

THE ELEUSIS HOARD OF ATHENIAN IMPERIAL COINS AND SOME DEPOSITS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATE 61)

THE coins of Roman Athens, well known for their iconographical richness and variety, have been notoriously difficult to place chronologically. Unlike most municipal bronze coinages of the Roman era, the so-called Athenian imperials are never emblazoned with portraits of the reigning emperors and thus can be dated only through external evidence.

From the style of its reverse types, B. V. Head originally assigned the coinage to the time of Hadrian and the Antonines¹ but was forced to modify this view when a hoard of some two thousand of these coins was discovered at Eleusis in 1902 and was promptly published by J. N. Svoronos.² The lot that Svoronos examined included several Roman sestertii ranging from the time of Hadrian and the Antonines (in a very worn condition) down to that of Gordian III (in a good state of preservation). Since the Athenian coins in the hoard divided themselves into two comparable groups, one of worn specimens and another of unworn coins of slightly smaller diameter, Svoronos concluded that the earlier, larger coins did indeed go back to the Hadrianic and Antonine periods, while the later group must have been minted very shortly before and during the reign of Gordian (A.D. 238-244), when Svoronos assumed the hoard was buried. These conclusions were accepted by Head and form the basis for his brief discussion of the Athenian imperials in the revised edition of *Historia Numorum*.³

In a more recent study of the Athenian imperials, Josephine P. Shear maintained that this chronology was, for the most part, more than a full century too late.⁴ Writing at a time when the chronological importance of coin hoards had not become universally appreciated, she ignored Svoronos' fundamental discussion of the Eleusis

¹ *Historia Numorum*, first edition, Oxford, 1887, p. 326; *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Attica, Aegina, Megaris*, London, 1888, p. lix. In F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, London, 1885-1887, p. 129, the Athenian imperials are said to belong to the age of the Antonines.

² "Νομισματικὸν εὑρημα Ἐλευσίνος: Νομίσματα Ἀθηνῶν χαλκὰ ρωμαϊκά," *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* (hereafter cited as *J.I.A.N.*), VII, 1904, pp. 107-142, pls. 1-2. The hoard is no. 380 in S. P. Noe, *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, second edition, New York, 1937. Svoronos records the place of finding as being a few meters east of the peribolos wall of the sanctuary, in the garden of a coffeehouse belonging to Georgios B. Adam.

³ *Historia Numorum*, second edition, Oxford, 1911, pp. 389-390.

⁴ "Athenian Imperial Coinage," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 285-327.

find and based her conclusions on certain stylistic comparisons (although of the obverse Athena heads) and historical arguments. This study was prepared too early in the course of the Agora excavations to be checked against dated contextual evidence that the excavations had just begun to make available. As the following discussions will show, however, such contextual information, like that of the Eleusis hoard, generally affirms the absolute chronology earlier advanced by Head and Svoronos.

It will be convenient to begin by reviewing certain aspects of the great Eleusis find. The hoard was divided into two lots, which were said to have been approximately equal in size. One of these was dispersed. The other, consisting of 972 specimens, was examined and catalogued by Svoronos. Svoronos sorted the Athenian pieces in this second lot into 267 varieties, the majority of which are equivalent to individual die-combinations, and arranged for one example of each to be purchased for the trays of the Athens Numismatic Collection (Inventory 1902/03 KB' 1-267). In his published catalogue each variety is described and the number of coins in each recorded; when significant, a statement of relative wear is given. The publication can be seriously faulted only in the minimal number of accompanying illustrations, but this is largely rectified by the plates in Svoronos' posthumous *Monnaies d'Athènes*,⁵ which picture most of the 267 Numismatic Collection hoard specimens. In addition, these plates illustrate a number of hoard coins from the collection of A. Romanos, who purchased about three-fourths of the duplicates from Svoronos' lot,⁶ and, more importantly, some ninety coins that were almost certainly obtained from the other, dispersed lot.⁷ A concordance between the plates in *Monnaies d'Athènes* and Svoronos' published hoard catalogue will be found in the Appendix to the present article.⁸

⁵ J. N. Svoronos and B. Pick, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, Munich, 1923-1926. Coins illustrated in this work are cited below by the abbreviation "Sv." followed by plate and coin number.

⁶ *J.I.A.N.*, VII, 1904, p. 109.

⁷ These include the sixty-five coins illustrated from the collection of J. Anderson, a British telegraph official in Greece at that time who is known to have bought from the Eleusis hoard (*J.I.A.N.*, XIII, 1911, p. 74), and the following specimens in the British Museum: Sv. 83.25; 84.5; 85.10, 13, 18, 22; 86.41; 87.30; 90.31; 91.17, 34, 45; 93.17, 27; 94.45; 95.5, 21, 38; 96.41. These and nineteen other Athenian imperials in the British Museum were acquired from Lambros in December of 1902, cf. *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., III, 1903, pp. 322-329. That the Anderson and British Museum pieces came from the dispersed lot is indicated by a number of them that do not duplicate varieties catalogued by Svoronos. Sixteen Athenian imperials purchased by the Copenhagen cabinet from Lambros in 1903 presumably came from this lot also (*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum: Attica-Aigina*, Copenhagen, 1944, pls. 9-10, nos. 341 [= Sv. 96.5], 344, 352, 356 [= Sv. 94.20], 365 [= Sv. 91.20], 368, 376, 382, 384, 388, 389, 392, 393 [= Sv. 86.39], 394 [= Sv. 87.1], 396, 397), as certainly did some acquisitions made by the cabinet in Berlin (*Amtliche Berichte*, 1904, p. lxxix); for among them was one of the agonistic types inscribed $\text{OA}[\text{VMII}]\text{IA}$, none of which occurred in Svoronos' lot. This last coin is apparently Sv. 91.40. Thanks are due to M. J. Price, who kindly provided a list of the relevant coins in the British Museum.

⁸ I am grateful to the director of the Athens Numismatic Collection, Mando Karamesini-

In the concordance I have tried to improve on Svoronos' catalogue by assigning each Athenian variety to one of three chronological groups, which are distinguished by certain differences in the coins' size, fabric, and reverse legends, criteria that were first developed by Mrs. Shear.⁹ On the basis of wear and size, Svoronos recognized two groups of Athenian imperials in the hoard, but because of the effaced condition of many of the earlier specimens was unable to appreciate that his earlier group actually embraced two distinct phases of the coinage. As Mrs. Shear determined from better preserved pieces not from the hoard, coins of the earliest phase were inscribed with the legend ΑΘΗ or ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ (with cursive omega).¹⁰ This group includes the forty-six hoard coins listed under variety 267 that were too worn to be identified as to reverse type; almost all of the other hoard specimens from the group are so worn that their legends have vanished. It may be noted further that all but seven (see varieties 136, 140, 225 and 267) of the Group I coins in Svoronos' lot are fractional denominations. Group II consists of large module coins (diameter 23-25 mm.) that are normally thinner than their counterparts in Group I and, more distinctively, are inscribed with an uncial omega, ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ.¹¹ The Group II coins from the hoard are uniformly less worn than coins in the first group, their legends being wholly or partially legible. Before striking, the flans of both the Group I and II coins had been punched in the middle of one side with a small round depression.¹²

In Group III¹³ legends remain ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, but the flans are noticeably smaller in diameter (20-22 mm.), thicker, and, owing to some modification in the coining technique, do not bear the punchmarks that regularly occur on the Group I and II

Oikonomidou, for facilitating my study of the hoard material in the collection. The hoard specimens have been cleaned, but from some of the less thoroughly cleaned ones it appears that all were originally encrusted with a fairly thick, light green patina.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 288-290.

¹⁰ A representative sampling of coins from this group is conveniently brought together in *ibid.*, pls. II, III, and figs. 1, 2. Mrs. Shear believed that the two different forms of the legend indicated two distinct series; but since reverses with the three-letter legend are frequently linked to reverses with the full legend through common obverse dies (e.g., Sv. 99.4-6, all apparently from the same obverse die; Sv. 97.11-14 and 24, 25, which share a common obverse with Sv. 84.4, 92.12, 94.2-6 and 18, 99.1), it would seem that the two legends represent merely an earlier and later phase of the same, otherwise continuous coinage. As explained in note 49 below, the earlier Athena/Owl imperial fractions (Sv. 88.23-30 = Shear, *op. cit.*, fig. 1, nos. 12-17) probably ought to be dissociated from the Group I series.

¹¹ See the selection illustrated by Mrs. Shear, *op. cit.*, pl. IV.

¹² Such punch-marks are believed to have been added to cast flans to allow them to be fastened in a lathe so that the rough edges and surface left by the casting could be turned smooth. See M. Picon and J. Guey, *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, XXIII, 1968, pp. 240-241, 336-337. That the flans were punched before striking is confirmed by a group of punched but unstruck flans recently published by G. Le Rider, *Revue Numismatique*, 6th Ser., XI, 1969, pp. 33-35, pl. III.

¹³ For example, Shear, *op. cit.*, pls. VII-IX and figs. 21, 24, 26-31.

flans.¹⁴ In comparison with the Group I and II hoard specimens the Group III pieces are in an extremely fresh condition, described by Svoronos as *fleur de coin*.¹⁵ For the most part I would tend to agree with this assessment, while pointing out that it is only the coins' reverses that look sharp and uncirculated. The relief on their obverses has a slightly "worn" or dulled appearance that could be due either to circulation (the reverses are slightly concave and thus less exposed to rubbing than the obverses) or to some phenomenon in the striking process, such as the obverses having been impressed with less concentrated force than the reverses, which received the direct blow of the punch die.¹⁶ Whatever, the explanation, the sharp condition of the Group III reverses assures that the coins could not have been put into circulation very long before the hoard was buried. No fractional denominations seem to have been issued during the Group II phase; and, although some were in the following period (e.g., Sv. 88. 10-13, 89. 19-21, 96. 22-25), no Group III fractions have been recorded from the Eleusis hoard or from the other deposits mentioned below.

The extensive representation of the remarkably varied Group III series in the hoard implies that the hoard was not buried until after the minting of the series had been completed. A preliminary count, based primarily on the coins illustrated in *Monnaies d'Athènes*, discloses that between 150 and 200 obverse dies were employed in the Group III coinage, of which about 70 to 90 percent are represented among the Group III coins identified from the Eleusis hoard. The Group III reverse types in the hoard show a similar pattern of high representation. Excluding minor variants within the general reverse types, the number of different types known from the Group III coinage may be placed at fifty-six. All but five of these are accounted for in the hoard.¹⁷ And of these five, three are known to have been coupled with obverse dies that were present in the hoard.¹⁸ When it is recalled that several Group III reverse types are represented in Svoronos' lot by only one to three specimens,¹⁹ and, moreover,

¹⁴ The modification may be from cast (see note 12) to sawed flans, for a number of the Group III imperials (e.g., Sv. 84. 30) bear parallel striations indicating that they had been sawed from cylindrical bronze bars.

¹⁵ *J.I.A.N.*, VII, 1904, p. 110.

¹⁶ See the comments of G. Bates (*Archaeological Exploration of Sardis*, Monograph I: *Byzantine Coins*, Cambridge, Mass., 1971, p. 8), who has observed that many early Byzantine bronzes retain impressions better on their reverses than on their obverses. Another factor contributing to the slight blurring of the Group III obverses may be that the flans were struck hot (as is indicated by several Agora excavation specimens that are slightly disfigured by small blobs of bronze that had apparently been picked up off the dies when molten).

¹⁷ Athena with extended arm, Sv. 85. 5-7, all from a single reverse die; Athena standing before amphora, voting, Sv. 87. 6, 7, two (?) reverse dies; seated Dionysos, Sv. 92. 20, 21, one (?) die; Apollo with lyre, Sv. 93. 5-7, two (?) dies; and Theater of Dionysos, Sv. 98. 44-46, two dies.

¹⁸ Athena voting shares an obverse die with hoard variety 125; Apollo with lyre shares one with variety 94; and Theater of Dionysos shares one with variety 231 and another with Sv. 96. 8, which is from the collection of J. Anderson (see note 7 above).

¹⁹ Cf. varieties 186 (seated Zeus, 2 specimens), 213 (Hermes, 3 specimens), 216 (Herakles, 1 specimen), 223 (Nike, 2 specimens), and 224-224a (Acropolis, 3 specimens).

that we do not have a record of the hoard in its entirety, the absence of five types, each of them apparently struck from only one or two dies, is to be expected. Such considerations suggest that the hoard—or at least the recorded portion—though large, was not large enough to include every last Group III variety that had been struck and was in circulation at the time the hoard was interred.

Svoronos' lot may be summarized as follows. Wear is indicated on a scale of 1-6, from mint condition to extremely worn.

Athenian imperials

Group I	77 w5-6
Group II	225 w4-6
Group III	656 w1-2

Roman sestertii

Hadrian (A.D. 117-138)	2 w5-6
Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161)	1 w6
Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180)	3 w5-6
Crispina (A.D. 180-183) ²⁰	1 w6
Caracalla (struck A.D. 212)	1 w3
Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-235)	2 w2-3
Maximinus (struck A.D. 235)	1 w2
Gordian III (struck A.D. 238-239)	1 w2
Thessalonica (Roman period)	1 w4
Argos (Plautilla, A.D. 202-205)	1 w3

In dating the hoard to the reign of Gordian, a tranquil period in Athenian history, Svoronos was guided by the latest datable coin and by the three coins that were struck under the two emperors preceding Gordian. It is important to remember, however, that these sestertii provide no more than a *terminus post quem* for the burial and that the hoard might possibly have contained other sestertii that were removed and sold off with the dispersed lot of Athenian imperials. Svoronos recognized this possibility and made enquiries but was unable to learn whether the dispersed lot contained any Roman coins.²¹ If it did, one suspects that they may have been the latest and best preserved ones. However this may be, if one were to assign a burial date purely on historical probability, the obvious time would be a quarter of a century later, in

²⁰ Not Faustina I, as recorded by Svoronos under variety 271. The sestertius is of the type *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire*, IV, London, 1940, p. 765, nos. 407-408 or 409-410.

²¹ *J.I.A.N.*, VII, 1904, p. 111.

A.D. 267, when Athens, like many other Greek cities, was violently overrun by the Herulian Goths.²²

The impact of the Herulian invasion at Athens has been vividly documented by the excavations in the Athenian Agora, where hardly a building was left untouched by fire and destruction. The excavations have also recovered evidence of a more personal kind in several groups of coins that were hidden away in anticipation of the barbarians' sack or were dropped or abandoned in the confusion that followed. All these finds are of interest for the information they give about the circulation of money in Athens in the year 267, but two are of particular importance because of their size and because they have a composition that is in one way or another remarkably similar to parts of the Eleusis hoard. In both cases their association with the events of 267 is made positive by the presence of a coin of Gallienus (A.D. 253-268) as the latest datable piece.²³

²² For the literary and archaeological documentation of the Herulian invasion at Athens and elsewhere, see H. A. Thompson, "Athenian Twilight: A.D. 267-600," *J.R.S.*, XLIX, 1959, pp. 61-63; F. Millar, "P. Herennius Dexippus: The Greek World and the Third-Century Invasions," *J.R.S.*, LIX, 1969, pp. 12-29; H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton, 1972, pp. 208-209. To the references in the first article may be added more recent evidence for the presence of the Herulians at Megara (*Δελτ.*, XIX, 1964, A', pp. 39-41) and Corinth (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 310) and an impressive number of coin hoards from throughout the Balkan and Aegean areas. At least six of the hoards (Parium, Mytilene, three from Corinth, and a Balkan hoard) listed in T. B. Jones, "A Numismatic Riddle: The So-called Greek Imperials," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CVII, 1963, pp. 314-315, tables 2 and 3, belong to the time of Gallienus, sole emperor at the time of the invasion, as do the following nine more recently published hoards: one from Iasos on the coast of Caria (*Annuario*, N.S., XXXI-XXXII, 1969-1970, pp. 497-502), one from Sparta (*Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστασίον Κ. Ὁρλάνδου*, III, Athens, 1966, pp. 376-382, pls. 121-123), three from Nikopolis in Epiros ('*Αρχ.* 'Εφ., 1967, pp. 91-114, pls. 7-14; *ibid.*, 1971, *Χρονικά*, pp. 42-51, pls. 26-28), two from south-east Rumania near the Black Sea (Mangalia hoard: *Studii si Ceretari de Numismatica*, Academia Republicii Socialiste Romania, IV, 1968, pp. 223-237 [summary in *Numismatic Literature*, LXXXIII, December 1969, no. 117]; Isaccea hoard, which is, like the remaining hoards, known to me only through the summary in *ibid.*, LXXXVII, March 1972, no. 273), one from Kerch on the northern coast of the Black Sea (*ibid.*, no. 247), and one from Jublanica in central Yugoslavia (*ibid.*, no. 289). Both the Iasos and Mangalia hoards were associated with destruction and burning. Many of the mid third-century hoards in Jones' tables 2 and 3 are not yet dated; others, like our Eleusis hoard, have perhaps been dated a little too early. A detailed review of all such hoards would probably reveal that a majority were buried in the wake of the Herulians' advance.

