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.¹
In their place were erected three great stoas. The earliest, the so-called Middle Stoa,²
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 Attalos³ 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 II⁴ 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 mem-
bers of the Agora staff who gave generously of their time and expertise. They are acknowledged individu-
ally 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 Kroll's unpublished study of these early issues.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 =
BMC = A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, London, 1873ff. McLean = S. W. Grose,
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.

1 Agora, XIV, pls. 6 and 7.
2 Agora, XIV, pp. 66–68, 103–104.
4 Agora, XIV, pp. 68–69.

Hesperia, XLIV, 3
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 Athen/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 Stoa⁵ 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.⁶

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.⁷

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

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⁵ *Agora*, XIV, pp. 66–68, 103–104.
⁶ 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).
drains and layers which were older than the 2nd century structure.\footnote{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.} 152 coins were securely identifiable after cleaning.\footnote{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; \(\Lambda\)-410–414, 417; \(\Sigma\)-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.”}n

**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.

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

Sv. 22.41–45. (2)

*1. \(\Theta\)-274 2. \(\Sigma\)-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. \(\Sigma\)-1
4. \(\Lambda\)-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. \(\Sigma\)-218
7. \(\Sigma\)-26 11. \(\Sigma\)-221

*8. \(\Sigma\)-35 12. \(\Sigma\)-395
9. \(\Sigma\)-87

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

Rev. Two owls r. and l.; between them, bakchos ring and \(\text{A} \Theta \text{E}\) or variant; all within olive wreath.

Sv. 24.42–50. (5)

10. \(\Lambda\)-417 16. \(\Sigma\)-246
14. \(\Sigma\)-22 17. \(\Sigma\)-426
15. \(\Sigma\)-227

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except between them, \(\text{A} \Theta\) and kernos; all within olive wreath.

Sv. 24.34–39. (2)

*18. \(\Theta\)-396 19. \(\Sigma\)-85

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except between them, \(\text{A} \Theta\).

Sv. 24.51–57. (18)

20. \(\Theta\)-264 29. \(\Sigma\)-229
21. \(\Theta\)-267 30. \(\Sigma\)-232
22. \(\Theta\)-269 31. \(\Sigma\)-236
23. \(\Theta\)-675 32. \(\Sigma\)-240
24. \(\Theta\)-713 33. \(\Sigma\)-243
25. \(\Sigma\)-10 34. \(\Sigma\)-247
26. \(\Sigma\)-29 35. \(\Sigma\)-248
27. \(\Sigma\)-49 36. \(\Sigma\)-251
28. \(\Sigma\)-198 37. \(\Sigma\)-263
Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except details illegible.
Sv. 24.34–57. (2)
38. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-358  39. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-454
Obv. Athena, uncertain helmet.
Rev. Two owls, as preceding, details illegible.
Sv. 24.34–59. (2)
40. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-71  41. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-252
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
A
Rev. Η Owl l., wings closed: all within olive wreath.
Sv. 22.85–88. (12)
42. Θ-285  *48. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-228
*43. Λ-410  *49. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-238
44. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-31  50. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-241
45. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-34  51. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-242
46. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-47  52. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-245
47. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-122  53. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-310
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
AΘ
Rev. Η Owl r., wings closed: all within olive wreath.
Sv. 22.80–84. (1)
*54. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-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. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-19  *60. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-214
*57. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-20  61. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-244
58. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-24  62. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-267
59. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-59  63. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-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. Λ-411  66. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-197
65. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-32
Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., wheat ear.
Sv. 22.78–79. (1)
67. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-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. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-200
69. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-55  71. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-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. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-28
73. Θ-328  78. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-54
74. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-17  79. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-307
75. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-18  80. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-309
76. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-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. $\text{M}_\Sigma$-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.

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.

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

92. Θ-398  94. $MΣ$-82

*93. Λ-414

Obv. ΑΘΕ above two superimposed pigs l.

ΑΕ
Rev. ΘE Upright bakchos; all within olive wreath.
Sv. 103.41–46.  (1)

95. $MΣ$-67

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
A
Rev. ΘE Owl r., wings closed, on thunderbolt.

Sv. 23.46.

