

Hermes

A Visual and Literary Interpretation of the Greek God Hermes with New Evidence from Numismatic Iconography



Utrecht University

RMA Ancient, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies

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2021



Universiteit Utrecht

Cover images:

Upper left: Reverse image of bronze chalkous of Ainos, second/first century BCE (BMC 43). Upper right: Obverse image of electrum sixth stater of Phocaea, 478-387 BCE (Bodenstedt 82). Lower left: Obverse image of silver tetradrachm of Ainos, c. 378/7-377/6 BCE (May 396). Lower right: Reverse image of silver drachm of Abdera, c. 355 BCE (Chryssantaki-Nagle p. 123-7).

Ἐνθεν δὲ ἐγένοντο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, ὅκοῖοί τε τινὲς
τὰ εἶδεα, οὐκ ἠπιστέατο μέχρι οὗ πρόην τε καὶ χθὲς ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ.

Herodotus 2.53

“As to the questions of where each of the gods came from, whether they were all eternal, who they are and what they are like in form, [the Greeks] did not know these things until, as we say, yesterday or the day before.”¹

¹ Translation after Pozzi and Wickersham (1991) 5.

Abbreviations

AMB	Cahn H.A., et al. Griechischen Münzen aus Grossgriechenland und Sizilien. (Basel, 1988).
AMNG	Pick, Behrendt. Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien, Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands Vol. I/I. (Berlin, 1898). Dacia and Moesia.
Apollod. <i>Bibl.</i>	Apollodorus mythographus <i>Bibliotheca</i>
BCD Lokris	Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG. The BCD Collection, Lokris - Phokis. Auction 55, Zürich, 8 October 2010.
BCD Peloponessos	LHS Numismatics. Coins of Peloponnesos. The BCD Collection. Catalog of public auction 96, 8-9 May 2006. (Zurich).
BMC	British Museum Catalog
Boston MFA	Comstock, M. & C. Vermeule. Greek Coins 1950-1963, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. (Boston, 1964).
Cic. <i>Att.</i>	Cicero <i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
Hes. <i>Cat.</i> <i>Theog.</i>	Hesiod <i>Catologus mulierum</i> <i>Theogonia</i>
HGC	Hoover, O. Handbook of Coins of Macedon and Its Neighbors, Vol. 3, Part II: Thrace, Skythia, and Taurike, Sixth to First Centuries BC. HGC 3.2. (Lancaster/London, 2017).
HN	Rutter, N.K. ed. Historia Numorum. Italy. London, 2001.
Hom. <i>Hom. Hymn Dem.</i> <i>Hom. Hymn Herm.</i> <i>Il.</i>	Homer <i>Homeric Hymn to Demeter</i> <i>Homeric Hymn to Hermes</i> <i>Iliad</i>
IG II ³	Inscriptiones Graecae II and III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores, 3rd ed. part 4, fasc. 2, J. Curbera (ed.) (Berlin 2017).
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (digital version).

SNG ANS	Troxell, Hyla A. 1975. <i>Sylloge nummorum graecorum</i> : The collection of the American Numismatic Society, pt. 3. Bruttium – Sicily I: Abacaenum-Eryx. New York: The American Numismatic Society.
SNG BM Black Sea	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> , Great Britain, Volume IX, British Museum, Part 1: The Black Sea. (London, 1993).
SNR	<i>Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau</i> (<i>Revue Suisse de Numismatique</i>). Schweizerische Numismatische Gesellschaft (<i>Societe Suisse de Numismatique</i>). (Bern, Switzerland, 1925 - present).

Acknowledgments

The writing of this thesis has become an incredible adventure. It started off as a question about the absence of temples to Hermes. A lot of time, effort, and a database full of information from Pausanias' *Description of Greece* later, not much of this idea remained. It seemed that a thorough investigation into the character of Hermes was needed in order to ask and answer any other questions about him. Initially, I had no idea where to start but fortunately I came across Prof. Dr. Iossif's class on numismatics. Numismatics appeared to be a new way of venturing into unknown territories regarding Hermes. Similar to Hermes crossing. Panos' comments and suggestions have proven invaluable during my research and I am very grateful for that.

I am equally thankful for the help of Dr. Floris van den Eijnde, who has been there over the long course of my Master's program to help guide me towards doing a research project that entailed something very dear to me: Hermes. A special thanks has to go to my peer review group consisting of Anouk, Lieve, and Elselijn. I know you have listened to me raging on about the misconceptions surrounding Hermes more than you would have liked but know that I am very thankful for that and for all your input. Lastly, I would like to thank Cédrine for always being there for me even though Hermes, and history in general, was way out of your scope of interest.

It has been my honor to conduct this research as the pinnacle of my academic career at Utrecht University.

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Introduction

The aforementioned quote by Herodotus explains how, for his contemporaries, the Greek pantheon was still very young compared to the Egyptian or Babylonian ones.² From another passage from Herodotus (2.53), it becomes clear he believed that it was Hesiod and Homer who gave the Greek gods their names and distributed among them their powers and honors.³ He states the following.

Hesiod and Homer [...] It is these who created a theogony for the Greeks, gave the gods their names, distributed their honors and powers, and indicated their forms.⁴

This might seem rather odd for a modern public. Did Herodotus really believe that the Greek gods did not exist in their full capacity before Homer and Hesiod related them to their fellow Greeks? Are we to view the gods as a literary construct or did Herodotus see them as ‘real entities’?

These kind of questions have puzzled scholars for centuries. Even today Greek mythology keeps intriguing people. The latest venture being Stephen Fry’s *Mythos, Heroes*, and *Troy* which have all been received well by the public. While not writing for an academic public, Fry’s work perfectly indicates how strange and foreign Greek mythology can seem to modern day readers.

That strangeness is perhaps most evident in the character of the god Hermes. Where some gods might seem more unambiguous and defined to a certain sphere of everyday life, Hermes seems to evade any definite characterization.⁵ The *Homeric hymn to Hermes* tells of the birth of Hermes in a cave on the mountain Cyllene in Arcadia. It is unclear what the focus of the hymn is and in the end the reader is still left in the dark as to what Hermes’ cosmological

² Page iv. Despite calling the Greek pantheon ‘young’, it is of a considerable age, as it formed well before the start of the Christian era. All dates, therefore, within this thesis are BCE unless stated otherwise.

³ Pozzi and Wickersham (1991) 4.

⁴ Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μευ πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέοσι: οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες. Translation after Pozzi and Wickersham (1991) 4.

⁵ Of course, all Greek gods had their own particularities and this statement by no means tries to undermine that fact. However, Hermes appears to be one of the most peculiar as he never seems to fit in anywhere specific. The *Homeric hymn to Hermes* illustrates this perfectly since it was, in the words of Martin West, untraditional, inaccurate, and full of inconsistencies: Versnel (2019) 346.

place is.⁶ In the *Iliad*, Hermes is introduced as *the* divine messenger of Zeus.⁷ Hesiod mentions that Hermes is capable of increasing livestock together with Hecate, that he is born of Maia – the daughter of the titan Atlas – and that he was Zeus’ renowned messenger.⁸ The hymn has puzzled modern scholars and has led Jean-Pierre Vernant to interpret Hermes as the clear opposite of Hestia, which would make him the antithesis of the home and hearth.⁹ While all these interpretations have merit on their own, a clear image of Hermes does not arise. It seems that all these theories contribute to a small part of what the Greeks thought Hermes was and which spheres of divinity he acted in. Underneath these different theories there could be a characteristic that would encapsulate Hermes’ essence. Now the question begs whether an unified understanding of Hermes’ divine powers is attainable and to what degree the Greeks themselves viewed his powers as unified.

Some scholars might argue that looking for the essence of a Greek deity is an unfruitful venture since multiple variations of the gods might have existed at the same time and an unification cannot be found. We know of different versions of, for instance, Zeus, who was worshipped under different names (epithets) in different locations.¹⁰ The question whether it is possible to try and bring together all different versions of a god to one essence has long been debated.¹¹ To explain this debate, it is best to quote Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge.

In this respect [...] the contradiction – for modern scholars – between a god honoured with various cult-epithets in different places in the same city, such a Zeus Hypatos, Zeus Olympios and Zeus Herkeios in Athens – (supposedly) considered as distinct deities by the Athenians – and the “reflective, mythological mode according to which Zeus was one god who appeared in various places under different cult titles”.¹²

⁶ For the latest commentary on the hymn, see Vergados (2013). There are, of course, different ways to look at the hymn. For instance, Versnel (2011) spends a chapter on the depiction of Hermes as being ‘hungry’ in the hymn. By doing this, Versnel focuses on Hermes as a being that is placed more between gods and humans than above humans together with the other gods. Brown (1947) focuses more on Hermes’ activity as a thief, as he rustles Apollo’s cattle. While Allan (2018) is the single most complete work on Hermes and extensively looks at the hymn.

⁷ Hom. *Il.* 2.103.

⁸ Hes. *Theog.* 440-4 and 938-9 resp.

⁹ Vernant (transl. from 1969). A critical sidenote should be put here, as Vernant clearly starts this chapter with Hestia as his point of view. Hermes is only briefly discussed and constructed as the opposite of Hestia. Vernant’s approach is based on the assumption that the Greek gods could only be defined by comparison to each other: Graf (2009) 4. In that sense Vernant’s rooting in structuralism becomes evident.

¹⁰ Take Pausanias as an example: he mentions a Zeus Eleutherioi (1.26.2), a Zeus Meilichius (1.37.4), and a Zeus Chthonius (2.2.8).

¹¹ Take for instance the *gods and heroes of the ancient world* series. Fritz Graf (2009) 5 states, in his introduction, that he “will not even try to find a unity underlying the different roles [of Apollo]”. Meanwhile, Richard Seaford (2006) 3, in the same series, when discussing Dionysos, sees a unity underlying “the various processes and experiences associated with Dionysos”. My own beliefs side with Seaford’s.

¹² Pirenne-Delforge (2017).

The problem with Hermes, in this regard, is our lack of knowledge on that “reflective mythological mode”. It seems as if there are as many interpretations on Hermes as there are scholars. Everyone has their own view on the essence of Hermes. Despite these differences, it is assumed in this thesis that the Greeks saw the various versions of the gods as belonging to one god who manifested itself in different ways at different places, to which Hermes was not an exception.

Historiography

To get to the essence of Hermes’ divine character, some methodological problems must be elucidated first. Hermes in literary sources has been researched quite extensively already.¹³ All sources, from the depiction of Hermes in the *Iliad* to the mentioning of cultic practices by Pausanias (a period which starts in the eighth century and lasts until the middle of the second century AD), mentioning the swift-footed messenger of the gods, have been analyzed many times over.¹⁴

Wilhelm Roscher interpreted Hermes as a wind god. He believed that all of Hermes’ attributes and his roles in mythology served under this term.¹⁵ This theory assumed that Hermes evolved from a prehistoric wind god. The Greeks already worshipped Zephyrus and Boreas as the wind gods, henceforth there would be no need for another wind deity.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Roscher’s approach, of trying to bring together all of Hermes’ abilities and roles under one identity, was very promising and I will follow along these lines with this research.

In 1947 Norman Brown’s *Hermes the Thief*, proposed another theory. He believed that magic and trickery were the traits that best characterized Hermes.¹⁷ Brown focuses mainly on the *Homeric hymn* and comes to the conclusion that earlier interpretations of Hermes as a god of cattle-raiders were insufficient.¹⁸ According to Brown, it was the institution of cattle-raiding that gave rise to the earlier interpretations of the birth of the myth of Hermes as a cattle-thief.¹⁹ He moves away from the idea that the hymn was produced in “the atmosphere of primitive pastoral life”, and puts it in “a sophisticated age which was already strongly influenced by

¹³ Most recently by Arlene Allan (2018) but also by Versnel (2011) and Brown (1947). Especially Allan and Versnel provide an extensive bibliography for further reading on Hermes in literary sources.

¹⁴ The dating of the *Iliad* is of course disputed. Willemijn Waal (2018) has opted for an even earlier dating than the eighth century.

¹⁵ Roscher (1878).

¹⁶ Zephyrus and Boreas are already mentioned in Hesiod’s *Theogony* 377-8. That means that they are not later inventions that took attributes and abilities from Hermes later on.

¹⁷ Brown (1947).

¹⁸ Ibidem 3-4, n. 1; these include the interpretations of Nilsson, Eitrem, Wilamowitz, Rademacher, and Glotz.

¹⁹ Ibid. 3.

industry and commerce”.²⁰ While his approach has generally been received with acceptance, some issues have been pointed out as well. One of these issues resides with Brown’s use of herms (boundary markers shaped in the form of a man), from which Hermes the magician would have evolved.²¹ This interpretation is based on information that was, by that time, outdated because of more research into the appearance of herms and their predecessors (more crude images).²²

In 1979, Walter Otto discussed the Greek gods and concluded that the realm of trickery and deceit was Hermes’ main domain.²³ His conclusion was led by the connection of Hermes with the spirits of the dead. Similarly, Karl Kerényi saw a clear connection between Hermes and the dead, which he published in his work *Hermes, Guide of Souls*.²⁴ These interpretations, of Hermes as the mediator between the realms of the living and the dead, hold merit on their own but I believe that these roles of Hermes are subservient to what his essence was. The evidence for the misinterpretation of Hermes as the guide of souls is discussed in the interpretational part of this thesis.

Both Arlene Allan and Henk Versnel, for instance, have gathered the epithets used for Hermes and elaborately discuss how Hermes is depicted in various sources throughout antiquity.²⁵ This method certainly has its strengths in being extensive and providing a picture which is comprised of as many sources as possible. It has, however, also its weaknesses. In the case of Hermes, this becomes clear when his transformation over time is considered. Throughout scholarship, three ‘versions’ of Hermes can be identified in the course of history. The Archaic and Classical Hermes, the Hellenistic-Egyptian Hermes Trismegistus, and the Roman Mercury. The first, which is the one that takes a central position in this research, is the Archaic and Classical Greek Hermes as he is depicted from the emergence of the *Iliad* until the start of the Hellenistic Period. I believe that in order to find the essence of what Hermes was, what he meant for the Greeks, and how he was used to explain their everyday life, this Archaic and Classical Hermes should be viewed, and any powers, attributes or connections from later dates should be stripped off. Allan and Versnel created an image of Hermes without untangling the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman sources. In the end, they are left with a general image of

²⁰ Both citations are attributed to Bonner (1949).

²¹ This issue has been advocated by Fontenrose (1949) 204.

²² Most notably by Hetty Goldman (1942) 58-68.

²³ Otto (1979) 104-24.

²⁴ Kerényi (1987).

²⁵ This number of epithets is not very impressive. Especially compared to the other Olympian deities, Hermes did not have many epithets. Versnel (2019) 337-8, n. 6 makes this more clear.

a Hermes who was, for instance, the god of trade, but when we take the *Iliad*'s portrayal of Hermes on its own, this image does not fit.

While Allan's and Versnel's methods of collecting as many sources as possible hold merit on their own, I prefer a different approach. Mainly because I believe that there is a clear essence that defines Hermes under which all other scholarly interpretations of Hermes can be put. This approach considers the date of the different sources and differentiates between Archaic/Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman sources. This new way of looking at the sources regarding Hermes does not state that the 'later versions' (e.g. Hellenistic and Roman) of Hermes should be put aside, but allows them to be seen as an evolution exactly from the essence of the Greek Hermes, together with foreign influences, Egyptian for Hermes Trismegistus and Roman for Mercury. In other words, this new approach shows that it would only seem logical that Hermes Trismegistus came into being as the syncretized union of the Greek Hermes and the Egyptian Thoth because of what they were and how they functioned in ancient thought.²⁶ The same goes for the Roman Mercury.

Let us look at these different versions of Hermes a bit closer. During the Hellenistic Period there seems to have been an increase in the power ascribed to Hermes.²⁷ The source of this increase is not determined without uncertainty.²⁸ Versnel describes how Hermes received new epithets during this period which point to a superior status.²⁹ The coming together of the Greek Hermes and the Egyptian god Thoth may have been the cause of the increase in popularity of the emerging Hermes Trismegistus.³⁰ In previous research I have problematized the union of Hermes and Thoth because I thought they had different positions in their respective pantheons. But now, with a better understanding of what the essence of Hermes was, their syncretization actually makes sense. Hermes Trismegistus can actually be seen as a logical evolution from the Archaic and Classical Hermes. This is discussed and explained in full in the conclusion of this research, when discussing the implications of my findings.

²⁶ Fowden (1993) is still the most extensive work on Hermes Trismegistus.

²⁷ According to Versnel (2019) 338 Hermes "manage[d] to grow from a little, very popular, but relatively low-ranking deity into an eminent god, glorified in matchless superlative terms."

²⁸ The solutions are addressed in Versnel (2019). The first solution could be Hermes' position as a cave dweller, which would have made him suitable for being coined 'Pantokrator' (an omnipotent ruler). The second solution entails the use of hymnic aretology, which accidentally fitted Hermes to rise as 'Pantokrator'. The third solution resembles the first one but differs in the exact setting. Here the ability of Hermes to dwell in the 'Netherworld' allows him to receive extra honors.

²⁹ Some of these epithets are: δεσπότης (ruler), παντοκράτωρ (almighty), and κύριος (authorative).

³⁰ However, the argument may also lead the other way around. The increase in popularity of Hermes, through one of the solutions posed by Versnel (or not), may have resulted in the appearance of Hermes Trismegistus. This is a very interesting issue in itself and will, unfortunately, not be a further part of this investigation.

The same goes for the third Hermes on the list. This version of the god is his Roman equivalent: Mercurius. The Romans adopted many aspects of the Greek pantheon, so it makes sense that there are similarities between Hermes and Mercury. However, there are also differences between the two deities.³¹ Arlene Allan states that Mercury did not seem to have received any “prayers or offerings as the Divine Guide of Wayfarers from ordinary travelers”, something which can be recognized in Hermes at an earlier stage.³² The Roman Mercury was influenced by other local versions of deities as is exemplified by the appearance of a scene on the back of an Etruscan mirror.³³ According to Allan this scene “creates a bridge between the Hermes-like [deity called] Turms in Etruria and the Hermes-like god known as Mercury at Rome”.³⁴ Allan also states that Mercury “was far more narrowly a god of trade and traders” and that “Hermes’ connection to less mercantile forms of exchange remained alive in Mercury”.³⁵ Even though the Mediterranean may have been an area of cultural and ideological exchange for quite some time already, which allows for the possibility that Turms himself was inspired by Hermes, this connection indicates that Mercury cannot be a one-to-one copy of Hermes but rather a variant influenced by other local deities (like the Etruscan Turms).

What Allan, Versnel, and Brown have done in the past regarding the essence of Hermes is essential because it presents us with the building blocks to start piecing together the full picture of Hermes. Some of these blocks, however, are the product of later sources and should be viewed as such. So when the essence of the Archaic and Classical Hermes is restored we can only view these later aspects as an evolution coming from that essence. One of these building blocks, which Allan discusses, is what I believe to be the answer to the research question of this thesis: what was the essence of the Archaic and Classical Greek god Hermes?

Methodology

It is mentioned above how Mercury became the god of trade *par excellence* in Roman times. At some places Hermes received the epithet ‘*agoraios*’ (of the marketplace) and, as stated

³¹ The differences in Greek and Roman society have not even been taken into consideration here but could add to the plausibility of the claim. Cicero, for instance, views the herms more as *objets d’art* than a possible place of veneration for the god (*Att.* 9.1.4): Allan (2018) 124.

³² Allan (2018) 124.

³³ For the specific scene, see Wiseman (1995) 65-71.

³⁴ Allan (2018) 123. For more on the Etruscan equivalent named ‘Turms’, see also Jannot (2005). Especially pages 155 and 177 indicate how Turms differs from Hermes and could have influenced the character of Mercury.

³⁵ Allan (2018) 125.

earlier, he is viewed by some as the god of transactions per se.³⁶ Thus, an intimate relation between Hermes and coins would seem rather obvious. This is not the case, as François de Callataÿ and Panagiotis Iossif have pointed out. According to de their researches, Hermes was not a popular deity to put on coins.³⁷ Therefore, perhaps unsurprisingly, research on the iconography of Hermes in numismatics is virtually missing.³⁸ The advantage of numismatic evidence is the abundance of ancient coinage in general that has been recovered and the possibility of constructing a relative chronology through the means of die studies.³⁹

Numismatics also gives insights into the view of issuing authorities. There was a reason for magistrates or rulers to select a certain topic, person, symbol, or god to be engraved on coins. There must have been a reason for them to select Hermes to be depicted on some coins. Exactly because he was not often depicted on coins, there must have been a very special reason for authorities to do so. In comparison, Zeus was often set on coins and this seems a rather ‘popular’ choice to make. Hermes was not as ‘popular’. Therefore, I believe that the combination of Hermes and other iconographical scenes on coins can hint at local mythological connections that help us understand what Hermes entailed for the Greeks.

By creating a database (which is presented in the appendix) filled with coinages which include Hermes either on the obverse or reverse, new insights can be drawn regarding his role. New relations between the god and otherwise unknown actors could appear as well. Comparing the numismatic evidence with the known evidence from literary and other iconographic sources can result in either new insights or a firmer establishment of known patterns. To define the

³⁶ The epithet ‘Agoraios’ is appointed to Hermes in Pausanias at five different locations. In Athens (Paus. 1.15.1), at Corinth (Paus. 2.9.8), at Sparta (Paus. 3.11.11), at Pharae (Paus. 7.22.2), and at Thebes (Paus. 9.17.2). Although Hermes was not the only deity to receive this epithet according to Pausanias, he is rewarded with it the most (Hermes five times, Zeus four times, Athena one time, and Artemis one time); Chapter 4 of Allan (2018) is completely dedicated to Hermes as the god of transactions. Another point of interest here is the meaning of the epithet *agoraios*. It has long been accepted that this name relates to the marketplace but it might also be possible that it refers to gatherings or delimitation. Recent work on this is done by Alma Kant for her dissertation. Hopefully her research will shed more light on how to view the agora and its use as an epithet in the future.

³⁷ De Callataÿ (2016) has done a short study on this. The result of this study indicated that Zeus was the most prolific deity on coinage. Followed by Herakles, Athena, and Apollo. Hermes can be found at place 18 of 22 of most recurring types of divinities on coinage. Iossif (2011) has done the same for Seleucid coinages and Hermes only occurs on 1.7% of the reverse dies on bronzes.

³⁸ Contrasting the trend in other iconographical fields. Most recently the volume “Tracking Hermes, Pursuing Mercury”, edited by John F. Miller and Jenny Strauss Clay, was published in 2019. Among the articles of the volume Collard (2019), Shapiro (2019), Laferrière (2019), and MacRae (2019) all engage Hermes’ iconography; Zanker (1965) already treated the iconography of Hermes in sculpture.

³⁹ The studies of comparing the stamps whereon the design for the obverse and reverse of the coins was engraved. These studies can be used for both iconographical and qualitative research.

essence of what Hermes was, in archaic and classical Greek belief, this type of information can clearly be of help.

The information regarding the iconography of Hermes on coins initially came from two big databases: the MANTIS numismatic database and the SNG numismatic database. MANTIS is an online collection with information on material from the American Numismatic Society. This collection does not only include ancient coins but also modern material and paper money. The online version of the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* is an online research project of the British Academy which publishes illustrated catalogues of Greek coins coming from British collections (both public and private). Within these databases I have searched for coins which depicted Hermes. Some of these entries are relatively old or are based on outdated scholarly work. Therefore choices concerning the gathering of the data had to be made. The iconography of all the coins has been critically evaluated as all the coins that appeared were put into my own database, called the Hermes Numismatic Database (HND).

Some information from the MANTIS or SNG databases is in particular instances inaccurate, outdated, or insufficient. These coins are supplemented with data from auction websites. For instance, fig. 1 refers to the CNG auction website which had a clearer image of this coin type from Abdera than the MANTIS or SNG databases. A coin type is a design of a scene on the front (obverse) or back side (reverse) of a coin. Because of the appearance of types which are identical, except perhaps for certain symbols, it is possible to combine the information of the MANTIS and SNG databases with the information of the auction websites.

In order to draw any conclusions from the scenes on the coins, it is first necessary to establish that Hermes is actually represented on these coins. A few attributes play an important role in recognizing him. First and foremost is the appearance of the kerykeion. The kerykeion is a staff that is connected to Hermes and his role as divine messenger. Already in 1890 Otto Hoffmann established that Hermes and the kerykeion were intrinsically linked.⁴⁰ According to Lewis Farnell, the kerykeion evolved over time from a shepherd's crook and the heralds of that time adopted the kerykeion, hence Hermes became known as the god of the messengers.⁴¹

It is important to note here that the way the kerykeion was depicted changed over time. For the way the kerykeion was depicted from its first appearance in Greek iconography I refer to figs. 1 and 2 as an example. The kerykeion was a rod with an eight figure on top which is not fully closed. From the coins that are examined here, it is clear that the kerykeion was not made up of two snakes wrapped around to form the eight figure. For Allan, as for other scholars, the

⁴⁰ Hoffmann (1890).

⁴¹ Farnell (1909) 20.

representation of the kerykeion with snakes is canonical for Hermes' iconography.⁴² There is numismatical evidence for the kerykeion to be represented as two snakes intertwined (Roma Numismatics Ltd, E-Sale 87, 29/06/2021, lot 1127). However, this coin is dated to 266-267 CE and I believe this is representative of the fact that the representation of the kerykeion with two snakes is an iconographical element of later times.⁴³ The rod of Asclepius is often represented with one snake curled around it and this has led to a misconception that Hermes was somehow connected to healthcare or medical practices.⁴⁴ In any case, the kerykeion is often depicted alongside Hermes and it is thus an attribute to recognize Hermes with.

The second most well-known attribute of Hermes is the petasos. The petasos is the hat that Hermes often, but not always, wears in different iconographic sources. That the petasos was a default attribute of Hermes was already established in 1882 by A. Smith.⁴⁵ Hermes was depicted wearing the hat in early pottery scenes already and this continued into his iconography on coins. There were, however, different ways of depicting the petasos. From a scene on an Athenian krater (550 – 500) it becomes clear that the petasos could be adorned by wings on its side.⁴⁶ On a hydria from Attica the petasos is swung back into Hermes' neck and does not seem to contain wings.⁴⁷ These two instances both depict the petasos as a flat and rounded hat. On a calyx crater from Attica (425 - 400) the petasos is depicted as a tight-fitting cap more than a broad flat hat.⁴⁸ This petasos contains wings as well. Accordingly, in the numismatic iconography concerning Hermes, the petasos is depicted in different ways.

In all scenes that I have mentioned, Hermes is not only depicted wearing the petasos but also a mantle. This mantle is called a chlamys and is used in identifying Hermes. The chlamys was a shoulder-cloak which was fastened with a fibula above the chest.⁴⁹ This allowed for the arms to move freely.⁵⁰ It was not a piece of clothing that was limited to people of a certain social standing, as it was used by all inhabitants of Greece.⁵¹ It was, however, the typical

⁴² Allan (2018) 8; Frothingham (1916) goes as far as claiming that Hermes evolved from a more ancient Snake-God. That would explain the canonicity of the connection between Hermes and snakes but, in my own opinion, the sources are not clear on this.

⁴³ From what I have been able to gather, this change in iconography can be traced back to the first century CE but it might be even earlier.

⁴⁴ For instance in a medical journal: Retief and Cilliers (2002).

⁴⁵ Smith (1882) 81-95 lists different classes of how Hermes was depicted and from these inventories it becomes clear how often Hermes was depicted wearing a petasos.

⁴⁶ LIMC 9752.

⁴⁷ LIMC 9713.

⁴⁸ LIMC 20005.

⁴⁹ Lorber and Iossif (2020) 158.

⁵⁰ Ibidem.

⁵¹ Ibid. 159.

garment for military purposes, like horse riding, hunting, and during the military training of the ephebes.⁵² Interestingly enough – according to Catharine Lorber and Panagiotis Iossif – for the early Seleucid kings, the chlamys was an excellent iconographical symbol to indicate that they were men of action.⁵³

The last attribute that should be discussed, is the phiale. A phiale was a shallow bowl used for making libations. It is encountered on several occasions and what this means for the interpretation of Hermes is discussed in the interpretational part of this thesis.

After Hermes was identified on the coins, these coins were analyzed. Some coins had to be removed from the database. This was determined mostly by the dating that was either wrong or lacking. The remaining coins are presented here as a catalogue. For each city, the coins that appear in the HND are divided into coin types based on their similarity. For the coins from Abdera, for instance, this results in nine coins, divided into three coin types. After the listing, the dating and the iconography of the coins are analyzed. Following the catalogue is the interpretational part of this thesis.

Toward a unified characterization of Hermes

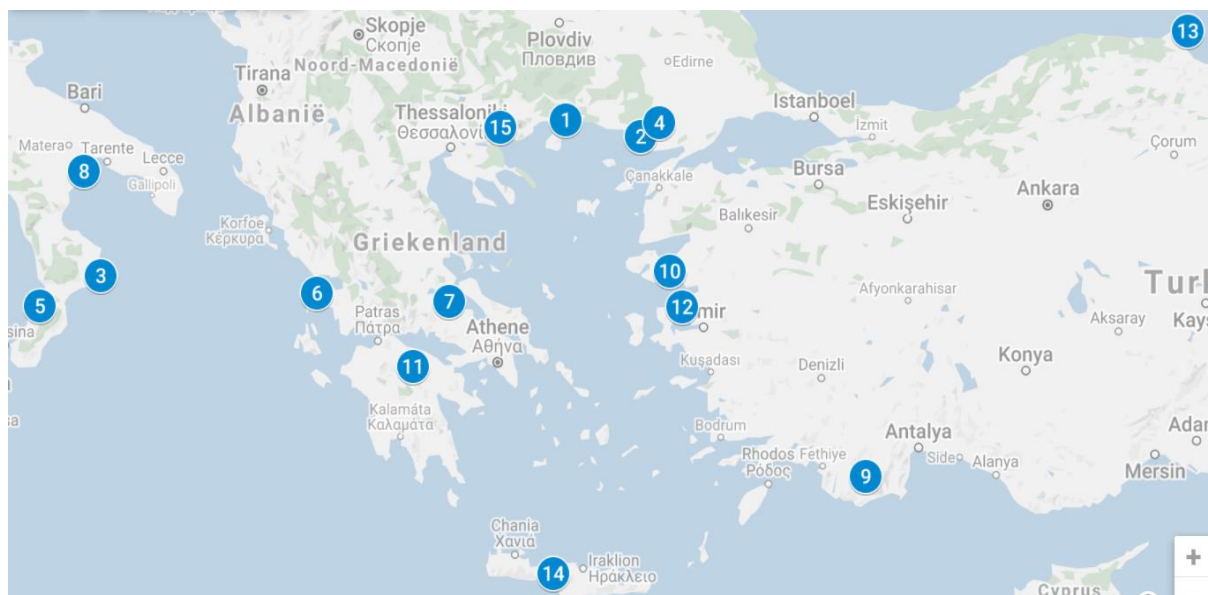
The scenes on the coins from the cities that are analyzed here, depict Hermes in their own way. Despite their differences, there can also be found similarities. What I found was that certain coins could be put together as presenting Hermes in a specific matter or ‘theme’. The themes introduced in this research are the result from different depictions of Hermes from different places. Based on the interpretation that these differences stem from the personal taste of issuing authorities, it is stated here that the different coins represent different local versions of Hermes. We lack the information on the cults of Hermes as we have for some of the other Olympian gods. The numismatic evidence takes its place as it gives us information on the local versions of Hermes. The themes are thus reflections of the local versions of Hermes.

The following themes are incorporated: Hermes as a guardian, Hermes as the bringer of good tidings, Hermes the advocate of order, and Hermes as the messenger. There is one more coin type of which I am unsure where to put it. It is therefore put in a different category of which the theme is unsure. In the conclusion I show the essence of Hermes which can be found underlying each of the different themes. Previous interpretations of Hermes as the god of messengers are thus not wrong, but a mere fragment of what Hermes meant to the Archaic and Classical Greeks.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid. 160.

Catalogue



Map 1: A map of the issuing authorities whose coins are included in this thesis. 1. Abdera 2. Ainos 3. Croton 4. Cypselas 5. Hipponium 6. Leucas 7. Opus 8. Metapontum 9. Mithrapata 10. Mytilene 11. Pheneus 12. Phocaea 13. Sinope 14. Sybrita 15. Tragilus. Both Opus (7) and Mithrapata (9) are located with a higher level of uncertainty. (own work)

Abdera

Abdera I

ID no.	194.410.015.440
Dating:	386 – 375
Metal:	Silver
Denomination:	Drachm
Weight:	2.67 gr.
Diameter:	x
Axis:	2
Inscription:	Obverse: ABD Reverse: EPI ΦΙΛΑΙΟ



ID no.	194.410.015.441
Dating:	386 – 375
Metal:	Silver
Denomination:	Drachm
Weight:	2.91 gr.
Diameter:	x
Axis:	9
Inscription:	Obverse: ABD Reverse: EPI ΦΙΛΑΙΟ



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3484
Dating: 386 – 375
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Drachm
Weight: 2.77 gr.
Diameter: 15 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Obverse: ABD



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1140
Dating: 386 – 375
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Drachm
Weight: 2.77 gr.
Diameter: 15 mm.
Axis: 1
Inscription: Obverse: ABD Reverse: EPI ΦΙΛΑΙΟ



Abdera II

ID no. 194.410.015.432
Dating: 411 – 385
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Drachm
Weight: 2.62 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 3
Inscription: Rev: EPI APOLANIOS



ID no. 1992.54.414
Dating: 411 – 385
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetrobol
Weight: 2.47 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 3
Inscription: Rev: ?



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1136
Dating: 425 – 400
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Drachm
Weight: 2.83 gr.
Diameter: 15 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: [HR] | ΟΦ | ΑΝ | ΗΣ



Abdera III

ID no. 194.410.015.475
Dating: 250 – 150?
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 2.83 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 8
Inscription: x



ID no. 1.941.131.481
Dating: 250 – 150?
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 3.35 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 8
Inscription: x



Abdera coin types analysis



(fig. 1): CNG, Auction 117, 19/05/2021, lot 64 (Chryssantaki-Nagle p. 127-8)



(fig. 2): Nomos AG, obolos 19, 08/05/2021, lot 119 (Jameson 1042)



(fig. 3): Roma Numismatics, E-Sale 82, 15/04//2021, lot 293 (HGC 3.2, 1243)

From Abdera there are nine coins in the HND, divided into three coin types. A division can be made between coins from Abdera which have Hermes on the obverse and coins which have Hermes on the reverse. The two which have Hermes on the obverse (type Abdera III, fig. 3) are dated between 250 – 150. The remaining seven coins all have Hermes on the reverse. The main denomination of these coins is the drachm and there is one tetrobol. Interestingly, the distinction between Hermes on the obverse or reverse coincides with the distinction of the metal which these coins are made of. Hermes appears on the obverse only on bronze coins and on the reverse only for silver coins. Amongst the seven coins which contain an image of Hermes on the

reverse, two different types can be distinguished, either Hermes standing and facing the right (Abdera I, fig. 1) or the head of Hermes facing the left with a kerykeion to the left within a thin lined square (Abdera II, fig. 2). On the obverse a winged griffin leaping to the left is present on both coin types. On three of these coins the letters ΑΒΑ are inscribed to the right of the wings of the griffin (similar to fig. 1). This connects the coins firmly to the city of Abdera as its ethnic. It is clear that the figure on the coins is Hermes because of the attributes that can be observed. In all cases Hermes is wearing the distinctive petasos.

Type Abdera I consists of a griffin on the obverse of the coin and the full body of Hermes on the reverse. Despite the main denomination of this type in the HND being the drachm, the coin in fig. 1 is a tetradrachm dated to 360 – 350. That the figure on the obverse is a griffin is deduced from the eagle beak and lion-like body with wings. It is facing the left and it has its front legs raised as if it is in the middle of making a jump. To the right of its wings, above its back, is the inscription reading ΑΒΑ located.

The reverse consists of an incuse square wherein Hermes, who is standing and facing the right, is flanked by an inscription on both sides and a symbol on the bottom right. The petasos is clear but, unlike Abdera II, there is no string hanging down from it. Because the image contains the full figure of Hermes – and not just the head – the chlamys that Hermes often wears is visible.⁵⁴ He is also holding the kerykeion here. It is interesting to note that the kerykeion is clearly connected to Hermes in the contexts of the iconography of these coins. This connection comes from a coin from the reign of Alexander I which depicts a male figure holding a kerykeion and leading a bull.⁵⁵ However, other coins are known depicting a bull with a kerykeion as a symbol but without the presence of Hermes.⁵⁶ The inscriptions on the coin types Abdera I and II are formulated as ΕΙΙΙ together with the name of the issuing magistrate. For fig. 1 this reads ΕΙΙΙ ΖΗΝΩ | ΝΟΣ (during the magistracy of Zenon).⁵⁷

The symbol on the bottom right is a kantharos, a sort of drinking vessel. On other coins from Abdera this symbol is an astragal (for instance on the coin: *Numismatica Ars Classica*, Auction 123, 05/09/2021, lot 262).⁵⁸ These symbols on coins are often thought to be indicating the magistracy of a certain person (as will be discussed with the coins from Ainos as well). In the case of the coins from Abdera, however, the name of the magistrate is present on the coin

⁵⁴ Tarbell (1906). See Ebeling (2007) for an interesting discussion of the chlamys and an excellent example of Hermes Trismegistus in Hellenistic times.

⁵⁵ Tzamalīs (2012) Plate 2, no. 12; for an explanation of the scene, see 474.

⁵⁶ Tzamalīs (2012) Plate 5, no. 52 D4.

⁵⁷ HGC 3.2, 1206.

⁵⁸ For the connection between Hermes and astragals, see Larson (1995) and (2007); for more information on astragals in an archaeological setting and an astragal with Hermes inscribed on it, see Bar-Oz (2001).

so it would seem redundant to add another magistracy mark. It has been opted by Sydney Noe, who intensively studied the coinage of the city of Metapontum, that symbols as these do not necessarily indicate the magistrate who issued the coin but that they were there to denote a certain issue which could be related to the agency which was responsible for striking the coin.⁵⁹ This agency could be an individual, a religious festival, or directly linked to a local deity.⁶⁰

While the idea that this symbol could link directly to a local version of Hermes sounds attractive, because it would aid in identifying local aspects of the god, it may not apply here. The symbol of the kantharos coincides with the name of Zenon and the astragal symbol coincides with the name Philaios.⁶¹ Two possible readings can be adhered. If we believe, in line with the argumentation of Noe, that these symbols could relate to a local version of Hermes, it appears that both magistrates focused on a different version of the god. One could also imagine that the symbols did relate to the magistracy of Zenon or Philaios since the symbols and inscriptions align neatly. It remains uncertain and it would seem more fruitful to focus on the central scene of the coins, and not the symbols.

Type Abdera II features a griffin on the obverse that is very similar to the griffin from type Abdera I. Only the $\text{ABA}\Delta$ inscription is missing. Similar to one coin from the HND, this coin (fig. 2) is a silver tetrobol dating to 411 – 385. On the reverse Hermes is not depicted in full but only his head. His petasos looks similar to that from Abdera I. Both front and back of the hat are pointy and raised relatively to the head but not to the dot that is located in the middle of the hat. A string can be seen flowing down from the sides of the petasos (fig. 2). The string continues to the underside of the chin and is secured in a knot. On the same coin, to the left of Hermes' head, a kerykeion is visible. The combination of the kerykeion and petasos leaves no doubt that Hermes is the depicted deity. Both the head and kerykeion are situated within a linear square. Along the flanks of the square there used to be an inscription but it has faded over time. From other Abderan coins it becomes clear that the inscription regards the magistrate under whose authority coins were issued. In the case of fig. 2 this would have been $\text{HPO}\Phi\text{ANH}\Sigma$ (Herophanes).

The last type (Abdera III) is the type with Hermes on the obverse and the griffin on the reverse. Fig. 3 shows a bronze chalkous dated to 250 – 150.⁶² Hermes' head is facing the right and is surrounded by an inscription. The inscription reads $\text{ABAHPIT}\Omega\text{N}$, which is the longer

⁵⁹ Noe (1984) 8.

⁶⁰ Ibidem.

⁶¹ The use of astragaloι is treated extensively in the interpretational part of the thesis.

⁶² HGC 3.2, 1243.

version of the ethnic ΑΒΔ from types I and II.⁶³ The petasos looks similar to the petasos from Abdera II. However, there is less depth in the depiction of this petasos and the string cannot be seen. On the reverse the griffin is sitting, facing the left. Its right paw is raised to the left. Underneath the paw there is a monogram. Above the griffin an inscription along the edge of the coin reads ΕΠΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΑ.⁶⁴ This, again, relates to a magistrate. The coin type Abdera III should not be included in the analysis since its dating falls outside its scope. However, since there are no drastic changes in iconography (except for the switch of Hermes from the reverse to the obverse), the type is included here to show that iconographic continuity over a longer period of time is possible. This stands in contrast with the coin types Phocaea I and II, which are discussed below (p. 95-97).

⁶³ HGC 3.2, 1243.

⁶⁴ HGC 3.2, 1243.

Ainos

Ainos I

ID no. 194.410.015.524

Dating: x
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 0.89 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 0
Inscription: Rev: A | [I?]



ID no. 1948.19.533

Dating: x
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 0.95 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 11
Inscription: x



ID no. 0000.999.7317

Dating: x
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 7.47 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 11
Inscription: Rev: A | I | N | I | O | N



ID no. 194.410.015.488

Dating: 474 – 472
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.68 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 9
Inscription: Rev: AIN | ION



ID no. 194.410.015.513

Dating: 458 – 454
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.24 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 3
Inscription: Rev: A | I



ID no. **194.410.015.514**

Dating: 455 – 452

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.25 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 0

Inscription: Rev: A | I



ID no. **194.410.015.515**

Dating: 464 – 460

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.15 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 0

Inscription: Rev: A | I



ID no. **1944.53.2**

Dating: 458 – 454

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.32 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 0

Inscription: Rev: A | I



ID no. **SNGuk_0300_1151**

Dating: 474 – 472

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Tetradrachm

Weight: 15.93 gr.

Diameter: 23 mm.

Axis: 9

Inscription: Rev: A | I | N | I | O | N



ID no. **SNGuk_0300_1152**

Dating: 458 – 454

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.28 gr.

Diameter: 11 mm.

Axis: 6

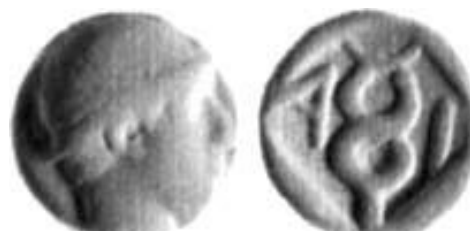
Inscription: Rev: A | I



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3522
Dating: 461 – 458
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.28 gr.
Diameter: 10 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: I | A



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3523
Dating: 458 – 452
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.31 gr.
Diameter: 10 mm.
Axis: 7
Inscription: Rev: A | I



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3524
Dating: 458 – 452
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.28 gr.
Diameter: 10 mm.
Axis: 11
Inscription: Rev: A | I



Ainos II

ID no. 2008.1.1
Dating: 280 – 200
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous 20
Weight: 7.50 gr.
Diameter: 20 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI | ON



ID no. 194.410.015.489
Dating: 455 – 452
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.46 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 0
Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 1.957.172.722
 Dating: 455 – 452
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Tetradrachm
 Weight: 16.35 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 0
 Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 1909.999.35
 Dating: 432 – 431
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Diobol
 Weight: 1.28 gr.
 Diameter: 10 mm.
 Axis: 1
 Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 1.956.140.120
 Dating: 432 – 431
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Diobol
 Weight: 1.22 gr.
 Diameter: 10 mm.
 Axis: 11
 Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 194.410.015.490
 Dating: 471 – 468
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Tetradrachm
 Weight: 16.03 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 3
 Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 194.410.015.492
 Dating: 456 – 454
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Tetradrachm
 Weight: 16.36 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 6
 Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 194.410.015.493

Dating: 457 – 455

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Tetradrachm

Weight: 16.53 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 9

Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 194.410.015.494

Dating: 453 – 450

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Tetradrachm

Weight: 15.89 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 9

Inscription: Obv: AINI Rev: [A]NT | [I]A | DAΣ



ID no. 194.410.015.495

Dating: 412 – 409

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Tetradrachm

Weight: 16.03 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 12

Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 194.410.015.498

Dating: 410 – 408

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Tetradrachm

Weight: 16.19 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 6

Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 194.410.015.499

Dating: 408 – 406

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Tetrobol

Weight: 2.65 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 6

Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 194.410.015.500
 Dating: 431 – 429
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Tetrobol
 Weight: 2.76 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 2
 Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 194.410.015.501
 Dating: 408 – 406
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Diobol
 Weight: 1.37 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 7
 Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 194.410.015.502
 Dating: 408 – 406
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Diobol
 Weight: 1.31 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 6
 Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 194.410.015.503
 Dating: 409 – 407
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Diobol
 Weight: 1.31 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 1
 Inscription: x



ID no. 194.410.015.504
 Dating: 409 – 407
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Diobol
 Weight: 1.26 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 12
 Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 194.410.015.505

Dating: 427 – 424

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.30 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 4

Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 194.410.015.506

Dating: 429 – 426

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: x

Diameter: x

Axis: 0

Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 194.410.015.507

Dating: 429 – 426

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.12 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 7

Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 194.410.015.508

Dating: 421 – 418

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.29 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 9

Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 194.410.015.509

Dating: 417 – 414

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.32 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 12

Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 194.410.015.510
Dating: 417 – 414
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.31 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 4
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 194.410.015.511
Dating: 423 – 420
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.36 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 7
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 194.410.015.512
Dating: 423 – 420
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.31 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 9
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1.941.153.319
Dating: 458 – 456
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.34 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1.941.153.320
Dating: 462 – 460
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.81 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 9
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1.941.153.321
 Dating: 463 – 461
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Tetradrachm
 Weight: 15.75 gr.
 Diameter: 28 mm.
 Axis: 3
 Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1.941.153.322
 Dating: 462 – 460
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Drachm
 Weight: 3.89 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 6
 Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1.941.153.323
 Dating: 429 – 426
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Diobol
 Weight: 1.10 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 1
 Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 1966.75.47
 Dating: 431 – 429
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Tetrobol
 Weight: 2.73 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 4
 Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 1966.75.48
 Dating: 408 – 406
 Metal: Silver
 Denomination: Diobol
 Weight: 1.20 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 7
 Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1908.999.6

Dating: 429 – 426

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.29 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 1

Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 1909.999.32

Dating: 410 – 408

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Tetradrachm

Weight: 15.60 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 6

Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 1909.999.33

Dating: 408 – 406

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Tetrobol

Weight: 2.70 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 7

Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 1909.999.34

Dating: 427 – 424

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.17 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 7

Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 1.957.172.723

Dating: 457 – 455

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Tetradrachm

Weight: 16.43 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 3

Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1.957.172.724
Dating: 412 – 409
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.68 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 3
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1.957.172.725
Dating: 412 – 409
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.50 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 3
Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 1.957.172.726
Dating: 408 – 406
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.29 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1.957.172.727
Dating: 427 – 424
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.23 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 2
Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 1983.51.72
Dating: 421 – 418
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 0.70 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 9
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1987.25.20

Dating: 408 – 406

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.29 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 6

Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1923.214.10

Dating: 429 – 426

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.27 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 10

Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 0000.999.7316

Dating: 408 – 406

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.28 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 6

Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1955.54.78

Dating: 408 – 406

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.18 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 6

Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1.977.158.181

Dating: 427 – 424

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Diobol

Weight: 1.13 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 9

Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. 1.967.152.218
Dating: 457 – 455
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.35 gr.
Diameter: 28 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1.967.152.219
Dating: 461 – 458
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.18 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 3
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1.967.152.220
Dating: 462 – 460
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Drachm
Weight: 4.12 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1.960.170.105
Dating: 469 – 466
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.48 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 9
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0101a0101
Dating: 471 – 468
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.97 gr.
Diameter: 23 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0101a0103
Dating: 415 – 412
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.41 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1153
Dating: 461 – 458
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.23 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 3
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1154
Dating: 466 – 463
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.41 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 3
Inscription: Rev: INIA



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1155
Dating: 469 – 466
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.11 gr.
Diameter: 25 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1156
Dating: 409 – 407
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.12 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 9
Inscription: Rev: AIN | I



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1157
Dating: 412 – 409
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.71 gr.
Diameter: 23 mm.
Axis: 9
Inscription: Rev: AIN | I



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1158
Dating: 408 – 406
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetrobol
Weight: 2.73 gr.
Diameter: 13 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1159
Dating: 431 – 429
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetrobol
Weight: 2.73 gr.
Diameter: 12 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1160
Dating: 408 – 406
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.29 gr.
Diameter: 12 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1161
Dating: 423 – 420
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.26 gr.
Diameter: 12 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1162
Dating: 425 – 422
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.32 gr.
Diameter: 11 mm.
Axis: 11
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1163
Dating: 417 – 414
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.29 gr.
Diameter: 12 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1164
Dating: 427 – 424
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.28 gr.
Diameter: 10 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1165
Dating: 429 – 426
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.32 gr.
Diameter: 10 mm.
Axis: 9
Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1166
Dating: 429 – 426
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.32 gr.
Diameter: 11 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1167
Dating: 421 – 418
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.32 gr.
Diameter: 12 mm.
Axis: 9
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1173
Dating: 412 – 409
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 17.83 gr.
Diameter: 25 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AN



ID no. SNGuk_0700_0769
Dating: 469 – 466
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.07 gr.
Diameter: 25 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0700_0770
Dating: 453 – 450
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.56 gr.
Diameter: 26 mm.
Axis: 2
Inscription: Rev: AN | T | I | A | ΔΑΣ



ID no. SNGuk_0800_0316
Dating: 456 – 454
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.15 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0800_0317
Dating: 453 – 450
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 14.71 gr.
Diameter: 23 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AN | T | I | A | ΔΣ



ID no. SNGuk_0800_0318
Dating: 423 – 420
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.29 gr.
Diameter: 10 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. SNGuk_0800_0319
Dating: 415 – 412
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.47 gr.
Diameter: 23 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3517
Dating: 471 – 468
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.97 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3518
Dating: 471 – 468
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.21 gr.
Diameter: 23 mm.
Axis: 7
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3519
Dating: 466 – 463
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.40 gr.
Diameter: 25 mm.
Axis: 3
Inscription: Rev: INIA



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3520
Dating: 474/3 – 449/8
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Drachm
Weight: 4.16 gr.
Diameter: 14 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3521
Dating: 474/3 – 449/8
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.40 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 3
Inscription: Rev: AIN | I



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3525
Dating: 429 – 426
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.30 gr.
Diameter: 11 mm.
Axis: 11
Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3526
Dating: 429 – 426
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.28 gr.
Diameter: 11 mm.
Axis: 7
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3527
Dating: 427 – 424
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.30 gr.
Diameter: 11 mm.
Axis: 7
Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3528
Dating: 427 – 424
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.31 gr.
Diameter: 11 mm.
Axis: 1
Inscription: Rev: AIN



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3529
Dating: 425 – 422
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.31 gr.
Diameter: 11 mm.
Axis: 11
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3530
Dating: 423 – 420
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.29 gr.
Diameter: 11 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3531
Dating: 412 – 409
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.52 gr.
Diameter: 25 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AIN | I



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3532
Dating: 412 – 409
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.57 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AIN | I



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3533
Dating: 412 – 409
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 16.57 gr.
Diameter: 26 mm.
Axis: 3
Inscription: Rev: AIN | I



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3534
Dating: 409 – 407
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.21 gr.
Diameter: 11 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: ?



