design necessitated two successive extensions of the northern terrace of the building during the construction of the foundations.

The Stoa of Attalos cannot have been built prior to 159 B.C., the year of Attalos II's accession to the Pergamene throne, since the dedicatory inscription of the building names Attalos as king. Construction of the building was probably begun about 150 B.C. and almost certainly before 146 B.C. The construction fill of the building excavated by the American School in 1933, 1936, and 1949–1954 did not contain any long-petal Megarian bowls, a variety introduced at Corinth just before the destruction of the city in 146 B.C.<sup>17</sup> The fill did contain, however, a series of stamped amphora handles of the period 182–146 B.C., including 31 Knidian eponyms not present in the construction fill of the Middle Stoa (Deposits I and II).<sup>18</sup>

The excavation of two earlier buildings beneath the Stoa of Attalos also produced numismatic evidence relevant to this study. The remains of the older of the two structures, the Square Peristyle,<sup>19</sup> lay beneath the north end of the 2nd century stoa. The building, which housed the Athenian law courts but was never completed, had a square central courtyard bordered on all four sides by colonnades. It had earthen floors and brick walls. The interior Doric peristyle was of hard limestone. Built about 325 B.C., the Square Peristyle went out of use in the early part of the 2nd century B.C. Also buried beneath the Stoa of Attalos are the foundations of a small brick building of uncertain function erected in the first half of the 2nd century B.C. and torn down shortly after its construction. The building consisted of five rooms in a row and was situated at the southeast corner of the Square Peristyle.<sup>20</sup>

The coins catalogued below (Deposit IV) are those which were found in undisturbed areas of the construction fill of the Stoa of Attalos and those which were associated with the small brick building beneath the Stoa.<sup>21</sup> 50 coins were securely identifiable after cleaning.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> G. R. Edwards, *Corinth*, VII, iii, *Hellenistic Pottery*, Princeton, 1975, pp. 176–179.

<sup>18</sup> Information courtesy of V. R. Grace.

<sup>19</sup> *Agora*, XIV, pp. 60–61.

<sup>20</sup> *Agora*, XIV, p. 58, fig. 17.

<sup>21</sup> The latter group consists of the following coins:  $\Sigma A$ -5, 7–11 and 16. Seven of the AE coins are missing or disintegrated. The Stoa of Attalos and the buildings beneath it were excavated in 1933 and 1936 by Arthur W. Parsons and in 1949–1954 by Homer A. Thompson and Eugene Vanderpool. Professor Thompson kindly discussed the numismatic finds from these excavations with me.

<sup>22</sup> The entire deposit of 120 coins consists of the following 100 coins with inventory numbers, 9 of which disintegrated after discovery: I-1086, 1180, 1334;  $\Sigma A$ -5–16, 39, 50, 58, 61, 62, 77, 78, 103, 108, 126–128, 150, 165, 167, 227–230, 248–250, 264, 265, 267–270, 291–299, 348, 349, 358–365, 379–381, 490–504, 507–526. An additional 20 AE coins, without inventory numbers, are missing. Most of these had been identified during the early excavations as “Greek” or “Disintegrated” and were subsequently discarded.

## DEPOSIT IV

## Agora Deposits P-R 6-12 and Q-R 10-11

## ATHENS

*Second half of 4th century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E or variant. Double-bodied owl, head facing; above, on either side, olive spray.

Sv. 22.41-45. (2)

204. ΣA-299 205. ΣA-379

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Double-bodied owl, as preceding, except below, bakchos ring.

Sv. 22.35-40. (3)

206. ΣA-227 208. ΣA-362

207. ΣA-361

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Double-bodied owl, as preceding, except details illegible.

Sv. 22.35-45. (1)

209. ΣA-298

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

Rev. Two owls r. and l.; between them bakchos ring and AΘE or variant; all within olive wreath.

Sv. 24.42-50. (2)

210. ΣA-230 211. ΣA-358

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except between them, AΘ.

Sv. 24.51-57. (4)

212. ΣA-58 214. ΣA-127

213. ΣA-77 215. ΣA-248

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except details illegible.

Sv. 24.34-57. (4)

216. ΣA-292 218. ΣA-364

217. ΣA-359 219. ΣA-380

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

A

Rev. HΘ Owl l., wings closed; all within olive wreath.

Sv. 22.85-88. (1)

220. ΣA-11

*First half of 3rd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

Rev. AΘ or ΘA Owl r., wings closed; all within wheat wreath.

Sv. 22.64-70. (1)

221. ΣA-78

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings closed; to r., cornucopiae.

Sv. 22.73-74. (1)

222. ΣA-228

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., wheat ear.

Sv. 22.78-79. (2)

223. ΣA-5 224. ΣA-297

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 22.73-79. (1)

225. ΣA-12

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

A

Θ

Rev. Two owls r. and l.; between them, Θ or A; all within olive wreath.

Sv. 24.58-59. (1)

226. ΣA-61

*Second half of 3rd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings open; to r., amphora.

Sv. 24.10-17. (1)

227. ΣA-14

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 24.10-17, 33. (2)

228. ΣA-291 229. ΣA-365

Obv. Kernos countermarked over head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

Rev. <sup>A</sup>Θ E, owl facing, wings closed; on either side, olive branch.

Sv. 104.5-7. (1)  
230. ΣA-296

Obv. Head of Demeter r., bound with wheat.

<sup>A</sup>Θ  
Rev. E Kernos with wheat ear passed through each handle; to r., aplustre.

Sv. 104.14-20. (1)  
\*231. ΣA-103 (struck over Athens AE Sv. 24.10-17, 33)

Obv. Kernos with wheat ear passed through each handle.

Θ  
Rev. A E Bakchos ring; all within wheat wreath.  
Sv. 104.21-23. (1)  
232. ΣA-267

Obv. AΘE above two superimposed pigs l.

Rev. <sup>A</sup>Θ E Upright bakchos; all within wreath.  
Sv. 103.41-46. (1)  
\*233. ΣA-10

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

<sup>A</sup>  
Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings closed, on thunderbolt.  
Sv. 23.46. (1)  
234. ΣA-270

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

<sup>A</sup>Θ  
Rev. E Owl r., wings closed, on thunderbolt.  
Sv. 23.47-49. (5)  
235. ΣA-6 238. ΣA-268  
236. ΣA-13 239. ΣA-293  
\*237. ΣA-39

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

<sup>A</sup>  
Rev. ΘE Owl r., wings closed, on prow r.  
Sv. 23.51-52. (1)  
240. ΣA-348

2nd century B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.

A

Θ  
Rev. E Zeus, nude, striding r., hurling thunderbolt in raised r. hand, extending l. arm; to r., cornucopiae and eagle r.

Sv. — (2)  
\*241. ΣA-15 242. ΣA-16

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except to r., E and eagle r.; other details illegible.  
Sv. 81.20-31. (1)

243. ΣA-165

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except to r., eagle r.; other details illegible.  
Sv. 81.17-31. (1)

244. ΣA-128

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except all details illegible.  
Sv. 81.17-52. (2)

245. ΣA-7 246. ΣA-294

Obv. Cicada.

<sup>Θ</sup>  
Rev. A<sub>E</sub> Amphora.  
Sv. 107.55-69. (3)

\*247. ΣA-269 249. ΣA-494

248. ΣA-295

MACEDON, ANTIGONOS DOSON

229-220 B.C.

Obv. Head of young Herakles r., wearing lion skin.

Rev. BA Nude youth on horse stepping r.; other details illegible.

McClellan 3609-3613. (1)  
250. ΣA-9

ATTICA, ELEUSIS

Second half of 4th century B.C.

Obv. Triptolemos seated l. in winged chariot drawn by two serpents, holding wheat ears in r. hand.

Rev. EΛEYΣI above pig standing r. on bakchos; below, bucranium.

Sv. 103.4-5.	(1)	Obv. Zeus, nude, standing l., leaning with l. hand on long scepter and holding Nike r. on extended r. hand; border of dots; other details illegible.
251. $\Sigma A$ -250		
Obv. Triptolemos seated in chariot, as preceding.		
Rev. As preceding, except pig standing l.; below, uncertain symbol.		Rev. Achaia seated l., on throne, resting with l. hand on long scepter and holding wreath in extended r. hand; border of dots; other details illegible.
Sv. 103.14.	(1)	
252. $\Sigma A$ -167		
ACHAEA, ACHAEAN LEAGUE		<i>BMC</i> 134-174.
<i>ca.</i> 280-146 B.C.		253. $\Sigma A$ -62 (1)

The six coins catalogued below (Deposit V) constitute a small hoard, perhaps the contents of a lost purse. They were found stuck together, embedded in the earthen floor of the Square Peristyle beneath the fill of the first northern extension of the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos. If the coins were dropped during the construction of the terrace extension and unknowingly stamped into the Square Peristyle floor by a workman, the hoard would be contemporary with or slightly later than Deposit IV, the coins from the main part of the Stoa of Attalos fill, i.e., *ca.* 150-146 B.C. If, however, the coins were embedded in the floor of the Square Peristyle while that building was still in use, the date of the deposit would be considerably earlier, perhaps *ca.* 185 B.C., since only two of the three Fulminating Zeus varieties found in Deposits I and II (*ca.* 180 B.C.) are present in this hoard. All six coins were securely identifiable after cleaning.

## DEPOSIT V

ATHENS	Sv. 81.17-18.	(3)
<i>2nd century B.C.</i>	*254. $\Sigma A$ -212      *256. $\Sigma A$ -214	
	255. $\Sigma A$ -213	
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.	Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.	
⊖	Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except	
A	⊖	
	AE and to l., wheat ear; to r., eagle r.	
Rev. E Zeus, nude, striding r., hurling thunderbolt in raised r. hand, extending l. arm; to r., star and eagle r.	Sv. 81.28-29.	(3)
	*257. $\Sigma A$ -209      *259. $\Sigma A$ -211	
	258. $\Sigma A$ -210	

The Athenian coins from Deposits IV-V are summarized below in Table 2.

TABLE 2: ATHENIAN COINS FROM THE STOA OF ATTALOS DEPOSITS

IV: *Construction fill of the Stoa of Attalos, ca. 150-146 B.C.*

V: *Hoard from the Square Peristyle floor, ca. 185-146 B.C.*

	IV	V
Athena/Double-bodied owl		
Sv. 22.35-45		6
Athena/Two owls		
Sv. 24.34-59		11
Athena/Owl l.		
Sv. 22.85-88		1



Athena/Owl r., wings closed	
Sv. 22.64-84	5
Athena/Owl r., wings open	
Sv. 24.10-17, 33	3
Kernos/Kernos	
Sv. 104.5-7	1
Demeter/Kernos	
Sv. 104.8-20	1
Kernos/Bakchos ring	
Sv. 104.21-23	1
Two pigs/Bakchos	
Sv. 103.41-46	1
Athena/Owl on thunderbolt	
Sv. 23.46-49	6
Athena/Owl on prow	
Sv. 23.50-52	1
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, star	
Sv. 81.17-18	3
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, wheat ear	
Sv. 81.28-29	3
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, cornucopiae	
Sv. —	2
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, uncertain	
Sv. 81.17-52	4
Cicada/Amphora	
Sv. 107.55-69	3
<i>Total</i>	<u>46</u> <u>6</u>

## SOUTH STOA II: THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

South Stoa II<sup>23</sup> was the final element in the reorganization of the South Square and extended from the Heliaia to the East Building. The new stoa, unlike the Middle Stoa and the Stoa of Attalos, was almost certainly a civic project. It was a one-aisled Doric colonnade 93 m. long and 8.50 m. wide, with clay floors. The material used for the columns, entablature, steps, roof and rear wall facing was largely taken from the Square Peristyle.

The construction fill of South Stoa II contained long-petal Megarian bowls, which were not present in the Stoa of Attalos fill of *ca.* 150-146 B.C. South Stoa II slightly postdates the Pergamene building; the excavators are inclined to believe that it was begun about 140 B.C.<sup>24</sup> A very small number of coins was found during the excavation of the construction fill of South Stoa II in 1953 and 1960. These are catalogued below (Deposit VI). Only nine coins were securely identifiable after cleaning.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Agora*, XIV, pp. 68-69.

<sup>24</sup> I am grateful to Professor Thompson for discussing the evidence for dating the building with me.

<sup>25</sup> The construction fill was excavated in 1953 by Margaret Crosby and in 1960 by Homer A. Thompson. The entire deposit of 15 coins consists of the following: T-1193-1195, 1204, 1211, 1222-1225, 1532-1533, 1835-1838. The list of 15 coins was assembled from the notes of Miss Crosby and discussions with Professor Thompson.

## DEPOSIT VI

## Agora Deposit M–N 15:1, Part I

## ATHENS

*Second half of 4th century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

Rev. Two owls r. and l. within olive wreath;  
all details illegible.Sv. 24.34–57. (1)  
260. T-1204*2nd century B.C.*Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian  
helmet; border of dots.

Θ

A

Rev. E Zeus, nude, striding r., hurling thunder-  
bolt in raised r. hand, extending l. arm;  
to r., star and eagle r.Sv. 81.17–18 (2)  
\*261. T-1195 262. T-1225

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding,

Θ

except AE and to l., wheat ear; to r., eagle r.

Sv. 81.28–29. (1)  
263. T-1222

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding,

A

Θ

except E and to r., cornucopiae and eagle  
r.Sv. — (1)  
264. T-1532

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding,

Θ

except AE and to l., uncertain symbol; to  
r., eagle r.Sv. 81.25–31. (1)  
265. T-1223Obv. Head of Zeus r., bound with taenia; border  
of dots.

A

Rev. [Θ]<sup>E</sup> Athena, striding r., hurling thunderbolt  
in raised r. hand, holding shield on extended  
l. arm; [to l., pileus; to r., horse's head r.].Sv. 22.53–54. (1)  
\*266. T-1194

## LEMNOS, MYRINA

*4th–3rd centuries B.C.*Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian  
helmet.Rev. MYPI to l., inwards. Owl facing; to r., olive  
branch.BMC 2. (1)  
267. T-1193

## EUBOEA, HISTIAEA

*ca. 196–146 B.C.*

AR tetrobol

Obv. Female head r., wearing vine wreath;  
hair rolled.Rev. Nymph Histiaea seated r. on the stern of  
a galley, holding a trophy stand; other details  
illegible.BMC 131. (1)  
\*268. T-1224 (obv. countermark: gorgoneion)

The predecessor of South Stoa II was South Stoa I,<sup>26</sup> built in the latter part of the 5th century B.C. The building was one of the earliest two-aisled stoas with rooms behind. The rooms served as magistrates' offices until the stoa was demolished around 140 B.C. to make way for South Stoa II.

Two deposits of coins associated with South Stoa I are relevant here and considerably augment the scanty numismatic finds from the construction fill of South Stoa

<sup>26</sup> *Agora*, XIV, pp. 74–78.

II (Deposit VI). The first, Deposit VII, catalogued below, consists of those coins which were found in the destruction debris of South Stoa I.<sup>27</sup> 66 coins were securely identifiable after cleaning.<sup>28</sup>

## DEPOSIT VII

## Agora Deposit M-N 15:1, Part II

ATHENS	Sv. 24.51-57.	(3)
<i>Second half of 4th century B.C.</i>	277. T-1229    279. T-1670	
	278. T-1254	
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.		
A	Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.	
Rev. Θ E or variant. Double-bodied owl, head facing; above, on either side, olive spray.	Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except details illegible.	
Sv. 22.41-45. (2)	Sv. 24.34-57. (1)	
269. T-1681    270. T-1764	280. T-1179	
Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.	Obv. Athena, uncertain helmet.	
Rev. Double-bodied owl, as preceding, except below, bakchos ring.	Rev. Two owls, as preceding, details illegible.	
Sv. 22.35-40. (1)	Sv. 24.34-59. (1)	
271. T-1240	281. T-1177	
Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.	Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.	
Rev. Double-bodied owl, as preceding, except details illegible.	AΘ	
Sv. 22.35-45. (4)	Rev. H Owl r., wings closed; all within olive wreath.	
272. T-1176    274. T-1250	Sv. 22.80-84. (5)	
273. T-1242    275. T-1680	282. T-1173    285. T-1340	
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.	283. T-1255    286. T-1661	
Rev. Two owls r. and l.; between them, bakchos ring and AΘE or variant; all within olive wreath.	284. T-1285	
Sv. 24.42-50. (1)	Obv. Triptolemos seated l. in winged chariot drawn by two serpents, holding wheat ears in r. hand.	
276. T-1249	Rev. AΘE above pig standing r. on bakchos; below, uncertain symbol.	
Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.	Sv. 103.33-39. (1)	
Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except between them, AΘ.	287. T-1610	

<sup>27</sup> South Stoa I was excavated in 1953 by Margaret Crosby and in 1966-1967 by Homer A. Thompson and John McK. Camp II. Notes of Miss Crosby on file at the Stoa of Attalos contain lists of the coins of 1953 from the destruction debris of South Stoa I and from the various floors of the same building. The relevant coins from the 1966-1967 excavations were selected in consultation with Professor Thompson and Mr. Camp, to whom I am indebted.

<sup>28</sup> The entire deposit of 155 coins consists of the following, 7 of which disintegrated after discovery: T-1142, 1145, 1146, 1172-1179, 1196, 1216, 1217, 1219, 1220, 1226-1229, 1237-1244, 1249-1255, 1267, 1268, 1272, 1284, 1285, 1290, 1297, 1340, 1357, 1371-1377, 1388, 1604-1610, 1612, 1622-1626, 1658-1662, 1666-1683, 1687-1693, 1696-1704, 1722, 1723, 1756-1760, 1762-1771, 1773-1775, 1839-1869.

*First half of 3rd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

Rev. AΘ or ΘA Owl r., wings closed; all within wheat wreath.

Sv. 22.64–70. (4)

288. T-1174 290. T-1608

289. T-1241 291. T-1672

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings closed; to r., wheat ear.

Sv. 22.78–79. (1)

292. T-1703

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 22.73–79. (4)

293. T-1175 295. T-1666

294. T-1267 \*296. T-1774

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

Rev. Owl r., wings closed; details illegible.

Sv. 22.64–84. (1)

297. T-1372

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

A

Rev. Two owls r. and l.; between them, Θ or Θ  
A; all within olive wreath.

Sv. 24.58–59. (1)

\*298. T-1604

*Second half of 3rd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings open; to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 24.10–17, 33. (1)

299. T-1142

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

Rev. Owl l., wings closed; to l., amphora; all within olive wreath.

Sv. 22.89–92. (1)

\*300. T-1227

Obv. Head of Zeus r., laureate.

A

Rev. ΘE Athena striding r., helmeted, holding owl on l. and patera in r. hand; border of dots.

Sv. 25.1–4. (1)

301. T-1357

Obv. Head of Demeter r., bound with wheat.

AΘ

Rev. E Kernos with wheat ear passed through each handle; to r., aplustre.

Sv. 104.14–20. (1)

\*302. T-1668 (struck over Athens AE Sv. 24.10–17, 33)

Obv. Demeter head, as preceding.

Rev. Kernos, as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 104.8–20. (3)

303. T-1172 305. T-1851

304. T-1226 (struck over Athens AE Sv. 24.10–17, 33)

Obv. Kernos with wheat ear passed through each handle.

Θ

Rev. A E Bakchos ring; all within wheat wreath.  
Sv. 104.21–23. (3)

306. T-1290 308. T-1701

307. T-1373

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings closed, on thunderbolt.  
Sv. 23.46. (1)

309. T-1196

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

AΘ

Rev. E Owl r., wings closed, on thunderbolt.  
Sv. 23.47–49. (1)

310. T-1388

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

A

Rev. ΘE Owl r., wings closed, on prow r.  
Sv. 23.50. (1)

\*311. T-1375

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.

AΘ

Rev. E Zeus, nude, standing r., holding thunderbolt in lowered r. hand, extending l. arm; to r., prow r.

Sv. 81.9-16. (1)  
312. T-1146

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus holding thunderbolt, as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 81.4-16. (1)  
313. T-1376

*2nd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.

Θ

A

Rev. E Zeus, nude, striding r., hurling thunderbolt in raised r. hand, extending l. arm; to r., star and eagle r.

Sv. 81.17-18. (2)  
314. T-1612 315. T-1658

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding,

Θ

except AE and to l., wheat ear; to r., eagle r.

Sv. 81.28-29. (1)  
316. T-1697

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding,

A

Θ

except E and to r., cornucopiae and eagle r.

Sv. — (2)  
317. T-1671 318. T-1773

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except to r., E and eagle r.; other details illegible.

Sv. 81.25-31. (1)  
319. T-1698

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except to r., eagle r.; other details illegible.

Sv. 81.17-31. (1)

320. T-1769

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except all details illegible.

Sv. 81.17-52. (2)  
321. T-1374 322. T-1700

Obv. Cicada.

Θ

Rev. A<sup>E</sup> Amphora.

Sv. 107.55-69. (1)  
\*323. T-1760

Obv. Head of Artemis? r., laureate.

AΘ

Rev. E Amphora.

Sv. 107.36-41. (1)  
\*324. T-1377

ATHENS OR DELOS

*2nd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev. Lyre; uncertain legend.

Sv. 106.23-36 or Sv. 105.43-62. (1)  
325. T-1702

EUBOEA, CHALCIS

*ca. 369-336 B.C.*

Obv. Female head facing, wearing diadem with five disks, over which passes a sacrificial fillet.

Rev. Eagle flying r., holding serpent in beak and claws; other details illegible.

BMC 70-78. (1)  
326. T-1677

ELEUSIS

*Second half of 4th century B.C.*

Obv. Triptolemos seated l. in winged chariot drawn by two serpents, holding wheat ears in r. hand.

Rev. ΕΛΕΥΣΙ above pig standing r. on bakchos; below, uncertain symbol.

Sv. 103.1-13. (1)  
327. T-1371

Obv. Triptolemos seated in chariot, as preceding.  
Rev. Pig on bakchos, as preceding, except ΕΛΕΥΣΙ  
or ΑΘΕ above.

Sv. 103.1-13, 33-39. (1)  
328. T-1239

Obv. Demeter or Triptolemos seated l. in winged  
chariot drawn by two serpents, holding  
wheat ears in r. hand.

Rev. Pig standing r. on bakchos; below, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ;  
all within wheat wreath.

Sv. 103.17-24. (1)  
\*329. T-1216

Obv. Triptolemos l., mounting winged chariot  
drawn by two serpents, holding wheat ears  
in r. hand.

Rev. Pig standing on bakchos, as preceding.  
Sv. 103.26-28. (1)  
330. T-1251

#### ATTICA, SALAMIS

*First half of 4th century B.C.*

Obv. Female head r., details illegible.

Rev. Shield of Ajax; details illegible.

BMC 1-11. (1)  
331. T-1667

#### MEGARIS, MEGARA

*ca. 307-243 B.C.*

Obv. ΜΕΓΑ above prow l.

Rev. Sacred column between two dolphins;  
border of dots.

BMC 35-39. (1)  
332. T-1284

#### CORINTH

*4th to 3rd centuries B.C.*

Obv. Pegasus flying l.; below, ♀.

Rev. Trident upward; to l., Α or Δ; to r., race  
torch.

BMC 446ff.; K. M. Edwards, *Corinth*, VI:  
*Coins, 1896-1929*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1933,  
no. 11. (1)

\*333. T-1252

#### MYSIA, PERGAMUM

*ca. 200 B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet  
ornamented with griffin.

Rev. ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ to r., inward. Serpent coiled;  
head r.; to l., Μ.

BMC 81; C. Boehringer, *Pergamon, Ausstellung  
in Erinnerung an Erich Boehringer*, Ingelheim  
am Rhein, 1972, no. M34. (1)

\*334. T-1297

The second deposit associated with South Stoa I, Deposit VIII, comprises those coins contained in the uppermost floors of the 5th century building, i.e., those floors which were in use at the time the stoa was demolished (*ca.* 140 B.C.).<sup>29</sup> 20 coins were securely identifiable after cleaning.<sup>30</sup>

### DEPOSIT VIII

#### Agora Deposit M-N 15:1, Part III

##### ATHENS

*Second half of 4th century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing uncertain helmet.

Rev. Two owls r. and l.; between them ΑΘ

Α

or Θ; all within olive wreath.

<sup>29</sup> Above, note 27.

<sup>30</sup> The entire deposit of 53 coins consists of the following, 8 of which disintegrated after discovery:  
T-1582, 1583, 1627-1657, 1724-1730, 1732, 1733, 1735, 1737-1742, 1776, 1786, 1787, 1806.

Sv. 24.51-59. (1)  
335. T-1741

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except details  
illegible.

Sv. 24.34-57. (1)

336. T-1637

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

Rev. Owl r., wings closed, within olive wreath; details illegible.

Sv. 22.71-72, 80-84. (1)

337. T-1627

Obv. Triptolemos seated l. in winged chariot drawn by two serpents, holding wheat ears in r. hand.

Rev. AΘE above pig standing r. on bakchos; below, kernos.

Sv. 103.33-37. (1)

338. T-1582

*First half of 3rd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

Rev. AΘ or ΘA Owl r., wings closed; all within wheat wreath.

Sv. 22.64-70. (4)

339. T-1632 341. T-1725

340. T-1638 342. T-1726

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

A

Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings closed; to r., wheat ear.

Sv. 22.78-79. (1)

343. T-1655

*Second half of 3rd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Zeus r., laureate.

A

Rev. ΘE Athena standing r., helmeted, holding owl on l. and patera in r. hand; border of dots.

Sv. 25.1-4. (1)

\*344. T-1651

Obv. Head of Demeter r., bound with wheat.

AΘ

Rev. E Kernos with wheat ear passed through each handle; to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 104.8-20. (1)

345. T-1640

*2nd century B.C.*

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.

Θ

Rev. AE Zeus, nude, striding r., hurling thunderbolt in raised r. hand, extending l. arm; to l., wheat ear; to r., eagle r.

Sv. 81.28-29. (1)

346. T-1649

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, ex-

A

Θ

cept E and to r., cornucopiae and eagle r.

Sv. — (2)

\*347. T-1645 348. T-1735

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except above l. arm, Θ; to r., eagle r.; other details illegible.

Sv. 81.17-18, 25-31. (2)

349. T-1738 350. T-1739

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except to r., eagle r.; other details illegible.

Sv. 81.17-31. (1)

351. T-1740

Obv. Cicada.

Θ

Rev. A E Amphora.

Sv. 107.55-69. (1)

352. T-1787

ELIS, ELIS

323-191 B.C.

Obv. Head of Zeus r., laureate.

FA

Rev. ΛEI in olive wreath.

ΩN

BMC 149-155. (1)

353. T-1650

PAMPHYLIA, SIDE

2nd century B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

Rev. Pomegranate.

BMC 71-72. (1)

\*354. T-1652

The Athenian coins from Deposits VI–VIII are summarized below in Table 3.

TABLE 3: ATHENIAN COINS FROM THE SOUTH STOA DEPOSITS

VI: *Construction fill of South Stoa II, ca. 140 B.C.*

VII: *Destruction debris of South Stoa I, ca. 140 B.C.*

VIII: *Uppermost floors of South Stoa I, ca. 140 B.C.*

	VI	VII	VIII
Athena/Double-bodied owl			
Sv. 22.35–45		7	
Athena/Two owls			
Sv. 24.34–59	1	7	2
Triptolemos/Pig			
Sv. 103.33–39		1	1
Athena/Owl r., wings closed			
Sv. 22.64–84		15	6
Athena/Owl r., wings open			
Sv. 24.10–17, 33		1	
Athena/Owl l. with amphora			
Sv. 22.89–92		1	
Zeus/Athena with owl and patera			
Sv. 25.1–4		1	1
Demeter/Kernos			
Sv. 104.8–20		4	1
Kernos/Bakchos ring			
Sv. 104.21–23		3	
Athena/Owl on thunderbolt			
Sv. 23.46–49		2	
Athena/Owl on prow			
Sv. 23.50–52		1	
Athena/Zeus holding thunderbolt			
Sv. 81.4–16		2	
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, star			
Sv. 81.17–18	2	2	
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, wheat ear			
Sv. 81.28–29	1	1	1
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, cornucopiae			
Sv. —	1	2	2
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, uncertain			
Sv. 81.17–52	1	4	3
Cicada/Amphora			
Sv. 107.55–69		1	1
Artemis <sup>?</sup> /Amphora			
Sv. 107.36–41		1	
Zeus/Fighting Athena			
Sv. 22.53–58		1	
<i>Total</i>	<u>7</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>18</u>



## ATHENIAN BRONZE COINAGE IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.: EVIDENCE FROM THE AGORA STOAS

The coinage of Athens in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. is universally referred to today as "New Style" coinage, a term which owes its origin to a change in the format of the silver coins struck by the Athenian mint during the late Hellenistic period. In contrast to the early "Old Style" silver coins, the new coins were struck on larger, thinner flans and the archaistic head of Athena, standard on the silver obverses since the late 6th century, was replaced by a more "modern" head of Athena Parthenos based on the famous Pheidias statue. The reverse types were also altered. The new coins depicted a larger owl standing on a Panathenaic amphora and bore the names or monograms of monetary magistrates, letters indicating the months of striking, symbols, and other control marks.

The date of the first "New Style" silver coin has been the subject of controversy in recent years. The traditional date of *ca.* 229 B.C., coincident with the withdrawal of Macedonian garrisons from Athens, has been abandoned in favor of either 196, the date of Flamininus's proclamation of the freedom of the Greek cities, or *ca.* 164, after the establishment of Delos as a free port under Athenian control. The earlier of the newly proposed dates was put forward by Margaret Thompson in 1961 in her monumental study of the Athenian "New Style" silver. The later date of *ca.* 164 was maintained by D. M. Lewis in his 1962 review of Thompson's book.<sup>31</sup> No consensus has yet been reached on the question and it is beyond the scope of this study to reopen the discussion here.<sup>32</sup>

It is important to point out that although the term "New Style" has also been applied to the bronze coins of Athens in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., its appropriateness is highly questionable. These coins do not differ significantly in fabric or size from the Athenian bronze issues of the 3rd century B.C. and the "New Style" types, Athena Parthenos head/Owl on amphora within wreath, are not adopted for the bronze coins until after 86 B.C.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, the "New Style" bronze obverses include

<sup>31</sup> M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, *Amer. Num. Soc. St.*, X, New York, 1961. D. M. Lewis, *Class. Rev.*, N.S. XII, 1962, pp. 290-292; *idem*, "The Chronology of the Athenian New Style Silver," *Num. Chron.*, 1962, pp. 275-300. M. Thompson, "Athens Again," *Num. Chron.*, 1962, pp. 301-333.

<sup>32</sup> For recent discussions of the problem, see C. Boehringer, *Zur Chronologie mittelhellenistischer Münzserien, 220-160 v. Chr.*, *Antike Münzen u. Geschnittene Steine*, V, Berlin, 1972, pp. 22-31, 200-204. H. B. Mattingly, "Some Third Magistrates in the Athenian New Style Coinage," *J.H.S.*, XCI, 1971, pp. 85-93; *idem*, "Some Problems in Second Century Attic Prosopography," *Historia*, XX, 1971, pp. 34-43. M. Thompson, *The Agrinion Hoard*, *Num. Notes and Mon.* (American Numismatic Society), CLIX, New York, 1968; *idem*, "Byzantium over Aesillas," *Rev. Num.*, 6th Series, XV, 1973, pp. 54-65.

<sup>33</sup> A. R. Bellinger, *Two Hoards of Attic Bronze Coins*, *Num. Notes and Mon.* (American Numismatic Society), XLII, New York, 1930. M. J. Price, "The New-Style Coinage of Athens. Some Evidence from the Bronze Issues," *Num. Chron.*, 7th series, IV, 1964, pp. 27-36. J. H. Kroll, "Two Hoards of First-Century B.C. Athenian Coins," *Δελτ.*, XXVII, 1972, A', pp. 86-120.

representations of Zeus, Apollo, Artemis and other deities, even a cicada. This dichotomy between the silver and bronze coins regarding types is, in itself, sufficient reason for dissociating the two series and suggesting that the "New Style" silver and the "New Style" bronze may neither have been introduced simultaneously nor have been of identical duration.

There are other differences between the two series which underline the independence of the silver and bronze issues. The complicated system of control marks used for the silver coins is lacking for the bronze. There are no monograms, names or control letters on the bronze reverses although such marks appear on the comparably small flans of the silver drachms and hemidrachms. Although symbols are standard on the bronze and silver coins alike, those which are employed on the bronze are small in number and can rarely be connected with specific silver issues. The evidence of the "New Style" silver coins will therefore be of little value in establishing either a relative or an absolute chronology for the "New Style" bronze. A chronology for the bronze issues will have to be established by other means.<sup>34</sup>

The earliest of the "New Style" bronze issues, Athena head/Zeus holding thunderbolt (Pl. 75, Nos. 99, 176) and the first two varieties of the Athena head/Fulminating Zeus series, with symbols star and wheat ear, (Pl. 76, Nos. 103, 254, 256, 261, 105, 257, 259) have traditionally been dated to the period 229–197, i.e., contemporary with the first "New Style" silver issues.<sup>35</sup> The revisions in the old silver chronology brought about by Thompson's comprehensive study of the coinage and Lewis's proposal of an alternative "low chronology" have led to a tacit acceptance that the bronze chronology must be adjusted accordingly. No one has, however, suggested a specific date for the introduction of the new bronze types, although Thompson has placed the beginning of the "New Style" bronze coinage before 169 at the latest.<sup>36</sup> Price has published an early Fulminating Zeus issue from a deposit at Corinth datable to *ca.* 146 B.C., the year of the city's destruction, thereby providing a firm, if late, *terminus ante quem* for the beginning of the "New Style" bronze.<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps the most important result of the foregoing compilation of Agora deposits is the establishment of a *terminus ante quem* of 180 B.C. for the first "New Style" bronze issues, thereby proving that Lewis's low chronology for the silver is not valid for the bronze. In the two Middle Stoa deposits of *ca.* 180 B.C. (Deposits I and II)

<sup>34</sup> Thompson, *New Style* (above, note 31), pp. 525–526 has also emphasized the differences between the "New Style" silver and bronze. Cf. Bellinger, *op. cit.* (above, note 33), p. 12: "It must be confessed that the [bronze] symbols and types and their connection with symbols on the silver coinage are embarrassing."

<sup>35</sup> B. C. Head, *BMC, Attica*, London, 1888, pp. xxxiiff.; *idem*, *Historia Numorum*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford, 1911, pp. 378ff. J. P. Shear, "The Coins of Athens," *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 258–259 and pl. 7.

<sup>36</sup> Thompson, *New Style* (above, note 31), p. 528.

<sup>37</sup> M. J. Price, "Coins from Some Deposits in the South Stoa at Corinth," *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, p. 362.

three varieties of the Fulminating Zeus series are already present: star and eagle, wheat ear and eagle, and cornucopiae and eagle (Pl. 76, Nos. 103, 105, 106, 109).<sup>38</sup> That these three varieties are in fact the earliest of the series is confirmed by their scarcity and extreme wear in Sullan deposits of *ca.* 87 B.C.<sup>39</sup> In the Middle Stoa deposits, the determination of relative wear is difficult because of the corroded condition of the bronzes,<sup>40</sup> but several Fulminating Zeus coins seem to be recently struck pieces in fresh condition, while others show only moderate wear. It is doubtful if any of the Middle Stoa Fulminating Zeus coins were in circulation more than ten or twenty years before being deposited. Thompson's date of 196 for the first "New Style" tetradrachm is therefore suitable for the first Fulminating Zeus bronze coin.

A second result of this inquiry is the establishment that the Cicada/Amphora fractional bronzes, (Pl. 76, Nos. 247, 323), traditionally described as "Delian cleruchy issues" and dated to the period after 164,<sup>41</sup> were struck for use in Attica as well as in Delos,<sup>42</sup> and must have been issued before 180 B.C. These coins are in good condition in Deposits I and II and represent the fractional denomination struck by the Athenian mint after 196 to accompany the early Fulminating Zeus bronzes. The Cicada/Amphora types are not present in any of the Sullan hoards published by Price.<sup>43</sup>

Earlier than the Fulminating Zeus and Cicada/Amphora types, and datable to the very end of the 3rd century, is the bronze series of Athena head/Zeus holding thunderbolt (Pl. 75, Nos. 99, 176).<sup>44</sup> These coins show little-to-moderate wear in Middle Stoa Deposits I and II. The obverses of this series document the transition from the 3rd century Attic-helmet type to the Corinthian helmet worn by Athena on the "New Style" Fulminating Zeus bronzes. The fractional denominations which accompany the Zeus-holding-thunderbolt types are undoubtedly the Athena head/Owl on prow and Athena head/Owl on thunderbolt varieties (Pl. 75, Nos. 198, 237, 311, 199).<sup>45</sup> These types are comparably well preserved in the Middle Stoa deposits and also reveal a transition from the Attic to the Corinthian helmet on the obverses. The types are appropriate as fractional counterparts of the Zeus-holding-thunderbolt series: both the owl and prow appear as symbols on the large bronzes and the thunderbolt echoes the attribute of Zeus.

<sup>38</sup> Sv. 81.17–18 (star), 81.28–29 (wheat ear). The cornucopiae variety was not recorded by Svoronos. A poor specimen was published by Bellinger, *op. cit.* (above, note 33), pl. I, 1.

<sup>39</sup> Price, *Num. Chron.* (above, note 33), p. 29. M. Caramessini-Oeconomides and F. S. Kleiner, "A New Hoard of Athenian Bronze Coins," *Ath. An. Arch.*, VII, 1974, pp. 149–156.

<sup>40</sup> Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 231 discusses the condition of Agora bronze coin finds.

<sup>41</sup> Sv. 107.55–69.

<sup>42</sup> Most of the coins in the small Delos hoard of 1968 are Cicada/Amphora types. E. Foster and T. Hackens, "Decco Metal Detector Survey on Delos," *Archaeometry*, XI, 1969, pp. 170–171. Cf. T. Hackens, *Délos*, XXVII, Paris, 1970, table p. 409.

<sup>43</sup> Price, *Num. Chron.* (above, note 33), p. 29.

<sup>44</sup> Sv. 81.1–16.

<sup>45</sup> Sv. 23.46–52.

No less important than this clarification of the late 3rd and early 2nd century bronze chronology is the insight into the working pattern of the Athenian mint provided by the Agora stoa deposits. The most curious phenomenon in the Agora deposits is the reoccurrence of the same three Fulminating Zeus varieties of Deposits I and II (star, wheat ear and cornucopiae)—and only these three—in the other Agora deposits through and including the deposits of 140 B.C. Table 4 summarizes the 2nd century Athenian contents of Deposits I–VIII. It will be noticed that of the 44 Fulminating

TABLE 4: SECOND CENTURY ATHENIAN COINS FROM THE AGORA STOAS

I: <i>Construction fill of the Middle Stoa, ca. 180 B.C.</i>					
II: <i>Hellenistic fill south of the Middle Stoa, ca. 180 B.C.</i>					
III: <i>Hellenistic fill near the northwest corner of the Heliaia, ca. 140 B.C.</i>					
IV: <i>Construction fill of the Stoa of Attalos, ca. 150–146 B.C.</i>					
V: <i>Hoard from the Square Peristyle floor, ca. 185–146 B.C.</i>					
VI: <i>Construction fill of South Stoa II, ca. 140 B.C.</i>					
VII: <i>Destruction debris of South Stoa I, ca. 140 B.C.</i>					
VIII: <i>Uppermost floors of South Stoa I, ca. 140 B.C.</i>					
	V	I/II	IV	VI–VIII	III
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, star					
Sv. 81.17–18	3	4		4	
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, wheat ear					
Sv. 81.28–29	3	4		3	
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, cornucopiae					
Sv. —		4	2	5	
Athena/Fulminating Zeus, uncertain					
Sv. 81.17–52			4	8	
Zeus/Fighting Athena					
Sv. 22.53–58				1	1
Cicada/Amphora					
Sv. 107.55–69		4	3		2
Artemis?/Amphora					
Sv. 107.36–41				1	
<i>Total</i>	<u>6</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>1</u>

Zeus coins, every legible piece bears as symbol either a star, wheat ear or cornucopiae, varieties present in the Middle Stoa deposits and struck between *ca.* 196 and *ca.* 180 B.C. In fact, the only new Athenian types which appear in the later deposits are the Zeus/Fighting Athena issue, commonly found in rather worn condition in the Sullan hoards,<sup>46</sup> and the Artemis?/Amphora fraction, of uncertain date. Moreover, the Zeus/Fighting Athena types do not appear in any deposit earlier than 140 B.C., but occur twice in 140 contexts. The specimen in Deposit III is too damaged to determine wear, but the piece from Deposit VI (Pl. 76, No. 266) appears to have been struck

<sup>46</sup> Price, *Num. Chron.* (above, note 33), p. 29. Caramessini-Oeconomides and Kleiner, *op. cit.* (above, note 39), p. 151.

recently. The Zeus/Fighting Athena coins must have been issued between 146 and 140 B.C., which accounts for the relative wear of these coins in the hoards of 87 B.C.

