

## COINS FOR THE ELEUSINIA

In the sequences of Attic bronze currency there is a large and confusing group of coins stamped with representations of the Eleusinian divinities or their attributes and inscribed ΕΛΕΥΣΙ or ΑΘΕ.<sup>1</sup> The peculiar interest of these pieces stems less from their types, which reproduce Demeter, Triptolemos, and the sacred pig with monotonous frequency, than from the alternating use of Athenian and Eleusinian legends and, in particular, from the extraordinary circumstance of an Attic deme apparently issuing autonomous money.

A state of affairs so contrary to all the known tenets of Athenian monetary policy has claimed the attention of many numismatists, who have assigned the ΕΛΕΥΣΙ coins<sup>2</sup> to widely varying chronological periods and have interpreted them either as local currency minted by an independent Eleusis or as festival pieces issued by Athens or by Eleusis to meet the needs of the Eleusinian celebrations.<sup>3</sup> If they are festival coins from an Eleusis mint, one assumes that Eleusis enjoyed civic autonomy at the time or else that Athens had given mint privileges to her deme as a recognition of the latter's spiritual pre-eminence.

With regard to the question of political autonomy one is forced to admit, whether one accepts the dates of Cavaignac or those of Ferguson<sup>4</sup> for the possible periods of Eleusinian independence, that only 14 or 15 years at most were available for the striking of a bulk coinage, to judge its extent by the 291 pieces found to date in the Agora Excavations alone. It is not likely that Eleusis, during those few unsettled and intermittent periods of separation, needed additional currency; even if she wished to coin, there was the problem of establishing and operating a mint. Of greater fundamental importance is the fact that the Eleusinian<sup>5</sup> sequence exhibits the abundance, variety, and stylistic development which are characteristic of a long and uninterrupted term of mintage rather than of sporadic emissions.

It is equally difficult to believe that Athens allowed Eleusis to coin money. The specimens are only bronze and Eleusis did enjoy a special position in the Attic state, but nevertheless it seems an extraordinary arrangement for a city whose monetary

<sup>1</sup> Plate I; Svoronos, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, pls. 103-104.

<sup>2</sup> The ΑΘΕ issues will be temporarily disregarded. Their problem is purely chronological since their legend is clear indication of their mint. Svoronos, who groups them under the ambiguous heading "*Eleusis, monnaies au nom d'Athènes*," is alone in casting doubt upon their Athenian origin.

<sup>3</sup> *B.M.C., Attica, Megaris, Aegina*, pp. 112-114; B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*,<sup>2</sup> p. 391; E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, III, 2, pp. 137-142; E. Cavaignac, *Revue numismatique*, XII, 1908, pp. 311-333; J. P. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 262-264.

<sup>4</sup> E. Cavaignac, *loc. cit.*; W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 145, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> The term "Eleusinian" as applied to coins is intended as a reference to the types or symbols found on the money rather than to its mint.

prerogatives were closely and jealously guarded. One might maintain with more probability that an Eleusinian coinage was permitted only for special occasions such as the festivals, while routine financial requirements were cared for by the regular Athenian issues. Yet the organization of the sanctuary, based upon a division of rights between Eleusis and Athens which gave the former a spiritual and the latter a temporal supremacy, makes it dubious that the Eleusinian leaders were entrusted with the highly political privilege of coining.

To these more or less theoretical considerations in favor of an Athenian origin for all the Eleusinian issues, some tangible data can be added. There is a striking similarity in fabric, style, and size between the regular Athenian bronze of the late fourth and early third centuries and the pieces under discussion. Among the latter there are the two series with identical obverse and reverse types (Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 1-16 and nos. 33-39), one marked ΕΛΕΥΣΙ and the other ΑΘΕ. Even more definite proof is implicit in a unique coin (Svoronos, pl. 103, no. 40) which combines a common Eleusinian Triptolemos obverse and an equally standardized Athenian reverse. What is more likely than that a workman at the Athens mint, confusing his dies, struck the flan of the intended Eleusinian coin with the punch of a contemporary Athenian issue, thus producing this hybrid piece.<sup>6</sup>

As opposed, then, to the definite inscriptional and typical identification of our money as that of Eleusis, there is a great deal of evidence pointing to its issuance by the Athenian mint. It remains to see whether the types and legends of Eleusis can be reconciled with an Athenian provenance. The most plausible explanation is, I believe, that of Babelon, namely that these pieces represent a festival coinage. Together with the ΑΘΕ series bearing Eleusinian devices, they were struck by the Athens mint for the periodic observance of the Greater Eleusinia.

This is not an isolated instance of a festival-coinage affiliation in Athenian monetary history. Traces of such interrelationship are obscured in the early period by the abstract and conventional character of the money. However, Head<sup>7</sup> believes that the types and the inauguration of Peisistratos' civic coinage are to be associated with the foundation of the Greater Panathenaia in 566, and Seltman<sup>8</sup> has arranged several sequences of Athenian silver of the time of Hippias in correlation with later Panathenaic celebrations.

With the introduction of the New Style coinage one is dealing with money which is more easily studied since the issues are annual and the series as a whole has

<sup>6</sup> Ob. Triptolemos mounting a chariot 1. Re. ΑΘ and a plemochoe between the legs of two owls facing each other.

The coin illustrated by H. B. Earle-Fox (*Rev. num.*, VIII, 1890, pp. 63-64, pl. III, no. 16) with an Eleusinian pig on both obverse and reverse is probably, as he suggests, another instance of a mistake on the part of some workman. The same may be true of the piece cited by Babelon (*Traité*, III, 2, p. 138, no. 98; pl. CXCI, no. 28).

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 369; cf., however, Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pp. 48-49; *Athens, Its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion*, pp. 38 and 40.

<sup>8</sup> *Athens*, pp. 74 and 95.

definite *termini post* and *ante quem*. On the silver the main types, now undoubtedly Panathenaic, are supplemented by symbols placed in the reverse field, and these same symbols are often reproduced on the bronze denominations. Of especial interest is the repeated appearance of Eleusinian devices on both silver and bronze. This association of Eleusis types and Athenian money recalls the puzzling issues with which we are directly concerned; it seems likely that an interpretation of the New Style symbols would have a close bearing on our ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΕΥΣΙΕΣ pieces.

There have been many attempts to explain the individual symbol as the personal emblem of either the first or the second of the mint magistrates whose names appear on the coins. Such attempts have been only partially successful, since the New Style series as a whole is full of disconcerting inconsistencies. In some issues the symbol seems to be associated with the first official, in others with the second. When the same magistrates held office for a second or a third term, the symbol was sometimes repeated and sometimes changed. There is the perplexing instance of symbols shifted in the course of a single year, coincident with a complete change of mint officials.

These contradictions make it evident that the adjunct device on New Style coinage cannot be regarded as the personal emblem of one particular fiscal magistrate unless the principle governing his choice was pure caprice, in which case the value of the symbols as ancillary monetary checks is destroyed. It seems more probable that external rather than personal factors influenced the selection.<sup>9</sup>

What the external factors were is suggested by the symbols themselves. The overwhelming majority are of a sacred character. From a total of 111 series, 78 are marked with either the actual representation or the recognized attribute of some divinity; of the remaining 33 issues, 5 have symbols associated with historical figures, while 8 are unmarked or bear emblems of uncertain significance.<sup>10</sup> The final 20 series are the most revealing. They all carry victory devices: a palm branch, a trophy, a fillet, a representation of Nike on foot or in a quadriga, a winged Agon crowning himself, and a Nike tossing a ballot into an amphora. It is apparent that the victories referred to are agonistic ones; the palm branch behind or below an owl is an unmis-

<sup>9</sup> Not only would this account for the lack of any consistent connection between officials and symbols but it would explain the expansion of silver symbols into major bronze types, an incredible procedure if the symbols were merely superfluous personal badges.

<sup>10</sup> Sacred symbols: Eleusinian deities (24); Apollo or Artemis (12); Dionysos (8); Zeus (5); Hermes and Isis (4); Herakles, the Dioscuri, and Poseidon (3); Asklepios, Athena, Helios, and Hekate (2); Hygeia, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the Three Charites, and Ares (1).

Uninterpreted symbols: helmet, forepart of lion, Sphinx, forepart of horse.

Historical symbols: elephant, griffin, drinking Pegasos, star between crescents, anchor and star. The series with this last device, inscribed ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ-ΝΙΚΑΤΟ, is of interest. The first magistrate may be identified, on the basis of his use of the Seleucid device and of the genitive case ending (an unusual form for New Style money but one which appears on the Asia Minor issues of Timarchus) as a revolted satrap of Syria who, according to Diodorus (XXXI, 27 a; C. Müller, *F.H.G.*, II, p. XI, no. 13), went in person to Rome to press his title to the Seleucid throne (*Cambridge Ancient History*, VIII, pp. 518-520). A stop in Athens is commemorated by these New Style coins, whose style agrees well with the period *ca.* 162-160 B.C. when the pretender was in power.

takable allusion to the Panathenaia, while the victorious Agon and the voting Nike are self-explanatory types.<sup>11</sup> In view of the large number of specifically agonistic symbols there is a distinct possibility that the 78 sacred devices are also to be interpreted in terms of the great civic festivals which were the outstanding expression of the worship of the gods.<sup>12</sup>

Partial verification of this theory comes from the Eleusinian symbols, the ones which most immediately concern us. For a period of approximately 200 years, *ca.* 229-30 B.C., the Athenian mint had been issuing money annually, although since only 111 series survive, one must conclude that in some years there was no coinage. The interesting fact is that of these 111 known issues, 24, or roughly one quarter, have Eleusinian symbols. This proportion is true not only of the New Style series as a whole but also of each of the chronological groups into which it is usually divided. Of the earliest monogram issues (*ca.* 229-197 B.C.) 4 of the 18 series have Eleusinian markings; of those with abbreviated magistrates' names (*ca.* 197-187 B.C.) 2 of the 9 series; of the 187-87 B.C. group, 12 of the 56 series; and of the post-Sullan issues, 6 of the 28 series.<sup>13</sup> Considering that the four chronological groupings are not abso-

<sup>11</sup> Other symbols of victory are figures of Tyche and of Roma. The goddess of chance seems a peculiarly appropriate tutelary deity for the festivals and Roma may be a personification of the Romaia, especially as one coin device shows her being crowned by a winged Nike. The dolphin and trident combination, found on autonomous money of Oropus, has been included in the agonistic list as a symbol of the Penteteris festival of the Amphiareia held in that town. It may, however, be of historical significance, indicative of a reunion between Oropus and Athens after a period of enforced separation.

<sup>12</sup> Of the three outstanding Athenian festivals only the Eleusinia is adequately represented in the symbols. However, it was the one major fête which lent itself to an orderly commemoration on the currency since it recurred at fixed intervals. The Dionysia were held annually, and hence they were likely to have influenced the New Style money only at the time of special celebrations. The Panathenaia did not need to be stressed by symbols since the basic obverse and reverse types of all New Style silver were Panathenaic in character.

Many of the inconsistencies of the New Style symbols vanish if they are associated with the civic festivals rather than with the magistrates directly. One imagines that Mnaseas and Nestor, for example, placed a kerchnos on their coins in an Eleusinia year, while in a succeeding magistracy the stag marked a large scale celebration of the Brauronia. The belief of M. L. Kambanis (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LVI, 1932, pp. 46 and 53) that the symbols have in general no political or religious significance is partially based upon the abnormal series of ΕΥΒΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ-ΑΤΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ in combination with ΖΩΙΛΟΣ-ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ and of ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ-ΕΥΚΛΗΣ. A variation in devices during the one year in which Zoilos-Evandros and Euboulides-Agathokles held office is less startling when one notes that the symbol itself is changed but not its connotation. The bee, which replaces the statue of the Brauronian Artemis, is also an Artemisian device. On the other hand Herakleides and Eukles, issuing two successive series of coinage, probably considered it unnecessary to change their symbol, a winged Nike casting her ballot, which would be appropriate for any festival.

<sup>13</sup> The series with monograms and abbreviated names are substantially as listed in Head (*Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 381-382). A type with monograms and no symbol has been added to the first group following Kambanis (*B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pl. XVIII, no. 6). With the abbreviated-names series the isolated specimen of wretched style marked with the letters ΜΙΚΙ ΘΕ and a symbol of

lutely fixed and that, moreover, purely agonistic devices cannot be associated with specific festivals, it is possible that the striking recurrence of the Eleusinian symbols is at quadrennial intervals, corresponding to the recurrence of the Greater Eleusinia.

