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Interest in inscribed inventory lists from Greek temples has soared in the last few years, and important studies have been produced on the subject. There are two, equally important, ways that this large, complex, and fragmentary material can be treated: one can write a history of inventory lists and address the problems regarding the organization and administration of sanctuaries, as well as update the publication of the stones, if necessary. This approach was successfully taken by the late Sara Aleshire and by Tullia Linders in their respective studies of the Athenian Asklepieion and the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, and, to some extent, by Diane Harris in her doctoral dissertation on the inventory lists of the Parthenon (2). Lately Richard Hamilton published a history of the Delian inventories, where he offered, among other things, a discussion of the complicated procedures of inventorying in that venerable sanctuary of Apollo (3). His chapter on the Athenian inventory lists which is included in that work offers a tremendously useful analysis of the structure and contents of these documents as well.

Alternatively, one can adopt a more "archaeological" approach in the study of ancient inventories by writing a commentary on the objects listed and their dedicants; compiling catalogues; and addressing issues regarding their history, diversity, and nomenclature, thus making this an interdisciplinary work. In the publication of a version of her doctoral dissertation, Diane Harris opted for this, second, approach with regard to treasures that were kept in the Parthenon and the Erechtheion during the fifth and fourth centuries (4).
It is the purpose of this paper to offer a numismatic commentary on the coins that appear among other dedications on the Athenian Acropolis, a task that has not been fully undertaken to date. Over the years, an important series of articles has been written on the subject of coins as dedications that are mentioned in the Delian inventory lists (5). Additionally, Tod produced a series of important epigraphical notes on Greek coinage, in which he attempted to interpret the nomenclature used in connection to currency (6). More recently, Melville-Jones catalogued a number of Athenian votives in the context of his extensive and formidable numismatic commentary of all relevant surviving Greek inscriptions (7). This important work is still in progress, and only a catalogue has been published to date, but it raises a number of significant issues, some of which will be addressed here. In her book on the treasures of the Parthenon and the Erechtheion, Harris attempted a very limited, and regrettably unsatisfactory, discussion of the coins that were kept in these Athenian temples (8). Moreover, some entries in her catalogue listed under the heading « Coins » often include items that were clearly not currency, nor were they necessarily destined, as far as one can tell, to be melted down at some point for the purpose of striking coins. For example, the same pieces of uncoined metal appear in the inventories for long periods, from 26 (H II.25) to 50 years (H II.27). Several dedications may have been eventually used in minting coins, but it is equally possible that they were used for the production of metal vessels, for which activity these inventories offer important information (9). On the other hand, a


(6) These articles were reprinted in M.N. Tod, Epigraphical Notes on Greek Coinage, Chicago, 1979.


(9) The most recent study on the production of metal vessels is by D. Harris, Nikokrates of Kolonos, Metal-Worker to the Parthenon Treasures, in Hesperia, 57, 1988, p. 329-337. In the coin categories of her study, Harris includes all sorts of metal scrapings: an odd piece of electron (H II.27/V.78), gold scrapings that fell from akroteria (H V.76–77), ivory figurines (H V.85; translated as “tokens”), bronze weights (H V.86), test-pieces for the purity of the metal used in coins or other precious objects (H V.88). Entry H II.28 lists a group of various articles, among them possible coins and a washbasin!
few certain numismatic entries have not been recognized as such and are therefore filed within irrelevant categories of dedications.

Before moving to the examination of the numismatic evidence, an overview of the history of the Acropolis inventory lists is in order (10). In the context of a democratic political system, the Athenians seem to have invented the concept of inventorying their temples and publishing the annual accounts of their treasurers (11). This event probably occurred around 434 following the completion of the greatest part of the Parthenon in 438. Surviving inscriptions span from the late fifth to the end of the fourth centuries. From 434 to 406, the Treasurers of Athena published separate stelai, carved in four-year cycles, for the Pronao, the Hekatompedon, and the Parthenon. From 405 to 386, the Treasurers of Athena and the Treasurers of the Other Gods shared the responsibility of issuing separate inscriptions for the Parthenon, the Oplistdomos, and the Hekatompedon. Next, the system of double stela was introduced from 385 to 340: each body of treasurers, oı̂ towanev tıs 'Athenács and oı̂ towanev tıs allı̂ wus theów, issued one annual stele listing all available treasures under their care. A breakdown in the tradition of publishing these accounts seems to have occurred after 340, which Lewis plausibly associated with the Lycourgan reforms of 333-331 to 321, when strict economy was imposed on public finances (12). The publication of inventories was resumed at some point in the late fourth century in the form of a single stele, but the evidence is too fragmentary to allow a sophisticated reconstruction of their completeness and duration. The last securely-dated inventory list from the Acropolis dates to ca. 304/3, and it is unclear whether the practice of inventorying continued in the third century, and what form it took. It may have been discontinued after Lachares's coup of 295, when this tyrant plundered the city's treasury and melted down several gold items, including the gold plates from the statue of Athena Parthenos. Demetrios Poliorketes put an end to Lachares's tyranny a year later, but it is unlikely that new inventories were published after that. Demetrios Poliorketes continued Lachares's desecration of the sacred property of Athena, but it is very likely that the people's piety procured the goddess with new gifts after his rule, a practice that probably continued to the end of antiquity (13). The reasons behind discontinuing the issuing of further inventories are unclear. Harris speculates that it may have been shame for the desecration of the goddess by opportunist

(13) HARRIS, art. cit., p. 37-38, n. 160. Pausanias (1.25.6) refers to Lachares's plundering of the Athenian Acropolis.
leaders, or even religious crisis, that prevented public officials from publishing their accounts during the Hellenistic period (14). The truth may be more mundane, even though the following theory must remain conjecture that can not be proved by the current state of the evidence: after almost 150 years of inventorying treasures and setting up more than 200 stones, among many others, on the Acropolis and its environs, the Athenians may have begun to run out of space. These inscriptions were also especially redundant and repetitive, and one would hardly expect many people to stop and read them. Moreover, commissioning the carving of a stele could be costly, judging from the evidence from the Hellenistic Delian inventories. Following 150 years of continuous, destructive wars, Athens had emerged deeply scarred from the experience, and transformations in political developments had reduced the city to a shadow of its former self. The third century was a turbulent period for Athens in which subjugation alternated with brief periods of independence (15).

Coins represent a very small percentage of the total amount of dedications that are known to have been consecrated on the Athenian Acropolis. They are mentioned in the Parthenon inventories as early as 422, and although their frequency increased over time in the next hundred years or so, they nevertheless do not seem to have been especially favored among dedicants. Additionally, most surviving relevant references refer to non-Athenian coins.

A catalogue of all surviving references to coins that were once housed in the temples of the Athenian Acropolis follows, excluding coins that appear in state expense accounts. It also lists all identifiable coins that are mentioned in IG I3 383, an inventory of, mainly, currency that belonged to various Attic shrines, and which was compiled in 429/8 by the Treasurers of the Other Gods (Cat. nos. 28–70). Objects are organized in five categories according to their location, when known, or their association with specific officials. It should also be noted that objects were often moved from one location to the other, and this, if known, has been stated. The catalogue’s format largely follows Harris, but it offers more detailed information: entries are consecutively numbered and include, when relevant, the corresponding references to the most recent, selective catalogues of ex-votos compiled by Harris (H), Melville-Jones (TM), and

(14) Harris, art. cit., p. 38-39.
(15) According to surviving accounts from Hellenistic Delos, the mason who carved ID 161 in ca. 279 was paid 1 drachm per 300 letters, or 100 drachms for the entire stele. This sum represented three-quarters of the total expense of buying the marble and installing the finished inscription. A craftsman’s wage at the time was 2 drachms a day, and it may have taken the Cutter of ID 161 several months to complete the inventory. Cf. ID 161, A, l. 69-71; Th. Homolle, Comptes et inventaires des temples Délitens en l’année 279, in BCH, 14, 1890, p. 419, n. 2; M.N. Tod, Letter-Labels in Greek Inscriptions, in BSA, 49, 1954, p. 6, n. 34; Hamilton, art. cit. (n. 3), p. 2, n. 5. For the history of Athens in the Hellenistic period see: Chr. Habicht, Athens from Alexander to Antony, Cambridge, MA, 1997.
Hamilton (RH) (16). Each object is described in Greek and in English, but in many cases these texts are composites and are based on the available epigraphical evidence which often varies from inventory to inventory. Next is given a list of relevant citations, and these may allow, when possible, to determine the life-span of each dedication from the moment that it entered the treasury to the time that it disappeared. However, the fragmentary state of our data allows us to draw only general conclusions on this last point. The highlighting of a number of citations in bold type suggests that their text has survived intact and corresponds precisely to the Greek description of the specific object. Since many of the surviving references to dedications are only partially preserved, their exact text is given in the notes.

**CATALOGUE**

I. Hekatompedon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Greek Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>H V.59; TM 159, 167 (17)</td>
<td>Κυζίκησι χρυσίο στατήρες</td>
<td>Gold staters from Kyzikos</td>
<td>IG I² 341, line 11 (406/5?) (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>H V.61; TM 136, 157, 160-165; RH HB.58</td>
<td>έκτη χρυσῆ Φωκατῆς</td>
<td>A gold Phokaian hekte</td>
<td>IG I² 342, line 19 (405/4?) (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IG II 1386, line 17 (ca. 400) (20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(16) Harris arranged her catalogue according to treasury, and each entry comprises a Roman numeral for the chapter followed by the item number. Chapter II lists objects that were kept in the Opisthodomos, Chapter III deals with the Proneos, Chapter IV with the Parthenon, Chapter V with the Hekatompedon, and Chapter VI with the Erechtheion. An obvious problem in her classification is posed by the fact that these treasures were moved many times over the years, and it is not always clear where exactly they were kept as they shifted boundaries and overseers. Cf. HAMILTON, art. cit. (n. 4). Melville-Jones numbered his entries consecutively, following the numbering of IG. Each entry therefore represents an entire inscription and often includes more than one item. Hamilton's abbreviations correspond to his own catalogue entries and are as follows: there are three attested phases in the treasury of the Hekatompedon, marked as HA, HB, and HC. A similar situation is observed in the treasury of Athena (AA, AB, AC). The treasury of the Other Gods is marked as OG.

(17) Cf. HB, note 34. Hamilton does not include this item in the treasury of Hekatompedon B, preferring rather to consider the objects in this inscription as a list compiled by the united boards, following West and Woodward: A.B. WEST and A.M. WOODWARD, Studies in Attic Treasure-Records II, in JHS, 38, 1938, p. 77.

(18) [Κυζίκησι χρυσίο στατήρες]
(19) [έκτη χρυσῆ Φωκατῆς]
(20) [έκτη Φωκατῆς μία]
3. H V.63; TM 136, 157, 160-165, 170; RH HC 140

**Φωκαίδες χρυσά ΔΙII**

Twelve gold Phokaian hektai

- IG II² 1388, Face A, lines 44-45 (399/8) (21)
- IG II² 1390, line 5 (after 398/7) (22)
- IG II² 1393, lines 24-25 (397/6) (23)
- IG II² 1389, line 5 (391/0) (24)
- IG II² 1400, lines 20-21 (390/89) (25)

4. H V.64; TM 136, 157, 160-165, 170; RH HB 49; RH HC 28

**Φωκαίκω χρυσώ στατήρε II**

Two Phokaian staters

- IG I² 342, line 10 (405/4?) (31)
- IG II² 1386, lines 14-15 (401/0) (25)
- IG II² 1384, line 6 (ca. 400) (26)
- IG II² 1386, lines 14-15 (ca. 400) (27)
- IG II² 1387, line 5 (ca. 400) (28)
- IG II² 1388, Face A, lines 42-43 (399/8) (29)
- IG II² 1390, lines 3-4 (after 398/7) (30)
- IG II² 1393, line 23 (397/6) (31)
- IG II² 1408, line 7 (398/7) (32)
- IG II² 1409, line 15 (shortly after 395/4?) (33)
- IG II² 1389, line 4 (391/0) (34)
- IG II² 1400, line 19 (390/89) (35)

(21) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες μία.
(22) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες μία.
(23) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες μία.
(24) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες μία.
(25) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες μία.
(26) Ἐκτη Φωκαίδες στατήρε χρυσώ II.
(27) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες χρυσά ΔΙII.
(28) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες Φωκαίδες ΔΙII.
(29) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες χρυσά ΔΙII.
(30) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες Φωκαίδες ΔΙII.
(31) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες ΔΙII.
(32) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες χρυσά δώδεκα.
(33) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες δώδεκα.
(34) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες χρυσά ΔΙIII.
(35) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες ΔΙIII.
(36) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες δώδεκα.
(37) ἐκτη Φωκαίδες ΔΙIII.
(38) Ἐκτη Φωκαίδες στατήρε χρυσώ II.
(39) Φωκαίκω στατήρε [χρυσώ ΙΠ).
(40) Φωκαίκω δύο χρυσώ στατήρε.
(41) Φωκαίκω δύο χρυσώ στατήρε.
5. Η. V.62; TM 165; RH HC.81


έκται Φωκαίδες τρές

Three Phocaian hektai

*IG* II² 1400, line 44 (390/89)

6. Η. V.60a; TM 136, 157

αίγυλοι Μηδικοί ἀργυροὶ Δ

10 silver Persian shekels

*IG* I3 342, lines 11-12 (405/4?) (a)

7. Η. V.60b; TM 159-165; RH HC.80

αίγυλοι Μηδικοί ἀργυροὶ Δι

11 silver Persian shekels

*IG* II² 1384, line 7 (403/2) (a)

*IG* II² 1386, line 15 (ca. 400) (a)

*IG* II² 1387, lines 5-6 (ca. 400) (a)

*IG* II² 1388, Face A, line 43 (399/8) (a)

*IG* II² 1390, lines 3-4 (after 398/7) (a)

*IG* II² 1393, lines 23-24 (397/6) (a)

*IG* II² 1389, line 4 (391/0) (a)

*IG* II² 1400, lines 19-20 (390/89) (a)

8. Η. V.66; TM 161, 165-166, 172, 174, 176, 179; RH HC.103; RH AA.121; RH AB.290; RH AD.102

στατήρες κιβδηλοὶ ἀριθμός ΔΔΔΔ[ - - - ] ἐν κιβωτίωι παρὰ Λάκωνος σεσμασμένοι τῇ δημοσίᾳ αφραγίδι

40+ (?) counterfeit staters in a box, stamped with the public seal and brought by Lakon

*IG* II² 1388, Face B, lines 61-62 (399/8) (a)

*IG* II² 1401, lines 44-45 (394/3) (a)
9. H V.73; TM 161; RH HC.113
Andron of Elaiousia dedicated two gold drachms as first-fruit offering

10. H V.54; TM 161; RH HC.114
A gold half-obol dedicated by Thrasyllos from the deme of Euonymon

11. H V.54; TM 168; RH HC.115
Two Aiginetan staters

12. H V.58 = Π.26; TM 161, 165, 166; RH HC.96; RH OG.9
25 counterfeit silver coins from Eleusis

13. H V.57; TM 165-166
43 gold Darics dedicated to the Two Goddesses
**Mint Equipment**

14. TM 174; RH AB 247
   χαρακτηρεῖς Γ'
   Five reverse dies.
   *IG II² 1424a, Col. II, line 280 (369/8)*

15. TM 175
   χαρακτηρεῖς Γ'III
   Eight reverse dies.
   *IG II² 1425, B, line 374 (368/7)*

**II. Opisthodomos**

**Mint equipment**

16. H V.34; TM 169-170; HC 146
   Κιβωτός, ἐφ' ἰὰ τὰ χαρακτηρεῖς καὶ ἀκμονίακοι εἰς ἑφ' ἐὼν τός
   χρυσός ἐκκοπτοῦν, σεσημάντα τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγίδι.
   A box in which are the reverse dies and obverse dies with which gold coins were
   struck; these are sealed with the public seal.
   *IG II² 1409, lines 4-6 (after 395/4?)*
   *IG II² 1408, lines 11-13 (after 385/4)*

17. TM 174; RH AB 56-58
   ἀκμοσὶ σιδηρῶν III· σφύραι II· χαρακτηρεῖς ΔΔII
   Four iron obverse dies; two hammers; 22 reverse dies.
   *IG II² 1424a, Col. I, lines 119-120 (369/8)*

18. TM 178, 185, 186; RH AC 209-210
   ἀκμοσὶ σιδηρῶν III· χαρακτηρεῖς ΔΔI· τούτων ὁ εἷς κατέαγε· σφύραι δύο.
   Three obverse dies; 21 reverse dies; of these one is broken. Two hammers
   *IG II² 1438b, lines 23-24 (ca. 352/1)*
   *IG II² 1469, Col. I, lines 107-109 (ca. 320)*
   *IG II² 1471, B, Col. II, lines 56-57 (319/8)*

(69) [Κιβωτός, ἐφ' ἰὰ τὰ χαρακτηρεῖς καὶ ἀκμονίακοι εἰς ἑφ' ἐὼν τός χρυσός ἐκκοπ-
   τοῦν, σεσημάντα] τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγίδι.
(70) [Κιβωτός], ἐφ' ἰὰ τὰ χαρακτηρεῖς καὶ ἀκμονίακοι εἰς ἑφ' ἐὼν τός χρυσός
   ἐκκοπτοῦν, σεσημάνταν τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγίδι.
(71) [ἠμοσὶ σιδηρῶν III· σφύραι] [II]· χαρακτήρεσ ΔΔII.
(72) [አκμοսί] σιδηρῶν III· χαρακτηρεῖς [ΔΔI· τούτων ὁ εἷς] κατέαγε· σφύρα δύο.
(73) χαρακτήρεσ ΔΔI· τούτων ὁ εἷς καταγγείλας· σφύρα δύο.
(74) χαρακτηρεῖς ΔΔI· τούτων ὁ εἷς καταγγείλας· σφύρα δύο.
III. Parthenon

19. H IV.15; TM 137

τετράδραχμον χρυσὸν σταθμὸν τότον Γ-Η-ΙΙΙ

A gold tetradrachm; weight: 7 drs 2 1/2 obols

 IG I3 351, line 23 (422/1) (75)
 IG I3 352, lines 47-48 (421/0) (76)
 IG I3 353, lines 70-71 (420/19) (77)
 IG I3 354, lines 84-85 (419/8) (78)
 IG I3 355, lines 24-25 (414/3) (79)
 IG I3 356, lines 50-51 (413/2) (80)
 IG I3 357, lines 77-78 (412/1) (81)
 IG I3 358, line 6 (411 or 411/0) (82)
 IG I3 359, lines 2-3 (410/9 or 409/8) (83)

IV. Dedications Under the Heading « Treasurers of Athena »

20. TM 168

Αἰγίνατοι Στατηρεῖς - - -

Aignetan staters (?)

 IG II² 1407, lines 40-41 (385/4)

21. H V.55

χρυσὸν Βοιώτιον

A gold stater from Boiotia

 IG II² 1407, lines 48 (385/4) (84)

Unmarked Silver From the Military Fund

22. H V.67; RH AD 2-29

[ἀσθήμον ἄργυρων τοῦ εἰς τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἐξανεθέντων] παρὰ ταμίαν στρατιωτικῶν παρελάβομεν Νικηράτου Κυδαντίδου σταθμῷ πρῶτος ὅμοι ὢν τὸ Α πρώτου φθόης (85) ΧΗΗΗ-Η-

(75) τετράδραχμον ἵχρυσὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτο Γ-Η-ΙΙΙ.
(76) τετράδραχμον ἵχρυσὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτο Γ-Η-ΙΙΙ.
(77) τετράδραχμον ἵχρυσὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτο Γ-Η-ΙΙΙ.
(78) τετράδραχμον ἵχρυσὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτο Γ-Η-ΙΙΙ.
(79) τετράδραχμον ἵχρυσὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτο Γ-Η-ΙΙΙ.
(80) τετράδραχμον ἵχρυσὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτο Γ-Η-ΙΙΙ.
(81) τετράδραχμον ἵχρυσὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτο Γ-Η-ΙΙΙ.
(82) τετράδραχμον ἵχρυσὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτο Γ-Η-ΙΙΙ.
(83) τετράδραχμον ἵχρυσὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτο Γ-Η-ΙΙΙ.
(84) τετράδραχμον Βοιώτιον.

(85) I have chosen the nominative form φθόης, rather than φθάθης preferred by the editors of IG II² 1443, following Chantraine's theory that the noun was not contracted but rather pronounced in two syllables. He plausibly points to its Latin transliteration pithois which is epigraphically attested in the first century BC (pithois: CIL 6 32323.140, 145 from Rome). He further observes that, had its correct form been φθάθης,
its correct Latin transliteration would have been *phoës*, rather than *phoës*. Other forms of the word in Greek are attested and seem to agree with this theory. Cf. P. Chaniotai, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris, 1968-1980, s.v. p. 1201-1202. This rare word is epigraphically attested in its nominative once more, to the best of my knowledge, in a Rhodian inscription. Cf. *IG* XII.1, 891, lines 2, 7.

(86) This is a tentative translation of the text, based on the numerical restorations of the editors of the inscription to date.

IG II² 1443, lines 12–88 (after 344/3)

23. Η II.18; TM 171
τριωβολον
A triobol.

IG II² 1414, line 20 (385/4)
IG II² 1428, line 145 (367/6)

24. TM 171; RH AA.140?
χρυσὸν ἡμιωβέλιον
A gold half-obol

IG II² 1414, line 6 (385/4)
IG II² 1428, line 144 (367/6)

25. TM 171; RH AA.143?
ἡμιωβέλιον χρυσὸν
A gold half-obol

IG II² 1414, line 7 (385/4)

26. H V.56; TM 171; RH AA.148
Κορίνθιοι στατήρες
Corinthian staters

IG II² 1414, line 9 (385/4) (*)

27. H V.127; TM 173, 174, 176, 177; RH AB.135; RH AC.56
Ξενικοῦ ἄργυρου σὺν τοῖς ἀμφιδίδιοι, στατήροι ΠΔΔΔΙI–Η–ΙΙΙ
Foreign coinage with the two little bracelets; weight 83 drs 3 obols

(87) Κορίνθιοι στατήρες].
V. Dedications under the Heading « Treasurers of the Other Gods »

From An Inventory of the Property of Various Athenian Sanctuaries

Nos. 28-70 (TM 145)

28. Γ Κυζικενό χρυσίο έκται
   Five gold hektai from Kyzikos
   IG II² 383, lines 15-16 (429/8) (88)

29. ἩΠΔ Αραεικό χρυσίο στατηρεῖς
   105 staters of gold Darics
   IG II² 383, lines 17-18 (429/8) (89)

30. Γ Φοκαίδες έκται χρυσίο
   Five gold hektai from Phokaia
   IG II² 383, lines 19-20 (429/8) (90)

31. ΗΔΔΔ [ - - ] ΣΧ στατηρεῖς
   132 + staters
   IG II² 383, lines 23-24 (429/8) (91)

32. ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ Αἰγινεῖαι στατηρεῖς
   340 Aiginetan staters
   IG II² 383, lines 25-26 (429/8) (92)

33. ΗΗΗΗΗΠΔΔΔΔΠΙΙΙΙΙ Χίαι δραχμαί ἀργυραί
   489 Chian silver drachms
   IG II² 383, lines 27-28 (429/8) (93)
34. ΔΔΓΣ Κορίνθιοι στατήρες  
26 Corinthian staters  
IG 1 3 383, lines 29-30 (429/8) (98)

35. ΗΗΗΠ ΔΔΔΓ- Ακάνθιον ἄργυριον  
386 silver Acanthian drachms  
IG 1 3 383, lines 31-32 (429/8) (99)

36. ΔΔΙΙ Σάμια εὔεκτα  
22 Samian hemiekta  
IG 1 3 383, line 33 (429/8) (100)

37. στατήρες χρυσίο Δαρεικὸν  
Gold Daric staters  
IG 1 3 383, lines 43-44 (429/8) (101)

38. χρυσίο στατήρες Κυζικενὸν  
Gold staters from Kyzikos  
IG 1 3 383, lines 45-46 (429/8) (102)

39. ΙΙ ἐκτα χρυσίο  
Two gold hekta  
IG 1 3 383, line 47 (429/8) (103)

40. Ἐρακλέας ἐγὼ Κυνοσάργγει [ - - ] ΓΣΣΣΣ Κυζικενὸν χρυσίο στατήρες  
From the sanctuary of Herakles at Kynosarges: 9+ gold staters from Kyzikos  
IG 1 3 383, lines 53-54 (429/8) (104)

41. [ - - ] ΧΡΗΔΔΔΓΗ-ΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙИΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙÎ
44. Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ: "Ἐρας ἐγ Χασπέτει
From the sanctuary of Hera at Xypete: 855 drachms and 1 obol
IG i 3 383, line 65 (429/8) (108)

45. Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ: Γες Ὀλυμπίας ἀργύριου
From the sanctuary of Gaia Olympia: 494 silver drachms
IG i 3 383, lines 72-73 (429/8) (109)

46. XXIYXXIHHHHΜΔ ΔΑρύριον Ἐθεός
From the shrine of Theseus: 4270 silver drachms
IG i 3 383, lines 73-74 (429/8)

47. Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ Ἡ: Δατύλλο ἀργύριον
From the sanctuary of Datyllos: 346 silver drachms
IG i 3 383, lines 75-76 (429/8) (110)

48. XXIYXXIHHHHΜΔ ΔΙος Ὀλυμπίου ἀργύριου
From the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus: 4933 drachms 1 hemiobol silver
IG i 3 383, lines 77-79 (429/8) (111)

49. IIII Κυζικεν ἁρπασίο έκται
4 gold hektai from Kyzikos
IG i 3 383, lines 80-81 (429/8) (112)

50. Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας ΣΣ Κυζικεν ἁρπασίο στατερε
From the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera: 2 gold staters from Kyzikos
IG i 3 383, lines 85-88 (429/8) (113)

51. Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας Αἰγιναίοι στατερες
From the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera: Aiginetan staters
IG i 3 383, lines 89-90 (429/8) (114)

52. Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας Κορκυραιοί στατερες
From the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera: Korkyraian staters
IG i 3 383, lines 91-92 (429/8) (115)

53. Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας ἐμελέτα Σάμια ἀργυρίο
From the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera: Silver Samian hemiekla
IG i 3 383, lines 93-94 (429/8) (116)
54. Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας Κορίνθιοι [στατέρες ?]
   From the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera: Corinthian staters
   IG I3 383, lines 95-96 (429/8) (117)

55. ἀργύριον ἐμεδατόν
   [ - - - ] of our own currency
   IG I3 383, lines 98-99 (429/8) (118)

56. Βοιότιον
   Boiotian
   IG I3 383, line 101 (429/8) (119)

57. Χαλκίδικον
   Chalkidean
   IG I3 383, line 102 (429/8) (120)

58. Φοκικὸν
   Phokaian
   IG I3 383, line 103 (429/8) (121)

59. [ .. . ] ΡΗΗ [ .. Δ ] ΠΙΙΠΙΚ Ποσειδόνος ἀπὸ Σοῦνιο
   From the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion: 715+ drachms 5 1/2 obols
   IG I3 383, lines 106-107 (429/8) (122)

60. Ὁ Ποσειδόνος ἀπὸ Σοῦνιο Σ Κυζικενὸ χρυσίῳ στατέρ
   From the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion: one gold stater from Kyzikos
   IG I3 383, lines 108-109 (429/8) (123)

61. Ὁ Ποσειδόνος ἀπὸ Σοῦνιο Σ Δαρεικὸ χρυσίῳ στατέρ
   From the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion: one gold Daric stater
   IG I3 383, lines 110-111 (429/8) (124)

62. Ἐκάτες παλαιὸ νομίσματος [ - - - ]
   From the sanctuary of Hekate: old coins [ - - - ]
   IG I3 383, lines 127-129 (429/8) (125)

63. Δεμοφθόντος Σ Κυζικενὸ χρυσίῳ στατέρ
   From the sanctuary of Demophon: one electrum stater from Kyzikos
   IG I3 383, lines 159-161 (429/8) (126)

64. ἔκτατι χρυσίῳ
   Gold hektai
   IG I3 383, lines 162-164 (429/8) (127)

(117) Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας Κορίνθιοι [στατερες ?]
(118) [ αργυριον εμεδατον . . . c. 19 . . . .]
(119) Βοιοτον]
(120) Χαλκιδικον]
(121) Φοκικον]
(122) [ .. . ] ΡΗΗ [ .. Δ ] ΠΙΙΠΙΚ Ποσειδόνος ἀπὸ Σοῦνιο]
(123) Ποσειδόνος ἀπὸ Σοῦνιο Σ Κυζικενὸ χρυσίῳ στατέρ]
(124) Ποσειδόνος ἀπὸ Σοῦνιο Σ Δαρεικὸ χρυσίῳ στατέρ]
(125) Εκάτες παλαιὸ νομίσματος [ - - - ]
(126) Δεμοφθόντος Σ Κυζικενὸ χρυσίῳ στατέρ
(127) ἔκτατι χρυσίῳ
65. 'Ανάκοιν άργυρίου
Silver coins from the sanctuary of the two Anakes
IG I 383, lines 165-166 (429/8) (128)

66. <'Ανάκοιν άργυρίου> Σ χρυσίο Κυζικενδ στατέρ
From the sanctuary of the two Anakes: one electrum stater from Kyzikos
IG I 383, lines 167-168 (429/8) (129)

67. 'Ακάνθιοι στατέρες
Akanthian staters
IG I 383, lines 178-179 (429/8) (130)

68. Αιγυναιαίοι στατέρες
Staters from Aigina
IG I 383, lines 180-181 (429/8) (131)

69. 'Απόλλωνος Πυθίων εν απαρχή άργυρίῳ έμεδαπό
From the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios: silver coins of our own currency offered as first fruits
IG I 383, lines 236-238 (429/8) (132)

70. ξενικών άργυρίου σύμμεικτον ἐπίσεμον, σταθμὸν τοῦτο
Mixed foreign coined silver; its weight: [ - - - ]
IG I 383, lines 384-388 (429/8) (133)

71. Η II.26 = V.58; TM 165, 166; RH OG.9
άργυριον κιβδήλον το 'Ελευσινόθεν ΔΔΓ
25 counterfeit silver coins from Eleusis
Kept at the Hekatompedon from 398/7 until at least until 390 BC; cf. Cat. no. 12.
IG II 1445, lines 16-17 (376/5) (134)

72. Η II.17; TM 181
δραχμαί 'Αττικαί
Attic drachmai
IG II 1453, line 7 (ante 350)

73. Η II. 18; TM 181-184
τριώβολον άργυρίωι δεδεμένον
A triobol set on a silver mount
IG II 1455, line 36 (341/0) (135)
IG II 1458, lines 4-5 (ca. 340)? (136)
IG II 1459, lines 9-10 (after 340/39) (137)
IG II 1457, lines 8-9 (after 316/5) (138)

(128) <'Ανύλακον άργυρίου
(129) Χρυσίο Κυζί [κενλο φίτα] Τέρ
(130) 'Ακάνθιοι στατέρες
(131) Αίγυναιαίοι στατέρες
(132) 'Απόλλωνος Πυθιών εν απαρχή άργυρίῳ έμεδαπό
(133) Χρυσικών άργυρίου σύμμεικτον ἐπίσεμον, σταθμοῦ τοῦτο
(134) Αργυρίου κιβδήλου το 'Ελευσινόθεν ΔΔΓ ?
(135) Τριώβολον άργυρίῳ δεδεμένον
(136) Τριώβολον άργυρίῳ δεδεμένον - - ?.
(137) Τριώβολον άργυρίῳ δεδεμένον.
(138) Τριώβολον άργυρίῳ δεδεμένον.
VI. Dedication Under the Heading « Treasurers of Athena and of the Other Gods »

74. Η II.20; TM 182-184
χρυσοῦ Φωκαίκων
A gold Phocaian stater
IG II² 1455, lines 32-33 (341/0) (139)
IG II² 1457, line 5 (post 316/5)
IG II² 1459, line 6 (post 340/39) (140)

Commentary

Just like most dedications to Athena and other deities, the dedicants of coins that are listed in the Athenian inventory lists are rarely identified (Cat. 9-10). This fact agrees with the Athenian established practice of compiling as brief lists as possible, thereby often excluding the mention of even famous worshippers (141). Moreover, the state of the evidence does not allow us to determine the occasion for the dedication of each object to the temples. Human piety may account for the presence of most items, but the temples of the Acropolis also served as a treasury for the city, and, at least on one occasion, it is possible to identify a long series of coins with the property of various Attic sanctuaries from Ilissos, the Agora, and elsewhere that was contributed in part as a type of emergency fund under the care of the Treasurers of the Other Gods (Cat. 28-70). The Athenian Acropolis sometimes served as the depository of confiscated counterfeit coins that were seized by officials and eventually consecrated (Cat. 8, 12).

The coins that are mentioned in the Athenian inventories can be divided into two major chronological groups which also coincide with major events in the history of city during the Classical period. The earliest one dates to the years of the Peloponnesian War and mainly comprises the large number of Athenian and foreign coins that were mentioned above as the property of various Attic shrines in 429/8, and which were entrusted to the safekeeping of the Treasurers of the Other Gods (Cat. 28-70). Most of the other coins seem to have entered the treasury at the end of the Peloponnesian War and especially during the fourth

(139) χ[π][ω][κ[α][κ[ι[κ[ό[ν[.]
(140) χ[π][ω][κ[α][κ[ι[κ[ό[ν[.
(141) For example, Paapis's dedication of a gold phiale (Η V.346) is credited in IG I², 341, l. 6 (406/5?), but his name is omitted elsewhere, if Linders's association of Paapis with item Η V.344 is correct. Cf. Linders, art. cit. (n. 2), p. 258. On the other hand, Queen Roxane, wife of Alexander the Great, is identified in detail as the dedicant of a gold rhyton and necklaces (Η V.141, 358). Cf. Harris, art. cit. (n. 4), p. 234-236.
century (Cat. 1-21, 23-28, 71-74). Last, but not least, a large amount of uncoined silver was deposited in 344/3 and served as an emergency fund for military operations (Cat. 22). Even though precious metal did not constitute currency before being struck by the issuing authority, and not all scrapes of metal were necessarily destined to become bullion, the precise information furnished by this long entry leaves no doubt as to the purpose of the silver that was deposited (142).

I. Coins in the Earliest Inventories

Apart from a single, otherwise unidentified, gold tetradrachm that was kept in the Parthenon from at least 422/1 to ca. 409 (Cat. 19), the bulk of the objects were deposited by the Treasurers of the Other Gods in 429/8 at some unknown location, perhaps the Opisthodomos (Cat. 28-70). This group of objects comprised Attic silver, foreign electrum, uncoined gold, foreign silver, flakes of gold, and precious vessels. Evidence for its provenience is furnished by a large, regrettably fragmentary stele (IG I3 383) that was inscribed on four sides and mentions in detail the property of various sanctuaries of Athens, especially from Ilissos, the Athenian Agora, and other unidentifiable locations (143). This stele was probably produced by the Treasurers of the Other Gods in accordance with the stipulations in the famous "Kallias decree" which was in all likelihood voted in 434/3 BC (IG I3 52). According to the first of these texts, the Athenians resolved to repay debts that had been contracted with «the other gods,» and these funds were supposed to be delivered on the Acropolis and housed in the Opisthodomos. A new board of officials, the Treasurers of the other Gods, was created to oversee that fund which

(142) Harris often includes entries that could not be possibly considered as "coins," while excluding others. Cf. H II.19, 21-25, 27-28; H IV. 16-19; H V.68-70; 72, 75-77; 79-88.

(143) J. Johnson, A Revision of I.G. I2, 310, in AJA, 35, 1931, p. 31-43; W.E. Thompson, Notes on Athenian Finance, in Classica et Mediaevalia, 28, 1967, p. 219-224, 231-234; T. Linders, The Treasurers of the Other Gods in Athens and their Functions, Meisenheim am Glan, 1975, p. 19-57, 66-71. It is not possible to identify all sanctuaries that are mentioned in the IG I3 333, but the following shrines are somewhat better known than others: the Anakeion was located in the Agora and was dedicated to the Dioscuri. Cf. R. E. Wycherley, Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia. Athenian Agora III, Princeton, 1957, p. 64, no. 151; J.S. Boersma, Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 403/4 B.C., Groningen, 1971, p. 20, 22, 24. Apollo Pythios was excavated in 1968 in a lot at Iosephon Rogon street near the Agora. Cf. O. Alexandri, in ADelt, 24, 1969 Chronika, p. 50; S.N. Koumanoudis, Χορηγικαί επιγραφαί Θαρύγιλων, in ADelt, 25, 1970, p. 143-149; J. Travlos, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens, Princeton, 1971, p. 578. The sanctuary of Herakles at Kynosarges was located near Ilissos. The shrine to Hephaistos was located on the hill of Agoraios Kolonos; cf. Travlos, art. cit., p. 261-273. The Olympeion was located near the bank of Ilissos; cf. Travlos, art. cit., p. 402-411. So was the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera; cf. Travlos, art. cit., p. 112-120.
the Athenians further augmented in the following years by depositing part of the revenues of shrines. The contribution of each sanctuary was not absorbed into a larger fund, and it was always possible to identify individual properties. It is more than likely that larger disbursements were made to precincts that were in need of repairs or renovation, while it also served as a source of loans to the state.

During the Peloponnesian War, its contents were very likely used to finance military operations, and such was the fate of many ex-votos whose purpose was also to serve as bullion. According to Thucydides, quoting a speech that Pericles reportedly delivered in 431, bullion coming from public and private dedications, including all sacred vessels and other treasures, was worth at least five hundred talents (144). A study of all available inventory lists suggests that most objects made of solid gold and silver disappear from the record by 407/6, presumably having ended up into the melting pot exactly at the time that the Athenians also issued their first emergency gold coins (145). It is unknown whether any of the coins listed in IG 13 383 survived this καθαίρεσις.

II. 406-5 through the Fourth Century

The above-discussed evidence from Thucydides and the epigraphical record suggests that the contents of the treasuries of the Athenian temples reflected the piety and religious fervor of the worshippers towards their gods, especially Athena. While the Athenians borrowed from their gods on a regular basis, they always paid off their debts at the earliest opportunity. It is therefore remarkable to observe a significant growth in the treasury as early as 406/5 BC, during the last two turbulent years of the Peloponnesian War (146). Repayments were made by the state, as well as individuals in the form of ex-votos. Large contributions to the temples were also made in 402/1 with money from the sale of the property of the Thirty Oligarchs (147). Among the coins that appear in the inventories around this period, appear a few that were most certainly votives: a hemidrachm that was set in silver (Cat. 73); and a number of foreign coins which made part of a lot that included two small bracelets (Cat. 27).

(144) Thucydides, 2.13.4.
Observations

**Persian Darics (Cat. 6, 7, 13, 30, 38)**

The term *Daric* which is often encountered in the literature and the epigraphical record, refers to Persian gold coins. The earliest reference to *Darics* is in Herodotos (7.28), in the context of the discussion of a meeting between king Xerxes and the legendary wealthy Lydian Pythios. The latter allegedly possessed a fortune of about four million gold staters that are described as *Darics*, an undoubtedly exaggerated report. According to Pollux, the term *Daric* derived from the name of the Persian king Darios I, and may have been used together with *croeseid stater* to indicate different varieties of oriental gold coins. There has been significant discussion as to the types of coins implied by the term *Daric*. It is generally accepted that they belonged to the royal-archer obverse type coins, but lately theories have been introduced which have associated the term with the old lion-and-bull types, as well as early Lydian electrum coins. Melville-Jones has even suggested that the term, at least in late fourth century contexts, may signify gold coins of Philip II of Macedonia because these were struck in the Persian standard. This theory has yet to be proven by the evidence, and its author believes that it is very unlikely for the fifth and early fourth centuries.

**Staters from Kyzikos and Phokaia**

The presence of foreign coins in Athens, including *Darics* and staters from Kyzikos and Phokaia has also been confirmed by the archaeological evidence. It also bears witness of the far-flung economic power of Athens. Electrum coins from Phokaia and Kyzikos comprise the largest group of foreign coins in the Athenian inventory lists because they were enormously popular during the fifth century, as can be deduced by their large distribution.

(148) Pollux, *Onomastikon*, 3.87. The term *croeseid stater* is used in *IG I* 3 458, I. 29, in connection with the acquisition of gold for the construction of Pheidias's statue of Athena Parthenos.


Mysian Kyzikos issued its electrum coins without interruption for more than 220 years, from the sixth century onwards, even though the city was successively under Persian and Athenian control. Its coinage was struck in two denominations, staters and one sixth staters, and, while a large variety of obverses were chosen over time, reverses remained constant, bearing the *quadrum incusum* and no legend. Staters from Kyzikos were generally accepted as payment and dominated the grain routes on land and sea, perhaps due to their conventional character, as well as the local mint's vision, political, and technical skill. It is noteworthy that even though the Athenians enforced the monopoly of their coinage in the Delian League, they never sought to close down the mint of Kyzikos, whose electrum remained a valuable means of payment and a sort of clearing instrument (153).

Among the most popular electrum coins in the Classical period were the ones struck in the context of a monetary union between Mytilene and Phokaia. It is unclear whether the «Phokaian» coins that are mentioned in the Athenian inventory lists all came from the mint of that city. Significant information on the monetary policy of Mytilene and Phokaia is furnished by an early fourth century BC inscription which probably reflects earlier agreements dating to the sixth and fifth centuries BC. Following the end of Samos's domination over those two cities in ca. 521 BC, they concluded an alliance and decided to issue coinage on a common standard, each mint producing coins on alternating years. If the *hektai* that are listed in the inventories are indeed of Phokaian provenance, they possibly belonged to Bodenstedt's series 3 (154).

**Counterfeit Coins**

In the Athenian inventory lists, we find references to two groups of counterfeit coins which certainly do not represent the total amount of counterfeits seized during that period. The reasons and the circumstances under which these two lots were consecrated on the Acropolis are unclear. The first group (Cat. 12) concerns 25 coins brought from Eleusis, the second one a sealed box containing more than 40 counterfeits that was brought by a Lakon, presumably a public slave (Cat. 8). No specifics are given about their composition. According to the literary and epigraphical sources, counterfeit silver coins were defined as being υπόχώλαιον, ύπομαλυβδόν, or κιβδηλόν. The first two signifying silver-plated specimens of bronze and lead core, the latter being a generic term for all va-

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ieties of falsification (155). On one occasion, subaerate coins were issued by Athens as official currency in 407/6, but references from temple inventories probably refer to imitation Attic owls (156). An Athenian law on silver coinage, dated in 375 stipulates the regulations that were imposed by the city in the fourth century in order to control the purity of its issues (157). In it detailed information is given about an official called Dokimastes who examined and detected fake coins. He was required to destroy all counterfeits by cutting them (δισκόπτειν), which seems to have been the standard practice since a long time, judging from the archaeological evidence. Confiscated fakes were then taken to the Boule who, in turn, dedicated them to the Mother of the Gods. Some of these regulations may have already been in use earlier, and the proximity of Cat. 12 to a number of items that were taken from the Metroon and were also officially sealed suggests that these counterfeits may have been dedicated to the Mother of Gods (H II.28).

The archaeological evidence suggests that the Mother of Gods was not the exclusive recipient of confiscated counterfeit coins. Such specimens, destroyed in the manner that was described by the above-discussed Athenian law, have been excavated in various temples: such a deposit was discovered at the Archaic temple of Poseidon at Isthmia. L. Robert and Melville-Jones discussed relevant references in Delian inventory lists. More finds were discovered at the Athenian Agora, in the immediate vicinity of the Metroon-Bouleuterion complex and at Eleusis (158).

In her recent book on the Athenian votives, Harris briefly discussed the two lots of counterfeits mentioned in the inventory lists (159). Some confusion arises from the review of how the Athenians probably understood counterfeit coins. The fourth century BC «Decree on Coinage» published by Stroud may indeed stipulate that a valid Attic coin is one that is struck in the appropriate silver and bearing the mark of the official issuing authority. However, it does not necessarily follow that good Attic imitations of good silver and bearing the owl, were not accepted by the Athenians. As a matter of fact, the evidence points to the contrary.

(155) Pollux, Onomastikon, 7.104; 3.86; Suda, s.v.
(159) Harris, art. cit. (n. 4), p. 107.
Good Attic imitations are present in some hoards, and it is often very difficult for modern numismatists to distinguish some of them from specimens that were struck by the Athenian mint (\textsuperscript{160}). One can not see how the Dokimastes could be more successful in determining the validity of coins beyond checking their weight, silver content, and obvious mintmarks. Moreover, all counterfeit coins that have been discovered in various sanctuaries so far were made of impure silver. There is also no reason why Harris would associate the presence of very few counterfeit coins in the inventory lists points to a rise in counterfeiting following the Athenian defeat in the Peloponnesian war and a presumed economic crisis that ensued and continued well into the fourth century BC. Evidence for counterfeiting and for legislation against it is available already in the sixth century BC, and it was probably an activity performed by Athenian, as well as by non Athenian merchants.

In his recent book entitled \textit{Testimonia Numaria}, Melville-Jones included a few more objects from the Athenian inventory lists that he perceived to refer to counterfeit coins. Entries \textbf{TM 181-183} include fragmentary references to objects that are described as διακεκομένα, which appear in fourth century accounts of the Treasurers of the Other Gods (\textsuperscript{160}). A comparison with surviving documents listing similar objects leaves no doubt as to their nature: \textit{IG II\textsuperscript{2} 1443, l. 157-158; SEG 15, 120, l. 10-11 record damaged κανά (sacrificial baskets), while SEG 15, 120, l. 14-15 mentions a damaged θυμιαλέριον.}

\textbf{Mint Equipment}

The mint equipment, mentioned in at least eight inscriptions of the early fourth century BC listing items from the Hekatompedon and the Opisthodomos (\textbf{Cat. nos. 14-18}) seems to have puzzled some scholars with regard to its interpretation. In his recently published catalogue, Melville-Jones correctly identifies the items comprising this lot as mint-related. However, his translation of them appears to be erroneous, and I have followed Robert and Hackens's interpretation of the terms ἀκρονίσκοι as obverse and χαρακτήρες as reverse dies, where Melville-Jones translates as anvils and dies respectively (\textbf{TM 169-170}). Harris does not seem to consider this material as mint-related and appears to interpret it as part of a process of stamping otherwise unidentified gold (\textsuperscript{V.34}). In his recent book, Hamilton also erroneously translates the same entry as « wood box with stamps and little anvils for beating gold sealed with the public seal » (\textbf{HC 146}). Similar references to dies are also known


\footnotesize{(161) IG II\textsuperscript{2} 1453, l. 6-7; 1455, l. 31; 1457, l. 4; 1459, l. 4-5.}
from a few Delian inventory lists of Delos dating to the second century BC (162). Moreover, Cat. no. 16 is a very interesting entry which has been analyzed by various scholars before: in reconstructing its fragmentary text, Woodward plausibly associated the dies in question with the issuing of the emergency gold coinage of 407/6 BC, for which the golden Nikai kept in the Acropolis were melted down (163). By the early fourth century BC, these dies were no longer in use and were presumably consecrated on the Acropolis, and Woodward believed that they remained in the temple as a group throughout the fourth century (Cat. nos. 17-18).

In supporting the above interpretation introduced by Woodward, Robert further remarked that the number of the obverse versus the reverse dies that were recorded in the Athenian inventories corresponds to the usual situation that can be generally observed in die studies: reverse dies far outnumbered their corresponding obverses because they had a tendency to break easier (cf. Cat. nos. 14–15) (164).

**Half-Obol Gold**

Cat. nos. 24–25 contain a mysterious reference to a gold coin of half-obol. Tod studied the numerous epigraphical and papyrological references to half-obol coins, which were usually struck in silver and bronze, judging from the archaeological evidence. To date, no half-obol gold is known among surviving samples, and the only two references to such a coin come from this single Athenian inventory (IG II² 1414) (165).

**Uncoinned Silver for the Military Fund**

Cat. no. 22 is a very remarkable entry recording the setting aside of a large amount of silver for the purpose of minting coins for the Stratiotic


(165) Tod, *art. cit.* (n. 6), p. 79.
(military) fund. The fragmentary text preserves 28 weight lots bearing bars that weighed about 6000 drachmas per lot (or 1 talent) for a total known weight of 168,000 drachmas which could produce at least 42,000 tetradrachms. The phrasing of the inscription which refers to εξαρεθέν ἄργυρίων reminds us of a text of Thucydides, in which he discusses the decision of the Athenians in 431 to set up an emergency fund of 1000 talents that would be housed on the Acropolis (166). The circumstances under which the Athenians decided to prepare for a potential conflict in ca. 344/3 BC are not difficult to guess: this was the period of an uneven power struggle between Athens and Philip II of Macedonia, which many, and especially the orator Demosthenes, believed that could culminate to outright war. This was the period that Demosthenes composed his second and third Philippics (344 and 341 BC respectively) and managed to successfully rid himself of his pro-Macedonian arch political rival Aischines (343 BC).

(166) Thucydides 2.24.1. On the λαμίας Nikeratos Kydantides who was active ca. 346/5-342/1, cf. Prosopographia Attica 10742.