

GREEK SCULPTURE AND SOME FESTIVAL COINS¹

(PLATES 25-28)

IT IS NOW over thirty years since I began the publication of a study, completed in 1921,² of the coinage associated with Olympic Festivals, and my interest in these issues has never since then flagged, neither has the desire to add something on the subject of their aesthetic value. But so far I have been deterred by a certain hesitation born perhaps of surprise both at the good luck which accompanied the work of an immature author, and at the unconscious impudence of his venture. Now the discovery³ of an Elean coin tucked away among Colonel Leake's coppers of Asia Minor in the Fitzwilliam Museum has given an opportunity for contributing something to an aesthetic appreciation of the coins of the Eleans. I am grateful to Mr. Louis Clarke, the Director, and to Mr. Grose, Honorary Keeper of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, for allowing me to publish the newly discovered coin.

I. THE MASTER OF OLYMPIA

First, however, there are certain appreciations of the fifth-century Olympic issues to be recorded. Since the original study was published a number of hoards containing Elean silver didrachms has come to light⁴ revealing several dies not known in 1921, and several fresh die-combinations then unrecorded. But nothing has emerged either to alter the arrangement of groups and series which I established, or to upset the conclusion that between 420 and 324 B.C. two separate mints, which never exchanged dies, operated concurrently. This is merely stated to explain the fact that I do not wish, except in one small detail (III below) to alter the sequence and the rough chronology which was originally adopted.

It is a tribute to the overwhelming power of the art of the Master of Olympia that it strongly influenced the die-engravers who worked for the Eleans. The temple was built and its sculpture completed by the 81st olympiad, 456 B.C. Four didrachms minted, I think, between 448 and 436 B.C. show the engravers' debt to the Master.

¹ This paper repeats, with some alterations, a lecture which I gave at a meeting of the Hellenic Society in London on May 5th, 1942. I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Dr. Jocelyn Toynbee and Dr. F. Heichelheim for helpful suggestions.

² Begun in *Nomisma*, VIII, 1913; final publication, *The Temple Coins of Olympia*, Cambridge, Bowes and Bowes, 1921.

³ By Dr. F. Heichelheim at work on a second part of *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, vol. IV.

⁴ S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*,² *Numis. Notes and Monographs*, 78, New York, 1937: No. 49 Andritsaena 1923 (x coins), No. 384 Elis 1929 (6 + coins), No. 593 Kyparissia 1936 (7 coins), No. 732 Naupactus 1936 (10 coins), No. 754 Olympia 1923 (6 coins), No. 844 Pyrgos 1929 (9 + coins): total number of didrachms in six hoards, well over 38—probably nearer 50.

One of his characteristics is his forceful method of presenting drapery, shown at its strongest in the western pediment where the heavy robes of the women look like the boles of pine and olive growing in the Altis. Beside photographs of two of these figures⁵ we may set the enlarged pictures of two Nike didrachms,⁶ struck about olympiad 83, 448 B.C., in order to appreciate the engravers' debt (Plate 25, 1-4). If these Nikes were brought to their knees their garments would assume folds like those of the Lapith women. Indeed the scarf which one of them (Plate 25, 2) wears, wound round her left arm and encircling her waist, has the firm folds of the chlamys worn by Apollo himself. A dozen years later, perhaps for the 86th olympiad, two other Nike didrachm-dies were made⁷ which are indebted to figures of Athena in two of the metopes. They are shown—the standing Nike beside the standing Athena of the Augean metope, the seated Nike beside the seated Athena of the Stymphalian metope (Plate 25, 5-8).⁸ In both cases the proportions, the feeling, the balance are akin to the work of the Master.

It is far otherwise with the famous Nike on the steps,⁹ made about eight years later, which I would like to assign to the 88th olympiad, 428 B.C. She owes no debt to the temple; indeed no debt to sculpture or relief, but rather to painting. Firstly the fore-shortening of the left leg is the work of an engraver interested in drawing and painting; secondly her chiton does not seem to be of wool like the Olympic raiment, but of some finer, more diaphanous stuff such as Attic art was now favouring. We are reminded, distantly perhaps, of painting on Attic vases by artists like the Lykaon and Eretria painters who worked between 440 and 420 B.C.¹⁰ It is not implied that our engraver was an Athenian, but only that he was touched by Attic art and insensitive to the Master of Olympia's mood. By the time this die was made a decade had passed since the Athenian Pheidias, his Zeus completed, had become a citizen of Elis, and his brother Panainos, had painted the pictures on the screens of the throne of Zeus.¹¹ Nevertheless the power of the Temple style was still to dominate the festival coinage for some while longer under the hands of two of the greatest Greek engravers who have left us at least their initials, ΔΑ... and Λ.... The evidence for assigning both the earliest coins with the head of Zeus, and the beginning of the Hera coinage

⁵ W. Hege and G. Rodenwaldt, trans. R. P. Hinks, *Olympia*, London, 1936, pls. 60, 62.

⁶ C. T. Seltman, *Temple Coins of Olympia*, 1921, pl. III, βθ, Brit. Mus., and pl. IV, βι, Brit. Mus. These and all the coins in Plates 25, 26, 27 (top half), are enlarged two diameters.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pl. IV, γα and γβ, both in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

⁸ Hege and Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, pls. 75, 67.

⁹ Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, γε, in Berlin and Brit. Mus. This Nike was copied for the Waterloo Victory medal.

¹⁰ For fine perspective see, e. g., J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Oxford, 1928, pl. 25, by the Lykaon painter; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, III, Munich, 1923, fig. 560, Eretria painter. Others abound in this period.

¹¹ A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 757, 8 date of Pheidias' move to Elis; *ibid.*, III, p. 956 for Panainos.

to the 90th olympiad, 420 B.C., has in no way been upset, and remains one of the strongest *points d'appui* for dating Elean money. When the Greeks, enjoying the temporary blessings of peace, assembled for the ninetieth festival, a coinage worthy of the occasion was ready for their use. Though thirty-six years had passed since the temple was finished its style still dominated Olympia, just as the Parthenon's style dominated the art of Athens for three or four decades and was echoed afresh in the work of those monumental artist-masons who carved the best classical Attic stelai.

The engraver ΔΑ . . . made two dies with a head of Zeus. His signature appears on the reverse beneath the thunderbolt on the die which belongs to the earlier and finer of the two heads.¹² There is no coin in all the festival issues which is more closely related than this to the temple metopes. It has only to be seen beside the heads of Herakles on the Atlas and on the Stymphalian metopes to make this clear (Plate 26, 1-3),¹³ nor is it unworthy of its great models.

Two heads of Hera which Α . . . engraved about the same time for use in the other mint¹⁴ are as clearly dependent on the temple metopes, and are shown beside two heads of Athena from the Atlas and Augean panels (Plate 26, 4-7).¹⁵ The modeling of brow, eye, nose, mouth, and chin are the work of a man inspired by the Master. The noses are rather big like those which survive complete on the temple sculptures.

The manner, once established, was continued for a long while at the Hera mint at which engravers still drew their inspiration from the main source of Olympic art.¹⁶ This temple-style is so pervading that, were classification not controlled by interlocking dies, confusion would result from any attempt to arrange the coins solely by stylistic criteria. There were of course second-rate engravers who made poor dies, but they do not here concern us.

That gifted engraver ΔΑ . . . was the creator of several pieces. About the 89th olympiad, 424 B.C., he made and signed the die¹⁷ with an eagle standing upon and biting a snake, and about the 90th—besides the two heads of Zeus—a famous signed die with an eagle's head. Two of the best surviving specimens are shown in Plate 26,

¹² Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. V, BQ, in the collection of the late E. T. Newell, formerly Pozzi collection. The Berlin specimen, though worn, is well illustrated by K. Regling, *Die Antike Münze als Kunstwerk*, Berlin, 1924, pl. XXI, 462, and by H. Schrader, "Zur Chronologie der Elisischen Münzen" in *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1937, p. 210, fig. 2. Schrader's attempt at redating and jumbling the Olympian issues is neither necessary nor advisable. See further, footnote 32 below.

¹³ Hege and Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, pls. 78, 71.

¹⁴ Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, EA, ED; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The second of these dies may have been made four years after the first. I think it was used for the 91st olympiad.

¹⁵ Hege and Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, pls. 76, 77.

¹⁶ For example, Seltman *op. cit.*, pl. IX, EH, pl. X, ES, both British Museum. They are perhaps of about the 94th and 102nd olympiads. J. Jongkees' attempt (*Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1939, pp. 219 ff.) to reshuffle certain Hera mint coins is unsatisfactory.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. IV, BN.

8, 10¹⁸ partly to complete the picture of his style, partly to make another point which has a religious rather than an aesthetic bearing. In my catalogue I followed B. V. Head and others in describing the leaf beneath the bird's head as ivy. E. Babelon¹⁹ called it an oak-leaf. It is probably neither, but a leaf of the white poplar.²⁰ Neither the ivy of Dionysos nor the oak of Dodonaean Zeus has any place at Olympia; the white poplar, introduced from the north by Herakles, has. Logs of this tree and of no other, says Pausanias, were used for sacrifices to Zeus²¹ and they were likewise employed for the cult of Pelops.²² A fresh white poplar leaf shown beside the coins (Plate 26, 9) seems to carry conviction.²³

II. PHEIDIAS

Pheidias made the gold and ivory statue of Zeus at Olympia after he left Athens. We know a great deal about its general appearance, for the evidence of every kind has been marshalled in a fashion that can only be called masterly by A. B. Cook in the third and final volume of *Zeus*.²⁴ His manner of setting the "cons" of some ancient writers against the "pros" of the majority may confirm our belief in the glory of the original. But if we admire it, this is by an act of faith, not of judgment, since we cannot see the statue which Dion of Prusa saw.

The second century of our era has, however, left us the picture of the Pheidian Zeus' head upon a bronze coin which is as admirable in its simple way as the trumpery Varvakeion copy of his Athena is abominable. A second specimen of this coin has now come to light.²⁵ The first, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, has long been famous and many times illustrated, though all reproductions have omitted the obverse of the coin,²⁶ an omission which must now be set right, if only in justice to Hadrian.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. V, BS; Jameson Collection, Paris, and Berlin; also H. Schrader, *loc. cit.*, p. 208 f., fig. 1.

¹⁹ B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.*², p. 421; E. Babelon, *Traité*, III, Col. 725, no. 1079.

²⁰ This acute observation was first made by Madame Delepierre, in Paris, who drew my attention to the leaf some years ago.

²¹ Pausanias, V, 14, 2.

²² See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 467 to 472 where the evidence is set out in detail.

²³ Other coins, Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, *βψ*, and pl. XII, 15, have a similar leaf, but on so small a scale that it cannot be accurately presented.

²⁴ *Zeus*, III, pp. 954 ff. An intaglio from Samsoun in Berlin is not, as claimed by T. Wiegand (*Stephanos*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 7, 11), a copy of the Pheidian Zeus but of some Hellenistic type influenced indirectly by the Pheidian style. I mention it because it is not referred to in *Zeus*.

²⁵ Leake Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. When Colonel Leake published the catalogue of his collection (*Numismata Hellenica*, Asiatic Greece, p. 68) in 1856 he attributed this piece to Hydrela in Phrygia, apparently interpreting the inscription as [Υδ]ρηλαι[των]. This alias proved a perfect disguise until Dr. Heichelheim unmasked it in June, 1941. See also *The Illustrated London News*, 199 (1941), p. 392.

²⁶ For the bibliography of its publication see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III, pp. 958 f., footnote 4, and add the following: P. Gardner, *Num. Chron.*, 1879, p. 272, pl. XVI, 3; P. Gardner and Imhoof-Blumer, "Pausanias," *J.H.S.*, VII, 1886, p. 75, pl. P, xxiii; K. Regling, *Antike Münze*³, 1929, p. 71.

The Cambridge and Paris coins are shown together on Plate 28, 1 and 2; the former has the obverse legend *ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ—ΤΩΡ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ*, the latter has the two words separated; but apart from this they are almost identical. The head of the Pheidian Zeus to right wreathed with olive upon the reverse of each is from a single die which the two coins share, and if any minute differences appear these are due to the fact that no. 2, the Paris coin, seems to have been subjected to a little tooling.²⁷ This pair of coins is further discussed in its numismatic context below.

Meanwhile it may be noted that there is no record of the place where either of these coins was found, but there are other copper coins of Hadrianic date with Zeus-types²⁸ which were found in the Altis at Olympia; not in the city of Elis. Wherever these coins may have been minted it was apparently at Olympia that they were issued and used.

The engraver of these dies was a very gifted man. There are few heads or busts of Hadrian in the great series of his medallions and coins with Latin inscriptions²⁹ which have quite the nobility of these imperial heads. This increases our confidence in the engraver's version of the head of the Pheidian Zeus on the Cambridge and Paris coins, which seen together help to form the picture in a satisfactory fashion. Yet relying, as I think we may, on these two for an impression of that head, it is surprising to observe that not a single Elean didrachm of the fifth or later centuries B.C.³⁰ is in any way closely influenced by the art of Pheidias. The almost scanty locks of hair which partly cover the back of his neck are either absent from the earlier coins or are replaced by heavier tresses.

III. PRAXITELES

This popular and fashionable modeller seems to have left a passing imprint of his style upon the Olympic festival coinage, for at least three dies were made by an engraver who was an ardent admirer of Praxiteles.

A year after the publication of my monograph the late Dr. K. Regling wrote an interesting article entitled "Die schönste Münze von Elis."³¹ In this paper he took exception to my arrangement of the coins with Zeus' head and the reverse type of an eagle on my sixth plate, proposing to lift a pair of coins³² out of their context and to

²⁷ The illustration is taken from an electrotype. Mr. E. S. G. Robinson of the British Museum has kindly supplied casts of various electrotype copies in the Museum taken from originals in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Florence, and Berlin.

²⁸ Summarily discussed by R. Weil, *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, XXIX, 1912, pp. 263 ff., and some of them in detail below.

²⁹ See F. Gnechi, *I Medaglioni Romani*, 3 vols. 1912, *passim* under Hadrian; H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, III, 1936, pls. 46 to 98.

³⁰ Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. V, BQ, BR; and pls. VI to VIII.

³¹ In *Festschrift für H. Buchenau*, 1922, pp. 50 ff.

³² My pl. VI CH εβ, CJ εβ, in Paris and Berlin respectively, then both unique. Another specimen of CJ εβ has now been published, *Collection R. Jameson*, Tome IV, Paris, 1932, pl. CXXXI†I, 2508. H. Schrader (*loc. cit.* footnote 12 above) follows Regling's error of judgment about these coins. His whole article is invalidated if I am right in thinking their style to be Praxitelean.

place them about half a century earlier, before the 104th olympiad, or 364 B.C. This was unwise, for you may shift coins round within a series, but you must not lift them right out. His paper did, however, cause me to reconsider the arrangement of the didrachms *within* the series of my sixth plate, and for this I was duly grateful. But the result fell out in the very opposite sense of that which Regling desired. I had arranged Group G Series XXI as follows:

- (i) two coins with initials of magistrates, KP, ΔΙ,
- (ii) a pair of coins—the two in question—with the letters AP, followed by
- (iii) two more with the letters AP. After these I had set
- (iv) Six coins without magisterial initials but with a little thunderbolt by the eagle on each coin.

On reflection it seems far wiser to place (iv) in front of (i), because Series XXII, which follows, also bears the initials of magistrates, which having once been introduced are thenceforth continued on all the Zeus-head didrachms until the mint ceased to strike them. In consequence I should now prefer to place what Regling called “die schönste Münze” near the end of Series XXI and to date it about the 110th olympiad, or 340 B.C.

This is an opinion formed many years ago, which I have no wish to revise, and which has been confirmed by an observation made in the course of preparing these notes; for it requires no more than a glance at Plate 27, 1 to recognise this head of Zeus as designed under strong Praxitelean influence.³³ If the Hermes of Olympia were to be fitted with a moustache and beard his head would closely resemble the head on the coin. The setting of the eye,³⁴ the shape of the forehead, the profile, the effective contrast between flesh and hair for which Praxiteles was famed are clear.

The Hermes is generally held³⁵ to have been set up in Olympia precisely in 343 B.C., in the second year of olympiad 109. I must emphasize the fact that I held the coin, Plate 27, 1, to be of about the 110th olympiad long before I observed its similarity to the head of the marble statue. Mature reflection has rather moderated my former enthusiasm³⁶ for this coin, but it may be called charming, competent, and carefully struck. A third die (Plate 27, 3) from the hand of the same artist, whom we might venture to name “the Praxiteles engraver,” was made about one olympiad after the other two. It heads my Series XXII, and I think it is of about 336 B.C.³⁷

³³ The head of the Hermes is after Hege and Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, pl. 86.

³⁴ The lower eye-lid, evanescent in the Hermes, is emphasized on the coin; but this is due to the character of the engraver's technique.

³⁵ A. W. Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, pp. 247 and 251.

³⁶ Seltman, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, pl. VII, CP ε in Brussels. There is also Praxitelean influence on a Hera coin (Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, series XXX, FG, *circa* olympiad 111); compare the Petworth head (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pl. 83 and p. 253). This may be by Praxiteles, or a contemporary original. See J. Chittenden and C. Seltman, *Greek Art Commem. Catal.*, 1946, p. 17.

IV. SKOPAS

This sculptor ranked in the estimation of later critics as second only to his contemporary, Praxiteles. There is no written record of a work from his hand in the Altis, but he made a bronze statue of Aphrodite Pandemos which Pausanias³⁸ saw in Elis. He was popular; and his style affected that of certain didrachms made, I think, about olympiad 112, 332 B.C. It is possible to assess his style because some originals, battered though they be, exist to guide us, these being the well-known heads from the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which he made about 350 B.C. One of these extremely "pathetic" male heads³⁹ is set in Plate 27, 5 beside a festival didrachm (Plate 27, 4)⁴⁰ which shows Scopas influence. In both the eye is deeply sunk under the brows, the forehead is bumpy, the cheek hollow, the hair rough.

After this the heads of Zeus degenerate towards the depressing "Otricoli" type,⁴¹ which is generally held to be the copy of something from the school of Lysippus.

V. ANTONIANOS

Antonianos, floruit *circa* A.D. 134, was a member of that active and finished school of artists from Aphrodisias in Caria which included such names as Aristeas, Papias, the two Zenos, Menestheus, Kornelios, Polyneikes, and Attikianis.⁴² There is one surviving marble signed by Antonianos, a relief 4 feet 8 inches high, now in Rome, found at Lanuvium representing Antinoös as Silvanus with an altar in front of him inscribed 'Αντωνιανὸς Ἀφροδισιεύς ἐποίησεν.⁴³ The head and shoulders of this relief of Antinoös are shown in Plate 27, 7.⁴⁴ Beside this, Plate 27, 6, are a black sard and, Plate 27, 8, a Peloponnesian bronze medallion coin of Antinoös⁴⁵ which are both so

³⁸ VI, 25, 1.

³⁹ Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 256, pl. 85.

⁴⁰ Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. VII CT, in Cambridge, Leake Collection.

⁴¹ Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

⁴² J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen*, 1868, nos. 2286-2291; E. Löwy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, 1885, nos. 364-375.

⁴³ R. Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, 1912, pl. 44 and p. li, f., where is a full description and bibliography.

⁴⁴ After Delbrück, *op. cit.*, pl. 44.

⁴⁵ Formerly in the Marlborough and Newton-Robinson Collections; see the latter's Sale Catalogue, Christie's, June, 1909, lot 66; A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. LXV, 50; C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, 1885, pl. 84, 1; Mrs. A. Strong, *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Greek Art*, 1904, pl. CX, 087. The fullest description is in the last-named publication. This intaglio is broken, mended, and partly repaired in gold. Our illustrations (Plates 27, 6 and 28, 20), which are about one-sixth above actual size, show the gem without the modern gold addition. Behind the shoulder are letters: Furtwängler gives ANTI, Newton-Robinson ANT., Mrs. Strong ANT. The fourth broken letter cannot well be anything but a rather angular ω; so this could be completed as ANTONIANOC ἐποίησεν. The letters have small *serifs* like the letters on the Lanuvium relief by Antonianos and on a number of the coins on Pl. 28; they are therefore contemporary with the engraving. For the coin see No. 15 below.

closely related to the marble relief that they must be the work of the same school, if not of the same hand. This is set down as an introduction to certain important Elean, Achaean and Arcadian medalllic coins of the reign of Hadrian illustrated on Plate 28.

Though Hadrian is known to have visited Olympia there is no evidence to show that he was present at any of the olympiads which occurred during his reign; therefore the Elean medalllic coins with his head cannot be connected with a particular olympiad, though, as will presently appear, they were associated with a festival of a different type. The remark has been made above that the two coins with the head of Hadrian and the head of the Pheidian Zeus are not only distinctive but also of exceptionally fine work. Not only are they better than almost anything with a Latin inscription of the Hadrianic age, but they are also better than any coin or medal of the reign struck in the eastern half of the empire outside Peloponnesus.

Accordingly it is worth setting them in that context of quasi-medalllic bronze coins, all closely associated and made in honour of Hadrian, Zeus, and Olympia, to which they belong. A description of these pieces, comprising eight different die-combinations, follows.

1. 32 mm. AVTOKPA TΩPAΔPIANOC. Bust of Hadrian right cuirassed, head bare. Border of dots.

Rev: ΗΛΕΙ. Head of Pheidian Zeus r. wreathed with olive. Border of dots.

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge [Pl. 28, 1].⁴⁶

2. 32 mm. AVTOKPATΩP AΔPIA[NO]C. Similar to No. 1.

Rev: Same die as No. 1.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [Pl. 28, 2];⁴⁷ apparently somewhat tooled on both sides.

3. 31.5 mm. Same as No. 2; probably same die.

Rev: ΗΛΕΙΩΝ (in exergue). The river-god Alpheios reclining towards left (in an attitude like that of the same deity in the east gable of the Zeus temple), his head having a resemblance to certain heads of Antinoös; he holds a wreath in his raised r. hand, and reeds in his

left. Waves are below him, a tall urn in front of him.

Ex-Rhousopoulos Sale, Munich, May, 1905, no. 2587 [Pl. 28, 3].

4. 23 mm. AVTOKPA Bust of Hadrian closely resembling those of Nos. 1, 2, 3.

Rev: ΗΛΕΙ. The statue of Pheidian Zeus to r. showing the right side of the figure.

(a) Berlin [Pl. 28, 4].⁴⁸ (b) Athens, found at Olympia.⁴⁹

5. 30 mm. ΔΙC AVTOKPATΩP AΔPIANOC. Bust of Hadrian l. draped, head bare. Border of dots.

Rev: ΗΛΕΙ ΩΝ. The statue of Pheidian Zeus to l. showing left side of figure. Border of dots.

(a) Florence, since 1684 [Pl. 28, 5].⁵⁰

(b) Formerly Queen Christina of Sweden Collection; lost.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Leake Collection; see footnote 25 above.

⁴⁷ See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III, pp. 958, note 4, and 959, note 1 for bibliography; and see our note 26.

⁴⁸ *Loc. cit.*; R. Weil, *loc. cit.*, p. 370, pl. X 4 (reverse only).

⁴⁹ *Loc. cit.*, pl. X, 4a (reverse only).

⁵⁰ See A. B. Cook, *loc. cit.* The word δῆς appears to be a last-minute addition to the die, for it cuts into the drapery.

⁵¹ R. Weil, *loc. cit.*, pp. 367 f.

6. 23 mm. Same die as No. 5.

Rev: Similar to No. 5; different die.
Berlin, found at Olympia.⁵²

7. 23 mm. Same die as Nos. 5 and 6.

Rev: ΗΛΕΙΩΝ. The same statue three-quarter face towards left.
Berlin [Pl. 28, 7].⁵³

8. 27 mm. Same die as Nos. 5, 6, 7.

Rev: ΗΛΕΙΩΝ. The nymph Olympia in Doric chiton standing, facing, holding an eagle in right hand and olive-branch in left. At her feet recline two naked river-gods, Alpheios and Kladeos. One holds a sprig of reeds, the other a wreath; waves below them.
Berlin [Pl. 28, 8].⁵⁴

These eight coins fall into two groups distinguished by their obverses. Nos. 1 to 4 have the emperor's bust to right, nos. 5 to 8, to the left, and for the latter group a single obverse die has been used with four different reverse dies. This head-die bears an interesting inscription⁵⁵—*δὲς αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀδριανός*—which fortunately provides a *terminus post quem* for these coins, because the earliest record of Hadrian's second *imperium*, with which he was acclaimed after the Jewish war, lies between April and December 135;⁵⁶ therefore these four coins appear to belong to the second half of A.D. 135, or, at latest, to the first months of 136.

There are three head-dies for Nos. 1 to 4—Nos. 2 and 3 being almost certainly struck from the same obverse—all so closely related that the same hub may have been used to make them all. The coins, 4, 6 and 7 are smaller than the others but are struck from dies intended for the making of large coins. In the second group one obverse-die had to do duty for larger and smaller coins, a practice which was probably not uncommon at this time.⁵⁷

It would be superfluous to attempt to add anything about the reverses with the whole figure of Pheidian Zeus, since these have all been discussed effectively by A. B. Cook in the third volume of *Zeus*. They are included here merely to display their association with other dies.

⁵² *Loc. cit.*, p. 368, pl. X, 3a (reverse only).

⁵³ *Loc. cit.*, pl. X, 5; A. B. Cook, *op. cit.* The left arm has, I think, here been raised by the engraver to avoid such excessive foreshortening as precise and faithful copying would have demanded.

⁵⁴ H. Dressel, *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, XXIV, 1904, p. 61, pl. III, 1.

⁵⁵ There is no K after Hadrian's name, and R. Weil, *loc. cit.*, p. 371 was mistaken in inserting one. The *δὲς*, however, seems to have been added afterwards to the die.

⁵⁶ W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 1907, pp. 180 and 276; P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Vol. II, *die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Hadrian*, Stuttgart, 1933, pp. 25 f., 31 f., 136 note 301; H. Mattingly, *B. M. C. Roman Coins*, III, 1936, pp. cxi, cxviii, cxxii f., cxlii f.; H. Nesselhauf, *C.I.L.*, XVI (1936), nos. 79-82. The evidence for the date of the second *imperium* is summarised in a note kindly supplied by Dr. Heichelheim and added at the end of this paper.

⁵⁷ There are earlier cases of large dies being employed for ancient coins of smaller denominations, e. g., Lydia, stater and third from same die (Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 25); Cyne in Aeolis, stater and half (*Catal. Naville I* = Pozzi Sale, Lucerne, 1920, 2292, 2293); Phaistos, stater and half (J. N. Svoronos, *Numis. de la Crète ancienne*, 1890, pl. XXIII, 18, 19); Segesta, tetradrachm and didrachm (P. Lederer, *Die Tetradrachmenprägung von Segesta*, 1910, p. 39).

The river-gods on Nos. 3 and 8 are interesting and must be studied together, although the die of No. 8 is not the work of the excellent artist who engraved the rest of these coins, but from an inferior's hand. The deity on No. 3 must be the Alpheios, and he seems to be a free adaptation of the figure made by the Master of Olympia to fill the south angle of the east pediment of the Zeus temple.⁵⁸ On the coin the need for pictorial effect and for a profile head has caused a twisting upwards of the body, but he still rests upon his left elbow, and his legs below the knees are indistinct because the legs of the marble statue are hidden in drapery. The vase in front of him appears to apologise for this indefinite tapering off of the figure. The wreath and reeds in his hands are attributes either of which, probably made of bronze, the original marble Alpheios of the pediment may have held in the missing right hand.⁵⁹

It must, however, be noted that only the body is an adaptation of the fifth-century figure; the head is of quite different style and bears a very close resemblance to the head of Hadrian's favourite, Antinoös, figured on Plate 28, 9 to 18—a point to which I return below.

The reverse of No. 8 is inferior, and its engraver will have copied the wreath-holding river-god on the right from the Alpheios of No. 3 with no great success. The other deity, back view, is then Kladeos, who recalls nothing of the splendid north angle pedimental figure save the shape of his smooth head. The design is clumsy but interesting on account of the central female figure. A head of this nymph, Olympia, first made its appearance in both Elean mints on the silver festival Coinage of the 105th olympiad (360 B.C.) in association with the head of Zeus, the eagle, and the wreath of wild olive.⁶⁰ The whole figure here, holding eagle and olive-branch, must represent the same nymph, placed as she is between two reclining river-gods.

The autumn of A.D. 134 is probably the earliest date possible for the issue of the coins with the head to right. Four years previously, apparently in the month of October, 130, Hadrian's favourite, Antinoös, was drowned in the Nile in Upper Egypt.⁶¹ The cult of the heroized Antinoös was speedily established, spreading from Egypt to the Greek half of the empire, and in A.D. 134, four years after his death, numbers of medallic coins were issued in the near East with his portrait.⁶² The variety and uneven quality of these pieces is sufficiently remarkable, but among the various styles which appear there is one style of outstanding merit which is actually confined to Peloponnesus, and the dies for this small group of coins are obviously the work of a single *atelier*—probably, indeed, of a single engraver. A description follows:

⁵⁸ Hege and Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, pl. 38.

⁵⁹ There was another statue of Alpheios in the Altis at Olympia, Pausanias V, 24, 7, the appearance of which is unknown. We cannot guess whether or no this coin type owes anything to that other figure.

⁶⁰ Seltman, *The Temple Coins of Olympia*, no. 175, pl. VI, CA δλ; no. 305 f., pl. X, EV, EW θσ-θv.

⁶¹ H. J. Bell in *C.A.H.*, XI, p. 650.

⁶² G. Blum, "Numismatique d'Antinoös," *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique*, XVI, 1914, pp. 33 ff., pls. I to V.

"MEDALLIONS" ⁶³

9. 43.8 mm. [MAP]ΚΕΛΛΟΟΙΕ ΠΕΥCΤ-
OVAN TINOOV. Bust of Antinoös l., waves
beneath. Border of dots.

Rev.: KOPINΘI OICAN. Antinoös r. as Diony-
sos, his legs draped, holding thyrsos and lean-
ing on a bearded, ithyphallic Herm to r. before
which is a large krater; behind him is a stele
surmounted by a rectangular tablet. Border of
dots.

Ex-Prince Wied Collection [Pl. 28, 9].⁶⁴

10. 40 mm. Same die as No. 9.

Rev.: A male figure standing r.; damaged.
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [Pl. 28, 10, ob-
verse only].⁶⁵

11. 41 mm. OCTIAIOC/ΑΡΚΕΛΛΟCΙΕΡΕΥC-
TOV ANTINOOV. Head of flat style, quite
different from last, to right, draped.

Rev.: TOICAXAIOIC ANΘHKEN. Antinoös
as on reverse of no. 9, but as Hermes, naked
but for short cloak; he holds a caduceus and
leans on a bearded, ithyphallic Herm to r.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [Pl. 28, 11, re-
verse only].⁶⁶

12. 38 mm. ΒΕΤΟΥ ΠΙΟC. Bust of Antinoös r.

Rev.: [TOIC] APKACI. Race-horse r., right
foreleg raised.

A. B. Cook collection, Cambridge [Pl. 28, 12]
thick.⁶⁷

"SESTERTII"

13. 34 mm. As last. Border of dots.

Rev.: As last. Border of dots.

(a) London [Pl. 28, 13].⁶⁸ (b) Ex-Prowe
collection; uniface.⁶⁹

14. 33 mm. Same die as No. 13.

Rev.: TOIC APKACI. As last.
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

15. 36 mm. As before; but bust to l., the l.
shoulder and half of the back shown.

Rev.: Same reverse-die as No. 13.
Berlin [Pl. 28, 15] ⁷⁰ = our Plate 27, 8 above.

16. 33 mm. Same die as No. 15.

Rev.: Similar.
(a) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (b) Vienna.⁷¹

"DUPONDII"

17. 26 mm. ΒΕ ΤΟΥΠΙΟC. Similar bust, but
r., lightly draped, head of Caduceus behind
neck.

Rev.: Similar to last.

(a) McClean Collection, Cambridge.⁷² (b-
c) Berlin. (d) Paris. (e) Copenhagen.
(f) Ex-Anderson Collection.⁷³

18. 26 mm. as last, but bust l. like that of No.
9; no waves visible.

Rev.: same reverse-die as No. 17.

(a) London [Pl. 28, 18].⁷⁴ (b) Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris. (c) Berlin. (d-f) Athens.
(g) Ex-Prowe Collection.⁷⁵

19. 26 mm. ΒΕΤΟΥ ΠΙΟC. Similar; waves
beneath bust.

Rev.: Similar.
Jameson Collection, Paris. [Pl. 28, 19].⁷⁶

⁶³ The words "Medallions," "Sestertii," "Dupondii" are here used to equate the sizes with those of contemporary Roman *aes* but not to indicate an exact correspondence of values.

⁶⁴ Sale Bâle, March, 1935, pl. 22, 454.

⁶⁵ G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, p. 36, 2 has been mounted.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35, 1.

⁶⁷ Has been hammered around edge and mounted as No. 10 was.

⁶⁸ *B.M.C. Peloponnesus*, p. 177, pl. XXXIII, 1.

⁶⁹ Prowe Sale, Vienna, May, 1912, pl. XX, 1153; three small mounting holes.

⁷⁰ G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, p. 37, 2.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37, 3.

⁷² S. W. Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection*, Cambridge, 1926, Vol. II, 6956.

⁷³ G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, p. 37, 6.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 38, 7; not in *B. M. C. Peloponnesus*.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38, 7.

Here are eleven pieces, having a truly remarkable uniformity of style, which may surely be attributed to the hand of a single engraver. The damaged reverse of No. 10 is not by him, as far as one can see, and the dull obverse of No. 11 is not his work either. Let him be named "the Alpheios engraver" from the fine coin, No. 3, made for the Eleans, with that reclining river-god whose head is the head of Antinoös. On our Plate 28 the following seem to me the work of this artist: the Emperor's heads on 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, the reverse of 3, all the busts of Antinoös shown, and the reverses of 9 and 11. He probably also made the famous Zeus-head die of 1, 2, and the statue dies of 5 and 7 as well as the fine horses of 12, 13, 15 and 18; but not, I think, the clumsy horse of 19, nor the awkward group of No. 8.

All these dies must have been made within a very short period of time which it should be easy to determine. The death of Antinoös occurred in October, 130.⁷⁷ The earliest coins struck in Egypt with his head belong to Hadrian's 19th year (134-135), those of Amisos to the end of 134,⁷⁸ the fourth year after his death being precisely the time at which the new hero would receive special honour. This is confirmed independently for Mantinea in Arcadia, the city in which Veturius must have paid for the striking of our Nos. 12 to 19 as well as of certain smaller pieces, here omitted because they are not the work of our engraver.⁷⁹ Pausanias wrote "The emperor established his [Antinoös'] worship at Mantinea also, and mysteries are celebrated in his honour every year, and games every fourth year."⁸⁰

The first occasion of these "great games" in his honour must also have been the occasion for the issue of these coins, for the race-horse on their reverses is itself enough to indicate their agonistic nature.⁸¹ Had they been made for a later festival it would have been that of October, 138; but by that time Hadrian had already been dead three months; therefore all these coins—Arcadian as well as Achaian—must have been issued in the autumn of A.D. 134. They are, therefore, rather earlier in date

⁷⁶ From Sale Vienna, May 1912, pl. XX, 1152 = *Collection R. Jameson*, iii, 1924, pl. XXI, 443. On the same plate is another piece (no. 442) which I omit as I am not sure of the authenticity of the "obverse" of this curious "box-coin."

⁷⁷ W. Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 248 ff.; G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, p. 59.

⁷⁸ G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, p. 60.

⁷⁹ Among them is one found near Godmanchester, Hunts, and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; see *Num. Chron.*, 1908, p. 375. Others, G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, p. 38, 9 to 11.

⁸⁰ Pausanias, VIII, 9, 8: *I.G.*, V, 2, no. 313, line 3: cf. also *I.G.*, V, 2, p. 50: Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Mantinea.

⁸¹ Antinoös himself is on horseback on the series of Alexandria, G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, pl. V. Professor A. B. Cook makes the following comment about the Veturius coins of Arcadia:—"as a hero Antinoös has a horse; the horse is the sacred animal of Mars; cf. the festivals, October Horse (Oct. 15), and *Equirria* (March 14), later called *Mamuralia* when a sacrifice was also offered to Mamurius Veturius, legendary maker of the sacred *ancilia*." No famous Veturii are known after the Second Punic War, and it may be doubted whether this Arcadian Veturius was a true descendant of the ancient House, but he may have claimed descent. Nothing further is known of him.

than the four Elean bronze coins inscribed *δὲς αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀδριανός* since Hadrian received this acclamation at some time between the middle of April and December, 135.

Hadrian, it seems probable, did not stay in Greece after passing through Crete on his way from Palestine to Rome in the spring of 134. But it looks as though Hostilius Marcellus, priest of Antinoös in Corinth, Veturius of Mantinea, and the managers of the Olympic sanctuary all confidently expected the emperor to be present in the following autumn at the first great games held in his late favourite's honour in Arcadia. This agreeable prospect suggested the issue of special coins for the dies of which the services of the finest engraver of the day were procured.

And here I venture to summarise that which I am inclined to deduce about the Alpheios engraver. One die of his can, I believe, be recognized in the Roman series of bronze medallions; it is different from all the others, and better. Hadrian is shown to right with a deep bust and bare shoulder, just like Antinoös on the bronzes of Corinth and Mantinea, his chest covered with the aegis of Zeus whereon the Gorgoneion appears. This obverse die was employed with two different reverses (Plate 27, 9-10)⁸² having the types of Victory and of Silvanus; and, since the latter was a purely Italian deity, we may be sure that these large medallions were issued in Rome. The bust of the emperor is unlike that on any other of his coins or medals, and is the work of a brilliant man. We may suggest that the Alpheios engraver appears to have been a member of Hadrian's artistic circle, perhaps both sculptor and gem-engraver;⁸³ and, as a man familiar with the emperor's Favourite, he could have cut the magnificent Marlborough black sard, Plates 28, 20 and 27, 6, as a memorial of Antinoös. Perhaps before the middle of A.D. 134 he went with his assistants to Peloponnesus since it was hoped that Hadrian himself would leave Italy in the autumn to be present at the first celebration of the games in Arcadian Mantinea in honour of the hero whose cult Hadrian had there established. Olympia, still crowded with the works of famous men, was an art-centre equal to Athens itself, and there he may have settled for a time to make dies; for his rendering of the head of the Zeus of Pheidias appears to have been produced by a man who was studying it with the closest observation. At the same time he made a die with the river-god Alpheios whom he equipped with the head of Antinoös, the youth whose tragic end had befallen in another river. As obverses for

⁸² F. Gnechi, *I Medaglioni Romani*, II, pl. 38, 9, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: *ibid.*, pl. 39, 2, British Museum, H. A. Grueber, *Roman Medallions in the British Museum*, pl. V, 1. This peculiar type of bust recurred twice later, when Marcus Aurelius was Caesar (Gnechi, *op. cit.*, II, pls. 65, 1; 66, 10) and in the reign of Commodus (*op. cit.*, II, pl. 87, 6, 8). Miss Toynbee, to whom I owe various helpful suggestions, concurs in my attribution of the Hadrianic medallions to the Alpheios engraver, and points out that a somewhat similar deep bust occurs on a medallic sestertius of Trajan, P. L. Strack, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. 7, 403, the obverse of which she believes to be from a die intended for a bronze medallion.

⁸³ He might have worked for Hadrian as the gem-engraver Dioskourides worked for Augustus; cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXVII, 8; Suetonius, *Aug.*, 50.

these coins he cut dies with the bust of Hadrian to the right in his strong characteristic gem-engraver's manner.⁸⁴ These coins suggest the probability that the Eleans were planning a special festival in honour of Zeus-Adrianos and Alpheios-Antinoös.

Meanwhile in expectation of the imperial visit two wealthy persons, Hostilius Marcellus at Corinth and a certain Veturius in Mantinea, paid for the issue of numerous medallie bronze pieces the dies for most of which they commissioned the Alpheios engraver to cut. All these obverse dies had busts of Antinoös, strong and fine like the Elean dies of Hadrian, elegant and sensuous like the black sard intaglio. All were immeasurably superior to any heads or busts of the Favourite upon any other coins. On two dies he put waves under Antinoös like the waves under his Alpheios. Then in the early autumn of 134 Hadrian set out for the East to finish the war in Palestine,⁸⁵ and can hardly have failed to pass through Peloponnesus. Indeed the coins make it probable that he stayed first at Olympia, then at Mantinea to witness the first celebration of the games in honour of Antinoös, and thirdly at Corinth, before setting sail from Kenchreai for the final Judæan campaign. At some date between the middle of April and December of 135⁸⁶ he was acclaimed *imperator* for the second time to celebrate the successful end of the war, and he most probably passed through Peloponnesus again stopping at Olympia on his way back to Italy.

The Alpheios engraver had apparently remained in Greece at work on more dies for the Eleans, for he made reverses with the whole figure of the Pheidian Zeus which had the same fineness and quality as his dies of the previous year. To go with these he made one splendid obverse die which struck coins with the emperor's head turned to the left, thereby conforming to what was now the normal official practice in other mints.⁸⁷ After he had made this he learnt of Hadrian's second acclamation and found it possible to add the word *δῖς* at the bottom of the bust on the die⁸⁸ in a neat and skilful manner.

Let us summarize the work which seems to have come from this artist's *atelier*.

⁸⁴ Miss Tonybee has drawn my attention to another coin (there are specimens in Athens and Berlin) almost certainly by the Alpheios engraver, which is not included on our Plate because it is inadequately published in an engraving (R. Weil, *Zeitschr. f. Numis.*, XIII, 1886, p. 384). The head of Hadrian seems to be from the same die as our Nos. 2 and 3. The reverse has a picture of a statue of Dionysos, probably the one made by Praxiteles for his temple at Elis (Pausanias, VI, 26, 1). On the coin the god's features may have resembled those of Antinoös—cf. No. 9 above).

⁸⁵ Strack, *op. cit.*, p. 133, points out that on May 5, A.D. 134, Hadrian was certainly in Rome, and is convinced that he set out in the summer or autumn of the same year for the East.

⁸⁶ For the evidence see the Appendix below.

⁸⁷ Strack, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 f., 31 f., from his very complete catalogue has made the observation for the Imperial and Alexandrian issues that the head of the Emperor is turned to the left with something like regularity from A.D. 134 onwards, but not before.

⁸⁸ Though there is no other evidence for these two visits to Olympia the appearance of the two issues, with head to right, and with head to left, and with that particular interval between them suggests something of this kind.

- (i) Hadrianic medallions made in Rome, one with Silvanus as a reverse type.
- (ii) Hadrianic bronzes for the Eleans with (a) head of the Pheidian Zeus, (b) figure of the Zeus, (c) the Alpheios, (d) possibly a Praxitelean Dionysos.
- (iii) Bronzes with bust of Antinoös for (a) Corinth, (b) Mantinea.
- (iv) Antinoös' bust on a black sard signed ANT ν . . ., the fourth letter apparently part of an ω .

But this last stands close to the fine Lanuvium relief of Antinoös as Silvanus with the signature of Antonianos of Aphrodisias. We are therefore left with a strong probability that our Alpheios engraver is Antonianos himself. Skill and elegance of manner mark all the work of this man—the last great engraver to employ that style which we have come to regard as Classical Greek.

APPENDIX

In the course of a discussion of the artistic quality of certain Elean coins I have chanced on a small pocket of evidence concerning the movements of the Emperor Hadrian in his latter years. The interpretation of this depends on certain epigraphic matter which fixes his second *imperium* between mid-April and December, 135, and a summary of this epigraphic matter, kindly compiled by Dr. Heichelheim, is set out here.

C.I.L., XVI, no. 82 proves that the second acclamation of Hadrian as imperator was later than 14 April, A.D. 135 (not 15 Sept. 134 as had to be assumed from *C.I.L.*, XVI, no. 79 before *C.I.L.*, XVI, nos. 80-82 became known). On the other hand *C.I.L.*, XIV, no. 4235 (possible dates for which are 14, 19, 24 or 29 Dec., 135), the earliest text from Hadrian's XXth trib. pot. which mentions the second acclamation and can be dated by month and year, proves that the acclamation occurred before A.D. 136 (*cf.* for additional texts of A.D. 136 which mention it, Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 317; *C.I.L.*, VI, 975; Cagnat, *Inscr. graec. ad Res Rom. pert.*, III, no. 896; *Année épigr.*, 1928, no. 193; *Pap. Oslo*, III, 1936, no. 78). Furthermore *I.G.*, XII, *Suppl.* 1939, no. 239 from Syrus—a recently published Greek inscription from Hadrian's XIXth trib. pot.—(probably also *C.I.L.*, II, no. 478 and *C.I.L.*, VI, no. 974, two Latin inscriptions of the same period, the restorations of which are not certain but now appear very attractive) proves with certainty that the second acclamation fell in Hadrian's XIXth trib. pot. Our present knowledge does not allow us to date the beginning and the end of this period with accuracy; but it is safe to say that Hadrian's second acclamation took place between the middle of April and December A.D. 135.

CHARLES SELTMAN

QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE



1



2



3



4



5



7



6



8

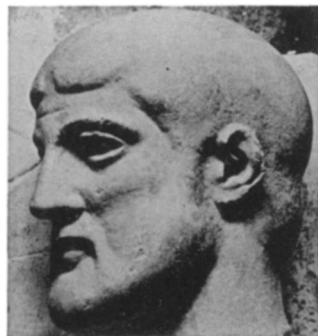
C. SELTMAN: GREEK SCULPTURE AND SOME FESTIVAL COINS



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



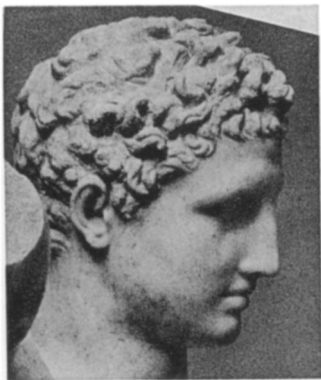
9



10



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



C. SELTMAN: GREEK SCULPTURE AND SOME FESTIVAL COINS