With the bronze Imperial issues, which represent the final phase of Athenian coinage, the interrelationship between coins and festivals becomes increasingly evident. The numerous references to definite celebrations are now embodied in reverse types instead of symbols.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the most significant of these types is that of an agonistic table complete with the attributes of victory and often inscribed with the name of the particular games which the money commemorates. A long period of Athenian numismatic history lies between the first indirect allusion to the Panathenaia on Peisistratid coinage and the Imperial type which carries an unequivocal ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΕΑ label on its agonistic table, yet both tell the same story.

The reasons which induced the Athenians on several occasions to take the revolutionary step of replacing their civic legend with that of the Eleusinia festival were probably twofold.<sup>15</sup> In part, as will be discussed below, it may be linked with the programme of an Athenian statesman, Lysurgus. In part, it was a logical outgrowth of the great importance of the festival in question.

Of all the Athenian celebrations the Eleusinia came closest to being Panhellenic in scope. Its games were honored as the oldest in Greece, and in its sacred character it embodied the most revered and most enduring of all Greek religious rites. Every fourth year the games and the Mysteries were celebrated within a few weeks of each other,<sup>16</sup> and these years of the Greater Eleusinia were, for a time at least, made still more impressive by the repetition in early Boedromion of the Agrae Mysteries (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 847), whose rites were a necessary preliminary to an Eleusis initiation. One can

Helios similar to the device on the coinage of ΓΑΑΥ-ΕΧΕ (Svoronos, pl. 43, no. 7) has been omitted as probably either a mistake or a forgery.

For the period from 187 to Augustus the evidence of New Style hoards (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, Appendix II) has been followed in arranging the coins before and after the Sullan Wars. In two cases the descriptions of Head have been revised as the symbols on the issues of ΦΑΝΟΚΑΗΣ-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ and ΧΑΡΙΝΑΥΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ are more likely representations of Kore than of Artemis. The series of ΞΕΝΟΚΑΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ are four in number (a seated Demeter appears on one tetradrachma and one drachma, Svoronos, pl. 76, nos. 1 and 27).

<sup>14</sup> Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 296 ff. It is interesting to note in connection with the marked absence of Panathenaic symbols in the New Style sequence that now when the owl on a Panathenaic amphora is no longer the stock reverse type, the representations of Athena and her attributes appear with the greatest frequency on the Imperial coins.

<sup>15</sup> Whether ΕΛΕΥΣΙ should terminate in ΝΙΑ or ΝΙΩΝ is, of course, uncertain. The former would seem more appropriate in view of the purpose of the coinage. Copper money in various parts of Greece was stamped with the names of locally celebrated festivals (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, pp. lxxii-lxxix). An Athenian coin of the Imperial period has an agonistic table on its reverse with the complete legend, Eleusinia, written across it (Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 358), and the ΕΛΕΥΣΙ on earlier money may be an abbreviation of the same word.

<sup>16</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor (*Archons of Athens*, pp. 210-212) and L. Deubner (*Attische Feste*, pp. 91-92) place the major games in Metageitnion of the second Olympic year.

readily imagine that the chance to fulfil all the religious requirements of the Eleusinian ritual and at the same time to witness major agonistic contests would have made a powerful appeal to those who lived beyond Attica. The "bargain" celebrations must have been extremely well patronized and their recurrence would have been a force in Athenian civic life of sufficient strength to warrant a distinctive commemorative coinage.

The establishment of a link between the money with Eleusinian devices and the Greater Eleusinia festival is of paramount importance in allocating our coins chronologically. We know that the major observances of the games occurred at four year intervals; hence if the money was minted for such occasions, it should be capable of definite dating. The following groupings are based upon the historically fixed years of the Greater Eleusinia as well as upon data supplied by the coins themselves and by the circumstances of their discovery.

#### GROUP I *Ca.* 335-295 B.C.

Ob. Triptolemos seated l. or r. in winged car drawn by serpents; he holds in r. spears of wheat. Re. ΕΑΕΥΣΙ<sup>17</sup> above pig standing r. or l. on a βάκχος; in exergue or in r. field, various symbols.<sup>18</sup> Plate I, No. 1; Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 1-16.

These pieces are the earliest of the series with Eleusinian symbols. Their flans are large and carefully struck, their metallic composition is good, and their workmanship is of superior merit. So well executed are they that Svoronos and Cavaignac place them at the end of the fifth century, but this is too early. Since it is unlikely that they antedate the establishment of a regular Athenian bronze currency, the 339 dating of Head is more in accordance with the historical probabilities.

There are several reasons for considering these ΕΑΕΥΣΙ issues as contemporaries of the first ΑΘΕ bronze. From 338 to 326 the civic policies of Athens were under the guidance of Lycurgus, to whose far-sighted statesmanship the city owed much.<sup>19</sup> It is, for example, reasonable that the introduction of a regular bronze currency was the result of his direct control of finances. In addition to his monetary reforms, Lycurgus was interested in beautifying Athens and in revitalizing her cults. This religious revival was stimulated by an increased emphasis on the observance of the

<sup>17</sup> The forms of ΕΑΕΥΣΙ vary slightly; the legend is sometimes curtailed to meet the exigencies of the available space.

<sup>18</sup> In the exergue: pig's head and ivy leaf, boukranion, ivy branch, dolphin, cockle-shell, kalathos in wreath, animal's head, bee or fly, vine branch with leaf and grapes, letter Δ; in the right field: a plemochoe or the letters Θ, Μ, or Ν.

The symbols listed here are considerably fewer than those mentioned in the catalogues of Cavaignac (*Rev. num.*, XII, 1908, pp. 311-333), Babelon (*Traité*, III, 2, pp. 131-132), Svoronos (*Les monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 103, nos. 1-16), Imhoof-Blumer (*Monnaies grecques*, p. 152), McClean (S. W. Grose, *McClean Collection*, II, p. 368), and the British Museum (*Attica*, pp. 113-114). The ones retained have been carefully checked against their respective illustrations and are certain with the exception of the "animal's head" and the "bee or fly." These two devices are indistinctly represented on the coins and may in reality be the same symbol.

<sup>19</sup> F. Dürnbach, *L'Orateur Lycurgue; Cambridge Ancient History*, VI, pp. 440 ff.

festivals and by an elaborate building and redecorating program applied to the sanctuaries of the gods. The shrines of the Two Goddesses came in for particular attention; the portico at Eleusis was in the hands of Philon, the temple of Pluto was finished and repairs to the sanctuary walls were made. In the internal affairs of the cult Lycurgus is credited with the creation of the *dermatikon*, with the restoration of the ancient practice of sending the first fruits of the harvest to the goddesses, and with the addition of the *concoures hippiques* to the Eleusinian games. These measures were in part an expression of Lycurgus' personal convictions, in part his recognition that the cults and festivals created a sound foundation for Athenian civic life.<sup>20</sup> The preoccupation of Lycurgus with financial and religious matters would explain his issue of a bronze series with distinctive types and legend as another attempt to focus attention on the Greater Eleusinia and spread their renown. It is even possible that he stamped the first coins with his personal cachet, a boukranion.<sup>21</sup>

Assuming that the relationship between our money and the Eleusinia is true, the festival of 335 was an appropriate time for its initiation since a few years of re-adjustment must inevitably have followed upon Lycurgus' assumption of office. The period between 335 and the siege of Athens in 296 was an era of comparative peace during which the Greater Eleusinia scheduled for those years could have been celebrated without interruption. The Lamian War was barely decided upon in Boedromion of 323 and the struggle with Cassander in 318/7 came between the festivals of 319 and 315. In 307 a gala performance of the ceremonies must have occurred, following as it did by only a few months the deliverance of the city at the hands of Demetrius Poliorcetes. The rites of 303 and 299 found Athens at peace and striving to maintain a policy of strict neutrality. Before the next celebration this pipe dream of security was to be shattered.<sup>22</sup>

The forty years between Lycurgus and Lachares called for ten, or possibly eleven, observances of the Greater Eleusinia and hence for ten or eleven<sup>23</sup> separate issues of

<sup>20</sup> The element of propitiation may have entered into the picture. The years *ca.* 331 to 324 were marked by famine and penury throughout Greece (P. Foucart, *B.C.H.*, VIII, 1884, p. 201; M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, p. 95). Increased emphasis on the Eleusinian cult would have enlisted the favor of the agricultural deities.

<sup>21</sup> The device of the Eteobutadai, to which family Lycurgus belonged, first appeared as a canting type on the early Athenian *Wappenmünzen*. Its reappearance on this later money may date from Lycurgus' term of office or from that of his son Habron, who was in control of the general administration at Athens in 307/6 (Ferguson, *Hell. Athens*, p. 102).

<sup>22</sup> The historical material has been gathered for the most part from the following sources: W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*; W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*; M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*; *Cambridge Ancient History*, VI and VII. For the controversial 289-262 period the chronology is that of Tarn ("New Dating of the Chremonidean War," *Journal Hellenic Studies*, LIV, 1934, pp. 26-39).

<sup>23</sup> There is a bare possibility that the issue with letters in the exergue or the right field was minted in 295/4 in commemoration of the festival which was interrupted that year for the first time in many decades. The Δ, Θ, Μ, and Ν signs may denote the month of minting, in which case they are evidence of a sporadic and infrequent emission.

EAETΣI coinage. That approximately checks with the number of distinct symbols on the coins of Group I.<sup>24</sup>

Confirmation of a 335-295 dating for this first series comes from non-historical sources. An Agora deposit (Section B) contained a single coin, one of this group, in association with pottery of the late fourth and early third centuries. A well, also in Section B, held 16 coins of consistent 330-283 dating, among them 4 EAETΣI pieces both with and without symbols (Groups I and III). The monies themselves are, as has been noted, of good style and workmanship, corresponding in size and execution to the early Athenian bronze of 330-300 or later, with which they share one symbol: a kalathos. As in the case of the regular Athenian issues there is a certain variation in style such as one would expect during four decades of mintage, but all units are of comparatively excellent craftsmanship. Chemical analysis of one EAETΣI specimen gives the proportions: *Cu* 88.94, *Sn* 10.78, *Pb* .05. The high tin and low lead content is indication of an early dating and corresponds fairly closely with an averaged ratio of *Cu* 89.49, *Sn* 8.69, *Pb* 1.71 supplied by five Athenian pieces of the double-bodied owl type struck *ca.* 330-300.<sup>25</sup>

#### GROUP II *Ca.* 294-288 B.C.

Ob. Triptolemos seated l. in winged car drawn by serpents; he holds in r. spears of wheat.

Re. AΘE above pig standing r. on a βάκχος; in exergue, plemochoe on a kalathos base.

Plate I, No. 2; Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 33-39.

All coins with a device below the Eleusinian pig and an AΘE lettering apparently belong to a single monetary issue. The varied descriptions of the symbol in the major catalogues are confusing but if all available illustrations are compared, it becomes evident that the reverse exergue is always marked with a tiny plemochoe placed on what seems to be a kalathos base.<sup>26</sup> Different interpretations of the device are attributable to poor and illegible flans. As an isolated issue these pieces are much less numerous than the preceding EAETΣI series, existing in the proportions of approximately 1 to 14 in Cavaignac's summary of Eleusinian coins.<sup>27</sup>

A 294-288 dating is suitable in that the AΘE issue must be closely associated chronologically with the earlier EAETΣI group whose types it duplicates exactly and

<sup>24</sup> The exact number of symbols used on the EAETΣI series cannot be accurately determined. The indistinctness of the animal head and the bee or fly emblems makes it uncertain how many issues they represent. As mentioned above, the specimens with letters are probably all units in a single series.

<sup>25</sup> E. R. Caley, *Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins*, pp. 45 and 52.

<sup>26</sup> The symbol has been identified as the upper part of an amphora (Svoronos), a plemochoe (Cavaignac and the *B.M.C.*), a small altar (Babelon and Imhoof-Blumer), and the letter Ξ (*Numismatic Chronicle*, XIII, 1873, p. 110, no. 50). The best pictures of this symbol are to be found in the *B.M.C. (Attica*, pl. VI, no. 14) and in Cavaignac's article (*Rev. num.*, XII, 1908, pl. X, no. 6).

<sup>27</sup> This summary, published in the *Revue numismatique* of 1908, includes the coins in the museums of London, Paris, Berlin, and Athens. There are 5 AΘE specimens and 68 EAETΣI ones. In the Agora the latter series is also the more abundant.



whose style it imitates. Moreover, the years after the fall of Athens provide a historical explanation for the change in legend. The last undisturbed celebration of the Greater Eleusinia had occurred in 299. In 295 Athens was either under actual siege by Demetrius' forces or else, as Ferguson and Dinsmoor contend,<sup>28</sup> she had surrendered in the spring of that year. In either case, it is unlikely that there was an Eleusinia festival. Even the cessation of military operations a few months prior to Metageitnion would not allow sufficient time for the preparation of a major celebration. Nor is it probable that the Athenians, subdued by starvation, military disaster and the occupation of their fortresses, were in any mood for festivities.

Four years later, however, Athens was nominally free and presumably recovered from her ordeal. The neglect of 295 made it especially important that the Greater Eleusinia be held in 291, yet Eleusis was still garrisoned by Macedonian troops. Under the circumstances it is likely that the festival was celebrated in Athens.<sup>29</sup> Possibly the presence of alien troops near the sanctuary would have interfered with the ceremonies, or possibly irritated Athenian pride was protesting the loss of Eleusis. The menace of Aetolian raids reaching to the borders of Attica may have been another determining factor. Eleusinian coins were issued as usual, but to mark the abnormal localization of the festival ΑΘΕ was substituted for the customary ΕΛΕΤΣΙ legend.

The symbol selected for the ΑΘΕ issue was peculiarly appropriate under the circumstances. A plemochoe atop a kalathos served as a reminder of the spiritual and temporal unity of the two towns and hence as a gesture of protest against the Macedonian attempt to separate them.

#### GROUP III Ca. 287-263 B.C.

##### *Units*<sup>30</sup>

Ob. Demeter<sup>31</sup> seated l. in winged car drawn by serpents.

Re. ΕΑΕΥΣΙ above or below a pig standing r. on a βάκχος; whole in a wheat wreath.

Plate I, No. 3; Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 17-24.

Ob. Triptolemos l. mounting a chariot.

Re. As above.

Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 25-28.

Ob. Head of Demeter r.

Re. ΕΑΕΥΣΙ above a plemochoe standing on a kalathos basis; whole in wheat wreath.

Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 29-32.

<sup>28</sup> Ferguson, *Classical Philology*, XXIV, 1929, pp. 1-20; Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. xiv and 14.

<sup>29</sup> This was an irregular procedure but so was the observance of the Pythia at Athens in 290 B.C. while the Aetolians held Delphi. Religious regulations had also been put aside at the time of the initiation of Demetrius Poliorcetes into the Mysteries in the Spring of 302.

<sup>30</sup> The terms "unit" and "half-unit" are used to indicate the relationship between the bronze denominations alone.

<sup>31</sup> The seated figure on the obverse of the Eleusinian coins is not definitely identifiable. Most numismatists interpret the earlier representations as Triptolemos and the later type as Demeter.

Ob. AΘE above two superimposed pigs to l.

Re. A E on either side of an upright *βάκχος*; whole in wreath.

Plate I, No. 4; Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 41-46. Due to the poor condition of the coins in this series, it is impossible to tell whether or not the obverse and reverse letters noted appear consistently on all pieces.

### *Half-units*

Ob. Triptolemos or Demeter seated l. in winged car.

Re. AΘE Plemochoe with wheat spears through handles.

Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 47-49.

Ob. AΘE above pig r.

Re. EAE downward to r. of an upright *βάκχος*.

Plate I, No. 5; one example of this unpublished type has been found in the Agora Excavations.

Group III includes four unit denominations and two fractions. The adjunct symbols no longer appear, but minor variations in the "wreathed pig" reverses make it possible to divide them into several separate issues. The abundance of this money suggests a fairly long period of emission. The superimposed pigs and plemochoe types, together with their fractional denominations, form two isolated and scanty issues.

Between the makeshift ceremonies of 291 and the Greater Eleusinia of 287 a great deal had happened. The revolt of 289/8 had driven the Macedonians from Athens and from Eleusis with the result that for the first time in many years Athenian sovereignty was re-established over most of Attica. The break with Macedon ushered in an era of comparative security and prosperity, which was to last until the Chremonidean War. Against this background of success and jubilation one can imagine that the Eleusinia of 287 were celebrated with unusual splendor. The restoration of the sanctuary to Athenian control was commemorated on the coins by a slightly altered reverse type. The EAETEI lettering has been restored and the Eleusinian pig is now surrounded by a prominent wheat wreath, a visible symbol of the victory over Demetrius.

During the twenty years which followed, the Demeter and Triptolemos figures with the "wreathed pig" reverse continued to be issued. The year 283 was peaceful. Antigonos' attention was turned toward the East, and Athens, watching contentedly his embroilment with Antiochus, felt secure in her newly won independence. In 279 there was ample cause for rejoicing; the Piraeus had been recaptured in the preceding year, and possibly some of the Athenian cleruchies had been restored by Syria. The barbarian incursions, which had compelled Antigonos to patch up a hasty peace with the Greek cities, were as yet not menacing enough to mar the festivities at Eleusis. With another four years Antigonos had reasserted his hold over Greece but his moderate policy left Athens free and ungarrisoned. On the wider horizon the victories over the Gauls had awakened in all Greeks a feeling of pride and racial unity. There was probably no change in the general situation in 271.

The two series with a Demeter head and a plemochoe and with superimposed pigs and a *βάκχος* are distinctive because their types are so radically different from the preceding issues and because they are supplemented by fractional pieces. It is probable that they belong to the period of the Chremonidean War. They are of poorer style than the usual pig issues, yet they are similar in size and in fabric and must be a part of the same sequence. The fractional pieces may indicate a war-time depression; the duplication of Eleusinian and Athenian types and legends emphasizes the union of the two towns at a time when the fortunes of battle were liable to sever their ties. The Eleusinia of 267 were being arranged when Chremonides offered his resolution in favor of war, but as military operations did not begin until the following spring, the effect of the impending struggle on the festival and its coinage would be slight and indirect. In the summer or autumn of 263 the withdrawal of Antigonos' forces from Attica had raised false hopes among the Athenians, who thought that the siege had been lifted permanently. They resumed their normal civic pursuits, planted their grain, and had not yet harvested it when the returning Macedonians surprised them (Polyaenus, IV, 6, 20). The respite from attack coinciding with the date of the Greater Eleusinia may have occasioned a small-scale celebration in Athens or the pig and *βάκχος* types may have been issued in commemoration of the festival. Their rarity is proof of the briefness of the interval during which they were coined.

There is no supplementary evidence for the attribution of these last issues to the period of the Chremonidean War, but the 287-268 dating of the "wreathed pig" types is very satisfactorily confirmed by burial deposits, by chemical analyses, and by one hybrid coin.

An interesting deposit of a singularly homogeneous nature from an Agora shaft (Section  $\Xi \Xi$ ) offers vital data. Ninety-four identifiable coins were unearthed from two sections of a carefully constructed man-hole.<sup>32</sup> It is possible that they represent

<sup>32</sup> Since this deposit is of great chronological importance, its contents are enumerated below. The dates are those of the various catalogues cited, except for the Athenian money whose chronology is that outlined by J. P. Shear.

1. Aegina after 404 (*B.M.C., Attica*, p. 143, no. 215)
2. Larissa, 400-344 ( " *Thessaly*, p. 32, no. 92)
- 3-6. Phocis, 371-357 ( " *Central Greece*, p. 20, nos. 76-7)
7. Chalcis, 369-336 ( " " " pp. 112-3, nos. 70-80)
8. Locris, 338-300 ( " " " p. 8, nos. 61-68)
- 9-20. Athens, 330-307 (Svoronos, pl. 22, nos. 80-88)
- 21-22. Athens, 330-300 ( " pl. 22, nos. 35-45)
- 23-24. Athens, 307-283 ( " pl. 22, nos. 76-77)
- 25-46. Athens, 307-283 ( " pl. 22, nos. 64-70)
- 47-55. Athens, 307-283 ( " pl. 24, nos. 51-57)
- 56-57. Demetrius Poliorcetes, 306-283 (*McClean*, II, nos. 3576, 3584)
58. Lysimachus, after 306 (*McClean*, II, no. 4496)
- 59-66. Megara, 307-243 (*B.M.C., Attica*, p. 120, nos. 21-29)
- 67-73. Megara, 307-243 ( " " p. 120, nos. 30-34)
- 74-94. Eleusis (Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 17 ff.).

two hoards, but whatever the circumstances of their commitment to the shaft their dates are so consistent that all 94 pieces must be considered as a single group. With the exception of a few survivals from the early fourth century, they belong to the end of that century and the first half of the next and are associated with pottery of third century date. The most numerous chronological groups are those of Athens, 307-283 (33 coins); Megara, 307-243 (15); and Eleusis (21). All of the last pieces are of the "wreathed pig" type. The contemporaneous dating of over half of the coins makes it almost certain that the third large group, that of Eleusis, was also struck during the first half of the third century.

It is possible to date some individual coins even more closely. The Megara specimens in our deposit have two reverse types, a tripod between two dolphins and two dolphins swimming in a circle. F. O. Waagé, who has studied the coinage of that city (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 70), suggests that the first of these varieties was minted *ca.* 288/7 when Demetrius was travelling through Greece seeking support. Another allied issue he regards as symbolic of the autonomy which Megara won in 279. Our second Megarian series he would place in the second century, but this late date is at variance with the evidence of all the other coins from the shaft, and Waagé himself admits that his chronology in this case is pure speculation. The silver of Lysimachus is of interest as a probable memento of the revolt of 289/8 when Athens made her bid for independence with the help of the money with which Lysimachus had stocked her treasury. It would seem, then, that at least some of the money from the shaft deposit was put into circulation in Athens after 288 and probably before the Chremonidean War, which dates accord exactly with those advanced for the "wreathed pig" issues.

The accidental confusion of dies by a mint workman has been mentioned before in explanation of a hybrid coin with a figure of Triptolemos mounting a chariot on the obverse and with two owls and a plemochoe symbol on the reverse. This Triptolemos type, which is somewhat later in style than the seated representations of that deity, is ordinarily found in conjunction with a "wreathed pig" reverse. Athenian money with two owls and a plemochoe on the reverse was minted *ca.* 307-283 or later. Unquestionably the two series, so strangely allied on this one coin, were contemporary. Further proof of their chronological relationship is provided by chemical analysis.<sup>33</sup> An ΕΑΕΤΣΙ piece belonging to Group III shows the following proportions: *Cu* 87.38, *Sn* 10.57, *Pb* 1.55. If we compare this ratio with an average obtained from three coins of the 307-283 or later period with two owls on the reverse, we have an almost identical composition: *Cu* 87.43, *Sn* 10.58, and *Pb* 1.57.

#### GROUP IV *Ca.* 262-230 B.C.

##### *Units*

Ob. A plemochoe struck over female head or head of Zeus r.

Re. A plemochoe struck over owl facing or Athena standing r., holding patera and owl.

Plate I, No. 6; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 1-7 (struck over Athenian issues: Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 1-10, and pl. 24, nos. 25-27).

<sup>33</sup> E. R. Caley, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 (Series C) and 52 (No. 2).

Ob. Head of Demeter r.; border of dots.

Re. AΘE Plemochoe with spears of wheat through handles; in r. field, kalathos, owl or aplustre; border of dots.

Plate I, No. 7; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 8-20 (usually struck over Athenian issues: Svoronos, pl. 24, nos. 10-17 and pl. 25, nos. 15-21).

#### *Half-unit*

Ob. Plemochoe with spears of wheat through handles.

Re. AΘE Kalathos; all in wheat wreath.

Plate I, No. 8; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 21-23.

These issues reflect their historical background. After the crushing defeat of the Chremonidean War Athens was to discover for the first time the real meaning of Macedonian suzerainty.<sup>34</sup> Garrisons of occupation troops, the loss of political and monetary rights, and the consequent loss of commercial and economic prestige all brought home the gravity of the new situation. The years between 262 and 230 were desperate ones and their true measure is given by the currency of the period.

Whether Antigonos, between 262 and 255, actually forbade all autonomous coinage or whether he limited the mintage to bronze is uncertain. The poverty of the city and the scarcity of metal probably made definite restrictions superfluous. Many of the Eleusinian types in Group IV were struck over regular Athenian issues, which is eloquent proof of the city's financial exhaustion. It is likely that in the years of the Greater Eleusinia Athens stamped Demeter heads and plemochoes over her current money rather to keep alive the spirit of a long-established tradition than because in that troubled period there was any attempt to celebrate the games on a scale necessitating festival coinage.

The evacuation of Macedonian garrisons from Athens and probably from Eleusis might have stimulated a thanksgiving celebration in 255, and the unit and fractional denominations on which the familiar kalathos and plemochoe combination reappears may commemorate the reunion of the two towns. A superiority of fabric in the fractional issue makes one think that the Athenians at this time had access to new sources of metal.

Possibly the aplustre symbol on another series was intended to flatter Antigonos by a reference to the naval victory of Cos or that of Andros.<sup>35</sup>

The coins struck with a plemochoe on both obverse and reverse are strong indication that the periodic issuance of Eleusinian types was so firmly a part of Athenian numismatic tradition as to be continued even when circumstances made it

<sup>34</sup> The comparatively slight interference of Macedon in Athenian internal affairs is attested by the scant number of autonomous Macedonian issues of pre-Antigonid date which have been found in the Agora: Philip II (2); Alexander (6); Cassander (13); Demetrius Poliorcetes (11); Antigonos Gonatas (86).

<sup>35</sup> E. Bickerman (*Revue des études anciennes*, XL, 1938, pp. 369-383) connects the battle at Cos with the concluding phases of the Chremonidean War. Rostovtzeff (*Hist. of Hell. World*, pp. 37-38 and 1317) believes that a somewhat later date is equally probable. Andros may be dated ca. 247 B.C.

impossible to do anything more than countermark currency already in circulation. Athenian finances touched bedrock in the years immediately following the Chremonidean War and again in the decade before 229; the money under discussion belongs to one or the other period.

A mid-century dating for the coins of Group IV is amply confirmed by the fact that they were overstruck on Athenian issues circulating after the Chremonidean War. These latter specimens with their large flans, their use of Macedonian types, and their association with autonomous Macedonian pieces are definitely the products of a period when the Athens mint was under Macedonian influence. That the original types are still clearly discernible beneath the Eleusinian markings is evidence that they had been in circulation for only a short time before being restruck. Incidentally the excellent preservation of the earlier types indicates that the money was re-issued for a specific purpose rather than as a replacement for outworn currency and its connection with the Eleusinia is substantiated.

It is interesting to note that the fractional denominations which first appeared *ca.* 267-263 recur in this group. The original Triptolemos and pig types have been discontinued and the ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΩΝ legend has now been permanently supplanted by ΑΘΕ.

#### GROUP V *Ca.* 229-30 B.C.

##### *Units*

- Ob. Head of Demeter r.
- Re. ΑΘΕ above pig standing r.
- Plate I, No. 9; Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 50-56.
- Ob. Head of Demeter r. veiled; border of dots.
- Re. ΑΘΕ Triptolemos in winged car l.; all in wreath.
- Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 24-28.

##### *Half-units*

- Ob. Head of Demeter r. veiled; border of dots.
- Re: ΑΘΕ Triptolemos in winged car l.; all with border of dots.
- Plate I, No. 11; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 29-37.
- Ob. Head of Demeter r. veiled; border of dots.
- Re. ΑΘΕ Poppy-head between two crossed spears of wheat; border of dots.
- Plate I, No. 12; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 38-45.
- Ob. Triptolemos in car l.; border of dots.
- Re. ΑΘΕ Crossed spears of wheat; all in wreath.
- Plate I, No. 13; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 46-50.
- Ob. ΑΘΕ Triptolemos in car l.; border of dots.
- Re. Nike advancing r., holding fillet and torch; all in wreath.
- Plate I, No. 14; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 51-53.

##### *Quarter-unit*

- Ob. Head of Demeter or Kore r.
- Re. ΑΘΕ above pig standing r.
- Plate I, No. 10; Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 57-64.

There can be no doubt that this last group is New Style bronze. The fabric is quite indistinguishable from that of New Style money. The denominations are those of 229-30 B.C., sharply at variance with the size of the preceding Eleusinian issues. The flans show a consistent fixation of dies, a practice which becomes the rule at the Athenian mint with the inauguration of the New Style currency.<sup>36</sup> In provenance these Eleusinian specimens are found over and over again in conjunction with New Style money in contexts of the second and first centuries B.C. Finally the similarities between their types and the symbols on New Style silver establish a clear relationship.

The head of Demeter and Triptolemos in a chariot are stamped on both a unit and a fractional denomination, and the series as a whole is obviously to be connected with a representation of Triptolemos on the New Style silver. Two such symbols are known; one appears on the money of ΕΥΜΑΡΕΙΔΗΣ-ΑΛΚΙΔΑΜ(ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝ) (Svoronos, pl. 53, nos. 1-12) and the other on that of ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ-ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ (Svoronos, pl. 73, nos. 1-2). Since the latter series is late in date and very scant, it is an unsuitable prototype for an abundant bronze issue of good style. The more copious silver of Eumareides and Alkidamos is assigned to ca. 125 B.C. (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 384) on substantially solid grounds, and there is no evidence, either stylistic or historical, to discredit a similar dating for the copper.<sup>37</sup>

The half-unit with Demeter's head on the obverse and a poppy-head between spears of wheat on the reverse is the fraction of a bronze unit on whose reverse the same distinctive symbol appears (Svoronos, pl. 79, nos. 15-17). Both denominations can be connected with only one silver issue, that of ΑΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ (Svoronos, pl. 73, nos. 18-25). These mint magistrates held office early in the first century B.C. (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 211); hence it is to that period that our coins are to be assigned.

It is evident that the two fractional issues with Triptolemos as the obverse type and crossed spears of wheat or a Nike on the reverse<sup>38</sup> are approximately contemporary. The two representations of Triptolemos, sketchily and crudely drawn, are

<sup>36</sup> E. T. Newell in discussing the fixing of dies says that "previous to about 290 B.C. this practice of adjusting dies seems not to have been adopted west or north of the Aegean Sea" (*Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, p. 68). The incipience of the practice in Athens is nearer 250 than 290. Only a few of the regular bronze series of the 263-229 period show evidence of die regulation. With the New Style money, except for an occasional lapse in earlier issues, all the silver and bronze are struck in fixed position. With the Eleusinian pieces the chronology is the same. The first indication of adjusted dies comes in some of the large flan issues of Group IV. Then there are the later types enumerated in this Group, all of whose dies are adjusted with the same constancy found in Athenian New Style money.

<sup>37</sup> Alkidamos, known from an inscription of 128/7, is a brother of Eumareides, an ephebe mentioned in a votive inscription of the early second century (J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 606 and 5809).

<sup>38</sup> These are both half-unit denominations. Their units are, in all probability, the series with spears of wheat beside a Panathenaic owl type (Svoronos, pl. 79, nos. 22-24) and that with a Nike reverse, which Svoronos (pl. 78, nos. 6-10) connects with the silver of Philokrates and Kalliphon.

strikingly similar. It is just as evident that both series are late in date; the Triptolemos depicted on the bronze of Eumareides and Alkidamos proves that in the last quarter of the second century Attic engravers were capable of far better work.

This chronological factor necessitates the linking of our Nike type with the money of ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΦΩΝ, the only silver issue with a solitary Nike figure which is not impossibly early. These magistrates were minting *ca.* 50 B.C. (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 224, note 75). This gives us a tentative date for the coins with crossed spears of wheat on the reverse. Two silver series have the same symbol: that of ΑΜΦΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ (Svoronos, pl. 62, nos. 15-27) and ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ-ΧΑΡΜΟΣΤ(ΡΑΤΟΣ) (Svoronos, pl. 73, nos. 9-10). One would prefer an association with the former on the ground that the more abundant silver series would be the one more likely to have a bronze counterpart. However, Amphikrates and Epistratos were officials of the late second century,<sup>39</sup> possibly contemporaries of Eumareides and Alkidamos whose bronze money carries a replica of Triptolemos far superior in style to the obverse type of the coins under discussion. To separate the latter by a half century from their related Nike issue and to assume a sudden and unaccountable degeneration in style within the span of a few years are alike impossible. The crossed spears of wheat must be connected with Kointos and Charmostratos, who functioned *ca.* 55 B.C.<sup>40</sup> This close chronological bond between the two series is entirely satisfactory; indeed one is tempted to interpret them as consecutive issues for mid-century Eleusinia, the later series being modelled on its predecessor and perhaps even using the same obverse dies.<sup>41</sup> Both the unimaginative repetition of types and the poor style are characteristic of the final phases of the New Style coinage.

The series with the head of Demeter and the pig have been left until the last since they are admittedly difficult to date. There is no silver issue with the symbol of a pig, so one must assume that the head of Demeter and her special attribute are substituting on the bronze for a complete representation of the goddess. Since such representations occur frequently on the silver, it is hard to single out a particular one as the definite prototype of our coins. Demeter's distinctive coiffure is the one outstanding feature of the large bronze pieces and the goddess's hair is also elaborately

The revelatory purport of Athenian money seems to be in direct proportion to the lateness of its date and to the baseness of its metal. So the impersonal victory device on the silver of Philokrates and Kalliphon becomes in the bronze fraction, with its combination of Triptolemos and Nike, an explicit reference to the Eleusinia.

<sup>39</sup> The two were brothers (*P.A.*, 774 and 4951). Their issue is linked by identical dies to that of ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΠΟΣΗΣ (see the stemma in *P.A.*, 13824).

<sup>40</sup> *P.A.*, 8688.

<sup>41</sup> The addition or erasure of the ΑΘΕ legend (which occurs on the obverse of the Nike series) could be easily accomplished in adapting the dies for re-use.



rendered on the money of ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ–ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (Svoronos, pl. 74, nos. 1-7).<sup>42</sup> These mint magistrates are placed *ca.* 50 B.C. (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 387), a reasonable date for the unusual quarter-unit denomination which first appears shortly before the Imperial period (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 225-226). However, the unit and the fraction may not belong to the same copper issue; their chemical analyses do not tally,<sup>43</sup> and the superior artistry of the larger specimens may link them with an earlier representation of Demeter.

Although our discussion stops with the money of the New Style, it must be emphasized that the thread of continuity is not broken there, for the Athenian Imperial issues are marked with the same types of Demeter, Kore, Triptolemos, and their attributes which appeared on the earlier currency. This is important since it establishes a recurrent use of Eleusinian devices from the late fourth century to the end of Athens' autonomous coinage. At the present time it is impossible to prove that this reiteration is the direct result of the important place of the Eleusinian festivals in the life of Athens. Definite substantiation of the theory must wait for additional contributions to our knowledge of the New Style chronological sequences.<sup>44</sup> However, the connection between our Eleusinian bronzes and the Greater Eleusinia rests not only upon the uncertain foundations of monetary policy and of historical probability, but also upon the specific data supplied by the coins themselves. That final evidence alone fully justifies the attribution of the money to the Athenian mint in the chronological groupings outlined above.

MARGARET THOMPSON

<sup>42</sup> The small scale of the symbol and the necessity of relying on photographs make it impossible to claim one type as a copy of the other.

<sup>43</sup> Unit	Cu	82.47	Sn	6.52	Pb	6.54
Quarter-unit		70.92		7.85		20.84

Caley, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>44</sup> A complete arrangement of the New Style silver could, of course, settle the matter by showing a fairly consistent repetition of Eleusinian symbols at four year intervals. At present the series linked by coincidence of dies are so few that the evidence they provide is merely negative. Among the issues which are definitely joined by their use of the same obverse die, as distinguished from the issues which Kambanis places together because of a similarity in obverse dies, there is no instance of a recurrence in successive years of Eleusinian symbols. Kambanis' arrangement of related issues is discussed in *Aréthuse*, V, 1928, and the *B.C.H.*, LVI (1932), LVIII (1934), LIX (1935), LX (1936), and LXII (1938).



PLATE I. ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS