

ATHENIAN IMPERIAL COINAGE

PLATES II-IX

A study of the coins found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora has led me to a reconsideration of the dating of the Imperial Athenian issues. Previously these coins have been dated from the reign of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) to that of Gordianus III (238-244 A.D.), but it did not take long to realize that this dating was erroneous.¹

How is it possible for a great city the size of Athens, the most important city in the Greek province, to have existed without issuing coins for a period of about 150 years—from the cessation of the New Style coinage around 30 B.C. to the reign of Hadrian in 117 A.D.? On the face of it, it seems unbelievable that such a metropolis as Athens could have been denied one of the privileges of a free city, that of striking money, over such an extended period of time. It would soon have died a natural death and reverted to the status of a petty village. If the Agora excavations did not prove otherwise, one might say that the Athenians used Roman Imperial currency, or that of some other city that was allowed to coin money at this time, either in Greece or the East.

From a total of 41,290 coins from the Agora excavations, 10,479 have been studied and catalogued, numbers which are indeed large enough to allow us to draw satisfactory conclusions. From a total of 2580 Athenian coins, 902 were of the period of the New Style, while 814 were Athenian Imperial. From these numbers one gathers that there was considerable currency in circulation in Athens in these respective periods to allow such a number to be lost in the streets of the Agora.

With these figures before us, we must now consider what the monetary situation was in Athens from the advent of the Empire until the reign of Hadrian. There are four possibilities: first, the Roman Imperial currency may have been the money in use in Athens; second, Athens may have used the money from some other city in Greece or the East which was allowed to strike at this time; third, the vast amount of New Style currency may have continued to circulate over this period as the local medium of exchange; and fourth, the Athenians may have struck new money in their own right. If it were true that the Athenians used the Roman Imperial currency over a period of nearly 150 years, then we should expect to find a goodly number of early Roman Imperial coins in the excavations, at least a number that would be proportionate to the quantity of coins found

¹ Grateful thanks and appreciation are expressed to Mr. E. S. G. Robinson of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum for his helpful suggestions and for his kindness in reading this article in manuscript; and to Mr. E. T. Newell of the American Numismatic Society for his advice and encouragement.

in other periods of Athenian history. What we actually find is that out of the 10,479 coins from the Agora there are but 3 of Augustus, 1 of Tiberius, 1 of Otho, 1 of Vespasian, 1 of Domitian, and 3 of Trajan—a total of 10 coins to fill a gap of 150 years. One sees immediately from this paltry number that the Athenians could not have used the Imperial issues as their sole currency for this long period.

Secondly, if Athens had used the currency of some other city to serve her needs for almost 150 years, we should expect to find some signs of this importation of foreign money in the excavations. As a matter of fact, no great amount of coinage from any one city outside of Athens has been found. There are more coins from Corinth than from any other city, excluding Eleusis and the Delian Cleruchy, but there are only 26 of these, 10 of which were struck in the Imperial times. So that the possibility that a foreign coinage served the needs of Athens during this period must also be excluded.

The next point under consideration is the possibility of the New Style coinage continuing in circulation over such an extended period as the sole official Athenian local currency. If this had been the case, the result would have been that a large percentage of these coins found in the excavations would have been in such a worn condition that the types would hardly have been discernible. But the preservation of this group of coins refutes this fact, since a large majority of them are not only perfectly legible, but are among the best preserved of any of the bronze coins which we find in the Agora. Not only does the good state of preservation deny the possibility that these New Style coins continued to serve as the sole currency for a period of about 150 years, but the fact that such a practice cannot be paralleled in any of the prominent Roman provincial cities removes this possibility out of the realm of probability.

There remains then the fourth point, and everything points to the conclusion that the Athenians during this period struck money in their own right. It seems inconceivable that Augustus deprived Athens of the right of striking money for long. Is it not highly improbable that the other cities of Greece such as Corinth, Patras, Sparta, and many more should have been allowed this privilege, a mark of independence, when Athens still and always the centre of Hellenic culture should have been denied it? In spite of her sympathy with the opponents of Augustus in the battle of Actium, Athens certainly would not long have been strictly disciplined by Augustus for merely espousing the cause of Antony when a number of other cities had done likewise.

From Cassius Dio we learn that shortly after the battle of Actium, Augustus proceeded towards Athens to be initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries in 31 B.C.¹ This same writer tells us in rather vague terms that after Actium, Augustus exacted money from the Greek cities and took away the remnant of authority over their citizens that their assemblies still possessed.² As for Athens Dio says, in another passage (LIV, 7) with more precise details, that Augustus forbade the Athenians to make any one a citizen

¹ Graindor, Paul, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 14; Dio, LI, 4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 16; Dio, LI, 2, 1.

for money and deprived them of Aegina and Eretria. Nothing is specifically said about their right of striking sovereign money. On the other hand Plutarch (*Antony*, 68) tells us that after the battle of Actium "Caesar put to sail towards Athens; he reconciled himself with the Greeks and distributed the surplus of grain, gathered in view of the war, to the cities which found themselves in a lamentable situation and had been stripped of their money, their slaves, and their beasts of burden."

We know that he did not install himself in Athens, but passed the winter at Aegina.¹ Whether this was because of his displeasure with the Athenians or not we cannot judge. Since it is difficult to reconcile this visit of Augustus with his subsequent voyage to the Orient and the passing of two winters in Samos, it seems that there must have been a second visit in 21 B.C. But one cannot believe that in 21 B.C. Augustus still held the Athenians under strict discipline when already in 30 B.C. he had pardoned the inhabitants of Alexandria (Dio, *LI*, 16, 3, 4; Plut., *Ant.* 80; *Apophth. Aug.*, 3) who were more guilty than the Athenians.²

When Augustus returned to Athens in 21 B.C. in order to be initiated again or to complete his first initiation, his resentment towards the Athenians should have been dissipated. One can it seems even deduce, from a fragment of Attic decree at the beginning of the Empire, that the reconciliation might have occurred already several years before (*I.G.*, II², 1071). The decree was to celebrate the birthday of Augustus which occurred on the 12th day of Boedromion. It is dated by Graindor close to the year 27/6 B.C., because Augustus already has the title *Σεβαστός*. It so happened that the return of Thrasybulos, the restorer of democracy and liberty to the Athenians, was also commemorated on the 12th day of Boedromion.³ The celebration of his own birthday and the anniversary of this other memorable return to freedom would have been a most appropriate occasion to have reconciled himself with the Athenians and given them a real freedom, carrying with it the sovereign right to strike money. If a reconciliation did not take place on this date, we have the right to assume that it did shortly afterwards, since Augustus is frequently assimilated with Zeus or Apollo Eleutherios, titles he could hardly have appropriated had he not given freedom to the Greeks and Athens in particular where these epithets were most revered.

At this point we can turn to the coins themselves for further evidence. Throughout the Imperial period, Athens, like all other cities in Greece proper, was allowed to strike only bronze money for local use. But the Athenians, when granted the privilege of coining money, seem to have been accorded an exceptional favor; their money did not carry the head of the Emperor,⁴ as did most provincial coinage during the Imperial

¹ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 25–28.

⁴ Graindor, Paul, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 132, n. 3. Mattingly, Harold, *B.M.C. Roman Empire*, I, Intro. p. XXVII: "The right of striking token money appears to have been granted as a general measure, or perhaps rather allowed as a normal right, to every organized city community that chose to exercise it;

period, but still represented the head of Athena, the patron goddess of Athens, which had sealed the Athenian coinage almost since its beginning.

This fact only adds to the difficulty of classification. Svoronos in his *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, where incidentally he has brought together an unusually large quantity of Athenian Imperial coins, has unfortunately arranged his long series according to reverse subjects which gives us no clue as to date whatsoever. I have rephotographed all of Svoronos' collection of Imperial coins and arranged them according to the style of head on the obverse. The results of which you will see here illustrated.¹

One can see at a glance the long series of strikings with their constant change and deterioration of style and diminution of sizes. We are immediately struck by the two distinct classes of fabric. The first is characterized by a large flan, a metal with a rich bronze tint, and a worn appearance on the great majority of the coins. One need not be told that this is the earlier of the two groups. The second class is a heavier fabric made of a lighter colored metal with a smaller module. It should be noted that in the Agora excavations these earlier coins are very frequently found in the same deposit or in the same stratum with those of the New Style which shows, it seems to me, that the Early Imperial coins must have followed closely those of the New Style, for if an interval of nearly 150 years intervened there would be a natural accumulation of earth which would separate these two series of coins, so that they would never occur together in the same deposit or in the same stratum. The fact that the New Style coins are among the best preserved of the Agora bronze coins, while the Early Athenian Imperial issues are very worn, although both are found together, seems to give rise to difficulties. However, this apparent inconsistency may be explained from the results of chemical analyses which show that the New Style coins have a high tin content causing a hard alloy, while the Early Athenian Imperial issues show a reduction in the percentage of tin and a rise in the percentage of lead content, which would necessarily soften the alloy and thus cause a more rapid erosion of the surface of the coins.²

It was a careful examination of the coins of this earlier fabric that led to this reclassification. A starting point for the series can be arrived at by a consideration of the forms of the reverse inscription. On a considerable number of these early coins only the abbreviated form **AΘH** is used (Plate II and Fig. 1) a tradition carried over from the coins of the Greek period with the use of the **H** instead of the **E**. It is important to note that when the abbreviated form is first changed to **AΘHNAIΩN**, the **AΘH** still retains a conspicuous position at the top of the coin, while the other letters

the coinage was not strictly independent, however, for normally not only the name of the city, but also the portrait of the reigning Emperor appears."

¹ Grateful acknowledgment is made to the publishers F. Bruckmann A.-G. München for permission to reproduce the illustrations from plates 82-99 of Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*. Cross-references are listed on pp. 328-332.

² From chemical analyses made under the direction of Prof. E. R. Caley of the Chemistry Dept. of Princeton Univ. the alloy of the New Style coins shows the following percentages: copper 86.38-89.03, tin 10.56-10.60, lead 0.20-2.73; while the Athenian Imperial issues show copper 63.23-77.66, tin 3.75-8.06, lead 13.78-32.51.



Æ Units and Half Units—Athenian Imperial Coinage, Augustan Era—struck AΘH

are relegated to the sides and also the omega has the cursive form ω (Plate III, nos. 1, 2, 3, and 6). The next stage in the development of the inscription is the change in position. Here the letters start in the lower left field and run clockwise, from left to right around the flan inwards (Plate III, nos. 9–24; see also Fig. 2). With this change

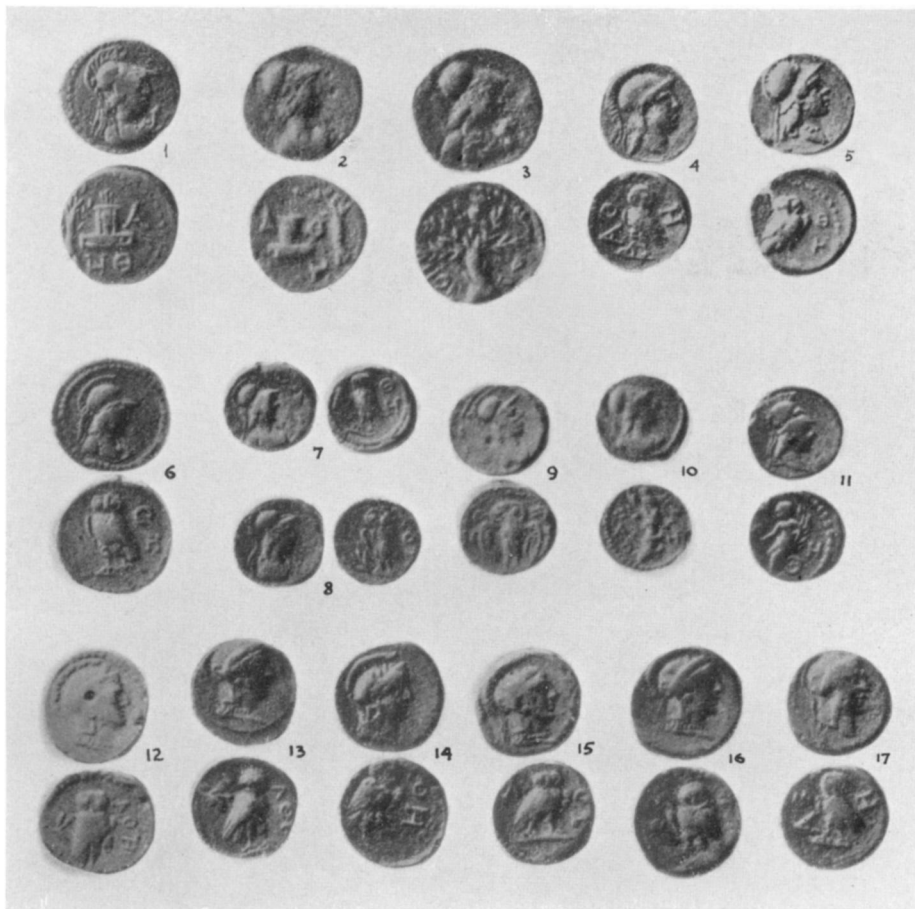


Fig. 1. Æ Quarter and Eighth Units—Augustan Era—struck AΘH

the position of the legend has become permanently fixed for the majority of coins of the entire series, excepting the small fractional issues which because of the limited space on the flan almost always continue the use of the AΘH. However, the cursive omega is still retained for some time before it is permanently altered to the uncial form Ω (Plate IV). The use of the cursive form of omega prior to the uncial on the Athenian Imperial coins shows that Athens was the exception rather than the rule in this respect, for on other provincial coinages the cursive forms follow rather than pre-

cede the uncial. In epigraphy the cursive forms are common in the second century of our era but in the first century they also occur.¹

These initial developments of the form of the reverse legend took place in a comparatively short space of time judging from the slight variations in style of the obverse head on these respective coins. There are two distinct obverse types that are contemporaneous on these early issues. The one is the bust of Athena wearing a crested