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
Rev. Ε 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 ΑΕ and to l., wheat ear; to r., eagle r.
Sv. 81.28–29.  (2)

104. Θ-286   *105. $MΣ$-316
EARLIEST ATHENIAN NEW STYLE BRONZE COINS

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except E and to r., cornucopiae and eagle.
Sv. —
*106. Θ-148 108. Θ-641
107. Θ-155 *109. ΜΣ-14

Obv. Cicada.
Rev. Α Amphora.
Sv. 107.55–69.
*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.
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 stylos in l. hand; to l., Α. and race torch.
*114. ΜΣ-204

MACEDON, ANTIGONOS GONATAS

277–239 B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
Rev. ΒΑ Pan r., erecting trophy; other details illegible.
McClean 3594–3608.
115. ΜΣ-222 116. ΜΣ-253

THESALY, THESSALIAN LEAGUE

196–146 B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; other details illegible.
Rev. Horse trotting r.; other details illegible.
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.
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.
120. Θ-273 121. ΜΣ-77

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.
122. ΜΣ-94

EUBOEA, UNCERTAIN MINT

ca. 369–336 B.C.

Obv. Bull standing r.; above, sword with strap.
Rev. Bunch of grapes; to r., trophy.
BMC 22.
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. Λ-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.
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.
144. Θ-265 146. Θ-668
145. Θ-649

AEGINA

4th century B.C.

Obv. A between two dolphins upward.

Rev. Incuse square; details illegible.

BMC 206-222.
147. ΜΣ-57

3rd to 2nd centuries B.C.

Obv. ΑΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓΓGamma.
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BMC 106–108. *151. ΜΣ-304

Obv. Head of young Zeus Ammon r., laureate.
Rev. TH Bunch of grapes; to l., trident.

TENOS

3rd to 2nd centuries B.C.

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. 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.37 37 coins were securely identifiable after cleaning and are catalogued below.12

DEPOSIT II

Agora Deposit H–K 12–14, Part II

ATHENS

Second half of 4th century B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.
Rev. Θ E or variant. Double-bodied owl, head facing; above, on either side, olive spray; details illegible.

Sv. 22.35–45.

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.

155. K-1359  156. K-1428

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except between them, AΘ.

Sv. 24.51–57.

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

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

Sv. 24.34–57.

Obv. Athena, uncertain helmet.
Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except details illegible.

161. K-1303

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

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

Sv. 22.85–88.

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

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

10 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.

11 Above, note 7.

Sv. 22.80–84.  
164. K-1355

First half of 3rd century B.C.

AR triobol
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.
\(\theta\)
Rev. E Θ Owl facing, wings closed; on either side, an olive branch.

Sv. 21.43–52.  
*165. K-1356

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
\(\theta\)
Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings closed; to r., wheat ear.

Sv. 22.78–79.  
166. K-1360

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 22.73–79.  
168. K1311

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
\(\theta\)
Rev. Two owls r. and l.; between them, Θ or \(\alpha\); all within olive wreath.

170. K-1425

Second half of 3rd century B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.
\(\alpha\)
Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings open; to r., amphora.

Sv. 24.10–17.  
*171. K-1294

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 24.10–17, 33.  

Obv. Kernos with wheat ear passed through each handle.
\(\alpha\)
Rev. A E Bakchos ring; all within wheat wreath.

Sv. 104.21–23.  
*174. K-1298

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.
\(\alpha\Theta\)
Rev. E Zeus, nude, standing r., holding thunderbolt in lowered r. hand, extending l. arm; to r., prow r.

Sv. 81.9–16.  
175. K-1336

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Zeus holding thunderbolt, as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 81.4–16.  
*176. K-1327

2nd century B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.
\(\alpha\)
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.  

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except AE and to l., wheat ear; to r., eagle r.

Sv. 81.28–29.  

Obv. Cicada.

Rev. Θ

Sv. 107.55–69.  

MACEDON, DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES

306–283 B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
Rev. BA above prow r.; below, uncertain monogram.

McClean 3585–3589.  
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 1-11
184. K-1424

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

Obv. ΜΕΓΑ above prow l.
Rev. Tripod between two dolphins; border of dots.
BMC 30–34.
(3)
186. K-1299 188. K-1366
187. K-1358

Ionia, Erythrae?

c. 200–133 B.C.

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.13 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.14 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.15

DEPOSIT III
Agora Deposit H–I 14:1

Athens

Second half of 4th century B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.
Rev. ΘΕ or variant. Double-bodied owl, head facing; above, on either side, olive spray; details illegible.
Sv. 22.35–45.
(3)
191. K-1459

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
Rev. Two owls r. and l. within olive wreath; details illegible.
(1)
193. K-1612

First half of 3rd century B.C.

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

---

13 Above, note 10.
14 Information courtesy of V. R. Grace.
15 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.
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.
Rev. E Owl r., wings closed, on thunderbolt.
Sv. 23.47–49. (2)

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.
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.
200. K-1458

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

TABLE 1: ATHENIAN COINS FROM THE MIDDLE STOA DEPOSITS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I: Construction fill of the Middle Stoa, ca. 180 B.C.</th>
<th>II: Hellenistic fill south of the Middle Stoa, ca. 180 B.C.</th>
<th>III: Hellenistic fill near the northwest corner of the Heliaia, ca. 140 B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Double-bodied owl</td>
<td>Sv. 22.35–45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Two owls</td>
<td>Sv. 24.34–59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Owl l.</td>
<td>Sv. 22.85–88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Owl facing (AR triobol)</td>
<td>Sv. 21.43–52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thessaly, Thessalian League
c. 196–146 B.C.
Obv. Head of Apollo r., laureate.
Rev. ΘΕΣΣΑ ΛΩΝ to l. and r. reading inward.
Athena Ionia striding r., brandishing spear in raised r. hand, holding shield on extended l. arm; details illegible.

BMC 49–60.
*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
c. 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 STOA OF ATTALOS: THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

The Stoa of Attalos\textsuperscript{16} 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

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.\(^1\) 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).\(^1\)

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,"""19 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.\(^2\)

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.\(^2\) 50 coins were securely identifiable after cleaning.\(^2\)


\(^{18}\) Information courtesy of V. R. Grace.

\(^{19}\) *Agora*, XIV, pp. 60–61.

\(^{20}\) *Agora*, XIV, p. 58, fig. 17.

\(^{21}\) The latter group consists of the following coins: \(\Sigma 4\)-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.

\(^{22}\) 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; \(\Sigma 4\)-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.
   204. ΣΑ-299  205. ΣΑ-379
Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Double-bodied owl, as preceding, except below, bakchos ring.
Sv. 22.35–40.
   206. ΣΑ-227  208. ΣΑ-362
   207. ΣΑ-361
Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Double-bodied owl, as preceding, except details illegible.
Sv. 22.35–45.
   209. ΣΑ-298
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.
Rev. Two owls r. and l.; between them bakchos ring and ΑΘŒ or variant; all within olive wreath.
   210. ΣΑ-230  211. ΣΑ-358
Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except between them, ΑΘ.
Sv. 24.51–57.
   212. ΣΑ-58  214. ΣΑ-127
   213. ΣΑ-77  215. ΣΑ-248
Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Two owls, as preceding, except details illegible.
Sv. 24.34–57.
   216. ΣΑ-292  218. ΣΑ-364
   217. ΣΑ-359  219. ΣΑ-380
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
   A
Rev. ΗΘ Owl l., wings closed; all within olive wreath.
Sv. 22.85–88.
   220. ΣΑ-11
First half of 3rd century B.C.
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
Rev. ΑΘ or ΑΘ Owl r., wings closed; all within wheat wreath.
Sv. 22.64–70.
   221. ΣΑ-78
Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., wheat ear.
Sv. 22.78–79.
   223. ΣΑ-5  224. ΣΑ-297
Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.
Sv. 22.73–79.
   225. ΣΑ-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.
   226. ΣΑ-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.
   227. ΣΑ-14
Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Owl r., as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.
Sv. 24.10–17, 33.
   228. ΣΑ-291  229. ΣΑ-365
Obv. Kernos countermarked over head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.
\[ \Theta \]
Rev. Kernos countermarked over \[ \Theta \] E, owl facing, wings closed; on either side, olive branch.
Sv. 104.5–7. (1)
\[ \Sigma A-296 \]

Obv. Head of Demeter r., bound with wheat.
\[ \Theta \]
Rev. \[ E \] Kernos with wheat ear passed through each handle; to r., aplustre.
Sv. 104.14–20. (1)
\[ \Sigma A-103 \] (struck over Athens AE Sv. 24.10–17, 33)

Obv. Kernos with wheat ear passed through each handle.
\[ \Theta \]
Rev. \[ A \] E Bakchos ring; all within wheat wreath.
Sv. 104.21–23. (1)
\[ \Sigma A-267 \]

Obv. \[ A \Theta E \] above two superimposed pigs l.
Rev. \[ \Theta \] E Upright bakchos; all within wreath.
Sv. 103.41–46. (1)
\[ \Sigma A-10 \]

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
\[ \Theta \]
Rev. \[ \Theta \] E Owl r., wings closed, on thunderbolt.
Sv. 23.46. (1)
\[ \Sigma A-270 \]

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.
\[ \Theta \]
Rev. \[ \Theta \] E Owl r., wings closed, on thunderbolt.
Sv. 23.47–49. (5)
\[ \Sigma A-6 \]
\[ \Sigma A-6 \]
\[ \Sigma A-13 \]
\[ \Sigma A-13 \]
\[ \Sigma A-39 \]

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.
\[ \Theta \]
Rev. \[ \Theta E \] Owl r., wings closed, on prow r.
Sv. 23.51–52. (1)
\[ \Sigma A-348 \]

2nd century B.C.
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.
EARLIEST ATHENIAN NEW STYLE BRONZE COINS

Sv. 103.4–5.
251. ΣΑ-250
Obv. Triptolemos seated in chariot, as preceding.
Rev. As preceding, except pig standing l.; below,
uncertain symbol.
Sv. 103.14.
252. ΣΑ-167

ACHAEA, ACHAEN LEAGUE
ca. 280–146 B.C.

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.
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.
252. ΣΑ-62

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

2nd century B.C.

Sv. 81.17–18.

*254. ΣΑ-212
255. ΣΑ-213
Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except

Θ

Æ and to l., wheat ear; to r., eagle r.

*257. ΣΑ-209
258. ΣΑ-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Double-bodied owl</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 22.35–45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Two owls</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 24.34–59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Owl l.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 22.85–88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
Total 46 6

SOUTH STOA II: THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

South Stoa II23 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.24 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.25

23 Agora, XIV, pp. 68–69.
24 I am grateful to Professor Thompson for discussing the evidence for dating the building with me.
25 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. 260. T-1204

2nd century B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.
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
*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. 263. T-1222

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, Θ except E and to r., cornucopiae and eagle r.
Sv. —
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. 265. T-1223

Obv. Head of Zeus r., bound with taenia; border of dots.
Rev. [Θ] E 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. *266. T-1194

LEMNOS, MYRNA

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.
267. T-1193

EUBOEA, HISTIAEA

c. 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.
*268. T-1224 (obv. countermark: gorgoneion)

The predecessor of South Stoa II was South Stoa I, 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

26 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.\(^{27}\) 66 coins were securely identifiable after cleaning.\(^{28}\)

**DEPOSIT VII**

Agora Deposit M–N 15:1, Part II

**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)

269. T-1681 270. T-1764

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

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

Sv. 22.35–40. (1)

271. T-1240

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

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

Sv. 22.35–45. (4)

272. T-1176 274. T-1250

273. T-1242 275. T-1680

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

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

Sv. 24.42–50. (1)

276. T-1249

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

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

Sv. 24.51–57. (3)

277. T-1229 279. T-1670

278. T-1254

Obv. Athena, Attic helmet, as preceding.

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

Sv. 24.34–57. (1)

280. T-1179

Obv. Athena, uncertain helmet.

Rev. Two owls, as preceding, details illegible.

Sv. 24.34–59. (1)

281. T-1177

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

ΑΘ

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

Sv. 22.80–84. (5)


283. T-1255 286. T-1661

284. T-1285

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

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

Sv. 103.33–39. (1)

287. T-1610

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\(^{27}\) 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.

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

|------|------|-----|
| Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet. | ΑΘ or ΑΔ Owl r., wings closed; all within wheat wreath. | (4)
| 288. T-1174 | 290. T-1608 |
| 289. T-1241 | 291. T-1672 |

|------|------|-----|
| Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet. | A | (1)
| Owl r., wings closed; to r., wheat ear. | 292. T-1703 |

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.

|------|------|-----|
| Owl r., as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol. | Α | (4)
| 293. T-1175 | 295. T-1666 |
| 294. T-1267 | *296. T-1774 |

|------|------|-----|
| Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet. | A | (1)
| Owl r., wings closed; details illegible. | 297. T-1372 |

|------|------|-----|
| Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet. | Α | (1)
| Two owls r. and l.; between them, Α or Α; all within olive wreath. | 24.58–59 |
| *298. T-1604 |

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

|------|------|-----|
| Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet. | A | (1)
| Owl r., wings open; to r., uncertain symbol. | 24.10–17, 33 |
| 299. T-1142 |

|------|------|-----|
| Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet. | A | (1)
| Owl l., wings closed; to l., amphora; all within olive wreath. | 22.89–92 |
| *300. T-1227 |

Obv. Head of Zeus r., laureate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rev.</th>
<th>Sv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΑΘ</td>
<td>25.1–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301. T-1357</td>
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</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rev.</th>
<th>Sv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΑΘ</td>
<td>104.14–20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*302. T-1668 (struck over Athens AE) 24.10–17, 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Obv. Demeter head, as preceding.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rev.</th>
<th>Sv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kernos, as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.</td>
<td>104.8–20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303. T-1172</td>
<td>305. T-1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304. T-1226 (struck over Athens AE) 24.10–17, 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Obv. Kernos with wheat ear passed through each handle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rev.</th>
<th>Sv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Θ</td>
<td>104.21–23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>306. T-1290</td>
<td>308. T-1701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307. T-1373</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rev.</th>
<th>Sv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΑΘ</td>
<td>23.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309. T-1196</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rev.</th>
<th>Sv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Α</td>
<td>23.47–49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310. T-1388</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rev.</th>
<th>Sv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Θ</td>
<td>23.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*311. T-1375</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.

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

Sv. 81.9–16. 321. T-1146

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Zeus holding thunderbolt, as preceding, except to r., uncertain symbol.

Sv. 81.4–16. 313. T-1376

2nd century B.C.

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

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. 314. T-1612 315. T-1658

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except AE and to l., wheat ear; to r., eagle r.

Sv. 81.28–29. 316. T-1697

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except E and to r., cornucopiae and eagle r.

Sv. — 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. 81.17–31. 320. T-1769

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except all details illegible.

Sv. 81.17–52. 321. T-1374 322. T-1700

Obv. Cicada.

Rev. E Amphora.

Sv. 107.55–69.

*323. T-1760

Obv. Head of Artemis? r., laureate.

Rev. E Amphora.

Sv. 107.36–41.

*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. 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. 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. EΛΕΥΣΙ above pig standing r. on bakchos; below, uncertain symbol.

Sv. 103.1–13. 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. 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. *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. 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. 331. T-1667

MEGARIS, MEGARA
ca. 307–243 B.C.

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.).29 20 coins were securely identifiable after cleaning.30

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 or Θ; all within olive wreath.
29 Above, note 27.
30 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. 24.34–57.  
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.  
337. T-1627

Obv. Triptolemos seated l. in winged chariot drawn by two serpents, holding wheat ears in r. hand.
Rev. AΘΩE above pig standing r. on bakchos; below, kernos.
Sv. 103.33–37.  
338. T-1582

First half of 3rd century B.C.
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
Rev. AΘ or ΘΑ Owl r., wings closed; all within wheat wreath.
Sv. 22.64–70.  

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

A
Rev. Θ E Owl r., wings closed; to r., wheat ear.
Sv. 22.78–79.  
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.  
*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.  
345. T-1640

2nd century B.C.
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.

Θ
Rev. ΑΕ 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.  
346. T-1649

Obv. Athena, Corinthian helmet, as preceding.
Rev. Zeus hurling thunderbolt, as preceding, except E and to r., cornucopias and eagle r.
Sv. —  
*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.
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.  
351. T-1740

Obv. Cicada.

Θ
Rev. ΑΕ Amphora.
Sv. 107.55–69.  
352. T-1787

ELIS, ELIS
323–191 B.C.
Obv. Head of Zeus r., laureate.

FA
Rev. ΛΕΙ in olive wreath.
ΩΝ
BMC 149–155.  
353. T-1650

PAMPHYLIA, SIDE
2nd century B.C.
Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.
Rev. Pomegranate.
BMC 71–72.  
*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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Double-bodied owl</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 22.35–45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Two owls</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 24.34–59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triptolemos/Pig</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 103.33–39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Owl r., wings closed</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 22.64–84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Owl r., wings open</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 24.10–17, 33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Owl l. with amphora</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 22.89–92</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeus/Athena with owl and patera</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 25.1–4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demeter/Kernos</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 104.8–20</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kernos/Bakchos ring</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 104.21–23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Owl on thunderbolt</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 23.46–49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Owl on prow</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 23.50–52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Zeus holding thunderbolt</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 81.4–16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Fulminating Zeus, star</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 81.17–18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Fulminating Zeus, wheat ear</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 81.28–29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Fulminating Zeus, cornucopiae</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. —</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Fulminating Zeus, uncertain</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
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<td>Sv. 81.17–52</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cicada/Amphora</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 107.55–69</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artemis?/Amphora</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 107.36–41</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeus/Fighting Athena</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 22.53–58</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>18</td>
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</table>
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 Pheidian 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.31 No consensus has yet been reached on the question and it is beyond the scope of this study to reopen the discussion here.32

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.33 Furthermore, the “New Style” bronze obverses include


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.34

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.35 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.36 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.37

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)

34 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.”


36 Thompson, New Style (above, note 31), p. 528.

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).[^38] 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.[^39] In the Middle Stoa deposits, the determination of relative wear is difficult because of the corroded condition of the bronzes,[^40] 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[^41] were struck for use in Attica as well as in Delos,[^42] 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.[^43]

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).[^44] 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).[^45] 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.

[^38]: 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.


[^40]: Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 231 discusses the condition of Agora bronze coin finds.

[^41]: Sv. 107.55–69.


[^44]: Sv. 81.1–16.

[^45]: 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 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,\(^46\) 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


**TABLE 4: SECOND CENTURY ATHENIAN COINS FROM THE AGORA STOAS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deposits</th>
<th>I: Construction fill of the Middle Stoa, ca. 180 B.C.</th>
<th>II: Hellenistic fill south of the Middle Stoa, ca. 180 B.C.</th>
<th>III: Hellenistic fill near the northwest corner of the Heliaia, ca. 140 B.C.</th>
<th>IV: Construction fill of the Stoa of Attalos, ca. 150–146 B.C.</th>
<th>V: Hoard from the Square Peristyle floor, ca. 185–146 B.C.</th>
<th>VI: Construction-fill of South Stoa II, ca. 140 B.C.</th>
<th>VII: Destruction debris of South Stoa I, ca. 140 B.C.</th>
<th>VIII: Uppermost floors of South Stoa I, ca. 140 B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athena/Fulminating Zeus, star</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sv. 81.17–18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Athena/Fulminating Zeus, wheat ear</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sv. 81.28–29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Athena/Fulminating Zeus, cornucopiae</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sv. —</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Athena/Fulminating Zeus, uncertain</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 81.17–52</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zeus/Fighting Athena</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sv. 22.53–58</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cicada/Amphora</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sv. 107.55–69</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Artemis?/Amphora</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sv. 107.36–41</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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.\(^47\) 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.\(^48\) 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.\(^49\) 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.\(^50\)

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Athenian Agora Excavations

\(^{47}\) 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.

\(^{48}\) 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).

\(^{49}\) Sv. 107.75–79, 24.60–68 and 107.50–54 respectively.

\(^{50}\) 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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