

## SOME ATHENIAN "CLERUCHY" MONEY

In the *Trésor des monnaies d'Athènes* Jean Svoronos has assembled on plate 25 a heterogeneous collection of bronze coins under the description "*Monnaies des clérouques athéniens, 255 à 229.*"<sup>1</sup> The fifty pieces are arranged in nine distinct series and distributed among five supposed cleruchies: Methana, Aegina, Eleusis, Skiathos, and Peparethos.<sup>2</sup> Although it is my belief that all of these bronzes are incorrectly attributed, it is planned in the confines of the present paper to discuss only

<sup>1</sup> Grateful acknowledgment is made to Professor and Mrs. T. Leslie Shear, to Professor Oscar Broneer, and to Mr. W. K. Pritchett for their kindness in reading the manuscript in whole or in part and for their helpful suggestions regarding it. To Professor Earle Caley I am indebted for the three new analyses referred to in Appendix I, and to Miss Gladys Davidson for permission to reproduce on Plate I a coin from her collection. Members of the Agora staff have been most kind in furnishing topographical data.

### <sup>2</sup> *Methana*

- 1-4. Ob. Head of Zeus r. laureate, border of dots.  
Re. A Θ E Athena standing r., holding a patera and an owl; border of dots.
- 5-10. Ob. Head of Artemis r., border of dots.  
Re. Same as above.

### *Aegina*

- 11-12. Ob. Head of Artemis r., border of dots.  
Re. A Θ E Artemis clad in short chiton advancing r. with a torch in both hands, all in wreath.

### *Eleusis* ?

- 13-14. Ob. Head of Athena r. in crested Corinthian helmet, border of dots.  
Re. A Θ E Demeter in long chiton standing r., holding a torch in both hands; in front, a kerchnos; all in wreath.

### *Eleusis* ?

- 15-21. Ob. Head of Zeus r., bound with a taenia.  
Re. A Θ E Amphora in wreath.

### *Skiathos* ?

- 22-28. Ob. Gorgoneion.  
Re. A Θ E Athena advancing r., carrying aegis and spear.

### *Peparethos*

- 29-32. Ob. Head of youthful Dionysos r., ivy-crowned; border of dots.  
Re. A Θ E Athena advancing r. as above.
- 33-35. Ob. Head of youthful Dionysos as above.  
Re. A Θ E Kantharos.
- 36-42. Ob. Head of Zeus r. laureate, border of dots.  
Re. A Θ E Head of bearded Dionysos r., ivy-crowned.
- 43-50. Ob. Head of bearded Dionysos r., ivy-crowned.  
Re. A Θ E Head of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet.

The identifications are those of Svoronos. One deviation from the grouping of plate 25 is the bracketing of No. 13 with No. 14 rather than with Nos. 11 and 12. The arrangement in the *Trésor* is either a misprint or a mistake.

six of the nine groups, namely those assigned to Peparethos and Skiathos, and the Eleusis issue with Demeter and a kerchnos on the reverse. Considerations of style and fabric unite the six series and at the same time separate them from the other "cleruchy" issues, so that it is felt they may be interpreted as relatively contemporary pieces and studied apart from the other coins of plate 25. It is, then, to these six types alone that the following discussion and conclusions are to be applied.

As coins there is little remarkable about the specimens under consideration. They are well-known issues of somewhat indifferent workmanship, and, for the most part, are of fairly common occurrence in numismatic collections. All are marked with the letters A Θ E and, therefore, have ordinarily been listed in catalogues as products of the Athenian mint at various periods of its activity.<sup>3</sup> Their peculiar interest at this time derives from the novel suggestion of Svoronos that they were issued by Athenian dependencies during a relatively restricted period in the third century B.C.<sup>4</sup> Because the theory, if correct, would open up far-reaching possibilities, both numismatic and historical, and because the abundance of this money requires a definite decision as to its date and origin, it seems worthwhile to try to determine to what extent Svoronos' beliefs are justified by the existing evidence.

Unfortunately there can be no presentation of the case for the cleruchies by the man best able to do so. Svoronos died before his explanatory text was written and the reasons behind his conclusions can never be definitely known. It is possible, however, from a study of the coins themselves to evolve hypothetical foundations for his theories. In the first place the obverse and reverse devices differ from the traditional Athenian pattern. Only in the case of the Eleusis money is the customary Athena head used; on the other coins it is supplanted by a Gorgoneion, a Dionysos head, or a Zeus head. The reverse types of kantharos and Dionysos head are unusual choices for Athenian currency. Definitely there is a break with the conventional formula which one instinctively associates with Athenian money. Yet all the coins carry the A Θ E lettering, indicating at least a superficial link with the Attic mint.

In assuming that the combination of A Θ E and non-Athenian types denoted a colonial origin, Svoronos had the supporting evidence of money from Imbros, Skyros, Lemnos, and Delos.<sup>5</sup> These islands sometimes used Athenian types, such as

<sup>3</sup> *B.M.C., Attica, Megaris, Aegina*, pl. XIV, no. 10; XV, nos. 1, 4, 7; p. 86, no. 604. S. W. Grose, *McClellan Collection*, II, nos. 5941-5942. L. Forrer, *Weber Collection*, II, no. 3532. G. MacDonald, *Hunterian Collection*, II, p. 74, nos. 203-204.

<sup>4</sup> Svoronos' catalogue is the most recent and the most comprehensive collection of Athenian money that we possess, and, therefore, the data which it affords have especial weight. E. Rogers (*The Copper Coinage of Thessaly*, p. 185) agrees with the attribution of certain types to cleruchs on Peparethos and Skiathos, but suggests that the coins were struck at a somewhat later date, after 166 B.C. A. R. Bellinger (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 42, pp. 11-12) notes Svoronos' classification, but does not elaborate upon it.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*, XIII, 1911, pp. 129-130; *ibid.*, III, 1900, pp. 51-54; cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, VII, 1882, pp. 146-149.

a head of Athena or an owl, but more frequently they impressed their coins with the autochthonous devices of a seated goddess, a Hermes, a cicada, or a lyre. The name of the island (INBPI, CKY, AHMN), coupled with A Θ E, furnishes incontrovertible proof of the functioning mint and of its Athenian connection. Delian coins were customarily inscribed only A Θ E, and sometimes the same is true of the Imbros money, but in such cases the specimens vary in style and fabric from regular Athenian money and, moreover, have actually been found in quantity on the islands in question. Accordingly it is safe to assume that they were issued by the Athenian cleruchy settlements.<sup>6</sup>

Skiathos had a Gorgoneion type; Peparethos, famous for its wine, used Dionysiac symbols on its money;<sup>7</sup> and Eleusis, of course, had every claim to Demeter. Svoronos must have been influenced by these facts in distributing the issues. Whether he had at his disposal any supplementary evidence, such as coins discovered on the various sites, cannot be ascertained. One can only outline the probable bases of his theory: the variation from stock Athenian devices of the money under discussion, the fact that similar variations occur on cleruchy coinages, and finally the correspondence between the types on our coins and those used on the autonomous issues of Skiathos, Peparethos, and Eleusis. As to Svoronos' reasons for assigning the money to the years 255-229 B.C., one finds no ready explanation.

Academically the theory is plausible, but when confronted with the great mass of material and information made available by the Agora Excavations, it cannot stand. In all fairness to Svoronos, however, it must be remembered that the data provided by the past ten years of research were not at his command.

In working with the Agora specimens the first suspicious circumstance was the comparatively large number of coins involved. Of the types assigned by Svoronos to the cleruchies of Skiathos, Peparethos, and Eleusis, 193 pieces have appeared in the Excavations. The proportions too are significant: 3 are from Eleusis, 42 from Skiathos, and 148 from Peparethos. These 193 coins were presumably struck between the years 255 and 229 B.C., most of them at a fairly remote part of the Athenian Empire. The figures in themselves have little value, but the disproportionate amount of cleruchy money in relation to the minting period can be better realized when one notes that all foreign mints, operating from the fifth century before Christ to the third century after Christ, have contributed only 688 coins to the Agora collection. And these mints

<sup>6</sup> The commonly accepted theory is that cleruchs sent out from Athens on colonizing missions retained their privileges as Athenian citizens and, although subject to general Athenian control, were allowed to exercise a certain amount of autonomy in internal affairs (P. Foucart, "Mémoire sur les colonies athéniennes au cinquième et au quatrième siècle," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1st series, IX, 1878, pp. 360-380). They probably possessed a modified money right, extending only to bronze, and their currency indicated by its lettering the allegiance owed to the mother city, while the devices reflected the native traditions and cults.

<sup>7</sup> *B.M.C., Thessaly to Aetolia*, pl. XI, nos. 14-16, 19.

include those of Corinth, Sicyon, Boeotia, Salamis, and Megara—all important sites closely bound geographically and commercially with Athens. Even if one feels that the peculiar relationship between mother and daughter cities, perhaps entailing a “most-favored” clause in commercial transactions, would sufficiently explain the great preponderance of cleruchy issues in Athens, there are two other perplexing features. First one finds very little cleruchy money from Eleusis which was close to Athens and might, therefore, be assumed to have been especially dependent upon her in commercial and financial matters, whereas the remote Peparethos is represented by 148 pieces. Then, it is by no means certain that Peparethos, Skiathos, and Eleusis ever actually had a cleruchy status, but assuming that relationship to have been true, they were not the only dependencies which Athens possessed. Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros were settlements of equal or greater importance than Skiathos and Peparethos.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, they are known to have minted as cleruchies, but none of that money has been found in the Agora.<sup>9</sup>

Setting aside for the moment the question of proportions, there is little historical justification for the assumption that the places mentioned were Athenian dependencies between 255 and 229 B.C. The cleruchy system, as applied by Athens to those lands which she had annexed by conquest or by peaceful penetration, reached its height in the second half of the fifth century B.C. During that period, Athens began to capitalize on her dominant position in Greek affairs by securing strategic sites in the Aegean which were to serve as outposts of empire. These sites were settled by Athenian citizens who kept up close affiliations with the mother city. In the fourth century the same process of colonization continued, and we have fairly accurate knowledge of what places were cleruchies at that time.<sup>10</sup> With the third century, however, the records fail, and one must determine to what extent the Athenian Empire survived Macedonian intervention in the light of the history of Athens and of those places which Svoronos calls cleruchies.

<sup>8</sup> Compare the relative tribute assessments in the fifth century (Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*). The average amount paid by Peparethos was 3 talents (pp. 372-3); by Skiathos 10 minas (pp. 408-9); by Imbros 1 talent (pp. 292-3); by Myrina 1½ talents (pp. 348-9); and by Hephaestia 3 talents (pp. 280-1).

<sup>9</sup> In the Agora collection there is no money of Skyros from any period. From Imbros there are 8 autonomous coins (1-6, E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, II, 4, p. 1011, no. 1614; 7-8, *ibid.*, p. 1010, no. 1610). Hephaestia on Lemnos is not represented, but Myrina has contributed 46 pieces, all of the same type and all marked MYPI. Because of their resemblance to late fourth century Athenian money, these coins are probably to be attributed to the period after 307, following the restoration of the island to Athens by Demetrios (McClean, II, pl. 151, no. 15). Peparethos has one autonomous specimen in the collection (similar to *B.M.C., Thessaly*, p. 53, no. 5). These proportions for the independent issues are roughly what one would expect for the cleruchy money as well.

<sup>10</sup> G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, pp. 1271-1279 (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, IV, I<sup>1</sup>) and Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, s. v. κληροῦχοι.

After the Chremonidean War Athens was severely punished. In all probability she lost the right of coinage, which meant that not only her political but also her commercial supremacy was threatened. Without doubt her foreign possessions were taken from her. However, some years later, *ca.* 256/5, Athens for good behavior was treated more generously by Antigonos, who could never entirely free himself from his infatuation for the ancient city. The Macedonian garrison was removed and Athens was allowed once more to manage her internal affairs. One may assume that this included the right to issue money, at least in bronze, but that it included the restoration of her overseas interests seems more dubious. While the Peiraeus, Salamis, and the frontier forts were still occupied by Macedonian troops, Athens was in no position to pursue an independent foreign policy. Nor could Macedon, involved in quarrels with the Achaean League and unsettled by internal dissensions, be expected to relax her grip upon the strategic sites which she had acquired.<sup>11</sup>

The third century history of Eleusis, Skiathos, and Peparethos must also mainly rest upon conjecture. Eleusis lay so close to Athens that she could with difficulty have escaped complete domination by the more powerful city. In all likelihood, her dependent state was as pronounced in the third century as it undoubtedly was in the fourth. At only four periods in her existence,<sup>12</sup> and then only for a limited number of years in each case, had Eleusis maintained her independence, so that on grounds of historical probability Svoronos cannot be disputed when he claims that Eleusis was under Athenian control during the mid-third century B.C.

The situation of Peparethos and Skiathos is quite different. The two islands must be considered as a unit since they are separated by a channel only 7 kilometers wide and could scarcely have possessed different histories. A glance at the map will suffice to show the importance of their position. As the dominant members of a small group of islands off the coast of Thessaly, they command the approach to the Pagasaeon Gulf and to the Euboean inland sea. Moreover, they, together with Skyros, provide the only safe anchorages on the harborless east coast of Thessaly and Euboea, so that all sea commerce along the trade routes between Macedonia and Greece would have been charted past them. The excellent harbors of Skiathos have sheltered fleets from the time of Xerxes to the War of 1897, while the more fertile Peparethos served as a

<sup>11</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 182 ff. In *Greek Imperialism* the same author suggests (p. 233) that in 242/1 at the conclusion of peace with the Achaean League Antigonos held various cities in the Peloponnese, Athens, Euboea, and the Cyclades, as well seemingly as Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros, the colonies of Athens. (The occupation of Skiathos and Peparethos would be even more likely.)

<sup>12</sup> According to Ferguson (*Hell. Athens*, p. 145, note 4) the only possible years of Eleusinian independence were: 318/7; 304, while Cassander was besieging Athens; 296-288, from the capture of Eleusis by Demetrios to the attack of Demochares in 289/8; and during the Chremonidean War.

granary, and the two together, complementing each other in such fashion, made a valuable prize for any power.<sup>13</sup>

Historically the two islands can be linked with Skyros, some 40 miles distant, which is a helpful fact since more is known about the latter island during the third century than about Skiathos and Peparethos. Skyros, in fact, enjoyed a special advantage in her situation athwart two trade routes: one leading from mainland Greece to Skyros, Lemnos, Imbros, and finally the Bosphorus and the Black Sea; the other from Southern Greece and Asia Minor via Skyros again to the Magnesian islands and thence to Macedonia and Thrace. Just as Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros are often grouped together, so Skyros, Peparethos, and Skiathos can be considered as a geographical unit.

In the fifth and fourth centuries Peparethos and Skiathos were members of the two Attic Sea Leagues. That Peparethos at least was a fairly important member is shown by the relatively high tribute that she paid<sup>14</sup> and by the fact that she minted autonomous silver.<sup>15</sup> At the end of the fourth century, however, the island was devastated by Philip II and as a result fell into Macedonian hands and never completely recovered the earlier prosperity. From the end of the fourth to the end of the third century there is a historical lacuna, which can be bridged at least tentatively from the histories of neighboring islands. We know that Lemnos, Imbros, and probably Skyros were captured by Lysimachos in 287/6 B.C., but not restored to Athens. About 281 Seleukos occupied them and may or may not (according to varying accounts) have given them back to their rightful owner. However, after the Chremonidean War any islands which may have remained in Athenian possession were certainly taken over by Macedonia. It is hard to imagine that this situation was changed prior to 229 B.C., since the islands, especially Peparethos and Skiathos, which lay so close to the Thessalian coast, would be a dangerous threat to Macedonia in unfriendly or weak hands. It is possible that in 229 Antigonus Doson, who was on friendly terms with Athens, restored her colonies.<sup>16</sup> Yet a few years later, 209/8 B.C., Peparethos was used by Philip V as a base against Attalos, and it was laid waste by him in his retreat, so that it might not be used by the Pergamene ruler. In the succeeding centuries, the Magnesian islands became Roman, then independent, Mithridatic, Roman again, and finally Athenian by the gift of M. Antonius in 42 B.C.

<sup>13</sup> The material on Skiathos and Peparethos is summarized from C. Fredrich, "Skiathos und Peparethos," *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, pp. 99-128; A. Philippson, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Inselwelt," in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 134, 1901, pp. 124-134; and Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Peparethos. The details on Skyros are from P. Graindor, *Histoire de l'île de Skyros jusqu'en 1538*. For Lemnos and Imbros see S. Shebelew, "Zur Geschichte von Lemnos," *Klio*, II, 1902, pp. 36-44, and *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII, 8, pp. 3-5.

<sup>14</sup> See note 8.

<sup>15</sup> B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 312-313.

<sup>16</sup> A decree of the cleruchs at Hephaestia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1223), previously dated ca. 220 B.C., had been cited as proof of such restoration. However, it seems fairly certain (Shebelew, *loc. cit.*, p. 43) that the inscription should be dated after 166 B.C.

In the known history of Peparethos and Skiathos, as in that of Athens herself, there is no definite proof for or against an organized and functioning Athenian settlement of the mid-third century. One can only repeat that the general nature of the foreign situation at the time would suggest that Athens was not in a position to assert her claims to island possessions. What empire she retained was hers on sufferance of Seleukos, or Antigonos, or Ptolemy, who were all more concerned with safeguarding their own interests than in advancing the rights of Athens. In this respect the action of Lysimachos is eloquent. In 287 he had expelled the garrison of Demetrios from Lemnos and Imbros, but instead of returning the islands to Athens, he took them under protective custody, explaining that he was guarding them for the Athenians.

Svoronos' attribution of the coins to Athenian cleruchs implies a greater freedom of action on the part of Hellenistic Athens than she actually possessed. In her subservience to and dependence upon foreign powers there was no opportunity for the development of colonial stability or the fostering of a close and permanent relationship with distant possessions, even assuming that such possessions were nominally under her control. And without such stability a cleruchy coinage is improbable. What money Lemnos, Skyros, Skiathos, and Peparethos used in the third century when they were being shunted from one power to another must have been the issues of successive conquerors.<sup>17</sup>

It may be that the coinage has been misdated and that it is cleruchy money of a different period. Following the restoration of Lemnos, Imbros, Skyros, and Delos to Athens in the early second century B.C., there would have been an opportunity for the development of close colonial ties under the favor and protection of Rome. One might assume that Skiathos and Peparethos were included in the territorial gift, although not specifically mentioned. If so, conditions would have been favorable for the emission of colonial money on their part. From this period must date the Delos coins and also in all probability the known cleruchy issues of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros. But even a more historically acceptable date would not explain the great abundance and baffling proportions of the money in the Agora.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The money found on Skiathos and Skyros, insofar as it has been recorded, is of interest in connection with the history of the two islands. A. Wace (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, p. 103, note 1) says that on Skiathos he saw Attic tetradrachmas of the late fifth century, Macedonian copper of Antigonos Gonatas, Ptolemaic copper, Rhodian drachmas of the third century, and autonomous copper. On Skyros, according to Fredrich (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, p. 278, note 2), there were copper pieces of Demetrios II, Lysimachos, and Athenian New Style of the late second century, as well as later Roman and Byzantine money. Lemnos (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, p. 250, note 1) had autonomous bronze, fractional issues of the New Style, an Eleusis coin marked A Θ E, and Athenian Imperial money. These are only chance finds not the results of scientific excavation, but it is interesting to note not only the diversity of the coinage but also the absence of Athenian money between the late fifth and the late second centuries.

<sup>18</sup> One other possibility should be mentioned, namely that the cleruchies struck money not when they were under Athenian domination but during periods of separation. At such times they would

If then there is grave reason to doubt that our six series of bronze money belong to Eleusis, Skiathos, and Peparethos, to what mint or mints should they be assigned? E. T. Newell in *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes* (pp. 152-3) has a pertinent statement: "In the science of ancient numismatics it has proved a moderately safe rule to follow that bronze coins are seldom found at any great distance from their original place of mintage. Therefore, if the greater proportion of find-spots of any one type of coin should consistently point to one particular district, it is practically certain that the coins in question must once have been struck and circulated in that place."

Large numbers of these coins have been found in the Agora; they are marked A Θ E; their fabric and general appearance are strikingly similar to New Style bronze. All of which would suggest that they come from the Athenian mint at the period in which it was issuing New Style money. The only difficulties in such an attribution are the use of certain non-Athenian types on the coinage and, in one case, the introduction of a small denomination (Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 43-50), an unusual size for this New Style period. Still it would seem easier to seek an explanation for these variations than to explain away the Athenian connections. Having found the case for the cleruchies far from convincing, let us see whether a better one can be made out for the mint of Athens.

Before discussing the types individually in their relationship to New Style money, it might be well to summarize briefly the state of present knowledge regarding that long and interesting series of Athenian coinage. The chief problem involved is that of dating the individual issues. Various attempts have been made to work out a chronological system for the silver on the grounds of prosopography,<sup>19</sup> of style,<sup>20</sup> and finally of matched dies.<sup>21</sup> The first criterion is sound enough when the mint magistrates are well-known historical figures, such as Mithridates Eupator, Antiochus IV, or Aristion, but in the case of names like Demetrios or Themistokles, which are of frequent occurrence in Athenian records, there are many possibilities of error. An arrangement on the ground of style, such as that of Svoronos, is an advance in accuracy since, as Head points out (*Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 387) in the Athenian New Style

have kept alive their allegiance to the mother city in this fashion (Busolt, *Gr. Staatsk.*, 2nd ed., p. 1277). However, it seems as improbable that Peparethos and Skiathos were independent from 255 to 229 B.C. as it does to imagine Antigonos or Ptolemy sanctioning the striking of money which would perpetuate a feeling of fidelity to another power.

<sup>19</sup> J. Kirchner (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXI, 1898, pp. 74-105) and J. Sundwall ("Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen des neueren Stiles" in the *Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, XLIX, 1906-1907, and L, 1907-1908) followed by Head in *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 380 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Svoronos in the *Trésor* (pls. 33 to 78). This arrangement is presumably by style and fabric.

<sup>21</sup> M. L. Kambanis in *Arethuse*, V, 1928, pp. 121-135, and the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LVI, 1932, pp. 37-59; LVIII, 1934, pp. 101-137; LIX, 1935, pp. 101-120; LX, 1936, pp. 101-117; LXII, 1938, pp. 60-85.



"from first to last there is a steady and continuous deterioration in style and change in fabric." It is only necessary to compare the hard-set features of Athena on the series of Diokles (Svoronos, pl. 71) with the clear fresh youthful type of Antiochus (Svoronos, pl. 44) to realize that these stylistic changes are valuable indications of date. They are more important, however, in determining general classifications like good, bad, and fair than in arranging the series in absolute chronological order.

The only really indisputable system is that of Kambanis, namely by comparison of dies. Kambanis discovered that although the reverse dies, by which magisterial responsibility was fixed, were carefully destroyed by the outgoing officials, the same was not true of the obverse dies, which had no identifying characteristics and therefore could be used over and over again until they were worn out. The average life of such a die Kambanis computes at approximately three to five months, and he shows conclusively that the same obverse die not only was used for successive months of the same minting year but was carried over from one year to the next. In this way one has absolute proof of the succession of any two series which in their final and initial phases are bound together by the same obverse die.

Ultimately it should be possible to arrange all of the New Style silver in this fashion. At the present incomplete stage of Kambanis' research, only a handful of series have been grouped together,<sup>22</sup> and they cannot be precisely dated unless one issue can be attached to a definite historical figure or event, in which case, of course, the whole group swings into line. Otherwise we are compelled to rely upon considerations of style supplemented by prosopography.<sup>23</sup>

About the bronze, with which we are chiefly concerned, there is even less information. It cannot be arranged by die sequences; only by its style and by its correlation with datable silver issues can one hope to determine its chronology. Mrs. Shear in *Hesperia* (II, 1933, pp. 255-261 and pl. VII) presents a clear picture of the relationship between bronze and silver denominations as reflected in the simultaneous use of the same type or symbol. For example, there can be no doubt that the star

<sup>22</sup> The following related series are presented in *Arethuse* (V, 1928, pp. 121-135) and the *B.C.H.* articles of 1932, 1934, and 1938. In linking them Kambanis takes cognizance not only of duplicate dies but of ateliers functioning at the same time and of the reappearance on successive series of the same third magistrate.

{ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙ-ΔΙΟΓΕ	{ ANTIOXOΣ-NIKOΓ	{ EYBOYΛΙΔΗΣ-ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ
{ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ	{ ANTIOXOΣ-KAPAIXOΣ	{ ΖΩΙΛΟΣ-EYANΔΡΟΣ
{ ΚΤΗΣΙ-EYMA	{ ΔΗΜΕΑΣ-EPMOKΛΗΣ	{ ΔΑΜΩΝ-ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ
{ ΔΗΜΗ-ΙΕΡΩ	{ ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ	{ ΕΥΜΗΛΟΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΦΩΝ
	{ ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	{ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ-EYΚΛΗΣ
	{ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ	{ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ-ΧΑΡΙΝΑΥΤΗΣ
	{ ΝΕΣΤΩΡ-MNΑΣΕΑΣ	{ ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ-ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ
	{ ΕΥΜΗΛΟΣ-ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΔΗΣ	{ ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΠΟΣΗΣ
		{ ΑΜΦΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
		{ ΔΩΣΙΘΕΟΣ-ΧΑΡΙΑΣ

<sup>23</sup> That the stylistic arrangement is the more accurate of the two is proved by the fact that Kambanis' groupings are closely paralleled in many cases by Svoronos' sequence of plates.

between crescents found on bronze money and also on the silver series inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΟΝ dates them both alike in the year 87/6, at the time when the influence of the Pontic king and his partisan Aristion was paramount in Athens.

However, in many cases where the bronze can be related to the silver, the latter is not definitely datable and one is thrown back upon stylistic considerations. That these apply to the bronze as well as to the silver is evident from a comparison of coins such as nos. 19-20 on plate 81 of Svoronos with nos. 38-42 on plate 79. The fabric, too, differs radically with various pieces. So the specimens which are of superior style are composed of good quality bronze, light in appearance and with the same tendency to flake away when exposed to adverse burial conditions that one finds in third century Athenian bronze. On the contrary the flans of the coins which are of inferior style are solid, thick and dark in color, more nearly comparable with those struck in Imperial times. Coins which may be given a more or less definite date<sup>24</sup> amply confirm the stylistic and textural development outlined above. As in the case of the silver, the designations of good, fair, and poor have only a general application; within these categories it is not so easy to make any progressive arrangement of the series.

In attempting to link the "cleruchy" issues with New Style money, we must depend upon style and fabric as one basis of comparison. Another will be provided by chemical analysis,<sup>25</sup> since many examples of New Style and of "cleruchy" bronze have been studied in the laboratory and a correspondence in their alloys should strengthen the case for the Athenian mint. One may hope for additional information from topography when the coins come from significant deposits in the Agora, and finally history, prosopography, and die sequences may furnish useful clues.

A study of the "cleruchy" issues from all these angles should prove conclusively whether or not they are New Style bronze. If, as I believe, they are to be included in that category and if they can be given a definite date, our knowledge of that numismatic series will have been advanced. And it is undoubtedly true that in the final resolution of the chronological order of the New Style currency the bronze issues, as well as the silver, have a definite contribution to make.

<sup>24</sup> Nos. 1-16 on plate 81 of Svoronos (late third or early second century); nos. 45-48 on plate 81 (87/6 B.C.); and nos. 38-42 on plate 79 (time of Augustus). See Plate I, Nos. 9-11 for New Style money of early, middle, and late date.

<sup>25</sup> E. R. Caley, *The Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins*. The statistics for Athenian money have been assembled in Appendix I, and there one can clearly see the continual deterioration in metallic content from the coins of the fourth century to those of the Imperial period. This is especially apparent in the use of increasingly great amounts of lead, an economy measure which may have been caused by financial or commercial difficulties (Caley, *op. cit.*, pp. 186 ff.).

## "ELEUSIS"

Ob. Head of Athena r. with crested Corinthian helmet; border of dots.

Re. A Θ E Demeter in long chiton standing r., holding torch with both hands; in front, kerchnos; all in wreath.

Plate I, No. 1; Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 13-14.

This issue bears the closest surface resemblance to New Style bronze. It has the Athena-head obverse and A Θ E on the reverse; its general appearance is very similar to that of New Style money; and its use of an Eleusinian type, which would seem to be Svoronos' only reason for assigning it to that mint, is duplicated in 23 other series of the New Style coinage. Finally, as in the case of other New Style bronze, the type can be linked with that of a silver issue.

The coins are not well preserved on the whole, but it seems fairly certain that the figure represented on the reverse is Demeter holding a long torch.<sup>26</sup> The portrayal of an Eleusinian goddess with a torch or torches occurs on several New Style issues,<sup>27</sup> but the only exact duplication of our figure, as regards pose and dress, is found on the series of ΔΕΥΚΙΟΣ-ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ (Svoronos, pl. 73, nos. 14-15). There two figures are placed side by side, the one at the right a draped goddess with a torch and the one at the left a figure in short chiton holding two torches and hastening left.

Evidence that this is the right silver prototype for our coins is provided by a bronze half-unit (Svoronos, pl. 81, nos. 53-56) on which the running Artemis or Kore is very similar in appearance to the left-hand figure on the ΔΕΥΚΙΟΣ-ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ money. In his plates Svoronos, presumably on grounds of style, has associated the bronze half-unit with this particular silver issue. The fractional piece has, however, been linked with no corresponding bronze unit, which is an unusual condition. It seems to me almost certain that it should be connected with our Demeter coins, the latter types having been minted as the larger denominations for the Artemis or Kore pieces. The two together reproduce very accurately the complete silver representation and they are, moreover, closely bound by a similarity of style (compare nos. 53-56 of pl. 81 with nos. 13-14 of pl. 25), most significantly expressed by the use on both obverses of a crested Corinthian helmet for Athena's headdress. The Promachos helmet is ordinarily found on New Style bronze in association with a Zeus reverse, rarely with other types. Its appearance here is another link between

<sup>26</sup> For this type of torch with clearly defined flames, compare the one which is carried by Kore in the illustration on plate IZ' of the *J.I.A.N.*, IV, 1901.

<sup>27</sup> ΦΑΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ (Svoronos, pl. 61); ΧΑΡΙΝΑΥΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ (pl. 61); ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ-ΧΑΡΙΝΑΥΤΗΣ (pl. 62); ΑΜΦΙΑΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΑΟΣ (pl. 70). That the association is on the basis of the female figure rather than of the kerchnos, which is placed in the right field, would seem indicated by the fact that the kerchnos symbol is reproduced on two other bronze issues (pl. 79, no. 35, and pl. 81, nos. 22-24).

the two denominations, both of which are, I believe, to be related to the silver of  $\Lambda\epsilon\tau\kappa\iota\omicron\varsigma$ – $\text{ANTI}\kappa\text{PATH}\varsigma$ .

In attempting to date the bronze money, there is no assistance to be gained from topography, as none of the three Agora specimens was taken from datable filling. The only closed deposit, to the best of my knowledge, in which such types have been found is a pot burial of  $\text{AE}$  coins in the cellar of a house on the North Slope of the Acropolis.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately the components of the hoard are incompletely described, so that one cannot reach any definite conclusions as to the date of its burial, but it is interesting to note that along with 34 coins of undoubted New Style mintage, there are also three of our “Eleusis” pieces, two of “Peparethos” with the Dionysos and Zeus heads, and one of “Skiathos.” In view of the relative smallness of the hoard it is thoroughly incredible that it should include six “cleruchy” coins, representing three different proveniences. Thus the group provides additional indication of Athenian origin for the so-called “cleruchy” types.

Chemical analysis shows the following composition for one of the Demeter types: *Cu* 80.48, *Sn* 8.74, *Pb* 10.45 (Caley, *op. cit.*, p. 52, table IX, no. 10). If these proportions are compared with those of other Athenian coins as outlined in Appendix I, it is apparent that the alloy of our type resembles that of New Style money. It is somewhat better in quality than the  $\text{B}\alpha\varsigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\ \text{M}\iota\theta\rho\alpha\Delta\alpha\theta\eta\varsigma$ – $\text{A}\Pi\epsilon\tau\iota\omega\text{N}$  bronze of 86 B.C., but on the whole is inferior to most New Style issues insofar as the series have been analyzed. In confirmation of the metallic evidence, the fabric of the Agora pieces would certainly justify a grouping in the median period of the New Style money, fairly close to the Mithridatic issue.

It is no easier to arrive at a definite date by means of the silver prototype. Money of  $\Lambda\epsilon\tau\kappa\iota\omicron\varsigma$ – $\text{ANTI}\kappa\text{PATH}\varsigma$  is not found in hoards laid away at the time of Sulla,<sup>29</sup> which would apparently place it after 86 B.C. On the other hand this is a relatively minor issue, which fact may explain its absence from the hoards. Leukios is known in Attic prosopography. An individual of that name was archon in 59/8 B.C.,<sup>30</sup> and it is on the assumption that the same man served as mint magistrate that Head places the silver issue at about that time (*Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 387). The date is rather late. The evidence of the style of the silver coins and also of the fabric, style, and chemical analysis of the bronze would suggest a period nearer 86 B.C. Antikrates, the second magistrate, may be identical with a priest of Apollo at Delos in the archonship of Medeios (101/100 B.C.) and with the polemarch of 96/5 B.C.<sup>31</sup> If an early first century date is correct for our coins, the mint magistrate Leukios may be the father of

<sup>28</sup> S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards* (*N. N. and M.*, no. 78), Hoard no. 102.

<sup>29</sup> Appendix II.

<sup>30</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 280. The archon dates used throughout the article are based on Dinsmoor unless otherwise noted.

<sup>31</sup> J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 1082.

the mid-century archon, perhaps Leukios of Marathon mentioned in a dedicatory inscription of the first century B.C.<sup>32</sup>

In studying the silver issue, it was noted that another series, that of ΑΠΟΛΗΞΙΣ-ΑΥΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ (Svoronos, pl. 70, nos. 13-14), is of very similar style. The obverse dies, if not identical, are certainly so close in workmanship as to be interpretable as model and copy. At first glance the new coins of Apolexis and Lysander do not help greatly; they are pieces of another relatively minor issue, and are also not found in the hoards of Delos, etc. Yet the name Lysander may be connected with two other series (those of ΑΥΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ and ΑΜΦΙΑΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ) which, because of similarity of style, repeated use of Eleusinian symbols and intertwining of magistrates' names, may possibly be more or less contemporary with the ΑΠΟΛΗΞΙΣ-ΑΥΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ and ΔΕΥΚΙΟΣ-ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ issues. Stylistically the two latter issues would seem slightly later in date and, in fact, the ΑΥΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ and ΑΜΦΙΑΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ types are found in pre-Sullan hoards.<sup>33</sup>

ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΑΜΦΙΟΥ is probably the man listed as βασιλεύς in an inscription now dated in 88/7 (I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1714 = Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 144-146). Amphias, serving with him as mint magistrate, may be either his father or a brother. There is a ΑΥΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΗΞΙΔΟΣ who is archon in 52/1 B.C. and who might be the son of our Apolexis, the ephebe of 117/6 and mint magistrate with his brother Lysander ca. 88 B.C., according to Kirchner (*P.A.*, 9294). The stylistic affinity between the two series of Oinophilos, one issued with Amphias and one with Lysander, makes it impossible to consider that we have here two different men. Whether both Lysanders were mint magistrates, one officiating before Sulla and one about the mid-first century, cannot be finally known, although I should be inclined to think that the style of the ΑΠΟΛΗΞΙΣ-ΑΥΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ issue, and therefore of the ΔΕΥΚΙΟΣ-ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ one, which concerns us most directly, should not be placed so late.<sup>34</sup> Rather, the same Lysander may be considered to have held the mint office twice, once before 86 with Oinophilos and again slightly later with his brother Apolexis.

One finds, then, that the Demeter coins are fairly close to the Mithridates issue in fabric, chemical analysis, and style. The silver issue has some association with mint magistrates of early first century date, but is not found in hoards buried in

<sup>32</sup> I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 4710.

<sup>33</sup> Although both ΑΜΦΙΑΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ pieces occur in the hoard which is open to suspicion (see Appendix II), a ΑΥΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ type was found with nine other coins of undoubted pre-Sullan date "dans un cachette sous un mur" of a Delian house (*J.I.A.N.*, XV, 1913, pp. 40-41). Another ΑΥΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ coin found on Delos cannot be associated with a definite burial date (*J.I.A.N.*, X, 1907, p. 212).

<sup>34</sup> They are not inferior in style to the specimens of ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ (Svoronos, pls. 76-77), which were issued before Sulla, and certainly they are much earlier than degenerate types like those of pl. 71, nos. 19-20 and 30-32 which, as will be shown later, are probably close to the Imperial period.

Sullan times. Both silver and bronze are scanty issues. A suggested date which takes all of these factors into consideration would be shortly after 86 B.C., interpreting the money as among the first products of the post-Sullan mint. That there was a temporary cessation of coinage in 86 B.C. is probable, but it is unlikely that the interruption was of long duration. Sulla was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries in 84 B.C. In the following year upon his return from Asia, the Athenians inaugurated a festival in his honor, the *Sulleia*,<sup>35</sup> which would assuredly indicate a reconciliation and a restoration of Athenian privileges. The festivities connected with his initiation or with his games would require currency, on which Eleusinian symbols might be fittingly impressed, but because of the poverty of the city the issue would be only a minor one. That it was under the control of Leukios, a mint magistrate with a Roman name, is indicative of the change from Mithridatic to Roman domination.

### “SKIATHOS”

Ob. Gorgoneion

Re. A Θ E Athena advancing r. with aegis,  
helmet, and spear.

Plate I, No. 2; Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 22-28.

The obverse of this type represents a decided innovation in the standard monetary practice. So unusual is it to find the Athena head removed from its place of honor that Svoronos' attempt to disassociate the coins from the mint of Athens is fully understandable. Even more truly than the “Eleusis” money, these pieces will form a test case. If they can be proved conclusively to be Athenian bronze, then the other alien issues which will be discussed later may more easily be attributed to the same source.

The burden of proof with money stamped A Θ E is not to show that it is Athenian but to prove it non-Athenian with good and sufficient grounds for such a theory. This Svoronos has failed to do. His case for Skiathos presumably rests upon the fact that at one time Skiathos may have been an Athenian dependency and that the Gorgoneion was a Skiathos device.<sup>36</sup>

Although fourth century Skiathos had Athenian ties, there is every reason to doubt that between 255 and 229 B.C. the relationship between Athens and the Magnesian island was sufficiently strong to encourage a subsidiary coinage. Likewise the use of the Gorgoneion by Skiathos is not conclusive evidence for assigning our types to that mint. The value of the Medusa symbol for purposes of mint identification is somewhat invalidated by its widespread use as a coin type. Athens and Euboea in

<sup>35</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039; cf. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 236.

<sup>36</sup> *B.M.C.*, *Thessaly*, pl. XI, no. 19. Svoronos himself seems none too confident of his theory since he puts a question mark after Skiathos in his cleruchy list and also groups some of the bronze on the same plate as New Style silver of ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ (pl. 66).

early times, the Peloponnese, Asia Minor, Lesbos, the Pontic lands, and Macedonia are all districts in which it was of common occurrence.<sup>37</sup> Skiathos did use the Gorgoneion, but so did Athens; indeed it was one of the two official coats-of-arms of the latter city. As such it was stamped on dicast tickets and was even set up in a prominent place on the Acropolis itself to ward off evil from the Athenian citadel.<sup>38</sup>

Athens had as good a claim to our obverse type as did Skiathos. The reverse type, Athena advancing r. with a spear and aegis, is almost identical with representations of the goddess used on undisputed New Style currency (Svoronos, pl. 80, nos. 29-35) and carried over into the Imperial period (*ibid.*, pl. 84, nos. 31-35). Finally there is the clear and unqualified lettering, Α Θ Ε, to mark the money as Athenian.

Even the most superficial comparison of these coins with other types of Athenian money indicates their close relationship with New Style bronze. So nearly identical is the fabric and size of the "Skiathos" flan with that of certain New Style pieces that, given complete obliteration of the impressed types, it would be almost impossible to distinguish between them. This striking rapprochement of fabric and flan is overlooked or disregarded by Svoronos when he separates the "Skiathos" type from the New Style money because of the former's unusual devices.

The Gorgoneion coins are most similar to the Mithridates issues of 87/6 B.C. The two types are stamped on dark flans of substantial and durable quality, free from the leaded appearance of a series like that with the cicada symbol (Svoronos, pl. 79, nos. 38-42) which Head places tentatively after 30 B.C. and which must certainly be near the end of the New Style era.

Apart from the similarities of fabric the "Skiathos" issues and those of Mithridates are linked in striking fashion by the results of metallic analysis.<sup>39</sup>

	<i>Cu</i>	<i>Sn</i>	<i>Pb</i>
"Skiathos" . . . . .	78.25	7.30	13.83
Mithridates bronze . . . . .	78.21	7.56	13.26
(Star and crescents)			

This is a remarkably close correspondence in alloys. Of another group of coins showing similar relationship, Professor Caley remarks that "such agreement in analytical results might reasonably be expected from different analysts working independently on the same specimen of ancient bronze. Therefore, it seems possible that

<sup>37</sup> Anson, *Numismata Graeca*, VI, pls. VIII-X.

<sup>38</sup> C. T. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion*, p. 50. Pausanias (I, 21; V, 12) saw on the wall facing the Theatre of Dionysos a gilded head of the Gorgon Medusa. This was set up in replacement of an earlier device by Antiochus IV, 175-164 B.C. (Clermont-Ganneau, *Journal asiatique*, 7th series, X, 1877, pp. 212-215). The same Antiochus served as Athenian mint magistrate (Svoronos, pl. 44) before his accession to the throne of Syria, but his term of office is too early to be connected with our Gorgoneion type.

<sup>39</sup> Caley, *op. cit.*, p. 41, table VI, no. 6; p. 52, table IX, no. 8.

these three coins may have been produced from the same batch of alloy.”<sup>40</sup> Certainly one is justified in concluding that the “Skiathos” money and the New Style bronze with star and crescent symbol belong to the same minting period.

From the excavation data the results are not so definite, although in a general way several interesting conclusions can be drawn. Of the 42 coins from the Agora, five come from deposits which are to some extent “closed” and datable.

(1) This first provenience is a filling at the bottom of a great drain which dates from the second century B.C. The particular deposit in which one “Skiathos” coin was found had 80 identifiable pieces, ranging in time from the late fourth century through the New Style period. The great majority of the coins (52) were either Athenian New Style or Delos issues of the second and first centuries B.C. This span is too wide to be of great value, and a drain is never quite free from suspicion of intrusion, but it is to be noted that the predominant types accompanying the “Skiathos” piece are those of the New Style and of Delos.

(2) In a cistern of Section NN twelve coins were found in association with pottery that is consistently late first century B.C. In addition to the “Skiathos” specimen there were 4 early pieces (fourth and third centuries); 2 Eleusinian coins, one of which can with good reason be attributed to the same period as the pottery (Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 57-64); 2 Delian types which must have been struck after 166 B.C.; and 3 New Style issues (one of late date; one of 87/6 B.C., Svoronos, pl. 81, nos. 45-48; and one of *ca.* 30 B.C., Svoronos, pl. 79, nos. 38-42). Evidence derived from the pottery and from the majority of the coins tends to substantiate a first century date for the “Skiathos” money.

(3) Four coins were taken from a context in Section I dated between the middle of the first century B.C. and the middle of the first century after Christ. One was a “Skiathos” issue; the others were Athenian New Style (one dated 30 B.C., Svoronos, pl. 79, nos. 38-42; and one other, on grounds of style, in the late first century, Svoronos, pl. 80, nos. 29-32).

(4) In Section I again a group of coins was uncovered close to stereo, in a context of the mid-first century after Christ: 1 “Skiathos”; 1 “Peparethos” (Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 36-42); 6 New Style (3 of late date, Svoronos, pl. 80, nos. 1-7, 29-32, and 37-40; 1 of *ca.* 50 B.C., Svoronos, pl. 79, nos. 29-31; and 1 after 30 B.C., Svoronos, pl. 79, nos. 38-42); 1 Eleusis or Athens (Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 38-45); together with 3 Imperial (2 of the Augustan period and 1 of the second century after Christ). Save for the one late Imperial issue, which might represent an intrusion, the other datable coins all fall in the mid and late first century B.C.

(5) A burned filling in Section N', over bedrock cuttings for seats,<sup>41</sup> produced

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>41</sup> The building, an Odeion, is probably to be connected with Agrippa. This construction period would be admirably confirmed by the coins, although the burned fill in which they were found is



5 coins: 1 "Skiathos," 1 "Peparethos" (Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 29-32), 2 New Style (late on the evidence of fabric, Svoronos, pl. 80, nos. 29-34), and 1 Athenian Imperial of the Augustan era.<sup>42</sup> The only definite date is that of the Imperial piece, but significantly the "Peparethos" and "Skiathos" types are associated here with New Style money of late date.

The value of these groups is general rather than specific; nevertheless it is worth noting that in four cases out of five the context in which the "Skiathos" coins were discovered is dated in the first century B.C. or slightly later, while the one earlier deposit, the drain, cannot be considered as completely untainted evidence. Time after time the "Skiathos" money is connected with New Style pieces, especially with New Style of late date (star and crescent, advancing Athena, cicada types). One may safely assert that the topographical evidence points to a first-century date.

The assignment of the bronze coins to one definite year within the first century is made possible by information obtained from the corresponding silver tetradrachmas. It is obvious that the outstanding device on the "Skiathos" issue is not the advancing Athena which it shares with a "Peparethos" coin and with two New Style types. It is rather the Gorgoneion, a unique symbol on New Style bronze and one which is especially emphasized on this series by the prominent position it has been given as an obverse type. Among the silver tetradrachmas those minted by ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ are stamped with a Gorgoneion, and if our bronze is to be linked with a silver series, it must be with this one.<sup>43</sup>

Fortunately we have evidence regarding the ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ money which enables us to date it with absolute accuracy. In the first place it is found in all the hoards buried about the time of the Mithridatic Wars (Appendix II), and it must, therefore, have been issued before 86 B.C. Yet it cannot belong to a period much earlier than that date because in the Zarova and Halmyros hoards it is among the series which are in the best state of preservation and which are accordingly to be considered of latest emission.

More important still, Kambanis, in studying the Halmyros hoard, discovered that the obverse dies from the last issues of ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ (those with M on the amphora beneath the owl) were used in many cases for the earliest tetradrachmas of ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ (those with A on the amphora). The same minting sequence is apparent in three or more ateliers<sup>44</sup> and in addition one third magistrate,

the result of the Herulian destruction of 267 A.D. (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 6-14, and IX, 1940, pp. 304-5). I am indebted to H. A. Thompson of the Agora staff for his tentative conclusions regarding the date of the building.

<sup>42</sup> An interesting coincidence, although it can be nothing more, is the occurrence in this one deposit of the four different reverse representations of Athena advancing with spear and aegis (Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 22-28, 29-32, and pl. 80, nos. 29-34).

<sup>43</sup> Svoronos, pl. 66.

<sup>44</sup> *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 129.

ΔΡΟΜΟ(ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ)<sup>45</sup> by name, is shared by both series.<sup>46</sup> No more conclusive proof could be marshalled to link the two issues.

The great value of an established connection between ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ and ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ lies in the fact that the latter series is almost universally attributed to the year 88/7. In that year Aristion, returning from a successful visit to Mithridates with ample promises and Pontic troops to back them, was acclaimed by the Athenians and elected strategos with full powers. The money which he struck in unison with Philon was stamped with the drinking Pegasos, an unmistakably Mithridatic symbol.<sup>47</sup> According to the archon lists<sup>48</sup> the year 88/7 was one of anarchy, during which the oligarchic power of Medeios (archon from 91 to 88 B.C.) was overthrown and the pro-Mithridatic faction came into power. What more likely than a commemoration of the victory by the impressing of the party symbol on the coinage? In the following year a further step was taken and Aristion united his name with that of King Mithridates, using the latter's official emblem, the star and crescents. We have, then, a very neat sequence of money: ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ in 89/8, ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ in 88/7, and ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ in 87/6, the last issue interrupted by the sack of Athens in March of 86 B.C.<sup>49</sup>

The Gorgoneion may be interpreted as a Pontic symbol<sup>50</sup> indicating the rising

<sup>45</sup> Possibly the ephebe of 119/8 (*P.A.*, 4566).

<sup>46</sup> Sundwall, *Fin. Vet.-Soc. Förhandlingar*, XLIX, 1906/7, pp. 51, 69. Money of ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ is assigned to ca. 125 by Sundwall (p. 52), that of ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ to 88/7 (p. 69).

<sup>47</sup> *B.M.C., Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of Bosporus*, pl. VIII.

<sup>48</sup> Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 283; cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 145-146.

<sup>49</sup> Kambanis disagrees with this dating. He believes, of course, that the ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ and ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ series are allied in time, but he separates them by some 28 years from the series of ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ. The first two issues have three magistrates, the last has only two, and Kambanis assumes that ca. 108/7 the double check replaced the triple (*B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, pp. 127 ff., and LXII, 1938, pp. 71 ff.). The ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ and ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ tetradrachmas he dates ca. 114 B.C.; those of ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ in 87/6, at which time he assumes that Aristion is holding office for a second term. Historically the separation of the Aristion issues is indefensible, and when one finds them both described as "stempel-frisch" in a hoard which must have been laid down in 86 B.C., it is impossible to believe that they were minted some thirty years apart.

Kambanis' arbitrary division of the New Style series according to the number of magistrates in control of the money is a logical one, yet his insistence on it involves him in numerous difficulties. (See Appendix II, note 96.) It requires less twisting of the evidence simply to note that the period between 103 and 86 B.C. was not guided by logic and that at a time when archons were breaking precedents by second and third terms, one could scarcely be surprised at a fluctuating system of monetary control.

<sup>50</sup> Waddington, Babelon, Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, I, 1, p. 8. The Pontic kings used the star and crescent as the hall mark of their dynasty from Mithridates III on. Mithridates IV used the device of Perseus holding the head of Medusa, Perseus being the legendary ancestor of the Persians from whom the Mithridatic house was descended. Mithridates Eupator employed a Pegasos, the horse born from the blood of the Gorgon killed by Perseus.

It is barely possible that two tiny gold coins described by Svoronos (*J.I.A.N.*, XXI, 1927,

influence of that faction, or it may have been simply intended as a revival of an old familiar Athenian device.<sup>51</sup> Whatever the reason for its choice, there can be no doubt that it marks one of the few absolutely datable series of New Style silver and bronze, a series assignable to the year 89/8 on the multiple evidence of style, history, chemistry, excavation data, and matched dies.

### "PEPARETHOS"

#### *Unit*

Ob. Head of youthful Dionysos r., ivy-crowned;  
border of dots.      Re. A Θ E Athena advancing r., carrying aegis  
and spear.

Plate I, No. 3; Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 29-32.

#### *Half-Unit*

Ob. Head of youthful Dionysos r., ivy-crowned;  
border of dots.      Re. A Θ E Kantharos.

Plate I, No. 4; Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 33-35.

The "Peparethos" money, like that of "Skiathos," is almost indistinguishable in fabric and lettering from New Style currency. Moreover, 148 coins have been found in the Athenian Agora, usually in close conjunction with New Style money. The devices, although admittedly deviating from ordinary Athenian forms, are not bound any more closely to Peparethos than to any other site where the worship of Dionysos was especially prevalent.<sup>52</sup> In balancing the sum of the evidence it seems as though considerations of fabric, lettering, and find-spots should weigh more heavily than the fact that the Athenian mint has made use of some alien obverse and reverse types,<sup>53</sup> for which aberration there may have been historical reasons.

There are four distinct groups of coins assigned by Svoronos to Peparethos, and all are found in the Agora.<sup>54</sup> They divide into two separate issues, each with a standard

pp. 147 ff.) as having a Gorgoneion on the obverse and an owl on the reverse may be reflections of the monetary exhaustion of 86 B.C., when the blockade of Sulla cut off the silver supply and, as in times past, the temple treasures were melted down to tide over the emergency. If these two coins are to be related to the Mithridatic gold current at the time, then we have an interesting recurrence on gold, silver, and bronze of the Gorgoneion device and almost definite proof that it was intended to have a Mithridatic application.

<sup>51</sup> The Gorgoneion may be connected with pro-Mithridatic sentiments on the part of Niketes and Dionysios who, taking office during the last archonship of Medeios, could only express their partisanship by the choice of a symbol which was Mithridatic but which was also capable of an Athenian interpretation.

<sup>52</sup> Andros, among other places, has as good a claim to them as Peparethos (*B.M.C., Crete and the Aegean Islands*, pl. XX).

<sup>53</sup> Two reverse types, the advancing Athena and the tiny head of that goddess (Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 29-32, 43-50) cannot be called alien, and significantly enough the former type is used on pieces of certain New Style mintage and also on the "Skiathos" coins which too are New Style.

<sup>54</sup> Dionysos and advancing Athena (15 pieces); Dionysos and kantharos (13); Zeus and Dionysos heads (91); Dionysos and Athena heads (29).

and a fractional denomination. A youthful Dionysos head serves as obverse type for both a unit and a half-unit size, the former having an advancing Athena on the reverse and the latter a kantharos. Similarly a bearded Dionysos head is repeated on both standard and fractional pieces of another series. There is no reason for assuming that all four groups were contemporary; in fact, if this is New Style money a duplication of unit denominations is unthinkable, and the coins must be assigned to two distinct periods of mintage. The present discussion will deal first with the issues using the youthful Dionysos head on the obverse.

If these coins are New Style bronze, they must, as is almost invariably the case, be connected with a silver issue and, as is obvious from the stress which is laid upon Dionysos and his attributes, with a silver issue on which such symbols are employed. There is no published silver with a Dionysos head or a kantharos as a distinguishing emblem, but there are several tetradrachmas with a standing or seated figure of Dionysos holding a kantharos, and it may be assumed that our bronze is using the head of the god and his cup as a form of shorthand for the deity himself. Such abbreviation occurs on silver drachmas and also on bronze issues and is in no way an unusual procedure.<sup>55</sup> The intention may have been conservation of space, a better composition for the coin, or a desire to emphasize Dionysos by placing his type on the obverse instead of the reverse, thus making it necessary to use only the head.

The known silver series with either a figure of Dionysos or a Dionysiac attribute are as follows:

(1) The thyrsos on an issue with two monograms. Svoronos, pl. 37.

(2) A standing figure holding a thyrsos or sceptre (either Demeter or Dionysos, probably the former). Magistrates: ΔΙΟΓΕ-ΠΟΣΕΙ. Svoronos, pl. 46.

(3) A standing figure of a youthful Dionysos in long robes, holding a mask and a thyrsos. Magistrates: ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΠΟΣΗΣ. Svoronos, pl. 65.

(4) A seated figure of a bearded Dionysos (the Alkamenes type) holding a thyrsos and a kantharos. Magistrates: ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ-ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ. Svoronos, pl. 71.

(5) A standing figure of a youthful Dionysos wearing a short chiton and holding a thyrsos and a kantharos. Magistrates: ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ. Svoronos, pl. 72.

(6) A standing figure of a bearded Dionysos with long robes and holding a kantharos and a thyrsos. Magistrates: ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΗΡΩΔΗΣ. Svoronos, pl. 78.

(7) A thyrsos. Magistrates: ΑΡΧΙΤΙΜΟΣ-ΙΑΜΜΕΝΗΣ. Svoronos, pl. 70.

<sup>55</sup> The staff of Asklepios replaces the standing figure of that god on the drachmas issued by ΜΕΝΕΔ-ΕΠΙΤΕΝΟ. If, as is likely, the bronze issue of Artemis with a torch is to be linked with the silver of ΑΕΥΚΙΟΣ-ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ, it is another example of abbreviation. So also the bronze tripod type of Svoronos, pl. 72. On the other hand Helios in a quadriga, one of the most elaborate devices used on the tetradrachmas, is reproduced in full on the drachma (Svoronos, pl. 52). The choice of complete or partial reproduction must have been simply a matter of individual preference.

The two thyrsos issues may be discarded at once, as the same device would undoubtedly have been used instead of the kantharos for the bronze money. One may also hesitate to join our coins with the ΔΙΟΓΕ-ΠΟΣΕΙ series since the identity of the figure is not definitely ascertainable and the early style of the Athena head, combined with the abbreviated form of the magistrates' names, indicates a date earlier than could possibly be accepted for the "Peparethos" types. The four remaining possibilities divide into two bearded and two youthful representations of the god and, our bronze heads being clearly of the latter type, it seems reasonable to assume that their silver counterparts were issued either by ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΠΟΣΗΣ or by ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ.

Three factors help in choosing between the two series. In that of ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΠΟΣΗΣ, Dionysos is portrayed with a thyrsos and a mask. The kantharos does not appear, and it would seem illogical that on the bronze the kantharos should have been substituted for the thyrsos or the mask, both of which are easily adaptable as reverse types. Also the ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΠΟΣΗΣ series, as indicated by its inclusion in the hoards of Appendix II, was minted before 86 B.C. while the ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ money may, by virtue of its absence from those same hoards, be dated after the Mithridatic Wars. Our bronzes, for reasons of fabric, chemical analysis, and topographical location are much more likely to have been minted after 86 B.C. than before.

The third link between our issues and those of ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ is established by prosopography. In an inscription of the late second century B.C.<sup>56</sup> ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΥ ΙΚΑΠΙΕΥΣ is mentioned among various prominent citizens residing in Athens at that period. The reappearance of the name Mnasagoras, an unusual one in Attic records, leads us to believe that this same man is the mint magistrate who was associated with Aropos on a series issued ca. 94 B.C.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile two sons of Mnasagoras, Adeimantos and Dionysios, participated in the Pythaid of 98/7 under the archon Argeios (G. Colin, *Le culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes*, p. 50), and later in 89/8 Dionysios served with Niketes as mint magistrate for a New Style series of bronze money on which he placed an unusual obverse type, the Gorgoneion, and a reverse type showing an advancing Athena.<sup>58</sup> When one finds another

<sup>56</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2452.

<sup>57</sup> Aropos was agonomethes ca. 94 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, pp. 66-67 [= II<sup>2</sup>, 4936]; *P.A.*, 2244); his coins use the symbol of a winged Agon crowning himself. That they belong near 86 B.C. is shown by the fact that they are among the best preserved pieces in the Zarova and Halmyros hoards and also by the fact that stylistically they are close to the ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ series.

<sup>58</sup> This advancing Athena type occurs on four issues. In the ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ series she is a simple graceful girl walking to the right, carrying a helmet and an aegis and holding a poised spear. Beneath the spear are the letters Α Θ Ε. In the "Peparethos" money the position of the letters and the attributes of Athena are identical; perhaps one can see in the somewhat stiffer pose and drapery of the figure itself a further development in the direction of the highly stylized goddess who appears on the two late New Style series (Svoronos, pl. 80, nos. 29-34). On these Athena's dress is cut in deep folds and she takes an artificial pose as she prepares to ward off

bronze series on which an unusual obverse device replaces the traditional Athena head and on which exactly the same reverse type is used and when, furthermore, the bronze can be connected with a silver series struck by the magistrates Dionysios and Mnasagoras, one has little difficulty in deciding that the Dionysios of 89/8 is serving as mint magistrate for a second time.<sup>59</sup>

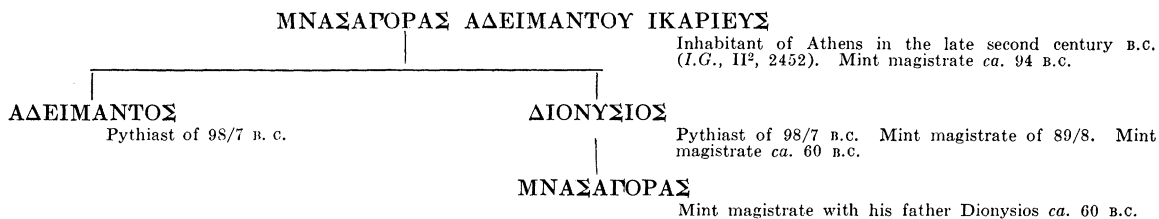
As to the exact date when Dionysios and Mnasagoras held office, we have little definite information from either the silver or the bronze. That it must have been after 86 B.C. seems certain from the absence of these pieces from all the hoards buried about that date. Stylistically, although this can be only a general criterion, one would venture to place the issue later than the Mithridates money of 87/6 and yet not so late as the end of the New Style series.<sup>60</sup>

Chemical analysis of the bronze gives it an intermediate position between the types of 87/6 and those of the early Imperial period.<sup>61</sup>

	<i>Cu</i>	<i>Sn</i>	<i>Pb</i>
Mithridates . . . . .	78.21	7.56	13.26
"Peparethos" . . . . .	73.16	7.54	18.82
Athenian Imperial . . . . .	70.55	5.93	23.03
(1st Cent. A.D.)			

enemies. Her aegis has been discarded and, in its place, an owl or a serpent is represented in front of her. The lettering also has been shifted; all three letters are in the upper field (compare Plate I, Nos. 2, 3, and 11).

<sup>59</sup> The magistrate serving with him may be his son, especially as he is given a secondary place on the money. The family history would read as follows:



This stemma differs from the one given by Roussel (*Délos colonie athénienne*, p. 103; cf. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2333, line 7) in making Mnasagoras the son, not the brother, of Dionysios.

The gap between Dionysios' two terms as mint magistrate is not an impossibly long one, assuming that in 89/8 he was still a young man. Evidence that the mint magistrates were not always men of established position is afforded by the fact that Niketes, partner of Dionysios on the Gorgoneion money, later held the archonship of 84/3 (Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 42). At this period administrative offices were given to those who could bear the financial burdens involved (Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 146, believes that the anarchy of 88/7 was due to the lack of a wealthy and willing candidate). Youth would seemingly be no great barrier to office-holding.

<sup>60</sup> Compare the ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ-MΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ types with those of ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ (*Numismatic Chronicle*, series 3, I, 1881, pl. IV, nos. 3-4); also with Svoronos, pl. 71, nos. 19-20, which must be among the latest issues of the New Style due to the use of the cursive omega.

<sup>61</sup> Caley, *Comp. of Ancient Gr. Bronze Coins*, p. 41, table VI, no. 6; p. 52, table IX, no. 9; p. 26, table IV, no. 7.

Topographical clues are not especially helpful for these issues, as the only restricted filling in which they were found was that of the Odeion mentioned above (p. 214). The coins of that deposit range in date from 89/8 to Augustus and it is probable that our money should be placed within that span of years. At the same time in assigning the coins to a post-Sullan era it must be remembered that if Dionysios of 89/8 is acting as mint magistrate for a second time, the gap between his two tenures of office cannot be an impossibly extended one.

It remains to be seen whether there are any historical indications which would help to date the issue and to explain why it places such emphasis on Dionysos.

One has no difficulty in connecting Dionysos with the city of Athens, of which he was one of the chief divinities and where the celebration of his festival, the Great or City Dionysia, was one of the most brilliant of all the civic spectacles. No less important than the Eleusinia and the Panathenaia, the rites of Dionysos attracted visitors from all parts of Greece who thronged into the city to witness the dramatic representations and to participate in the colorful *πομπή* in which the Athenians escorted their god with solemn and elaborate ritual through the streets, past the sacred shrines, to his Theatre where, as the honored guest, he could enjoy the plays.<sup>62</sup>

Since we possess, in the coinage of Athens from an earlier and a later period,<sup>63</sup> evidence that festivals were commemorated on the city's currency, it seems logical to associate our Dionysos types with the one outstanding expression of the worship of Dionysos, the City Dionysia. However, it is quite true that prior to the first century B.C. only one festival, the Eleusinia, had been adopted on the coins. Our money is in measure an innovation, a second step toward the Imperial practice of using the civic ceremonies repeatedly as source material for the currency. Again in contrast to the recurrent use of the Eleusinian symbols over several centuries, we have the Dionysia referred to only once—or at most twice<sup>64</sup>—in the pre-Imperial period. It must be evident, then, that our coins, if they commemorate the Dionysiac rites, commemorate one truly magnificent celebration of them, a celebration so significant as to be worthy of finding a place in unprecedented fashion on the city's currency.

Special festivities might have occurred during a visit paid the city by some prominent person whom Athens wished to honor. In the period with which we are dealing, roughly 86-50 B.C., many famous personages made their way to Athens,

<sup>62</sup> Some idea of the elaborate ceremonies of the Dionysia can be gained from the reflection that at one time they were under the direction of the highest official of the state, the archon eponymos, and that the cavalry was partly maintained even during peace for the benefit of the processions (A. Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, pp. 209 ff.). Pictorial representations of the *πομπή* of Dionysos are given in M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, figs. 139-142.

<sup>63</sup> The Eleusinian types with Triptolemus and the pig, marked A Θ E, are probably to be connected with the celebration of the Eleusinia (Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 264). In the Imperial period there are innumerable coin types which can be interpreted as commemorative of various civic festivals (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 296 ff.).

<sup>64</sup> The second "Peparethos" type with a bearded Dionysos head may represent another attempt.

drawn by the renown of the city, by curiosity, or by the fact that it was along the direct route from Italy to the East. T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, came shortly after the devastation of 86 B.C. and for twenty years made his home in Athens, benefiting it in many ways. Cicero came and was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries in 51 B.C. About the same time Appius Claudius Pulcher erected the Propylaea at Eleusis. Pompey, returning from the East in 62 B.C., stopped in Athens and donated fifty talents for the restoration of public buildings.<sup>65</sup> All of these benefactors would have deserved special honors at the hands of the Athenians and, knowing the tendency of the latter to flattery and demonstrations, one may be sure that their visits were marked by statues, honorary decrees, and elaborate festivities. It may be assumed that the festivals were celebrated with special ceremony and that the men in question participated in them. Even so we are no nearer to a solution of the problem, for it would be hard to choose among so many candidates and to decide which man was being honored by the special Dionysia, indeed to decide why the Dionysia rather than the Panathenaia or some other festival was chosen as the occasion for fêting him.

It would appear more likely that we are dealing here not with a person but rather with an event in which Dionysos or something sacred to his worship was vitally concerned. Such an event may well have been the reconstruction of the Theatre of Dionysos which occurred in this general period and the completion of which would naturally have been the occasion for an especially elaborate celebration of the Dionysiac rites.

Athens was critically wounded in 86 B.C. Many of her inhabitants had been slaughtered, moveable goods and property had been carried off, and fire, as well as siege, had swept away many of her public buildings. The Odeion of Perikles had been destroyed by Aristion as he fled to the Acropolis, in the desperate hope of barring Sulla from that stronghold (Plutarch, *Sulla*, XIV; Appian, *Bell. Mith.*, XII, 6, 38). The Theatre of Dionysos, nearby, could scarcely have escaped damage from that fire and from the siege operations which the Romans carried on from the base of the citadel. Financially, materially, and spiritually Athens was exhausted by her struggle. How many years passed before the natural resilience of the city enabled it to shake off the effects of the holocaust and resume a more normal life is uncertain. Tarn believes that the city never fully recovered and Weil spreads the aftermath over the next two generations.<sup>66</sup> These estimates seem excessively gloomy. Athens had been afflicted before and had recovered. After fifteen or twenty years, with the help of her many powerful friends, the city might be supposed to have drawn new breath. She

<sup>65</sup> W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., p. 97; Plutarch, *Pompey*, XLII; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 55-57, 138; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, I<sup>2</sup>, 775. In addition to these men who had close contact with Athens, we know that Ariobarzanes II of Cappadocia rebuilt the Odeion of Perikles and that Julius Caesar made it possible for work to be started on a new Agora (Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32).

<sup>66</sup> *Hellenistic Civilisation*, p. 39; *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, p. 333.



had strong commercial ties and a well-developed tourist trade. Many influential Romans and foreign rulers visited her and most of them took sufficient interest in her fortunes to make substantial gifts.

One of the first results of civic recovery must have been an attempt to replace damaged buildings, and in the middle of the first century there was a great amount of construction work in Athens. No definite mention is made by historians concerning a rebuilding of the Theatre of Dionysos, but there is archaeological evidence that at this period improvements and repairs were made in it. Changes in the *paraskenia*, the installation of the beautiful seats of honor, and the erection of dedicatory columns date from a post-Sullan period of reconstruction. It is possible that the *proskenion* also was first added at this time and the *scaenae frons* restored.<sup>67</sup> It is almost certain that some of the numerous bases scattered about the theatral precinct held newly dedicated statues to further adorn the refurbished theatre. The generosity of Ariobarzanes may have been responsible for this improvement in the Theatre as well as for the new Odeion. A dedicatory inscription (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3427) cut on a column drum and found in the Theatre of Dionysos is a good reason for believing him connected with both projects. On the other hand it is perfectly possible that either a part of Pompey's fifty talents was used for the work or that T. Pomponius Atticus was responsible. In any case the time of remodelling would likely have been *ca.* 60 B.C., and it is the vicinity of that year that we suggest the placing of the Dionysos coins.

The association of the money with the Dionysia and with the Theatre of Dionysos would amply explain the choice of a Dionysos symbol.<sup>68</sup> The particular type, that of a youthful god in short chiton, is interesting. This is a well-known statuary representation, as is proved by coins reproducing plastic types,<sup>69</sup> by Roman copies of earlier statues,<sup>70</sup> and in particular by a relief on the Phaidros bema of the Theatre of Dionysos itself.<sup>71</sup> The figures of the bema reliefs are late in date, but, as Herbig points out, they are obviously copied from earlier statuary types, some of which have been identified.<sup>72</sup> The particular relief in question commemorates the arrival of the youthful Dionysos in Ikaria.<sup>73</sup> He is shown dressed in short chiton with sleeves and high boots,

<sup>67</sup> Bieber, *Hist. of Gr. and Rom. Theater*, p. 240; E. Fiechter, *Das Dionysostheater in Athen*, I, pp. 62 ff., and III, pp. 77-8; H. Bulle, *Untersuchungen an Griechischen Theatern*, p. 80.

<sup>68</sup> The significance of the different symbols and the standard practice, if such existed, regarding their choice are not definitely known. It would seem that the devices should be given a personal rather than a state interpretation. In many cases, as in the Mithridatic period, they reflect current history, and there is no reason to suppose that many magistrates were not influenced in their selection by civic and religious factors.

<sup>69</sup> *B.M.C., Central Greece*, pl. X, no. 15 (Tanagra).

<sup>70</sup> W. Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, I, 1, p. 1133.

<sup>71</sup> Herbig, *Das Dionysostheater in Athen*, II, pl. X.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57-59.

<sup>73</sup> The cult of Dionysos at Ikaria was celebrated with great splendor, for it was there that the god was believed to have made his first appearance in Attica, as the guest of Ikarios to whom he gave the vine (P. Foucart, "Le culte de Dionysos en Attique," *Mém. Acad. Insc.*, XXXVII, 1904, pt. 2, pp. 43-44, 82-83).

and in his missing hands he probably held the traditional kantharos and thyrsos. It seems fairly evident that in popular lore the deity of Ikaria was a youthful figure wearing a short chiton. When one remembers that the Mnasagoras family came from Ikaria, the connection is obvious. Dionysios may have copied his coin type from a definite statue, of which the Phaidros bema figure is a replica, or he may simply have been influenced in his portrayal by the traditional Ikarian type.

We have, then, Dionysios of Ikaria affiliated with his son Mnasagoras in a mint magistracy at a time when Athens, recovering from her period of despair, has begun to rebuild her shrines and public buildings, among them the Theatre of Dionysos. The City Dionysia that year are to be celebrated with especial magnificence in honor of the newly decorated building. What more appropriate types could Dionysios have found for his money than those of the divine Dionysos—his namesake, the god of the festival, and the patron god of his native deme.

#### *Unit*

Ob. Head of Zeus r. laureate; border of dots.      Re. A Θ E Head of bearded Dionysos r., ivy-crowned.

Plate I, No. 5; Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 38-42.

#### *Quarter-Unit*

Ob. Head of bearded Dionysos r., ivy-crowned.      Re. A Θ E Head of Athena r. with crested Corinthian helmet.

Plate I, No. 6; Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 43-50.

Like the types just discussed these coins are to be associated with Athens rather than with Peparethos. On grounds of quantity alone, the 91 large and 29 small pieces found in the Agora would make one sceptical of an alien origin. In respect to fabric, style, and lettering, they show the same approximation to the New Style bronze as the other "cleruchy" groups. In burial deposits<sup>74</sup> they are again constantly connected with New Style issues. However unusual the devices and the introduction of a new denomination these matters are less disturbing than the supposition that so many coins of New Style fabric belong to a mint outside Athens. Working on the theory that this is New Style money, the problem is one of trying to find its silver prototype and its date.

As in the case of the other "Peparethos" issue, the present pieces are connected in some way with Dionysos and his cult, and must, therefore, be linked with a silver series using the Dionysian symbol. The distinctive bearded head on the bronze money is suggestive of the bearded Dionysos of ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΗΡΩΔΗΣ and ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ-ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ (Series 4 and 6 in the list on page 218). The former series can be attributed to the middle of the first century B.C. with a fair degree of certainty;<sup>75</sup> the latter is

<sup>74</sup> Deposits 1 and 4 described in the "Skiathos" section (p. 214).

<sup>75</sup> Philokrates serves as mint magistrate with Herodes (archon in 60/59) and also with Kalliphon (58/7). Therefore Sundwall (*Fin. Vet.-Soc. Förhandlingar*, L, 1907/8, p. 22) dates the

placed slightly later on equally good grounds.<sup>76</sup> The absence of both issues from hoards of the Mithridatic period and the late style of their obverse heads confirm the accuracy of the prosopographical data.

The choice between a mid and late first-century date cannot be governed by material considerations. The only topographical evidence of any significant value is that of a context of mid-first century after Christ (p. 214; deposit 4) in which a Zeus-Dionysos coin is found with three Athenian Imperial pieces and six Athenian New Style, five of which are of late date and style. Two other coins from the filling are an Eleusis type of apparently late fabric and a "Skiathos" of 89/8 B.C. The composition of the deposit would make valid a late attribution for our pieces but would not enable one to give them a definite date. Likewise chemical analysis,<sup>77</sup> which confirms in most gratifying fashion a belief that the Zeus-Dionysos types are later than any of those previously discussed, cannot specify any exact period of mintage. The chronological determination of the series must be based on history and must also be connected with the fact that in this issue a new denomination replaces the more usual half-unit.

The appearance of a tiny fractional piece in the New Style period is decidedly interesting. Up until this time specimens in half sizes were struck frequently; now there is an attempt to coin a quarter denomination. Although this is an innovation for New Style mints the size of our Dionysos-Athena pieces is not unique in Athenian currency. It is duplicated in an Eleusis type (with A Θ E)<sup>78</sup> and in the fractional issues of the Imperial era.<sup>79</sup>

All three types are related not only in size but in chemical analyses and in coin devices. The respective alloys differ by only a few points.<sup>80</sup> In type, the archaic Athena

two series shortly after the latter year. Herodes is found on another series, that of ΜΕΝΝΕΑΣ-ΗΡΩΔΗΣ, which Sundwall places *ca.* 40 B.C. due to the replacement of the uncial omega by the cursive form (*loc. cit.*, pp. 22-23). If Philokrates is the archon of 48/7 B.C., then the ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΗΡΩΔΗΣ money might have been minted after that date.

<sup>76</sup> Diodoros is probably the archon of 53/2. Diokles (who is a mint magistrate three times) may have held the archonship in 47/6 or in 44/3; he is undoubtedly the priest of Asklepios and Hygieia of 51/0 (*P.A.*, 4033). Again the use of the cursive omega brings the series down toward the Imperial era.

<sup>77</sup> *Cu* 70.25, *Sn* 6.29, *Pb* 22.73. I am grateful to Professor Caley for this recent analysis which is not included in his book.

<sup>78</sup> Pl. I, No. 7; Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 57-64.

<sup>79</sup> Svoronos, pls. 88 ff. Another possible quarter-unit is the tiny coin at the bottom of Svoronos, plate 75. The specimen is rather vague. It may represent a stag and thus be linked with the ΝΕΣΤΩΡ-ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ series; on the other hand it may be simply an Eleusinian pig.

	<i>Cu</i>	<i>Sn</i>	<i>Pb</i>
<sup>80</sup> "Peparethos"	70.25	6.29	22.73
"Eleusis"	70.92	7.85	20.84
Athenian Imperial of Augustan date	66.25	6.84	26.51

Caley, *op. cit.*, p. 52, table IX, no. 4, and p. 45, table VIII, no. 10. The "Peparethos" proportions

head used on our "Peparethos" issue and that of the fractional Imperial coinage of Augustan date (Plate I, Nos. 6 and 8; Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 43-50, and pl. 88, nos. 50-52) are closely connected. Since the Imperial pieces belong at the earliest in the final quarter of the first century B.C. and since they are allied in size, analysis, and style with the Eleusinian and Dionysian types, I believe that the latter belong very near the Augustan period.<sup>81</sup> The use of A Θ E as a legend instead of A Θ H makes them, however, definitely pre-Imperial.

It seems not unlikely that the tiny "Peparethos" and "Eleusis" specimens are forerunners of the Imperial denomination. The attempt to introduce a smaller coin having proved successful, the same flan size was carried over into the later period.

Why a different denomination was needed at the end of the New Style era is uncertain. That it reflects a lower standard of living is denied by the abundance of both large and small issues and by history. There is the possibility, suggested by the predominantly religious character of the types used for both pre-Imperial and Imperial issues, that we are dealing with a denomination struck for festival use. Its size may be due to some variation in festival procedure, perhaps the adoption of standardized shrine offerings,<sup>82</sup> or to a reduction in the largesse provided for the crowds.<sup>83</sup> Whatever the reason for this new denomination, it must have been put into circulation shortly before the Augustan era; a date *ca.* 40 B.C. would amply suit it and its parent issue.

This is also a satisfactory date historically, as it coincides with the sojourn of M. Antonius in Athens, an event which would explain the abundance of the coinage and its stress of Dionysos and festival types. Prior to his Athenian visit Antony had experienced a series of extravagant triumphs in Asia, during which his natural tendency to self-glorification had been raised to fever pitch, so that he, in common with the flattering mobs, began to regard himself as indeed a reborn Alexander and a new Dionysos.<sup>84</sup> The Athenians undoubtedly felt a sincere gratitude for his territorial gifts,<sup>85</sup> and they were also acute enough to understand that flattery costs little and often pays well. With the same ease with which they had successively and impartially espoused the causes of Pompey, Caesar, and Brutus, they now turned to adulation

are those of the unit, but the large and small denominations must be contemporary and their respective compositions should be almost identical.

<sup>81</sup> This date for the Eleusis piece receives some confirmation from its occurrence in a cistern deposit in which the pottery is consistently late first century B.C. (p. 214, deposit 2).

<sup>82</sup> The practice of using specified sums of money was often followed in religious sanctuaries. So those who received advice from the Hermes Oracle at Pharai were expected to lay a definite coin on the altar, and the same custom was followed by the Jews (*Z. f. N.*, II, 1875, p. 270).

<sup>83</sup> It is assumed that on the occasion of the fêtes some donations were made to the people (Babelon, *Traité*, III, 2, p. 141).

<sup>84</sup> Plutarch, *Antony*, XXIV.

<sup>85</sup> He gave them Aegina, Ios, Ceos, Skiathos, and Peparethos. Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, V, 1, 7.

of the last's opponent, Antony. Statues were set up to him, the festivals were staged with especial magnificence in his honor, and even more significantly a new celebration—the Antonieia<sup>86</sup>—was inaugurated. This fête took place in the month of Anthesterion and may be supposed to have had a close connection with the Dionysiac Anthesteria.<sup>87</sup> Its introduction likely occurred in 39/8, and the opening rites must have been of unparalleled splendor, even for a period which was performing its festivals with greater and greater extravagance.

All of these marks of honor served their purpose. Antony stayed in Athens for at least two years (39-37) and brought the city a surface prosperity by the munificent manner of his living.<sup>88</sup> In the end Athens was to suffer financially and politically for her identification of her fortunes with those of Antony, but at the time his star must have seemed permanent and brilliant.

Probably Diokles and Diodoros are paying tribute on their money to both the new Dionysos and the old: the one the benefactor of Athens and the focus of the festival celebrations; the other the patron deity of the city.<sup>89</sup> The year 38/7, just after the establishment of the Antonieia and after the gymnastic activities of Antony,<sup>90</sup> would seem a suitable date for a commemorative issue of currency.

Factors of both a negative and a positive nature unite to justify the allocation of our money to Athens during the era of the New Style coinage. On the one hand it seems historically improbable that Skiathos and Peparethos were functioning as minting cleruchies during the third century B.C., or even at a later date. Likewise the number of coins involved argues most strongly against a non-Athenian origin. On the other hand the positive evidence of style, fabric, chemical analysis, and silver affiliations brings them all under a New Style classification and, with supplementary assistance from history and topography, places them in the first century B.C.

<sup>86</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043; cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 236.

<sup>87</sup> It was perhaps actually joined to the older festival. Ferguson suggests that at an earlier period the Demetrieia may have been celebrated in conjunction with the Dionysia as a united festival, the Dionysia and Demetrieia (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 15, note 9).

<sup>88</sup> Plutarch (*Antony*, XXIII) recounts Antony's delight at being addressed as a Philhellene or Phil-Athenian and says that he gave the city many fine gifts.

<sup>89</sup> The use of the dignified Alkamenes type may seem a strange aspect of the god to connect with the wild and irresponsible Antony. However, at the time, Antony was living a fairly decorous life in the company of Octavia, attending the lectures and participating in the festivals (Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, V, 8, 76). It was probably at a later period (32 B.C.), when he visited Athens with Cleopatra, that his excesses became flagrant. During the later stay he may have contracted his profitable marriage with Athena, for which he demanded a dowry of one thousand talents (Seneca, *Suas.*, I; or four million sesterces according to Dio Cassius, XLVIII, 39, 2). Then, too, he probably erected the cave-like structure in the Theatre of Dionysos where he and his friends indulged in long and riotous orgies (Socrates Rhodius in *F.H.G.*, III, p. 326).

<sup>90</sup> To celebrate the victory of his generals over the Parthians, Antony feasted the Greeks and served as gymnasiarch for Athens (Plutarch, *Antony*, XXXIII). He won a victory in the Panathenaic contests at the same time (*A.J.A.*, XXIV, 1920, p. 83).

In many respects these pieces are interesting additions to the New Style bronze series, and their inclusion in it helps us to gain a clearer picture of the whole course of that currency. In even higher degree than the silver, the bronze reflects historical currents and events.

At the time of the Peisistratid monetary standardization in the sixth century B.C. the silver of Athens was first cast in the monotonous mould of Athena head obverse and owl reverse. Even the change from Old to New Style silver was marked by variations of a purely mechanical nature: the size and thickness of the flan, the style of the Athena head, the addition of an amphora on the reverse, the complicated set of monetary checks. The types themselves were not fundamentally changed. This repetition of "owls" gave Athenian currency an international character and enabled it to serve as a unit of exchange throughout the entire Hellenic world.

With the bronze, however, which was pre-eminently a local coinage, there was no need to cling to fixed and easily recognizable types. It could express the innate tendency of the Attic mind toward individuality and originality. The early bronze issues like their silver prototypes used owl devices, and it was not until the third century B.C. that Athenian bronze, following Macedonian models, began to break away from set forms and to introduce unusual types.<sup>91</sup> From this period come the Zeus head and Athena of Panathenaic type (Svoronos, pl. 22, nos. 53-58), and in a smaller issue the Zeus head and eagle (Svoronos, pl. 22, nos. 59-61).

With the weakening of the Macedonian domination and the introduction of the New Style currency, Athens reverted again on the bronze to Athena and the owl, but at the same time added a fulminating Zeus figure to her repertoire of reverse types. The two stock reverse devices were to continue down to the Imperial period, but during the latter part of the New Style era, when once again Athens was passing through a period of upheaval and uncertainty caused by the Roman infiltration, the bronze coinage reflects a tendency to break with the past. A tripod, Apollo, Nike, a Sphinx, Artemis, or Athena appear on the reverse in place of Zeus or the owl.<sup>92</sup> All of these pieces show variety, however, only on the reverses; the obverses remain constant.

In a few cases, notably our "Skiathos" and "Peparethos" issues, there is a real swing to originality and both obverses and reverses are designed along new lines. These issues may be regarded as trail-blazers for the Imperial era during which the trend away from the abstract and symbolical culminates in an elaborate numismatic

<sup>91</sup> Athens was undoubtedly influenced by the Macedonian practice of recording history on the money. The Pan and Panathenaic Athena (*McClellan*, II, pl. 134, nos. 2-3) are reflective of the victory over the Celts in 277 and the overlordship of Athens gained in 276. Likewise Pan crowning a trophy (*McClellan*, II, pl. 134, nos. 4-9) may be reminiscent of the establishment of the Paneia in 246 B.C. (*J.H.S.*, XXX, 1910, pp. 196-7, note 36).

<sup>92</sup> Svoronos, pl. 80. Without studying each type separately, it seems likely that they all belong to the last century of New Style minting.

portrayal of civic events and scenes. Theseus and the Marathonian bull and the struggle of Athena and Poseidon for Attica are depicted on the coins, and contemporary history and monuments like the Theatre of Dionysos and the Acropolis stairway are recorded on them.<sup>93</sup> This is a far cry from the impersonal owl currency. It marks the end of Athens' long monetary evolution, an evolution in which our coins played an important part as transitional types.

## APPENDIX I

The analyses tabulated below are of Athenian bronze money as given by E. R. Caley in *The Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins*. The dates are those of Mrs. T. L. Shear; plate references throughout are to Svoronos' *Trésor*. Three analyses marked with asterisks were performed by Professor Caley subsequent to the publication of his book.

## ATHENS

330-307 B.C.	Cu	Sn	Pb		Cu	Sn	Pb
Pl. 22, nos. 85-88.....	82.23	12.75	4.18	Pl. 22, no. 59.....	71.69	7.12	20.21
<i>Ibid</i> .....	81.73	12.49	5.36	Unpublished type.....	75.33	7.63	16.25
Pl. 22, nos. 80-84.....	82.33	8.41	9.22	229-30 B.C.			
				<i>B.M.C., Attica</i> , p. 80,			
330-300 B.C.				no. 543.....	86.38	10.56	2.73
Pl. 22, nos. 35-40.....	87.06	11.32	1.51	Pl. 81, nos. 9-16.....	88.74	11.10	.22
<i>Ibid</i> .....	90.30	8.25	1.28	Pl. 80, nos. 1-7.....	81.25	8.54	9.93
Pl. 22, nos. 41-45.....	90.04	9.93	nil	Pl. 81, nos. 33-39.....	89.03	10.60	.20
<i>Ibid</i> .....	88.79	8.55	2.56	Pl. 79, nos. 1-7.....	84.96	9.89	5.15
<i>Ibid</i> .....	91.28	5.42	3.21	Pl. 81, nos. 45-48.....	78.21	7.56	13.26
				Pl. 80, nos. 18-21.....	71.23	6.84	20.38
307-283 B.C.				* Pl. 80, nos. 29-32.....	73.60	6.89	18.68
Pl. 22, nos. 64-70.....	83.57	10.24	5.70	Not definitely described	88.45	9.98	.64
<i>Ibid</i> .....	83.88	9.20	6.38	<i>Ibid</i> .....	84.34	9.34	6.04
Pl. 22, no. 72.....	88.81	9.80	1.36	Pl. 24, no. 62 (frac-			
Pl. 22, nos. 76-77.....	86.01	10.08	3.18	tional).....	74.57	7.22	18.42
Pl. 22, nos. 78-79.....	83.42	15.43	.84	Pl. 24, no. 65 (frac-			
<i>Ibid</i> .....	84.76	9.10	5.78	tional).....	80.54	9.64	9.54
Pl. 24, nos. 42-50.....	87.49	10.67	1.29	Imperial			
Pl. 24, nos. 51-57.....	87.28	10.57	1.73	Pl. 94, no. 21.....	70.55	5.93	23.03
<i>Ibid</i> .....	87.51	10.49	1.68	Pl. 84, no. 24.....	68.05	4.45	26.82
				Pl. 86, no. 35.....	63.23	3.89	32.51
283-261 B.C. or later				Pl. 86, no. 39.....	66.05	4.10	29.32
Pl. 22, nos. 89-92.....	87.99	12.05	nil	Pl. 91, no. 10.....	66.19	3.75	29.18
Pl. 24, nos. 10-16.....	86.84	7.92	4.87	Pl. 99, no. 6.....	81.44	7.72	10.35
<i>Ibid</i> .....	86.93	9.67	2.95	Pl. 99, no. 39.....	77.66	8.06	13.78
Pl. 22, nos. 53-58.....	89.64	10.40	.01	Pl. 99, no. 41.....	73.01	7.70	18.60
<i>Ibid</i> .....	89.54	9.40	.54	Pl. 88, no. 52.....	66.25	6.84	26.51

<sup>93</sup> Svoronos, pl. 95, nos. 16-24; pl. 89, nos. 1-15; pl. 98, nos. 19-46.

## ATHENIAN DEPENDENCIES

	<i>Cu</i>	<i>Sn</i>	<i>Pb</i>		<i>Cu</i>	<i>Sn</i>	<i>Pb</i>
Eleusis in Name of Eleusis				Methana?			
Pl. 103, nos. 1-7.....	88.94	10.78	.05	* Pl. 25, nos. 1-4.....	84.77	10.74	4.27
Pl. 103, no. 20.....	87.38	10.57	1.55	Myrina			
Eleusis in Name of Athens ?				<i>McClellan Coll.</i> , II, no.			
Pl. 103, no. 52.....	82.47	6.52	6.54	4187.....	86.20	11.91	1.89
Pl. 103, no. 57.....	70.92	7.85	20.84	Skiathos?			
Pl. 25, nos. 13-14.....	80.48	8.74	10.45	Pl. 25, nos. 22-28.....	78.25	7.30	13.83
Bust of Athena;				Peparethos?			
kerchnos .....	71.76	3.82	23.78	Pl. 25, no. 29.....	73.16	7.54	18.82
Delos				* Pl. 25, no. 38.....	70.25	6.29	22.73
Pl. 107, nos. 37-41....	86.97	11.86	1.10				
Pl. 106, nos. 36-37....	83.00	10.49	5.59				

## APPENDIX II

The tables below are compiled from hoards of Athenian New Style silver found at Delos, Karystos, Halmyros, Zarova, and the Dipylon in Athens.<sup>94</sup> A great number of coins, over 2,000 in all, is involved.<sup>95</sup> For our purposes the significance of these hoards lies in the fact that they were all presumably laid away at the time of the Mithridatic Wars.<sup>96</sup> On Delos many treasure-troves must date from the time when

<sup>94</sup> Delos: *J.I.A.N.*, IX, 1906, pp. 254-267; X, 1907, pp. 192-193, 206; XIII, 1911, pp. 57-58, 77; XV, 1913, pp. 40-41; *B.C.H.*, XIX, 1895, pp. 462-463. Halmyros: *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, pp. 101-107. Zarova: *J.I.A.N.*, XI, 1908, pp. 236-240; *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, pp. 108-118. Dipylon: *Archäologische Zeitung*, XXXIII, 1876, pp. 163-166; *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, pp. 324 ff. Karystos: *Parnassos*, VII, 1883, pp. 774-776.

A small hoard from the Peiraeus must belong to the same period (W. Schwabacher, *Num. Chron.*, 5th series, XIX, 1939, pp. 162-166). In addition to two Mithridates tetradrachmas the following series are represented: ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ-ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ (1), ΕΥΜΑΡΕΙΑΔΗΣ-ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝ (1), ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩ (1), ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΣ-ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ (1), ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ (1), ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ-ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ (2), ΔΗΜΕΑΣ-ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ (1), ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ (4). They are listed in their respective order of preservation from poorest to best.

<sup>95</sup> The numbers on the chart do not represent the exact statistics of the hoards, as in some cases only the series are mentioned in publication data without the exact number of coins involved. In the chart this is indicated by the letter X, denoting the possibility that there were more of that particular issue in the hoard. Also the types with monograms and those with two abbreviated magistrates' names are not counted.

<sup>96</sup> Kambanis does not agree with a date of 86 B.C. for the Halmyros and Zarova hoards. He places both caches at the end of the second century B.C. This arrangement is necessitated by his theory of a hard and fast dividing line between the series with three magistrates and those with two. A coin of ΔΗΜΕΑΣ-ΚΑΛΑΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ overstruck with the type of Aesillas, quaestor of Macedonia between 93 and 88 B.C., places that issue *ca.* 100 B.C. at the latest. Since it is a series with two magistrates, Kambanis believes that the dividing line comes about that period or somewhat earlier. And



Archelaus was subduing and destroying the Cyclades in 86 B.C. During this siege some 20,000 islanders were slain and Delos itself so devastated that it never totally recovered.<sup>97</sup> The Dipylon hoard was concealed when Sulla was storming the city of Athens. Karystos in Euboea and Halmyros in Thessaly were both sites sufficiently close to Athens to have felt the full impact of the war. Archelaus, Mithridates' general, was in possession of Euboea in 87 B.C. and from his headquarters at Athens was urging the peoples of Central and Northern Greece to revolt. Two of the major battles of the Mithridatic War were fought at Chaeronea and Orchomenos, and both before and after these engagements there was undoubtedly plundering and pillaging throughout the countryside by both armies. Shortly before the Boeotian engagements Ariarathes, Mithridates' son, was campaigning in Thrace and Macedonia, and Taxiles,

since the Halmyros and Zarova hoards contain only one two-magistrates series, that of ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ, which Kambanis believes is the border issue, they must have been laid down at the beginning of the two-magistrates period.

Logic would certainly favor a clear-cut division of this kind, but in insisting on it Kambanis disregards the fact that there are many deviations from normal in the course of the New Style money. The ΝΙΚΟΓΕΝΗΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ series has some coins with a third magistrate and some without, some with a symbol and some without (Svoronos, pl. 69). There are three ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ issues with different symbols, three ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ series with different symbols and different second magistrates. Two series were struck in the same year (ΕΥΒΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ-ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ and ΖΩΙΔΟΣ-ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ, *B.C.H.*, LVI, 1932, pp. 39 ff.), and another series (ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ-ΕΥΚΛΗΣ, *ibid.*, pp. 50 ff.) extended over two years with the same symbol used for both issues. All of these variations indicate that there was no absolutely inflexible regulation of the monetary practice, that at times irregularities did creep in. It does not seem implausible to suppose that the change from three to two magistrates involved a transitional period during which, although in general a third magistrate functioned, the strict check was sometimes abandoned, as in the case of ΔΗΜΕΑΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ, ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ, and possibly others. These experiments with two magistrates proved that the month symbol was sufficient for purposes of identification and led to the final discarding of the third magistrate check.

Kambanis encounters difficulties in his theory that the two-magistrates series began around 109 B.C. It compels him to put the issue of ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ, which seems undoubtedly linked with that of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ, at a much earlier date and to presuppose a second term of office. ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ, which is the preceding series, belongs in 115/4 according to Kambanis. The well-preserved condition of the two issues in the Halmyros and Zarova hoards is recognized by Kambanis in dating those deposits *ca.* 110 B.C., but how is one to explain the fact that in the Dipylon cache (which must have been buried in the time of Sulla) the "stempelfrisch" specimens include those of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ and ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ, which could not be the case if the latter had been minted 28 years before. In addition, Kambanis, finding so few issues left for the period after Sulla, due to his beginning of the two-magistrates series around 110 B.C., suggests that the New Style coinage ended in the mid-first century (*B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, p. 84). If, however, one takes the historically justifiable date of 86 B.C. for the burial of the Halmyros and Zarova hoards, one need not explain away their coincidence with hoards which were undoubtedly laid down at that time, nor rearrange issues which seem to belong together logically, nor explain a 20-year gap between the New Style coinage and the Imperial money of Augustan times.

<sup>97</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla*, XI; Appian, *Bell. Mith.*, XII, 5, 28.

his general, advanced along the same route to engage Sulla. The Zarova hoard, buried near Thessalonica, would reflect for Northern Greece the fear and upheavals which followed inevitably the movements of great armies.<sup>98</sup>

Apart from the historical reasons for treating the hoards as contemporaneous, a study of their contents provides ample proof that they were laid down at approximately the same time. Six series were found in all five localities; 17 series in four localities; 15 in three; 7 in two; and again 7 in only one. That the date suggested, *ca.* 86 B.C., is accurate is attested by the comparative state of preservation for different series insofar as the data have been supplied in publication reports. In the Dipylon hoard, the "*stempelfrisch*" issues, those which could only have been in circulation a short time, are marked ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ-ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ, ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ-ΑΡΙΑΡΑ, ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ, and ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ. As Weil points out, one third of the hoard belongs to the era of Mithridates Eupator. In the Istanbul allotment of the Zarova hoard, Regling (*B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, p. 115) notes that the series of ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ, ΑΡΟΠΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟ, and ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ are in very good state of preservation. For the Halmyros hoard, seven series are described as "*très bien conservées*," those of ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ-ΑΓΑΘΙΠΠΟΣ, ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ, ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ, ΑΡΟΠΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟ, ΔΗΜΕΑΣ-ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ, ΝΙΚΟΓΕΝΗΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ, and ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ (*B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 114). In the Delos hoards relative preservation is given in only one instance, where issues of ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ-ΧΑΡΙΝΑΥΤΗΣ, ΔΗΜΕΑΣ-ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ, and ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ are described as good (*J.I.A.N.*, XV, 1913, pp. 40-41). But in another hoard seven autonomous tetradrachmas of Mithridates were found with the New Style issues (*J.I.A.N.*, XIII, 1911, pp. 57-8) and in still another a cistophorus of Ephesos dated 89 B.C. (*J.I.A.N.*, XIII, 1911, p. 77). The recurrence among the best preserved specimens in diverse hoards of the money of ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ, ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ, ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ, and ΑΡΟΠΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟ is eloquent. As has been shown in the preceding pages the first series dates from 87/6, the second from 88/7, and the third from 89/8 B.C. The ΑΡΟΠΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟ group was presumably minted a few years earlier.

We have then in these five hoards one of the few chronological landmarks in the New Style coinage. A salutary reminder that charts and figures are not infallible comes, however, from the absence in all of the deposits of the issue of ΔΗΜΕΑΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ, an issue which must have been minted before 86 B.C. (see p. 230, note 96). Similarly a certain amount of suspicion must be attached to the seven series which are found in only one hoard, especially since most of them are from Delos where the great number and small size of individual caches make it probable that some were laid down after 86 B.C. Of the seven issues, the ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-

<sup>98</sup> Plutarch, *Sulla*, XI and XV-XXI.

ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ money is, of course, unquestionably of this period; its non-inclusion in any hoard except that of the Dipylon simply means that it had not had time to circulate anywhere except in Athens. The number of ΝΙΚΟΓΕΝΗΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ pieces in the Halmyros hoard would discount any freak inclusion; and the ΑΤΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ coin was found in a house burial with nine other coins, all of certain pre-Sullan date (*J.I.A.N.*, XV, 1913, pp. 40-41). The other four series, those of ΑΜΦΙΑΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ, ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ-ΕΠΙΘΕΤΗΣ, ΝΕΣΤΩΡ-ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ, and ΣΩΤΑΔΗΣ-ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ, were all found in one hoard (*J.I.A.N.*, IX, 1906, pp. 254-5), and it is possible that this was buried after Sulla.

With allowances made for such possible errors, the enumerated hoards afford valuable confirmatory evidence for conclusions based upon style, history, or other data, while series which are found in two or more of the five localities must be definitely regarded as having been minted prior to 86 B.C.

FOUND IN HOARDS BURIED *ca.* 86 B.C.<sup>99</sup>

	DELOS	KARY-STOS	DIPYLON	HAL-MYROS	ZAROVA	TOTAL
ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ (3) Two torches	32			30	5	67
ΑΜΦΙΑΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ (2) Demeter with reversed torches	2					2
ΑΜΦΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ (3) Two ears of corn	4			22	9x	35x
ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ-ΧΑΡΙΝΑΥΤΗΣ (3) Demeter before seated figure	11			18	9x	38x
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ-ΝΙΚΟΓ ΚΑΡΑΙΧΟΣ (3) Elephant	12			1		13
ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ-ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ (3) Griffin		1x	6			7x
ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΦΙΛΩΝ (3) Pegasus drinking	1	1x	3	60	3	68x
ΑΡΟΠΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟ (3) Winged Agon	4x		2	55	4x	65x
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙ-ΑΠΟΛΛΗΞΙ (3) Nike	12x		1	4	1	18x
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙ-ΔΙΟΓΕ (3) Double cornucopia	14x	1x		18	7x	40x
ΑΧΑΙΟΣ-ΗΛΙ (3) Cornucopia and ears of corn	10		1	6	2x	19x

<sup>99</sup> The numbers in parentheses are the number of mint magistrates whose names are placed on the coins. X following a figure means that the hoard has not been accurately recorded and that there may be more of the series in question included in it.

	DELOS	KARY-STOS	DIPYLON	HAL-MYROS	ZAROVA	TOTAL
ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ (2) Star and crescents			4			4
ΔΑΜΩΝ-ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ (3) Quiver and bow	6		1	22	10x	39x
ΔΗΜΕΑΣ-ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ (3) Headdress of Isis	3x		1	47		51x
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ-ΑΓΑΘΙΠΠΟΣ (3) Pilei of Dioscuri	3x	1x		63	16x	83x
ΔΙΟΓΕ-ΠΟΣΕΙ (3) Dionysos standing	7			1	1	9
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ (3) Helios in quadriga	36x		1	28	10x	75x
ΔΙΟΤΙΜΟΣ-ΜΑΓΑΣ (3) No symbol	23	1x		10	4x	38x
ΔΩΡΟΘΕ-ΔΙΟΦ (3) Forepart of lion	19		1	3		23
ΔΩΣΙΘΕΟΣ-ΧΑΡΙΑΣ (3) Tyche	10x		1	44	10x	65x
ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ-ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ (3) Eagle on fulmen	4				85x	89x
ΕΥΒΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ-ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ (3) Artemis with fawn	1			5	2x	8x
ΕΥΜΑΡΕΙΔΗΣ-ΑΛΚΙΔΑΜ (3) ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝ (3) Triptolemus	5			23	3	31
ΕΥΜΗΛΟΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΦΩΝ (3) Tyche	15	1x	1	23	3x	43x
ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ-ΑΡΙΑΡΑ (3) Three Charities	13		4	14	4	35
ΖΩΙΑΟΣ-ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ (3) Bee	8	1x		16	6x	31x
ΗΡΑ-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦ (3) Club and bow	16		1	3		20
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ-ΕΥΚΛΗΣ (3) Winged Tyche and amphora	18	1x	2	34	7x	62x
ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ-ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ (3) Trophy on prow	17x	1x		9	5x	32x
ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ-ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ (3) No symbol	7	1x		38	23	69x
ΘΕΟΦΡΑ-ΣΩΤΑΣ (3) Winged fulmen	6			2		8
ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ-ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ (3) Wreath	5x	1x		15	5	26x
ΚΑΡΑΙΧ-ΕΡΓΟΚΛΕ (3) Prow	1			3	42x	46x
ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ-ΕΠΙΘΕΤΗΣ (2) Conical stone	1					1
ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ-ΚΛΕΑΣ (3) Roma crowned by Nike			1		1x	2x

	DELOS	KARY-STOS	DIPYLON	HAL-MYROS	ZAROVA	TOTAL
ΑΥΣΑΝ-ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ (3) Cicada	12			6	6x	24x
ΑΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ (2) Poppy-head and ears of corn	1					1
ΜΕΝΕΔ-ΕΠΙΓΕΝΟ (3) Asklepios	12x		2	1		15x
ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ-ΜΙΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ (3) ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝ (3) Grapes	25x			21	5x	51x
ΜΙΚΙΩΝ-ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙ (3) Dioscuri	4				71x	75x
ΝΕΣΤΩΡ-ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ (2) Stag	1					1
ΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ (3) Gorgoneion	4x	1x	1	48	8x	62x
ΝΙΚΟΓΕΝΗΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ (3) Hermes				21		21
ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ (2) Serpent, Roma, Dolphin and trident	7x	4x	2	19	2	34x
ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ-ΑΛΚΕΤΗΣ (3) Tripod	5				63x	68x
ΠΟΛΥΧΑΡΜ-ΝΙΚΟΓ (3) Caduceus	6			3	1x	10x
ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩ (3) Apollo Delios	29		1	30	8	68
ΣΩΤΑΔΗΣ-ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ (2) Bakchos	1					1
ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ-ΝΙΚΑΓΟ (3) Anchor and star	8		2		2	12
ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΠΟΣΗΣ (3) Dionysos with mask	4		1	18	10x	33x
ΦΑΝΟΚΛΗΣ-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ (3) Artemis with torch	10x	1x	1	22	10x	44x
ΧΑΡΙΝΑΥΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ (3) Artemis with two torches	20		1	21	9x	51x

NOT FOUND IN HOARDS BURIED *ca.* 86 B.C.

ΑΛΚΕΤΗΣ-ΕΥΑΓΙΩΝ (2) Helmet	ΔΗΜΕΑΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ (2) Isis standing
ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΩΝ-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ (2) Demeter standing with ears of corn	ΔΗΜΟΧΑΡΗΣ-ΠΑΜΜΕΝΗΣ (2) Cicada
ΑΠΟΛΗΞΙΣ-ΑΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ (2) Artemis huntress	ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ-ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ (2) Asklepios
ΑΡΧΙΤΙΜΟΣ-ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ (2) Isis standing	ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕ-ΜΗΔΕΙΟΣ (2) Hygieia
ΑΡΧΙΤΙΜΟΣ-ΠΑΜΜΕΝΗΣ (2) Thyrsos	ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΤΟ ΤΡΙ-ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ (2) Dionysos seated

ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΜΕΛΙ-ΜΗΔΕΙΟΣ (2)

Athena Parthenos

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ-ΜΝΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ (2)

Dionysos standing with thyrsos

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ-ΔΗΜΟΤΡΑΤΟΣ (2)

Caduceus

ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ-ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ (2)

Seated Sphinx

ΕΠΙΓΕΝΑΣ-ΞΕΝΩΝ (2)

Apollo Lykeios

ΕΥΜΗΛΟΣ-ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΔΗΣ (2)

Ares?

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΝ-ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ (2)

Eagle's head

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΣ-ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ (2)

Thick fillet

ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ-ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ (2)

Triptolemus

ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ-ΧΑΡΜΟΣΤ (2)

Two ears of corn

ΔΕΥΚΙΟΣ-ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ (2)

Artemis and Demeter

ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ-ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (2)

Demeter seated

ΜΕΝΝΕΑΣ-ΗΡΩΔΗΣ (2)

Hekate

ΜΕΝΤΩΡ-ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ (2)

Harmodios and Aristogeiton

ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ-ΝΕΣΤΩΡ (2)

Kerchnos

ΠΑΝΤΑΚΛΗΣ-ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (2)

Herakles

ΤΡΥΦΩΝ-ΠΟΛΥΧΑΡΜΟΣ (2)

Hekate

ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΗΡΩΔΗΣ (2)

Dionysos with kantharos and thyrsos

ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΦΩΝ (2)

Nike

MARGARET THOMPSON



1

"ELEUSIS"



2

"SKIATHOS"



3

"PEPARETHOS"



4



5

"PEPARETHOS"



6



7

"ELEUSIS"



8

ATHENIAN IMPERIAL



9



10

ATHENIAN NEW STYLE



11