The eight deposits from the Agora stoas thus attest to a period of some thirty-five years—between 180 B.C. at the latest and 146 at the earliest—when no new bronze coins were struck.<sup>47</sup> After an initial period of striking large and fractional-denomination bronzes at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd centuries, the emission of bronze coins was suspended until 146–140 B.C. It seems that the Zeus-holding-thunderbolt and early Fulminating Zeus bronzes and the owl-on-prow or -thunderbolt and Cicada/Amphora fractions were issued in sufficient quantities before 180 B.C. to satisfy the small currency needs of Athens for a third of a century or longer.<sup>48</sup> In contrast to the continual emission of silver coins in the 2nd century, the Athenian mint struck bronze coins at irregular intervals, apparently only when new bronze coins were needed. Such a minting pattern (or lack of pattern) would fit the ever-changing monetary needs of an ancient, as well as a modern, society far better than the artificially even distribution of issues usually proposed by the modern numismatist.

A corollary result of this investigation of Athenian bronze coinage in the first half of the 2nd century is that one can now date all the issues found in the Sullan hoards not present in these Agora deposits as after *ca.* 140 B.C. This includes not only the remaining Fulminating Zeus varieties—amphora, two pilei, thyrsos, etc.—but the following important fractional denominations: Athena/Amphora, Athena/Two owls on thunderbolt, and Cicada/Owl.<sup>49</sup> A careful re-examination of the Sullan hoard material should permit a narrower dating of these bronze issues also, and supply an absolute as well as a relative chronology for all the Athenian bronzes of the second century B.C.<sup>50</sup>

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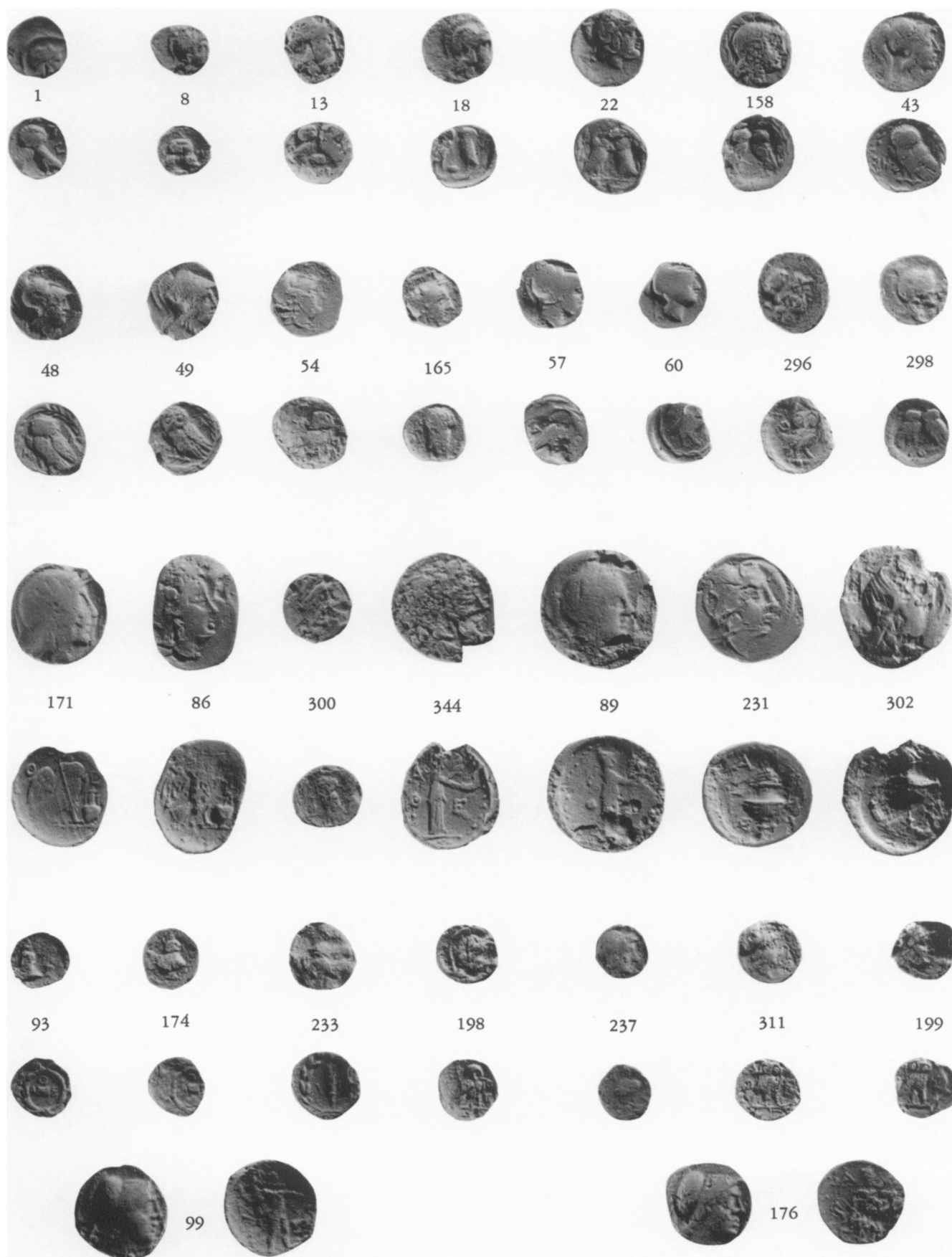
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<sup>47</sup> The only Fulminating Zeus bronze found in the Corinth deposits of 146 B.C. was a worn example of the wheat-ear-and-eagle variety already present in Middle Stoa Deposits I and II. Price, *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, p. 362.

<sup>48</sup> J. H. Kroll has documented an even longer gap in Athenian bronze coinage between the Athena/Sphinx series of Augustus and the first Athenian Imperial types of the 2nd century after Christ ("The Eleusis Hoard of Athenian Imperial Coins and Some Deposits from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, pp. 312–333).

<sup>49</sup> Sv. 107.75–79, 24.60–68 and 107.50–54 respectively.

<sup>50</sup> The author is presently engaged in such a study through the courtesy of Mrs. Mando Caramessini-Oeconomides and Professor Margaret Thompson, Chief Curators of the Athens Numismatic Museum and the American Numismatic Society, where the known published and unpublished Athenian bronze hoards are housed.



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