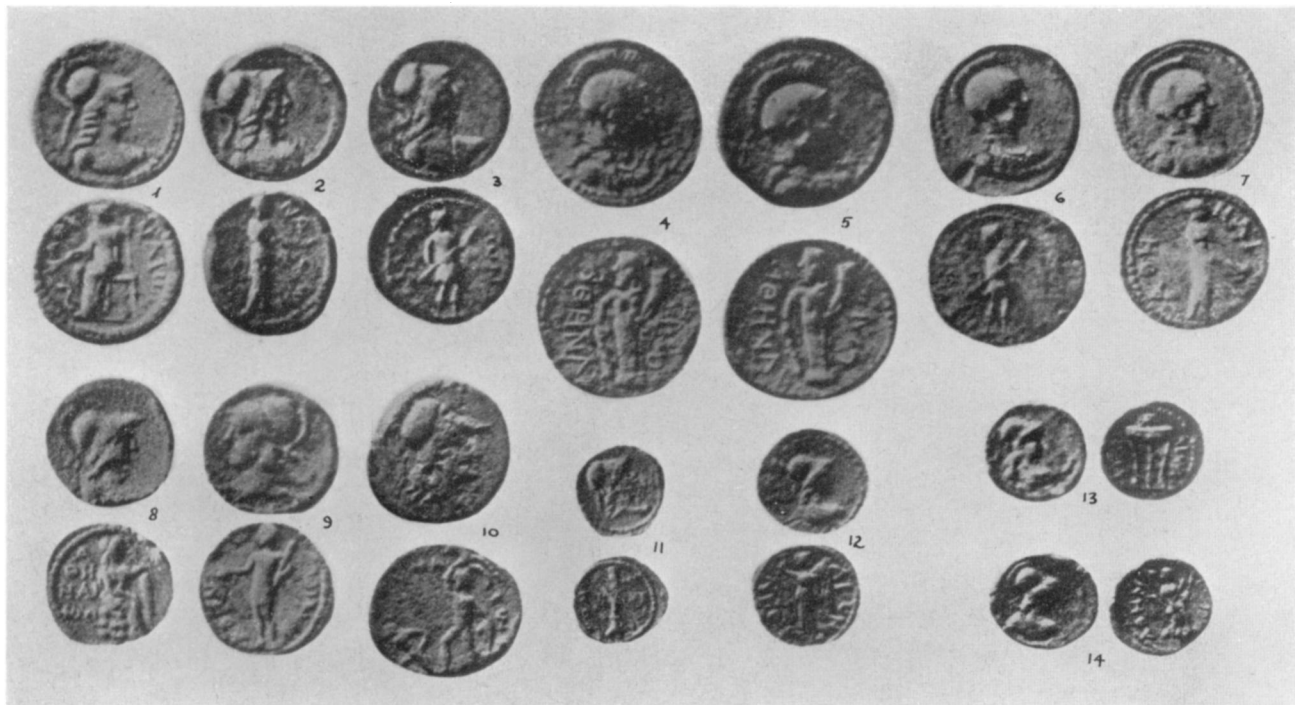


Fig. 2. Æ Half, Quarter, and Eighth Units. Early First Century A.D. struck ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ

Corinthian helmet with a small ovoid bowl which is set high on the head (Plate II, nos. 9–10; Plate III, nos. 9–13). It is adorned with a narrow horsehair crest made with radiating parallel lines over the bowl and ending in simple strands in the neck. Athena is wearing the aegis, a conspicuous feature of which consists of serpents standing erect. Athena is here represented as a charming youthful goddess with hair softly waved over the brow, and in back either loosely rolled or hanging. The technique of these earlier coins is much superior to that of the later issues.

¹ Roberts, E. S. and Gardner, E. A., *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, II, Intro. pp. XVI–XVII. For Augustan inscriptions using the cursive forms see *I.G.*, II², 2338 which is a prytany list dated 27–18 B.C. Also cp. Larfeld, W., *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, II, pp. 483–487.



Æ Units. Early First Century A.D. Showing developmental Stages of Reverse Legend



Æ Units. Second Half of First Century A.D. Large Module, early Fabric—Change to Uncial Omega

The second type is equally attractive, portraying the bust of Athena with a close-fitting crested Attic helmet with the characteristic Attic elements of ear and neck guards (Plate II, nos. 14–16; Plate III, nos. 6–8 and 14–15). The details of the helmet are indistinct due to the rubbed condition of these coins. The horsehair crest is broader than on the Corinthian helmet, but made with the same kind of lines, and the hair is also loose on the neck. Here, too, Athena wears the aegis, but a necklace has been added to her adornment. The superior quality of the workmanship and the youthful aspect of the goddess are equally striking in this second type.

Pick has made the interesting suggestion¹ in comparing these coins with the lamps found in the Kerameikos, that when this Athenian Imperial coinage was initiated there was a competition to determine the style of the coin type. The first, that with the Corinthian helmet, drew its inspiration from the statue of Athena Promachos, while the other with the Attic helmet copied the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias. Athena with the Corinthian helmet appears to have found the greater approbation, as it continues unremittingly throughout the course of the Athenian Imperial coinage, while the type with the Attic helmet soon ceased and only appeared again at sporadic intervals. Even in the smaller denominations there seems to have been this struggle to determine the types and here, too, the Corinthian helmet seems to have prevailed (Figs. 1 and 2).

The particular type and style of the coins with the bust of Athena in a crested Corinthian helmet, wearing the aegis with serpents erect, may be approximately dated by a comparison with coins of other cities where Athena is similarly represented. We first find busts resembling ours on two Roman Republican coins. One bears the magistrate's name C. VIBIVS VARVS which is dated by the British Museum *ca.* 38 B.C. (Fig. 3, no. 1).

Denarius Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet.

Re. C. VIBIVS VARVS Hercules standing l., leaning with r. hand on club.

Reference: B.M.C. *Republic*, pl. LVIII, no. 12.

The other with the name of the moneyer C. CONSIDIVS PAETVS is dated *ca.* 45 B.C. (Fig. 3, no. 2).

Denarius Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and aegis with serpents standing erect.

Re. C. CONSIDI (in exergue) Victory in quadriga r., holds wreath and palm branch.

Reference: B.M.C. *Republic*, pl. LII, no. 18.



Fig. 3. No. 1 Republican Coin—C. VIBIVS VARVS
No. 2 Republican Coin—Moneyer C. CONSIDIVS
PAETVS

¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI (1931), Pick, Behrendt, *Die „Promachos“ des Pheidias und die Kerameikos-Lampen*, pp. 60–63.

Turning to the Roman provinces we find further evidence. From Oea in Syrtica there are coins which are strikingly similar in style and fabric, the obverse sides of which have the bust of Livia, fixing the date either in the reign of Augustus or Tiberius (Fig. 4).¹

Ob. Bust of Livia r.

Re. Bust of Athena with crested Corinthian helmet and aegis with serpents erect (Punic Inscription).

Reference: Müller, *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique*, vol. 2, p. 16, fig. 34.

In Cilicia the city of Aegeae struck coins with a similar bust of Athena and fortunately one of them bears the date ΔΙ, that is the 14th year of the Caesarian era or 34/3 B.C. (Fig. 5, no. 1).

Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and aegis with serpents standing erect.

Re. ΑΓΓΕΑΙΩΝ under goat lying to l.; ΔΙ in field l., above ΕΡ.

Reference: Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, II, pl. XVI, no. 12.

The British Museum dates this whole series in the second and first centuries B.C., and Grose in the McClean collection gives the same dates; but Imhoof-Blumer has the series begin in the 1st century B.C. and continue into the 1st century A.D.

At Adana, another city in Cilicia, this type is again represented on coins dated in the first century B.C. because of their Seleucid fabric (Fig. 5, no. 2).

Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and aegis.

Re. ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ Nike advancing l., in l. hand palm branch; in extended r., wreath; in

ΔΥ
CAN
field l., ΕΥ
MA

Reference: B. M. C. *Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia*, pl. III, no. 3; p. 16, no. 7.

The series of coins from Apamea in Phrygia also show striking similarity in the style and type of the bust of Athena. These likewise are dated by the British Museum from 133–48 B.C. (Fig. 6).

Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing aegis and crested Corinthian helmet.

Re. Eagle flying r., over meander symbol, above star and on either side pileus of Dioskuros surmounted by star. Above ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ; below, various magistrates' names.

Reference: B. M. C. *Phrygia*, p. 74f. Type I, pl. X, nos. 2–5.

¹ From a cast of a coin in the British Museum.



Fig. 4. Coin from Oea in Syrtica

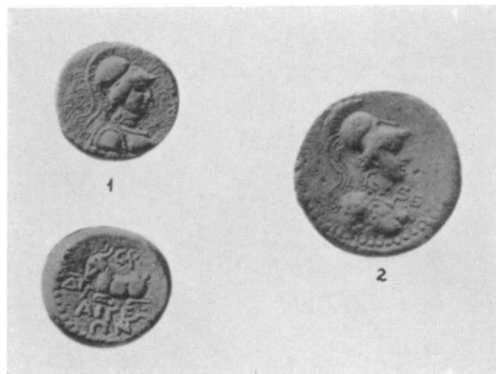


Fig. 5. No. 1 Coin from Aegeae, Cilicia, dated 34/3 B.C.

No. 2 Coin from Adana, Cilicia

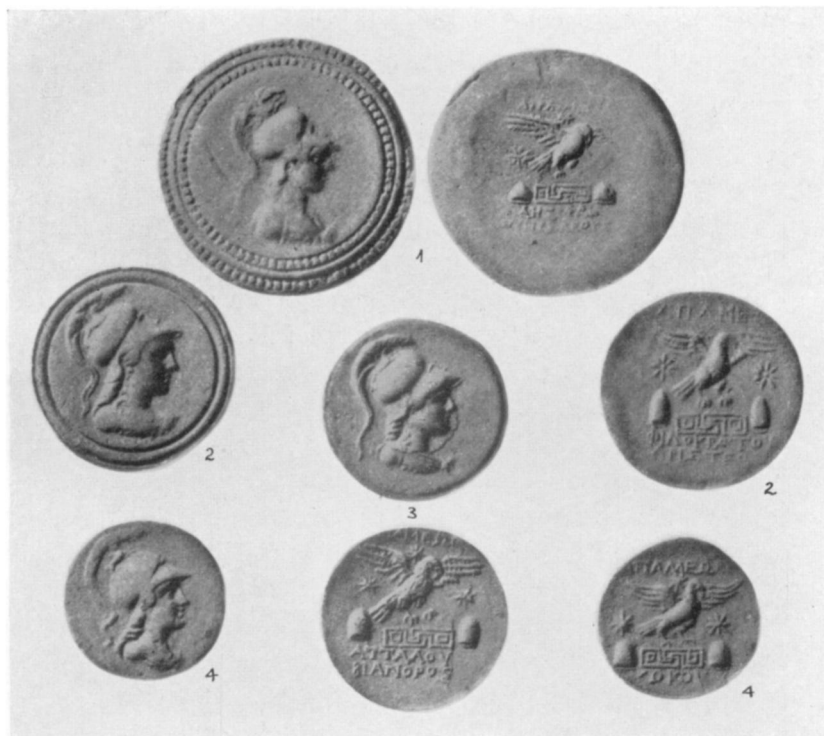


Fig. 6. Coins from Apamea, Phrygia

A coin from Caesarea in Cappadocia, bearing the early name of the city **EYΣEBEIA**, which is dated in the reign of King Archelaus 36 B.C. to 17 A.D., also bears testimony that the Athenian type with which we are dealing is a product of the Augustan era (Fig. 7, no. 1).

Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and aegis.

Re. EYΣEBEIA Mount Argaeus, on summit eagle.

Reference: B. M. C. *Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, pl. VIII, no. 1; p. 45, no. 2.

And finally from Apamea in Seleucia there is a coin that is dated in the 276th Seleucid year or 36 B.C. that can further strengthen the argument that it was Augustus himself who granted to the Athenians the right to strike money, for the coins bear witness that we are discussing a style and fabric that is characteristic of the 1st century B.C. and the turn of the era (Fig. 7, no. 2).



Fig. 7. No. 1 Coin from Caesarea, Cappadocia
No. 2 Coin from Apamea, Seleucia, dated 36 B.C.

Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet.

Re. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ

ΘΣΙΕΡΑΣ

ΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ

Nike advancing l., in r. hand wreath, in l., palm branch. In field
ΣΟΣ; in ex. ΜΗ?

Reference: B. M. C. *Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, pl. XXVII, no. 3; p. 234, no. 7.

Another point must here be mentioned. A number of the coins of these early Athenian Imperial issues seem to bear an inscription on the obverse, a fact that has not been noted before. I first discovered this on coins that were cleaned in the Agora. Periodically we kept getting these early coins where the traces of an inscription could be readily seen. Since these early specimens are all very worn I have not been able to make out the entire inscription, but, in spite of the difficulties which the nominative case raises, the ending is almost certainly CTOC, and the beginning seems, from the observation of a number of specimens, to be AVΓ. The use of the lunate sigma is in keeping with the cursive omega on the reverse legends of the coins.

One may suggest that the reason that this obverse legend is so vague and indistinct is that it was partially erased on the dies at some later date. The Athenians, in their exuberance over the grant by Augustus of the privilege of striking money in their own right, commemorated his name on their coinage. But since this was not a requirement, judging from the extraordinary privilege that had been accorded them of not having to represent the Emperor on their coinage, they later considered this a bad precedent to set and erased it, perhaps at the time of the revolt which comes at the end of Augustus' reign¹ or in the reign of Tiberius, when their zeal for Augustus had cooled.