²³ Among the other groups of coins laid down as a result of the Herulian sack, these four are the most noteworthy:

a. A small hoard of thirteen Group III Athenian imperials (w1-2), excavated in 1934 near a late wall behind and just to the north of the Tholos (Agora grid F 10). No Roman coins were found with them, but since their condition is identical to that of the Group III coins in the first Agora hoard described below, there need be no hesitation in ascribing their burial to the events of 267.

b. A small hoard of nine Athenian imperials (1 Group I or II, w6; 8 Group II, 1 w4, 3 w5, 1 w6) together with one sestertius of Commodus (*Agora*, II, no. 192, where the coin is erroneously described as an *as*; A.D. 192, w5/6), excavated in 1936 from the area in front of the north end

The first find is a large hoard excavated in 1957 from a pit in the floor of a house at the northwest foot of the Areopagus (Agora grid Q 19). It consists of 1 Group I imperial (w5), 124 or 130 (depending on whether one counts six pieces that were found slightly apart at the upper edge of the pit) Group III imperials (w1-2), and 2 antoniniani of Gallienus. Since illustrations of some of the Group III pieces together with a summary list of the coins by reverse types were published by H. A. Thompson,²⁴ and since the Athenian pieces will be published individually in the Agora volume devoted to Greek coins, it will suffice here merely to note that the wear of the Group III pieces is very similar to that of the Numismatic Collection Group III specimens from the Eleusis hoard. The Agora hoard contains a higher proportion of poorly struck or otherwise damaged coins, as one would expect in a lot that, unlike the available Eleusis material, is intact and unselected. The Agora pieces, too, have suffered more from corrosion; being slightly roughened by pitting and particles of redeposited copper, their relief is generally less sharp than that of the better preserved Eleusis coins. But even so, their condition must be judged in the range of w1 to w3 for obverses, with most grouping at w2, and w1 to w2 for reverses, in both cases very much as in the Group III pieces from Eleusis.

The other major "Herulian" coin find was excavated in 1949 from the "Room of the Two Marble Busts" in a burnt house on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs (grid B 17).²⁵ As the coins were found within a small area on the floor and contained a singularly large number of Roman sestertii, they doubtless comprised a dropped purse. The following differs in some particulars from the preliminary tally published by H. A. Thompson.²⁶ The Roman pieces are here identified and dated with reference to their catalogue numbers in Margaret Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, II, *Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period*, Princeton, 1954.

of the Stoa of Attalos (grid P 7). When found, several of the coins were stuck together, suggesting that all ten were originally put away in a purse. A burial date of 267 seems probable from the coins' wear, which is comparable to that of the Group II specimens in the finds from the Room of the Two Marble Busts (see below).

c. A small hoard of Roman coins found in 1955 lying in a mass just below floor level of Shop II in the Stoa of Attalos. The hoard contained two antoniniani of Julia Domna, one of Valerian, and thirteen of Gallienus and his wife Salonina.

d. Four small groups of coins lying under burnt debris on the floor of a room of a large Roman house on the lower slope of the Hill of the Nymphs (grid B 15) excavated in 1956. Three of the groups, along with a number of rich furnishings from the room, are mentioned by H. A. Thompson in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 101. Altogether, the coins comprised two Athenian Group III imperials (w2), one second-century sestertius (w6), one debased or originally plated denarius of Septimius Severus and eleven antoniniani: one of Trebonianus Gallus, one of Valerian, and nine of Gallienus.

²⁴ *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 155-157, pl. 44.

²⁵ On the room, see *ibid.*, XVII, 1948, p. 178; and *ibid.*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 217-218, pl. 40.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XVII, 1948, p. 192.

Greek

1	Athens New Style bronze ²⁷	w6
2-9	Athens imperials, Group I (large and fractional modules)	1 w5, 7 w6
10-13	Athens imperials, Group II	1 w4/5, 3 w5
14	Chios ²⁸	w2
15	Hierapolis (Phrygia) ²⁹	w4/5

Roman sestertii

16	Trajan	<i>Agora</i> , II, 66a: A.D. 98-117	w6
17	Hadrian	" 84: A.D. 125-128	w5
18	"	" 103a: A.D. 117-128	w6
19	Sabina	" 104: A.D. 128-134	w5/6
20	Faustina I	" 130: A.D. 147-161	w5
21	"	" 132: A.D. 147-161	w5/6
22	Faustina II	" 167: A.D. 175-180	w5
23	"	" 169a: A.D. 161-180	w4
24	Lucilla	" 179: A.D. 164-169	w5
25	Commodus	" 184: A.D. 179	w4
26	"	" 187: A.D. 186	w3
27	"	" 190: A.D. 190	w5
28-29	"	" 192a: A.D. 178-192	2 w4/5
30	Julia Domna	" 206: A.D. 211-215	w4
31	Julia Maesa	" 228: A.D. 218-222	w4
32	Alexander Severus	" 231: A.D. 223	w2/3
33	" "	" 236: A.D. 228	w2/3
34	" "	" 243: A.D. 231	w3
35	" "	" 246: A.D. 233	w1/2
36	Maximinus	" 266: A.D. 235	w2/3
37	"	" 267: A.D. 235	w2
38-41	"	" 269: A.D. 236	4 w3
42	"	" 270: A.D. 236	w3
43-44	Gordian III	" 293: A.D. 241-243	w1/2 & w2

²⁷ Type of Sv. 80. 33, 34, belonging to the post-Sullan New Style series; see note 46, below.

²⁸ Type of *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Ionia*, London, 1892, pp. 342-343, nos. 122-125 = J. Mavrogordato, "Chronological Arrangement of the Coins of Chios," Part V, *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., XVIII, 1918, p. 34, no. 110a. Mavrogordato (p. 10) dates the type from about the middle of the first century to the middle of the second century after Christ. But in view of the fine preservation of the present specimen in an A.D. 267 context, it is very doubtful that the coin could have been struck any earlier than the third century.

²⁹ Type of *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Phrygia*, London, 1906, p. 232, no. 28.

45	"	"	294: A.D. 241-243	w2
46	"	"	300: A.D. 243-244	w2/3
47	Philip I	"	320: A.D. 244	w2
48-49	"	"	321: A.D. 244	2 w1/2
50	"	"	323: A.D. 245-247	w2
51	"	"	324: A.D. 248	w1
52	Otacilia Severa	"	332: A.D. 245-247	w1/2
53	" "	"	333: A.D. 248-249	w2/3
54	Trajan Decius	"	339: A.D. 249-251	w2
55	" "	"	340: A.D. 249-251	w2/3
56-57	Illegible			

Antoninianus

58	Gallienus	<i>Agora</i> , II, 423: A.D. 260-268
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Another "dropped purse" of thirty-four Athenian imperials (8 Group I, w6; 13 Group II, w4-6; and 13 Group III, w1-2) from the floor of an adjoining room, the kitchen,³⁰ amplifies the record of Athenian coins that were abandoned in this second house.

One will observe that the many sestertii from the house are, like the Athenian imperials, similar in wear to their counterparts in the Eleusis hoard; but more significant is the fact that the latest sestertii in the present lot come down only eleven or twelve years later than the latest one in the Eleusis hoard. In the *Agora* find there is a gap of some fourteen to sixteen years between the latest sestertii and the time that the coins were abandoned, a gap that reflects in an almost classic way the decline and fall of the sestertius in the Roman monetary system around the middle of the third century.³¹ As the imperial treasury tried to stave off bankruptcy by flooding the empire with increasingly debased antoniniani, the good *aes* coinage was driven out of circulation into savings accumulations like the present one, and it became progressively uneconomical for the government to continue producing it. Under Trajan Decius the weight of sestertii was reduced, and the minting of bronze began to fall off drastically until in the late 250's and early 260's, under Valerian and Gallienus, it was discontinued altogether.³² One imagines that the owner of the purse dropped in the Room of the Two Marble Busts was reluctant to accept his two latest bronzes, the sestertius and double sestertius of Decius, since both are far underweight in comparison with the heavy sestertii of earlier emperors. He did not collect any

³⁰ *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 217-218.

³¹ Cf. S. Bolin, *State and Currency in the Roman Empire to 300 A.D.*, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 245-248, 287-290; R. A. G. Carson, *Num. Chron.*, 7th Ser., XI, 1971, pp. 182, 199.

³² J.-P. Callu, *La Politique Monétaire des Empereurs Romains de 238 à 311*, Paris, 1969, pp. 130-135, 477-478.

later sestertii because they were scarce and would also have been underweight. Because of the low reputation of the antoninianus, it is not hard to understand why only one of these found its way into the purse; together with the worn Athenian fractions it was kept as ready petty cash and not as part of the man's savings—which were in sestertii.