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3535
Dating: 408 – 406
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.34 gr.
Diameter: 12 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINIO[N]



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3536
Dating: 408 – 406
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.36 gr.
Diameter: 13 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3537
Dating: 408 – 406
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.38 gr.
Diameter: 11 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3538
Dating: 408 – 406
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.38 gr.
Diameter: 12 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3539
Dating: 408 – 406
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.24 gr.
Diameter: 12 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3540
Dating: 406 – 404
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.08 gr.
Diameter: 11 mm.
Axis: 9
Inscription: Rev: AINI



Ainos III

ID no. 2011.21.550
Dating: x
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous 25
Weight: 15.74 gr.
Diameter: 25 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 1.967.152.221
Dating: 378 – 376
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.81 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 0
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 194.410.015.516
Dating: 374 – 371
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 14.72 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 194.410.015.517
Dating: 388 – 385
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.19 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 0
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 194.410.015.518
Dating: 365 – 362
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.35 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 194.410.015.519
Dating: 363 – 360
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetrobol
Weight: 2.35 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 194.410.015.520
Dating: 382 – 379
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetrobol
Weight: 2.41 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 194.410.015.521
Dating: 385 – 383
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetrobol
Weight: 2.37 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 194.410.015.522
Dating: 402 – 399
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.33 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. 1.941.153.324
Dating: 370 – 367
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 13.85 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 1.941.153.325
Dating: 398 – 395
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 14.89 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 1
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 1.941.153.326
Dating: 396 – 393
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetrobol
Weight: 2.37 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 1966.75.49
Dating: 396 – 393
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.00 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 0
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 1954.203.93
Dating: 367 – 364
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetrobol
Weight: 2.36 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 1.957.172.728
Dating: 376 – 373
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 14.31 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 1
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. 1.957.172.729
Dating: 405 – 402
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.32 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0101a0102
Dating: 394 – 391
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.85 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1168
Dating: 398 – 395
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 14.86 gr.
Diameter: 25 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1169
Dating: 400 – 397
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.70 gr.
Diameter: 25 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINIO[N]



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1170
Dating: 361 – 358
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 14.99 gr.
Diameter: 26 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1171
Dating: 363 – 360
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetrobol
Weight: 2.46 gr.
Diameter: 13 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. SNGuk_0300_1172
Dating: 403 – 401
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Obol
Weight: 1.27 gr.
Diameter: 10 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINION | ER



ID no. SNGuk_0601_0454
Dating: 359 – 356
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.24 gr.
Diameter: 26 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. SNGuk_0700_0771
Dating: 372 – 369
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 14.52 gr.
Diameter: 27 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. SNGuk_0800_0320
Dating: 402 – 399
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.83 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINI | O[N]



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3541
Dating: 405 – 357
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetrobol
Weight: 2.55 gr.
Diameter: 12 mm.
Axis: 5
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3542
Dating: 405 – 357
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.30 gr.
Diameter: 10 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3543
Dating: 402 – 399
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.27 gr.
Diameter: 10 mm.
Axis: 11
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3544
Dating: 402 – 399
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol
Weight: 1.09 gr.
Diameter: 11 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINI



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3545
Dating: 402 – 399
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 14.70 gr.
Diameter: 25 mm.
Axis: 11
Inscription: Rev: [A]INIO | N



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3546
Dating: 402 – 399
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetrobol
Weight: 2.33 gr.
Diameter: 14 mm.
Axis: 11
Inscription: Rev: [A]INION



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3547
Dating: 380 – 377
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 14.52 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



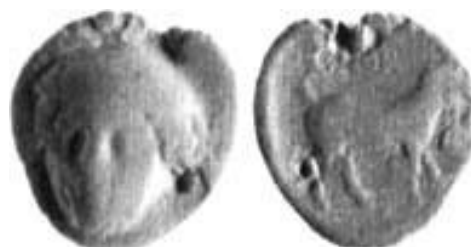
ID no. SNGuk_0504_3548
Dating: 385 – 383
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 14.68 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3549
Dating: 383 – 381
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.18 gr.
Diameter: 25 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3550
Dating: 382 – 379
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetrobol
Weight: 2.11 gr.
Diameter: 14 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: ANION



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3551
Dating: 374 – 371
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.23 gr.
Diameter: 26 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: ANION



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3552
Dating: 372 – 369
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.32 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: ANION



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3553
Dating: 359 – 356
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Tetradrachm
Weight: 15.36 gr.
Diameter: 26 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: ANION



Ainos IV

ID no. 194.410.015.523
Dating: 357 – 341
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Drachm
Weight: 3.25 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 6
Inscription: x



ID no. 1.977.158.182
Dating: 357 – 341
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Drachm
Weight: 3.52 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: x



ID no. SNGuk_0504_3554
Dating: 357 – 342
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Drachm
Weight: 3.76 gr.
Diameter: 17 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: AINION



ID no.	SNGuk_0504_3555
Dating:	357 – 342
Metal:	Silver
Denomination:	Drachm
Weight:	3.77 gr.
Diameter:	18 mm.
Axis:	12
Inscription:	Rev: AINION



Ainos coin types analysis



(fig. 4): Roma Numismatics Ltd, E-Sale 83, 06/05/2021, lot 143 (May 34-6)



(fig. 5): Roma Numismatics Ltd, Auction XXII, 07/10/2021, lot 259 (May 70)



(fig. 6): Classical Numismatics Group, Electronic Auction 502, 20/10/2021, lot 79 (May 317)



(fig. 7): Roma Numismatics Ltd, Auction XII, 07/10/2021, lot 260 (May 449)

The coin types Ainos II and Ainos III are by far the most numerous within the database. The HND contains a total of 151 coins coming from Ainos. This provides for an excellent overview of all the coin types that the city has produced. An overview of this cities type – in the form of a die study –has already been done in 1950 by J. M. F. May. This work is used because it is very helpful with regard to the numismatic iconography of the Ainos coinage. It functions as a basis whereupon my own iconographical analysis is done. Unlike the coins from the other cities, the Ainos coins are numerous and were produced in various types. A chronology – or evolution – of the head of Hermes on the obverse has been made by May and on the reverse even more differences are observed.

The coin in fig. 4 belongs to the first of four periods spanning from 474/3 until 449/8.⁶⁵ The coinage in this period contains mostly tetradrachms but also drachms and diobols. Fig. 4 contains a silver diobol. On the obverse, Hermes is facing the right and wears a round hat with a small dot on top and a pelleted border just above the edge of the hat. This version of the petasos does not look similar to the one from Abdera. As a matter of fact, this version of the petasos is only encountered on coins from Ainos and Cypsela (below). One could even argue, for that reason, that this hat is not even a petasos and consequently that the figure might not be Hermes at all. However, the iconography on the reverse often points to a connection with Hermes as is elaborated upon below. Besides, during later phases of the coinage of Ainos, Hermes is depicted facing and the hat will appear flatter, thus resembling the petasos on other

⁶⁵ May (1950) 8. For the considerations on the beginning and end date of the period, see especially p. 9-19.

coins more. On the back of the head a single strand of hair is braided around the head underneath the edge of the petasos. The rest of the hair seems to lay flat down and does not resemble the curly hairstyle which features on later coins from Ainos. On the reverse, the kerykeion is depicted within a tilted incuse square. It is flanked by the letters A and I, the ethnic of the city of Ainos. The inscription AINOΣ could also appear. From fig. 4 the iconography of the kerykeion can be analyzed. The head of the kerykeion looks like an eight with the upper part opened up. There seems to be no reason to assume that the two edges of the head resemble snakes, although they do have bulbs at the end. On other versions of this reverse type a crescent moon is depicted above the kerykeion. There are also three bronze chalkoi within the HND that belong to the type Ainos I. These chalkoi are not dated by May, since he focused on the silver coins from Ainos exclusively. In general, these chalkoi are dated after 300.⁶⁶ There is also one chalkous belonging to the type Ainos II. This coin is dated to 280 – 200.⁶⁷ I added this coin to the analysis to indicate the change in iconography over time while the type, on both obverse and reverse, stayed the same. The petasos and goat have different forms than the silver coin versions from Ainos II. The inscription on the reverse is also different and there is a monogram added to the right of the goat.

By doing a die study, May established a chronology of the coins from Ainos with the coins from type Ainos II (fig. 5) as one of the first to be produced. From here on, I do not extensively treat all the obverses of the types Ainos II, III and IV further, but only focus on variations from the base coin while referring to the plates of May's work. The base image on the obverse of the coins from Ainos (type Ainos I) underwent some serious alterations as can be seen in plate III of May's work.⁶⁸ Fig. 5 depicts a silver tetradrachm dated between 455 and 452. The head of Hermes on the obverse, facing the right (similar to Ainos I), was the first obverse type to be made. At some point in time, it was depicted facing the left and later the right again. From A.142 onward Hermes is depicted with his hair hanging loosely (similar to fig. 7). Even later, Hermes' petasos no longer had a straight border but, both on the front and back, upward curving edges. The curved petasos now starts to look more like the petasos that we see on other coins (below). From A.202 onwards Hermes is depicted facing the viewer instead of facing the side (types Ainos III and IV).⁶⁹ Fig. 6 better illustrates the coin type Ainos III. This coin is a silver tetrobol dated to 405 – 402.

⁶⁶ For instance: AMNG 309, 374, 383, 390, 391, and 399.

⁶⁷ AMNG 375.

⁶⁸ Compare A.46 with A.73, A.142, and A.150 in May (1950) Plate III.

⁶⁹ See May (1950) Plate IV, A.202.

What is the most interesting about the obverse of the coins from Ainos is that Hermes was the principal deity to be depicted until around the start of the Hellenistic Period. In that regard Ainos was the only city to choose Hermes for this. From the third century onward Hermes could be moved to the reverse of a coin.⁷⁰

What is even more interesting are the reverse types of the coins from Ainos. In general, three broader types can be distinguished among the reverses of Ainos. Either the head of a kerykeion within a tilted incuse square (Ainos I), a goat lying or standing to the right with a symbol to the right of it also within an incuse square (Ainos II and III), or the reverse type as seen in fig. 7 (Ainos IV).⁷¹ During the different stages of the coinage from Ainos this goat could be depicted standing, lying, walking or grazing, both to the left and right. Above the goat an inscription reads AINI and it is clear that the ethnic of Ainos took different forms over time.

The symbols that are visible on the types Ainos II and III, to the right of the goat, are further discussed when dealing with the interpretation of the iconography of the coinage from Ainos. They feature almost always to the right of the goat. Symbols such as these were not depicted without serving a specific function. They could relate to a certain magistrate who issued the specific coin type.⁷² However, as mentioned when dealing with the coinage of Abdera, there is still a degree of uncertainty where these symbols are involved. On the coinage from Abdera the symbols included a kantharos and an astragal but for Ainos there were many different symbols used.

The reverse type of Ainos IV (fig. 7) is different. Fig. 7 shows a silver drachm dated to 357 – 341. The central figure of the coin is a cult statue of Hermes standing on a throne.⁷³ The statue has a beard and is wearing the petasos.⁷⁴ To the right of the statue, on the arm of the throne, the kerykeion is standing but in fig. 7 the head of the kerykeion is not entirely visible.⁷⁵ The cult statue is dedicated to Hermes *perpheraios*. This version of Hermes and the implications of this statue on the coinage of Ainos is discussed below (p. 115-116). To the right of the throne an inscription reads AINION. This is a later type of the ethnic. To the left of the throne there are symbols depicted, similar to the symbols to the right of the goat on the types Ainos II and

⁷⁰ The following coin features as an example: Leu Numismatik AG, Web Auction 16, 22/05/2021, lot 265 (BMC 43). During the Hellenistic Period Hermes was even fully removed from the coins as Ainos also produced silver Alexanders similar to: Leu Numismatik AG, Web Auction 16, 22/05/2021, lot 335 (Müller 114).

⁷¹ These types are distinguished in both the work of May as well as in the HND.

⁷² This is the general consensus in the numismatic field. For more information on this, see de Callatäy (2012) 39-62; Iossif and Lorber (2021) 196 state that these symbols could allude to the specific polis where the mint was located but also that the deeper significance of these symbols is uncertain.

⁷³ May (1950) 59.

⁷⁴ Ibidem.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 60.

III. Here (fig. 7), the symbol is the head of a goat but other symbols were also possible. For instance, a corn ear on a stalk.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ May (1950) 261.

Croton

Croton I

ID no.	SNGuk_0300_0636
Dating:	400 – 375
Metal:	Silver
Denomination:	Stater
Weight:	6.54 gr.
Diameter:	20 mm.
Axis:	12
Inscription:	Obv: Φ I. Rev: KRO



Croton coin type analysis



(fig. 8): ANS 410, Numismatica Ars Classica AG, Auction K (2000), 1087

The next silver nomos (fig. 8) comes from the Greek colony of Croton, located to the south of Hipponium (which is treated below) in Magna Grecia. Two interesting points should be noted before turning to the iconography of the coin. First, there seems to be a problem with the dating. According to the Numismatica Ars Classica AG the coin should be dated between 400 and 375. However, it is known that the weight standard for the nomos was reduced from 7.9 g. to about 6.6 g. around 280.⁷⁷ Since this coin weighs 6.23 g. it would fit the period of the reduced standard better. A dating of 280 would exclude this coin from this research. However, as will be shown below, there is reason to believe that the iconography correlates with changes instated in the

⁷⁷ According to Rutter (1997) 99 the campaigns of Pyrrhus against the Romans, or better yet the payment of the troops during these campaigns, were the cause of the reduction.

fourth century. Because these iconographic elements apparently did not change between 390 and 280, the coin will be taken into consideration. The second interesting point to note is the fact that after careful examination I have not been able to find more coins with this specific obverse type. That could imply that this coin might have had special significance. But the situation cuts both ways, as it would also be dangerous to put too much meaning on a single coin.

The main figure on the obverse is an eagle standing on a thunderbolt with its head turned to the left. There is an inscription on the obverse consisting of two letters and reads Φ | I. The head of the eagle separates the two letters. To the right besides the eagle, stands a figure on a base with its body turned three quarters to the left. The figure is holding the kerykeion in its left arm while the right arm is extended to the left. At the end of the right arm a small bowl is visible which should probably be identified as a phiale. The combination of a male figure holding a kerykeion and phiale could lead to the identification of the figure as Hermes.

There are, however, two more features accompanying this figure which lead me to believe this is not a representation of the god Hermes himself. First of all, the figure is standing on a flat surface which could be the upper part of a base. The presence of the base leads to the identification of the figure as a statue. The second interesting feature is that the figure seems to have a beard. In all other depictions of Hermes in this thesis, he appears as a beardless figure. In the iconography on vase paintings, herms are often depicted having a beard and holding a kerykeion.⁷⁸ Hermes, on the other hand, is not always depicted beardless.⁷⁹ On vase paintings there can be no consistency found in whether Hermes was depicted with or without a beard. A conclusion that can be drawn from this is that there seems to be no consistency in iconography regarding the beardlessness of Hermes and the herms on vase paintings but there is in numismatic iconography. Hermes can be distinguished from herms by the absence of a beard.

In 2019 H           published an article about herms on Attic vase paintings. In the article she concluded that herms did not always refer to Hermes himself but could function on their own as an intermediary between the human and divine realms.⁸⁰ For the interpretation of

⁷⁸ One example of a bell crater with a herm holding a kerykeion and having a beard is LIMC 24462, located in the art museum in Trieste; see also LIMC 24413 and 24427.

⁷⁹ There is no general trend on the way Hermes is depicted in this respect. For Hermes with beard, see LIMC 391, 24904. For Hermes without beard, see LIMC 20005. LIMC 3343 is even more interesting as Hermes is here depicted with beard and holding the kerykeion while on the other side of the kylix a female figure, possibly Iris, is also depicted holding the kerykeion. For Hermes with or without beard, see Brown (1947) 96.

⁸⁰ Especially pages 241-2 of Collard (2019) are of interest here. Of course it should also be noted that her research treated Attic vase paintings in particular and we are dealing here with a Greek colony on the Italian peninsula. Thus, other stylistic traditions could be in place.

this coin type that is an important point. When dealing with Hermes in the role of the bringer of good tidings, I discuss this further.

On the reverse of this type we find a tripod as the main figure in the middle of the coin. The iconography of the tripod at Croton has been subject to change. While the tripod had been the symbol of Croton for a longer period already, it was only at the end of the fifth century that its form contained three rings on top.⁸¹ This securely sets the *terminus post quem* for this coin around 400.⁸² To the left of the tripod a winged figure is flying upwards with a laurel wreath in its hands. This figure is a winged Nike who is about to crown the tripod.⁸³ On the other side of the tripod an inscription reads KPO and can be interpreted as the ancient name of the city: Kroton. The KPO succeeded the earlier inscription QPO which pushes the *terminus post quem* to 390.⁸⁴

⁸¹ For the tripod as earliest type for the city of Croton, see Rutter (1997) 3; for the change in iconography of the tripod: 67.

⁸² Rutter (1997) 67. As argued at the beginning of the coinage of Croton the dating could be quite some time later but definitely not earlier.

⁸³ The Nike seems to have octopus legs. The octopus became a symbol on the bronze coins from Croton since c. 400: Rutter (1997) 67-8.

⁸⁴ Rutter (1997) 82.

Cypsela

Cypsela I

ID no.	194.410.015.655
Dating:	415 – 387?
Metal:	Bronze
Denomination:	Chalkous
Weight:	1.99 gr.
Diameter:	x
Axis:	12
Inscription:	x



Cypsela coin type analysis



(fig. 9): Roma Numismatics Ltd, E-Sale 83, 06/05/2021, lot 178 (SNG Copenhagen 532)

Within the HND one coin from Cypsela, which was located near modern Ipsala, occurs. The coin above (fig. 9) is a bronze chalkous dated to the period 420 – 380. The one coin that is found in the database is also a bronze chalkous but is dated to the period 415 – 387. The difference in dating could be caused by a symbol on the reverse of these coins. The dating of these coins is rather strict as it is known that bronze coins were minted at Cypsela for a short period of time around 400.⁸⁵

As is visible from the obverse of fig. 9, the head of Hermes resembles that of the coins from Ainos (types I and II). His head is facing the right and the petasos looks like a helmet with

⁸⁵ Paunov (2015) 277.

a pelleted border that moves straight alongside the edge of the hat. Hermes' hair flows from the helmet down into his neck. There seem to be no obvious traces that indicate this Hermes is wearing a chlamys. Nevertheless, the head with the helmet-like petasos resembles the coins from Ainos so closely, that it would seem safe to assume that this figure is indeed Hermes. The minting of the bronze coins from Cypsela started later than those from Ainos, indicating that the iconography of the coins from Cypsela probably followed that from Ainos. The dating of these coins supports that theory.

On the reverse of fig. 9, a drinking vessel can be seen that is surrounded by an inscription. The letters surrounding the vessel read K | Y | Ψ | E and are the ethnic of the city of Cypsela. According to the Liddell, Scott, Jones Ancient Greek Lexicon (LSJ) the Greek word κυψέλη means any hollow vessel, a chest, or a box. Thus, the drinking vessel on the reverse of fig. 9 could be an empty vessel and refer to the city of Cypsela as a *symbole parlant*. Above the two-handled vessel a pentagram is visible. On the coin from Cypsela, that is in the HND, the symbol above the vessel is not a pentagram. Here the symbol looks like an astragal (similar to the symbol to the right of the goat on the reverse of SNGuk_0101a0101). Another form this symbol could take was a grain ear (SNG Copenhagen 1070).

Hipponium

Hipponium I

ID no. 19.441.006.978
Dating: 380 – 350
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 4.28 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 2
Inscription: x



ID no. 1940.126.11
Dating: 380 – 350
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 5.00 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 5
Inscription: x



Hipponium II

ID no. 19.441.006.976
Dating: 380 – 280?
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 11.90 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 11
Inscription: x



ID no. 19.441.006.975
Dating: 380 – 280?
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 13.43 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 2
Inscription: Rev: ?



ID no. SNGuk_1000_0407
Dating: 380 – 280?
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous 20
Weight: 16.88 gr.
Diameter: 20
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: EI



ID no. SNGuk_1000_0408
Dating: 350 – 325
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous 13
Weight: 4.62 gr.
Diameter: 13
Axis: x
Inscription: Obv: EI



Hipponium III

ID no. 19.441.006.977
Dating: 350 – 325?
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 8.38 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: x



ID no. 1940.126.10
Dating: 350 – 325?
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 7.60 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 11
Inscription: x



Hipponium coin types analysis



(fig. 10): CNG, eAuction 130, 01/04/2006, lot 81 (SNG ANS 453)



(fig. 11): CNG, eAuction 130, 01/04/2006, lot 80 (SNG ANS 4449)



(fig. 12): SNG ANS 3.451

The city of Hipponion was founded by Greek colonists in southern Italy, then renamed by the Romans as Hipponium, and is now modern day Vibo Valentia. Within the HND, a total of eight coins come from this city. These coins are all bronze chalkoi and they are divided into three coin types. When Hermes is depicted on coins from Hipponium, he is always placed on the obverse of the coin (Hipponium I, II, and III). Different scenes could be depicted on the reverse of the coins which contained Hermes on the obverse. Either a kerykeion (fig. 10), an eagle (fig. 11), or an amphora (fig. 12). Other reverse types are possible as well but are not attested in combination with Hermes on the obverse.⁸⁶ The first type (Hipponium I) is dated to 380 – 350.⁸⁷ The second type (Hipponium II) is dated to two different time periods. Either 380 – 350 or 330 – 280.⁸⁸ The last type (Hipponium III) is dated between 350 – 325.⁸⁹

It is interesting to note here that the production of coins in Hipponium and depiction of Hermes on them continued well into the third century. A coin was found whereon Hermes is depicted differently, with a winged helmet, which is dated to the second or first century (CNG, eAuction 130, 01.04.2006, lot 92).

On the obverse of every type (I, II, and III) Hermes is facing the right while wearing the petasos. The flatness, the dot on top, and pointy edges of the hat leave little room to doubt that this is indeed a petasos. The way Hermes and the petasos are depicted reminds of the scene in fig. 3 (Abdera III), the coin from Abdera. The image also resembles the petasos on type IV from Ainos (fig. 7) but then viewed from the side instead of from the front. While the obverses of all

⁸⁶ For a remark on the reverse types of Hipponium, see Rutter (1997) 78.

⁸⁷ HN Italy 2245.

⁸⁸ HN Italy 2243.

⁸⁹ SNG ANS 3.451.

the coins from Hipponium within the HND feature Hermes facing the right, there are small differences between the coins. The coin 19.441.006.978, for instance, shows the string hanging down from the petasos and going underneath Hermes' chin. The petasos on coin 19.441.006.976 is not straight but rather waves over Hermes' head. The coin SNGuk_1000_0407 seems to feature a petasos on the obverse that has a folded edge on the right side instead of ending in a straight point.

When discussing the coinage from Locri Opuntii, a similar coin type, with Hermes facing the right, is also apparent. This becomes more interesting when we review the following information given by Strabo. According to Strabo, Hipponium was founded by the Locrians (6.5.30). These Locrians were themselves descendants of colonists who came from the region of Phocis in Greece (6.7.9-12). There is thus a relatively direct link between the two places and the similarities in iconography between the coins could be explained this way. While not visible here, on other coins from Hipponium the upper part of a bit of garment can be seen just below the neck of the figure (SNG ANS 3.450). The bit of garment could be the chlamys. On the aforementioned coin, which contained the winged helmet, this is even more clear (CNG, eAuction 130, 01.04.2006, lot 92). Perhaps this trend of depicting more of the chlamys came into being on coins from Hipponium at the start of the Hellenistic Period and developed into the third century. The combination of the petasos (winged or wingless), chlamys, and the kerykeion on the reverse, leads to the conclusion that the male figure on the obverse of the coins from Hipponium is indeed Hermes. An inscription reading CEI is visible to the left of the head of Hermes behind his neck on all types (I, II, and III). Three letter inscriptions are not uncommon and also appear in Metapontum.⁹⁰ These inscriptions probably referred to the engravers of the dies that were used to stamp the scenes on the obverse and reverse of the coins.⁹¹

Multiple reverse types are known for the coins from Hipponium but the following three types are known with Hermes on the obverse. The type Hipponium I contains a kerykeion within a dotted border (fig. 10). From this image it is clear that the kerykeion is open at the top of the head and it does not consist of two coiling snakes. Why this reverse type relates specifically to Hermes seems obvious. It appears two times within the HND.

⁹⁰ Two and three letter inscriptions are also visible on the coins from Metapontum. These inscriptions could be the signature of the engravers of the coins. For this and further references, see Noe (1984) 7-10. Noe, however, problematizes this idea as I have related when discussing the coinage of Abdera and Ainos.

⁹¹ Noe (1984) 7-10.

The type Hipponium II shows an eagle holding a snake on the reverse (fig. 11). The eagle is standing to the right while holding a snake in its talons and it is arching over to bite at the head of the snake. Above the arched back of the eagle an inscription reads CEI, similar to the obverse of the coin described for the obverses of all the types (I, II, and III). The eagle holding an animal is a motif that returns when dealing with the coins from Sinope. Hipponium II occurs three times within the HND. I have added another coin to this type (SNGuk_1000_0408). This coin seems to have no reverse type since the reverse flan is blank. It is possible that the type has faded. According to the SNG database this coin belonged to the same collection as the coin SNGuk_1000_0407. Since SNGuk_1000_0407 belongs to Hipponium II, I have added SNGuk_1000_0408 to that specific category. In the end, it does not matter where the deviant coin is put since there is no iconography on the reverse to analyze and draw new conclusions from.

The type Hipponium III contains an amphora (fig. 12). The amphora is often depicted on coins, both as a symbol (for instance on 1.941.153.320 which belongs to the type Ainos II) and as a full figure on the obverse or reverse (fig. 12). This type occurs two times within the HND.

Leucas

Leucas I

ID no. 194.410.019.285

Dating: 350 – 300

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Stater

Weight: 8.54 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 12

Inscription: x



ID no. 194.410.019.286

Dating: 350 – 300

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Stater

Weight: 8.39 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 1

Inscription: x



ID no. SNGuk_0300_2284

Dating: 350 – 300

Metal: Silver

Denomination: Stater

Weight: 8.50 gr.

Diameter: 21 mm.

Axis: 3

Inscription: x



Leucas coin type analysis



(fig. 13): Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 123, 09/05/2021, lot 430 (Calciati, Pegasi 99)

On the next coinage that I discuss, Hermes is not depicted as the main deity (Leucas I, fig. 13), similar to the coin from Mithrapata which is discussed below (Mithrapata I). With the type Leucas I, for the first time within the analysis, the figure on the reverse is another deity. This is the only type from Leucas that has Hermes on it and it occurs three times within the HND. All three coins, together with the coin in fig. 13, are silver staters. The specific coin in fig. 13 is dated to 320 – 280 but the coins coming from the HND are dated to 350 – 300.⁹²

A winged Pegasus figures prominently on the obverse. On the reverse the goddess Athena is the central figure. She can be recognized by the helmet she is wearing and the neck guards hanging down.

Hermes is located on the reverse to the left of Athena's neck guard. He seems to be sitting on something and facing the right towards the head of Athena. That he is holding the kerykeion is clear but otherwise not much can be said with certainty. He might be wearing the petasos and have the chlamys around his body but this is not clearly visible. These features may have been of lesser importance on this coin type, since the main stage is reserved for Athena and Hermes only plays a limited role on this coin.

⁹² Calciati, Pegasi 99.

Locri Opuntii

Locri Opuntii I

ID no. 194.410.019.654

Dating: 400 – 300?

Metal: Bronze

Denomination: Chalkous

Weight: 2.03 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 8

Inscription: Rev: LOK | RΩN



ID no. 194.410.019.655

Dating: 400 – 300?

Metal: Bronze

Denomination: Chalkous

Weight: 2.13 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 5

Inscription: Rev: LOK | RΩN



ID no. 194.410.019.656

Dating: 400 – 300?

Metal: Bronze

Denomination: Chalkous

Weight: 1.76 gr.

Diameter: x

Axis: 6

Inscription: Rev: LOK | RΩN



ID no. SNGuk_0700_0906

Dating: 400 – 300

Metal: Bronze

Denomination: Chalkous 14

Weight: 1.75 gr.

Diameter: 14 mm.

Axis: 12

Inscription: Rev: LOK | RΩN



Locri Opuntii coin type analysis



(fig. 14): BCD 55.

From the region of Opuntian Locris there are four coins in the HND. These coins, together with the coin in fig. 14, have the same obverse and reverse scenes. Together they form the type Locri Opuntii I. The coin in fig. 14 is a bronze chalkous dated to the beginning of the fourth century.⁹³ Another coin belonging to this type (Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 502, 20/10/2021, lot 190) is also a bronze chalkous, but is dated to 350 – 325.⁹⁴ It is unclear to which time period the four coins from the HND belong. Nonetheless, both periods allow for the coins to be taken into the analysis.

On the obverse of type Locri Opuntii I Hermes is depicted facing the right. Within the HND there is one instance where Hermes is facing left. This is the case for coin 194.410.019.654. What is clear from fig. 14 is that the figure is wearing a hat and that this hat looks like a petasos. The outline of the flat hat with pointy edges on the left and right side can be distinguished. On top of the hat, a relatively big dot is sitting in the middle of it. The head of Hermes, together with the petasos, looks similar to the head of Hermes on the types from Hipponium (I, II, and III).

On the reverse of the type Locri Opuntii I, a different scene is depicted. As fig. 14 shows, a bunch of grapes is the central element of the reverse and it is surrounded by an inscription. The inscription reads LOK | RΩN and refers to its provenance. The stem of the bunch of grapes looks similar to a capital T. The reverse type with the bunch flanked by letters appears on all four coins within the HND coming from Locri Opuntii.

⁹³ BCD Lokris 55.

⁹⁴ BCD Lokris 121.

Metapontum

Metapontum I

ID no.	SNGuk_1000_0275
Dating:	400 – 350
Metal:	Bronze
Denomination:	Chalkous 20
Weight:	8.09 gr.
Diameter:	20 mm.
Axis:	7
Inscription:	Obv: EU. Rev: [OBO]LOS ME



Metapontum II

ID no.	SNGuk_1000_0277
Dating:	425 – 350
Metal:	Bronze
Denomination:	Chalkous 19
Weight:	9.10 gr.
Diameter:	19 mm.
Axis:	6
Inscription:	Obv: O[BOLOS]



Metapontum III (special)

ID no.	SNGuk_1000_0285
Dating:	370 – 230
Metal:	Bronze
Denomination:	Chalkous 14
Weight:	2.19 gr.
Diameter:	14 mm.
Axis:	5
Inscription:	Rev: M E



Metapontum coin types analysis



(fig. 15): Künker GmbH, Auction 133, 11.10.2007, lot 7889 (Johnston 3)



(fig. 16): Muenzen & Medaillen Deutschland GMBH, Auction 17, 04/10/2005, lot 53 (Johnston 5)



(fig. 17): Muenzen & Medaillen Deutschland GMBH, Auction 17, 04/10/2005, lot 56 (Johnston 42)

These coin types (Metapontum I, II, and III) come from the Greek colony of Metapontum in southern Italy. The specific type of coins with Hermes on the obverse (Metapontum I, fig. 15) occurs three times in the HND. First, I address the type Metapontum III (fig. 17) because it is informative on the issues surrounding the iconography of Hermes on coins. It figures as an example of the choices that have to be made when forming a database such as the HND.

This type (Metapontum III, fig. 17) has a male head facing the right on the obverse of the coin. The coin is a bronze chalkous dated between 370 – 230.⁹⁵ The head is diademed, which is clear because of the two lines of ribbon that fall down from the back of the head behind the neck. Above the right ear, wings are protruding upwards from the line of the diadem. Imagery like this becomes predominant in the Hellenistic Period and the coin should therefore be dated at the beginning or further along within that tradition.⁹⁶ The male head is not wearing a petasos which makes the identification of Hermes troublesome but not impossible. The presence of the diadem indicates an invocation of kingship, which is not a phenomenon connected to Hermes in other instances. On the reverse, the kerykeion is present standing on three grains of barley. Perhaps the figure on the obverse has been identified as Hermes because of the presence of the kerykeion and the winged diadem. However, the kerykeion should not be seen as an attribute of or as an allusion towards Hermes in this case. The kerykeion could function as a type for the

⁹⁵ Johnston (1989) no. 42.

⁹⁶ Research on the diadem as a symbol in Greek art is numerous. See, for instance, Ritter (1965), Malkova (2013), and Olbrycht (2014).

administration of the mint, where the coins were struck, instead of being a symbol of Hermes.⁹⁷ Thus, the coin with the diademed head on the obverse and the kerykeion with barley grains on the reverse should probably not be seen as containing Hermes, but as a Hellenistic ruler. The combination of the reverse from Metapontum III with an obverse, on which Hermes is actually depicted, is, however, known.⁹⁸ This type is dated to 300 – 250.⁹⁹

Unlike Metapontum III, type I from this city does have Hermes depicted in it. Fig. 15 shows a bronze obol belonging to this type. It is dated to 425 – 350.¹⁰⁰ Hermes is wearing a petasos that has a wavy edge, which looks similar to the petasos on the type Phocaea I (below, fig. 25). Around his shoulders, especially of the arm that is not extended, the chlamys can be made out. Hermes' right arm is extended and elongated which leads me to believe that he is holding a phiale, similar to what we have seen on the coin from Croton (fig. 8).¹⁰¹ The left arm is bent in front of the body and even though it seems as if the figure is holding something in that hand as well, it cannot be confirmed. From the left hand, a rod can be seen going upwards crossing the left shoulder in front of the chlamys. Just above the left shoulder the rod seems to be connected to a head which looks like the upper part of the kerykeion. It seems as if the figure is holding a kerykeion. The combination of petasos, chlamys, phiale, and kerykeion leave no room for an interpretation of a figure other than Hermes. Underneath the extended right arm is a thymiaterion, which is a kind of incense burner.¹⁰² This is a scene of Hermes in the midst of pouring a libation or offering – a scene which is already hinted at by the presence of the phiale itself. In the right field besides Hermes an inscription can be made out which reads EY | O. The E and Y are probably the initials of the magistrate who issued the coin.¹⁰³ The O is similar to the O on the obverse of another coin type (Metapontum II, fig. 16). This O is the indication that the denomination of the coin is obol.¹⁰⁴

On the reverse of this type (Metapontum I, fig. 15) a single grain of barley takes up the central position. Both to the left and right of the grain inscriptions are visible. To the right the letters ME can be made out and these refer to the provenance of the coin. On other coins from

⁹⁷ A clear example of this is the kerykeion on Carthaginian coins. See Clifford (1990) for more on the Carthaginian pantheon. Hermes was not a part of this religion but still the kerykeion features on some of their coins (CNG, eAuction 327, 28/05/2014, lot 718).