From the advent of the Empire all traces of the past political glory of Athens had vanished; her artistic bloom had faded; her domain had been diminished; her privileges had been restricted in that she could no longer sell citizenships; the powers of her assemblies were reduced; and it seems right to assume that her finances were shattered. Graindor feels that this state of affairs proves that she was a free city only in name.² This situation could not have been unique in Athens, but was part of the Roman policy, so that although a city was free in name, its administration must be such that it was ultimately dependent upon Rome. The rôle of Athens as an independent city-state was finished; it became only a city enveloped by one province of a vast Empire.³

But if we consider the position of Athens more closely, we find that she was really not so badly off as the above sounds. She was in the most favorable category of Roman provincial cities, for she was among the few *civitates liberae et foederatae* which guaranteed her perpetual autonomy, exempted her from ordinary taxes, and was supposed to give her the right of using her own laws, although they may have been restricted somewhat by Rome. All cities with this status were to be exempt from the interference of governors and were to have the legal right to maintain any sort of political institution they might

¹ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

think fit, but these principles do not seem to have been strictly observed.¹ Athens still was allowed to retain a number of her dependencies such as Oropos and Haliartos in Boeotia on the mainland and her insular domain was still considerably an asset, though restricted by the loss of Aegina and Eretria and by the temporary autonomy given Imbros, Lemnos, Ikos, Sciathos and Peparathos at the end of Augustus' reign.²

One must not lose sight of the fact that it was the natural process of readjustment under the Empire that was responsible for limitations which were put on the freedom of Athens, as well as other cities, and not any particular disfavor that the Emperor had shown her alone; so that to depreciate the liberty, privileges, and esteem which Athens enjoyed under Augustus leads to a misconception of the whole situation.³

In spite of her political losses, Athens never ceased to be an intellectual and artistic centre of great importance. The memory of her illustrious past drew scholars and travellers from all over the Empire to pay homage to her. In the past the Athenians had courted and flattered their conquerors in order to gain their respect and good will, so that it was undoubtedly by this means that they won over Augustus. They bestowed honors upon him at their festivals and made commemorative dedications both to him and to members of his family⁴ which, no doubt, quickly put them in his good graces causing him to visit Athens on a number of occasions and to reconcile himself with them. The mere fact that he allowed them to retain on their coinage an external symbol of their ancient tradition and prestige in the form of the bust of Athena shows that he not only respected their past, but held it in particular esteem or he would have required some device indicating the authority of Rome.

His veneration for their ancient religious ceremonies is certainly evident not only from the fact that he himself desired to be initiated into their Eleusinian Mysteries, but also from his revival, or shall we say stimulation, of the Pythia under the form of the dodecade. Though he created his new official cults as well in Athens, they never replaced or even eclipsed her own ancient religious festivals. There was not in Athens the religious renaissance that took place in Rome during the Augustan era, but her religious zest was not dormant, for by means of her games and festivals she could give expression to the memories of her past renown. Also through the medium of their coinage the Athenians could still make manifest their ancient traditions, the solemnity of their religious ceremonies, and the artistic richness of their quondam glory. Their coinage depicts not only a goodly number of their famous statues, but also important monuments, characteristic symbols of their religious cults, and representations of events and ancient legends, all of which

¹ Arnold, W. T., *The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, pp. 233–234.

² Graindor, *op. cit.*, chap. I.

³ Cf. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 130–131. Germanicus' deference to Athens seems to Graindor to prove that the city had not been used to such treatment. Also pp. 40–41. In questioning Cn. Pullius Pollion's position as well as his mission he seems to infer not only that the rights of Athens were disrespected, but also that some special affront from the Emperor was involved.

⁴ Inscribed statue bases of Livia and of Lucius Caesar were found in the Agora in 1936.

enhanced their claim to glory. To us it seems as if their coinage must have served as a device for broadcasting their glorious history.

From this new classification of the Athenian Imperial coins one sees the beginning, the recurrence, and the abandonment of certain types quite clearly defined and thus the significance of many of the reverse types can be better understood. The occurrence of a multiplicity of reverse types within a limited space of time seems to need explanation. The fact that the Athenian calendar seemed crowded with games and festivals, a number of which must have required special issues of money to conduct a really proper celebration, may well account for the variety of types. In a number of instances I have tried to connect the type with a particular festival where the significance seemed apparent.

It is my intention to discuss the types that occur on the early issues first and to point out those which have been used throughout the period of Athenian Imperial coinage and those which are short-lived. We have considerable knowledge about the festivals in the Imperial periods to help us, but it is possible that this can be supplemented by the information derived from the coins.

NIKETERIA

After Augustus granted the Athenians the privilege of coining their own local money, I believe the first issue was struck on a very large module of which the reverse type represents the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the supremacy of Athens (Fig. 8, no. 1). The obverse has the familiar bust of Athena in Corinthian helmet and aegis with serpents erect which is encircled by an olive wreath. The reverse has the early form of the legend, merely **AΘΗ**. There are three reasons why this should be the initial issue. The coins are larger in circumference than any other group of coins in this series and that coupled with the fact that the bust is surrounded by an olive wreath certainly indicates a commemorative issue of great importance. But the use of that particular subject—the contest of Athena and Poseidon—seems very significant. What could better symbolize the recent struggle between Athens and Rome with Athens successful in gaining her freedom than this ancient and traditional victory of Athena over Poseidon?

But what is even more striking is that the Athenians had a festival of freedom called the Niketeria held the third day of the month Boedromion which was to commemorate Athena's victory over Poseidon.¹ The representation of this contest between the two deities was peculiar not only to the initial issue of Athenian Imperial coins, but also to a series of early coins struck subsequently to celebrate this festival (Fig. 8, nos. 2–8). The early series alone depicts this scene between the two deities as a contest, while the few later coins on which Athena and Poseidon are represented portray only a peaceful colloquy between them (Fig. 8, nos. 9–11).

¹ Deubner, Ludwig, *Attische Feste*, p. 235, n. 2.



Fig. 8. Series representing contest of Athena and Poseidon

MARATHON FESTIVAL

It was not only legendary victories of the gods that the Athenians recalled on their early Imperial coinage, but historical victories as well where the glory was entirely Athenian. The defeat of the Persians at Marathon loomed large on the horizon, where the Athenian general Miltiades won everlasting fame for the Athenians. The monument of Miltiades at Marathon and the trophy of white marble¹ no doubt gave the inspiration for the coin type on which is represented Miltiades placing a captive Persian before a

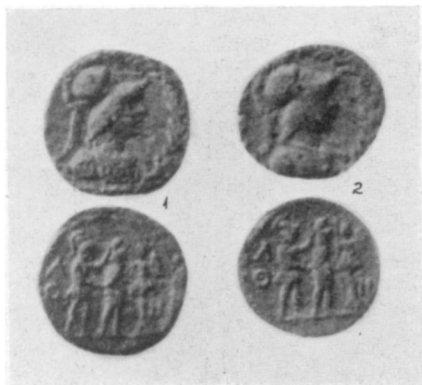


Fig. 9. Coins depicting Miltiades leading a Persian before a Trophy

trophy. The wreath around the obverse of these coins shows that they also were commemorative issues (Plate II, nos. 17-18 and Fig. 9). Since this type is so much smaller in size than that with the contest of Athena and Poseidon and yet has all the similar characteristics, my suggestion would be that these two series are contemporary. The bronze unit represented by the contest of Athena and Poseidon depicts a victory among the immortals, while the half bronze unit, Miltiades at Marathon, reproduces a victory of a mortal man, which, indeed, should be diminished in size and value from its celestial counterpart.

It seems a curious coincidence that the celebration of the victory at Marathon took place on the sixth day of Boedromion just three days after the Niketeria, the festival of freedom in honor of Athena's victory over Poseidon. Though the actual date of the battle of Marathon was in the month of Metageitnion, Mommsen² has made the suggestion that the observance of it was changed to coincide with another existing festival, in honor of Artemis who was goddess of war. Originally the celebration of the Marathon victory was a local fête at Marathon, but later it came to be an Athenian festival at which vows were taken to Artemis Agrotera.³ Essentially this was an ephebic celebration. The fifth day of Boedromion was spent in honoring those who fell at Marathon and the sixth in celebrating the victory. A great military procession of ephebes wended its way to Agrai where the vows were taken in the sanctuary of the warrior goddess Artemis.⁴ That the representation of one of the greatest Athenian warriors, Miltiades, was portrayed on the coins that were struck in honor of this occasion is most appropriate.

¹ Paus., 1, 32, 4 and 5.

² *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 177.

³ Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁴ *Le Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), Graindor, "Études sur l'Éphébie Attique sous l'Empire," p. 215.



Series of Coins with Boukranion filleted

Thus the bronze unit representing the contest of Athena and Poseidon struck for the Niketeria and the half bronze unit with Miltiades and a Persian before a trophy struck for the Marathon fête, both of which are obviously important commemorative issues because of the encircling wreath and are similar in style and technique and thus seem to be contemporary, have every right to be considered together, since it is possible that they were struck at the same time in honor of festivals that were only three days apart.

AIANTEIA

But the victories of Themistokles were not forgotten, for he too appears on coins of the early series (Plate II, nos. 2-4, 9, 10, 12, 14-16 and Fig. 10). Dressed in military attire, he stands on the deck of a galley carrying a wreath and a trophy. On the prow is depicted the owl that alighted on the rigging of Themistokles' ship before the battle of Salamis which quieted an argument, since its presence meant the goddess was among them.¹ On the ram of the galley is the serpent that appeared among the ships during the battle and which is, no doubt, a symbol of Cychreus, the early Salaminian hero who originally was probably a serpent himself.² The fact that this representation of Themistokles on a galley appears not only on the early series of coins, but recurs on later issues (Fig. 10, nos. 10-16) leads one to believe that the series was struck on the occasions of the festival which commemorated the victory of the battle.

We know that the Aiantia was the festival that celebrated this event, being held on the 16th day of Mounichion, whereas the actual battle took place on the 12th day of Boedromion. Plutarch³ has connected the Themistoklean festival with the Mounichia, perhaps, because they were celebrated on the same day. Mommsen, however, claims that Plutarch has made a mistake in saying they were one and the same festival.⁴ In the Mounichia the ephebes sacrificed to Artemis Mounichia near the port of that name, after which was held the regatta.⁵ Immediately after this the Ephebes went over to Salamis to celebrate the Aiantia where sacrifices were made to Ajax and where another regatta was held.⁶ Since they were held almost simultaneously there appears to be some connection between these two festivals.⁷ Under the Empire we learn that the Ephebic regattas of the Aiantia were replaced by a naumachia, a naval combat, in which the Athenians honored the heroes of Salamis.⁸ This series of coins would have been a most appropriate one to have been struck on these occasions.

¹ Plutarch, *Themistokles*, XII, 1.

² Paus., 1, 36, 1.

³ *De Glor. Athen.*, 7 (349 F).

⁴ Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 462-3.

⁵ Plutarch, *De Glor. Ath.*, 349 F.

⁶ Cf. Graindor, "Études sur l'Éphébie Attique sous l'Empire," *Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), p. 217 f.

⁷ Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 463-4.

⁸ Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 69 and 92; also *I. G.*, II², 1996.



Fig. 10. Series with Themistokles on a Galley

DIPOLEIA

There are other early reverse types that seem to reflect Athenian festivals and games and may well have been struck in commemoration of them. One is that of the boukranion bound with a wreath, a type that is recurrent on a long series of issues of the large bronze units (Plate V). Its significance becomes clear if we consider it in conjunction with an early type that occurs on the quarter unit (Fig. 11). Here we find represented an altar between two olive trees on which is a boukranion bound with a wreath between two kalathoi. This can be nothing else than the altar of Zeus Polias which was northeast of the Parthenon where the ancient and curious sacrifice of the "murder of the ox" (bouphonia) took place on the 14th day of Skirophorion during the celebration of the Dipoleia held in honor of Zeus and Athena Polias.¹ Oxen were driven around the altar where wheat cakes had been laid and the ox that ate the offering was sacrificed. The beast was slain with axe and knife previously wetted with water brought by maidens called "water carriers." The sharpened weapons were handed to the butchers, one of whom felled the ox with the axe and the other cut its throat with a knife. When the ox had been slain, the butchers fled. The ox was then skinned and all present partook of its flesh. When subsequently the hide was stuffed with straw and sewed up, it was set up as a symbol of the heinous crime. A trial then took place to determine who had murdered the ox. The blame was shifted from the maidens, to the butchers, to the implements which had killed the ox and which were accordingly found guilty, condemned, and cast into the sea.² On these small coins we have the altar, the ox's head and the kalathoi which were carried by the maidens. As the multiplicity of details on this fractional issue detracted from the design it was early abandoned in favor of the simpler type of the boukranion alone which we find from the beginning on the large bronzes (Plate II, no. 6; Plate III, nos. 1-3, 6, 14), and which seems a most suggestive symbol to represent the time-honored sacrifice that took place at the celebration of the Dipoleia.

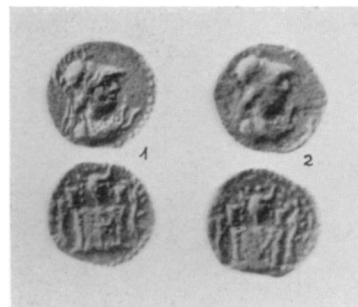


Fig. 11. Coins showing Boukranion on Altar of Zeus Polias

PANATHENAIA

The Panathenaic festival is another that has a long series of coins struck to commemorate it (Fig. 12). The early series of Panathenaic coins are of two types; the first (Fig. 12, nos. 1-3), the large upright Panathenaic amphora on which is perched an owl

¹ Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

² Frazer, *Golden Bough*, VIII, pp. 4-5.

with the legend **AΘH** in the field; the second (Fig. 12, nos. 4–5), an olive tree with an owl amid its branches beside which is a large amphora. The second also has the abbreviated legend. On the later coins of this series these simplified types have developed into a



Fig. 12. Coins struck for the Panathenaia

more detailed composition (Fig. 12, nos. 6–10). The olive tree is large and occupies the centre with the owl and the amphora smaller on either side of it. Occasionally, the symbol of victory the palm branch is represented in the exergue (Fig. 12, no. 11) and on a rare group of coins it appears in the form of a palm tree beside the amphora (Fig. 12, nos. 12–13).

THESEIA

Again it may even be possible to connect the various types depicting Theseus, all of which occur in the early series, with the Theseia which was celebrated from the 8th to the 11th of Pyanopsion, in honor of the ancient and honorable Athenian hero, Theseus.



Fig. 13. Coins depicting the Legends of Theseus

Several of his deeds are represented on the coins. His lifting of the rock depicts the episode at Troezen when as a youth Theseus lifted the rock and found the tokens of his identity which Aegeus had deposited there¹ (Fig. 13, nos. 1-3), a coin type which no doubt derived its inspiration from the statue on the Acropolis illustrative of the story.

