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Survey at a complex urban site

By John Bintliff, Emeri Farinetti, Božidar Slapšak and Anthony Snodgrass



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with contributions from
Philip Bes, Margherita Bonanno Aravantinos, Oliver Dickinson, Lorenzo Gentili, Catherine Grandjean, Machiel Kiel, Uroš Kirn, Chrystalla Loizou, Christel Müller, Robin Osborne, Jerome Poblome, Kalliope Sarri, Vladimir Stissi and Athanasios Vionis

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7. Table of artefact density and visibility measurements for Thespiai City (Ch.3b)

Contributors

John Bintliff was Professor of Classical and Mediterranean Archaeology at Universiteit Leiden NL, and is now Honorary Professor in the Department of Archaeology, at the University of Edinburgh (School of History, Classics and Archaeology, Old Medical Building, Teviot Place, Edinburgh EH8 9AG, UK; johnlbintliff@gmail.com).

Emeri Farinetti is a Faculty Member of the Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università di Studi Roma Tre (Via Ostiense, 234, 00146 Roma, IT; emerif@tin.it).

Božidar Slapšak is Professor in the Department of Archaeology, University of Ljubljana (Cankarjeva 9, 1000 Ljubljana, SI; bslapsak@yahoo.com).

Anthony Snodgrass is Laurence Professor Emeritus of Classical Archaeology of the University of Cambridge (Faculty of Classics, Sidgwick Avenue, Cambridge, CB3 9DA, UK; ams1002@cam.ac.uk).

* * * * *

Philip Bes completed his Doctorate at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven BE, and has since held a research appointment at the Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, NL (Mariastraat 69, 2595 GM Den Haag, NL; philipmbes@gmail.com).

Margherita Bonanno Aravantinos is Professor of Classical Archaeology at the Università Tor Vergata, Rome (Lettere e Filosofia a Tor Vergata, Via Columbia n. 1 – 00133 Roma, IT; margherita.bonanno@uniroma2.it).

Oliver Dickinson is Reader Emeritus in Greek Archaeology of the University of Durham, UK (12 The Village, Haxby, York YO32 3HT, UK; otpkdickinson@googlemail.com).

Lorenzo Gentili is Docente in the Facoltà di Lettere at the Università Tor Vergata, Rome (Lettere e Filosofia a Tor Vergata, Via Columbia n. 1 – 00133 Roma, IT; lorenzo.gentili@uniroma2.it).

Catherine Grandjean is Professeur d'histoire ancienne at the Université François-Rabelais, Tours (Responsable du CeTHiS EA 6298, Universiité François-Rabelais, 3 rue des Tanneurs, F 37000 Tours; catherine.grandjean@univ-tours.fr).

Machiel Kiel was Professor at Universiteit Utrecht, NL, then Director and now Senior Research Fellow of the Netherlands Institute in Turkey (Rhodosstr. 14, D-53177 Bonn; machiel.kiel@googlemail.com).

Uroš Kirn studied at the University of Ljubljana, SI and now runs a digitalisation company in Delft (Kirn Tech Support, Raamstraat 101, 2613RX Delft, NL; ukirn@kirntechsupport.nl).

Chrystalla Loizou is a PhD candidate at the Department of History and Archaeology in the University of Cyprus (Department of History and Archaeology, P.O. Box 20537, Nicosia 1678, CY; loizou.chrystalla@gmail.com).

Christel Müller is Professeure de l'Histoire grecque at the Université Paris Ouest Nanterre (UMR 7041-ArScAn, Maison de l'Archéologie et de l'Ethnologie, 21 allée de l'Université, F 92023 Nanterre Cedex; christel.muller@mae.u-paris10.fr).

Robin Osborne is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Cambridge (King's College, Cambridge, CB2 1ST, UK; ro225@cam.ac.uk).

Jeroen Poblome is a Professor in the Faculty of Arts, University of Leuven and directs the Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project (Blijde-Inkomststraat 21 – Box 3314, 3000 Leuven BE; jeroen.poblome@kuleuven.be).

Kalliope Sarri is Marie Sklodowska-Curie Fellow at the Saxo Institute, University of Copenhagen (Centre for Textile Research, Saxo Institute, University of Copenhagen, Karen Blixensvej 4, DK-2300 Copenhagen S; kalliope.sarri@gmail.com).

Vladimir Stissi is Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Amsterdam (Turfdraagsterpad 9, 1012 XT, Amsterdam, NL; V.V.Stissi@uva.nl).

Athanasios Vionis is Assistant Professor in Byzantine Archaeology and Art at the University of Cyprus (Department of History and Archaeology, P.O. Box 20537, Nicosia 1678, CY; vionis@ucy.ac.cy).

Chapter 14

The coins of Thespiai

Catherine Grandjean

Our knowledge of the Boeotian federal coinage and the series of the Boeotian cities derives mainly from the fundamental work done by the British scholar Barclay V. Head in 1881. His *On the chronological sequence of the coins of Boeotia* still provides the most comprehensive classification, although his chronology of the issues is inaccurate. The chronology of the federal Boeotian coinage still raises questions, and the links between this coinage and the civic ones are not clear. Boeotian hoards are rare and scant. Excavations in Boeotia have not produced much evidence for the numismatic history – production and circulation – of the Boeotian series. On the other hand, some Boeotian coins have fortunately been discovered in important hoards and in archaeological contexts in Euboia, Thessaly, Athens and the Peloponnese.[1] For our knowledge of the circulation and use of money in Boeotia, coins from the survey of Thespiai are therefore important. Their find-locations are very precise, both in the city and in the *chôra*. The purpose of this chapter is to attempt a study of the coins found at Thespiai during the Boeotia Survey in relation to the history of the landscape and, with other available sources, to give a numismatic picture of the Thespian district through the ages.

Coins of the Boeotian Survey: Thespiai, Haliartos and Hyettos

(The help of D. Hollard, C. Morrisson, P. Papadopoulou and Camille Prieux is gratefully acknowledged. Coins are illustrated actual size. See p. 386 for a list of abbreviations used only in this chapter).

Fourth century BC

1. (inv. 15) (Fig. 14.1)
LSE 1 Sample 10.1.b2 1991 (rural site near Thespiai city)
AE 2.04 g, d. 12 mm
Alexander III (*c.* 336–*c.* 323 BC, without symbol = first issues, Macedonian mint); Head of Heracles with *leonte* r. / club quiver + bow no symbol insc. ΑΛΕ→/ΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ→
Price 1991: 267; *SNG Copenhagen* 2, pl.27, 1062 (Bellinger 1964; Liampi 1986).



Figure 14.1.

Third century BC

2. (inv. 12) (Fig. 14.2)
Probably from city of Hyettos: HY 91. Sa. 578.8
AE 1.38 g, d. 14.5 mm, 12h
Locri Opuntii (*c.* 300–*c.* 272 BC)
Apollo laureate l. / Grapes between Λ and O
SNG Copenhagen 3, *Aetolia–Euboea*, pl.2, 72; *Cambridge Fitzwilliam McClean* 2, 5457, pl.198, 22; Picard 1984: 31.

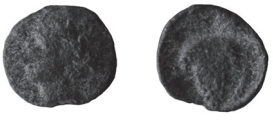


Figure 14.2.

3. (inv. 13) (Fig. 14.3)
Probably Thespiai 85 TH Sample 2146.113 (city site of Thespiai, 1985)
AE 3.49 g, 18 mm, 4h

Antigonos Gonatas? (277–239 BC)[2]
Head of young Herakles in lion's skin r. / BA above horseman crowning horse right; below monogram = ANT
SNG Copenhagen 2, pl.31, 1216; Kroll 1993: 509.



Figure 14.3.

4. (inv. 4) (Fig. 14.4)
Soil sample # 208: watermill at Neochori (off-site location in the rural territory of Thespiai)
AE 3.62 g, 15.5 mm
Boeotian federal coinage (*c.* 287–*c.* 200 BC)
Head of young Dionysos right, wearing ivy-wreath / ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ Apollo, holding bow, seated left on a cippus decorated with trident right, upon which stands tripod; Head 1881: 83, pl vi. 4.

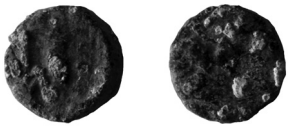


Figure 14.4.

5. (inv. 9) (see Fig. 14.5)
Thespiai Th85 Transect 2167.36 (city site of Thespiai, 1985)
AE 3.91 g, 17.5 mm
Boeotian federal coinage (*c.* 255–*c.* 220 BC)
Head of Demeter or Kore facing three-quarters right, wearing corn-wreath / Poseidon naked, standing left, resting right foot on rock and leaning on trident (overstruck on Macedonian coin)[3]
Head 1881: 86–7, pl vi. 6; Kroll 1993: 595.

6. (inv. 10)
Thespiai Th85 Transect 2167.37 (city site of Thespiai, 1985)
AE 3.54 g, 17 mm
Boeotian federal coinage (*c.* 255–*c.* 220 BC)
Idem – overstruck on bronze coin of a king Antigonos.

7. (inv. 11) (Fig. 14.5)
Mavrommati Plains B2, grab sample 1993, area E (rural farm site close to border of Theban and Haliartan territories)
AE 4.75 g, 17.5 mm
Boeotian federal coinage (*c.* 255–*c.* 220 BC)
Idem



Figure 14.5.

8. (inv. 14)
Hyettos, rural site in the city's territory (92 CN14. Sa. 21.21)
AE 2.87 g, 17.5 mm
Boeotian federal coinage (*c.* 255–*c.* 220 BC)
Idem – overstruck on bronze coin of a king Antigonos.

Second – first centuries BC

9. (inv. 8) (Fig. 14.6)
Haliartos, Omega area: 1986 HAL Transect 167 (off-site location in the rural territory of Haliartos)
AE 4.98 g, 14.5 mm
Thespiai (*c.* 171–first century BC)
Veiled female head of Hera right / Lyre or *chelys*; ΘΕΣΠΙΕΩΝ downward on left and right respectively; all within laurel-wreath tied at bottom
This coin, probably struck after 171, depicts Hera Teleia, common deity of the Boeotians, and not the queen Arsinoe III. Another coinage depicting Hera was issued at Orchomenos (Guittet 2012).



Figure 14.6.

10. (inv. 25)
Makri Ekklesia 19-08-2009. Eastern extremity of the city site of Thespiai, area 2 (TH 09 TES 051)
AE 1.95 g, 12.5 mm
Thespiai (*c.* 171–first century BC)
Veiled female head of Hera right / *chelys*; ΘΕΣΠΙ\ ΕΩΝ downward on left and right respectively; all within laurel-wreath tied at bottom
Compare no. 9 above.

11. (inv. 17) (Fig. 14.7)
LSE 1, 1991 Sample 7.2.b2 (rural site near city of Thespiai: same location as no. 1 above)
AE 4.37 g, 17.5 mm
Thessalian Koinon (second–first century BC)
Head of laureate Apollo r. countermarked (branch: compare Howgego 1985: n°382, on an Augustan *as*); Athena Itonia r. ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ
SNG Copenhagen 3, *Thessaly–Illyricum*, pl.6, 310–17.



Figure 14.7.

12. (inv. 16)
21/07/1985 Askra, Field 58. GS 1.50 (ancient *kômê* of Askra in territory of Thespiai)
AE 3.28 g, 15 mm
Sikyon (*c*. 90–60 BC)
Dove flying left; above wing, ΞEN(OTI)-(MOΣ)/ ΣI within olive-wreath with ties above; Warren 1998: group 10,3.

13. (inv. 5) (Fig. 14.8)
1981 Thespiai East 1/1A 19.2b.9 (rural farm in the territory of Thespiai)
AE 6.75 g, 21 mm
Sinope
Aegis, on which Gorgon's head facing three-quarters r. ΣIN / ΩΠHΣ to l. and r. Nike advancing r. carrying over l. shoulder a palm-branch held in both hands
SNG Copenhagen 4, *Bosporus–Bithynia*, pl.8, 308–9; *Cambridge Fitzwilliam McClean* 7432–3.



Figure 14.8.

Third century AD

14. (inv. 19) (Fig. 14.9)
Thespiai Th85 Transect 2154.39 (city site of Thespiai, 1985)
Sestertius 19.1 g, 27 mm
Gordian III (239–244), **Rome**
Gordian bust laureate r. / SECVRIT.PERPET.S.C.
RIC iv.3: 335a.



Figure 14.9.

15. (inv. 18) (Fig. 14.10)
Thespiai TH85 Transect 2146.56 (city site of Thespiai, 1985)
Sestertius 12 g, 28.5 mm
Philip II (AD 248 = 1000 years of Rome), **Rome**
IMP.M.IVL.PHILIPPVS AVG Philip II Augustus bust r. / SAECVLARES AVGG.S.C. Goat walking l.
RIC iv.3: 264b



Figure 14.10.

Fourth century AD

16. (inv. 21) (Fig. 14.11, above)
20/07/1984 VM 61 F1. Sa1.1 (large rural site in the Valley of the Muses, territory of Thespiai) – found with inv. 22
Base billon 7.65 g, 26 mm
Julian, Antioch (end 361–363 AD)
Julian bust r. / SECVRITAS REIPVB Bull, head facing, standing r.; above, two stars; ANT[A]
RIC viii: 216 (Hollard 2010)

17. (inv. 22) (Fig. 14.11, below)
20/07/1984 VM 61 F1.Sa1.1 (large rural site in the Valley of the Muses, territory of Thespiai) – found with inv. 21
Base billon 1.22 g, 13 mm

Constantius II *et alii*, Heraclea (= Perinthos)
(*c*. 345–347)
Victory advancing l., holding wreath, palm branch
[SM]HA
RIC viii: 43

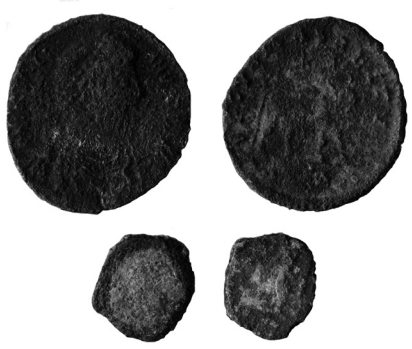


Figure 14.11.

18. (inv. 24)
1991 Thespiai South Tr. 1140 (off-site location in the southern rural territory of Thespiai, close to rural site THS 17)
Pierced bronze 1.04 g, 13 mm
Fourth–fifth century AD

Byzantine and Modern coins

19. (inv. 20) (Fig. 14.12)
Haliartos B Transect 2098 (off-site location in the territory of Haliartos, near rural site B1)
AE 4.64 g, 24.5 mm
Byzantine Follis (end 11th century AD)
Facing aureoled bust / cross
Morrisson 1970: 603–4, Classe 1, 41/Cp/AE/152-190 and pl. lxxxi, AE/167



Figure 14.12.

20. (inv. 23)
1986, Haliartos A transect 67 (off-site location in the rural territory of Haliartos)
4.75 g
George I of Greece
10 Lepta (issued in 1882)

Most of the coins were issued in the third century BC: a few come from areas connected to Boeotia, such as Macedonia and Locris, but the majority are bronze coins of the Boeotian *Koinon*. The numismatic landscape looks similar to that of Thebes in the same period (Hackens 1969, Vlachoyannis 2000). Very few coins, except for the three local ones with the bust of Hera, can be attributed to the four ensuing centuries; but four belong to the mid-third and fourth centuries AD.

It is tempting to connect this numismatic evidence with the general conclusion of the survey, concerning the decline of human occupation in the area between the end of the third century BC and the fourth century AD (Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985; 1988; Bintliff, Howard and Snodgrass 2007). Such a working hypothesis on the numismatic side, however, needs to be checked against a larger sample of coins: those found during excavations at and around Thespiai.

Other coins discovered at Thespiai

Excavations conducted by the Ephoria of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Boeotia at Thespiai[4]

Five silver coins (pseudo-Rhodian drachms and tetrobols of Histiaia) and seven Imperial coins were found in 1971–1972: a bronze Thespian coin issued in the reign of Domitian and six coins of the fourth century (Constantine II and Gratian, *c*. 336–383: *ADelt* Chroniká (1971), 224, nos. 18–20, 23–5).

Excavations conducted by the École française d'Athènes at Thespiai

P. Jamot excavated in the Valley of the Muses (1888–1889) and, from 1890, at Thespiai and its vicinity (the *Polyandreion*, graves and ancient road to the east), the temple of Apollo at *Toumboutzi* (to the south-west) and the area of the Byzantine *Kastro* (central), where he discovered a Doric temple. A. De Ridder later published a list of the coins discovered during these excavations in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* in 1922. The list gives references to the first edition of the *Historia Numorum* by B.V. Head and consequently can be used, but with caution, because it is sometimes difficult to distinguish silver from bronze coins, and their denominations, in the list. The doubful identifications are italicized.

Fifth century BC

AR Corinth *Trihemiobol (c. 450–c. 400 BC) Pegasos / gorgoneion;* cf. *SNG Copenhagen* 3, *Corinth*, pl.1, 31 **(one in the temple of Apollo – rural sanctuary)**.

Table 14.1. *Coins found during the survey at Thespiai and at Haliartos (4 – 10: Boeotian coins)*

	Fourth century BC	Third century BC	Second–first centuries BC	First–second centuries AD	Third century AD	Fourth–fifth centuries AD	Sixth–tenth centuries AD	eleventh–eighteenth centuries AD	nineteenth century AD
City of Thespiai		3, 5, 6	10		14, 15				
Rural sites of Thespiai	1	4	11, 13			18			
Village of Askra			12						
Valley of the Muses						16, 17			
Rural sites of Haliartos		7 ?	9					19	20

Fourth century BC

AE Lokrian league (338–*c.* 300); Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet / ΛOKP- bunch of grapes; *BMC Central Greece*: 57–68 or 71–6 **(six in the temple of Apollo – rural sanctuary)**.

AE Histiaia (338–third century or later); Head of Maenad r., wearing vine-wreath / IΣTI below forepart of bull r.; above, caduceus; *SNG Copenhagen* 3, *Aetolia–Euboea*, pl.11, 540; Kroll 1993: 629; Picard 1984: 289 **(one at 'Erimocastro' = city of Thespiai)**.

AR drachm Chalkis (338–308); Female head l. / Eagle flying left, holding snake; Picard 1979: issues 1 or 2 **(one in the Temple of Apollo – rural sanctuary)**.

AR Tetradrachm ***Athens*** *'light tetradrachm, of usual type' (?) (silver Athenian coin probably of the fourth century: the list follows the chronological order of the series in B.V. Head's Historia Numorum i)* **(one at 'Erimocastro' = city of Thespiai)**.

AE Phokian League (*c.* 325 – *c.* 275); Helmeted head of Athena, facing / Φ in olive-wreath; *BMC Central Greece*: 20, 66–74; Kroll 1993: 588; Knapp and MacIsaac 2005: 189; **(two in the Temple of Apollo – rural sanctuary)**.

AR Obol Megalopolis (*c.* 340); Horned head of Pan to l. / monogram AP with syrinx below; Warren 1989 (Kato Kleitoria 1980 Hoard) **(one in the Temple of Apollo – rural sanctuary)**.

Third century BC

AE Boeotian *koinon* (*c.* 300–250); Boeotian shield / ornamented trident upward with curved crossbar; Head 1881: pl. v, 14 and 16; *SNG Copenhagen* 3, *Aetolia–Euboea*, pl.4, 179–81 **(four in the Temple of Apollo – rural sanctuary)**.

AE Antigonos Gonatas (*c.* 277–239); Heracles head r. / Horseman A; Head, *Historia Numorum i:* 199 **(two in the Temple of Apollo – rural sanctuary)**.

AR hemidrachm Phlious (*c.* 270 BC); Bull butting left / Large phi in an ivy-wreath; Pozzi (Auction J. Hirsch 1920): 1788, pl . lv **(one in the Temple of Apollo – rural sanctuary)**.

Boeotian federal coinage (*c.* 255 – *c.* 220 BC); Head of Demeter or Kore facing three-quarter right, wearing corn-wreath / Poseidon, naked, standing left, resting right foot on rock and leaning on trident (overstruck on Macedonian coin of a king Antigonos, cf. *supra*, nos. 5–8); Head 1881: 86–7, pl vi. 6; Kroll 1993: 595 **(seventeen in the Temple of Apollo, others in the Valley of Muses, at Erimocastro, rural sanctuaries and city of Thespiai)**.

Second century BC

AE Thespiai (*c.* 171–first century BC) – Laureate female (Hera) head right / Lyre; ΘEΣΠI \ EΩN downward on left and right respectively; all within laurel-wreath tied at bottom **(Temple of Apollo and Erimocastro – rural sanctuary and city site of Thespiai)**.

The information given for Imperial coins is so limited (and inaccurate) that it was generally not possible to identify the mint and to give a precise reference for most of these coins.

First century AD

Large AE Vespasian (AD 69–79); IMP[ERATOR] CAES[AR] VESPASIANVS AVG[VSTVS] laureate head r. / SC Naked warrior running **(1 in the Valley of the Muses – rural sanctuary)**.

Denarius Domitian (Rome, AD 91?); IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM TRI X Laureate head r. / IMP XXI COS XI (?) CENS P P P Helmeted Athena on a base decorated with prows. **(1 in the Valley of the Muses –rural sanctuary)**; *RIC* ii: 142–146

Second century AD

Large AE Marcus Aurelius M A ANTONINVS PIVS Laureate head r. / SC Standing Emperor with CONCORDIAE AVG **(one in the Valley of the Muses – rural sanctuary)**.

Third century AD

Large AE Gordian III (238–244) Head in profile and GORDIANVS PIVS; **(one in the Kastro – centre, city site of Thespiai)**.

AR Gallienus (Rome, 253–268) GALLIENVS AVG Radiate and laureate bust r. / PAX AVG Goddess holding spear **(one in the Valley of the Muses – rural sanctuary)**; *RIC* v.1: 63.

AR Gallienus (with other reverses and legends including GALLIENVS P F AVG).

AR Salonina ONINA AVG Head of Salonina r. / REGINA Athena facing **(one in the Valley of the Muses – rural sanctuary)**.

AE Diocletian (284–305) IMP C C VAL DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG Radiate bearded head r. / Concordia **(one in the Kastro – centre, city site of Thespiai)**.

Fourth century AD

AE Constantine I (306–337) IMP C CONSTANTINVS AVG Head r. / **(one in the Kastro – centre, city site of Thespiai)**.

Byzantine

AE – ANVS P P AVG / Large M between 3 crosses **(one in the Kastro – centre, city site of Thespiai)**.

Venetian

AR- Francesco Dandolo (1328–1339) Fra. Dandulo Dux, Dux l. / Lion of Mark and St. Mark of Venice **(twelve in Episcopi = village of Askra)**.

AR – Andrea Dandolo (1343–1354) / *idem* with Andr. Dandulo dux / *idem* **(four in Episcopi – village of Askra)**.

Private collection T (from the territory of Thespiai)

Hermione (*c*. 350–320 BC)
AE 1.48g, 13.5 mm
Head of Demeter Chthonia to right / EP in grain wreath
Grandjean 1990.

Phokis, Federal coinage (late fourth – early third century BC)
AE 2.36 g, 13 mm
Athena helmeted head facing / F within olive wreath
SNG Copenhagen 3, *Aetolia–Euboea*, pl.3, 113–16; Nemea cat. 189.

Chalkis (*c*. 290–273/271)
AE 2.08 g, 13 mm
Hera head facing / CAL Eagle flying r.
Picard 1979 group 2.

Boeotian federal coinage (*c*. 255–*c*. 220 BC)
AE 4.3 g, 18.5 mm
Head of Demeter or Kore facing / Poseidon naked, standing left, resting right foot on rock and leaning on trident (overstruck on Macedonian coin: cf. *supra*, **I**, nos. 4–8).

Thespiai (*c*. 171–first century BC)
AE (4) 3.92 g, 14 mm; 4.62 g, 15 mm; 3.26 g, 15 mm; 1.94g, 11.5 mm
Veiled Hera head right / lyre or chelys ΘΕΣΠΙΕΩΝ; all within laurel-wreath tied at bottom.

Athens (*c*. 190–183 BC)
AE 5.95 g, 19.5 mm
Head of Athena right; border of dots / Zeus, nude, striding r. hurling thunderbolt; at right, star and eagle
Kroll 1993: 82.

Thespiai (AD 81–96)
AE 1.6 g, 15 mm (very worn)
Laureate head right AϒΔO ΚΑΙ ΣΕ ΓΕΡ / Apollo standing facing holding plectrum and lyre ΘΕΣΠΙ-ΕΩΝ
RPC ii: 266.6.

Table 14.2. *Coins from the French excavations (P. Jamot) (***x** *= silver coin(s);* x *= bronze coin(s);* x̲ *= Boeotian coin(s)).*

	Fifth–fourth centuries BC	Third century BC	Second–first centuries BC	First–second centuries AD	Third century AD	Fourth–fifth centuries AD	Sixth–tenth centuries AD	Eleventh–eighteenth centuries AD	Nineteenth century AD
City of Thespiai	**x**x	x̲	x̲		x	x	x		
'Temple of Apollo'	**x**x	**x**x̲x	x						
Village of Askra								x	
Valley of the Muses		x̲x		**x**x	**x**				

The monetization of Thespiai

Production and circulation

The Archaic coins inscribed with an epichoric H and traditionally assigned to Haliartos are now believed to have been struck by Hyettos. Thespiai probably struck silver coins (stater, drachm, hemidrachm, obol; *obv*. Boeotian shield, some with Θ / *rev.* Θ in mill-sail incuse square) on the Aiginetan standard before 480: an epichoric letter originally interpreted as a Φ and associated with Pharai, is now interpreted as a Θ and assigned to Thespiai (Fig. 14.13 = BCD 2006, 229; 12.11 g, stater: Étienne and Knoepfler 1976: 219, 222).

Haliartos issued staters, drachms, hemidrachms and obols, probably before the Athenian invasion in 454 (*c.* 475–454?) with the Boeotian shield on the obverse, rim divided into eight sections and a square incuse with anti-clockwise mill-sail pattern. During the first half of the fourth century, Haliartos issued staters (Fig. 14.14 = BCD 2006, 164; 11.91 g) and fractions (Fig. 14.15 = BCD 2006, 165; 0.41 g, hemiobol), with Poseidon as reverse type and the shield on the obverse with a trident.

Thespiai issued a complete silver monetary system on the Aeginetan standard and some bronze coins. The series of fractions (during the 370s, before the battle of Leuctra in 371 BC?) can have preceded the larger denominations, as in most cases in the Greek world: obols (Boeotian shield / two vertical crescents back to back or a horizontal crescent composed of two lines facing upward (Fig. 14.16 = BCD 2006, 591; 0.91 g), hemiobols (half Boeotian shield / horizontal crescent facing downward) and tetartemoria (Boeotian shield / a horizontal crescent composed of three lines facing upward).

Then (mid-fourth century?) Thespiai issued the series of staters, triobols, obols and tetartemoria depicting a Boeotian shield and the head of Demeter Melainis on the right with a crescent (Fig. 14.17 = BCD 2006, 605; 12.02 g) (Head 1881; Étienne and Knoepfler 1976: 222, n. 773; Demetriadi 2000; BCD 2006: 37–40, 108–113).

Haliartos issued bronze coins (Boeotian shield / API or ΑΛΙ in concave shield), probably from after the battle of Chaironeia in 338. Some Thespian bronze coins may also belong to that period (Boeotian shield



Figure 14.13.



Figure 14.16.



Figure 14.15.



Figure 14.14.



Figure 14.17.



Figure 14.18.



Figure 14.19.



Figure 14.20.

with a narrow double rim / ΘΕΣ in a large concave incuse with a curved edge). The heavy weights of these rare bronze coins are quite unusual: 8.14 g (*BMC Central Greece*: 13) and 6.92 g (BCD 2006: 610, Fig. 14.18), both issued with the same reverse die. Lebadeia, Koroneia, Orchomenos, Plataia and Tanagra issued such bronze coins, with the beginning of the city name on the reverse. Thebes seems not to have issued such coins, which are usually dated to the end of the fourth century or before 287, or else during the final decades of the third century BC, when there was an increasing involvement of the Ptolemies in the affairs of Greece: the bevel-shaped edge of a Tanagra coin is obviously 'Ptolemaïc' (*Triton* 9 (10/1/2006), 124).

Some coins of these mints were found in hoards from the areas using the same standard (Central Greece, Peloponnese), mainly in those dating to the fourth century.[5] None, however, have yet been found on excavations or during the surveys at Thespiai and Haliartos. The oldest coins found there are dated to the fifth and fourth centuries and come from outside Boeotia (Central Greece, Peloponnese and Macedonia): silver coins from Corinth, Chalkis, Athens and Megalopolis were discovered in the city of Thespiai, and bronze coins (Phokis, Locri, Histiaia, Hermione and Alexander) in rural sites as well as in the city. Many coins were issued in the third century as bronzes of the Boeotian *koinon* (Demeter/Poseidon). Coins from central Greece (Lokris, Phokis, Histiaia) and from the Peloponnese (Phlious and Megalopolis) belong to the same century, as do some silver coins.

Federal Boeotian silver coinage played a significant role in the area until the dissolution of the *koinon c.* 171 BC. No examples have yet been found on excavations, or during the surveys at Thespiai and Haliartos. A hoard including Boeotian drachms has been published recently by Eleni Vlachoyannis (Thebes Hd 1997, *CH* 9 (2002), 244), but the hoards of Thebes 1935 (*IGCH* 193) and 1965 (*IGCH* 233) include, as at Thespiai, foreign silver coins (Athens, Macedonian, Ptolemaïc, Rhodes, Central Greece, Peloponnese). The Lake Copais 1908 hoard (*IGCH* 229) (1547 bronze federal coins issued in the third century, 1 bronze coin of Carystos and 1 bronze coin of Perseus), as well as the third-century hoards discovered at Thebes, show the importance of the federal Boeotian coins in that area (Hackens 1969; Evgenidou and Tselekas 2010; Vlachogiannis 2000); bronze federal coins depicting Demeter and Poseidon, often overstruck on Macedonian coins (*c.* 255–220 BC), are especially numerous at Thebes and at Thespiai.

The chronology of this federal Boeotian coinage still raises questions and the links between this coinage and the civic ones are not very clear. Moreover, pseudo-Rhodian drachms were being issued at Haliartos or at Hyettos in the second century BC and some of these were discovered at Thespiai (Knoepfler 1999; Ashton 2000).

Finally, Thespiai itself issued two series of bronze coins. The first was probably struck after 171 and shows, on both denominations, not the Ptolemaic queen Arsinoe III depicted as the tenth Muse, wearing modius or calathos and veil – as a tribute to the Ptolemies' euergetism – but Hera Teleia, common deity of Boeotians, as depicted on contemporary bronze coins of Orchomenos (Guittet 2012). These bronze series were the most significant of those issued by Boeotian cities on their own, as Philippe Guittet demonstrates in his unpublished thesis focused on the Hellenistic Boeotian Coinages (109 obverse dies are attested and production was significant).[6] Two denominations were issued by Thespiai: 15–17 mm and 3–4 g; 11–13 mm and 2–2.5 g (Fig. 14.19, BCD 2006: 611).

The second series, issued during the reign of the emperor Domitian (AD 86–91), shows the laureate or radiate head of the emperor with seven or more various deities and figures (Schachter 1961; Knoepfler 1996: 154; Burnett, Amandry, Carradice 1999: 267–74; Psoma 2008: 227–55): those with Apollo seated (14–15 mm, 3.17 g) are smaller than those with standing figures (16–17 mm, 4.41 g, Fig. 14.20, BCD 2006: 617a).[7] Two denominations were issued, as during the Hellenistic period. Tanagra issued coins with imperial heads in three denominations during the Julio-Claudian period (a: 23 mm-8.52 g; b: 19 mm-6.04 g; c: 15 mm-3.89 g) and Thebes minted only during the reign of Galba (21 mm-7.94 g). 'Autonomous' coins are also attributed to Tanagra, though it is not clear whether they should be regarded as Hellenistic, Julio-Claudian or Flavian (Burnett, Amandry, Carradice

1999: 66; Burnett, Amandry, Pau Ripolles 1992: 266). At Thespiai, Imperial coinage is known for Domitian only, but Tanagra issued coins in the second century AD, during the reigns of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (BCD 2006: 315–17; Heuchert and Howgego 2005: s.v. Tanagra).

The geographical distribution of the coins

The rural sites. The survey provides precise information about the distribution of coins and consequently the level of monetization of the area. Coins of the fourth, third and second centuries BC were found in the *chôra* (## 1, 4, 7–9), which obviously implies a precocious monetization compared with some rural areas, such as Messenia. Silver coins of all periods were discovered exclusively in the Valley of the Muses and in the *asty*. It would be interesting to make similar studies of monetization in other areas, such as Athens, in order to compare them with Thespiai/Haliartos.

The city of Thespiai and its vicinity. The Classical and early Hellenistic period seems to be particularly highly monetized, with discoveries both in the city and in its vicinity (Temple of Apollo, farms, hamlet). Only one coin belonging to the early Roman period (#13) has been found on a farm close to the city. On the other hand, several coins issued in the late Roman period have been discovered, but only in the centre of the city, as during the Byzantine period.

The Temple of Apollo. A. Schachter argued that the city of Thespiai before 480 was centred on the Temple of Apollo, and that the settlement moved to its Classical site only after the Persian destruction, but that is not a view supported by either the city survey, or the evidence from the locality of the Temple (*Testing the Hinterland*: 133, 143, Figs. 9.4 and 9.9). Further, Ch. Müller has demonstrated that the evidence relating to that temple is very slight. Jamot excavated, at some distance away from the city, a temple epigraphically

Table 14.3. *Monetary circulation in the Thespian area through the ages.*

	Thespian issues	***Haliartan issues***	***Boeotian federal issues and Theban issues***	**Circulation at Thespiai (Boeotian coins)**	**Circulation at Thespiai (other coins)**	**Circulation at Haliartos (Boeotian coins)**	**Circulation at Haliartos (other coins)**
Fifth century BC	*AR stater / dr / obol*	*AR stater / dr / obol*	*AR stater / dr / obol / tetart*		AR Corinth		
Fourth century BC	*AR stater / AE*	*AR stater / AE*	*EL / AR stater / AE*		AR / AE Macedonia Central Greece Peloponnese		
Third century BC	*AE*	*[AR Pseudo-Rhodian drachm]*	*AR drachm / AE*	AE	AR / AE Central Greece Macedonia	AE	
Second–first centuries BC	*AE*		*AE*	AE	AE Central Greece Athens Peloponnese Asia Minor	AE	
First century AD	*AE*		*AE*		AR Rome		
Second century AD					AE		
Third century AD					AR / AE Rome		
Fourth–fifth centuries AD					AE Antioch Heraclea		
Byzantine					AE		AE
Venetian					AR		
Ottoman					AR		
Modern					10 Lepta (1882)		

identifiable as that of Apollo (Schachter 1996: 103–4; Müller 1996; Hansen 2004: 458). Coins discovered there by Jamot are actually the oldest found at Thespiai (see above).

The Valley of the Muses. The oldest coins date to the last third of the third century BC, the period to which D. Knoepfler has dated the reorganiztion of the *Mouseia*. Silver Imperial coins have been found only in the Valley of the Muses. L. Robert and D. Knoepfler assumed that the *Mouseia* had been celebrated 'au moins' until the third century AD (Robert 1946: 5; Roesch 1965: 214–19; Knoepfler 1996). The discovery during the survey of two billon coins of Constantine II (*c*. 345–347) and of Julian (361–363) (above, ## 16 and 17, from a site close to the Sanctuary) confirms and extends that working hypothesis.

Monetization

Two methods exist for approaching monetization, that is, the rôle played by money in the economy. The first is the one used by economists in industrialized countries: the level of monetization of a given economy is defined as the commercialized percentage of GDP.[8] But there is a lack of data concerning speed of circulation and monetary flow and stock in ancient Greece and the quantitative approach poses many methodological problems, arising mainly from the poverty of the documentary record and on the unknown amount of recoinage.[9] Fortunately, there is another approach to the monetization level of pre-industrial societies. The French historian Jean Meuvret has shown, in a famous study of money in modern France (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries), that high-value coins were found only in big cities, harbours and places near major roads, in addition to banks and suppliers' credit; smaller towns and villages used mainly small coins, except during the harvesting season. That approach to monetization involves the study of coinage, as well as of transactions and monetary circulation, both alike focused on their geographical distribution. In short, it implies a global approach to the human occupation and exploitation of a whole region, in the same way as does archaeological survey, but not traditional excavation focused on towns (Meuvret 1971; Howgego 1992; Katsari 2008).

Some years ago, I applied that qualitative approach to monetization to Messenia (Grandjean 2006). No fewer than three major international projects have been launched in this area in the recent past (the Minnesota Messenia Expedition, the Nichoria excavations and the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project), while very fruitful excavations have been conducted since the 1950s by the Greek Archaeological Society at Messene/Mavromati. As is well known, Sparta forbade the use of coins in Messenia as well as in Lakonia. After Sparta's defeat by the Thebans at the battle of Leuktra (371 BC) and the creation of the Messenian state, the use of coins was very slowly adopted in Messenia; first in the capital city of Messene and in the harbours at Pylos and Kyparissia, and later (in the second century BC) in the small towns and sanctuaries of Messenia. Unfortunately, however, these surveys did not produce consistent information on coins in the countryside.

I also attempted such a study in other Peloponnesian areas where survey projects have been conducted: Achaia and the Hermionid (Hermione and Halieis). In these areas, the peak of human occupation and the peak of monetary production seem to be concomitant. That peak took place in the fourth and in the first half of the third centuries in the Hermionid, but in the second century in Achaia (Bintliff 2008). At all places and all times, high-value coins and suppliers' credit seem to be concentrated in the main cities, the harbours and the small towns connected to important sanctuaries, to a much greater extent than in modern France. Coinages with many denominations, including some of high value (tetradrachms, staters and drachms), and small coins used in daily life (obols and otherwise mainly bronze coins) seem to be another indicator of a high level of monetization in ancient Greek societies.

Coins discovered during the Boeotia Survey and in the excavations at Thespiai lead to a single conclusion concerning the chronology and the distribution of the mints: the oldest coins date to the fourth century (the single Corinthian one excepted), which reflects the history of Thespiai, destroyed twice during the Classical period; by the Persians in 480 and by Thebes after 371. Haliartos too was destroyed by the Persians in 480 and later by the Romans in 171. The fourth century was the time when most Greeks were discovering bronze coinage, introduced in Greece during the Peloponnesian War, in order to replace silver when access to the Laurion mines was difficult. The largest group of coins discovered in the area of Thespiai are Boeotian federal bronze coins, followed by the Thespian bronze coins with the bust of Hera (and a few coins issued under Domitian). The other mints are from neighbouring areas: Central Greece (Lokris, Phokis), Euboia and the north-eastern Peloponnese. The proportion of Macedonian coins must be underlined – as too that of Athenian coins, which is insignificant despite the fact that the Romans gave the territory of Haliartos to Athens in 171.

The chronology of the coins fits the general understanding of the history of the area, with most of the coins dating to the fourth and third centuries BC.

Their continued circulation during the late Hellenistic period (and possibly much later still), is however likely, as was often the case with small coinage in Greece.

It seems that in Boeotia there was no monetary silver issue in the Hellenistic period after the end of the third century, which is very different from the developments in Thessaly, the Peloponnese and Euboea. It is tempting to connect this with Feyel's theory, based on Polybius (see Chapter 6, pp. 228–9, and Chapter 5, pp. 215–6; Müller 2013) concerning the 'crise économique' of Boeotia from the end of the third century BC; but it is impossible to draw conclusions. Most of the Federal bronze coins (Demeter/Poseidon) were overstruck on bronze coins of a Macedonian king (probably Antigonos Gonatas, *c.* 229–220), but that is not really significant because such overstrikes were also made by Athens, and by Chalkis too (Feyel 1942; Migeotte 1985; Picard 1979: 179–81; Kroll 1993: 69 and 509). Some foreign bronze coins of the late Hellenistic period (Sikyon, Thessaly) could have been in local circulation (this often occurred elsewhere with Sikyonian coins, while the Thessalian coin (#11 above) has been countermarked).

There is a gap after the end of the third century BC, apart from the Thespian coins depicting Hera and a few foreign coins, until the reign of Domitian, when another series of coins – bronze and some silver – begins, many belonging to the third and fourth centuries AD (Gordian III, Gallienus, Diocletian and Constantine), but not in such significant numbers as during the fourth and third centuries BC. Most of the coins dating to the Roman period, especially those in silver, were discovered in the city itself.

A few Byzantine, Venetian and Ottoman coins were discovered, especially in the village of Askra and in the *Kastro* at the heart of Thespiai.

To summarize, coins circulating in the *chôra* of Thespiai and of Haliartos were not the same as those in the urban centre or *asty*. In the *asty*, the circulation resembles that at Thebes, with silver as well as bronze coins in significant numbers from the fourth century. Most of the coins discovered in rural sites were bronzes issued later, in the third century BC. Inscriptions suggest that the monetization of this area was quite significant in this century. The inscription from Orchomenos (*IG* vii. 3172, *c.* 223 BC) focuses on the loan by Nikareta of Thespiai of 18,833 drachms (more than 3 talents) to the city of Orchomenos. The Thespian banker Pistokles acted as an intermediary in the repayment. Nikareta – a woman – had an account in Pistokles' bank. Other inscriptions, such as the accounts of the *athlothetes* (magistrate in charge of the annual contests during the Mouseia, whose winners at this time won prizes in money), as well as the Thespian leases (for which taxes and rents are expressed in drachms and obols), give the same picture (Migeotte 1984: 53–69; Knoepfler 1996; Pernin 2004 and 2007).

It seems that coins discovered in surveys are very useful for the study of monetization because their location is very precise, both in the city and in the *chôra*. A traditional approach to the monetary circulation of a particular area can obviously derive great advantage from the contrast between hoards and excavated coins, found in an urban context, and the coins discovered in surveys that are usually in the countryside, part of the Greek landscape so long ignored by archaeologists.

Notes

1 Head 1881; Schachter 1958; Hackens 1969; Fossey *apud* Etienne and Knoepfler 1976; Madsen 1981; Phoungas 1986; Hepworth 1986, 1998; Kravartoyannos 1993; Knoepfler 1999; Vlachoyannis 2000; Ashton 2000, 2002, 2008; Demetriadi 2000; Tsourti 2000; BCD 2006; Liampi 2008; Gartland 2013; Guittet 2013.

2 The attribution of this issue is controversial: it may be an issue of Antigonos Doson (regent, then king of Macedon, 229–220) rather than of Gonatas; cf. Kroll 1993, 509 and p. 205 (federal Boeotian coinage overstruck on Herakles/horseman Macedonian bronzes).

3 This coinage was mainly overstruck on Herakles head/horseman bronzes of a Macedonian king, Antigonos Doson or, more probably according to J.H. Kroll, Antigonos Gonatas. I also agree with his hypothesis about the overstriking: 'a plausible case can be made that the Macedonian coins entered Boeotia during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas or Demetrios II (who occupied the country after 236) and that this overstriking took place during the sharp anti-Macedonian reaction upon Demetrios' death in 229' (Kroll 1993: 205; also Vlachoyiannis 2000, for arguments in favour of the overstrike in the 220s).

4 I am very grateful to Professor Aravantinos and to Mrs D. A. Charami, successive Directors of Antiquities of Boeotia, for their warm welcome at the Museum of Thebes.

5 Myron hoard in Thessaly, *IGCH* 62; Moulki hoard (near Sicyon) *IGCH* 67; and later, Larissa 1948 hoard, *IGCH* 239.

6 Thebes, Orchomenos, Plataiai and Lebadeia also struck autonomous bronze issues during the second and first centuries BC.

7 *Apollo seated*: Athens 2539 (15 mm-2.9 g), Athens 2540 (15 mm-2.88 g), Paris 688 (14.5 mm-3.5 g), Athens Tsivourakis 1896/7 271 (14 mm-3.2 g), Paris 689 (15 mm, 2.83 g), Oxford Milne 4.7.1947 (14 mm-3.15 g), *BMC Central Greece* 30 (15,5 mm-4.22 g), *BMC Central Greece* 31 (15 mm-3.19 g),

BMC Central Greece 32 (15 mm-2.7 g). *Standing figures*: Oxford Loring 21.7.1949 (18.5 mm-3.56 g), Athens 2538 (16 mm-4.27 g), Paris double (19 mm-4.54 g), Paris 690 (17 mm-3.5 g), Paris 687 (17 mm-4.25 g), Paris 686 (15 mm-4.26 g), Oxford Milne 4.7.1947 (17 mm-4.03 g), *BMC Central Greece* 27 (18 mm-4.38 g), *BMC Central Greece* 28 (17 mm-3.64 g), *BMC Central Greece* 29 (18 mm-4.71 g), Athens Tsivourakis 1896/7 270 (17.5 mm-4.76 g).

8 The rate of monetization in modern France and UK is 100 per cent, when measured without taking into account the calculation of GDP for products and services that do not enter the market.

9 Rates of liquidity are proposed by analogy with India before 1950, another preindustrial economy (60 per cent rate of monetization), the Roman Empire (less than 50 per cent according to R. W. Goldsmith and about 30 per cent according to K. Hopkins) and the Byzantine Empire (around 46 per cent according to C. Morrisson). That of France in the middle of the eighteenth century could have been about 35 per cent. For Messenia at the end of the Hellenistic period, I propose about 30 per cent. This rate recalls the estimate of K. Hopkins for the Roman Empire. (Morrisson 2002; Grandjean 2006).

Abbreviations used only in this chapter

BCD 2006 = *The BCD Collection of the Coinage of Boeotia. Triton catalogue ix*. Auction January 2006, session 1: New York.

BMC Central Greece = Head, B.V. (ed. R.S. Poole), *A Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum: Central Greece (Locris, Phocis, Boeotia, Euboea)*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1884.

Cambridge Fitzwilliam McClean = S.W.Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek coins, vols. 1–3*. Cambridge: CUP, 1923–29.

CH = Coin Hoards

Nemea cat. = R.C. Knapp and J.D. Mac Isaac, *Excavations at Nemea* iii: The Coins. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

RIC ii, iv.3, v.1 and viii = *Roman Imperial Coinage*:
ii = Mattingly H. and E.A. Sydenham: *Vol. 2, Vespasian to Hadrian*. London: Spink, 1926.
iv.3 = Mattingly, H., E.A. Sydenham and C.H.V Sutherland: *Vol. 4 Pt.3, Gordian III – Uranius Antoninus*. London: Spink, 1949.
v.1 = Webb, P.H: *Vol. 5 Pt.1, Valerian I to Florian*. London: Spink, 1927.
viii = Kent, J.P.C.: *Vol. 8, The family of Constantine I, A.D. 337–364*. London: Spink, 1981.

RPC ii = *Roman Provincial Coinage, volume ii: From Vespasian to Domitian*. (London: British Museum Press (= Burnett, Amandry and Carradice 1999, in main bibliography, p.394 below).

SNG Copenhagen 2, 3 and 4 = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: the royal collection of coins and medals, Danish National Museum*. West Milford, NJ: Sunrise Publications, 1982 (reprints of the first edition, Copenhagen, 1943–45):
2 = *Vol .2, Thrace and Macedonia*.
3 = *Vol .3, Greece: Thessaly to Aegean Islands*.
4 = *Vol. 4, Bosporus to Lesbos*.



Boeotia Project, Volume II: The city of Thespiai

Few major Classical cities have disappeared so completely from view, over the centuries, as Thespiai in Central Greece. Only the technique of intensive field survey, carefully adapted to a large urban site and reinforced by historical investigation, has made it possible to recover from oblivion much of its life of seven millennia.

Authors:

John Bintliff was Professor of Classical and Mediterranean Archaeology at Universiteit Leiden NL, and is now Honorary Professor in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh.

Emeri Farinetti is a Faculty Member of the Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università di Studi Roma Tre.

Božidar Slapšak is Professor in the Department of Archaeology, University of Ljubljana.

Anthony Snodgrass is Laurence Professor Emeritus of Classical Archaeology of the University of Cambridge.

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