The relevance of these factors to the dating of the Eleusis hoard is obvious. Even if we could be sure that there were no sestertii in the hoard later than the one of Gordian, it would still be hazardous to date the hoard by it. The overall record of coins found in the Agora shows in fact that the *aes* of Gordian was the last that was available in quantity. In addition to those already enumerated from the Room of the Two Marble Busts, the latest sestertii (together with a few dupondii and asses) listed in *Agora*, II may be itemized as follows:

Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea (A.D. 222-235)	28
Maximianus and Maximus (A.D. 235-238)	13
Pupienus (A.D. 238)	2
Gordian III (A.D. 238-244)	18
Philip I and Otacilia (A.D. 244-249)	8
Trajan Decius (A.D. 249-251)	4
Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian (A.D. 251-253)	3
Gallienus and Salonina (A.D. 253-268)	1

On grounds of historical probability, then, the Eleusis hoard should be dated to A.D. 267, when the Herulians would have passed by Eleusis on their way from Athens to Corinth. No Herulian destruction has been detected at Eleusis; but there is evidence that the fortifications of the sanctuary were reinforced about this time in anticipation of a barbarian attack,³³ and it may be that the Eleusinians were able to defend themselves within their walls. In any event, the hoard was buried in the unprotected area outside the walls of the sanctuary.

None of this appreciably affects the chronology of the Athenian coins in the hoard. The Herulian coin deposits from the Agora give an independent *terminus ante quem* of 267 for the Group III strikings; and in 1971 the excavation of a well in the courtyard of a Roman house just to the north of the Stoa of Attalos³⁴ produced evidence showing that the series probably began by *ca.* 250 and may well go back as early as the reign of Gordian III after all. The house had been extensively

³³ J. N. Travlos, *Πρακτικά*, 1954, pp. 69-70; G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton, 1961, p. 165.

³⁴ See T. L. Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, pp. 121-179. The well has received the Agora deposit number Q 6:4. For much helpful discussion of it and deposit P 6:2 (p. 324, 5, below), I am indebted to Stephen G. Miller, the excavator of both.

renovated *ca.* 240 or very shortly thereafter as is shown by a mint-fresh coin of Gordian dating from the year 239³⁵ that was stratified among the working chips under the first floor of the remodeled building and by the circumstance that the floor was renewed twice more before the destruction of the house in 267. As the addition of the two later floors implies, the original remodeling took place at least a decade before 267 and most probably two or three decades before, i.e., in the period *ca.* 240-250, when the coin of Gordian was still quite new.

The bottom 40 centimeters of the well in the house courtyard were filled with stone chips and other refuse from the remodeling. Within this construction filling appeared two badly corroded Athenian imperials, both clearly belonging to Group III. As the filling can be dated with some confidence *ca.* 240-250, the two coins that were swept in with it should date from within or before this decade. It is, of course, always possible that one or both of the coins filtered down from the meter-deep filling of the well's use. But, even so, the above conclusion probably would not be altered by more than a few years since any coin dropped down the well during the period of use would ordinarily have been minted around the middle of the century or earlier; and, as it happens, the one coin that was stratified in the period-of-use filling (it was found close to the bottom of the filling) was another coin of Gordian, this one a debased antoninianus dating from the last two years of his reign, 242-244.³⁶ Since the minimal wear of Group III specimens in contexts of A.D. 267 will hardly allow the series to commence much earlier than the time of Gordian, the Group III imperials may now be dated *ca.* A.D. 240/250-267.³⁷

We deduce finally from the preceding deposits that the Group II imperials ought to be about as early as possible and almost certainly go back before the Severan period (A.D. 193-217). All the Group II specimens from the Eleusis hoard and from contemporary contexts in the Agora are more circulated (w4-6) than the one positive Severan imperial in the hoard, an Argive coin with the portrait of Plautilla (variety 281, w3, dating from A.D. 202-205), and than most Greek imperials of Severan date

³⁵ The coin is an ancient forgery, being of bronze but with the types of *Roman Imperial Coinage*, IV, 3, London, 1949, p. 17, no. 23 (aureus). When new, it was presumably coated with a thin wash of gold (or possibly silver). The style is as fine as that of any official issue. Its weight (after cleaning) is 3.01 grams.

³⁶ Type of *ibid.*, p. 37, no. 213.

³⁷ Since some of the Group III reverse types which depict an agonistic table are inscribed with the names of Athenian games that were instituted or revived by Hadrian (Hadrianeia, Olympia, and ? Panhellenia: Sv. 91.33-45), Josephine P. Shear (*op. cit.*, pp. 304, 319-323) maintained that the coins were Hadrianic in date. These games, however, continued to be held in the third century (L. Moretti, *Inscrizioni Agonistiche Greche*, Rome, 1953, p. 244, no. 84 [A.D. 212-217], lines 10-12: Panhellenia, Olympia, Hadrianeia; p. 257, no. 87 [mid-third century], line 12: Hadrianeia; p. 259, no. 88 [mid-third century], lines 10-11: Olympia, Panhellenia; p. 263, no. 90 [*ca.* A.D. 253-257], line 12: Panhellenia), and it is doubtless these third-century celebrations that the coins commemorate.

that were buried in 267 in hoards outside of Attica, e.g., the Corinth Theater hoard of 1930³⁸ and three recently published hoards from Nikopolis.³⁹ Nearly all of the Severan pieces in the Corinth hoard fall at w3, while those in the Nikopolis hoards appear from the published photographs to range from w3 to w5.

The Severan period was a time of unprecedented minting activity throughout the eastern empire; nearly every Greek city that is known to have struck an imperial municipal coinage did so under Septimius and his sons.⁴⁰ Yet it is not hard to understand why Athens apparently did not do likewise. As we read in the *Historia Augusta*, Severus, while visiting Athens early in his career "suffered certain wrongs at the hands of the Athenians; and on that account he became their foe, and afterwards, as emperor, took vengeance on them by curtailing their rights."⁴¹ Inasmuch as the minting of a municipal bronze coinage was a right conferred to the individual cities by imperial authority,⁴² the foregoing analysis leaves little doubt that among the *privilegia* taken away by Severus was Athens' right to coin.

As I have shown elsewhere,⁴³ Athens New Style bronze coinage comes to an end in the early years of the Augustan Principate. Thus, if Head and Svoronos were correct in dating the beginning of the Athenian imperial coinage to the time of Hadrian, there would have been a gap of about a century during which Athens struck no coinage at all. It was argued by Josephine P. Shear, however, that such a gap is unthinkable and that it must be closed by dating the earliest Athenian imperials to the time of Augustus.⁴⁴ Otherwise, she asked, what bronze money would the Athenians have used during the first century after Christ? Statistics from the Agora excavations made it certain that very little non-Athenian bronze was circulating in Athens at that time, and she felt that Athenian New Style coins must not have continued in use since so many of them from the excavations were in a relatively unworn condition and seemed not to have circulated for a full century or more.

This last observation may have been true for the New Style issues found during the first few years of excavation, but it will not stand today. When one begins to examine the coins in specific Agora deposits of the first and second centuries after Christ, it becomes apparent that the New Style bronzes remained in use for a very

³⁸ *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 139-151, pl. 5. Casts of the hoard were kindly made available to me by Joan Fisher.

³⁹ See note 22 above.

⁴⁰ See the impressive statistics compiled and discussed by T. B. Jones, *op. cit.* (note 22), pp. 309-310 (table 1 and figs. 1-3), 328-333.

⁴¹ *Life of Severus*, III, 7; Loeb Classical Library translation of D. Magie. The passage is discussed by J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens Under Roman Domination*, New York, 1942, pp. 200-202.

⁴² L. Robert, "ΑΙΣΘΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ sur les monnaies," *Hellenica*, XI-XII, 1960, pp. 52-62.

⁴³ "Two Hoards of First-century B.C. Athenian Bronze Coins," *Δελτ.*, XXVII, 1972, *Μελέται*.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 285-288.

long time after they were minted. Eight such deposits containing a sufficient number of coins to illustrate this fact are listed below. When datable coins are lacking, the dates assigned to the deposits are based on the evidence of pottery and lamps.

1. Deposit D 11:1. Well on the south slope of Kolonos Agoraios. Dumped filling containing material from the late first century B.C. to the middle of the first century after Christ (*Agora*, V, p. 124; *Agora*, VII, p. 225; cf. *Agora*, IV, p. 236).⁴⁵ Of the six identifiable bronze coins from this fill, two are Athenian pieces of the third and second centuries B.C.; the rest are post-Sullan New Style ⁴⁶ in a worn to very worn condition (w4 and 5).

2. Deposit K 9-10:1. Filling of reddish earth over bedrock west of the Odeion. A context predominately of the first century after Christ, though with later disturbances (*Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 42; cf. *Agora*, VII, p. 226, and *Agora*, VI, p. 99). Late disturbances are represented by two coins, one of the fourth, the other of the seventh century. The remaining numismatic material is similar to that in other first century Agora deposits: one bronze of Augustus (w6), one Corinthian bronze from the reign of Nero (w3), nine Athenian bronzes from the fourth century through 96 B.C., and thirteen post-Sullan New Style bronzes (w2-6). As in the previous deposit, no Athenian imperials were present.