¹ Paus., 1, 27, 8.

The type of Theseus and the bull recalls the incident of his driving the bull from the township of Marathon to the Acropolis and sacrificing it to the Goddess¹ (Fig. 13, nos. 4–5). The famous fight with the Minotaur also finds its place in this cycle of Theseus coins² (Fig. 13, nos. 6–10), inspired no doubt by the Acropolis group which had immortalized the legend. Graindor tells us explicitly that the Theseia was still celebrated in the time of Augustus and continued throughout the Imperial period³ from the evidence of inscriptions.⁴ These respective types would have been most relevant for the festival of the Theseia which was held in honor of Theseus.

AGONISTIC FESTIVALS

The long series of coins, which has as a reverse type the Agonistic Table on which is a bust of Athena between an owl and a wreath and under which is an amphora, was struck in celebration of games, a fact that is self-evident from the type (Figs. 14 and 26). Since on the later issues of this series the names of the festivals are written across the top of the table (Fig. 26, nos. 2–14), we are left in no doubt as to their significance. However, it is only on second century coins presumably of the time of Hadrian that these legends occur, a fact that I wish later to consider further. The names of at least two of these festivals are certain, that of the Hadriania (ΑΔΡΙΑΝΕΙΑ) and Olympieia (ΟΛΥΜΠΕΙΑ) (Fig. 26, nos. 2–7; nos. 13–14) and Barclay Head in his *Historia Numorum*⁵ gives another which he says is either ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ or ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΕΑ, but this must be the name that occurs on Svoronos group pl. 91, no. 41–45, where the ending is quite clearly ΝΙΑ which would eliminate ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΕΑ as a possibility. Furthermore, the Panhellenia (Fig. 26, nos. 8–12) with the Hadriania and the Olympieia were all three new games initiated by Hadrian. It is curious that one type should be used to commemorate at least three separate festivals. But what is even more extraordinary is that a new coin type was not issued in honor of new games, but one that had been in use since the Augustan era was adopted with little change except for the new legends (Plate III, no. 13).

The earliest of these coins of the Augustan period have only the abbreviated legend ΑΘΗ and slight variations from the above type. One rare group has a statuette of Athena in place of the bust (Plate II, no. 28, Fig. 14, no. 1); while another has a large owl with a wreath to the right of it on top of the table and an amphora beneath (Fig. 14, no. 2). Since we know that these coins were issued to celebrate agonistic festivals regardless of the character, as deduced from the legends on the later issues, then it is only right to connect them with such festivals in the early Imperial times.

¹ Paus., 1, 27, 10.

² Paus., 1, 24, 1.

³ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 127; "Études sur l'Éphébie Attique sous l'Empire," *Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), p. 205.

⁴ *I. G.*, II², 2998, 2999.

⁵ p. 390.

The *Σεβαστοὶ ἀγῶνες* which were created by Augustus¹ and celebrated in honor of each reigning Emperor at least until the time of Claudius when they are mentioned again² might well have had coins of this character struck to commemorate them.

In the first century not far from the Augustan era we also have mention of the *μεγάλα Καισαρῆα Σεβαστά*³ which may or may not be the same as the *Σεβαστοὶ ἀγῶνες*. The title is certainly different and Graindor⁴ believes that they were games in honor of Caesar, one of the benefactors of Athens, which were celebrated periodically, perhaps once every four years, with more splendor judging from the use of the word, *μεγάλα*.

Another agonistic festival of the early Imperial time that may have used these coins for its celebration is the Germanikeia.⁵ The Athenian ephebes fêted Germanicus and



Fig. 14. Agonistic Table represented on Early Athenian Imperial Coins

instituted games which bore his name and should not be connected with the name of Claudius.⁶ Presumably, the Germanikeia was created on the occasion of Germanicus' visit to Athens in 18 A.D., when he was received with great acclaim, and was celebrated possibly annually to commemorate the anniversary of his arrival.⁷

Since we know that the list of agonistic festivals throughout the Imperial period was a comparatively long one,⁸ it is not possible to assume that all used this particular type of commemorative coin, nor is it possible to determine just which ones did, outside of the three which have their names on the table. However, there is one thing that is quite probable which is, that the agonistic games of the first century that have a general

¹ Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 11, n. 6; *I.G.*, II², 1069.

² Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 11, n. 7; *I.G.*, II², 3270.

³ *I.G.*, II², 3531.

⁴ *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 27, n. 2.

⁵ Three times mentioned: *I.G.*, II², 1969, 2024, 2026.

⁶ Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 6; also *Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), pp. 176 ff.

⁷ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 92; and *Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), p. 178.

⁸ *I.G.*, II², 2199; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 237.

nomenclature such as *Σεβαστοὶ ἀγῶνες* or *μεγάλα Καισαρχία Σεβαστά* and were celebrated for each reigning Emperor, continued to be celebrated in the second century under more specific names honoring each particular Emperor, no doubt instituted by Hadrian in the Hadriana and persisting in the Antoneia, the Philadelphia, the Kommodia, the Severina, and the Gordianeia.

DIONYSIA

However, there are still other first century coin types that reflect festivals which must be discussed before we consider the later coins. During the developmental stage, when the simple abbreviated early form of the legend **ΑΘΗ** changes to **ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ** on the coins and the position of the legend is still in the process of formulation, we find that a new type appears on the reverse, that of the seated Dionysos before an altar (Fig. 15) which also seems to be a type that could be symbolic of an important Athenian festival.



Fig. 15. Series of Coins with Dionysos seated

The Greater or City Dionysia ought also to have a special issue of coins to commemorate it. This great festival was held from the 9th to the 13th of the month Elaphebolion. On the morning of the 9th the image of the Eleutherian Dionysos was taken from its hearth and home, the old temple of Dionysos in front of the theatre¹ and carried by the ephebes in a great procession through the Kerameikos to the temple of Dionysos near the Academy,² and on returning they set it up in the orchestra of the theatre.³ That this image of Dionysos was the archaic zoanon of wood and not the chryselephantine work of Alkamenes is only reasonable, as it seems quite out of the question that a colossal gold and ivory statue could be moved and easily transported through the city.⁴

Coins of the early series with Dionysos seated before an altar (Plate III, nos. 4, 5, and 7; Fig. 15, nos. 1–2) look as if the figure might have been just such an image of wood. Here is portrayed a crude squat figure with all the stiffness that one might expect from an archaic wooden statue. One sees no attempt whatsoever at modelling, but only a linear depiction of the figure which has no artistic merit. Since other figures represented on coins of this same period have none of these characteristics, it seems to me that the subject which inspired this type was responsible for its archaic qualities. On this earliest type of Dionysos coin the letters of the legend are also crudely made and read counter-clockwise outward. The coins of this type from a slightly later period (Fig. 15, nos. 3–4) seem to have better proportions for the statue, yet there still lingers that stiff and angular quality of the earlier type. Considering these various points it seems to me most probable that this series of coins was struck in honor of the Greater Dionysia which we know was still celebrated in the Augustan era and continued at least through the Hadrianic period.⁵

MYSTERIES AT ELEUSIS

A number of types can be readily recognized as having been struck either for the celebration of the great mysteries at Eleusis or the Eleusinia, which were games sacred to Demeter and Persephone and which, though quite distinct from the mysteries, would have similar symbolism related to them. Among the early issues are types which are very short-lived: one represents Demeter standing to the left in a chariot drawn by winged serpents between the two goddesses presumably Kore and Hecate (Plate III, no. 15; Fig. 16, nos. 1–2); another type shows Demeter and Kore standing facing each other (Fig. 16, nos. 3–4); Demeter holds a torch while Kore carries a sceptre in her left hand and probably spears of wheat in her right. These types occur only on the bronze unit, while on the early coins of the half bronze unit are depicted Demeter holding a sceptre

¹ Paus., 1, 20, 3.

² Paus., 1, 29, 2.

³ *I.G.*, II², 1006, 12; also 1008, 14 ff.; 1011, 11 ff.

⁴ Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 392, n. 3; also p. 436, n. 4.

⁵ Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 108 and n. 9; *I.G.*, II², 3182, 3112; see also p. 14 of Graindor.



Fig. 16. Coins depicting Eleusinian Symbolism

seated before a serpent (Fig. 16, no. 5); Kore brandishing two lighted torches (Fig. 16, no. 6) and Iakchos dressed in a short garment holding a lighted torch with both hands (Fig. 16, no. 7). It is possible that the inspiration for this last series of coins came from a group of Demeter, Kore, and Iakchos in the temple of Demeter at Athens said to be by Praxiteles. But the depiction of mother, daughter, and sacred child as represented on these coins seems to have been made only at one time, for the figures are all very similar in style. It is possible that in these types of the half bronze unit we may find an allusion to the celebration of the Lesser Mysteries which was a festival of less pomp that took place in the early spring in the month of Anthesterion in the district of Agrae on the Ilissus. These were in honor of Demeter, her daughter Kore, and the child Iakchos, who was identified with Dionysos, and served as a sort of purificatory rite in preparation for the Greater Mysteries which were held at Eleusis in the fall.

A familiar type carried over from the Greek period occurs on the quarter unit of these early Imperial coins, that of Triptolemus seated left in a chariot drawn by winged serpents (Fig. 16, nos. 8-9), a type that was more lasting, since it is also found on the later issues (Fig. 16, nos. 10-11). On early Imperial issues as well as later ones, Demeter is also represented in this same winged chariot (Plate IV, no. 24; Fig. 16, nos. 12-16). These two types are often difficult to distinguish, the only difference being that Demeter is fully clothed and carries a torch and grain, while Triptolemus is half nude and holds sheaves of grain alone. These seem to be the most popular of the Eleusinian types as they alone continue to be used in the latest issues.

Other types also which pertain to the worship of Demeter at Eleusis and which occur solely on the later coins are: Artemis or Hecate brandishing torches in both hands (Fig. 16, nos. 17-18) symbolical of the search for Kore with torches; the pig (Fig. 16, nos. 19-20) which was sacrificed to Demeter, an offering that was believed to have magical import; the spears of grain placed side by side (Fig. 16, nos. 21-22) which may represent the first fruits of the barley and wheat harvest that were presented to Demeter; the two torches (Fig. 16, nos. 23-25) which aided in the search for Kore; the serpent issuing from the cista mystica (Fig. 16, nos. 27-30) which presumably symbolizes the revelation to the mystae of the mysterious object, the serpent personifying the underworld, which was withheld from profane eyes; the kalathos with wheat standing in it (Fig. 16, no. 26) may represent the reward of the victors in the Eleusinian games with measures of barley.¹

This comparatively long series of types can only be associated with the worship of Demeter and Kore, so that unquestionably they must be associated either with the mysteries or with the Eleusinian games.

THARGELIA

There are a number of other types which occur on the series of first century coins that very probably were connected with festivals. Though the connection between type

¹ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, VII, p. 73.

and fête may not be quite so obvious as in the previous discussions, it seems reasonable to make the suggestions at least.

In the Agora we have identified the small temple below the so-called Theseum and to the south of the Stoa of Zeus as that of Apollo Patroös.¹ When the Greek Archaeological Society excavated near this spot in 1907, the excavators found a draped male



Fig. 17. Apollo Patroös and Apollo Alexikakos as represented on Coins

figure and pieces of a lyre which led to the identification of this statue as the Apollo Patroös by Euphranor.² On an altar found in Athens there is sculptured in relief an image of Apollo Patroös holding a lyre.³ Certainly the coin type with Apollo standing facing (Fig. 17, nos. 1-7) with his head turned to the left, wearing a long chiton with diplois and holding a lyre in his left arm and a patera in his outstretched right hand must be identified with that of Apollo Patroös. The earliest coin of this type is a half

¹ Paus., 1, 3, 4.

² *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 352 ff.

³ Daremberg and Saglio, I, p. 320; fig. 380.

bronze unit where the legend is merely abbreviated **AΘH** (Fig. 17, no. 1). There is also a series of bronze units slightly later in date which have the full legend (Fig. 17, nos. 2–4), as well as several series of a much later epoch (Fig. 17, nos. 5–7).

This type with the representation of Apollo Patroös ought to belong to the festival of the Thargelia which was one of the chief fêtes of Apollo at Athens. And although the Thargelia was held in honor of the Pythian Apollo,¹ the association with the Patroös is explained by a reference in Demosthenes: τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατροῦός ἐστι τῇ πόλει.² We are told that during the course of the festival of the Thargelia there were human expiatory sacrifices made for the purpose of purifying the city of contagious diseases and allaying the plague, as well as all other catastrophies.³ Apollo Alexikakos was certainly the Averter of evil and his statue by Kalamis stood outside the Temple of Apollo Patroös.⁴ Is there any connection between the two? If so then the coin type which can be identified as Apollo Alexikakos (Fig. 17, nos. 8–13) with the god standing to the right holding a branch of laurel and a bow may also be connected with this festival.

Apollo was the special protector of Augustus⁵ and not only did the Emperor institute the sending of the dodecade to Delphi in connection with the celebration of the Pythia, but he must also have stimulated the cult of Apollo Pythios at Athens.⁶ One can readily see how popular the cults of Apollo were at Athens in the first century of our era, if one reviews the various epithets under which Apollo was worshipped in that period: Agyieus, Delios, Hypoacraios, Patroös, Pythios, and Kerkyoneus.⁷ Claudius assimilated himself with Apollo Patroös⁸ and Nero was called the "New Apollo."⁹ Certainly then, it is not hazardous to assume that our Athenian Imperial coins with the representations of Apollo were struck either for the celebration of the ancient festival of Apollo, the Thargelia, or of new festivals in honor of this god in his various aspects.

CHLOEIA

It may be possible to connect the series of half bronze units with the representation of Demeter Chloe with the festival of the Chloeia¹⁰ which was celebrated in honor of Demeter whose sanctuary was on the Acropolis.¹¹ It was solemnized in the spring when

¹ Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 198.

² Demosth., 18, 141.

³ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. IX, p. 253.

⁴ Paus., 1, 3, 4.

⁵ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 155, n. 2.

⁶ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 139, § 2; also p. 147.

⁷ Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 107–108.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰ Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 67; also Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 419.

¹¹ Paus., 1, 22, 3, and Frazer's *Commentary*.

the blossoms began to appear, hence the name *Χλόεια*. The coin type depicts Demeter seated right on a rock (Fig. 18), with her left arm extended to the column which is in front of her. This type occurs only on the early series where the cursive omega is used. The legend **ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ** is arranged in four lines behind the figure.



Fig. 18. Demeter Chloë as represented on Coins

ASKLEPIEIA

Again the coin type with the figure of Asklepios leaning on a serpent staff (Fig. 19) may have been issued to celebrate the Asklepieia which was held in Athens, where no doubt the great festival of Epidaurus was imitated with processions and games on the 8th day of the month Elaphebolion. Though it is only mentioned once in inscriptions,¹ we see that this coin type was used in the first century (Fig. 19, nos. 1–3) and again at a later date (Fig. 19, nos. 4–10), perhaps in 266/7 the time of the inscription.²

HERAKLEIA

Just so the coin type with the replica of the Farnese Herakles (Fig. 20) on it may have served to commemorate the Herakleia. This type occurs on a first century series (Fig. 20, nos. 1–2) and then not again until a much later date (Fig. 20, nos. 3–5).

ΚΥΘΟΙ

Another type that seems to suggest a festival of which we have some knowledge appears on the late coins with the representation of Hermes nude, advancing to the left, carrying in his left arm the caduceus and in his outstretched right hand a money bag;

¹ *I. G.*, II², 2245.

² Graindor, *Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), p. 212.



Fig. 19. Asklepios leaning on a Serpent Staff



Fig. 20. Farnese Herakles depicted on Coins

on his head is the petasos (Fig. 21). Hermes was one of the patrons of the ephebes and they offered sacrifices to him on the 13th day of Anthesterion at the fête of the Chytroi. From the last decade of the second century we have an inscription (*I.G.*, II², 2130) that mentions the two agoranomes—ephebes organizing the celebration of the Chytroi (*Κύθροι*). There is only the one mention of it in 192/3 A.D. and whether it was celebrated at this specific time for some unique circumstance or not we do not know.¹ We have evidence that when this festival was celebrated in the Greek period, there were

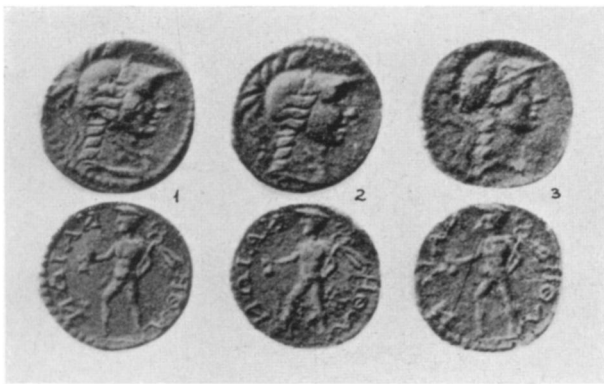


Fig. 21. Hermes with Caduceus and Money Bag

games in connection with it.² Since this is a day consecrated to the dead with sacrifices made to the chthonic deity, Hermes, it would be appropriate to have games similar to the funeral games. Graindor has supposed that the inscription from imperial times, 192/3 A.D.,³ should be interpreted as referring to a true Agon.⁴ Since the coins which represent Hermes belong only to the late period it seems possible that they might have been struck for this festival which was celebrated in 192/3 A.D.

ZEUS TYPES

It is a little difficult to draw the line between the celebration of specific festivals and the commemoration of particular events, because the latter might easily have been honored with a festival. We know that the friendly monarchs and allies of Rome decided to complete the Olympieion at Athens in honor of Augustus⁵ and it is certain that work was actually done on the building at this time.⁶ There is a short and rare issue of early Athenian Imperial coins that could have been struck on this occasion, that of Zeus enthroned to left, holding a Nike in his right hand (Fig. 22, nos. 1–2). We know that the colossal gold and ivory statue was not set up in the building until the time of Hadrian,⁷ when this great temple was finally completed, but in the Augustan era the conception of such a statue must surely have been in the minds of those concerned and they must have envisaged a statue similar to that of the

¹ Graindor, *Musée Belge*, XXVI (1922), p. 214.

² Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 401.

³ *I.G.*, II², 2130, col. II, l. 14.

⁴ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁵ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 81.

⁶ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 178, n. 2; Fraser, A. D., *Art Bulletin*, IX (1921), pp. 5 and 8.

⁷ Paus., 1, 18, 6.

masterpiece of Pheidias at Olympia. If we compare the first century Athenian coin with the Imperial coins from Elis (Fig. 22, no. 3) on which the Pheidian Zeus is represented, we find that they agree detail for detail. But the style of the first century Olympian Zeus coin type seems later than the Augustan style and the uncial omega is here in use; therefore, one must suppose that it was not struck to commemorate the revived building



Fig. 22. Various Aspects of Zeus as represented on Coins

of the Olympieion in the Augustan period, but for a celebration of the ancient festival of the Olympieia about the middle of the first century for some specific purpose on one isolated occasion, since the great revival of this festival did not occur until the Hadrianic era.

On a later series of coins, which are certainly of the second century and are equally rare, we find another representation of Zeus seated (Fig. 22, nos. 4-5), this time to the right, but here he is seated on a diphros and not on the thronos of the earlier type and in his right hand he holds the eagle instead of the Nike. Why is it not possible that this type was copied from the statue set up in the Olympieion by Hadrian rather than the earlier one which has traditionally been connected with this statue of gold and

ivory, but cannot have been struck on the occasion of its dedication, because it has all the first century characteristics?

There is still another first century coin type (Fig. 22, nos. 6-8) that portrays the figure of Zeus naked standing to the right holding a thunderbolt in his lowered right hand and a patera in his left which is extended over an altar. Is it not possible to connect this type with the greatest of the Athenian festivals of Zeus, the Diasia, which was of a propitiatory character?

THE ACROPOLIS

One of the most important types on all the Athenian Imperial series is that on which the Acropolis is depicted (Plate VI). It is important not only because it commemorates a specific event which can be dated, but also because it places chronologically the styles of the obverse head. It serves as a point around which one can build.

It has long been inferred that, because of the prominence of the steps leading to the Acropolis, this type was struck to commemorate the paving of the staircase with white marble. By very cogent arguments Graindor has shown that this event must be assigned to the reign of Claudius.¹ That this Emperor was a benefactor of Greece we know from dedications² and also from the fact that he restored to Greece statues that Caligula had carried off.³

If the coin type is not connected with this event, it has no significance. Picard was the first, presumably, who suggested that the coins must date from the reign of Claudius, because of the detail of the prominence of the steps.⁴ No other explanation seems in the least plausible.

Obviously the series of coins featuring the Acropolis are not all from the same period. However, it is possible to suppose that the earliest types are to be placed in the reign of Claudius who initiated the project and that the others follow in sequence, having been struck during the course of the construction in recognition of Claudius' beneficence to the Athenians and ceasing when the work was finished. But it seems quite improbable that such a piece of work would have been in progress for any great length of time, a prolonged period adequate to cover all the changes in style that occur on the obverse head of Athena. Indeed, it seems safer and more reasonable to divide the series depicting this type into the two separate groups already differentiated by the fabrics. The first group (Plate VI, nos. 1-10) includes the coins with the large modules, dark metal, thin fabric, and superior technique that I have already particularly specified as first century types. The second group (Plate VI, nos. 11-24) is characterized by the coins of heavier

¹ Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 160 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³ Paus., 9, 27, 3; Dio, LX, 6, 8; *I.G.*, II², 5173, 5174, 5175, 5176, 5177.

⁴ Picard, *L'Acropole*, p. 17.



Series of Coins depicting the Acropolis

fabric, lighter-colored metal with a smaller module which are later and in this case I should say Hadrianic, as I shall try to prove below.

It seems most probable that this earlier group can rightly be associated with the construction period of the steps, for in style they fit into this period very exactly. The two earliest coins of this series are of particular importance. The first (Plate VI, no. 1; Svoronos, pl. 98, no. 19) has the bust of Athena in Corinthian helmet and aegis which we proved was similar to other busts of Athena occurring on coins that can be dated in the Augustan era. The reverse legend of this coin has ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, still using the cursive form of the omega. This issue must have been limited, as I have been able to locate only this one coin of this particular style. This type is followed by one with the head of Athena in Corinthian helmet with narrow horsehair crest and with her hair loose over the brow and in back (Plate VI, no. 2; Svoronos, pl. 98, no. 20). The reverse legend of this coin also still uses the cursive omega. The other coins of this type made of the earlier fabric show the change to the uncial form of omega Ω. From this we are certain that all the developmental stages of the reverse legend can be dated from the Augustan era to the early years of Claudius' reign. We may be a little surprised to see that this early obverse bust of Athena continued in use as late as the reign of Claudius, but one has only to recall the long series of coins from Aegeae in Cilicia which were dated by Imhoof-Blumer from the middle of the first century B.C. to at least 47/8 A.D., when we have another dated coin still using this same early bust of Athena which is strikingly similar to our coin of the reign of Claudius 41–54 A.D. (Fig. 23, cf. Plate VI, no. 1).¹ Since this type of bust occurs only once on the Athenian coins with the representation of the Acropolis on them, we can assume that this type was discontinued in the early years of the reign of Claudius.

It seems probable then that the entire early group of the Acropolis type should be dated in the reign of Claudius coinciding with the construction period of the steps (Plate VI, nos. 1–10; Svoronos, pl. 98, nos. 19–29). But how shall we account for the second group? From the styles of head portrayed on the obverse, they do not seem to follow consecutively the early group, but rather there seems to be a considerable break before the type is used again. In examining the details of the Acropolis on the reverse of this second group, it may be noted that the steps now are not represented in such prominence, as on the earlier type, and in the latest series of this second group (Plate VI, nos. 18–24)



Fig. 23. Coin from Aegeae in Cilicia, dated 47/8 A.D.

¹ Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, II, pl. XVI, no. 14.

Ob. Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and aegis with serpents erect.

Re. ΑΠΕΑΙΩΝ Tyche standing l., holding rudder and cornucopiae. Above l., ΑΠΙ, below ΔΡ (= 94 year of Caesarian era or 47/8 A.D.).

they have even changed position. A view of the Acropolis as seen from the northwest was changed to a view from the southwest. Could this second group of Acropolis coins which presumably date in the second century have been struck in commemoration of some reconstruction done on the Acropolis and not for the commemoration of the paving of the steps at all?

At this point we must discuss the character of second century coins to which we have referred so often. The fabric has already been differentiated from that of the first century; the flans are smaller and thicker and made of a lighter colored metal. This characteristic second century fabric continues to be used in the third century. There is no evidence as yet to show that this change took place in the Hadrianic period; it is possible that it is somewhat earlier.

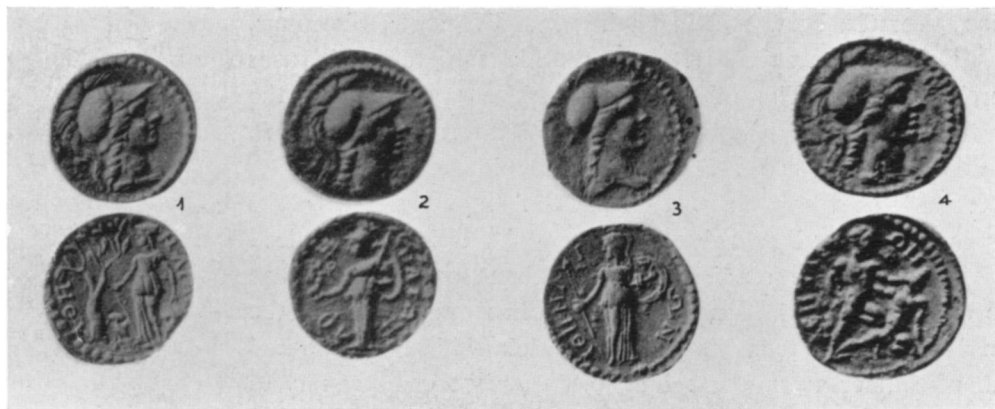
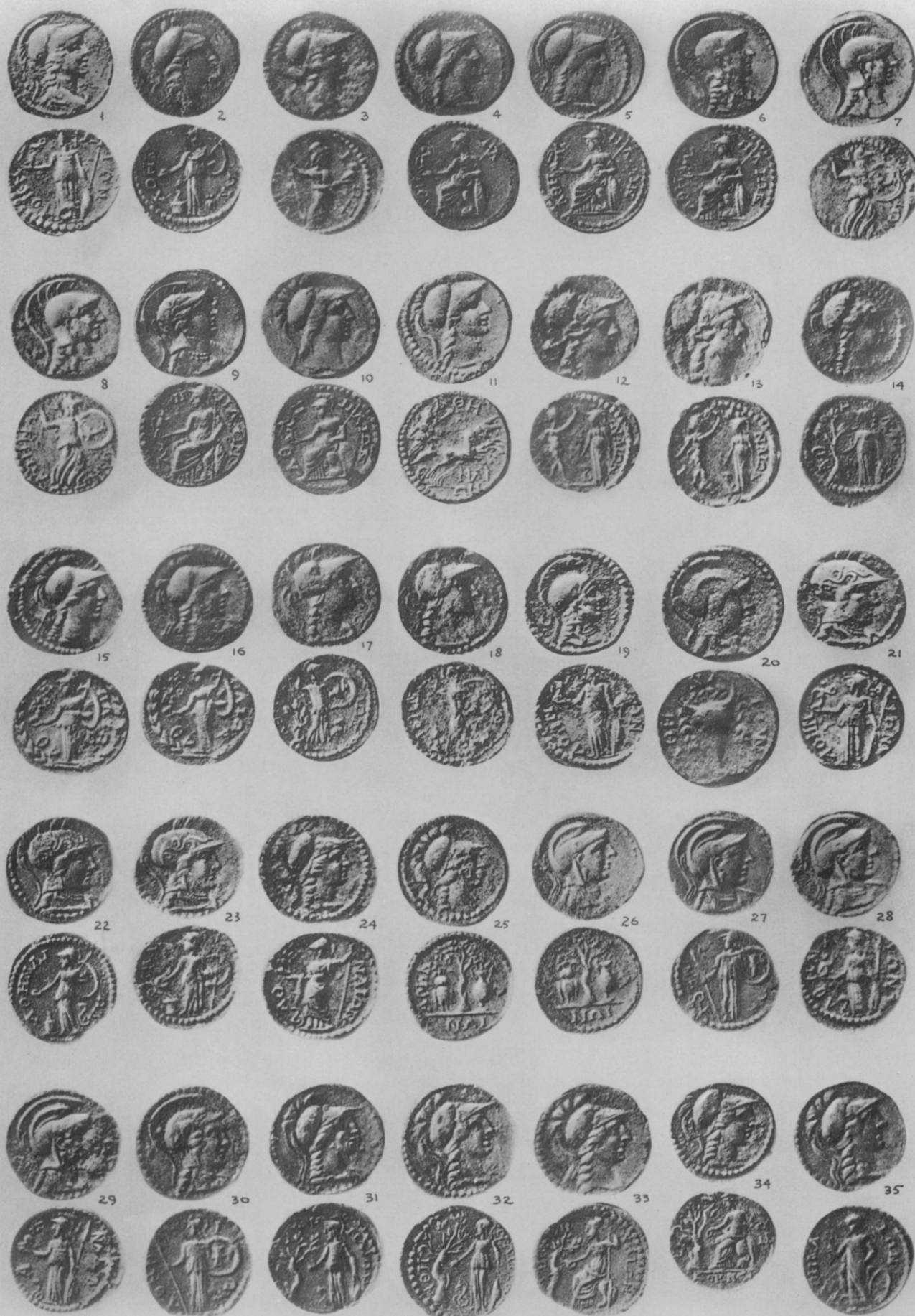


Fig. 24. Athena Heads showing Style of the Hadrianic Period

One of the most frequent obverse types of the Hadrianic period (Fig. 24) is the bust of Athena wearing a crested Corinthian helmet which has been pushed slightly back on the head, and has its ovoid bowl obviously lower than on the earlier coins. The crest has now a fan-shape formed by radiating lines starting from a central point on the bowl and it is usually wider than the earlier crests. The transition from the narrow horsehair-crest made by parallel lines to this more advanced style of fan-crest is to be found on coins of the earlier, darker fabric (Fig. 25). On the second century coins the treatment of the hair has changed; the soft naturalness has been lost and the face is now framed by more set locks over the brow, usually slightly rolled. In back the hair has been twisted into a narrow roll the separate tresses of which are differentiated. Naturally this detracts from the softness of the effect. The goddess is no longer the youthful maiden of the early Imperial coins; but this change in aspect was already apparent on coins of the second half of the first century. Though in the Hadrianic period she still has a serene, sweet, idealistic appearance, on the later coins she developed a hard, austere expression that is anything but pleasing (see Plate VII).



Series of Coins from the Second Century A.D.

Obviously one may well ask, "How does one know that this style belongs to the Hadrianic period?" Previously we have discussed the coins with the Agonistic table which are inscribed across the top of the table **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΕΙΑ**, **ΟΛΥΜΠΕΙΑ**, and **ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ** (Fig. 26, nos. 2-14) in connection with the festivals, but now I should like to consider their date.

We found that not only was one coin type used to honor these three festivals due to their agonistic character, but also that a familiar first century type was selected (Fig. 26, no. 1), altered only by the use of the new legends, to be used in the celebration of totally new games. Why should these names of the games occur on the table if it were not when they were first initiated by Hadrian? Certainly at that time rather than at some future date they have significance and reason. These names alone dif-



Fig. 25. Athena Heads illustrating Transition to Fan-crests

ferentiate these coins from similar ones used for other *ἀγῶνες*. The Hadrianic period is the logical time for this distinction to have been made at the creation of new games.

Another point that should be noted is that the form of the table on this particular group of coins (Fig. 26, nos. 2-14) is but a later development of the form on the first century coins (Fig. 26, no. 1). It is a simple heavy-topped table with straight, short legs ending in a simplified claw. The top has been slightly thickened and the legs shortened from the first century type. Later the table develops a much more sophisticated form (Fig. 26, nos. 15-17).

It is also significant that formerly when scholars believed that the series of Athenian Imperial coins were initiated in the Hadrianic period, the natural sequence of style necessitated their placing these particular coins, with names of festivals on the agonistic table, about the reign of Gordianus III, 238-244 A.D.¹ They had thus allowed a period of about 137 years from the very earliest styles to those which we see depicted on this

¹ Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 390; Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, pp. 101 and 116.

particular series of coins. But since we have dated the earliest coins in the Augustan era and those with the names of festivals on the agonistic table in the Hadrianic, our



Fig. 26. The Agonistic Table as depicted on Hadrianic Coins and Later

interval of style development between the two is about 144 years, which shows that the calculations for style development are almost the same.

Fortunately, it so happens that in each of the groups with the festival names on the tables one can connect the reverse dies: in the first group with $\Lambda\Delta\text{PIANEIA}$, Fig. 26,

nos. 2–7 are all connected by the same reverse die;¹ in the second with ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ, Fig. 26, nos. 8–12; nos. 8–9 and nos. 10–11 have respectively the same reverse dies² and although Fig. 26, no. 12 is not from the same die it must be contemporary,³ as the helmeted head of Athena is somewhat similar to Fig. 26, no. 5;⁴ in the third group with ΟΛΥΜΠΕΙΑ, Fig. 26, nos. 13 and 14⁵ are also struck with the same reverse die. Thus, we have represented just in this small group a number of different styles of obverse head that must all be approximately contemporary and of the Hadrianic era.

Moreover, we see a revival of the bust of Athena wearing the Attic helmet (Fig. 26, no. 9) which is close-fitting with round bowl set low on the forehead. In front is depicted a pegasos or griffin. This characteristic helmet has the usual neck and ear guards and is crowned by a broad fan-crest. The hair is rolled in back with loose tresses hanging over the shoulder. It is a very pleasing head of small proportions and occurs very infrequently on these Imperial coins. A more elaborate helmet, certainly a variation of the Attic helmet, also occurs on this series. It has a large bowl, prominent visor, long neck-guard, and fan-crest (Fig. 26, no. 12). On the side of the bowl is a heavy sickle-shaped ridge that may possibly be the right crest, as seen from the top, of a triple-crested helmet. It is more ornate than any helmet we have seen hitherto on these Athenian Imperial coins. On this particular series of agonistic coins we find for the first time on the bronze unit the head of Athena turned to the left wearing a fan-crested Corinthian helmet (Fig. 26, no. 7).

Thus these coins were struck first, for the Hadrianeia which opened the new era of Hadrian⁶ which was in commemoration of Hadrian's first visit to Greece in 124/5 A.D. in the month Boedromion;⁷ second, for the Olympieia which marks the point of departure of the new Olympiad in the year 131/2, Hadrian's third visit to Greece, when the temple of Zeus Olympios was consecrated;⁸ and thirdly, for the Panhellenia which was to commemorate the foundation of the temple of Zeus Panhellenios and the creation of the new union of Greek states called the Panhellenion with Athens as the capital. This union not only enhanced the dignity and brilliance of Athens, but also "served to unite both European and Asiatic Greeks and to revive the memories of the great civilizing mission of Hellenism in the past."⁹ The first Panhellenia should have been celebrated in 137 A.D.¹⁰ The Grand Panhellenian games, without doubt, were held every fifth year, but similar games less important in character should have taken place every year.¹¹

¹ Svoronos, pl. 91, nos. 33–38.

² *Ibid.*, nos. 43–44 and 41 and 45.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 42.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 36.

⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 39–40.

⁶ Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, pp. 3 ff.; also p. 4, n. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 17 and 39.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁹ Tod, M. N., *J.H.S.*, XLII (1922), pp. 175–176; Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, p. 53.

¹⁰ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 53; *Inscr. von Olympia*, p. 347, no. 237.

¹¹ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 108.



Fig. 27. Panathenaic Coins of the Hadrianic Period and Later

Hadrian did not content himself alone with the creation of new eras and new games to commemorate them, but also he revived the old by ushering in a new era of the Panathenaic celebrations which probably fell about 130/131 A.D. Dittenberger has seen the beginning of this new era in the promise made by Herodes Atticus to build the stadium all in white marble when he was agonothete of the Panathenaia. But presumably this agonothesia and the construction of the stadium are later than 130/131 A.D.¹

¹ Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, p. 48; and *Herode Atticus*, p. 65.

As we have already seen the coins struck for the celebration of the Panathenaia were those with the olive tree between an owl and an amphora (Fig. 27). We noted that the Panathenaic types of the Augustan period laid more stress on the Panathenaic amphora (Fig. 12, nos. 1–5) and that in the group which depicted the olive tree (Fig. 12, nos. 4–5) the amphora beside it was of considerable proportions.

A careful examination of the entire series of Panathenaic coins reveals a curious fact which is, that between the Augustan and Hadrianic periods none of these types exists. Also throughout this period there is no mention of the Panathenaia in inscriptions. One can hardly believe that this ancient festival ceased entirely, but it may have been overshadowed by other celebrations, so that it dwindled in importance and no coins were issued in celebration of it. Or possibly other types which are not so easily recognizable served to commemorate this fête in the interim. However, it is noteworthy that when in the Hadrianic period this type with the olive tree between owl and amphora was revived, the early form of the legend **AΘH** occurs on the coins in the exergue (Fig. 27, nos. 1–5), but its use was not of long duration.¹ This revival of the old tradition is quite characteristic of the Hadrianic era. In this group Fig. 27, nos. 1–4 are connected by the same reverse die.² The obverse heads of Athena are similar in style to those with the names of the festivals on the agonistic table which were obviously Hadrianic and the type (Fig. 27, no. 3) with Athena in the closefitting crested Attic helmet³ is presumably from the same obverse die as Fig. 26, no. 9.⁴

When the use of the abbreviated legend **AΘH** changes to the full legend in this Hadrianic group (Fig. 27, nos. 6–7),⁵ the **AΘH** still occupies the exergue as in the previous group, while the other letters **ΝΑΙΩΝ** read counter-clockwise around the flan. The later coins of this Panathenaic group dispose of the letters of the legend in various ways (Fig. 27, nos. 8–11).

THEATRE OF DIONYSOS

There is still another rare and important group of coins that I would place in the Hadrianic period,—those which portray the Theatre of Dionysos on the reverse. Unfortunately there are so few of these coins in existence that our deductions of style must be more or less tentative. From the three coins that we know which have approximately the same style of Athena head, we see the Corinthian helmet with a developed broad fan-crest and the hair twisted over the brow and in back which are certainly second century characteristics, as is also the fabric (Fig. 28, nos. 1–3). However, this exact type of head cannot be connected with any other series of coins from which we can derive a more definite dating. We might almost say it is a style group by itself.

¹ Svoronos, pl. 90, nos. 8–12.

² *Ibid.*, nos. 9–12.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 91, no. 44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 90, nos. 13–14.

But certainly the reverse type, the representation of the Theatre of Dionysos, must have some particular significance. Why was this type used and when would it have been most appropriate? In the Theatre of Dionysos, the twelve tribes set up a statue of Hadrian in each of twelve kerkides and in the middle, the place of honor, a thirteenth was set up by the Areopagus, the Demos, and the Boule.¹ These statues were erected for an event which can be none other than Hadrian's agonothesia of the Dionysia in March 125 A.D.² He was twice agonothete of the Dionysia and to fill these functions he dressed in the local costume.³ Dio's mention of the agonothesia of the Dionysia refers to the celebration in 132 A.D. and should not be confused with that of March 125.⁴

Graindor points out that the statues were appropriately erected in the theatre because that was the place of assembly for the people, and that their number implies that the

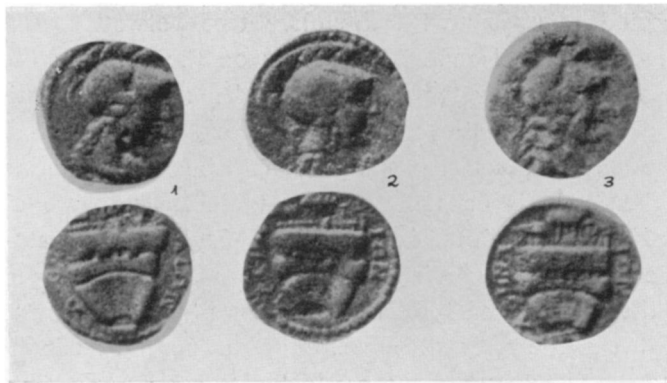


Fig. 28. Coins depicting the Theatre of Dionysos

creation of a thirteenth tribe, Hadrianis, was contemporary with their erection. There is no reason for doubting that the new order of things was established in 124/25 A.D.⁵

We know that under Hadrian the Theatre of Dionysos underwent some modifications. Graindor believes that the reliefs which adorn the front of the stage should also be assigned to the reconstruction of the time of Hadrian because the academic style of the sculpture accords with the practice of that period.⁶ Also, it has been supposed that it was in his time that an imperial loge to which one ascends by a stair, the construction of which necessitated the displacement of a number of the seats of honor, was installed between the two kerkides situated to the east of the marble throne reserved for the priest of Dionysos.⁷

¹ Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 102.

² Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, pp. 18-20.

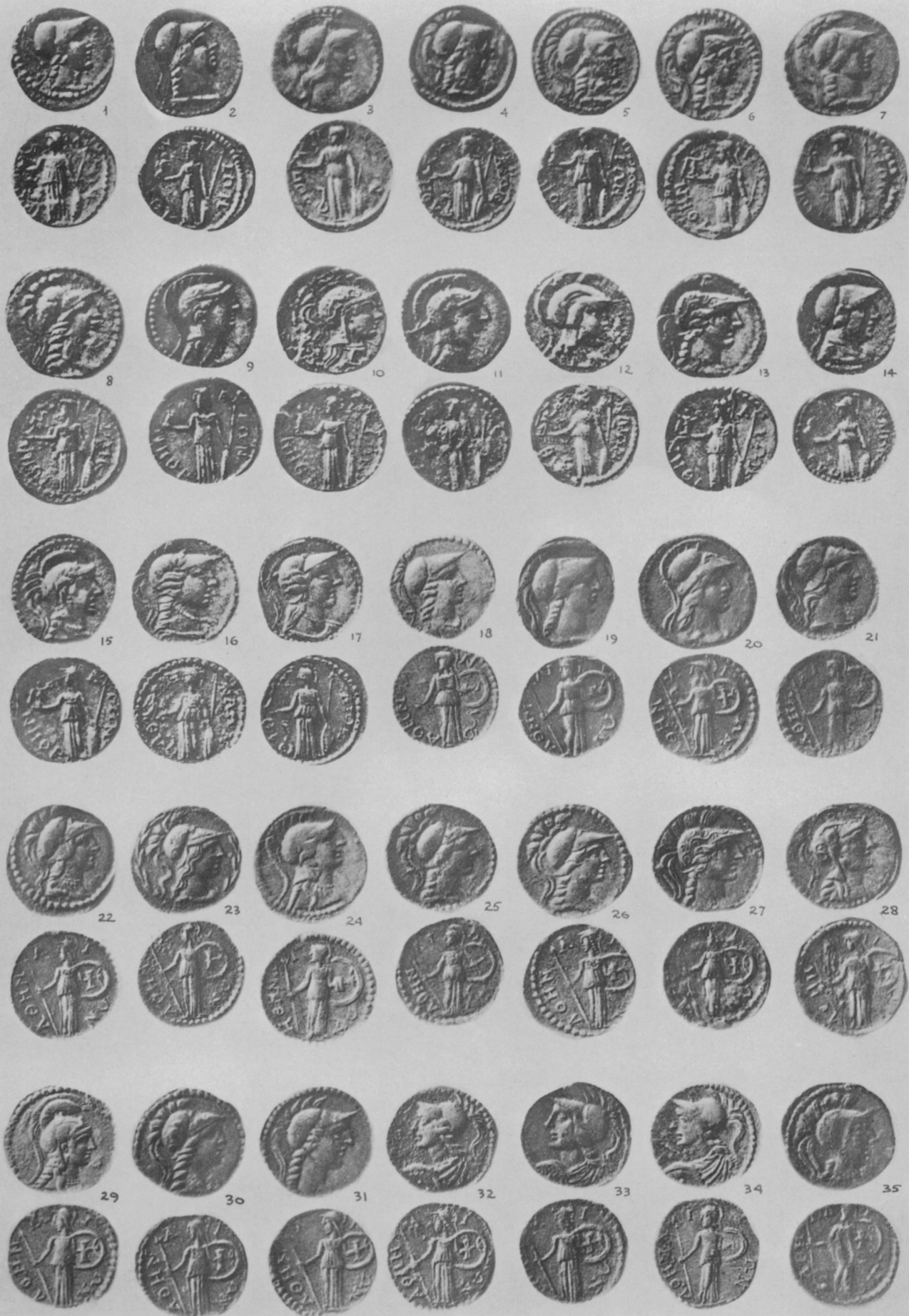
³ *Ibid.*, p. 246; also p. 5, n. 3 and p. 54; Dio, 69, 16, 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 277; also *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 199 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 245-6.



Series of Second and Third Century Coins representing Athena Parthenos and Athena Promachos

In the newly remodelled theatre, adorned with many statues of the Emperor, Hadrian, who was numbered among the eponyms of the city¹ and who was then agonothete of the Dionysia, amid the reunited assembly of the people, created the new tribe of the Hadrianis which was destined to commemorate the work accomplished by the great benefactor of Athens. Certainly such an occasion would have required a new issue of coins and none could be more appropriate than those representing the theatre of Dionysos, for this type would have had real significance on such a great occasion.

Hadrian's generosity to Athens opened up a new life for the Athenians; the festivals were celebrated with more splendor than ever.² Athens seemed to gain a renewed confidence to face the future, though she was already among the immortals. "Always poor in money, but rich in glory and as free as a city incorporated in the Empire could hope to be, Athens enjoyed more than ever, in calm and security, an old age surrounded by sympathy, respect, and honors."³ The second century coinage reflects this renaissance not only in its more abundant coinage, but also in its multiplicity of new types which were inspired by the many masterpieces of sculpture that had adorned her sanctuaries for generations.

The Hadrianic period seemed to set the mould for the reverse types that occur on the coinage of the second and third centuries. From that time on there is very little variation in detail on the numerous reverse types. The long series of coins with the representations of Athena Parthenos (Plate VIII, nos. 1-17)⁴ and Athena Promachos (Plate VIII, nos. 18-35)⁵ show admirably the fixity of the respective types. The natural outcome of this permanency of type led obviously to the most stereotyped forms which were extremely monotonous.

These same tendencies are apparent in the styles of the obverse head which become more and more fixed, hard, and expressionless. The head and bust of the goddess are used alternately; the crests of the helmet have a tendency to become broader and more elaborate; the hair becomes more rigid and artificial looking due to the hardness of line and the inclination for more substantial twisting of it over the brow and in back. All these characteristics which are in the process of formulation throughout the styles of the second century had developed to the extreme in the styles of the third century.

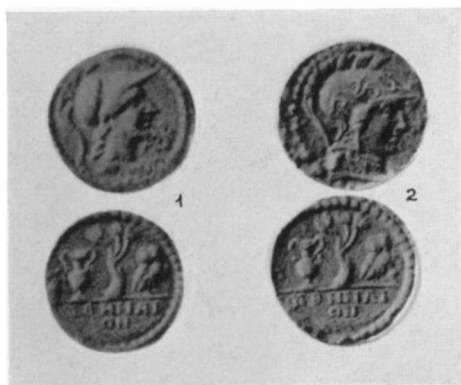


Fig. 29. Two Second Century Coins with same Reverse Die

¹ Paus., 1, 5, 5.

² Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrian*, p. 286.

³ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

⁴ Svoronos, pls. 82 and 83.

⁵ Svoronos, pl. 86.

It is perhaps unexpected to find a predilection for elaborate helmet forms beginning as early as the first half of the second century, but we are certain that this is the case from the fact that in the Panathenaic series we have a coin with the head depicted in

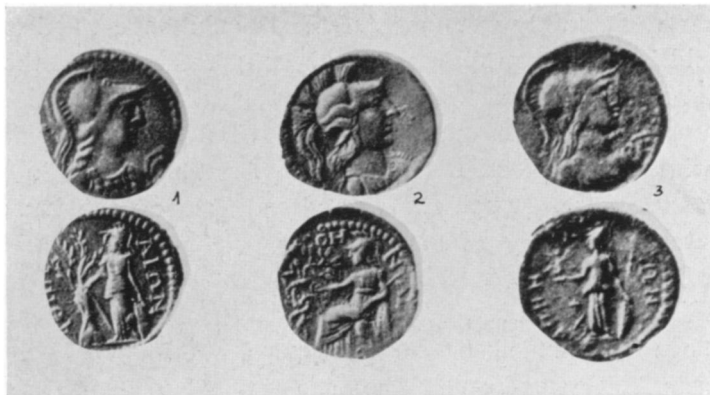


Fig. 30. Coins showing Archaizing Tendencies of Third Century

a simple form of Corinthian helmet (Fig. 29, no. 1)¹ with a rather narrow fan-crest and with the hair loose over the brow and softly rolled in back, a type that is truly characteristic of the first half of the second century. But this coin is connected by means of the



Fig. 31. Third Century Coins of Athens and Alexandria compared

same reverse die to one with a hybrid Attic helmet (Fig. 29, no. 2)² with bowl elaborately decorated with spirals and an ornate neck-guard. The goddess is also wearing a double strand of beads which adds to the elaboration of the style. On Plate VII one can see

¹ Svoronos, pl. 90, no. 2.

² Svoronos, pl. 90, no. 5.



Series of Coins from the Third Century A.D.

the various forms of helmet that are current in the second century, some simple and unadorned, others with triple crest or decorated visors or bowls, sometimes both.

The style of the third century obverse types (Plate IX) may be characterized by saying that all the deterioration and elaboration of style that we saw initiated in the second century were carried to the utmost extreme. Often when details peculiar to an earlier epoch were sought, such as narrow horsehair-crests formed by parallel lines (Fig. 30, nos. 1 and 3) or loose hair over the shoulders of the goddess (Fig. 30, nos. 2-3), the rendering shows the most severe rigidity. The faces have at this time an unpleasant austerity, hard in line and unrelenting in aspect. The severity of the twisted roll of hair is most comparable to a lifeless rope (Plate IX, nos. 13-22, 28, and 30). There are a number of hybrid formations of helmets that are overly decorated with broad flaring single (Plate IX, nos. 7, 11, 12, and 29) or triple crests (Plate IX, nos. 31-35).

One type in particular of these excessively ornate helmets can be dated fairly accurately. An Attic helmet (Plate IX, nos. 33-35 and Fig. 31, nos. 1-2) worn by Athena has a round close-fitting bowl with triple-crest.¹ On the side is a pegasos or griffin; over the forehead standing erect are the heads of four horses; and on the ear and neck-guards is still more decoration. An added adornment is the double strand of beads around the neck of the goddess. Almost this identical head is found on coins from Alexandria dated in the reign of Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea 222-235 A.D. (Fig. 31, no. 3).² Other examples of third century types can be seen on Plate IX.

Fortunately the Athenian Imperial coinage ceased after the middle of the third century, so that we are saved from the horrors that might have developed from this already debased style. This cessation should be placed after the reign of Gallienus 253-268 A.D. when concurrently all over the empire the provincial coinages disappear.³

¹ Svoronos, pl. 82, especially nos. 20 and 26.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI (1931), pp. 73-74, pl. I, no. 6; also compare Imhoof-Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 127, pl. Y, XXV, coin struck under Julia Mamaea; B.M.C. *Alexandria*, p. 207, no. 1603, pl. IV, has name of Severus Alexander in obverse legend ΑΚΑΙΜΑΡΑΥΡΟΕΥΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC; also cf. Milne, *Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*, p. 72, no. 2886, struck under Severus Alexander.

³ Mattingly, Harold, *Roman Coins*, pp. 212-213.

REFERENCES FOR PLATES AND FIGURES¹

Plate II	No. 1 . . . Pl. 89	No. 4	No. 11 . . . Pl. 89	No. 6	No. 21 . . . Pl. 96	No. 35
	" 2 . . . " 97	" 2	" 12 . . . " 97	" 1	" 22 . . . " 96	" 36
	" 3 . . . " 97	" 23	" 13 . . . " 89	" 2	" 23 . . . " 96	" 17
	" 4 . . . " 97	" 3	" 14 . . . " 97	" 24	" 24 . . . " 90	" 36
	" 5 . . . " 89	" 5	" 15 . . . " 97	" 14	" 25 . . . " 90	" 37
	" 6 . . . " 99	" 6	" 16 . . . " 97	" 11	" 26 . . . " 90	" 39
	" 7 . . . " 95	" 16	" 17 . . . " 97	" 33	" 27 . . . " 90	" 32
	" 8 . . . " 95	" 19	" 18 . . . " 97	" 32	" 28 . . . " 91	" 47
	" 9 . . . " 97	" 5	" 19 . . . " 96	" 30		
	" 10 . . . " 97	" 6	" 20 . . . " 96	" 34		
Fig. 1	No. 1 . . . Pl. 87	No. 40	No. 10 . . . Pl. 89	No. 22		
	" 2 . . . " 87	" 41	" 11 . . . " 94	" 13		
	" 3 . . . " 89	" 19	" 12 . . . " 88	" 23		
	" 4 . . . " 88	" 30	" 13 . . . " 88	" 25		
	" 5 . . . " 88	" 31	" 14 . . . " 88	" 26		
	" 6 . . . " 88	" 46	" 15 . . . " 88	" 27		
	" 7 . . . " 88	" 49	" 16 . . . " 88	" 28		
	" 8 . . . " 88	" 52	" 17 . . . " 88	" 29		
	" 9 . . . " 88	" 43				
Plate III	No. 1 . . . Pl. 99	No. 3	No. 9 . . . Pl. 95	No. 24	No. 17 . . . Pl. 88	No. 57
	" 2 . . . " 99	" 5	" 10 . . . " 87	" 15	" 18 . . . " 83	" 30
	" 3 . . . " 99	" 4	" 11 . . . " 82	" 3	" 19 . . . " 83	" 29
	" 4 . . . " 92	" 9	" 12 . . . " 83	" 32	" 20 . . . " 82	" 1
	" 5 . . . " 92	" 11	" 13 . . . " 88	" 56	" 21 . . . " 87	" 17
	" 6 . . . " 99	" 2	" 14 . . . " 99	" 1	" 22 . . . " 87	" 16
	" 7 . . . " 92	" 12	" 15 . . . " 94	" 4	" 23 . . . " 82	" 31
	" 8 . . . " 85	" 4	" 16 . . . " 92	" 13	" 24 . . . " 82	" 30
Fig. 2	No. 1 . . . Pl. 93	No. 38	No. 8 . . . Pl. 89	No. 37		
	" 2 . . . " 93	" 44	" 9 . . . " 95	" 13		
	" 3 . . . " 93	" 34	" 10 . . . " 96	" 19		
	" 4 . . . " 95	" 6	" 11 . . . " 89	" 23		
	" 5 . . . " 95	" 7	" 12 . . . " 96	" 47		
	" 6 . . . " 93	" 35	" 13 . . . " 93	" 21		
	" 7 . . . " 93	" 47	" 14 . . . " 94	" 47		
Plate IV	No. 1 . . . Pl. 92	No. 15	No. 11 . . . Pl. 98	No. 21	No. 21 . . . Pl. 85	No. 34
	" 2 . . . " 86	" 4	" 12 . . . " 85	" 10	" 22 . . . " 87	" 19
	" 3 . . . " 87	" 20	" 13 . . . " 92	" 38	" 23 . . . " 88	" 61
	" 4 . . . " 85	" 17	" 14 . . . " 83	" 37	" 24 . . . " 94	" 21
	" 5 . . . " 85	" 18	" 15 . . . " 84	" 36	" 25 . . . " 85	" 8
	" 6 . . . " 87	" 13	" 16 . . . " 92	" 22	" 26 . . . " 93	" 8
	" 7 . . . " 96	" 16	" 17 . . . " 85	" 35	" 27 . . . " 86	" 1
	" 8 . . . " 95	" 27	" 18 . . . " 92	" 43	" 28 . . . " 95	" 10
	" 9 . . . " 96	" 15	" 19 . . . " 86	" 2	" 29 . . . " 95	" 12
	" 10 . . . " 97	" 16	" 20 . . . " 85	" 33	" 30 . . . " 95	" 11

¹ All references are to Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, unless otherwise noted.

Fig. 8	No. 1 ... Pl. 89	No. 3	No. 5 ... Pl. 89	No. 11	No. 9 ... Pl. 89	No. 16
	" 2 ... " 89	" 1	" 6 ... " 89	" 12	" 10 ... " 89	" 17
	" 3 ... " 89	" 7	" 7 ... " 89	" 13	" 11 ... " 89	" 18
	" 4 ... " 89	" 8	" 8 ... " 89	" 14		

Fig. 9	No. 1 ... Pl. 97	No. 34
	" 2 ... " 97	" 35

Fig. 10	No. 1 ... Pl. 97	No. 4	No. 9 ... Pl. 97	No. 20
	" 2 ... " 97	" 7	" 10 ... " 97	" 15
	" 3 ... " 97	" 8	" 11 ... " 97	" 18
	" 4 ... " 97	" 12	" 12 ... " 97	" 17
	" 5 ... " 97	" 13	" 13 ... " 97	" 26
	" 6 ... " 97	" 25	" 14 ... " 97	" 10
	" 7 ... " 97	" 22	" 15 ... " 97	" 28
	" 8 ... " 97	" 21	" 16 ... " 97	" 27

Fig. 11	No. 1 ... Pl. 87	No. 42
	" 2 ... " 87	" 43

Plate V	No. 1 ... Pl. 99	No. 7	No. 11 ... Pl. 99	No. 22	No. 21 ... Pl. 99	No. 19
	" 2 ... " 99	" 8	" 12 ... " 99	" 32	" 22 ... " 99	" 21
	" 3 ... " 99	" 9	" 13 ... " 99	" 31	" 23 ... " 99	" 20
	" 4 ... " 99	" 23	" 14 ... " 99	" 35	" 24 ... " 99	" 38
	" 5 ... " 99	" 24	" 15 ... " 99	" 34	" 25 ... " 99	" 10
	" 6 ... " 99	" 16	" 16 ... " 99	" 26	" 26 ... " 99	" 12
	" 7 ... " 99	" 30	" 17 ... " 99	" 18	" 27 ... " 99	" 29
	" 8 ... " 99	" 28	" 18 ... " 99	" 11	" 28 ... " 99	" 37
	" 9 ... " 99	" 27	" 19 ... " 99	" 25	" 29 ... " 99	" 14
	" 10 ... " 99	" 15	" 20 ... " 99	" 17		

Fig. 12	No. 1 ... Pl. 90	No. 35	No. 8 ... Pl. 90	No. 7
	" 2 ... " 90	" 38	" 9 ... " 90	" 20
	" 3 ... " 90	" 40	" 10 ... " 90	" 17
	" 4 ... " 90	" 33	" 11 ... " 90	" 22
	" 5 ... " 90	" 34	" 12 ... " 90	" 30
	" 6 ... " 90	" 19	" 13 ... " 90	" 31
	" 7 ... " 90	" 1		

Fig. 13	No. 1 ... Pl. 95	No. 25	No. 6 ... Pl. 96	No. 1
	" 2 ... " 95	" 28	" 7 ... " 96	" 5
	" 3 ... " 95	" 29	" 8 ... " 96	" 7
	" 4 ... " 95	" 17	" 9 ... " 96	" 31
	" 5 ... " 95	" 20	" 10 ... " 96	" 32

Fig. 14	No. 1 ... Pl. 91	No. 46
	" 2 ... " 91	" 48
	" 3 ... " 88	" 58

Fig. 15	No. 1 ... Pl. 92	No. 10	No. 5 ... Pl. 92	No. 17
	" 2 ... " 92	" 8	" 6 ... " 92	" 18
	" 3 ... " 92	" 16	" 7 ... " 92	" 19
	" 4 ... " 92	" 14	" 8 ... " 92	" 20

Fig. 16	No. 1 ... Pl. 94	No. 1	No. 11 ... Pl. 94	No. 27	No. 21 ... Pl. 94	No. 53
	" 2 ... " 94	" 2	" 12 ... " 94	" 28	" 22 ... " 94	" 54
	" 3 ... " 94	" 16	" 13 ... " 94	" 29	" 23 ... " 94	" 49
	" 4 ... " 94	" 17	" 14 ... " 94	" 19	" 24 ... " 94	" 50
	" 5 ... " 93	" 37	" 15 ... " 94	" 20	" 25 ... " 94	" 51
	" 6 ... " 93	" 46	" 16 ... " 94	" 37	" 26 ... " 94	" 36
	" 7 ... " 93	" 32	" 17 ... " 94	" 44	" 27 ... " 94	" 32
	" 8 ... " 94	" 7	" 18 ... " 94	" 45	" 28 ... " 94	" 33
	" 9 ... " 94	" 8	" 19 ... " 94	" 14	" 29 ... " 94	" 34
	" 10 ... " 94	" 30	" 20 ... " 94	" 15	" 30 ... " 94	" 35

Fig. 17	No. 1 ... Pl. 93	No. 4	No. 8 ... Pl. 93	No. 15
	" 2 ... " 93	" 1	" 9 ... " 93	" 16
	" 3 ... " 93	" 2	" 10 ... " 93	" 17
	" 4 ... " 93	" 3	" 11 ... " 93	" 18
	" 5 ... " 93	" 5	" 12 ... " 93	" 19
	" 6 ... " 93	" 6	" 13 ... " 93	" 20
	" 7 ... " 93	" 7		

Fig. 18	No. 1 ... Pl. 89	No. 38
	" 2 ... " 89	" 39
	" 3 ... " 89	" 40
	" 4 ... " 89	" 35
	" 5 ... " 89	" 36

Fig. 19	No. 1 ... Pl. 98	No. 1	No. 6 ... Pl. 98	No. 3
	" 2 ... " 98	" 2	" 7 ... " 98	" 4
	" 3 ... " 98	" 5	" 8 ... " 98	" 10
	" 4 ... " 98	" 7	" 9 ... " 98	" 9
	" 5 ... " 98	" 6	" 10 ... " 98	" 8

Fig. 20 Nos. 1—5 ... Pl. 95 Nos. 1—5

Fig. 21 Nos. 1—3 ... Pl. 92 Nos. 27, 28, 29

Fig. 22	No. 1 ... Pl. 92	No. 1
	" 2 ... " 92	" 2
	" 3 ... B. M. C. (Pelop.)	p. 76, no. 160; pl. XVI, no. 6
	" 4 ... Pl. 92	No. 3
	" 5 ... " 92	" 4
	" 6 ... " 92	" 5
	" 7 ... " 92	" 6
	" 8 ... " 92	" 7

Plate VI	No. 1 ... Pl. 98	No. 19	No. 9 ... Pl. 98	No. 28	No. 17 ... Pl. 98	No. 36
	" 2 ... " 98	" 20	" 10 ... " 98	" 29	" 18 ... " 98	" 37
	" 3 ... " 98	" 22	" 11 ... " 98	" 30	" 19 ... " 98	" 38
	" 4 ... " 98	" 23	" 12 ... " 98	" 31	" 20 ... " 98	" 39
	" 5 ... " 98	" 24	" 13 ... " 98	" 32	" 21 ... " 98	" 40
	" 6 ... " 98	" 25	" 14 ... " 98	" 33	" 22 ... " 98	" 41
	" 7 ... " 98	" 26	" 15 ... " 98	" 34	" 23 ... " 98	" 42
	" 8 ... " 98	" 27	" 16 ... " 98	" 35	" 24 ... " 98	" 43

Fig. 24	No. 1 ... Pl. 87	No. 26
	" 2 ... " 83	" 25
	" 3 ... " 86	" 24
	" 4 ... " 96	" 9

Fig. 25	No. 1 ... Pl. 88	No. 60
	" 2 ... " 89	" 29
	" 3 ... " 89	" 15

Plate VII	No. 1 ... Pl. 82	No. 14	No. 13 ... Pl. 89	No. 34	No. 25 ... Pl. 90	No. 24
	" 2 ... " 87	" 9	" 14 ... " 87	" 23	" 26 ... " 90	" 26
	" 3 ... " 83	" 36	" 15 ... " 83	" 24	" 27 ... " 86	" 13
	" 4 ... " 88	" 4	" 16 ... " 83	" 26	" 28 ... " 83	" 14
	" 5 ... " 88	" 3	" 17 ... " 84	" 39	" 29 ... " 83	" 38
	" 6 ... " 88	" 5	" 18 ... " 84	" 40	" 30 ... " 86	" 14
	" 7 ... " 84	" 41	" 19 ... " 82	" 21	" 31 ... " 87	" 24
	" 8 ... " 84	" 42	" 20 ... " 99	" 33	" 32 ... " 87	" 25
	" 9 ... " 88	" 2	" 21 ... " 82	" 22	" 33 ... " 87	" 36
	" 10 ... " 88	" 1	" 22 ... " 87	" 11	" 34 ... " 87	" 37
	" 11 ... " 88	" 21	" 23 ... " 86	" 42	" 35 ... " 87	" 3
	" 12 ... " 89	" 33	" 24 ... " 83	" 39		

Fig. 26	No. 1 ... Pl. 88	No. 59	No. 10 ... Pl. 91	No. 41
	" 2 ... " 91	" 33	" 11 ... " 91	" 45
	" 3 ... " 91	" 34	" 12 ... " 91	" 42
	" 4 ... " 91	" 35	" 13 ... " 91	" 39
	" 5 ... " 91	" 36	" 14 ... " 91	" 40
	" 6 ... " 91	" 37	" 15 ... " 91	" 4
	" 7 ... " 91	" 38	" 16 ... " 91	" 23
	" 8 ... " 91	" 43	" 17 ... " 91	" 31
	" 9 ... " 91	" 44		

Fig. 27	No. 1 ... Pl. 90	No. 9	No. 7 ... Pl. 90	No. 14
	" 2 ... " 90	" 10	" 8 ... " 90	" 23
	" 3 ... " 90	" 11	" 9 ... " 90	" 16
	" 4 ... " 90	" 12	" 10 ... " 90	" 25
	" 5 ... " 90	" 8	" 11 ... " 90	" 6
	" 6 ... " 90	" 13		

Fig. 28	Nos. 1-3 ... Pl. 98	Nos. 44, 45, 46
---------	---------------------	-----------------

Plate VIII	No. 1 ... Pl. 82	No. 12	No. 13 ... Pl. 82	No. 23	No. 25 ... Pl. 86	No. 20
	" 2 ... " 82	" 25	" 14 ... " 82	" 39	" 26 ... " 86	" 8
	" 3 ... " 83	" 7	" 15 ... " 82	" 16	" 27 ... " 86	" 12
	" 4 ... " 83	" 6	" 16 ... " 82	" 41	" 28 ... " 86	" 16
	" 5 ... " 82	" 13	" 17 ... " 82	" 40	" 29 ... " 86	" 15
	" 6 ... " 82	" 27	" 18 ... " 86	" 22	" 30 ... " 86	" 6
	" 7 ... " 83	" 5	" 19 ... " 86	" 19	" 31 ... " 86	" 7
	" 8 ... " 82	" 10	" 20 ... " 86	" 9	" 32 ... " 86	" 18
	" 9 ... " 82	" 17	" 21 ... " 86	" 21	" 33 ... " 86	" 17
	" 10 ... " 82	" 19	" 22 ... " 86	" 11	" 34 ... " 86	" 29
	" 11 ... " 82	" 18	" 23 ... " 86	" 10	" 35 ... " 86	" 5
	" 12 ... " 82	" 42	" 24 ... " 86	" 28		

Fig. 29 Nos. 1—2 ... Pl. 90 Nos. 2 and 5

Fig. 30 No. 1 ... Pl. 87 No. 30

„ 2 ... „ 87 „ 34

„ 3 ... „ 83 „ 13

Fig. 31 No. 1 ... Pl. 82 No. 20

„ 2 ... „ 82 „ 26

„ 3 ... *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI (1931), Pick, *Die „Promachos“ des Pheidias und die Kerameikos-Lampen*, pp. 73–74; pl. I, no. 6.

Plate IX No. 1 ... Pl. 87 No. 29

„ 2 ... „ 87 „ 6

„ 3 ... „ 85 „ 22

„ 4 ... „ 85 „ 26

„ 5 ... „ 86 „ 27

„ 6 ... „ 86 „ 36

„ 7 ... „ 83 „ 3

„ 8 ... „ 88 „ 17

„ 9 ... „ 93 „ 24

„ 10 ... „ 93 „ 25

„ 11 ... „ 99 „ 36

„ 12 ... „ 83 „ 4

No. 13 ... Pl. 82 No. 6

„ 14 ... „ 82 „ 38

„ 15 ... „ 87 „ 1

„ 16 ... „ 87 „ 2

„ 17 ... „ 82 „ 36

„ 18 ... „ 82 „ 5

„ 19 ... „ 86 „ 39

„ 20 ... „ 91 „ 30

„ 21 ... „ 87 „ 27

„ 22 ... „ 85 „ 27

„ 23 ... „ 91 „ 3

„ 24 ... „ 87 „ 4

No. 25 ... Pl. 87 No. 5

„ 26 ... „ 82 „ 37

„ 27 ... „ 82 „ 8

„ 28 ... „ 82 „ 9

„ 29 ... „ 82 „ 11

„ 30 ... „ 82 „ 7

„ 31 ... „ 84 „ 37

„ 32 ... „ 84 „ 38

„ 33 ... „ 93 „ 18

„ 34 ... „ 85 „ 40

„ 35 ... „ 83 „ 18

JOSEPHINE P. SHEAR