THE ATHENIAN AGORA

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS
CONDUCTED BY
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XXVI

THE GREEK COINS

BY

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with contributions by

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To the Memory of

MARGARET THOMPSON
PREFACE

FOLLOWING UPON *The Athenian Agora*, Volumes II and IX, Margaret Thompson’s *Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period* (1954), and George Miles’ *The Islamic Coins* (1962), the present volume brings to a conclusion the publication of coins in *The Athenian Agora, Results of Excavations* series. Publication of the Greek coins was initially entrusted to Josephine P. Shear; but after writing three preparatory articles in the 1930’s¹ she was unable to make further headway, and the project lapsed for several decades. With the resumption of large-scale excavations in the Agora in 1970, responsibility for the Greek material was reassigned to me, excavation numismatist from 1970 through 1973. I in turn enlisted the assistance of my two successors at the Agora, Fred Kleiner and Alan Walker.

Our first task was to establish a reliable framework for the chronology of Athenian bronze coinage, to which all but 13 percent of the Agora Greek coins belong. My initial papers focused on Athenian bronze coinage of the Roman period and of the 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C. Kleiner, who elected not to participate in the final publication, devoted a series of articles to the bronze coinage of the 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C. Walker specialized in the Athenian imperial bronze coins from the Agora, making them the subject of his 1980 Ph.D. dissertation. For this project he went through the entire inventory of over 3,400 Athenian imperial bronzes to verify or correct the identifications that had been made at the time of discovery, to obtain weights, and to look for “runs” or groups of coins that had been found together but had not been recorded in the list of Agora deposits, which had been compiled primarily for the study of ceramic material. In 1981 I was able to devote eleven months to reexamining the remaining 13,000 Greek coins in the same way. Tedium and time-consuming as this was, it proved highly informative and has been more than justified by the accuracy and control made possible. Instead of working from the old inventory cards that go back to the year of discovery of each coin (as Margaret Thompson was obliged to do in the preparation of *Agora II*), our catalogue has been compiled directly from the coins. In the summer of 1990 we added the several dozen Greek coins unearthed since 1981.

Alan Walker’s contributions to this volume are substantial. He wrote the catalogue of Athenian imperial coins in Chapter III and the core of the numismatic and chronological commentary in the introductory part of that chapter. He suggested many helpful improvements in drafts of the other chapters, and he is responsible for identifying many of the difficult non-Athenian coins that earlier Agora numismatists had found intractable; these include nearly all coins catalogued in Chapter IV bearing excavation inventory numbers suffixed with the letter “a”.

A number of persons and institutions have generously assisted this project. We wish particularly to thank the former and present Directors of the Agora Excavations, Homer A. Thompson and T. Leslie Shear, Jr., for their encouragement and interest. We have been fortunate in being able to draw on the expertise of many other colleagues and friends at the Agora and elsewhere, among them Virginia R. Grace, G. Roger Edwards, Susan I. Rotroff, John Mck. Camp, Rhys F. Townsend, Kevin Clinton, Judith Binder, Ursula Knigge, Christian Habicht, Orestes Zervos, and Theodore Buttrey deserve special acknowledgment. Basil C. Demetriades was always eager to discuss the problems presented by Athenian bronzes and did us the invaluable service of making available his

electronic scale for weighing. Members of the permanent Agora staff, secretaries Margo Camp and Jan Diamant, conservators Alice Paterakis and Olympia Theophanopoulou, and photographer Craig Mauzy, cheerfully saw to the coordination, production, and photography of the hundreds of casts ordered for illustration. Cathy Collins, Greta Ham, and Tracey Rockett provided still further assistance with the casts and the assembly of the plates. Richard Anderson, architect of the Agora Excavations, prepared the two site plans, of which one is entirely new, that appear on Plates 35 and 36. We would also like to thank our many numismatic colleagues who took time from their visits to the Agora to go through our unidentified material. Finally, the volume owes a great deal to the staff members of the American School Publications Office. Their devoted and thoughtful editing, checking, and production have made this a much better book.

For the resources that enabled me to develop and begin writing up my part of the material, I am indebted to fellowships granted by the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1981, by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Institute for Advanced Study in 1985/1986, and by the University Research Institute of the University of Texas at Austin on both occasions. Over the years the University Research Institute helped defray many lesser expenditures, and the hospitality of the Institute for Advanced Study made it possible in more recent summers to return and work in its pleasant environment in Princeton.

Austin, Texas
August 20, 1993
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ANRW = Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
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### PERIODICALS

**AA** = *Archäologischer Anzeiger*

**AAA** = *Αρχαιολογικά Άνωλετα εξ Αθηνών*

**AJA** = *American Journal of Archaeology*

**AJAH** = *American Journal of Ancient History*

**AJP** = *American Journal of Philology*
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

AM = Mitteilungen des deutscen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
ANSMN = American Numismatic Society Museum Notes
BCH = Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens
CH = Coin Hoards
Δελτ = Δελτία της Εφημερίς Αρχαιολογικής
ΕΡΑ = Εφημερίς Αρχαιολογικής
GRBS = Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies
JIAN = Journal international d'archéologie numismatique
JNG = Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte
JRS = Journal of Roman Studies
NC = Numismatic Chronicle
NZ = Numismatische Zeitschrift
RN = Revue belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie
REG = Revue des études grecques
SNR = Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau
TAPA = Transactions of the American Philological Association
ZPE = Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

The following abbreviations are used in this volume:

AE = bronze  ex. = exergue
AR = silver  l. = left
AV = gold  laur. = laureate
bill. = billon  obv. = obverse
cmk. = countermark  r. = right
cuir. = cuirassed  rad. = radiate
diad. = diademed  rev. = reverse
dr. = draped  stg. = standing
EL = electrum
CONSPECTUS OF COINS
Occasional discrepancies between regional totals and the numbers of coins listed beneath by city or ruler and by century are caused by the numbers followed by a +. The + indicates an uncertain number of additional coins that have been catalogued in brackets as being not completely attributable.

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### CONSPECTUS OF COINS (cont.)

#### SUMMARY

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1. Agora II, nos. 1-550, to which are added the 98 Roman coins to A.D. 267 from the 1950 through 1990 excavations. The Roman coins are overwhelmingly from the mint at Rome, although the totals of the 1st century B.C. include a few pieces from mints in Greece, Asia Minor, Spain, and Lyons, and a small proportion of the coins from the 3rd century after Christ come from such imperial mints as those at Antioch, Milan, Lyons, and Asia Minor.

2. NN-2014, an extremely worn Janus/Prow as (33 mm., 18.24 g.) that was excavated before 1949 but inexplicably omitted from Agora II.

3. To Agora II, add a denarius of L. Furialeus Menor (E-2432 = GRC, fig. 26) and a plated Venus/Aeneas denarius of Julius Caesar (K-1646), both excavated after 1949; two Roman bronzes (both found before 1949) of the 90's or 80's B.C.: O0-527, a heavily worn Janus/Prow as (26 mm., 7.44 g.); and O0-27, a Herakles/Prow quadrans (16 mm., 2.24 g.); and three further "Fleet Praefect" bronzes of Antony (as Agora II, no. 13: Capito, RPC I, 1470), for a current Agora total of five (K-1587, O0-1249, ΠΘ-879, Σ-6274 = GRC, fig. 26, and ΣΤ-82a).
INTRODUCTION

CATALOGUED HEREN are the 16,557+ identifiable Greek coins produced by the Agora excavations between 1931 and 1990. The total includes more than a thousand extremely worn coins that, while not identifiable by actual variety, can nevertheless be attributed to certain large Athenian series; but it excludes well over four thousand other damaged or totally worn pieces that by size and fabric can be identified only as 4th-century or Hellenistic "Greek", if these pieces happen to be available for reexamination at all, since many had been weeded out from storage and were discarded in the late 1940's. As can be readily calculated from the catalogue summary presented on pages xvii–xxvi, all but one-tenth of 1 percent of the identifiable coins are bronze. Eighty-seven percent are Athenian.

Because of the dominance of the Athenian bronze, one of our major goals is to present a reliable survey of this coinage insofar as the limitations of excavation specimens allow. The limitations must be stressed, for a conventional study of the coinage would rely far more heavily on museum-quality specimens from outside the excavations than on the coins that we are publishing here. Fortunately, the bronze coinage of Athens has already been well illustrated in the folio plates of J. N. Svoronos' 1923 Les monnaies d'Athènes. Despite its obsolete organization and chronology, this work illustrates with first-rate examples from European collections virtually all the Athenian bronze varieties, and in the case of the Athenian imperial bronze of the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ, a very high percentage of the obverse and reverse dies. Since this work was reprinted in 1975 in a new, convenient format and is now widely available, we have not hesitated to refer to it constantly. So fully do Svoronos' plates complement our text and illustrations that many readers will want to keep an open copy of Svoronos close at hand.

In comparison with museum or hoard specimens, it is in the area of absolute metrology that the Agora specimens are most deficient. Most are worn to some degree; almost all were found in a heavily corroded state; and this wear and corrosion, together with the heavy chemical or electrolytic cleaning used to remove the corrosion for identification, are responsible for an inevitable loss of some original surface metal and weight. As can be calculated from Tables III and IV (pp. 324–327 below), which compare the average weights of Agora and nonexcavation hoard specimens of certain bronze issues, the weight loss of the Agora excavation coins is generally in the area of 8 to 14 percent for larger bronze coins with diameters of ca. 18–20 mm., although there are some issues in which there is less or no detectable differential. The differential declines as diameters become smaller. We have nevertheless recorded the weights and weight averages of the better-preserved Agora bronze coins for their value as relative indicators, since even approximate weights can be more informative than linear measurements of diameter for comparing individual issues and sometimes for distinguishing denominational relationships. The frequently wide variation in weight between coins of a given issue arises from the fact that the blanks were cast or cut with much less individual attention than was expended on the blanks of precious-metal coinages.1 But this phenomenon has been observed also in Roman bronze coinage, which is known to have been struck at so many pieces to a given weight of

1 For the coin blanks of the 1st century B.C. and the 3rd century after Christ excavated from mints in the Agora, see Appendix B with Plates 32 and 33. All these blanks were cut from forged bronze rods, the 1st-century B.C. blanks by chopping, the later ones by sawing. In neither case was much care taken to cut the rods into strictly uniform segments.
INTRODUCTION

metal, so that the average weight of all bronze coins from a given issue or batch should represent the standard to which that batch or issue was struck. In some Athenian bronze coinages, a fixed weight standard was demonstrably adhered to from one issue to the next; other Athenian bronze coinages were minted in issues or batches that become progressively lighter over time to increase profitability.

This volume differs from most previous publications of excavation coins in the attention paid to archaeological contexts and in the more than minimal number of illustrations. A good pictorial record of the Athenian bronzes is obviously necessary if this volume is to serve as a useful reference for that coinage. But in addition, we believe that excavation coins should not be treated differently than other archaeological material: they should be recorded visually as well as described; and if this means the illustration of a large number of mediocre, worn, or damaged specimens, such is the reality of excavation numismatics, which reflects more faithfully than pieces selectively purchased for modern collections the true character of the lower-value currency in actual circulation in antiquity. In this connection, it is salutary to emphasize that the coins chosen for our plates are the very finest specimens that the Agora excavations have to offer. We decided to illustrate plaster casts rather than direct photographs after experiments convinced us that in most cases casts produced more legible and evenly lit images. A good sampling of the finest Agora Greek coins in direct photography will be found in Fred Kleiner’s 1975 Agora Picture Book, *Greek and Roman Coins in the Athenian Agora*.

In my study of the Agora Greek coins, I was surprised to discover how few, relatively speaking, come from chronologically significant contexts. A majority of the coins were recovered from late or “mixed” fills, having apparently been redeposited in earth that had been dug up and reused in later building operations. A number of other coins have potentially informative stratigraphical contexts, but at the present time these contexts are too vaguely dated or have been too little studied to deserve mention in our catalogue. This leaves the coins from the Agora deposits: the dumps or accumulations of earth and debris that have been excavated from wells, cisterns, building fills, building destructions, and similar, more or less closed contextual entities. Most of these deposits have been carefully studied, many repeatedly, and several have been as instrumental in the reconstruction of the chronology of Attic bronze coinage as they have been for the chronology of pottery, stamped amphora handles, and other kinds of artifacts. The Agora deposits with important groups of Greek coins are listed at the end of this book (pp. 297–318) and are cited when relevant in our discussions and catalogue. Among the deposits are a few hoards, or groups of coins that were intentionally assembled and secreted together, as opposed to the randomly lost, and perhaps occasionally discarded, coins that found their way into most normal filling deposits. When relevant, the relative wear of a coin in a deposit or hoard group may be indicated on a scale of w(ear)1–6, from unworn (w1) to extremely worn (w6).

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2 Crawford, *RRC*, p. 592: “An issue of coinage was described by the Romans as struck so many to the pound and this terminology presumably reflected mint-practice; certainly no attempt was made to adjust the weight of individual pieces very carefully. Blanks were presumably made roughly the same size in the hope that they would turn out roughly the same weight and the size reduced or increased towards the end of a batch depending on how the metal was lasting; thus the mean weight of a batch of coinage straight from the mint would be the same as its weight standard.” About Augustan coinage, Harold Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, 2nd ed., London 1960, p. 122, wrote, “Brass and copper are struck much more carelessly [than gold or silver]—a maro, not a pezzo—i.e., not on a carefully adjusted weight for each piece, but at so many to the pound.”

3 Compare varieties 88–96 (Table III, p. 324 below), 115–126 and 149–153 (Table IV [pp. 326–327 below] and pp. 82, 88) with varieties 137–140, 143, and 144 (Table IV [p. 326 below] and p. 90). For the progressive weight reduction of other Athenian varieties or series, see p. 75, under 99, and p. 79, under 108.

4 But at least a few Greek coins continued to be used as late as Early Byzantine times; see under 142 for a 1st-century B.C. coin in a 6th-century Slavic Invasion hoard.
The format of the catalogue entries should be self-evident. Coins are listed by varieties (numbers in boldface). The variety numbers of silver, gold, electrum, and billon coins are italicized, and the type of metal is specified. All other coins are bronze. (Whenever possible, coins too poorly preserved to be assigned to a single variety are assigned to a group of varieties that are cited together in brackets, for example, [44–47] on page 43.) If a variety is represented by only a single coin, the bold variety number will function also as the individual coin reference. In cases where a variety is represented by many specimens, the total number of coins is followed by the range of diameters in millimeters and by the average weight in grams of the best-preserved specimens (the number of coins weighed given in parentheses); listed below are the specimens chosen for illustration or for some special contextual or other reason.

Each individually catalogued coin is listed with its Agora inventory number; diameter in millimeters; die position, if numismatically relevant; weight in grams; and further bibliographical, contextual, or other annotation, if needed. References to Agora deposits are enclosed in parentheses. Illustrated coins are marked with an asterisk. Die alignments are indicated by arrows, or, for worn coins whose die axes can be identified by angle but not top or bottom orientation, just by I, \, etc. Weights followed by + are of heavily damaged coins that have lost a considerable amount of their original weight.

In addition to the abbreviations given on p. xvi, the following cataloguing conventions should be noted. In the recording of legends and types, brackets enclose restored letters or parts of a design that are no longer visible on the coin. Obliterated variable legends that cannot be restored are recorded as [-----]. In legends, a dash (-) indicates a horizontal break between letters, a vertical bar (|) indicates the beginning of a new horizontal line of the text. A horizontal line above two or three letters indicates that they are conjoined in a single ligature.

For the rubrics AE 1, AE 2, etc., employed in Chapter II to distinguish the several modular units of Athenian bronze coinage to the end of the 1st century B.C., see page 38 below. Such rubrics, long used for the sizes of late Roman Imperial bronze denominations, were first applied to Athenian bronze coins by Fred Kleiner, whose system had to be modified to encompass the much greater range of Athenian material catalogued here (see note 117 below, p. 68).

The Agora coins are listed in the excavators’ notebooks and are stored in the Stoa of Attalos by inventory numbers, which are prefixed with the Greek letter or letters that designate the excavation section. For readers who might wish to identify the approximate area in which a coin was found, we have been able to include a new plan of the Agora with section boundaries indicated (Plate 35). Coins inventoried under the rubrics KTA or NSR were not recovered in the course of excavation: some were picked up in or near the Agora; others are donations of unspecified provenience. Although they do not properly belong in a publication of excavation finds, we include a few because they have become part of the Agora numismatic collection.
I

ATHENIAN SILVER COINS

BLESSED with her own natural deposits of silver ore, Athens minted one of the most influential and abundant silver coinages of the ancient world from the middle of the 6th to the middle of the 1st century B.C. At four peak periods of coining (the first two decades of the 5th century, the 450’s through 415, the second half of the 4th century, and the first decade of the 1st century B.C.) the output of Athenian silver tetradrachms was prodigious; and to judge from hoards and the widespread imitation of these tetradrachms in all periods, the international demand for this coinage remained strong almost to the very end. This is not of course the place to attempt anything like a comprehensive account of this vast coinage, whose detailed history depends in any case on hoards and the study of specimens in the great public collections that hoards have supplied.1 But the incomplete sampling of Athenian silver from the Agora excavations at least calls for a selective survey, if only to provide a framework for a fuller analysis of Athenian bronze coinage in Chapter II.

The Agora’s 129 Athenian silver pieces and imitations thereof represent less than 1 percent of the nearly 14,000 Athenian coins excavated. Predictably, the overwhelming majority of the silver finds are of the smaller, more easily lost denominations of a drachm or its fractions, and this explains why roughly half of the pieces date from the 5th century, when Athenian currency was exclusively of silver. Thereafter, the finds progressively decline century by century to a mere three silver New Style pieces of the 2nd century B.C. in a trend that reflects the increasing importance of the supplementary bronze currency. Once a bronze coinage was introduced in the 4th century, bronze began to replace the smaller silver denominations in petty transactions and lessened dependency on silver in general. By the end of the 4th century at the latest, Athens no longer bothered to strike any silver coin lower than the triobol; and in the later Hellenistic currency the hemiobol and the obol came themselves to be minted in bronze.2

The proportion of unofficial, imitative tetradrachms and drachms is striking. There are five to seven of these counterfeits in silver and twenty-two of silver-plated bronze. At least one tetradrachm in the former category (Appendix A, coin a) is modern, and one or two other silver pieces could also be recent, although even if they should be so, the proportion of ancient false to genuine tetradrachms and drachms remains impressively high for so few total pieces found.

As explained below (pp. 9-10), the thirteen silver-plated tetradrachms 16a–m are a special case; coming from a single disturbed hoard, they had intentionally been buried together. It is clear, however, that most of and possibly all the remaining subaerate pieces were gotten rid of after they had been detected as false. At least half of them had been tested or defaced with a chisel cut. Of these 9a, 16a, and 16p had been removed from circulation, that is, from mortal use, by being dedicated to a god and deposited in a sanctuary. The unlucky owners of most of the other plated pieces, even those without visible test cuts, had presumably just thrown them away as worthless. It is conceivable that some of the ancient owl imitations of full silver may also have been intentional discards; for

1 The best surveys of Athenian silver are by Kraay, Athens and (in more detail but extending only through the 4th century) ACGC, pp. 55–77, pls. 9–12. For a tabular summary of estimated levels of Athenian silver-coin production over time, see the diagram inserted at p. 56 of C. E. Conophagus, Le Laurium antique, Athens 1980.
SIXTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES B.C.

if they cannot pass autopsy as bona fide Athenian emissions today, they would doubtless have been suspect in antiquity and, according to Buttrey's persuasive interpretation of the 375/4 B.C. Athenian law on silver coinage, could have been refused by anyone demanding payment in certified legal tender. The high survival rate of imitations is surely an effect of their worthlessness; and as a forceful reminder of how common bad money must have been in the ancient marketplace, the discovery of so many in the soil of the Agora enables us to appreciate better the legislation of 375/4 that spelled out the responsibilities and procedures of the public certifier of currency, the δοκιμαστής, in protecting the state coinage against forgeries of all kinds.

SIXTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES B.C.

Athenian numismatics begins with the anepigraphic Wappenmünzen (Heraldic coins), a uniface coinage with changing obverse types. The Agora has yielded eight pieces: an obol with amphora obverse, a drachm with horse’s hindquarters obverse, three drachms and two obols with the common strutted-wheel obverse, and, from near the end of the series, a fine didrachm with bull’s head obverse (1–5). The Athenian origin of these and the rest of the Wappenmünzen silver (which altogether involved fourteen obverse types in the didrachm sequence) is no longer doubted, not least, as Hopper has emphasized, because of the importance of the Agora finds in strengthening the record of Attic provenience. Scholarship now connects this coinage with the Peisistratid tyranny, placing it between Peisistratos’ return to power in 546 and the adoption of the static Athena head/Owl types, probably in the teens of the 6th century under Hippias. Unfortunately for chronological purposes, only the wheel drachm 3a comes from an Archaic context, and it was found embedded in a floor of the early 5th century. The remaining Agora Wappenmünzen and the excavation’s two late 6th-century owl pieces (an obol [6] from the earliest phase of the owl coinage [Seltman Group H] and a tetradrachm [7] from the succeeding phase [Group L]) were recovered either from much later or from mixed contexts.

Missing from the Agora catalogue are any specimens from the huge owl issues of the first two decades of the 5th century and from the following early “wreathed” silver, so called from the olive leaves added to the brow of Athena’s helmet, of the 470’s and 460’s (Starr Periods I–V). The ten


4 The problem, of course, was by no means limited to Athens. Commenting on the frequency of Roman plated coins in excavations, Burnett (CRW, p. 100) estimates that “approximately one half of all denarii found on a site tend to be plated.”

5 Hopper, p. 25. On the Wappenmünzen, see further Kraay, ACGC, pp. 56–60; Kroll 1981b, pp. 1–32.


Agora tetradrachms of 5th-century design are all of the later "standardized" type, with generally hard, mechanical Athena heads; heavy, spread helmet ornaments; large lettering; and owls' tails simplified into a single prong. Chester Starr placed the inauguration of this style at ca. 449 through association with the Athenian "Coinage Decree", which epigraphists generally dated to this time. But new hoard evidence from Lycia shows that the preceding style (Starr Period V) began in the 460's, about a decade earlier than Starr had assumed, so that the shift to the conventionalized style and the mass striking that the shift implies will have occurred in the 450's, probably upon the removal of the Athenian League treasury from Delos to Athens in 454. The archaeological context of the tetradrachm 8b reinforces such upward compression of Starr's chronology. The enlarged helmet palmette and reverse lettering put 8b at a slightly advanced stage of the standardized style that Starr attributed to the time "either before the Peloponnesian War had begun or in its very earliest years." But the coin was excavated from a fill containing pottery that comes down only to the middle of the 5th century. Accordingly, 8b should probably date no later than the 440's, and the stylistically earlier 8a, with neat, compact palmette and letters, can be dated, with Starr, pl. XXII, nos. 1-3, to the 450's, within the initial phase of the standardized coinage.

8c is a fine example of the typical, more developed standardized tetradrachms, most of which, as Starr remarks, were probably minted before the income from Athens' allies and the Laurion mines went into decline ca. 415-413. 8e, on the other hand, with coarse profile and large eye slightly opened at the inner corner, shares these features with the emergency gold staters and fractions of 407/6 and the plated bronze owls struck in the following year (see below) and so should fall towards the end of the standardized coinage in the century.

Since the popularity of such 5th-century owls throughout the Eastern Mediterranean resulted in their becoming the most imitated of all ancient coinages, and since copying has again flourished in modern times to supply the insatiable fancy of collectors, it should not come as too great a surprise that several Agora tetradrachms of 5th-century type are not of bona fide Athenian origin. In the 4th
century B.C. vast numbers of imitative older owl tetradrachms were struck, especially in Egypt, many
of them with an ungainly, enlarged eye of Athena.\textsuperscript{17} $\delta f$ has an enlarged eye and may indeed be
Egyptian, although the inner corner of the eye is more closed than one normally finds on the usual
Egyptian imitations. That $\delta f$ is non-Athenian in any case is certain from its helmet palmette with
only three branches instead of the canonical five. The pinched features and compressed ethnic give
$\delta g$ away as a more obvious imitation, if indeed the tetradrachm is ancient at all; the tetradrachm was
found with $\delta a$ but in a modern context, and it is conceivable that both could be remnants of a 19th-
or early 20th-century collection or tourist shop that stood above the present excavated area. Some
such provenience surely accounts for the tetradrachm in Appendix A, coin a (Pl. 32), an indubitable
modern forgery. Because of its light weight and the linear, inorganic absence of modeling at the
corner of Athena’s mouth, $\delta h$ is suspect, as are the drachms $10 m$ and, possibly, $10 j$.

There are finally the silver-plated or formerly silver-plated bronze imitations. These are of course
ancient; and the best preserved, the cut tetradrachm $9 a$, which had been deposited in a small, open
shrine around 420 B.C., can only have been a private forgery, as the comparatively flat relief and
deviant style of the reverse independently imply. One presumes that the bronze cores of a plated
drachm ($1 I$) and of two other plated tetradrachms ($9 b, c$) were similar 5th-century B.C. counterfeits,
although each is so disfigured that the possibility cannot be ruled out that one or more could be
remnants from the official bronze issue that was struck in 406/5 in the pressing final years of the
Peloponnesian War.

Were it not for Aristophanes’ references to this emergency bronze of 406/5, one would not
hesitate to condemn all subaerate Athenian owls as ancient counterfeits. But in a well-known
passage in the \textit{Frogs} (lines 725–726) Aristophanes laments that in 405 the city was using a very
recently struck bronze currency ($\tau \alpha \pi \nu \eta \rho \alpha \chi \alpha \lambda \chi \alpha$) in place of its fine old silver and “new” (i.e.,
407/6) gold. In the \textit{Ekklesiazousai} (lines 815–822) he recalls the awkward consequences when the
bronze was demonetized in favor of the reestablished silver coinage. Since no wholly bronze coins of
appropriate 5th-century date are known from Athens, numismatists have generally assumed that the
406/5 bronze was a silver-plated bronze coinage. This solution, first proposed by Barclay Head
in 1911,\textsuperscript{18} was immeasurably strengthened some years later when Svoronos reported on a hoard
discovered in 1902 in the Peiraeus, which contained “thousands” of subaerate tetradrachms and
dracachs in a style (notably with the opened inner corner of Athena’s eye) identical to the style of
the 407/6 gold.\textsuperscript{19} The very magnitude of this particular plated coinage argues against its being a
forger’s stock;\textsuperscript{20} the mere hundred or so drachms that can be traced back to the Peiraeus hoard show
that they were minted from a minimum of five pairs of dies and that these pairs were employed
in tandem, since there is no obverse or reverse sharing between them.\textsuperscript{21} Two tetradrachms from
the hoard\textsuperscript{22} document a sixth pair of dies. To date, the Peiraeus 1902 hoard is the only known
provenience for this coinage, and in this respect the absence of any sure examples from the Agora
is to be regretted. Still, the identification of this plated bronze of correct \textit{fin de siècle} style with the

\textsuperscript{17} Sv. 19.1 and most of the large-eye tetradrachms of Sv., pls. 16 and 17 are apparently Egyptian; cf. E. S. G. Robinson,
“Coins from Al-Mina (1936),” \textit{NC}, ser. 5, 17, 1937 (pp. 182–196), pl. IX:5–8; and \textit{idem} (note 15 above, p. 6), pl. V:12–14,
with Buttrey’s observations (works cited in note 16 above, p. 6).

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{HN}², p. 373.

\textsuperscript{19} Svoronos 1927, pp. 157–158, quoted and discussed in Kroll 1976, pp. 331–333, where it is further explained that
the Peiraeus 1902 hoard is the misnamed “Eleusis 1902” hoard of \textit{IGCH} 46.

\textsuperscript{20} As Adalberto Giovannini supposed in “Athenian Currency in the Late Fifth and Early Fourth Century B.C.,” \textit{GRBS}
16, 1975 (pp. 185–195), p. 189.

\textsuperscript{21} Kroll (1976, p. 333, note 18) lists four pairs of dies for the plated drachms (e.g., Sv. 15.19–26). To these must now be
added a fifth pair from a specimen in the unpublished lot of Peiraeus 1902 drachms at the American Numismatic Society.

\textsuperscript{22} Sv. 15.12, 13; for their hoard provenience, see M. Oeconomides-Caramessini, “Note on the Piraeus Hoard of
bronzes issue of 406/5 remains compelling, if only because alternative identifications have so little
to recommend them (pp. 25–26 below).

FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

In surveys of Athenian coinage, it is sometimes alleged that this wartime token money with its highly
inflationary potential continued in use for a decade after the defeat of Athens in 404/3 and was not
recalled until Konon enriched Athens with Persian subventions in 393.23 More likely, the bronze was
gradually withdrawn and replaced with such old silver as was on hand, if not right after the war then
at least with the reestablishment of ordered democratic government in 403/2.24 When Athens began to
strike a silver coinage again is a separate question, and here there may very well be a connection
with the arrival of Persian money in 393, for a few of the earliest remodeled tetradrachms, on which
Athena’s new profile eye is especially large, show up in three Sicilian hoards of the 380’s.25 But
the level of minting was modest and remained so to the middle of the century. Writing in 355/4,
Xenophon complained that the Laurion mines were then being worked at far below their potential
and that exploration for new deposits had been only recently, and inadequately, undertaken.26 The
relative paucity of extant Athenian tetradrachms from the first half of the 4th century tends to
confirm this testimony.

Others shared Xenophon’s interest in developing the Laurion silver industry, and under the
financial administration of Euboulos, 355–342, mining activity increased dramatically as the number
of mining leases purchased from the state rose from 17 in 367/6 to a record 62+ in 342/1.27 The
effect on the coinage was predictable. In the second half of the 4th century, Athenian silver was
again being struck in massive quantities, and again in a monotonously standardized, mechanical
style. This has come to be known as the pi style, after the π-shaped configuration of the obverse
helmet ornament,28 and is typified by most of the 4th-century pieces excavated from the Agora. The
majority of these, namely, the tetradrachms 15b–g, the drachm (with irregularly shaped flan) 17, and
at least the triobols 19e–h and the diobol 20b (all again with irregular flans), belong to the later,
fully mechanical phase of the coinage (Bingen’s Pi III–V), which spanned the last three decades of

23 E.g., Head, HN2, p. 373; Kraay, Athens, p. 7.


25 IGCH 2117 (Leontinoi 1957), 2119 (Contessa 1888), and 2121 (Manfria 1948). The obverse style of this earliest
profile-eye Athenian silver is quite distinctive; e.g., Sv. 19.2, 5, 13, 14. Despite the number in an Egyptian hoard
(Sv. 26.7–9, 13–19), coins of this style are Athenian in origin; cf. the corresponding fractional silver from the small
lamp hoard from Agios Ioannis Rentis in Attica, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Αθήνας 18 (1963), B 1 [1965], p. 50, pl. 56 (IGCH 89, where the date
should be corrected to ca. 375–350, the time of the lamp).

26 Poroi 4.28.

Further evidence of Euboulos’ development of the Attic silver industry comes from a fragmentary nomothetic law
of 354/3 that deals with both the mines and the Athenian mint (1975 Agora inscription inv. no. 7495, publication in
mining leases in general, see M. K. Langdon, “Poletai Records,” in G. V. Lalonde, M. K. Langdon, and M. B. Walbank,

28 Bingen 1973, pp. 11–16, is the standard treatment. Idem 1975, pp. 161–170, adds little. The pi style was originally
discussed and dubbed the “bracket style” by Margaret Thompson (1957, p. 6). Cf. Morkholm, EHC, p. 86.
the century. The more refined tetradrachm 15a and the subaerate 16a–m are obviously earlier and appear to belong near the beginning of the formation of the pi style, that is, in the 340’s, if Athens’ earliest regular bronze coinage, the pi-style Double-bodied owls (41–43), began to be struck in the 330’s, as proposed below.

The most interesting 4th-century pieces from the Agora excavations are the plated imitations. 160 and p, each heavily gashed with a chisel cut on the reverse, were separately found in front of the Metroon-Old Bouleuterion where they had doubtless been deposited in accordance with the currency law of 375/4. The law specified that if the dokimastes determined that any coin of Athenian type had a bronze or lead core or that its silver was debased, it was to be mutilated and removed from circulation by being cut across, dedicated to the Mother of the Gods, and turned over to the Council.

The thirteen nicely preserved subaerate tetradrachms 16a–m clearly had a different history. All are uncirculated, were struck from the same pair of dies, and were recovered from the same pockets of Classical fill beneath the Temple of Ares close to the center of the Agora square. As Walker has explained, they must be the remnant of a much larger “treasure” of identical pieces that had been intentionally buried in the third quarter of the 4th century, the date of the accompanying context pottery; much later, in the time of Augustus, the deposit was disturbed and largely removed during the laying of foundations for the Temple of Ares. One suspects that the primary burial was a true “forger’s hoard”: a lot of freshly minted imitations that the forger or his agent had deposited for retrieval or had to abandon to escape detection. It has been argued that the center of the Agora was too exposed for such clandestine activity and that the coins must rather have been buried under official auspices. But although free of buildings, this area was by day thronged with people, including very probably vendors at their booths; in this busy milieu, it ought not to have been too hard to find or dig a pit for a bag or more of “hot” coins without creating undue suspicion.


32 Walker 1982, pp. 133–134, where it is further proposed that these plated tetradrachms were struck officially as an emergency measure after Chaironeia in 338 in anticipation of an attack on Athens by Philip and that the Athenians publicly disposed of them in a kind of votive burial in the Agora when the attack failed to materialize. Cf. Markholm, EHC, p. 86. But neither the light weight nor the die positions of the coins are proof of state manufacture. Fourrée coins with bronze cores are usually lighter than prototypes in silver; and in well-made forgeries correct die positions are to be expected. A final weakness is the suggestion that the burial had “the character of a dedication”; but dedicatory burials could be made only in sanctuaries, which the Agora was not. Earlier mentions of these plated tetradrachms are in T. L. Shear, “The Campaign of 1933,” Hesperia 4, 1935 (pp. 310–339), p. 339, and J. P. Shear 1936, p. 123.

33 In Sokrates’ day, books were sold in the Orchestra, as the center of the Agora was called (Agora III, pp. 162–163; Agora XIV, p. 171), so it is possible that the coins were concealed in an area that was frequented by vendors (although not by bankers and money-changers, whose τράπεζα were located further to the northwest near the Stoa of the Herms [Stroud 1974, p. 167]).
Or was the 4th-century fill containing the coins actually brought from elsewhere by the Augustan builders of the Temple of Ares? Although contextually dated to ca. 350–325, the burial probably occurred rather early in this quarter century, since the tetradrachms belong to an incipient phase of the pi style.

The pi-style coinage continued down to Athens’ capitulation to Demetrios Poliorcetes in 294. The notorious staters that the tyrant Lachares struck from Akropolis gold to pay his mercenaries from 296 through Demetrios’ siege are typical late pi style; and the large Thorikos hoard of predominantly freshly coined, pi-style tetradrachms surely dates also to the time of the siege, when Demetrios dispatched troops to lay waste the countryside of Attica. This policy of destruction seriously crippled the silver industry of Attica and, coupled with Athens’ capture, put an end to minting for about a decade.

THIRD CENTURY B.C.

The next phase of Athenian silver, Bingen’s style à quadridigite, is represented in three Agora tetradrachms (of which one is subaerate) and two drachms (22a–24b). The diagnostic helmet ornament consists of four openly spaced branches; Athena heads are generally more finely featured; and the ethnic is decoratively rendered with curved alphas and small thetas. Such quadridigite tetradrachms first appear in early 3rd-century hoards and seem to have begun soon after Athens’ expulsion of Demetrios Poliorcetes’ garrison from the Mouseion in 287 or 286. The impurity of their silver relative to the exceptionally fine Laurion silver of the earlier, pi-style owls tends to confirm that the quadridigite owls were in large part struck from the silver that Athens received to assist her ongoing struggle against Demetrios, 200 talents in 286/5 from Lysimachos, Ptolemy I, and Antipatros, a nephew of Kassandros, and 50 talents in 282 from Ptolemy II. Hoards of the 3rd century imply that this coinage was substantial, although whether production was short-lived and intensive or whether it continued into the 270’s or even as late as the ill-fated Chremonidean War, which Athens waged against Antigonos Gonatas from 268 to 261 B.C., is uncertain.

Attributable to this war in any case is the special coinage of Attic pentobols, whose handsome design (Athena in Corinthian helmet/Owl standing obliquely with wings half raised) and anomalous denomination radically depart from the traditional owl silver. The pentobols were struck in three issues, a major issue with an upright amphora to the right of the owl (Sv. 24.4–8) and two others with aplustre (Sv. 24.1) or another symbol (dagger?, Sv. 24.2) in place of the amphora. The two pentobols from the Agora (28a, b) are heavily worn, as was the specimen reported from the Thebes 1935 hoard of the second half of the 3rd century. The condition of the Thebes specimen points to emission...
in the first half of the century.\(^{40}\) That the pentobols pertain to a joint Athenian-Ptolemaic enterprise follows from their direct metrological relationship to Ptolemaic tetradrachms, which were struck on a standard of 14.25 g.,\(^ {41}\) exactly five-sixths of tetradrachms of Attic weight (17 g.), and from the novel pose of their owls, whose three-quarters turn and lifted wings are borrowed from the eagles on Ptolemaic coinage (e.g. 1004, 1005, 1009). The pentobols are to be understood as Egyptian-weight drachms and presuppose a historical context involving direct Egyptian participation in Athenian affairs for a period of at least three years. These can only be the opening years of the Chremonidean War, when Ptolemy II sent troops to Attica to defend against a Macedonian blockade. These soldiers brought their own Egyptian money with them, as finds of Ptolemaic coins from three of their Attic forts attest;\(^{42}\) but the Athenians, too, must have contributed to the war effort and did so, one sees, in this one Attic denomination that was directly compatible with Ptolemaic silver.

Tetrobols with two-owl reverses (29a-c) make up the second exceptional silver coinage of 3rd-century Athens. Like the pentobols, the tetrobols were probably struck for military use; by the early Hellenistic period the tetrobol was proverbially regarded as a soldier's daily wage.\(^ {43}\) As shown by the contrasting early (29a, b = Sv. 23.43-45) and later (29c = Sv. 24.18-24) styles of the Agora pieces, the Athenians minted this tetrobol silver on at least two separate occasions in the 3rd century. But it is not possible to say when or even whether these occasions necessarily belong in times of war, since the troops stationed in the border forts of Attica had to be paid even during peacetime.\(^ {44}\)

A more serious problem in Athenian coinage of the 3rd century is posed by the “heterogeneous” silver, a sizable and stylistically varied group of tetradrachms that occur in hoards of about 260–220 B.C. along with the pi-style and quadridigitë tetradrachms on which they are generally modeled.\(^ {45}\) The one Agora specimen (30), with a quadridigitë-like Athena but an oddly fashioned owl, is fairly typical, but there are easily more than a half-dozen other different obverse and reverse styles. The eclectic, frequently derivative or uncouth, and highly diverse die cutting leaves little doubt that at least some of the heterogeneous material consists of unofficial imitations. But does it all? In an analysis of the several heterogeneous subgroups, Hélène Nicolet-Pierre and I pointed out the difficulties of defending any one subgroup as being officially Athenian and were inclined to regard the tetradrachms en bloc as imitations counterfeited to fill a demand for Athenian silver at a time when Athens was no longer coining.\(^ {46}\) But extensive die linking within the subgroups allows at most for only a few centers of production, which, according to the hoards, ought to have been located in Central or Northern Greece. And since it is impossible to identify any non-Athenian source, there is

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\(^{42}\) The coins (33 AE and 1 AR of Ptolemy I and II from the fort on the Koroni peninsula; 9 AE of Ptolemy II from a fort at Cape Zoster; and 49 AE, 1 AR, and 2 AV of Ptolemy I and II at an encampment at Heliopolis) are listed in J. R. McCredie, Fortified Military Camps of Attica (Hesperia Supplement 11), Princeton 1966, pp. 9–10, 30, 47. On the chronology of the bronze finds, see J. H. Kroll, “Numismatic Appendix” (to V. R. Grace, “Revisions in Early Hellenistic Chronology”), AM 89, 1974 (pp. 194–203), p. 201.

\(^{43}\) ἱστ., sv. ῥετράρχον; Griffith, pp. 301–302.

\(^{44}\) Cf. Griffith, pp. 84–86, 240, 290.


\(^{46}\) Nicolet-Pierre and Kroll, pp. 19–21.
still a very good possibility that many of the heterogeneous tetradrachms may be bona fide Athenian emissions. Some pieces introduce new features, like scrolls on the helmet visor of Athena, owls (as on 30) with unfeathered heads and smallish eyes, and diagonally oriented ethnics (cf. also 30), that imply that they were stamped with wide, cylindrical punch dies instead of the smaller, square punches that produced the incuse squares of the older owl coinage. It is not easy to understand why copyists would have indulged in such innovations, much less why these features would have been incorporated in the drachms and tetradrachms with symbols that Athens introduced after 229, if the features had originated in imitations. Stylistic heterogeneity could have been the result of sporadic minting and uncertainty on the part of die engravers about how closely to copy old models. Some heterogeneous dies could be old quadridigité dies brought out of retirement. The Agora provenience of 30 points to Athenian manufacture but cannot prove it; for the Agora has produced more than its share of imitative 5th- and 4th-century owls (pp. 6–7, 9 above), and there is no way of ascertaining whether 30 is a 3rd-century counterpart or whether it and related heterogeneous tetradrachms are genuine Athenian issues of roughly the third quarter of the century.47

Accordingly, it is unclear to what extent Athens may have coined between Antigonos Gonatas’ capture of Athens at the end of the Chremonidean War in 261 and the evacuation of the Macedonian garrisons from Attica in 229, although minting must have been light, on any interpretation. The Athenian-Eleusinian varieties 62 and 63 (see pp. 35–36 below) are the only bronze issues that can be attributed to this period. In silver we are left, possibly, with one or two of the later issues of tetrobols and however much of the occasional heterogeneous coinage as may be truly Athenian. In an exhaustive review of the earlier scholarship, Christian Habicht explains that the diminished level of Athenian coin production between 261 and 229 can no longer be attributed to terms imposed on the city by Antigonos Gonatas.48 The Antigonid Pan-head tetradrachms with an Eleusis-ring symbol, formerly believed to have been minted by Gonatas in Athens, have now been reattributed to his mint in Pella.49 Although silver and bronze coins of Gonatas commonly circulated in Athens after 261 (see pp. 36, 51–52 below), this was the very time that Macedonian soldiers were occupying the Peiraeus and the other forts of Attica, including until 255 the fortress on the Mouseion; and it would be surprising indeed if their Macedonian money did not pass into more general circulation. Gonatas is said to have returned eleutheria to Athens in 255; yet this seems to have had no apparent effect on coin production. Nor is there really any reason to suppose that even between 261 and 255 Athens could not have coined if she wanted and was able. “Nowhere in mainland Greece south of Macedonia,” argues Thomas R. Martin,50 “does one find a single place whose coinage can reasonably be thought to have come to an end in the fourth century as a result of suppression by a Macedonian king”; and on Martin’s showing, this conclusion applies equally to the 3rd century.

47 Nicolet-Pierre and I (p. 17) assigned 30 to Group F, which happens to be the one group to which the few known heterogeneous drachms (Sv. 23.13–16) and hemidrachms (Sv. 21.51, 52) belong. But the owl’s head and the diagonal ethnic relate the coin also to Nicolet-Pierre and Kroll, coin C5, and the coins of Group C are also good candidates for being genuinely Athenian, providing the dates of the Kréditos and Phyattos hoards are lowered into the last third of the 3rd century; pace Nicolet-Pierre and Kroll, pp. 20–21, 25, 26. It is doubtful that metallurgical analyses of the heterogeneous silver will be able to settle the question of origin since the Athenians apparently depended on nondomestic silver from the time of the quadridigité coinage down through the Early Period of the New Style coinage.

48 Habicht, Studien, pp. 40–41.


Suspension of minting, he explains, was normally the result of financial hardship and the abundant international supply of Macedonian money that eliminated much of the need for locally struck currency.\(^{51}\) Both factors are found at Athens after 261, only here it is the degree of the suspension that remains in doubt.

Whatever the truth of the heterogeneous silver, Athens initiated a new series of owl coins after the departure of the Macedonian garrisons in 229. The Agora drachm 31 is a fine example of this new silver “with symbols” (Sv. 23.20–42). Unfortunately, the two most prominent characteristics of this coinage, the helmet ornament in the form of an aplustre of three or four gracefully curving tendrils and the control symbol added to the left of the owl, were mostly struck off flan. But lesser modifications of the traditional Old Style designs are clear enough: a delicate pendent earring has replaced the large disk earring of the Archaic and Classical Athena heads; the visor of Athena’s helmet terminates in a volute; and the head of the owl is now unfringed and has a long, narrow beak conjoined to the outlines of the brow. Fifteen to 17 different issues of this silver with symbols are on record, 10 to 12 issues from drachms and 5 from tetradrachms.\(^{52}\) There were probably more, for few of these slight emissions are documented by more than one or two specimens. Beginning at some point in the 220’s (on the evidence of the Corinth 1938 hoard of ca. 215 B.C. [IGCH 187] with four fresh drachms from three issues), these emissions will have continued into the 2nd century.

A shorter series of transitional tetradrachms “with monograms” followed and carried the evolution from the Old to the New Style several steps further. Five issues (from eleven coins, all from the 1968 Larissa-Sitichoro hoard of ca. 165 B.C.) are known, one identified by a monogram, the other four by a letter or monogram and symbol.\(^{53}\) But it is the fabric and owls of the coins that bring them to the very threshold of the New Style: flans became progressively thinner and broader until in the two later emissions the spread New Style fabric was achieved, while in every particular, down to the reduction of eyes to small, sunken dots and the exposure of the leading edge of the left wing, the owls of all five emissions have assumed the full-bodied schema of New Style owls. A sixth silver issue introduced the horizontal amphora beneath the owl and the olive-wreath border on the reverse.\(^{54}\) Although still one step short of the full New Style design with the head of Athena Parthenos on the obverse, this issue inaugurates the New Style coinage, which in antiquity was called after its wreathed reverse *stephanophoric* coinage (e.g., δραχμὴ τοῦ στεφανηφόρου, τετράχμια στεφανηφόρα), to distinguish it from the Old Style *glaukophoric* silver.\(^{55}\) According to the most recent discussions of the relevant hoards, the addition of the wreath belongs after the conclusion of the Third Macedonian War in 168 or Athens’ acquisition of Delos in 167/6, with the final shift to the New Style Athena Parthenos obverse occurring ca. 165 and the first 78 emissions of the coinage following one another in an

\(^{51}\) Ibid., p. 246.


unbroken annual sequence down to the issue signed by King Mithradates and his Athenian agent Aristion in 87/6. ⁵⁶

Although the earlier New Style issues were struck in greater volume than the late Old Style emissions with symbols and monograms that led up to them, large-scale minting did not begin until the 140’s (issue nos. 21–27, of 144–137 B.C., were each struck from as many as 14 to 21 known obverse dies), and it is to this mature phase of the coinage that the three Agora specimens 32–34 belong. The coinage reached its apogee in the 90’s B.C. (25 to 47 attested obverse dies in some years of that decade). Following the King Mithradates/Aristion issue of 87/6 and Sulla’s capture of Athens in the spring of that year, production stopped, started up again, and then plummeted after the piratical devastation of Delos in 69.⁵⁷ From that time down to the termination of the coinage in the late 40’s the minting of silver was kept alive by small issues frequently involving but a single obverse die.

Thanks to the wealth of administrative data recorded on the reverses of the coins, Margaret Thompson’s monumental 1961 corpus of the coinage, and the intense chronological discussion that her work has provoked, Athens’ New Style silver is the most fully documented of all ancient Greek coinages. Each of its approximately 112 issues is identified by an emission symbol and is signed with the names or monograms of the two supervising mint officials. ⁵⁸ Beginning with the 12th issue, the month of minting is recorded by a letter on the reverse amphora. Between 136/5 and 88/7 B.C., the name of a short-term third magistrate, who might serve for as little as a month, is added below that of the two annual magistrates. A final administrative item is a two- or three-letter abbreviation located beneath the amphora and thought to pertain perhaps to sources of bullion. ⁵⁹

Recent discussion has emphasized the emergence of the New Style coinage as the dominant international silver coinage of late Hellenistic Greece. ⁶⁰ In large part this was achieved by default: after the defeat of Macedon in the first half of the 2nd century and the defeat of the Achaian League in 146 B.C., Athens and the Thessalian League were the only Greek states still minting in silver to any considerable degree. But it was also advanced through policy, as seen from the decree passed by the Delphic Amphictiony in or around the 120’s B.C. that required “all the Hellenes” to accept the Attic tetradrachm (presumably at the expense of all silver of non-Attic weight still in circulation). ⁶¹ Athens

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⁵⁶ Price, CRWLR, pp. 95, 100; idem 1989, pp. 238–239; Mattingly 1990; idem, “The Ma’Aret En-Nu’man Hoard, 1980,” in Essays Carson-Jenkins (pp. 69–86), pp. 84–95. Cf. P. Grierson in Mørkholm, EHIC, p. 170. Price and Mattingly dispute the higher chronology argued by Mørkholm (1984, pp. 38–42; and defended by Touratsoglou, CRWLR, p. 63) that begins the New Style coinage between ca. 185 and 180 and assumes that the first twenty or so issues were struck intermittently over a 35–40-year span until ca. 145 B.C., when production finally became annual. Cf. Mørkholm, EHIC, p. 170. Unfortunately, since Athens’ bronze and more conservative silver coinages were produced and designed quite independently of one another, the chronology of the earliest New Style silver and the preceding silver with monograms cannot be decided by an appeal to the bronze of the early 2nd century B.C. The “New Style” type of owl, which first appears in silver with monograms, occurs in the bronze coinage for the first time already in the 190’s in the Owl-on-thunderbolt variety 81 (see p. 50 below). And it so happens that a contemporary dating of the silver with monograms to the 190’s would fit with the Mørkholm early New Style chronology quite nicely. But the argument from the bronze coinage is hardly decisive, and in light of the evidence marshaled in the articles cited at the beginning of this note, the silver with monograms is more likely to date as late as the 170’s–early 160’s.

⁵⁷ See pp. 80–81 below.

⁵⁸ Full prosopography in Habicht 1991.

⁵⁹ New Style, pp. 613–622.

⁶⁰ Crawford, CMRR, p. 127; Price, CRWLR, pp. 96–98. The pseudo-Athenian issues minted to finance Sulla’s campaign against Mithradates after 86 best demonstrate just how influential the New Style coinage had become; see New Style, pp. 425–439.

⁶¹ FidD III, ii, no. 139, lines 1–6.
was an influential member of the amphictyony and stood to profit, but the establishment of a uniform currency served wider economic interests, so that the active encouragement of Roman authorities in Greece has been suspected.\(^62\)

There has been speculation also that the coinage was minted almost entirely from older coinages procured through exchange, especially on Delos.\(^63\) Doubtless much recoinage was involved, particularly in Thompson's "Early" and "Late" New Style Periods, the analyzed tetradrachms of which show relatively high levels of copper impurities.\(^64\) But the seriousness of the second Laurion slave revolt, ca. 100–98 B.C.,\(^65\) proves that the Attic mining industry had not only been reestablished but must have been operating at a substantial level, while analyses of 39 tetradrachms of the "Middle" Period (135/4–100/99 B.C.) give consistently the same minimal copper percentages that characterized Laurion silver of the 6th through 4th centuries B.C.\(^66\) Although the revolt had no effect on the volume of coins produced, there is a clear correlation between the date of the revolt and a sudden reduction in the fineness of the silver beginning with the Demetrios-Agathippos issue of 99/8 B.C. For several decades to that point, the coinage seems to have been manufactured predominantly from domestic silver. After 99, other silver had to be procured. Apart from the impact of the revolt, the veins at Laurion were giving out, and by the time of Strabo (9.1.23) even the resmelting of old slag had been discontinued.

There will be more to say below (pp. 81–82, 85–87) about the post-Mithradatic phase of the coinage, since this is the one period in which Athens' bronze and silver coinages were routinely administered together. It is, in fact, the fundamental modification of the bronze coinage after the Battle of Philippi in 42/1 B.C. that enables us to place the formal end of the New Style silver in that year. Since 69, minting had been limping along in intermittent emissions of insubstantial and often token size. In the 40's much of this silver was doubtless requisitioned and recouped to pay Roman armies of the civil war, but the deliberate termination of minting was more likely the result of competitive pressure from the Roman denarius, which was beginning to circulate in quantity in Greece and must have become especially common at Athens when the victorious Marc Antony wintered there with his army after Philippi. Of approximately similar weight, the Attic drachm (4.2 g.) and the Roman denarius (3.86 g.) were almost, if not actually, interchangeable.\(^67\) But the denarius was 9 percent lighter and would have been forcing the drachm out of circulation. Since it had become unrealistic for the Athenians to maintain their traditional silver currency in the face of an ever increasing supply of the lighter Roman coin, the decision was taken to abandon the drachm for the denarius and (as argued further in Chapter II, pp. 89–91) to readjust the local bronze


\(^63\) Price, *CRWLR*, p. 97; Carradice and Price, *loc. cit.* (note 62 above); for the probable recouping in the 160's of silver deposited on Delos, see Giovannini, pp. 51–62.

\(^64\) *New Style*, pp. 624–625.

\(^65\) See note 108 below, p. 66.


\(^67\) Inscriptions of Roman Imperial date from the Greek East commonly refer to denarii as Attic drachmai (cf. L. Robert, "Monnaies dans les inscriptions grecques," *REV* ser. 6, 4, 1962 [pp. 7–24], pp. 12–13) in a Hellenizing usage that is found as early as Polybios (F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius I*, Oxford 1959, p. 176). Hultsch (s.v. denarius, *RE* V, col. 209) affirms parity between the denarius and the Attic drachm. But none of this, of course, should be taken as proof of exact equivalence in the third quarter of the 1st century B.C., when both coinages were in circulation together.
coinage accordingly. Thus the year of Philippi marks both the end of Athens' silver coinage and the quasi-Romanization of the city's currency, which for the next 250 years was to be dominated by the denarius.

### CATALOGUE

**ca. 550–520 B.C.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COINS</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>WEIGHT</th>
<th>REFERENCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>OBOL</strong></td>
<td>Bulbous amphora. Incuse square divided diagonally.</td>
<td>*1 Σ-4035</td>
<td>0.4968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DRACHMS</strong></td>
<td>Horse's hindquarters r. Similar.</td>
<td>*2 IIA-5</td>
<td>3.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wheel with four strutted spokes. Similar.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*a Z-2869</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>GRC, fig. 8; (from floor packing of Archaic building southeast of the Tholos; with sherds of late 6th and early 5th centuries B.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*b II-903</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*c BE-115</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OBOLS</strong></td>
<td>Similar. Similar.</td>
<td>*4 a Α-265</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*b E-545</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DIDRACHM-STATER</strong></td>
<td>Bull's head facing. Similar.</td>
<td>*5 I-1344</td>
<td>7.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

68 The weights recorded here for 1, 3a, 4a, and 5 correct the slightly different figures given for these coins in Hopper, p. 25, note 1.
CATALOGUE

ca. 510's–500 B.C.

**Obol**

Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet. **[AΘΕ]** Owl stg. l., facing; behind, olive spray. Seltman, p. 192, pl. XXIIiv (Group H)^69

*6 NN-934  0.47

**Tetradrachm**

Similar. **[AΘΕ]** Owl stg. r., facing; behind, olive spray. Seltman, nos. 328–346 (Group L); Sv. 6.1–1770

*7 Φ-344  16.97 (3rd-century B.C. context: Cistern L 17:7)

ca. 450's–404 B.C.

**Tetradrachms**

Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet ornamented with palmette and olive leaves. **[AΘΕ]** Owl stg. r., facing; behind, olive spray and crescent. Sv., pls. 11–17.24, passim

*8  PP-823  16.50 (found with 8g in modern fill)
*  Ω-564  16.33 GRC, fig. 9 (from fill containing pottery of first half to mid-5th century B.C.)^71
*  Η'-3859  16.66 GRC, fig. 9
*  Σ-4649  14.30 Like the coin's pitted surface, its light weight is apparently a result of corrosion and cleaning (cf. 33, 34).
*  ΣΤ'-683  16.08 imitation, Egyptian(?); see pp. 6–7 above
*  Δ-222  16.25 imitation; found with 8a
*  PP-824  16.45 possibly imitation, as the low weight and the parallel, inorganic lips of Athena suggest; (from well filling of early 3rd century B.C.: F 11:2)
*  Β-508  15.00

**Plated AE Counterfeit Tetradrachms**

*  ΒΓ-895  11.81 about half of the silver plating remaining on the bronze core; test cut on obverse; (sanctuary context of 420's B.C.)^72

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69 Since a number of the owls on Group H tetradrachms (Seltman, pl. XIII) stand to the left, Seltman (p. 192) classified all obols with left-facing owls in this group. Whether this classification is correct in every case is impossible to decide from the small scale of the coins (cf. the owl-left obols Sv. 2.54–58, 7.58–60, none of which, at least, can postdate 480). Nevertheless the attribution of our Agora obol to Group H is supported by the owl's stocky proportions and squat posture. The obverse is essentially effaced. For discussions of the Group H chronology, see the works cited at the beginning of note 6 above, p. 5.


71 Section Omega pottery lot 479 (from crushed bedrock fill along side wall of Greek house), including a lamp and saltcellar but no stamped ware, which, according to *Agora* XII, p. 22, began “just before the middle of the 5th century.” The lot contained also a later lid fragment, probably of the 3rd century B.C.

ATHENIAN SILVER COINS

**bronze core only**

* 8  
 13.00

slight traces of silver; badly battered, with two test cuts on reverse

**test cut on obverse and reverse**

* 8  
 3.85

large eye; ancient imitation?

* 8  
 3.94

test cut on obverse and reverse

* 8  
 3.98

worn

**extremely worn**

* 8  
 3.54

probable imitation; modern?

---

**Plated AE Counterfeit Drachm**

NN-2120  
→ 2.23

broken and heavily blistered but attributable to the 5th century since the reverse lacks the crescent of 4th- and 3rd-century drachms; no silver remains

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**Triobols**

Similar.

A  
A  

3 Θ or Θ Ε Owl stg., facing; on either side, olive branch with two pairs of leaves.

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The discovery of this subaerate counterfeit in a sanctuary implies that it was dedicated there as a private offering and/or to remove it from circulation, like the counterfeit coins mentioned in 4th-century Akropolis inventories and the plated imitations like 16ο and p that upon detection were cut and deposited in the Metroon; p. 9 above.
Diobol or Trihemiobol\textsuperscript{73}

Similar.

\[\text{[A\AE]} \text{ Two owls stg. l. and r., facing; between them, olive spray of two leaves.} \]

\*12A T-1498 11 ✓ 1.18

Obols

Similar.

A\AE\ Owl stg. r., facing; behind, olive spray.

\(13\)

\*a AA-461 ✓ 0.62
\*b KTA-115 ✓ 0.61
\*c BE-337 ↓ 0.54
\*d NN-1297 ← 0.55
\*e Γ-642 → 0.62
\*f K-1054 → 0.56
\*g AA-23 ↓ 0.57
\*h OA-220 ↓ 0.63
\(i\) E-189 ✓ 0.58
\(j\) E-562 ↓ broken
\(k\) E-2175 ↓ 0.57
\(l\) Ζ-2617 ✓ 0.64
\(m\) H'-2627a ↑ broken
\(n\) II-592 → 0.60
\(o\) NN-2135 ← 0.55
\(p\) Σ-1018 ✓ 0.57
\(q\) Σ-6253 ↑ 0.51

Hemiobols

Similar.

Similar.

\(14\)

\*a E-724 ↓ 0.28
\*b E-1104 ↓ 0.23
\*c ΜΣ-157 ← 0.27

As with some of the worn, hence unillustrated obols 13i–q, the obverses of these hemiobols are too poorly preserved for certain attribution to the 5th century. One or more could be 4th century in date.

ca. 390–295

Tetradrachms

Similar, but with eye of Athena rendered in full profile.

A\AE\ Owl stg. r., facing; behind, olive spray and crescent.

\(15\)

\*a Φ-389 ← 16.73

\textsuperscript{73} \textit{BMCAttica}, p. xxv, identifies this variety as a diobol, not unreasonably since the same two-owl reverse was used for the diobols of the 407/6 gold (Sv. 15.7, 8). Nevertheless, the weights of 0.90–1.06 g. of the seven specimens illustrated in Svoronos imply that the denomination was the 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) obol \textit{trihemiobolon}, which was struck at another time in the second half of the 5th century with the reverse type of owl with spread wings (Sv. 11.35–42: 0.96–1.10 g).
### Athenian Silver Coins

Plated AE Counterfeit Tetradrachms

| *b | X-220 | 16.93 | GRC, fig. 9 |
| *c | OO-814 | ✓ 16.07 |
| *d | Ξ-84 | 16.22 |
| *e | Υ-64 | ✓ 16.83 |
| *f | Τ-134 | ✓ 16.66 |
| *g | Σ-3019 | ✓ 16.53 |

Plated AE Counterfeit Tetradrachms

| 16 | a | H-1465 | 13.22 |
| *b | H-1466 | 11.17 |
| c | H-1725 | 11.55 |
| *d | H-1935 | 13.72 | Walker 1982, pl. 22:2 |
| *e | H-1936 | 13.96 | Walker 1982, pl. 22:3 |
| f | H-1937 | 11.60 |
| *g | H-1938 | 13.84 | Walker 1982, pl. 22:4 |
| i | H-2024 | 10.64 | GRC, fig. 11 |
| j | H-2134 | 10.77 |
| k | H-2164 | 14.10 |
| m | H-2166 | 9.15 | heavily corroded and broken |

16a–m are all from the same pair of dies and come from fill of the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., beneath the Temple of Ares (above, pp. 9–10). The silver plating is well preserved on all specimens but 16m.

| *n | B-560 | 11.74 | about half of the silver veneer preserved on the obverse; much less on the reverse; (context of the last quarter of the 4th century B.C.) |
| *o | E-2420 | 12.55 | GRC, fig. 11; Stroud 1974, pl. 25:f |
| *p | E-1365 | 13.56 | GRC, fig. 11; Stroud 1974, pl. 25:f |

16o and p (bronze only), having identical deep cuts on their reverses and found in front of the Metroon, had been officially mutilated and deposited in the Metroon in keeping with the nomothetic law of 375/4: see p. 9 above.

**Drachm**

| Similar. | Similar. | Sv. 21.27–32, 38–42 |
| *17 | BB-1203 | ✓ 3.73 |

Plated AE Counterfeit Drachm

| *18 | OO-1134 | ✓ 2.90 | a third to half of the silver plating remains; incuse-square punch mark over the ear of Athena on obv. |

**Triobols**

| Similar. | A | Sv. 21.43–50 |
| Similar. | E Θ or variant. Owl stg., facing; on either side, olive branch with five or more leaves. |

| 19 | *a | OO-1121 | 1.91 | E-Θ |
| *b | X-110 | ✓ 1.55 | — | (N 18:3) |
| *c | K-1356 | ↑ 1.35 | E-Θ Kleiner 1975, pl. 75, no. 165 (H–K 12–14) |
| *d | H'-2504 | ✓ 1.78 | Θ-Ξ |
19a and b can be assigned to the first half of the 4th century. The more crudely rendered owls of 19c–h are characteristic of the pi-style triobols of ca. 350–295. Compare the many pi-style triobols in the Peiraeus 1956 hoard (*IGCH* 127); Thompson 1957, pl. 1–3:3–66.

**Diobols**

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>BE-73</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>BB-324</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>N'-1321</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
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**Tritartemoria**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>H'-3850</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>H-1148</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>0.49</td>
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ca. 286–280 B.C. or later

**Tetradrachms**

Similar, but with quadridigité type of helmet ornament. AOE Owl stg. r., facing; behind, olive spray and crescent.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Δ-419</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>16.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Δ-322</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>15.96</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Nicolet-Pierre and Kroll, p. 4, pl. 2, no. 20

**Plated AE Counterfeit Tetradrachm**

*23  ΠΘ-556  ✓ 14.10  The silver envelope is intact, except for a small patch on the rim and a small area on the reverse.

**Drachms**

Similar.  Batteried and worn

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>PP'-413</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>3.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Σ-6481</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>2.97</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**Tetradrachms of 4th- or Early 3rd-Century B.C. Type, as 15 or 22**

<p>| | | | |</p>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Σ-6430</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>16.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>K-1730</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>14.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Effaced by wear  Broken and effaced by wear
ATHENIAN SILVER COINS

Plated AE Counterfeit of 5th–3rd-Century B.C. Tetradrachm, as 9, 16, or 23

*26  BΔ-437  <  8.43  no silver preserved; disfigured by deep chisel cuts and corrosion. The large size of the owl precludes attribution to any pre-480 owl series.

Plated AE Counterfeit of 5th–3rd-Century B.C. Drachm, as 11, 18, or 24

27  Π-895  -  2.76  AE only; blistered and mostly effaced

268–262 B.C.

Pentobols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>or variant. Owl stg. three-quarters r., facing, lifting wings; [at r. amphora or other symbol].</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28  *a  OO-246  ✓  2.26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28  *b  ΠΠ-872  ✓  2.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3rd century B.C. undated

Tetrobols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Θ</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Two owls, stg. l. and r., facing.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29  *a  E-1206  ✓  2.47  issue of first half of the 3rd century (Sv. 23.43–45)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>29  *b  H'-2337  ←  2.38  same</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29  *c  Z-833  ↑  2.48  GRC, fig. 9; later 3rd-century issue; possible illegible symbol below owls, cf. Sv. 24.18</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

ca. 240's–230's B.C.

Tetradrachm of Heterogeneous Type. Imitation?

Similar.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Similar.</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Θ</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Owl stg. r., facing;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Σ</td>
<td>Ε</td>
<td>Ε</td>
<td>cf. Sv. 23.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>behind, olive spray and crescent.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*30  K-1388  ↑  15.82  Nicolet-Pierre and Kroll, p. 17, pl. 6, F23</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

ca. 220's–190's B.C.

Drachm

Similar.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Similar, except illegible symbol below olive spray.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sv. 23.25–42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*31  Φ-358  ↑  3.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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CATALOGUE

ca. 165–42 B.C.

**Drachm, 134/3 B.C. (Mørkholm 1984)**

Head of Athena Parthenos r., wearing elaborately ornamented Attic helmet; border of dots.

A-ΘΕ Owl stg. r. on amphora, facing; in field: ΤΙ-ΜΑΙΝΙΚΑΡΧΕ and anchor (at l.); on amphora, Η; all in olive wreath.

*32 H'-3347 † 3.61 GRC, fig. 12

**Tetradrachm, 105/4 B.C. (Mørkholm 1984)**

Similar.

Similar, except in field: ΗΠΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣΕΥΚΔΕΣΙ and symbol of Tyche voting (at r.); letter on amphora illegible.

*33 Γ-1456 † 12.68 worn and battered

**Tetradrachm, 100/99 B.C. (Mørkholm 1984)**

Similar.

Similar, except in field: ΔΩ-ΣΙΘΕΟΣΧΑΡΙΑΣΣΟΛ and symbol of Tyche holding staff (at r.); on amphora, Θ; below, ΣΟ.

*34 H-421 † 14.02 GRC, fig. 12
II
ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS
FOURTH THROUGH FIRST CENTURIES B.C.

AROUND THE middle of the 5th century the poet and rhetor Dionysios, derisively nicknamed ὁ Χαλκοῦς, attempted to persuade his fellow Athenians to adopt a bronze currency. While nothing came from this novel proposal, some numismatists have supposed that Athens was using a form of bronze money at least by the 420's. Passages from Eupolis' Cities (frag. 233, 423 B.C.) and Aristophanes' Peace (lines 1199–1201, 421 B.C.) make reference to a κόλλυβος as a trivial unit of value; and since the lexicographers define the kollybos principally as a small coin, Svoronos proposed that such coins must have been circulating in 5th-century Athens and can in fact be identified in an extensive series of diminutive (6–8 mm. diam.), tokenlike bronze pieces from Athens stamped on both sides with a letter of the alphabet or a symbol. Over 600 varieties have been catalogued, and although the letter forms show that most date from the 4th century and later, a few have a three-bar sigma or a nu with slanted sides and could go back to the 400's.

In modifications of Svoronos' theory, E. S. G. Robinson and Martin Price suggested that these "kollyboi" were issued by bankers, money-changers, and other private persons to make up for a lack of official petty currency. But even this improvement overlooks the difficulty that these minuscule and extremely diverse bronzes, while having no ancient monetary parallels, are typologically related to the larger Athenian lead and bronze σύμβολα commonly employed for pay vouchers, seating tokens, and a wide range of other civic purposes. Such symbola have a similarly vast array of types, including, very commonly, letters of the alphabet. Consequently, Percy Gardner, Theodore Reinach, and Margaret Crosby did not hesitate to reject a monetary interpretation for the pieces in question. Like all commentators before Svoronos, they affirmed that they are to be recognized as small symbola in bronze. In this I must concur, leaving the dozen small bronze symbola from the Agora excavations to be published elsewhere.

1 Athenaios 15.669 D; O. Crusius, RE V, col. 926, no. 97, s.v. Dionysios Chalkus.
3 Ibid., pp. 135–154, with A. Postalakas, "Κεραμίτικα συμβολικά," Εφ Αρχ 1884, pp. 1–20, pls. 1 and 2. 179 varieties are illustrated on Sv. pl. 18.
7 (Coin) inventory nos. AA-856 (Boukranion/?), BB-71 (Boukranion/Dolphin), BB-701 (Owl/Herm with caduceus), BE-132 (Star/Fileus), E-1083 (retrograde ME ligature/A, as Sv. 18.39), Z-456 (Dove/AT ligature), Z-2035 (Boukranion?/FY ligature), HH-127 (Horse forepart/Triskeles), NN-470 (T with 3 dots/Dolphin), Σ-2853 (Race torch/B), Σ-4553 (?/Plemochoe?). Z-2035 (which could equally be a Roman coin of the 5th century after Christ) is from a dumped fill of the early 4th century B.C. (well Deposit H 12:11) that contained, however, an intrusive coin of the Frankish period. The fill containing BB-701 produced nine coins, all of the 2nd century B.C. The other Agora pieces, although of 4th-century and Hellenistic date, come from Roman contexts.
being no coins that can be associated with it, merely as an abstract value. Therein would seem to lie the point of Eupolis' and Aristophanes' comic allusions. One could no more buy or sell something for a kollybos in 5th-century Athens than one could buy or sell something for a nonexistent U.S. half-cent today.

The earliest reference then to an existing bronze coinage at Athens is Aristophanes' mention at Frogs 725–726 of the \( \pi\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu \chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\lambda\kappa\alpha\) struck in 406/5, although this coinage is almost certainly to be identified in the silver-plated drachms and tetradrachms of the kind found in the Peiraeus 1902 hoard (pp. 7–8 above). To a considerable degree this identification rests on the absence of a more plausible alternative. For instance, the discovery of a bronze coin of Salamis in a Kerameikos grave reported to be of the early 4th century allows that the bronze coins of this Athenian island might go back as early as the end of the 5th century (see under 640–642). But even if so precocious a chronology were correct, one still could not connect the Salaminian coinage with the bronze of 406/5, since the passage in the Frogs and the later joke about the demonitization of the bronze currency in Ekklesiazousai 815–822 both make it clear that the Athenians themselves had voted to strike it.

Early in this century, Earle Fox made a case for associating the highly irregular Athenian pieces of varieties 35 and 36 with the 406/5 bronze. The two varieties represent two denominations: 36, designed with a single pellet on the reverse and the reverse type of a 5th-century silver trihemiobol, represents the unit; 35, with a triobol reverse and two pellets, its double. Apart from a few Wappenmünzen tetradrachms, these happen to be the only Athenian coins that ever bore marks of value. They are also the only Athenian issues until the Roman Imperial era having obverse Athena heads that face to the left and (except on the late 4th/early 3rd-century varieties 50 and 52) ethnics spelled with an eta. On both denominations the reverse owl stands on a kernel of wheat. Fox argued that all such departures from normal Athenian practice were intended "to distinguish these two coins from any others . . . and everything seems to point to the conclusion that if money of necessity really was issued, it must be recognized in these most exceptional little pieces." It can be objected that the \( \Lambda\Theta\mathrm{H} \) ethnics ought not to date until after 403/2, when the Athenians formally adopted the Ionic alphabet for official use in place of the Attic alphabet; but Ionic spelling is found in a number of pre-403/2 Athenian inscriptions, and so this argument against Fox's attribution is perhaps not decisive of itself.

Noting that six out of the seven Athenian coins recovered in the excavations of Olynthos belong to variety 35, Robinson and Price more recently equated the Owl-on-wheat-kernel pieces with the coins known to have been minted by the Athenian commander Timotheos during his siege of Olynthos in the late 360's. According to the pseudo-Aristotelian Oikonomika 2.23.1, Timotheos ran

8 Cf. M. N. Tod, "Epigraphical Notes on Greek Coinage I: \( \text{ΚΟΛΛΥΒΟΣ} \)," NC, ser. 6, 5, 1945 (pp. 108–116), pp. 111–112, comparing the kollybos of Eupolis and Aristophanes to the proverbial English "mite". The only concrete evidence for the value of a kollybos coin comes from a late Hellenistic inscription from Adania in Messenia, IG V, i, 1532, in the improved text of Tod, BS\(\text{!!} \) 28, 1927–1928, pp. 153–157, where the kollybos (represented by the symbol \( \text{K} \)) is a fraction of the chalkous, almost certainly its half (Tod, "Epigraphical Notes," pp. 113–114). But the term was presumably applied to other minuscule values at other times and places. Reinach's equation of the kollybos with the Attic \( \frac{1}{8} \) obol ([note 6 above, p. 24], pp. 156–158) rests on the sequence of small weights in Theophrastus, de Lapidibus 46, and can be passed over now that D. E. Eichholz (Theophrastus de Lapidibus, Oxford 1965, p. 119) brackets the kollybos weight denomination in this passage as a late and unreliable interpolation. See p. 37 below.


out of cash and issued bronze coins, which he promised to redeem later in silver in order to provide his troops with ration money. The irregular nature of his coinage and the fact that it was struck far from Athens admirably account for all anomalies of varieties 35 and 36. But in developing their provenience-based attribution, Robinson and Price were unaware of the nine Owl-on-wheat-kernel pieces that were found in Athens, eight in the Agora and one from the Pnyx excavations, and of three other specimens that were purchased in Thebes. Might these twelve pieces from Athens and Boiotia outweigh the six excavated at Olynthos and give new substance to Fox's old attribution to 406/5?

They cannot. It is much easier to explain the Agora, Pnyx, and Thebes examples of 35 and 36 as the remnants of a north Aegean military “scrip” that was perhaps never redeemed in full and traveled home with the troops and rowers left holding it than it is to imagine how specimens of the 406/5 bronze could have reached Olynthos in such numbers as to dominate overwhelmingly the finds of lost Athenian coins at the site, especially when the 406/5 bronze was unlikely to have retained any monetary value outside Attica. Second, although 36 borrows its reverse type from 5th-century Athenian silver (triheemiobols were not struck after the 400’s), other typological and stylistic details of the Owl-on-wheat-kernel bronze are more at home in the 4th century. This is obviously so for the ΑΘΗ ethnic, but it applies equally to Athena’s profile eye on obverses and to the heavy foliage of the olive sprays on either side of the owl of 35. There is finally the grain of wheat on which the owls are perched. As Robinson and Price plausibly suggest, the symbol refers to the purpose of the coinage as military grain money (σπτηζεισιον). In the 4th century, foot soldiers and rowers normally received two obols per diem for rations, a sum very much in line with the values of these coins, whether they were respectively tariffed at 1½ and 3 obols in accordance with their reverse types or whether, as their marks of value imply, merely at 1 and 2 obols. Inasmuch as Robinson and Price’s attribution of the Owl-on-wheat-kernel bronze to Timotheos has so much to recommend it, only one extant bronze coinage remains that can be identified with the πονηρα χαλκία of 406/5, namely, the silver-plated bronze represented in the Peiraeus 1902 hoard.

This disguised bronze coinage from the end of the Peloponnesian War and the bronze military strikings of Timotheos (which must have become quite well known at Athens, as the Agora finds attest) were both short-term expediencies, issued in place of silver at times of financial crisis. Both were relatively high-value fiduciary coinages and could hardly have inspired confidence in the concept of a bronze currency among a populace whose attachment to a coinage of exceptionally pure, local silver was a matter of long-standing national pride. For a while in the 4th century, Athens struck fractions in silver as small as the quarter and eighth of an obol (Sv. 17.53–56, 22.23). But the need for a more convenient petty currency in bronze must nevertheless have been recognized,
particularly in the further reaches of Attica; for it was there, with the coinage struck by the Athenian cleruchy on Salamis, that the regular production and use of small-denomination bronze currency in Attica apparently began (see under 640–642). Before the middle of the 4th century a second Attic bronze coinage appeared, the Eleusinian coinage with Triptolemos/Piglet types and the legend ΕΑΕΥΣΙ (38). This was minted in Athens and employed the same modular unit (designated herein as AE 3) as the Salaminian coins; the denomination was in all probability the quarter-obol (pp. 34–36 below). Then, probably in the early to mid-330's, Athens finally issued bronze coins in her own name, at first by merely adding her ΑΘΕ ethnic to the Eleusinian Triptolemos/Piglet coins (39) but quickly substituting Athena/Owl types once the citizenry was finally reconciled to an explicitly Athenian bronze coinage. From that point down toward the middle part of the 3rd century, emissions, predominately of the AE 3 denomination, were minted at varied intervals in both the Athenian and the Eleusinian series.18

PERIOD I
(including the Eleusinian coinage)
Mid-4th–Mid-3rd Centuries B.C.

Fundamental to the chronology of the first period of regular bronze coinage in Attica (Table I, pp. 320–321) are the interconnections between the Eleusinian and Athenian series. Both series must be treated together and call for some prefatory remarks about the anomalous Eleusinian material. The 4th- and 3rd-century bronze inscribed ΕΑΕΥΣΙ has always been one of the more problematic coinages of ancient Greece. Assuming that the legend was an ethnic, Barclay Head conjectured that “Eleusis was the only Attic deme which was allowed by Athens (perhaps on account of its sacred character) to coin bronze money for the requirements of the Eleusinian Festivals.”19 But other scholars, skeptical that a political subdivision of Athens could have exercised the prerogative of minting coins, have argued either that the coinage was produced by a briefly independent Eleusinian state20 or that, as an Eleusinian festival coinage, it was actually minted under the central authority of Athens.21 The first view can be rejected at once. There were never more than two short intervals during which the deme center of Eleusis was divorced from Athens, in 403–401, when Eleusis was established as a semiautonomous polity for dissident Athenian oligarchs, and in 287–285/4, when it was held by a garrison of Demetrios Poliorketes;22 yet the varied bronze coinage with the Eleusinian legend was struck over more than a century.

18 Salamis continued to strike in the second half of the 4th century, but the chronology of the Salaminian coinage (640–642) is too vague to merit discussion in this chapter.
19 HN2, p. 391.
20 So Cavaignac, pp. 331–332 (= idem, Le trésor sacré d’Éleusis jusqu’en 404, pp. 79–80); Ferguson, p. 145, note 4; I. N. Svoronos, quoted in Traité II.iii, p. 140; Picard, Antre, p. 293.
22 In 287 (according to Habicht, Untersuchungen, pp. 45–60, and Osborne, pp. 181–194, against Shear, Kallias, pp. 63–73, favoring 286 B.C.) the Athenians won their freedom by expelling Demetrios’ troops from the Mouseion but had yet to gain control of the other forts in Attica. For the subsequent recovery of Eleusis in 285/4, see Shear, Kallias, pp. 83–86, and P. Gauthier, “La réunification d’Athènes en 281,” REG 92, 1979 (pp. 348–399), p. 372.
The interpretation of this as an Athenian festival coinage, on the other hand, is scarcely beyond question, supported as it is by both the iconography and the minting history of the coins. The iconography pertains not to the deme of Eleusis but to the mythology (Triptolemos) and ritual paraphernalia (the initiates' sacrificial piglet and their distinctive staff of bound myrtle boughs) of the Greater Mysteries. In a later Period I issue with an obverse head of Demeter (61), the reverses of the coins depict the Eleusinian offering vessel, the plemochoe, after which the last day of the Mysteries, the Plemochoai, is named, and the ring (herein called the “Eleusis ring”) that was used to clasp together the boughs of the initiates’ mystic staff.

The second argument for the festival hypothesis comes from the recurrence of issues with Eleusinian types through the whole of the Hellenistic bronze coinage. After the adoption of Athena/Owl bronze coins signed ΑΘΕ, such special Eleusinian issues were often struck in parallel with them and continued to bear the traditional ΕΑΕΥΣΙ legend. The late 4th-century coin mistakenly struck with an Eleusinian Triptolemos obverse and a Two-owl, ΑΘΕ reverse (p. 32 below) proves that these Eleusinian coins were struck in the same central mint as Athens' ΑΘΕ bronze. After the middle of the 3rd century, however, the ΕΑΕΥΣΙ legend vanishes, and ΑΘΕ is henceforth used on all occasional issues with Eleusinian designs. Such issues are especially prominent in the last quarter of the 3rd century (72–75) and in the later 80's B.C. (116 and 117). Altogether, these recurring Eleusinian issues constitute what must have been a recognized if sporadic tradition within Athenian bronze coinage as a whole, and they are virtually inexplicable unless there was some direct association with the celebration of the Mysteries.

By the 4th century, control of the festival and the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore had long passed into the hands of the Athenian state at large, so that even if no proof existed in the form of the above-mentioned hybrid Triptolemos/Two-owl coin, it would still follow that the ΕΑΕΥΣΙ coinage must have been struck by the polis of Athens. This means, of course, that the ΕΑΕΥΣΙ legend cannot be expanded as an “ethnic” of the demesmen of Eleusis, that is, Ἕλευσινον (νοῦ), but must be understood as referring in one way or another to the festival. Margaret Thompson realized this in her paper espousing the festival interpretation of the coinage, but she thought that the legend named the Eleusinia, the agonistic festival held at Eleusis. But this festival did not begin to rank in importance with the Greater Mysteries; and since the iconography of the coins refers exclusively to the Mysteries, the legend must surely refer to the Mysteries as well. ΕΑΕΥΣΙ apparently served

23 For Triptolemos, see G. Schwarz, Triptolemos: Ikonographie einer Agrar- und Mysteriengothit, Graz 1987. On the piglet sacrifice to Demeter, see K. Clinton, “Sacrifice at the Eleusinian Mysteries,” in Early Greek Cult Practice, R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G. C. Nordquist, eds., Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, Stockholm 1988, pp. 69–79; and Burkert, pp. 256–264. In modern scholarship, the mystic staff of myrtle is usually called a bakchos, but this is probably not the correct term; see Clinton, Sacred Officials, p. 103. C. Bérard (“La lumière et le faisceau: Images du rituel eleusinien,” Recherches et documents du Centre Thomas More 48, 1985, pp. 17–19, note 1) argues that the ancient name was δέδραγμα. I owe these last and other references on Eleusinian matters to Professor Clinton, who kindly read an earlier draft of this chapter and suggested a number of improvements.

24 The plemochoe is the vessel that numismatists have often termed a kernos. For the correct identification, see F. Brommer, “Plemochoe,” AA 1989, pp. 544–549. The “Eleusis ring” is the clasp that J. D. Beazley (“Bakchos-rings,” NC, ser. 6, 1, 1941, pp. 1–7) provisionally termed a “bakchos-ring”, while cautioning that the initiates' staff on which it was used may not have been called a bakchos.

25 See also the 2nd-century varieties 86 and 106 and the other post-86 B.C. varieties 127–129, 146, 150, 154, 155, although it is uncertain how many of these last emissions may have been special festival issues; see p. 84 below.

26 Clinton, Sacred Officials, p. 8.

as an accompanying label to underscore the force of the images on the coins, to indicate the purpose of the coinage, and, initially, to disassociate the bronze from Athenian money proper. It may be plausibly expanded '\Eleusian (νικακιν, \textit{scil. νόμισμα}), "Eleusinian (money),"' on the model of other adjectival coin legends in the neuter singular, or simply '\Eleusινικός, "of Eleusis."\textsuperscript{28}

The association of certain Greek coinages with major festivals is well documented in the Roman Imperial era, when coins were frequently struck with types and legends advertising local games.\textsuperscript{29} But the association can be traced back as early as the 5th- and 4th-century B.C. silver coinage of Elis, which most commentators have connected in one way or another with the quadrennial Olympic festival.\textsuperscript{30} Although such Greek festival coinages will have served as souvenirs and helped to advertise the festivals, one assumes that most were struck to provide money for the festival trade, which in the case of Eleusinian Mysteries must have been considerable. Unlike most Panhellenic festivals, the Mysteries were celebrated annually, and probably no other event in the Athenian calendar attracted a greater number of visitors to Attica. Philostratos' remark (\textit{Life of Apollonios} 4.17) that the Mysteries were "the most crowded (πολυανθρωπότατα) of Greek festivals" applies to Imperial times. But even in the 4th century B.C. the great international popularity of the festival must have been growing: between ca. 368 and 347 a revised code of regulations governing the publicizing and conduct of the Mysteries was promulgated to encourage increased foreign participation.\textsuperscript{31}

Each year every new initiate and his or her sponsor lived at Eleusis during the last four days of the festival, purchasing their lodging, food, drink, and amenities from local vendors, innkeepers, and, one imagines, a whole agora of Athenian and itinerant merchants making the festival rounds.\textsuperscript{32} Such festival business required money, in particular the small-change kind suitable for daily provisions. And given the tiny fractions of Athenian silver, the bronze pieces of Salamis, and any other miscellaneous petty currencies available in Attica in the second quarter of the 4th century, it is not hard to image why the Athenians turned to supplying this trade with a convenient bronze coinage of their own manufacture.

The coins are only one indication of the commercial importance of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The 2nd-century B.C. decree \textit{IG} II\textsuperscript{2} 101\textsuperscript{33} informs that Eleusis was one of the three sites in Attica where the Athenians maintained an official set of standard weights and measures. The two other sets were housed inside the Tholos in the Agora and at the Peiraeus and were, as at Eleusis, in the keeping of a public slave. Notably, the slave in charge of the standards at Eleusis was responsible to officials of the Mysteries: the hierophant and "the men appointed each year for the festival"...
ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: 4TH–1ST CENTURIES B.C.

It was clearly appreciated that efficient and well-regulated buying and selling at the festival market contributed to the success of the festival.

The chronology of the Eleusinian and Athenian varieties is best discussed by subgroups, here and in Table I (pp. 320–321 below) indicated by roman numerals.

(i.a) Variety 38: Triptolemos/Piglet on mystic staff, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ

The initial Eleusinian series is distinguished by large, heavy flans (15–18 mm., 3–4 g.) and the use of reverse symbols or letters to differentiate its fifteen emissions. These fifteen emissions lead down to the Piglet-on-staff, ΑΘΕ issues (39 and 40), themselves the immediate forerunners of the first Athenian Double-bodied owl bronze (41) probably of the early or mid-330’s. Hence, if the fifteen Eleusinian emissions were minted on a more or less annual basis, the series will have begun sometime in the 350’s. A connection with the 368–347 B.C. decree and reform program for attracting more foreign visitors to the festival is likely.

The character of the changing symbols and letters sets these issues apart from all other 4th-century Athenian coinage. Being predominately “private” rather than public in character, the symbols (such as ivy branch, grapevine, boukranion, fly, shell, dolphin, and astragal) are evidently the marks of the individuals or boards of officials who oversaw production of the separate issues. The officials may have been among those chosen for the administration of the festival, like the ἑπιστάται Κλεορινοῦς; or if the moneyers bore a liturgical expense, clansmen of the Eumolpidai and Kerykes with their close ties to the Mysteries might have participated.

(i.b) Varieties 39 and 40: Triptolemos/Piglet on mystic staff, ΑΘΕ

The changed ethnic of these concluding Piglet-on-staff varieties (with reduced diameters and weight of 13–15 mm. and ca. 2.5 g.) is accompanied on the main emission (39: ΑΘΕ above piglet) by a change in the character of the reverse symbol. Unlike the “private” symbols of the ΕΛΕΥΣΙ issues, the symbol here, the plemochoe, is drawn from the “religious-public” repertory of Eleusinian devices. Responsibility for the festival coinage apparently had been transferred to a different administrative authority. If we could be sure that this minor reform in the organization of the coinage belonged with Lykourgos’ financial reforms concerning Athenian festivals in the mid-330’s, we would gain a valuable fixed point for the early Period I chronology. But an earlier date for the reform is possible.

These first regular ΑΘΕ strikings in bronze led quickly to the next step in the development of the coinage, viz., the replacement of Eleusinian types with traditional Athenian owl types, as the Athenians seem to have overcome in stages their hesitancy to place their name and types on a base-metal coinage.

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34 In the exergue: (1) pig’s head and ivy leaf (Sv. 103.2, 3), (2) ivy branch (Sv. 103.1), (3) boukranion (Sv. 103.4, 5), (4) scallop shell (Sv. 103.6, 7), (5) Eleusis ring in wreath (Sv. 103.18), (6) fly (or bee?) (Sv. 103.9), (7) astragal (Sv. 103.10), (8) dolphin (Sv. 103.14), (9) ram’s head (American Numismatic Society), (10) vine with leaf and grape cluster (Traité, pl. 109:17), (11) letter Δ (Cavaignac, nos. 49 and 54). In right field: (12) plemochoe (?) (Traité, pl. 193:15) and (13–15) letters Θ (Sv. 103.15), Μ (BMCAIattica, pl. 20:4) and Ν (Sv. 103.11). The list compiled by Thompson (1942, p. 218, note 18) omits only the astragal. The uniformly large 17–18 mm. flans of emissions 1 and 2 locate them at the beginning of the series. The Μ and Ν emissions have 14–16 mm. diameters and fall at or near the end.

35 As suggested, per litteras, by Kevin Clinton.


37 The 4th-century date of the present varieties precludes the theory of Thompson (1942, pp. 220–221) that the changed ethnic was caused by the Macedonian occupation of Eleusis in the early 3rd century (p. 27 above).
(ii) **Varieties 41-43: Athena in Attic helmet/Double-bodied owl**

With 979 recorded Agora specimens, this first fully fledged “Athenian” bronze coinage is one of the most prolific from any period. Apart from the rare bronze tritartemoria (37), it is the only Athenian bronze until the late 3rd century modeled on contemporary silver coinage: obverse heads reproduce the pi-style Athena heads of the later 4th-century silver, reverses, the type of 4th-century diobols (in the fringed style characteristic of the owls on later 4th-century silver).38

Production began in a relatively slight emission (41) with the double-bodied owl standing on a horizontal Eleusinian staff that is carried over from the Piglet-on-staff emissions. After the second Double-bodied owl variety (42), which lacks a symbol and has reduced diameters of normally 12–14 mm., the coinage entered a final voluminous phase in the variety marked by an Eleusis ring under the feet of the owl (43). In this last phase, diameters shrink even further; hurried striking is evident from many pieces stamped from poorly centered dies (cf. 43g); and towards the end of the series, when diameters frequently reach a minimal 10–11 mm., the die cutters ceased to adhere to the pi-style model and produced Athena heads either in a softer, naturalistic rendering (43e–g, with Sv. 22.42) or with perfunctory crudeness (43h and i). The small owls of these latest pieces generally have stubby, compact bodies, and in two instances the ethnic is freely spelled with an eta (43l and m).

Since this was a huge coinage, with weights and diameters that underwent a considerable reduction, the Double-bodied owls were clearly struck for a protracted period.39 The earliest probable date for the inauguration of the pi-style silver, around or soon after 350 (pp. 8–9 above), provides the terminus post quem; the inception of the succeeding Two-owl bronze, 44–47, after 322 or 317 provides the terminus ante, unless, as the naturalistic Athena heads and different size modules of the two coinages suggest, there was some overlap between the minting of the latest Double-bodied owls and the earliest Two-owl coins (44), which also have the Eleusis ring as a type adjunct. Since in either case a substantial part of the Double-bodied owl bronze can be attributed to the 320’s, the problem is whether it could have begun as late as the mid-330’s under the administration of Lykourgos, or whether a somewhat longer period of minting is called for. At present, a starting date after 338 seems preferable, but further evidence is needed. Although Double-bodied owls first occur in archaeological deposits roughly dated to the last half or last third of the 4th century,40 this tells us even less about the date than do the above considerations, which locate the bulk of the coinage in the 330’s and 320’s.

The stylistic range of the massive variety of Double-bodied owl over Eleusis ring makes it clear that this could not possibly be an emission of a single year and that the Eleusis ring was therefore a static adjunct part of the reverse type. So, too, must be the mystic staff under the owl on the first variety (41). The display of these Eleusinian devices suggests, of course, that this first Athena/Owl bronze coinage was minted, like the Triptolemos/Piglet coinage it replaced, in conjunction with the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Adjunct Eleusinian symbols continue to appear on the next two Athena/Owl issues, Two owls over Eleusis ring (44) and Two owls over plemochoe (45),

38 These stylistic replications should not be taken as evidence that the Double-bodied owl bronze was produced in the same mint as the silver. Despite considerable variation in die alignments, the majority of the Double-bodied owl bronzes have alignments in the 12 or 6 o’clock positions, while very few have the 8 or 9 o’clock alignments typical of all Athenian silver coins from the late 5th through most of the 3rd century B.C. Like most of the later bronze and silver coinages of Athens, the Double-bodied owl bronze and the silver coinage contemporary with it must have been struck independently of one another.

39 Caley, pp. 45–47, noted the exceptional variability in the bronze alloy of the five Double-bodied owls he analyzed and contended that the series must have been protracted.

40 See pp. 298–301 below, nos. 2, 3, and 5 and the Agora Deposit S 19:3.
and then disappear (46: Two owls, no symbol) about the time that the Eleusinian Triptolemos/Piglet coinage is revived (48 and 49). The implication seems to be that before this revival, all the Period I bronze coinage may have been issued as Eleusinian festival money.

(iii) Varieties 44–49: Athena in Attic helmet/Two owls in olive wreath, and Triptolemos/Piglet in wheat wreath, EAEY

The four varieties of the wreathed Two-owl coinage (44: Eleusis-ring symbol, ΑΘΕ; 45: plemochoe symbol, ΑΘ; 46: no symbol, ΑΘ; and the rare 47: no symbol, ΑΘΗ) represent a renovation of the bronze coinage after the crudely minted late Double-bodied owl strikings. Size and weight hark back to the latest Piglet-on-staff bronze (39 and 40) in the 13–15 mm., ca. 2.5 g. range, which remains standard for the rest of Period I. The types were redesigned and more notably and lastingly were emancipated from stylistic dependency on contemporary silver. As in the latest Double-bodied owls, obverse Athena heads, often in richly ornamented helmets (cf. 44a and Sv. 24.49), are now rendered without a trace of mechanical, pi-style rigidity. The Two-owl reverse type is not entirely new, since two standing owls had been the device of 5th-century silver diobols or quarter-drachms (12A) and gold diobols (Sv. 15.7, 8). But the olive wreath encircling the reverse is new, and it remained a fixture of the bronze coinage well into the 3rd century.

The third and largest Two-owl variety (46) is the last Athenian issue that was struck before the destruction of the Kerameikos Building Z-3 between ca. 320–317 and the start of the Owl-left issue 50 in 307 (see below). 46 appears quite clearly then to belong to the 317–307 oligarchy that Kassandros installed under Demetrios of Phaleron. It is likely that one or both of the two related issues, 44 and 45, were minted during this same regime or under the 322–317 oligarchy that Antipatros established under Phokion.

A special problem is raised by the two coins listed under variety 47, which are essentially variants of variety 46 but bolder in design (apart from their large Athena heads, note the full-bodied olive leaves on the better-preserved 46a). As the ΑΘΗ spelling of their ethnic is characteristic of the following Owl-left variety, the two coins appear to belong to a limited emission struck just before the change to the Owl-left types.

As noted, the traditional Eleusinian coinage was revived in the course of the Two-owl series about the time that the Two-owl coins ceased to be marked with Eleusinian symbols. The synchronism between the two new Eleusinian varieties with legends in ΕΑΕΥ, 48 and 49, and the Two-owl ΑΘ varieties 45 and 46 is implied through (a) the curtailed legends in both groups; (b) coordinate weights and diameters (Table I, pp. 320–321 below); (c) the surrounding wheat wreath of the Eleusinian reverses, which parallels the reverse olive wreath on the owl coins; and (d) the find of twelve Two owls over plemochoe (45) and four Wreathed piglets, ΕΑΕΥ above (48), corroded together in a lump at the bottom of the Dipylon well in the Kerameikos (Purse A, p. 299 below). For proof we have only to turn to the hybrid coin illustrated by Svoronos (Sv. 103.40, now in the British Museum) with a Wreathed-piglet obverse (Triptolemos mounting chariot) and a Two-owls-over-plemochoe (45) reverse, a piece we owe to “a workman at the Athens mint, [who] confusing his dies, struck the flan of the intended Eleusinian coin with the punch of a contemporary Athenian issue.”41

(iv) Varieties 50 and 51: Athena in Corinthian helmet/Owl left, ΗΘ/Α, in olive wreath, and heavy Triptolemos/Piglet in wheat wreath, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ

The average weight of the Owl-left pieces is some 50 percent greater than that of the preceding and following Athenian varieties. This jump in weight, however, is not accompanied by a significant increase in size or diameter, so that the weight/diameter ratio remains roughly the same as that of the preceding Wreathed-piglet series. The attempt to give the Owl-left coins a character of their own by the new ornamental and dynastic elements on the obverse is certainly not reflected in the size and weight of the types. The reverse, however, which while similar in type to the preceding Wreathed-piglet issues has a new olive branch encircling the reverse, may have had a more significant purpose. The olive sprig as a symbol of Athena is well known from late Hellenistic and Roman times, and it may well have been intended as a mark of authenticity for the coin of the Athenian mint. Once the mint was in the hands of the Ephors, the olive sprig could have been added to the coins to indicate that they were minted under the aegis of the Eleusinian mysteries, and thus to assure the Athenian public that they were genuine Athenian coinage, and not the work of some anonymous imitator of the old Athenian coinage.

41 Thompson 1942, p. 214 (cf. p. 224). The variant obverse type of Triptolemos mounting a chariot does not appear until the Wreathed-piglet varieties. On the preceding Piglet-on-mystic-staff obverses, Triptolemos is always seated.
increase in diameter. Since the new design format of Corinthian helmet and a single owl was retained through varieties 52–54, which returned to the ca. 2.5 g. weight of the old Two-owl bronze, it appears that the heaviness of the Owl-left bronze was intended to enhance acceptability and does not signal a change in denomination or value. The Wreathed-piglet coinage issued contemporaneously (51) points to the same conclusion. Despite their augmented weight of 3–4 g. (which essentially restored them to the standard of the original Eleusinian emission of variety 38), these heavy Wreathed piglets employ the same types and fundamental module as all earlier and later Wreathed-piglet varieties and undoubtedly represented the same value as they.

The heaviness of the Owl-left coinage is matched by the exceptional quality of its alloy, die engraving (cf. Sv. 22.85 and 86), and striking, making it altogether one of the most carefully prepared bronze coinages ever minted at Athens. The coinage, furthermore, was of some magnitude. The 24 best-preserved specimens of the 251 found in the Agora were stamped from a minimum of 18 obverse dies, and through them one can trace a progression from the large, ornate Athena heads that must belong at the beginning of the series (50a–c) to the smaller, plainer ones at the end (50h–k).

In Athenian coinage the backwards orientation of the reverse type (owl facing left coupled with retrograde ethnic) is unique. Yet it is repeated on every die of this exceptionally large and well-manufactured series (whose obverse Athena heads do face correctly to the right) and must have been a deliberate and officially sanctioned essential of the design. Unable to suggest a more plausible explanation, I earlier interpreted the reversed owl and ethnic as the political expression of a revisionist oligarchic government symbolizing “a reversed Athens, a traditionally democratic Athens that had been literally ‘turned around’” (EABC, p. 146). I accordingly associated the coinage with the two oligarchies in power between 322 and 307 B.C. But two more recent items of evidence indicate that this dating was too early. The first comes from the excavation in 1978 of Kerameikos Building Z-3, destroyed after ca. 320–317 B.C.; at the time of its destruction, Owl left was not yet in circulation, although, according to other stratigraphical data from the Kerameikos, the coinage was known to have commenced by 304 (see pp. 298–299 below). The other evidence is the recognition that the succeeding Owl-right, A-\( \text{\textit{\textgreek{e}}} \text{\textit{\textgreek{h}}} \), issue (52) is closely tied to issue 53 in the 280’s and cannot date to the restored democracy of 307–ca. 300, as previously suggested (EABC, p. 147). The downdating of 52 has the effect of bringing down the date of Owl left as far as it will go, but the inception of Owl left cannot come down later than 304, so this variety must therefore now be attributed to the democratic government restored to power by Demetrios Poliorketes in 307.44 On this chronology the reversed owl and ethnic will have to remain unexplained, unless they were precautions to ensure that these larger, heavier coins would not be used or mistaken for cores of plated drachms. But the augmented weight, the modernized spelling of the ethnic, and the novel treatment of the conventional Athenian types (the Corinthian-helmet obverse copies the canonical Athena heads on

42 Three archaeological contexts confirm that the heavy Athenian and Eleusinian varieties were struck in tandem. See the Kerameikos Building Z destruction deposit (p. 298 below, no. 2), from which both varieties were absent, and the second Dipylon well purse (p. 299 below, no. 4) and the Agora Deposit F 11:2, both of whose latest pieces are Owl-left and heavy Wreathed piglets.

43 Caley (p. 32) observed that the 12.49 and 12.76 percentages of tin in the alloy of two analyzed Owl-left coins (Caley, table V, nos. 1 and 2) are “higher than . . . in any other series.”

44 As proposed in Kroll 1982, pp. 241–242; cf. Rotroff 1984, pp. 344–345. Four Owl-left pieces were excavated from the construction fill of the Square Peristyle in the Agora (cf. EABC, pp. 146–147, listing the only one from uncontaminated fill), but since this building is now known to date from the early years of the 3rd century, the context no longer has any direct bearing on the chronology of the coins; see Deposit O–R 7–10.
the gold staters of Alexander and hence carries pro-Macedonian connotations) give Owl left the character of a "reform" coinage, in keeping with the radical character of the 307 democracy.

(v) Varieties 52–55: Athena in Corinthian helmet/Owl right, in wreath, and light Triptolemos/Piglet in wheat wreath, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ

Normalcy in weight and design returned in the three related varieties, 52: Owl right, Α-ΘΗ, in olive wreath; 53: Owl right, Α-Θ, in wheat wreath; and 54: Owl right, Α-Θ, in olive wreath. Of these, the second and most plentiful can be associated with a historical occasion. Since the conventional olive-wreath border on the reverse is replaced by a wheat wreath borrowed from the Eleusinian Wreathed-piglet coins, it is likely that the resulting composite Athenian owl encircled by Eleusinian crown was created to symbolize the unification of Eleusis with Athens. The type is most appropriately placed at or soon after 284 B.C., when the Athenians, who in 287 or 286 expelled the Macedonian garrison from the Mouseion, succeeded in liberating Eleusis from Macedonian occupation. The reunification with Eleusis was celebrated in special games that year at Eleusis in honor of Demeter and Kore.45

A unique specimen of 53 in Berlin (Sv. 22.80; note the two wheat ears above the head of the owl) has an A-ΘEthnic carried over from variety 52 and implies, as do strong general similarities in obverse and reverse style,46 that the two varieties were contiguous. 52, a small emission, probably began therefore soon after the expulsion of the garrison on the Mouseion; with the liberation of Eleusis, it was modified into variety 53.47 On the other hand, the last variety of the Owl right in wreath (54) must fall in the 270's, if the next type change, back to a reverse of two owls, is rightly located around 270 B.C.

By size, weight, and representation in the Agora hoard Deposit A 18:8 of the 260's, the Eleusinian Wreathed piglets concluded in a variety (55) that was contemporary with 53 or 54, or both. All nineteen Wreathed piglets in the A 18:8 hoard (see 55c and p. 302 below) are of this late, light variety and had been subjected to the same moderate amount of wear (w3–4) as the Owl-right, Α-Θ, pieces.

(vi) Variety 56: Athena in Corinthian helmet/Two owls in olive wreath

Two finds place this uncommon variety near the beginning of the Chremonidean War (268–261 B.C.). A specimen in uncirculated condition (E. Vanderpool, J. R. McCredie, and A. Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp on the East Coast of Attica," Hesperia 31, 1962 [pp. 26–61], pl. 17:56 = EABC, pl. 16:1) was excavated from the Koroni fort briefly occupied by Ptolemaic troops early in the war.48 The other find is the Agora A 18:8 hoard, which was closed probably around the end of the war and which has as one of its least-worn pieces an example of the present variety (56d).

(vii) Varieties 57–60: Athena in Corinthian helmet/Owl right, Θ E with symbol

The critical A 18:8 hoard (p. 302 below) concludes with three pieces of this series: [57–60]a, whose symbol cannot be read, and 57b and c, both from the issue with the symbol of a small wreath. On this slight hoard evidence, the wreath-symbol issue may, despite its light weight, belong earlier

45 IG II² 657, lines 43–44, with Shear, Kallias, pp. 84–86.
46 Obverses continue the relatively plain type of Athena heads of the later, smaller Owl-left dies (e.g., 50h–k), but the owls of all three Owl-right varieties are more erect and more conventionally proportioned than the distinctively large-headed, "birdlike" owls of the Owl-left emission.
47 The bronze thus more or less parallels the silver coinage, which ceased also to be struck during Demetrios Poliorcetes' military occupation of Athens from 294 to 287 or 286. See p. 10 above.
48 See p. 11 above.
in the series than the issues with wheat-ear symbol (58), cornucopia symbol (59), and Eleusis-ring symbol (60).

Since these issues stand apart from the preceding coinage with respect to their unwreathed reverses, three-letter, triangular ethnic, and use of emission symbols, I once thought (EABC, pp. 144, 149) that the series began after a considerable hiatus in minting; I dated the series (and hence the burial of the A 18:8 hoard) after 255 B.C., when Antigonos Gonatas, having captured Athens in 261, relaxed his control through a formal grant of eleutheria.49 But more substantive considerations now argue for a dating before 261. For one, the variant three-letter ethnic of 56g can be regarded as a transitional step towards the changed reverses of the Owl-right-with-symbol coinage and suggests that the latter probably followed variety 56 without interruption. There is secondly the strong probability that the A 18:8 hoard was closed around the end of the Chremonidean War. The hoard contained no regal strikings later than those of Demetrios Poliorketes (502b, 505) and Lysimachos (462), while included with its 104 coins were four lead tokens respectively depicting a bow, a shield, a cuirass, and possibly a helmet.50 The absence of any bronze of Antigonos Gonatas, which began to circulate in quantity at Athens after the 260’s, is notable. And the lead armor tokens, apparently issued to civilians for the drawing of weapons and armor from public stores, imply that the owner of the hoard was involved with the military defense of Athens.51 If, like many hoards, A 18:8 owed its concealment to a pending catastrophe, one is hard put to suggest a more suitable emergency than Athens’ capitulation to Antigonos Gonatas in 261. Third and more concretely, a specimen of the wreath-symbol issue (57g) was excavated from the top of the lower fill of the south chamber of the “Cave” cistern on the Kolonos Agoraioi (Deposit H 6:9), a fill that on evidence of pottery was dumped in the 260’s upon completion of the adjacent Hellenistic “Arsenal”.52 Although the high position of the coin in the fill leaves open the possibility that the coin could be intrusive, a pre-261 B.C. chronology for the series of Owl right with symbol is nevertheless to be preferred in the absence of real evidence to the contrary.

(viii) Varieties 62 and 63: Two piglets left/Upright mystic staff A-E, in olive wreath, and Piglet right, AΘΕ?/Upright mystic staff, ΕΛΕ-ΥΣΙ

Absent from the A 18:8 hoard, these varieties with changed Eleusinian types comprise a post-261 B.C. coinage that was issued with joint Athenian and Eleusinian legends. Starting with the Period II varieties 72–75 of the last quarter of the 3rd century, all coins with Eleusinian types were routinely signed AΘΕ, so that it is clear that the present Upright-mystic-staff bronze is to be dated either very early in Period II or before 229, when Period II begins.

The chief variety, 62, has besides the A-E initials of Athens and Eleusis53 a composite reverse of Athenian olive branch encircling the Eleusinian staff. Two variant pieces underscore the unusual character of this coinage, the one in Paris (Traité, pl. 193:28) having a normal upright staff, A-E, reverse, but an obverse of a single piglet right over ΕΛΕΥ[], probably struck (in error?) from a left-over

49 Eusebius, ed. A. Schöne, Berlin 1866–1875, II, p. 120.
50 Agora X, nos. L 27b (two tokens), L 168, and L 227; with Kroll 1977, p. 144.
51 The defensive nature of the armor pictured on the tokens is underscored by the token that pictures a bow, the basic weapon for defending from city walls. The alpha blazon on the shield token leaves no doubt that the equipment was Athenian and publicly issued; Kroll 1977, pp. 142–143.
53 As Babelon (Traité, II.iii, p. 138) correctly interpreted the letters.
Wreathed-piglet reverse die.\(^{54}\) The other is the variant of Two piglets left/Upright staff in the Numismatic Collection of Athens (Sv. 103.41 = Traité, pl. 193:26), which bears the ethnic ΑΘΕ above the two piglets on the obverse but no visible letters on the reverse.

At 1.49 and 1.75 g. and 12 mm., the two extant single-piglet coins of variety 63 are smaller than the two-piglet pieces of 62 (2–2.5 g., 13–14 mm.) and fall under the AE 4 modular rubric, as opposed to the AE 3 classification of the doubled piglets. Hence the single-piglet pieces should represent the single denominational unit to the two-piglets' double.\(^{55}\) Although this might connect both varieties more closely with Period II than with the pre-261 bronze, which, except for the Double-bodied owl bronze, was limited to the AE 3 double-unit (see below), the Wreathed-piglet obverse of the unique coin in Paris with Upright mystic staff suggests chronological proximity to the pre-261 bronze all the same and encourages dating of this entire group of Athenian-Eleusinian pieces with the upright staff to before rather than after the start of Period II. Thus, between 261 and 229 B.C., monetary production in Athens was apparently limited to these few strikings in bronze that perpetuated the old and very tenacious tradition of Eleusinian festival money and to however much of the heterogeneous silver (pp. 11–13 above) as happened to be of genuine Athenian mintage.

**Antigonid Bronze**

At this time most of the new currency in Athens was Macedonian. The occasional dedications of tetradrachma Antigoneia in the sanctuary of Asklepios from 256/5 to 249/8 B.C. and again in 215 B.C.\(^{56}\) hint at the influx of Macedonian silver from the garrisons that Antigonus Gonatas maintained after 261 in and around Athens, but the king’s bronze was at least as influential. From the 160 pieces of Gonatas with Pan erecting trophy recovered in the Agora (507) and the sizable issue of Athenian coins (69) struck over this regal bronze, it is clear that this bronze circulated in the city in tremendous quantity. Much of it had probably been consigned to Antigonus’ garrisons before passing into general circulation, but its sheer bulk is reminiscent of the great quantity of Antigonid bronze that had found its way to Boiotia and was subsequently overstruck with local types there (see under 509 and 595). Citing the 1,000 talents of bronze coin promised to the Rhodians by Ptolemy III in 224 B.C. (Polybios 5.89.1) and the 200 talents of coined bronze given by Ptolemy V to the Achaian League in 185 (Polybios 22.9.3, 24.6.3), Svoronos proposed that the Macedonian bronze in Boiotia arrived in the form of a royal benefaction.\(^{57}\) It is possible that a benefaction lay behind the mass circulation of Antigonid bronze in Athens as well. Such a gift, for example, could very well have accompanied Gonatas’ grant of freedom to the Athenians in 255.

But ultimately the circumstance of the arrival of the coins is less important than their impact. Weighing 5–6 g. and measuring 19–21 mm. in diameter, they gave the Athenians a new and larger bronze denomination, whose usefulness must have been recognized immediately. These coins lessened the Athenians’ dependence on their own smaller-denomination bronzes and reduced any need for replenishing the supply of pre-261 bronze in circulation. More lastingly, once the new denomination began to be struck with Athenian types in the 220’s, it served as the dominant unit of Athens’ bronze currency until 86 B.C. It is one of the ironies of Athenian monetary conservatism

\(^{54}\) Evidently the anvil and punch dies used for the Eleusinian bronze of the 4th and earlier 3rd centuries were identical in shape and size and easily confused. See also the coin published by Fox 1890, pl. 3, no. 16 (now in the British Museum), with the reverse type of Wreathed pig, ΑΕΘΕY above (cf. 48), on both faces.

\(^{55}\) Thompson (1942, p. 222) rightly assumed a “unit”/“half-unit” relationship.

\(^{56}\) Habicht, Studien, pp. 35–36, note 105, p. 41.

\(^{57}\) Svoronos 1908, pp. 230–232.
that it took the coinage of an occupying foreign power to introduce and popularize this influential AE 2 denomination.

**Denominational Values**

In a preliminary discussion based on the Agora A 18:8 hoard, I assumed that all Athenian Period I bronze was struck in a single denominational unit and that this unit was the one-eighth obol chalkous, inasmuch as inscribed Athenian accounts of 329/8 and 328/7 record sums of money down to the last chalkous and imply that an Athenian one-chalkous coin was in circulation at that time.58 The fuller coverage of the Period I bronze in the present study, however, reveals that the coinage breaks down into two modular groupings, which in keeping with the more extensive modular system of the later Athenian bronze can be labeled AE 3 (coins normally of 13–15 mm. in diameter and 2–4 g. in weight) and AE 4 (ca. 10–13 mm. and 1–2 g.).

In Period I the smaller module is represented only in the extremely rare Piglet/Upright mystic staff 63 (12 mm., 1.50–1.75 g.) and the Double-bodied owls, which may begin at a borderline 13–15 mm. and 2.14 g. level (41) but quickly decline to become the diminutive pieces of the copious final variety 43 (10–14 mm. and 1.85 g.). As the smallest bronze coins circulating at the time of the inscriptions, such Double-bodied owls make very plausible candidates for the one-chalkous fractions of the inscriptions, even though the reverse type of the Double-bodied owl suggests that the coins ought to represent a double unit. But perhaps they do; for if the chalkous was divided into two kollyboi, the coins may have been known as dikollyboi.59 Or perhaps the Double-bodied owls were originally designed as dichalkia, but their excessive reduction made it impossible for them to retain their original value. Whatever the circumstances, one has only to glance at Plate 4 to appreciate the conspicuous smallness of most of the Double-bodied owls and how readily they must have passed as fractions of the Period I coins minted before and after them.

Except for Piglet/Upright mystic staff 63, all these other Period I coins are indeed heavier and, despite some decline and fluctuation in standard, appear to represent a single monetary unit. The earlier Piglet-on-staff issues (38) introduce this AE 3 unit with relatively large flans of 15–18 mm. and 3–4 g. But late in the course of the Eleusinian coinage, flans were reduced and by the end, in the Piglet-on-staff, AE 4 variety 39, had fallen to 13–15 mm. and an average weight of about 2.5 g. This remained the standard through the wreathed Two-owl/early Wreathed-pig coinage (44–49), and, allowing for some gradual slippage in weight, for the rest of Period I generally. Exceptions, it is true, are to be found in Owl left (50) and the accompanying heavy Wreathed piglets (51), whose weights were elevated to 3.5–4 g. and whose diameters sometimes reach 16 or 17 mm. But here we evidently have to do with a short-lived reform or full restoration of standard rather than a change of value. For the change in diameter is marginal, the heavy Eleusinian pieces bear the same types as the lighter Wreathed piglets that preceded and followed them, and the format of Corinthian helmet/Owl in wreath introduced in the Owl-left coinage was retained in subsequent emissions, the

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58 EABC, p. 143, note 7. The inscriptions are IG II² 1672 and 1673. The chalkous notation also occurs in the undatable 4th-century abacus IG II² 2777. The earliest mention of the chalkous, Demosthenes 21.91 (349/8 B.C.), informs only that Demosthenes’ audience was familiar with the term and the slight value of the chalkous. It hardly requires us to believe that the Attic bronze coins of the time, namely the AE 3 Eleusinian and Salaminian pieces of varieties 38 and 640, were chalkia rather than dichalkia.

59 For the equation of 2 kollyboi = 1 chalkous, see note 8 above, p. 25. The value-term διώκλῶβος is attested, but the context (Aristophanes, Aiolosikon, frag. 3 [Koch]) belongs too early in the 4th century to be relevant to any coins of Period I.
ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: 4TH–1ST CENTURIES B.C.

sizes and weights of which had nevertheless returned to the normal ca. 13–15 mm., ca. 2.30–2.50 g. range (52–54).

The doubled device of some of these AE 3 varieties strongly connotes that this was a double unit. One phase of AE 3 strikings (44–47) employed a two-owl reverse, later revived in variety 56. And in the late Athenian-Eleusinian variety 62 we meet with an obverse of two piglets, an odd and inexplicable type unless we are to understand that the piglet was doubled for denominational emphasis, to distinguish these coins especially from the smaller, lighter one-piglet coins (63) minted with them. Nor was the two-owl reverse discontinued with the Period I coinage. When the AE 3 unit resumed ca. 229 B.C. at the start of Period II, a reverse of two standing owls was again adopted (65), as it was for the huge Period III AE 3 coinage that was struck over much of the second half of the 2nd century (99). Hence the AE 3 unit may be plausibly equated with the dichalkon, or, as the denomination was alternatively known with reference to its value as the quarter of the obol, the tetartemorion.

It is reassuring to see how logically these two Period I identifications fit the expanded denominational structure of Athens’ later Hellenistic bronze. From the later 3rd through the mid-1st century B.C. (Periods II–IVB), the coinage involved five modular units (cf. Table VI, p. 329 below):

- **AE 1**: ca. 20–22 mm. 8–10 g.
- **AE 2**: ca. 16–20 mm. 5–7 g.
- **AE 3**: ca. 13–15 mm. 2–4 g.
- **AE 4**: ca. 10–13 mm. 1–2 g.
- **AE 5**: ca. 7–10 mm. under 1 g.

Of these, the AE 4 unit was minted in the greatest quantity throughout, precisely as one would expect if it were the basic chalkous. It was followed in popularity by its AE 3 double (as suggested by its commonly doubled reverse owls) and by the new AE 2, which from its position one step up the denominational ladder can be readily equated with the tetrachalkon, or hemiobol.60 The minimal AE 5 unit played a far more limited role, as it did not appear until the last third of the 2nd century and did not outlast the end of Period III in 86 B.C. (p. 68 below). The scale of values identifies this as the half-chalkous or kollybos, the smallest Greek monetary unit for which there happens to be any epigraphical documentation.61 Coins of exceptionally large and heavy AE 1 size made a brief appearance after 229 (64, 66, 68; see pp. 48–49 below) but were soon devalued and not struck again until after 86 B.C., when they replaced the AE 2 hemiobols as Athens’ standard large bronze unit in the revamped coinage of Period IV.

The identification of these denominations can thus be inferred from internal, mutually supporting Athenian evidence. But the resulting modular-value system of an eighth-obol chalkous of 1–2 g. (10–13 mm.), its 2–4 g. (13–15 mm.) double, and its 5–7 g. (16–20 mm.) quadruple has been independently deduced or proposed also for a number of non-Athenian bronze coinages.62

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60 Pace Kroll 1981a, p. 273, where the AE 2 unit was erroneously equated with the obol.

61 Note 8 above, p. 25.

which suggests that the system was a conventional one that was recognized and widely adopted throughout much of 4th-century and Hellenistic Greece.

CATALOGUE

363–359 B.C. (Region of Olynthos)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Sv. 22.93–96</td>
<td>Head of Athena l., wearing Attic helmet. Θ H Owl facing, stg. on kernel of wheat; on either side, pellet and olive branch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>7 coins 10–12 Av. 1.27 (7)</td>
<td>Θ-737 10 † 1.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*a</td>
<td>NN-1006 12 - 1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*c</td>
<td>EE-4 11 - 0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td>NN-1625 11 \ 1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Θ-218 11 - 1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>AA-294a 10 - 1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ΠΘ-649 11 - 1.12</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Sv. 22.97, 98</td>
<td>Similar. Θ H Owl facing, wings spread, stg. on kernel of wheat; above at l., [a pellet].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>NN-2061 8 - 0.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

4th century B.C., undated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Sv. 22.50, 51</td>
<td>Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet. Θ E within three crescents, horns inwards, arranged in circle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*37</td>
<td>Γ-137 11 \ 1.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rare and imitative of Athenian silver, this is the most perplexing of all early Athenian bronze varieties. Reverses bear the distinctive type of silver three-quarter obols (tritartemoria, 2I); and although the reverse dies were specially engraved for these larger-diameter versions in bronze, the two specimens illustrated in Svoronos (Sv. 22.50 and 51, Athens and Berlin, both with 12 mm. diameters) were stamped from tiny obverse dies that appear to have been taken over from the production of silver fractions of the obol. The larger obverse dies of other examples, such as the one (9 mm.) illustrated in the Credit Bank catalogue63 and one of the two unpublished pieces in the British Museum (both 10 mm.), were probably engraved exclusively for the bronze. The variety was struck from at least three or four obverse dies.

It is conceivable that these pieces were actually bronze tritartemoria, issued in state payments in lieu of silver during a momentary fiscal crisis. Or perhaps they were distributed as voucher tokens, to be later exchanged for the hemiobol, the tetartemorion/dichalkon, and the chalkous, as they are by the other scholars cited in this note. See also A. E. Jackson, “The Bronze Coinage of Gortyn,” NC, ser. 7, 11, 1971 (pp. 37–51), pp. 50–51, with similar but more provisional identifications. At Klazomenai, a chalkous (of AE 4 size: 1.3 g., 11 mm.) is so identified by the letter X on the reverse: F. Imhoof-Blumer, “Griechische Münzen,” NC, ser. 3, 15, 1895 (pp. 269–289), p. 283, pl. 10:21.

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for silver tritartemoria. One of the British Museum obverses stylistically approximates the Athena heads on some of the later Double-bodied owl bronzes (431, m), which suggests a date as late as the 320's. But one stylistic comparison is a slender reed and leaves open the possibility that the variety may date from some other time in the century. The barely legible Agora example was found with a Double-bodied owl bronze (Γ-138: variety 41) in a fill below a Roman floor.

PERIOD I

ca. 350's–early or mid-330's B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Triptolemos, holding wheat ears in r. hand, seated l. in winged chariot drawn by two snakes.</td>
<td>Sv. 103.1-15</td>
<td>ca. 350's–early or mid-330's B.C.</td>
<td>15-18 Av.</td>
<td>3.20 (43)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pig's head and ivy leaf, below (Sv. 103.2, 3)
- a. ΠΑ-144: 18 - 2.85
- b. Π-877: 17 - broken
- c. ΔΔ-50: 18 - blistered

Ivy branch with leaves, below (Sv. 103.1)
- *d. Ε-1463: 17 ↓ 3.01
- e. Α-1: 16 - 3.50
- f. Α-9: 17 - 3.29
- g. NN-2004: 18 - 3.43

Boukranion, below (Sv. 103.4, 5)
- *h. Σ-3100: 18 - 3.12
- i. ΠΘ-146: 16 - broken
- j. ΟΘ-461: 15 → 3.42
- k. ΣΑ-250: 18 → 3.49

Scallop shell, below (Sv. 103.6, 7)
- l. ΠΙ-28: 16 - 2.78

Ram's head r., below (American Numismatic Society)
- m. ΠΗ'-3181: 17 → 3.77

Dolphin, below (Sv. 103.14)
- *n. Σ-6448: 17 ↑ 3.87

Astragal, below (Sv. 103.10)
- o. ΠΗ'-3273: 16 - 2.97
- p. ΑΑ-973: - - broken

Δ, below (Cavaignac, nos. 49 and 54)
- *q. ΠΗ'-2901: 16 ← 3.14
- Θ, in field r. (Sv. 103.15)
- *r. Ω-515: 14 ↓ 2.43
- s. ΒΔ-207: 15 ↘ 2.91

Among the fifty-eight remaining specimens with illegible symbol or letter, four have Triptolemos seated r. (as Sv. 103.16) and one has piglet l. (as Sv. 103.14).

64 Cf. the bronze symbolon with a three-obol mark (σφιξβολον χαλκουν μετα του γι: Aristotle, Athenaion Politeia 68.2). No such tokens are extant, but for a series of lead dikastic tokens that are stamped with the triobol device and that may have been substituted for bronze triobol tokens after the Athenaion Politeia was written, see Rhodes, p. 731, with the lead tokens illustrated in J. E. Sandys, Aristotle's Constitution of Athens, London 1893 and 1912, frontispiece, and Fox 1890, pl. III:15.
PERIOD I: CATALOGUE

ca. early–mid 330's B.C.

Similar.

AΘΕ above. Piglet stg. r. on mystic staff; below, plemochoe.

39 24 coins 13–15 Av. 2.51 (16)
   *a BB-226 14 ← 2.58
   *b I-969 15 ↓ 2.62
   *c Z-275 15 ← 2.19
   *d Π-10 14 ↑ 3.30
   *e Δ-208 13 ¬ 2.74

[Similar.]

AΘ[Ε] below. Piglet stg. r. unpublished on mystic staff.

*40 T-1402 15 - broken

An unpublished but better-preserved example from the Dipylon Road excavations in the Kerameikos gives the full ethnic and shows that the reverse is unwreathed.

[38–40] 35 coins of uncertain Eleusinian or Athenian Piglet-on-mystic-staff variety.

ca. early or mid-330's–322/317 B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

A Θ Ω or variant. Double-bodied owl stg. on mystic staff; in each upper corner, olive spray.

41 16 coins 13–15 Av. 2.14
   *a Β'-830 13 ✓ 1.93 —
   *b Δ-267 15 ↓ 2.75 —
   *c PP-821 13 ← 2.81 Θ-Ω

The arrangement of the ethnic is legible only on 41c.

Similar.

Similar, except no symbol below the owl.

42 73 coins 11–15 Av. 1.75 (37)
   *a Σ-3088 14 ↑ 1.35 Θ-Ω
   *b ΒΓ-875 13 ↑ 1.41 Θ-Ε
   *c Π-507 15 ↑ 1.85 Θ-Ω
   *d ΣΤ-233 12 ¬ 1.12 —
   *e Λ-214 13 ↑ 1.73 Θ-Ω
   *f Φ-183 12 ¬ 1.62 — reverse type struck on both sides (cf. Sv. 22.52)

Similar.

Similar, except Eleusis ring below the owl.

43 169 coins 10–14 Av. 1.85 (65)
   *a Δ-207 12 ¬ 1.77 E-Θ
   *b NN-328 11 ↑ 1.71 E-Θ
   *c ΣΤ-97 13 → 2.20 E-Θ
   *d Κ-401 10 ¬ 2.21 —

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### ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: 4TH–1ST CENTURIES B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>a</strong></td>
<td>Ω-262</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>b</strong></td>
<td>Δ-270</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c</strong></td>
<td>NN-2122</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>d</strong></td>
<td>HH-27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>e</strong></td>
<td>ΑΑ-991</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>f</strong></td>
<td>ΠΘ-124</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>g</strong></td>
<td>Σ-3732</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>h</strong></td>
<td>Θ-274</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

| **a** | Ω-262 | 12 | 1.85 |
| **b** | Δ-270 | 11 | 1.96 |
| **c** | NN-2122 | 13 | 1.56 |
| **d** | HH-27 | 11 | 2.26 |
| **e** | ΑΑ-991 | 14 | 1.63 |
| **f** | ΠΘ-124 | 13 | 1.09 |
| **g** | Σ-3732 | 12 | 1.85 |

**Similar.** except presence of mystic staff or Eleusis ring below owl uncertain.

**[41–43] 721 coins of uncertain Double-bodied-owl variety.**

| **a** | Ω-262 | 12 | 1.85 |
| **b** | Δ-270 | 11 | 1.96 |
| **c** | NN-2122 | 13 | 1.56 |
| **d** | HH-27 | 11 | 2.26 |
| **e** | ΑΑ-991 | 14 | 1.63 |
| **f** | ΠΘ-124 | 13 | 1.09 |
| **g** | Σ-3732 | 12 | 1.85 |

**Similar.** except presence of mystic staff or Eleusis ring below owl uncertain.

**[41–43] a–c are illustrated for their good pi-style obverses, e–g since their flans had been clipped down, presumably before striking; d is nearly typeless. Most of these coins belong to variety 43.**

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**ca. 322/317–307 B.C.**

**Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet. AΘE below. Two owls stg. l. and r., facing; between them, Eleusis ring; all in olive wreath.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>44</strong></th>
<th>49 coins</th>
<th>13–15</th>
<th>Av. 2.70 (13)</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>a</strong></td>
<td>Θ-150</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.86</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>b</strong></td>
<td>Θ-787</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c</strong></td>
<td>H'-2245</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>d</strong></td>
<td>K-772</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>e</strong></td>
<td>T-920</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>f</strong></td>
<td>Α-417</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>g</strong></td>
<td>ΓΓ-37</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

**AΘ between. Two owls stg. l. and r., facing; plemochoe below; all in olive wreath.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>45</strong></th>
<th>34 coins</th>
<th>13–15</th>
<th>Av. 2.50 (16)</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>a</strong></td>
<td>Θ-206</td>
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<td><strong>b</strong></td>
<td>OE-43</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.15</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>c</strong></td>
<td>ΣΑ-373</td>
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<td>3.44</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>d</strong></td>
<td>Θ-396</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.71</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>e</strong></td>
<td>ΣΤ-586</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.71</td>
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<td><strong>f</strong></td>
<td>ΣΤ-209</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.83</td>
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**GrC, fig. 13**
PERIOD I: CATALOGUE

### 46

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<td>2.48</td>
<td>Kleiner 1975, p. 304, pl. 75, no. 22 (H–K 12–14)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Δ-31</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.99</td>
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<td>Γ-1208</td>
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<td>NN-2071</td>
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<td>2.29</td>
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<td>ΠΠ-358</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.30</td>
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<tr>
<td>K-1301</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>Kleiner 1975, p. 309, pl. 75, no. 158 (H–K 12–14)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ΣΤ'-511</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>broken</td>
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<td>T-1604</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>Kleiner 1975, p. 321, pl. 75, no. 298 (misclassified) (M–N 15:1)</td>
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<td>ΠΠ-89</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.78</td>
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<td>T-1015</td>
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<td>3.25</td>
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<td>E-473</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The small Athena heads and chunkier fabric of 46h–k set them apart from the normal examples of variety 46. One or more might be Attic-helmet variants of the 3rd-century variety 56 (Corinthian helmet/Two owls, A over Θ), although, as we see from the otherwise normal 46g, the vertical arrangement of the ethnic is not necessarily indicative of later issue.

### 47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coinage</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Weight (Av.)</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Σ-5061</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΠΠ-1000</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>(A 17:3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 44–47

368 coins of uncertain Attic helmet/Two-owls variety.

### 48

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coinage</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Weight (Av.)</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ω-183</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-1770</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB-892</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM-83</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ε-2406</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP-84</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΜΣ-186</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the unillustrated specimens with legible obverses, eight have Triptolemos seated, nine Triptolemos mounting.
Similar.

49 17 coins 13–15 Av. 2.40 (15)

Triptolemos mounting

*a PP-81 15 ↑ 2.35
*b ΜΣ-176 15 ↑ 2.32
*c K-290 15 2.22

Of the unillustrated specimens with legible obverses, two have Triptolemos seated, eight Triptolemos mounting.

307–ca. 300 B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet with three crests and, on visor, snake ornament.

50 251 coins 14–16 Av. 3.52 (86)

*a K-1616 14 ↓ 4.02
*b B'-1024 15 ↓ 3.83
*c ΠΘ-690 14 ↓ 3.46 (B 13:1)
*d K-1702 15 ↓ 3.05
*e Γ-149 15 ↓ 4.01
*f ΜΣ-238 14 ← 4.71 Kleiner 1975, p. 305, pl. 75, no. 49 (H–K 12–14)
*g Λ-410 15 3.79 Kleiner 1975, no. 43 (H–K 12–14); GRC, fig. 13
*h NN-2040 15 ← 3.36
*i ΠΠ-825 14 ↑ 4.31
*j Z-2995 14 ↓ 4.12
*k H'-2247 15 3.43

2 ΞΕ specimens from the A 18:8 hoard illustrated in EABC, pl. 17:10, 11

Triptolemos seated l. in chariot, as on 38 and 39.

51 39 coins 15–17 Av. 3.73 (33)

*a Ω-249 15 ↑ 4.24 Thompson 1942, pl. I:3; GRC, fig. 17
*b Θ-94 17 ↑ 4.22
*c ΠΘ-85 15 ↑ 4.04
*d ΣΑ-171 15 3.65
*e Β-374 15 3.26 (F 11:2)
*f ΜΣ-249 15 5.68 Kleiner 1975, p. 308, pl. 76, no. 134
*g ΒΒ-286 15 4.03

287–284 B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

52 37 coins 13–15 Av. 2.40 (18)

*a ΚΤΑ-57 15 ↑ 2.23
*b ΚΚ-134 15 2.51
*c ΜΣ-366 14 ↓ 2.80 Kleiner 1975, p. 305, pl. 75, no. 54 (H–K 12–14)
### PERIOD I: CATALOGUE

| *d | ΠΓ-97 | 14 ↑ 2.24 |
| *e | ΑΑ-507 | 13 ↓ 1.94 |

3 ΞΞ specimens in the A 18:8 hoard illustrated in *EABC*, pl. 17:15–15

#### 284–270’s B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Similar.</th>
<th>A-Θ Owl stg. r., facing; all in wheat wreath.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>201 coins 12–15 Av. 2.37 (87)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Ψ-193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>Ν-850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>ΜΣ-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>Δ-244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>Θ-403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*f</td>
<td>Γ-381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>ΞΞ-70a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*h</td>
<td>Λ-400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kleiner 1975, p. 305, pl. 75, no. 57 (H–K 12–14)

EABC, p. 150, pl. 17:16 (1 of 15 specimens from the A 18:8 hoard); see also EABC, pl. 17:21, 22, 25, 27, 30

Aberrant die cutting accounts for the retrograde ethnics of 53h and the unillustrated ΠΓ-420 and ΜΣ-327.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Similar.</th>
<th>A-Θ (or Θ-A) Owl stg. r. (or l), facing; all in olive wreath.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>38 coins 12–14 Av. 2.34 (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owl r. (36 coins)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>ΝΝ-2099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>ΞΞ-44d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>ΔΔ-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>ΝΝ-1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>Φ-349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owl l. (2 coins)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*f</td>
<td>ΝΝ-1719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g</td>
<td>ΟΟ-332</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A-Θ

EABC, p. 151, pl. 17:33 (1 of 6 specimens from the A 18:8 hoard); see also EABC, pl. 17:31, 32

A-Θ

Θ-Α; Kleiner 1976, p. 17, no. 86 (misclassified)

(Α-Β 19–20:1)

Triptolemos l., seated in or mounting chariot, as on 48 and 49.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Similar.</th>
<th>EΛΕΥΣΙ below. Piglet in wheat wreath, as on 51.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>59 coins 11–14 Av. 2.26 (46) Light variety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triptolemos seated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Σ-6467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>ΟΟ-510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>ΞΞ-45b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EABC, p. 151, pl. 17:47 (1 of 19 specimens from the A 18:8 hoard); see also EABC, pl. 17:46, 48, 51

Triptolemos mounting | |
| *d | ΜΣ-169 | 14 ↑ 2.06 |
| *e | Ε-1917 | 13 ↓ 2.47 |
Of the unillustrated specimens with legible obverses, 22 have Triptolemos seated, 32 Triptolemos mounting.

**UNCLASSIFIED**

Similar. Piglet stg. r. in wheat wreath; legend illegible.


ca. 270 B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Θ between. Two owls stg. l. and r., facing; all in olive wreath.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

56 10 coins 13–15 Av. 2.35 (8)

*A* Θ-785 13 † 2.07
*B* ΔΔ-11 13 † 2.81
*C* NN-1072 14 † 3.27
*D* ΞΞ-26 13 † 2.51
*E* NN-788 14 † 3.27
*F* ΔΛ-271 14 † 1.81
*G* ΜΣ-270 13 ✓ 2.31

EABC, p. 151, pl. 17:37 (A 18:8)

Θ only between owls. The alpha was probably positioned above and between their heads.

Θ only between owls, as 56e

A

ca. 270–261 B.C.

Similar.

A

Θ E Owl stg. r., facing; in field r., wreath.

57 24 coins 13–15 Av. 2.13 (14)

*A* NN-781 13 † 2.39
*B* ΞΞ-27 14 † 2.17
*C* ΞΞ-28a 14 † 2.56
*D* ΠA-8 14 † 2.15
*E* Γ-325 13 † 2.37
*F* Γ-981 14 † 2.41
*G* A-998 13 ✓ 1.56

GRC, fig. 13; Kleiner, MN 20, pl. I:7

EABC, p. 151, pl. 17:38 (A 18:8)

EABC, p. 151, pl. 17:39 (A 18:8)

Rotroff 1983, p. 291, pl. 57, no. 68 (H 6:9)

Similar.

Similar, except in field r., ear of wheat.

58 25 coins 13–15 Av. 2.27 (16)

*A* Ω-375 13 ✓ 2.44
*B* ΠΠ-322 13 ✓ 2.85
*C* Γ-654 14 † 1.97
*D* NN-1979 15 → 3.14
*E* H-2186 13 † 2.79

Sv. 24.58, 59

Sv. 24.76, 77

Sv. 22.78, 79
PERIOD I: CATALOGUE

59  19 coins  12–14  Av. 2.35 (11)
*a  BA-56  13 ↑  2.46  *b  OO-815  13 →  2.55  *c  A-686  14 →  2.22  *d  II-629  13 ←  3.02  *e  OE-42  13 ↑  2.04

Similar.
Similar, except in field r., cornucopia.
Sv. 22.73, 74

60  ΠΘ-698  16 ↘  2.90

Similar.
Similar, except field r., cornucopia.
Sv. 22.75

[57–60] 146 coins of uncertain owl-r.-with-symbol variety.

a  ΥΞΞ-28b  14 ↘ -  EABC, p. 151, pl. 17:40 (A 18:8)
b  ΛΛ-50  14 - -  worn and cut to triangular shape

UNCLASSIFIED

Similar.
Similar, except symbol at r. illegible.


The total excludes an estimated several hundred coins that in the 1930’s were identified and entered in the field notebooks as “3rd century B.C. Owl r.” but which were subsequently discarded as being insufficiently legible.

3rd century B.C., undated

Head of Demeter r., wearing [ΕΛΕΥΣΙ] above. Plemochoe wheat wreath.
Sv. 103.29–32

61  T-206  15 ↑  3.22  too worn for illustration

Evidently an isolated emission of limited mintage. Published specimens have diameters of 13–15 mm.; Cavaignac gives two weights: 3.12 g. and 3.34 g. By diameter and weight, the issue might seem to fall between the heavy and light Wreathed-piglet, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ varieties 51 and 55, to which it is related through its five-letter ethnic and wreathed reverse. Alternatively, since the emission could (like 51) have been struck with “reformed” diameter and weight, a position after the light Wreathed piglets is also possible and would better suit the changed Eleusinian types.

261–229 B.C.

Two superimposed piglets A-E on either side of upright mystic staff; all in olive wreath.
Sv. 103.42–46

62  21 coins  13–14  Av. 2.21 (12)
*a  Ω-101  14 ↓  2.19
*b  ΣΛ-10  14 ←  2.15  Thompson 1942, pl. I:4; Kleiner 1975, p. 316, pl. 75, no. 233 (Q–R 10–11:1)
*c  II-240  14 ↑  2.37
*d  NN-2035  13 ↑  2.50
ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: 4TH–1ST CENTURIES B.C.

When publishing this very worn coin, Margaret Thompson read AΘE on the obverse and ΕΑΕ on the reverse. While the suggestions of obverse letters could result from random pittings in the surface, the suggestions, especially of the theta, are undeniable (see Thompson's pl. I:5). The obverse AΘΕ is paralleled on Sv. 103.41, a variant of 62 in the Numismatic Collection of Athens. A second specimen of the present variety (at the American Numismatic Society, Inv. 1944.100.26047, 12 mm., 1.75 g.), being even more worn, confirms only the reading of the downwards ΕΑΕ on the reverse. Both specimens are overstrikes, as seen from the broken relief of their upright mystic staffs.

PERIOD II

229–ca. 183 B.C.

When the Macedonian monarchy was suddenly weakened by the death of King Demetrios II in 229 B.C., the Athenians entered into negotiations with the Macedonian commander of the Peiraeus for the evacuation of his garrisons from the forts of Attica. Raising the agreed-upon price of 150 talents, the city purchased its freedom later in the year and slowly began to recover a measure of her past brilliance as one of the more influential and prosperous states of old Greece. As in many other areas of Athenian public life, the liberation of 229 had a profound impact on the coinage. The traditional owl silver was soon refurbished in a new series of drachms and tetradrachms with emission symbols and gradually shed its old-fashioned appearance to evolve in the 2nd century into the ornate, wide-flan New Style coinage. Yet the modernization of the bronze coinage was, if anything, swifter, more dramatic, and more expressive of the forward-looking spirit of the new age, as the bronze began to serve as a medium for a more varied nationalistic iconography and was for the first time issued in several complementary denominations.

The established AE 3 unit of Period I, although continued in three modest Period II emissions (65, 67, and 77; see Table II, pp. 322–323 below), was joined and eclipsed by more substantial and frequent strikings in the larger AE 2 and smaller AE 4 modules, the former taken over from the Pan-erecting-trophy bronzes of Antigonos Gonatas (507). As explained (p. 38 above), the three basic denominations are to be recognized as the chalkous (AE 4), the dichalkon/tetartemorion (AE 3), and the hemiobol (AE 2).

A fourth modular unit was employed only in the earlier phase of Period II. This is the much larger (20–22 mm.) and heavier (8–10 g.) AE 1, which would logically represent the bronze obol were it not that the unit was introduced in variety 64 with the traditional types of the Athenian silver triobol: Athena head in Attic helmet/Upright facing owl between two pendent olive branches. Ordinarily one might be skeptical whether these triobol types were intended to retain their denominational meaning when transferred to a bronze coin, but in the present instance the case for transferred denominational significance is unusually strong.

65 Plutarch, Aratus 34; Pausanias 2.8.6.
In all Athenian coinage no reverse type was more closely associated with a common monetary value than the erect, frontal owl framed by olive sprays and a triangularly arranged ethnic. The type was created for Athens' first triobols in the second half of the 5th century (12). Through the pi-style silver of the later 4th century, the triobol with its characteristic reverse was one of the more heavily minted denominations below the tetradrachm. And although we do not know if any triobols were struck with the quadridigité drachms and tetradrachms in the early 3rd century, Svoronos illustrates two silver triobols with the unmistakable obverse style of certain heterogeneous drachms and tetradrachms from later in the century.66 The heterogeneous triobols were probably struck by Athens; but whether they were or not, they bring the association of reverse type and value into the 240's or 230's, after which triobols vanish from the pre-New Style silver, their types having been transferred to the heavy new AE 1 bronze. There is consequently every good reason to infer that the AE 1 bronzes with triobol types were intended to replace triobols in silver.67 In this connection it must be significant that the types were employed on bronze coins only when the AE 1 module was introduced. Once the value of the AE 1 pieces had become familiar, denominational types were discontinued in favor of more contemporary designs depicting a head of Zeus or Artemis on obverses and the statue of Athena Polias on reverses (66, 68). Significance, too, must be attached to the circumstance that all these AE 1 coins were eventually counterstamped with the device of a plemochoe on both sides, doubtless to devalue them to the level of the Demeter/Plemochoe AE 2 pieces (72–74) in a tacit recognition that the highly overvalued bronze triobols had outlived their usefulness as a substitute for silver. The striking of triobols in silver returned in the 2nd century with the advent of the stephanephoric coinage.

Close stylistic similarities between the silver drachms with symbols (p. 13 above), the first AE 1 triobol variety 64, and the contemporary AE 3 Two-owl variety 65 (note especially what seems to be an aplustre helmet ornament on 65a) affirm that the two bronze varieties date within the last three decades of the 3rd century. But because the AE 1 triobols were almost certainly issued to replace silver triobols already in circulation, their inception may reasonably be attributed to 229 and related to the 150 talents of silver that the Athenians then raised to purchase their freedom from the Macedonian garrisons in the Peiraeus and the other forts of Attica. Aratos and the Achaian League gave Athens 20 talents toward this end,68 and it is usually assumed that another substantial gift was solicited from Ptolemy Euergetes. Athens obtained loans of perhaps as much as 20 talents from the cities of Boiotia and relied heavily on contributions from her wealthier citizens and friends.69 It now appears that another source was tapped by withdrawing a quantity of silver from circulation, all triobols certainly but possibly some silver in larger denominations as well, through an exchange with the bronze triobols, more or less as Athens had done with the plated bronze drachms and tetradrachms of 406/5 B.C. (pp. 7–8 above).

Period II thus begins with the AE 1 triobols in 229. The end of the period is archaeologically fixed by the great construction fill of the Middle Stoa in the Agora (Deposit H–K 12–14). The 189

66 Sv. 21.51, 52 (see note 47 above, p. 12). Sv. 24.28 = BMCAttica, pl. V:15, is another 3rd-century b.c. silver triobol but with an Athena head that has its closest parallels in the tetrobols 29a, b. The tremendous scale of triobol striking in the later 4th century can be appreciated from the 64 triobols in the 89-piece Peiraeus 1956 hoard, IGCH 127 (Thompson 1957).

67 The inscribed bronze ТΡΙΩΒΟΛΩ struck by Samothrace (Hunter I, p. 388, no. 1, pl. 26:7: 10.4 g., 24 mm.) is of AE 1 size but belongs probably to the 1st century B.C., to judge from the broken-bar alpha of the ethnic.

68 Plutarch, Aratus 34.

69 Habicht, Studien, pp. 79–81, for full documentation and discussion.
identifiable coins excavated from the fill give a nearly complete run of Athenian bronze from the middle of the 4th century down to the closing of the fill ca. 183 B.C.70 Observing in his publication of the coins in the Middle Stoa fill that later bronze varieties do not show up in Agora deposits until after the middle of the 2nd century, Kleiner deduced that the minting of bronze was suspended between ca. 183 and ca. 140 B.C.72 There can be no doubt that minting was interrupted at the end of Period II, presumably because continued production was judged unnecessary; but since the Period III strikings probably began in the 160’s (pp. 67–68 below), the lacuna will have lasted for only about two decades.

The Period II bronze is unusually rich in features that tie particular emissions to episodes in the political history of Athens during the late 3rd and early 2nd centuries B.C. The chronology presented in Table II (pp. 322–323 below) has been reconstructed from the following interlocking considerations:

1. As in the owls of the late 3rd–early 2nd-century B.C. silver, there was an abrupt modification in the form of the owls on the Period II bronze. Except in the AE 4 variety 81, Owl on thunderbolt, all the Period II owls have heads designed like those on the drachms and tetradrachms with symbols (p. 13 above): heads have little or no feathering, beaks are long and frequently joined to the brow, eyes are relatively large. The exceptional owl heads of the Owl-on-thunderbolt pieces, with small, dot-shaped eyes sunken deeply below an enlarged, bulbous forehead, are, on the other hand, identical to the owl heads of the New Style silver and the final, spread-flan Old Style tetradrachms with monograms (p. 13 above). The Owl-on-thunderbolt AE 4 should thus belong relatively late in Period II, surely to the early 2nd century rather than to the late 3rd, as should the AE 2 Standing Zeus issues (78–80) with which the pieces depicting an owl on Zeus’s thunderbolt were presumably minted.

2. That the AE 2 Standing Zeus coinage belongs after the turn of the century follows from a previously unremarked detail of its earliest obverse dies. Throughout most of the coinage, the Athena on the obverse wears a Corinthian helmet. The first issue, however, began with an Athena in an Attic helmet ornamented with a wing (see 78a, b and Sv. 80.1–3), which at once brings to mind the winged helmet worn by the goddess Roma on the early denarius coinage of Rome.73 Certain Archaic electrum of Kyzikos and Priene and later bronze or silver issues of Kamarina, Velia, and Metapontion also depict Athena in a winged helmet.74 But the very rarity and remoteness

70 The date is derived from the abundant wine-jar handles in the deposit; see Grace 1985, pp. 1–54, with Grace and M. Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, “Les timbres amphoriques grecs,” Delos XXVII, pp. 289–291, 317–319. Over 1,200 (84 percent) of the Middle Stoa stamped handles belong to the well-dated Rhodian and Knidian series, whose chronologies in the early 2nd century are anchored to 188 B.C. through the hypothesis that the introduction of secondary stamps on the Rhodian handles and the simultaneous appearance of named phoukaros on the Knidian follow upon Rhodes’ takeover of the Carian coast in that year. In light of the ancillary chronological evidence assembled by Grace, the hypothesis seems inescapable. The latest stamped handles in the Middle Stoa fill come down to about five years after the start of the Rhodian secondary stamps and the Knidian phoukaros and so date the closing of the deposit to around 183 (Grace 1985, pp. 8–9, 14–15; Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, op. cit., p. 291, stating “183 or 182 B.C.”).

71 Kleiner 1975, pp. 304–307: deposits I and II. The three Period II coinages that are missing from the deposit are the AE 1 triobol variety 64, the AE 2 Zeus/Amphora variety 76, and the rare AE 3 Owl left with amphora 77.


73 Crawford, RRC, nos. 44/5, 45/1, 46/1, etc.

74 LIMC II, s.v. Athêna Aillé, p. 964 and pl. 711, nos. 64 (Kyzikos) and 65 (?Priene). U. Westermark and K. Jenkins, The Coinage of Kamarina, London 1980, pp. 220–224, pls. 35, 36, nos. 198–205 (AE, 420–405 B.C.); SNGCoS, Italy 1560, 1561, 1575–1577, 1583, 1584 (Velia silver, 4th–3rd centuries B.C.); and 1241 (Metapontion silver, “Hannibalic Period, c. 212–07 B.C.”). The last coin probably owes its winged helmet to the denarius. The winged helmet on the denarius and its relation to the winged helmet of Perseus on the coinage of King Philip V of Macedon is discussed by Boehringer,
of such comparanda make it highly probable that the helmet wing on the Athenian bronze is a borrowing from the denarii, which, first struck in 212 or 211 B.C., must have been reaching Athens, if only in sample numbers, during the Second Macedonian War (200–197 B.C.). Not only did Athens ally herself with Rome, Pergamon, and Rhodes in the spring of 200 at the beginning of the war, but for its duration a detachment of Roman soldiers was stationed in Athens to defend against Macedonian attack, while the Peiraeus served as the base of operations for the Roman fleet.75 In these circumstances, the borrowing of the helmet wing will date after the spring of 200 and should, indeed, be understood as a complimentary reference to Rome, the new champion of Athenian independence.

3. A winged helmet (on which the wing is more pointed and closer to the Roman prototype) is worn also by Athena of the AE 3 variety 77, Owl left with amphora, and places this rare variety, too, after the spring of 200. The variety must fall between that date and the start of the Owl-on-thunderbolt AE 4 (and the Standing Zeus AE 2 of 78–80); for, as seen from the better-preserved examples of the Owl-left emission in Svoronos (Sv. 22.89–92), the owls have heads of Old Style design with large eyes. This Owl-left AE 3 is linked to the AE 2 variety 76, Zeus/Amphora, through the olive-wreath border on the reverses of both issues, a feature that occurs nowhere else in the Period II bronze. Since the reverse type of a large Panathenaic amphora on the AE 2 coins suggests that they were probably struck in conjunction with a celebration of the Greater Panathenaia, the accompanying Owl-left AE 3 with its winged helmet and adjunct Panathenaic amphora may be dated to 198 B.C., when the festival was held for the first time after the alliance with Rome.

4. Following after a short interval, the Athena in winged helmet/Standing Zeus AE 2 (and the start of the Owl-on-thunderbolt AE 4) can plausibly be associated with Flamininus’ victory over Philip V in 197 at the conclusion of the Second Macedonian War and his policy, announced a year later at the Isthmian Games, of guaranteeing freedom for all Greeks. The policy, it is true, brought no special benefits to the Athenians, who were already free, but enthusiasm for Flamininus must have run high, if only for his defeat of the hated Philip. The acclamations he received elsewhere as Savior and Liberator replicated the cult titles of Zeus Soter-Eleutherios at Athens and Plataia and point to an association of Flamininus with this cult, as Walbank noticed.76 Given the Roma helmet on its first obverses and the very limited time in the early 2nd century available for this issue, it is reasonable to suppose that the Standing Zeus on the reverse of the coins actually depicts the Athenian statue of Zeus Soter-Eleutherios, as discussed below.

This in turn leaves the final type change of the AE 2 unit to the Fulminating Zeus reverse in variety 82 to fall around 190 B.C., that is, about midway between 196 and ca. 183.

5. Athens’ long and important series of AE 2 issues began with the overstriking of the Panteleukis-trophy AE 2 of Antigonos Gonatas (507) by variety 69, whose reverse of Owl three-quarters right, wings raised, with amphora, was copied from the pentobol silver struck during the Chremonidean War (28, see pp. 10–11 above). Intended to remove the Macedonian bronze from circulation, the overstriking was, as Habicht pointed out, unlikely to have been enacted before Athens

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75 For documentation, mostly in Livy, and a vivid narrative of the Roman presence at Athens during the Second Macedonian War, see Ferguson, pp. 270–279, esp. 278–279.
broke free of Macedonian control in 229 B.C. The overstriking apparently belongs in fact a number of years after 229. Working back from the AE 2 issues of the early 2nd century, the AE 2 issues with the Eleusinian Demeter/Plemochoe types take their place roughly in the last one or two decades of the 3rd century, leaving the two Owl three-quarters right issues and the overstriking over Gonatas to date in the 210’s or later 220’s. Because of the historical associations of the reverse of the Owl three-quarters right with amphora with the Chremonidean War pentobols, which were struck to pass as Ptolemaic drachms and may have actually been called ράχια Πτολεμαίαλ, it follows that the type was revived for the overstriking more for its pro-Egyptian than for its anti-Macedonian implications. Accordingly, the overstriking should date to or just after 224/3 B.C., the year in which the Athenians reestablished close political and cultural ties to the Egyptian court and honored Ptolemy Euergetes as the eponymous hero of a new Athenian tribe.

6. Each of the later AE 2 coinages of Period II was accompanied by its own small-denomination variety: the Fulminating Zeus AE 2 by the Cicada/Amphora AE 4 (see under 85), the Standing Zeus AE 2 by the Owl-on-thunderbolt AE 4 (p. 50 above), the Zeus/Amphora AE 2 by the Owl-left-with-amphora AE 3 (p. 51 above), and the Demeter/Plemochoe AE 2 by the Plemochoe/Eleusis-ring AE 4. It follows that the earliest AE 2 coinage, Owl three-quarters right, was probably accompanied by the earliest AE 4 variety, Owl on rudder (71). An issue of the drachms with symbols (Sv. 23.41, 42; see p. 13 above) also has its owl perched on a rudder, which doubled on the drachms as an emission symbol. But we should probably interpret the rudder of both coinages as the metaphorical rudder of government (κυβέρνησις), the owl as the helmsman (κυβερνήτης), and the whole device as an eloquent, if modest, emblem of Athenian autonomy.

7. Mention has already been made of the relatively short-lived AE 1 triobols that were inaugurated in 229 B.C. with triobol types (64). The series passed through two type changes (66: Zeus head/Athena Polias, and 68: Artemis head/Athena Polias) before all the AE 1 pieces were counterstamped on both sides with a plemochoe device to devalue them to equivalence with the Demeter/Plemochoe AE 2 hemiobols. Dating with the latter, the Plemochoe/Plemochoe counterstamping occurred between ca. 220 and ca. 200, so that the bronze triobols must have circulated for at least a decade before devaluation. This is understandable enough in view of what must have been a serious shortage of silver in Athens after 229 and the continuing obligation of the city to repay the sizable debts it contracted in that year. Not that this highly overvalued bronze would have necessarily retained its face value for a decade or more; over time its value in relation to silver may very well have declined. Even if the coins were ultimately passing as bronze obols, their continuation would probably have been justified. The Athena Polias AE 1 with the Artemis obverse was produced for a long enough time for its reverses to pass from a phase of fine die engraving and a dotted border to a stylistically cursory phase without the border (cf. Sv. 25.10). The variety, for all one can tell, may have been issued after the AE 2 overstriking on Gonatas. On the other

77 Habicht, Studien, pp. 42, 148, note 137, correcting my earlier suggestion (EABC, p. 144, note 9) that the overstriking might have been precipitated by Antigonus’ death in 239. Stressing Athens’ strict policy of neutrality towards Macedon between 229 and Philip V’s invasion of Attica in the fall of 201, Habicht (Studien, pp. 146–150) proposed to connect the overstriking with the damnatio memoriae that the Athenians passed against King Philip and all his ancestors in 201 or a year or two later. But so late a date for the overstriking would compress the first seven AE 2 issues of Period II within an impossibly short space of only four or five years and cannot be accepted.

78 The honors and the evidence for the 224/3 date are reviewed by Habicht, Studien, pp. 105–112, and, in connection with the sudden vogue in Athens for moldmade bowls imitating Alexandrine prototypes, by Rotroff, Agora XXII, pp. 11–13.

hand, the Zeus/Athena Polias variety \textit{66} (fine style, dotted reverse border) was accompanied by the AE 3 variety \textit{67} (also with a dotted border on the reverse) and presumably antedates the Owl three-quarters right AE 2 and Owl-on-rudder AE 4.

\textit{Iconographical Symbolism}

Conspicuous in this review of types is the fresh and sometimes politically charged iconography that sets the Period II bronze apart from the monotony of all preceding Athenian coinage. Even otherwise conventional owl or Athena-head types were given an original, topical twist, as when the Chremonidean War owl with lifted wings and amphora was revived for the overstriking of the Macedonian bronze of Antigonus Gonatas (\textit{69}), the owl of the first AE 4 reverse was made to grasp the rudder of state (\textit{71}), or Athena's helmet was embellished with a wing alluding to the goddess Roma, as it was during and just after the Second Macedonian War (\textit{77, 78}).

A more explicit expression of Athenian independence and nationalism is found on the AE 1 obverses picturing the statue of the chief tutelary deity of the city, Athena Polias or, as the goddess was also known, Athena Archegetis (Founder).\textsuperscript{80} The coins of varieties \textit{66} and \textit{68} afford the only extant visual documentation in any medium for this statue, but the identification with the ancient olive-wood xoanon that was housed in the Erechtheion and dressed each Panathenaia in a newly woven peplos seems certain from the inscribed inventories of the gold ornaments of the image, which included a phiale in one of the goddess' hands and a gold owl supported at shoulder level, precisely as the coins show.\textsuperscript{81} The image on the coins, too, wears a Corinthian helmet, presumably the removable "sacred helmet" on the Akropolis mentioned by Aristophanes.\textsuperscript{82} One suspects that the venerable Polias image was conceived on the coins as a kind of response to the archaistic statue of Athena brandishing a thunderbolt that Antigonus Gonatas placed on the reverses of his drachms and tetradrachms. This Athena is identified as the statue of Athena Alkis, or Alkidamos, that stood in the Macedonian capital of Pella.\textsuperscript{83} The reverse of a fighting archaistic Athena had earlier appeared on satrapal tetradrachms of Ptolemy I and on staters of Demetrios Poliorketes and so had a long association with Macedonian royalty.\textsuperscript{84} It was very probably this association that inspired the Athenians to place the image of their own national Athena cult on the reverses of their coins soon after the Macedonian occupation of Attica ended in 229.

Two Athenian emblems, the Panathenaic amphora and the cicada, make their earliest appearances as coin types in the Period II bronze. The cicada first occurs on the Cicada/Amphora AE 4

\textsuperscript{80} I\textit{bid.}, p. 69.
\textsuperscript{81} I\textit{bid.}, pp. 65–72. Implicitly rejecting the epigraphical testimonia, Ira S. Mark ("The Ancient Image and Naiskos of Athena Polias: The Ritual Setting on a Late Fifth-Century Acropolis Relief" [lecture, San Antonio 1986], abstract in \textit{AJA} 91, 1987, pp. 287–288) alternatively identified the Polias with the xoanon depicted on the relief, O. Walter, \textit{Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolis-museum in Athen}, Vienna 1923, no. 76. But even if we could be sure that the xoanon on the relief held a phiale and an owl, the owl would be positioned at the goddess' waist, not her shoulder as the inscriptions require. Nor does the xoanon wear the golden gorgoneion that was part of the Polias ensemble since before 480 b.c. (Plutarch, \textit{Themistokles} 10, with the inscribed inventories), although a gorgoneion is to be found on the breast of the Athena who sits below the xoanon on the relief. The very presence of this Athena implies that the xoanon was an image of another deity altogether, as Walter says.
\textsuperscript{84} Brett 1950, pl. XI. Lacroix, pp. 116–121, pl. VII:5, 6; \textit{LIMC} II, s.v. Athéna Promachos, p. 973, pls. 722, 723, nos. 158, 159, 162.
ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: 4TH–1ST CENTURIES B.C.

(85) around 190 B.C. and goes on to become one of the more popular designs of the bronze coinage in the later 2nd and earlier 1st centuries B.C. (cf. 100, 108, 113, 131). From Thucydides (1.6.3) and Aristophanes (Knights, line 1331) we know that the Athenians of old used to fasten their hair with gold brooches in the form of a cicada, and the scholia on the Knights explain why: born, like the Athenians, from the earth, cicadas symbolized Athenian autochthony.85 The Hellenistic revival of this ancient symbol and the elevation of the cicada to a quasi-official status within the repertory of Athenian state emblems are a prime expression of what has been called in the context of other antiquarian revivals of 2nd-century B.C. Athens “the outbreak of sentimental nationalism which accompanied the Roman conquest of Greece.”86 The use of the Panathenaic amphora as a reverse type in the Zeus/Amphora AE 2 (76) seems to have been suggested by the Eleusinian vessel on the reverses of the preceding Demeter/Plemochoe emissions (72–74).

In contrast to these new Athenian types, the Demeter/Plemochoe AE 2 and Plemochoe/Eleusis-ring-in-wheat-wreath AE 4 (72–75) draw on the established designs and symbols of the earlier Eleusinian coinage. But in Period II the bronze with Eleusinian types, no longer bearing the ΕΑΕΥΣΙ legend, is fully incorporated into the mainstream of the regular bronze coinage and (as shown by the AE 2 overstriking) interrupts the sequence of issues with Athenian devices, instead of being struck in tandem, as earlier. The abrupt shift from Athenian to Eleusinian types in the last quarter of the 3rd century is awkward to explain, unless it arose from an expansion in the importance and size of the Eleusinian festivals about a decade or so after 229.87

The major innovation of the Period II iconography is the recognition extended to deities other than Athena and Demeter. By priority and frequency Zeus is the principal newcomer. Portrayed soon after 229 on the obverse of the first of the two AE 1 varieties with the Athena Polias reverse (66), the Zeus probably represents, as the historical context suggests, Zeus Soter-Eleutherios.88 The Artemis whose head is substituted for the head of Zeus on the next, and last, AE 1 variety (68) may accordingly be recognized as Artemis Soteira or, if the reference is to the liberation of Mounychia from the Macedonian garrison, Artemis Mounychia.89 After this single appearance, Artemis disappears from the coinage until after Athens gained control of Delos in 167/6. When she is met again in variety 104 (Period III), the reference is doubtless to her Delian cult.

Zeus, on the other hand, becomes ever more entrenched as Period II progresses. Reintroduced on the AE 2 Zeus head/Amphora variety 76, the god was transferred to the reverses of issues 78–80, there depicted in the form of an Early Classical statue of a nude standing Zeus holding a lowered

87 Compare the program for increasing international participation at the Mysteries in the second quarter of the 4th century (pp. 29, 30 above), when the Eleusinian coinage originated. An Athenian decree of the late 3rd century (B. Helly, Gonnoi II, Amsterdam 1973, pp. 120–127, no. 109) deals with the international announcements of the three major Athenian festivals (the Eleusinia, the Panathenaia, and the Mysteries) showing that Athens was at this time passing legislation to restore her festivals to their former brilliance. The seriousness with which the Mysteries were being conducted at this time is underscored by the execution in 201 of two young Akarnanians who viewed the rites without being initiated, executions that led to Philip V’s invasion of Attica shortly thereafter (Livy 31.14.6; Polybios 16.35.5).

A third “Eleusinian” issue, so rare that no specimen has turned up in the Agora, should probably also belong to Period II rather than III, the only chronological alternative. This is the AE 4 (11 mm.) Sv. 103.47–49: Triptolemos seated left in winged chariot ΑΘΕ in a triangular arrangement around a plemochoe, wheat ear at right.

thunderbolt at his right side, his left arm extending straight out from the shoulder in a gesture of authority. This statue was then replaced on the remaining AE 2 reverses (82–84) by another, which represents the god in the more conventional Late Archaic–Early Classical schema of a striding Zeus brandishing the thunderbolt in his upraised right hand; an eagle is added at his feet.

Both statue types recur in the later bronze coinage. The final Period II AE 2 format of Athena wearing Corinthian helmet/Fulminating Zeus was revived in the second half of the 2nd century B.C. for the last eight AE 2 issues of Period III (90–97); and the striding, Fulminating Zeus reverse (although here with the eagle on the wrist of the god's extended left arm) was again revived at the start of the AE 1 series that began after the Battle of Philippi in 42/1 B.C. (137). Historically, however, the Standing Zeus was the more important statue. Chosen first for representation on the Period II reverses, it reappears as a reverse type shortly after the Battle of Actium (148) and, a full three hundred years later, on a single reverse die of the huge Period VI Athenian imperial coinage of the 260's after Christ.

A third statue of Zeus on Athenian coins is not strictly relevant to our understanding of these two statues but has nevertheless led scholars to identify one or the other of them as Zeus Polieus. This third statue is known from one reverse die in the Period VB imperial coinage of Hadrianic or Antonine date (175) and from one reverse die in the Period VI imperial coinage a little more than a century later (357). It is of a Zeus standing before a low, gabled altar ornamented with a boukranion, his left hand extended down over the altar in the ritual act of sprinkling, his right hand (like that of the Standing Zeus on the Period II and IV reverses) hanging at his side, holding a thunderbolt at a 45-degree tilt. Portrayed on the Hadrianic-Antonine reverse at a relatively large scale and with what must be a considerable fidelity to the style of the original, the Sacrificing Zeus is a handsome figure and since the middle of the 19th century has been customarily associated with one of the two statues that Pausanias (1.24.2) saw in the sanctuary of Zeus Polieus on the Akropolis: “the one by

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90 That the statue is Early Classical is clear from its similarity to the Early Classical Apollo from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, who also lifts one arm straight out in a commanding gesture while carrying his attribute and weapon down at his side in his other hand; see Boardman, Greek Sculpture, figs. 19, 21:3. Although both arms are broken below the shoulders, the copy of an Early Classical Zeus assigned to the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia (Bol, pp. 187–190, pls. 59–61, no. 48; R. Bol and P. Herz, “Zum Kultbild des Zeus Panhellenios. Möglichkeiten der Identifikation und Rezeption,” in Greek Renaissance [pp. 89–95, pl. 28], p. 89) seems to have been posed more or less like the West Pediment Apollo. Closer to the Athenian Standing Zeus with perpendicular left arm is the statue of a nude Zeus at Olympia depicted on Elian coins from the time of Hadrian (Liegie, pp. 110–111, pl. 4:6), but the left leg of this statue is more bent, and there is an eagle perched on the god's left wrist.

91 The die is known from two unpublished coins, one at the American Numismatic Society, the other in the Evelpides Collection, Athens.

92 Publications describe, and sometimes illustrate with a restored drawing, the Zeus as holding a phiale; cf. BMCAttica, p. 104, no. 755, and the drawings and citations collected in Cook, Zeus, pp. 572–573, figs. 399, 400. But as Cook's own excellent drawing (Zeus, fig. 402) of the British Museum specimen (BMCAttica, pl. xviii:5; Sv. 92.6) shows, the god's hand is empty and is turned palm down with the thumb below the fingers. All examples of this imperial Period VB reverse are from the same die, and an unpublished, relatively unworn specimen at the American Numismatic Society confirms the details of the down-turned hand and the presence of a boukranion on the altar. When this reverse type was copied on a die of the Period VI coinage (357 = Sv. 92.7 = Cook, Zeus, p. 573, fig. 403), an eagle was added on Zeus's left wrist. Like a number of Period VI variations of Period V dies, the eagle must be attributed to the whim of the Period VI copyist, who apparently misunderstood the gesture of the god's left hand.

93 Because the pose of the Standing Zeus with perpendicular arm is similar to that of the Sacrificing Zeus in all general respects except for the elevation and action of the left arm, it was once suggested that the two reverse types represent the original and a modified version of the same cult statue, whose left arm was readjusted or replaced in a putative renovation or copy of the image between ca. 30 B.C. and the 2nd century after Christ. See J. H. Kroll, “The Standing Zeus on Athenian Coins and the Cult of Zeus Eleutherios in the Athenian Agora” (lecture, Boston 1989), abstract in AJA 94, 1990, p. 336. But this suggestion, unlikely enough in its own right, is disproven by the reappearance of the Standing Zeus with straight arm and without altar on the Period VI reverse (note 92 above).
Leochares and the one called Polieus.” As the former is the only Athenian statue of the god for which we have the name of a sculptor, commentators equated it with the Sacrificing Zeus of the imperial coinage, while leaving the Fulminating Zeus (or the Standing Zeus with perpendicular arm) to be identified with the presumably older cult image of Zeus Polieus. Since the Polieus cult is known almost exclusively for its curious and primitive rite of bull sacrifice, the Bouphonia, a source of much learned interest in antiquity as today, it has been suggested that the altar in front of the Zeus on the imperial coins may be the very altar at which this ritual took place and that the same altar is depicted by itself on another imperial Period V reverse (203). Like the altar on the Sacrificing Zeus coins, the last altar is depicted with an ornamental boukranion, although its top is flat, not gabled, and it supports a second boukranion and two flanking sacrificial vessels. Since there is an olive tree at either side, the altar was located on the Akropolis.

If the altar before the Sacrificing Zeus and this Akropolis altar are the same, the Sacrificing Zeus would have to be one of the statues connected with Zeus Polieus. So the reasoning goes. But it all may be fantasy. Georg Lippold rightly disputed the simplistic connection with the 4th-century B.C. sculptor Leochares on the grounds that the Sacrificing Zeus on the coins is not consonant with the characteristics of Leochares’ art. The Severe or Early Classical pose of the Sacrificing Zeus, with shoulders back, both feet flat on the ground, implies that the image antedated Leochares by more than a century. The altar between olive trees should be the great altar of Athena on the Akropolis, not an altar of Zeus. Apart from the Athena symbolism of the olive trees, Greek altars were commonly ornamented with the sculptured skulls of sacrificed victims, regardless of the divinity worshipped. Although the Sacrificing Zeus must have been located next to an altar, the depiction of the altar need not imply a specific cultic tradition like the Bouphonia. Thus, while an equation of Sacrificing Zeus with a statue in the shrine of Zeus Polieus is not impossible, neither is there any compelling reason to recommend it.

There is therefore even less reason to extend the Polieus equation to the Standing or Fulminating Zeus statues on the coins of the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C. To judge from the silence of literary and epigraphical sources, the cult of Zeus Polieus seems never to have been incorporated into the political ideology of the Athenian state; and, for this reason alone, the god would be strangely out of place on the Hellenistic coinage. A much stronger case can be made for identifying one of the Zeuses on the Hellenistic coins with the image of the Athenian political cult of Zeus par excellence, the cult of Zeus Soter-Eleutherios. As has long been appreciated, this image, which stood on a pedestal in front of the Stoa of Zeus in the Agora, must have been an Early Classical statue. In Roman times


96 Overbeck, loc. cit. (note 94 above); BMCAttica, p. 104.

97 Sv., pl. 87, caption to nos. 42, 43: “autel de Zeus.” BMCAttica, p. 111, no. 816, just calls it an altar.

98 RE XII, col. 1996, s.v. Leochares.

99 Compare the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo and the Riace Bronze Warrior (A); Boardman, Greek Sculpture, figs. 38, 67.

100 P. M. Fraser (Rhodian Funerary Monuments, Oxford 1977, pls. 42, 43, 64–91) illustrates dozens of square and round altars sculptured with boukrania. For a large rectangular one to Dionysos, see Cook, Zeus, p. 579, fig. 404.

101 Thus since H. A. Thompson’s epochal “Buildings on the West Side of the Agora” (Hesperia 6, 1937 [pp. 1–226], p. 54, fig. 34 = Camp, p. 106, fig. 79), the statue on the round pedestal before the Stoa of Zeus has been hypothetically restored
the cult of Zeus Eleutherios took on a new political-religious significance as a medium for expressing Athens' devotion to Rome: in the early Julio-Claudian era an annex for an imperial cult was added at the rear of the Stoa of Zeus, and there is evidence that the emperors Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius were all formally identified or very closely associated with Zeus Eleutherios, a record apparently unmatched by any other Athenian deity.102

The argument for identifying the Standing Zeus with the cult image of Zeus Eleutherios comes from the date of the AE 2 issue 78, on which the statue type was introduced. The issue was struck soon after 198 B.C. but six issues before ca. 183 B.C. (pp. 50–51 above). The limits point to the 190's and a close association with the defeat of Philip in 197 and Flamininus' liberation declaration of 196, associations reinforced by the winged helmet of Roma worn by Athena on the earliest obverses of the issue. In 196 the Thessalians memorialized their liberation from Macedon by establishing at Larissa a cult of Zeus Eleutherios and a quadrennial festival, the Eleutheria. At the Macedonian cities of Abdera, Ainos, Maroneia, Petres, and Thessalonike, cults of Zeus Eleutherios were founded conjointly with cults of Roma after the final defeat of Perseus in 168.104 The evidence is circumstantial but consistent: at Athens no Zeus was more appropriate to the historical context of issue 78 than Zeus Eleutherios.

If, then, the Standing Zeus is Soter-Eleutherios, how are we to understand the Fulminating Zeus that replaces the Standing Zeus in variety 82? The change to the conventional fulminating image need not have had any significance beyond a decision to represent Zeus in a guise that was more universal, easily recognizable, and suitable for a standardized coin type. Accordingly, the Standing Zeus would indeed reproduce the actual cult statue in the Agora, while the fulminating image (with added eagle, which is unlikely to have been part of a Late Archaic–Early Classical statue but which makes for a more satisfactory coin design) gives a generic Zeus who nevertheless symbolized the same political ideals. Or could it be that the Standing Zeus was later thought to be too closely associated with Flamininus and Rome? Livy (35.31 and 50) reports the growth of strong anti-Roman sentiment at Athens in 192, about the time that the change from the Standing to the Fulminating Zeus took place. In either case, Zeus figures on the bronze of Hellenistic Athens in one dominant aspect, as the tutelary deity of national freedom and sovereignty. Even the small-denomination reverses that picture an owl perched on a thunderbolt (varieties 67 and 81 of Period II and 99 and 100 of Period III) are to be recognized as little metaphors for an Athens resting on the liberating might of Zeus.

In this vein it is probably correct to interpret the routine pairing of Athena and Zeus on the opposite sides of the main AE 2 bronze of Periods II and III as the pairing of two functionally complementary deities, one the religious embodiment of the polis, the other essentially a personification as an Early Classical Zeus of the striding, fulminating type; cf. Agora XIV, p. 101. Whether the cult of Zeus Soter-Eleutherios was founded to commemorate deliverance from the Persians, as several ancient commentators believed (Agora III, pp. 26–27, nos. 26–28), or whether, as implied by the Archaic structure below the Stoa of Zeus (H. A. Thompson, op. cit., figs. 72, 126; Agora XIV, p. 96), it goes back in some form to pre-Persian times, a cult image dating after 480 B.C. is called for; any earlier statue would have been carried off or destroyed in 480.

102 H. A. Thompson, “The Annex to the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora,” Hesperia 35, 1966, pp. 171–187; Agora XIV, pp. 102–103. Identifications of Domitian: IG II² 1996; Trajan: A. E. Raubitschek, “Hadrian as the Son of Zeus Eleutherios,” AJA 49, 1945, pp. 128–133; and Antoninus Pius: IG II² 3396. Hadrian's association with the cult is indicated by the statue of him that was dedicated next to the statue of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora (Pausanias 1.3.2). Athens' valued status as a free city under the Empire explains why Zeus Eleutherios came to play so large a role in imperial cult.


of freedom. Although the pairing went back to the Zeus/Athena Polias emission 66, shortly after Athens’ deliverance from Macedon in 229, enthusiasm for Rome’s guarantee of eleutheria after the Second Macedonian War regularized the pairing of Athena and Zeus on the coinage, until the disastrous outcome of Athens’ involvement in the Mithradatic revolt against Rome in 88–86 B.C. Zeus then disappeared from the coinage for more than a generation. In 42/1 B.C. Athens revived the Fulminating Zeus reverse for a single AE 1 emission (137), although partially, it seems, to signal the devaluation of the AE 1 to the equivalent of the AE 2 of Periods II and III (pp. 85–86, 90 below). Before Actium, Athens struck two issues (144 and 145) with Ptolemaic Zeus-head obverses in honor of Kleopatra. But the themes of salvation and eleutheria returned in the reappearance of the Standing Zeus on an issue (148, q.v.) minted soon after Actium, to commemorate Octavian’s “liberation” of Athens.

Neither the standing nor the fulminating statue appears among the many famous Athenian statues depicted on the city’s Hadrianic-Antonine coinage, which represented instead the Sacrificing Zeus (175, p. 55 above) and the enthroned statue of Zeus Olympios that Hadrian commissioned for the Olympeion (263). In Athens’ final coinage of the mid-3rd century after Christ, the Sacrificing Zeus and enthroned Zeus reverses are repeated (357 and 356, with note 66 below, p. 124). They are joined by a third Zeus type, the Standing Zeus with perpendicularly extended left arm (note 92 above, p. 55), which returns to the first statue of the god depicted on Athenian coins, probably the statue still prominently displayed in front of the Stoa of Zeus.

CATALOGUE

229–ca. 224/3 B.C.

**AE 1**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Average Weight</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Θ E Owl stg., facing; on Sv.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>21–23</td>
<td>Av. 9.16 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>either side, olive branch.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

All counterstamped with plemochoe in relief on obverse and plemochoe in incuse circle on reverse, as Sv. 104.5–7.

**AE 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Average Weight</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Θ E Two owls stg. upright, facing.</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>12–14</td>
<td>Av. 2.32 (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* **Cat. 104.5–7**
* **Cat. 104.5–7**
* **Cat. 104.5–7**
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* **Cat. 104.5–7**

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PERIOD II: CATALOGUE

The variety is associated with 64 through the distinctive style of their reverse owls.

**AE 1**

Head of Zeus r., laur.  
Θ-E Statue of Athena Polias  
Sv. 25.1–4

<table>
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<th>Coin</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>19–22</td>
<td>Av. 9.43</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

66  
*T*  
Kleiner 1975, p. 324, pl. 75, no. 344 (Μ-Ν 15:1)

counterstamped with a plemochoe on both sides

Owing to their poor preservation, it is uncertain how many of the other unillustrated specimens may have been restruck with the Plemochoe/Plemochoe counterstamps.

**AE 3**

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.  
Θ-E or A-Θ Owl stg. r., facing, on thunderbolt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>12–15</td>
<td>Av. 2.39</td>
<td>(20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67  
*E*  
Sv. 23.46

obv. die A

A*-E, plain reverse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>obv. die A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>obv. die A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>obv. die B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>obv. die B; Kleiner 1975, p. 321, pl. 75, no. 296 (M-N 15:1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kleiner 1975, p. 321, no. 296 (M-N 15:1)

Kleiner 1975, p. 321, no. 309 (M-N 15:1)

Kleiner 1975, p. 306, no. 96 (H-K 12–14)

obv. die B; Kleiner, MIV 20, p. 1, pl. I:1

obv. die B; Kleiner 1976, p. 14, no. 64 (H 12:1)

obv. die B; Kleiner, MN 20, p. 1, pl. 1:3

obv. die D  
A-Θ, border of dots on reverse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>obv. die D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>obv. die B; Kleiner, MN 20, p. 1, pl. I:1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>obv. die B; Kleiner 1976, p. 14, no. 64 (H 12:1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>obv. die B; Kleiner 1976, p. 17, no. 105 (A-B 19–20:1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>A E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>obv. die B; Kleiner, MN 20, p. 1, pl. I:2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>obv. die C; Kleiner, MN 20, p. 1, pl. I:3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>obv. die C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>obv. die D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>obv. die D; Kleiner 1976, p. 17, no. 105 (A-B 19–20:1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>obv. die D; Kleiner 1976, p. 14, no. 65 (H 12:1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Despite the changing reverse format, this was not a protracted coinage. Specimens were minted from only a few obverse dies and are rare; a piece in Berlin (Sv. 23.46) is the only published one not from the Agora excavations. In first calling attention to this coinage, Kleiner (MN 20, pp. 1–5) recognized that it belonged to the later 3rd century and that the dotted border of its later reverses related it to the AE 1 varieties 66 and 68. In fact, Zeus's thunderbolt below the owl restricts the relationship to the earlier of these AE 1 coinages. Inexplicably, an exceptionally high proportion of the Agora pieces are well enough preserved for illustration. The Middle Stoa construction deposit gives the earliest recorded context (for 67h).

**AE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Qty</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Head of Artemis r., with quiver at shoulder; border of dots.</td>
<td>20 coins</td>
<td>20–22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Θ-E Statue of Athena Polias r., as on 66.</td>
<td>20 coins</td>
<td>20–22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Ω-562</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Τ-177</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Ζ-2403</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Θ-637</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Τ-1509</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>Η-615</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>Β-556</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>ΔΔ-63</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is an especially good but unpublished example of an overstrike over variety 66 in the Numismatic Collection of Athens (Inv. 1905/6 NB' 3). Some of the Artemis/Athena Polias coins, including Sv. 25.10, can be identified as probable overstrikes by their thin, wide fabric. But the majority of the Agora specimens are too badly preserved to permit any judgment whether they are overstrikes or whether they underwent the Plemochoe/Plemochoe counterstamping, as 68f. 68h has the earliest context, shortly after 200 B.C.

**[Head of Zeus or Artemis r.]** Similar.

**[66 or 68]** 2 coins of uncertain Athena Polias variety.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Qty</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64, 66, or 68</td>
<td>Plemochoe in relief.</td>
<td>1-22</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64, 66, or 68</td>
<td>Plemochoe in incuse circle.</td>
<td>1-22</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plemochoe counterstamping has completely obliterated the original types.

ca. 224/3–198 B.C.

**AE 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Qty</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet. Θ-E Owl stg. three-quarters r., facing, wings lifted; at r., amphora.</td>
<td>113 coins</td>
<td>18–22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>MM-430</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Θ-296</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Ζ-2711</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Η'-3648</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Δ-416</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

overstruck on Antigonos Gonatas (507)
similar; BA of undertype visible on reverse
overstrike
overstrike
overstrike
PERIOD II: CATALOGUE

* f ΠΘ-312 22 † 6.30 GRC, fig. 13
* g MM-378 20 ▲ 5.03
* h Δ-347 19 ▼ 5.80
i T-1157 18 ▼ 3.45
j K-1294 19 † 6.23 Kleiner 1975, p. 310, pl. 75, no. 171 (H–K 12–14)
k ΜΣ-261 21 † 4.90 overstruck on Antigonos Gonatas; Kleiner 1975, p. 306, pl. 75, no. 86 (H–K 12–14)

Most and possibly all specimens of this coinage are overstruck on Athena-head/Pan-erecting-trophy AE 2 of Antigonos Gonatas (507). Even when identifiable traces of the undertype are lacking, the coins frequently have the telltale thinness and slightly concave fabric of overstrikes. 69j and k and 70c are three of six pieces of Owl three-quarters r. from the Middle Stoa construction fill of ca. 183 B.C., the earliest dependably dated deposit for this coinage.

Similar. Similar, but at r., plemochoe. Sv. 24.33

70 4 coins 17–20 Av. 5.39 (4)
*a Σ-8 19 ▼ 5.95
*b B-511 19 ▲ 5.39 double-struck
*c ΜΣ-58 17 ▼ 5.34 Kleiner 1975, p. 306, no. 87 (H–K 12–14)
d NN-1259 20 - 4.87

Similar. Similar, but uncertain vessel at r.

[69, 70] 17 coins of uncertain owl-three-quarters-r. variety.

AE 4

Head of Athena r., wearing Θ-E Owl stg. r., facing, Sv. 23.50–52
Corinthian helmet.
on rudder.

71 88 coins 10–13 Av. 1.94 (32)
*a NN-1658 12 ▼ 1.94 Kleiner 1976, p. 6, pl. 3, no. 56
*b T-51 12 † 1.62 Kleiner 1976, p. 6, pl. 3, no. 55; GRC, fig. 13
*c E-1610 13 ▲ 2.12
*d T-89 12 † 1.44 Kleiner 1976, p. 6, pl. 3, no. 54
*e OO-1152 12 ▲ 2.16
*f K-1322 10 ▼ 1.53
*g O-86 10 ▼ 1.42
h K-1610 11 ▼ 1.43 Kleiner 1975, p. 312, pl. 75, no. 199 (H–K 12–14)
i T-1375 11 ▼ 1.73 Kleiner 1975, p. 321, pl. 75, no. 311 (M–N 15:1)
j ΣΑ-270 11 ▼ fragment Kleiner 1975, p. 316, no. 234 (corrected) (P–R 6–12)

71h is one of two specimens from the Middle Stoa fill. For the position of the variety in the Period II sequence, see p. 52 above (pace Kleiner 1975, p. 325; 1976, p. 6).

AE 2

Head of Demeter r., wearing A-Θ Plemochoe with wheat ear Sv. 104.8, 9
wheat wreath; border of dots. passed through each handle; at r., Eleusis ring.

72 PP'-174 22 - 8.27 overstruck on ?
ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: 4TH–1ST CENTURIES B.C.

Similar.

73

12 coins

18–23 Av. 5.36 (8)

*a ΣA-103 20 \(\checkmark\) 5.34 Kleiner 1975, p. 316, pl. 75, no. 231 (P–R 6–12)

*b Π-667 20 \(\checkmark\) 5.79

*c Θ-231 22 ↓ 3.80

*d Z-1506 23 ↓ 4.07

e T-1668 21 \(\checkmark\) 4.55 Kleiner 1975, p. 321, pl. 75, no. 302 (M–N 15:1)

All or most overstruck on Owl three-quarters r. (69 or 70). The helmet of the undertype is especially clear on 73a and b.

Similar.

74

2 coins

*a NN-1746 20 ↓ 4.97 overstruck on Owl three-quarters r. (69, 70)

*b ΔΔ-81 20 ↑ broken overstruck on ? (M 21:1)

Similar.

Similar, but symbol at r. illegible.

[72–74] 32 coins of uncertain Demeter/Plemochoe variety.


AE 4

Plemochoe with wheat ear A E Eleusis ring; all in passed through each handle. wheat wreath.

75

72 coins

10–13 Av. 1.70 (31)

*a ΔΔ-328 13 ↑ 1.66

*b ΣΣ-451 12 ↑ 2.00

*c Τ-1069 12 ↑ 1.65

*d Η-2099 12 ↑ 1.89

*e Λ-414 12 \(\checkmark\) 2.04 Kleiner 1975, p. 306, pl. 75, no. 93 (H–K 12–14)

*f Ι-855 12 ↑ 1.84

g Κ-1298 12 - 1.35 Kleiner 1975, p. 310, pl. 75, no. 174 (H–K 12–14)

198 B.C.

AE 2

A-Θ

Head of Zeus r., bound with E Amphora; at lower l., owl; fillet. all in olive wreath.

76

16 coins

19–22 Av. 5.49 (7)

*a Θ-384 20 ↑ 7.58 overstruck on Demeter/Plemochoe (72–74)

*b Γ-354 20 ↓ 6.85 overstruck on Antigonus Gonatas (507)

*c Γ-670 21 ↑ 3.53 overstruck on ?

*d ΣΛ-486 20 - 5.65 overstruck on Demeter/Plemochoe (72–74)

*e Δ-9 20 ↓ broken overstruck on Demeter/Plemochoe (72–74)

f ΠΙΙΙ-594 - → broken overstruck on Owl three-quarters r. (69, 70)

g Z-2769 - - broken overstruck on Demeter/Plemochoe (72–74); Kleiner 1976, p. 14, no. 63 (H 12:1)

All other unillustrated specimens are similar overstrikes.
PERIOD II: CATALOGUE

AE 3

Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet with wing.

\[ \Theta \] Owl stg. l., facing; at l., amphora; all in olive wreath.

77 2 coins 13–14 Av. 2.75 (2)
\( *a \) OO-1089 14 ↑ 2.39
\( *b \) T-1227 13 ↑ 3.06

Kleiner 1975, p. 321, pl. 75, no. 300 (M–N 15:1)

For the dating of this rare issue and the foregoing AE 2 variety it accompanies, see p. 51 above.

ca. 196–190 B.C.

AE 2

Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet with wing or Corinthian helmet.

\( \Theta \) Zeus, nude, stg. r., holding thunderbolt in lowered r. hand, extending l. arm; at r., owl.

78 7 coins 17–20 Av. 5.56 (4)
Attic helmet with wing (3)
\( *a \) T-1508 20 ↑ 4.92 overstruck on ?
\( b \) T-359 20 ↓ 5.31 (N 20:6)

Corinthian helmet; obverse border of dots (4)
\( *c \) Z-2781 19 ✓ 6.26 overstruck on ?

Head of Athena r., wearing Similar, but at r., prow.

Corinthian helmet.

79 58 coins 16–20 Av. 5.00 (27)
Attic helmet with wing
\( *a \) Τ-1284 19 ↓ 4.79 overstruck on ?
\( *b \) Θ-240 19 ↓ 4.95 Kleiner 1975, p. 306, pl. 75, no. 99 (H–K 12–14)
\( *c \) HH-217 18 ↑ 5.23
\( *d \) T-636 19 ↓ 5.08
\( *e \) Σ-861 20 ↑ 5.29 overstruck on ?
\( *f \) Σ-861 20 - - halved
\( g \) T-186 17 ↑ 4.40 (K 18:2)
\( h \) X-101 20 ↑ 4.35 overstruck on ? (N 18:3)

Similar.

Similar, but at r., wheat ear.

80 3 coins 17–18 Av. 4.66 (2)
\( *a \) III-876 18 ↓ 5.37

Similar.

Similar, but symbol at r. illegible.

\( *a \) K-1327 17 - 5.10 Kleiner 1975, p. 310, pl. 75, no. 176 (H–K 12–14)
ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: 4TH–1ST CENTURIES B.C.

**AE 4**

A-Θ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.</th>
<th>E Owl stg. r., facing, on thunderbolt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81 coins 10–14 Av. 1.63 (55)</td>
<td>Sv. 23.47–49; Kleiner 1976, pl. 3:52, 53 (Type 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a NN-922 13 ↑ 1.40 Kleiner 1976, p. 6, pl. 3, no. 52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b BB-475 12 ↑ 1.39 Kleiner 1976, no. 51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c K-1549 14 ↓ 1.90 Kleiner 1976, no. 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d OQ-528 11 ↓ 1.42 Kleiner 1976, no. 51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e ΔΔ-39 10 ↑ 2.01 Kleiner 1976, no. 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*f IT-8 11 ↓ 2.03 Kleiner 1975, p. 312, pl. 75, no. 198 (H-I 14:1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g ΠΘ-327 14 ↓ 1.98 flan clipped before striking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h K-1466 12 ↑ 1.45 Kleiner 1976, p. 312, pl. 75, no. 198 (H-I 14:1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the absolute chronology of the Standing Zeus AE 2 and the Owl-on-thunderbolt AE 4 struck with it, see pp. 50–51, 57 above. Three Standing Zeus pieces (78b, 79g, and 79h) are the latest coins in cistern fills of just after 200 B.C. Two of these fills (N 20:6 and K 18:2) are so dated by their latest stamped Rhodian amphora handles.

ca. 190–183 B.C.

**AE 2**

A-Θ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.</th>
<th>E Zeus, nude, striding r., hurling thunderbolt in raised r. hand, extending l. arm; at r., star and eagle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>82 coins 17–20 Av. 6.19 (37)</td>
<td>Sv. 81.17, 18; Kleiner 1976, pl. 1:4–5 (Type 2a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a Σ-803 19 ↑ 6.83 Kleiner 1975, p. 306, pl. 76, no. 103 (H–K 12–14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b Θ-237 18 ↑ 7.00 Kleiner 1975, p. 306, pl. 76, no. 254 (Square Peristyle floor hoard; see under O–R 7–10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c NN-1372 18 ↑ 5.97 Kleiner 1975, p. 317, pl. 76, no. 256 (same hoard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d NN-50 19 ↑ 7.58 Kleiner 1975, p. 317, pl. 76, no. 261 (M–N 15:1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e KK-67 19 ↑ 8.81 Kleiner 1975, p. 317, pl. 76, no. 256 (same hoard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ΜΣ-230 17 ↑ 5.79 Kleiner 1975, p. 317, pl. 76, no. 256 (same hoard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g ΣA-212 19 ↑ 6.33 Kleiner 1975, p. 317, pl. 76, no. 256 (same hoard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h ΣA-214 19 ↑ 4.97 Kleiner 1975, p. 317, pl. 76, no. 256 (same hoard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i Τ-1195 19 ↑ 4.78 Kleiner 1975, p. 317, pl. 76, no. 256 (same hoard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar. A-Ε Zeus hurling thunderbolt r., at l., wheat ear; at r., eagle. Sv. 81.28, 29; Kleiner 1976, pl. 1:6–8 (Type 2b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Similar.</th>
<th>A-Ε Zeus hurling thunderbolt r., at l., wheat ear; at r., eagle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>83 coins 17–21 Av. 6.10 (37)</td>
<td>Sv. 81.28, 29; Kleiner 1976, pl. 1:6–8 (Type 2b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a Τ-1664 18 ↑ 5.73 Kleiner 1975, p. 306, pl. 76, no. 105 (H–K 12–14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b ΠΠ-888 20 ↑ 6.60 Kleiner 1975, p. 306, pl. 76, no. 105 (H–K 12–14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c Σ-118 20 ↑ 5.87 Kleiner 1976, p. 306, pl. 76, no. 105 (H–K 12–14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d P-1203 20 ↑ 5.86 Kleiner 1976, p. 306, pl. 76, no. 105 (H–K 12–14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e Ψ-73 20 ↑ 7.92 Kleiner 1976, p. 306, pl. 76, no. 105 (H–K 12–14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*f ΕΛ-189 19 ↑ 6.77 Kleiner 1976, p. 306, pl. 76, no. 105 (H–K 12–14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g ΜΣ-316 19 ↑ 6.56 Kleiner 1976, p. 306, pl. 76, no. 105 (H–K 12–14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PERIOD II: CATALOGUE

h ΣΑ-209 19 † 6.69
   Kleiner 1975, p. 317, pl. 76, no. 257 (Square Peristyle floor hoard; see under O–R 7–10)

i ΣΑ-211 19 † 5.52
   Kleiner 1975, p. 317, pl. 76, no. 259 (same hoard)

Similar.

42 coins 16–20 Av. 5.96 (23)

*a ΩΔ-13 18 † 4.57
   Kleiner 1975, p. 307, pl. 76, no. 106 (H–K 12–14)

*b ΚΓΔ-105 18 † 6.33
   Kleiner 1975, p. 307, pl. 76, no. 109 (H–K 12–14)

*c Σ-312 19 † 7.59
   Kleiner 1975, p. 316, pl. 76, no. 241 (P–R 6–12)

*d ΣΔ-65 18 † 5.58
   Kleiner 1975, p. 324, pl. 76, no. 347 (M–N 15:1)

*e ΛΔ-276 18 † 6.81
   Kleiner 1975, p. 324, pl. 76, no. 347 (M–N 15:1)

f Θ-148 19 † 6.53
   Kleiner 1975, p. 307, pl. 76, no. 106 (H–K 12–14)

g ΜΣ-14 19 † 5.76
   Kleiner 1975, p. 307, pl. 76, no. 109 (H–K 12–14)

h ΣΔ-15 18 † 5.91
   Kleiner 1975, p. 316, pl. 76, no. 241 (P–R 6–12)

i Τ-1645 18 † 7.68
   Kleiner 1975, p. 324, pl. 76, no. 347 (M–N 15:1)


84

AE 4

Cicada.

Α-Θ Amphora with transverse palm branch.

Sv. 107.55–58; Kleiner 1976, pl. 3:59–61

(Type 9)

672 coins 10–13 Av. 1.59 (107)

*a NN-1284 12 ↓ 2.14
   star below A at l.

*b Ε-598 13 ↓ 1.86
   Kleiner 1976, p. 6, pl. 3, no. 60

*c Z-2644bis 13 ↓ 1.93
   Kleiner 1976, no. 61

*d Θ-792bis 14 ↓ 1.98
   Kleiner 1976, no. 61

*e NN-1952 13 ↓ 1.77
   Kleiner 1975, p. 322, pl. 76, no. 323 (M–N 15:1)

*f Τ-1760 12 † 1.30
   Kleiner 1975, p. 322, pl. 76, no. 323 (M–N 15:1)

*g ΜΣ-131 12 † 1.16
   Kleiner 1975, p. 322, pl. 76, no. 323 (M–N 15:1)

h NN-1401 11 † 1.70
   Kleiner 1976, p. 6, pl. 3, no. 59

i Θ-714 11 † 2.01
   Kleiner 1975, p. 307, pl. 76, no. 110 (H–K 12–14)

j ΣΑ-269 11 † broken
   Kleiner 1975, p. 316, pl. 76, no. 247 (P–R 6–12)

The star symbol of the heavy (i.e., early) 85a duplicates the emission symbol of the initial Fulminating Zeus AE 2 variety 82 and confirms that the Cicada/Amphora AE 4, the most prolific of all Athenian AE 4 bronze, was struck in tandem with the Fulminating Zeus issues 82–84, as Kleiner (1975, p. 328; 1976, pp. 34, 38) had independently deduced from the Middle Stoa construction fill. What Kleiner did not recognize is that after a long interruption the Cicada/Amphora AE 4 was revived towards the end of the 2nd century in Period III. The later Cicada/Amphora coins employ a different Α-Θ form of the ethnic and are generally struck on smaller, lighter flans, with diameters of 9–11 mm. and weights that frequently fall below 1.0 g.\(^\text{105}\) Fifty-eight such pieces, either with the later ethnic or with 9 mm. diameters and therefore of

\(^{105}\) When legible, the ethnics on specimens in Agora deposits down to ca. 130 B.C. are regularly Α-Θ (Deposits H–K 12–14, P–R 6–12, M–N 15:1 [Kleiner 1975, pp. 304–324], H 12:1, and A–B 19–20:1 [Kleiner 1976, pp. 12–19]). But at
unmistakable Period III date, are catalogued below under variety 108. All other Cicada/Amphora specimens, including more than 300 on which no ethnic is preserved, are counted here, even though perhaps over half of those with illegible ethnics may have actually been struck in Period III. All, or nearly all, the 107 coins selected here for weighing, however, do belong to the early 2nd-century phase of the coinage.

PERIOD III

ca. 160's–87/6 B.C.

Period III effectively coincides with the prosperous era framed by Athens' acquisition of Delos in 167/6 and her disastrous participation in the rebellion of Mithradates VI against Rome eighty years later. The bronze coinage is very much a continuation of that of Period II but is best treated separately, as the chronology relies on entirely different categories of evidence, and most of the smaller-denomination varieties can no longer be associated with particular issues of the main, AE 2 unit (see Table III below, pp. 324–325).

Two of the later AE 2 issues are absolutely datable: the Fulminating Zeus emission with the symbol of the two pilei of the Dioskouroi (94) must be contemporaneous with the two-pilei stephanephoric silver issue of 99/8 B.C., while the concluding Fulminating Zeus issue with the symbol of the Pontic star between crescents (97) belongs, with the New Style star-between-crescents silver and gold, to 87/6. In that fateful year, Athens, irrevocably committed to Mithradates' cause, was besieged and taken by Sulla.

Over a dozen hoards of the late 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C. fix the relative chronology of most of the AE 2 issues and some of the smaller varieties. The hoards are staggered in four groups:

1. The Tambouria (Peiraeus) 1938 hoard106 was buried soon after its last AE 2 issue of Fulminating Zeus with eagle and pileus (90), probably early in the last third or last quarter of the 2nd century.

2. The Attica 1949 and the Athens 1955 hoards107 were both interred shortly after 99/8 B.C., the date of their latest Fulminating Zeus variety, 94 (two pilei). There is a very good chance that the burial of one or both of these hoards was connected with the second revolt of the Laurion slaves, apparently still unsuppressed in 98/7.108

108 Association with the slave uprising was suggested for the first hoard by Price (1964, p. 35) and recognized as possible by Kleiner (1976, p. 38, note 63), who pointed out, however, that the provenience of the hoard is unknown. In fact we do not have a sure location for the discovery of either hoard. The revolt customarily has been placed in 104–102 B.C., but Stephen Tracy ("Athens in 100 B.C.,” Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 83, 1979 [pp. 213–235], pp. 232–234) plausibly argues for 100–98. In the procession to Delphi for the festival of the Pythais in 98/7, the Athenian cavalry was represented by a token five horsemen (as compared with the 122 cavalrymen in the preceding Pythais of 106/5). Tracy...
3. The earlier phase of Sulla’s operations in Attica is responsible for eight hoards that end with the antepenultimate and penultimate Fulminating Zeus emissions, those with the symbols of mystic staff and thyrsos (95 and 96). Two of the hoards, Porto Raphiti 1967 and Keratea 1954, come from Eastern Attica and were presumably secreted when Sulla’s forces arrived during the summer of 87. One assumes that all or most of the other hoards come likewise from the Attic countryside. None have a precise provenience, except perhaps for Plaka ca. 1942, but it may have been purchased rather than found in the Plaka district of Athens.

4. The final three hoards, all concluding with the Mithradatic star-between-crescents Fulminating Zeus issue (97), belong to the Sullan sack in the spring of 86. Two of these were found in the Peiraeus, which Sulla captured and put to the torch after the fall of Athens in early March. Possible indications of burning on the coins of the third hoard suggest that it too is from the Peiraeus rather than from Athens, which was spared from fire.

Several Agora deposits, dated primarily by their stamped Rhodian and Knidian amphora handles, supplement the hoards. The most useful are M–N 15:1, consisting of three fills connected with the construction of the South Stoa II around 140 B.C., and the later drain deposits H 12:1 and A–B 19–20:1. The coins from nearly all these hoard and deposit contexts are tabulated and analyzed in Kleiner’s fundamental Hesperia article of 1976, “The Agora Excavations and Athenian Bronze Coinage, 200–86 B.C.” Even after a number of his observations are emended, the overall chronology of the coinage in this period remains essentially as Kleiner established.

The AE 2 series begins with two issues of exceptional design: Demeter/Piglet (86), presumably an Eleusinian festival issue, and the unusually light and handsome Apollo/Owl with lyre (87), which was accompanied by the equally fine Apollo/Amphora AE 4 (101) and, probably, Apollo/Lyre AE 3 (Sv. 106.8–11, unrepresented in the Agora). Kleiner assigned both AE 2 varieties to the 140’s on the grounds that neither was represented in the material connected with the construction of the Stoa of Attalos, ca. 150 B.C. But this negative evidence is not decisive. No example of the Demeter or Apollo AE 2 appeared in the South Stoa II construction deposits of ca. 140 B.C. either, although both issues were surely in circulation by that time and in fact could very well go back to the 160’s. The acquisition of Delos provides a terminus post quem of 166 B.C. for the Apollonian striking; and it is doubtful that explains that the main body of the cavalry was probably needed at home to protect the countryside against marauding slaves. The slave revolt was serious and of some duration; Poseidionios (apud Athenaios 4.272 E–F) recounts that the slaves seized the fortress at Souunion and ravaged Attica “for a long time.”

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109 Keratea 1954 (IGCH 277; Kleiner 1976, pp. 22–28, 32: Hoard D) and the following, all of which are reviewed and summarized in Kleiner 1976, pp. 30–32: Attica 1906 (IGCH 280), Attica 1927 (IGCH 281), Pnyx (not the original place of burial) 1937 (IGCH 274), Attica 1937 (IGCH 282), Plaka ca. 1942 (IGCH 275), Porto Raphiti 1967 (IGCH 279), and Athens 1969 (M. Caramessini-Oeconomides and F. S. Kleiner, “A New Hoard of Athenian Bronze Coins,” AAA 7, 1974, pp. 149–156 = CH 1, 1975, no. 95). The Attica ca. 1951 hoard (IGCH 283), published in Kleiner 1976, pp. 23–27 as Hoard E, consists only of smaller denominations and may be pre-Sullan, although not any earlier than the last quarter of the 2nd century. Another useful tabulation and discussion of several of these hoards will be found in Price 1964, pp. 27–30.

110 The penultimate Fulminating Zeus variety with thyrsos symbol is not present in the Porto Raphiti find, but the 15-coin total is so small that there is no reason to doubt that the hoard belongs with the others of 87 B.C.


112 Walker 1978, pp. 44–45, the Cigar Box Hoard (=CH 3, 1977, no. 75): “The coins . . . seem to have been burnt and are quite similar to the coins in the 1973 hoard from the Piraeus.”

113 Appian, Mithradates 41; Plutarch, Sulla 13.

Demeter/Piglet could be appreciably earlier, as the seven specimens in the great Peiraeus 1926 hoard appeared less worn (w4–6) than the ten specimens of Apollo/Owl with lyre (all w6).\(^{115}\)

Around the middle of the century there is a return to AE 2 issues signed with emission symbols and to the Period II pairing of Athena and Zeus, at first in two issues (88 and 89) with the traditional representational roles of the two gods reversed: obverses bear the head of Zeus, reverses an archaistic statue of Athena hurling the thunderbolt. The Athena is the same Macedonian Athena Alkidamos that Antigonos Gonatas and Philip V had placed on the reverses of their silver coins.\(^{116}\) Her depiction on these Athenian reverses ought to be some kind of reference to the defeat and dissolution of the kingdom of Macedon in 168 at the conclusion of the Third Macedonian War or perhaps the defeat of Andriskos and creation of the Roman province of Macedonia in 148–146. After ca. 140 the familiar Athena in Corinthian helmet/Fulminating Zeus format was revived and persisted through the long series of eight AE 2 emissions (90–97) that culminated in the Mithradatic star-between-crescents striking of 87/6.

Below the AE 2 unit, which we take to be the hemiobol (see p. 38 above), were minted the AE 3 dichalkon/quarter-obol, now struck in the prolific variety 99. Two owls on thunderbolt, on a scale unequalled since Period I; the basic AE 4 chalkous (101–109); and, making its first and only appearance at Athens in Period III, the small AE 5 module of coins that weigh well under a gram (110–114). This last fraction should represent the half-chalkous or sixteenth of an obol (p. 38 above). Denominationally, only variety 100, Cicada/Owl on thunderbolt, presents a problem. According to Kleiner, these coins, which were minted with AE 3 diameters but with generally heavier weights than other Period III AE 3 pieces (cf. Table III, pp. 324–325 below), represent a unit in between the Two-owls-on-thunderbolt AE 3 (99) and the large AE 2 module.\(^{117}\) If so, the Cicada/Owl pieces would probably have to be identified as trichalkia. It is arguable, however, that the coins are late AE 3 dichalkia of restored weight.

The notable iconographical variety of the Period III AE 4 and 5 coinage is due in the first instance to the addition of Delian Apollo (and Artemis) to the chief national cults of Athens. From the middle of the 2nd to the middle of the 1st century B.C., Apollo dominates the obverses of the smaller denominations, and his attributes of lyre, tripod, and quiver expand the repertory of available reverse types. Variety results, too, from the frequency of type changes in these denominations and the convention, begun in Period II, of honoring a pair of deities on a single coin. Thus on various Period III fractions, a head of Apollo is paired with a reverse owl (110), Panathenaic amphora (101, 105), and Eleusinian plemochoe (103), as well as with his own attributes (111: lyre; 112: tripod). Zeus is paired with a plemochoe (102), and so forth. The only types that depart from these now routine gods and symbols are the heads, evidently, of Kore in variety 106 and of Nike in variety 107.

Svoronos attributed a majority of the Period III and IV AE 3–5 varieties to the Athenian cleruchs on Delos, since many of these smaller bronzes were recovered in the French excavations on the island in the early 1900’s (see Table III, pp. 324–325 below) and as often as not had types that

\(^{115}\) Kleiner 1973, p. 171.

\(^{116}\) See note 83 above, p. 53. For the Philip V coins, Brett 1950, pl. 12:17; Boehringer, p. 104, pl. 7:6–9.

\(^{117}\) Kleiner 1973, pp. 180–181; 1976, pp. 9–10, 34–35. Kleiner’s modular nomenclature compared to that used in the present work is

- Kleiner AE 1 = here AE 2
- Kleiner AE 2 = here AE 3 Cicada/Owl on thunderbolt (100)
- Kleiner AE 3 = here other AE 3 and all AE 4 varieties
- Kleiner AE 4 = here AE 5.
he considered more “Delian” than Attic. But the Athenian proveniences that emerged from the Agora excavations have discredited such attribution, at least for all but a few exceptional issues. One of the exceptions is the Artemis/Plemochoe AE 4 (104), which, although probably minted at Athens, seems to have been consigned for circulation on Delos. For genuine Athenian cleruchy emissions, however, we must turn to the AE 2 and AE 3 coinage struck on Delos by the Roman legate Gaius Valerius Triarius in 69 B.C. (see under 830) and to the bronzes struck by or for the Athenian cleruchs on Salamis (640–642) and the northern Aegean islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros (159–161, 454–456).

The concluding star-between-crescents Fulminating Zeus AE 2 of the First Mithradatic War (97) is historically the most intriguing emission of Period III. The bulk of the issue must have been minted early in the archon year 87/6, before the Roman siege began in earnest and Sulla effectively cut Athens and the Peiraeus off from one another. The coins circulated in the Peiraeus as well as in Athens, and there is no reason to think that a subsidiary mint was set up in the Peiraeus once the two cities were isolated. As is clear from the 201 Agora specimens and the correspondingly large numbers from the hoards of 86 B.C., the issue was minted in profusion. Its hurried production is evident from the many examples that were carelessly struck or seemingly struck from worn dies. Or were the latter really stamped with insufficient force to drive the metal into the deepest recesses of the dies? Such weak striking is probably responsible in part for the numerous star-between-crescents pieces from the hoards of 86 B.C. that look “worn”, even though they were removed from circulation by 87/6 B.C. Such weak striking is probably responsible in part for the numerous star-between-crescents pieces from the hoards of 86 B.C. that look “worn”, even though they were removed from circulation 118 Sv., pls. 106, 107; and, earlier, Ншшшшшш еν Δήλω Αθηναίων χρυσάχων, ΗΑΑΑ 3, 1900, pp. 50–54; cf. idem 1907, p. 194; and idem 1911, pp. 58, 76, 78, 83; whence Roussel, pp. 47–48. The attribution of coins to the Athenians on Delos was originally proposed by U. Koehler, “Die Münze der Kleruchen auf Delos,” AM 6, 1881, pp. 238–243. 119 Delos XXVII, p. 390, note 1. Kleiner 1976, pp. 6–7. M. Thompson, “Some Athenian ‘Cleruchy’ Money,” Hesperia 10, 1941, pp. 199–236, corrected Svoronos’ more fanciful attributions of Athenian bronze to cleruchs on Skiathos, Peparethos, etc. (Sv., pl. 25). 120 There are five AE 5 varieties attested from Delos (Delos XXVII, table, p. 409) but not from the Agora: (1) Sv. 106.38–41—Apollo/Quiver (25 from Delos); (2) Sv. 106.45, 46—Plemochoe/Quiver (4 from Delos); (3) Sv. 106.82, 83—Artemis/Plemochoe (3 from Delos); (4) Sv. 107.24, 25—Apollo/Wheat ear (1 from Delos); and (5) Delos XXVII, F58, 59—Athena/Lyre (2 from Delos). The first (to judge from the quantity on Delos) and third (to judge from the similarity to 104) may be further exceptional issues consigned to Delos, but the find evidence from the two excavations is too insubstantial for a final decision. Compared with the Delos excavations (see Table III), the Agora has produced relatively few identifiable AE 5 pieces overall, perhaps because of less favorable soil conditions or the continuous occupation of the site rather than because of any actual pattern of AE 5 circulation. It is interesting, however, that finds of the larger AE 2 and 3 coins on Delos are minimal, suggesting that these larger-module bronzes did not comprise an important part of the currency of Athenian Delos. For all the silver hoards that were buried on Delos at the time of the Mithradatic uprising in 88 B.C. (T. Hackens, “Trésor hellénistique trouvé à Delos en 1964,” BCH 89, 1965 [pp. 503–534], pp. 515–516), there is not a single hoard of contemporary AE 2 and 3 bronze to match the several from 87/6 B.C. Attica. Three Athenian varieties in Svoronos’ Delos plates are unrepresented both among the Agora and the Delos excavation finds: Sv. 106.8–11 (Apollo/Lyre AE 3), 106.31, 32 (Athena/Lyre AE 3), and 107.46–49 (= BMCAttica, p. 89, no. 632, Kore or Apollo/Owl-with-palm-branch-on-thunderbolt AE 1, of Period IV fabric). 121 See Appian, Mithrdates 30–38 and Plutarch, Sulla 13 for this and other details of the siege. The star-between-crescents silver (New Style, nos. 1143–1146) was struck in months 1 (June–July), 2, and 6 (November–December) of 87/6, i.e., both near the beginning of the siege and when it was fairly well advanced. 122 235 pieces (or one-third of the Fulminating Zeus coins) in the Peiraeus 1926 hoard; 152 pieces (or 95 percent of Fulminating Zeus coins) in the Peiraeus 1973 hoard. See note 111 above, p. 67. 123 Kleiner 1973, p. 180, note 26. See also the double-struck 97e below, and Kleiner 1976, pl. 2:33, from the Peiraeus 1926 hoard.
ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: 4TH–1ST CENTURIES B.C.

less than a year after minting. Their softer, leaded alloy may also account for some actual wear from brief circulation. Unlike earlier Fulminating Zeus bronzes, whose alloy contained about 1 percent or less of lead, the star-between-crescents coins were minted from a heavily leaded bronze with a lead content of 12–13 percent and thus are about 1–1.5 grams or 15–20 percent heavier than coins of the earlier issues (see Table III, pp. 324–325 below). There seems to have been no shortage of available bronze; otherwise, the amount of this metal would have been reduced in each batch of alloy as the extra lead was added. But, by weight, the actual bronze content was kept as before, apparently so that no one could accuse the coins of being debased.

It has been suggested that the purpose of the added lead and weight was to raise the value of the coins in response to the inflationary pressures of the Roman blockade. But this is unlikely if the coins were mostly struck before the siege had become critical. Moreover, such a putative revaluation without an accompanying change of type or diameter to reflect it would have unfairly discriminated against the earlier, lighter Fulminating Zeus bronzes already in circulation. A more plausible explanation is that the leading was intended to make the bronze softer so that the coins could be stamped out more quickly, that is, with fewer blows of the hammer, and to prolong the lives of the dies. In addition, the extra weight would have encouraged acceptance of the coins, which was a matter of some urgency in view of their politically charged Pontic symbol and their importance in financing the resistance against Sulla.

The relatively good condition of most of the star-between-crescents specimens found in the Agora is another idiosyncracy. As a group these are the least-worn Hellenistic Athenian bronzes from the excavations (the several examples selected for illustration on Plate 9 are in this regard fairly typical). Very few could have circulated after 86. It appears that in making terms with Sulla, the Athenians placed the names of Mithradates and his Athenian agent, the tyrant Aristion, under a damnatio memoriae. To judge from the paucity of extant specimens, the star-between-crescents silver signed by King Mithradates and Aristion was probably recalled. One assumes that the associated bronze coins had to be turned in as well, probably to be exchanged for newly minted bronze of different design (p. 82 below).

But whether or not the Mithradatic bronze could have been exchanged during a limited period, it was evidently demonitized by means of a statute forbidding sellers of goods and services from accepting it. 97h and possibly 153e (undertype), for example, were cut with an X to void them as legal tender, and the numerous, unworn specimens from the Agora had surely been thrown away as so much trash. Some of the coins were eventually picked up and reintroduced into circulation but not until later in the century or in the Imperial period, when the intense emotional climate of the First Mithradatic War had long subsided. On the other hand, it is clear that Fulminating Zeus coins from the pre-Mithradatic issues continued to circulate without interruption. A number, like 94f and possibly 95a, were countermarked with a cicada stamp, clearly after Sulla’s capture of Athens, inasmuch as such countermarked coins do not appear in

125 So Oeconomides-Caramessini 1976, p. 223; Walker 1978, p. 44.
127 For the technical advantages of striking from a leaded alloy, see Caley, pp. 138–139.
128 Price (1964, p. 35) emphasizes the value of these bronze coins as a propaganda medium.
Period III: Catalogue

Some AE 2 pieces dating before 86 B.C. were overstruck in the second half of the 1st century B.C. (see 143f, with 137e and 138h), while others still circulating in the late 1st century B.C. or in the 1st century after Christ were occasionally chopped in half to make up for a scarcity of half-unit coins (see 79f, 89d, 94g, [82–84, 90–94]a, b and pp. 92–93 below).

Catalogue

Die alignments in Period III (and IV) are fixed at 12 o'clock and are not recorded. Occasional deviations are aligned just off the vertical at 11 or 1 o'clock.

Ca. 160's–150's B.C.

**AE 2**

**Head of Demeter r., wearing wheat wreath.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>18 coins</td>
<td>17–19</td>
<td>6.15 (5)</td>
<td>Kleiner 1976, pl. 2:40–42 (Type 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*a ΣA-173</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*b Φ-132</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>Kleiner 1976, p. 5, pl. 2, no. 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*c K-39</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*d K-981</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e Z-2738</td>
<td>17 blisters</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kleiner 1976, p. 14, no. 84 (H 21:1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ca. 140's B.C.**

**Head of Apollo r., laur.**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>24 coins</td>
<td>17–19</td>
<td>4.54 (11)</td>
<td>Kleiner 1976, p. 5, pl. 2, no. 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*a AA-845bis</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*b N-583</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*c Ω-157</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*d BB-1280</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ca. 140's B.C.

**Head of Zeus r., bound with taenia; border of dots.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>10 coins</td>
<td>17–21</td>
<td>6.53 (6)</td>
<td>Kleiner 1976, 2.38, 39 (Type 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*a T-661</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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131 On the cicada countermark, attested on Fulminating Zeus coins of the two-pilei, mystic-staff, and thyrsos issues (94–96), see the fifteen coins collected and discussed in Kleiner 1973, pp. 182–183, and Kleiner 1976, p. 10. The countermark is not found on star-between-crescents pieces.

132 Kleiner 1976, p. 38, table IV.
ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: 4TH–1ST CENTURIES B.C.

* b E-278 19 7.25
* c T-1194 19 7.58 Kleiner 1975, p. 319, pl. 76, no. 266 (M–N 15:1)

A-Θ

Similar.

Sv. 22.55; Kleiner 1976, pl. 2:34–37

(Type 3)

89 23 coins 17–20 Av. 5.36 (5)
* a Θ-174 17 4.66
* b A-94 20 6.96
* c II-289 17 3.71
* d III-650 19 - halved

Similar.

Sv. 22.55; Kleiner 1976, pl. 2:34–37

(Type 3)

[88, 89] 68 coins of uncertain Zeus/Fulminating Athena variety.

a K-1458 Kleiner 1975, p. 312, no. 200 (H–I 14:1)

b Σ-3535 obv. cmk.: star in incuse circle

The above arrangement of the two Zeus/Fulminating Athena issues is based on weights. The discovery of 88c in the South Stoa II construction fill places it before ca. 140 B.C. [88, 89]a comes also from a deposit dated ca. 140 B.C.

The star-in-circle countermark of [88, 89]b appears on Sv. 22.55 and seven out of twelve Fulminating Athena pieces in the Attica 1906 hoard (Price 1964, pp. 28–29; Kleiner 1976, pp. 10, 20). Occurring on no other Athenian variety, the countermark was added before the change back to the Fulminating Zeus types in variety 90, but its purpose is unclear.

ca. 130’s B.C.133

Θ

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

A-E Zeus, nude, striding r., hurling thunderbolt; at l., pileus; at r., eagle.

Sv. 81.30, 31; Kleiner 1976, pl. 1:12, 13 (Type 2d)

90 4 coins 17–18 Av. 5.13 (4)
* a B'-1009 18 6.10
* b NN-1304 18 5.03

ca. 130–100 B.C.134

A-E

Similar.

Sv. 81.19, 22–24; Kleiner 1976, pl. 1:14–17 (Type 2e)

91 25 coins 16–19 Av. 5.12 (22)
* a ΣT-143 18 5.70
* b ΠΘ-149 18 5.09
* c Ω-257 17 5.80
* d BB-285 18 5.39
* e EE-40 17 5.84 Kleiner 1976, p. 4, pl. 1, no. 16

134 Ibid.
PERIOD III: CATALOGUE

Similar. Similar, except at l., amphora; at r., cornucopia and eagle. Sv. 81.20, 21; Kleiner 1976, p. 4 (Type 2f)

*92  Δ-287  18  3.72

Closely related to 91, variety 92 was the first Fulminating Zeus issue struck after the burial of the Tambouria 1938 hoard (Kleiner 1976, pp. 22, 25, 32–33). The issue was slight, as meager representation in the Sullan hoards confirms (Kleiner 1976, p. 25).

Similar. Similar, except uncertain vessel at l.


Similar. Similar, except uncertain vessel at l.

Θ

Sv. 81.25–27; Kleiner 1976, pl. 1:18-20 (Type 2g)

93  18 coins  17–19  Av. 5.20 (13) Kleiner 1976, p. 4, pl. 1, no. 18
  *a  ΩΔ-59  18  5.13
  *b  ΗΗ-60  18  5.37
  *c  ΠΘ-30  17  5.68

99/8 B.C.

Similar. Similar, except A–OE and at l. and r., two pilei of the Dioskouroi. Sv. 81.32–39; Kleiner 1976, pl. 1:21–23 (Type 2h)

94  69 coins  16–19  Av. 5.55 (26)
  *a  Γ-242  16  4.92
  *b  ΠΘ-314  17  6.08
  *c  Γ-522  16  5.48
  *d  Κ-1264  19  5.40
  *e  ΣΤ'699  17  5.32
  *f  Τ-167  17  5.20 obv. cmk.: cicada in incuse rectangle
  *g  ΣΤ-163  20  - halved

The date of the issue (the next fixed point in the AE 2 chronology after the Agora deposits dated ca. 140 B.C. for varieties 88 and 89) is that of the Demetrios-Agathippos New Style silver, which also employs the two caps of the Dioskouroi for its issue symbol. Since the place of the two-pilei bronzes in the Sullan hoards suggests that the issue fell within a decade or so of 100 B.C., the exceptional association of the bronze with the silver follows naturally (Price 1964, p. 35; Kleiner 1976, pp. 37–38). In Period III the only other instance of a shared symbol is in the star-between-crescents gold, silver, and bronze of 87/6. But the design of the two-pilei bronze is itself exceptional: to accommodate both caps on the reverse, the designer dispensed with the eagle that had regularly stood before Zeus and adopted a linear arrangement of the ethnic, the canonical A–OE of the New Style silver. It is hard to see why the traditional Fulminating Zeus reverse would have been so altered, unless the intent was to assimilate the bronze to the silver. Another feature common to the issues in both metals is their remarkable volume. As Kleiner notes from the forty-seven obverse dies of the silver and the number of bronze pieces in hoards of the early 1st century B.C. (Kleiner 1976, p. 33, note 45; p. 37, note 60), the two-pilei emissions were manufactured in greater quantity than any other New Style silver or (excepting the star between crescents) Fulminating Zeus bronze series.

135 New Style, nos. 879–928, as dated in Boehringer, p. 202; Mattingly 1979, p. 162; and Mørkholm 1984, p. 32.
**ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: 4TH–1ST CENTURIES B.C.**

**mid-90's–early 80's B.C.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>No. of Coins</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16–18</td>
<td>Av. 5.80 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>I-846</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>NN-322</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>MM-485</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar. Similar, except E and at 1., mystic staff. Sv. 81.49–52; Kleiner 1976, pl. 2:24–26 (Type 2t)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>No. of Coins</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16–20</td>
<td>Av. 6.18 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>IIΘ-33</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>P-7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar. Similar, except at 1., thyrsos. Sv. 81.40–44; Kleiner 1976, pl. 2:27–29 (Type 2j)

For the hoards that fix the position of varieties 95 and 96, see p. 67 above.

**87/6 B.C.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>No. of Coins</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>17–21</td>
<td>Av. 7.27 (62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>IT'151</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>M-107</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>X-42</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>E-2450</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>H-17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*f</td>
<td>K-1317</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g</td>
<td>AA-191</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*h</td>
<td>T-420</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>NN-20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>PP'-1006</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>broken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar. Similar, except Θ and at r., star between crescents. Sv. 81.45–48; Kleiner 1976, pl. 2:30–33 (Type 2k)

Although this is the bronze counterpart of the 87/6 B.C. silver (*New Style*, nos. 1143–1146) and gold (Sv. 71.1–4) issues signed by King Mithradates and Aristion, its date is independently confirmed by the contextual evidence of the Sullan bronze hoards and by the circumstances that the earliest Agora deposits in which specimens appear contained debris from the Sullan destruction of 86 (Price 1964, pp. 32–34). Since the star-between-crescents bronzes became worthless after Sulla’s conquest and were discarded, it is not surprising that a remarkable total of thirteen was found in the cistern Deposit N 20:4 of the mid- to late 80’s. For a possible specimen that may have been demonitized like 97h but with an XI on both sides, see 153e (overstruck ca. 20 B.C.).

**UNCLASSIFIED**

[82–84, 90–97] 420 coins of uncertain Fulminating Zeus variety. Of these, 3 were halved, most likely in the 1st century after Christ (pp. 92–93 below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>No. of Coins</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>NN-957</td>
<td>halved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>K-1622</td>
<td>halved (as also Λ-20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>PP'-1004</td>
<td>(U 13:2a) Plate 34:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>PP'-1005</td>
<td>(U 13:2a) Plate 34:2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PERIOD III: CATALOGUE

AE 3

c.a. 130's B.C.\textsuperscript{136}

| Head of Athena r., wearing
| Corinthian helmet; border
| of dots. | Θ-Ε Amphora with transverse
| palm branch. |
| Sv. 107.75–79; |
| Kleiner 1976, |
| pl. 4:84–86 (Type 15) |

98 28 coins 12–15 Ax. 2.61 (12)
*a ΒΙ-465 13 2.58 flan cut down before striking
*b Ω-357 14 3.22 same
*c Γ-1611a 12 2.65

Coins of this variety are occasionally present in hoards of the early 1st century B.C. (Kleiner 1976, p. 32, table III) but in much smaller numbers and in a more worn condition than pieces from the clearly later varieties 99 and 100.

c.a. 130–90 B.C.\textsuperscript{137}

| Head of Athena r., wearing
| Attic helmet; border of dots. | ΑΘΕ below. Two owls stg. r. and l., facing, on thunderbolt; all within olive wreath. |
| Sv. 24.60–68; |
| Kleiner 1976, |
| pl. 4:87–92 (Type 16) |

99 635 coins 12–18 Av. 2.84 (147)
*a Κ-1262a 17 5.35
*b Σ-4073 17 4.96
*c Ε-474 16 3.46
*d ΟΑ-259 15 3.75
*e Γ-140 15 3.65
*f Π-998 14 2.58 trimmed flan
*g ΟΟ-1069 14 2.74
*h ΠΘ-491 14 2.58
*i Θ-991 14 4.08
*j ΠΘ-424 13 2.62 Kleiner 1976, p. 8, pl. 4, no. 89; GRC, fig. 14
*k ΝΝ-1220 13 2.64
*l ΒΒ-494 12 2.33
*m ΖΖ-34 12 2.72
*n Γ-1630 12 1.94
*ο Π-420 12 1.85 overstruck on Owl-on-thunderbolt AE 4 (81)
*p ΠΕ-616 12 broken or halved

In the long course of production, coins of this variety underwent a substantial diminution that is reflected not only in the wide range of flan weights and sizes but also by the progressive reduction of the diameter of the dies. Ultimately, the mint was overstriking the variety on AE 4 chalkoi of the early 2nd century (see 99o). To make them commensurate with the later coins, flans of the earlier, larger 99f and Kleiner 1976, pl. 4:87, were cut down, apparently in these cases after striking, since the trimming respects the reverse type.

Kleiner's dating of ca. 130–90 B.C. follows from the abundance and condition (w2–6) of specimens in hoards of the early 1st century B.C. and the presence of three examples in the Agora drain Deposit A–B 19–20:1 of the third quarter of the 2nd century (Kleiner 1976, p. 18, nos. 115–117; pp. 27, 32, 35–38; Kleiner 1973, pp. 176–177). As proposed below, however, the coinage may have ended by the 90's B.C. with the change to variety 100.

\textsuperscript{136} Kleiner 1976, pp. 37–38.

\textsuperscript{137} Ibid.
Athenian Bronze Coins: 4th–1st Centuries B.C.

**Cicada.**

\(\Theta \cdot E\) Owl stg. r., facing, on thunderbolt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>100 coins</th>
<th>12–16 Av. 2.85 (18)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a Z-2198bis</td>
<td>14 2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b T-517</td>
<td>12 2.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c AP-31</td>
<td>12 3.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d E-548</td>
<td>12 2.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e Θ-114</td>
<td>12 2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*f ΠΙΙ-624</td>
<td>13 2.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 182 hoard specimens weighed by Kleiner (1973, p. 181, table I) gave an average of 3.48 g. and suggested to him that these Cicada/Owl-on-thunderbolt coins represent a larger denominational unit than the Two-owls-on-thunderbolt 99, even though both varieties have diameters of the same size (Kleiner 1973, p. 180; Kleiner 1976, p. 10). The average of 2.85 g. taken from the 18 best Agora specimens, however, agrees with the average weight of the Two-owl coinage (2.69 g. from hoard pieces, 2.84 g. from Agora pieces; see Table III [pp. 324–325 below]). It is noteworthy, too, that in the Athens 1955 and the Keratea 1954 hoards the Cicada/Owl pieces were somewhat less worn than the accompanying Two-owl strikings (Kleiner 1976, p. 27). We deduce that the two varieties may very well represent an earlier and later version of the same AE 3 unit. If so, the later Cicada/Owl coins will have been struck, around or shortly after 100 B.C., with full restored AE 3 weight. Two pieces occur in the drain Deposit B 20:9 (early 1st century but no coins later than 87 B.C.; Kleiner 1976, pp. 19–21, nos. 107, 108).

**AE 4**

166–150's B.C.

Head of Apollo r., laur. \(\Theta \cdot E\) Amphora with transverse palm branch.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>101 coins</th>
<th>12–14 Av. 1.64 (15)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a Z-610bis</td>
<td>13 1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b Σ-5469</td>
<td>13 2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c Δ-169</td>
<td>12 2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d Γ-208</td>
<td>14 1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e Τ-1377</td>
<td>12 2.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The later variety 105 has similar types but a different arrangement of the ethnic and omits the palm branch behind the amphora; the coins tend to be smaller and are much cruder in style. The fine obverses of the present variety relate it to the AE 2 Apollo/Owl with lyre (87) and perhaps to the rare AE 3 Apollo/Lyre (Sv. 106.8–10), which has yet to show up in the Agora or Delos excavations. 101e (previously misclassified with variety 105) comes from the ca. 140 B.C. destruction deposit of South Stoa I.

ca. 140's B.C.138

Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>102 coins</th>
<th>10–13 Av. 1.63 (8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a O-177</td>
<td>11 1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b K-1284</td>
<td>13 2.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c OO-468</td>
<td>12 2.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d K-520</td>
<td>13 1.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

138 Kleiner 1976, pp. 34, 38.
PERIOD III: CATALOGUE

The context of 102g gives a terminus ante quem of ca. 140 B.C. This, the only AE 3–5 variety in the pre-86 B.C. coinage with an obverse head of Zeus, was likely minted with the Zeus/Fulminating Athena AE 2 (88, 89) of the 140’s.

103 21 coins 10–13 Av. 1.58 (10)
*a NN-1656 12 1.89
*b NN-1120 11 1.54
*c Δ-422 11 1.67
*d K-1759 10 1.66
*e Z-2723 12 broken
*f NN-1556 12 1.62
*g OO-1222 12 1.69

Dating is from the contexts of 103e (ca. 140 B.C.) and 103b (also of the third quarter of the 2nd century). The archaizing Apollo head with falling twists of hair is distinctive, as is the crowded, wreathed reverse. 103g, found with three imperial (Period VB) fractions, circulated as late as the 2nd or 3rd centuries after Christ, when the punched cavity was added; see p. 94 below.

ca. 140–90 B.C.

104 2 coins
*a ΠΘ-290a 12 1.50
*b III-939 10 1.25

In contrast to these two Agora pieces, the variety has been found in quantity on Delos; see Table III, pp. 324–325 below. Sv. 106.78–81 and the four specimens illustrated by Kleiner (1976, pl. 4) are all from the Delos excavations, which recovered sixty of these Artemis/Plemochoe coins from the House of the Comedians alone (Delos XXVII, p. 321, pl. 65, F178–F237). There can be little doubt that the variety was minted for use on the island. Weights show that the variety is later than the Apollo/Plemochoe, of which only one specimen has been recorded from Delos (Numismatic Collection of Athens 1906/7 xτ’ 225).

[103, 104] 52 coins of uncertain Apollo/Plemochoe or Artemis/Plemochoe variety.

105 31 coins 10–12 Av. 1.72 (20)
*a Τ-240 12 1.56
*b ΠΘ-287 12 1.76

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[101 or 105] 12 coins of uncertain Apollo/Amphora variety.

Head of Kore(?) r. \(\Lambda\Theta\) above. Piglet stg. r. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Variety</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-159bis</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSR-76</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the relatively crude obverse heads of this and the foregoing 105 are virtually identical (Kleiner 1976, p. 7), it is not certain whether they are all of a laureate Apollo or whether, as more reasonably, the heads of 106 with the piglet reverse represent Kore wearing a crown of wheat. Influenced by the piglet, Kleiner (1976) mistook the heads of both varieties as heads of “Demeter?” and connected 106 with the Demeter/Piglet AE 2 of the second quarter of the 2nd century (86). But both AE 4 varieties must belong further along in the century when the size and weight of the chalkous had declined, and the head on the present variety looks too youthful for Demeter. For Kore on a later issue, see 117.

With the shrinkage of the AE 4 flans there was a corresponding reduction in the sizes of the dies; compare the Apollo heads of variety 101 with the smaller heads of 105 and the still smaller Kore(?)/Piglet coins. Any firm contextual evidence that could fix the position of these and the other light AE 4 varieties 107–109 in the half century before 87 B.C. is lacking.139

139 A Kore(?)/Pig coin (Kleiner 1976, pl. 3:72) belongs to the seven-piece Numismatic Collection of Athens lot IIK.127 published by Kleiner (1976, p. 28) as part of a possible hoard, even though one of the coins (F7) dates after 86 B.C. (variety 127) and would have to have been an intrusion. If the remaining six coins do happen to come from a hoard, however, they suggest that Kore(?)/Pig dates closer to 102 (Zeus/Plemochoe) and 103 (Apollo/Plemochoe) than, say, very late in the 2nd century.
PERIOD III: CATALOGUE

Cicada.

A-E
Amphora with transverse palm branch.

Sv. 107.60–69

108 59 coins 9–11 Av. 1.13 (20)
*a A-321 10 0.70
*b BH-76 9 1.00
*c BB-706 9 1.23
*d NN-200 9 0.75
*e K-1028 9 0.97
*f AA-266 9 0.66

Kleiner 1976, p. 6, pl. 3, no. 58

This is a revival of the Period II Cicada/Amphora AE 4 (85) but with reduced size and weight, an altered form of the ethnic, and a generally clumsier style. The total of 672 Cicada/Amphora pieces listed under 85 doubtless include many pieces that belong to this late 2nd-century issue; see pp. 65–66 above.

109 3 coins
*a B-602bis 10 1.17
*b B-134 11 0.80
*c NN-2053 11 broken

The variety is, in effect, a conflation of 107 and 108.

A-Θ
E Quiver and bow.

Sv. 107.70–73

110 53 coins 7–10 Av. 0.88 (11)
*a Π-972 10 1.23
*b NN-1299 10 0.76
*c OA-275 7 0.46
*d Β'-729bis 8 0.47

Kleiner's dating of ca. 150–140 B.C. (Kleiner 1976, pp. 36, 38) was based on the misattribution of Z-2852, an 11 mm. illegible coin from Deposit H 12:1, to this variety (Kleiner 1976, p. 15, no. 92). It is clear from the small Delos hoard IGCH 324 (note 105 above, p. 66) that the variety belongs to the middle or later phase of Period III. On the other hand, no specimens of the following 111–114 have been recovered from a chronologically useful context.

A
Θ-E Lyre.

Sv. 106.23–26

111 6 coins 7–10 Av. 0.43 (6)
*a Χ-33 10 0.49
(b N 19:1)
*b Σ-2114 8 0.58
*c Ω-263 7 0.59
*d Π-326 9 0.26 broken?
ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: 4TH–1ST CENTURIES B.C.

### Period IV

86–10’s B.C.

In the wake of Sulla’s capture of Athens in the spring of 86, the character of the bronze coinage was abruptly transformed. Abandoning the Fulminating Zeus AE 2 of the defeated government, Athens began to mint a larger and heavier AE 1 coin that was destined to serve as the city’s principal bronze unit until the advent of Athens’ Greek imperial coinage in the 2nd century after Christ.

The new AE 1 coinage was struck in five series (Table IV, pp. 326–327 below). In the first (Period IVA) the bronze is closely tied to the post-Mithradatic New Style silver: the AE 1 issues bear the same types as the silver drachms and tetradrachms, Head of Athena Parthenos/Owl standing on amphora in surrounding olive wreath, and frequently employ the same emission symbols. Like the New Style silver, this bronze was probably called “stephanephoric” money; and when the minting of the silver was discontinued in the late 40’s these stephanephoric, or heavy Owl-on-amphora bronzes, were discontinued with it. From that point down to the end of the Athens’ Hellenistic coinage in the Augustan era, Athens struck in bronze alone. In the second series (Period IVB), which is connected with Marc Antony’s control of Greece after the Battle of Philippi, the eponymous olive wreath disappears from the reverses of the coins, a variety of changing reverse types replace the static Owl-on-amphora device, and the size and weight of the AE 1 unit were allowed to fall. The three remaining series (Period IVC–E) are early Augustan. Reverses are again wreathed but changing types persist except in the last two last issues, 157 and 158, the light Owl-on-amphora issues of Period IVE, which nostalgically revive the old AE 1 reverse with which the post-Mithradatic bronze began.

The basic study of this post-Mithradatic bronze will be found in my publication of two sizable Augustan hoards, the 483-piece Chaïdari hoard of ca. 1929 and the 230-piece 1932 Agia Varvara
hoard, each of which contained a nearly complete run of the AE 1 issues from the mid-80's B.C. through the final Augustan striking. Three smaller bronze hoards and a few Agora deposits provide supplementary find information; but by and large, the Period IV absolute chronology depends on the association of exceptional coin types with events in the historical record and, for a few of the initial Period IVA heavy Owl-on-amphora issues, on synchronisms with the contemporary silver.

Period IVA: 86–42 B.C.

The chronology of the post-Mithradatic tetradrachm and drachm coinage, to which the first or heavy Owl-on-amphora AE 1 emissions are tied, is still very much under discussion. The sequence of the first eleven or twelve silver issues is relatively secure, and on the absolute chronology endorsed by Mørkholm, the first eight of these issues would have been struck in a more or less annual sequence beginning in 86/5 immediately after Sulla's conquest and continuing into the early 70's. The seventh or eighth emission, Sotades-Themistokles, is, however, the last issue in two hoards discovered on Delos, and after the next emission, Eumelos-Theoxenides, there is an immediate, drastic falling off in the volume of coins minted. For the remaining twenty-five known issues, output was normally limited to just one or two obverse tetradrachm or drachm dies a year. Since the piratical devastation of Delos in 69 provides a sound historical explanation both for the burial of the two Delos hoards and for the sudden and permanent loss of Athens' ability to maintain minting...

140 Kroll 1972: IGCH 341 and 342. Contrary to the notes in IGCH, it is clear that the Chaidari and Agia Varvara hoards are separate finds (Kroll 1972, pp. 86–88), although both do come from the same region of Attica (near the Sacred Way between Athens and Daphni) and were almost certainly buried at the same time. The date has to be estimated from the moderate to slight wear of the latest coins (of Periods IVD and E) and should lie within the last decade B.C. or, less probably, the first decade of our era. A connection with the obscure revolt of Athens in ca. A.D. 13 (for which, see Bowersock, Augustus, pp. 105–108) cannot be ruled out, but the wear of the coins implies an earlier emergency. A raid of brigands? Crawford (CMRR, p. 251) makes prominent mention of both hoards but following IGCH misdates them to 42 B.C.

141 Kroll 1972, pp. 87–88, table 1: Delos 1910 (IGCH 322), 16 coins, buried possibly in 69 B.C. (Table VI, p. 329 below) below); Akropolis North Slope 1936 (IGCH 340), 40 coins, buried ca. 30 B.C.; and Attica 1927 (IGCH 343), 44 coins, buried, like the Chaidari and Agia Varvara finds, around the end of the 1st century B.C. Attica 1927 may be a parcel from the Chaidari find.

142 Now see Mattingly 1979, pp. 161–165, table B, placing Eumelos-Theoxenides after Sotades-Themistokles and (like Mørkholm 1984, pp. 32–33) following Boehringer, pp. 24–27, 202–203, in inserting the strange Kointos-Charmostra issue as the first issue after Mithradates-Aristion. Only the inclusion of Kointos-Charmostra is open to serious doubt; despite its Sullan date, Margaret Thompson's arguments for excluding it from the Athenian sequence should not be minimized (New Style, pp. 464–467, nos. 1427 and 1428).

143 Mørkholm 1984, pp. 33, 42, citing Habichet 1976, pp. 137–142, who connects the symbol of Harmodios and Aristogeiton of Mentor-Moschion, the third (or, subtracting Kointos-Charmostra, second) issue after Mithradates-Aristion, with the honors lavished on Sulla upon his return to Athens in 84. But in the absence of supporting hoard evidence, the association can only be conjectural. The overstriking of a Demeas-Kallikratides tetradrachm (approximately the twelfth issue after Mithradates-Aristion) by the Roman quaestor Aesillas no longer presents any difficulties for New Style chronology in any period. In a paper presented in London at the 10th International Numismatic Congress in 1986, Robert Bauslaugh was able to confirm the suspicions of Christoph Boehringer ("Hellenistischer Münzschatz aus Trapezunt 1970," SNN 1975 [pp. 37–64], p. 62) and Mørkholm (1984, pp. 35–38) that minting of Aesillas tetradrachms continued into the 60's. Until Bauslaugh's forthcoming corpus of Aesillas is in print, see his "Two Unpublished Overstrikes: New Style Athens and Aesillas the Quaestor," ANSNN 32, 1987, pp. 11–21.

144 The hoards are Delos Θ and A (IGCH 297 and 347): New Style, pp. 513–515, 533–537, pls. 197–201. For contraction in output, see New Style, pp. 653–654; Mattingly 1979, p. 165, table B.
Athenian Bronze Coins: 4th–1st Centuries B.C.

at anything approaching preceding levels, a very strong case exists for pulling down the date of all eight or nine of the earlier post-Mithradatic issues into the 70’s B.C. This leaves a gap of about five years between the Mithradates-Aristion issue of 87/6 and the recommencement of the silver coinage around 80 B.C. Mattingly had already postulated a gap of two years by allowing the silver to begin with Sulla’s resettlement of Athenian affairs in 84/3, but two years should probably be regarded as a minimum.

However long the interval, an interruption in the striking of the silver is only to be expected after the exhausting siege, pillaging, and confiscations of 86 and the temporary loss of Delos for the two years thereafter. It is within this interval that the earliest Owl-on-amphora bronze surely belongs. Introduced at a time of crisis and economic reconstruction, its silver types and heavy AE 1 module suggest that, like the AE 1 hemidrachms of 229 (64), it was originally intended as a partial replacement for silver. Once the striking of silver was resumed, additional Owl-on-amphora AE 1 emissions, now bearing emission symbols, were minted from time to time along with it.

Nine issues have symbols. Two date with the pre-69 silver: 118 (poppy and wheat-ears symbol) and 119 (mystic staff) share symbols respectively with the Lysandros-Oinophilos and the Sotades-Themistokles silver of the 70’s. Two or three issues (124: caduceus; 125: thyrsos; and probably 121: tripod) parallel emissions in the later silver of the 60’s–40’s B.C. The rest (120: plemochoe; 122: two wheat ears; 123: flower; and 126: two pilei) stand alone and probably belong to years from which no silver drachms or tetradrachms are extant, if any were struck at all. From the wear of the Chaidari and Agia Varvara hoard specimens, it is clear that 126 was the last issue in the series and that 124 and 125 are late. But we lack any further physical criteria that can be brought to bear on the internal chronology: too few of the coins are well enough preserved for stylistic comparison, and throughout the series the AE 1 weights were uniformly maintained at an average of about 10–11 g. (see Table IV [pp. 326–327 below], column of hoard specimens).

In addition to these regular emissions, the AE 1 unit was struck in two exceptional issues with Eleusinian types, 116: Veiled Demeter head/Triptolemos in chariot, and 117: Kore head/Iakchos. Both were struck early in Period IVA and imply an exceptional lavishness in the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries at this time. Plutarch, Sulla 26, has usually been understood to indicate that Sulla was initiated at the Mysteries upon his return to Athens in 84 B.C. Although difficulties with this interpretation have been recently pointed out, the traditional view of a Sullan initiation has the advantage of providing an explanation for at least one of these issues.

The Period IVA fractional units (Table V, p. 328 below) continue the AE 2, AE 3, and AE 4 modules of the pre-Mithradatic coinage but are readily distinguished by their thick, chunky fabric; leaded alloy (giving them a black color when cleaned); and, except in some earlier varieties, ethnics inscribed in one line: A-ΘE. These characteristics are typical of the AE 1 coinage as well, but they have a special relevance for the four fractional varieties 129–132 and the Period IVB fraction 145, all of which had been previously misattributed to the pre-Mithradatic coinage, although none occur

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145 As David M. Lewis ("The Chronology of the Athenian New Style Coinage," NC, ser. 7, 2, 1962 [pp. 275–300], pp. 282–283) points out for the burial of the Delos hoards and Crawford (CMRR, p. 196) urges for the collapse in the volume of minting. For the abandonment of Delos as a center of commerce following the sack of 69, see Hoff 1989, p. 7. A third hoard that may date from 69 is the small Delos 1910 hoard of bronze coins (note 141 above, p. 81) analyzed in Table VI, p. 329 below.


147 Clinton 1989a, p. 1503.
in hoards of the late 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C. that give a good representation of the Period III AE 2-4 varieties.\[148\]

The three contexts tabulated in Table VI (p. 329 below) are essential for isolating the earlier Period IVA fractional issues of the mid-80’s to mid-70’s: Demeter-head/Triptolemos-in-chariot AE 2 (127 and 128), Apollo-head/Cicada AE 3 (131), Apollo- (or Athena-) head/Wheat-ears AE 4 (132–136). The poppy symbol on some Demeter/Triptolemos AE 2 pieces (128) links them to the AE 1 variety 118 and the Lysandros-Oinophilos drachms and tetradrachms, which employ the device of the poppy between wheat ears as their emission symbol in the early 70’s, and suggests that the earlier, heavier Demeter/Triptolemos AE 2 without symbol (127) probably belongs near the start of the IVA bronze in the mid-80’s. The AE 4 varieties 133 and 134 with a reverse type of a poppy and wheat ears are possibly also to be dated with the Lysandros-Oinophilos silver and large bronze. But the device, although new in the post-Mithradatic coinage, was, like the two wheat ears of the other AE 4 varieties (132, 135, and 136), a conventional Eleusinian one (see 150) and need not as a coin type be a magistrate’s badge writ large, especially since virtually all the old, speculative associations of exceptional Period IV reverse types with symbols on the New Style silver have proved to be mistaken.\[149\]

The retention of the AE 2, AE 3, and AE 4 modules suggests some level of continuity between the pre-Mithradatic and the Period IVA bronze. The chalkous, quarter-obol, and half-obol values that we have assigned to the pre-Mithradatic AE 4, AE 3, and AE 2 modules are likely to apply to these same modules in Period IVA, with the result that the new Period IVA AE 1 denomination would be valued as an obol.

One might thus expect that the large AE 1 coins of post-Mithradatic Athens were known as obols. Martin Price, however, has made the useful conjecture that they may actually have been known as drachms,\[150\] and there are two reasons for thinking that this conjecture is correct. The first, of course, is the denominational connotations of the stephanephoric silver drachm (and tetradrachm) types: their transfer to the AE 1 unit would be most meaningful if this bronze unit was itself intended to represent a drachm. The second argument derives from the Hadrianic or early Antonine property-tax inscription IG II\[2\] 2776,\[151\] which records sums in the denarius and four local, obviously bronze, subdivisions of the denarius (the drachm, the hemidrachm, obol, and hemiobol) and shows that by the second quarter of the 2nd century after Christ the four denominations had been re-tariffed to one-sixth of their original values in silver to become \(\frac{1}{6}\), \(\frac{1}{12}\), \(\frac{1}{36}\), and \(\frac{1}{72}\) of the denarius respectively.

\[148\] Varieties 131 (Apollo/Cicada), 130 (Athena/Artemis), and 145 (Zeus/Eagle) were thus misdated by Kleiner 1976, pp. 34–35, 38 (table I); varieties 129 (Dolphin on trident/Plemochoe) and 132 (Apollo/Two wheat ears in wreath) by Kroll (1972, p. 87, note to table I).

\[149\] For such now discredited associations in Svoronos’ plates, see Sv., pls. 56 (Apollo Delios reverse of 143 with the Apollo Delios symbol of the pre-86 silver of Sokrates-Dionysos), 66 (gorgoneion obverse of 139 with the symbol of the pre-86 silver of Niketes-Dionysios), 72 (sphinx reverse of 153 with the symbol of the pre-69 silver of Diophantos-Aischines), 77 (dolphin-on-trident reverse of 129 with the symbol of the pre-86 silver of Xenokles-Harmoxenos), and 78 (Nike reverse of 147 with the symbol of the pre-42 silver of Philokrates-Kalliphon). Thus, even though it is at least chronologically possible, the connection suggested on Sv., pl. 73 between the reverse of the AE 2 130 (Artemis running right, with torch) and the symbol of the post-69 Leukios-Antikrates tetradrachms (New Style, no. 1227) (Artemis [or Kore?] running left and Demeter holding a torch right) is not likely to be any more substantial than any of these other former type-symbol associations, quite apart from the question of whether the devices really match.

\[150\] Price, CRWLR, p. 97.

\[151\] See S. G. Miller, “A Roman Monument in the Athenian Agora,” Hesperia 41, 1972, pp. 50–95, with addendum, pp. 475–476. The inscription is dated between ca. A.D. 130 and 140 or slightly later (ibid., pp. 66, 86–87), although a date as early as A.D. 110–116 has also been proposed (cf. ibid., pp. 475–476). See pp. 118–119 below.
Since the denarius was by weight the effective equivalent of an Attic silver drachm, it is apparent that the Roman-era bronze hemidrachm and drachm, called a “light” drachm, λεπτοῦ δραχμῆ, in IG II² 1368, another inscription of the 2nd century after Christ, represented the traditional silver values of the hemiobol and obol and that at some point the bronze coins that would have ordinarily represented the hemiobol and obol were renamed hemidrachm and drachm. When did this renaming occur? Presumably after the Period III coinage, which ended in the Sullan siege, but before the start of Athens’ imperial bronze coinage in the 2nd century of our era, inasmuch as the latter coinage was structured around the reduced AE 1 denomination inherited from the Period IV bronze. There being no other occasion within this span to which the renaming can be plausibly attributed, one concludes that the renaming probably took place with the creation of the stephanephoric AE 1 coinage after the capture and plundering of Athens in 86.

Silver would have been in short supply, and it is not hard to imagine why the Athenians would have resorted to the issue of highly overvalued bronze drachms as an emergency measure. Conceivably, these initial AE 1 drachms were originally tariffed at face value to be the equivalents of silver drachms; but such excessive overvaluation could not have been sustained for long. One suspects that the value of the AE 1 drachms declined until they were finally stabilized at the level of an obol by the time the Athenians recommenced the striking of a silver coinage. In this way they would have become obols in all but name. It follows that the AE 2 unit would have been termed a hemidrachm. This is independently suggested by the Eleusinian types with which it was normally struck, through the Augustan phase of Period IV; for in the New Style silver the hemidrachm, whose reverse owl stands within a wheat wreath on a mystic staff, was the one denomination designed with an Eleusinian emphasis. Whether or not the reverse of the AE 3 Apollo head/Cicada variety (131) was taken over from the pre-Mithradatic AE 3 Cicada/Owl-on-thunderbolt (100), arguably a quarter-obol, it follows that in Period IV the AE 3 unit was probably known as a quarter-drachm. The AE 4 eighth, the smallest fraction of Period IV, could have still been called the chalkous, as it had been for centuries.

In addition to these IVA issues, bronzes of pre-86 mintage probably continued in use to provide a substantial part of the fractional currency after 86. Although their value remained unaltered, we assume that they, too, would have had to have been renamed, the familiar old AE 2 Fulminating Zeus hemiobols, for example, becoming officially recognized as bronze hemidrachms.

No survey of the Period IVA bronze would be complete without mention of the bronze coinage minted at Delos in the name of Athens by Gaius Valerius Triarius, the Roman legate who restored the island city after the piratical attack in 69 B.C. (see 830 and Sv. 106.66–76). Triarius struck in two modules, AE 2 and AE 3, and the similarity of these in size and weight to the common AE 2 and AE 3 issues of Athens’ pre-86 B.C. bronze underscores once again that whatever changes may have occurred in denominational nomenclature, the old module-value system of the pre-86 bronze coinage appears to have survived the First Mithradatic War intact.

**Period IVB: 42/1–32 B.C.**

The six AE 1 issues of the next, or unwreathed, phase of the post-Mithradatic coinage have a historical interest that few other Athenian bronze series can rival. Their relative chronology, as seen in Table IV (pp. 326–327 below), is fixed primarily by the descending weights and the increasing amount of lead in the alloys of the issues. The Dionysos types of the fourth and sixth issues (140:}

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152 The distinctiveness of the New Style hemidrachm reverses proves that the Period IVA heavy Owl-on-amphora AE 1 pieces cannot be identified as bronze hemidrachms, as Kroll 1981a, p. 273 once proposed.
Young Dionysos/Athena advancing, and 144: Zeus/Bearded Dionysos head) place these two issues after the summer of 39, when Marc Antony, arriving from Italy with his new wife Octavia, declared that he was to be addressed as “The New Dionysos” and took up residence in Athens through the winters of 39/8 and 38/7. Together with the associated fractional varieties 141 (Young Dionysos head/Kantharos) and 142 (Bearded Dionysos/Bust of Athena), these are the first and, until the time of Hadrian, the only Athenian coins with types depicting Dionysos. In view of the extravagant lengths to which the Athenians went in honoring Antony as Dionysos,\(^\text{153}\) including a ritual marriage between Antony-Dionysos and Athena and the celebration of a new festival, the Panathenaic Antoeia of Ἀντόνιος Θεός Νέος Διόνυσος;\(^\text{154}\) the initial Dionysos issues can be attributed to 39/8 or 38/7 B.C. with a high degree of probability. Accordingly, the first unwreathed AE 1 issue (137: Athena Parthenos/Fulminating Zeus) will have been struck no later than 42/1 or 41/0.

On the other hand, this first unwreathed issue assuredly falls after the end-date of the New Style silver, since the new features of the bronze (the substitution of changing reverse types for the familiar Owl-on-amphora device, rapidly falling weights, and, above all, the omission of the stephanos from the reverses) signal that the era of Athens’ stephanephoric currency had passed. Prosopographically, we know that silver tetradrachms and drachms were being struck as late as the mid-40’s,\(^\text{155}\) so that the pivotal change from the wreathed silver and bronze to the exclusive production of unwreathed bronze is to be placed sometime between ca. 45 and 41 B.C. In historical terms, the change occurred either when Greece was under the control of Brutus, from late 44 to the Battle of Philippi (October 42), or shortly after the battle, when Antony led a large army into Greece and made Athens his winter headquarters.\(^\text{156}\)

A case for Brutus can be developed from the assumption that the Fulminating Zeus reverse of the first unwreathed issue was chosen to symbolize the freedom espoused by the Republican cause after the murder of Julius Caesar. Revived from the Period II and III AE 2 coinage, the type acknowledged Zeus as protector and symbol of eleutheria (pp. 57–58 above) and would have been an appropriate choice after Brutus arrived in Athens in August of 44 and was effusively honored as Liberator with bronze statues of himself and Cassius erected next to the Tyrannicides in the Agora.\(^\text{157}\) During a stay of several months he began to organize the Republican resistance against the Caesareans\(^\text{158}\) and soon received the allegiance of the other cities of Greece, which expected that he would free them from Roman rule.\(^\text{159}\) The theme of Freedom dominated the gold and silver coinage struck by Brutus and Cassius in 43 and 42, and among their types was the tripod of Apollo, patron of libertas.\(^\text{160}\) The Pythian tripod also happens to be the reverse type of the second unwreathed Athenian AE 1

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\(^{153}\) On Antony-Dionysos at Athens, see Dio 47.39.2; Seneca, Suasoriae 1.6–7; Socrates of Rhodes, apud Athenaios 4.148 B–C; Zonaras, 10.23; Raubitschek 1946, pp. 146–150; Cerfau and Tondriau, pp. 300–301.

\(^{154}\) IG II\(^\text{2}\) 1034, lines 22–23. The alternate restoration of the name of the festival as the Antonian Panathenaia (by Raubitschek 1946, p. 148) has not met with approval: Cerfau and Tondriau, p. 301 and C. Pelékidis, Histoire de l’éphèbe attique, Paris 1962, p. 255.

\(^{155}\) The evidence comes from the three issues signed by Diokles of Kephisia and the subsequent issue of Diokles of Melite (New Style, nos. 1249, 1250, 1259–1262, 1269–1271), all of which postdate 51/0, when the Kephisian Diokles held the priestship of Asklepios and Hygeia. See Mattingly 1969, p. 328; Kroll 1972, pp. 93–94; Mørkholm 1984, pp. 35, 42.

\(^{156}\) Plutarch, Antony 23.2.


\(^{159}\) Dio 47.21.1.

\(^{160}\) Crawford, RRC, nos. 498–500, with p. 741.
issue (138), and so it can be argued that the first two Period IVB issues date from the two archon years preceding Philippi, 44/3 and 43/2.

Nevertheless, the case for Antony is much stronger, in the first instance because it allows the full IVB series to belong uninterruptedly to a single regime. There is, moreover, no difficulty in associating the second, unwreathed tripod issue with Antony. Plutarch (Antony 23.3) mentions that before Antony left Athens for Asia Minor in the spring of 41 “he made measurements of the Temple of Pythian Apollo with the intention of completing it; for he had promised this to the Senate (σύγχραλητον).” Although this was the temple at Delphi (it had been burned by marauding Thracians in 85/4),\(^{161}\) the Pythian tripod of the second IVB emission could still be an allusion to Antony's project. If Antony upon arrival in Athens in 42 confirmed the city's status as a “free and allied city” (as he must have, to judge from his unexpectedly conciliatory treatment of Athens), the Fulminating Zeus reverse of the first unwreathed issue would have been just as timely an emblem of eleutheria in that year as before Philippi,\(^{162}\) if indeed the type was exclusively topical. But we will see (pp. 90–91) that the type may have been chosen also for its denominational significance: to denote devaluation of the AE 1 unit to equivalence with the pre-Mithradatic Fulminating Zeus AE 2.

The situation after Philippi presents, finally, the more plausible historical and monetary context for the Athenian decision to abandon the minting of silver. The explicit change in the appearance of the bronze coinage demonstrates that however slight and erratic the minting of the stephanephoric silver may have been since the 60's, its termination was a deliberate legislative act. The silver did not just die out from a lack of resources. Competition from the lighter and now overwhelmingly plentiful Roman denarius left the Athenians little choice but to forsake thought of further production. From hoards, Michael Crawford remarks that “it is the period after the death of Julius Caesar which sees the spread for the first time over most all of the whole of the Greek east of issues of the mainstream coinage of Rome.”\(^{163}\) The spread was greatly augmented by the denarius issues of Brutus and Cassius in 43–42 B.C.,\(^{164}\) up to that time the most extensive denarius coinage minted in the East, and after Philippi by the almost continuous stream of denarii issued by Antony in Asia Minor and probably at some bases in Greece.\(^{165}\)

The termination of the New Style silver was thus a response to the tidal wave of Roman military silver that flooded Greece during the Second Roman Civil War. The response clearly cannot be attributed to Brutus' residence in Athens in 44, before he had begun to assemble an army or to strike a coinage, nor within the next year and a half when the early civil war denarii were only beginning to circulate. After Philippi, however, this silver was circulating more widely; and Antony stationed his army for several months at Athens, seeming to have already decided upon making Athens his long-term headquarters and consequently one of the chief centers of Roman administrative, military, and naval power in the East.\(^{166}\) The presence of Antony and his forces in the winter of 42/1 must

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162 Compare the head of Eleutheria on coins of Pella and Thessalonike commemorating the free status awarded to these cities by Antony and Octavian after Philippi (RPC I, 1545 and 1551, with pp. 296, 297).

163 Crawford, CMRR, p. 252. So, too, Price, CRWLR, p. 99: “It is only with M. Antonius that [the denarius] appears to have enjoyed widespread use.”

164 Crawford, RRC, nos. 498–508.

165 Ibid., nos. 516, 517, 520–522, 527–529, etc. Minting of Antonian denarii in Greece, see RPC I, p. 245. For the bronze coinage struck for Antony in Greece, see note 180 below, p. 89.

166 Antony's other center was Ephesos, but he seems to have favored Athens. In the fall of 40, Antony returned to Athens to meet with his wife Fulvia and other adherents before continuing on to Brundisium (Appian, Bella Civilia 5.76). Returning a year later with Octavia, he remained for two winters while preparing war against the Parthians. After a
have injected denarii into the Athenian economy as never before and caused the Athenians to bring
the era of their stephanephoric coinage to a formal close.\(^{167}\)

The terms of the resulting legislation are beyond recovery. However much they might have
accorded a preferred, \textit{de jure} status to the denarius, the latter by this time was probably becoming the
basic silver coin in Athens regardless, as the heavier silver of true Attic weight was being driven
into savings or the melting pot. The legislation would surely have addressed the character of the
new unwreathed bronze, which now, necessarily valued in relation to the denarius, was retariffed
downwards. The evidence and nature of this devaluation will be discussed presently, but it can be
noted here that the progressively falling weights of the Period IVB AE 1 emissions are responsible for
the reduced weights of the fractional varieties of the period (Table V, p. 328): the reduced AE 2 141
(Dionysos/Kantharos), the reduced AE 4 142 (Bearded Dionysos/Athena bust), the last emission of
the Hellenistic coinage struck in this familiar small module, and the reduced AE 2 145 (Zeus/Eagle
on thunderbolt).

The Ptolemaic types of this last variety date it and with it the related Zeus/Bearded Dionysos
AE 1 variety 144 to the time of Antony's liaison with Kleopatra and thus almost certainly to their
stay of several months in Athens in the summer of 32.

\textit{The Augustan Issues of Periods IVC–E: 31–10's B.C.}

Athens' Hellenistic coinage concludes in the early Augustan era in three distinct series of reduced
AE 1 emissions. Except for the last, they continue the Period IVB convention of changing reverse
types, but reverses are now again enclosed in a wreath. Unlike Period IVB issues 137, 138, and 143,
whose Athena heads scrupulously replicated the obverse heads of the discontinued stephanephoric
silver and bronze, the Augustan emissions were normally designed with Athena heads that were
either very free or very crude adaptations of the New Style prototype.

The first re-wreathed AE 1 series (Period IVC) consists of three small issues of aberrant
appearance and considerably restored weight of 8–9 g. Reverses all suggest a connection with
Octavian: the Demeter or Kore reverse of 146 with his initiation at Eleusis within weeks after
Actium (early September of 31), the Nike reverse of 147 with Actium itself, and the Standing Zeus
(Eleutherios) reverse of 148 with Octavian's role as "Liberator". The three issues may be dated
accordingly to late 31 B.C. and the years soon following.\(^{168}\)

After an interval, minting resumed on an unprecedented scale in the second Augustan coinage of
four homogeneous issues (Period IVD). Obverses are typified by a helmet with flattened crown and a
single, bushy tail of the central crest falling behind (as opposed to the two linear tails that trail behind

few years, when Octavia came with troops from Italy for continuing the war, she brought them to Athens (Plutarch,
\textit{Antony} 53.1–3). In the summer of 32, when assembling his forces to defeat Octavian, Antony again took up residence
at Athens, this time in the company of Kleopatra (\textit{Antony} 57.1–2).

\(^{167}\) Antony may or may not have had a hand in the decision, but if he did it need not have been coercive. Writing about
Antony's first residence in Athens in 42/1, Plutarch (\textit{Antony} 23.2) tells how he "particularly liked to be addressed as
\textit{Philathenaios} and gave to the city very many gifts,” which, according to Appian (\textit{Bella Civilia} 5.7) included the islands
of Aigina, Ikos, Skiathos, and Peparethos. Antony naturally replaced the democratic government that had supported
Brutus and Cassius with an oligarchy (see J. Kirchner’s commentary to \textit{IG II}² 1043, and P. Graindor, \textit{Athènes sous Auguste},
Cairo 1927, p. 95); but the logical time for this change in government was 42/1, not Antony's return from Italy three
years later.

\(^{168}\) Correcting the chronology in Kroll 1972, p. 99, where I assumed an unbroken chain of annual AE 1 strikings from
the start of the unwreathed AE 1 in 41 B.C. and, not recognizing the proper sequence of the IVE coinage, placed both the
Period IVC and the Period IVE series before Actium.
on regular New Style obverses) and reverses by a new, triangular disposition of the ethnic. Alphas are normally formed with broken bars, although bowed bars are sometimes found in the first emission (149, Athena advancing, owl) and straight crossbars in the later ones (151: Athena advancing, snake; 152: Owl on prow, wheat ear; and 153: Sphinx). As an Athenian coin type, the concluding sphinx device is inexplicable unless understood as the sphinx of Augustus’ signet.\(^{169}\) Augustan cistophoroi, which Sutherland assigns to 27–26 B.C.,\(^ {170}\) and aurei later minted at Pergamon in 19–18 B.C.\(^ {171}\) also employed the sphinx as a reverse type. Since Augustus replaced the sphinx with a signet portraying Alexander the Great (Pliny, *Natural History* 37.10), the final appearance of the sphinx on Roman coins of 19–18 B.C. gives a terminus ante or ad quem for the sphinx issue at Athens and an approximate dating in the mid-20’s to early teens for the four issues of Period IVD overall. The second reference to Augustus in this series is the prow, presumably the prow of Actium, that supports the owl of Athens on variety 152.

The four IVD issues were struck with a carefully maintained average weight of around 7.5 g., and in tremendous numbers. The total of 1,409 Agora specimens makes these, if not the most massive issues in Athenian bronze coinage, then certainly the most prolific in a large module. With them were struck half-unit emissions (150, 154–156), mostly with Eleusinian types, and, at the beginning of Period IVD, three bronze cleruchy emissions for the Athenian islands of Lemnos (159A), Skyros (160), and Imbros (161). Intended for overseas use by these cleruchies, the coins were minted in Athens and verify that in the post-Actian settlement of Greece, Athens was confirmed in possession of her traditional Northern Aegean cleruchy islands.

The concluding reduced AE 1 series (Period IVE) revives the old stephanephoric types of Parthenos head/Owl on amphora for two issues (157: snake symbol, and 158: cicada symbol) but at low average weights of 6.4 and 6.2 g. and generally in a bizarre, third-rate style that on many obverse and reverse dies borders on the grotesque. Although less so than in the preceding series, striking was again heavy, producing from both emissions a total of 475 Agora pieces. The break between the second and third Augustan series could not have lasted more than a few years, as there is no detectable difference in wear of coins from both series in the Chaidari and Agia Varvara hoards. Thus if the second series ends around 19 B.C., the two light Owl-on-amphora issues belong somewhere in the later teens. Thereafter, Athens struck no new coinage for more than a century.

A notable aspect of these Augustan issues is their thoroughly “autonomous” character. In an exhaustive survey of civic coinages minted under Augustus, Andrew Burnett has deduced that the custom of placing the emperor’s portrait on obverses began to spread rapidly throughout the Empire very early in the principate and that it was most likely promoted as a matter of Roman governmental policy.\(^ {172}\) Yet Athens coined without the portrait; and while this was certainly exceptional, so, too, did a few other cities under Augustus: Chios, Rhodes, Tyre, and (allowing for one special portrait issue, 776) Sparta. Since all these cities were, like Athens, “free cities” under the Empire, their ability to continue to mint with local, civic obverses is probably to be understood as a privilege of their favored political status.\(^ {173}\)

Athena had always belonged on the obverse of Athenian money, but without changing the traditional character of the coinage, honors to Augustus could be displayed on reverses, and were:


\(^{170}\) Sutherland, Olcay, and Merrington, pp. 85–99, 104, pls. 17–19; *RPC* I, 2204, 2207, 2210.


\(^{172}\) *RPC* I, pp. 39–42.

\(^{173}\) Ibid.
the Nike of 147 and the prow beneath the owl of 152 both allude to Actium, the statue of Zeus on 148 refers to Octavian’s “liberation” of Athens, and the sphinx of 153 is Augustus’ own signature. Falling at the end of the Period IVD coinage, the sphinx issue might have been struck as a gesture of reconciliation after 22/1, when on a journey to the East Augustus became angered with the Athenians, slighted them by wintering on Aigina, and deprived them of the territories of Aigina and Eretria and the business of selling Athenian citizenship. But cordial relations were soon reached, and in the fall of 19 Augustus visited Athens on his way back to Rome and participated in the Eleusinian Mysteries for a second time. Probably the sphinx issue is to be dated to or in anticipation of this last visit. It is interesting in any event that after this one explicitly Augustan issue, a reaction set in, and for the following light Owl-on-amphora issues the Athenians adopted traditionalist types that looked backward to the coinage and political order of a vanished era.

Denominational Change

As the civil wars of the third quarter of the 1st century B.C. bound the cities of Greece ever more tightly to Rome, the traditional monetary systems of many Greek states began to succumb to Roman influence. An underlying factor, mainly attributable to the presence of successive Roman armies in Greece, was the emergence of the denarius as the standard silver coin of Hellas. With the triumph of the denarius there appeared in several places bronze coinages that were modeled on the uniquely Roman monetary system of 16 asses (bronze units usually of roughly AE 1 size) to the denarius. Among the earliest such Roman coinages of Greece are the duoviral asses, semises, quadrantes, and sextantes begun by Corinth upon its foundation as a Roman colony in 44 or 43 B.C. (670–704) and the related asses and semises struck by the Latin colony of Dyme in 40 B.C. In the early 30’s, Roman officials of the joint province of Crete and Cyrene introduced a bronze coinage of sestertii, asses, semises, and quadrantes for use in their territory. And in the 30’s, recognizably Roman denominations, including the sesterterius, make their first appearance in the coinage of Sparta, perhaps under the influence of Antony’s so-called Fleet Prefect bronze, much of which was issued from two of Antony’s bases in Greece, possibly Corinth and the Peiraeus, in 38–37 and 36/5 B.C.

At Athens the decision to suspend the minting of stephanephoric silver is a contemporary and related phenomenon. The decision dates to or right after the winter of 42/1 B.C. and must have formalized the replacement of the drachm by the denarius in the economic life of the city. But there are several indications that the shift in the basic silver unit at Athens was accompanied by a more
fundamental reform in the structure of the bronze currency. The indications and what seems at present to be their most plausible interpretation are as follows (see Table VII, p. 330 below):

1. According to the discussion on pages 83–84, the AE 1 unit, the chief bronze denomination of Period IV, was instituted in 86 B.C. as a bronze drachm, although after a sharp fall in value it was tariffed at only one-sixth of a drachm of silver for nearly all of Period IVA and thus served as the equivalent of the traditional obol. It was accompanied by an AE 2 half-piece, an AE 3 quarter, and an AE 4 eighth.

2. Among indications of change after Period IVA, the most tantalizing are two reverse types that could have been revived for their denominational significance: the Fulminating Zeus reverse of the first unwreathed AE 1 issue (137) of 42/1 B.C. and the Two-owls-on-thunderbolt reverse of variety 156, apparently the half-unit of the Augustan Period IVD reduced AE 1. Both reverses hark back to the two most commonplace coinages of Period III, the Fulminating Zeus AE 2 hemiobol and the Two-owls-on-thunderbolt AE 3 quarter-obol (99). Together they suggest that with the discontinuance of the stephanephoric silver and bronze in 42/1, the AE 1 module, formerly a bronze drachm (= old obol), was halved in value and was intended to circulate as the equivalent of the pre-86 B.C. Fulminating Zeus pieces. The Period IVA half-unit, or hemidrachm (= old hemiobol), was accordingly reduced to a quarter.

3. A substantial AE 1 devaluation in 42/1 B.C. is also implied by the gradual reduction in the size and weight of the AE 1 unit over the course of Period IVB (see Table IV, pp. 326–327 below). Beginning (in variety 137) with an average weight of about 9 g. and diameters of about 19–20 mm. (about 1–2 g. and 1 mm. less than the preceding Owl-on-amphora bronzes), the unwreathed IVB flans were allowed to shrink until in the lightest issue (143, with an average weight of just under 6 g. and diameters measuring normally 17–20 mm.) they approximated the weight and size of the pre-86 AE 2 Fulminating Zeus coins and were in some cases actually overstruck on them (cf. 143f with 137e and 138h). In subsequent series, the reduced AE 1 unit was partially restored at ca. 8–9 g. (Period IVC), then stabilized around 7.5 g. (Period IVD), before plummeting to 6.0–6.5 g. in the concluding Augustan issues (Period IVE).

4. Two further suggestions of the cheapened value of the bronze coinage after 41 are (a) the more intensive striking of the (reduced) AE 1 unit throughout Periods IVB, D, and E and (b) the neglect of the minimal AE 4 unit, which was last struck in a single emission (142) of Period IVB.

5. Consideration of the Greek imperial coinage of Hadrianic Athens (Period V) suggests quite independently that the value of the AE 1 module was indeed halved at some point in its history. In essence a continuation of the 1st-century B.C. Period IV coinage, which had remained in use, the Hadrianic bronze was minted in four modular units: a new, large unit (169–185), which we may here call “AE 0”; the familiar reduced AE 1 unit (186–197), clearly inherited from the Period IV coinage; and two smaller units (198–212, 162–168 + 213–247). On the natural assumption that these four modular units correspond to the four denominations employed in IG II2 2776, the 2nd-century *obligatio praediorum* inscription referred to above (p. 83 above), the large AE 0 unit will be the bronze drachm (worth 1/6 denarius), the old reduced AE 1 unit the bronze hemidrachm (1/12 denarius), and the two smaller imperial modules the obol and hemiobol (1/36 and 1/72 denarius). The intriguing equation is of course the second, for it greatly strengthens the deduction in item 2 above that in 42/1 the AE 1 bronze drachm (= old obol) was probably retariffed and renamed to become the bronze hemidrachm (= old hemiobol).

6. If this information has been interpreted correctly, the effect of the devaluation was to bring the highly overvalued bronze AE 1 drachm more into line with the Roman monetary practice at the time when the Athenians formally forsook their stephanephoric silver for the denarius. Nominally
worth one-sixth of a drachm (or denarius) of silver, the AE 1 unit was reduced to a more modest coin of which there were 12 to the denarius. It is possible that over the four decades of Period IVA the value of the original AE 1 drachm could have continued to decline to, say, 7, 8, or more per silver drachm, so that the devaluation of 42/1 B.C. may not have been quite so drastic as a full 50-percent reduction of name value. But whatever the actual circumstances, the shift to a bronze system of 12 AE 1 units per denarius seems unmistakably to have been intended to bring the Athenian bronze system into a closer approximation of the Roman silver:bronze ratio. In this connection it should be pointed out that, with the exception of the very lightest issues, the reduced Athenian AE 1 unit of Periods IVB–D had a size and weight range that is remarkably similar to that of the contemporary duoviral asses of Corinth. Yet while the Athenians allowed their bronze coinage to be adjusted in the direction of Roman usage, they stopped short of adopting the Roman system in toto. In Period IVB the AE 1 drachms were renamed hemidrachmai, not assaria, and were tariffed not 16 to the denarius but, in keeping with the Greek obol-drachm divisions, at a more favorable 12 AE 1 units to the denarius. The AE 1 devaluation here envisaged would thus have been a kind of compromise between the Roman and the Greek systems.

**Period IV Aftermath**

Like the other chronological periods, “Period IV” defines the temporal limits of the manufacture of the coins; but if one were to apply it to the time span of their primary circulation and use, the period would have to be extended to cover entirely the Julio-Claudian and Flavian eras. For the vast numbers of the Period IV AE 1 and reduced AE 1 pieces that were minted between 86 and the teens B.C. remained the essential bronze currency of Athens until the 2nd century after Christ, when Athens supplemented them with her earlier imperial issues (Period V).

The prolonged circulation of the Period IV coins, worn frequently to near illegibility, is documented in a number of Agora deposits of the 1st and early 2nd centuries after Christ but nowhere so abundantly nor with such chronological precision as in the floor packing of a room in the northern outer stoa of the Library of Pantainos at the southeast corner of the Agora square.

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181 In the accounts of a 2nd-century B.C. Theban hipparch, IG VII 2426 (especially lines 17–18), sums in silver and bronze are tallied separately and involved an exchange differential of 25 percent between money in the two metals, with the result that it took $7\frac{1}{2}$ obols in bronze to equal a drachm of silver. The phenomenon must have been common, although the exchange factor presumably fluctuated over time and from place to place. For all one can tell, the AE 1 drachm of Athens may already in 86 B.C. have been tariffed at more than 6 per silver drachm. Could it then, when halved to a hemidrachm, have been tariffed at 16 to the denarius and have served as the exact equivalent of a Roman as? Were it not for the Hadrianic bronze values mentioned under item 5 above, it would be worth exploring this possibility. But the Hadrianic evidence supports a ratio of 12 AE 1 pieces to the denarius, not 16, and it is doubtful that any putative retariffing of Athens’ bronze would have allowed its value to rise from 16 to the extremely favorable 12.

182 The Corinthian asses commenced in 44 or 43 B.C. with an average weight of 9.2 g. and diameters of 22 mm.; these declined until stabilized under Augustus at an average of around 7 g. and 20 mm. (Amandry, pp. 82–83, table 12). RPC I, p. 246, notes the similarity of Athens’ reduced AE 1 module not only to the light asses of Corinth but to the presumed light asses of a number of other Greek cities during the Julio-Claudian period.

183 Since the hemiobol was the Greek denomination that most closely approximated the silver value of an as/assarion, it is likely that the inscribed HMIOBEAIN bronzes of Aigion (see 731 and under 731–733) were also created to pass as equivalents or near equivalents of assaria. They are roughly the same size as the duoviral asses of Corinth and reduced AE 1 pieces of Athens. For good discussions of the varied bronze denominational systems of Roman Greece, see Howgego, pp. 52–60 and RPC I, pp. 31–35.

184 Deposits D 11:1; D 4:1, layer II; F 11:1; K 9–10:1; O 17:1; P 6:2 and Q 6:2. These are summarized as deposits 1–6 in Kroll 1973, pp. 324–326.
ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: 4TH–1ST CENTURIES B.C.

(Deposit U 13:2a). Dating with the stoa and library between A.D. 98 and 102 and yielding 51 coins, the earth packing gives a reliable sampling of the petty currency of early Trajanic Athens. A selection of the latest coins from the packing is illustrated on Plate 34: apart from the worn denarius of Titus (A.D. 79, Pl. 34:34), all are extremely worn pieces of Period IV or earlier mintage.

The 1st century of our era thus stands as a low point in the numismatic history of classical Athens. Yet the prolonged use of old, wretchedly worn bronze coins is only one of several signs of the economic malaise that beset the city between the reigns of Augustus and Hadrian. From the stagnation of the Athenian terracotta-lamp industry to the minimal level of public building activity, which was restricted to the repair and remodeling of existing monuments, there can be no mistaking what Shear has termed "the stark reality of Athenian decline." Insofar as the striking of coin in the cities of Greece had come to depend on the initiative and largess of members of the local elite, who undertook the responsibility of minting as a public benefaction, the absence of any new bronze coinage in Julio-Claudian and Flavian Athens may be regarded as a symptom of decline in individual wealth and enterprise. Other factors, of course, could have contributed. Since the issuing of civic coinages under the Empire was apparently subject to imperial permission, it is conceivable, for instance, that Athens might have encountered resistance had she insisted on resuming an autonomous coinage or wanted to strike while retaining her existing bronze system with its exceptionally favorable bronze:denarius ratio. The relevance of such external control, however, is very dubious in the case of Athens in view of her privileged status as a legally "free and allied city." As mentioned above (p. 88), free cities seem to have been exempted from the constraints that ordinary subject cities experienced in the production of coinage, as in many other matters of self-government. Moreover, the long suspension of civic minting at this time is widely paralleled at many other places in Greece and elsewhere. At Athens, as doubtless at other cities, economic stagnation and public apathy were probably cause enough.

Another monetary phenomenon of the 1st century after Christ was a marked increase in the practice of cutting coins in two to compensate for a shortage of half-unit fractions. The practice of halving was certainly not new: the half of a large, late 5th-century bronze coin of Akragas (421) is the earliest attestation at Athens; two worn, halved Athenian imperial coins of the 2nd century after Christ (248f and 248–283)a show that it continued as late as the 3rd century of our era. But most of the evidence for halving comes from AE 1 pieces in circulation during the long suspension of minting between Augustus and Hadrian. In the Period IV catalogue it will be seen that almost every AE 1

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185 In the description of the floor packing of the room (room 7) in the 1973–1974 excavation report, Hesperia 44, 1975, pp. 343–345, note 23, two lots of coins are distinguished: 35 coins from the earth fill and 16 more that "were found in the same area of the room but imbedded in the top of the next lower layer." Since both lots appear to belong to a single deposition, they are listed together under U 13:2a in the list of deposits at the end of this volume (pp. 317–318). For the architecture and date of the library: T. L. Shear, Jr., "Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town," Hesperia 50, 1981 (pp. 356–377), pp. 370–371; Camp, pp. 187–191.

186 Shear (note 185 above), p. 368, concluding a valuable survey of Athenian public works in the 1st century after Christ. Judith Perlzweig (Agora VII, pp. 13–14) discusses the slump in Early Imperial Athenian lamp production as one of numerous manifestations of general economic depression.


188 RPC I, pp. 2–3, 19, 21, superseding all earlier discussions on this fundamental question.

189 The only mints in Greece that produced anything more than the most minor coinages during the first century after Christ were Corinth, Patrai, the Thessalian Koinon at Larissa, and Thessalonike. Among other mints, Sparta had a considerable Augustan coinage, a smaller one under Claudius, and then nothing until the 2nd century; Nikopolis struck under Augustus and in a very small Neronic emission and then breaks until Hadrian. Cf. RPC I, p. 21.
issue is represented by one or more halved pieces. But the aggregate is modest, consisting of only 64 (just under 2 percent) out of a total of 3,590 classified and unclassified Period IV AE 1 coins, and so it is clear that the halving was done unofficially. A few halved AE 2 coins of Periods II and III were also cut in Imperial times when they must have been circulating as equivalents of reduced AE 1 pieces; any earlier than this, the abundance of fractional issues would have made halving unnecessary.

Distributed over the Period IV coinage in proportion to the relative size of each issue, the AE 1 halving apparently began about the time that the Period IV minting was completed (a specimen of 158 [Period IVE] from Deposit E 15:3 had been halved already by late Augustan times) and, as we learn from six halved non-Athenian coins from the Agora with the portrait of Nero, was certainly being practiced around A.D. 68. The halving of these Neronian pieces, five duoviral asses of Corinth (691c, 694c–f), and an as of Sikyon (729), all but one from the last years of Nero’s life, ought to be some kind of response to the damnatio memoriae of the dead emperor. The response was uniquely Athenian. None of the Neronian duoviral asses found at Corinth, or anywhere else outside the Athenian Agora, are halved. But these (and the related Neronian as of Sikyon) were, apparently because they were so similar in size and weight to reduced AE 1 coins of Athens that they would have ordinarily passed at Athens as equivalents of the Athenian coins and could be halved in keeping with Athenian practice. The purpose of the halving, therefore, was not, it seems, solely to obliterate the memory of Nero, whose image was only rarely defaced on coins at this time anyway. At various places in the empire, coins with Nero’s effigy were countermarked in 68/9 to ensure that they would retain their value despite his condemnation. Some owners of Neronian coins at Athens, fearing that the coins would no longer be accepted and having no recourse to official countermarking, could have chosen to render them less conspicuous and harder to recognize by cutting.

The fundamental continuity between the Period IV reduced AE 1 coinage and the new imperial issues that Athens finally did strike in the 2nd century after Christ has been mentioned above. The first imperial coinage (Period VA) was restricted to a fractional denomination, which filled the need earlier supplied by halving and was clearly intended to circulate with the worn AE 1 currency. The

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190 For the technique of halving, see [149, 151]a, an extremely worn coin that was cut across with a chisel in preparation for being bent and snapped in two. The infrequency of halving at Athens contrasts with the huge quantities of cut coins produced when halving was performed in the West following certain drastic reductions of the Roman bronze standard; see R. R. Holloway, “Numismatic Notes from Morgantina II: Half Coins of Hieron II in the Monetary System of Roman Sicily,” ANSMN 9, 1960, pp. 53–73; T. V. Buttery, “Halved Coins, the Augustan Reform, and Horace, Odes I.3,” AJA 76, 1972, pp. 31–48; idem, in Sardis M7, p. 128; Morgantina II, pp. 147–148, 152, 153. To the bibliography on halving referenced in the foregoing, add M. Thompson, “A Ptolemaic Bronze Hoard from Corinth,” Hesperia 20, 1951 (pp. 355–367), p. 355 and pl. 101, no. 32 (half of a large Egyptian bronze of the 2nd century B.C.).

191 79f, 89d, 94g, and the unclassified [82–84, 90–97]a, b.

192 Apart from these and the other halved Agora bronzes mentioned above, the excavations have yielded the six illegible halved coins listed under 1038 and at least two (there are probably others) halved Roman coins not noted in Agora II: OQ-1490, half of an almost totally worn Augustan sestertius, and Σ-6484, half of a sestertius of M. Aurelius.

193 Out of the 48 duoviral asses of Corinth from the Agora (670–700), 22 are Neronian, but only these 5 were halved. So although datable to or just after 68/9, even the cutting of coins with Nero’s image at Athens was of limited application.

194 On 694c Nero’s image and name are intact, but this coin was not cut through the middle. On damnatio and the erasure of coins, see Harl (pp. 150–151, note 36), who points out that some alleged instances of intentional defacement of Neronian coins are the result of wear; Howgego (pp. 5–6, 210), who notes that at Thessalonike the erasure of Nero’s face and name is limited to a single extant coin; and RPC I (p. 21), which lists two effaced Neronian coins of Patrai (1263, 1278).

advent of the full-blown imperial coinage (Period VB) introduced the large imperial unit, the "AE 0" drachm, but retained the old reduced AE 1 module as the second unit on the denominational scale. For a while this fresh coinage could at most have only supplemented the vast quantity of worn AE 1 money still in circulation. Whether, then, the bulk of the worn coinage was systematically withdrawn and melted down for restriking or whether all of it was allowed to remain in circulation indefinitely is unclear. But a fair quantity was still in use as late as the middle of the 3rd century, to judge from one extremely worn Period IV piece hoarded at the time of the Herulian invasion in A.D. 267 and from fifteen others that were punched on one side with a shallow cavity to give them the appearance of worn 2nd-century Athenian imperials.

CATALOGUE

Die positions, as in Period III, are vertically aligned, with occasional deviations at 1 or 11 o'clock.

PERIOD IVA

AE 1

86–late 80's B.C.

Head of Athena Parthenos r., wearing ornamented Attic helmet; border of dots.

A-ΩE Owl stg. r., facing, on horizontal amphora; all in olive wreath.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>115</th>
<th>60 coins</th>
<th>19–23</th>
<th>Av. 10.46 (31)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>ΛΛ-299</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>O-94</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13.11</td>
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<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>Σ-1090</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>O-102</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>K-1630</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*f</td>
<td>A-223</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g</td>
<td>O0-1486</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>halved</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The position of this variety without symbol at the beginning of the heavy Owl-on-amphora series is implied by the contexts of Table VI (p. 329 below), the overstriking of a specimen in the 70's (119e), and the circumstance that the issue has no parallel in the silver coinage and so should belong before any post-Mithradatic silver was struck (Kroll 1972, pp. 87, 93).

196 Deposit B 17:1. Many of the 46 totally worn AE 1-sized pieces from the great Eleusis hoard of A.D. 267 (Svoronos 1904, p. 139, no. 267; Kroll 1973, p. 333) probably dated from Period IV, but they are no longer available for examination.

197 See 103g, 127f, 137h, 144e, 149, 153h, two coins noted under the unclassified heavy Owl-on-amphora AE 1 (p. 98 below) and five under the unclassified Period IVA–E AE 1 (p. 110, below). On the punched flans of the Period V imperials, see pp. 113–114 below.
PERIOD IV: CATALOGUE

(?) 84 B.C.

116  
Head of Demeter r., wearing wheat wreath and veil; border of dots.  
A-ΘΕ Triptolemos l., holding wheat ears in r. hand, scepter in l., mounting winged chariot drawn by two snakes; all in olive wreath.  
Sv. 104.24–28

117 2 coins  
Head of Kore198 r., wearing wheat wreath; border of dots.  
A-ΘΕ or Θ-Ε Iakchos stg. r., holding a torch tied with fillet;199 at r., plemochoe; all in wheat wreath.  
Sv. 25.11, 12

Both rare varieties belong early in Period IVA. 116 revives the venerable 4th- and early 3rd-century Eleusinian type of Triptolemos l. in chariot and goes with the early AE 2 variety 127, which has the same types. The discovery of 117a in Deposit E 14:3 implies that the Kore/Iakchos issue must be more or less contemporary. Being the first emissions with exclusively Eleusinian iconography since the middle of the 2nd century (see 86 and 106), they seem to mark a revival of the old tradition of an Eleusinian festival coinage. Association with the probable initiation of Sulla in September of 84 is likely for at least one of the emissions. As one sees from 117a and Sv. 25.11, 12, 117 was struck from a minimum of three pairs of dies.

early 70's B.C.

118 18 coins  
Head of Athena Parthenos r.; border of dots.  
A-ΘΕ Owl stg. r., facing, on horizontal amphora; at r., poppy head between two wheat ears; all in olive wreath.  
Sv. 79.15–17; Kroll 1972, pl. 34:10–14

The poppy-and-wheat-ears symbol is shared with the Lysandros-Oinophilos silver, the fourth or fifth issue after Mithradates-Aristion (New Style, nos. 1179–1186; Boehringer, p. 302; Mattingly 1979, p. 165; cf. Mørkholm 1984, p. 32).

198 As indicated by the absence of a veil. Except for Sv. 104.24 (variety 116 but from a variant obverse die), Demeter is consistently represented on the Period IV bronze with a covered head.

199 On the iconography (boots, short garment, and torch) of Iakchos, the youthful personification of the great procession to Eleusis, see LIMC V, pp. 612–614, pl. 419; Mylonas, pp. 207, 211, 212, 238, 252–254, with pls. 81, 84, 85, 88; K. Clinton, "Eleusinian Iconography and Cult: Iakchos and Eubouleus" (lecture, Baltimore 1989), abstract in AJA 93, 1989, pp. 279–280. For an Eleusinian torch tied with a fillet, see A. D. Trendall, "Medea at Eleusis on a Volute Krater by the Darius Painter," Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University 43, 1984, figs. 2, 9:b. On coins Iakchos is found also as the symbol of the 2nd-century Phanokles-Apollonios silver (New Style, nos. 697, 709, and 685, where the figure is misidentified as Artemis) and on the Athenian imperial variety 188.
Similar.

**119** 33 coins 18–23 Av. 10.11 (16)

*a* OO-1127 20 9.61

*b* Ι-799 20 11.28

*c* NN-1165 20 11.80

*d* Β'-1011 18 10.10

*e* Σ-2033 22 7.05 overstruck on variety 115

f AA-520 20 - halved and extremely worn

The mystic-staff symbol connects the variety to the Sotades-Themistokles tetradrachms (*New Style*, nos. 1222–1226X), the seventh or eighth issue in the post-Mithradates silver sequence as revised by Mattingly (1979, pp. 164–165).

**ca. 80's–42 B.C.**

Similar.

**120** KK-59 20 11.32

A plemochoe symbol occurs also on the silver of Mnaseas-Nestor, which Thompson (*New Style*, pp. 369–370, nos. 1147–1157) placed immediately after Mithradates-Aristion but which is now dated before the First Mithradatic War in 91/0 B.C. (Boehringer, pp. 24–25, 202; followed by Mørkholm 1984, p. 32, and, especially, Mattingly 1979, pp. 161–162). The bronze therefore cannot be associated with the silver. With only two specimens in the 483-piece Chaidari hoard, this was one of the smaller AE 1 emissions.

**121** 8 coins 18–22 Av. 8.64 (5)

*a* ΣΤ-32 20 8.60

There is no post-Mithradatic silver issue with a simple tripod symbol, but the tripod here may be an abbreviation of the complex symbol on the Epigenes-Xenon tetradrachms: Apollo Lykeios leaning against a column surmounted by a tripod (*New Style*, nos. 1237–1240). Approximately the fifteenth or sixteenth issue after Mithradates-Aristion, Epigenes-Xenon should belong in the mid- to late 60's. Mattingly (1979, pp. 166–167) argues for 64/3.

**122** 31 coins 20–22 10.28 (12)

*a* M-353 19 10.41

*b* NN-565 20 11.97

*c* BB-980 21 9.21

*d* К-1687 22 12.28

e BB-63 20 - halved

Two wheat ears is also the symbol of the highly problematic Kointos-Charmostra silver, which, despite Thompson's rejection from the Athenian sequence, some scholars have dated to 86/5 as the first Athenian silver issue after Mithradates-Aristion (see note 142 above, p. 81). However this may be, it is doubtful whether the silver and bronze could have anything to do with each other. On the silver the two ears of wheat are detached, vertical, and parallel; on the bronze they are joined and usually rise in the form of V or Y (Kroll 1972, p. 91). Moreover, a date for the bronze as early as the 80's is ruled out by the facts that the issue was one of the largest in
the heavy Owl-on-amphora series and yet is missing from the early contexts of our Table VI (p. 329 below). Either the issue has no parallel in the post-Sullan silver or its two wheat ears could be an abbreviation for the Isis symbol of Demeas-Kallikrates, the Demeter symbol of Menedemos-Timokrates, or the Triptolemos symbol of Kallimachos-Epikrates, since each of these divinities is depicted on the silver holding two ears of wheat (New Style, nos. 1232, 1233, 1241–1244, 1253, and 1254).

Similar.

*123

ΩΔ-76

19

11.50

Sv., pl. 70, associates this with the third or fourth silver issue after Mithradates-Aristion, Architimos-Demetri, whose symbol is Isis holding a lotus (New Style, nos. 1173–1178). But the association is not really convincing, since the leafy flower or plant on the bronze (see especially Sv. 79.20) does not resemble Isis’ lotus. It is more likely that the bronze lacks a counterpart in silver. The issue is rare; not one specimen is in the great Chaidari and Agia Varvara hoards.

Similar.

124
23 coins

18–23
Av. 9.61 (12)

*a ΠΘ-172

20
11.89

*b M-282

20
8.86

*c Λ-73

21
10.11

*d NN-1205

18
10.51

A winged caduceus is the symbol of the late Dionysios-Demostratos silver issue, known from a single drachm (New Style, no. 1246).

Similar.

*125

Γ-498

20
9.72

The symbol is shared with the Architimos-Pammenes tetradrachms (New Style, nos. 1255–1258), one of the later New Style emissions present in the Hierapytna hoard (IGCH 352) and so probably datable to the 50’s (see Mattingly 1969, p. 328).

Similar.

126
25 coins

19–22
Av. 9.40 (14)

*a Β′-996

20
8.14

*b ΚΚ-14

20
9.56

*c Ω-138

19
8.71

*d ΔΕ-10

19
10.01

*e ΠΘ-139

19
-

halved (as also Σ-4569)

Apparently, this is the last issue in the heavy Owl-on-amphora bronze, as shown by the wear of specimens in the Chaidari and Agia Varvara hoards. The issue is without a parallel in the extant post-Mithradatic silver.

UNCLASSIFIED

Similar.

115, 118–126

205 coins of uncertain heavy Owl-on-amphora variety.
Nearly all these are extremely worn from circulation continuing as late as the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ. Six (Z-27, Z-1162, I-320, ΠΘ-177, Σ-4144, and T-990) are halved. And the obverses of two (Θ-426 and K-1518) were punched with a shallow cavity, for which see p. 94 above.

**AE 2**

(_?_ 84 B.C.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head of Demeter r., wearing veil; border of dots.</th>
<th>A-Θ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E Triptolemos l., holding wheat ears in r. hand and scepter in l., seated in winged chariot drawn by two snakes.</td>
<td>Sv. 104.29, 30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**127** 7 coins 16–18 Av. 5.76 (7)

*a* ΒΔ-107 18 7.92

*b* ΩΔ-41 17 5.11

*c* Τ-727 18 6.59

*d* Γ-1045 17 6.45 (Ε 14:3)

*e* Γ-1056 16 3.58 (Ε 14:3)

*f* ΠΠ-132 16 5.11

*g* Σ-3018 16 5.58

Heavily worn; cavity punched in center of obverse

**early 70's B.C.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Similar.</th>
<th>Similar, except poppy head behind or in front of Triptolemos.</th>
<th>Sv. 104.31–35</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**128** 7 coins 15–17 Av. 4.35 (7)

*Poppy head behind Triptolemos*

*a* Π-602 16 4.64

*b* ΝΝ-1323 15 4.81

*c* ΠΠ-289 17 4.42

*d* ΣΤ'-727 16 3.37

*Poppy head before Triptolemos*

*e* Β'-928 15 3.65

*f* ΚΚ-282 16 5.51

*g* ΣΤ'-531 16 4.08

**[127, 128]** 30 coins of uncertain AE 2 Demeter/Triptolemos type.

*a* Ω-164 16 blistered (N 20:4)

Of these two, clearly AE 2 emissions, the first (without symbol) occurs in the Delos 1910 hoard (Table VI, p. 329 below) and appears to go with the Demeter/Triptolemos AE 1 variety 116. The second (poppy symbol) emission was presumably minted with the heavy Owl-on-amphora variety 118.

**70's–40's B.C.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dolphin on trident; border of dots.</th>
<th>A-ΟΕ Plemochoe with wheat ear in each handle; all in wheat wreath.</th>
<th>Sv. 107.1–8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**129** 26 coins 14–17 Av. 4.09 (15)

*a* Σ-3486bis 17 4.21
The trident and dolphin represent Poseidon, whose head probably would have been placed on the obverse were it not too easily confused with the head of Zeus. This is the only pre-imperial Athenian coin type that refers to Poseidon. The plemochoe on the reverse fits the routine Period IV practice of designing the AE 2 half-unit with Eleusinian types. Poseidon might have been chosen for the obverse because of his connections with Eleusis; he was the ancestor of the Eumolpidai and had a temple just outside the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.200 If, on the other hand, the exceptional recognition of Poseidon is compared with the equally unprecedented appearance of Dionysos on varieties 140–142 and 144, which were struck to flatter Marc Antony during his residence in Athens in the 30's, it is possible that the present issue belongs to 62 B.C., when Pompey the Great visited Athens on his triumphant return to Rome.201 His visit could have coincided with the celebration of the Mysteries in late September.

**AE 3**

mid-80's–70's B.C.

Head of Apollo r., laur.; border of dots.  
A-\(\Theta\) or A-\(\Theta\)E Cicada.  
Sv. 107.28–35;  
Kleiner 1976, pl. 4:93-96

131 68 coins 14–16 Av. 3.89 (35)

A-\(\Theta\)E  
a IIΘ-447 14 3.33  
b KK-9bis 16 4.08  
c IIII-173 15 4.15  
d K-587 16 3.46  
flan cut down before striking

\(^{200}\) Mylonas, pp. 167–168.

\(^{201}\) Pompey was posthumously apotheosized as Neptune by his son Sextus, who called himself the son of Neptune and in 44–43 B.C. struck the remarkable denarii with the portrait of Pompey-Neptune accompanied by the symbols of dolphin and trident (Crawford, *RRC*, nos. 483:1, 2, with p. 739, note 5). Granted that this was so much propaganda cultivated by Sextus to enhance his position as praefectus classis et orae maritimae, the equation of Pompey with Poseidon is less likely to have originated with Sextus in the 40's than in the Greek East, where such ruler-god identifications had long been a fixture of political life. Historically, the equation rested on Pompey's naval success over the pirates some twenty years earlier, and it would be surprising if so obvious an association could have gone unnoticed during Pompey's tour of Greece in 62, especially by the poets who competed at Mytilene in glorifying Pompey's exploits (Plutarch, *Pompey* 42.2). For the divine honors offered to Pompey by the Greek cities, including Athens in 67 B.C., see Plutarch, *Pompey* 27.5–6 and Cerfux and Tondiau, pp. 284–285. A major part of the 50 talents Pompey contributed for the restoration of Athens went to the rebuilding of the Peiraeus (Plutarch, *Pompey* 42.11, with *IG II*², 1035, line 47, and J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, New York 1942, pp. 145–149).
The first, and more common, form of the ethnic and the occurrence of three somewhat worn specimens in Deposit E 14:3 (Table VI, p. 329 below) show that the variety belongs early in Period IVA.

**AE 4**

*mid-80's–70's B.C.*

[Head of Apollo r., laur., hair rolled; border of dots.]

| 132 | ΓT-301 | 12 | 1.93 |

[Head of Apollo r., laur., hair falling in archaizing curls; border of dots.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>133</th>
<th>8 coins</th>
<th>10–11</th>
<th>Av. 1.87 (8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Γ-1064</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>Z-680</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>ZZ-35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>134</th>
<th>3 coins</th>
<th>10–12</th>
<th>Av. 1.69 (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>BB-416</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>PP-803</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[133, 134] 5 coins of uncertain AE 4 Poppy-between-wheat-ears variety.

| *a  | OX-9    | 11    | 2.03        |

A-ΘE Two wheat ears; border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>135</th>
<th>33 coins</th>
<th>10–11</th>
<th>Av. 1.70 (22)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>B-358bis</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>BA-197</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>OO-956</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>Α-72bis</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>PP-647</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*f</td>
<td>KK-29bis</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g</td>
<td>Γ-1059</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

h–k Γ-1054a and b, 1064, 1080 (E 14:3)
PERIOD IV: CATALOGUE

Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

136  3 coins  10  Av. 1.54 (3)
   *a  K-1592  10  1.62
   *b  NN-987  10  1.55
   *c  H'-3296bis  10  1.46


The dating of the AE 4 varieties is based on the contexts of Table VI (p. 329 below) and the possible association of 133 and 134 with 118 and 128.

PERIOD IVB

42/1–39 B.C.

**Reduced AE 1**

A-Θ

Head of Athena Parthenos r.; border of dots.

137  45 coins  18–22  Av. 7.65 (21)
   *a  ΠΘ-350  21  8.21
   *b  P-290  20  7.93
   *c  KK-359  19  8.68
   *d  ΒΔ-363  19  7.05
   *e  Γ-170  19  4.80
   *f  N-440  19  5.45
   *g  BB-602  18 -
   h  PP-132  20  4.85

E Zeus striding r., hurling thunderbolt, eagle perched on his extended l. arm; at l., wheat ear.

GRC, fig. 15

Overstruck on AE 2 coin of pure, yellowish alloy

Flan trimmed hexagonally before striking

Overstruck on heavy Owl-on-amphora AE 1

Overstruck on unleaded AE 2 coin (as also X-49)

Following upon Antony’s arrival in Athens after Philippi, this reform issue will have been struck at the end of 42 or during 41 B.C. The arrangement of the ethnic and particularly the omission of the eagle before Zeus’s feet suggest that the revived type was copied from the early 1st-century Fulminating Zeus variety 95 (mystic-staff symbol) or 96 (thyrsos symbol). The only modifications are the change in emission symbol and the eagle added upon Zeus’s outstretched left wrist.

138  139 coins  17–22  Av. 7.47 (47)
   *a  ΠΘ-142  20  7.26
   *b  Π-473  20  7.64
   *c  KK-149  19  8.44
   *d  N-663  20  10.26
   *e  Δ-67  18  8.56
   *f  AA-81  17  5.92
   *g  K-584  19 -
   h  Ω-313  17  3.46

A-ΘŒ Tripod; at l., poppy; at r., thunderbolt.

GRC, fig. 15

Overstruck on heavy Owl-on-amphora AE 1

Halved (as also Z-2594, N-813, NN-1309, and NN-1546a)

Overstruck on unleaded AE 2 coin (as also X-49)
As suggested above (p. 86), the Pythian tripod on the reverse of these coins can be explained as an allusion to Antony's proposed completion of the temple of Pythian Apollo. The poppy and thunderbolt symbols fill out the design and the range of religious references; Athena, Apollo, Demeter, and Zeus, the four principle deities in the numismatic iconography of Hellenistic Athens, are here uniquely represented on a single coin. The poppy and thunderbolt, however, may also be serving as magistrates' signatures.

Gorgoneion.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>A-ΩE</td>
<td>Athena advancing r., holding lowered spear in r. hand; aegis draped over extended l. arm.</td>
<td>Sv. 25.22–28; Kroll 1972, pl. 36:16–20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139a</td>
<td>T-113</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139b</td>
<td>Φ-346</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139c</td>
<td>ΠΠ-46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139d</td>
<td>ΑΔ-247</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139e</td>
<td>ΝΝ-524</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139f</td>
<td>ΠΘ-321</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.91</td>
<td>flan cut down before striking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139g</td>
<td>Σ-3721</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9.93</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The heavy weight of 139f even after part of the flan had been crudely removed suggests that it was overstruck on a heavy Owl-on-amphora coin. Three other Agora pieces are definitely overstrikes, although the undertypes are unclear.

Sv., pl. 25, connects this issue with the island of Skiathos, which Antony gave to Athens in 41. Some 4th- or 3rd-century B.C. bronze coins of Skiathos did employ the gorgoneion as an obverse type (*BMCT Thessaly*, pl. 11:19), but so did a large and important series of 6th-century B.C. Athenian tetradrachms, didrachms, and obols, and it is more likely that these were the source of the present gorgoneion obverse (Kroll 1972, p. 98). The learned revival of historic coin designs occurs again in the Athenian coinage of the 2nd century after Christ (pp. 113–114 below). The reverse type is continued in the next issue.

39–37 B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>Similar</td>
<td>Head of youthful Dionysos r., wearing ivy wreath; border of dots.</td>
<td>Sv. 25.29–32; Kroll 1972, pl. 37:1–5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140a</td>
<td>PP-628</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140b</td>
<td>Z-1895</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.09</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140c</td>
<td>ΟΟ-453</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140d</td>
<td>Χ-99</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140e</td>
<td>Κ-1036</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.95</td>
<td>halved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140f</td>
<td>PP'-1047</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reduced AE 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Similar</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Similar</td>
<td>A-Θ E Kanharos.</td>
<td>Sv. 25.33–35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141a</td>
<td>ΠΠΙ-385</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141b</td>
<td>ΙΓ-14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


203 The average is close to half of the average of the weighed Agora specimens of the contemporary AE 1 issue 140. Cf. note 211 below, p. 107.
PERIOD IV: CATALOGUE

AE 4

Head of bearded Dionysos r., wearing ivy wreath. Bust of Athena r., wearing ivy wreath. Corinthian helmet.

142 52 coins 10–12 Av. 1.39 (19)
*a E-318 11 1.65
*b Δ-163 11 1.85
*c NN-679 11 1.91 GRC, fig. 15
*d ΓΤ-101 12 1.85 flan cut down before striking
*e K-1254 11 1.31 same

Two other specimens were also struck on reused flans that had been trimmed before striking. A more notable feature is the broken-bar alpha, making its first appearance in this issue. One specimen (BT-559) had been picked up and was being hoarded as a one-nummus coin in the 6th century of our era; see J. H. Kroll, G. C. Miles, and S. G. Miller, “An Early Byzantine and a Late Turkish Hoard from the Athenian Agora,” Hesperia 42, 1973 (pp. 301–311), pp. 303, 308, no. 93.

The Dionysos heads on this and the two preceding varieties honor Marc Antony, who declared himself the Neos Dionysos upon arrival in Athens in the summer or fall of 39. The symbolism is paralleled in two emissions of cistophoric tetradrachms struck at Ephesos in the same year; these depict Octavia, Antony wearing the ivy wreath of Dionysos, and, on the reverse of one emission, a standing image of Dionysos.204 The precipitous drop in the weight of the Athenian AE 1 emission (Table IV, pp. 326–327 below) may reflect the Athenians' difficulties in raising the exorbitant dowry that Antony demanded for his wedding to Athena. Dio (48.39) and Zonaras (10.23) give the amount as one million drachms, Seneca (Suasoriae 1.6) a thousand talents (six million drachms). The AE 4 issue, which pairs the head of Dionysos and the bust of Athena, may have been designed to commemorate the marriage of Antony to Athena, like the “wedding” aurei, with the head of Anthony on the obverse and the bust of Octavia on the reverse, struck in 39 and 38 to celebrate Antony's marriage to Octavia (Crawford, RRC, nos. 527 and 533/3a). Indeed, if Raubitschek (1946) is right in supposing that the Athenians honored Octavia as Athena Polias, the references may extend to Octavia-Athena as well as to Antony-Dionysos. However this may be, the three Dionysos varieties 140–142 should date to Antony's stay in Athens from 39 to 37 B.C.

c. 36–33 B.C.

Reduced AE 1

Head of Athena Parthenos r., border of dots. E Archaic image of Apollo Delios, holding the three Graces in his r. hand and a bow in his l.; at l., cicada.

143 81 coins 16–20 Av. 5.33 (36)
*a N-1112 19 4.38
*b K-201 18 5.94
*c Σ-278 17 4.98
*d Β-100 17 5.85
*e ΗΗ-26 18 5.84
*f ΟΟ-1116 20 4.85 overstruck on pre-87 B.C. Fulminating Zeus AE 2
*g ΔΛ-285 18 - halved (as are AA-171 and Z-1108)

By weight this should be the last of the six Period IVB AE 1 issues, but other considerations suggest that 144 was actually the last, since it can hardly date before 32 B.C. and was the issue to which belong, apparently, the

204 BMCRR II, pp. 502–503, nos. 133–137; III, pl. cxxiv:1–4; Sutherland, Olcay, and Merrington, pp. 86–88; RPC I, 2201, 2202.
chopped coin blanks that were abandoned on the floor of the mint in the southeast corner of the Agora square. Thus, although the present issue with its nontopical types theoretically could be squeezed into the anxious months between variety 144 and the Battle of Actium, it fits more comfortably in the ample span between the Dionysos issues of 37–39 (140–142) and the Zeus/Dionysos and Zeus/Eagle issues of 32 (144 and 145). Confirmation of this arrangement must await metallurgical analyses of several specimens to allow comparison of their lead content with that of 144.

The Archaic statue of Apollo Delios (LIMC II, p. 234, no. 390) was earlier used as the symbol of the 2nd-century New Style silver emission of Sokrates-Dionysodo (New Style, nos. 611–628); Sokrates had served as epimeletes of Delos in 117/6 (Habicht 1991, p. 9). But whether such a personal connection lay behind the Apollo Delios type of the present coins is debatable. None of the other changing types of the IVB bronze appear to have private associations; and the present reverse has the subsidiary symbol of a cicada, which one would ordinarily take for an emission symbol, even though such administrative symbols would be redundant in a coinage with regularly changing types. The reverse is in any case the last allusion to Delos in Athenian coinage. By the 30's the island had lost its commercial importance and most of its former population, although a settlement remained on the island and the Athenians continued to manage it and the cult of Apollo as before; see Roussel, pp. 336–340.

32 B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Photos</th>
<th>GRC, p.</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>Head of Zeus, r., laur.; border of dots.</td>
<td>A-Θ Head of bearded Dionysos r., Sv. 25.36–42; Kroll 1972, pl. 37:6–10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>MM-505</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Σ-3957</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ΟΟ-1586</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.98</td>
<td>GRC, fig. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Η-1718</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ΑΑ-555</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.17</td>
<td>shallow cavity punched in center of reverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>Ε-24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>ΠΘ-238</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>halved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>Σ-4136</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>reused, presumably for some industrial purpose; obv. obliterated by filed notches in a rosette pattern, as also ΘΘ-25 (Period IV Unclassified, p. 110 below).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the unillustrated examples, Σ-292 is halved and BA-414, a totally worn coin, is countermarked on the obverse with an owl in incuse circle (7 mm. diameter). The condition of the latter coin precludes illustration. The issue is notable for the extremely high lead content of its analyzed specimen, at 22.73 percent the highest known from any pre-imperial Athenian coin (Table IV, pp. 326–327 below). The percentage is largely responsible for the association of the issue with the chopped blanks excavated from the floor of the mint in the southeast corner of the Agora (25.5 percent lead; see Appendix B) and is approximated in the contemporary Zeus/Eagle-on-thunderbolt fraction 145 (20.21 percent205).

On this fourth Antonian emission the head of Dionysos is displaced from the obverse in favor of a head of Zeus. But an explanation is immediately forthcoming from variety 145 with its standard Ptolemaic Zeus/Eagle types. The Zeus obverse of the present issue is to be similarly understood as a reference to Egypt and so dates with 145 after Antony had thrown in his lot with Kleopatra. According to Plutarch (Antony 57.1–2), the Athenians had a great affection for Octavia and did not vote honors to Kleopatra until she and Antony arrived in Athens in late spring of 32 and she bribed them with gifts. These circumstances make it doubtful that the Athenian issues could have been struck before late spring or summer of 32 and suggest why they refer to the kingdom of Egypt rather than to Kleopatra, the New Isis, directly.

205 Caley, pp. 52–53, table IX, no. 11.
PERIOD IV: CATALOGUE

Reduced AE 2

Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.  
A-ΩΕ Eagle, wings spread, stg. three-quarters r. on thunderbolt.  

145  
14 coins  
Av. 3.24 (13)  
*a Φ-98  
14  
2.33  
*b AA-665  
14  
3.93  
*c ΩΔ-42  
13  
4.01

145 14 coins 13–15  Av. 3.24 (13)  
*a Φ-98  
14  
2.33  
*b AA-665  
14  
3.93  
*c ΩΔ-42  
13  
4.01

For the standard Ptolemaic bronze pairing of Zeus head and eagle on thunderbolt, see 1005, 1006, 1009, 1010, 1013–1017; for the eagle reverse of Kleopatra's own bronze, 1019. 145 is the only Athenian emission in any period with the device of an eagle. Citing the Antony head/Eagle bronze of Zakynthos (RPC I, 1290), I. Touratsoglou (in CRWLR, pp. 57, 67, note 33; pl. 8:13) attributes a Zeus/Eagle issue of Thessalonike to Antony and Kleopatra. Another attribution (Aigion: Dionysos/Eagle) is proposed under 733 (p. 233 below).

PERIOD IV C

31–early 20's B.C.

Reduced AE 1

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.  
AΘΕ upwards at l. Demeter or Kore stg. r., carrying lit torch; at r., plemochoe; all in (?)wheat wreath.  

146  
5 coins  
19–20  Av. 7.82 (5)  
*a N-339  
19  
7.70  
*b Σ-4129  
19  
7.79

146 5 coins 19–20  Av. 7.82 (5)  
*a N-339  
19  
7.70  
*b Σ-4129  
19  
7.79

This, the last variety in the Akropolis North Slope 1936 hoard (note 141 above, p. 81) and hence the first after the unwreathed Period IVB coinage, was irregularly designed (cf. Athena's Corinthian helmet and the position of the ethnic), poorly struck, and meager; known examples (including a mere three from the great Chaïdari hoard) were struck from one or possibly two obverse dies. It would seem to have been little more than a token emission, which, with the Eleusinian reverse, suggests attribution to September of 31, when within a week or so after Actium, Octavian sailed to Athens to distribute grain to the Greek cities and to be initiated at Eleusis (Plutarch, Antony 68; Dio 51.4.1).

Head of Athena Parthenos r.; border of dots.  
AΘΕ downwards at r., Nike advancing r., holding fillet in outstretched hands; all in olive wreath with berries.  

147  
43 coins  
18–21  Av. 8.08 (17)  
*a ΓΓ-18  
20  
8.13  
*b Γ-963  
20  
8.94  
*c Σ-4437  
19  
8.01  
*d ΟΟ-618  
19  
8.24  
*e Δ-137  
18  
5.90

147 43 coins 18–21  Av. 8.08 (17)  
*a ΓΓ-18  
20  
8.13  
*b Γ-963  
20  
8.94  
*c Σ-4437  
19  
8.01  
*d ΟΟ-618  
19  
8.24  
*e Δ-137  
18  
5.90

Stylistically and technically these are the crudest coins ever minted in ancient Athens. As in variety 146, they are weakly and often incompletely stamped; and, although Athena is at least given an appropriate New Style Attic helmet, the rude, inept die cutting is without parallel. The issue was evidently hurried. As Octavian probably...
visited Athens for a second time while crossing from Asia to Italy in 29, the issue may have been rushed into production for this occasion. The Nike in any case probably refers to Actium; and since she is posed as though crowning the legend on the coins, the conceit implies that Actium was also a victory for the Athenians.

## Similar.

**A-ΘΕ** Zeus stg. r., holding thunderbolt in lowered r. hand, l. arm extended; all in olive wreath.

---

*148 NN-676 20 8.16

Exceptionally rare (but a single example in the Chaidari hoard), the issue nevertheless employed two or three obverse dies (compare Kroll 1972, pl. 38:1 with Sv. 80.22–24). Style and technique are noticeably better than in the preceding Demeter and Nike varieties, and the Parthenos head and linear ethnic conform to standard New Style precedent.

The important Standing Zeus statue, which appeared for the first time on Athenian coins in the early 190's, evidently with reference to Flamininus, can be identified with some probability as the statue of Zeus Eleutherios (see 78–80 and pp. 56–57 above). Accordingly, the present reverse ought to refer to a "liberation" by Octavian in the sense that he would have confirmed the rights of Athens as a *civitas foederata et libera*. Augustus was honored in Lakonia as Σωτήρ καί Ἐλευθεριός for just such a confirmation of freedom.207 *Eleutherios* or *Zeus Eleutherios* are found among his titles elsewhere.208 And at Athens an annex was added to the Stoa of Zeus Soter-Eleutherios to house an imperial cult, surely including Augustus.209

## PERIOD IVD

**mid-20's–19 B.C.**

### Reduced AE 1

**A** at upper l. Athena advancing r., carrying lowered spear in r. hand, aegis draped over extended l. arm; at lower r. owl; all in olive wreath.

---

**149** 345 coins 17–21 Av. 6.88 (101)

* a II-8 19 8.46 *GRC, fig. 15

* b IIΘ-143 20 7.62

* c N-722 20 7.41

---


207 V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, Oxford 1955, no. 122b, with the comments of J. A. O. Larsen, in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, T. Frank, ed., IV, Baltimore 1938, p. 447. The same inscription informs that Flamininus, the original liberator of the Free Lakonians, was still receiving honors at the festival that celebrated the re-liberation of Augustus. For a survey of coins that possibly commemorate Augustan grants of freedom to other communities, see M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, Cambridge 1946, pp. 338–347.


PERIOD IV: CATALOGUE

*d K-1603 18 4.95
*e Σ-5621 19 6.46
*f A-1109 19 6.82
*g ψ-104 20 - halved (as are six others)²¹⁰
*h Σ-3392 19 5.65 cut down; heavily worn
*i PP-827 18 5.99 heavily worn; cavity punched on obv.
*j PP'-1032 20 6.40 (U 13:2a) Plate 34:4

In this Period IVD inaugural issue the lettering is neat and compact, the Athena heads are relatively small and attractively rendered, and the striking is superb. The undertypes of several overstruck pieces cannot be identified.

Reduced AE 2

Veiled head of Demeter r.; ΑΘ Poppy between two crossed wheat ears.

150 coins 13–16 Av. 3.26 (26)²¹¹
*a B-77 16 3.25
*b NN-816 15 4.73 GRC, fig. 15
*c N-824 14 2.48
*d NN-368 14 3.08
*e ΠΠ-990 13 3.28
*f NN-1370 13 3.22
*g Γ-1204 14 3.34 (Ε 15:3)

The broken-bar alpha, the style of the Demeter head, and the superior technique connect the variety with the AE 1 149.

Reduced AE 1

Head of Athena Parthenos r.; ΑΕ Athena advancing r., as 149, except at r., coiled snake.

151 coins 18–21 Av. 6.83 (49)
*a A-1582 19 8.62
*b A-1145 20 6.06
*c ΠΘ-796 20 7.76
*d K-125 19 8.71
*e ΚΤΑ-15 20 8.36
*f E-2249 19 6.65
*g Θ-768 20 - halved (as also Σ-3992)

With this emission, style and technique drop off abruptly. The Athena heads are coarse, squared, and (like the lettering) enlarged, to remain so through the succeeding 152 and 153. In addition to the preceding Athena advancing, owl, and the present Athena advancing, snake, there is a rare variant (Kroll 1972, no. 568, pl. 39:6) with Athena advancing, wheat ear, that provides a link between the present variety and the following Owl-on-prow emission, which has a wheat-ear symbol also at the right.²¹²

²¹⁰ BB-1015, Γ-1157, Λ-190, NN-224, Π-265, Ρ-452.
²¹¹ The average is about half of the weight average of Agora specimens of the accompanying AE 1 variety 149. Cf. note 203 above, p. 102.
²¹² A more curious variant is the Athena advancing, snake, piece published as Sv. 80.35. The obverse was struck from a makeshift die engraved with nothing more than an ΑΘΕ ligature, evidently at a time when production had outrun the supply of serviceable Athena-head dies.
Similar. Similar, except symbol illegible.

[149, 151] 151 coins of uncertain Parthenos/Athena advancing variety. Nearly all are worn flat. Twelve are halved.213

Illustrated is

\[\Sigma T'\-584\]

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<td>a</td>
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<td>5.93</td>
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scored across by a chisel in preparation for halving

A

\[\Theta\] E Owl stg. r. on prow; at r., wheat ear; all in olive wreath.

Sv. 80.37-43; Kroll 1972, pl. 39:7-11

152 501 coins 16-22 Av. 6.84 (140)

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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>OO-1248</td>
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<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>E-260</td>
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<td>c</td>
<td>MM-193</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>(\Gamma-181)</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>ZZ-129</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>KK-231</td>
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<td>g</td>
<td>Z-2231</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>PP'-1031</td>
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overstruck on Sikyon variety 727

overstruck on Sikyon, as 152b

halved (as are seven other specimens)214

(U 13:2a) Plate 34:6

At least two other coins (HH-77 and T-56) were overstruck on the same 1st-century B.C. Sikyon variety (Apollo/Dove flying l., \(\text{ΑΙΝΕΑΣ}\)), as are \(\text{BMCAttica},\) p. 92, nos. 669 and 670, and Sv. 80.41; see Warren 1984, p. 20. Although the Athena heads are indistinguishable from those of 151 and 153, the fact that some coins of the present variety alone were overstruck on Sikyon proves that the three Athenian varieties were struck \textit{seriatim}.

A9

\[\Theta\] E Sphinx wearing modius, seated r., all in olive wreath.

Sv. 80.18-21; Kroll 1972, pl. 39:12-16

153 277 coins 17-21 Av. 6.73 (92)

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<td>a</td>
<td>NN-881</td>
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<td>b</td>
<td>H'-2357</td>
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<td>c</td>
<td>NN-1066</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>OO-1480</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>B'-1104</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>KK-65</td>
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<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>BB-52</td>
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<td>h</td>
<td>(\Lambda-\Lambda-540)</td>
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overstruck on a coin that had been chisled marked on both sides with XL; possibly from the Fulminating Zeus star-and-crescents variety; cf. 97th

overstruck

halved (as are eight others)215

shallow cavity punched on one side (as also on \(\Pi\Pi\-117\))

A few of the coins are overstrikes with unidentifiable undertypes. For the significance of the sphinx reverse, see p. 88 above.

Reduced AE 2

A

Triptolemos l. holding scepter in l. hand, r. arm extended, mounting winged chariot drawn by two snakes; border of dots.

Sv. 104.46-50

154 32 coins 14-16 3.46 (17)

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<td>a</td>
<td>I-1664</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>B-165</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>c</td>
<td>E-2494</td>
<td>15</td>
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213 A-1230, BB-605, \(\Gamma\-\Gamma\-285\), K-366, K-476, K-1415, N-833, OO-1105, OO-1215, \(\Pi\Theta\-167\), \(\Sigma\-736\), \(\Sigma T'\-417\).

214 \(\Gamma\-432\), \(\Gamma\-484\), \(\Gamma\-\Gamma\-181\), E-2499, I-1537, \(\Lambda\-164\), \(\Xi\-465\).

215 A-99, BB'-111, Z-904, Z-1538, Z-2884, \(\Theta\-672\), \(\Lambda\Lambda\-404\), OO-1230.
PERIOD IV: CATALOGUE

Alphas frequently (as on 154a–c) but not invariably (cf. Sv. 104.46, 47) have curved or broken crossbars.

A-Θ
Π Triptolemos mounting chariot, as on 154; border of dots.
Nike advancing r., holding fillet in extended r. hand and lowered stylis(?) in l.; all in olive wreath.

155 8 coins 13–14 21 3.14 (6)
*a Σ-5688 14 3.80
*b Z-917 13 3.30
Since obverse and reverse are identifiable by their respectively dotted and wreathed borders, we have in 155 the one Athenian variety whose ethnic is on the obverse (as opposed to the joint Athens-Eleusis 63 and its relations with legends on both faces). Unique, too, is the arrangement of the letters. Lettering, character of reverse wreath, but particularly the linear rendering of the figures relate both this variety and 154 to the AE 1 variety 151, Athena advancing, snake.

Head of Athena Parthenos r.; border of dots.

A
Θ E Two owls, l. and r., stg., facing, on thunderbolt; all in olive wreath.

156 24 coins 14–20 21 2.97 (9)
*a Γ-1483 20 3.74
*b ΠΘ-323 16 2.37
*c Γ-153 15 4.33
*d ΠΘ-229 15 2.06
The unmistakable obverse style links this variety to the AE 1 issues 151–153. Except for the arrangement of the ethnic, the reverse type was adopted from the common 2nd-century AE 3 variety 99, doubtless with denominational implications (p. 90 above). The six examples from the Chaidari and Agia Varvara hoards gave an average weight of 4.25 g. (Kroll 1972, p. 119).

Period IVE

ca. 15–10 B.C.

Reduced AE 1

Similar.

A-ΘE Owl stg. r., facing, on horizontal amphora; at r. coiled snake; all in olive wreath.

157 116 coins 16–20 21 5.55 (38)
*a NN-1318 17 5.53
*b Z-1113 16 3.79
*c Π-347 17 5.41
*d MM-346 18 4.68 flan trimmed before striking

Not only is 154f more worn than the other (early Period IVA) coins from this deposit, but the much later date of the variety is certified by thefigural style, the wreathed border, and the occasionally bent crossbars of the alphas of the reverse. With the exception of 129, reverses of the Period IVA intermediate fractions (127–131) are unwreathed. Bent crossbars do not appear until late Period IVB (142).
ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: 4TH–1ST CENTURIES B.C.

Similar.

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Similar, except at r., cicada.

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Sv. 79.38–42; Kroll 1972, pl. 38:10–14

PERIOD IVA–E UNCLASSIFIED

[115–126, 137–140, 143, 144, 146–149, 151–153, 157, 158]

849+ coins of Period IV AE 1 size and fabric worn completely illegible. Three (ΓΓ-258, Z-767, and Z-1077) are halved. Five others (BB-177, E-441, ΔΔ-54, ΠΠ-741, and ΤΤ-1064) received a punched cavity on one side, proof of circulation as late as the 3rd century after Christ (p. 94 above). ΘΘ-25 was reused for some industrial purpose; both sides were filed with notches in a rosette pattern, like the obv. of 144h. In addition, two of the totally worn pieces were countermarked:

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For illustrations of 26 specimens (PP'-1009–1022, 1033–1037, 1073–1079) of Deposit U 13:2a of ca. a.d. 100, see Plate 34:8–33.

PERIOD IV CLERUCHY ISSUES

ATHENS–LEMNOS

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Sv. 75.24 = BMYCAttica, p. 88, no. 628

217 The 849 total does not include an estimated one to several hundred illegibly worn Period IV pieces that were discarded in the late 1940's as being too uninformative to merit storage. Most of the discarded pieces are identified in the field notebooks as “Greek” or “New Style”.

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The second line of the legend is not visible on the heavily worn British Museum specimen and is not recorded in the line drawing of the only other published specimen, E. Beule, *Les monnaies d’Athènes*, Paris 1858, p. 345. But on an exceptionally thick and heavy specimen at the American Numismatic Society (1944.100.25998 [Newell], 13 mm., 5.43 g.), there are traces of the eta at the left of the stag and mu nu at the right. The chunky fabric clearly identifies this as a Period IV issue, although whether it belongs early in the period or dates with the following three varieties to early Period IVD there is at present no way of knowing. The types pertain to the cult of Artemis at Myrina, which minted coins with its own name and the head of the goddess and reverse bow and quiver (J. Friedländer and A. von Sallet, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der antiken Münzen* I, Berlin 1888, p. 283, nos. 12, 13; *NC*, ser. 1, 4, 1841, p. 8, fig. 3). Bow and quiver are used on other Myrina reverses with ΑΘΕ (456) and ΑΘΕΙΜΥ (see note 218 below).

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### ca. mid-20's B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>159A</em></th>
<th>O0-1147</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>4.76</th>
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### ATHENS-SKYROS

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<tr>
<td><em>160</em></td>
<td>5 coins</td>
<td>15–18 Av. 5.15 (5)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td>ΛΛ-278</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>b</em></td>
<td>ΛΛ-365</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>c</em></td>
<td>NN-569</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>d</em></td>
<td>Κ-1692</td>
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### ATHENS-IMBROS

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<tr>
<td><em>161</em></td>
<td>16 coins</td>
<td>16–19 Av. 5.13 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td>Ο-589</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>b</em></td>
<td>ΠΘ-156</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>c</em></td>
<td>ΛΛ-73</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td><em>d</em></td>
<td>ΡΡ'-730</td>
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The Agora specimens of *159A–161* have nothing to add to the discussion of these three cleruchy emissions in Kroll 1972, pp. 101–104. The Chaidari and Agia Varvara hoards produced seven slightly worn specimens (Kroll 1972, pp. 119–120; av. weight 6.19 g.), of which two Athens-Lemnos pieces were countermarked on the obverse with a small owl r. in incuse circle.

The single, bushy tail of the helmet crest and the refined engraving of all obverses, which appear to have been cut by the same die sinker, date the varieties with the first emission of Period IVD (*149*: Athena advancing, owl). Struck in Athens, therefore, not long after Augustus presumably confirmed Athens’ continued possession of Lemnos.

---

218 Further support for this dating (and the minting of these issues at Athens) comes from the curious Athens-Lemnian Myrina overstrike, Sv. 80.44 = Kroll 1972, pp. 102–104, pl. 40:14, now in the British Museum: obv.: Owl r. (identical in style to the Owl-on-prow owls of *152*), rev.: ΑΘΕ above Μ-Υ, bow and quiver; overstruck on Sikyon, Apollo head/Dove, ΑΙΝΕΑΣ, as are occasional regular examples of *152*, q.v. Kroll (1972) suggested that this late Period IVD overstrike was improvised to appease the citizens of Myrina after the early IVD minting of *159A*, whose Hephaistos-head reverse may have associated the issue too closely with Hephaistia, Myrina’s rival city on Lemnos. But if *159* with its Artemis
of Skyros, Lemnos, and Imbros, the coins were surely intended for circulation on these islands. Kroll (1972, p. 103) interpreted the legends as coordinate double ethnics, curtailments of, for example, 'Αθηναίων καὶ Λημνίων, etc.; but the legends would be more meaningful if they designated the demoi of the Athenian cleruchies without an understood conjunction. The correct expansions should probably translate “of the Athenian Lemnians,” and the like.

types of Myrina happened to have been struck as a coordinate fractional issue of 159A, the circumstances behind the overstrike would be more complicated.
III

ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS
SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES AFTER CHRIST

THE MONEY of Early Roman Imperial Athens remained unchanged from the time of Marc Antony and Augustus: the silver currency was supplied by the Roman denarius, while for more than a century the Athenians continued to make do with their old, increasingly worn Period IV bronze. Minting of a fresh bronze coinage did not resume until the revival of the city’s fortunes in the first half of the 2nd century after Christ. Begun under Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), this new 2nd-century bronze (Period V) evolved through several phases and extended into the third quarter of the century under the Antonines. Then, after another century-long hiatus in minting, Athenian coinage came to an end in a brief but massive striking (Period VI), which dates just before the city was overrun by the Herulian Goths in A.D. 267.

These 2nd- and 3rd-century coinages of Roman Athens perpetuate the old Athenian tradition of placing the head of the city goddess on obverses. This is certainly unexceptional from the standpoint of historical Athenian coin design, but it is a dramatic departure from the practice, which had become well established throughout the Roman world by this time, of reserving the obverses of civic coins for the effigy and inscription of the reigning emperor. The coinages of Athens, Chios, and Termessos in Pisidia are, in fact, the only three Greek coinages of the Imperial era that consistently resisted this innovation. Yet if the Athenian imperials are notably conservative in this one respect, they share with contemporary bronze coinages from other Greek cities a propensity for rich, iconographical variety that is entirely alien to the character of Greek coinages of the past. As the obverse heads of Athena came to be rendered in a wide range of differing styles, helmet types, and subsidiary ornament, the numerous reverse types provide a virtual picture book of much of the city’s famous cult and mythological statuary in addition to monuments and traditional Athenian devices of other kinds.

CHRONOLOGY

It is curious, however, that the coinage did not begin this way. The earliest issues (Period VA) are restricted to a small fractional denomination, normally 14–15 mm. in diameter, designed with Athena/Owl types that copy the types of Athenian Old Style silver. The die cutters normally spelled the ethnic ΑΘΗ (163), although a few of the earliest reverse dies give the correct ΑΘΕ (162). Fidelity to the prototypes is maintained in the severe head of Athena, her Attic helmet with tendril and leaf ornaments, the stocky owl facing right with olive sprig, and the vertical legend. The coins are struck on blanks that had been cast and then punched on one side with a shallow cavity, apparently for

1 See pp. 91–92 above, with Plate 34.
2 Svoronos (1904, p. 110), placed the chronology of the Athenian imperials on a secure footing by identifying for the first time the separate 2nd- and 3rd-century phases of the coinage. In subsequent studies, Kroll (1973) and Walker (1980) worked out the refinements that result in the more detailed chronology presented below.
anchoring a rotary planing device that, when turned, smoothed and trimmed the cast planchet. The use of cast, punched blanks continued through the successive Period VB and VC coinages.

After the large initial issue (162 and 163), the Athena/Owl fractions gradually evolved away from the Classical model. Even as some of the original obverse dies were in use, new reverse dies introduced different arrangements of the ethnic, dropped the olive twig, and sometimes turned the owl to the left (164 and 165). Then, at the end of the series (166 and 167), these developments are joined by freer and more varied obverse dies that favored busts of Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet in styles that are indistinguishable from the obverse heads of the Period VB fractions. The VA owls give the impression of being struck continuously and leading without a break into Period VB. Since most of the coins and dies belong to the initial, classicizing phase of Period VA, the coinage would seem to have been relatively compact, lasting surely for less than a decade.

Historical probability virtually demands that the elaborate, succeeding Period VB coinage begin under Hadrian, possibly in connection with his first imperial visit to Athens in 124/5 or, better, his second and longest visit in 127/8–128/9. In either case the start of the VA owls should probably fall in the earlier 120’s, a time that is reinforced in general terms by the fact that VA owls first appear in reliable archaeological contexts of the earlier 2nd century. But it would probably be mistaken to assume that Hadrian himself was directly responsible for the coinage. The financing and organization of Greek civic coinages was normally a local concern, initiated and maintained by wealthy citizens as a public benefaction, so that Athens is more likely to have owed her Period VA and B (and even C?) coinage to her other great benefactor in the 2nd century, the millionaire intellectual Herodes Atticus of Marathon, whose distinguished public career began at Athens with the office of agoranomos in the early 120’s, followed by his archonship in 126/7. These dates independently suggest the 120’s for the beginning (VA) and initial elaboration (early VB) of the coinage.

The learned archaism of the VA owls is in keeping with the antiquarian tastes of Hadrian, Herodes, and their contemporaries. But one has to wonder why this coinage was nonetheless so tentative and limited. Restricted to a small denomination, it could at best have only supplemented the heavily worn Period IV pieces that were serving as the dominant bronze currency. Perhaps the large initial striking (162 and 163) was produced for a festival donative. Or was it the Athenians’ reluctance to strike a normal imperial coinage with the emperor’s effigy that was responsible for the unassuming character of these pieces? Whatever the explanation, the VA owls set the precedent for a revived Athenian coinage in the old Athena-head manner, while the very inadequacy of the coinage will have given rise to the expansion of the coinage that followed.

Period VB inaugurates the developed imperial coinage with its many reverse types and four denominations, including a large new unit of 24–26 mm. that quickly became the major denomination.
The VB coinage is notable for the exceptional quality and elaborateness of much of the die cutting, which resulted in some of the most magnificent coins ever struck at Athens (see Sv. 89.3 and 94.2–6). Reverse legends are ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, or an abbreviated variant. The wide range of styles and types of busts of Athena on the obverses indicates that the dies were cut by several artists or groups of artists working over an extended period.

The end of the VB coinage is marked by a slight reduction in the diameters of the coins and a simplification of the obverse dies, which are linked to reverses that sometimes have the typical VB legend ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, and others that spell the ethnic with a bowed omega, ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. These “transitional” obverse dies tend to dispense with the ornate VB aegis and drapery and replace the full bust by a helmeted head with slight drapery around the neck (cf. 175a and 182b).

The succeeding Period VC coinage has ethnics regularly in ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, and the types become simpler and more uniform still: there is usually just a plain helmeted head of Athena, rather blocky or square in shape, and a simple reverse of one figure. The later VC coins are the most commonly found of all Period V issues, both in the Agora and in hoards discovered in Attica, and their numerous, nearly indistinguishable obverse dies and extensive die linking imply a sudden burst of minting activity at the end of Period V. Period VB and C coins continued to be minted from cast flans with central cavities. Sawn flans without the cavities, however, were introduced for late VB or VC fractions and seem to have been experimentally used for a few of the largest pieces at the end of VC, apparently to speed up flan production for intensive coining at that time.

It is clear from several hoards buried or lost at the time of the Herulian invasion of Attica in A.D. 267 that the Period VC coinage had come to an end by the close of the 2nd century, if not already by the reign of Commodus (A.D. 177–192): the Severan sestertii and many sestertii of Commodus in these deposits are less worn than the accompanying Athenian VB and VC pieces. The heavy wear of the Athenian pieces is comparable to the sestertii struck from Trajan through Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180). As stated, the start of the Period VB coinage should coincide with the start of the Hadrianic renaissance of Athens in the 120’s.

The stylistic heterogeneity of the VB obverses suggests a coinage of some duration, struck very likely in several disjointed emissions, although it is doubtful that there were any lengthy gaps. The existence at the end of VB of a substantial transitional coinage employing “new” obverse dies with occasional “old” ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ reverses implies an overall continuity in minting at least to around the middle of the 2nd century, where the transitional pieces seem to belong. A rough indication of date here comes from an Athenian lead token published in 1900. It is an official token of the Athenian Boule signed by an otherwise unknown Pammenes. On the obverse is a bust of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161) with somewhat elderly looking features, and on the reverse is a
transitional-style bust of Athena similar to 182b (VB transitional) and 280a (VC). To judge from
the token, the transitional late VB/early VC phase of the coinage had probably been completed
already by the end of Pius’ reign in 161, which suggests in turn that the VB coinage lasted beyond
the end of Hadrian’s rule in 138 into the 140’s or 150’s, leaving the mainstream VC issues to
continue apparently into the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The exceptional scale and intensity of the
concluding VC minting may suggest (on the model of the Period VI coinage, discussed below)
emergency preparations for defense against the invading Kostoboks in 170, if not coinage also for
the repair of the damage at Eleusis they left behind.11 There is obviously much room here for
future chronological refinement. For the present, the approximate chronology of Period V appears
as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Approximate Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VA</td>
<td>earlier 120’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VB</td>
<td>mid/late 120’s to ca. 140’s (or 150’s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>ca. (140’s or) 150’s to ca. 175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Life of Severus (3.7) in the Historia Augusta reports that Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211)
harbored a grudge against the people of Athens and upon becoming emperor revoked certain of
their privilegia. This notice has been cited to explain an assumed cessation of minting at the start
of his rule.12 But since it now appears that the Period V coinage had run its course even before
the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in 177–180, Septimus’ punishment of Athens, if
it had anything to do with coinage at all, at most could have deterred the resumption of minting.
The Athenians, in any case, again became accustomed to using old and ultimately extremely worn
bronze coins, this time until after the middle of the 3rd century when the immense Period VI coinage
was put into production.

The Period VI coinage was conceived fundamentally as a revival of the Hadrianic-Antonine
coinage: some new obverse and reverse types and type variants were created, but most types are the
same. Many reverse dies appear to have been copied, with various degrees of accuracy, directly from
VB and VC coins, some of which may have been worn and unclear in detail.13 The reverse legend
continues to read ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ or, on fractions, ΑΘΗ. Most obverse and reverse dies have a prominent
border of dots surrounding the type (as opposed to Period V borders that were wreathed, dotted, or
omitted). The main, large-denomination coin is slightly smaller, again, than its VC counterparts
and is accompanied by only two smaller denominations, both of which are uncommon and may
have been struck largely to legitimize the continuing circulation of worn Period V coins of like
value.

Finally, instead of being cast, the Period VI blanks were sawn from long, roughly cylindrical
bars.14 Rapid sawing produced a number of coins of abnormal thickness or thinness and markedly
divergent weights, even among coins struck from the same pair of dies. The blanks were heated
before striking, and blobs of semimolten metal occasionally adhered to a die to be transferred to
the surface of the next coin struck (e.g., 284b, 299b, 318a, 343a, 350a). Striking faults are far more

11 On the Kostobok raid and damage at Eleusis, now see Clinton 1989b, pp. 64–65; R. F. Townsend, “Roman
Rebuilding of Philon’s Porch and the Telesterion at Eleusis,” Boreas 10, 1987, pp. 97–106; cf. idem, “Greek Construction
and Roman Rebuilding at Eleusis” (lecture, Cincinnati 1983), abstract in AJA 88, 1984, pp. 262–263.
13 P. 126 below.
14 Saw marks are visible on 284g, 376a, Sv. 84.30, 85.41, and on many of the faulty, unused blanks from the Period VI
mint at the southwest corner of the Agora; see Appendix B:IV and Plate 33.
common than in Period V, as are mistakes of die cutters, who turned out a few reverse dies with retrograde types (Sv. 89.33, 34, 98.38–43) or with legends that are either retrograde or abbreviated in some way due to miscalculation of space (see especially 378). Rapid striking was facilitated by the soft, cheapened bronze alloy, which contained an exceptionally high admixture of lead.15

Evidently a hurried coinage, it was also of immense size and surprisingly compact. More than 800 obverse and reverse dies were used, as compared to slightly more than 700 for Periods VA, VB, and VC combined (Table IX, p. 332 below). While there were surely many die engravers, they all seem to have been working within a single tradition, without the often extreme differences of style seen in Period VB. There is, accordingly, no evidence of stylistic development or of discrete stylistic subgroups within the coinage. Nor is it possible to point to any type or variety as being either early or later in the coinage as a whole. Instead, the entire coinage is closely bound together by a complex matrix of die linkages, certain obverse dies being paired with as many as 15 to 20 reverse dies, while a reverse die may be linked with up to 7 or 8 obverse dies. This scrambled die-box effect points to a single, compressed space of minting that, despite the volume of dies and output, need not have lasted for more than a few years.

That these are the years immediately preceding the catastrophic Herulian invasion of 267 is seen from the fresh condition of the many Period VI coins in hoards and other accumulations buried or lost at the time of the invasion. In addition to the two recorded Herulian-invasion finds from outside Athens, the 2,000-piece Eleusis 1902 hoard16 and the 197-piece Eastern Attica 1975 hoard,17 a dozen hoards, dropped purses, and destruction deposits connected with the disaster of 267 have been recovered by excavators in the Agora.18 While no two accumulations are identical in composition, they collectively give a relatively complete picture of the money in circulation and savings at this time: mid-3rd-century “silver” antoniniani, mostly recent issues of Gallienus’ sole reign (A.D. 260–268); some Roman sestertii of the 2nd century and first half of the 3rd century; but primarily Athenian imperial bronzes of Periods VB (extremely worn), VC (heavily worn), and VI (unworn and most plentiful). The representation of virtually every Period VI type in one or more of these recorded deposits confirms that the striking of the coinage had been completed by the time of the barbarian attack, which happened to be responsible also for the destruction of the building in the southwest corner of the Agora where the Period VI coinage had been struck (see Appendix B:IV). That the striking probably did not commence before Gallienus became sole emperor in 260 is suggested by the comparable condition of the Period VI bronzes and the antoniniani of Gallienus in the deposits of 267 and by the haste and intensity of the manufacture of the Athenian coins.

Some of the Period VI pieces in the Herulian deposits have been damaged by corrosion and cleaning, especially by the redepositing of particles of copper on the surfaces of the coins. The slightly dulled obverse relief on other hoard and deposit coins,19 however, must be due to the wear of the obverse dies; for the accompanying reverses, having been stamped from dies that were changed more

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15 Analyses of four Period VI pieces (Caley, pp. 26–27, table IV, nos. 8–11) determined that lead made up 26.8 to 32.5 percent of their alloy. In contrast, the lead content of one Period VB specimen (ibid., p. 43, table VII, no. 1) came to only 10.35 percent, and of a single VC piece (ibid., pp. 26–27, table IV, no. 7) to 23.0 percent.


18 For a full list, see Walker 1980, pp. 46–47, 125–130. The most important of these deposits are those listed below under B 17:1 and Q 19:3, pp. 303–304, 316.

frequently, are usually quite sharp. If allowance is made for the soft alloy and rapidity of striking, the Herulian deposit specimens seem not to have experienced any wear from circulation. Their condition is closely paralleled by specimens from the similarly large and hastily struck Fulminating Zeus issue of 87/6 B.C. (97) found in hoards and debris from the Sullan sack of 86 B.C.20 As with the latter issue, we surely have to do here, too, with a crisis coinage struck to help finance the resistance of the city against imminent attack.

In the 260’s the new money was needed particularly for the rebuilding, repair, and garrisoning of Athens’ walls. A remark of Zosimos (1.29.2–3) indicates that the refortification started at the urging of Valerian as early as 254, after a serious Germanic attempt on Thessalonike.21 But the work must have continued as long as time and money allowed. The walls of Eleusis were also strengthened, and the maintenance and provisioning of the garrison at Eleusis is now recognized to be the subject of a fragmentary imperial letter from Gallienus, dated to 265.22 The emperor’s personal interest in the military defense of Attica was surely a major reason for his visit to the city for a month in the fall of 264. Since the magnitude of the Period VI coinage requires a period of production of a few years before its end in or just before 267, it follows that striking probably began in connection with this imperial visit.23 Not that the emperor himself need have been personally involved with the organization of a civic coinage. The first citizen of Athens at this time and the leading figure in the city’s resistance against the Herulii was the antiquarian and writer of history P. Herennius Dexippus.24 If the Period VI coinage is to be attributed to the initiative of any one individual, there is no better candidate than this patriotic Athenian worthy.

A few moderately worn Period VI coins from post-267 Agora contexts attest that these pieces continued in circulation for a short time after the Herulian sack, until the increasing inflation of the 3rd century drove them out of use.25

### DENOMINATIONAL VALUES

Unlike the bronze coins of Hellenistic Athens, whose types and size both played a part in the identification of denominations, the denominations of Athens’ imperial coins were distinguished by size alone. One denomination was struck in Period VA, four in VB, and three each in VC and VI, although in these last two phases the two smaller modules were minted in relatively slight quantities. The distribution, average weight, and normal range of diameters of the denominations are presented in Table VIII (p. 331 below), where each of the modules is identified with one of the four bronze denominations attested in the Hadrianic or early Antonine property-tax inscription IG II2 2776.26 This crucial text records sums in denarii and four local Athenian subdivisions of the denarius: the drachm ($\frac{1}{6}$ of the denarius), the hemidrachm ($\frac{1}{12}$), the obol ($\frac{1}{36}$), and the hemiobol ($\frac{1}{72}$). The ready correspondence between the four units of value of this system and the four modules of the contemporary bronze coinage is, in the absence of any more plausible interpretation, reason enough for identifying the Period V modules with the drachm/obol units of the inscription.

20 Pp. 69–70 above.
24 For whom, see Millar 1969, pp. 12–29.
26 Pp. 83–84 above.
A second Athenian inscription, *IG II²* 1368, of A.D. 175/6 refers to the bronze drachms as “light” drachms, λεπτοῦ δραχμή, to avoid, apparently, any confusion with silver drachms. Within the 2nd-century context of the inscription, silver drachms would have been denarii, which were commonly known as 'Αττικά δραχμα throughout the Roman East. But if bronze drachms were first introduced into the Athenian monetary system in the 80’s B.C., as proposed in the preceding chapter, the term λεπτοῦ δραχμή probably goes back to that time as well, before the denarius had ousted the drachm as the standard silver coin of Athens. Indeed, the entire system evidenced by *IG II²* 2776 seems to have been created in stages during the 1st century B.C., remained intact throughout the 1st century of our era, and was simply taken over by the Period V imperials.

The key denomination here is the second imperial unit, the bronze hemidrachm of 18–22 mm. and 5.40 g., which was the same size as the basic late Period IV reduced AE 1 unit that still dominated the circulating bronze coinage at the time when the Period VB imperials began. With the creation of the larger VB bronze drachm, the importance of the old AE 1 hemidrachm faded, however, and before the end of Period VB, minting of this denomination was discontinued. Hemidrachms from Periods IV and VB remained in circulation as late as the mid-3rd century, as one sees from Deposits B 17:1A and Q 19:3 and from a number of worn Period IV pieces that were punched with cavities on one side to make them appear like worn imperials, and it is possible that some of the heavier hemidrachms eventually passed as drachms after the diameter of the latter had been reduced in Period VI. At any rate there can be no mistaking that the new drachm quickly became the main denomination of the Athenian imperial bronze already in Period VB and that it underwent a progressive size and weight reduction with each new phase of minting. Another, more abrupt reduction had occurred earlier in the Athena/Owl hemiobols after the larger imperial denominations began to be struck in Period VB; for the type continuity between the larger Athena/Owl pieces of VA (162–167) and the smaller ones of VB and C (226–231) makes it extremely doubtful that the reduction in module could have involved an accompanying change in denominational value.

Athens’ idiosyncratic 2nd-century denominational system is not easily compatible with the conventional Roman system, in which the denarius is divided into 16 bronze asses. It has been observed that at certain times and places in the eastern part of the empire, local bronze assaria seem to have been tarifed at 18 to the denarius and that, if the bronze drachms, hemidrachms, obols, and hemiobols of Athens had to be readily convertible into assaria, an assarion tarifed at 1/18 of a denarius would give them direct equivalencies of 3, 1 1/2, 1, and 1/4 assaria respectively. This neat although conjectural reconciliation of the Athenian and the Roman systems has not met with general acceptance, however; and it is more likely that the Athenian and the Roman bronze systems functioned separately: at Athens the denarius was divided into 6 bronze drachms, while Roman bronze coins would have been accepted at their own rate of exchange. It follows in any case that, within Athens, the Athenian imperials were highly overvalued in terms of the as/assarion, which probably explains why they are so seldom found outside Attica.
Although the drachm/obol nomenclature of the 2nd-century imperials was presumably retained in Period VI, the same probably did not apply to the value of the coins in Roman silver, which by the mid-3rd century had become extremely debased. The Period VI drachms are comparable in size to a number of contemporary Gallienian bronze issues from other mints in Greece; at Sparta and Nikopolis and for the Thessalian League such coins were produced with denominational marks, most commonly Δ for 4 assaria, showing that they were valued at a quarter of a denarius. One suspects that the value of the Period VI drachms had risen to a similar level of about 4 to the denarius, instead of 6 as earlier.

**ICONOGRAPHY**

Numismatically, the most unusual aspect of the Athenian imperials is the omission of the portrait and inscription of the current emperor. Such omission is not altogether without parallel on contemporary civic coinages, for other cities did strike issues on which one finds the head of some figure (Roma, the Senate, the Boule, Demos, or a local god or hero) other than the emperor. But these issues, conventionally known as pseudo-autonomous issues, normally made up only a small part of the coinage of any city, which consisted for the most part of imperial portrait coins; and they are usually restricted to the smaller denominations. Although they prove that it was not legally obligatory for a coin to bear the emperor’s image, they remain minor exceptions in a world that had come to accept and prefer (presumably with strong encouragement from the Roman authorities) the image as an expression of respect and authority on coinage in general. Even some of the civitates liberae, which originally struck without the portrait in early Julio-Claudian times (p. 88 above), adopted it sooner or later: Rhodes for the first time under Nero, Sparta regularly beginning with Claudius, Tyre under Septimius Severus. Only Athens, Chios, and Pisidian Termessos (which may have struck one small Julio-Claudian issue, RPC I, 3514) held out to the end. All three cities were free, and this may be explanation enough for the exceptional coinages of Chios and Termessos. But at Athens it is possible to go further and identify the attitudes that would have resisted any change in the autonomous character of the city coinage: a proud historical consciousness and a nostalgic conservatism that ran more deeply here than anywhere else in the Greek world.

The initial Athena/Owl hemiobols of Period VA, which imitate Athens’ 5th-century B.C. owl silver, reveal just how sentimental the Athenians had become about the cherished traditions of their ancient coinage. As the intellectual center of the Greek world, the city had become, in fact, a hotbed of learned archaizing conceits. Under the subtitle “Athens and the Re-creation of Antiquity,” E. L. Bowie has written several amusing pages on the antiquarian dreamworld inhabited by the wealthy intellectuals of 2nd-century Athens and their obsessive infatuation with the past glories of Hellas. Therein would seem to be the main impetus for continuing the head of Athena on the

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34 Sparta (4, 6, and 8 assaria): Grunauer, pp. 94–96 (Valerian and Gallienus); Nikopolis (4 [see 563 below] and 8 assaria): Oikonomidou, pp. 33 and 188 (Gallienus, sole reign); Thessalian League (3 and 4 assaria): Rogers, pp. 53–57 (Valerian through Gallienus and Salonina). On the increase in the value of bronze and the mid-3rd-century monetary crisis in general, see Howgego, pp. 65–73; Harl, pp. 19–20; Burnett, CRW, pp. 111–114.


36 RPC I, pp. 37, 53.

imperial coinage, even as the coinage was otherwise modernized through contemporary trends in style and type variation. On a symbolic level, the traditional Athena heads served as an affirmation of Athens' unique cultural and historical preeminence among all cities of antiquity and her claim, widely accepted by all educated Greeks and Romans, to have been the cradle of civilization.\(^{38}\) Given this recognition, there is something almost inevitable about the revival and maintenance of an ancient tradition of coinage in which Rome historically had no place.\(^{39}\) As men of culture, Hadrian, the Antonine emperors, and Gallienus would have appreciated this as much as any Greek.

The obverse Athenas of Periods VB–VI wear either an Attic or, more commonly, a Corinthian helmet. Pick argued that these two general types respectively represented Athena Parthenos and Athena Promachos,\(^{40}\) but apart from the fact that the kind of helmet worn by the Promachos statue is unknown, the great number of variations in helmet and bust/head designs imply that the die engravers borrowed from many sources, including the minor arts, often eclectically.\(^{41}\)

Until a die study of the complex Period V coinage is completed, only a few generalities about its varied obverse types and styles can be offered here. Beginning in VA, the head of Athena wears a simple Attic helmet in the fashion of 5th-century Athenian coins (Pl. 15:162a–164a). In VB the representation changes to a bust, usually with a Corinthian helmet and a small head so that considerable areas of the shoulder and chest, normally wearing an aegis, can be shown. On smaller denominations one can distinguish between a phase of finely designed busts (Pls. 16:186a–190, 17:198–201) and a phase of more coarsely cut ones (Pls. 16:191a–197e, 17:202a–208a). On drachms the busts tend to be quite tall and elaborate (Pl. 16:169a, 170, 174a, 181a, 182a, 183a–185a), but there is one contemporary bust with a larger head wearing a Corinthian helmet with very slight drapery at the neck or shoulder line (Pl. 16:172a; Sv. 82.1, 2). Later, or "transitional", VB drachm obverses, although simplified, continue the latter design with large (Pl. 16:171a, 175a, 178a, 179a, 182c) or smaller heads (Pl. 16:182b). These simplified busts with their negligible drapery become in turn the primary obverse types of VC. While full busts continue in VC (Pl. 18:248a, 253, 257a, 261a, 269a), they usually were avoided, as they were in Period VI, because of the greater demands in execution. Plate 19:280b–283d illustrates a run of typical mainstream VC obverses at their most monotonous.\(^{42}\)

Like the obverses, the many reverses of the developed coinage emphasize ancient Athenian traditions. The types are mostly of deities and heroes as they were depicted in celebrated Athenian statues of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. The roster of types created for the first developed coinage, early Period VB, is of interest for its size alone:

\[^{38}\] See C. Habicht, *Hellenistic Athens and Her Philosophers* (David Magie Lecture 1988), Princeton 1989, pp. 20–21, quoting an Amphictionic decree of ca. 120 b.c. (*FdD* III, ii, no. 69); Cicero (*pro Flacco* 62); Plutarch (*Moralia* 345 F), Pliny the Younger (*Letters* 8.14.2); Athenaios (15.691 D); and St. Augustine (*City of God* 18.9).

\[^{39}\] Millar (1969, p. 21) notes another proof of Athenian pride: "The rise of provincial and local families into the Roman aristocracy is of course one of the great themes of Imperial history. Athens provides examples of a different phenomenon, the maintenance over generations, sometimes over centuries, of a prominent position in the intellectual and political life of the city by families whose members could easily have sought Roman office, but who did not choose to do so. There was a real sense in which Athens remained a capital, not a provincial city."

\[^{40}\] Pick 1931, pp. 59–74.

\[^{41}\] Lacroix, pp. 285–286; see note 64 below, p. 124. The helmet of Athena Polias was, however, Corinthian; see p. 53 above.

\[^{42}\] Obverse types other than a head or bust of Athena occur on certain VB and C hemiobols: a bust of Theseus with a club over his shoulder (*232–241*); a bust of Asklepios (paired only with the Telesphoros reverse: *242*); a bust of Demeter or Kore (*243, 244*); a young male bust wearing a wreath (*245, 246*); and a boukranion (*247*).
Athena Parthenos (169–171)\textsuperscript{43}
Velletri Athena holding Nike (172)\textsuperscript{44}
Athena running, pointing (Sv. 85.4, cf. 310 [VI])
Athena facing olive tree (173)
Contest of Athena and Poseidon, olive tree between them (174)\textsuperscript{45}
Triptolemos in chariot (198)
Triptolemos in chariot between Demeter and Kore (177)
Demeter enthroned (186)
Kore holding two torches downwards (187)
Iakchos holding torch (188)\textsuperscript{46}
Dionysos Eleuthereus enthroned before thymiaterion on a table (176)\textsuperscript{47}
Apollo Patroos (191)\textsuperscript{48}
Herakles herm holding cornucopia (Sv. 95.6, 7)\textsuperscript{49}
Theseus leading the Marathonian bull to King Aigeus (Sv. 95.23, 24)
Theseus driving the Marathonian bull (180)
Theseus raising rock at Troizen (181)\textsuperscript{50}
Theseus and Minotaur “boxing” (Sv. 96.30–36)
Theseus striking at Minotaur (189, 200, 201)
Theseus (or Herakles) holding phiale (199)
Themistokles carrying trophy on ship (182, 183)\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{43} Lacroix, pp. 266–281, especially pp. 277–278, pls. 23, 24, has the best discussion of the numismatic evidence for this statue (LMC II, p. 1031, pls. 729–730:220, 221). The Parthenos continued as the most common type in Periods VC (248–250) and, frequently with variant details introduced by the die engravers, VI (284–294).

\textsuperscript{44} For the statue type, L/MC II, p. 1033, pl. 733:247.

\textsuperscript{45} NCP, pp. 130–131, pl. Z (related representations and brief discussion).

\textsuperscript{46} The hemidrachm reverses, 186, 187, and 188, employed with shared obverse dies, were designed together as an Eleusinian set. Collectively, they may represent Praxiteles’ group of Demeter, Kore, and Iakchos that was seen by Pausanias (1.2.4) near the Pompeion in the Kerameikos (NCP, p. 140, no. 5b). See I. N. Svoronos, Παραξενίου Κορή και Ιακχίος, Αρχαίος Αρχαιολογικός Όλυμπος και Τρίτη Διαγωνισμός Αθήνας, 1911, pp. 39–52. The common Triptolemos-in-chariot type is of course a throwback to the Eleusinian bronze coinage of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. (38–40, 48, 49, 51, 55).

\textsuperscript{47} It has been universally assumed that this is the chryselephantine statue of Dionysos sculptured, according to Pausanias (1.20.3), by the 5th-century sculptor Alkamenes. The temple that housed the image, however, was not erected before the middle of the 4th century (J. Travlos, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens, New York/Washington 1971, p. 537). The statue is pictured without the table and incense burner on the New Style silver of Diokles-Diodoros (New Style, p. 390, nos. 1269, 1270).

\textsuperscript{48} The statue by Euphranor: LMC II, p. 145, pls. 184, 185:39; Agora XIV, pp. 136–139, pl. 69.

\textsuperscript{49} For this statue type in stone, see LIMC IV, p. 783, pl. 524:1163–1166.

\textsuperscript{50} 180 and 181 ought to depict statue groups that Pausanias saw on the Akropolis (1.27.8–10), although for the bull dedication, see H. A. Shapiro, “The Marathonian Bull on the Athenian Akropolis,” AJA 92, 1988, pp. 373–382. A third Akropolis group, Theseus fighting the Minotaur (Pausanias 1.24.1), must be represented by one of the several different reverse types depicting this event.

\textsuperscript{51} Pausanias (1.36.1) mentions a trophy of Themistokles’ victory on Salamis and goes on to say that a snake appeared among the ships during the battle. In NCP (p. 153) it is implied that this Salamis trophy might be the Themistokles monument of the coins, since some VB dies show a snake on the ram of the ship. But the monument is much too elaborate for a battle trophy and would have required a long, rectangular base, whereas the probable remains of the trophy on Salamis show that it rested on a ca. 1.80-meter-square base (P. W. Wallace, “Psyttaleia and the Trophies of Salamis,” AJA 73, 1969 [pp. 293–303], pp. 301–303). The coins probably depict another monument to Themistokles, not necessarily one of those recorded in extant literature and listed by G. M. A. Richter, The Portraits of the Greeks, 1st ed., London 1965, pp. 97–98. On the other hand, the trophy on Salamis may be represented in the trophy-on-prow symbol of the silver issue of Themisto-Theopompos (New Style, pp. 221–225, pls. 62, 63, nos. 596–610, 117/6 b.c. [Mørkholm 1984]). For the 5th-century b.c. statue of Themistokles at Magnesia, see 926.
Miltiades with captive Persian and trophy (190)
Agonistic table with prizes (184, 192–194)
Owl in olive tree, with or without amphora (195, 196, 211)
Owl on amphora (197)
Round altar on base next to olive tree (202)
Rectangular altar between olive trees (203)
Akropolis viewed from the north and west (Sv. 98.19–20, cf. 280 [VC])
Boukranion (185).

Five further types were introduced later in the transitional phase of Period VB:
Zeus sacrificing at altar (175)
Demeter and Kore standing (178)
Herakles Farnese (179)
Goddess (Demeter?) seated on rock (204)
Nike (207).

Very few of these VB types are known from more than one or two reverse dies. The concentration of early VB types concerning the Eleusinian deities and Theseus is notable and should possibly be

52 Two Athenian monuments of Miltiades are known. One was the monument at Marathon mentioned by Pausanias (1.32.4) as being separate from but near the famous Marathon trophy of white marble (for which, see E. Vanderpool, “A Monument to the Battle of Marathon,” Hesperia 35, 1966, 93–106). The other was a statue group of Miltiades and a Persian in the Theater of Dionysos; scholia to Ailios Aristides (W. Dindorf, Aristides III, Leipzig 1829, pp. 535–536) explain that the statues of Themistokles and Miltiades in the theater were each paired with a Persian prisoner. Since it is unlikely that the coins would give a conflation of two widely separated monuments, the monument on the coins must be the more important one at Marathon, as the trophy indicates. The statue in the theater was probably a copy of it. Since the armed general with Persian is positioned at the left of most reverses but in mirror image at the right on a variant die (Sv. 97.32), Richter ([note 51 above, p. 122], pp. 96, 98) naively thought that the coins show two statue groups, therefore the groups of Miltiades and Themistokles in the theater.

53 The prize table was a popular reverse type in the coinages of other Greek cities during the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ; L. Anson, Numismata graeca I, London 1911, nos. 328–330, 690–740, 750–773, 779, 781, 943–947 gives a useful compendium. The standard Athenian VB type (184) is continued in Period VC (281, 282 = Sv. 58–61) and Period VI (386–400 = Sv. 91.1–45), when, however, the dies of some tables are inscribed with the name of an Attic festival: ΑΔΡΑΙΩΝΙΑ (396), ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΝΙΑ (397, 398), ΩΛΥΜΠΙΑ (399), ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΕΑ (400), and ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ (Sv. 91.43, 44). On all these Period V and VI tables, the standard three prizes are wreath, model owl, and model bust of Athena in Corinthian helmet. On the VB hemiobols 192 = Sv. 91.46, 47, the Athena bust is replaced by a standing Athena with shield at her side, apparently a model Parthenos, like the ca. 1-meter-tall marble Varvakion Athena (LIMC II, pl. 729:220).

54 The caption to Sv. 87.38–40 identifies this scene as the “fountain” and olive tree of the Erechtheion (Pausanias 1.26.5 and 27.2). The cylindrical drum certainly looks like a wellhead since it rests on a wide base, and the juxtaposition with the olive tree is suggestive, but can the three tongues rising from the cylinder on Sv. 87.40 be interpreted as sprays or jets of water? It is highly doubtful, as such tongues were commonly employed on coins to represent flames on an altar (e.g., the cylindrical flaming altar before Athena on 337 and before the temple of Divine Julius on Crawford, RRC, no. 540). The base of the round altar here possibly was enlarged to give a clear orientation to the coin type.

55 See p. 56 above.

56 Showing the steps of the Panathenaic Way; the Cave of Pan, occasionally with what seems to be a statue of the god within it (P. J. Riss, “A Colossal Athenian Pan,” Acta Archaeologica 45, 1974 [pp. 124–133], pp. 130–131); the gabled façade of the Propylaia; the statue of Athena Promachos (note 64 below, p. 124), usually on a base; and the nonperipteral Erechtheion with east porch. On the earliest dies (Sv. 98.19, 20) the east end of the Akropolis is surmounted by an owl. Compare 280 = Sv. 98.21–29 (VC) and the less dependable Period VI reverse dies (375, Sv. 98.30–36), including one that was cut retrograde (Sv. 98.37–43). Discussion and bibliography: NCP, pp. 128–129; Pick 1931, pp. 63–70; Lacroix, pp. 281–286; Price and Trell, pp. 75–78.

57 For the prototype: LIMC IV, pp. 762–764, pl. 493, nos. 681–726.

58 For the prototype: LIMC IV, pp. 762–764, pl. 493, nos. 681–726.

59 NCP, p. 152, for the total uncertainty surrounding the identification of this type.
understood in light of Hadrian’s initiation and patronage at Eleusis and his massive building program at Athens that made him a second founder of Athens and a New Theseus. Beyond documenting monuments to these heroes, the reverses depicting Miltiades and Themistokles underscore the importance of Marathon and Salamis in the civic consciousness of Roman Athens. The theatrical character of both monument groups suggests that the sculptural prototypes may have been Hellenistic or even Roman in date.

In Period VC, the repertory of major reverse types was enriched with the introduction of additional designs:

- Athena fighting (253)
- Athena of the Parthenon East Pediment (254–256)
- Athena standing, shield on left arm and holding spear in right hand (257)
- Athena in chariot (210, 260)
- Athena and Marsyas (262)
- Zeus Olympios (263)


See A. Adams, “The Arch of Hadrian at Athens,” in Greek Renaissance (pp. 10–16), pp. 10–11.

Several minor obol and hemiobol types have not been included, since it is uncertain whether they are VB or VC.

This Athena rushing to the right is similar to the Athena on the Madrid Puteal (LIMC II, pl. 749:373), which is widely believed to represent the missing figures on the Parthenon East Pediment. NCP, pp. 129–130 notes a general similarity as well to the Athena of the West Pediment, insofar as she is known from the Carrey drawing (LIMC II, pl. 731:234). But the West Pediment Athena moves to the left, and there is no reason why a Period V die cutter, having chosen a model, would have reversed its orientation.

The identity of this figure has occasioned much debate, chiefly because it is one of the most common of all Athenian imperial reverse types (although it does not appear until after Period VB) and thus might be thought to represent an important monument. It has been considered Pheidias’ colossal Athena Promachos and equated with the Athena Medici (NCP, p. 128; caption to Sv., pl. 86; and in other works cited by Lacroix, p. 284, note 2). But whether its relation to the Athena Medici is maintained or rejected (E. B. Harrison, “Lemnian and Lemnos: Sidelights on a Pheidian Athena,” Antike Kunst Beiheft 15, 1988, pp. 101–107), the identification with the Promachos is impossible. On the reverses depicting the Akropolis (280: see note 56 above, p. 123), the colossal statue facing west towards the Propylaia is shown with right arm extended, holding a Nike, and, on the earlier and best die or dies (Sv. 98.19, 20), with the left arm holding a spear and shield that rest on the ground. Colossal size, position between the Erechtheion and Propylaia, and orientation make it clear that, despite the close similarities in schema, this is not the Parthenos. As Lacroix (pp. 283–286, with pls. 24, 25) correctly concluded in a judicious and fully documented discussion, the Promachos and Parthenos were apparently very similar in general form, and the miniature renderings of the former on the Akropolis reverses do not give enough detail to establish how the two images may have differed. It is by no means certain, for example, that the Promachos wore a Corinthian helmet, as Pick (1931) proposed. In light of the Period V coins showing the Akropolis, one is obliged to reject all other reverse Athenas that have been claimed as the Promachos, such as 172, 298–300, the Velletrí Athena (note 44 above, p. 122); the Period VI 297= Sv. 83.24–28 (Pick); and the Period VI 301 = Sv. 84.1–7 (Price and Trell, p. 76, fig. 132). The very similarity of the Parthenos and the Promachos may explain why the latter seems not to appear independently on the coinage.

The statue group by Myron on the Akropolis; see Lacroix, pp. 252–254; H. A. Weis, “The ‘Marsyas’ of Myron: Old Problems and New Evidence,” Ἀντίκα 83, 1979, pp. 214–219, where it is not appreciated that the reversed position of Athena and Marsyas on a Period VI reverse is an engraver’s error.

As Pheidias’ statue at Olympia, but this should be the chryselephantine statue in Hadrian’s completed Olympieion that would have been copied from it (Lacroix, p. 266). It is uncertain whether the Seated Zeus reverse in Period VI (one die: 356) was intended to replicate the VC reverse, for it is not a serious copy at all: Zeus is seated to the right on a stool rather than on a throne and holds an eagle instead of a Nike. Svoronos thought that this was the Zeus on the Parthenon East Pediment («Φώς ετέλ που Παρθενώνοις», Ἰάννες 14, 1912 (pp. 193–339), p. 273), but as the Madrid Puteal suggests (note 63 above), the Parthenon Zeus held a thunderbolt at his side. The Period VI Zeus appears in fact to
Demeter standing (266)
Eirene holding Ploutos (267)
Early Classical nude Apollo holding branch and bow (269)
Nude Apollo sighting along arrow (270)
Young Herakles sacrificing (272)
Theseus subduing fallen Minotaur (276)
Asklepios (277).

Kephisodotos’ statue of Eirene and Ploutos may have been introduced because of its topical relevance to the peace and prosperity of the Antonine regime. In this connection it could be significant that the Eirene and Ploutos was one of the three Period VC types not repeated in the Period VI coinage. Might it have been judged too inappropriate for the troubled 260’s?

Designed to achieve the greatest possible richness in iconographical variety, the Period VI coinage involved more than a dozen different kinds of obverse Athena heads and busts, including one wearing a Roman masked cavalry helmet (401a) and a left-facing bust with a shield and spear at the shoulder (314a, 322a), and at least forty-seven different basic reverse types, of which twenty-one are entirely new:

Zeus standing with perpendicular left arm (unpublished)
Hermes (358, 359)
Apollo Lykeios (363, 364)
Artemis with torches (370)
Theater of Dionysos (376)
Owl, olive tree, amphora, and palm (377–385).

have been copied from a silver coin of Alexander the Great, which might have been thought by the Period VI die cutter to show the Zeus of Olympia and thus of the Olympician.

67 The caption to Sv. 92.22, 23 identifies the divinity as Hera, but the image is clearly the same Demeter shown next to Kore on 178.
68 The statue by Kephisodotos; see Lacroix, pp. 295–297.
69 Assumed by some to be the statue of Apollo Alexikakos by Kalamis (Pausanias 1.3.4); LIMC II, p. 217, pl. 206, no. 281.
70 The Vienna specimen (although not the illustration of it in Sv. [Sv. 95.10]) shows the shaft that the deity holds up for inspection in his left hand; and from the Berlin specimen (although this again is not clear from the photograph published by Svoronos, Sv. 95.12) one sees that the god’s right hand hanging at his side holds a doubly curved bow in a nearly vertical position. Accordingly, on the tickets in the Vienna and Berlin trays the figure is correctly classified as Apollo (rather than Theseus [so BMC, p. 105, no. 759] or Hermes [so NCP, p. 149, whence Sv., pl. 95]). For an identically posed figure without preserved attributes, see the statue in Early Classical style known as “Stephanos’ Athlete” and the similar nude male in the so-called Orestes and Elektra Group (B. S. Ridgway, The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture, Princeton 1970, pp. 135–137, figs. 174, 175). On the evidence of the coins, the Stephanos figure should probably be identified as Apollo. 71 The others were the standing Demeter (266) and Apollo (270). A few of the more complicated Period VB types also do not reappear in Period VI: 177, 178, 190, and Sv. 95.23, 24.
72 N. Eschbach (Statuen auf panathenaischen Preisamphoren des 4. Jhs. v. Chr., Mainz am Rhein 1986, p. 124) compares a statue known from a Panathenaic amphora of 336/5 (ibid., pp. 109–110, 113, pl. 28:1, no. 63) with 301 = Sv. 84.1–7, although on the latter, Athena wears an Attic, not a Corinthian, helmet and holds a spear rather than a stylis in her left hand.
73 See note 91 above, p. 55, and pp. 56–58, where the image is identified as the cult statue of Zeus Soter-Eleutherios. On the Period VI die, there is no altar before the image; cf. earlier representations of the statue on coins (78–80 and 148).
74 LIMC II, p. 217, pl. 206, no. 281. The statue is also depicted on the New Style silver of Epigenes-Xenon (New Style, p. 383, pl. 139, nos. 1237–1240; see under 121 above, p. 96).
Besides these new types, the Period VI penchant for diversity led to the creation of a great number of type variants, such as the otherwise identical agonistic-table reverses that are separately inscribed with the names of Athens' five major athletic festivals (note 53 above, p. 123), and seemingly endless versions of Athena Parthenos, including one holding an owl instead of a Nike (293) and another with an owl rather than a snake at her feet (292). On a Period VI die (357) an eagle was gratuitously added to the wrist of the sacrificing left arm of the Standing Zeus, although, as confirmed by the representation on the VB die (175), the wrist of the statue must have been bare. What all this means of course is that the Period VI die engravers were not above “improving” on the statue types they reproduced, sometimes because they were copying from other coins and did not know the prototypes at first hand, at other times because variety or speed in execution could be more important to them than representational accuracy. Fidelity to sculptural prototypes can regularly be expected only in the more deliberate and conscientious die cutting of Periods VB and C.

In the following catalogue, the varieties are arranged within each period and denomination by reverse subjects, beginning with Athena, followed by other gods and goddesses, heroes and historical figures, and finally miscellaneous types. Reverses are presented whenever possible with the most common variety first, followed by all variants represented in the Agora collection. No attempt has been made to give a variety number to every known variant or to legend variants that are unique to single dies. Owing to the heavily worn condition of most Period VB and C drachms from the excavations and the contrastingly fine condition of the many Period VI drachms that were hoarded or lost during the Herulian invasion of 267, the 2nd-century varieties could not be illustrated so fully as the 3rd-century ones. Die positions are loose in all phases of the coinage and are not recorded.

### CATALOGUE

#### PERIOD VA

**earlier 120's after Christ**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Note(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEMIOBOLS</td>
<td>Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet; helmet bowl ornamented with two or three upright olive leaves and, usually, a curved tendril ending in a blossom; border of dots.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>AΘE</strong> Owl stg. r.; to l., olive twig with two leaves and berry; border of dots.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 162      | 11 coins 13–16 Av. 2.38 (10)  | 162     |
| *a       | A-268 14 2.02               |        |
| *b       | MM-500 14 2.50              |        |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Similar.</th>
<th>Similar, except AΘH.</th>
<th>Sv. 88.23, 26</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>163</strong></td>
<td>200 coins</td>
<td>13–16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>BB-18</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>E-2122</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>ΚΤΑ-51</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>ΛΛ-256</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
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<td>*e</td>
<td>Σ-5021</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*f</td>
<td>ΟΑ-125</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Similar. | Similar, except A-Θ|H and no olive twig. | Sv. 88.27 |
|---|---|---|
| **164** | 6 coins | 13–16 | Av. 2.50 (6) |
| *a | I-1607 | 13 | 2.60 |

| Similar. | Similar, except A|Θ-H and Owl stg. l. | Sv. 88.28 |
|---|---|---|
| **165** | I-50 | 14 | 2.33 |

Similar head of Athena or bust of Athena wearing Corinthian helmet and aegis; border of dots.

**166** | 12 coins | 14–16 | Av. 3.22 (11) |
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>ΒΓ'-281</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>ΟΟ-270</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar head or bust of Athena r.

**167** | 16 coins | 14–17 | Av. 3.01 (15) |
<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>Θ-499</td>
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<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>ΛΛ-178</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>NN-1334</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.08</td>
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</table>

Bust of Athena r., wearing helmet and aegis.

**168** | 4 coins | 14–16 | Av. 2.27 (3) |

linked through a common obverse die to **166** and **167**
**PERIOD VB**

cia. 120's–140's or later after Christ

**Drachms**

Bust of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; some ("elaborate") busts fully draped and armored with aegis, other ("transitional") busts with little or no drapery at the shoulder line; either wreathed or no border.

169 6 coins 24–26 Av. 7.66 (4)

* T-18 25 10.32

Similar.

*170 O-635 25 9.46

Similar, but transitional bust with slight drapery; border of dots.

171 3 coins 24–25 Av. 6.72 (3)

* H'-2817 24 5.46

Similar.

169–171 11 coins.

Bust of Athena r., of elaborate or transitional type; wreathed or dotted border.

172 8 coins 24–25 Av. 8.39 (6)

* OO-1506 25 8.78

Elaborate bust of Athena r.; wreathed or dotted border.

173 P-185 25 9.54

AΘ-ΝΑ-IΩΝ Athena stg. l., holding transverse spear with r. hand and resting l. on hip; at r., oval shield and snake; at l., snake and olive tree with owl perching in branches; border of dots.

AΘ-ΝΑΙΩΝ Athena, wearing Corinthian helmet, aegis, and long dress, stg. r.; holding spear with point downwards in upraised r. hand and Nike in outstretched l.; border of dots.

AΘ-ΝΑΙΩΝ or ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ Athena stg. l., Sv. 83.29–32; NCP, Z.xxii

AΘ-ΝΑΙΩΝ Athena stg. l., at r., aegis and long dress, stg. r.; holding spear with point downwards in upraised r. hand and Nike in outstretched l.; border of dots.

Sv. 82.1–4

Sv. 82.29–31

Sv. 87.15–17

Sv. —
Similar, but wreathed border.  

A̱ΣH or A̱Σ-H or AθHNAI  
At center, olive tree, with owl in branches and snake entwined around trunk; at l., Poseidon, half nude, striding r., brandishing trident in upraised r. hand; at r., Athena moving l., extending r. hand toward tree and holding spear and shield with l.; border of dots.  

174 2 coins 24–25 7.90 (1)  
*a IIII-575 24 7.90

Transitional bust of Athena r.; border of dots.  

AθHNAI-W-N Zeus stg., nude, to r., holding thunderbolt at side with r. hand and sacrificing with l. hand turned downwards over low altar at r.; border of dots.  

175 2 coins 23–24 4.85 (1)  
*a II-243 24 4.85

Elaborate bust of Athena r.; wreathed border.  

AθHNA or AθHNAI-WN Bearded Dionysos, wearing crown of ivy leaves and elaborate robes, seated r. on high-backed throne; resting r. hand on knee and holding long thyrsos with l.; at r., low table bearing burning thymiaterion; border of dots.  

176 3 coins 22–25 Av. 4.80 (2)  
*a Γ-404 25 5.19

Elaborate bust of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet, necklace of pendants, and cuirass with aegis; no border.  

AθHNAIWN At center, Triptolemos stg. l., holding long torch, in chariot drawn by two snakes to l.; at l., Demeter stg. r., holding long torch with l. hand and wheat ears with r.; at r., Kore stg. l., holding torch with r. hand; border of dots.  

177 2 coins 24–25 Av. 8.57 (2)  

Transitional head of Athena r.; border of dots.  

AΘ-H-NAI At r., Demeter stg. l., holding scepter and wheat ears; at l., Kore stg. r., holding long torch; border of dots.  

178 2 coins 24 8.70 (1)  
*a IIII-473 24 8.70 (B 17:1b)
Similar.

179 5 coins 23–24 Av. 6.32 (4)
   *a K-1398 23 5.94

Elaborate bust of Athena r.; wreathed border.

AΘH AΘH, AΘH-A, A|H|Θ, A|Θ-H, or AΘH-AIWN Themistokles, in military dress and holding trophy with l. hand and wreath with upraised r., stg. l. on galley sailing l.; on prow, owl stg. l.; on ram, snake to l.; border of dots.

180 II-966 24 10.46

Similar.

AΘH Theseus stg. r., raising the rock at Troizen; border of dots.

181 8 coins 22–24 Av. 5.88 (5)
   *a OO-826 22 8.34 GRC, fig. 20

Elaborate or transitional bust of Athena r.; wreathed, dotted, or no border.

AΘHNAI-WN Herakles, nude and bearded, stg. r., holding r. hand at side and leaning l. on club propped on rock; lion skin draped around l. arm; border of dots.

182 17 coins 22–25 Av. 8.17 (14)
   *a T-545 23 8.99
   *b Z-2716 23 7.63
   *c OO-35 25 8.35 GRC, fig. 20

Elaborate bust of Athena r.; wreathed or no border.

AΘH, A|Θ-H, or AΘ-H Similar, but types to r., Themistokles holding trophy over shoulder and, on one die, owl replaced by head of Athena; border of dots.

183 5 coins 24–26 Av. 7.48 (3)
   *a Z-526 25 6.98

Elaborate or transitional bust r.

Similar, but details illegible.

[182, 183] 15 coins.

184 4 coins 23–25 Av. 6.78 (3)
   *a Z-2416 24 7.19

Elaborate or transitional bust of Athena r.; wreathed or dotted border.

AΘHNAI-WN Four-legged table with amphora below; at r., palm branch; on table from l. to r., wreath, helmeted head of Athena r., and owl stg. l.; border of dots.
CATALOGUE

Elaborate bust of Athena r.; wreathed or no border.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>185</th>
<th>8 coins</th>
<th>23–26</th>
<th>Av. 7.40 (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Σ-3612</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AΘH-NAI-WN Boukranion with fillet hanging from each horn; border of dots.

UNCLASSIFIED

Elaborate or transitional bust of Athena r.


HEMIDRACHMS

(a) Fine-style obverses

Bust of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet and aegis; border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>186</th>
<th>43 coins</th>
<th>18–22</th>
<th>Av. 5.45 (17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Δ-257</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>ΩΔ-105</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>Τ-52</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ, A-ΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ, or AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ

Demeter seated l., holding wheat ears in extended r. hand and long scepter with l.; at l., usually, snake to l.; border of dots.

Similar busts of Athena r., some with Attic helmets; border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>187</th>
<th>24 coins</th>
<th>19–21</th>
<th>Av. 5.05 (13)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>A-666</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>T-285</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ or AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ

Kore stg. r., holding two torches downward to r.; border of dots.

Similar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>188</th>
<th>13 coins</th>
<th>18–21</th>
<th>5.32 (7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>ΓΤ-87</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>Σ-4635</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ Iakchos, wearing short tunic and boots and holding long torch, stg. r.; border of dots.

Bust of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet and aegis; border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>189</th>
<th>2 coins</th>
<th>19–20</th>
<th>5.43 (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>ΠΠΠ-359</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A-ΘΗ Theseus, nude and with club in his upraised r. hand, striding l.; before him at l., Minotaur falling l.; border of dots.
### Athenian Bronze Coins: Second and Third Centuries After Christ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>T-405</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bust of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet and aegis; wreathed border.**

A|Θ-Η Miltiades, in military dress, stg. r.; holding with both hands Persian captive stg. r. with hands bound behind back; at r., trophy; border of dots. Sv. 97.32–35, NCP, EE: vii, viii

**(b) Coarse-style obverses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>2 coins</td>
<td>18–19</td>
<td>Av. 6.49 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Σ-92</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bust of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet and aegis; border of dots.

A|H-Θ Apollo Patroos stg. l., wearing long robe, holding lyre with l. hand and phiale in extended r.; border of dots. Sv. 93.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>3 coins</td>
<td>18–19</td>
<td>Av. 6.51 (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

A|H|Θ Four-legged table with amphora below; on table at l., owl stg. l., and at r., statue of Athena Parthenos facing; border of dots. Sv. 91.46, 47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>ΩΔ-53</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Heavily corroded

Similar.

A|Θ-Η Four-legged table with amphora below; on table, owl stg. r. and wreath; at l., palm branch; border of dots. Sv. 91.48

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>2 coins</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Av. 8.85 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>ΓΓ-38</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

Similar, but both owl and statue of Athena stg. l.; border of dots. Sv. —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>6 coins</td>
<td>18–19</td>
<td>5.00 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Θ-949</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

A|Θ-Η Olive tree with owl perching l. in branches; at r., large amphora; border of dots. Sv. 90.33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>9 coins</td>
<td>18–19</td>
<td>4.19 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>T-216</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

AΘ-H Similar, but owl perching r.; border of dots. Sv. 90.34
**CATALOGUE**

[195, 196] 3 coins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>197</th>
<th>44 coins</th>
<th>18–20</th>
<th>Av. 5.60 (18)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>A-200</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>NN-2015</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>OO-1376</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>ΣΤ-186</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>Ω-434</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PERIODS VB and C**

**OBOLS**

(a) Earlier issues: VB

Helmeted bust of Athena l., with shoulders bare; border of dots.  
*AΘHNA-IWN* Triptolemos, holding long staff, stg. in chariot drawn by two snakes l.; border of dots.

| 198 | 1 | 19 | 4.45 |

Similar.

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.  
*AΘHNA-IWN* Theseus or Herakles stg. l., holding phiale in r. hand and club with l.; border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>199</th>
<th>5 coins</th>
<th>16–18</th>
<th>Av. 5.14 (5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>B-171</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>Z-1973</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet and aegis; border of dots.  
*AΘHNA-IWN* Theseus striding l., as last; at l., Minotaur falling l.; border of dots.

| 200 | ΠΙΠ-663  | 16    | 2.70         |

Bust of Athena r. or l., wearing Corinthian helmet and aegis; border of dots.  
*A-Θ-H* Flaming cylindrical altar on wide base; at r., olive tree; border of dots.

| 201 | ΠΘ-470   | 16    | 5.87         |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>202</th>
<th>6 coins</th>
<th>15–16</th>
<th>Av. 409 (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>ΠΓ-273</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES AFTER CHRIST

Similar, bust r.

203  4 coins  14–15  Av. 3.37 (4)
   *a OO-269  16  3.59

No legend. Rectangular altar topped by boukransion between two situlae; at l. and r., olive tree. Altar face ornamented by wreath enclosing boukransion; border of dots.

(b) Later Issues: VB or C

Head or bust of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet and sometimes aegis; border of dots.

204  25 coins  16–18  Av. 3.12 (15)
   *a Ø-75  16  4.59
   *b Ø-418  16  3.79

A|ΩH|NAI|ΩN Demeter (?) seated r., on rock, leaning l. arm on low column and resting r. in lap; border of dots.

205  3 coins  17–18  2.99 (2)
   *a Π-421  18  3.43

Similar.

A|ΩH|NAI|ΩN Similar to last. Sv. —

206  50 coins  16–18  Av. 3.04 (15)
   *a B’-929  18  5.03
   *b T-286  17  3.18

AΘH-NAI or AΘH-NAI Triptolemos stg. l. in chariot drawn by two snakes to l.; border of dots.

207  2 coins  17–18  Av. 2.85 (2)
   *a T-926  18  3.48

Similar.

AΘH-NAI or AΘH-NAI Nike stg. l., holding wreath in upraised r. hand; border of dots.

208  7 coins  15–18  Av. 3.18 (7)
   *a ΔΕ-14  15  2.30

Similar.

AΘH-NAI Theseus striding l., drapery over l. arm and shoulder, club in upraised r. hand; border of dots.

209  2 coins  17–18  Av. 3.66 (2)
   *a Z-1975  18  4.83

Similar.

AΘH-NAIΩN or AΘHNA-IΩN Theseus striding l., as last; border of dots.
CATALOGUE

210 13 coins 16–18 Av. 3.40 (7)
*a  ΟΟ-1228 18 5.20

Similar. ΑΘΗ-ΝΑΙ-ΩΝ or ΑΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩ-Ν
Athena, wearing armor and hurling spear, stg. r. in biga
galloping r.; border of dots.

211 24 coins 16–19 Av. 3.15 (24)
*a  ΑΑ-1140 17 4.13
*b  Ε-2024 16 4.12
*c  ΠΑ-412 16 3.90
*d  Σ-3976 17 3.00
*e  Σ-4879 19 3.69

Similar. ΑΘΗ-ΝΑΙ, ΑΘΗ-ΝΑΙ, ΑΘΗ-ΝΑΙ, ΑΘΗ-ΝΑ, or Α-ΘΗ
Olive tree with owl perching l. in branches; border of dots.

212 7 coins 16–18 Av. 3.41 (6)
*a  Τ-1018 17 4.14

Similar. ΑΘΗ-ΝΑΙ or ΑΘΗ-ΝΑΙ
Large amphora with long scepter at r.
and palm branch at l.; wreathed or dotted border.

HEMIOBOLS

Bust of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet and aegis;
wreathed or dotted border.

213 2 coins 11–12 Av. 2.08 (2)

Similar; border of dots.

214 9 coins 12–14 Av. 2.20 (8)
*a  Τ-866 12 2.19

Similar.

215 16 coins 11–13 Av. 2.12 (7)
*a  Π-289 11 1.21

Similar.

216 6 coins 11–12 Av. 1.40 (6)
*a  Ρ-1050 12 1.68

Bust of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet; border of dots.

ΑΘΗ or A-ΘΗ Nike as last, sometimes to r.; border of dots.

ΑΘΗ-ΝΑΙ Asklepios stg. l., draped with r. shoulder bare,
holding l. hand at waist, resting r. on short staff entwined with
snake; border of dots.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stamp</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-Θ</td>
<td>H Similar figure of</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>31 coins</td>
<td>11–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>B-533</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>K-367</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-Θ</td>
<td>H Draped figure of</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>AA-755</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>NN-210</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-Θ</td>
<td>H Draped figure of</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>9 coins</td>
<td>11–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>NN-210</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-Θ</td>
<td>H Draped figure of</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>52 coins</td>
<td>11–13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>N'-1342</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Σ-3615</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Σ-4154</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Θ</td>
<td>H Draped figure of</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>28 coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>OO-1013</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Z-1687</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Θ</td>
<td>H Draped figure of</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>7 coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ΛΛ-387</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Θ</td>
<td>H or A</td>
<td>Θ-H</td>
<td>H Draped figure of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Z-1147</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Z-2759</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Θ-H</td>
<td>H or A</td>
<td>Θ-H</td>
<td>H Draped figure of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>A-1469</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.95</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>OO-1203</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.41</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalogue Number</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>9 coins 11–13 Av. 1.49 (8)</td>
<td>Similar.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Θ-H or AΘH-N Olive tree as last, but owl l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[224, 225]</td>
<td>32 coins.</td>
<td>Similar, but details illegible.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>78 coins 11–13 Av. 1.54 (72)</td>
<td>Similar bust r. or l.; border of dots.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Θ-H or A-Θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a AA-489</td>
<td>12 1.46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b Γ-302</td>
<td>12 1.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c ΔΔ-4</td>
<td>12 1.63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d E-2334</td>
<td>13 1.66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e Z-699</td>
<td>11 1.38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*f Ξ-289</td>
<td>11 1.38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g BE-483</td>
<td>12 -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>17 coins 11–13 Av. 1.79 (16)</td>
<td>Similar.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Θ-H or A-Θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a M-208</td>
<td>12 1.44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b Ξ-681</td>
<td>11 1.48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>3 coins 11–12 Av. 1.36 (2)</td>
<td>Similar.</td>
<td>A-Θ</td>
<td>H Owl stg. I., on olive branch; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a Σ-6096</td>
<td>11 1.17 chisel marks on obv: II– (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>76 coins 10–13 Av. 1.45 (71)</td>
<td>Bust of Athena r.; wreathed or dotted border.</td>
<td>A-Θ</td>
<td>H, AΘ-H, or A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a M-36</td>
<td>11 1.29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b NN-217</td>
<td>13 1.40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c Σ-4051</td>
<td>12 1.81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d ΠI-644</td>
<td>13 2.25 GRC, fig. 21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>16 coins 10–12 Av. 1.49 (15)</td>
<td>Similar; wreathed border.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a ΠΠI-282</td>
<td>10 1.34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>6 coins 11–13 Av. 1.25 (5)</td>
<td>Similar; border of dots.</td>
<td>AΘ-H Owl stg., facing, with spread wings; border of dots.</td>
<td>Sv. 88.43, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a ΠΘ-426</td>
<td>13 1.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bust of Theseus r., head bare, with club over l. shoulder; border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>10 coins</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>ΣΤ'-704</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

AΘH Piglet walking r.; wreathed or dotted border.  
Sv. 94.15

AΘH Grape cluster; border of dots.  
Sv. 92.24-26

AΘH Amphora on conical foot; at r., palm branch; border of dots.  
Sv. 90.45-47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>5 coins</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Ψ-214</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

AΘH Grape cluster; border of dots.  
Sv. 92.24-26

AΘH Amphora on conical foot; at r., palm branch; border of dots.  
Sv. 90.45-47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>12 coins</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>ΓΓ-99</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>Z-1965</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>H-416</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

AΘ|H or AΘ-H Three wheat ears emerging from rounded, handleless vase or basket; border of dots.  
Sv. 94.36

AΘ-H Tripod; border of dots.  
Sv. —

AΘ|H, A-Θ, or A|Θ-H Club with handle upwards; border of dots.  
Sv. 96.37-40

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>9 coins</td>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

AΘ-H Tripod; border of dots.  
Sv. —

AΘ-H Tripod; border of dots.  
Sv. —

AΘ|H, A-Θ, or A|Θ-H Club with handle upwards; border of dots.  
Sv. 96.37-40

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>ΠΘ-493</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar, but bust sometimes l.

AΘ|H, A-Θ, or A|Θ-H Club with handle upwards; border of dots.  
Sv. 96.37-40

AΘ-H, AΘ-H, or A|Θ-H Club with handle upwards; border of dots.  
Sv. 94.50-52

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td>17 coins</td>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>KK-114</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>ΠΠΙ-152</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>Σ-3801</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar, bust r.

AΘ-H, AΘ-H, or A|Θ-H Two torches; border of dots.  
Sv. 94.50-52

AΘH Five ears of wheat; border of dots.  
Sv. 94.53, 54

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>9 coins</td>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>BB-499</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

AΘH Five ears of wheat; border of dots.  
Sv. 94.53, 54

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>239</td>
<td>3 coins</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Z-438</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>H'-3379</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>III-118</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>241</td>
<td>14 coins</td>
<td></td>
<td>10–12</td>
<td>Av. 1.14 (9)</td>
<td>Sv. 92.33, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Z-733</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Draped bust of Asklepios l., snake emerging l. from drapery; border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>242</td>
<td>6 coins</td>
<td></td>
<td>10–11</td>
<td>Av. 1.42 (3)</td>
<td>Sv. 98.16, 18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Draped bust of Demeter or Kore r., wearing necklace; border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>243</td>
<td>EA-203</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>2 coins</td>
<td></td>
<td>11–13</td>
<td>1.97 (2)</td>
<td>Sv. 94.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>IIΘ-161</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>MM-36</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td></td>
<td>GRC, fig. 21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Male bust r., wearing wreath with leaves above forehead; border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>245</td>
<td>N-723</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>246</td>
<td>3 coins</td>
<td></td>
<td>9–10</td>
<td>Av. 0.90 (3)</td>
<td>Sv. 99.43, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Z-2221</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Boukranion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>2 coins</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.20 (1)</td>
<td>Sv. 99.45–47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>KK-435</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

UNCLASSIFIED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bust of Athena or other deity. Details uncertain or illegible.

**PERIOD VC**

(140’s or) 150’s–ca. 175 after Christ

**DRACHMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drachm</th>
<th>Coins</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>248</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>6.75</td>
<td>ΑΘ-Ν-ΑΙΩΝ or, very rarely, ΑΘ-ΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ Athena Parthenos stg. l., as 171; border of dots.</td>
<td>Head or simple bust of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet or, rarely, Attic helmet; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>I-1043</td>
<td>8.38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>MM-446</td>
<td>6.86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*c</td>
<td>NN-208</td>
<td>8.29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>ΠΘ-245</td>
<td>8.48</td>
<td>GRC, fig. 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>ΠΠ-716</td>
<td>7.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*f</td>
<td>Σ-3750</td>
<td></td>
<td>halved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drachm</th>
<th>Coins</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td>A-833</td>
<td>6.15</td>
<td>ΑΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ Athena Parthenos as last, but with boukranion replacing snake at l.; border of dots.</td>
<td>Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drachm</th>
<th>Coins</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drachm</th>
<th>Coins</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>K-1821</td>
<td>6.46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drachm</th>
<th>Coins</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

59 coins.

**248–250**

Bust of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drachm</th>
<th>Coins</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>K-1821</td>
<td>6.46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

Legend illegible. Athena as last, but with spear held vertically; at r., upright shield leaning on base of spear; at l., snake coiled to l.; border of dots.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue No</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>*ΠΘ-63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>6 coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*a B-370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|              | *a Γ-1452 | Sv. 85.32–35; NCP, Z:vi
|              |          | Sv. 85.12–18 |
|              | *a ΠΘ-47 | Sv. 85.12–18 |
| 256          | 34 coins | ΑΘΗΝ-ΑΙ-ΟΝ, ΑΘΗ-ΝΑ-ΙΩΝ, ΑΘΗΝ-AΙ-ΩN, ΑΘΗΝA-I-ΩN, or ΑΘΗΝ-ΑΙ-ΩN Similar to 255, but with only snake at r.; border of dots. |
|              | *a MM-139 | Sv. 85.12–18 |
|              |          | Sv. 86.1–4 |
| 257          | 125 coins | ΑΘΗΝ-AI-ΟN or ΑΘΗΝA-I-ΩN Athena stg. l., holding spear with r. hand and round shield with l.; border of dots. |
|              | *a ΜΜ-139 | Sv. 87.18–20; NCP, Z:xviii |
| 258          | 17 coins | ΑΘΗ-ΝΑΙ-ΩN Similar, but with snake entwined around tree; border of dots. |
|              | *a Ω-19 | Sv. 87.18–20; NCP, Z:xviii |
| 259          | I-650 | Athena stg. l., with olive tree, as 173; border of dots. |
### 260 13 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Σ-3396</td>
<td>22–25 Av.</td>
<td>7.50 (10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

**AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩ-Ν** Athena, holding shield and hurling spear with r. hand, in biga galloping r.; below horses at r., giant emerging from earth preparing to throw boulder with both hands; border of dots.

Sv. 88.8, 9

### 261 4 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>NN-66</td>
<td>22–24 Av.</td>
<td>8.27 (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

**AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ** Contest of Athena and Poseidon, as 174; border of dots.

Sv. 89.11–15; *NCP, Z:*xvi

### 262 4 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>ΠΠΙ-277</td>
<td>22–24 Av.</td>
<td>7.13 (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

**AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ** or **AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ** Athena stg., facing, arms at sides and looking r.; at r., Marsyas, nude, advancing toward Athena with r. arm raised; border of dots.

Sv. 89.26–32; *NCP, Z:*xx

### 263 3 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Λ-56</td>
<td>22–23 Av.</td>
<td>6.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

**AΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ** Zeus seated on throne to l., holding Nike in r. hand, long scepter in l.; border of dots.

GRC, fig. 20

Sv. 91.1, 2; *NCP, BB:*iv

### 264 2 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>ΠΠΙ-510</td>
<td>22–23 Av.</td>
<td>7.42 (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

**AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ** Bearded Dionysos seated r., behind low table. As 176; border of dots.

Sv. 92.17, 18; *NCP, CC:*ii

### 265 3 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>I-1262</td>
<td>22–23 Av.</td>
<td>6.79 (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

**AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ** As 264, but no table; border of dots.

Sv. 92.19

### 266 3 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Ω-58</td>
<td>22–23 Av.</td>
<td>7.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

**AΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ** Demeter stg., facing, head turned to r., holding long scepter in upraised l. hand and wheat ears in lowered r.; border of dots.

Sv. 92.22, 23
CATALOGUE

Similar.

267 8 coins 22–24 Av. 6.32 (8)
*a IIII-871 24 6.49

Similar.

268 7 coins 22–25 Av. 6.74 (6)
*a Z-1581 24 9.38

Similar.

269 11 coins 23–24 Av. 7.18 (10)
*a OO-619 24 7.37

Similar.

270 IIII-229 23 4.30

Similar.

271 26 coins 21–24 Av. 6.71 (19)
*a Σ-4313 23 7.68

Similar.

272 2 coins 24 Av. 7.84 (2)
*a Γ-1482 24 6.49

**AGHN-ΑΙΩΝ** Eirene, draped, stg., facing, holding long scepter in r. hand and turning head to look at infant Ploutos held on l. arm; Ploutos raises r. hand towards Eirene's face and holds cornucopia in l.; border of dots.

Sv. 92.38–44; *NCP*, DD:ix, x

**ΑΘΗ-ΝΑ-ΙΩΝ** Apollo Patroos, wearing long chiton, stg. l., holding lyre with l. hand and phiale in outstretched r.; border of dots.

Sv. 93.2, 3; *NCP*, CC:xxi

**ΑΘΗ-ΝΑ-ΙΩΝ** Apollo, nude, stg. r., holding bow in l. hand and branch in r.; border of dots.

Sv. 93.8, 9

**AΘΗ-ΝΑΙ-ΙΩΝ** Apollo, nude, stg. frontally, with head turned to r., sighting down arrow which is held up in l. hand; r. arm at side holding bow; border of dots.

Sv. 95.10–12; *NCP*, DD:xxii, xxiii

**ΑΘΗ-ΝΑ-ΙΩΝ, AΘΗ-ΝΑ-ΙΩΝ, AΘΗ-ΝΑΙ-ΙΩΝ, AΘΗ-ΝΑΙ-ΙΩΝ, ΑΘΗ-ΗΝΑ-ΙΩΝ, or ΑΘΗ-ΝΑ-ΙΩΝ** Triptolemos, holding torch and wheat ears, stg. l. in chariot drawn by two snakes to l.; border of dots.

Sv. 94.20, 21, 23, 24

**ΑΘΗ-ΝΑ-ΙΩΝ** Herakles, nude, stg. l., holding phiale in outstretched r. hand and club, resting on ground, in l.; border of dots.

Sv. 95.8; *NCP*, DD:xxiii
Similar.

273 2 coins 23 Av. 7.92 (2)
*a AA-605 23 7.19

Similar.

274 2 coins 23 5.53 (1)

Similar.

275 3 coins 23–24 Av. 7.06 (2)
*a Ω-329 24 8.29

Similar.

276 11 coins 22–24 Av. 6.22 (10)
*a KK-300 24 7.49

Similar.

277 4 coins 23–24 Av. 5.46 (3)
*a ΠA-77 23 5.85

Similar.

278 7 coins 22–23 Av. 6.20 (6)
*a Σ-1171 22 5.45

Similar.

279 17 coins 21–24 Av. 6.44 (17)
*a A-1589 24 8.28

Similar.

[AΘΗ-NAI|ΩN] Theseus driving Marathonian bull, as 180; border of dots.

Sv. 95.21, 22

[AΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ] Theseus raising rock at Troizen, as 181; border of dots.

Sv. 95.26, 27, 29

[AΘ-ΗΝΑ-Ι-ΩΝ] Theseus attacking falling Minotaur, as 189; border of dots.

Sv. 96.15, 16

[AΘΗΝΑ-ΙΩΝ] or [AΘΗΝΑΙ-ΩΝ] Theseus leaning r., holding club with r. hand and, with l. hand, clutching horn of Minotaur, who falls to r.; border of dots.

Sv. 96.1–7

[AΘΗΝΑ-ΙΩΝ] or [AΘΗΝΑΙ-ΩΝ] Asklepios stg., facing, head to l., wearing himation, with l. hand at waist and leaning r. on staff entwined with snake; border of dots.

Sv. 98.1, 2

[AΘΗΝΑ-ΙΩΝ] or [AΘΗΝΑΙ-ΩΝ] Themistokles on galley to r., as 183, but owl stg. l. on prow and no snake on ram; border of dots.

Sv. 97.15, 19

[AΘΗΝΑ-ΙΩΝ] As 278, but owl stg. r.; border of dots.

Sv. 97.16–18

Similar, but details illegible.

[278, 279] 11 coins.
Similar.

280 11 coins 21–24 Av. 5.93 (9)
*a KTA-117 22 8.76
*b ΠΙΠ-485 21 5.79 (B 17:1b)
*c Σ-5367 22 6.13

Similar.

281 19 coins 21–24 Av. 6.96 (17)
*a N'-1290 24 6.81
*b T-1013 23 8.05

Similar.

282 4 coins 22–23 Av. 7.04 (4)

[281, 282] 11 coins.

Similar.

283 76 coins 21–24 Av. 6.75 (47)
*a QA-219 22 6.53
*b Μ-140 22 6.62
*c ΠΙΠ-172 21 7.11
*d Σ-1172 23 7.27

Similar.


a Ι-1336 24 heavily worn and halved

\[ \text{CATALOGUE} \]

Similar.

**AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ** or **AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ**

View of Akropolis seen from north and west. On r., steps of Panathenaic way lead up to Propylaia; at center, colossal statue of Athena Promachos stg. r. and holding Nike in outstretched r. hand, sometimes with owl stg. r. below; to l., Erechtheion. Halfway up Akropolis rock, to l. of stairs, niche with curved lintel representing Cave of Pan; within niche, minuscule statue of Pan; border of dots.

**AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ** Similar to 281, but on table, owl stg. l., bust of Athena r. and wreath; border of dots.

Details illegible.

**AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ**, **AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ**, or **AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ** Agonistic table as 184; border of dots.

Boukranion with fillet hanging from each horn, as 185; border of dots.

Illegible reverse type.
PERIOD VI

c.a. D. 264–267

DRACHMS

Head or bust of Athena r., rarely l., wearing Corinthian, Attic, or composite helmet, often highly varied in style. She occasionally wears a necklace. If a head, truncation is either bare or with slight drapery; if a bust, it may be heavily draped or armored with aegis; border of dots.

284 133 coins 19–23 Av. 5.15 (108)

*AA-1091 20 5.43 (Q 19:3)
*AA-1029 23 5.96 (Q 19:3)
*AB-1006 21 3.67 (Q 19:3)
AA-1070 21 4.35 (Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:b
AA-1097 21 6.61 (Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:c
B-328 22 4.55 (F 10:2)
III-491 21 3.78 (B 17:1b)
G-279 22 8.25 GRC, fig. 4

Similar.

285 10 coins 19–23 Av. 6.23 (8)

*AA-1019 21 7.07 (Q 19:3)

Similar.

286 13 coins 20–23 Av. 5.32 (13)

Similar.

287 15 coins 20–23 Av. 5.33 (14)

*AA-1050 21 4.65 (Q 19:3)
*AA-1132 21 5.21 (Q 19:3)

Similar.

288 19 coins 20–22 Av. 5.13 (15)

*AA-1118 21 2.99 (Q 19:3)

AΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ Athena Parthenos stg. l., holding Nike in outstretched r. hand and spear with l., which rests on a shield, shown in profile, with base on the ground line; similar to 169–171 and 248; border of dots.

AΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ, AΘΗΝ-Α-ΙΩΝ, AΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ Athena Parthenos as 284; border of dots.

AΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ Athena Parthenos as last, but at l., snake coiled to l., as 171; border of dots.

AΘΗ-Ν-ΑΙΩΝ As 286. Sv. 83.39, 40; 83.4, 10; NCP, Y:xx

AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ As 286. Sv. 83.12
Similar.

289 14 coins 20–22 Av. 4.91 (10) 
*a AA-1104 20 4.55 (Q 19:3) 

Similar.

290 4 coins 20–21 Av. 4.36 (4) 

Similar.

291 4 coins 20–23 Av. 4.82 (2) 

Similar.

292 2 coins 20–21 Av. 5.12 (2) 

Similar.

293 AA-1098 21 6.32 (Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:d 

Similar.

294 3 coins 21–23 Av. 5.76 (3) 

Similar.

295 3 coins 21–23 Av. 6.71 (3)
Similar.

296  3 coins  20–21  Av. 4.76 (3)

* Similar.

297  7 coins  20–22  Av. 5.07 (7)

*a ZZ-95  21  5.76

Similar.

298  4 coins  20–21  Av. 3.76 (3)

*a I-509  20  3.93

Similar.

299  6 coins  19–22  Av. 5.04 (2)

*a AA-1087  22  5.59

*b Ξ-802  19  4.60

(Q 19:3) GRC, fig. 22

Similar.

300  5 coins  19–21  Av. 4.58 (4)

*a Θ-357  20  4.59

Similar.

301  11 coins  21–22  Av. 4.91 (11)

*a I-1420  21  6.04

b NN-963  22  5.04

GRC, fig. 22
Similar.

302 3 coins 20–21 Av. 4.82 (3)
* a  ΣΑ-231 21 5.04

Similar.

303 AA-1083 20 7.07 (Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:e

Similar.

304 O-375 fragmentary

Similar.

305 4 coins 20–22 Av. 5.29 (3)
* a  ΝΝ-841 22 5.85

Similar.

306 3 coins 20–22 Av. 6.61 (3)
* a  ΑΑ-1085 21 4.20 (Q 19:3)

Similar.

307 2 coins 20–22 6.94 (1)
* a  ΑΑ-1032 22 6.94 (Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:f
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>References</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>308</strong></td>
<td>20–22</td>
<td>6.24 (2)</td>
<td>Athena stg. r., holding shield with l. hand and preparing to hurl spear with upraised r.; border of dots.</td>
<td>Sv. 84.29, 30; NCP, AA:xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>309</strong></td>
<td>20–22</td>
<td>5.11 (3)</td>
<td>Athena advancing r., holding round shield with l. hand and transverse spear, point upwards, with l.; at r., snake coiled to r.; Athena wears either Attic or Corinthian helmet; border of dots.</td>
<td>Sv. 85.1–3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>310</strong></td>
<td>21–22</td>
<td>5.59 (2)</td>
<td>Athena advancing r., head turned back, holding round shield with l. hand and pointing r. with r.; at r., snake coiled to r.; border of dots.</td>
<td>Sv. 85.5–7: NCP, AA:xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>311</strong></td>
<td>20–22</td>
<td>4.75 (9)</td>
<td>Athena advancing r., head turned back; similar to 254–256 but without snake, owl, or tree; border of dots.</td>
<td>Sv. 85.24–31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>312</strong></td>
<td>20–22</td>
<td>5.58 (20)</td>
<td>Athena advancing r., as last, but with snake to r., as 256; border of dots.</td>
<td>Sv. 85.21 variant; NCP, Z:ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>313</strong></td>
<td>20–22</td>
<td>7.75 (2)</td>
<td>Athena advancing r., as last, but with snake to r., as 256; border of dots.</td>
<td>Sv. 85.21 variant; NCP, Z:ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalogue Number</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>314</strong></td>
<td>4 coins</td>
<td>20–21</td>
<td>Av. 6.00 (4)</td>
<td>Similar. <strong>AΘH-NA-I-ΩN</strong>, <strong>AΘ-HNA-I-ΩN</strong>, or <strong>ΑΘη-ΗNAIΩN</strong> As last, but at l. of Athena, snake coiled to l.; border of dots. Sv. 85.19, 20, 22, 23; <strong>NCP</strong>, Z:x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>315</strong></td>
<td>Σ-6401</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.59</td>
<td>Similar. <strong>AΘΗ-NΑI-Ω-N</strong> Similar, but at l. of Athena, olive tree entwined by snake; as 255 but no owl; border of dots. Sv. 85.36, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>316</strong></td>
<td>Σ-3220</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>Similar. <strong>ΑΘΗΝ-Α-I-ΩN</strong> Athena stg. r., head to l., holding Nike with r. hand outstretched to l., and spear and round shield with l.; at l., snake coiled to l.; border of dots. Sv. —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>317</strong></td>
<td>ΣΤ-353</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.58</td>
<td>Similar. <strong>ΑΘΗΝ-Α-I-ΩN</strong> Athena with spear and shield, as 257; border of dots. Sv. 86.6–12, 14–18; <strong>NCP</strong>, Z:i, ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>318</strong></td>
<td>71 coins</td>
<td>20–24</td>
<td>Av. 5.43 (63)</td>
<td>Similar. <strong>AΘΗNAI-Ω-N</strong> Athena as 257. Sv. —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>319</strong></td>
<td>3 coins</td>
<td>21–22</td>
<td>Av. 5.28 (3)</td>
<td>Similar. <strong>AΘΗNA-I-ΩN</strong> As last. Sv. 86.24, 25, 28, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>320</strong></td>
<td>10 coins</td>
<td>20–22</td>
<td>Av. 5.60 (9)</td>
<td><strong>AΘΗΝ-ΑΙ-ΩN</strong> As last. Sv. 86.13, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>321</strong></td>
<td>7 coins</td>
<td>20–22</td>
<td>Av. 4.72 (6)</td>
<td>Similar. <strong>AΘΗN-ΑΙ-ΩN</strong> As last. Sv. 86.13, 19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* = illustrates in **Q 19:3**

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ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES AFTER CHRIST

Similar.

322 3 coins 20–21  Av. 6.52 (3)
* a AA-1022 21 4.67 (Q 19:3)

Similar.

323 1 coin 22 4.05

Similar.

324 11 coins 20–23  Av. 5.95 (8)
 a AA-1023 21 5.43 (Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:a

Similar.

325 7 coins 20–22  Av. 5.02 (7)

Similar.

326 6 coins 21–22  Av. 5.56 (4)

Similar.

327 AA-1028 21 5.38 (Q 19:3)

Similar.

328 5 coins 20–22  Av. 5.27 (3)

Similar.

329 4 coins 20–21  Av. 5.85 (4)

Similar.

330 ΠΠΠ-337 21 4.53

Similar.

331 4 coins 21–22  Av. 6.77 (4)
* a ΠΑ-164 22 7.83

Similar.

332 7 coins 21–24  Av. 5.95 (6)
 a Z-1408 21 4.49 GRC, fig. 22

Similar.

333 10 coins 20–22  Av. 5.72 (9)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Catalogue</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>3 coins</td>
<td>20–22</td>
<td>5.97 (3)</td>
<td>Athena stg. r., head l., holding phiale l. in outstretched r. hand, and round shield and spear in l.; at l., snake coiled to l.; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*a</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.18</td>
<td>(Q 19:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.87</td>
<td>Athena stg. r., head l., holding phiale l. in outstretched r. hand, and round shield and spear in l.; at l., snake coiled to l.; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>Athena stg. r., head l., holding phiale l. in outstretched r. hand, and round shield and spear in l.; at l., snake coiled to l.; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>(Q 19:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>Athena stg. r., head l., holding phiale l. in outstretched r. hand, and round shield and spear in l.; at l., snake coiled to l.; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>(Q 19:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>Athena stg. r., head l., holding phiale l. in outstretched r. hand, and round shield and spear in l.; at l., snake coiled to l.; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>(Q 19:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339</td>
<td>3 coins</td>
<td>20–22</td>
<td>4.84 (3)</td>
<td>Athena stg. r., head l., holding phiale l. in outstretched r. hand, and round shield and spear in l.; at l., snake coiled to l.; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.84 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>340</td>
<td>2 coins</td>
<td>21–22</td>
<td>5.53 (2)</td>
<td>Athena stg. r., head l., holding phiale l. in outstretched r. hand, and round shield and spear in l.; at l., snake coiled to l.; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*a</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5.89</td>
<td>(Q 19:3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Similar.

341 5 coins 20–21 Av. 5.86 (4)
\*a AA-1122 20 5.75 (Q 19:3)

Similar.

342 2 coins 21–22 4.99 (1)

Similar.

343 6 coins 20–21 Av. 6.28 (6)
\*a AA-1111 21 5.44 (Q 19:3)

Similar.

344 Ε-428 20 3.32

Similar.

345 3 coins 20–21 Av. 6.34 (2)
\*a B-354 21 6.58

Similar.

346 4 coins 20–21 Av. 5.42 (4)

Similar.

347 ΠΠΙ-1055 21 4.96


\[\text{AΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ} \text{ Athena stg. l., Sv. 87.27, 29, 30}
\text{with olive tree to l.; similar to 258, but without snake between}
\text{Athena and tree; border of dots.}

\[\text{AΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ or AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ} \text{ Sv. 87.28; NCP,}
\text{Similar, but with owl perched}
\text{to l. or r. in tree; border of}
\text{dots.}

\[\text{AΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ} \text{ Similar to 341,}
\text{but with snake entwined around}
\text{tree; border of dots.}

\[\text{AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ} \text{ Athena and olive}
\text{tree, as 258; border of dots.}

\[\text{AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ} \text{ As 345 but, in}
\text{place of snake, owl stg. l.;}
\text{border of dots.}

\[\text{A-ΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ} \text{ Athena stg. l.,}
\text{holding round shield and spear}
\text{with l. hand, and extending r.}
\text{towards olive tree at l.; border}
\text{of dots.}

Similar, but details illegible.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date(s)</th>
<th>Average Weight</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>348</td>
<td>9 coins</td>
<td>20–22</td>
<td>Av. 5.50 (8)</td>
<td>Similar. AΘΗ-Ν-ΆΙΩΝ, ΑΘΗ-Ν-ΑΙΩΝ, or ΑΘΗ-Ν-ΆΙΩΝ Athena seated l. on backless throne, holding Nike in outstretched r. hand, transverse spear in l.; she rests l. elbow on an upright shield seen in profile; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*a AA-1102 21 6.29 (Q 19:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>349</td>
<td>2 coins</td>
<td>20–21</td>
<td>Av. 5.90 (2)</td>
<td>Similar. AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ Similar to 348, but Athena holds phiale in place of Nike; at l., olive tree entwined with snake; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>a AA-1103 20 6.90 (Q 19:3) GRC, fig. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>4 coins</td>
<td>20–21</td>
<td>Av. 4.90 (4)</td>
<td>Similar. AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ or AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ Athena seated l., on backless throne, holding phiale in outstretched r. hand, raising l. to grasp upright spear; at l., olive tree entwined by snake; at r., leaning against back of throne, upright shield seen in profile; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*a AA-1081 21 4.84 (Q 19:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351</td>
<td>13 coins</td>
<td>20–22</td>
<td>Av. 5.71 (10)</td>
<td>Similar. AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, ΑΘΗΝ-Α-ΙΩ-Ν, ΑΘΗ-ΝΑΙ-ΩΝ, ΑΘΗΝΑΙ-ΩΝ, or ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ Athena in biga galloping to r., as 260, but without giant emerging from ground; wreathed or dotted border.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>*a O-204 21 5.56 (Q 19:3) GRC, fig. 22</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b AA-1056 20 6.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>352</td>
<td>5 coins</td>
<td>20–22</td>
<td>Av. 4.57 (4)</td>
<td>Similar. AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ or AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ As 351, but biga to l.; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>*a ΠΙΠ-478 21 5.13 (B 17:1b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>353</td>
<td>3 coins</td>
<td>21–22</td>
<td>Av. 5.88 (3)</td>
<td>Similar. AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ Similar to 351, but Athena in triga to r.; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>*a AA-1030 22 6.40 (Q 19:3)</td>
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**ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS: SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES AFTER CHRIST**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Average Weight</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 354      | 5        | 20–22      | 5.76 (3)       | Similar.  
AΘΗ|ΝΑΙ|ΩΝ Similar to 351, but Athena in quadriga to r.; border of dots.  

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>I-970</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Average Weight</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 355      | 7        | 20–22      | 4.99 (5)       | Similar.  
AΘΗ (in ex.) Olive tree entwined with snake, owl perched r. in branches; at l., Athena stg. r., l. hand pointing to r., and r. holding spear and resting on profile shield; at r., Poseidon stg. l., r. foot on rock, holding trident (head downwards?) in upraised l. hand and dolphin (?) in r.; border of dots.  

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>IIΠ-1100</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Average Weight</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 356      | 3        | 20–22      | 6.22 (3)       | Similar.  
AΘΗΝΑ-Ι-ΩΝ Zeus seated r. on stool, holding vertical scepter in upraised r. hand and eagle, looking back with wreath in beak, in l.; border of dots.  

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>AA-1009</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.47</td>
<td>(Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Average Weight</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 357      | 2        | 20         | 5.98           | Similar.  
AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ (retrograde from lower r.) Hermes, nude but for cloak billowing over shoulders, striding l., wearing petasos and holding coin sack with outstretched r. hand, caduceus with l.; border of dots.  

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*357</td>
<td>Z-415</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Average Weight</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 358      | 2        | 22–23      | 6.75 (2)       | Similar.  
AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ Hermes as 358, but striding r. and r. hand empty (?); border of dots.  

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>I-1400</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.17</td>
<td>(Q 19:3) GRC, fig. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>AA-1034</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Average Weight</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 359      | 2        | 20–21      | 5.94 (2)       | Similar.  
AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ Hermes as 358, but striding r. and r. hand empty (?); border of dots.  

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>I-593</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CATALOGUE

Similar.  

*360 III-544 20 7.52 (B 17:1c) 

Similar. 

AΘΗ-ΝΑΙ-ΩΝ Apollo Patroos stg. l., as 268; border of dots.  

Sv. 93.5–7; NCP, CC:xx

361 4 coins 20–22 Av. 6.30 (3)  

AΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ or AΘΗΝ-Α-ΙΩΝ Nude Apollo stg. r., as 269; border of dots.  

Sv. 93.10–14; NCP, CC:xvi

*a I-1520 20 5.80

AΘΗΝΑΙ-Ω-Ν Similar to 361, but Apollo holds laurel branch before him with r. hand; border of dots.  

Sv. 93.15–20; NCP, CC:xvii

*362 Γ-1258 21 5.66

AΘΗΝΑΙ-Ω-Ν Apollo Lykeios stg. r., holding bow with r. hand and placing l. atop head; at r., tripod entwined with snake; border of dots.  

GRC, fig. 22

Sv. 93.28

*363 M-193 21 4.82

AΘΗΝΑΙ-Ω-Ν Apollo Lykeios, as 363, but with laurel bush at l.; border of dots.  

Sv. 93.27

*364 I-1036 21 4.64

AΘΗΝΑΙ-Ω Ν Herakles leaning on club r., as 179; border of dots.  

Sv. 95.3–5; NCP, DD:xi

365 8 coins 21–22 Av. 5.84 (7)  

AΘΗ-Ν-ΑΙΩΝ Herakles holding phiale l., as 272; border of dots.  

Sv. 95.9

*a Z-1979 21 6.51

Similar.  

366 Σ-1281 21 5.03

Similar.  

AΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ, AΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ, or AΘΗΝΑ-ΙΩΝ Asklepios stg. l., as 277; border of dots.  

Sv. 98.3–10; NCP, EE:iii

367 17 coins 21–23 Av. 6.30 (16)  

*a M-191 21 8.73

*b ΠΘ-551 21 6.94
Similar.

368 9 coins 21–22 Av. 5.44 (6)
*  N-202  22  7.57

Similar.

369 2 coins 20 Av. 3.84 (2)

Similar.

370 2 coins 21–22 4.59 (1)
*  Φ-154  22  4.59  holed

Similar.

371 1-888 20  5.52

Similar.

372 17 coins 21–24 Av. 4.94 (13)
*  AA-1072  21  5.22  (Q 19:3)
*  b  AA-1099  21  4.92  (Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:h

Similar.

373 4 coins 20–22 Av. 4.57 (3)

Similar.

374 6 coins 20–22 Av. 5.96 (3)
*  AA-1067  22  5.97  (Q 19:3)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>375</td>
<td>6 coins</td>
<td>21–22</td>
<td>Av. 5.76 (4)</td>
<td>*a AA-1059 21 7.42 (*AA-1059) *b B-329 21 3.56 (*B-329) *c I-560 21 5.67 (Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:ji; GRC, fig. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Similar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>376</td>
<td>4 coins</td>
<td>21–22</td>
<td>Av. 4.38 (3)</td>
<td>*a AA-1052 21 4.72 (Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:ji; GRC, fig. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Similar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377</td>
<td>14 coins</td>
<td>19–22</td>
<td>Av. 4.54 (10)</td>
<td>*a Z-393 21 6.88 *b ΠΙΙ-986 19 4.73 (Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:ii; GRC, fig. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Similar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>17 coins</td>
<td>19–22</td>
<td>Av. 4.86 (17)</td>
<td>*a AA-1035 19 5.09 *b Ψ-302 22 7.70 (Q 19:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Similar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>379</td>
<td>K-1452</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>(Q 19:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Similar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>380</td>
<td>5 coins</td>
<td>19–23</td>
<td>Av. 4.92 (5)</td>
<td>*a B-320 23 5.74 (F 10:2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Similar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Similar.

381 6 coins 20–22 Av. 4.42 (6)
   *a Ξ-734 20 4.11

Similar. Similar, but details illegible.

[377–381] 6 coins.

Similar.

382 14 coins 20–22 Av. 4.42 (11)
   *a ΠΠΙ-710 21 5.82
   *b Κ-1482 21 4.53

Similar. Similar, but details illegible.

[382, 383] 6 coins.

Similar.

383 2 coins 19–20 Av. 5.05 (2)
   *a ΑΑ-1016 20 4.83 (Q 19:3)
   *b ΔΔ-61 19 5.27

Similar. Similar, but details illegible.

[382, 383] 6 coins.

Similar.

384 AA-297 21 5.24 (Q 19:3)

Similar. Similar, but details illegible.

Similar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>386</th>
<th>12 coins</th>
<th>19–23</th>
<th>Av. 4.46 (12)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>Ω-242</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>AA-1069</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:1

Similar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>387</th>
<th>7 coins</th>
<th>20–22</th>
<th>Av. 5.91 (6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>AA-1092</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>I-796</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Q 19:3) GRC, fig. 22

Similar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>388</th>
<th>4 coins</th>
<th>20–21</th>
<th>Av. 5.08 (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Similar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>389</th>
<th>4 coins</th>
<th>20–22</th>
<th>Av. 4.96 (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Similar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>390</th>
<th>4 coins</th>
<th>20–21</th>
<th>Av. 4.21 (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Similar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>391</th>
<th>AA-1125</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>4.24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(Q 19:3)

Similar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>392</th>
<th>4 coins</th>
<th>20–21</th>
<th>Av. 4.93 (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>AA-1001</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>AA-1079</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:k

*ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩ-Ν, ΑΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ, ΑΘΗΝ-Α-ΙΩ-Ν, ΑΘΗΝ-Α-Ι-Ω-Ν, ΑΘΗ-Ν-ΑΙΩΝ, or ΑΘΗ-Ν-Α-Ι-Ω-Ν
Four-legged table, sometimes seen in perspective, with amphora below; on table top, from 1. to r., wreath, head of Athena r., owl stg. l.; border of dots.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>393</td>
<td>Z-1214</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.01 Similar. ΑΘΗΝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>394</td>
<td>OO-431</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3.10 Similar. ΑΘΗΝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>395</td>
<td>6 coins</td>
<td>21–22</td>
<td>Av. 6.17 (5) Similar. ΑΘΗΝΩΛ-Ω-Ν or ΑΘΗΝAIΩΝ Four-legged table seen in elevated perspective with amphora below; on top of table, from l. to r., owl stg. l. or r., bust of Athena r., prize crown; palm branch sometimes to r.; border of dots. Sv. 91.27, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>396</td>
<td>T-174</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.73 Similar. ΑΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩ-Ν Four-legged table with amphora below; on table top, from l. to r., bust of Athena r., owl facing, wreath; along front of table, in tiny letters, ΑΔΡΙΑΝΕΙΑ; palm branch in ex.; border of dots. Sv. 91.33–38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>397</td>
<td>Σ-3694</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.60 Similar. ΑΘΗ-ΝΑΙΩΝ Similar to 396, but on table top, from l. to r., wreath, bust of Athena r., owl stg. l.; along front of table, in tiny letters, [ΕΛΕVCINCEIA]; border of dots. Sv. —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>398</td>
<td>3 coins</td>
<td>20–21</td>
<td>Av. 4.20 (3) Similar. ΑΘΗΝ-ΑΙΩΝ As 397, but owl facing; border of dots. Sv. 91.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>399</td>
<td>5 coins</td>
<td>21–22</td>
<td>Av. 4.93 (4) Similar. ΑΘΗΝΑΙ-Ω-Ν Similar. On table top, from l. to r., owl facing, bust of Athena l., wreath; along front of table, in tiny letters, ΟΛΑΒΜΠΙΑ; border of dots. Sv. 91.39, 40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Similar.

400  ΠΠ-769  20  4.14

Similar.

[386–400] 15 coins.

Similar.

401  74 coins  20–23  Av. 5.21 (63)
   *a  AA-1013  21  5.49  (Q 19:3)
   *b  AA-1002  21  5.87  (Q 19:3)
   *c  BB-352  21  4.86  \textit{GRC}, fig. 4
   d  T-598  22  6.42  \textit{GRC}, fig. 22

Similar.

402  7 coins  20–22  Av. 5.46 (6)

Similar.

403  15 coins  20–22  Av. 5.79 (14)
   *a  AA-1096  20  7.69  (Q 19:3)
   b  AA-1012  21  7.19  (Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:m
   c  AA-1089  21  6.17  (Q 19:3) H. A. Thompson 1958, pl. 44:n

Similar.

404  14 coins  20–22  Av. 5.55 (13)
   *a  AA-1062  21  6.66  (Q 19:3)

Similar.

405  11 coins  20–22  Av. 5.63 (10)
   *a  AA-1003  20  5.70  (Q 19:3)
   *b  AA-1063  21  5.60  (Q 19:3)

Similar.

406  3 coins  20–21  Av. 4.73 (2)
   *a  I-559  21  5.13

Similar.

### Obols

**[284–406]** 88 coins.

**Similar.**

**[407]** H’-3647 fragmentary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>407</td>
<td>Head or bust of Athena r., border of dots.</td>
<td>16–18</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Θ-Η-Ν-ΑΙΩΝ</strong> (obscure)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Triptolemos in chariot to l., as 206; border of dots.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

**[408]** 15 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ΘΗΝΑ-ΙΩΝ</strong> or <strong>ΘΗΝΑ-ΑΙΩΝ</strong></td>
<td>15–18</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Theseus attacking to l., as 209; border of dots.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

**[409]** 13 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ΘΗΝΑ-ΙΩΝ</strong> Nike advancing r., holding wreath in r. hand and palm branch over shoulder with l.; border of dots.</td>
<td>15–18</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

**[410]** 3 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ΘΗΝΑΙ-ΩΝ</strong> Olive tree with owl perching r. in branches; border of dots.</td>
<td>15–18</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

**[411]** 4 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ΘΗΝΑΙ-ΩΝ</strong> (legend in ex.). From l. to r., owl facing, olive tree, amphora; border of dots.</td>
<td>15–18</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Hemibols

**Similar.**

**[412]** I-1324

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ΘΗ-ΝΑ-ΙΩΝ</strong> Tripod; border of dots.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Similar.**

**[413]** 2 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ΘΗΝΑΙ-ΟΙΑ</strong> (legend ending in ex.). Prow of galley to r.; border of dots.</td>
<td>12–13</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ΘΗΝΑΙ-ΟΙΑ</strong> (legend ending in ex.). Prow of galley to r.; border of dots.</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Similar.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>414</th>
<th>5 coins</th>
<th>13–14</th>
<th>Av. 1.59 (4)</th>
<th>A-Θ Owl stg. r.; border of dots.</th>
<th>Sv. 88.38</th>
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<td>*a Ω-139</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>1.98</td>
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**Similar.**

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<th>415</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>AΘΗ-NAIΩΝ As last.</th>
<th>Sv. —</th>
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<td>Σ-4658</td>
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<td>12</td>
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**Similar.**

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<th>5 coins</th>
<th>11–13</th>
<th>Av. 1.41 (5)</th>
<th>A-Θ Owl stg. 1.; border of dots.</th>
<th>Sv. 88.54</th>
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<td>11</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b E-869</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.43</td>
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</table>

**Similar.**

Type uncertain.

IV
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

THE 2,197 identifiable foreign coins catalogued in this chapter span nearly the entire chronological range of ancient Greek numismatic history. The earliest coins, two Aiginetan silver staters (658a and b) and a plated counterfeit of a Siphnian hemidrachm (846), go back to the 6th century B.C. The latest, dating after the collapse of civic minting in the Greek East in the 260's and 270's of our era, belong to the final issues of the Roman province of Egypt under Diocletian (1029, 1030) and to the last known ruler of the Black Sea Kingdom of Bosphorus, King Rheskouporis VI, a contemporary of Constantine the Great (853a and b).

Geographical representation extends from Italy and Sicily in the west to the Persian Empire in the east, and from the Crimean coast of the Black Sea in the north to Egypt, Cyrene, and Numidia in the south. The range is impressive, but no more so than one would expect from excavations in the heart of Athens, which possessed one of the major ports of the Eastern Mediterranean and whose festivals, monuments, and educational institutions made it a cultural mecca for visitors from all over the Greco-Roman world.

Predictably, most of the larger concentrations of coins come from neighboring and nearby states. Megara heads the list with over 300 pieces, chiefly from two prolific bronze varieties of the late 4th and earlier 3rd centuries B.C. (643, 644). Then follow three mints that are represented by more than 100 catalogued pieces each: the Boiotian League, the city of Chalkis, and, particularly after refoundation as a Roman colony in 44 or 43 B.C., the city of Corinth.

The only other foreign coinage that has been found in comparable quantity is the coinage of the Macedonian kings from Alexander III through Antigonos Gonatas. Many of the more than 250 Macedonian regal coins must have originally been used by Macedonian troops in the garrisons imposed on the Athenians from 317 to 307 and again from 296 to 229. But it should be emphasized that about two-thirds of the total come from a single coinage and reign, the Pan-erecting-trophy bronze of Antigonos Gonatas (507, 508). Although it is possible that all coins of this type were originally consigned to Attica for garrison pay and dispersed only secondarily into general circulation, the tremendous number of the Pan-erecting-trophy coins in the currency pool of 3rd-century Athens might equally result from an undocumented donative of bronze money by Gonatas to the Athenian people (p. 36 above). Nor can one insist that all the precious-metal coins of Alexander and Philip III recovered from the Agora, a gold stater (487) and ten silver drachms (488a-h, 496a, b), were necessarily sent to Athens in military payrolls; for such coins of Alexander served as one of the dominant international trade currencies of the Aegean world as late as the early 2nd century B.C., and some at least must have arrived in commerce.

It is notable in this connection that most of the other foreign gold and silver from the excavations also belongs to coinages that enjoyed in their day a similar status as preferred international currencies for commerce and for military pay. These include the several silver staters of Aigina (658a and b, 660, 661), an electrum stater of Kyzikos (866), a Persian gold daric (1003), three silver Lysimachi (461–463), a Rhodian didrachm and two or three pseudo-Rhodian drachms (959–962), and fifteen Histaian tetrobols (632a–o, of which eight had been deposited together in a hoard). If the loss of these pieces in the Agora is somehow a reflection of their wide distribution and popularity, the presence of plated forgeries of silver coins can be attributed to their worthlessness once they were
detected and evidently thrown away. To the fourée Athenian coins mentioned previously (pp. 4, 7, 9–10), the non-Athenian catalogue adds a plated Celtic drachm (417), a plated drachm of Alexander (488i), a plated hemidrachm of Siphnos (846), a plated stater of Elis (747), which had been cut in half to expose and probably demonitize it, and a plated Aiginetan stater cunningly provided with a bogus test cut during manufacture (659). Three hemidrachms of Demetrios Poliorketes (502a and b, 503), whose presence suggests, perhaps, Macedonian military pay, a Euboian League drachm (610), a Corinthian drachm (666), an Achaian League hemidrachm (745), a tetradrachm of Ptolemy VI (1011), and a denarius of Juba I (1035) complete the modest total of foreign non-Roman silver from the excavations.

The bronze coins struck by or in the name of Athens’ several cleruchies make up another notable group. As full-fledged citizens of Athens permanently residing abroad in territorial communities of their own, Athenian cleruchs are sometimes identified in writings and inscriptions as Athenians but at other times by a localized ethnic, as Lemnians, the people of Salamis, or the like.¹ Their coinages are similarly varied. In the 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C., Myrina and Hephaistia, the two cleruchy cities on the island of Lemnos, each minted coins with Athenian Athena head/Owl types that were accompanied by a local legend and an adjunct symbol, MYPI with a branch of Apollo and ΗΦΑ with the tongs of Hephaistos (455, 455A). But when Lemnos, after a century of independence, was returned to Athens in 167/6 and the cleruchies were reestablished, their coins bore the legend ΑΘΕ but used reverse types emblematic of the issuing city: Artemis’ quiver and bow at Myrina (456) and a lighted race torch at Hephaistia (454). Still later, in the early Augustan period, Athens minted for the island a coinage with the types of Athena head/Hephaistos head and the joint ethnic ΑΘΕΛΗΜΠΙ (159A). Similar Augustan issues were struck for the cleruchies of Skyros (160: ΑΘΕ|ΚΥ) and Imbros (161: ΑΘΕ|ΙΝΠΙ). Whether Augustan or earlier, the smaller Lemnian cleruchy coins with Artemis/Stag types (159: AEEΛΗΜΠΙ) also belong to the 1st century B.C.

Upon transfer to Athenian ownership in 167/6 B.C., Delos became the most important of Athens’ overseas possessions. Because of its proximity and closer ties to Athens, the island used Athenian money and did not have a coinage of its own. The one momentary exception is a special bronze emission in two denominations struck by the Roman legate Gaius Valerius Triarius after the piratical devastation of the island in 69 B.C. (see 830); Triarius’ name appears on obverses, but the ethnic is the ΑΘΕ of the Athenian demos.

Owing to its entirely “non-Athenian” character, the more common 4th-century bronze “of the people of Salamis,” inscribed ΣΛΛΛΛΛΗΠΙ (640–642), stands somewhat apart from foregoing cleruchy coinages. Archaeological data indicate that the Salaminian bronze began in the first half of the century, apparently to fill a void in the small-denomination currency on the island and ultimately throughout Attica in general. Its utility was diminished when Athens’ Eleusinian bronze entered circulation, and after Athens was coining bronze in her own name later in the century, the Salamis bronze was finally discontinued.

Turning to the smaller concentrations of foreign coins, one suspects that the nine pieces from the northern Black Sea ports of Olbia, Paniatkapion, Istrianon Limen, and Phanagoria (430–434, 852) were brought by sailors aboard transports engaged in the Euxine grain trade and that the majority of the fifteen early Ptolemaic bronzes (1004–1006, 1009) came with the soldiers sent by Ptolemy II to guard Attica at the outbreak of the Chremonidean War. The abundant finds of Ptolemy I and II coins at several Attic forts where these troops were stationed make it clear that for a few years in the early 260’s B.C., Athens was being supplied with Ptolemaic money as at no other time in her history.

(note 42 above, p. 11). But beyond such limited conjectures as these, diminishing historical returns set in quickly, and it becomes difficult to attach significance to the rest of the mostly isolated and seemingly random finds from dozens of Greek mints. A few coins owe their interest to discovery in a chronologically significant context. Good examples are the three-assaria coins of Chios, 948a and 949, whose contexts of the mid-3rd century after Christ strengthen the recent downdating of the important series of Chiote imperials as a whole. Mention should also be made of the few bronze coins from the excavations that are noteworthy for their artistic merit. The large medallionlike imperial bronzes from Philippolis (447), Pergamon (878), and Mytilene (905) stand out for their showiness and exceptional condition. Less well preserved but of considerable documentary value for the later career, heroization, and portrayal of the ostracized Athenian statesman Themistokles is the large and quite rare imperial bronze of Magnesia on the Maianros that pictures the altar and bronze statue of Themistokles that stood in the city agora (926).

The essential question for the bronze coins catalogued in this chapter is to what extent they could have been used as money in a foreign city like Athens. Produced as token or fiduciary currency, did they retain their value when transported across the borders of the state that issued them and implicitly guaranteed their redeemability at a given amount of silver? Or, leaving their value behind, were they lost or intentionally discarded in the Agora on account of their very worthlessness? The large cast bronze of Olbia, 433, may have made a fine souvenir or bartering trinket in 4th-century Athens, but it is hard to imagine an Athenian shopkeeper accepting it as a conventional means of payment in a normal retail transaction. But this is a highly unusual coin, which ordinarily would have to be taken to a moneychanger. When we turn to smaller, more conventional coins, there is reason to believe that at least in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., foreign bronzes were generally negotiable in Athenian commerce.

The best evidence comes from the Agora A 18:8 hoard, analyzed and dated to the 260's B.C. on pages 35 and 302. Apart from four Athenian lead military tokens and two small silver coins (a hemidrachm of Demetrios Poliorcetes and a drachm of Lysimachos), the deposit contained 92 legible bronze coins, of which 45 are Athenian, 21 Eleusinian, and the remaining 30 percent from foreign mints: Megara (16), Phokis (4), Lokris (2), and the Carian mint of Demetrios Poliorcetes, Aigina, Chalkis, and Larissa (1 coin each). Since the hoard's owner clearly regarded these non-Attic bronze coins as worth holding on to, the presumption is that he could have spent them about as freely as he could have spent his local Athenian bronze money. And since all the non-Attic bronzes are essentially similar in diameter and weight to the Athenian and Eleusinian pieces in the hoard, all AE 3 dichalkia, one expects that the non-Attic coins would have passed in Athens at the same value. In support of these suppositions it should be remembered that in the 4th century the Athenians became accustomed to using the bronze coins of Salamis and the Eleusinian festivals for a generation or more before the appearance of their Athena/Owl bronze and that for a while after the latter entered circulation, all three bronze currencies remained in use together. In an already mixed monetary context such as this, one would not expect random AE 3 pieces from Megara, Chalkis, or other Greek states to meet with much discrimination, especially since their value was so slight: if each coin was worth no more than a quarter of an obol, it is unlikely to have made much difference to anyone whether a given AE 3 piece happened to have been minted locally or outside Attica. This suggests in turn that it did not make much difference to the state. For whether or not the

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2 Acceptability of most foreign bronze coins found at Corinth is assumed in Price 1967, pp. 367–369.
3 See the late 4th-century destruction deposit of Kerameikos Building Z-3, p. 298 below.
Athenians ever passed a law in the 4th or earlier 3rd century discriminating against the use of foreign bronze coins, there is certainly no evidence for the effectiveness of such legislation.

The higher-value Pan-erecting-trophy AE 2 hemiobols of Antigonos Gonatas provide further evidence of the actual use of non-Athenian bronze coins in 3rd-century B.C. Athens. Granted that these were introduced while Athens was under Macedonian control and before Athens had begun to mint in this larger bronze denomination, the Macedonian bronze circulated nevertheless in such volume that when the Athenians called it in after 224, they were able to restrike over it a very substantial bronze coinage of their own (69).

The duoviral bronze of Antonian and Julio-Claudian Corinth (670–704) is another non-Attic currency that calls for special consideration. The close size equivalency between the duoviral asses and the Athenian Period IV AE 1 pieces that constituted Athens’ main bronze currency in these same periods surely accounts for the exceptional total of 48 Corinthian asses found in the Agora. Proof of their absorption into the pool of circulating money comes from the five asses with heads of Nero that had been intentionally cut in half. This operation was performed on a number of local AE 1 coins circulating in Julio-Claudian Athens but is unattested among the duoviral asses recovered in the excavations at Corinth itself.4 Even so, it is doubtful whether such Corinthian asses ever reached Athens in sufficient quantity to have had a perceptible effect on the city’s currency. In numbers of Agora finds, no other non-Athenian Greek coinage of the Roman period can begin to rival the duoviral bronze of Corinth. But when the Agora total of 63 duoviral asses and fractions is compared with the approximately 4,000 Athenian Period IV coins from the excavations, it is clear that this Corinthian coinage could have made a barely marginal difference at most. Indeed, for non-Attic Greek bronze coinages that did have a significant impact on Athenian monetary circulation, one must go back to the late 4th- and early 3rd-century AE 3 coinage of Megara and to the Pan-erecting-trophy bronze of Antigonos Gonatas.

After the Athenian restriking of this Macedonian bronze in the 220’s, therefore, the inflow of supplementary outside bronze currencies was sharply reduced, either because the supply of Athenian bronze had become more abundant or, more probably, because a new attitude or policy discouraged the use of non-Athenian bronze now that bronze coins were more commonly issued in larger denominations and were playing a larger role vis-à-vis silver in the monetary economy. The figures collected on page xxvi show that of the total 4th- and 3rd-century B.C. bronze coins excavated in the Agora, approximately 20 percent are non-Attic. For later centuries (except for the 1st century after Christ when Athens did not strike coins), the percentage ranges from 7 to 2 percent if we count only Greek coins, or 12 to 2 percent if we include all Roman bronze with the Greek. Attic hoards give the same picture. In contrast to the sizable non-Attic component of the 3rd-century A 18:8 hoard, bronze hoards from the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. contain only the occasional stray foreign piece. If allowance is made for the exceptional hoarding of Roman sestertii in the mid-3rd century after Christ, the evidence from the Herulian-invasion hoards of a.d. 267 is no different. The stray non-Athenian Greek coins account for a mere 0.3 percent of the total coins in all these post-3rd-century B.C. hoards.5 Whether such strays were keepsakes or coins hastily mistaken

4 See above, pp. 92–93. 729, a Neronian as of Sikyon, was also halved at Athens.
5 Only 15 of the 3,402 bronze coins from the fourteen Attic hoards of the late 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C. surveyed on pp. 66 and 67 above are not Athenian. There is 1 non-Athenian piece among the 713 coins of the Chaidari and Agia Varvara hoards of the end of the 1st century B.C. (pp. 80–81 above). Herulian-invasion hoards (p. 117 above) have produced just 4 coins from other Greek cities: 1 of Thessalonike and 1 of Argos in the ca. 972-piece Numismatic Collection of Athens lot of the Eleusis 1902 hoard, and 1 of Chios (949) and 1 of Lydian Tripolis (969b) in the Agora hoard Deposit B 17:1A.
as Athenian, one cannot attach any more significance to them than to the occasional Canadian penny or dime that will usually turn up in a large accumulation of U.S. change today.

The Canadian-U.S. analogy probably illuminates the "circulation" at Athens of most of the non-Attic coins catalogued below. As with any Canadian coin in the U.S., the lower its value and the more similar its appearance to local coins, the more likely that a foreign coin might informally pass from hand to hand. But this is hardly the same as official acceptability. No foreign coin could ever enjoy the advantage of legally enforced circulation\(^6\) and could always be refused, in which case its owner would have to go to the money-changers and take the best exchange he was offered. After the restriking of Macedonian bronze in the later 220's B.C., foreign bronze coins apparently were disfavored in normal retail transactions. Nevertheless, since they were always worth something at the money-changers' tables, the great bulk of those that have turned up in the Agora were, like the thousands of local Athenian bronze coins from the excavations, most likely lost by accident.

The coins are catalogued in the traditional order: by geographical area, then by cities of the area arranged alphabetically and by rulers. Coin varieties in the earlier part of the catalogue, Italy to Thessaly, are chiefly referenced to entries in the fully illustrated Copenhagen Sylloge, which is generally more useful than the corresponding early volumes of the British Museum Catalogue. From Illyricum onwards I cite the more complete BMC. References to these works are directly to the coin numbers of the city (BMC) or region (Copenhagen Sylloge) under consideration. Thus, for example, the reference BMC 145–148 under variety 573 is to coin nos. 145–148 of Leukas, region of Akarnania, in the BMC volume Thessaly to Aetolia (p. 184). The dates assigned to the pre-imperial coinages are probably more eclectically derived than they should be. On the whole, the dating of the Copenhagen Sylloge with its practice of assigning broad dates by centuries is preferred to the absolute historical dates favored by the BMC, except when such precise historical dating is warranted.

### CATALOGUE

#### ITALY

**Cisalpine Celts**

2nd–1st century B.C.

**Plated Counterfeit of Massalian AR Drachm**


*417* PP'-1153 15 \( \nabla \) 2.80 No traces of silver plating remain. For subaerate Gaulish coins such as this that have been found in North Italian hoards, see *ibid.*, pp. 95–96.

\(^6\) On this essential principle, see the papers of Buttrey referenced note 3 above, p. 5.
CAVATOGUE

BUNDISIUM

ca. 217–200 B.C.\textsuperscript{7}

**Semis**

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<th>Catalogue</th>
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<td>B[RVN] below</td>
<td>Youth on dolphin l., holding Nike and lyre; to r., S.</td>
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<tr>
<td>\textbf{*418} Λ-126</td>
<td>20 (\rightarrow) 8.45</td>
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**Kroton**

4th century b.c.

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<td>\textbf{*419} K-645a</td>
<td>12 (\leftarrow) 1.29</td>
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**Rhegion**

ca. 203–89 B.C.

**Tetras**

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<td>ΨΓΙΝΩ at r. of Lyre.</td>
<td>Crab; below, conch shell and octopus; six pellets around.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{*420} Σ-3806</td>
<td>16 (\leftarrow) 2.40</td>
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**Sicily**

**Akragas**

late 5th century–406 B.C.

**Hemilitron**

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<tr>
<td>[AKPA\GANTINON]</td>
<td>Eagle stg. l., wings spread.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crab; below, conch shell and octopus; six pellets around.</td>
<td>Calciati I, p. 177, no. 47</td>
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<tr>
<td>\textbf{*421} OO-1142</td>
<td>26 (\leftarrow) 12.11</td>
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\(\textsuperscript{7} SNG Deutschlad, Staatliche Münzsammlung München 3, Berlin 1973, nos. 558–569; cf. Crawford, CMRR, p. 66.\)
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

Gela

ca. 420–405 B.C.

Trias

Horned head of river god r.; behind, wheat grain. ΠΕΛΑΣ above Bull walking l.; in ex., three pellets.

*422 ΞΞ-82 18 ↓ 3.93 GRC, fig. 19


Mamertinoi

ca. 220–200 B.C.

Pentokion

Head of Apollo l.; behind, lyre. [MAMEPTINΩΝ] Warrior stg., facing; at r., Π.

Ψ-280a 25 ↓ 7.88+

Calciati I, p. 103, no. 26

Pentokion

Head of Zeus r.; behind, spearhead. [MAMEPTINΩΝ] Warrior charging r.; at r., Π.

H-1234 27 ▶ 9.70+

Calciati I, p. 109, no. 41 Ds 2

Syracuse

ca. 410–400 B.C.

Hemilitron

Female head l. [ΣΥΠΑ] between Dolphin l. and scallop shell.

EE-30 17 ↓ 2.93+

Calciati II, pp. 55–58, no. 24

Litra

[ΣΥΠΑ] above Head of Athena l., wearing Corinthian helmet. Hippocamp l.

426 a NN-2123 20 \ 6.65+
   b Z-2994 17 ✓ 4.85 (broken)

Calciati II, pp. 76–94, nos. 34, 35, 41–45

317–289 B.C.

[ΣΩΤΕΙΠΑ] Head of Artemis r. Winged thunderbolt between illegible two-line legend.

427 Ξ-706 22 → 7.23+

Calciati II, pp. 277–279, no. 142
CATALOGUE

SICULO-PUNIC COINAGE

ca. 310–270 B.C.

Head of Persephone l. Horse stg. r., before palm tree. Cop (Zeugitania: Carthage) 109–119

428 a H'-2682 17 ✓ 1.83+ Sicilian mint
   b T-158a 16 ↓ 2.09 same

early–mid-3rd century B.C.

Head of Persephone l. Horse head r.; at r., o. Cop (Zeugitania: Carthage) 151

*429 ΠΘ-105 19 < 4.01 Sardinian mint; GRC, fig. 19
For a modern imitation of a Siculo-Punic tetradrachm found while demolishing a modern house in the Agora, see Appendix A, coin b (p. 291 below).

TAURIC CHERSONESE

PANTIKAPAION

ca. 330–315 B.C.

Head of young satyr r. ΠΑΝ[Τ] over and below Bow in case. Shelov, no. 55

430 a Σ-4260 13 ↑ 1.75
   b N-316 14 ⬇ broken

first half 3rd century B.C.

Head of young satyr l. ΠΑΝ below Bow and arrow. Shelov, nos. 65, 66

431 a E-1163 18 - 3.36 Shelov, no. 65
   b БΔ-405 14 ↓ 1.85 Shelov, no. 66

third quarter 3rd century B.C.

Head of Poseidon r. ΠΑΝ[Τ] below Prow l. Shelov, no. 75

432 Δ-195a 22 ↑ 3.95 obv. cmk.: head of Athena r. in Corinthian helmet

For mint attributions and dating, see Morgantina II, pp. 113, 150–151, nos. 436, 437.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

SARMATIA

OLBIA

4th century B.C.

Gorgoneion.

O-Λ||-Θ

Eagle on dolphin l.

rev. in ex., inscribed Π; GRC, fig. 19

ISTRIANON LIMEN

late 5th–early 4th century B.C.

Four-spoked wheel.

IΣT.

E. H. Minns,
Scythians and Greeks,
Cambridge 1913,
p. 484, pl. II:5

THRACE

ABDERA

4th century B.C.

Head of Apollo r. in linear square.

APOLLONIA PONTICA

after 400 B.C.

Head of Apollo r., laur.

A at lower l. of Anchor; at r., crayfish.

cf. Cop 462 (which is larger)
CATALOGUE

BYZANTION

4th century B.C.⁹

Γ Y above Cow walking on dolphin l.  

Trident between two dolphins.  

Cop 488

437 B′-620a 17 \ 3.09+

DEULTUM

A.D. 222–235: Julia Mamea

IVLIA MA-MEA AVG  

Bust r.  

COL-FLPA-CDEVL around Eagle on altar; on each side a standard with a star in center; in ex., T.  

J. Jurukova, Die Münzprägung von Deultum, Berlin 1973, no. 173

*438 ΠΘ-790 24 ↑ 6.93  

(A 14:2) GRC, fig. 24

MARONEIA

ca. 398–347 B.C.

Horse prancing r.  

MAP-ΩNI-TΩΝ  

Square containing vine and grapes.  

E. Schönert-Geiss, Die Münzprägung von Maroneia, Berlin 1987, nos. 598–943

439 *a BΓ-279 13 \ 1.95  

b BB-274 15 ↑ 1.90+  

c OO-934 11 ↑ 1.35

ca. 189–45 B.C.

Head of young Dionysos r.  


Schönert-Geiss (under 439 above), nos. 1354–1510

440 Γ-964a 26 ↑ 6.77+  

obv, two circular cmks.: one containing a head, one a rose(?)

Similar.  

Similar, but at lower l. monogram based on H.  

Schönert-Geiss (under 439 above), nos. 1511–1639

441 *a X-120 18 \ 5.92  

b Γ-171 17 ↑ 3.99+

⁹ E. Schönert-Geiss (Die Münzprägung von Byzantion, Berlin/Amsterdam 1970, pp. 128–129) gives this variety to the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

MSEMBRIA

4th century B.C.

Helmet facing. [M]-E-T-A within four spokes of Wheel.

442 a NN-2068 19 - 4.42+ (BMC 5, 6)
b AA-634 13 - 1.63 smaller module (BMC 7)

3rd–2nd century B.C.

Female head r. [M]ETA[M]ΠΡΙΑΝΩΝ Athena fighting l.

443 NN-279 16 ↑ 4.35+

PAUTALIA

A.D. 161: Lucius Verus

AV KAI Λ AV-ΠΗΛΙΟC OYHRPOC
Bust r. ΗΓ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ[ΤΕΙΚ-ΟV ΠΑΝΤΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ] Fish-tailed serpent rising
smaller module (BMC 7) erect from multiple coils.

444 O-428 30 ✓ 17.47

PERINTHOS

late 3rd century B.C. and later

Jugate heads of Serapis and [ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ] Anubis stg. r.
Isis r. E. Schönert-Geiss,

445 ΠΠΙ-53a 23 ↑ 5.42 Die Münzprägung
von Perinthos, Berlin

1965, nos. 31–39

A.D. 253–268: Gallienus

AYT ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟC CEB
Bust l., cuir., spear and shield. ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΔΙΣ
NEΩΚΟΡΩΝ Herakles slaying stag l.

446 I-1590 30 ✓ 17.80 Schönert-Geiss
(under 445 above),
nos. 899 (obv.) and 854 (rev. [Gor-
dian III])

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CATALOGUE

PHILIPPOPOlis

A.D. 218–222: Elagabalus

AVTO M AVPHA-
ANTONEINOC
CEB Bust l., laur.,
cuir., dr.

*447 Σ-3788 41 ↑ 37.63 GRC, fig. 25

ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΩC ΝΩ[[K]ΟΡΟV
(sic) Heracles stg. l., hand
resting on club, holding lion's skin.

[IOVΛΑΗ] ΔΟ-MNA CΕBA

[IOVΛΑΗ] ΔΟ-MNA CΕBA

AUGUSTA Traiana

A.D. 193–217: Julia Domna

[IOVΛΑΗ] ΔΟ-MNA CΕBA

AVΓΟVCTHC

TPAIAN[HC] Illegible type.

[H 12:4]

THE THRACIAN CHERSONESE

COELA

A.D. 218–222: Elagabalus

ANTO-NINVS PIVS

AELMVNI COE-LA

BMC 4

Bust of Elagabalus r.,
laur., cuir., dr.
Prow r.; cornucopia above.

*449 ΓΓ-5 17 ↑ 2.54

Sestos

4th–3rd century B.C.

Herm.

450 NN-1036a 12 → 1.63 [Σ]-A Amphora. Cop 932, 933

Head of Hermes r.

451 K-1073 19 ↑ broken [ΣΗΣ] at r. of Lyre. Cop 936, 937
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

THRAICAN ISLANDS

IMBROS

276/261–167 B.C.

Female head r. [IMBPOY] at l. of Hermes Imbriamos stg. r., before thymiaterion, holding branch.

452  
*a  NN-1126  15  3.45  Kleiner 1976, p. 20, no. 1 (B 20:9)  
b  Θ-994  13  1.92  
*c  ΣΤ-285  12  1.27

Between 166 and 86 B.C. the reestablished Athenian cleruchy on Imbros struck an AE 2 emission with a reverse that repeats the present reverse of ithyphallic Hermes Imbriamos before thymiaterion, although with the legend ΑΘΕΝΑΙΩΝ; the obverse type, Athena head in Corinthian helmet, was modeled on the obverse of the standard 2nd-century B.C. Athenian Fulminating Zeus AE 2 (F. W. Imhoof-Blumer, “Münzen der Kleruchen auf Imbros,” AM 7, 1882, pp. 146–148; idem, Monnaies grecs, Amsterdam 1883, p. 49, no. 49).

The bronze here represented in three Agora specimens should be earlier and presumably belongs to the long period of Imbrian independence from Athens which began in 276 or 261 B.C. (Ferguson, p. 320, note 3). For an Augustan “cleruchy” issue with the compound legend ΑΘΕ ΙΝΒΠΙ, see 161.

LEMNOS

Hephaistia

276/261–167 B.C.

Male head r., diad. ᾳ-Η/Α-Ι Race torch between pilei of the Kabeiroi.

453  
*a  Τ-856  15  3.24+  
b  NN-1498  18  5.03  (from drain deposit with coins to 86 B.C.)  
c  Α-1104  18  3.75  
d  Π-902  16  3.99

166–86 B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet. Θ -Ε Race torch bound with fillet.

454  
*a  ΠΘ-115  15  2.88  Cop (Attica) 102, BMCAttica 577  
b  Ψ-44  12  2.79  
c  Δ-26  14  2.70

By size and arrangement of the ethnic, this last variety is related to Athenian AE 3 varieties of ca. 170–86 B.C. (Period III). The race-torch reverse and the rude style of the Athena head make it clear, however, that it should be attributed to the Athenian cleruchy at Hephaistia after Lemnos was returned to Athens in 167/6 (Polybios 30.20). 456 is a parallel striking from Lemnos’ second cleruchy city, Myrina.
It is probable that at least a few of the coins listed under 455A are from 4th- or early 3rd-century B.C. Hephaistia. For an early Augustan issue in the name of the Lemnian Athenians but with an Hephaistos-head reverse type, see 159A.

Myrina

386–276/261 B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
<th>Measurements (mm)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>455</td>
<td>Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet, Owl stg., facing; usually at r., a branch.</td>
<td>Cop 988, 990</td>
<td>12–16 Av. 2.19 (27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>455A</td>
<td>Head of Athena in Corinthian helmet/Owl, stg., facing, between tongs (on l.) and HΦA downwards (at r.).</td>
<td>Cop 973</td>
<td>12–15 mm., of variety 455 or the parallel but less common Hephaistia variety</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar. Similar, except legend and symbol illegible.

Three specimens of 455 were excavated at Olynthos, one definitely from the floor of a house destroyed in 348,\(^\text{10}\) the other two in less clear stratigraphical circumstances, which nevertheless relate to the pre-348 occupation of the city.\(^\text{11}\) The Athena/Owl coinage of Myrina (and Hephaistia, see 455A) thus began between the restoration of the Lemnian cleruchies in 386 and the middle of the 4th century. A considerable variety in style implies a lengthy period of minting, lasting probably until the loss of Lemnos to Athens in 314, or even later if some of the coins should happen to belong to the restored cleruchy of 307–276 or –261 (Ferguson, pp. 49, 64, 320, note 3). Since the larger 14–17 mm. pieces were probably issued as dichalkia (see p. 38 above), the countermarking of 455Aa and b with an X might have served to devalue each to a X(aXxou0). For specimens in published 2nd-century B.C. deposits, see Kleiner 1975, p. 307, nos. 112, 113 (Myrina), p. 312, no. 195 (Myrina or Hephaistia, not Athens as published); p. 319, no. 267 (Myrina); Kleiner 1976, p. 12, nos. 4, 5 (Myrina or Hephaistia).

\(^{10}\) Olynthus XIV, p. 422, no. 1; from the floor of house B vi, room f.

\(^{11}\) Olynthus VI, p. 86, nos. 760, 761, respectively from Street vi before house A vi 2, and from a house(?) in Section G, Area 29, probably at floor level. Nicholas Cahill informs per litteras that the areas, levels, coins, and other material found with these coins point to deposit at the time of the 348 destruction or during the habitation that preceded it. Although also belonging to 348 destruction debris, Olynthus IX, p. 240, no. 1 is not a coin of Myrina.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

166–86 B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet. Α -Ε Quiver, upright, crossed by diagonal bow.

456 13 coins 13–16 Av. 2.42 (7)
*a Θ-370a 14 ✓ 2.49
*b ΠΘ-84 14 ✓ 3.25
*c Τ-1809 13 ✓ 2.21
*d Δ-347a 13 ✓ 2.12 A-ΘΕ; same obv. die as 456c

Size, format, and crude obverse style associate this variety with the Athena/Race torch AE 3 cleruchy emission of Hephaistia 454. Since the bow and quiver of Apollo or Artemis was, like Apollo’s branch on 455 and the bow on Cop 989, used from time to time as a symbol of Myrina (see under 159 and note 218 above, p. 111), the present emission is doubtless from this second cleruchy city on Lemnos.

SAMOTHRAKE

2nd–early 1st century B.C.12

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet. ΣΑΜΟ (457a, b) or ΣΑΜΟΘΡΡ at 1. of great goddess seated l.

457 a I-57 19 ✓ 4.47 rev., downwards at r., ΠΥΘΘΟΚ
b K-1558 18 ← 4.51 same
c E-988a 18 - 6.38 name illegible

Similar. [ΣΑΜΟ] Forepart of ram r. cf. Cop 1002

458 OO-1479 15 ↑ 3.89

THASOS

ca. 390–310 B.C.13

CHALKOUS

Head of young Herakles r. [ΘΑ]ΣΙΩΝ between Bow and club; rudder within bow.

459 a K-176 11 → 0.97 below bow, star
b A-1554 10 - 0.63 within bow, Λ, and caduceus?

HEMIOBOL

Head of bearded Herakles r. ΘΑΣΙΩΝ above. Club over bow. cf. Cop 1052

460 ΒΔ-316 20 → 5.72

13 O. Picard, “L’atelier monetaire de Thasos,” RN, ser. 6, 29, 1987, pp. 7–9, identifying also the denominations of 459 and 460.
CATALOGUE

KINGS OF THRACE

Lysimachos, 306–281 B.C.

AR DRACHM

Head of young Herakles, r.  

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ὌΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ  

Zeus seated l., holding eagle and scepter; at l., dolphin above lion's forepart; below throne, tripod or quiver(?).  

Thompson, Essays Robinson, no. 36 (but with different symbol below throne)

*461  

T-1598  16  3.41  

Lampsakos mint, 299–296 B.C.

AR DRACHM

Head of deified Alexander r.  

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ὍΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ  

Athena seated l., holding Nike; at l., lyre.  

Thompson, Essays Robinson, no. 174

*462  

ΞΞ-79  20  4.26  

Ephesos mint, ca. 294–287 B.C.; EABC, p. 152, pl. 17, coin R:69 (A 18:8); GRC, fig. 16

AR TETRADRAHM

Similar.  

Similar, except at l., Χ; on throne, BY; below, trident between dolphins.  

cf. Cop 1142, 1143

*463  

ΔΔ-300  35  13.85  

Posthumous striking of Byzantion: 2nd century B.C.;¹⁴ (D 4:1)

Head of Ares r., wearing Attic helmet.  

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ὍΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ  

Lion running r.; beneath, spearhead.  

Cop 1149–1157

464  

a ZZ-109  18  3.76  

above lion l., Λ; below, Μ (Cop 1157)  

no details

b Θ-345  18  3.03

Rhoimetakes I, 11 B.C.–A.D. 12

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ  

Head r., diad.  

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ  

Head of Augustus r., bare.  

Cop 1192–1195; RPC I, 1718

465  

BB-619  19  4.39

NON-Athenian Coins

Macedonia

Akanthos

_first half of 4th century B.C._

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>466</td>
<td>Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet. A-K[AN] in the four quarters of a Wheel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z-461</td>
<td>18 → 4.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Amphipolis

ca. 31–27 B.C.: Octavian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>467</td>
<td>Head of Octavian r. AMΦΙΠΟΛ[ΕΙΤΩΝ] below Artemis Tauropolis riding bull r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ξ-729</td>
<td>22 → 4.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A.D. 161–175: Faustina II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*468</td>
<td>Bust r. [ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ] ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ [ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ] Artemis Tauropolis riding bull r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA-451</td>
<td>18 ↓ broken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aphytis

ca. 187 B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*469</td>
<td>Head of Zeus Ammon r. [ΑΦΥ] above Two birds billing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN-1121</td>
<td>16 ↑ 3.46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bottria

187–168/7 B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>470</td>
<td>Head of young Pan r. B above Two goats, kneeling r.; all in oak wreath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΠΠ-533</td>
<td>21 ← 11.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

15 *Olynthos* IX, p. 216, no. 3; pp. 263–266: eight specimens. Note the seventy Olynthos specimens of the related smaller denomination (*Cop* 22, 23), Athena head/AK|AN in square (*Olynthos* IX, p. 263, and *Olynthos* XIV, p. 413, no. 2).

16 Touratsoglou, _CRWLR_, p. 55, pl. 7:17.
CATALOGUE

DION

43 B.C. (or later)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COL-[DIENSIS]</td>
<td>Plow r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di[ANA BAPHYR]</td>
<td>Diana Baphyras running r., trampling on a vexillum.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*471 P-549a 16 → 3.00

OLYNTHOS: CHALKIDIAN LEAGUE

ca. 400–348 B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head of Apollo r., laur.</td>
<td>ΧΑΛ-ΚΙΔ-ΕΩΝ around Lyre.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*472 T-11 15 ↓ 2.87

OURANOPOLIS

4th–3rd century B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Star of eight rays.</td>
<td>[ΟΥΡΠΑΝΙΔΩ-ΠΟΛΕΩΣ] Aphrodite Ourania seated l.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

473 a ΓΓ-268 18 - blistered
b ΒΓ'-309 16 - broken edges

PELLA

after 168/7 B.C.17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head of Athena Parthenos r.</td>
<td>ΠΕΛΙ[[ΛΗΣ] Cow feeding r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

474 PP'-443 16 ↗ 5.97

PHILIPPOI

ca. 356–350 B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head of young Herakles r.</td>
<td>ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ at r. of Tripod; above, branch; at l., bunch of grapes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*475 K-7 16 → 5.45

---

17 Price, CRWLR, p. 100, and Mattingly 1990, p. 67. Touratsoglou (CRWLR, pp. 55, 63, pl. 10:2) prefers 187–168/7 B.C.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

27 B.C.—A.D. 68

VIC-AVG Nike stg. 1. COHOR PRAE PHIL Three military standards.  

476 *a MM-150 20 ↑ 2.75  
b ΠΘ-864 18 ↓ 2.99+  
c Π-650 17 ↓ 3.01+  

For possible additional coins of the Roman colony, see under 868–870.

SKIONE

first half of 4th century B.C.  

Head of Aphrodite r.  

477 Z-1695 13 ↓ 3.01

THESSALONIKE

187–168/7 B.C.  

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet. ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ Horse running r.  

478 a Γ-1099 21 ↑ blistered below horse, caduceus (BMC 40) (E 14:3)  
b Λ-291 20 ↑ 5.69 rev. symbol illegible

168/7–146 B.C.  

Head of Janus.  

479 Σ-2981 18 → 4.22

37 B.C.  

[ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΣΙΑ] Head of Agonothesia r.  

480 E-1325 20 \ 5.41

A.D. 54–68: Nero

[ - - - - - - - ] Head of Nero I.  

481 ΣΤ-91a 16 ↓ 4.11

18 Olynthus IX, p. 227, no. 4; pp. 311–312; Olynthus XIV, p. 419, no. 2: total of fifty-eight specimens from Olynthus.  

19 Touratsoglou, CRWLR, p. 55, pl. 8:9.  

20 Ibid., pl. 8:16.
### CATALOGUE

**A.D. 98–117: Trajan**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Touratsoglou 1988, pp.</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>482 ΔΔ-7a</td>
<td>Bust of Trajan r. ΘΕΙΣΑΛΟ[Ν][ΚΕΨ] Nike striding l.; in field l., crescent.</td>
<td>186–187, nos. 5–12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A.D. 211–217: Julia Domna**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Touratsoglou 1988, pp.</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>483 Γ-158</td>
<td>Bust of J. Domna r. [ΘΕΙΣΑΛΟ-[Ν][ΚΕΨ] Nike striding l., carrying Kabeiros image and palm.</td>
<td>222–223, nos. 31–55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A.D. 243–249: time of Philip I (?)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Touratsoglou 1988, pp.</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>484 Z-1756a</td>
<td>ΘΕΙΣΑΛΟ[Ν][ΚΕΨ] Bust of city goddess r., veiled and turreted. ΘΕΙΣΑΛΟ[Ν] in laurel wreath.</td>
<td>348–350, nos. 1–8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kings of Macedonia**

**Philip II, 359–336 B.C.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>485 a BB-1262</td>
<td>Young male head (Apollo?) r., [ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ] above</td>
<td>581–612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>485 b OO-1011</td>
<td>Nude horseman r. Below horse, Ν (as Mclean 3374)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>485 c Ω-473</td>
<td>same?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>485 d OO-563</td>
<td>below horse, N-monogram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>485 e T-1369</td>
<td>no details</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Head of young Herakles, r.** ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Club. Cop 618–620

**Alexander III, 336–323 B.C., including posthumous coinage**

**AV Stater**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>BMCAlexander 2598</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>487</strong> MΣ-204</td>
<td>Head of Athena r., wearing ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ behind Corinthian helmet decorated with snake. Νike stg. l., holding wreath and stylis; to l., Ε and race torch.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

AR DRACHM

Head of young Herakles r.    \(\Lambda\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\nu\O\varepsilon\nu\) behind
Zeus seated l., holding
eagle and scepter.

488

\(\Sigma\varepsilon\tau-250\)
16    \(\uparrow\) 3.90
rev. at l., \(\Phi\). \(BMCA\) 3109: Kition mint, ca. 325–320 B.C. \(GRC\),
fig. 16

\(\Pi-525\)
18    \(\uparrow\) 3.96
rev. at l., spearhead; below, star. \(BMCA\) 1761: “Kolophon”
mint, ca. 323–319 B.C.

\(\Lambda-415\)
17    \(\uparrow\) 3.47
rev. at l., \(\Phi\); below, \(\Gamma\). \(BMCA\) 1817: “Kolophon” mint, ca.
310–301 B.C.

\(T-1503\)
16    \(\uparrow\) 3.00
rev. at l., \(\varepsilon\varepsilon\nu\); below [ivy leaf]. \(BMCA\) 1560: “Abydos” mint,
ca. 310–301 B.C.

\(E-356\)
20    \(\nearrow\) 3.52
rev. at l., \(\Sigma\); no symbol below. \(BMCA\) 2771: Western Asia
Minor(?) mint, ca. 323–280 B.C.

\(K-1387\)
19    \(\uparrow\) 3.02
rev. at l., crescent(?)

\(\Omega-431\)
16    \(\uparrow\) 3.41
no details

\(T-352\)
18    \(\downarrow\) broken
no details

\(E\varepsilon-320\)
18    \(\nearrow\) 2.47
plated AE; no details

Macedonian Bronze, ca. 336–323 B.C.

Young male head r., diad.    \(\Lambda\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\nu\O\varepsilon\nu\) above
\(BMCA\) 336–370
Horse prancing r.

489

Symbols on rev. illegible
a \(\Delta-217\)
17    \(\rightarrow\) 3.76
Kleiner 1976, p. 16, no. 2 (A–B 19–20:1)

b \(B\varepsilon'-935\)
14    \(\nearrow\) 3.44

c \(K-1505\)
15    \(\uparrow\) 4.10

d \(NN-1686\)
17    \(\downarrow\) 3.59

\(\Xi-440\)
16    \(\nearrow\) 4.31

Head of young Herakles r.    \(\Lambda\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\nu\O\varepsilon\nu\) between
\(BMCA\) 325,
Bow in case and club.
326, 329–333, etc.

490

Symbols on rev. illegible
*a \(K-1756\)
18    \(\uparrow\) 4.90

b \(BE-298\)
20    \(\downarrow\) 4.20

c \(BE-576\)
17    \(\downarrow\) 5.23

d \(E\varepsilon-3a\)
19    \(\nearrow\) 4.97

Similar.

491

H-292
13    \(\nearrow\) 1.64

Similar.

492

\(BB-546\)
10    \(\nearrow\) 1.15

\(MM-23\)
11    \(\nearrow\) 1.34

\(OO-1246\)
12    \(\rightarrow\) 2.01

Similar, except club above
bow in case.
CATALOGUE

ca. 325–310 B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Mint Mark</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>493</td>
<td>NN-2046</td>
<td>4.84</td>
<td>Macedonian mint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>494</td>
<td>AA-939a</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>symbol on rev. illegible; Macedonian mint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>495</td>
<td>AP-34</td>
<td>5.68</td>
<td>Western Asia Minor(?) mint</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**AR Drachm**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Mint Mark</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>496</td>
<td>O0-1051</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>Zeus seated l., holding eagle and scepter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MΣ-136</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>rev. at l., bee or rosebud; below Tl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Anonymous Regal Bronze**

ca. 325–300 B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Mint Mark</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>497</td>
<td>E-1946</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>Macedonian shield; in center, club.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dating by K. Liampi (“Zur Chronologie der sogennanten ‘anonymen’ makedonischen Münzen des späten 4. Jhs. v. Chr.,” JNG 36, 1986, pp. 41–65) of this (ibid., group II.3) and all other varieties of the Macedonian Shield/Helmet Bronze without a royal monogram on the shield to the last quarter of the 4th century is confirmed by the thirteen Shield/Helmet pieces that were excavated, along with coins of Alexander III and a coin of Kassandros, in the Northwest Quarter of Olynthos, inhabited until 316 (Olynthus IX, pp. 237, 394, nos. 2–4, with pp. 329–330 and p. 297 below) and the twenty examples excavated at the Olynthian port at Mekyberna, also abandoned in 316 (Olynthus IX, pp. 257, 397, nos. 3–5, with pp. 372–374).

9 coins, 16–17 mm., of uncertain Macedonian Shield/Helmet variety

Traces of a royal monogram appear in the center of the obverse on two of these coins (BB-666, T-346), but it is unclear whether the monogram is that of Demetrios (as 506), Pyrrhos, or Antigonos Gonatas. For the issues of these kings, see Liampi (above under 497), p. 45, pl. 6:a–c.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

Kassandros, 316–297 B.C.

Head of young Herakles r.  
[K]ΑΣΣΑ[Ν]ΔΡΟΥ  
Cop 1138–1141

499  ΣΑ-76  17 ↑ 4.33  
Recumbent lion r.

Similar.

500  16 coins  17–21  Av. 5.35 (12)  
* a  NN-1462  19 - 3.80  
below horse's belly, Λ (?), cf. Cop 1147  
b  Ε-2458  19 ↑ 5.69  
between horse's legs, bunch of grapes (?), cf. Cop 1151  
c  Ψ-151  20 ↑ 4.87  
no details, as on all other specimens

Head of Apollo r., laur.  
ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ  
Cop 1160–1162

Demetrios Poliorketes, 306–283 B.C.

AR HEMIDRACHM

Nike on prow l.  
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ  
Newell, no. 45

502  18 coins  15–17  Av. 2.87 (13)  
Tarsos mint, ca. 298–295 B.C.

* a  ΓΓ-187  14 ↑ 1.59  
GRC, fig. 16  
b  ΕΕ-78  13 ↑ 1.51  
EABC, p. 152, pl. 17, no. Q:68 (A 18:8)  
(reweighed)

AR HEMIDRACHM

Head of Demetrios r., wearing diadem and bull's horn.  
ΔΗΜΗ[ΤΡΙΟΥ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ]  
Newell, no. 56 or 58

503  Ψ-330  12 ← 0.96+  
Ephesos mint, ca. 301–295 B.C.

Head of Demetrios r., wearing Corinthian helmet with horn.  
B A above Prow r.  
Newell, nos. 20, 34, 40, 170, 172–174

504  18 coins  15–17  Av. 2.87 (13)  
300–295 B.C.

* a  Λ-283  16 ↑ 3.94  
no details  
b  Π-6  16 ↑ 2.55  
same  
c  NN-131  16 ↑ 2.27  
same  
d  BB-20  16 ↑ 3.61  
same  
e  Γ-781  broken  
below prow, P. Newell, no. 20: Salamis mint  
f  ΠΠ-1002  broken  
same (A 17:3)  
g  ΟΟ-338  broken  
below prow, R. Newell, no. 34: Tarsos mint  
h  ΣΑ-377  broken  
(O–R 7–10)

Head of Poseidon r.  
B A above Prow r.; at r.,  
double axe; below, Ρ.

505  ΕΕ-63  16 ↑ 2.11  
Carian mint?, after 300 B.C.; EABC, p. 152, pl. 17, no. P:67 (A 18:8)
CATALOGUE

Macedonian shield; in center, **BA-ΣI** Macedonian helmet; Newell, nos. 125–131.

For the attribution of this variety to Demetrios Poliorcetes (as opposed to Demetrios II, cf. Cop 1224–1229), see Newell, pp. 118–120, and Liampi (under 497 above), p. 45.

*Antigonos Gonatas, 277–239 B.C.*

**507** 160 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td>OÖ-305 20 → 5.39</td>
<td>rev. at 1., Δ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>b</em></td>
<td>NN-1585 21 ← 8.73</td>
<td>at 1., Φ (as also Γ-619 and Γ-1098)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>c</em></td>
<td>N-529 21 ↓ 6.06</td>
<td>at 1., Φ or flower (?) (as also H'-2326)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>ΠΠ-260 19 ↓ 6.12</td>
<td>at 1., K over Φ (as also K-1307)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td>Γ-1110 21 → 8.00</td>
<td>thick, angular flan, as 507b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>f</em></td>
<td>NN-2116 18 ↑ 4.49</td>
<td>rev. Pan, holding wreath in r., crowning trophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>Σ-4386 20 ↓ 6.68</td>
<td>at 1., Κ (as also Ψ-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>ΜΖ-328 22 → 5.28</td>
<td>at 1., Macedonian helmet with two side plumes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>Ζ-1118 20 ↓ 4.43</td>
<td>same, and at lower r., B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>Θ-189 21 ↓ worn</td>
<td>at lower r., trident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>k</em></td>
<td>Α-210a 19 ↓ 6.22</td>
<td>at lower l., pedum; obv. cmk.: facing head of Hera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l</em></td>
<td>H-46 19 ↓ 5.29</td>
<td>obv. cmk.: facing head of Hera (as also OÖ-327)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>m</em></td>
<td>Α-1 18 ↓ 5.25</td>
<td>cmk.: head of Pan r. in circular incuse (as also ΓΓ-348)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n</em></td>
<td>Σ-467 19 ↓ 6.57</td>
<td>cmk.: wreath (as also K-1004)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar. Cop 1205–1211

**508** 5 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td>NN-969 16 ↑ 2.66</td>
<td>Pan crowning (?) trophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>b</em></td>
<td>Α-1106 17 → 3.94</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The size distinction between the two denominations of this Pan-erecting-trophy bronze is clearer from the specimens illustrated in the Copenhagen *Sylloge* than from our illustrations. To judge from the Athenian evidence (p. 38 above), the common AE 2 variety 507 ought to represent the hemiobol, the rare AE 3 variety 508 the quarter-obol.

The countermark of a facing head of Hera on three Agora specimens (see 507k, 1) was added at Chalcis; Picard, *Chaleis*, pp. 180–181, for other examples and discussion. The identification of the profile head in the countermark of 507m (cf. McClean 3606, 3608; also 509c below) as Pan's seems clear from the little horn above the brow.

**509** 19 coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td>ΘΘ-6 16 ↓ 3.32</td>
<td>at r. of horse, crescent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>b</em></td>
<td>ΠΘ-759 17 ↑ 4.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>c</em></td>
<td>NN-1455 17 ↓ 4.40</td>
<td>rev. cmk.: head of Pan r. in incuse circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>d</em></td>
<td>ΣΤΤ'-549 19 ↓ 3.84</td>
<td>obv. cmk.: Boiotian helmet in incuse circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td>ΣΑ-161 1 ↓ broken</td>
<td>between front legs of horse, Φ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These Herakles/Horseman coins bear the same ΑΝΤΙ monogram as Gonatas’ Athena/Pan bronze (507, 508) and have been variously ascribed to Gonatas (Cop 2114–2121; Price 1967, p. 374, no. 28) or to Antigonos Doson, 229–220 B.C. (e.g., by Head 1881, pp. 261–263; Svoronos 1908, p. 230; Walker 1978, p. 43). The problem is bound up with the attribution of the Antigonid Poseidon/Apollo-prov tetradrachms, which I. L. Merker gave to

Professor Mathisen has compiled a record of several hundred Antigonid bronzes and in correspondence has kindly explained that there are good grounds for assigning the Herakles/Horseman pieces to Gonatas. Some of these coins are marked with a control symbol of Macedonian helmet with two large side plumes, which occurs also on a number of the Athena/Pan bronzes (cf. 507h and *Cop* 1205–1207) and all Gonatas' silver drachms (*Cop* 1203). To this one may add that (leaving aside the rare, small-module Athena/Pans, 508, which may antedate the start of the horseman series) the two bronze varieties have different sizes and weights, clearly represent two different denominations, and could very well have been struck concurrently. Unlike the AE 2 Athena/Pan pieces, the AE 3 Herakles/Horseman bronze did not circulate very commonly in Athens, nor like the Athena/Pan coins were they called in during the 220's and overstruck with Athenian types (see 69). But both circumstances may be explained by the smaller size and value of the Herakles/Horseman coins and need not imply any chronological distinction.

Just as Athens massively recoined the larger Athena/Pan pieces, so thousands of the Antigonid Herakles/Horseman bronzes were overstruck with local types in Boiotia; see 595.

[500 or 509] 4 coins of 18–19 mm. Herakles/Horseman type of either Kassandros or Antigonos.

### Philip V, 220–178 B.C.

**510**  
H-2190  
19 → 3.35

**511**  
ΠΘ-852  
21 → broken

**512**  
Γ-1390  
23 → broken

### [Head of Perseus r.]

**513**  
ΣA-385  
18 - 4.06  
(intrusive in O–R 7–10)

### Philip V or Perseus, 178–168 B.C.

**514**  
ΒΔ-362  
20 - 3.73  
(Q 6:2, see under P 6:2 and Q 6:2)
CATALOGUE

MACEDONIAN LEAGUE

3rd century after Christ

ALΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Head of
Alexander wearing
lion's skin r.

KΟΙΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ B ΝΕΩ
Horsemann r.

515 *a Ψ-316 24 ↓ 9.95
b K-1796 24 ↓ 10.93
c ΞΞ-1a 27 ↓ 6.75

THESSALY

ΑΙΝΙΑΝΗΣ

4th–3rd century B.C.

Head of Zeus l., laur. [ΑΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ] Warrior slinging r. Rogers, no. 137;

Cop 4, 5

516 a A-511 16 ↓ 1.18
b Λ-315 15 ← 1.78

ca. 168–1st century B.C.

Head of Zeus r., laur. Similar. Rogers, nos. 143–150; Cop 22, 23

*517 Ψ-132 20 ↑ 6.48

ΑΤΡΑΞ

3rd century B.C.

Head of Apollo r., laur. ΑΤΡ-ΑΓΙ]-ΩΝ Horseman r. Rogers, nos. 169–172; Cop 30, 31

518 ΚΤΛ-123 18 ↑ 4.66

ΓΟΜΦΟΙ

4th–3rd century B.C.

Head of nymph facing three-quarters r. [ΓΟΜΦ] Zeus Palamnaios,
with scepter, seated l. on rocks. Rogers, no. 214;

Cop 50

519 K-294 19 ↑ 4.16+
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

GYRTON

4th century B.C.

Head of Zeus l. or r., laur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>520</th>
<th>ΩΔ-47</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>4.53</th>
<th>Zeus head r.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Σ-1841</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ΔΔ-298</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>†</td>
<td>5.74</td>
<td>Zeus head l.; Μ monogram below horse (D 4:1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>KK-523</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>†</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>Zeus head l.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HALOS

4th century B.C.

Head of nymph facing.

| *521 | NN-2104a | 15 | ✓   | 4.75 | ΑΛΕΩΝ] Phrixos riding ram r. |

(4th-century B.C. context: in stone bedding of pebble floor of house)


KRANNON

4th century B.C.

Head of Poseidon r., laur.

| 522 | Β-504 | 19 | ✓   | 3.69+ | [ΚΠΑ] Thessalian horseman r. |

Thessalian horseman r.

| *523 | Σ-5010 | 15 | †   | 2.46 | ΜΑΓΝΗΡΑΝ Bull charging r. variant of Rogers, nos. 187–189 and Cop 41, 42 |

LAMIA

4th century B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

| 524 | Ι-1209 | 15 | ↓   | 1.75 | [ΜΛΙΕΩΝ] Philoktetes stg., shooting r. |

Head of nymph Lamia r.

| 525 | Π-532 | 14 | ✗   | broken | [ΛΑΜΙΕΩΝ] Philoktetes kneeling, shooting r. |

Rogers, nos. 232–235; Cop 59, 60

Cf. Rogers, nos. 238–240, 242–245 and Cop 64, 65, all with Zeus-head obverses

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LARISSA

4th century B.C.

Head of nymph Larissa facing three-quarters l. [ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑΙΩΝ] Horse stepping r. Rogers, nos. 269–280; Cop 136–139

526 T-22 20 \ 7.75

[Similar.] [ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑΙΩΝ] Horseman holding lance r. Rogers, nos. 284–287; Cop 140, 141

527 Λ-11 17 - 7.05

Head of nymph Larissa r. [ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑΙΩΝ] Horse grazing r. Rogers, no. 288; Cop 142

*528 ΛΛ-167 17 † 4.26

Similar. [ΛΑΠΙΣΣΑΙΩΝ] Horse grazing l. Rogers, no. 295; Cop 144

529 a Ξ-30 13 † 2.34 EABC, p. 152, pl. 17, coin S:70 (A18:8)
b ΠΘ-408 12 ✓ broken

The good condition (w2) of 529a in the A 18:8 hoard of the 260’s suggests that the bronze coinage of Larissa might have continued into the 3rd century (so Kroll, EABC, p. 152), even though Larissa ceased to mint in silver around 320 B.C. (Martin [note 50 above, p. 12], p. 52). That this and the other Larissa bronze varieties began well before the middle of the 4th century is clear nevertheless from the seventeen pieces (mostly of varieties 528 and 529) from the Olynthos excavations (Olynthus IX, p. 343; Olynthus XIV, p. 424).

LARISSA KREMATE

ca. 302–286 B.C.

Head of nymph l. ΛΑΠΙ below Harpa r.; all in olive wreath. Rogers, nos. 319, 320; cf. Cop 152 (head r.)

530 O-137 12 ↔ 1.68

MAGNETES

ca. 197–146 B.C.

Head of Zeus r., laur. ΜΑΓ-ΝΗ-ΤΩ[N] Centaur r.; below, star. Rogers, no. 339; cf. Cop 157–160

*531 OO-290 31 ↔ 6.56

Head of Zeus l. or r., diad. ΜΑΓΝΗ|ΤΩΝ Prow r. Rogers, nos. 348–352; Cop 161, 162

532 a I-487 20 “ 5.67 Zeus head r.
b T-671 17 ↓ 2.21 same
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

| c | A-10 | 20 | 5.38 | Zeus head l. |
| d | I-227 | 18 | 4.45 | same |

Head of Zeus r.  
MΑΓ[Ν]ΗΤΩΝ  
Rogers, no. 353

533  Φ-15  18 → 4.99  
Horse stepping r.

A.D. 235–238: Maximinus

[ΓΑ]ΙΟΥ Κ ΒΗ [ΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΟΣ]  
[ΑΡΓΩΡΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ]  
Rogers, no. 375

534  Ο-44  23 \(\triangleright\) 5.38+  
Argo with rowers r.

Orthē

4th–3rd century B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing  
[ΟΡ-ΘΙ]  
Rogers, nos. 423–425; Cop 184

535  Ω-206a  16 → broken  
Trident in wreath.

Phalanna

4th century B.C.

Young male head r.  
ΦΑΛΑΝΝΑΙΩΝ  
Rogers, nos. 446–452; Cop 203–208

536 *a  KK-267  20 ↑ 6.36  
rev., behind head, Α; behind shoulder, Βο  
Rogers, no. 452

*b  O-323  20 ↑ 5.90  
c  Z-2268  19 ↑ 6.41  
d  ΣΤ'450  19 ↑ 7.45

Pharsalos

4th century B.C.

Head of Athena facing  
Φ-Α-Ρ-Σ  
Rogers, nos. 494, 495

537  Σ-4593  17 \(\triangleleft\) 2.74  
Horseman charging r.

Similar.  
Rogers, nos. 489–492, 496–507; Cop 230–233

538 a  ΛΛ-64  20 ↑ 5.81
CATALOGUE

b  T-660   20 ↑ 5.27
  c  H-1568 19  - 3.75

Head of Athena r., wearing [Φ-Α-Ρ-Σ] Head of Athena r., wearing [Φ-Α-Ρ-Σ]
Attic helmet. Horse’s head r. Rogers, no. 509

*539 NN-1642 10 ← 0.98

THESSALIAN LEAGUE

196–1st century B.C.

Head of Apollo r., laur. ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ
Athena Itonia fighting r. Rogers, nos. 5–42;
Cop 310–317

540  21 coins 17–23 Av. 5.80 (17)
  *a  NN-1992 19  6.93 rev. at r., Κ (Rogers, no. 17)
  *b  ΟΟ-14 18 ↑ 6.43 [ΦΙ]-ΛΟΚΙΑ-ΟΠ-Σ-Π (Rogers, nos. 29, 30)
  c  I-168 17  4.44
  d  Σ-3490 20 ↑ 6.62 [ΦΙ]-ΛΟΚ (Rogers, nos. 29–32)
  e  Φ-36 19 ↑ 6.62 T-[Ι]-Μ-[Α] (Rogers, nos. 42, 42b)
  f  Π-1276 19 ↑ 6.70 at 1., Τ (cf. Rogers, no. 15)
  g  Κ-1467 21 ↑ 6.48 Kleiner 1975, p. 312, pl. 76, no. 201 (H–I 14:1)

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet. ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ
Athena Itonia fighting r. Rogers, nos. 43–51b;
Cop 324–328

541  *a  Γ-912 18 ↑ 5.43 obv., ΝΥΣ[ΣΑΝ][ΔΡΟΥ] (Rogers, no. 45)
  b  Π-651 18 ↑ 5.41
  c  Θ-242 18 ↑ 3.23 Kleiner 1975, p. 307, no. 117 (H–K 12–14)
  d  Θ-352 16 ↑ 2.53
  e  ΚΤΛ-2 16 ↑ 2.60

A.D. 14–37: Tiberius

ΘΕΣΣ[ΑΛΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ] ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ [ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ]
Head of emperor l. Athena Itonia fighting r. Rogers, no. 64;
Cop 333; RPC I, 1435

542  Θ-857 24 ↑ 5.75

A.D. 81–96: Domitian and Domitia

[ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ]
ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΙ] Bust r., laur.
[ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ]
Rogers, nos. 88, 89;
Cop 339

543  BB-655a 19  4.15
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

A.D. 117–138: Hadrian

[ΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙΚΑΡΑ]
Bust r., laur.

544 H'-3439 21 ↓ 4.38

[ἈΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ]
Bust of Achilles r., wearing crested helmet.

545 ΟΟ-698 17 ↓ broken

[ἈΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ]
Bust of Achilles r., wearing crested helmet.

*546 Α-479 13 ↗ 2.13

probably A.D. 211–217: Caracalla

[-----]
Bust of emperor (Caracalla?) r.

547 ΠΘ-32a 27 ↓ extremely worn

probably A.D. 253–268: Gallienus

[-----]
Bust of emperor (Gallienus?) r.

548 Ψ-321 24 ↓ extremely worn

ISLANDS OF THESSALY: PEPARETHOS

3rd–2nd century B.C.

Head of young Dionysos r., wearing ivy wreath.

*549 Γ-727 18 ↑ 3.00

2nd–1st century B.C.

Athena Itonia fighting r.

550 Η-1907 16 ↓ 3.45

For a coin of Peparethos in a 4th-century B.C. context, see p. 300 below. For coins of early Augustan times struck in the name of the Athenian cleruchs of the Thessalian island of Skyros, see 160.

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CATALOGUE

ILLYRICUM

DYRRHACHION

2nd–1st century B.C.

Head of Dodonian Zeus r. ΔΥΡP below Tripod; at l. and r., magistrate’s name; all in olive wreath.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>551</th>
<th>Θ-462</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>3.36</th>
<th>ΧΑΙΡΙΑΔΟΥ (BMC 169)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>ΠΘ-297</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>ΦΙΛΩΤΑ (BMC 167, 168)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Α-297</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>ΦΙΛΩΤΑ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Ω-504</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.81</td>
<td>ΠΟΙΟΛΩΙΟΝΟΣ (BMC 165)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Σ-4885</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>Γ-1617a</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>[- - -]ΑΡΓΟ[- -]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

551f comes from a context of the earlier 1st century B.C.: “Γ Martyr II, layer 4 to east of terracotta pipes.” In this layer, the latest Athenian coin, of variety 94 (99/8 B.C.), is worn to the same slight degree as the Dyrrhachion coin.

SKODRA

168–1st century B.C.

Head of Dodonian Zeus r. [ΣΚΟΔΡΙΝΩΝ] Illyrian galley.  

| 552 | OO-320a | 16 | 6.33 |

EPEIROS

NIKOPOLIS

A.D. 98–117: Trajan

[ - - - - - ] Bust of Trajan r., laur., cuir.  
[ - - - - - ] Emperor charging on horseback r.  

| 553 | E-1245 | 19 | 3.37 |

A.D. 117–138: Hadrian

ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙ[ΚΑΠ]  
Bust r., laur.  

ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΟ-[ΛΕΩC]  
Tyche stg. r., with rudder and cornucopia.  

| 554 | NN-979 | 19 | 2.68 |
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

*555  E-155a  21 ← 3.01

A.D. 136–137: Aelius Caesar

*556  OI-26b  17 × 3.19

A.D. 193–217: Julia Domna

*557  B-255a  22 ↑ 5.65

A.D. 198–217: Caracalla

*558  ΠA-260  23 × 7.86

*559  Π-582  25 ↑ 6.81

*560  Σ-3696  23 ✓ 6.38

*561  ΠΘ-719a  22 ✓ 6.48

CATALOGUE

A.D. 218–222: Elagabalus

Bust of Elagabalus r., laur., dr.

562 BB-130 22 ↓ 4.56

[ΝΕΙΚΟ]ΠΟΛΕΩΣ

Galley r.

Oikonomidou,
Elagabalus,
no. 17

A.D. 260–268: Salonina

[KΟΠ] ζΑΛ[ΩΝΙΝΑ]

Bust r.

563 Δ’-482a 20 ↓ 5.55

[ΙΕΡΑΣ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙ]

Nike walking l.; at l., Δ.

Oikonomidou,
Salonina, no. 96

EPEIROTE LEAGUE

234–168 B.C.

Head of Dione r., wearing stephanos and veil; behind, Ξ.

564 E-887 22 ← 4.80

[AΠ]ΕΙ[ΡΩΤΑΝ]

Tripod; all in laurel wreath.

P. Franke, Die Antiken Münzen von Epirus, Wiesbaden 1961,
no. 400 (this coin)

Bust of Artemis r.; bow and quiver at shoulder;
at l., Κ; at r., Θ.

565 O-475 21 ↑ 7.69

ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ

Spearhead; all in laurel wreath.

Franke (under 564),
Nos. 610–612

Head of young Herakles r.

566 T-28a 12 ✓ 1.69

ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ

Club; all in wreath.

Franke (under 564),
Nos. 663–676

KORKYRA

4th century B.C.

Head of young Herakles r.

567 a A-323 17 - 2.56 O-κ

Bunch of grapes.

b A-415 15 ↑ 3.60 ethnic?

c Δ-234 16 ↑ 2.89 same

d Σ-3175 17 ↑ 2.90 same

300–229 B.C.

Prow of galley r.

568 K-154 16 ↓ 1.71+

Bunch of grapes.

BMC 101–116

BMC 281
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

229–48 B.C.

Head of Poseidon r., laur. \(\Phi\cdot \Omega\) Bull's head; all in laurel wreath.

569 \(\Pi\Pi-440\) 17 ↑ 3.40

\[\text{[KOPKY|PAIΩN]}\]
Apulstre.

570 \(\Sigma\_402\) 17 → 2.85

Head of young Herakles r. Forepart of galley r. \(\text{BMC 482–550, passim}\)

571 *a \(\Delta\E-6\) 20 ↑ 7.81 rev. above, \(\Phi\cdot \Phi\cdot \Omega\cdot \Omega\) \(\text{(BMC 536, 537)}\)
b \(\Pi\Pi-102\) 22 ↓ 8.84 same
c \(\text{O}O-673\) 20 ↑ 7.63 same
d \(\text{M}-430\) 24 ↑ 6.98 same
e \(\text{Z}-2096\) 21 ↑ 7.15 rev. above, \[\text{KOPKY|PAIΩN}\]; below, illegible name \((\text{H 12:4)}\)
f \(\text{T}-651\) 19 ↑ 5.94 rev. same
g \(\text{A}-976\) 20 ↓ 3.66 rev. same
h \(\Sigma\_416\) 20 - 4.87

Bust of Poseidon r., trident at shoulder. \[\text{KOP}\cdot \text{KYRA}\] Amphora. \(\text{BMC 619–621}\)

572 AP-50 16 ↓ 3.68

AKARNANIA

LEUKAS

after 167 B.C.

Head of young Herakles r. \(\Lambda\text{EYKAD}iΩ[N]\) and wheat ear above Club r.; below, \(\Delta\text{HMARET}ΩΣ\); all in oak wreath.

573 *a \(\Pi\Theta-358\) 19 ↘ 3.45
b \(\text{BE}-487\) 18 - 2.60

MEDON

4th century B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet. \(\text{ME upwards behind Owl r.}\) cf. \(\text{BMC 6, 7}\)

574*B* \(\text{G}-921\) 14 → broken

(owl l.)
CATALOGUE

THYRRHEION

4th century B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet. ΘYP at lower r. of Owl r.; at l. boukranion.

*575 I-812  14  2.50

AÏTOLIA

AÏTOLIAN LEAGUE

late 4th century B.C.\textsuperscript{22}

Head of Aitolia r., wearing kausia. AÏTΩ|ΛΩN Kalydonian boar r.

576 BB-1219  18  3.33

Similar. [AÏTΩ|ΛΩN] Spearhead l.

577 a Η′-3562  18  5.04  no details
   b ΠΘ-878  17  4.29  same
   c Ψ-242  16  -  same; heavily worn

ca. 300–191 B.C.

Young male head r. [A]ÏTΩ|ΛΩN Trophy; at lower l., Χ.

*578 ΠΠ-851  15  3.45

Similar. AÏTΩ|ΛΩN Spearhead and jawbone of boar; at l., bunch of grapes.

579 *a BB-10  19  4.29  between spearhead and jawbone, ΦΙ or ΦΙΞ
   b Σ-4742  17  3.15
   c Α-1272  17  broken
   d ΑΑ-982  16  broken
   e ΠΠ-942  20  4.40
   f Τ-67a  16  3.64
   g Τ-540  16  4.23
   h–k Η-144, NN-139, Ω-440, Ω-354, all broken

\textsuperscript{22} Picard, \textit{Antre}, pp. 284–285, whose chronology is followed also for the other Aitolian League varieties.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

**early 2nd century B.C.?**

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>WM</th>
<th>Mass (g)</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>WM</th>
<th>Mass (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>580</td>
<td>Θ-288</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>♠b</td>
<td>Φ-103</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Π'-3542</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td></td>
<td>Z-2798a</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

rev. above, Κ; at l., Π (BMC 64)

**LOKRIS**

**LOKRIAN LEAGUE**

338–ca. 300 B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>WM</th>
<th>Mass (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>581</td>
<td>14 coins</td>
<td>13–15 Av. 1.75 (11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♠a</td>
<td>Π-59</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♠b</td>
<td>ΠΘ-514</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♠c</td>
<td>ΣΞ-72</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

obv. above, KA (BMC 66); GRC, fig. 17

EABC, p. 153, no. 71 (A 18:8)

ca. 300 B.C.

Similar.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WM</th>
<th>Mass (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΛOK-PΩN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bunch of grapes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>WM</th>
<th>Mass (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>582</td>
<td>I-567</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.94</td>
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</table>

ca. 300–272 B.C.

Head of Apollo l., laur.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WM</th>
<th>Mass (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Λ-O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bunch of grapes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>WM</th>
<th>Mass (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>583</td>
<td>ΠΘ-195a</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WM</th>
<th>Mass (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Λ-O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bunch of grapes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>WM</th>
<th>Mass (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>584</td>
<td>19 coins</td>
<td>14–16 Av. 2.23 (14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♠a</td>
<td>ΠΠI-841</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♠b</td>
<td>ΣΤ'-506</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♠c</td>
<td>ΣΞ-518</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♠d</td>
<td>ΣΞ-77d</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

rev. at l., greave (BMC 80)  

at r., ivy leaf (BMC 79)  

same  

EABC, p. 153, no. 72 (A 18:8)

196–146 B.C.

Similar.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WM</th>
<th>Mass (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bunch of grapes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>WM</th>
<th>Mass (g)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>585</td>
<td>I-1635</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CATALOGUE

b NN-1396 17 - 4.35

586 Oo-948 19 - 5.75

Head of Apollo r., laur. [ὍΠΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ] behind

Cop 79

Hero stg. r., with sword and lance, feeding snake.

For the dating of varieties 581-584, see Picard, Antre, pp. 287-288, following Jacqueline Humphris’ Lokrian mint study currently in preparation. We thank Mme. Humphris for her assistance in classifying the more worn Agora specimens.

The two Lokrian coins from the Agora A 18:8 hoard of the 260’s, 581c and 584d, are heavily and identically worn, suggesting that the second coin was minted probably not much after the start of the 3rd century.

PHOKIS

PHOKIAN LEAGUE

mid-4th century—346 B.C.

Facing bull’s head. ΦΩ in laurel wreath. 

BMC 94–100

587 a Ξ-207 18 - 4.82 

BMC 94–96

b NN-1843 12 - 1.97 small module: BMC 97–100

late 4th–earlier 3rd century B.C.

Helmeted head of Athena, Φ or ΦΩ in olive wreath. 

BMC 66–77

588 22 coins 12–15 Av. 1.70 (14)

*a Θ-335 14 ↓ 1.51 (H–K 12–14)


*c ΞΞ-25a 14 ↑ 1.30 EABC, p. 153, pl. 17, no. 73 (A 18:8)

*d ΞΞ-25b 13 ↑ 1.94 EABC, no. 74 (A 18:8)

*e ΞΞ-43a 12 ↑ 1.50 EABC, pl. 17, no. 75 (A 18:8)

*f ΞΞ-43b 13 ↑ 1.62 EABC, no. 76 (A 18:8)

For the chronology of the two varieties see Picard, Antre, pp. 281–283. The Agora A 18:8 hoard of the 260’s produced four pieces of the facing Athena variety (588c–f) in a notably worn (w4) condition.

DELPHI

A.D. 117–138: Hadrian

AYΤ[Ο ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟϹ]- 

ΔΕΛΦΙΑΝΟϹ ΑΥ[ 

Laurel wreath, within which ΠΥΘΑ.

BMC 24

589 KTA-19 21 → 3.59

23 For the coin mistakenly listed as Θ-335 in Kleiner 1975, p. 308, no. 150, see 723A (Sikyon: Θ-450). At the time Kleiner was preparing his paper, Θ-335 and Θ-450 had become transposed.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

after A.D. 141: deified Faustina I

ΘΕΑ ΦΑΥ-ΚΤΕΙΝΑ
Bust r.

ΔΕΛΦΩΝ below Temple of Apollo: side and front, with statue of Apollo shown within.

*590 NN-978 24 8.02

GRC, fig. 23

Similar.

ΔΕΛΦΩΝ
Bust of Apollo with long hair, r.

*591 ΠΙ-447 20 6.00

BOIOTIA

BOIOTIAN LEAGUE

338–early 3rd century B.C. 24

Boiotian shield.

BOΙΟΤΩΝ at l. of Ornamentsed trident;
at r., dolphin.

592 33 coins 12–14 Av. 1.98 (27)

*a ΠΙ-536 13 1.36 rev., symbol?; GRC, fig. 17

*b ΠΘ-768 13 2.69 symbol?

*c Κ-1320 12 2.34 symbol?

*d Ρ-134 14 2.58 symbol?

e Ρ-1602 13 2.06 at lower r., ivy leaf (BMC 57, 58)

f Δ-165 14 1.20+ at lower r., K

268–244 B.C. 25

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

BOΙΟΤΩΝ at r. of Trophy.

593 a NN-1106 23 5.64 Kleiner 1976, p. 20, no. 2 (B 20:9)
b ΠΠΙ-652 23 5.48

c NN-1369 21 5.78

d Γ-108 19 5.71

e Ω-188 18 4.43 smaller flan and dies than 593a–d


25 Head 1881, pp. 258–259. Relative wear of specimens in IGCH 229 and 233 confirm the priority of Athena/Trophy (593) to the Facing Demeter or Kore head/Poseidon overstrikes (595). On the other hand, it is unlikely that the trophy reverse of the former could belong after the Aitolians defeated the Boiotians in 246 and 244 B.C.
CATALOGUE

Head of young Dionysos r.  [BOIΩ]T[ΩN] at r. of Apollo with bow seated l. on cippus; behind on cippus, tripod; on side of cippus, trident r.; [at l., wreath].

*594  ΞΞ-82a  17 → 3.04

later 3rd (or early 2nd?) century B.C.

Head of Demeter or Kore, three-quarters facing l., wearing wheat wreath.  BOIΩΤΩΝ behind Poseidon stg. l., with trident, resting r. foot on rock.

595 122 coins 16–20 Av. 3.54 (52)  traces of undertypes; GRC, fig. 5
*a  ΓΓ-23  20 ← 3.77
*b  ΠΘ-357  20 ↓ 3.98  traces of undertypes
*c  Γ-164  18 \ 3.61  same
*d  ΑΑ-984  16 ↓ 2.89
*e  Χ-102  18 - -  damaged (N 18:3)

This entire coinage was overstruck on Herakles head/Horseman bronzes of Antigonos Gonatas (509). Assuming that the Antigonid coins date from the reign of Antigonos Doson, Svoronos (1908, pp. 230–232) thought they were given by the king as a gift to the Boiotians, who fought with him against Sparta in the late 220’s, and that the overstriking was a routine conversion of foreign into local money. Because of the presence of the overstruck coins in two hoards that date from the second quarter of the 2nd century (IGCH 229 and 233), Hackens (1969, pp. 727–728) preferred to date the overstriking around 168, while Crawford (CMRR, pp. 124, 316), noting the wear of the hoarded coins, inclines to an earlier date, “between the late third century and 168.” Since the Macedonian undertypes almost certainly antedate Doson, however, and since the Boiotian types used for the bronze first appear on drachms as early as the middle of the 3rd century (Picard, Chalcis, p. 162; idem, Antre, p. 289), a plausible case can be made that the Macedonian coins entered Boiotia during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas or Demetrios II (who occupied the country after 236) and that the overstriking took place during the sharp anti-Macedonian reaction upon Demetrios’ death in 229 (see Hammond and Walbank [above under 509], pp. 326–329, 341). This reconstruction at least has the advantage of close parallelism with Athens, where a similarly tremendous influx of Gonatas’ bronze accompanied Macedonian occupation but was eventually overstruck after the occupation ended (pp. 36, 51–52 above).

196–146 B.C.

Boiotian shield.  [BOIΩΤΩΝ] at r. of Nike stg. l. with wreath and trident.

596 a  Θ-696  15 ↑ 3.08
*b  ΠΘ-600a  14 ↑ 3.67

Boiotian shield.  BOIΩΤΩΝ at l. of Trident; BMC 108–111 at r., dolphin.

597 6 coins 12–13 Av. 1.60 (5)
*a  Σ-3341  13 \ 1.24

General confirmation of Head’s 196–146 dating for 596 comes from the Agrinion hoard (IGCH 271) with its fresh Boiotian League drachms, which have an identical Nike-left reverse. Whether 597 is to be similarly dated is less clear. The coins are a revival of 592 but with a plainer, squared trident and no issue symbol.
[592 or 597] 6 coins of uncertain Shield/Trident variety.

**Orchomenos**

2nd–1st century B.C.?  
Veiled head of Hera r.; scepter over shoulder.  
598  NN-1906 12 ↑ 1.59  
E-[X-O]  
Tripod; all in laurel wreath.  

**Tanagra**

1st–2nd century after Christ  
TANA[N]ΩN in laurel wreath.  
599  Z-3011 15 ← 2.95  
T-A[N-A]  
Winged caduceus.

1st century after Christ  
Head of Julio-Claudian emperor(?); border of dots.  
600  K-1469 12 ↑ 1.16  
T-A[N-A]  
Bearded male, nude, stg., facing, holding spear in r. hand and sword on shield resting on ground in l.

A.D. 5–19: Germanicus  
[GERMANIKΟΣ]  
Head r.  
601  *a  Σ-1036a 16 ↑ 3.04  
T-A[N-A]  
Apollo stg., facing, holding branch and bow.  
601  *a  b  OO-447 14 ↑ 2.57

A.D. 14–37: Tiberius  

tIBEΠI-ΟC ΚΑΙΚΑΡ  
Head r.  
602  *a  OO-273 18 ↓ 5.06  
TANA[N]ΩN  
Tripod.  
602  *a  *b  BE-541 19 ↓ 5.80  
rev. cmk.: tripod in incuse oval  
602  *a  c  K-433a 19 ← 6.29  
602  *a  d  Z-2944 19 → 5.69

*BMC 39, 40  
*BMC 50  
*BMC 55;  
RPC I, 1318  
RPC I, 1317  
RPC I, 1318
CATALOGUE

A.D. 161–180: Marcus Aurelius

603 Σ-457 27 ↑ 9.55
Head of M. Aurelius r., laur. TANΑΓΡΑ[ΩΝ] at l. of Hercules stg. r. before tree, on which eagle; at r., altar.

Thebes

378–338 B.C.

604 BB-310 14 ✓ 2.11
Head of young Herakles r. Club and bow; above, [ΣΑ], below ΦΕΡΓ. BMC 184, 185

315–288 B.C.

605 8 coins 11–14 Av. 1.88 (7)
*a Σ-4323 13 ← 2.41
*b Δ-268 12 ← 1.47
*c Π-1055 14 ✓ broken (E 14:3)

388–338 B.C.

606 Σ-6461 16 ✓ 3.89
*b K-38 16 ✓ 4.72
Same. Similar. ΘΕΒΑΙΩΝ between Thrysos and club. BMC 201–206

Thespiae

ca. 210–208 B.C.

607 *a K-1282 12 ✓ 1.45 (from fill containing Athenian bronze to the 80's B.C.)
b Σ-4753 12 ← 1.64
Same. Same, except no wreath. BMC 26

The above dating is that of A. Schachter, “A Note on the Reorganization of the Thespian Museia,” NC, ser. 7, 1, 1961, pp. 67–70. A specimen of 606 has been recovered from a pre-146 B.C. well deposit at Corinth (Price 1967, p. 377, no. 62); another was overstruck in an emission of Sikyon, dated probably ca. 200 B.C. (Warren 1984, p. 2, no. 7.C.xiv).

A.D. 81–96: Domitian

608 a OO-799 15 ✓ 3.20
Head of Domitian r., rad. cf. BMC 30–32
b Σ-6323 15 ✓ 2.67 obv. head may be laureate

Apollo seated r., holding lyre.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cat.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>609b</td>
<td>T-857</td>
<td>304-290 B.C.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>610b</td>
<td>I-328</td>
<td>253-245 B.C.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>EY below Bunch of grapes; [above, star].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Euboia**

**Euboian League**

*348–338 B.C.*

**Unit**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cat.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>609a</td>
<td>BΔ-482</td>
<td>348-338 B.C.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>Head of nymph Euboia r. [EYB] Protome of bull r., head facing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>609b</td>
<td>T-857</td>
<td>348-338 B.C.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*304–ca. 290 B.C.*

**AR Drachm**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cat.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>611a</td>
<td>I-328</td>
<td>304-290 B.C.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.92</td>
<td>Head of nymph Euboia l. [E Y] above Protome of bull r., head facing; at r., symbol(?).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Quadruple**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cat.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Double**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cat.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>613a</td>
<td>Γ-1063</td>
<td>304-290 B.C.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>Bull stg. l.; [above, star; below, monogram]. EY below Bunch of grapes; [above, star].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>613b</td>
<td>NN-2103</td>
<td>304-290 B.C.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*253–245 B.C.*

**Double**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cat.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>613a</td>
<td>Γ-1063</td>
<td>253-245 B.C.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>Bull stg. r. EYBO Bunch of grapes on branch.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

26 For the chronology followed below, see Picard, *Chalcis*, especially the “Tableau des monnayages euêens (IVe–IIe siècle),” facing p. 350. The denominational nomenclature is also Picard’s. His “unit”, “double unit”, and “quadruple unit” denote thechalkous, the dichalkon, and the hemiobol (note 62 above, p. 38).

CATALOGUE

same

rev. below, [E]-Y

obv. above, club; rev. at r. EYBO downwards (Picard, Chalcis, no. 23)

similar, with leaf on grape branch at l.

obv. above, sword; rev. at r., EYBO downward (Picard, Chalcis, no. 26). Kleiner 1975, p. 307, no. 123 (H-K 12-14)

same obv. and rev.

obv. above, sword; rev. at r., trophy (?) (BMC 22)

obv. at r., thymiaterion (?); rev. below, EY-[BO] (BMC 28)

rev. at l., leaf on grape branch

rev. at l., star (?)

rev. at r., EYB[ downwards

191–170 B.C.

DOUBLE UNIT

Veiled female head r.  EYBOI||ΕΩΝ

Bull butting r.  

Picard, Chalcis, pp. 194–195, nos. 29–38

614 6 coins  16–18 Av. 3.94 (4)  

*6  HH-322  18  ✓  3.80  rev. in ex. at r., wheat ear (Picard, Chalcis, no. 37); GRC, fig. 17

*6  E-1611  17  †  3.92  rev. symbol effaced

*6  NN-1088  17  ✓  4.93  same; Kleiner 1976, p. 20, no. 5 (B 20:9)

before 146 B.C.

Head of Hermes r.  EY[BOI]|ΕΩΝ

Wheat ear r.  

BMC 48

615  E-1494  12  †  1.64

CHALKIS

Coins catalogued with Agora inventory numbers in Picard, Chalcis are referenced in italics.

338–308 B.C.

UNIT

Bust of Hera facing, XAA  Picard, Chalcis,  nos. 12–22

trophy symbol (Picard, Chalcis, p. 48, pl. XI, no. 15)

wearing diadem with five cornucopia (Picard, Chalcis, p. 49, no. 17)

disks, resting on Ionic capital. star (Picard, Chalcis, p. 50, no. 19)

Eagle holding snake; at r., symbol.

no symbol (Picard, Chalcis, p. 51, no. 20)

same

same

28 Cf. Wallace (note 27 above, p. 208), pp. 130–131, pl. XV:21, which, like the BMC, also puts this rare variety at the end of the Euboian League coinage.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv. below, collar in place of capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*i KTA-106 12 ↑ 1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j ΠΘ-644 13 &lt; broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k ᾠ-50 13 ↑ 1.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| no symbol (Picard, Chalcis, p. 53, pl. XI, no. 21) |
| no symbol (Picard, Chalcis, p. 53, no. 21) |
| same; EABC, p. 153, pl. 17, coin U:73 (A 18:8) |

Similar.

617 NN-1887 13 ↑ 1.23 trophy symbol

290–273 B.C.

Similar.

618 Unit

| a ΠΠ-1056 13 - 2.09 bunch of grapes (Picard, Chalcis, p. 79, no. 43) |
| b A-224 12 MD 1.29 herm (Picard, Chalcis, p. 80, pl. XVII, no. 44) |
| c KK-331 13 ↓ 1.20 herm (Picard, Chalcis, p. 80, no. 44) |
| d Δ-155 13 ↑ 1.76 wreath (Picard, Chalcis, p. 81, pl. XVII, no. 46) |
| e ZZ-135 13 ✓ 1.13 rose (Picard, Chalcis, p. 82, pl. XVII, no. 48) |

Double

| f Γ-873 18 ↓ 3.83 ΦΙΛΙΣ-ΑΑΘ (Picard, Chalcis, p. 86, no. 53 [14-Ζ]) |
| g O-39 17 ✓ 3.80 ΦΙΛΙΣ-ΑΑΘ obv. cmk.: dolphin (Picard, Chalcis, p. 87, no. 53) |

h–y 18 other Agora specimens of Picard emission no. 53, all listed in Picard, Chalcis, p. 87

[616–618] 41 coins of Facing Hera/Eagle type that cannot be classified by emission. Of these, 6 are of the double, 16–18 mm. denomination.

170–46 B.C.

Double

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>17 coins 16–18 Av. 3.99 (9)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a H-1757 16 - broken star (Picard, Chalcis, p. 100, no. 66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b A-1427 15 ✓ 4.30 symbol?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

619 Eagle holding snake; at r., symbol.

620

Double

| 3.33 |
| 3.00 |
| 3.21 |
| broken |
| 3.85 |

Similar.

620 Eagle holding snake; no symbol.
CATALOGUE

1st century after Christ

Head of Poseidon r.; trident behind.

621 *a KK-538 18 ↑ 6.05 Picard, Chalcis, p. 127, no. 97

b OO-1481 18 ↑ 5.58

Head of Zeus r. Eagle holding snake r.

*622 OO-1330 18 ↑ 3.88

Obv. cmk.: owl stg. r., facing, over Χ or X, in incuse square. Picard (Chalcis, p. 128) notes that the countermark is known only from this specimen and suggests because of the owl that it was added in Athens.

A.D. 198–217: Caracalla

[A V K ΜΑΡ Α V ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC] ΧΑΛΚΙ-ΔΕΩΝ
Bust r., laur., dr.

623 *a Ω-347a 24 \ 10.25 Picard, Chalcis, p. 132, no. 101:4-g

b Σ-3905 25 ↑ 9.07

Similar.

ΧΑΛΚΙ-[DEΩΝ]
Hermes facing, striking fallen opponent (Panoptes) at r. with caduceus.

*624 AA-766a 27 ↑ 16.06

ERETRIA

192–191 B.C.

Double

Bull recumbent r.; in ex.

[ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΩΝ] above

[ΜΑΝΤΙΔΩΡΟΣ] Two bunches of grapes.

*625 BB-821 14 ↑ 2.39

Attributable to this Eretrian emission by size. Cf. the larger 16+ mm. pieces of the Euboian League with same types, Picard, Chalcis, pl. XXX:28.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

170–146 B.C.

Veiled female head l.

EPETΡΙΕΩΝ below

Bull recumbent l.; above,

name in two lines.

BMC 46–48;

Picard, Chalcis,
p. 196

626 a N'-1343 17 † 3.50 obv., [ἈΥ]ΣΑΝ|ΔΡΟΣ
b NN-1953 17 † 3.02 obv. name illegible

soon after 146 B.C.?

UNIT

Head of bull, with fillets,

E-PE below at l. and r. of

Octopus; [all in border of dots].

BMC, pp. 96,
nos. 19–20

#627 ΣΤ'-578 12 ← 1.73 (H 16:4)

The post-146 B.C. dating is tentatively proposed by Picard (Chalcis, table facing p. 350) and suits the late, sketchy style of the coinage and its dotted obverse and reverse borders. Even so, the Agora context precludes a date much after the middle of the 2nd century. Note that the types are revived from 5th-century B.C. Eretrian silver fractions (BMC, p. 122, nos. 33–39).

HISTIAIA

338–late 3rd century B.C.29

Head of Maenad r., wearing

violet wreath.

[ΣΤΙ] below Bull stg. r.,

before vine with two

bunches of grapes.

Cop 510, 511

628 a T-18 17 ↓ 3.53
b K-138a 19 ↓ 4.37
c ΠΑ-384 16 ↓ 3.40

Similar.

Σ-ΤΠ below

Forepart of bull r.

BMC 10–20

629 7 coins 13–16 Av. 1.84 (4)
*a ΠΕ-69 13 † 1.81 rev. above, two bunches of grapes
b K-907 13 ↓ 1.35+ same
c N-96 14 † 2.04 symbol? (found with 1007e, 247–222 B.C.)

Similar.

Similar, except bull walking r.

BMC 7–9

630 a T-319 14 ↓ 2.40 rev. above, trophy
b ΣΤ-125 12 † 1.50 same

Similar.

Σ-ΤΠ above

Protome of bull, with fillets,

three-quarters to r.; at l.,
bunch of grapes.

BMC 29, 30

631 a E-803 16 † broken
b BB-1221 16 ↓ 2.47
c I-1235 14 ↓ 2.09

For the late 3rd century–146 B.C. dating of this prolific tetrobol coinage, see W. P. Wallace, “The Meeting-Point of the Histiaian and Macedonian Tetrobols,” NC, ser. 7, 2, 1962, pp. 17–22, who isolates a small group of emissions of ca. 178–168 B.C. and explains that it belongs about midway in the full series. Our 632a–h were found together in the uppermost fill of cistern M 21:1, known as the Komos Cistern. Shortly after excavation of the cistern in 1947 Professor Wallace examined the tetrobols and reported (in a letter to Virginia Grace at the Agora, dated September 7, 1949) that based on the issues represented and the respective wear of the coins, the cistern hoard was deposited “considerably after 170, say, 160–150 B.C.” He noted that similar issues in similar condition are known from another hoard “believed to date very roughly about 150 B.C.” The two latest bronze coins from the cistern date from the 180’s, as does its latest stamped amphora handle (Rhodian, ca. 186 B.C.), and there is no reason to suspect that any of the pottery from the fill is later. Consequently, it appears that the “purse” of eight Histiaeaean tetrobols lost or secreted at the top of the filling is a later intrusion.

NON-ATHENIAN COINS

KARYSTOS

2nd–1st century B.C.

Head of young Herakles r.  K A above Protome of bull with fillets, three-quarters r; at r. AR.

636  a  KK-82a  17  -  3.62
    b  Z-939a  17  †  broken

636 or BMC 15, 16: 2 coins (K-326, NN-1004) with the types Herakles head (young or bearded)/Bull’s protome three-quarters r. No details.

Dolphin twined around trident.

637  Θ-390  16  †  4.09

Similar.  [KA] above Trident.  BMC 25

638  Z-2661  13  †  1.50

[Youthful bust r.]  KA|PY  BMC 27
Dolphin r.

639  ΠΘ-221  13  -  -  damaged

ATTICA

excluding Athens and the Eleusinian coinage

SALAMIS

4th century B.C.

Head of nymph Salamis r., wearing stephane.  ΣΑ-ΛΛA Shield of Ajax, on which his sword in sheath with strap.  BMC 1–6; Cop 455, 456

640  42 coins  15–19  Av: 2.99 (18)
    a  PP-631  19  -  3.57
    b  ΛΛ-30  18  -  3.25
Only eight of the forty-two-coin total are entirely legible. The rest are attributed to this variety solely by their large 17–19 mm. flans.

Similar.  

\[\Sigma A\lambda[A] \, \text{downward at r. of Shield of Ajax; at l., sword in sheath; [?triskeles device on shield].}\]  

**641**  

\[\Xi \Xi \Xi \Xi - 16 \, 16 \, 2.72\]  

Head of Kore r., wearing wheat wreath.  

\[\Sigma[A-\Lambda[A] \, \text{Shield of Ajax, [on which sword in sheath].}\]  

**642**  

B-524  

15 — 2.59

---

[640–642] 55 coins (13–16 mm.) of uncertain Female head/Shield type. Most have 15–16 mm. diameters, and of these the bulk doubtless belong to the common variety 640.

Clearly of some duration, the bronze coinage of Salamis was minted in several phases, the first and most substantial of which is represented by the common, larger pieces of variety 640, almost certainly dichalkia. In a later emission, the sword on the reverse is displaced to the left (641), on at least some pieces by a triskeles device on the shield (American Numismatic Society). The slightly smaller coins of variety 642 with the Kore obverse represent another emission. There are finally several small-flan varieties (cf. BMC 9, 10, Cop 547; Traitd, pl. 194:5), some with blazons (including a gorgoneion and an eagle) on the shield: at 11–13 mm. and 1.50–2.00 g., these should be AE 4 chalkoi; their cruder style locates them at the end of the series.

The two specimens of 640 excavated at Olynthos inform that minting began earlier than 348. But by how much? The contexts of 640d and g suggest a relatively early date in the 4th century, as does the report of another Salamis coin (18 mm.) that was excavated in the Kerameikos from a grave dated 400–395 B.C., although it would be premature to draw any firm chronological conclusions until the pottery from this important grave group has been published. The destruction deposit of Building Z-3 in the Kerameikos (p. 298 below) shows that the Salamis bronze was still in use as late as the last decade of the 4th century, while the absence of any pieces in the sizable Agora A 18:8 hoard is a good indication that it had ceased to circulate by the 260's.

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30 Room 4B of house "N", Layer 11: "pottery mostly of 5th century but note a fragment of a small coarse saucer with b[lack] g[laze], probably early IV" (NN notebook, p. 7226).

31 Olynthus VI, no. 830 (pl. 20), found on the floor of the destroyed house A 11, room 1; and Olynthus IX, no. 1722 (pl. 32:23) from house A vii, room 5. The stratigraphic position of the latter coin is unknown, but in correspondence Nicholas Cahill explains that the area was free of later occupation.

The three coins reported to be from a hoard found at Aspropyrgos near Eleusis (IGCH 99) comprise another find of around the middle of the 4th century. The date is implied by two of the pieces, which are early Eleusinian (38: ivy-branch symbol, 17 mm., w4; grapevine symbol, 16 mm., w3); the third is Salamis, 18 mm., in fine (w2) condition.

32 Mentioned in Αρχέλλατ 18, 1963, B', p. 50, note 6. Dr. Peter R. Franke kindly sent a photograph of the (18 mm.) coin and his notes on the find.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

The very existence of a Salaminian coinage is curious. Since the island was a subject territory of Athens and settled by Athenian cleruchs, some scholars have argued that the coinage must belong to a time of political independence from Athens. In a successionist party of Salaminians, probably cleruchs, betrayed the island to Kassandros and apparently governed it for a decade, but this episode belongs around the end, not the start of the coinage. More than a century ago Paul Monceaux suggested that Salamis may have broken away from Athens for a time at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, but however convenient this hypothesis might be for explaining an early 4th-century origin of the coinage, it, too, does not carry conviction. Apart from the unsoundness of Monceaux’s epigraphical argument, it is known that the island was still subject to Athens under the Thirty Tyrants in the spring of 403 and that when Athens sent out new cleruchies in 386 to Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros, overseas possessions that she had lost in 404, these cleruchies were to be modeled on the one then existing on Salamis. Salamis had remained Athenian.

If the coinage cannot be attributed to an independent Salamis, it has to be understood in terms of the cleruchy status of the island. As explained under 455, the cleruchy cities of Lemnian Myrina and Hephaistia also struck coins before the middle of the 4th century. Although these cities were certainly more distant from Athens than was Salamis, their constitutional position with respect to Athens was the same, and so, one assumes, was their motivation for minting a bronze coinage: such a coinage was apparently needed, and as none was being supplied by Athens, the cleruchy governments were left to produce it themselves. It may well be that the Athenians encouraged the Salaminian bronze, which they were able to use while continuing their policy of striking exclusively in silver.

MEGARIS

Megara

last half or third of 4th–early 3rd century B.C.

Prow l., on which stands a tripod. MEΓ or MEΓΑ between Two dolphins swimming r. in circle; border of dots. 

BMC 21–29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>643</td>
<td>160 coins</td>
<td>13–16</td>
<td>2.43 (54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEΓ (legible on 35 coins)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Σ-3655</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>A-891</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ΜΣ-192</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>ΠΛ-1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Χ-36</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33 Traité II, iii, pp. 142–143; Picard, Antre, pp. 292–293.
34 According to Picard, Antre, and C. Horner, Quaestiones Salaminiae, Basel (dissertation) 1901, pp. 11–12; Ferguson (p. 117, note 2) prefers 304 B.C.
35 P. Monceaux, “Inscriptions de Salamine,” BCH 6, 1882 (pp. 521–539), pp. 522–523. Monceaux’s argument for Salaminian independence rested on IG II² 3093, an early 4th-century choregic monument from Salamis that names a local archon in its dating formula. We know, however, from Aristotle, Athenaion Politia 58.8 and 62.2 that δ ἐν Σαλαμίνι ἄρχων was an Athenian official, that he was directly responsible for organizing the local Dionysia, and that he served as the normal eponymous magistrate of the island. Horner (note 34 above) adds that, as a private dedication, IG II² 3093 should not be expected to record the name of the archon in Athens after the name of the archon in Salamis.
36 Salamis under the Thirty: Diodorus Siculus 14.32.4. Existing cleruchy in 386: IG II² 30, line b 7 (= p. 165, line 34, in the expanded text with commentary by R. S. Stroud, “Inscriptions from the North Slope of the Acropolis, I,” Hesperia 40, 1971, pp. 162–173), citing the cleruchy on Salamis as a legal precedent in regulations for the new cleruchy on Lemnos.
### CATALOGUE

**MEGA (legible on 20 coins)**

- **f** AP-25 15 \(\checkmark\) 2.38
- **g** NN-1054 16 \(\checkmark\) 1.90
- **h** NN-1754 15 \(\checkmark\) 2.17

Either ethnic

- i OO-1075 14 \(\rightarrow\) 2.15 obv., prow r. *EABC*, p. 153, pl. 17, nos. W:78–85 (A 18:8)
- j–q 8 \(\Xi\Xi\) coins *EABC*, p. 153, pl. 17, nos. X:86–87 (A 18:8)

The above dating is deduced from the worn example from a 348–316 B.C. house at Olynthos\(^{37}\) and the moderate to heavy wear of the eight pieces (643j–q) in the Agora A 18:8 hoard of the 260's (*EABC*, p. 154). For fifteen published specimens from Late Hellenistic deposits in the Agora, see Kleiner 1975, p. 308, pl. 76, nos. 141–143, and p. 312, no. 203 (all H–K 12–14); Kleiner 1976, p. 18, nos. 131–141 (A–B 19–20:1).

#### Second quarter 3rd century B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>MEGA above or below</strong></th>
<th><strong>Tripod between two dolphins</strong></th>
<th><strong>BMC 30–34</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prow l.</td>
<td>Obv., prow r.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>644</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127 coins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13–16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av. 2.23 (44)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MEGA above (23 coins)**

- **a** \(\Xi\Xi\)-31 14 \(\checkmark\) 2.16 *EABC*, p. 153, pl. 17, no. X:86 (A 18:8)
- **b** NN-1014 16 \(\uparrow\) 2.58
- **c** ΠΘ-488 14 \(\checkmark\) 1.85
- **d** Γ-301 13 \(\checkmark\) 2.42

**MEGA below (8 coins)**

- **e** M-209 14 \(\checkmark\) 2.51
- **f** Γ-456 14 \(\checkmark\) 2.30
- **g** NN-1741 14 \(\downarrow\) 2.18

Either format

- h AA-762 14 \(\uparrow\) 2.50 *EABC*, pp. 153–154, pl. 17, nos. X:87–93 (A 18:8)
- i–o 7 \(\Xi\Xi\) coins

644i–o were among the freshest coins in the A 18:8 hoard and could hardly have been minted before the 270's (*EABC*, p. 154).


#### Second half 3rd century–early 2nd century B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>MEGA above</strong></th>
<th><strong>Obelisk of Apollo between two dolphins upwards;</strong></th>
<th><strong>BMC 35–39</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>645A</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 coins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13–15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Av. 2.04 (10)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **a** NN-1966 15 \(\downarrow\) 1.80
- **b** H'-3298 15 \(\uparrow\) 1.83
- **c** NN-743 14 \(\uparrow\) 2.09
- **d** ΓΓ-44 13 \(\uparrow\) 2.03
- e T-1284 13 \(\downarrow\) broken Kleiner 1975, p. 323, no. 332 (M–N 15:1)

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\(^{37}\) *Olynthus IX*, pp. 245, 249–250, 370, pl. 32:24.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

645B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Г-1323</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>NN-2024</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>NN-1871</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>III-918</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>broken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F. O. Waagé (Greek Bronze Coins from a Well at Megara [JNM 70], New York, 1935, p. 17) has already noted that this Prow/Obelisk-dolphins bronze was minted in two denominations. The smaller ("AE 4": here 11–12 mm., ca. 1.00 g.) should be the chalkous, the larger AE 3 denomination, represented by varieties 643 and 644, as well as 645A, its double (see p. 38 above). Typologically derived from Prow/Tripod-dolphins (644), the Prow/Obelisk bronze ought to follow it at some point after the 260's b.c. burial of the Α 18:8 hoard. A pre-183 b.c. dating for the following Apollo/Lyre AE 2 is provided by the context of 646b.

Head of Apollo r.  
MEΓA[PEΩN]  
BMC 11–14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>A-229</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>К-1310</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

obv.: illegible cmk.

Kleiner 1975, p. 311, no. 185 (H–K 12–14)

2nd–1st century b.c.

Head of Apollo r., laur.  
MEΓA|PEΩN  
BMC 16–18

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Variety</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>BB-51</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>AA-230</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

ME|Γ in laurel wreath.  
BMC 19

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>AA-995</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>II-330</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar.

|M–Ε|  
BMC 44–46

Lyre.

1st century b.c.–3rd century after Christ

Head of Zeus r.;  
linear border.  
MEΓA|PEΩN  
unpublished

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>ΠΘ-680a</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>broken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

unpublished

Bust of Athena r., wearing [ME]|Γ-Α-ΡΕ l., above,  
Corinthian helmet;  
and r. of Tripod; border  
border of dots.  
unpublished

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>N-976</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>II-957</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.85</td>
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</table>

Lunate eipsilons and the cursive omega of 650 place the latter and 651 in the Roman era. Although the Athena bust of 651 is similar to some on Hadrianic-Antonine coins of Athens (see 229–231), it is most unlikely that...
the coin was minted to commemorate a reconciliation between Athens and Megara under Hadrian, as mentioned in T. L. Shear, "The Campaign of 1937," *Hesperia* 7, 1938 (pp. 311–362), pp. 357–358.

A.D. 172–192: Commodus

ANT K[- -AN]ΤΩΝΙΝΟ
Head r., laur.

*652 BΓ′-486 25 ✓ 6.21

[ - - - - - - ]
Head of Commodus(?) r.

653 Σ-4700 24 ↑ 4.04

A.D. 193–217: Septimius Severus

Π[ΕΡ]
Head r., laur.

654 Σ-6410 25 ✓ 8.69

A.D. 193–217: Julia Domna

[ - - - - - - ]
Bust of Julia Domna r.

*655 BΓ′-487 24 ↓ 6.02

A.D. 202–212: Geta

[ΛΟΥ ΣΕΠΤ] ΓΕΤΑ [ΚΑ]
Bust r.

*656 Σ-4259 25 ↓ 5.46

Pagai

A.D. 161–180: Marcus Aurelius

M ΑΨ ΑΝΤΩ-ΝΕΙΝΟϹ ΑΨ
Bust r., laur.

*657 Σ-3979 26 ✓ 9.80 GRC, fig. 23

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NON-ATHENIAN COINS

AIGINA

ca. 510–490 B.C.

AR Stater

Sea turtle. Incuse square with five sunken triangular segments.

658 *a T-240 18 - 11.78
658 *b H-2192 17 / 11.23

Plated Counterfeit of AR Stater

Incuse square with “windmill sail” pattern of four triangular segments. obv. cut with two chisel gashes before plating in order to deceive the receiver. No traces of the silver plating remain.

659 ΞΞ-4 20 - 7.03

AR Stater

Similar. Incuse square divided into five “small skew” compartments.

660 PP-273 19 - 10.31

490–480 B.C.

AR Stater

Sea turtle with T-shaped arrangement of pellets on shell. Incuse square divided into five “large skew” compartments.

661 KK-9 22 ↑ 11.71 GRC, fig. 7

479–456 B.C.

AR Stater

A between Two dolphins upwards. Incuse square divided into five compartments.

662 14 coins 10–14 Av. 1.58 (8)
662 *a ММ-66 11 ↓ 1.59 rev., in lower l. compartment, A (BMC 213, 214); EABC p. 154, p. 16, no. Y:94 (A 18:8)
662 *b Π-464 12 ↓ 1.27 same rev.
662 *c Ψ-79 12 ↑ 1.50
662 *d ΠΘ-765 14 ↑ blistered BMC 206–222


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Two examples from the Olynthos excavations imply a starting date before 348 B.C. The context and good condition of 662a suggest that the coinage extended through the first quarter or third of the 3rd century.

3rd–2nd century B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 663</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b A-661</td>
<td>ΑΓΛΑ below</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ram’s head r.; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 664</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΠΠ-183</td>
<td>A-[I][Γ]-I N-H</td>
<td></td>
<td>Head of Zeus r.; border of dots.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 665</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NN-689</td>
<td>ΑΙ[Γ] above</td>
<td></td>
<td>Archaic statue of Apollo stg. r., with branch and bow.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A.D. 202–212: Plautilla

[ΦΟΥ]ΛΒΙΑ ΠΛΑΥΤΙΛΛΑ | ΑΙΓΕΙ N-HTΩΝ | | Head of Aphrodite l., hair bound up. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 666</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EE-22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Trident upward.</td>
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4th century B.C.

AR DRACM

<table>
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<th>No. 667</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BB-1263</td>
<td>ΠΕΙΡΑΣ ΟΨΩ</td>
<td></td>
<td>rev. at r., running griffin (BMC 437); GRC, fig. 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tripod (BMC 439)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΠΓ-4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>race torch (BMC 441)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Θ-354</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X-52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CORINTHIA

CORINTH

4th century B.C.

AR DRACM

late 5th–3rd century B.C.

No. 667 | Type | Date | Description |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BB-1263</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rev. at r., running griffin (BMC 437); GRC, fig. 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tripod (BMC 439)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΠΓ-4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>race torch (BMC 441)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Θ-354</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X-52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41 Olynthus IX, pp. 350–351.
NON-Athenian Coins


As Roman Colony

Coinage Signed by Duoviri

Coins catalogued with Agora inventory numbers in Amandry are referenced in italics.

L. Aeficius Certus, C. Iulius, 44 or 43 B.C.

As

LAVS IVLIVCORINT

Head of Julius Caesar r., laur.

[L CE]RTO AEFICIO[C IVLIO IVIR]

Bellerophon, striking with spear, on Pegasos flying r.

Amandry, p. 121, no. Ia; RPC I, 1116

670 a Θ-401 23 7.02 Amandry, no. Ia:d7-r19:3

b Π-944 23 broken

P. Tadius Chilo, C. Iulius Nicophorus, 43 or 42 B.C.

As

CORINTHVM in ex.

Bellerophon restraining Pegasos r. before a porch.

P TADI CHILO[C IVLIV]

POSEIDON with trident, seated r. on rock.

Amandry, p. 124, no. II; RPC I, 1117

*671 NN-465 24 7.10 Amandry, no. II: d6+r7:1
CATALOGUE

Cn. Publius, M. Antonius Orestes, 40 B.C.

Sextans

C PVBL|ANT OR
Vase with one handle l.

672 *a II-66 11 ↓ 1.98 Amandry, no. IVb:d3-r5
b OO-683 11 ↓ 1.58 Amandry, no. IVb:d4-r5:

P. Aebutius, C. Pinnius, 39–36 B.C.

As

[CORINT]
Head of M. Antony l.

673 BB-515 24 → broken

As

[CORINT]
Head of Poseidon r.

674 II-304 22 ↓ 5.74

Semis

Similar.

675 BG-931 16 \ 4.07 Amandry, no. Vc:d11-r5:2

C. Heius Pamphius, Q. Caecilius Niger, 34–31 B.C.

As

[CORINT]
Head of Aphrodite r.

676 a Σ-6295 22 → broken as above
b Θ-69 22 ↓ 6.73 inscriptions effaced

M. Antonius Theophilus, P. Aebutius, 30 B.C.

Semis

[MA.ANT.]THEO-
PH|IL.]-II-VIR|--(QVINQ]
Boukranion.

*677 E-1685 18 ✓ 2.94
NON-Athenian Coins

C. Servilius C. f. Primus, M. Antonius Hipparchus, 2/1 B.C.

As

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>678</td>
<td>[CAESAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>KK-244     20 → 5.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>MM-104     20  - 5.57</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

C. Mussius Priscus, C. Henio Pollio, A.D. 4/5

As

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>679</td>
<td>GER[MANIC]VS CAESAR [COR] Head of Germanicus r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H'-3619    22 ↓ 6.38</td>
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</table>

L. Rutilius Plancus, A. Vatromius Labeo, A.D. 12/13–15/16

As

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>G-1205    19 ← 5.61</td>
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</table>

L. Arrius Peregrinus, L. Furius Labeo, A.D. 32/33

As

<table>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Σ-1934    21 ↑ 6.61</td>
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Semis

<table>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>683</td>
<td>[COR] below Melikertes with thyrsos riding dolphin r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>OO-742     16  ✓ 2.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>OO-1187    16  &lt; 3.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CATALOGUE

SEMIS

COR below Pegasos flying r. [COR] below Pegasos flying r.

684 III-564 16 \ 2.32

SEMIS

COR below Pegasos flying r. [S E] Isthmos, nude, stg. frontally, with rudder in each hand.

685 a AA-444 14 ↑ 2.43
b Γ-1105 16 ← 2.94

P. Vipsanius Agrippa, M. Bellius Proculus, A.D. 37/38

As

(1) C CAESAR AVGVS or P.VIPSANIO AGRII|VA IIVIR|
(2) CAIVS-CAESAR AVG

COR below Pegasos flying r.

686 *a N-429 19 ↑ 5.91 head l.; obv. legend (1); Amandry, nos. XVII.3, 8, 11, or 22
*b NN-968 21 → 7.49 head r.; obv. legend (2); Amandry, no. XVII.17:e-Ih3:2
c H-163 22 \ 5.92 head r.; obv. legend ?
d Π-293 21 ↑ 6.39 same

As

Similar.

M BELLIO PROCVLO IIVIRI|

COR below Pegasos flying r.

687 *a MM-136 21 → 7.73 head r.; obv. legend ?
b Σ-4224 20 ↑ 7.06 same
c ΣT'-739 21 ↓ 4.96 same

[686 or 687] Two asses of uncertain Caligula head/Pegasos variety.
a ΣA-453 19 → 6.10 head r.
b P-1609 20 ← 6.51 head r.; Pegasos l.

M. Acilius Candidus, Q. Fuleius Flaccus, A.D. 54/55

As

AGRIPPINA-AVGVSTA Q FVL FLACCO IIVIRI|COR
Bust of Agrippina Minor r. Genius of Colony with phiale and cornucopia; in field, GEN COR.

*688 AA-203 20 ↑ 8.39 GRC, fig. 24; Amandry, pl. XXXIV, no. XX.21:h-b5
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

As

AGrippin-AVGv
Bust of Agrippina Minor l.

689 a NN-128 21 \ 6.48
b II-173 21 \ 6.61
   Amandry, no. XX.73:2
   effaced obv. and rev. legends

As

[Nero] Cla[v-Ca]es AVG
Head of Nero r., laur.

690 Ξ-589 21 \ 6.58
   Amandry, no. XX.80:3

Ti. Claudius Optatus, C. Iulius Polyaenus, A.D. 57/58 or 58/59

As

Nero Cla[v]-Caes AVG
Head of Nero r.

691 *a Z-653 21 \ 8.64
   rev. legend (1); Amandry, pl. XXXVI, no. XXI.5:a-a6:1
b N-1138 21 \ 7.40
   rev. legend (1); Amandry, no. XXI.5:a-a6:2 (L 19:2)
*c H-1544 21 \ halved
   rev. legend (2); Amandry, no. XXI.12–18

As

Nero Cla[vd] -Caes AVG
Head of Nero.

692 *a ΠA-213 19 \ 6.85
   head l.; rev. legend (1); Amandry, pl. XXXVII, no. XXII.22:a-a4:1
b Γ-291 19 \ 4.99
   head r., legend ?; rev. legend (1); Amandry, nos. XXI.19, 20, 23–26
   head r., legend ?; rev. legend (2); Amandry, nos. XXI.29–31

c KTA-17 21 \ 7.07
   Amandry, no. XXII.9

L. Rutilius Piso, P. Memmius Cleander, A.D. 66/67

As

Nero Cae-Avg Imp
Head of Nero r., rad.

693 *a Φ-6 22 \ 7.19
b ΛA-161 20 \ 6.40
   similar, but head l. and both legends effaced

   Amandry, no. XXII.9

   Amandry, pp. 211–213, no. XXI.1–18;
   RPC I, 1201

   Amandry, pp. 217–219,
   nos. XXI.19–33;
   RPC I, 1202
### CATALOGUE

As

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>694 a</td>
<td>PIΘ-224</td>
<td>19 ✓ 7.00 head r., laur.; rev. legend (1); Amandry, no. XXII.29:3</td>
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<tr>
<td>694 b</td>
<td>ΓΓ-122</td>
<td>20 ✓ 5.64 head r., laur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>694 c</td>
<td>I-143a</td>
<td>18 ✓ 5.64 head 1.; rev. legend (2); Amandry, no. XXII.44:2</td>
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<tr>
<td>694 d</td>
<td>P-512a</td>
<td>18 ✓ 5.64 head l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>694 e</td>
<td>Ψ-325a</td>
<td>20 ✓ 5.64 head r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>694 f</td>
<td>I-1257a</td>
<td>19 ✓ 5.64 head r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ti. Claudius Anaxileus, P. Ventidius Fronto, A.D. 67/68**

As

<table>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>695 a</td>
<td>ΔΕ-1</td>
<td>20 ✓ 6.88 Amandry, pl. XL, no. XXIII.7; obv. cmk.: tripod in incuse square (Howego, no. 478)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>695 b</td>
<td>AP-49a</td>
<td>16 ✓ 6.88 rev. legend effaced</td>
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As

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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>696</td>
<td>P-1555</td>
<td>19 ✓ 6.21</td>
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**L. Caninius Agrippa, A.D. 68/69**

As

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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>697</td>
<td>BB-1315</td>
<td>19 ✓ 6.37 Veiled bust of Senate r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>698</td>
<td>T-229</td>
<td>19 ✓ 3.66 Turreted bust of Tyche-Roma r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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NON-Athenian Coins

As

[SENATV]-P.Q.R. [L CAN AG[RIPP]AE II VI| COR
Veiled bust of Senate r. Tetrastyle temple shown in perspective.


As

[NEPTVNOI AVG] [L CAN AGRI PPÆAE IVIR] [COR] Isthmos stg. 1., with two rudders.

700 ΠΘ-345α 19 ↗ 6.37

Anonymous Fractions, 41–31 B.C.

Semis

Bust of Helios r. [CORINT] below Pegasos flying r.

701 a BB-186 14 ↗ 2.35 Amandry, p. 238, no. C3; RPC I, 1227
b Z-470 16 ← 2.58

Quadrans

[COR] beside Dolphin l.

702 KK-209a 12 - 1.03 Amandry, p. 240, no. F1; RPC I, 1231

Quadrans

COR at l. of Rudder. Trident.

*703 Δ-94 15 ↓ 2.79 Amandry, pl. XLVI, no. F2:1

Semis

Head of Poseidon r. [COR] beside Pegasos flying r.

704 a Δ-3 16 ↑ 2.76 Amandry, no. F2
b N-372a 14 ↗ 1.93

Without Names of Duoviri

A.D. 117–138: Hadrianic

Head of Aphrodite r. COL–IVL COR Tyche stg. 1., with cornucopia and phiale(?).

*705 H-1761 24 ↓ 7.52

Although it should be a phiale, the object held in the goddess’ right hand is large and globular, like the apple held by Aphrodite on other imperial reverses of Corinth; see 706 and 719. The die cutter may have conflated attributes.
CATALOGUE

A.D. 161–80: Marcus Aurelius

Head of M. Aurelius r., laur. Aphrodite stg. r., with scepter and apple.

706 T-947 27 ↑ 13.72

[M AVR] ANTONINVS AVG Melikertes on dolphin r., under pine tree.

707 H'-3678 21 ↑ 4.96

[M AVR] ANTONINVS AVG IS|THM|A in celery wreath.

708 PP'-62 26 ↘ 13.24

A.D. 161–169: Lucius Verus

IMP L AVR-VERVS AVG Melikertes on dolphin r., under pine tree.

709 Γ-124 21 ↑ 6.62 GRC, fig. 24

IMP L AVR VERVS AVG Tyche sacrificing l. at altar, with cornucopia and phiale.

710 Ω-277 27 → 11.90 cf. Cop 323

[- - - - ]AVG Hermes seated l. on rock; at l., a ram.

711 T-716 26 ↘ 10.74 Cop 344

A.D. 176–192: Commodus


712 OO-272 27 ← 11.93 Cop 323 (M. Aurelius)

A.D. 193–211: Septimius Severus

L SEPT SEVRE [PT AVG] Peirene seated l. on rock, holding vase.

713 Λ-44 25 ← 10.97 BMC 656
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

L SEPT SEV PER[TA]VG IMP VIII
Bust l., laur., with shield and spear.

714 O-434 18 \broken

[----- ]
Bust of S. Severus r.

715 Σ'T'-669a 16 \ broken

\[. .\]C COR
Melikertes on dolphin r., under pine tree.

716 P-1035 25 ↓ 8.71 obv.: obscure cmk.

\[CLI COR\]
Pegasos walking l.

717 NN-702 24 \ broken

\[NCP, p. 15, pl. C.xlviii\]
Building, from which rises tapering column with statue on top; at l. and r., equestrian statue.

718 OO-50 24 ← 5.70

\[BMC 673\]
Tyche sacrificing l. before lighted altar, with cornucopia and phiale.

719 I-1047 24 → broken

\[BMC 667, 668\]
Athena stg. l., with Nike and spear.

720 ΠΘ-3 23 ↑ 7.37 The reverse is entirely different from the other Nike reverses described and illustrated in *Corinth* VI, pp. 39–40, pl. VI, nos. 223, 224, 227.

BMC 648–649

McClean 6201

A.D. 198–217: Caracalla

M AVRELIVS CAE[SAR]
Bust r.

\[NCP, p. 15, pl. C.xlviii\]
Building, from which rises tapering column with statue on top; at l. and r., equestrian statue.

A.D. 202–212: Plautilla

PLAVTILLAE AVGVSTAE
Bust r.

\[NCP, p. 15, pl. C.xlviii\]
Tyche sacrificing l. before lighted altar, with cornucopia and phiale.

A.D. 209–212: Geta

SEPTIMIVS GETAS CAES
Bust r.

\[NCP, p. 15, pl. C.xlviii\]
Nike walking r., head l., holding palm in l., and in r. shield with gorgoneion(?) device.

\[BMC 669\]
Aphrodite stg. r., with scepter and apple.
CATALOGUE

PHLIASIA

PHLIOS

4th century B.C.

Bull butting l.  \( \Phi \) framed by four globules.  cf. BMC 13–17

721  *a  H-1112  14 \ broken
     b  K-1086  14 \  1.16
     c  \( \Theta \)-272  13  1.82  Kleiner 1975, p. 308, no. 149 (H–K 12–14)
     d  B'-910  12 1 1.11+
     e  H'-3758  12 \ broken
     f  OA-181  17 \  2.66

All belong to “Issue 1 [ca. 400–350 B.C.]” of J. D. Mac Isaac, “Phliasian Bronze Coinage,” ANSMN 33, 1988, pp. 45–54. Denominations are the chalkous (721a–e, Mac Isaac type A) and the dichalkon (721f, Mac Isaac type B).

SIKYONIA

SIKYON

ca. 345/325 B.C.

Head of Apollo r.  \( \Sigma \) in olive wreath.  Warren 1983, Group 3

722  K-299  17  \( \uparrow \)  2.49

ca. 330–200 B.C.

Dove flying r. or l.  \( \Sigma \) or \( \Sigma I \) in olive wreath.  Warren 1983, Group 4

723  16 coins  12–16  Av. 1.97 (8)
     *a  O-15  16 \  2.81  Warren 1983, no. 4.c.8.viii
     *b  \( \Sigma T' \)-468  14 \  2.20
     *c  NN-447  12 \  2.11

ca. 303 B.C.?

Dove flying l.  \( \Delta H \) above \( \mathbb{M} \) in olive wreath.  Warren 1983, Group 5.9f

723A  \( \Theta \)-450  14 \  3.06  Kleiner 1975, p. 308, no. 150, but with wrong inventory number and provenience. See note 23 above, p. 203.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

late 3rd century–160/150 B.C.

Σι above Dove feeding r. Tripod in olive wreath. | Warren 1983, Group 68; or 1984, Group 9
724 9 coins
* Σι above Dove feeding r. Tripod in olive wreath. | Warren 1983, Group 68; or 1984, Group 9
725 Z-1180 15 \ 2.32

ca. 196–160/150 B.C.

Dove flying l.; Σι (with serifs) in olive wreath tied above. | Warren 1984, Group 8
725 Z-1180 15 \ 2.32

ca. 160/150–146 B.C.

Dove flying l.; Σι in olive wreath. | Warren 1984, Group 10.1
726 Γ-483 15 → 2.86

[723, 725, 726] 39 coins of Dove flying l./Σ, Σι, or [?] in olive-wreath type. A few of these pieces could belong to Warren 1983, Group 5: letters other than Σι in the reverse wreath. The 39 coins include 2 from Deposit B 20:9 (Kleiner 1976, p. 21, nos. 112, 113).

1st century B.C.

Head of Apollo r. | [Σι] Dove flying or alighting l.; in field, name. | Warren 1984, Group 12
727 * ΠΘ-636 17 \ 2.00 dove flying; AINEA[Σ]. Warren, Group 12.1; GRC, fig. 18
727 b O-647 17 ✓ 1.86 similar, but name not preserved
727 c BB-7a 17 ↑ 3.43 dove alighting; name(?)
727 d ΛΛ-260 17 ↑ 4.68 same

For the overstriking of pieces signed by Aineas in late 1st-century B.C. Athens, see Warren 1984, p. 20, and under 152 (p. 108 above).

A.D. 67–68: Nero

N K ΖΕΥϹ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟϹ | ΕΠΙ Γ.Ι.ΠΟ-ΛΥΑΙΝΟΥ | RPC I, 1241
Head of Nero r., laur. Nude, male youth, walking r. with raised arms.
728 * ΒΖ-29 19 \ 7.30

[NE ΚΑΙ ΖΕΥϹ] ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟϹ | ΠΟΛΥ]ΑΙΝΟΥ-ΔΑ | RPC I, 1238
Head of Nero r. Man on horse l.; in ex., [Cl].
729 * Z-1922a 18 ↓ 3.28 intentionally halved
CATALOGUE

A.D. 209–212: Geta

[- - ΣΕΠΤΙΜ?]IOC Γ[ΕΤΑ- -]  CΙΚΥ-Ω-Ν-Ι-ΩΝ  NCP, H.xvii, xviii
Bust of Geta r.  Artemis stg. half r., holding raised torches.

*730  ΣΤ'-502  25  4.69

ACHAIA

AIGION

ca. 32–31 B.C.

ΑΙΓΙΕΩΝ
Head of Zeus r., laur.

ΘΕΟΞΙΟΣ ΚΛΗΤΑΙΟΣ  BMC 4, 5
Zeus striding r., throwing thunderbolt, eagle on extended l. wrist.

*731  Γ-2  22  ↓  5.28  GRC, fig. 18

ΑΙΓΙΕΩΝ
Head of young Dionysos r., wearing ivy crown.

ΘΕΟΞΙΟΣ ΚΛΗΤΑΙΟΣ  BMC 6, 7
Eagle stg. three-quarters l.

732  BB-945  18  ↑  3.02

2nd century after Christ?

AE HEMIOBOL

ΑΙΓΙΕ[ΩΝ]
Head of Zeus r., laur.

HMΙ[ΟΒΕ]ΛΑΙΝ (last three letters retrograde in ex.)  NCP, R.xiv; JHS 17, 1897, p. 82, no. 5
Goat stg. r., nursing baby Zeus within a cave.

*733  NN-84a  21  ↓  7.73

The Dionysos and eagle types of 732 should refer to Antony and Kleopatra (see pp. 103–105 above) and date it and the other issues signed Theoxios-Kletaios just before Actium. The chronology of 733 and related Aigion varieties inscribed HMΙΟΒΕΛΑΙΝ is more problematic. All use lunate epsilons, as do Aigion’s imperial portrait issues, which begin under Antoninus Pius. Head (HN², p. 413) assigned the coins with hemiobol inscriptions to the time of Hadrian and later, Price (CRWLR, p. 97) to the time of Antoninus Pius.

BOURA

A.D. 193–211: Septimius Severus

[- - - - - - ]  BOVPA-ΞΨΝ  unpublished
Bust of Severus r., laur., dr.  Tyche stg. l., with cornucopia and rudder.

*734  NN-705  22  ↑  4.67
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

PATRAI

c. 146–14 B.C.

Head of bearded Herakles r.  
PP at l. of Athena, advancing r., with shield and lowered spear.  
BMC 7–13

735 *a  Χ-178  21 ← 6.67  rev., ΜΗΤΤΙΠΩΔΕΙΩΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΕΚΛΕΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΕΩΝ; at r., owl  
(bMC 8–11)

b  PP-243  22 ↑ broken  
[NΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΑΙΩΝ]; at l., palm  
(bMC 12, 13)

[ΠΑΤΡΕΩΝ] below  
Cista mystica of Dionysos.  
Pp at l. of Dionysos stg. l., with torch.  
Cop 156, 157

736 a  Η-417a  19 ↑ 3.32  rev., name (?)  

b  ΠΙΑ-426  18 ↩ 4.75  same

As Roman Colony, from 14 B.C.

Cista mystica between bunch of grapes and thyrsos.  
COL.A- [A PATR]  
Club.  
BMC 16; RPC I, 1250

737  ΟΟ-982  15 ↑ 1.95

A.D. 81–96: Domitian

IMP CAES DOM[- - -]  
Head r., laur.  
COL A A [PATRENS]  
Priest with two oxen plowing l.  
BMC 27

738  Ξ-683  24 ↓ 6.07

A.D. 161–180: Marcus Aurelius

[- - - - - - ]  
Bust of M. Aurelius r.  
COL AA PATR  
Distyle temple containing statue of Athena with spear [and phiale]; at feet, owl.  
NCP, Κατ. (rev); cf. Cop 200 (Commodus)

739  Γ-376  20 ↩ 4.83

A.D. 176–192: Commodus

[- - - - - - ]  
Bust of Commodus r.  
[COL AA PATR]  
Zeus seated l., with scepter and [Nike]; at feet, eagle.  
Cop 191

740  ΕΕ-68  24 ← 5.10

A.D. 198–217: Caracalla

[- - - - - - ]  
Bust of Caracalla r.  
COL A[A] PATR  
Hermes seated l., on rock.  
BMC 47

741  ΒΒ-1259  19 ↑ 3.77
CATALOGUE

M AVR ANTONINVS PIVS AVG

GERM

Bust r., laur., dr.

Patr. Col. AA

Distyle temple containing statue of Hermes seated l.

742 *a AA-977 18 \> 4.09
b H-941 20 \> 4.33

GRC, fig. 24

Pellan:

4th–3rd century B.C.

Head of Apollo r., laur.

\[ \text{Θ above Ram’s head; all in laurel wreath.} \]

743 *a ΣA-475 14 \> 2.10
b NN-263 15 \> 2.65
c ΜΣ-99 15 \> 2.43
d ΣΤ-599 16 \> 4.03
e Γ-1356 16 \> broken
f NN-1653 19 - 3.81

obv. head l. or r.; rev. ethnic above or below.

Tenea:

A.D. 193–211: Septimius Severus

\[ [- - - - - - ] \]

Bust of S. Severus r.

\[ \text{ΤΕ[Ε]A]ΩΝ} \]

Tyche stg. l., with phiale and cornucopia.

744 * I-1034 21 \> 3.71

Achaian League:

before 251 B.C.

AR Hemidrachm

Head of Zeus r., laur.

\( X \) in laurel wreath.

745 * A-980 14 \< 2.58

191–146 B.C.43

Zeus stg. l., with Nike and scepter; border of dots.

Female figure (Achaia) seated l., with wreath and scepter.

746 *a Σ-305 20 \> 6.66

obv., AXAIΩN over Δ(?); rev. at l., upwards, EPMIONΕΩΝ; at r., downwards, MNΗΣ[Σ]. Hermione mint (Clerk, op. cit., p. 24, no. 47: “Epidauros”)

43 According to Jennifer Warren, whose study of the Achaian League bronze is in preparation. We thank her also for the mint attributions of 746b and 746e.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

b  Г-1239  17 - broken  obv., [AΧ]ΑΙ[ΩΝ]. Hermione mint?
c  ΒΔ-522  22 † 6.50  obv., ΔΕΧΙΑΣ; rev., ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ. Messene mint (Clerk, op. cit., p. 31, no. 108; BMC 154)
d  Σ-2229  18 † 5.90  obv. at r., ΧΑΡΜΙΔΙ[Σ]; rev. ΑΧ[ΑΙΩΝ ΠΑΓΑΙΩΝ]. Pagai mint (Clerk, op. cit., p. 23, no. 33; BMC 135)
f  ΣΑ-133  20 3.47+  details and mint unclear
g  Α-1432  19  broken  same
h  ΑΑ-119  18 4.38+  same

ELIS

c. 363–323 B.C.\(^{44}\)

PLATED COUNTERFEIT OF AR STATER

[F-A]
Head of Hera r.

*747
N-328  21 3.61
Eagle stg. r., wings spread; intentionally halved; no surviving trace of silver plating

312–271 B.C.

Head of Zeus l., laur.

748
B-351  20 5.49
[F-A] Eagle stg. l., wings spread.

271–191 B.C.

[Head of Zeus r.]

749
H'-2755  20 6.51
F-A Eagle r., wings spread, seizing snake; at l. [ΚΑΛ].

Head of Zeus, laur.

[F-A] Horse trotting r.

750 *a
ΠΘ-406  19 4.99
head l. (BMC 145)
b
Τ-23  19 5.13
head r.
c
Β'-849a  18 5.48
same

after 191 B.C.

[Head of Zeus r.]

751
Λ-405  18 4.38+
[F-A] Winged thunderbolt; all in olive wreath.

### CATALOGUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Shape</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>754</td>
<td>Bust</td>
<td>ΣΤ-52, 19 - 2.55</td>
<td>Same. in olive wreath.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>755</td>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>ΣΤ'-432a, 16 - 3.75</td>
<td>Same. Youthful nude Zeus stg. r., arms extended l. and r. [holding thunderbolt and eagle].</td>
<td>Liege, pl. III:5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Kephallenia

#### Kranion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Shape</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>756</td>
<td>Ram</td>
<td>NN-2062, 19 - 5.45</td>
<td>Ram stg. l. Bow in oblong incuse.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>757</td>
<td>Crested</td>
<td>Γ-1568, 12 - 1.70</td>
<td>Crested helmet with cheek pieces l. [K] in incuse square.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4th–3rd century B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Shape</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>758</td>
<td>Bust</td>
<td>Φ-242, 11 -</td>
<td>Bust of Athena facing. [φ] in wreath.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

ZAKYNTHOS

4th–3rd century B.C.

Head of Apollo r., laur.  Π-[ . - . ]  Tripod.

759 *a Τ-203  15  3.06
           b Γ-637  18  broken

MESSENIA

MESSENE

370–280 B.C.

Head of Demeter l., wearing wheat wreath.  Μ-E  Tripod.

760  a ΣA-391  16  3.85

280–146 B.C.

Head of Demeter r., wearing wheat wreath.  Μ-E at l. of Zeus striding r.,
                                           throwing thunderbolt; at r.,
                                           tripod.

761  a NN-9  20  6.81  no details
      b Z-147  21  6.35  same
      c NN-1863  21  5.78  obv., head l.; rev., tripod at l. (cf. BMC 34)

Head of Asklepios r., laur.  Μ-E at r. of Snake
                           on staff; at l.,
                           ΝΙΚΑΡΙΧΩΣ.

762 *a Σ-4256  18  2.62
          b BB-639  18  3.47

KYPARISSIA

A.D. 198–217: Caracalla

[ - - - - - - - ]  ΚΥΠΑ[ΠΙΚΕΛΩΝ]  BMC 3
Bust of Caracalla r.  Athena stg. l., with spear
                     and phiale.

763  Τ-72  22  3.02
MrOTHONE

A.D. 193–211: Septimius Severus

Bust of S. Severus r.  
764 E-1553a 22 ← 5.15  
[MOE]ΩN-[AION]  
Athena stg. l., with spear.  

ca. 220–182 B.C.

Head of Zeus r., diad.  
765 Σ-6462 20 ↘ 3.76  
ΘOY at l. of Athena,  
BMC 2, 3  
stg., facing, with spear  
and shield; downward at l.,  
[N]ΙΩΝΥΜΟΣ; at r., wreath.

A.D. 198–217: Caracalla?

Bust of Caracalla(? ) r.  
766 X-185 21 ← 3.25+  
[ΘΟΥΡΙΑΘΩΝ]  
BMC 5, 6  
Λ-A l. and r. of Athena  
stg. l., with phiale and spear.  
pierced with 4 mm. hole

THOURIA

LAKONIA

LAKEDAEMON

ca. 223–222 B.C.

Two pilei of the Dioskouroi;  
767 BB-66 15 ← 1.74  
Grunauer, p. 116, Group VII  
border of dots.  
Grunauer, p. 116, coin a

ca. 197–192 B.C.

Head of Apollo r.  
768 BB-1300 16 ↑ 2.50  
[ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙ-ΜΟΝΙΩΝ]  
Grunauer, p. 127, Group XI  
two pilei of the Dioskouroi;  
between them the monograms  
₤ (above) and ¥ (below).
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

ca. 48–40 B.C.

Head of Athena in Corinthian helmet r.  
Grunauer, pp. 127–129, Group XIII

769  OO-865  13  \( \times \) 1.41

Head of bearded Herakles r.  
Λ-A Club; in field, [letters]; all in olive wreath.  
Grunauer, pp. 129–134, Group XIV

770  a  Ξ-825  16  \( \rightarrow \) 2.55  
b  BB-705  14  -  1.80  
Grunauer, p. 134, coin f

ca. 43–31 B.C.

Jugate heads of the Dioskouroi r.  
[A-A] Two amphoras entwined by snakes; in field, [letters]; all in olive wreath.  
Grunauer, pp. 134–140, Group XV

771  a  Z-412  19  -  2.72  
b  E-2430  18  -  2.85  
c  Z-1963  16  -  1.61+

[Head of Lakedaimon, r., diad.]  
Λ-A Eagle stg. r., wings closed; at l., \( \varepsilon \); at r., \( \Delta \).  
Grunauer, p. 147, Group XVI, Ser. 14

772  OO-986  19  -  4.68

35–31 B.C.

[ΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΚΕΣ]  
Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.  
Λ-A Dioskouroi stg., facing, with spears; between them, ΑΡΙΣΤΑΝΔ; all in wreath.  
Grunauer, pp. 155–156, Group XVIII

773  NN-143  27  \( \times \) 15.47

[ΓΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ]  
Head of Apollo r., laur.  
Λ-Α |Ε-ΠΙ-ΕΥ|ΡΥ- ΚΑΣΙΟΣ; Artemis l., leaning on spear; beside her, dog; all in wreath.  
Grunauer, p. 156, Group XIX, Ser. 1

774  K-1562  25  \( \backslash \) 11.43

31–7 B.C.

Head of Zeus r.  
Λ-Α |ΕΠΙ-ΕΥ|ΡΥ- |ΚΑΣΙΟΣ; l. and r. of Club.  
Grunauer, pp. 163–168, Group XXVI; RPC I, 1103

775  a  Λ-119  22  \( \downarrow \) 5.12  
b  NN-404a  20  -  6.60
CATALOGUE

ca. 21 B.C.: Augustus

K[AI\textsuperscript{C}]  \hspace{1cm} \text{EPI \{EYP\}YK\textsuperscript{\a}EOS \{\text{A}A\}}

Head of Augustus r.  \hspace{1cm} Eagle stg. r.

Grunauer, p. 168,
Group XXVII;
RPC I, 1104

### 776 *a

- **\Sigma-949**
- **17 \rightarrow 2.24**
- **b P-1621**
- **17 \rightarrow 1.53** legends effaced
- **c Z-605**
- **18 \downarrow 2.97** same

### A.D. 117–138: Hadrian

AV KAIC[- - -]
Bust of Hadrian r., rad.,
with drapery on far shoulder;
border of dots.

\LambdaAK[- - -]
Athena stg. r., wearing peplos
with archaistic overfolds,
holding shield in l. and
brandishing spear in upraised r.;
border of dots.

### 777

- **\Pi-2**
- **14 \rightarrow 2.70**
- *for the reverse type at Sparta, see Grunauer, p. 103, pl. 32:40 (Geta)*

### A.D. 138–161: Antoninus Pius

[AYTOKPATΩP-ANTΩNEINOC]
Head r., laur.

Club between pilei of Dioskouroi, in wreath.

Grunauer, p. 185,
Group XL, Ser. 1

### 778

- **\Delta-308a**
- **19 - 3.58** Similar.

### 779

- **KK-208′**
- **19 \rightarrow 2.95**

[ΛAKΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ]
Apollo stg. frontally, with lyre, head l.

Grunauer, p. 186,
Group XL, Ser. 4

KYTHERA

after 146 B.C.

HPI behind [K-\text{\textgamma}]
Bust of Aphrodite r.

Dove flying l.

BMC 14, 15

### 780

- **O-416**
- **18 - 2.99**

ARGOLIS

ARGOS

4th–3rd century B.C.

Head of wolf l.

\text{A}; below, \text{B}
in shallow incuse square.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

Head of Hera r., wearing stephanos inscribed [APGRE].

782 *a ΜΣ-304 17 \< 3.97 Kleiner 1975, p. 309, no. 151 (H-K 12-14)
b K-830 17 ↑ 3.14

3rd–2nd century B.C.

Head of Apollo, laur. Wolf at bay.

783 a ΔΛ-110 15 \< broken types l.; rev., above, [A] (BMC 125, 126)
b T-954 15 ← 2.34 types r.; rev., above, X (BMC 128–130)
c O-196 15 \< 2.44 same
d I-52 17 \< 2.84 types r.; rev. above, APGREIΩ[N]; below, K (McClean 6865, 6866)

Head of Apollo r., laur. Tripod.

784 a PP-736 14 \< 1.88+ rev., [E]Y-Θ[Y][M-Ε], [Θ] and club (BMC 131, 132)
b II-571 16 \< 1.90 rev., Λ-[A][H-[K-PA], club and Θ (BMC 133)
c III-852 14 - 2.19 no details

[Head of Hera r., wearing stephanos.]

785 ΠΛ-427 16 - 1.37+

A.D. 193–211: Septimius Severus


*786 Z-320 24 \< 6.11 cf. BMC 170

( Julia Domna)

A.D. 198–217: Caracalla

[ - - - - ]ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟ[C] AP[Ε]ΙΩΝ

Head r.

787 T-227 26 ↓ 7.44

J. Sabatier,
"Monnaies impéria-
les grecques," RBN,
ser. 4, 3, 1960
(pp. 1–25), pp. 10–11, pl. III:1; with NCP, p. 38

EPIDAUROS

4th–3rd century B.C.

Head of Asklepios r., laur. E in laurel wreath.

788 a ΣΓ'-638 15 ↑ fragment
b A-1046 12 ↑ 1.21+
c K-83 12 - 1.24+
d Γ-1608 11 - 1.14+
Similar.

789  a  Z-2643  16  \  1.77
     b  O-528  16  ↑  2.66

Similar.

790  a  Θθ-123  15  ↑  chipped
     b  K-1536  15  -  3.14
     c  ΟΟ-476  14  -  4.18

-after 146 B.C.-

Similar.

*791  ΓΓ-291a  20  \  6.63

Hermione

Second quarter 4th century B.C.

Chalkous

Head of Demeter l., wearing wheat wreath.  Ε-Π Torch; all in wheat wreath.

792  a  Σ-5552  14  \  2.30
     b  X-175  12  -  fragment

Trichalkon

Head of Demeter facing, wearing wheat wreath.  Ε in wheat wreath.

793  Γ-1197  15  \  3.42

Third quarter 4th century B.C.

Dichalkon

Head of Demeter r., wearing wheat wreath.  EP between Two torches; all in wheat wreath.

794  NN-2022  15  ↑  2.13+

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Although Grandjean (op. cit., note 22) did not rely on the evidence from Olynthos, the Group II Hermione coin excavated at this site (ibid., p. 38 = Olynthus III, p. 94, pl. xviii, no. 785 = Olynthus IX, p. 352, b) in an area that lay abandoned after 348 B.C. (see p. 297 below) confirms her dating of Groups I and II before ca. 350.

A.D. 198–217: Caracalla

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*795</td>
<td>[Æ]PMIONЄWN</td>
<td>6.22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tyche stg. l., with cornucopia and rudder.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KLEONAI

Late 4th century B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>796</td>
<td>KΛ</td>
<td>ΕΩ in parsley wreath.</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A.D. 198–212: Plautilla

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>797</td>
<td>ΚΛ</td>
<td>ΑΕΩ[ΝΑΙΩΝ]</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Athena striding r., with spear and shield.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

METHANA

A.D. 193–211: Septimius Severus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>798</td>
<td>MЄΘΑΝΑ-ΙΩΝ</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Artemis stg. l., holding bow and drawing arrows from quiver.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TROIZEN

4th–3rd century B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>799</td>
<td>[TPO] Trident.</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or Cop 160, 161 (head r.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CATALOGUE

A.D. 180–192: Commodus

[ - - - - - - ]
Head of Commodus r., laur. [TPOZHNIWN]
BMC 20
Theseus r., raising rock.

800 Z-2099 22 ✓ 6.75 (H 12:4)

ARKADIA

ARKADIAN LEAGUE

after ca. 370 B.C.

Head of young Pan r. A Syrinx.
801 A-245 20 ↓ 5.32+

Head of Zeus 1., laur. A Syrinx; below, thunderbolt; in field, [Γ Μ].
802 a Γ-1584 18 ↓ 2.17
802 b Φ-107 18 ↓ 2.40

HERAIA

4th century B.C.

Head of Athena 1., wearing Attic helmet. H with curved sides and four pellets around.
803 Z-344 15 — 2.99

Similar. H with curved sides.
804 Φ-328 13 | 2.69

A specimen of 804 was excavated at Olynthos; see Olynthus VI, p. 82, pl. XVII, no. 729 = Olynthus IX, p. 352, d.

KLEFTOR

after 370 B.C.

Head of Helios facing. HK.
805 Φ-193 13 — 0.81

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NON-ATHENIAN COINS

MANTINEIA

after 370 B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet. [MAN] Trident.  
806 a ΠΘ-581 15 \, 2.29  
806 b Γ-359 14 \, 2.40  

Similar. M-A l. and r. of shaft of Trident. unpublished?

807 OO-597a 9 \, 0.49 broken

MEGALOPOLIS

ca. 234–146 B.C.

Head of Zeus l., laur. ME-Γ  
808 MM-366 23 \, 5.59

Pan seated l. on rock; in field, ΛE-Φ|Θ-Α.

ORCHOMENOS

after 370 B.C.

Artemis kneeling r., with bow. [EPXOMEN-ΙΩΝ]  
809 Z-1103 20 \, 4.83+

Kallisto seated l., pierced by arrow; child Arkas behind.

PHENEOS

after 370 B.C.

Head of Demeter r., wearing wheat wreath. [Φ]-Ε Caduceus.  
810 ΠΠ-1098 15 \, broken

A.D. 198–217: Caracalla

M AVP ANTΩΝΙΝΟC  
Bust r., laur.  
811 ΔΔ-22 23 \, 3.65 GRC, fig. 23

[ΦΕ]ΝΕ-ΑΤΩΝ  
Dionysos seated l., with thyrsos and [kantharos]. unpublished; cf. NCP, p. 98
CATALOGUE

TEGEA

4th–3rd century B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Attic</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Measurements</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>812</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Α-225</td>
<td>16 † 3.87</td>
<td>TEGE or TE Owl stg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>EE-25</td>
<td>15 ‡ 1.79</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>Ψ-156</td>
<td>14 → 1.07</td>
<td>TE; owl l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Ψ-576</td>
<td>13 → 2.26</td>
<td>TEG; owl l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ΒΓ-293</td>
<td>15 ‡ 2.55</td>
<td>legend effaced; owl l.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar. [TEGEA] BMC 12, 13

Warrior charging r. 813 Π-148a 14 ‡ 2.89

Head of Eileithyia or Demeter r., [with torch over shoulder]. [TEGEA] BMC 17–19

Athena stg. r., [placing hair of Medusa in amphora held by child Sterope].

814 T-1450 18 † 2.25

after 146 B.C.

[ἈΛΕΟΣ] BMC 20, 21

Head of Aleos r.

[TEGEATAN] BMC 20, 21

Athena and Kepheus stg., face to face; between them, Sterope receiving hair of Medusa in amphora; [above and below, monograms].

815 a ΠΘ-315 22 † broken
| b | ΣΓ-576 | 21 ‐ 6.15 |

A.D. 193–211: Septimius Severus

[- - - - - - ] ΤEGΕ[- - - ] Type effaced.

816 T-1059 21 ‐ 4.37

CRETE

APTERA

ca. 250–67 B.C.

Head of Artemis r., wearing stephanos. [ΑΝ]-Τ[Α] at l. and r. of handle of Race torch. *817 Θ-351 16 † 2.91

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NON-Athenian Coins

Arsinoe

3rd century B.C.

Head of Athena l., wearing Corinthian helmet. [AP]ΣΙ Two dolphins swimming r., the lower one inverted.

*818 OO-454 15 ↑ 1.01

Knossos

c. 200–67 B.C.

[Head of Artemis r.] [K-N]Ω-Σ||Ω-N Winged caduceus.

819 Θ-24 15 - 1.96

A.D. 4–14: Tiberius as Caesar

[TI CAESAR] [POLLIONE ITER LABEONE F II VI] Stag stg. r.

819A NN-1994 19 ↓ 4.32

Crete as Roman Province

A.D. 138–161: Antoninus Pius


*820 X-211a 16 ↘ 1.95

See also 1033 and 1034.

Aegean Islands

Andros

4th–2nd century B.C.

Head of young Dionysos r., wearing ivy wreath. [ΑΝ-ΙΔ] Amphiara. BMC 3–5

821 a KK-27 18 ↓ 5.50 (C 9:2)
b IIII-667 16 - 3.80
Head of bearded Dionysos r., wearing ivy wreath.  
BMC 7

*822  NN-1835  15 † 3.30  
Kleiner 1976, p. 19, no. 163 (A-B 19-20:1)

Head of young Dionysos r., wearing ivy wreath.  
A-N|Δ-Π Thrysos.  
BMC 14–19

823  
a  A-1550  16 † 3.07  
b  O-97a  17 † 2.66  
c  Σ-2069  17 † 3.23  
d  Σ-5669  17 † 3.65  
e  Z-2440  16 † 3.00  
f  Τ-222  16 ↓ 1.05+

Head of bearded Dionysos r., wearing ivy wreath.  
A-N|Δ-Π Tripod.  
BMC 20–22

824  Γ-1612a  10 † 0.90  
(context ["Layer 2 of MJ"] with Period III Athenian coins to third quarter of 2nd century B.C. [three variety 98: Athena/Amphora]; see 984)

DELOS

before 167 B.C.

Head of Apollo l., laur.  
Δ-H Palm tree.  
Sv. 105.75–78

825  NN-2013  18 † 4.73+

Similar.  
Δ behind  
Bust of Artemis r., with quiver at shoulder.  
Sv. 105.91–93

826  ΣA-83  - † fragment

Similar.  
Δ-H Lyre.  
Sv. 105.32–34

827  
a  H-8  17 † 3.07  
b  Z-2804  16 † 4.08  
Kleiner 1976, p. 15, no. 93 (H 12:1)

Head of Apollo, laur.  
Similar.  
Sv. 105.35–41, 49–74

828  
Apollo head l. (Sv. 105.35–41, 64–74)  
a  BB-903  12 † 0.80  
b  NN-857  11 † 0.86  
c  Z-2767  10 † 1.41  
d  Π-447  9 † 0.99  
Apollo head r. (Sv. 105.49–63)  
e  Ω-33  10 † 1.03  
f  E-1148  10 † 0.88
The Delian Apollo/Lyre bronze was minted in three denominations. According to the criteria outlined above, the larger, AE 3 unit (827) should be the dichalkon, which leaves 828 and 829 to be identified as the AE 4 chalkous and the AE 5 half-chalkous respectively. Some of the smaller and lighter pieces listed under 828 may in fact belong to 829.

**As Athenian Cleruchy**

c. 69 B.C.

**829**

| **g** NN-935 | 10 | - | 0.70 |
| **h** Z-2837 | 9 | † | 0.72 |
| **i** T-1702 | - | † | fragment |

Apollo head l. or r.

**829**

| **j** A-1314 | 12 | - | 1.76 |
| **k** II A-148 | 10 | - | 1.11 |

Head of Apollo r., laur. Similar. Sv. 105.30–31

**830**

| **g** AA-1149 | 18 | † | 4.57 |

This is the only coin of this variety with a recorded Athenian provenience. All other specimens whose place of discovery is known (namely, the nineteen pieces in the Numismatic Collection of Athens, including Sv. 106.66–71) come from Delos. The obverse inscription is the signature of the admiral Gaius Valerius Triarius, legate of Lucullus in the Aegean and Black Seas during the Second Mithradatic War. Using Delos as his base of operations, Triarius could have minted the coinage to compensate sailors in his fleet; but in view of the Athenian ethnic and types of the coins, it seems far more likely that the coinage was ordered to pay the workmen on the fortification wall that Triarius constructed around the ruined city of Delos after the pirate Athenodoros devastated the island in 69. The nineteen Numismatic Collection specimens have an average weight of 5.05 g.

This AE 2 issue was accompanied by an AE 3 denomination with the first three letters of Triarius' name in a monogram (Sv. 106.73–75, 13–14 mm., av. [of the eight Numismatic Collection specimens] 3.10 g.):

Obv. †-A at l. and r. of Bust of Artemis r.; border of dots.

Rev. A-Œ Two wheat ears; border of dots.

All examples with a recorded provenience are also from Delos.

On the mistaken attribution of other AŒ bronze varieties to Delos after its transfer to Athenian control in 167/6 B.C., see above pp. 68–69 and under 104.

---


CATALOGUE

KEO

Federal Coinage

second half 3rd century B.C. 49

Bearded head (Aristaios) r., laur.  
KEI or KEION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>831a</td>
<td>Γ-1481</td>
<td>16 ↑</td>
<td>3.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>831b</td>
<td>NN-1612</td>
<td>18 ↑</td>
<td>4.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>831c</td>
<td>AA-436</td>
<td>18 →</td>
<td>2.15+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>831d</td>
<td>A-599a</td>
<td>15 ↑</td>
<td>2.27+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>831e</td>
<td>Φ-368</td>
<td>14 -</td>
<td>1.30+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>831f</td>
<td>N'-1257</td>
<td>15 ↑</td>
<td>3.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forepart of dog Sirios l., encircled by rays.

kei or keiON

Similar.  
BMC 12

Head of Apollo r., laur.

Bunch of grapes; at l., star.

BMC 42

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>833a</td>
<td>Σ-1427</td>
<td>19 ◄</td>
<td>3.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>833b</td>
<td>Σ-595</td>
<td>18 ↓</td>
<td>5.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Head of Apollo r., laur.  
[KAPΘA]

Forepart of dog Sirios r., encircled by rays.

BMC 44

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>834</td>
<td>ΠΘ-51</td>
<td>16 ↑</td>
<td>4.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bearded male head (Dionysos?) r.  
KAPΘA between rays of Star.

cf. BMC 46 (Apollo head obv.)

BMC 49

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>835</td>
<td>ΓΓ-65</td>
<td>13 -</td>
<td>1.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# NON-ATHENIAN COINS

## Koressia

### 4th–2nd century B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>836</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bearded male head (Aristaios) r.</td>
<td>KO P [H] between rays of Star. BMC 57, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>837</td>
<td></td>
<td>Head of Apollo r., laur.</td>
<td>[KO]PH] Bee. BMC 66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Found with two Athenian bronze of variety 85 or 108: Cicada/Amphora, 2nd century B.C.)

## Ioulis

### 4th–2nd century B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>838</td>
<td></td>
<td>Head of young Dionysos r.</td>
<td>IOY l. of Bunch of grapes. cf. BMC 69, 70 (bearded Dionysos head)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>839</td>
<td></td>
<td>Head of Apollo r.</td>
<td>IOY Forepart of dog Sirios r. [encircled by rays]. cf. McClean 7246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>840</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bearded head r., laur.</td>
<td>[IOYΛIC] Bee. BMC 78–83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Kythnos

### 3rd–1st century B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>841</td>
<td></td>
<td>Female head r.</td>
<td>[K-Ÿ] Bunch of grapes; all in incuse square. BMC 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>842</td>
<td></td>
<td>Head of Apollo r., laur.</td>
<td>K-[Ÿ] Rose. BMC 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CATALOGUE

MELOS

1st–3rd century after Christ

Bust of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.  
MH[I][W]N in olive wreath.  

843  IIII-1007  25 ↑  7.67

A.D. 176–192

ΜΗΛΙΩΝ  
Bust of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.  
ΕΠΙ| ΑΡΧΟ| ΦΛ  

844  NN-618  25 ↓  6.14

PAROS

before ca. 150 B.C.

Head of Demeter or Kore r., wearing wheat wreath.  
ΠΑΡΙ above  
Goat stg. r.; in front, star.  

845  a  ΣA-25  16 ↑  3.58  (context of before ca. 150 B.C. 50)
    b  N'-1915a  17 ↑  2.45+

SIPHNOS

6th century B.C.

Plated Counterfeit of AR Hemidrachm

Eagle flying r.  
Incuse square.  

846  A-663  15  -  2.13  
Bronze clearly visible beneath the silver envelope. The coin appears to have been intentionally flattened.

SYROS

3rd–1st century B.C.

Head of bearded Pan r.  
[ΣΥΡΙ] above Goat.  

847  a  OO-1261  16 ↑  2.72  goat stg. l.; obv.: indistinct circular cmk.
    b  NN-57  16 ←  3.18  goat stg. l.
    c  Θ-414  15 ←  3.05  goat walking r.

50 The coin was found stuck to a poros fragment from cistern Q 9–10:1, which was covered over during construction of the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. The cistern may have gone out of use in the early 3rd century when the Square Peristyle was built (p. 315 below), but because of 2nd-century B.C. contamination, it is unclear whether the contextual terminus ante quem for the coin should be pushed back to ca. 300.
### NON-ATHENIAN COINS

#### Tenos

**288–ca. 230 B.C.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Pictorial Details</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*end of 3rd century to ca. 188 B.C.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Pictorial Details</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### Asiatic Bosporos

### Phanagoria

**1st century B.C.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Pictorial Details</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>852</td>
<td>288-ca. 230 B.C.</td>
<td>Head of Artemis r. ΦΑΝΑ[ΓΟ]ΠΙΤΩΝ] below Stag recumbent l.</td>
<td>Cop 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51 Embedded in layer c, the third floor layer below the final floor of ca. 150 B.C.; Section T Shop Building, room 2. Out of a dozen identifiable Athenian coins from this layer, the latest is from the 180’s B.C. (85: Cicada/Amphora).
CATALOGUE

KINGS

Rheskouporis VI: A.D. 314–342

Bust of Rheskouporis r.  Bust of Emperor r.


PONTOS

AMISOS

te time of Mithradates Eupator, ca. 120–63 B.C.

Head of young Ares r., wearing helmet.  [ἌΜΙΣΟΥ]  Sword in sheath with strap.  

BMC 40–50

Head of young Dionysos r., wearing ivy wreath.  AMIΣOY below Cista mystica; behind it, thyrsos with fillet and bell.

BMC 53–56

BITHYNIA

BITHYNIAN LEAGUE

A.D. 117–138: Hadrian

KOI-[ΝΟ]N|ΒΕΙΘΥΝΙΑC  Octastyle temple.

BMC 12–21
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

Nikaea

A.D. 253–260: Valerian I and Gallienus

AVT OVALERIANOC
ΓΑΛΛΙΗ[ΝΟC] CEBB
Busts, rad., facing one another.

857 Γ-396 29 ↑ 11.07

OMΗ[РОC NI]ΚΑΙΕΩΝ
Von Aulock 7081
Homer seated l. on cippus, raising r. hand, with l. hand on seat.

858 P-1145 25 ← 7.43

Nikomedia

A.D. 161–180: Marcus Aurelius

AV K M AVP-ANTΩ[ΝΟC]
Head r., laur.

858 P-1145 25 ← 7.43

ΜΗΤΡ ΝΕΩ ΝΙΚΟΜΗ[ΔΕΩΝ]
Cop 557
Eagle stg. r., wings spread, head turned l., fighting snake rising at l.

A.D. 248–251: Trojan Decius

AVT KA TPAIN ΔΕΚΙΟC
AV CEB
Bust r., rad.

859 ΔΑ-505 23 ↑ 4.63

NIKΟΜΗΔΕΩ ΔΙC ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ
Von Aulock 850
Athena stg. l., with shield on l. arm, holding phiale in r.

860 ΟO-1424 22 - 5.25

obv.: indistinct circular cmk.

Similar.

NIKΟΜΗΔΕΩ[- - - -]
[Type effaced.]

Kings

Prousias II, 183–149 B.C.

Head of Prousias II r., diad.

861 ΠΘ-251 18 ↑ broken

[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΣΙΠΡΟΥΣΙΟΥ]
BMC 3–7
Herakles stg. l., holding club and lion's skin.

862 Γ-1036 14 ↑ 4.74
(E 14:3) GRC, fig. 19

Head of young Dionysos r., wearing ivy wreath.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΣΙΠΡΟΥΣΙΟΥ
BMC 14
Centaur Chiron r., playing lyre; to r., ΚΡ.
CATALOGUE

MYSIA

ADRAMYTEION

2nd–1st century B.C.

Head of Apollo l., laur.  
AAPA-MY[TH-[NΩN]  
Cornucopia between pilei of the Dioskouroi.  

863  
K-1184  20 † 8.13

A.D. 198–217: Caracalla

AVT KA[I] M A[VPM  
ANTΩNЄ]INOC  
Bust r., laur.  

864  
T-1023  34 ‡ 16.17

ATARNEUS

4th–3rd century B.C.

Head of Apollo r., laur.  
[ATAP]  
Forepart of horse r.; coiled snake above.  

865  
II-353a  16 ‡ 3.59

KYZIKOS

mid(?)-5th century B.C.

EL STATER  
Bull stg. l., on tuna.  
Quadripartite incuse square.  

866  
BG-68  18 - 16.10  
GRC, fig. 6

Besides being paid into the Athenian treasury as tribute in the second half of the 5th century, great numbers of Kyzikene staters served Athenian private interests. In 403 B.C., the strongbox that the orator Lysias kept in his bedroom contained 3 talents of silver coin, 4 silver cups, 100 gold darics, and 400 Kyzikenes (Lysias 12.11).

NON-ATHENIAN COINS

4th century B.C.

Head of Kore Soteira r.  [K-Y[Z-l] Tripod; below, tuna.  
[867] H'-3178a  17 ↑  4.82

Four specimens from Olynthos (Olynthus IX, p. 354, no. 56) confirm that this coinage began before the middle of the century.

PARION(?)

A.D. 14–37: Tiberius

[868] [TI AVG]  Two priests plowing with two oxen r.  
Head of Tiberius r.  
E-1484  16 ↑  2.29

DRV-CA
Head of Drusus r.  
*869 PP'-1249  17 ↓  5.32

[870] [TI AVG DRVSVS] CAESAR  Similar.  
Jugate heads of Tiberius and Drusus r.  
OA-15  17 ✓  5.41

1st century after Christ

[--- -]  Priest or priests plowing with oxen r.  
Head of uncertain emperor.  
*871 a GST'-415  18 -  5.41  Julio-Claudian head r.; obv. cmk.: Σ in incuse square
b ΣA-399  17 -  3.71  Julio-Claudian head r.
c ΠΙΙ-1088  16 -  3.64  same
d Θ-999  15 ↑  2.31  same
e OO-363  16 ↓  2.69  head l.
f H-1777  18 ←  4.24  head l., Nerva(?) (BMC 94)

In RPC I (pp. 309–310), 868–870 are tentatively assigned to an uncertain Roman colony in Macedonia, possibly Philippoi.

PERGAMON

Royal coinage, mid-2nd century B.C.\(^{53}\)

Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.  
[872] ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΩY at r. of  
Coiled snake.  
BMC 78–83

872 *a T-1297  16 ↑  4.30  rev. at l., \(^{84}\) Kleiner 1975, p. 323, pl. 76, no. 334 (M–N 15:1)
b Γ-507  16 - -  details effaced

CATALOGUE

**Municipal coinage, ca. 197–133 B.C.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΠΕ[Ρ][Γ][ΑΜΗ]</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet. Nike stg. r., crowning inscription with wreath in r.; in l., palm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Π-ΕΡ[Γ-Α]ΜΗΝΩΝ</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>Head of Asklepios r., laur. Eagle stg. l., wings spread, on thunderbolt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΑΘΗ]ΝΑ[Σ][ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ]</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet ornamented with star. Owl, wings spread, stg., facing, on palm branch; at l., T(?); at r., M(?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>Bust of Athena l., wearing aegis and Corinthian helmet. Asklepios stg., facing, with staff.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Period of Vespasian to Hadrian**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ]</td>
<td>*877</td>
<td>ΩΝ ΑΛΚΩΝΙΑΝΟΥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΑΝΤΟ ΚΑΙ Μ-ΑΨΗ</td>
<td>ΚΟΜΟΔΟΣ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ Π Α Γ-ΑΛΚΩΝΙΑΝΟΥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Statue of Asklepios on pedestal; on each side, centaur with a torch.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A.D. 176–192: Commodus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ Π Α Γ-ΑΛΚΩΝΙΑΝΟΥ</td>
<td>*878</td>
<td>ΑΝΤΟ ΚΑΙ Μ-ΑΨΗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΚΟΜΟΔΟΣ</td>
<td>ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ Π Α Γ-ΑΛΚΩΝΙΑΝΟΥ</td>
<td>ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ</td>
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<tr>
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## Non-Athenian Coins

### Perperene

**1st century after Christ**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>NN-1804</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Pitane

**4th–3rd century B.C.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>880</td>
<td>I-1592</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>[Head of Zeus Ammon r.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Troas

### Alexandria Troas

**A.D. 198–217: Caracalla**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>881</td>
<td>I-1550</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>M AV ANTON[IN] PIVS AV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Z-416</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7.36</td>
<td>ANTONIN-VS PIVS AV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*882</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10.65</td>
<td>M AVR ANT-ONINVS PIVS AVG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*883</td>
<td>NN-1151</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10.65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A.D. 249–251: Trojan Decius**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>884</td>
<td>P-1399</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>[IMP] Q C M [TRAI]ANV DECIVS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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55 For a specimen excavated at Olynthos, see *Olynthus IX*, pp. 247, 355.
CATALOGUE

A.D. 251–253: Volusian

IMP.C.VIBI AFINI
OLVSSIANV
Bust r., laur., dr.

*885 ΠΘ-792 22 ↓ 5.01 (A 14:2) GRC, fig. 24

Eagle stg.; facing, head l., holding bull's head.

Bellinger A423

A.D. 180–193: Commodus

[---] Bust of Commodus r.

886 B-441a 31 ↓ 13.01

F. Imhoof-Blumer,
“Griechische Münzen aus dem Museum in Klagenfurt,” NZ 16, 1884, pp. 264–265, no. 83

Flavian period, A.D. 79–96

[IΩ] Bust of Athena l., wearing aegis and Corinthian helmet.

887 ΟΟ-385 20 ↑ 5.06

Aineas walking r., carrying Anchises and leading Askanios.

Bellinger T129

NE-ANDRIA

before 310 B.C.

Head of Apollo r., laur.

888 ΚΤΑ-109 10 ← 1.07

NE-AN Wheat ear.

BMC 6

Similar.

889 ΣΑ-99 17 → 5.57

BMC 8–11

Horse grazing r.; in ex., wheat ear.

SKEPSIS

4th century B.C.

Forepart of winged horse l., body ending in cornucopia.

890 T-212a 16 ↑ 3.71+

[Σ]-KH Fir tree in linear square.

BMC 19, 20
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

Tenedos

4th century B.C. or later

Female head r. [T]-E Double axe.  

891  NN-163a  9 → 0.50  

AIOLIS

Aigai

2nd—1st century B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet ornamented with griffin.  
AlΓΑΕΩΝ Zeus stg. l., holding scepter in l.; [eagle] in outstretched r.  

892  a  NN-439  18 ↑ 6.16  obv. crnk.: owl r. in incuse circle  
     b  A-746  16 ↑ 4.26+

A.D. 222–235: Severus Alexander

[- - - - - - -]  ΕΠΙ CT-PA ΕΥΤ-VX-OVΣ  
Bust of S. Alexander r., laur., cuir., dr.  
AlΓΑΕ[ΩΝ] Similar Zeus.  

*893  X-8a  26 ↓ 5.91

cf. Von Aulock 1601 (Decius)

AUTOKANE

4th–2nd century B.C.

Head of Zeus r.  
[ΑΥΤΟΚΑΝ] Female head r., hair rolled.  

894  Γ-1412  11 ↓ 1.35


ELAIA

ca. 133 B.C.—1st century after Christ

Head of Kore or Demeter, wearing wheat wreath.  
E-ΛΑ|ΙΤ-ΩΝ Torch; all in wheat wreath.  

895  Z-1190  15 ↑ 3.60

BMC 22–25

BMC 12, 13

BMC 20–29; with RPC I, p. 408
CATALOGUE

KYME

4th–3rd century B.C.

[4th–3rd century B.C.]

896 \( \Sigma T'\)-539 10 - 0.75

K-Y Vase with one handle.  \( BM\)C 16–20

[897] [KY] Forepart of horse r.  Vase with one handle.  \( BM\)C 40–52

a T-20 16 \( \uparrow \) 3.04 obv. name and rev. monogram effaced

b OO-220 17 - 3.39 same

2nd century B.C.

Bust of Artemis r., bow and quiver at shoulder.  KY above Vase with one handle; \( BM\)C 90–92

*898 MM-26 16 \( \uparrow \) 4.33

2nd century after Christ

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.  \( KVM\) Eagle stg. l.  \( Cop\) 118

899 AA-749a 14 \( \uparrow \) 1.41

A.D. 238–244: Tranquillina

\( \Phi O \upsilon \tau \rho \upsilon \Pi \alpha \nu \xi \kappa \nu \Lambda \varepsilon i \alpha \) \( \varepsilon \ \upsilon \ \alpha \nu \pi \alpha \kappa \lambda \varepsilon \pi \eta \iota \kappa o \upsilon \upsilon \)  B KVM|\( \alpha \iota \nu \lambda \nu \) Statue of Ephesian Artemis with forepart of stag at either side.

*900 \( \Pi \Theta \)-788 30 \( \downarrow \) 15.64 \( (A\ 14:2)\)

LESBOS

Methymna

ca. 350/330–250/240 B.C.


901 \( \phi \)-32 12 \( \uparrow \) 1.44 \( (M\ 18:10)\)

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NON-ATHENIAN COINS

2nd–1st century B.C.

Similar, but cmk.: lyre. [M]-A[Θ-Y] Kantharos; border of dots. (BMC 29–33; Franke (under 901), p. 171, no. 25

902 ΓΓ-49 17 † 4.02

Mytilene

4th–3rd century B.C.

Female head r. M-Υ[T-l] Lyre. (BMC 37–95

903 *a Ε-1787 13 † 1.80 rev. at l., Π; at r., club

b Σ-3899 14 † 1.53

2nd–1st century B.C.

Head of Zeus Ammon r. M-[Υ][T-][l] Herm of Dionysos on prow; at l., vine branch with grapes. (BMC 132–138

904 ΠΙA-428 20 † 4.88

A.D. 198–217: Caracalla

AVT ΚΠΑΤ Κ-ΜΑΡ ΑΨΗ ΕΠΙ ΚΤΡ ΑΠΕΛΛΟΥ Β- cf. Von Aulock 1751

ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟϹ MENΕMAΧΟΥ (but larger)

Bust r., laur., cuir., dr.

MVTΙΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ Mounted emperor r., spearing fallen enemy.

905 ΟΑ-290 47 ↓ 50.49 GRC, fig. 25

IONIA

Ephesos

4th–3rd century B.C.

E-Φ Bee. Stag kneeling l., head turned back; above, astragal. (BMC 63–67

906 I-696 16 † 2.43

Head of city goddess r., turreted. (BMC 68–70

907 Z-2032 11 ↓ 0.73+
CATALOGUE

ca. 48–27 B.C.

Bust of Artemis r., bow and quiver at shoulder. [E-Φ] Long torch between two stags; above, below, and in field [magistrates' names].

908 B'-927 19 † 3.77

27 B.C.—A.D. 14: Augustus

Head of Augustus r., bare. [- - - - - -] Cult statue of Ephesian Artemis.

909 Z-3005 16 † 3.93

A.D. 138–161: Antoninus Pius

[- - - - - - -] [HPAKAEIT]OC-ΕΦΕΠΙΩΝ] Bust of Antoninus Pius r. Herakleitos stg. l., with club in l.; r. hand raised.

910 ΟΟ-473 23 † 5.05

A.D. 161–169: L. Verus

OVH-POC KAI ΕΦΕΠΙΩΝ Stag stg. r. BMC 248

911 ΠΙΠ-156 17 ↓ 2.97

A.D. 193–211: Septimius Severus(?)

[- - - - - - -] ΕΦΕΠΙΩΝ Stag walking r. cf. BMC 262

912 Ι-1603 17 ↓ 2.21

A.D. 209–212: Geta

ΓΕ-ΤΑC AV ΕΦΕΠΙΩΝ Stag stg. r. BMC 289

*913 Σ-3807 17 ↓ 3.95

A.D. 248–251: Etruscilla

ΕΡΕΝ ΕΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΑ ΚΕΒ ΑΠΗΜΗ-ΙΕΡΑ|ΕΦΕΠΙΩΝ Bust r., crescent behind. Sacred wagon drawn by two mules. cf. BMC 335 (Gordian III)

914 ΠΙΠ-466 28 ↓ 8.77
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

A.D. 253–255: Saloninus

KOP OVAΛEP[IA]ΝOC KAI
Bust r., laur.

*915 ΒΙ'474 21 ✓ 4.82

ΕΦΕ[ΩΝ Δ]-ΝΕ-ΟΧΟΡΩ
Artemis holding transverse torch r.

cf. BMC 381 (Gallienus)

ERYTHRÆI

4th–3rd century b.c.

[Head of young Herakles r.] EPY below Club and bow in case.

916 ΜΞ-212 14 - 1.35 (probably from H–K 12–14, but not listed in Kleiner 1975, pp. 304–312)

Head of young Herakles r. EPY above Club and bow in case; between and below, [-]AKΛΕ[ - - - ]ΜΕ[ - - ].

917 Η-1714 18 ↑ 3.49

Similar.

918 ΠΠ-174 15 ↑ 2.79+

EPY above Club and bow in case; between and below,

BMC 85–94

after ca. 133 b.c.

[Head of Zeus r.] EYP M]ΕΝΕΚΠΑΙ[ΤΗΣ ΑΓΑΘΩΝΩΣ.

919 ΣΤ'-579a 18 - 5.45+

KÌAZOMÉNAI

4th century b.c. and later

Helmeted head of Athena three-quarters facing r.

920 Τ-198a 12 ↑ 1.35

Ram walking r.

BMC 56–72

Similar.

921 Ν-581a 16 ↑ 3.56

[ΚΛΑΖΟΜΕΙΝΩΝ]
Forepart of ram r.

BMC 73–80

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

922 Δ-317 17 ↑ 4.83

ΚΛΑΖΟ[ΜΕ]ΙΝΩΝ above
Ram recumbent r.; below, [- - - - ]Σ.

BMC 85, 86
CATALOGUE

MAGNESIA ON THE MAIANDROS

4th–3rd century B.C.

Cavalryman on prancing horse r.  MAGN above Bull butting l.; below, [- -]Ω[.].  BMC 35; Cop 819–821

*923  B' 646  8 ↑ 0.57

Aft. ca. 190 B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing crested helmet. [MAGN]ΗΤΩΝ above Cavalryman charging on horse r.; below [ΕΥΚΛΗΣ ΚΡΑΤΙΝΟΣ].  BMC 44, 45

*924  Π-30  19 ↑ 10.57

[MAGNHT] below EΥΚΛΗΣ ΚΡΑΤΙΝΟΣ l. and r. of Statue of Artemis Lykophryene.  BMC 47

Stag stg. r.; above, star.  ΕΥΚΛΗΣ ΚΡΑΤΙΝΟΣ l. and r. of Statue of Artemis Lykophryene.

925  Η-133  18 ↑ 3.13

A.D. 198–217: Caracalla

AVT KAI M AVP  ΕΠΙ ΓΡ ΑΡΙΣΤΟ[ΚΛ]ΟΥ  Cf. S. Schultz,  ANTΩΝΕΙΝΟC  MAGHNHTΩN Statue of Die Münzprägung AVP Themistokles stg. l., with von Magnesia am APT ΚΩΛΗΘ C. phiale in extended r. hand and sword in sheath in l.; at l., burning altar and, on ground, slain bull. Above and below statue's extended hand, Metropolis

926  NN-595  40 ↓ 23.46

1st century B.C.

Helmeted head of Ares or Athena r. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ[N]  BMC 1, 2

927  Γ-1251  15 ← 3.25

Thunderbolt.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

MILETOS

370–350's B.C.\(^{56}\)

Lion l., looking back; above, M.  
\(\Phi \ Ρ \ Β \ Η \ Σ \ Ο \ \) around  
Star with eight rays.

*928  OA-217  13  2.05  GRC, fig. 19

mid–late 4th century B.C.\(^{57}\)

Head of Apollo r., laur.  
Lion stg. r., looking back; above, star; below [name].

929  a  N-620  19  3.92
b  Σ-6322  18  2.94
c  ΟΟ-1054  18  2.85

A.D. 81–96: Domitian

[ΣΕΒΑ]-ΣΤΟ[Σ]  
Head of Domitian r., laur.

930  T-282  18  3.57

PHOKAIA

3rd century B.C. or later

Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.  
Forepart of griffin between pilei of Dioskouroi below; \(\Pi \ \Theta \ I \Sigma \).

931  K-975a  12  1.68

SMYRNA

ca. 288–280 B.C.

Veiled head of Eurydike (daughter of Lysimachos) r.  
[EΥΡΥΔΙΚΕΩΝ] at l. of Tripod.


\(^{57}\) Cf. ibid., p. 251.
### ca. 280–190 B.C.

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<thead>
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<th>Find Spot</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>933 a NN-1113</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Head of Apollo r., laur. (\Sigma)MYPN only, at r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>933 b NN-1665</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>([\Sigma)MYP]NAIΩN at r.; ([-][-][-] at l.</td>
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### ca. 190–105 B.C.

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<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Find Spot</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M-78a</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Head of Kybele r., turreted. ([\Sigma)MYP]NAIΩN r. and l. of Aphrodite Stratonikis stg. r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ca. 75–50 B.C.

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<th>Catalogue Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H′-2602</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Head of Apollo r., laur. ([\Sigma)MYP]NAIΩN at r. of Hand in caestus; at l., [MH or IA]TPOΔPO[Σ].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A.D. 88/89: Julia Titi

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Description</th>
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<th>Find Spot</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ</td>
<td>ΠΑ-112</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Kybele seated l.</td>
</tr>
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### A.D. 117–130: Hadrian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Find Spot</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΑΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑ ΠΑΦΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΕ</td>
<td>Ψ-23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Hexastyle temple.</td>
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### ca. A.D. 193–235

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<td>ΙΙ-419</td>
<td>18</td>
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### ca. A.D. 210–235

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<td>- - - - - - -</td>
<td>Γ-1463</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Prow r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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NON-ATHENIAN COINS

A.D. 222–235: Julia Mamaea

IOV MAME-A CEB[ACTH] [CMYP]NAIO[N ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΕΠ Σ Γ Κ ΔΙΟΓΕ-ΝΟ]YC Klose, p. 301, no. LXVI.5
Bust r.
Amazon (Smyrna) stg. l., with temple in r., bipennis and pelta in l.

*940 Z-984a 29 ↓ 10.46

A.D. 260–268: Gallienus

AVT K ΠΟ ΛΙΚΙΝ ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟC CMVRPAIO[N Γ ΝΕΩΚΟ ΕΠ C M AVP CΕΞ CT-OV Klose, p. 321, nos. LXXV36–50
Bust r., laur., cuir., dr.
Similar Amazon with temple, bipennis, and pelta.

941 PP-797 24 ↑ 6.69 obv. cmk: 5 in incuse circle (Howgego, no. 813)

Teos

3rd–1st century B.C.

Griffin seated r. TH-IΩ[N] above Von Aulock 2284
Kantharos; below;
ANTA-ΓΟΡ[ΑΣ].

942 E-1456 17 ↑ 3.44

Chios

3rd–2nd century B.C.58

[Sphinx seated r.] [ΧΙ]ΟΣ[ ] [Μ]ΕΝΕΣ at l. and r. of Amphora. Mavrogordato 1916, no. 628;
BMC 82–83

943 X-113a 19 - 4.07 (N 18:3)

Sphinx seated with forepaw raised over bunch of grapes. ΧΙΟΣ at l. of Amphora; at r., magistrate’s name; all in vine wreath. Mavrogordato 1916, no. 67; BMC 85–97

944 Sphinx r.

a H'-2939 14 ↑ 2.21 ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ (BMC 86)
b B'-770 12 ↑ 1.61 ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΙΩ[ΡΟΣ] (BMC 94)
c ΕΓ-225 14 ↑ 2.85 ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ (Mavrogordato 1916, p. 321) (F 19:6)
d NN-1730 14 ↑ 1.40 same
*e ΔΔ-51 16 ↓ 1.98 ΓΡΥΙΙΟΣ?
*f B'-962 12 ↑ 1.71 no details
g K-841 13 - 1.65 same

58 Mavrogordato (1916, pp. 297–355) assigns these issues of his Period IX to 190–84 B.C. But it is clear from the context of 943 that this variety began before then.
CATALOGUE

h  ΟΟ-945  13  ↑  2.49  same
i  ΠΠΙ-239  14  ↑  2.66  same
j  Φ-29  13  ↑  2.64  same

Sphinx l.

k  Ψ-239  14  ↑  1.56  ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ; two pilei of the Dioskouroi between ΧΙ and ΟΣ (cf. BMC 89: sphinx r.)

l  ΓΓ-77  14  ↑  2.59  [Ζ]ΗΝΟΔΟΡΟΣ (sic) (cf. BMC 50: drachm)
m  NN-1937  10  ↑  0.75  no details

Sphinx l. or r.
n  Σ-6405  12  -  -

1st century B.C.—1st century after Christ

Sphinx seated l.; border of dots.  
[ΧΙΟΣ] at l. of Amphora; at r., [magistrate's name].  
Mavrogordato 1917, nos. 83–87; BMC 103–106

945  Τ-106  16  ↑  1.95

2nd century after Christ

TETRACHALKON

[ΧΙΩΝ] above  
Sphinx seated l., with raised forepaw.  
Mavrogordato 1918, no. 124γ, BMC 110, 111

946  Γ-1467  16  ↑  2.95

ASSARION

[ΧΙΩΝ]  
Sphinx seated l.  
Mavrogordato 1918, no. 115β

947  I-1055  17  ↑  3.42

later 2nd or early 3rd century after Christ

3 ASSARIA

AC-CAP-IA| ΤΠΙΑ (in ex.)  
Sphinx seated r. or l., forepaw raised over prow.  
Mavrogordato 1918, nos. 127α, 128

948 *a  ΠΘ-793  30  ↑  10.79  sphinx r. (A 14:2: ca. A.D. 250)
b  I-895  32  ↑  8.83 (worn)  sphinx l.; inscriptions effaced

59 Klose (pp. 114–115) provides a chronological framework for the later imperial bronze coinage of Chios by dating the issues signed by the magistrates Preimos, Irenaios, and Chrysogonos to specific periods in the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ on metrological grounds. Pending an inclusive re-study of the entire coinage, it can be noted here that the comparative weights of the unsigned varieties catalogued here locate 946 and 947 respectively before and around the time of the Hadrianic–early Antonine issue of Preimos, 948 between the issue of Preimos and the essentially Severan issue of Irenaios (the context and condition of 948a imply a date as late in the Antonine or Severan period as possible), 949 around the time of Irenaios, and 950 around the time of Chrysogonos (between A.D. 222 and 238 [Klose]).
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

first half 3rd century after Christ

3 Assaria

ACCAP-IAI TPIA (in ex.) X I Ω N around Apollo Mavrogorgato 1918, 3 ASSARIA
Sphinx seated r., l. forepaw and Dionysos stg., no. 134
raised over prow. facing, sacrificing at altar between them; in ex., star.

*K949 ΠΠΙ-442 29 ↓ 7.94 Kroll 1973, p. 319, no. 14 (B 17:1a: A.D. 267). As shown by the fairly fresh condition of the obverse, the effacement of the reverse is due to corrosion, not wear.

1½ Assaria

X I Ω N above Sphinx Mavrogordato 1918, no. 136a; BMC 136, seated r., r. forepaw 137
[ACCAP-ION HM-VCV] around Two crossed thyrsoi; all in ivy wreath.
seated r., r. forepaw raised above amphora.

950 Σ-6376 20 - 3.95

Samos

ca. 129–20 B.C.

Head of Hera r., wearing [ΣΑΜΙΩΝ] below BMC 201–208; stephane. Cop 1721–1724
[ΕΑΜΙΝΝ] below Peacock r. [on caduceus; behind, scepter; in field, two monograms].

951 Large module, as Cop 1721

* a ΣΤ-55 20 ↑ 7.77

Intermediate module, as BMC 201–208, Cop 1722–1724

b ΣΑ-392 15 → 2.90 rev. above, A-monogram (cf. BMC 201)
c O-429a 15 ↑ 4.02

d O-629 15 ↑ 3.55

e ΣΑ-488 14 ↑ 3.75

A.D. 238–244: Tranquillina

ΦΟΥΠΙΑ ΤΡΑ-ΝΚΩΛΛ ΝΑ ΚΑΜ-ΙΩΝ
CEB BMC 311
Bust r. Tyche stg. l., with rudder and cornucopia.

952 P-354 22 ↓ 6.15
CATALOGUE

KARIA

KNIDOS

4th–mid-3rd century B.C.

Head of Aphrodite r.

953 a Π-384 12 ↑ 0.64 
   Prow r.

953 b Δ-438 13 - broken

Head of Apollo r., laur.

954 Z-2835 10 ↓ 0.84 
   Similar.

Kleiner 1976, p. 15, no. 96 (H 12:1)

210–190 B.C.

Head of city-goddess l., turreted.

955 BZ-73 18 △ 4.66

MYLASA

2nd–1st century B.C.

Double axe.

956 Π-121 9 ↑ 1.40

MYNDOS

2nd–1st century B.C.

Head of Zeus r., laur.

957 OA-270a 15 ↓ 4.20

[MNI] above

BMC 55–64

† 0.64

BMC 67–71

Kleiner 1976, p. 15, no. 96 (H 12:1)

BMC 52–54

MYLAΣN l. and r. of Trident.

BMC 14–16

M-[YN]ΔΙ-ΩΝ l. and r. of vertical Winged thunderbolt.

cf. Cop 445 (thunderbolt horizontal)


61 Ibid., pp. 54–56, pl. 5:17.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

Kos

c. 190–166 B.C. 62

Head of young Herakles three-quarters facing, r. KΩION above Bow in case and club; below, magistrate's name.

958  a  K-1422  17 ✓  1.95+ [KΩION][ΤΕΛΕΣΦΟΡ[ΟΣ]],63 Kleiner 1975, p. 311, no. 189 (corrected) (H–K 12–14)
b  Θ-291  -  -  broken KΩΙΩΝ[- - -]; (found with other coins, the latest being Athenian Period II pieces of ca. 220’s–190’s B.C. and 991, Antiochos III, 223–187 B.C.)
c  Ξ-52  17 ✓  2.55+ inscriptions effaced
d  T-860  15 ✓  2.93

It is possible that 958c, d, or both might come from the later variety, BMC 156–164, “166–88 B.C.,” ethnic KΩΙΩΝ.

Rhodes

304–ca. 265 B.C. 64

AR Didrachm

Head of Helios three-quarters facing, r. ΡΟΔΙΟΝ above BMC 35

*959  E-551  18 ✓  6.02 Rose with bud at r.; at lower l., EY and bunch of grapes.

Imitations minted in central or northern Greece, ca. 175 B.C. 65

AR Drachm

Similar. Cmk: dolphin in incuse rectangle. [Ρ]-Ο Rose with bud at r.; above, ΔΗΜΟΚΑΛΗ[Σ]; at l., dolphin. BMC 199, 200

*960  ΠΘ-130  15 ✓  2.42

Similar. Same cmk. Rose with bud at r.; above, ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑ[ΤΟΣ]. cf. BMC 199–202

*961  ΠΘ-512  19 ✓  2.35

62 The contexts of 958a and b are compatible with this standard catalogue dating but suggest that the series might have begun somewhat earlier.
65 R. Ashton, “Pseudo-Rhodian Drachms and the Beginning of the Lycian League Coinage,” NC 147, 1987, pp. 16–17, notes 15 and 18, which mentions both Agora specimens and attributes their dolphin countermark also to mainland Greece, “perhaps after the battle of Pydna in 168.”
### CATALOGUE

#### 4th–2nd century B.C.

**AR Drachm**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>1.61+</th>
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<tr>
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Similar. too damaged for classification

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**ca. 330's–late 3rd century B.C.**

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<td>A-492</td>
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<td>†</td>
<td>1.42</td>
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<tr>
<td>963 c</td>
<td>A-900</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>↓</td>
<td>1.10</td>
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<tr>
<td>963 d</td>
<td>Γ-489</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>†</td>
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<td>963 e</td>
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**ca. 200 B.C.**

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<td>964 b</td>
<td>BB-1231</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>-</td>
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**ca. 188–88 B.C.**

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**late 1st century B.C. or later**

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<td>NN-113</td>
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<td>↓</td>
<td>2.26</td>
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**LYDIA**

**Hermokapelis**

**A.D. 117–138: time of Hadrian**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Ref.</th>
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<th>2.83</th>
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<tr>
<td>M-141</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>↓</td>
<td>2.83</td>
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</table>

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66 Dates for the Rhodian bronze we owe to personal communication from Mr. Ashton.
NON-Athenian Coins

Sardis

After 133 B.C.  

Head of Apollo r., laur.  
ΣΑΡΔΙ|ΑΝΩΝ Club;  
[monogram] below; all in oak wreath.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>968</th>
<th>Γ-98</th>
<th>15 ↓</th>
<th>2.39</th>
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<tr>
<td>968</td>
<td>X-187</td>
<td>15 -</td>
<td>2.36</td>
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<tr>
<td>968</td>
<td>ΣΑ-394</td>
<td>15 ↑</td>
<td>3.41</td>
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</table>

Tripolis

Late 2nd or early 3rd century after Christ

Bust of Serapis r., wearing modius.  
ΤΡΙΠΟ-ΛΕΙΤΩΝ  
Isis stg. 1., with sistrum and situla.

<table>
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<th>969 *a</th>
<th>Σ-426</th>
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<td>969</td>
<td>III-464</td>
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<td>2.62</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Kroll 1973, p. 319, no. 15, where wrongly identified as from Phrygian Hierapolis (B 17:1a)

Phrygia

Akmonia

1st century B.C.

Head of Zeus r., laur.  
[ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ]  
ΜΗ|ΩΔΟΤΟ| ΣΙΛΛΩΝ  
Asklepios leaning frontally on staff.

| 970 | ΩΩ-729a | 15 ↑ | 3.20 |

Apameia

Ca. 133-48 B.C.

Head of Zeus r., laur.  
[ΑΠΙ]ΑΜΕ at r. of Cult  
statue of Artemis Anaitis;  
[magistrate's name] at l.

| 971 | Γ-393 | 18 ↑ | 5.05 |

---


68 The somewhat worn condition of the coin (w4/5) is comparable to that of the Severan and late Antonine coins in this Herulian-invasion hoard.
CATALOGUE

LAODIKEIA

_after 133 B.C._

Female head r., wearing stephane.

972    K-779  18 ↑ 4.79

[ΔΩΔΙ]|ΚΕΩΝ Double cornucopia.

BMC 31-38

SYNNADA

_Imperial period_

Head of city-goddess r., turreted.

973     a  Η'-3811  19 ↑ 3.87
        b  ΠΠΙ-456  19 ↓ 2.82

CVNNA-ΔΕΩΝ

Athena stg. l., with phiale in r.

and spear in l.

BMC 13, 14

LYCIA

LYCIAN LEAGUE

_ca. 100–mid-30's B.C._

Head of Apollo r., laur.

974     a  I-925  12 - 1.12
        b  K-8  10 - 0.91

[ΛΥΚΙ above and initials of mint city on either side of] Crossed bow and quiver; all in incuse square.

H. A. Troxell, _The Coinage of the Lycian League_ (NUM 162), New York 1982, p. 100 (unit)

late 30's–early 20's B.C.

[A-Υ] Head of Artemis r., bow and quiver at shoulder.

975     a  ΟΟ-546  18  2.39

Masikytes mint

PATARA

_168 B.C.–Imperial period_

Head of Apollo r., laur.

976     a  AA-123a  8 ↑ 0.83

[ΠΑΤΑΡΕΩΝ] Head of Artemis l., wearing stephane.

BMC 5–8
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

PAMPHYLIA

ATTALIA

A.D. 116–117: Trajan (Parthicus)

[A K TPAIANOC]-ΠΑ[ΘIKOC] [ATTALΕΩΝ] 
Head r., laur. 
[ATTALΕΩΝ] 
Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

*977 Σ-5588 18 ↓ 3.83

PERGE

3rd century B.C.

Σphinx seated l. 
[ΙΑΝΑΨΑΣ ΠΡΕ[IΛΣ] ] 
Artemis stg. l., with wreath and scepter.

*978 Ν-805 13 ↑ 2.08

SIDE

3rd–2nd century B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet. 
Pomegranate. 
BMC 59–61, 71, 72

979 Larger module (BMC 59–61)
a PP'-1024 15 < 2.69 (U 13:2)
Smaller module (BMC 71, 72)
b T-1652 13 ↑ 1.91 
Kleiner 1975, p. 324, no. 354 (M–N 15:1)
c E-65a 12 - -
d NN-8777a 10 - -

c. 200–36 B.C.

Head of Athena r., wearing 
ΣΙ-ΑΗΤΩΝ] before Nike l. 
BMC 65–68

980 K-1551 16 ↑ 2.69

SIDYON

A.D. 181–193: Commodus

Μ ΑΡ ΑΒ ΚΟΜΜ-[ΑΝΤΩΝ] [Π]ΙΑΛΕΩΝ
Bust r., laur., cuir. 
Von Aulock 4874

*981 ΟΟ-1499 34 ↓ 29.30

(same dies)
CATALOGUE

PISIDIA

ANTIOCH

2nd century after Christ

ANTI[OCH]
Bust of Hermes r., caduceus at shoulder.

COLO-NIAE
Lighted altar.


982 Z-1725 14 \ 1.85

SELGE

2nd–1st century B.C.

Head of bearded Herakles r., club at shoulder.

[Σ]-E Winged thunderbolt and bow terminating at upper end in head of stag.

BMC 47, 48

983 K-92 13 ↑ 2.73

CILICIA

SELEUKIA ON THE KALYKADNOS

2nd century B.C.

N
Σ-E Head of Apollo r., laur.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩI
ΚΑΛΥΚΑΔΝΩΙ Forepart of horse r.; above, ΔΙ; below, ΑΥΗΕ.

BMC 11–14

(from the same 2nd-century B.C. layer as 824 [Andros])

984 Γ-1612 20 ↑ 4.25

SOLOI-POMPEIOPOLIS

4th century B.C.

Head r., [wearing helmet?].

[ΣΟΛ]ΕΩΝ (?) Bunch of grapes.

cf. BMC 34

985 E-2368 11 ↓ -

attribution of this coin to Soloi uncertain
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

after 66 B.C.

Head of Pompey r. \( \text{ΠΟΜΠΕ-ΙΟΠΟΛΙΕΩΝ} \) Nike \( \text{Νίκη} \) walking r., with wreath and palm; at r., \( \text{Ω} \).

\*986 ΠΘ-64a 20 ↑ 7.57

SYEDRA

A.D. 235–238: Maximus

\( \Gamma \, \text{ΙΟΥΟΥΗ} \, \text{ΜΑΣΙΜΟΣ} \, \text{ΚΑΙ} \) Bust r., cuir., dr.

\*987 Σ-3422 19 ↑ 3.57

TARSOS

cia. 130–31 B.C.\(^69\)

Head of city-goddess r., turreted.

\*988 ΚΤΑ-121 20 ↑ 7.14

KINGS OF GALATIA

Amyntas, 36–25 B.C.

Bust of Artemis r., bow and quiver at shoulder.

\*989 Η'–2742a 17 ↑ 3.26

SYRIA

Seleucid Kings

\( \text{WSM} \) and \( \text{Cop} \) assign all the following to the mint of Antioch on the Orontes.

Seleukos III, 226–223 B.C.

Head of Artemis r., quiver at shoulder.

\*990 Ε-1295 15 ↑ 3.71

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Textual Information</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>991</td>
<td>[Head of Apollo r.]</td>
<td>[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΟΧΟΥ] WSM, nos. 1110, 1114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>992</td>
<td>Serrated edge</td>
<td>Σ-468 20 † 6.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>993</td>
<td>Bust of young Dionysos r., wearing ivy wreath, thrysos at shoulder; behind, ME.</td>
<td>ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ Forepart of galley l.; above, Α′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>994</td>
<td>Winged bust of Eros r.</td>
<td>ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ cf. BMC 60, 61; ΕΥΡΓΕΤ[ΟΥ] Crown of Isis; below, ΠΡ; at r., H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>995</td>
<td>Head of Zeus r., laur.</td>
<td>ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ[ΩΝ] ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΗ[ΩΣ] ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟ[ΜΟΥ] Zeus seated l., holding Nike and scepter; thunderbolt above; pilei of Dioskouroi l. and r.; all in wreath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>996</td>
<td>Bust of Hadrian r.</td>
<td>S. C. in wreath.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

A.D. 252–254: Volusian

**Bill. Tetradrachm**

\[ - - - - - - \]

Bust of Volusian r., rad. \[\Delta H\text{MAPX-\EU}O\text{VCIAC}\] Eagle, stg., facing, head l., wreath in beak; in ex., S C.

\[997\]

H'-3726 26 ↓ 9.95

**Judea**

*Alexander Jannaios, 103–76 B.C. Imitation*

Anchor in circle. Star with eight rays, surrounded by diadem.

\[998\]

PP-597 13 - 0.67 illegible traces of inscriptions

*Herod Archelaos, 4 B.C.–A.D. 6*

\[\text{HPW}Δ[\text{OY}]\] Bunch of grapes on branch with leaf. \[\text{EONAP}XΩ\] Macedonian helmet; at l., caduceus.

\[999\]

K-801 18 ↘ 2.01+

*Agrippa I, year 6 = A.D. 41/2*

\[\text{[BACIA}Λ\text{OY}]\text{AΓPIT[A]}\] Umbrella with fringe. L-ς Three wheat ears.

\[1000\]

a NN-1048 18 ↑ 2.63 inscriptions as above

b NN-661 16 - - details illegible
c OO-173 17 - - same
d ΠΓ-95 16 - - same

A.D. 58/9: Nero, year 5

\[\text{N}ΕP[\text{WNO}]Ω\text{C}\] in olive wreath. \[L \in \text{KAIC-APOC}\] Palm branch.

\[1001\]

K-1176 17 ↑ 2.24

*The Jewish War, year 2 = A.D. 67/8*

\[\text{N}\text{H} \text{V}\text{H} \text{Y}\text{R} \text{H} \text{V}\text{E} \text{R}\text{E} \text{H})\text{I}\] Krater. \[\text{I\text{M} \text{V}}\text{E} \text{N}\text{H} \text{E} \text{R}\text{E}\text{H} \text{V}\text{E}\text{R}\text{E}\text{H} \text{H})\] Vine branch.

\[1002\]

*a Ω-109 17 ↑ 1.84

b ΓΓ-191 16 - 1.65
CATALOGUE

PERSIAN EMPIRE

480's–mid-4th century B.C.

AV DARIC

King running r., carrying spear and bow.  
Oblong incuse.  
I. Carradice, “The ‘Regal’ Coinage of the Persian Empire,” in Carradice, pp. 73–93, Type IIIb (early)

*1003 Ψ-83  15 - 8.33  GRC, fig. 16

On darics at Athens, see under 866 and the Athens 1929 hoard (IGCH 32) of several hundred darics, recovered near the Ilissos river.

EGYPT

PTOLEMAIC KINGS

Ptolemy II, 285–246 B.C.

Veiled head of Arsinoe II r.  
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ  
Πτολεμαῖων,  
o. 351

[ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ]  
Πτολεμαῖων,  
pl. XIII:18–24

*1004 NN-995  18 † 4.33

Head of Zeus r., laur.  
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ  
Πτολεμαῖων,  
o. 839

1005 X-207  27 † 14.60

Head of Zeus Ammon r.  
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ  
Πτολεμαῖων,  
o. 1000

Berytos mint

Bust of Ptolemy III, laur.  
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ  
Πτολεμαῖων,  
o. 1000

1007  
a  BB-874  20 † 5.24

b  Z-517a  23 † 7.15+

c  ΞΞ-9a  20 † 4.59+

d  O-78  20 † 4.59+

e  N-95a  19 † broken  
(found with 629c)
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

Ptolemy IV, 222–204 B.C.

Veiled head of Arsinoe r.  

[ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]  
Πτολεμαῖων,  
Double cornucopia.  

1008  
K-861  
13  
1.38  
Cyprus mint

Unclassifiable Ptolemy I–IV, 3rd century B.C.

Head of Zeus Ammon r.  

[ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]  
Eagle stg. l. on thunderbolt, wings lifted.

1009  
All extremely worn

a  
ΔΔ-82  
29  
13.58+  
(M 21:1)

b  
O-583  
28  
13.62+  
(pierced)

c  
N-1167  
28  
14.18+  
(K 9–10:1)

d  
Γ-1224  
27  
14.09+  

 e  
OO-621  
27  
11.12+  

f  
Θ-166  
27  
8.90+  

 g  
ΩΔ-94  
27  
10.65+  

 h  
Ω-152  
26  
10.80+  
(N 20:4)

i  
OO-875  
26  
11.44+  

 j  
K-882  
-  
-  
(fragment)

k  
NN-1888  
20  
6.30+  

l  
ΠΘ-272a  
21  
6.40+  

Ptolemy VI and VIII, joint coinage of 170–163 B.C.

Head of Zeus Ammon r.  

[ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]  
Two eagles stg. l. on thunderbolt; at l., cornucopia.

1010  
*a  
KΤΑ-120  
19  
8.34  

 b  
T-102  
19  
8.91  

 c  
NN-1786  
18  
6.80  

Ptolemy VI, 181–146 B.C.

AR Tetradrachm

Head of Ptolemy I, diad. and wearing aegis.  

[ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]  
Πτολεμαῖων,  
Eagle stg. l. on thunderbolt; at r., ΠΑ; at l., ΛΚΑ.

*1011  
ΠΘ-590  
23  
11.64+  
Year 21 (160 B.C.). Paphos mint

Head of Ptolemy VII r., diad.  
Cmk.: K in incuse square.  

[ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]  
Πτολεμαῖων,  
Eagle stg. l., wings lifted, on thunderbolt; at l., dolphin.

1012  
Γ-1330  
19  
4.31  
Syrian mint
CATALOGUE

Ptolemy VIII, 145-116 B.C.

Head of Zeus Ammon r.  
[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕ]ΜΑΙ[ΟΥ] Πτολεμαῖων,  
ΕΥΓΕΡΓ[ΕΤΟΥ] nos. 1651, 1652

Eagle stg. l., wings lifted,  
on thunderbolt, at l., ΘΕ.

1013 a NN-1972 22 ↑ 6.05 larger module (Πτολεμαῖων, no. 1651); legend effaced. Cyrenaica mint

* b BB-561 17 ↑ 4.01 smaller module (Πτολεμαῖων, no. 1652); legend as above. Same mint

Similar.

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Πτολεμαῖων,  
ΕΥΓΕΡΓΕΤΟ no. 1653

Eagle stg. r., wings lifted,  
on thunderbolt.

*1014 NN-1581 33 ↑ 19.86 (?) Cyrenaica mint. GRC, fig. 19

Ptolemy IX, 117–81 B.C.

Similar.

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Πτολεμαῖων,  
ΕΥΓΕΡΓΕΤΟ no. 1722

Isis crown; at l. and r., Σ-Ω.

1015 *a Σ-147 14 ↑ 1.7 Cyrenaica mint

b B-514 14 ↑ 1.67 same

Ptolemy XI, 114–88 B.C.

Similar.

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Πτολεμαῖων,  
ΕΥΓΕΡΓΕΤΟ no. 1813

Eagle stg. l. on thunderbolt;  
at l., aplustre.

*1017 H-1002 28 ↑ 7.30 Cyprus mint

Ptolemy XII, 80–51 B.C.

Similar.

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Πτολεμαῖων,  
ΕΥΓΕΡΓΕΤΟ no. 1842

Two eagles stg. l. on thunderbolt; at l., Isis crown  
on stand.

1018 NN-201 20 ↑ 3.12

* In the forthcoming catalogue of coins from the University of Pennsylvania Museum excavations of the Demeter sanctuary at Cyrene, Theodore V. Buttrey attributes 1013, 1014, and 1015 to the Cyrenaica. See also 1032 below.
### NON-ATHENIAN COINS

**Kleopatra VII, 51–30 B.C.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalog</th>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1019</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>N-2a</td>
<td>Eagle stg. l. on thunderbolt; at r., [M].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Alexandria**

**Domitian, A.D. 81–96**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalog</th>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1020</td>
<td>BB-1252</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hawk stg. r., wearing skhent; at l., [L].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Trajan, A.D. 96–117**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalog</th>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1021</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Σ-4447a</td>
<td>Head of Trajan r., laur.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hadrian, A.D. 117–138**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalog</th>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1022</td>
<td>A-1443</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two pilei of Dioskouroi; below, ΛΔΕ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138–161**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalog</th>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1025</td>
<td>I-488a</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bust of Hermanubis r., wearing modius [date letters].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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CATALOGUE

Trojan-Antoninus Pius

Effaced head of emperor. Crown of Isis. Milne 1933, nos. 1171, 5270-5272; BMC 560, 561, 891-901, 1211

Probus, A.D. 276–282

BILL. Tetradrachm


1027 OO-543 12 - 0.99+

Dieocletian, A.D. 284–305

BILL. Tetradrachm

A K Υ ΓΟΥΑ ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ Bust r., laur., dr. Milne 1933, nos. 4768-4773, 4935-4936

1028 I-1 21 † 6.86 Year 2

1029 Σ-2889 20 † 6.78 Years 2-6

CYRENAICA

Cyrene

late 4th century B.C.

Head of Karneios r. K Y P Triple silphium plant. BMC 198–200

1031 OO-1286 14 ↓ 1.15

“Regal” Coinage

ca. 140–96 B.C.

Head of Ptolemy I r. Head of Libya r. BMC, p. 89, nos. 95–104

1032 I-1115a 13 † 1.17

See also 1013–1015.
NON-ATHENIAN COINS

ROMAN PROVINCE OF CYRENAICA AND CRETE

cia. 67 B.C.

Head of Roma r., wearing Corinthian helmet. Bee in dotted circle.

1033 EE-78 24 † 11.63 (N 21:4) Minted in Crete

37–34 B.C.

Head of Artemis r., bow and quiver at shoulder; beneath chin, Γ.

*1034 Γ-1122 29 † 13.01 Minted in Crete

NUMIDIA

Juba I, 60–46 B.C.

AR Denarius

REX IVBA
Bust r., diad., scepter over shoulder.

HMMLKT IOBAI in Neo-Punic characters.
Octastyle temple approached by steps.

*1035 K-1477 18 † 3.30

UNCLASSIFIED

Unattributable Greek Imperials with Identifiable Obverse Portraits

1036

Augustus
a PP-62 15
Nero
b Ω-600 16
c T-1092 16
Julio-Claudian emperor
d O-619 24
e OO-771 11
f PP'-284 18
Hadrian
g Z-2126 18
M. Aurelius, L. Verus, or Commodus
h Σ-1843a 22
i OO-1276 21
j O-239 22
Caracalla
k ΣT-364 22

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Illegible Coins with Countermarks

The listing is by countermarks, which are stamped in an incuse circle unless otherwise noted. Nearly all the coins are totally worn.

4th century B.C. and Hellenistic

Cornucopia in incuse oval
a Σ-3912 14
b NN-502 18
c F-1088 20

Dolphin on trident

b rev. type of beardless head
c

Dolphin on trident in incuse square
d KK-166 15

Lyre
e K-1568 15

Rosette or star
f H-1810 17
g EA-15 14
h Z-3004 13
i BE-424 18

Bunch of grapes
j K-1497 15
k OO-1263 15

Crude wreath?
l N-1120 20

m B-606 15

Star(?) in incuse square

o T-141a 21

IN
p BE-501 20

R in incuse field of same shape
q P-1494 17

Greek Imperials

Open left hand in incuse field of same shape
n IIII-230 22

The countermark, located in front of the obv. head, is considerably larger than the open-hand countermarks found on earlier duoviral asses of Corinth (Amandry, pp. 30–31, pl. I).

Halved Coins, Worn Illegible

1038

a Θ-182 16
b Ψ-323 17
c BZ-165 19
d Z-1003 21
e Z-1273 24
f Z-1511 25

By size and fabric the first three could be Athenian (Periods III and IV).
130 badly preserved non-Athenian coins have so far resisted identification. These are kept together in the Agora records office for further study by staff and visiting numismatic specialists.
APPENDIX A
THREE MODERN IMITATIONS
(Plate 32:a–c)

As noted in Chapter I (p. 7 above), a few of the 5th-century B.C. Athenian drachms and tetradrachms from the Agora are suspect: if not ancient imitations, one or two conceivably could be modern. Here we list three Greek coins from the Agora whose modern fabrication cannot be doubted. The source of the first, the Athenian tetradrachm, is uncertain, but one assumes that the coin either is a lost souvenir or derives from a house or tourist shop that stood above or near the place of discovery. The other two come from 19th- or early 20th-century houses that were demolished for excavation. Whether any of the bona fide ancient coins from recent or disturbed contexts in the excavations might be similar strays from modern collections, antiquities shops, or the like, there is usually no way of knowing. But these three fakes make it a clear possibility.

*a. "AR" forgery of an Athenian tetradrachm of the second half of the 5th century B.C. Compare variety § above.

Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet.

AGE Owl stg. r., facing; behind, olive spray and crescent.

PP-192 24 10.14 g.

Betrayed by its mediocre style, light weight, pewterlike alloy, and dulled, cast relief, all of which are typical of cheap, modern imitations. Found in mixed, late, although not obviously “modern” fill.

*b. AR forgery of a Siculo-Punic tetradrachm of the 4th century B.C. Compare Cop (Sicily) 978–982.

Head of Persephone-Tanit; around, three dolphins.

Horse’s head l.; behind, palm tree; below, traces of Punic inscription.

Z-1 22 7.33 g.

The metal has a pitted, cast look, and the weight is less than half of what it should be. Found in the cellar of a modern house.


Head of Apollo r., laur.

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
Chariot drawn by two galloping horses r.

AA-14 18 4.06 g. holed

Apart from the fact that these types were not anciently struck in silver, the surface of the metal, especially on the reverse, has the pitted texture of a modern cast. The coin, drilled for attachment as an ornament, was found in 1937 during the demolition of modern houses.
APPENDIX B
UNSTRUCK BLANKS AND THE MINTS OF THE AGORA
(Plates 32 and 33)

I
The large square building known as "The Mint" at the southeast corner of the Agora square
(P–Q 16) owes its identification to the more than 160 coin blanks excavated from its floors.1 The
best-known blanks are the ten that were found in 1953 with the remainder of the bronze rod from
which they had been chopped (Pl. 32:d). Renewed excavation in 1959 recovered eight similar blanks
from the floor of another room (see Pl. 32:e). During the final exploration of the building in 1978,
floor areas and refuse pits dug through the floor yielded an additional 144 blanks and related pieces
of scrap bronze.

Measuring about 27 by 29 m., the structure had the form of an open courtyard with three roofed
rooms along the back wall. The room at the southwest corner was much the largest, taking up about
a quarter of the entire plan. The remains of two furnaces and some cement-lined water basins set in
the floor show that most of the bronze-working activity took place in this southwest room.

Before the excavations of 1978, it was assumed that this was the mint of Classical and Hellenistic
Athens, τὸ φεύγωροχοπεῖον, mentioned in several epigraphical and literary texts of the 5th, 4th, and
2nd centuries B.C.,2 and that Athenian silver as well as bronze coins were minted here. It is now
apparent, however, that the present building played a far more limited role in the history of Athenian
coinage. Analyses of furnishings and debris excavated from the building in 1978 failed to produce
trace elements of silver, much less any more conspicuous indications of silver working. And although
the latest pottery recovered beneath the floors placed the construction of the building as early as
"the years around 400 B.C.,"3 none of the excavated bronze blanks appear to be earlier than the
Period IVB coinage of 42/1–32 B.C., by which time Athens had ceased to mint in silver. Further
study of the coin blanks may require minor chronological adjustments, but at present the dating
of the three main groups of blanks from the mint rests on the following considerations:

Group 1 (1953). Plate 32:d illustrates ten of the eleven pieces that were found together "im-
mediately beneath the latest ancient ground level" just northeast of the large southwest room in
1953 and prompted identification of the building as a mint.4 Collectively inventoried as B(ronze)

1 For the building: H. A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1953," Hesperia 23, 1954 (pp. 31–67),
pp. 45–48; idem, "Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1954," Hesperia 24, 1955 (pp. 50–71), p. 59; idem, "Activities in
(The Athenian Agora XX), Princeton 1971, p. 3, pls. 2:b, 28. Agora XIV, pl. 33:c; idem, fig. 78; GRC, fig. 3); Thompson 1955 (note 1 above), p. 59.

2 To the testimonia collected in Agora III, pp. 160–161, add B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," Hesperia 32, 1963
(pp. 1–56), pp. 31–32, no. 29.

3 Camp, p. 129.

4 Thompson 1954 (note 1 above), pp. 46–47, pl. 14:b (with the photograph reproduced in M. Lang, The Athenian
Citizen [Excavations of the Athenian Agora Picture Book 4], Princeton 1960, fig. 13; Agora XIV, pl. 33:c; Guide4, fig. 78;
GRC, fig. 3); Thompson 1955 (note 1 above), p. 59.
APPENDIX B: UNSTRUCK BLANKS AND THE MINTS OF THE AGORA

1046, they comprise a short length of bronze rod, eight usable blanks that had been chopped from it, and two unusable blanks that had been chopped off incompletely. Diameters are 12 to 14 mm. The eight complete blanks have thicknesses of 7 to 10 mm., with an average thickness of 8 mm., and weights of 7.58 to 5.10 g., with an average of 6.48 g.\(^5\)

One of the two incomplete blanks was sent for chemical analysis to E. R. Caley and W. H. Deebel at The Ohio State University, who determined that its alloy was composed of 66.5 percent copper, 7 percent tin, and 26.7 percent lead.\(^6\) The lead:tin ratio (a critical index for metallurgical comparison, according to Caley and Deebel) is 3.62:1. Since the lead percentage is extremely high for any pre-imperial issue of Athens (see Tables III and IV, pp. 324–327 below), Caley and Deebel correctly recognized that the blanks must belong to the Athenian bronze coinage of the 1st century B.C., that is, the coinage of Periods IVB–E. In fact, the only AE 1 issue of Athens that even approaches this percentage is the Antonian Zeus/Dionysos issue 144, which dates a year before the Battle of Actium to 32 B.C. The one specimen of 144 (from a private collection) that has been metallurgically analyzed proved to have a lead content of 22.73 percent and a 3.61:1 lead:tin ratio\(^7\) that is essentially identical to the one obtained for the blank. Eighteen slightly worn hoard specimens of 144 (Table IV) gave an average weight of 6.33 g., which again is remarkably close to the 6.48-g. average of the eight complete blanks.

It would be helpful to analyze more Period IV coins for comparison. Towards this end several specimens of each Period IVB–D issue were selected in 1991 for nondestructive analysis. Until the results of this project are available, the blanks and rod fragment found in 1953 are to be connected with variety 144 and dated with it to 32 B.C.

Group 2 (1959). The second group consists of eight pieces that were found in 1959 “embedded in the ancient floor in one of the rooms of the SW block.”\(^8\) Six others are illustrated on Plate 32:e: B 1242 (5.33 g.), B 1243 (5.32 g.), B 1237 (7.70 g.), B 1238 (broken, 1.85 g.), B 1239 (end of rod, 6.94 g.), B 1244 (7.60 g.). There is no reason to disassociate these chronologically from the pieces found in 1953. Diameters and weights are similar.

The two blanks, B 1068a (7.02 g.) and b (6.58 g.), on Plate 32:e are also contemporary. Both were found in 1952 in the same area as the 1953 blanks but at a higher level. The one blank from within the mint that may be slightly earlier, or, less likely, later, than the rest is B 1245, which is wider (diam. 15 mm.) and heavier (8.96 g.). Its relation to the other blanks and its place in the IVB or IVB–E coinage (it is too light for Period IVA) should become clear when it is analyzed for its lead content along with the coins mentioned above and with a number of other blanks. In addition to the foregoing blanks excavated within the mint, ten similar blanks randomly turned up in the 1950’s in digging in the general vicinity, mostly in Roman Imperial and later contexts.

Group 3 (1978). The 1978 excavations recovered 144 blanks, rod ends, and pieces of bronze scrap. Most come from pits in the floor of the building and are in such a corroded condition that little of the original metal remains. Consisting almost entirely of corrosion products, they could not be cleaned. A full listing with weights will be published once samples have been analyzed. Here, however, it should be mentioned that three sizes are represented. In diameter and weight the larger pieces are similar to the better-preserved (reduced AE 1) Group 1 and 2 blanks found in the 1950’s.

---

5 Weights of the eight: 7.58, 7.14, 6.78 (2), 6.50, 6.03, 5.93, 5.10.
7 *New Style*, p. 640.
The intermediate blanks are of reduced AE 2 size (ca. 2.25–4.00 g.); a few smaller ones are AE 4 (1.50–2.00 g.). At the time of excavation, it was assumed from the sizes of the blanks that most of them belong to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. But a date in the Antonian Period IVB (42/1–32 B.C.) is just as suitable for the three denominations and is to be preferred in light of the more closely studied blanks from the earlier excavations.

Whatever purpose the building served before the middle of the 1st century B.C., present evidence suggests that it was probably not converted to use as a mint until after the Battle of Philippi in 42 B.C. Metallurgical analyses of more blanks should clarify whether minting continued here only to the end of Period IVB in 31 B.C. or whether some of the blanks belong as late as the Augustan Period IVC–E coinage, in which case the building will have functioned as a mint well into the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. A new mint was clearly established at some other location when coining resumed in the 2nd century after Christ (Period V), for in the course of that century the site of the structure in the southeast corner of the Agora was largely built over by the Southeast Temple and the Nymphaeum.

II

All or nearly all the blanks from the Period IV mint in the southeast corner of the Agora are unfinished. Very thick and having rough, faceted surfaces, they are still chopped segments of a bronze rod. Before being struck between coin dies they had to be heated and hammered to give them the necessary smoothness and disk shape of the twenty-five finished coin blanks illustrated on Plate 32:f. Size, weight, and fabric indicate that these finished blanks date too from Period IVB or B–E, and so they were very likely prepared in the mint at the southeast corner of the Agora. They were found, however, in 1933 in the opposite, southwest corner of the Agora square, between the Tholos and the Middle Stoa, in a pocket of gravelly fill beside the Great Drain (Deposit H 12:4); the latest coins date the fill to the middle of the 3rd century after Christ. Presumably discarded in the second half of the 1st century B.C., the blanks were probably transported from their original place of deposition in old, redivg earth.

The sharp, unworn edges of the pieces make it clear that these are unstruck coin blanks from a mint and not heavily circulated Period IV coins like those pictured on Plate 34 that had lost their types through wear. There are two sizes. The twenty-two reduced AE 1 pieces measure 16–18 mm. in diameter and weigh 5.44 to 8.55 g.; the mean weight is 6.95 g. The three smaller pieces have 13-mm. diameters and weigh 2.7 to 2.9 g. Several specimens will be analyzed for lead content to assist identification with specific issues of the Period IV coinage.

III

The one Agora blank that survives from the manufacture of the Hadrianic-Antonine Period VB or C coinage is the stray B 1641 (Pl. 33:a; 22 mm., 8.51 g.). Association with the 2nd-century imperial coinage is shown instantly by the shallow cavity punched on one side. The beveled edge of the blank is further proof that the blank had been manufactured by casting. Found during excavation

9 Camp, p. 129; Guide6, p. 162.
11 These blanks still carry their original coin inventory numbers: Z-2076, 2077, 2083, 2084, 2086, 2088, 2089, 2091, 2093–2095, 2101, 2104, 2105, 2109, 2111, 2113, 2116, 2118, 2121, 2131, 2140.
12 Z-2079, 2100, 2117.
13 Pp. 113–114, 115 above.
of the northern part of the Stoa of Attalos in mixed fill, it had apparently circulated as a coin, since it has been stamped with a countermark of an open right hand in an incuse oval. This particular countermark has not been found on other Agora coins, although for the countermark of an open left hand, see 1037n.

IV

The Athenian mint of the 2nd century after Christ apparently lay outside the excavated area. In the middle of the 3rd century, however, minting returned to the south side of the Agora square, although this time in the venerable old building at the opposite, southwest corner, the building labeled on Plate 36 the Rectangular Peribolos. Originally built in the 6th century b.c. as a governmental or religious structure, it was heavily damaged by Sulla's forces in 86 b.c. and was subsequently occupied for most of the Roman period by various industrial establishments. In the 1st and 2nd centuries after Christ, occupants included potters and marble workers. Remains of bronze working have also been found and were assigned to a reuse of the site after the Herulians destroyed the building in A.D. 267. But this evidence will have to be reexamined since at least some of it dates just before the destruction, ca. A.D. 264–267, when the building served as the mint for Athens' last coinage, the Period VI imperials.

In 1961 thirty-eight unstruck flans of sawn, Period VI type (Inv. B 1254) and four broken or misstruck Period VI coins (K-1641–1644) were found together in a pit in the floor of the building's southwest peristyle (Deposit I 1:3; Pl. 33:b). Like the four coins, most of the blanks are rejects. Six of the blanks were sawn from a bar at an angle and are not completely circular. A large air bubble in the bar from which fifteen of the other blanks were sawn was responsible for the holes in them. The burial of this refuse in a pit implies that it had been swept together in a clean-up, possibly while the mint was still in operation. It is doubtful, of course, whether this building was ever formally called a mint since coins were never struck here for more than a few years. As with the building in the southeast corner of the Agora, we again have to do with a structure that was temporarily taken over for the manufacture of bronze coins long after its use in other capacities.17

16 Guide2, p. 106: “The final destruction came with the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 after which a colony of bronze workers settled for a time among the ruins.”
17 Unstruck coin blanks have been found at a number of other Greek sites: Eretria (G. F. Hill, “Ancient Methods of Coining,” NC, ser. 5, 2, 1922, p. 11, pl. 1:6); Olynthus (Olynthus XIV, pp. 403–406, pl. 173:23–25); Halieis (J. A. Dengate, “The Mint of Ancient Halieis” [lecture, Washington, D.C. 1975], abstract in Summaries of the Papers Presented at the 77th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, December 28–30, 1975, New York 1975, p. 4); Argos (H. Consolaki and T. Hackens, “Un atelier monétaire dans un temple argien?,” Études argiennes [BCH Supplement 4], Paris 1980, pp. 279–284, figs. 10–13); Chalkis (ibid., p. 289, fig. 14 [silver]); Tauric Chersonesos (if these blanks are indeed Classical and not Byzantine, see ibid., p. 286, note 16); and Pella, where the Hellenistic mint has been recently excavated at the edge of the agora (publication by Dr. Mando Oikonomidou, forthcoming).
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

A. OUTSIDE THE AGORA

Summarized here is the evidence from the Olynthos, Kerameikos, and Pnyx excavations that has a special relevance for the chronology of Athenian and related bronze coinages in the 4th century B.C. The other accumulations of coins found outside the Agora and cited in this volume are the hoards listed under item 6 below.

1. OLYNTHOS

At a colloquium on ancient Olynthos held in Boston in December 1989, the two principle participants confirmed the conclusions of the excavator, D. M. Robinson, that the excavated portion of the city was destroyed and abandoned in 348 B.C. except for the Northwest Quarter, whose houses continued to be inhabited until the founding of Kassandra in 316.1 Susan Rotroff inferred the correctness of Robinson's historical reconstruction from independent ceramic comparanda.2 Nicholas Cahill, who has studied the excavation notebooks and wrote his doctoral dissertation (University of California at Berkeley 1991) on Olynthos, emphasized, as Robinson had earlier, that nearly all the Macedonian regal coins from the excavation that date after 348 B.C. were concentrated in the pre-316 B.C. Northwest houses; the few, random exceptions are to be understood as stray pieces that scavengers dropped while plundering the ruins for stone and other building material.3 The proposal of some of Robinson's critics to downdate the abandonment of all the Olynthos houses to 316 or later4 can no longer be regarded as tenable.

Even so, one still has to be cautious in citing Olynthos for numismatic chronology. Every coin should be checked for its findspot and the coins found with it to ensure that it does come from a house destroyed or abandoned in 348. In most cases the provenience concordances at the back of Olynthos IX and XIV are sufficient for this kind of checking. More detailed information, including the level at which each coin was found, is recorded in the unpublished notebooks. I am grateful to Dr. Cahill for generously providing such unpublished information for the catalogue notes on the coins of Lemnian Myrina (455) and Attic Salamis (640).

1 Olynthus IX, pp. 368–370.
3 The published abstract of Cahill’s paper, “Social and Spatial Organization at Olynthos,” AJA 94, 1990, pp. 314–315, does not include his prefatory observations on the coins and on the destruction chronology. On the later coins from the Northwest Quarter, see under 497 above. On stone robbing as a major activity after 348 at the site, see W. Hoepfner and E.-L. Schwandner, Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland, Munich 1986, p. 29, with note 67.
2. *Kerameikos Building Z-3 Destruction Debris*

In the last quarter of the 4th century, the superstructure of this large building just inside the Sacred Gate collapsed and covered *inter alia* an unusually large number of coins scattered on the floor. Among them was a tetradrachm of Alexander III from the mint of Amphipolis and datable, through the latest Amphipolis issues in the Demanhur hoard, to ca. 320–317 B.C. The remaining coins, summarized here through the generosity of the excavator, Dr. Ursula Knigge, are bronze:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Coins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>1 Eleusis Piglet on staff (38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 AΩE Piglet on staff (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33 Double-bodied owl (41–43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 Two owls, no symbol (46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Two owls, details illegible (44–47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Eleusis Wreathed piglet, short ethnic above or below (48, 49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salamis</td>
<td>2 Nymph/Shield (640)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megara</td>
<td>1 Two dolphins (643)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aigina</td>
<td>1 Two dolphins (662)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grynion</td>
<td>1 Apollo/Musselshell (Coh [Aeolis-Lesbos], pl. 5:202–207).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The destruction of the building occurred between the ca. 320–317 issue of the Alexander tetradrachm and the circulation of Athens' Owl-left bronze (50), which is absent from the deposit but which must have been in circulation by 304 B.C. (see item 3, next) and probably began in 307/6 (p. 33 above). Dr. Knigge has attributed the destruction to a natural catastrophe, possibly an earthquake. But since there is no contemporary evidence elsewhere in Athens for such an event, a respectable alternative case can be made that the structure was hastily demolished to facilitate the extensive 307–304 B.C. renovation of the adjacent city walls.

3. *Kerameikos Dipylon Road Levels*

During excavations of the Dipylon gate in the 1960's, Gottfried Gruben recovered a small but important sequence of bronze coins from the successive 4th-century levels of the road that ran through the gate. In advance of the final excavation report, we are able, through the kindness of Drs. Gruben, Peter Franke, and Judith Binder, to list the coins from the numismatically significant Levels III through IV.

| Found on Road Level IIIb | Athens | 1 Eleusis Piglet on staff (38) |
|                         | Salamis | 1 Nymph/Shield (640) |
| embedded in Road Level IIIb | Salamis | 1 Nymph/Shield (640) |
| embedded in Road Level IIIc | Athens | 1 Eleusis Piglet on staff (38) |
| embedded in Road Level IV | Athens | 3 Double-bodied owl (42, 43) |
|                           | 1 Owl1. (50) |

Road Level IV, which gives the earliest datable context for the Athenian Owl-left variety, was laid immediately after the rebuilding of the Dipylon that took place between the publication of *IG II*2 463 in 307/6

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9. For the renovation, *ibid.*, pp. 55, 64.
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

(cf. line 53) and Kassandros’ siege of Athens in 304. Road Level IIIb goes back probably to around 350 and ought not in any case be later than ca. 325 (according to Judith Binder, who was assigned the pottery from Gruben’s investigations).

The Athenian bronze coin that was found in a joint of the Dipylon masonry and that originally led Gruben to date the gate complex to the early 3rd century has now been cleaned and found to be of the Double-bodied owl variety of the third quarter of the 4th century.

4. KERAMEIKOS DIPYLON WELL B-1

Two corroded lumps of bronze coins from the bottom of this well in the courtyard of the Dipylon represent two purses that were dropped down the well early in its use. The coins, illustrated by Karin Braun and assigned factors of wear in EABC, pp. 140–142, are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purse A</th>
<th>Athens</th>
<th>12 Two owls over plemochoe (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 Eleusis Wreathed piglet, ΕΛΕΥ above (48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purse B</td>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>1 AR triobol (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Two owls over plemochoe (45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 Two owls, no symbol (46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 Owl I. (50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 Eleusis Wreathed piglet, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ below (51).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The well was constructed sometime after 307/6, since it was dug through the Dipylon Road Level IV and was apparently in use already by the time that Kassandros was besieging Athens in 304. Christian Habicht attributes the lead curse tablet from the bottom of the well to the year of this siege. The tablet, which curses Kassandros, two of his generals, and Demetrios of Phaleron, could hardly have been buried in a tomb outside the city walls before being dumped down the well if the cursing was performed while the siege was in progress. The tablet would, rather, have been intentionally thrown into the well immediately after inscribing, like the lead defixiones deposited in wells and springs in Roman times. Deposition in a well may have been exceptional as early as the 4th century B.C.; but with enemy forces occupying the cemetery outside the Dipylon, it would have been impossible to activate the curse by the preferred procedure of burying it in a grave. The latest pottery from the bottom fill of the well has been independently estimated to date from around 300 B.C. or a little later.

5. FILL OF THE LAST PERIOD (III) OF THE ASSEMBLY PLACE ON THE PNYX

The construction date of the Third Period of the Assembly Place is disputed. The excavators originally believed it to be Hadrianic. Later work and reflection led Homer Thompson to argue for the third quarter of

the 4th century B.C., in particular the 340's and 330's. Recently, Mogens H. Hansen writes that the original attribution to the time of Hadrian was right all along.

The eight bronze coins excavated in 1931 from the fill fall into two tight chronological groups, one of approximately the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., the other of the Early Imperial period:

(a) Athens 1 Double-bodied owl (41–43)
Salamis 4 Nymph/Shield (640)
Peparethos 1 Dionysos/Kantharos (Cop [Thessaly] 359, 360)
(b) Athens 1 Parthenos/Owl on prow (152)
1 Parthenos/Sphinx (153).

The six 4th-century coins go with the great mass of material from the fill that dates from the third quarter of the 4th century and earlier. The two Augustan coins of the second group are the kind that remained in circulation throughout the 1st century into the 2nd century after Christ. They indicate either that the final construction of the Assembly Place was indeed Roman or, if the construction happened to be earlier, that its fill was heavily disturbed by some kind of Roman repair work. Others will want to discuss these two possibilities further. Here it needs only be observed that the fill, or at least the main 4th-century part of the fill, provides another important context before the last quarter or third of the century for coins of Salamis.

6. HOARDS CITED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IGCH</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Athens (Ilissos river) 1929</td>
<td>p. 283 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Peiraeus (not “Eleusis”) 1902</td>
<td>pp. 7–8 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Peiraeus 1882</td>
<td>note 52 above, p. 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Agios Ioannis Rentis, Attica, 1962</td>
<td>note 25 above, p. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Aspropyrgos, Attica, 1951</td>
<td>note 31 above, p. 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Peiraeus 1956</td>
<td>note 66 above, p. 49</td>
</tr>
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<td>134</td>
<td>Thorikos 1969</td>
<td>p. 10 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Phyattos ca. 1956</td>
<td>note 47 above, p. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Corinth 1938</td>
<td>p. 13 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>Thebes 1935</td>
<td>pp. 10–11 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>Kopais 1908</td>
<td>pp. 204–205 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>Thebes 1965</td>
<td>pp. 204–205 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td>Larissa-Sitichoro 1968</td>
<td>p. 13 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td>Tambouria, Peiraeus, 1938</td>
<td>p. 66 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269</td>
<td>Attica 1949</td>
<td>p. 66 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>Agrinion 1959</td>
<td>p. 205 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>Attica (Pnyx) 1937</td>
<td>note 109 above, p. 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>275</td>
<td>Athens (Plaka) ca. 1942</td>
<td>note 109 above, p. 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>Athens 1955</td>
<td>p. 66 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277</td>
<td>Keratea, Attica, 1954</td>
<td>p. 67 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279</td>
<td>Porto Raphiti, Attica, 1967</td>
<td>p. 67 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>Attica 1906</td>
<td>note 109 above, p. 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281</td>
<td>Attica 1927</td>
<td>note 109 above, p. 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>282</td>
<td>Attica 1937</td>
<td>note 109 above, p. 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>283</td>
<td>Attica ca. 1951</td>
<td>note 109 above, p. 67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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B. AGORA DEPOSITS

These are the more important Agora deposits for Greek numismatic chronology. Each deposit is identified by its letter and number coordinates on the Agora grid (Pls. 35 and 36) and the number assigned to the deposit within this grid square. Since most of the deposits are summarized or discussed in other publications, the following notices rarely go beyond bibliography and a listing of the coins. In the case of deposits that have been variously dated, asterisks denote the most current or informative citation or citations. Boldface variety numbers are used to reference coins that are not catalogued individually in this volume. Coin numbers in roman type cite the coins that are individually catalogued. Factors of wear (w1-6, see p. 2 above) are given when potentially useful. Eight of the deposits are hoards, that is, groups of coins that were intentionally collected before being buried or lost together. The remaining deposits are accumulations of discarded and randomly lost material.

**A 14:2**

**Cistern (middle fill)**

Walker 1980, pp. 49, 123, no. 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Coins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>6 pre-imperial (Period IV and earlier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Period VC imperial (279), w5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deultum</td>
<td>1 J. Mamea, A.D. 222–235 (438), w2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria Troas</td>
<td>1 Volusian, A.D. 251–253 (885), w1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyme</td>
<td>1 Tranquillina, A.D. 238–244 (900), w3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chios</td>
<td>1 3-assaria (948a), w3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>1 Faustina II, sestertius, rev. illegible, w5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A 17:3**

**Well**

Rotroff 1983, p. 262.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Coins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>2 Two owls (44–47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Two owls, ΑΘΗ (47b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedon</td>
<td>1 Demetrios Poliorketes (504f)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**A 18:8**  
**Hoard in bottom of tile-lined shaft**  
mid- or late 260's B.C.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Coins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Athens**   | 1 Double-bodied owl (41–43)  
8 Two owls, no symbol (46, including l–p)  
3 Owl l. (50, including l, m)  
3 Owl r., AΘH (52f–h)  
15 Owl in wheat wreath (53, including i–n)  
6 Owl in olive wreath (54, including b)  
19 Eleusis Wreathed piglet (55, including c)  
2 Eleusis Wreathed or unwreathed piglet (38, 48, 49, 51, 55)  
1 Two owls (56d)  
3 Owl with symbol (57b, c; 57–60)  
5 Owl r. (52–54, 57–60)                                                                 |
| **Thrace**   | 1 Lysimachos AR drachm (462)                                                                      |
| **Macedon**  | 2 Demetrios Poliorketes: 1 AR hemidrachm (502b)  
1 Poseidon/Prow (505)                                                    |
| **Larissa**  | 1 Nymph/Horse l. (529a)  
2 Athena/Grapes (581c, 584d)                                                 |
| **Lokris**   | 4 Athena/ΦΩ (588c–f)                                                                             |
| **Phokis**   | 1 Hera/Eagle (616k)                                                                              |
| **Chalkis**  | 8 Two dolphins (643j–q)                                                                          |
| **Megara**   | 8 Tripod and dolphins (644a, i–o)                                                                 |
| **Aigina**   | 1 Two dolphins (662a)                                                                            |
| **Illegible**| 9                                                                                                 |

**A-B 19–20:1**  
**Fill in Great Drain**  
to 86 B.C.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Coins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Athens**   | 28 Double-bodied owl (41–43)  
18 Two owls (44–47)  
11 Owl l. (50)  
1 Owl r., AΘH (52)  
12 Owl in wheat wreath (53)  
1 Owl in olive wreath (54d)  
12 Eleusis Wreathed and unwreathed piglet (38, 48, 49, 51, 55)  
2 Two owls (56)  
10 Owl with symbol (57–60)  
1 Zeus/Athena Polias (66)  
1 Owl on thunderbolt (67g)  
4 Owl three-quarters r., amphora (69)  
2 Owl on rudder (71)  
1 Owl on thunderbolt (81)  
2 Fulminating Zeus, eagle, wheat ear (83)  
1 Cicada/Amphora (85)  
1 Demeter/Piglet (86)  
1 Apollo/Owl with lyre (87)  
2 Two owls on thunderbolt (99)  
1 Apollo/Plemochoe (103b)                                                                 |
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

Macedon
- 1 Aphytis: Zeus/Two birds (469)
- 1 Alexander III: Head/Horse (489d)
- 2 Demetrios Poliorketes: 1 Head/Prow (504)
  - 1 Helmet/Shield (506)

Phokis
- 1 Athena/Ω (588b)

Salamis
- 2 Head/Shield (640–642)

Megara
- 11 Two dolphins (643)
- 13 Tripod and dolphins (644)

Aigina
- 1 Two dolphins (662f)

Corinth
- 5 Pegasos/Trident (667)

Sikyon
- 1 Dove flying/Σ in olive wreath (723)

Messene
- 1 Demeter/Tripod (760b)

Andros
- 1 Bearded Dionysos/Kantharos (822)

Keos
- 1 Bearded head/Forepart of dog (831b)

Smyrna
- 1 Eurydice/Tripod (932)

B 13:1 Cistern, lower dumped fill late 3rd century B.C.

Agora V, VII

Athens
- 1 Owl I. (50c)
- 1 Owl three-quarters r., amphora (69), unworn

Myrina
- 1 Athena/Owl (455g)

Myrina or
- 1 Athena/Owl (455Ad)

Hephaistia

B 17:1 Three hoards from the “South House” destroyed by fire A.D. 267


Hoard a, a savings hoard that probably had been hidden in a wall or upper superstructure of the house in the 250’s, before the striking of Athens Period VI imperials began. The coins were found together on the floor of the “Room of the Two Marble Busts”.

Athens
- 1 Parthenos/Athena advancing (151), w6
- 4 Period VB imperials (169–185 [2], 195–196 [2]), w6
- 4 Period VB/C imperial fractions (204, 211), w5–6
- 4 Period VC imperials (248 [3], 256), w5

Chios
- 1 Sphinx/Apollo and Dionysos (949), w2

Tripolis (Lydia)
- 1 Serapis/Isis (969b), w4/5

Roman
- 42 Trajan to Trajan Decius (A.D. 249–251), sestertii, w2–6
- 1 Gallienus, antoninianus, A.D. 260–268, w2

If the hoard was secreted before ca. 260, this last coin could not belong. It would have to be a stray piece that had separately come to rest on the floor with the hoard coins at the time of the destruction of the house.

Hoard b, the contents of a purse that had been dropped on the floor of the kitchen.

Athens
- 8 Period VB imperials (172, 178a, 185, 186 [2], 195, 197, 167–185), w6
- 3 Period VB/C imperial fractions (204, 216, 213–247)
- 14 Period VC imperials (248 [2], 250, 254, 256 [2], 257 [2], 264a, 267, 270, 280b, 283, 248–283), w4–6
- 15 Period VI imperials (284 [3, including 284g], 286, 318 [2], 328, 333 [2], 343, 352a, 375, 388, 401, 405), w1–2

23 Four of these sestertii are illustrated in GRC, fig. 32: Maximinus, Philip I, Otacilia Severa, and Trajan Decius.
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

Hoard c, another "dropped purse" on the house floor.

**Athens**
1. Period VB imperial (182)
2. Period VC imperials (252, 256)
11. Period VI imperials (284 [2], 318 [2], 333, 352, 355, 360, 386, 392, 402)

**B 20:9**  
**Fill in Great Drain South**  

**Athens**
1. Eleusis Piglet on staff (38)
3. Double-bodied owl (41–43)
1. Owl 1. (50)
1. Eleusis Wreathed piglet (55)
1. Owl on rudder (71)
1. Plemochoe/Eleusis ring (75)
4. Fulminating Zeus: 1 eagle, wheat ear (80)
1. eagle, cornucopia, plemochoe (91)
1. thrysos (96)
1. mystic staff or thrysos (95 or 96)

2. Athena/Amphora (98)
23. Two owls on thunderbolt (99)
2. Cicada/Owl on thunderbolt (100)
64. Cicada/Amphora (85 and 108)

**Imbros**
1. Female head/Hermes (452a)

**Boiotian League**
1. Athena/Trophy (593a)

**Thespiai**
1. Veiled head/Lyre (606)

**Euboian League**
1. Female head/Bull butting (614c)

**Chalkis**
1. Hera/Eagle flying, serpent (616–618)

**Megara**
1. Tripod and dolphins (644)

**Sikyon**
2. Dove flying l. /? in olive wreath (723, 725, or 726)

**Rhodes**
1. Rhodos head/Rose (965b)

**C 9:2**  
**Cistern, dumped fill**  
mid-4th into 3rd century B.C.

*Agora XII* (under C 8:5).

**Athens**
3. Double-bodied owl (41–43)

**Andros**
1. Young Dionysos/Amphora (821a)

Susan I. Rotroff (personal communication) states that most of the pottery dates from the third quarter of the 4th century.

**D 4:1 (Group G)**  
**Cistern**  

**Layer II**  
**Dumped fill**  
second quarter 1st century after Christ

**Athens**
2. Double-bodied owl (41–43)
1. Apollo/Amphora (105)
1. Parthenos/Owl on amphora, no symbol (115a)
1. Parthenos/Apollo Delios (143)
1. Parthenos/Illegible
1. Demeter/Poppy and wheat ear (150)
1. Triptolemos/Mystic staff and wheat ear (154)

1. Lysimachos posthumous AR tetradrachm (463)

**Thrace**
1. Zeus/Horse (520c)

**Gyrton**
1. Two dolphins (643)

**Aigina**
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

Antioch
Roman
Layer III Dumped fill

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Deposits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antioch</td>
<td>1 Zeus/Seated Zeus (95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>1 Tiberius, denarius, A.D. 27–37 (Agora II, no. 18), w2/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>1 Eleusis Wreathed piglet (55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Parthenos/Owl on prow (152), w6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Period IV reduced AE 1, worn illegible, countermarked with A and amphora (p. 110 above, Pl. 15 [115–158]a), w6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 VA imperial, Athena/Owl (163), w1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This last coin was found inside a small, complete jug (Agora V, G 182).

D 11:1 Well, dumped fill to mid-1st century after Christ


Athens

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deposits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Owl three-quarters r., amphora (69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Fulminating Zeus, plemochoe, cornucopia (91), w5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Parthenos/Owl on prow (152), w4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Parthenos/Sphinx (153), w6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Parthenos/Owl on amphora, cicada (158), w5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D 15:3 Cistern, dumped fill second into fourth quarter of 4th century B.C.


Athens

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deposits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Double-bodied owl, no symbol (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Nymph/Shield (640h–j)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Salamis

According to the unpublished notes of Susan I. Rotroff, most of the pottery belongs to the mid- and third quarter of the 4th century, but one pot (P 5364) is later, probably of the last quarter.

D 17:5 Cistern


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fill</th>
<th>Deposits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper fill Athens</td>
<td>2 Cicada/Amphora (85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megara</td>
<td>1 Two dolphins (643)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower fill Histaia</td>
<td>1 Maenad/Tripod (633)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D–E 8–9:1 Cistern system (dumped fill) into early 3rd century B.C.


Athens

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deposits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Eleusis Piglet on staff (38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Double-bodied owl (41–43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Two owls, Eleusis ring (44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Two owls, no symbol (46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Two owls, variety? (44–47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Wreathed piglet, EAEY above (48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Wreathed piglet, EAEY below (49)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E 14:2 Well

Kroll 1973, pp. 325–327, no. 7. Walker 1980, pp. 69, 113–115, no. 49. Agora IV, V, dating Level II to the late 1st century after Christ. But unless the three early Period V Athenian imperial fractions from near the top of this fill filtered down from Level III, it is probable that Level II continued into the 2nd century.
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

Level I: Lower use fill
Athens
2 Gorgoneion/Athena (139)
1 Dionysos/Athena (140)
3 Zeus/Dionysos (144)
1 Parthenos/Nike (147)
4 Parthenos/Athena advancing (149, 151)
2 Parthenos/Owl on Prow (152)
1 Parthenos/Sphinx (153)
1 Parthenos/Owl on amphora, cicada (158)
to mid-1st century after Christ

Level II: Upper use fill
Athens
1 Parthenos/Owl on amphora, caduceus (124)
1 Zeus/Dionysos (144)
1 Parthenos/Nike (147)
4 Parthenos/Athena advancing (149, 151)
2 Period IV AE 1 worn illegible
2 VA imperial: Athena/Owl (163), 1 unworn, 1 heavily corroded
1 VA (or B) imperial fraction no longer available for study
probably early 2nd century after Christ

Level III: Dumped fill
Athens
1 Parthenos/Owl on amphora, wheat ear (122)
1 Parthenos/Athena advancing (149, 151)
1 Period IV AE 1 worn illegible
3rd century after Christ

Bithynian League
1 Hadrian/Temple (856)

E 14:3

Drawshaft (middle fill)
early 70's B.C.

Athens
1 Owl three-quarters r., amphora (69)
1 Demeter/Piglet (86)
1 Zeus/Fulminating Athena (89)
5 Fulminating Zeus: 1 eagle, cornucopia (91)
   1 two pilei (94)
   2 star and crescents (97)
   1 issue?
1 Two owls on thunderbolt (99)
1 Cicada/Owl on thunderbolt (100)
1 Apollo/Amphora (101 or 105)
5 Owl on amphora: 3 no symbol (115)
   1 poppy and wheat ears (118d)
   1 issue? (115, 118–126)
1 Kore/Iakchos (117a)
2 Demeter/Triptolemos (127, 128)
3 Apollo/Cicada (131, including g)
1 Apollo/Poppy and wheat ears (133a)
5 Apollo/Two wheat ears (135g–k)
[1 Triptolemos/Mystic staff and wheat ear (154f)]
Thessalonike
1 Athena/Horse (478a)

24 Worn and clearly intrusive contamination from the upper fill, as is also a fragment of Western Arretine ware (P 20494), of the second or third decade after Christ.
**DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Coinage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Macedon</td>
<td>Antigonos Gonatas: Athena/Pan (507)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>Herakles/Thyrsos-club (605c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euboian League</td>
<td>Bull/Grapes (613a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troizen</td>
<td>Poseidon/Trident (799)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bithynia</td>
<td>Prousias II (862)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**E 15:3**  
Cistern to near end of 1st century B.C.  
_Agora_ IV; *XXII_, but coins not so late as there stated. The five Period IVD–E coins show little wear.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Coinage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>Parthenos/Tripod (138)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Demeter/Poppy between wheat ears (150g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parthenos/Owl on prow (152)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parthenos/Owl on amphora, cicada (158)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**F 10:2**  
Hoard at inner corner of late wall A.D. 267  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Coinage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>Period VI imperials, w1–2 (284f, 290, 318, 336, 348, 375b, 378, 380a, 382, 401 [2], 403)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**F 11:1**  
Well, dumped fill into early 2nd century after Christ  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Coinage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>Dolphin-trident/Plermochoe (129c), w3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parthenos/Athena advancing, owl (149), w5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parthenos/Illegible, Period IV, AE I, w6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>Trajan, plated denarius, a.d. 112–117 (Agora II, no. 51), w3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**F 11:2**  
Well ca. late 290’s B.C.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Coinage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>AR tetradrachm (8h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Double-bodied owl (41–43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two owls on Eleusis ring (44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two owls, no details (44–47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Owl I (50), w2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eleusis Heavy wreathed piglet (51), w1 and 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eleusis Wreathed or unwreathed piglet (38, 48, 49, 51, 55)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**F 19:6**  
Well to mid-1st century B.C.  
_Agora_ IV, X, *XXII. Déllos XXVII, p. 391.  
Chios  
1 Sphinx/Amphora (944c)  

**G 6:2 (Group C)**  
Cistern (sealed lower fill) to early second quarter of 2nd century B.C.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Coinage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>Owl r. in wreath (50–54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two piglets/Mystic staff (62f)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

1 Athena/Triobol owl (64f)
1 Owl three-quarters r., amphora (69)

**H 6:9**

**Cistern (lower fill)**


*Agora IV, X, XII, XXII.*

Athens

1 Owl with wreath (57g)

**H 12:1**

**Fill in Great Drain**

into third or fourth quarter of 2nd century B.C.


Athens

2 Piglet on staff (39)
7 Double-bodied owl (41–43)
7 Two owls (44–47)
3 Owl l. (50)
1 Owl r., ΑΘΗ (52)
12 Owl in wheat wreath (53)
1 Owl with cornucopia (59)
8 Owl r. (52–54, 57–60)
1 Two owls (65b)
2 Owl on thunderbolt (67j and r)
2 Owl three-quarters r.: 1 amphora (69)
1 symbol? (69, 70)
3 Demeter/Plemochoe (72–74)
7 Plemochoe/Eleusis ring (75)
1 Zeus/Amphora (76g)
3 Standing Zeus: 1 owl (78)
1 prow (79)
1 symbol? (78–80)
3 Owl on thunderbolt (81)
10 Fulminating Zeus, eagle: 1 star (82)
1 wheat ear (83)
3 cornucopia (84)
5 symbol? (82–84)

2 Fulminating Zeus, illegible (82–84)
4 Cicada/Amphora (85)
1 Demeter/Piglet (86e)
1 Zeus/Plemochoe (102g)
1 Apollo/Plemochoe (103e)

Myrina

2 Athena/Owl (455)

Macedon

3 Antigonos Gonatas: 2 Athena/Pan (507)
1 Herakles/Horseman (509)

Boiotian League

1 Shield/Trident (592)
1 Demeter/Poseidon (595)

Delos

1 Apollo/Lyre (828h)

Knidos

1 Apollo/Prow (954)

**H 12:4**

**Gravelly pocket beside Great Drain**


Athens

1 Double-bodied owl, Eleusis ring (43)
1 Owl on thunderbolt (81)
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

1 Apollo/Owl with lyre (87)
1 Two owls on thunderbolt (99)
2 Parthenos/Owl on amphora, issue? (115, 118, etc.)
22 Unstruck Period IV, reduced AE 1 blanks
3 Unstruck Period IV, reduced AE 2 or 3 blanks
8+ Period VB–C imperials (177, 197, 204, 220, 226, 3+ unclassifiable)
3 Period VI imperials (297, 318–333, 409)

Augusta Traiana
1 Julia Domna/Illegible (448)
Korkyra
1 Herakles/Forepart of galley (571e)
Megara
1 Two Dolphins (643)
Sikyon
1 Dove feeding/Tripod (724)
Troizen
1 Commodus/Theseus (800)

H 16:3 (Group B) Cisterns to ca. 240 B.C.


Athens
1 Eleusis Wreathed piglet (48, 49, 51, 55), worn
1 Owl in wheat wreath (53), heavily worn

H 16:4 (Group D) Pithos third quarter 2nd century B.C.

Agora IV; XII; XXI; *XXII, pp. 102, 109–110. H. A. Thompson 1934 (under G 6:2 above), pp. 369–392;

Athens
1 Double-bodied owl (41–43)
1 Owl with cornucopia (59)
1 Cicada/Amphora (85)
Eretria
1 Bull head/Octopus (627)

H–I 14:1 Fill near northwest corner of the Rectangular Peribolos to ca. 140 B.C.

Kleiner 1975, pp. 311–312, 329, deposit III.

Athens
1 Eleusis Piglet on staff (38)
3 Doubled-bodied owl (41–43)
1 Two owls (44–47)
1 Owl with symbol (57–60)
1 Owl r. (52–54, 57–60)
1 Owl three-quarters r., amphora (69)
1 Owl on rudder (71)
2 Owl on thunderbolt (81, including h)
1 Zeus/Fulminating Athena ([88–89]a)
Thessalian League
1 Apollo/Athena Itonia (540g)
Megara
1 Two dolphins (643)

H–K 12–14 Middle Stoa building fill to ca. 183 B.C.

See note 70 above, p. 50 and Kleiner 1975, pp. 304–313, 329, deposits I (construction fill under floor of west end of the stoa) and II (fill between stoa and Rectangular Peribolos to south). Kleiner 1976, pp. 29, 32.

Athens
1 AR triobol (19c)
4 Eleusis Piglet on staff (38)
14 Double-bodied owl (41–43, including 43m and [41–43]h)
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

36 Two owls (44–47, including 44f, 46a, 46f)
15 Owl l. (50, including f and g)
 2 Owl r., AΘΘ (52, including c)
 8 Owl in wheat wreath (53, including c)
13 Eleusis Wreathed piglet (48, 49, 51, 55)
 3 Two owls (56, including g)
 9 Owl with symbol (57–60)
13 Owl r. (52–54, 57–60)
 1 Two piglets/Mystic staff (62e)
 1 Two owls (65f)
 1 Zeus/Athena Polias (66e)
 1 Owl on thunderbolt (67h)
 1 Artemis/Athena Polias (68d)
 6 Owl three-quarters r.: 3 amphora (69, including j, k)
 1 plemochoe (70c)
 2 symbol? (69, 70)
 1 Owl on rudder (71, including h)
 4 Demeter/Plemochoe (72–74)
 3 Plemochoe/Eleusis ring (75, including c, g)
 6 Standing Zeus: 3 prow (79, including b)
 3 symbol? (78–80)
 1 Owl on thunderbolt (81h)
12 Fulminating Zeus, eagle: 4 star (82, including f)
 4 wheat ear (83, including g)
 4 cornucopia (84, including f, g)
 4 Cicada/Amphora (85, including i)

Myrina
 2 Athena/Owl (455)
Macedon
 1 AV Alexander III (487)
 1 Demetrios Poliorcetes: Head/Prow (504)
 2 Antigonos Gonatas: Athena/Pan (507)
Theessalian League
 1 Athena/Horse (541c)
Phokis
 1 Athena/ΦΩ (588a)
Boiotian League
 1 Shield/Trident (592)
 2 Demeter/Poseidon (595)
Euboian League
 1 Bull/Grapes (613g)
Chalkis
 1 Hera/Eagle (616–618)
Salamis
 1 Nymph/Shield (640–642)
Megara
 3 Two dolphins (643)
 6 Tripod, dolphins (644)
 1 Apollo/Lyre (646b)
Aigina
 1 Two dolphins (662e)
 1 Prow/Ram’s head (663a)
Phlious
 1 Bull/Φ (721c)
Argos
 1 Hera/Athena (782a)
Tenos
 1 Zeus/Grapes (848b)
?Erythrai
 1 Herakles/Club and bow in case (916)
Kos
 1 Herakles/Bow case and club (958a)

I 1:3

Pit in southwest corner of the Rectangular Peribolos

A.D. 264–267


Athens
 4 misstruck Period VI imperials, of which 2 are fragments
 38 unstruck blanks for Period VI imperials
### J 5:2

**Crossroads Sanctuary Enclosure**

**Layer of 420's B.C.**

- Athens
  - 1 Plated tetradrachm (9a)

### K 9–10:1

**Red fill west of Odeion**

**Late 1st (or early 2nd?) century after Christ**


- Athens
  - 1 Two owls (44–47)
  - 1 Owl in wheat wreath (53)
  - 3 Fulminating Zeus: 1 eagle, star (82)
    - 1 star and crescents (97)
    - 1 uncertain symbol
  - 2 Cicada/Amphora (85, 108)
  - 1 Apollo/Cicada (131)
  - 1 Parthenos/Fulminating Zeus (137)
  - 1 Parthenos/Tripod (138)
  - 2 Gorgoneion/Athena (139)
  - 1 Parthenos/Apollo Delios (143)
  - 2 Zeus/Dionysos (144)
  - 2 Parthenos/Athena advancing (149, 151)
  - 1 Parthenos/Owl on prow (152)
  - 1 Parthenos/Owl on amphora, snake (157)
  - 4 Parthenos/Ilegible

- Abdera
  - 1 Griffin/Apollo (435)

- Corinth
  - 1 Nero/Bellerophon (691b), w3

- Egypt
  - 1 Ptolemy I–IV (1009c)

- Roman
  - 1 Augustus/Ilegible, w6
    - [1 Valentinian I, intrusive]
    - [1 Constans II, intrusive]

### K 18:2

**Cistern**

**Into early 2nd century B.C.**


- Athens
  - 3 Double-bodied owl (41–43)
  - 1 Two owls, plemochoe (45)
  - 1 Owl in wheat wreath (53)
  - 2 Owl r. (42–54, 57–60)
    - 1 Artemis/Athena Polias (68)
    - 1 Owl three-quarters r., amphora (69)
    - 1 Standing Zeus, prow (79g)

- Myrina
  - 2 Athena/Owl (455)

### L 17:7

**Cistern**

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

- *Agora* XII, XXII
  - Athens
    - 1 Archaic owl obol (7)
    - 1 Owl r. (52–54, 57–60)
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

L 19:2  Cistern  to ca. 150 B.C.

Agora XXII.

Athens
1 Eleusis Piglet on staff (38c)
1 Double-bodied owl (41-43)
2 Two owls (44-47)
1 Artemis/Athena Polias (68h) (in lower fill, of late 3rd/early 2nd century B.C.)
1 Standing Zeus, symbol? (78-80)
2 or 3 Owl on thunderbolt (81)

M 17:1 (Group M)  Well, use fills  1st to 6th century after Christ

Kroll 1973, pp. 325–326, no. 8, gives a synopsis of the coins recorded from the lowest three levels, representing the mid-1st to late 2nd centuries after Christ. It would be pointless to list these coins again since most of them have disintegrated or were discarded as being insufficiently legible after preliminary, and usually vague, identifications were made at time of excavation in 1937. The interesting coin is an Athenian imperial Period VB fraction with Theseus or Herakles sacrificing reverse (199) recovered from Level I of the 1st century after Christ, apparently with another Period VB fraction that is now unavailable for examination. Coming from a continuous-use accumulation, these two 2nd-century coins were doubtless intrusions from a higher level in the well. Walker 1980, pp. 88, 114, 119, 130, no. 95. Agora V, VII.

M 18:10  Well, homogeneous fill  late 3rd to first quarter of 2nd century B.C.


Athens
1 Owl r. in wreath (52–54)
Macedon
1 Antigonos Gonatas: Athena/Pan (507)
Methymna
1 Athena/Kantharos (901)

M 21:1  Cistern, homogeneous fill  to 180’s B.C.


Athens
3 Two owls (44-47)
2 Owl r. (52–54, 57–60)
1 Athena/Triobol owl (64g)
2 Demeter/Plemonchoe: 1 owl (74b)
1 symbol? (72–74)
2 Fulminating Zeus, eagle, symbol? (78–80)
Histiaia
8 AR tetrobols (632a–h) (hoard from the top of the fill, apparently inserted there later)
Egypt
1 Ptolemy I–IV (1009a), extremely worn

M–N 15:1  South Stoa II construction fill  to ca. 140 B.C.


Athens
2 Eleusis Piglet on staff (38)
1 Piglet on staff (39)
7 Double-bodied owl (41–43)
9 Two owls (44–47, including 46h)
2 Owl r., AΘΘ (52) correcting Kleiner
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

8 Owl in wheat wreath (53)
3 Owl r. (52–54)
2 Eleusis Wreathed Piglet (48, 49, 51, 55)
1 Two owls (56)
9 Owl with symbol (57–60)
2 Zeus/Athena Polias (66, including a)
2 Owl on thunderbolt (67d, g)
1 Owl on rudder (71i)
4 Demeter/Plemochoe: 1 aplustre (73c)
3 symbol? (72–74)
3 Plemochoe/Eleusis ring (75)
1 Owl1. with amphora (77b)
2 Standing Zeus: 1 prow (79)
1 symbol? (78–80)
1 Owl on thunderbolt (81)
20 Fulminating Zeus, eagle: 4 star (82, including i)
3 wheat ear (83)
5 cornucopia (84, including i)
8 symbol? (82–84)
2 Cicada/Amphora (85, including f)
1 Zeus/Fulminating Athena (88c)
1 Apollo/Amphora (101e)

Myrina
1 Athena/Owl (455)

Histiaia
1 AR tetrobol (632k)

Chalkis
1 Hera/Eagle (616–618)

Salamis
1 Nymph/Shield (640–642)

Megara
1 Obelisk, dolphins (645Ac)

Corinth
1 Pegasus/Trident (667m)

Elis
1 Zeus/Wreath (752b)

Delos
1 Apollo/Lyre (828i)

Pergamon
1 Athena/Coiled snake (872a)

Side
1 Athena/Pomegranate (979b)

N 18:3 Cistern fill into early 2nd century B.C.


Athens
1 AR Triobol (19b)
1 Piglet/Mystic staff (63)
1 Standing Zeus, prow (79h)

Myrina
1 Athena/Owl (455b)

Boiotian League
1 Demeter/Poseidon (595e)

Chios
1 Sphinx/Amphora, ΜΕΝΕΣ (943)

N 19:1 (Group F) Cistern to end of 1st century B.C.


Upper fill
Athens
1 Fulminating Zeus, star and crescents (97)
1 Two owls on thunderbolt (99)
1 Apollo/Lyre (111a)
1 Parthenos/Tripod (138)
1 Parthenos/Apollo Delios (143)
1 Parthenos/Nike (147)
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

1 Parthenos/Athena advancing, snake (151)
1 Parthenos/Owl on prow (152)
1 Parthenos/Owl on amphora (157 or 158)

Middle fill

Athens
1 Owl three-quarters r., amphora (69)
1 Fulminating Zeus, two pilei (94)
2 Fulminating Zeus, star and crescents (97)
1 Two owls on thunderbolt (99)
2 Cicada/Owl (100)
1 Apollo/Cicada (131)

Hermione
1 Demeter/Torch (792b)

Sullan destruction debris

N 20:4 Cistern


Athens
1 Two owls (44–47)
1 Eleusis Wreathed piglet (48, 49, 51, 55)
2 Zeus/Fulminating Athena (1 89; 1 88, 89)
16 Fulminating Zeus: 1 two pilei (94)
13 star and crescents (97)
2 symbol?
2 Two owls on thunderbolt (99)
1 Cicada/Amphora (108)
1 Owl on amphora, no symbol (115)
1 Demeter/Triptolemos (127, 128)

Egypt
1 Ptolemy I–IV (1009h)

N 20:6 Cistern

soon after 86 B.C.

Agora XXII.

Athens
1 Owl l. (50)
1 Standing Zeus, owl (78b)

N 21:4 Cistern

Agora IV, XII,*XXII. D. B. Thompson 1962 (under N 18:3 above), pp. 244–262 (Satyr Cistern).

Upper fill
Athens
1 Fulminating Zeus, star and crescents (97)
Cyrenaica
1 Head/Bee (1033), worn

Middle fill
Athens
1 Fulminating Zeus, eagle, star (82),
1 Fulminating Zeus, symbol?
[1 Parthenos/Owl on prow (152), probably from upper fill]
Chalkis
1 Hera/Eagle (618)

Lower fill
Athens
2 Double-bodied owl (41–43)
1 Two owls (44–47)
4 Owl l. or r. (50, 52–54, 57–60)

Myrina or Hephaistia
1 Athena/Owl (455Ac)
O 17:1  
Cistern, dumped fill  
into last quarter 1st century after Christ

Kroll 1973, p. 324, no. 3. *Agora* V, VII. All coins extremely worn.

Athens  
2 Parthenos/Owl on amphora (115, 118–126)  
1 Parthenos/Apollo Delios (143)  
1 Parthenos/Sphinx (153)  
1 Parthenos/Illegible

O–R 7–10  
Square Peristyle building fill  
early 3rd century B.C.


Athens  
8 Double-bodied owl (41–43)  
1 Two owls over plemochoe (45)  
2 Two owls, no symbol (46)  
4 Owl l. (50)  
2 Eleusis Wreathed or unwreathed piglet (38, 48, 49, 51, 55)  
[1 Standing Zeus (78–80), intrusive]

Macedon  
1 Demetrios Poliorcetes (504h)

[1 Philip V (513), intrusive]

In addition, an Athens Two owls, no symbol (42) and Eleusis Piglet on staff (38) were found on the floor of the structure that was demolished to make way for the Square Peristyle (*EABC*, p. 146, note 17).

A third group of coins from the Square Peristyle is the hoard of six early 2nd-century Athenian bronzes found stuck together and embedded in the earthen floor of the building at grid P–Q 7–8. The coins are Kleiner 1975, p. 317, nos. 254–259 (deposit V): 3 Fulminating Zeus, eagle and star (82, including g and h) and 3 Fulminating Zeus, eagle and wheat ear (83, including h and i).

P 6:2 and Q 6:2  
Refuse pits  
early 2nd century after Christ

Fills of debris from buildings demolished for construction of the Early Hadrianic Northeast Basilica.  

Athens  
1 Zeus/Dionysos (144)  
4 Parthenos/Owl on prow (151)  
2 Parthenos/Owl on amphora, cicada (158)

Macedon  
1 Philip V or Perseus (514)

One 151 and both 158 were found stuck to the bottom of a discarded terracotta savings bank (Kroll 1973, pl. 61).

P 7:10  
Hoard or dropped purse  
second quarter 3rd century after Christ

Kroll 1973, p. 317, note 23, group b; but the absence of any Period VI imperials implies a date before the 260's. Walker 1980, p. 95, no. 110.

Athens  
2 Period VB imperials (169–185, 172), w6  
7 Period VC imperials (257, 262, 270, 278, 281 [2], 283), w4–5

Roman  
1 Commodus, sestertius, a.d. 192 (*Agora* II, no. 192), w5
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

**P 21:4**

*Cistern, homogeneous fill* into early 2nd century B.C.


- **Athens**
  - 1 Artemis/Athena Polias (68)
  - 1 Fulminating Zeus, eagle, star (82)
  - 1 Fulminating Zeus, eagle, wheat ear (83)
  - 2–3 Cicada/Amphora (85)
  - [1 Parthenos/Athena advancing (149 or 151), heavily worn and intrusive]

- **Macedon**
  - 1 Antigonos Gonatas: Athena/Pan (507)

- **Roman**
  - 1 Theodosius or colleague, A.D. 393–395, intrusive

**P–R 6–12**

*Stoa of Attalos building fill* to ca. 157 B.C.


- **Athens**
  - 2 Eleusis Piglet on staff (38, including k)
  - 6 Doubled-bodied owl (41–43)
  - 9 Two owls (44–47)
  - 1 Owl l. (50)
  - 1 Two owls (51)
  - 1 Owl in wheat wreath (53)
  - 3 Owl with symbol (57–60)
  - 1 Athena/Triobol owl (64h)
  - 3 Owl three-quarters r.: 1 amphora (69)
    - 2 symbol? (69, 70)
  - 2 Owl on rudder (71, including j)
  - 1 Demeter/Plemochoe, aplustre (73a)
  - 1 Plemochoe/Eleusis ring (75)
  - 5 Owl on thunderbolt (81)
  - 1 Fulminating Zeus, eagle: cornucopia (84)
  - 3 Fulminating Zeus, symbol? (82–84)
  - 3 Cicada/Amphora (85)

- **Achaian League**
  - 1 Zeus/Achaia (746e)

**Q 9–10:1**

*Cistern*

See note 50 above, p. 253, under 845a (Paros).

**Q 19:3**

*Hoard from pit in floor of house* destroyed A.D. 267


- **Athens**
  - 1 Period VB imperial (illegible hemidrachm, cf. Sv. 96.30, 31) w5
  - 130 Period VI imperials (284 [15, including a–e], 285 [2, including a], 286, 287 [4, including a, b], 288 [3, including a], 289a, 289d, 291, 293a, 298, 299a, 300, 301, 303a, 305, 306a, 307a, 311a, 312, 313a, 314 [2, including a], 318 [8, including a], 320, 321 [2, including a], 322a, 324 [3, including a], 327, 331, 332, 333 [2], 334a, 337a, 338, 341 [2, including a], 343a, 346a, 348a, 349a, 350a, 351 [2, including b], 352, 353 [2, including a], 356a, 358b, 361, 365, 368, 369, 372 [4, including a, b], 374 [3, including a], 375a, 376a, 377 [2], 378 [2, including a], 382 [3], 383a, 384, 386 [2, including b], 387a, 388, 389, 391, 392a, b, 398, 399, 401 [10, including a, b], 402, 403a–c, 404 [2, including a], 405 [3, including a, b]) w1–2

- **Roman**
  - 2 Gallienus, antoniniani, w1–2
DEPOSITS, INCLUDING HOARDS

Q–R 10–11:1 Fill under floor of Brick Building second quarter 2nd century B.C.


Athena
- 1 Two owls (44–47)
- 1 Owl with symbol (57–60)
- 1 Two piglets/Mystic staff (62b)
- 1 Fulminating Zeus, eagle cornucopia (84)
- 1 Fulminating Zeus, symbol? (82–84)

Macedon
- 1 Antigonus Gonatas: Herakles/Horseman (509)

S 19:3 Cistern (upper layer) to ca. 330–320 B.C.


Athena
- 1 Eleusis Piglet on staff (38)
- 6 Double-bodied owl (41–43)

U 13:2 Library of Pantainos North Stoa, floor fills of Room 7

See note 185 above, p. 92, with Plate 34 (a selection of thirty-four coins from fill “a”). *T. L. Shear, Jr., “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1973–1974,” Hesperia 44, 1975 (pp. 331–374), pp. 343–346, note 23. Walker 1980, pp. 108, 118, no. 145. The date of the first (construction) fill is that of the library itself, which was dedicated between ca. 98 and 103. The Period VB fractions in the second fill date it no earlier than the reign of Hadrian. All Athenian Period III and IV coins are exceedingly worn (w6).

a. Packing beneath original floor (Floor A)

Athena
- 1 Two-bodied owl, Eleusis ring (43)
- 1 Owl r., AΘH (52)
- 1 Owl three-quarters r., amphora (69)
- 3 Fulminating Zeus (82–84, 90–97).
  Plate 34:1–3 = [82–84, 90–97]c, d; 97j
- 1 Two owls on thunderbolt (99)
- 1 Parthenos/Owl on amphora, wheat ears (122)
- 1 Parthenos/Tripod (138)
- 1 Gorgoneion/Athena (139)
- 2 Parthenos/Athena advancing, owl (149). Plate 34:4 = 149j
- 2 Parthenos/Owl on prow (152). Plate 34:5 = 152h
- 3 Parthenos/Owl on amphora, cicada or snake (157, 158).
  Plate 34:6, 7 = 158g, [157–158]a

Side
- 26 Period IV AE 1 coins, worn illegible. Plate 34:8–33, with p. 110 above

Greek imperials
- 1 Athena/Pomegranate (979a)

Roman
- 3 non-Athenian illegible

b. Packing beneath second major floor (Floor D)

Athena
- 1 Owl r. (52–54, 57–60)
- 1 Parthenos/Fulminating Zeus (137)
- 1 Parthenos/Tripod (138)
- 1 Zeus/Dionysos (144)
- 1 Parthenos/Owl on amphora, cicada (158)

Side
- 8 Period IV AE 1 worn illegible

ca. A.D. 125–130 or later
4 Period VB imperials: 1 Athena/Owl (229, 230)
    1 Owl on amphora (197)
    1 Altar and olive tree (202)
    1 Basket and snake (220)

Roman
1 Nero: denarius, a.d. 64–68 (BMCRE 90–93), w4
2 Trajan: 1 sestertius, a.d. 100 (BMCRE 730–733), w4
    1 dupondius, rev. illegible, w5
TABLES
## TABLE I

### PERIOD I CHRONOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Athens legend</th>
<th>Eleusis legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(i)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ca. 350's-early/mid-330's B.C.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(ii)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ca. early/mid-330's through 322/317 B.C.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(iii)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>322/317–307 B.C.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(iv)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>307-ca. 300 B.C.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **38** Piglet on mystic staff, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ (above)
  - 15 emissions
  - 15–18 mm., 3.20 g.

- **39 [& 40]** Piglet on mystic staff, ΑΘΕ (above) [or below, 40] [or below]
  - 13–15 mm., 2.51 g.

- **41** on mystic staff
  - 13–15 mm., 2.14 g.

- **42** no symbol
  - 11–15 mm., 1.75 g.

- **43** on Eleusis ring
  - 10–14 mm., 1.85 g.

- **44** Two owls over Eleusis ring, ΑΘΕ, in olive wreath
  - 13–15 mm., 2.70 g.

- **45** Two owls over plemochoe, ΑΘΕ, in olive wreath
  - 13–15 mm., 2.50 g

- **46** Two owls, no symbol, ΑΘΕ, in olive wreath
  - 13–15 mm., 2.34 g.

- **47** Two owls, no symbol, ΑΘΗ, in olive wreath
  - 14–15 mm., 2.81

- **48** Piglet in wheat wreath, ΕΛΕΥ (above)
  - 13–15 mm., 2.55 g.

- **49** Piglet in wheat wreath, ΕΛΕΥ (below)
  - 13–15 mm., 2.40 g.

- **50** Owl l., ΗΘ/Α, in olive wreath
  - 14–16 mm., 3.52 g.

- **51** Piglet in wheat wreath, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ (below)
  - Heavy: 15–17 mm., 3.73 g.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Athens legend</th>
<th>Eleusis legend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(v) 287–284 B.C.</td>
<td>52 Owl r., A/Θ, in olive wreath 13–15 mm., 2.40 g.</td>
<td>55 Piglet in wheat wreath, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ (below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>284–270's B.C.</td>
<td>53 Owl r., A/Θ, in wheat wreath 12–15 mm., 2.37 g.</td>
<td>Light: 11–14 mm., 2.26 g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) ca. 270 B.C.</td>
<td>56 Two owls, Θ in olive wreath 13–15 mm., 2.35 g.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) 260's B.C.</td>
<td>57 wreath 13–15 mm., 2.13 g.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 wheat ear 13–15 mm., 2.27 g.</td>
<td>59 cornucopia 12–14 mm., 2.35 g.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 Eleusis ring</td>
<td>62 Two piglets l./Upright mystic staff, Α-Ε, in olive wreath 13–14 mm., 2.21 g.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) 261–229 B.C.</td>
<td>63 Piglet r., (?)ΑΘΕ/Upright mystic staff, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ 12 mm., 1.50–1.75 g.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Chronological position uncertain) 61 Demeter head/Plemochoe on Eleusis ring, in wheat wreath, ΕΛΕΥΣΙ (above) 13–15 mm., 3.23 g.
## TABLE II

**STRUCTURE OF THE PERIOD II COINAGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AE 1</th>
<th>AE 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>229 B.C.</strong></td>
<td><strong>64</strong> Athena, Attic helmet/Triobol owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>66</strong> Zeus/Athena Polias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>68</strong> Artemis/Athena Polias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>224/3 B.C.</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong> Athena, Attic helmet/Owl three-quarters r., amphora (struck over Antigonos Gonatas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>70</strong> Athena, Attic helmet/Owl three-quarters r., plemochoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>72</strong> Demeter/Plemochoe, Eleusis ring (struck over ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>73</strong> Demeter/Plemochoe, aplustre (struck over <strong>69, 70</strong>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>74</strong> Demeter/Plemochoe, owl (struck over <strong>69, 70</strong>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>198 B.C.</strong></td>
<td><strong>76</strong> Zeus/Amphora with owl in olive wreath (struck over <strong>69, 70, 72–74</strong>, and Antigonos Gonatas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>196 B.C.</strong></td>
<td><strong>78</strong> Athena, Winged, then Corinthian helmet/Standing Zeus, owl (first ones struck over?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>79</strong> Athena, Corinthian helmet/Standing Zeus, prow (some struck over ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>80</strong> Athena, Corinthian helmet/Standing Zeus, wheat ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ca. 190 B.C.</strong></td>
<td><strong>82</strong> Athena, Corinthian helmet/Fulminating Zeus, eagle, star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>83</strong> Athena, Corinthian helmet/Fulminating Zeus, eagle, wheat ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>84</strong> Athena, Corinthian helmet/Fulminating Zeus, eagle, cornucopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ca. 183 B.C.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>AE 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229 B.C.</td>
<td>65 Athena, Attic helmet/Two owls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>67 Athena, Corinthian helmet/Owl r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on thunderbolt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224/3 B.C.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198 B.C.</td>
<td>77 Athena, winged helmet/Owl l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with amphora in olive wreath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196 B.C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 190 B.C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ca. 183 B.C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE III

## LATE PERIOD II AND PERIOD III VARIETIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number from Agora</th>
<th>Number from Delos</th>
<th>Average weight of hoard specimens</th>
<th>Average weight of Agora specimens</th>
<th>Lead %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AE 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Late Period II</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Standing Zeus, prow</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4.96 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Fulminating Zeus, star, eagle</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6.25 (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Fulminating Zeus, wheat ear, eagle</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6.65 (40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Fulminating Zeus, cornucopia, eagle</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6.65 (26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period III</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Demeter/Piglet</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5.70 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Apollo/Owl with lyre</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4.52 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Zeus/Fulminating Athena, helmet, horse head</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6.60 (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Zeus/Fulminating Athena, wheat ear, snake</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5.97 (83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Fulminating Zeus, pileus, eagle</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5.35 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Fulminating Zeus, plemochoe cornucopia, eagle</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5.48 (34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Fulminating Zeus, amphora cornucopia, eagle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5.94 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Fulminating Zeus, amphora eagle</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5.96 (37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Fulminating Zeus, two pilci</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.04 (184)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Fulminating Zeus, mystic staff</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6.53 (63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Fulminating Zeus, thyrsos</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6.58 (83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Fulminating Zeus, star and crescents</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.65 (235)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Figures from *Delos XXVII*, p. 409, and *IGCH* 324 (for AE 4 and 5 varieties); Svoronos 1907, pp. 196, 208, and Svoronos 1911, pp. 58, 78, 87 (for AE 2 varieties), and Numismatic Collection of Athens trays for AE 3 varieties.

2 Weights from *IGCH* 316 (Kleiner 1975), 249, 269, 276, 277, 283 (Kleiner 1976, pp. 23–28), 274 (Pnyx I, pp. 24–27), and 324 (note 105 above, p. 66).


4 Four AE 2 issues listed for metrological and metallurgical comparison with AE 2 issues of Period III.
TABLE III: LATE PERIOD II AND PERIOD III VARIETIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number from Agora</th>
<th>Number from Delos</th>
<th>Average weight of hoard specimens</th>
<th>Average weight of Agora specimens</th>
<th>Lead %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2.55 (24)</td>
<td>2.61 (12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2.69 (579)</td>
<td>2.84 (147)</td>
<td>13.98 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>3.49 (182)</td>
<td>2.85 (18)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AE 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number from Agora</th>
<th>Number from Delos</th>
<th>Average weight of hoard specimens</th>
<th>Average weight of Agora specimens</th>
<th>Lead %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1.64 (15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1.63 (7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.97 (1)</td>
<td>1.58 (10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>1.37 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1.72 (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.45 (42)</td>
<td>20.84 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1.34 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>58+&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1.07 (27)</td>
<td>1.13 (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1.17 (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AE 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number from Agora</th>
<th>Number from Delos</th>
<th>Average weight of hoard specimens</th>
<th>Average weight of Agora specimens</th>
<th>Lead %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>0.55 (6)</td>
<td>0.88 (11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.43 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.59 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.56 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.34 (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>5</sup> Some of these may belong to variety 101.
<sup>6</sup> To the total of fifty-eight should be added a substantial but uncertain number of specimens listed under the heavier Period II Cicada/Amphora variety 85. See pp. 65–66.
TABLE IV

PERIOD IV AE 1 VARIETIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number from Agora</th>
<th>Average weight of Agora specimens</th>
<th>Average weight of hoard specimens</th>
<th>Lead %&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period IVA: 86–42 B.C.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115 Parthenos/Owl on amphora, no symbol</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10.46 (31)</td>
<td>10.82 (46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116 Demeter/Triptolemos</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117 Kore/Iakchos</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.07 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parthenos/Owl on amphora</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118 poppy and wheat ears</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9.72 (13)</td>
<td>11.85 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119 mystic staff</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10.11 (16)</td>
<td>10.20 (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 plemochoe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.32 (1)</td>
<td>[9.57 (2)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121 tripod</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.64 (5)</td>
<td>10.31 (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122 two wheat ears</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9.61 (11)</td>
<td>10.73 (26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 flower</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.50 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124 caduceus</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9.61 (12)</td>
<td>10.78 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 thrysos</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.72 (1)</td>
<td>[13.30 (2)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126 two pilei</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9.40 (14)</td>
<td>10.99 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period IVB: 42/1–32 B.C.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137 Parthenos/Fulminating Zeus</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7.65 (21)</td>
<td>9.24 (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138 Parthenos/Tripod</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>7.47 (47)</td>
<td>8.67 (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139 Gorgoneion/Athena advancing</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>7.88 (30)</td>
<td>8.54 (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140 Young Dionysos/Athena advancing</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5.68 (16)</td>
<td>6.31 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143 Parthenos/Apollo Delios</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5.33 (36)</td>
<td>5.84 (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144 Zeus/Bearded Dionysos head</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>5.47 (61)</td>
<td>6.33 (18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> Chaïdari and Agia Varvara hoards, Kroll 1973, pp. 106–119. The number of hoard coins weighed (in parentheses) is the same as the total number of each variety present in the two hoards. Abnormal average weights skewed by too small a sample are bracketed.

<sup>2</sup> From *New Style*, p. 640 and (for variety 146) Caley, pp. 52–53, table IX, no. 10.
### TABLE IV: PERIOD IV AE 1 VARIETIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number from Agora</th>
<th>Average weight of Agora specimens</th>
<th>Average weight of hoard specimens</th>
<th>Lead %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period IVC: 31–early 20’s B.C.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Athena, Corinthian helmet/Demeter</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.82 (5)</td>
<td>8.09 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>Parthenos/Nike</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>8.08 (17)</td>
<td>8.51 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>Parthenos/Standing Zeus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.16 (1)</td>
<td>9.52 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period IVD: mid-20’s–19 B.C.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Athena advancing, owl</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>6.88 (101)</td>
<td>7.80 (118)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Athena advancing, snake</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>6.83 (49)</td>
<td>7.53 (43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Owl on prow</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>6.84 (140)</td>
<td>7.48 (88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Sphinx</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>6.80 (92)</td>
<td>7.57 (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period IVE: ca. later 10’s B.C.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>Owl on amphora, snake</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>5.55 (38)</td>
<td>6.42 (49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Owl on amphora, cicada</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>5.53 (57)</td>
<td>6.20 (58)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE V

**PERIOD IV FRACTIONS**

Normal range of diameters and average weights of Agora specimens

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AE 2</th>
<th>AE 3</th>
<th>AE 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AE2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AE3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AE4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period IVA: 86–42 B.C.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127 Demeter/Triptolemos</td>
<td>16–18/5.76 (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128 similar, with poppy head</td>
<td>15–17/4.35 (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129 Dolphin on trident/Plemochoe</td>
<td>14–17/4.09 (15)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130 Athena/Artemis</td>
<td>15–16/3.85 (6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131 Apollo/Cicada</td>
<td></td>
<td>14–16/3.89 (35)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132 Apollo/Two wheat ears in wreath</td>
<td></td>
<td>12/1.93 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133–134 Apollo or Athena/</td>
<td></td>
<td>10–12/1.84 (12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poppy and two wheat ears</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135–136 Apollo or Athena/</td>
<td></td>
<td>10–11/1.74 (25)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two wheat ears</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period IVB: 42/1–32 B.C.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141 Young Dionysos/Kantharos</td>
<td>13–15/2.60* (16)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142 Bearded Dionysos/Athena bust</td>
<td></td>
<td>11–12/1.39* (19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145 Zeus/Eagle on thunderbolt</td>
<td>13–15/3.24 (13)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period IVD: mid-20’s to 19 B.C.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 Demeter/Poppy and wheat ears</td>
<td>13–15/3.26 (26)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154 Triptolemos/Mystic staff and wheat ear</td>
<td>14–15/3.46 (17)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155 Triptolemos/Nike</td>
<td>13–14/3.14 (6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156 Parthenos/Two owls on thunderbolt</td>
<td>15–19/2.97 (9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Note reduction of module size and weight after Period IVA.
### TABLE VI

#### THREE EARLY PERIOD IVA DEPOSITS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agora Deposit N 20:4</th>
<th>Delos 1910 Hoard(^1)</th>
<th>Agora Deposit E 14:3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Before Period IV</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various, including non-Athenian</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97 Fulminating Zeus, star between crescents (87/6 B.C.)</td>
<td>13 w1–2</td>
<td>2 w2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period IVA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AE 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115 Owl on amphora</td>
<td>1 w2</td>
<td>9 w2–3</td>
<td>3 w2–3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no symbol (86 B.C.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117 Kore/Iakchos (?84 B.C.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 w2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118 Owl on amphora</td>
<td>1 w2</td>
<td>1 w2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poppy and wheat ears (early 70’s B.C.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illegible symbol</td>
<td>1 w? (damaged)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AE 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127 Demeter/Triptolemos (?84 B.C.)</td>
<td>1 w2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127 or 128 Same, but poppy head?</td>
<td>1 w? (damaged)</td>
<td>1 w3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154 Triptolemos/Mystic staff and wheat ear</td>
<td>1 w5(^2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AE 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 w3–4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131 Apollo/Cicada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AE 4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132 Apollo/Two wheat ears in wreath</td>
<td>4 w2–3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133 Apollo/Poppy and wheat ears</td>
<td>1 w1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135 Apollo/Two wheat ears</td>
<td>5 w1–3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. *IGCH* 322; Kroll 1973, pp. 87–88. The actual date of burial may be 69 B.C. (see note 145 above, p. 82).
2. 154f, a worn Period IVD coin, is intrusive (see note 216 above, p. 109) and hence listed here in brackets.
TABLE VII

HYPOTHETICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ATHENIAN BRONZE
DENOMINATIONAL SYSTEMS

AND COMPARISON WITH THE ROMAN SYSTEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AE 0</td>
<td>AE Drachm (1/6 AR drachm)</td>
<td>AE Hemidrachm (1/12 denarius)</td>
<td>AE Hemidrachm (1/12 denarius)</td>
<td>AE Drachm (1/6 denarius)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE 1</td>
<td>AE Drachm (1/6 AR drachm)</td>
<td>AE Hemidrachm (1/12 AR drachm)</td>
<td>AE Quarter-drachm (1/24 denarius)</td>
<td>As (1/16 denarius)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE 2</td>
<td>Hemiobol (1/12 AR drachm)</td>
<td>AE Hemidrachm (1/12 AR drachm)</td>
<td>AE Quarter-drachm (1/24 denarius)</td>
<td>Obol (1/36 denarius)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Semis (1/32 denarius)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE 3</td>
<td>Quarter-obol (1/24 AR drachm)</td>
<td>AE Quarter-drachm (1/12 AR drachm)</td>
<td>discontinued</td>
<td>Quadrans (1/64 denarius)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE 4</td>
<td>Chalkous (1/48 AR drachm)</td>
<td>Chalkous (1/48 AR drachm)</td>
<td>Half chalkous (1/96 denarius?)</td>
<td>Sextans (1/96 denarius)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE 5</td>
<td>Half chalkous (1/96 AR drachm)</td>
<td></td>
<td>discontinued</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See pp. 38, 90 and Tables III–V and VIII. After 42 B.C., the AE 1 and 2 modules were reduced in size and weight to become the effective equivalent of the former AE 2 and 3 modules.

2 Using the general weight/size modules of the Corinthian duoviral bronze, Amandry, pp. 82–83, table 12.

3 The fourth denomination of Athens' imperial coinage began at AE 3 size but was soon reduced to AE 4 for Period VB (see Table VIII).
TABLE VIII

ATHENIAN IMPERIAL DENOMINATIONS

(Normal range of diameters, average weights, and numbers of Agora specimens)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>VA</th>
<th>VB</th>
<th>VC</th>
<th>VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drachm</td>
<td>24–26 mm.</td>
<td>22–23 mm.</td>
<td>20–22 mm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.37 g.</td>
<td>6.67 g.</td>
<td>5.30 g.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(175)</td>
<td>(709)</td>
<td>(1115)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemidrachm</td>
<td>18–22 mm.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>(250)</td>
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*It is impossible to distinguish between VB and VC hemiobols when the obverse depicts some figure other than Athena. Nearly all the Athena-head hemiobols, however, appear to be VB, and this is probably the case for the VB–VC hemiobols as a whole.
# TABLE IX

## TOTALS OF ATHENIAN IMPERIAL DIES

Based on specimens from the Agora and other public and private collections

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**Total**

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*Excluding five or six “transitional” obverse drachm dies introduced in Period VB and continued in Period VC.*
CONCORDANCES
## CONCORDANCE OF CATALOGUED AGORA COINS

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PLATES
ATHENIAN BRONZE, 3RD CENTURY B.C.

PLATE 7

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PLATE 22  ATHENIAN BRONZE, 3RD CENTURY AFTER CHRIST. ITALY, SICILY, THRACE

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Modern imitations

d. Chopped coin blanks and rod segment from the “Mint”: Group 1 (B 1046)

e. Chopped coin blanks from the “Mint”: Group 2 and others

f. Finished coin blanks from Deposit H 12:4
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Plan of the Athenian Agora, ca. 100 B.C., showing excavation sections and grid
The Athenian Agora in the 2nd century after Christ