3. Deposit O 17:1. Cistern on the southeast slope of the Areopagus. Dumped filling of the second to final quarter of the first century after Christ (*Agora*, V, p. 126; *Agora*, VII, p. 227). Five legible coins from this fill are available for examination; all are heavily worn post-Sullan New Style bronzes (1 w4, 4 w6). At the time the fill was excavated five other coins were identified as New Style bronzes but were subsequently discarded. I assume that they were so identified from their size and fabric, which for post-Sullan pieces is unmistakable, and that they were not kept because they were too worn or damaged to be assigned to specific issues. There were no Athenian imperials.

4. Deposit F 11:1. A well at the foot of Kolonos Agoraios behind the Tholos. Dumped filling of the first and early second centuries after Christ (*Agora*, V, p. 125; *Agora*, VII, p. 224). A *terminus post quem* for the filling is provided by a somewhat worn (w3) plated denarius of Trajan, which is dated A.D. 112-117 (*Agora*, II, no. 51). The four other legible coins from the fill are Athenian bronzes of the post-Sullan New Style series, mostly in a heavily worn state (1 w3, 1 w5, 2 w6). Again, no imperials.

5. Deposit P 6:2 (excavated in 1971). Refuse pit dug and filled in connection with the dismantling and leveling of a house directly north of the Stoa of Attalos, between the modern Hadrian Street and the tracks of the Athens-Peiraeus railroad (T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 137, notes 40, 43). The house was demolished to make room for the Hadrianic basilica later constructed over the area. Debris from the house that was buried in the pit included broken tiles, bits of nails and other metal scrap, some bone tools, a quantity of pottery dating from

⁴⁵ These and the following deposit references are to: R. H. Howland, *The Athenian Agora*, IV, *Greek Lamps and their Survivals*, Princeton, 1958; H. S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora*, V, *Pottery of the Roman Period*, *Chronology*, Princeton, 1959; C. Grandjouan, *The Athenian Agora*, VI, *Terracottas and Plastic Lamps of the Roman Period*, Princeton, 1961; J. Perlzweig, *The Athenian Agora*, VII, *Lamps of the Roman Period*, Princeton, 1961.

⁴⁶ By "post-Sullan New Style" I refer to the varieties illustrated in Sv., pls. 25 (nos. 22-50), 79, and 80. For the post-86 B.C. date of these issues, see M. J. Price, "The New-Style Coinage of Athens, Some Evidence from the Bronze Issues," *Num. Chron.*, 7th Ser., IV, 1964, p. 30, table II, and my article cited above in note 43.

the late first-early second centuries after Christ, and four Athenian coins, all extremely worn bronzes of the post-Sullan series (w6). Of these coins, three are of particular interest in that they were found stuck to the bottom of a clay vessel that, when mended, proved to be an egg-shaped savings bank with a horizontal slot near the top (Pl. 61).⁴⁷ As the bank was presumably in use shortly before it was discarded in the pit around A.D. 100, it shows not only that these post-Sullan issues were circulating at the time but that they were still being put away in savings.

6. Deposit D 4:1. Cistern on the northwest side of Kolonos Agoraios. Dumped filling of the first half of the first century after Christ (Layer II) and of the late first to early second century (Layer III) (*Agora*, V, Group G, pp. 22-45; cf. *Agora*, IV, p. 236 and *Agora*, VII, p. 226; J. W. Hayes, an acknowledged authority on Roman pottery, tells me, however, that there is now good reason for dating Layer III as Hadrianic). The legible coins from the earlier fill are summarized by M. J. Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33, table III. v. The latest datable coin is a plated denarius of Tiberius of ca. A.D. 26-37 (*Agora*, II, no. 18); the latest Athenian coins are five New Style bronzes of the post-Sullan series (w2-5).

Only four coins from the early second century/Hadrianic filling are legible: one of the fourth or third century B.C., two post-Sullan New Style bronzes (both w6), and one Athenian imperial fraction of the type Sv. 88.23-26 (Athena head in Attic helmet/Owl right with olive spray and legend, downwards, AΘH). The last coin is in mint condition and was found inside a small, complete jug (*Agora*, V, no. G 182). According to Mrs. Shear's classification, the coin would belong to our Group I.

7. Deposit E 14:2. Well at the southeast foot of Kolonos Agoraios. Use filling of the first century after Christ (*Agora*, V, p. 125; cf. *Agora*, IV, p. 237). In the deposit list compiled by members of the Agora staff this fill is divided into two periods of use: a bottom layer of the first half of the first century and an upper one containing material said to come down approximately to the late part of the century. A relatively large number of bronze coins was found in both layers. The bottom layer contained fifteen bronzes of the Athenian post-Sullan New Style series and twelve others that, like a number of coins in Deposit 3, were discarded after having been identified as New Style without any indication of a more precise classification. Most, if not all, of these twelve were certainly post-Sullan issues.

In the upper use filling were eleven post-Sullan New Style coins and six other coins that were identified as New Style but are no longer available for study. The New Style pieces in the upper layer were accompanied by three Athenian imperials: an early Athena/Owl fraction identical to the one described under Deposit 6 above, a badly corroded fraction that seems to be of the same type, and a third that has since disintegrated or was discarded. To judge from the date assigned it in the excavator's notebook, this last was in all probability another Group I fraction. Since most of the coins are heavily corroded, their degree of wear cannot be estimated with precision; but needless to say the one extant, legible imperial is noticeably less worn than the New Style emissions.

8. Deposit M 17:1. Well on the lower northeast slope of the Areopagus. Stratified use filling of the mid-first to late sixth centuries after Christ (*Agora*, V, Group M, pp. 82-120; cf. *Agora*, VII, p. 226). I list here the numismatic contents for the first three layers only, the subsequent

⁴⁷ Inv. P 28471. Height 0.191 m., diam. 0.15 m. Red to buff clay. Mended from many pieces; about one-fourth of the body wall missing. Egg-shaped body with plain flat base and irregular knob at top. The knob is slightly undercut, perhaps for a string to be tied around it. At height of ca. 0.15 m. a fragment retains traces of a corner of a slot cut before the pot was fired. The types of the three coins that were corroded to the interior of the base are Sv. 25.36-42, 79.38-42, and 80.46-42. For other ancient terracotta savings banks, *Agora*, V, p. 77, no. L 29, with references; J. W. Brailsford, *British Museum, Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain*, London, 1964, p. 36, no. 27, fig. 17.

layers being of the third century and later. Since excavation and preliminary identification, a great many of the coins have disintegrated or were discarded as being insufficiently legible.

Layer I, dated to the middle of the first century after Christ.	
Athenian New Style (all or most post-Sullan)	9
Athenian imperial fractions (Group I)	
Theseus holding club (Sv. 95.13-15)	1
Type unspecified	1
Layer II, late first to first half of second century.	
Athenian New Style (all or most post-Sullan)	3
Layer III, second half of second century.	
Athenian New Style (all or most post-Sullan)	9
Athenian imperial fractions (Group I)	
Owl left (Sv. 88.49-54)	1
Prow right (Sv. 97.41)	2
Type unspecified	13
Athenian imperial (Group II)	
Type unspecified	1
Hadrian, type unspecified	1
Other Roman, types unspecified	2

In view of the foregoing there can be no doubt that there was a sizeable gap between the minting of the last New Style issues and the beginning of the imperial series. The gap accounts for the changes in fabric, technique, artistic conception, and legends between the New Style bronzes on the one hand and the Athenian imperials on the other. The problem is to determine how long the gap lasted.

Deposits **1** to **5**, from which imperials are conspicuously absent, and Deposit **6**, which gives a Hadrianic context for an early Athena/Owl fraction, are entirely consonant with the Svoronos-Head chronology that begins the Group I coinage under Hadrian. Deposits **7** and **8**, on the other hand, speak for an earlier dating. Layer I of Deposit **8** gives a context of no later than *ca.* A.D. 50 for two Group I fractions. But of all the deposits Deposit **8** is by far the least reliable. Its successive layers accumulated during the continuous use of a well, and in such use accumulations the chances of contamination from above are considerable, particularly in the case of coins that may easily filter down through the well silt.⁴⁸ Since the evidence of the lowest level of Deposit **8** is at least a half century out of line with that of the other deposits, it can and should be dismissed.

Our earliest dependable context then is provided by the late first-century filling of Deposit **7**. This too is a use filling, but it is the highest filling in the well so there should be no question of contamination from above. Assuming that the assigned ceramic date for the filling is approximately correct, must we, on the basis of the one or two Athena/Owl fractions in the filling, assign the Group I coinage to the late first century, some two or more decades before Hadrian? I think not, for these

⁴⁸ Cf. *Agora*, V, p. 82, note 6 (referring to the present deposit).

particular fractions stand apart from the regular Group I issues. Stylistically, they ought to be earlier,⁴⁹ and since the upper filling of Deposit 7 gives a relatively early context for them, this stylistic judgment would seem to be confirmed. Such considerations suggest that the early Athena/Owl fractions were a kind of forerunner of the regular imperial coinage, having been minted late in the first century as fractional supplements to the worn New Style bronzes that then still constituted Athens' main bronze currency.

The regular Group I strikings should be later, although not by much since these were presumably in circulation by the time of *I.G.*, II², 2776, which was inscribed between A.D. 110 and 150 and gives sums in a local currency that, like the Group I coinage, was distinguished by an extensive system of fractional denominations.⁵⁰ In view of Hadrian's lavish patronage of Athens, it seems only natural to adhere to the old view that attributes the Group I coinage, or at least the beginning of it, to his reign. The probable time for the beginning would be during or shortly after Hadrian's first and most important state visit in 124/5.⁵¹

⁴⁹ The Athena/Owl fractions, being modeled on the Classical Athenian silver tetradrachms, drachms, and obols, are the only Athenian imperials that copy the types of an earlier coinage. The examples illustrated in Sv., pl. 88, are arranged by stylistic development, which can be analyzed in three stages: an initial stage (Sv. 88.23-26), in which the imitation of the old silver types is relatively close (the Athena head on the obverse is rather severe and wears an Attic helmet; on the reverse the three-letter ethnic is inscribed downwards at the right); a transitional stage (Sv. 88.27-30), in which the same obverse head is retained, while the letters of the ethnic (and sometimes the owl itself) are shifted into new positions; and a final stage (Sv. 88.31-54), in which all fidelity to the prototype has been abandoned and the obverse head (it is now more often a bust) is rendered with a Corinthian helmet in the standard style of the heads on all other Group I fractions and many of the Group I larger denominations. The last stage therefore is clearly a part of the Group I coinage. The obverse heads in the first two stages have, however, no remote parallels on any of the Group I denominations, large or small, and suggest that the first stages had been struck before the regular Group I coinage was established. The legible Athena/Owl specimen from Deposit 7, as well as the specimen from Deposit 6, belongs to the initial, most "classical" phase of the series.

⁵⁰ For the date, improved text, and a translation of this inscription, see S. G. Miller, *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, pp. 67-87, 475-476. In the inscription fractions of denarii are expressed in drachms tariffed at 1/6 denarius, hemidrachms (1/12 denarius), obols (1/6 drachm or 1/36 denarius), and hemiobols (1/72 denarius). P. Graindor (*Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934, p. 186, note 2) was doubtless correct in assuming that these were bronze drachms, obols, etc. of Athens' imperial coinage. In *I.G.*, II², 1368 (A.D. 175/6; for the date see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 29, 51), lines 80, 98-99, 110; such drachms are referred to as λεπτοῦ δραχμαί. The smallest Athenian imperial fractions (diameter 9-11 mm.) are smaller than the smallest common Roman denomination, the quadrans (diameter 16-17 mm.), which was equivalent to 1/64 of a denarius, and about the same size as the rare Hadrianic uncia (*British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire*, III, London, 1936, p. 527, no. 1833; diameter 9-10 mm.), which was worth 1/192 denarius. Hence it is entirely possible that the smallest Athenian imperial fractions are to be identified with the smallest units mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 2776, the bronze hemiobol.

⁵¹ Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-36.

I know of no evidence that requires an earlier date. We have seen that the gap in minting that concerned Mrs. Shear was filled by the continued use of New Style bronze money and that her "Hadrianic" agonistic types cannot be earlier than the mid-third century.⁵² Her reading of faint traces of Augustus' name on certain Group I specimens found in the Agora⁵³ is not supported by a re-examination of these coins. And in regard to her comparisons with Athena heads on first century B.C. coins from Italy, Africa, and Asia Minor,⁵⁴ I believe it is fair to say that during the Roman era such comparisons can be found to defend almost any chronology. But among the several considerations that underlay her early chronology for the Athenian imperials, probably the most important was the theory that the reverse type that depicts the Acropolis was intended to commemorate the remodeling of the great staircase to the Acropolis under Claudius.⁵⁵ The theory was proposed in order to explain the prominence of the staircase on the coins and argues that the type, which originally appears late in the Group I period, is Claudian in date. However, the staircase does not become disproportionately prominent until the type is copied in the Group II and III phases of the coinage,⁵⁶ and even then it is questionable whether much should be made of the stairs' prominence since such details are regularly exaggerated on Greek imperial coins that display complex architectural and topographical scenes. That the stairs were put in at all was probably to define the orientation of the Acropolis view, to help identify the structure they lead up to as the Propylaia, and because they, like the cave next to them, are among the very few topographical features that can be used to fill out the lower slopes of the Acropolis in the particular view depicted. It is extremely doubtful that the Acropolis reverses had anything to do with a specific building program, much less one as early as Claudius.

To judge both from the variety in the length and arrangements of the Group I reverse legends and from the abundance and complexity of its fractional denominations, the Group I coinage would seem to have been minted over a relatively long period. Thus if the series began around the middle of Hadrian's reign, it is likely to have continued into the time of Antoninus Pius. The Group II coinage is much

⁵² Above, note 36. Mrs. Shear's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 288) that Athenian imperial and New Style bronze often occur together in Agora contexts is correct but applies only to contexts that are mixed or date from the second century after Christ and later.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 294; rejected by M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, Cambridge, 1946, p. 401, note 10. What Mrs. Shear took for letters are actually traces of the obverse wreath borders; the coins in question are all quite worn.

⁵⁴ Shear, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-294.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 316-317.

⁵⁶ Compare Sv. 98. 19-20 (Group I) with Sv. 98. 21-29 (Group II) and Sv. 98. 30-43 (Group III). J. Travlos (*Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London, 1971, p. 422, with fig. 545) observes that the (later) representations show not only the staircase but also the upper part of the Panathenaic Way that leads up to it.

more homogeneous and presumably of shorter duration. Being pre-Severan in date, it should fall somewhere in the late Antonine period, under Marcus Aurelius or Commodus. The Group III series dates, as we have seen, from the middle decades of the third century.

All of this is very much as Svoronos and Head had deduced some seventy years ago. Hopefully it should be only a matter of time before the excavations in the Agora provide further contextual evidence through which the date-brackets for all three groups of Athenian imperials can be fixed with greater precision.

Addenda. Since the above was written, important confirmatory evidence for placing the inception of the Athenian imperials in the second century was produced during the 1972 and 1973 excavations of a great stoa that lined the south side of the colon-naded street leading from the Greek to the Roman Agora (see the forthcoming 1972 Agora report, *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, 4th fascicule). Architecturally the stoa forms a complex with the Library of Pantainos, which itself is dated by its dedicatory inscription between A.D. 98 and 102; and the latest ceramic material and dated coin (a worn, w4, plated denarius of Titus of the year 79, found in 1973) from the construction packing of the stoa demonstrate independently that stoa and library were contemporary. More than ninety bronze coins were recovered from beneath the original floor of the stoa, the overwhelming majority of them Athenian post-Sullan New Style pieces in an extremely worn condition (w6). All of the remaining Athenian coins are pre-86 B.C. in date. The absence of any Athenian imperials emphatically attests that their minting did not commence until after *ca.* A.D. 100, when the stoa was built.

An exhaustive study of the Athenian imperial coinage by dies has been undertaken by Alan Walker for his doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania.

JOHN H. KROLL

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS

APPENDIX

COINS FROM THE ELEUSIS HOARD IN THE ATHENS NUMISMATIC COLLECTION ILLUSTRATED IN SVORONOS' *Monnaies D'Athènes*

The left-most column records the number of the variety in Svoronos' catalogue, *J.I.A.N.*, VII, 1904, pp. 111-142. This is followed by a reference to the plates in *Monnaies d'Athènes* and, in parentheses, the total number of coins originally catalogued by Svoronos under the variety. For the Group I and II specimens an indication of wear and the appropriate Roman numeral are given. All other varieties belong to Group III and are in a w1 or w2 condition.

When *Monnaies d'Athènes* illustrates a die-duplicate from another collection, the collection is frequently specified since all such duplicates from the Romanos and Anderson collections and a number in London and Berlin may be assumed to be from the Eleusis find (see note 7 above). Die positions are loose, without any discernable pattern in all three groups.

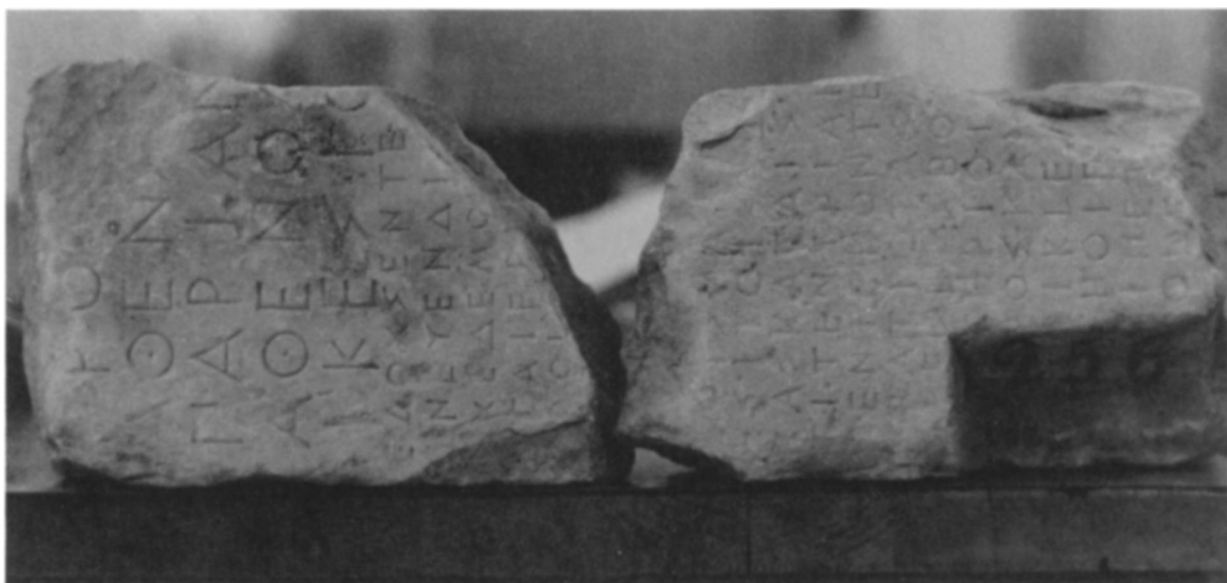
Occasional discrepancies between Svoronos' catalogue entries and the present references to *Monnaies d'Athènes* are due to errors in the former. Such errors are especially common in the cross-references from the *J.I.A.N.* catalogue to the *J.I.A.N.* plates 1 and 2.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. 82.5 (78) | 34. Similar to 83.31 (same obv. die); more worn, w5 (4) I |
| 2. 82.6 (1) | 35. 84.3 (1) |
| 3. Same obv. die as 82.10 (Anderson) (2) | 36. Same dies as 84.5 (London 1902) (2) |
| 4. 82.11 (15) | 37. 84.10 (1) |
| 5. Same obv. die as No. 105 below (3) | 38. 84.20 (1) |
| 6. 82.9 (3) | 39. Same dies as 83.35 (2) |
| 7. 82.22 (3) | 40. Similar to 83.36; obv. too poorly preserved for identification of die; rev. illustrated in <i>J.I.A.N.</i> , VII, pl. 1.13 (2) |
| 8. 82.18} | 41. 83.39 (2) |
| 9. 82.19} (12) | 42. Same obv. as No. 179 below (3) |
| 10. 82.24 (1) | 43. 83.41 (2) |
| 11. 82.21 (4) | 44. Same dies as 83.42 (Anderson) (2) |
| 12. Similar to 82.33; w4 (49) II | 45. 83.40 (1) |
| 13. 83.1 (7) | 46. 83.38 (1) |
| 14. 83.3 (1) | 47. 84.24 (2) |
| 15. 82.36 (3) | 48. 84.26 (4) |
| 16. 82.41 (6) | 49. 84.29 (2) |
| 17. Coin and obv. die not illustrated (1) | 50. 84.40 (1) |
| 18. 83.6 (20) | 51. 84.37 (3) |
| 19. Same obv. die as No. 90 below (22) | 52. Similar to 84.36 (same dies?); more wear, w5 (1) II |
| 20. Coin and obv. die not illustrated (1) | 53. 84.34 (5) |
| 21. 83.13 (5) | 54. 85.1 (3) |
| 22. Same obv. die as 82.17, 86.28, 88.2 (3) | 55. 85.3 (2) |
| 23. Same obv. die as Nos. 244 and 244a below (—) | 56. 84.41 (1) |
| 24. 83.14 (2) | 57. Same obv. die as No. 36 above; same rev. die as No. 55 above (1) |
| 25. 83.17 (2) | 58. Coin and obv. die not illustrated (1) |
| 26. 82.42 (1) | 59. 85.40 (1) |
| 27. 83.20 (2) | 60. Same dies as 85.38 (Anderson) (2) |
| 28. 83.22 (3) | 61. Same obv. die as No. 20 above (1) |
| 29. 83.24 (2) | 62. Coin and obv. die not illustrated; obv. die similar to those of Nos. 4 and 88 (1) |
| 30. Not illustrated; obv. too conventional for identification of die (1) | |
| 31. 83.27 (1) | |
| 32. 83.33 (2) | |
| 33. 83.34 (5) | |

63. 85.12, w4 (25) II
64. 85.9, w4/5 (2) II
65. Similar to No. 64, except that on rev. owl is at right of Athena in place of snake; w5 (1) II
66. 85.19 (3)
67. Same dies as 85.23 (Anderson) (3)
68. 85.28 (12)
69. 85.29 (3)
70. 85.26 (1)
71. 85.25 (1)
72. Same obv. die as No. 25 above (3)
73. 85.36 (2)
74. 85.41 (1)
75. 87.2 (1)
76. Same dies as 87.11 (Anderson) (2)
77. 87.9 (3)
78. 86.42 (1)
79. Same obv. die as No. 80 below (2)
80. Same dies as 86.40 (Anderson) (1)
81. Same obv. die as No. 105 below (1)
82. 86.30 (1)
83. Same obv. die as 91.15 and 91.19 (1)
84. Same dies as 87.12 (Berlin) (2)
85. Similar to 86.1-3, but more worn, w4/5 (41) II
86. 86.4, w5 (4) II
87. Same obv. die as No. 93 below (3)
88. 86.12 (42)
89. 86.37 (4)
90. 86.9 (7)
91. 86.15 (1)
92. Same obv. die as No. 26 above (8)
93. 86.29 (1)
94. 86.24 (8)
95. Same obv. die as No. 22 above (6)
96. Obv. die similar to or identical with that of No. 77 above (1)
97. Same dies as 86.19 (Anderson) (4)
98. Not illustrated; obv. too conventional for identification of die (1)
99. Coin and obverse die not illustrated (1)
100. Same obv. die as No. 94 above (1)
101. Coin and obv. die not illustrated; obv. similar to that of 83.42 (1)
102. Same obv. die as 90.23 (Anderson) (1)
103. Same obv. die as No. 54 above (1)
104. 86.31 (1)
105. 86.38 (1)
106. Same obv. die as No. 90 above (1)
107. Coin and obv. die not illustrated; obv. similar to that of 99.20 (2)
108. Same obv. die as No. 105 above (1)
109. Same obv. die as No. 1 above; rev. illustrated in *J.I.A.N.*, VII, pl. 1.39 (8)
110. 86.36 (1)
111. Same obv. die as No. 251 below (3)
112. Obv. die similar to that of No. 175 below; too conventional for die identification (3)
113. 88.1 (1)
114. 88.5 (1)
115. Same dies as 88.2 (Romanos) (2)
116. 87.33 (5)
117. 87.18, w5 (2) II
118. Same dies as 87.25 (Anderson) (1)
119. 87.26 (1)
120. 87.28 (2)
121. 87.21, w5 (1) II
122. 87.31 (1)
123. 87.32 (1)
124. Same dies as No. 120 above (1)
125. 87.29 (5)
126. 87.24 (4)
127. Same dies as No. 118 above (1)
128. Same dies as 87.22 (1)
129. Similar to 88.8-9, but more wear, w5 (3) II
130. 88.16 (2)
131. 88.14 (3)
132. 88.21 (1)
133. 88.19 (1)
134. 88.20 (1)
135. 89.14, w4 (2) II
136. Similar to 89.5-10, w5 or 6 (1) I (Specimen could not be found in Numismatic Collection trays)
137. 89.32, w5 (2) II
138. 89.34 (2)
139. 88.58, w4 (12) II
140. Similar to 88.60, but more wear, w6 (1) I
141. Similar to 91.46-47, but more wear, w6 (1) I
142. 91.16 (5)

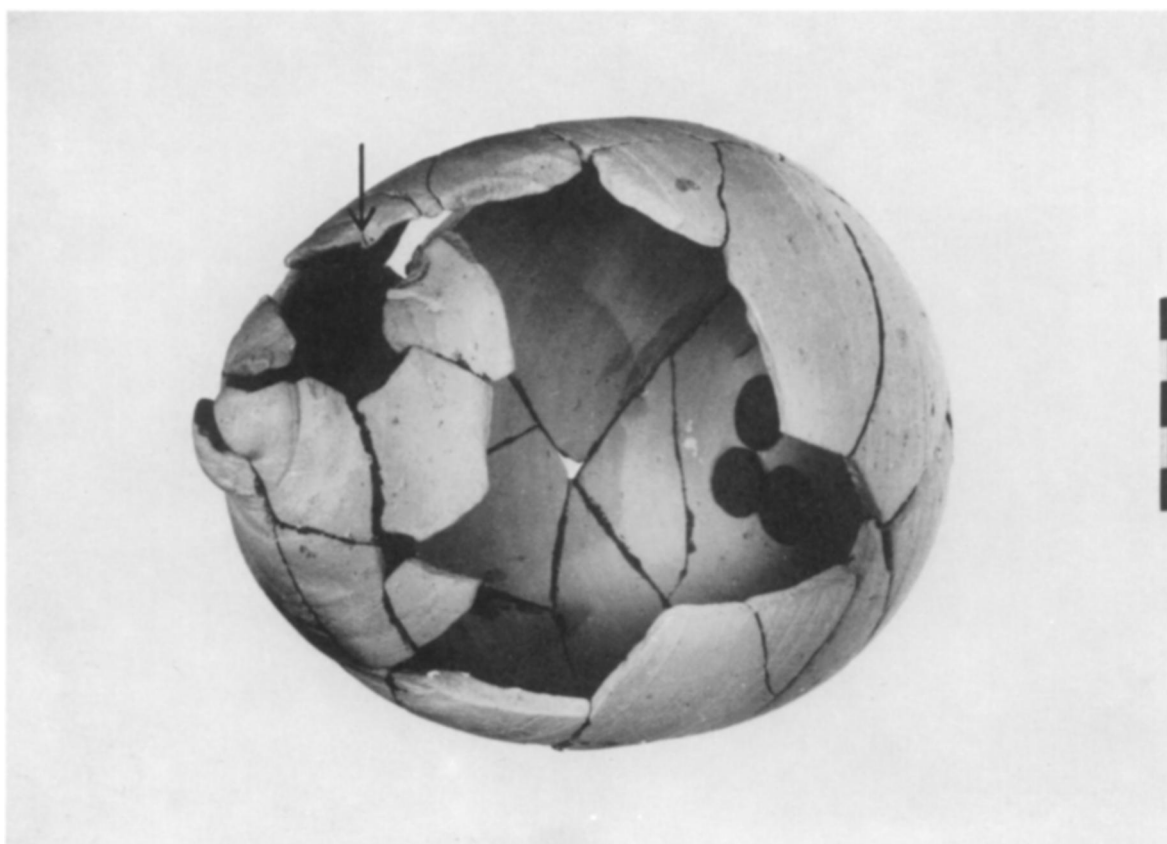
143. 91.2 (1)
144. Same obv. die as No. 105 above (1)
145. 91.10 (1)
146. 91.9 (1)
147. 91.1 (1)
148. 91.3 (1)
149. Could not be located in Numismatic Collection trays (1)
150. 91.7 (1)
151. Same obv. die as No. 168 below (1)
152. Same obv. die as 83.11, 91.5, and 93.20 (1)
153. Obv. too poorly preserved for identification of die (1)
154. 91.38 (2)
155. Same dies as 91.36 (1)
156. Same dies as 91.37 (Anderson) (4)
157. 91.29 (2)
158. Coin and obv. die not illustrated (—)
159. 91.28 (2)
160. 91.27 (—)
161. 91.32 (4)
162. 91.31 (1)
163. 91.30 (1)
164. 91.23 (1)
165. 91.22 (2)
166. 90.1 (6)
167. 90.5 (3)
168. 90.6 (1)
169. 90.8 (2)
170. Obv. similar to that of 87.8-10; too poorly preserved for identification of die (4)
171. Same obv. die as No. 62 above (1)
172. 90.21 (1)
173. Same obv. die as No. 39 above (1)
174. Obv. too conventional for identification of die (1)
175. 90.13 (1)
176. Same dies as 90.20 (2)
177. 90.15 (3)
178. 90.23 (3)
179. 90.24 (1)
180. 90.26 (1)
181. Same dies as 90.27 (1)
182. 90.29 (1)
183. Similar to 90.32, but more wear, w5/6 (2) I
184. Similar to 90.35-40, but more wear, w6 (1) I
185. 92.1, w4/5 (1) II
186. 92.3 (2)
187. Similar to 92.16-19, w5 (1) II
188. Similar to 93.3, w5 (1) II
189. Similar to 93.1, but more wear, w5 (1) II
190. Same dies as 93.14 (Romanos) (2)
191. Same dies as 93.13 (Berlin) (1)
192. 93.10 (1)
193. Similar to 93.8, but more wear, w5/6 (2) II
194. 93.15 (1)
195. Same dies as 93.19 (Anderson) (1)
196. 93.18 (1)
197. 93.28 (2)
198. Same obv. die as No. 66 above (1)
199. 93.24 (2)
200. 93.27 (1)
201. 94.44 (5)
202. Similar to 93.44-45, but more wear, w5/6 (4) I
203. Similar to 93.46-47, but more wear, w6 (3) I
204. 94.23, w5 (4) II
205. Similar to No. 204, but with different arrangement of legend, w5 (1) II
206. Similar to No. 204, but with different arrangement of legend, w5 (1) II
207. 94.30 (obv. only) (2)
208. Same dies as 94.28 (Romanos) (2)
209. Obv. too poorly preserved for identification of die (1)
210. 94.25 (1)
211. 94.30 (rev. only); same obv. die as 82.7 (2)
212. Similar to 93.39, w5 (10) I
213. 92.27 (3)
214. 95.4 (2)
215. 95.2, w4 (1) II
216. 95.9 (1)
217. Similar to 95.8, but more wear, w5 (3) II
218. 98.2, w4 (8) II
219. Same dies as 98.9 (Berlin) (5)
220. 98.3 (1)

221. Same obv. die as No. 220 (1)
 222. Similar to 92.23, but more wear, w6 (1)
 II
 223. 96.4 (2)
 224. Similar to 92.38-39 (Romanos) and 92.40,
 w5 (3) II
 225. Similar to 95.21 (London 1902), but
 more wear, w6 (1) II
 226. 95.26, w6 (1) II
 227. 95.30 (1)
 228. 95.33 (1)
 229. Same dies as 95.36 (Anderson) (3)
 230. 96.3, w5 (4) II
 231. Same dies as 96.13-14 (Anderson) (4)
 232. 96.10 (1)
 233. 96.9 (1)
 234. 96.11 (1)
 235. 95.39 (1)
 236. Similar to 97.6-9, but more wear, w6
 (4) I
 237. 97.16, w4 (7) II
 238. 97.18, w4 (9) II
 239. 97.28 (3)
 240. 97.31 (2)
 241. 97.27 (1)
 242. 98.28, w5 (1) II
 243. 98.36 (1)
 244. 98.40 (2)
 244a. 98.41 (1)
 245. 99.7, w4/5 (28) II
 246. 99.22 (1)
 247. 99.21 (2)
 248. 99.34 (2)
 249. Same obv. die as No. 105 above (1)
 250. 99.35 (1)
 251. 99.36 (4)
 252. 99.32 (2)
 253. 99.31 (3)
 254. Could not be located in Numismatic Col-
 lection trays (1)
 255. Same obv. die as 86.8 and 86.20 (1)
 256-258. Could not be located in Numismatic
 Collection trays (27)
 259. 99.17 (1)
 260. 99.18 (1)
 261. 99.10 (9)
 262. Same obv. die as 90.17 (3)
 263. 99.15 (1)
 264. 99.13 (1)
 265. (Brokage) Same obv. die as 82.29, 93.9,
 and 95.8, w5 (1) II
 266a. (Brokage) Same obv. die as Nos. 22 and
 25 above (1)
 266b. (Brokage) Same obv. die as 91.17 (Lon-
 don 1902) (1)
 267. Coins too worn for identification of type;
 none kept in Numismatic Collection
 trays, w6 (46) I



E. M. 6566 + 6570 (*I.G.*, I², 30 + 23).

MICHAEL B. WALBANK: HONORS FOR PARIANOS
AND HIS SONS ATHENODOROS AND IKESIOS.



Terracotta Bank with Coins. Arrow indicates edge of slot.

JOHN H. KROLL: THE ELEUSIS HOARD OF ATHENIAN IMPERIAL
COINS AND SOME DEPOSITS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA.