During Summer 1968 the Direction of the National Archaeological Museum delivered to the Athens Numismatic Collection a chest full of coins that had been stored in the Museum during World War II. When Mando Economides began to classify the material in the chest, she found some groups of coins which appeared to be parts of hoards, although no provenance was given. The various groups were simply described as "50 staters of Boeotia," "41 Athenian New Style tetradrachms," etc.

Some months before, the Athens cabinet had begun to make an inventory of its hoards of Greek coins in collaboration with the International Numismatic Commission (1). Since all the coins in the chest were acquired before 1940, Mando Economides attempted to identify the groups of coins with hoards listed in Sydney P. Noe's *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards* (2). After correspondence with Margaret Thompson of the American Numismatic Society, it became apparent that two lots (TIK. 7 and TIK. 28) of Athenian New Style and cistophoric tetradrachms were part of the same hoard, namely the 1933 Hierapytna hoard (Noe 433, *IGCH* 352). Later, after the individual coins were studied, the original suggestion was confirmed.

The new section of the Hierapytna hoard is important for two reasons: it allows us to reconstruct the Athenian New Style and cistophoric parts of the hoard, and it includes several rare or un-
published specimens. Among these are a new Athenian two-ma-
gistrate issue (3), and two very rare late issues which share the
same obverse die, a previously unrecorded die linkage (4). There
is also a cistophoric tetradrachm of Cicero, the seventh known
element (5).

The Hierapytna hoard had been found at Hierapytna, Crete,
probably in 1933, and appeared on the market early in 1934. It
contained a wide range of coins — Cretan silver, Roman Republican
denarii, cistophori, Athenian New Style tetradrachms and at least
one Athenian drachm; a minimum of 350-400 coins in all, perhaps
many more. The hoard was published in 1938 by E. J. P. Raven,
who had examined a large part of the find in London and had
received information regarding other pieces from various corres-
dpondents and dealers in London and Athens. Some additional
details concerning the Athenian coins in the hoard were published
by M. L. Kambanis the same year (6).

The denarii in the find run down to 46 B.C. Raven suggested
that the hoard was buried between 44 and 42 and was connected
with the fighting in Crete between the forces of Antony and Brutus
during the Roman Civil War. Raven's suggestion has been uni-
versally accepted. The additional evidence of the Athens section

(3) No. 43, ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ – ΜΕΝΤΩΡ. M. CARAMESSINI-OECONOMIDES, An
Unpublished Athenian New Style Tetradrachm, in ArchAnAth, 7, 1974, p. 395-
396. — T. HACkENS, A propos du trésor de gierepetra 1935, in RBN, 117, 1971,
p. 288-289.

(4) Nos. 41 and 12, ΗΡΑ ΚΛΩΝ – ΗΡΑ ΚΑΙΔΗΣ (previously known from two
specimens) and ΤΡΥΦΩΝ – ΠΟΛΥΧΑΡΜΟΣ (known from a single tetradrachm).
M. THOMPSON, The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens (ANSNS, 10), New York,
1961, p. 389-390. Thompson had separated the issues by only one year — a
confirmation of the accuracy of her stylistic groupings in the Late Period,
where the evidence of die linkage is lacking.


(6) E. J. P. Raven, The Hierapytna Hoard of Greek and Roman Coins, in
NC, 1938, p. 134-158. — M. L. KAMBANIS, Notes sur le classement chronologique
des monnaies d' Athènes, in BCH, 62, 1938, p. 75-76. — THOMPSON, Athens, p. 516-
517. — D. M. LEWIS, The Chronology of the Athenian New Style Coinage, in NC,
RIDER, Un groupe de monnaies créloises à types athéniens, in Humanisme actif,
of the hoard, (the latest cistophori were struck in 49/8), provides confirmation for a burial date in the mid to late 40s B.C.

CATALOGUE

ATTICA, ATHENS

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

Rev. A ΘE Owl r., head facing, wings closed, standing on horizontal amphora; monograms, names, letters, and/or symbols, as given below; all within olive wreath.


1. (ΠΚ. 28) 14.76 ἔχως To l., trophy.
   Th. 47 (188/7 B.C.)

2. (ΠΚ. 28) 14.46 ΑΕ To r., eagle; on amphora, [Θ]; below, E.
   Th. 234a (173/2 B.C.)

3. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.39 ΚΩΣΙΜΑ To r., Nike; on amphora, Σ; below, ME.
   Th. 260 (171/0 B.C.)

4. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.27 ΚΩΣΙΜΑ To r., Nike; on amphora, Θ; below, EY.
   Th. 272 (171/0 B.C.)

5. (ΠΚ. 28) 11.83 ΛΥΣΑΝ - ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ - ΔΑΜΩΝ To l., cicada; on amphora, H; below, ?
   Th. — (159/8 B.C.) Obv. die illegible.

6. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.31 [ΑΦ]ΡΟΣΙΜΑ - ΔΗΜΟΣΕΝ - ΑΡΠΙΣΤΟ To r., double cornucopiae with fillet; on amphora, ?; below, ΔI.
   Th. 543 (152/1 B.C.)

7. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.30 ΘΕΟΣΙΜΑ - ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΙΟΣ - ΑΡΙΣΤΟ To r., trophy on prow; on amphora, !; below, PE.
   Th. 605a (149/8 B.C.)

8. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.16 ΜΗΤΙΡΟΠΩΡΙΟΣ - ΔΗΜΟΣΕΝ - [ΠΙ]ΡΙΟΣ To r., bunch of grapes; on amphora, ?; below, PE.
   Th. 633 (147/6 B.C.)

9. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.01 ΔΑΜΩΝ - ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ - ΙΩΝ To r., quiver and bow; on amphora, ?; below, ΑΠ.
   Th. 728 (141/0 B.C.)

10. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.15 ΔΑΜΩΝ - ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ - ΘΕΟΔΩΡΙΑΣΩΝ To r., quiver and bow; on amphora, ?; below, ΜΕ.
    Th. 728a (141/0 B.C.)
11. (ΠΚ. 28) 14.69 ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ - ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ - ΛΥΣΙΠΠ No symbol; on amphora, Z; below, ΣΟ.

Τη. 771 (138/7 Β.C.)

12. (ΠΚ. 28) 14.89 ΗΡΑ ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ - ΕΥΚΛΗΣ - ΒΑΚΧΗ To r., winged Tyche with amphora; on amphora, Λ/Κ; below, ΣΟΛ.

Τη. 795b (137/6 Β.C.)

13. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.31 ΗΡΑ ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ - ΕΥΚΛΗΣ - ΔΙΟΚ To r., winged Tyche with amphora; on amphora, M; below, ΣΟΛ.

Τη. 795c (137/6 Β.C.)

14. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.78 ΚΕΣΙΟΣ - ΑΣ ΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ - ΘΕΟ Το r., wreath; on amphora, Ε; below, ΜΕ.

Τη. 815 (135/4 Β.C.)

15. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.06 ΚΕΣΙΟΣ - ΑΣ ΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ - ΘΕΟ Το r., wreath; on amphora, Z; below, ΜΕ.

Τη. 816 (135/4 Β.C.)

16. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.02 ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ - Α ΓΑΕΘΙΟΣ - ΑΠ To r., caps of Dioscuri; on amphora, ?; below, ?

Τη. 912 (131/0 Β.C.)

17. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.22 ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ - Α ΓΑΕΘΙΟΣ - ΑΠ To r., caps of Dioscuri; on amphora, Η; below, ΖΩ.

Τη. 918 (131/0 Β.C.)

18. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.61 ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ - ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ - ΕΜΒΙ To r., gorgon-head; on amphora, Μ; below, ΑΠ.

Τη. 950d (130-29 Β.C.)

19. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.76 ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ - ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ - [ΕΜ]ΒΙ? To r., gorgon-head; on amphora, ?; below, [ΑΠ].

Τη. 950d (130/29 Β.C.)

20. (ΠΚ. 7) 15.85 ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ - ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ - [Ζ]ΕΝ To r., gorgon-head; on amphora, Η; below, ΠΕ.

Τη. 951 (130/29 Β.C.)

21. (ΠΚ. 7) 15.29 ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ - ΦΙΛΩΝ - Η ΓΕΑΣ To r., Pegasus; on amphora, [Μ]; below, ΜΗ.

Τη. 987a (129/8 Β.C.)

22. (ΠΚ. 28) 16.06 ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ - ΦΙΛΩΝ - Η ΓΕΑΣ To r., Pegasus; on amphora, Κ; below, ΜΗ.

Τη. (129/8 Β.C.) New obv. die; same rev. die as Τη. 979f.

23. (ΠΚ. 28) 14.09 ΔΗΜΕΑΣ - ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ - [Δ]ΙΟΓΕ To r., headdress of Isis; on amphora, Θ; below, ΔΗ.

Τη. 1060c (125/4 Β.C.)

24. (ΠΚ. 28) 14.81 ΔΗΜΕΑΣ - ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ - ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧ To r., headdress of Isis; on amphora, Λ; below, ΒΙΑ.

Τη. 1061c (125/4 Β.C.)

25. (ΠΚ. 28) 13.38 ΔΗΜΕΑΣ - ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ - ΛΥΣΙΜ To r., headdress of Isis; on amphora, ?; below, ΔΗ.

Τη. (125/4 Β.C.) New obv. die.

26. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.08 ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ - [Α]ΡΜΟΞΕ [Ν]ΟΣ To r., dolphin and trident; on amphora, Δ/Γ; below, ΠΕΡ.

Τη. 1077a (124/3 Β.C.)
27. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.13 † ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ - ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ To r., Roma; on amphora, Ε; below, ΑΡ.
ΤΗ. 1114c (123/2 B.C.)

28. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.73 † ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ - ΕΠΙΘΕΣ To r., baitulos with fillet; on amphora, Θ; below, ΔΙ.
ΤΗ. 1158 (119/8 B.C.)

29. (ΠΚ. 28) 16.01 † ΜΕΝΤΩΡ - ΜΟΣΧΩΝ To r., Harmodios and Aristogeiton; on amphora, ?; below, ΕΡ.
ΤΗ. 1171c (118/7 B.C.)

30. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.77 † ΜΕΝΤΩΡ - ΜΟΣΧΩΝ To r., Harmodios and Aristogeiton; on amphora, ?; below, ?
ΤΗ. 1172 (118/7 B.C.)

31. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.32 † ΑΡΧΙΑΙΟΣ - ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ To r., Isis; on amphora, ΢; below, ΕΠ/ΙΣΙ.
ΤΗ. 1177 (117/6 B.C.) Rev. die of ΤΗ. 1176, recut.

32. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.35 † ΑΜΦΙΑΣ - ΟΙΝΟΦΙΑΟΣ To r., Demeter; on amphora, ?; below, [Ε]Ρ.
ΤΗ. 1192 (115/4 B.C.)

33. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.61 † ΕΥΜΗΛΟΣ - ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΝΗΣ To r., Ares; on amphora, Α; below, ?
ΤΗ. 1197 (114/3 B.C.) Different rev. die.

34. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.31 † ΝΕΣΤΩΡ - ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ To r., stag; on amphora, ?; below, ?
ΤΗ. 1216 (113/2 B.C.) Different rev. die.

35. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.02 ◄ ΔΙΟΦΑΙΝΙΟΣ - ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ To r., sphinx; on amphora, ?; below, ?
ΤΗ. 1231 (108/7 B.C.) New rev. die.

36. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.88 ◄ ΑΛΚΕΤΗΣ - ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙ To r., helmet; on amphora, Θ/Ζ; below, ?
ΤΗ. 1234a (106/5 B.C.)

37. (ΠΚ. 28) 14.74 ◄ ΞΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ - ΞΕΝΩΝ To r., Apollo Lykeios; on amphora, ?; below, Ω.
ΤΗ. 1237 (104/3 B.C.)

38. (ΠΚ. 28) 16.11 † ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ - ΞΕΝΩΝ To r., Apollo Lykeios; on amphora, ?; below, ΣΩ.
ΤΗ. 1238 (104/3 B.C.)

39. (ΠΚ. 28) 16.60 † ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ - ΞΕΝΩΝ To r., Apollo Lykeios; on amphora, Α; below, ΣΩ.
ΤΗ. 1240 (104/3 B.C.)

40. (ΠΚ. 28) 14.82 † ΑΡΧΙΑΙΟΣ - ΠΑΜΜΕΝΗΣ To r., filleted thyrsos; on amphora, ?; below, ?
ΤΗ. 1257 (96/5 B.C.)

41. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.56 ◄ ΗΡΑΚΛΩΝ - ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ To r., head of eagle; on amphora, Δ; below, ?
ΤΗ. 1264b (93/2 B.C.)

42. (ΠΚ. 28) 16.24 † ΤΡΥΦΩΝ - ΠΟΛΥΧΑΡΜΟΣ To r., Hekate; on amphora, ?; below, ?
TH. 1264 (91/0 B.C.) Rev. die of TH. 1268; new die link (with ἩΡΑΚΛΩΝ – ἩΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ).

43. (ΠΚ. 28) 15.35" ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ – ΜΕΝΤΩΡ To r., Apollo with lyre?; on amphora, ?; below, ?
TH. —. New obv. die; new issue. Struck over a posthumous tetradrachm of Alexander III.

44. (ΠΚ. 28) 14.77 — ΟΡΙΟΣ – ΜΠΟΥΝ No ethnic. Sullan issue.
TH. 1326 (86-84 B.C.)

CISTOPHORI

Obv. Cista mystica with half-open lid, from which a serpent issues to l.; all within an ivy wreath.
Rev. Two coiled serpents with heads erect; between them an ornamented bow-case with strap at r., usually containing a strung bow at l.; ethnic, letters, monograms, names, and/or symbols, as given below.

PINDER = M. PINDER, Über die Cistophoren, in Abh. Berlin, 1885, p. 533-571. For the date of Pergamum Group III cistophori (with ΠΠ), and the Apamea cistophorus no. 60, see F. S. KLEINER, The Giresun Hoard, in ANSMN 19, 1974, p. 3-25.

MYSIA, PERGAMUM

45. (ΠΚ. 7) 11.03" To 1., ΠΠ; to r., serpent staff; above, ΕΥ/ΠΠ.
PINDER 108 (95-67 B.C.).

46. (ΠΚ. 7) 10.46" To 1., ΠΠ; to r., serpent staff; above, ΠΕ/ΠΠ.
PINDER 109 (95-67 B.C.).

47. (ΠΚ. 7) 12.09" To 1., ΠΠ; to r., serpent staff; above, ΠΕ/ΠΠ.
PINDER 109 (95-67 B.C.).

48. (ΠΚ. 7) 12.06" To 1., ΠΠ; to r., serpent staff; above, ΚΠΙ/ΠΠ.
PINDER — (95-67 B.C.).

49. (ΠΚ. 7) 11.45" To 1., ΠΠ; to r., serpent staff; above, ΜΗ/ΠΠ.
PINDER 114 (95-67 B.C.).

50. (ΠΚ. 7) 11.47" To 1., ΠΠ; to r., serpent staff; above, ΜΗ/ΠΠ.
PINDER 114 (95-67 B.C.).

51. (ΠΚ. 7) 10.83" To 1., ΠΠ; to r., serpent staff; above, ΜΟΣ/ΠΠ.
PINDER — (95-67 B.C.).
52. (ΠΚ. 7) 11.32 To l., ΠΠ to r., serpent staff; above, ΜΟΣ/ΠΠ in wreath.  
PINDER 124 (95-67 B.C.).

53. (ΠΚ. 7) 11.69 To l., ΠΠ to r., serpent staff; above, ΠΑ/ΠΠ.  
PINDER 115 (95-67 B.C.).

54. (ΠΚ. 7) 11.76 To l., ΠΠ to r., serpent staff; above, ΠΑ/ΠΠ.  
PINDER 115 (95-67 B.C.).

55. (ΠΚ. 7) 11.35 To l., ΠΠ to r., serpent staff; above, Θ/ΠΠ.  
PINDER 118 (95-67 B.C.).

56. (ΠΚ. 7) 11.83 To l., ΠΠ to r., serpent staff; above around, Q.METELLVS. PIVS; below around, SCIPIO.IMPER; between serpents, legionary eagle instead of bow-case.  
PINDER 192 (49/8 B.C.).

57. (ΠΚ. 7) 11.84 To l., ΠΠ to r., serpent staff; above around, Q.METELLVS.PIVS; below around, SCIPIO.IMPER; between serpents, legionary eagle instead of bow-case.  
PINDER 192 (49/8 B.C.).

IONIA, EPHESUS

58. (ΠΚ. 7) 11.90 To l., ΕΦ to r., torch; above left, ΞΕ; above center, poppy between opposed cornucopiae.  
PINDER —. ANSMN 18, 1972, p. 27, no. 65 (70/69 B.C.).

LYDIA, TRALLES

59. (ΠΚ. 7) 11.64 To l., ΤΡΑΛ to r., cap of Polydeuces; above, C.SEPTVMIVS/T.F.PROCOS; below, [ΠΟΛ]ΥΔΕΥΚΗΣ.  
PINDER — (56/5 B.C.).

PHRYGIA, APAMEA

60. (ΠΚ. 7) 10.60 To l., ΑΠΑ to r., double flute; above, illegible name or names.  
(90-87 B.C.)

61. (ΠΚ. 7) 11.88 To l., ΑΠΑ to r., double flute; above, C.FABI. M.F./PROCOS; below, ANAPONIKOY/ΞΕΝΙΟΥ.  
PINDER 173 (57/6 B.C.).

62. (ΠΚ. 7) 11.00 To l., ΑΠΑ to r., double flute; above, [Ρ]. LENTVLVS PF/IMPERATOR; below ATTALOY/MAN[T]ΙΘ-Ε[ΟΣ].  
PINDER — (56-63 B.C.).
Raven's compilation of Athenian New Style pieces was based largely upon lists furnished by dealers and correspondents in London and Athens. Of the 28 pieces described by Raven, only 3 were examined personally. There is no way of determining which of the re-
remaining tetradrachms (with the exception of 7 from a private collection in Athens) were in the hands of Athenian dealers in 1934.

Kambanis's list consists, however, solely of pieces which he saw in Athens. It is instructive to compare the 12 two magistrate varieties seen by Kambanis with the two lots of coins acquired by the Athens Numismatic Museum.

**Kambanis varieties**

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<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Athens ΠΚ. 7 and 28</th>
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<td>ΕΥΜΗΛΟΣ - ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΔΗΣ</td>
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Only 4 of the Kambanis varieties are not present in the Museum lots. Two of these, ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ - ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ and ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ - ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ, are among those acquired in 1934 by a private collector in Athens (Raven nos. 71 and 77). The parallel between Kambanis's list and the Museum pieces is a further indication that ΠΚ. 7 and 28 are parts of the Hierapytina hoard. With the additional evidence of the 44 Museum tetradrachms, it is now possible to reconstruct quite precisely the Athenian New Style section of the Hierapytina hoard.

The following list is based upon the information provided by Raven and Kambanis. Kambanis described only the two magistrate issues which were of special interest to him, and did not specify the number of coins of each variety which he examined. Four of the Kambanis varieties are not included in Raven's list of 28 pieces. The combined list of 32 pieces thus represents only the minimum number of coins known to Raven and Kambanis.

3 Monograms issues

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</tbody>
</table>
10 of the pieces from the combined Raven-Kambanis list either were examined by Raven in London or were purchased by a private collector in Athens. These 10 are noted in parentheses and cannot be identical with any of the 44 Athens pieces from ΠΚ. 7 or 28. To these 10 may be added the 44 Athens tetradrachms and the remaining 8 varieties listed by Raven or Kambanis not represented in the combined group of 54 coins. The resulting total of 62 pieces is the minimum number of Hierapytna Athens pieces. More specimens of each variety may have been in the hoard, but the following list of 62 coins must constitute a nearly complete enumeration of the "about 50 tetradrachms and 1 drachm" or "cinquantaine de tétra­drachmes athéniens" said to be in the Hierapytna hoard.

1. ΙΕΣΙΟΣ - ΑΣΚΑΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ (Athens ΠΚ. 28, cat. no. 1)
2. ΔΗΜΕΑΣ - ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ (Athens ΠΚ. 28, cat. no. 2)
3. ΖΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ - ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ
4. ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ - ΝΕΣΤΩΡ
5. ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ - ΕΠΙΘΕΤΗΣ (1 Athens priv.)
6. ΜΕΝΤΩΡ - ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ
7. ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ - ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ
8. ΕΥΜΗΛΟΣ - ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΔΗΣ (1 Athens priv.)
9. ΝΕΣΤΩΡ - ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ (1 London)
10. ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ - ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ (2 Athens priv.)
11. ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ - ΖΕΝΩΝ (1 Athens priv.)
12. ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ - ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (1 Athens priv.)
13. ΑΡΧΙΤΙΜΟΣ - ΠΑΜΜΕΝΗΣ
14. ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ - ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ (1 Athens priv.)

1. ΑΘ - Α (Athens ΠΚ. 28, cat. no. 1)
2. ΑΘ - Α (Athens ΠΚ. 28, cat. no. 2)
3. Illegible monograms (Raven no. 54)
4. ΚΤΗΣΙ - ΕΥΜΑ (Athens ΠΚ. 28, cat. no. 3)
5. ΚΤΗΣΙ - ΕΥΜΑ (Athens ΠΚ. 28, cat. no. 4)
6. ΛΥΣΑΝ - ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ (Athens ΠΚ. 28, cat. no. 5)
7. ΑΦΟΡΔΙΣΙ - ΔΙΟΓΕ (Athens ΠΚ. 28, cat. no. 6)
8. ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ - ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ (Athens ΠΚ. 28, cat. no. 7)
9. ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ - ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ (Raven no. 57)
10. ΜΗΤΡΟΔΡΟΣ - ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝ (Athens ΠΚ. 28, cat. no. 8)
11. ΜΗΤΡΟΔΡΟΣ - ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝ (dr., B.M., Raven no. 70)
12. ΔΑΜΩΝ - ΣΟΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ (Athens ΠΚ. 28, cat. no. 9)
13. ΔΑΜΩΝ - ΣΟΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ (Athens ΠΚ. 28, cat. no. 10)
14. ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΣ - ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 11)
15. ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΣ - ΚΛΕΩΦΑΝΗΣ (Raven no. 59)
16. ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΣ - ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ (Raven no. 60)
17. ΗΡΑ ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ - ΕΥ ΚΛΗΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 12)
18. ΗΡΑ ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ - ΕΥ ΚΛΗΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 13)
19. ΗΡΑ ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ - ΕΥ ΚΛΗΣ (Raven no. 61)
20. ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ - ΑΣ ΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 14)
21. ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ - ΑΣ ΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 15)
22. ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ - ΑΣ ΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ (Raven no. 65)
23. ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ - ΑΣ ΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ (Raven no. 66)
24. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ - Α ΓΑΘΙΠΟΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 16)
25. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ - Α ΓΑΘΙΠΟΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 17)
26. ΝΙΚΗΘΗΣ - ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 18)
27. ΝΙΚΗΘΗΣ - ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 19)
28. ΝΙΚΗΘΗΣ - ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 7, cat. no. 20)
29. ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ - ΦΙΛΩΝ (Athens Π.Κ. 7, cat. no. 21)
30. ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ - ΦΙΛΩΝ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 22)
31. ΔΗΜΕΑΣ - ΕΡΜΟ ΚΛΗΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 23)
32. ΔΗΜΕΑΣ - ΕΡΜΟ ΚΛΗΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 24)
33. ΔΗΜΕΑΣ - ΕΡΜΟ ΚΛΗΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 25)
34. ΞΕΝΟ ΚΛΗΣ - ΑΡΜΟ ΞΕΝΟΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 26)
35. ΞΕΝΟ ΚΛΗΣ - ΑΡΜΟ ΞΕΝΟΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 27)
36. ΜΝΑΣΑΕΑΣ - ΝΕΣΤΩΡ (Kambanis)
37. ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ - ΕΠΙΟΘΗΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 28)
38. ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ - ΕΠΙΟΘΗΣ (Raven no. 76)
39. ΜΕΝΤΩΡ - ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 29)
40. ΜΕΝΤΩΡ - ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 30)
41. ΑΡΧΙΤΙΜΟΣ - ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 31)
42. ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ - ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ (Kambanis)
43. ΑΜΦΙΑΣ - ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 32)
44. ΕΥΜΗΛΟΣ - ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΔΗΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 33)
45. ΕΥΜΗΛΟΣ - ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΔΗΣ (Raven no. 75)
46. ΝΕΣΤΩΡ - ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 34)
47. ΝΕΣΤΩΡ - ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ (Raven no. 79)
48. ΔΙΟΦΑΝΗΣ - ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 35)
49. ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ - ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ (Raven no. 72)
50. ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ - ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ (Raven no. 73)
51. ΑΛΚΕΤΗΣ - ΕΥΑΓΡΙΩΝ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 36)
52. ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ - ΞΕΝΩΝ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 37)
53. ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ - ΞΕΝΩΝ (Athens Π.Κ. 7, cat. no. 38)
54. ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ - ΞΕΝΩΝ (Athens Π.Κ. 28, cat. no. 39)
Unlike the Athenian New Style section of the Hierapytna hoard, very little was known about the cistophori in the find prior to the identification of ΠΚ. 7 and 28. Raven states that «about 60 cistophori, said to have been mostly specimens of Pergamum, with Roman proconsuls' names, » were in the hoard. Details of only two pieces were known to Raven. One, Raven no. 103, was an Apamea piece of Appius Claudius Pulcher (Pinder 196), which Raven did not see. The cistophorus is possibly identical with cat. no. 70 or 71. The second, Raven no. 104, retained by the British Museum, is a cistophorus of Tralles, struck in the name of Τ.ΑΜΠΛΙ.Τ.Υ./ΠΡΟΚΟΣ, with ΠΥΘΑΙΩΝ the local magistrate (Pinder —; 58/7 B.C.). A third cistophorus, another example of Pinder 196, in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, is cited in IGCH as coming from the 1934 Hierapytna hoard. However, Margaret Thompson has informed us that the piece in question is no. 390 in the Hamburg auction of May 29, 1929. The cistophorus cannot therefore have been part of the hoard discovered 4 years later. With the new evidence of ΠΚ. 7 and 28, details of at least 31 of the «about 60 cistophori » are now known.

**MNAΣΑ ΓΟΡΑΣ - ΜΕΝΤΩΠ** and the End of the New Style Silver

One of the most important features of the Athens section of the Hierapytna hoard is the presence of an unpublished Athenian New Style tetradrachm (no. 43) (7). It is a late two-magistrate issue signed by MNAΣΑ ΓΟΡΑΣ and ΜΕΝΤΩΠ. The two names are rare in Attic prosopography and the two magistrates are certainly identical with the MNAΣΑ ΓΟΡΑΣ and ΜΕΝΤΩΠ who signed three other Athen-
ian silver issues: ἈΡΟΠΟΣ - ΜΝΑΣΑΝΩ (128/7 B.C., Thompson chronology), ΜΕΝΤΩΡ - ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ (118/7), and ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ - ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ (105/4) (8).

The obverse die of this tetradrachm is new, but the style is very close to that of the series ΜΕΝΤΩΡ - ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ (9). There is no room for the ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ - ΜΕΝΤΩΡ issue in the tight sequence of series leading up to ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ - ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ and ΜΕΝΤΩΡ - ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ. The new series should be placed between ΜΕΝΤΩΡ - ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ and the later series ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ - ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ. In this case, ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ would have served as second magistrate with ἈΡΟΠΟΣ, then as first magistrate with ΜΕΝΤΩΡ, and later as second magistrate with ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ. ΜΕΝΤΩΡ would have served as first magistrate with ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ and later as second magistrate with ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ.

The reverse symbol of the ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ - ΜΕΝΤΩΡ tetradrachm, probably a seated figure of Apollo holding a lyre, is not previously recorded. Only once, in 142/1 B.C. (Thompson chronology), does the symbol change in the course of a year, and then it is because both magistrates are replaced in the third month: ΕΥΒΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ - ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗ, Artemis with fawn, months Α - Β; ΖΩΙΛΟΣ - ΕΥΑΝΑΡΟΣ, be, months Γ - Μ (10). In the few cases where a second magistrate is replaced during the year, the symbol is retained. The choice of symbol was the prerogative of the first magistrate (11). Thus, ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ - ΜΕΝΤΩΡ represents a new annual emission, unless one assumes that the two men replaced two other magistrates in the course of one year. There is no evidence to support this viewpoint (12).

Thompson had collected 109 series, (excluding the ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ - ΧΑΡΜΟΣΤΡΑ imitation and the ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ - ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ issue, which she considered to be a supplementary emission), and suggested that the 109 issues corresponded to 109 annual emissions between 196/5 and 88/7 B.C. It seems certain now that the Athenian New

(8) THOMPSON, Athens, p. 576-577.
(9) THOMPSON, Athens, pl. 130. Hierapytna hoard nos. 29-30.
(10) THOMPSON, Athens, p. 257-262, 589.
(11) THOMPSON, Athens, p. 601-603.
(12) THOMPSON, Athens, p. 415 n. 1: "The correlation of years and issue may seem too tight in view of the possibility of new issues turning up in hoards. There is, however, an element of flexibility at the end of the sequence in that the minting activity of an entire year may not have been limited to a single small emission. We have a number of instances of coinage apparently issued in only one month and it is not impossible that at a later date in the same year another pair of magistrates put out a second small striking. This does not at the moment seem to me likely but if new issues do appear, the possibility will have to be considered as an alternative to the assignment of silver coinage to the years after Sulla."
Style silver spanned more than 109 years \(^{13}\). \(\text{ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ} - \text{ΑΠΙ-ΣΤΙΩΝ}\) ought to be considered a regular issue. \(\text{ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ} - \text{ΧΑΡΜΟ} - \text{ΣΤΡΑ}\) may also be a product of the Athenian mint. The earliest series, without amphora letters, may each have been struck for more than a year. In certain years there may not have been any coinage. On the low chronology, there is very likely a few years' gap in the silver coinage after the devastation of 86. Moreover, Thompson's record, while including all varieties known in 1961, is not a complete record of the coinage. \(\text{ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ} - \text{ΜΕΝΤΩΡ}\) represents at least a 110th year, if not a 112th. The sparse representation of late issues in Thompson's corpus indicates that more are certain to appear, probably in new Cretan hoards. Of the 30 series struck by the Athenian mint after the Sullan sack \(\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ} - \text{ΑΠΙΣΤΙΩΝ}\), 17 were known in 1961 from 5 specimens or less; 5 from a single coin; 1 \(\text{ΔΗΜΟΧΑΡΗΣ} - \text{ΠΑΜΜΕΝΗΣ}\) from a single drachm. In 19 cases, only 1 or 2 obverse dies were recorded for the series. To these considerations may be added the fact that some post-Sullan bronze issues correspond exactly to the New Style silver, but at least two, and as many as five, symbols on the bronze have no parallel in the existing silver record. Silver pieces with these symbols may also appear in time \(^{14}\).

If the striking of silver was resumed about 84 B.C., the 31 known post-Sullan issues would place the end of the New Style silver in the late 50s at the earliest. As Mattingly and Kroll have pointed out, the identification of \(\text{ΔΙΟΚΑΗΣ}, \text{ΔΙΟΚΑΗΣ ΤΟ ΔΕΥ}, \text{and ΤΟ ΤΠΙ ΔΙΟΚΑΗΣ}\) with Diokles of Kephisia, priest of Asklepios and Hygeia in 51/0, establishes 47/6 as a \textit{terminus post quem} for the cessation of Athenian silver coinage \(^{15}\). The date falls most likely late in the 40s, in any case before 39 B.C., when Marcus Antonius set up headquarters in Athens and was proclaimed as the New Dionysos. The evidence for this is two-fold. The Hierapytna hoard contains cistophori and denarii down to 49/8 and one later denarius of 46 B.C. \(^{16}\). Despite Thompson's contention that the Athenian pieces are earlier in date than most of the hoard's contents \(^{17}\), the New Style tetradrachms must also run down to the early to mid 40s. The latest


The reference in Kroll, p. 92, n. 17, to an unpublished tetradrachm is to the \(\text{ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ} - \text{ΜΕΝΤΩΡ}\) piece.


\(^{16}\) Raven no. 363 (MN. \textit{CORDIVS RVFVS}).

\(^{17}\) Thompson, \textit{Athens}, p. 413, 516-517; \textit{NC}, 1962, p. 313-314.
Hierapytna specimens are among the last New Style emissions. The hoard thus confirms the prosopographical evidence of Diokles. Secondly, Kroll has shown that Marcus Antonius left his mark upon the Athenian bronze coinage by the sudden and unprecedented appearance of Dionysiac imagery on the obverses and reverses (18). Surely the New Dionysos would have placed his name on the contemporary Athenian silver, had there been any, as he did on the cistophori of Asia Minor (19).

(18) KROLL, Adelt, p. 98-99.
Monnaies stéphanéphores d’Athènes du trésor d’Héra Lýkéia
Monnaies stéphanéphores d’Athènes du trésor d’Hèrapytta.
Monnaies stéphanèphores d'Athènes du trésor d'Héraïpytna
Monnaies étaphanéphores d'Athènes et cistophores du trésor d'Héraclée
Cistophores du trésor d'Hierapytna
Cistophores du trésor d'Héraétyna