⁹⁸ Johnston (1989) no. 54.

⁹⁹ Johnston (1989) no. 54.

¹⁰⁰ Johnston (1989) no. 3.

¹⁰¹ Even though the figure on the coin of Croton appeared to be a herm and not Hermes, the iconography is similar.

¹⁰² For more on thymiateria, see Zaccagnino (1998).

¹⁰³ Two and three letter inscriptions are mentioned before, see n. 90.

¹⁰⁴ Rutter (1997) 71; see n. 106.

Metapontum the inscription could also read META or METAPONTIN.¹⁰⁵ On the other side the letters OBOΛOΣ can be made out, which is the elaborated version of the O that is visible on the obverse of the coin and which is the denomination of the coin.¹⁰⁶ The barley itself is perhaps an allusion to the goddess Demeter. From the beginning of coinage at Metapontum, the ear of barley was the main symbol on both the obverse and reverse of the coins.¹⁰⁷ To find an image of Demeter on these coins seems obvious but one of Hermes seems less common.

There is one more coin type from Metapontum which needs to be discussed. The type Metapontum II features the head of Demeter on the obverse and a grain of barley on the reverse (fig. 16). The coin in fig. 16 is also a bronze obol which can be deduced from the o inscribed to the left of the head of Demeter on the obverse of the coin. It is dated to 425 – 350.¹⁰⁸ On the reverse of the coin, there is a single grain of barley that is flanked by the letters M – E. Again, these letters refer to the city of Metapontum. To the left of the grain of barley, a herm is located. That the statue is a herm can be determined because of the long base with the head on top. It follows the iconography of herms in vase paintings. On the side of the base, an object seems to be present but it is unclear which object. It could be a phallus, the typical object to make this herm of ithyphallic nature.

¹⁰⁵ Rutter (1997) 28.

¹⁰⁶ However, this is a bronze coin which does not have the same denominations as silver coins. Also, the weight standard for obols does not match this coins weight. This is explained by Rutter (1997) 71 when he is dealing with the bronze coinages of the south Italian cities: “the practice of south Italian mints seems to have differed from those in Sicily[.] (...) Occasionally, though, the relationship with the silver is made explicit in other ways. At Metapontum, for example, an issue of bronze coins weighing 8-9 g and dated possibly in the middle of the fourth century is inscribed with the word OBOLOS”.

¹⁰⁷ Rutter (1997) 27-29.

¹⁰⁸ Johnston (1989) no. 5.

Mithrapata

Mithrapata I

ID no.	1996.63.3
Dating:	380 – 370
Metal:	Silver
Denomination:	Stater
Weight:	9.83 gr.
Diameter:	25 mm.
Axis:	9
Inscription:	Rev: MEXT P PATA



Mithrapata coin type analysis



(fig. 18): Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Auction 428, 28/04/2021, lot 299 (Müseler VII, 79)

Mithrapata is the only issuing authority in this thesis that refers to a person and not a specific city.¹⁰⁹ Mithrapata was a Lycian dynast who is thought to have reigned around 390 – 370. The name of the ruler on this coin type (Mithrapata I, fig. 18) makes dating the coin quite certain, between 390 and 370.. Hermes appears on the reverse of this coin and is not the central figure. The obverse and reverse scenes appear more often on coins from Mithrapata but Hermes does not. Instead of Hermes other figures could be depicted on the reverse as well, as is discussed below.

¹⁰⁹ For the Lycian dynast Mithrapata and the name itself, see Fried (2004) 150; for the interesting mix of Greek and Persian influences in Lycia, see Childs (1981).

The coin in fig. 18 is a silver stater. On the obverse of the coin, a lion's scalp is facing the viewer. Besides the scalp facing the viewer, it is also sometimes depicted turned to the right.¹¹⁰ The lion's scalp type seems to be prevalent on the obverse of coins from the reign of Mithrapata.¹¹¹

The reverse consists of a triskeles (three-legs) in the middle, an inscription which runs along the upper edge and down the right edge, and a male bust looking three quarters to the left. All these elements are situated within an incuse square. The inscription reads MEΘP | A | ΠATA and refers to the Lycian dynast.¹¹² The bust is located in the lower left field of the incuse square. It appears to be of Hermes because of the combination of attributes that can be found on the coin. To the right, besides the head, the kerykeion can be discerned. The hat worn by Hermes reminds of the petasos from the types Abdera II. It consists of two outstretching edges and a bulge on top. On the left edge of the petasos a string is attached which hangs down and behind the head of Hermes. This may also be the case on the right edge of the petasos but this could also be the back of the hat being visible by how it is curved. The feature of the string is not unique but the plume on top of the petasos is. All other coin types show either a dot or a bulge on top of the petasos but never a plume. It seems to be waving to the right. It is not clearly visible but the plume might consist of two parts, since there is an extra line coming from the bulge of the petasos and running upwards, dividing the plume in two parts in the process. If this is the case, the plume might actually be two wings on the top of the petasos. This could then be the earliest encountered winged attribute of Hermes on a coin. The dating of the coin is limited to a very short period, so if this is indeed the first encounter of winged attributes of Hermes on coins, the emergence of it can be dated quite precisely.

¹¹⁰ For instance: Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 117, 19/05/2021, lot 244.

¹¹¹ Another obverse type that could occur was the astragal, according to Ashton (2019) 118. This strengthens the connection between Hermes and astragals on coins as mentioned when discussing the coinage from Abdera and Ainos. See also n. 58 and 61.

¹¹² For more on the iconography of the Lycian rulers and further reading about Lycia, see Sheedy (2011). The other frequently used type on the reverse of the coins from Mithrapata is his own image.

Mytilene

Mytilene I

ID no.	SNGuk_0406_4358
Dating:	412 – 378
Metal:	Electrum
Denomination:	Sixth Stater
Weight:	2.48 gr.
Diameter:	11 mm.
Axis:	12
Inscription:	x



Mytilene II

ID no.	SNGuk_0300_2762
Dating:	377 – 326
Metal:	Electrum
Denomination:	Sixth Stater
Weight:	2.52 gr.
Diameter:	11 mm.
Axis:	x
Inscription:	x



ID no.	SNGuk_0406_4355
Dating:	377 – 326
Metal:	Electrum
Denomination:	Sixth Stater
Weight:	2.54 gr.
Diameter:	11 mm.
Axis:	9
Inscription:	x



Mytilene III (special)

ID no.	x (not included in database)
Dating:	377 – 326
Metal:	Electrum
Denomination:	Sixth Stater
Weight:	2.55 gr.
Diameter:	x
Axis:	x
Inscription:	x



Mytilene coin types analysis



(fig. 19): Leu Numismatik AG, Web Auction 17, 14/08/2021, lot 1034 (Bodenstedt 75)



(fig. 20): Roma Numismatics Ltd, E-Sale 81, 25/02/2021, lot 405 (Bodenstedt 83)



(fig. 21): Ira and Larry Goldberg, Auction 63, 31/05/2021, lot 2472 (Bodenstedt 86)

From the city of Mytilene there are two different types depicting Hermes within the HND (Mytilene I and II). These types correspond with the work of Friedrich Bodenstedt on the electrum coins from Mytilene. I have added a third type from Mytilene that does not occur within the HND. This type (Mytilene III) has been analyzed by Bodenstedt as well. Given the dating of that type (377 – 326) and it corresponding with the type Mytilene I, it is added to the analysis without being present in the HND.

Hermes is located on the reverse the type Mytilene I. Fig. 19 shows an electrum hekte (or a sixth stater) dated to 412 – 378.¹¹³ There is no sign of the kerykeion but he is wearing his signature petasos. The petasos even includes the string as it hangs down underneath his chin and is knotted together there. If we compare this to fig 21, it becomes clear that the string was intended to help the petasos stay in place when it is swung to the back of the neck. The petasos resembles the one from type Abdera II (fig. 2) in both its form and the way the string is included and tied underneath the chin. Unlike some other coins there seems to be no sign of the chlamys as Hermes' head is ended quite abruptly at the neck. The head is situated in a thin lined square which is also comparable to the coin from Abdera II (fig. 2).

On the obverse of this coin (fig. 25) we find a female deity facing the right. Bodenstedt identified this figure as Artemis-Kybele.¹¹⁴ Kybele (or Cybele) was a Phrygian mother goddess

¹¹³ Bodenstedt (1981) no. 75.

¹¹⁴ Bodenstedt (1981) no. 75.

adopted by the Greek colonists of Ionia and was often compared to the Greek goddesses Gaia, Rhea, and Demeter (and also Artemis according to Bodenstein).¹¹⁵

The type Mytilene II appears two times in the HND and contains an image of Hermes and of a panther. This is visible in fig. 20. The coin in fig. 20 is an electrum hekte dated to 375 – 326.¹¹⁶ On the obverse of this coin (fig. 20) Hermes is depicted quite similar to fig. 19. The petasos is a bit more flat and the string of the petasos is visible but not tied underneath Hermes' chin. Hermes is facing the right but his head is slightly tilted backwards, compared to fig. 19, as if he is looking upward. There is no thin lined square surrounding his head. This square is, again, reserved for the reverse of this coin.

On the reverse a panther is situated inside the thin lined square. The panther is quite certainly linked to Dionysus. This is known from vase paintings whereon Dionysus or a maenad – a female follower of Dionysus – can be seen riding a panther.¹¹⁷ This exact scene is also known in numismatic iconography but is treated when discussing the coin type Sybrita III.

The third coin type containing Hermes (Mytilene III, fig. 21) is the one that does not appear in the HND. The coin in fig. 21 is, again, an electrum hekte dated to 375 – 326.¹¹⁸ Hermes appears here on the reverse of the coin again. His petasos is swung to the back of his neck, very similar to the type Pheneus I (below, fig. 22). As with the other types from Mytilene (I and II), the figure on the reverse – in this case Hermes – is situated in a thin lined square. Unlike the other coins, it seems as if the upper part of the chlamys is depicted here just underneath Hermes' neck. On the obverse the head of a female deity is facing the viewer while veering off a bit to the right. This head had been identified by Bodenstein as Athena because of her Attic helmet.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ One of the most comprehensive works on Cybele is still: Roller (1999). Roller also provides earlier references.

¹¹⁶ Bodenstein (1981) no. 83.

¹¹⁷ For instance on LIMC 35666 (Dionysus himself), LIMC 4994 (maenad), and LIMC 4992 (also a maenad).

¹¹⁸ Bodenstein (1981) no. 86.

¹¹⁹ Bodenstein (1981) no. 86.

Pheneus

Pheneus I

ID no. SNGuk_0700_1134
Dating: 430 – 370
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Obol
Weight: 0.62 gr.
Diameter: 12 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: ΦΕ | AR



ID no. SNGuk_0405_3896
Dating: 370 – 300
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Obol
Weight: 0.81 gr.
Diameter: 13 mm.
Axis: 11
Inscription: Rev: ΦΕ | AR



Pheneus II

ID no. 1969.30.63
Dating: 370 – 365
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Stater
Weight: 12.04 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: ARKΑΣ | ΦΕ | NE



ID no. SNGuk_0300_2525
Dating: 370 – 365
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Stater
Weight: 12.04 gr.
Diameter: 24 mm.
Axis: 1
Inscription: Rev: ARKΑΣ | ΦΕ | NE



ID no. SNGuk_0405_3897
Dating: 370 – 300
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Stater
Weight: 11.33 gr.
Diameter: 25 mm.
Axis: 5
Inscription: Rev: ARKΑΣ | ΦΕ | NE



Pheneus III

ID no. SNGuk_0300_2526
Dating: 370 – 365
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Drachm
Weight: 5.56 gr.
Diameter: 21 mm.
Axis: 3
Inscription: Rev: ΦΕΝΕVN | YHRI



Pheneus coin types analysis



(fig. 22): Obolos Web Auction 3, 15/11/2015, lot 179 (Weber 4317)



(fig. 23): Leu Numismatik AG, Auction 81, 16/05/2001, lot 225 (Schultz 6.1)



(fig. 24): Nomos, Auction 20, 10/07/2020, lot 162 (BCD Peloponnesos, no. 1616)

Of all the minting places analyzed in this thesis, Pheneus would be the most obvious place to find coins with Hermes on them. Pheneus was a city located near the base of mount Cyllene which, in mythological terms, was the supposed birthplace of Hermes.¹²⁰ It would seem logical for the people of Pheneus to express this connection with the god on different media, like coins.

Compared to the coinages of other cities, Pheneus is well represented in the database. Silver didrachms, drachms, and obols as well as bronze chalkoi have been found with Hermes depicted on them. The coins above (figs. 22, 23 and 24), as well as the six coins found in the HND, are all silver coins. On the different coins three types are discernable illustrating Hermes: Hermes on the obverse and a ram on the reverse (Pheneus I, fig. 22), a female deity on the

¹²⁰ Hom. *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 1-2, 336-7.

obverse and Hermes holding the infant Arkas on the reverse (Pheneus II, fig. 23), and a female deity on the obverse and Hermes seated on a rock on the reverse (Pheneus III, fig. 24). All three types will be discussed, starting with Pheneus I.

This coin (fig. 22) is a silver obol dated to 370 – 340.¹²¹ Within the HND this coin appears two times. On the obverse of this type, the head of Hermes is visible and it is turned to the right. He has curly hair that looks similar to his hairstyle on the types Ainos III and IV and Mytilene III. His petasos is very distinct and reminds of the petasos from Mytilene III (fig. 21). It is depicted very flat with pointy edges and has a little knot on top. The petasos is flung backwards and tied around Hermes' neck with a string, again similar to the scene on the type Mytilene III. The string reminds of the coin from Abdera II (fig. 2), Mithrapata I (fig. 18) and Phocaea I (fig. 25, below). Hermes' hair consists of curls, comparable to his hair on the types Ainos III and IV and Mytilene III. Underneath Hermes' neck a small part of garment is visible. This could be the upper part of the chlamys. The combination of petasos and chlamys strengthens the hypothesis that this is indeed Hermes.

On the reverse an animal is depicted standing or walking to the right on a flat surface. This animal is clearly a ram because of the curled horns on its head. This is the only coin type that connects Hermes with a ram.¹²² The coinage of Ainos (types II and III) depict Hermes with a goat on the reverse but not with a ram. To the right of the ram the letters Φ and E are discernable and relate to the city of Pheneus, as it is the ethnic. It is not visible in fig. 22 but in some cases, in the exergue of the coin beneath the ram, the letters A and R are visible and these could relate to the region of Arcadia, where Pheneus was located. They could also relate to the engraver of the specific coin. Above the ram, the kerykeion is visible.

The second type (Pheneus II, fig. 23) has a female head looking to the right on the obverse. The female has been identified as many different deities.¹²³ The identification of the female head as Maia's is preferred here. Maia was a nymph, the daughter of Atlas, who had

¹²¹ Weber (1924) no. 4317.

¹²² There is one actually one more coin type that does this and that is the Roman Provincial coinage of Kallatis. This type has Hermes riding a ram while holding the kerykeion and a purse. Two examples of these coins are: Roma Numismatics Limited, E-Sale 70, 07/05/2020, lot 77 and Stephen Album Rare Coins, Online Auction 6, 02/03/2020, lot 20. These coins are dated to the second and third centuries AD and are Roman. That is why they are not incorporated in the analysis. The purse is an attribute of Hermes that becomes numerous on coin types in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. I have omitted it in this research but according to my own findings this became the case from 300 onwards.

¹²³ In Regling (1906) no. 955, for instance, she is identified as Persephone. She has also been identified as Demeter, Kallisto, and Maia: Schultz (1992) no. 3, Jameson (1913-1932) no. 1265, Boston MFA (1964) 1264-1265.

lain with Zeus and bore him Hermes.¹²⁴ In a place, like Pheneus, where the origin of Hermes is of significant importance, it would seem reasonable to assume that his mother would be brought into the mythological discourse. It would seem less reasonable for the citizens of Pheneus to depict Persephone or Demeter on their coins. This specific coin (fig. 23) is a silver stater dated to 360 – 340.¹²⁵ Within the HND, this type occurs three times and all of these are silver staters as well.

Hermes himself is depicted on the reverse of this coin (fig. 23). He is the central figure as he is standing upwards with his torso slightly twisted and his head turned to the right. The flat petasos is comparable to the one on the type Abdera II (fig. 2) and clearly visible on top of his head. In his right hand he is holding the kerykeion, which is present on every type from Pheneus. The chlamys is draped over his left shoulder and arm, while a child is sitting on top of the left underarm. The child has been identified as the infant Arcas. It is not visible in fig. 23, but to the right of Arcas an inscription reads his name and it was therefore simple to establish the identity of the child. Along the bottom edge of the coin another inscription is visible as it reads ΦΕΝΕΩΝ (coin of the Pheneans), which is the ethnic. In Greek mythology, Arcas was brought to Maia to bring him up in Arcadia (similar to Hermes).¹²⁶ This information strengthens the hypothesis that the female head on the obverse belongs to Maia.

The obverse of the last type from Pheneus (Pheneus III, fig. 24) resembles fig. 23. The only difference is that the head of Maia is turned to the left instead of right. On the reverse Hermes is sitting in an upright position whilst holding the kerykeion. What is interesting is that he is not wearing the petasos. He is, however, wearing the chlamys. The inscription to the right of Hermes reads ΦΕΝΕΩΝ, similar to fig. 23. To the left of Hermes, another inscription is barely visible but this reads Θ]ΗΠΙ and could be the name of the magistrate issuing the coin. The coin in fig. 24 is silver drachm, dated 370 – 365.¹²⁷ Within the HND, this type occurs only one time.

¹²⁴ The relationship between Maia and Hermes has been explained first by Hesiod as he states that she was his mother: Hes. *Theog.* 938-9. It also becomes clear from the Homeric Hymn to Hermes but it is not limited to the literary field only; for imagery of Maia and Hermes, see Shapiro (2019).

¹²⁵ Schultz (1992) no. 6.1

¹²⁶ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.

¹²⁷ BCD Peloponessos 1616.

Phocaea

Phocaea I

ID no.	194.410.046.738
Dating:	477 – 388
Metal:	Electrum
Denomination:	Sixth Stater
Weight:	2.53 gr.
Diameter:	10 mm.
Axis:	0
Inscription:	x



Phocaea II

ID no.	SNGuk_0601_0944
Dating:	200 – 100
Metal:	Bronze
Denomination:	Chalkous 19
Weight:	4.22 gr.
Diameter:	19 mm.
Axis:	12
Inscription:	Rev: Φ-Ω ΠΥΘΙΣ



Phocaea coin types analysis



(fig. 25): Gemini, LLC, Auction VI, 10/01/2010, lot 190 (Bodenstedt 82)



(fig. 26) Leu Numismatik AG, Web Auction 16, 22/05/2021, lot 964 (BMC 105)

The work of Friedrich Bodenstedt has already been mentioned when dealing with the coinage from Mytilene. Bodenstedt also worked on the electrum coinage from Phocaea. From Phocaea there is a type consisting of an image of Hermes on the obverse and a four part incuse square on the reverse. Hermes is not often depicted on electrum coins as there are only four electrum coins present in the HND. Three of those come from Mytilene (types I and II) and the last one is discussed here.

This coin (fig. 25) is an electrum hekte dated to 478 – 387.¹²⁸ On the obverse of this type, the head of Hermes facing left is visible. His hair consists of small curls which seems to be typical for a certain style of coins from Phocaea.¹²⁹ Hermes is wearing a petasos that looks similar to the petasos from the type Metapontum I. The front and back edges of the petasos are curling up and there is a bulge on top of Hermes' head. This bulge is not as clearly defined as the dot on the petasos from the coins of Abdera. Similar to a number of coin types we have seen so far, a string hangs down from the petasos. However, it flows to the back of Hermes' head and not to the underside of the chin. On the other electrum Hermes-type coin of Phocaea (Bodenstedt 83), the petasos is swung to the back of the head and the same string now flows underneath Hermes' chin (similar to the type Mytilene III, fig. 21). To the right of Hermes' head an elongated figure is visible. This figure is a seal and it is the *symbole parlant* and mintmark of the city of Phocaea. The phonetic connection with Phocaea seems evident, since

¹²⁸ Bodenstedt (1981) no. 82.

¹²⁹ Compare with Bodenstedt 24, 33, 41, and 54. This does not occur with the coins from Mytilene. The curls are made with a drill according to Bodenstedt (1981) 152.

the Greek word for seal was φώκη. No connections between Hermes and seals are attested anywhere in other visual or literary sources. It can therefore be concluded that the image of the seal should be connected strictly to the provenance of the coin.

An incuse square consisting of four uneven parts is visible on the reverse of both types with Hermes on them (Bodenstedt 82 and 83).¹³⁰ In each of its parts a difference in relief is made by the die. Its structure resembles a windmill.¹³¹ Incuses, such as these, were mainly used for the internal control of the production of a given mint.¹³²

The Hermes on the coin in fig. 26 has a different look than the other from Phocaea. His petasos now looks like a beret and he has shed his distinctive curls. He seems to be wearing a chlamys as it can just be made out at the bottom of his bust. This coin is a bronze chalkous dated to 300 – 200.¹³³ Despite the dating of the coin making it fall out of the scope of this research, I have decided to keep it in. The reason for this being that it is an excellent example of how the iconography of Hermes, and the scenes associated with him on the other side of the coin, could change over time (in contrast with the coin types from Abdera). The changing of the iconography and scenes on the coins that are analyzed here, is similar to the change in cult over time which can be acknowledged when dealing with literary sources or archaeological cult remains. I elaborate on this in the conclusion of this thesis.

On the reverse of this coin (fig. 26) there is a griffin depicted. The griffin differs from the one on the type Abdera but it has a head like a raptor which is exemplary in Greek visual art.¹³⁴ The Φ | Ω on both sides of the griffin comprise the ethnic of Phocaea. Underneath the griffin the name of the magistrate Pythis is mentioned. The coin type Phocaea II is present only one time in the HND.

¹³⁰ For more on the origin of the incuse type as a symbol, see Demand (1976).

¹³¹ That is the image that Bodenstedt (1981) 152 invokes.

¹³² According to the Webster's dictionary 1913 p. 480.

¹³³ BMC 105.

¹³⁴ Lymer (2018) 12.

Sinope

Sinope I

ID no. 1.977.158.240
Dating: 400 – 200
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Diobol?
Weight: 1.21 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: ΣΙ | NO



ID no. SNGuk_0901_1503
Dating: 400 – 200
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Obol
Weight: 1.02 gr.
Diameter: 11 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: ΣΙ | NO



Sinope II (special)

ID no. SNGuk_0300_2669
Dating: x
Metal: Silver
Denomination: Hemidrachm
Weight: 1.96 gr.
Diameter: 14 mm.
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: ΣΙ | NV



Sinope coin types analysis



(fig. 27): Gemini, Auction 7, 09/01/2011, lot 443 (SNG BM Black Sea 1503)



(fig. 28): Stack's Bowers Galleries (& Ponterio), Collector's Choice June 2021 Auction, 22/06/2021, lot 70058 (SNG BM Black Sea- 1481-3, *blue circle added*)



(fig. 29): SNG Vol III 2669 Lockett Collection (countermark only)

From the city of Sinope three coins are present in the HND. On these coins, Hermes is always located on the obverse. However, a clear distinction should be made between the two coin types into which the coins from Sinope are divided. The type Sinope I has Hermes' head depicted in full on the obverse of the coins (fig. 27). The type Sinope II had Hermes' head depicted in a countermark on the obverse of the coin (figs. 28 and 29). I shortly discuss these countermarks with Hermes first, after which I return to the former type (fig. 21).

Fig. 29 is an enhanced image of the countermark on the obverse of a hemidrachm from Sinope. Instead of showing the full coin, because of the quality of the image on the website, I have added a blue dot on the obverse of a drachm from Sinope (fig. 28) to indicate where the countermark is located on the hemidrachm. The obverse type of this coin (fig. 28) is similar to the one within the HND, but the drachm in fig. 28 is dated to 330 – 300.¹³⁵ The image of fig. 23 is unclear but the petasos on a head that is facing right still stands out. Overall, the image resembles the figure of Hermes from fig. 27 and an identification as Hermes seems justified, but it cannot be confirmed with certainty. Countermarks were used in order to impose a new monetary value or revalue a coin that had been in circulation for a period of time already. It is not known whether the countermark was imposed on the coin by an authority from Sinope itself or from outside the city. It is also unknown when these countermarks were set on the coins. The coins containing the countermarks are generally dated to somewhere between 300 and 200.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ The identification of the female head is a matter of debate. From what I have been able to gather, she is interpreted as Tyche or the nymph Sinope. There is a compelling argument that the identification of Sinope seems more plausible since it is attested that the city took its name after this mythological figure. For this, see Braund (2010).

¹³⁶ Wroth (1889).

There is too much uncertainty surrounding the countermarks to add any interesting features on the iconography of Hermes in these countermarks.¹³⁷

There is a reason for selecting the coin in fig. 28 to illustrate the placement of the countermark with Hermes on it. The reverse type of this coin, an eagle holding a sea creature, is of importance in the interpretational part of the coinage from Sinope. This ties in with the type Hipponium II and tells us more on the theme of Hermes as the advocate of order.

Fig. 27 shows that Hermes was depicted on the obverse of an obol from Sinope. This obol is dated to 380 – 340.¹³⁸ The petasos is depicted in a very distinct way with a straightness that we have not seen this clearly yet. It best resembles the petasos on the coin from Pheneus whereon Hermes is holding the infant Arkas (Pheneus II, fig. 23). It is very different from the petasos on the coin from Phocaea (Phocaea I, fig. 25) in that it is straighter and thus does not seem to contain the string which was used to tie the petasos around the neck. The shape of the nose and the curl of the lips resembles the face of Hermes from the coin of Ainos (fig. 12). At the bottom of Hermes' neck, a small bit of garment can be made out which could imply that he is wearing a chlamys here.

On this coin (fig. 27) an eagle is depicted on the reverse. This is a more occurring type on the coins from Sinope. The eagle is facing the viewer but its head is looking up and to the left. Its wings are spread as if it is flying upwards. An inscription can be seen and reads SI | NΩ, as the tail of the eagle divides the inscription in two parts. Above the right part of the inscription and underneath the right wing of the eagle another symbol can be made out. This appears to be a monogram but its exact meaning is not known.¹³⁹ This type of coin from Sinope (Sinope I) is found two times within the HND.

¹³⁷ One more interesting sidenote, which adds nothing extra to the present analysis, is that the coins containing a countermark with Hermes in them, which are present in the HND, are generally dated to the same period. The mint locations include: Bithynia, Callatis, Dionysopolis, Istrus, and Tomis. These are all Thracian cities located near the Black Sea.

¹³⁸ SNG BM, Black Sea 1503.

¹³⁹ For literature on monograms see n. 72, as monograms are closely connected to symbols in this regard.

Sybrita

Sybrita I (special)

ID no.	x
Dating:	400 – 300
Metal:	Bronze
Denomination:	Chalkous 13
Weight:	1.15 gr.
Diameter:	13 mm.
Axis:	7
Inscription:	Rev: ΣΥΒΡΙΤΙΩΝ



Sybrita II

ID no.	SNGuk_0300_2608
Dating:	330 – 300
Metal:	Silver
Denomination:	Stater
Weight:	10.82 gr.
Diameter:	26 mm.
Axis:	3
Inscription:	Rev: SYBRITION



Sybrita III

ID no.	SNGuk_0300_2609
Dating:	330 – 300
Metal:	Silver
Denomination:	Stater
Weight:	10.85 gr.
Diameter:	25 mm.
Axis:	3
Inscription:	Rev: SIBRUTI[ON]



Sybrita IV (special)

ID no.	x
Dating:	c. 320
Metal:	Silver
Denomination:	Stater
Weight:	10.79 gr.
Diameter:	x
Axis:	3
Inscription:	Rev: ΣΥΒΡ ΙΤΙΩΝ



Sybrita coin types analysis



(fig. 30): Nomos AG, obolos 19, 08/05/2021, lot 290 (Svoronos 10, pl. XXX, 22)



(fig. 31): Ex Münzen und Medaillen 66, 22/10/1984, lot 219 (Svoronos 1, pl. XXX, 12)



(fig. 32): Svoronos 315, pl. XXX, 18



(fig. 33): Svoronos 4, pl. XXX, 16 (same dies)

The city of Sybrita is a special case in this analysis of the iconography of Hermes on coins. There is much uncertainty surrounding the dating of the coins and some of the types might be dated outside the scope of this research. Nevertheless, I have decided to include them here because of the following reason.

The type Sybrita I (fig. 30) is dated between 400 and 300 and can therefore be included in the analysis. The type does not appear in the HND. However, its connection with the other types is important. My interpretation of the scenes on the other types from Sybrita is similar to that of the Sybrita I type. Types II, III, and IV seem to be a continuation of the same theme surrounding Hermes on these coins. Despite their dating being in the beginning of the Hellenistic Period, the iconography of Hermes on these types also seems to be more of a continuation than a revolutionary new way of depicting him compared to the iconography that we have already seen on other coins. The types (especially Sybrita III) tie in with the type Mytilene I as well. The connection between Hermes and Dionysos seems evident on all three types. Below (p. 122-124) I explore this further but it must be said here that this connection was apparent well before the start of the Hellenistic Period. Therefore, the types Sybrita II, II, and IV should be taken into account in this analysis.

On the obverse of this bronze chalkous (Sybrita I, fig. 30) the head of Hermes is facing the right. He is wearing a petasos that resembles the petasos from the type Sinope I best but the petasos has curvier edges. Down his neck a protrusion can be seen which probably points to the chlamys. From the left edge of the chlamys a kerykeion is depicted extruding to the left. The head of the kerykeion is clearly visible. The reverse of this type features a jaw bone. Around the jaw bone an inscription would have read ΣΥΒΡΙΤΙΩΝ. This is the ethnic of the city of Sybrita and occurs on the other Sybrita types as well (albeit in a slightly different form on Sybrita II).

The coin type Sybrita II occurs one time in the HND. Similar to fig. 31, this coin is a silver stater dated to 330 – 300. On the obverse, an older and bearded version of Dionysos is sitting whilst holding a kantharos and a thyrsus. A kantharos was a drinking cup that was commonly associated with Dionysos.¹⁴⁰ A thyrsus was a fennel rod that gained symbolic value and power when combined with ivy leaves and raised by a Bacchic worshipper.¹⁴¹ This was an attribute commonly connected with Dionysos as well. According to Svoronos, Dionysos is resting his feet on a small bench or chair and he has a naked upper body.¹⁴² His lower body seems dressed but it is unclear what kind of garment he is wearing. On the reverse of this type Hermes takes the central position. He is standing and is flanked by an inscription reading ΣΥΒΡΙΤΙΩΝ to his right. His petasos is flung to the back of his neck, similar to the types Mytilene III and Pheneus I. In his left hand he is holding the kerykeion and in his right a phiale. The phiale is also present on the types Croton I and Metapontum I. Hermes is also wearing a chlamys. The overall form of Hermes, his body being depicted fully and largely naked, reminds of the types Pheneus II and III. The next type, Sybrita III, is similar in this regard.

The type Sybrita III again features Dionysos on the obverse and Hermes on the reverse. This Dionysos is, however, young, as he no longer has a beard. He is riding a panther and in his right hand he is holding a thyrsus again. According to Svoronos, Dionysos is cloaked in a double chiton.¹⁴³ Both the panther and Dionysos are moving to the left as it looks like the panther is jumping or running along a line that indicates a floor. The space underneath the floor line is the exergue. On the obverse we can find Hermes again. He is the central figure on this side of the coin and he is flanked by a kerykeion on his left and an inscription on his right. The inscription reads ΣΥΒΡΙΤΙΩΝ. Hermes is not holding the kerykeion since it looks as if he has put it aside for a moment to fasten his sandal. He is bent over to the left to make the adjustment. He does not seem to be wearing the petasos as it is not visible, not even flung back in his neck. The only piece of clothing, besides the sandals, seems to be his chlamys. The coin (fig. 32) is a silver stater dated to 330 – 300. The scene of Hermes fastening his sandal is actually more common. A few Roman copies, based on a bronze original by Lysippos, are known to us. These copies never portray Hermes wearing a petasos and never depict the sandals as winged. Lysippos was a sculptor who lived between 390 and 300 and it can therefore be assumed that

¹⁴⁰ Seaford (2006) 16-7.

¹⁴¹ Kalke (1985) 409.

¹⁴² Svoronos (1890) 314.

¹⁴³ Ibidem 315.

the iconography of Hermes fastening his sandal on coins should be dated near the end of the fourth century.¹⁴⁴

The last type from Sybrita (IV) again has Dionysos on the obverse and Hermes on the reverse. The coin (fig. 33) is a silver stater from the same period as types Sybrita II and III. The head of Dionysos on the obverse of the coin is depicted as an older version because of his beard. He is wearing a wreath of ivy leaves and to his right a bunch of grapes is depicted.¹⁴⁵ On the reverse a bust of Hermes is visible. He is facing the right and to his left and above him an inscription is visible. It reads ΣΥΒΡ | ΙΤΙΩΝ. To his right a kerykeion is depicted. He is wearing his petasos loosely lying on his head. It seems very straight and flat compared to, for instance, the petasos on the types from Phocaea (I, II, and III). Just below Hermes' neck, the upper edge of the chlamys can be distinguished.

¹⁴⁴ The LIMC V, s.v. Hermes 956-950 places the original from Lysippos between 330 and 320.

¹⁴⁵ Svoronos (1890) 315.

Tragilos

Tragilos I

ID no. 194.410.011.932
Dating: 450 – 400
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 2.94 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 10
Inscription: Rev: T | R | A | I



ID no. 194.410.011.933
Dating: 450 – 400
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 0.80 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 11
Inscription: Rev: T | R | A | I



ID no. 194.410.011.935
Dating: 450 – 400
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 4.63 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 2
Inscription: Rev: T | R | A | I



Tragilos II

ID no. 194.410.011.934
Dating: 410 – 390
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 0.90 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 10
Inscription: Rev: T | RAILI | O | N



ID no. 194.410.011.936
 Dating: 410 – 390
 Metal: Bronze
 Denomination: Chalkous
 Weight: 3.60 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 1
 Inscription: Rev: T | RAILI | O | N



ID no. 194.410.011.937
 Dating: 410 – 390
 Metal: Bronze
 Denomination: Chalkous
 Weight: 3.93 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 2
 Inscription: Rev: T | RAILI | O | N



ID no. 194.410.011.938
 Dating: 410 – 390
 Metal: Bronze
 Denomination: Chalkous
 Weight: 3.86 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 10
 Inscription: Rev: T | RAILI | O | N



ID no. 194.410.011.939
 Dating: 410 – 390
 Metal: Bronze
 Denomination: Chalkous
 Weight: 3.49 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 12
 Inscription: Rev: T | RAILI | O | N



ID no. 1.941.131.448
 Dating: 410 – 390
 Metal: Bronze
 Denomination: Chalkous
 Weight: 3.94 gr.
 Diameter: x
 Axis: 6
 Inscription: Rev: T | RAILI | O | N



ID no. 1947.97.72
Dating: 410 – 390
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous
Weight: 3.93 gr.
Diameter: x
Axis: 12
Inscription: Rev: T | RAILI | O | N



ID no. SNGuk_0800_0571
Dating: 410 – 390
Metal: Bronze
Denomination: Chalkous 14
Weight: 4.12 gr.
Diameter: 14 mm.
Axis: 6
Inscription: Rev: T | RAILI | O | N



Tragilos coin types analysis



(fig. 34): Nomos AG, obolos 20, 03/10/2021, lot 20 (SNG ANS 904)



(fig. 35): Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 502, 20/10/2021 (upcoming auction), lot 502.

The next two coin types come from ancient Macedonia and were minted in a place known as Tragilos or Tragilus. Within the HND, the type Tragilos I occurs three times. Similar to the coin above (fig. 34) these three coins are all bronze chalkoi. They are dated between 450 and 400. The second type, Tragilos II, occurs eight times within the HND. Fig. 35 shows a bronze chalkous dated around 400 that is similar to those eight coins from the HND.

On both types from Tragilos, the image on the obverse is the same, the head of Hermes facing the right. He is wearing a flat petasos similar to the type Sinope I (fig. 27). Within the HND there is one instance of an obverse where Hermes is facing the left but it still looks similar to the other coins.

On the reverse there are two types which can be distinguished. The type Tragilos I consists of two lines, one vertically and one horizontally, which divide the flan in four parts. In each part a letter is visible. The four letters together spell TRAI. Since Tragilos was also known as Trailos, the inscription is the ethnic of the city and thus refers to the provenance of the coins.

The type Tragilos II is different. The central image on this side of the coin (fig. 35) is a rose which consists of three lobes which are attached to a head with a small stem going upwards. Around the rose an inscription is placed which reads TRAILION.

Themes



Figure 36: A calyx krater (425-400) from Attica with a painting of Hermes and a young ephebe riding a goat. It is now located in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

Hermes as guardian

Now that the different coin types have been discussed, the broader themes connecting them can be introduced. The first theme, ‘Hermes as guardian’, does not only provide a new view on Hermes, but also challenges an older view of him. Within this part, Hermes’ role as the guide of souls is reviewed. His ability to move people and things from one point to another seems to make him an excellent candidate for the job of guiding the souls of the departed to the underworld.¹⁴⁶ One of the traits that makes him stand out from other divinities is that he is able to transgress the border between the realms of the living and the dead. From the *second Homeric Hymn to Demeter* it becomes clear that not every deity can travel to the realm of Hades and back. Hermes was sent by Zeus to collect Persephone when she was down in the misty dark.¹⁴⁷ Then, when Hades feeds her a pomegranate seed, she is compelled to return part of the year to his side even after she has left.¹⁴⁸

Only Hermes is free to come and go between the two worlds when he is ordered to do so by Zeus, which earned him the title of *psychopompos* (guide of souls). However, this title was not reserved for Hermes alone. Charon the ferryman of the underworld was called a *psychopompos* first in Euripides’ tragedy *Alcestis* (361). Hermes is given the title only by Diodorus Siculus in his *Library of History* (1.96) at a much later date. This work by Diodorus was finished in the second half of the first century BCE. Some numismatic evidence, however, might suggest that the connection between Hermes as a guide of things and the realm of the dead was already apparent at an earlier date. As stated in the introduction this has been the interpretation of Hermes by previous scholars.¹⁴⁹ However, a different interpretation, based on the iconography of coins from Abdera, Phocaea, and Pheneus and the religious context of is possible and this problematizes Hermes’ role as *psychopompos*.

This new interpretation depicts Hermes as a guardian, as a protector of many things in life. Similarly, Jacqueline Chittenden wrote that the Roman emperors exploited Hermes in this role to invoke associations with peace. At first it was believed that the reason why Roman emperors relied on the connection with Hermes was because of the restoration of trade and commerce in the Roman empire.¹⁵⁰ However, Chittenden sees reasons to believe that Hermes

¹⁴⁶ In the *Iliad*, for instance, Hermes moves Priam unseen through the camp of the Greeks to the tent of Achilles.

¹⁴⁷ Hom. *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 1.334-1.355.

¹⁴⁸ Hom. *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 1.372-1.375.

¹⁴⁹ Kerenyi (1987).

¹⁵⁰ Chittenden (1945) 42, n. 8; Mattingly (1934) cxx.

was connected with the *Pax Romana* and the restoration of peace.¹⁵¹ Chittenden's research is focused on the Roman Mercury and, as stated in the introduction of this thesis, Mercury was a different deity than Hermes. Nonetheless, the theme 'Hermes as guardian' explains that the Classical Hermes already possessed a protective quality, that a local cult of Hermes was based on these qualities, and thus, that it only makes sense that Mercury had these qualities as well, flowing forth from his connection to Hermes. To illustrate this, let us look at the coin types from Abdera (I, II, and III), Phocaea II, Pheneus II, and Ainos IV.

On the obverses of the types Abdera I and II and on the reverse of the type Abdera II, a winged griffin features prominently. While the griffin is seen as a "monetary emblem" for the city of Abdera, another reading – which connects the mythological beast to Hermes – might be possible.¹⁵² The griffin is seen as a creature which has its origin in eastern society and was later on transported to the Greek world.¹⁵³ In Macedonia it was adopted as a symbol from the Achaemenid empire after a time of intensive interaction.¹⁵⁴ It figured mostly, but not exclusively, in a funerary context.¹⁵⁵ In this context a connection between the griffin motif and the role of Hermes as guide of souls to the underworld could be plausible.

However, when the Greek literary sources are concerned, an alternative reading might be possible. In Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* Prometheus warns for 'the sharp-beaked hounds of Zeus' (804).¹⁵⁶ In Herodotos' *The Persian Wars* it is described how gold was stolen from the griffins by a tribe called the Arimaspians (3.116).¹⁵⁷ In another passage, Herodotos relates how a certain Aristeas, who is thought to be Homer's teacher, had written a poem which mentioned the griffins guarding gold (4.13).¹⁵⁸ The image that arises from these three sources

¹⁵¹ Especially Chittenden (1945) 49 contains an argument that is very interesting. She mentions how Ovid tells a story of Mercury being the father of the *Lares Compitales* who guarded the compita (a festival of the household deities). It can be argued that the role of guarding things was passed down from a father to his children, as is the case with Apollo and Asclepius. This would indicate a function as a guardian inherent to Hermes.

¹⁵² For the griffin as a symbol for the city of Abdera and an analysis of its stylistic elements, see Vegas (2016). The griffin is not merely a monetary emblem but a more general polis symbol as well according to Kallintzi, Georgiadis, Kefalidou and Xydopoulos (2021) 6.

¹⁵³ Lymer (2018); Wyatt (2009); Wu (2007).

¹⁵⁴ Paspalas (2008) 301.

¹⁵⁵ Paspalas (2008) treats a Macedonian tomb painting; I say not exclusively because it is explained by Lymer (2018) that there is an intricate web of connections between the griffin imagery and material culture; the griffin also featured in a funerary context for the Minoans: Dietrich (1997).

¹⁵⁶ Lymer (2018) 10; translation by Case (1922).

¹⁵⁷ Lymer (2018) 10.

¹⁵⁸ Ibidem 10-1.

is that griffins were seen as the guard dogs of the divine.¹⁵⁹ They are the ‘hounds’ of Zeus and used to guard gold which was stolen by a certain tribe.

The connection between Hermes and these ‘guard dogs’ seems very interesting.¹⁶⁰ In Aristophanes’ *Frogs*, Hermes *chthonios* is called upon by Aeschylus and he calls him the watcher of his father’s realms (1126). In *Peace*, also by Aristophanes, Hermes remains at Olympus to guard all that is left there while the other Olympians are away (201-2). In this sense Hermes is a guardian himself. That Hermes can function as a guardian is already established by Allan as she explains how he can be seen as a protector of persons, animals (mainly sheep), and places.¹⁶¹ She uses both literary and epigraphical material and comes to a comprehensive image of Hermes on this matter. She calls Hermes “an especially mobile god”.¹⁶²

However, this idea is not reflected in the image of Hermes as a guardian. A guardian, such as the griffins guarding gold, is stationary. Hermes, in *Peace*, is stationary, as he cannot move because of his task. His task is to remain at the same place to make sure nothing leaves at all. Thus, while Hermes is a mobile god, he can also be immobile. His herms might testify to this as they are set in place and do not move while they allow other people to move where they should go. I believe it is in this light that we should view the connection between Hermes and the griffin on the coin types of Abdera. Hermes can be a mobile god whenever it is needed, but he can also function as a guardian when needed. He can move things from one place to another (perhaps also souls) and he can make sure they stay where they are. It was mentioned earlier that the title of *psychopompos* was given to Hermes only at a later date. I believe that we should view the role of Hermes in the Greek pantheon in a similar matter. He was not the guide of souls until later times. Before the Hellenistic Period that role was exclusively assigned to Charon. This interpretation is strengthened by the appearance of frescos in tombs depicting Hermes as the guide of souls but only from the Hellenistic Period onward.¹⁶³

The coin type Phocaea II also features a griffin. However, this coin type is dated much later and because the type Phocaea I is known to us, we know that the griffin was not always

¹⁵⁹ In later times this view was questioned. The writer Aelian (early third century AD) questions whether griffins would *intentionally* guard gold and he thinks it was more likely that they were protecting their young: Mayor (2000) 33. Chapter two of Mayor’s *The First Fossil Hunters* is very informative on the myth and paleontological sources behind griffins in antiquity. Readers interested in this subject are urged to read this work, also for further references.

¹⁶⁰ LIMC 4071 is an Athenian bell crater which has a scene on it with Apollo riding a griffin and Hermes present as well. While it does not provide a direct link between Hermes and griffins, it is interesting to see that griffins were present among the gods in the thought of the Greeks.

¹⁶¹ Allan (2018) 56-61.

¹⁶² Ibidem 56.

¹⁶³ Take the Tomb of Judgement in Mieza and the necropolis of Anemurium in Turkey as an example: Russell (1977).

on the coins of Phocaea. The type Phocaea I belongs to the theme 'Hermes as messenger'. This indicates that a different version of Hermes was put on the coins of Phocaea over time. This is the numismatic equivalent of what is known to us from literary sources. Pausanias mentions different versions of different Greek deities.¹⁶⁴ Why this is the numismatic equivalent becomes clear when the coin type Ainos IV is analyzed.

First, I discuss the type Pheneus II. On this type, Hermes is holding the infant Arcas. Arcas was the son of Zeus and the nymph Callisto and was thus the nephew of Hermes.¹⁶⁵ According to Pausanias the name of the region of Arcadia is because Arcas, the son of Callisto, became king there (8.4.1). Apollodorus tells us that Callisto was shot by Artemis, after Hera had transformed her into a bear, and that Zeus wanted Arcas to be brought up by Maia afterwards (3.8.2). Here Hermes stepped in, on the order of Zeus, to take the infant Arcas to his own mother. As with many other of Zeus' illegitimate offspring, Arcas needed to be protected against the rage of Hera. Hermes performs here the role of guardian as he uses his ability to quickly move things and people around.

On the reverse of the type Ainos IV, a cult statue of Hermes is depicted. According to May, this statue is the image of Hermes *perpheraios*.¹⁶⁶ According to Allen this Hermes *perpheraios* is attested in the literary sources and they provide us with an aetiology of his cult. She says:

Kallimachos (Pfeiffer, frag. 197) provides the aetiology of his cult in this city [Ainos]: while at work one day, some of the city's fishermen hauled up a roughly hewn wooden log. After several attempts to break it apart, they came to the realisation that it was divine, and at the direction of Apollo's oracle, they established the worship of this wooden image of Hermes in their city. The story attached to this image claims that it was carved by Epeios, famed as the maker of the great Wooden Horse, with which the Greeks took Troy. The people of Ainos venerated it as Hermes Perpheraios, which suggests that it was ritually carried around the city (peri = around; phero = carry) so that the god might either shed his protective power over it or dispense his beneficent blessing among its inhabitants.¹⁶⁷

Ivana Petrovic has researched the story of Kallimachos concerning the statue of Hermes *perpheraios*. According to Petrovic, the statue is not only able to speak and tell about its own identity, it also utters incantations in order to defend itself from harm.¹⁶⁸ If the Greeks believed

¹⁶⁴ See n. 10 in the introduction of this thesis.

¹⁶⁵ This genealogy was already established in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*.

¹⁶⁶ May (1950) 59.

¹⁶⁷ Allan (2018) 57.

¹⁶⁸ Petrovic (2010) 212.

that as well, it would explain why they venerated the statue in order to use its protective powers for the benefit of the city. Hermes *perpheraios*, then, is a local cultic version of Hermes that is both attested in literary sources and depicted on coins. The reason to include this type in the theme ‘Hermes as guardian’ is because of the supposed protective powers that the cult statue would have had.

The veneration of Hermes *perpheraios* by the people of Ainos and his presence on this coin type (Ainos IV) tells us something important. Namely, that the theory, in which local cultic versions of Hermes are depicted on these coins, is plausible. For this specific version we have sources which attest that this local version existed and is depicted on coins. We also have some information regarding the cult of this Hermes.¹⁶⁹ The same could be true for all other coins that are analyzed within this thesis. What seems to be missing, are the sources that attest these other local versions. By using the numismatic iconography we can actually speculate about local versions of Hermes for which we do not have any other sources.

A second interesting thing about the reverse of the coin type Ainos IV, is the fact that the statue is located on a throne. This could point to a version of Hermes as a ‘leader of people’. This correlates with the epithet of *hegemonios*, which is also used for Hermes. Being a leader of people could also mean being a king or regent, tasked with protecting his suppliants. Another reading of the epithet *hegemonios* is possible and that leads us to the next theme: ‘Hermes as the bringer of good tidings’.

¹⁶⁹ The passage by Kallimachos that is explained by Allan and Petrovic.

Hermes as the bringer of good tidings

According to the Liddle-Scott-Jones Lexicon *hegemonios* can be interpreted as ‘guide’ but also as someone who has authority or who has primacy. In this sense Hermes was not merely a guide but someone who ‘guided a people’ or a ‘leader’.¹⁷⁰ However, from other sources it does not become clear why Hermes would be viewed this way as he never reigned over much.¹⁷¹ According to Allan, the epithet could also relate to a military leader.¹⁷² But, while discussing Hermes’ role in the training of the young Athenian ephebes, because of his connection to the gymnasium, Allan argues that it is uncertain whether Hermes’ epithet of *hegemonios* meant that he was actually connected to warriors.¹⁷³ Hermes did become one of the patron deities of the gymnasium, where Athenian ephebes were trained for military combat.¹⁷⁴ This position became Hermes’ in the sixth century.¹⁷⁵ Perhaps the title of *hegemonios*, given to Hermes, and his role as patron god of the gymnasium can be connected, as there must have been a quality that he possessed to obtain both positions.

With the help of the iconography of the next coin types, an image of Hermes arises wherein he is the one that guides others not merely in a geographical sense, but also in a more symbolic way. Hermes is *the* god to help mortals complete their *athlos*. An *athlos* can be understood in multiple ways, either as a contest in war or sports but also as an ordeal, a struggle, like the labors of Herakles for instance.¹⁷⁶ The diversity of the word *athlos* then seems to match that of the epithet *hegemonios*. The next coin types and the mythological scenes they depict illustrate how Hermes is often there to help others complete their goals by providing them with the items they need.

This can be seen on the coin type Leucas I. The combination of a Pegasus, Athena, and Hermes reminds of the story of Perseus who went to slay Medusa. From her severed head sprang Pegasus. Perseus was assisted by Athena and Hermes, the latter loaning him his sandals and

¹⁷⁰ The title of *hegemonios* is only attested for Hermes in Athens because of an inscription: IG II³ 4321; Hermes also gives himself this title in Aristophanes’ *Plutus* (Wealth) 1159: Versnel (2011) 373-4.

¹⁷¹ According to Robert Parker (2005) 391-2 this title was given to Hermes because there were many statues for the god near where the Athenian cavalry assembled. For Parker this is a reason to believe that the titles given to Hermes were based on the principal of ‘one thing leads to another’: Allan (2018) 4. I do not agree with this view, since Parker rejects the idea that there was a basic principal underlying the Greek god.

¹⁷² Allan (2018) 63.

¹⁷³ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Brown (1947) 96.

¹⁷⁶ Think also of the scene in book XXIV of the *Iliad*. Hermes, under the order of Zeus, guides Priam into the camp of the Greeks to help accomplish Priam’s struggle.

petasos to complete his quest.¹⁷⁷ Without these attributes Perseus would not have been able to sneak upon the gorgons. Similarly, in the *Odyssey* Hermes grants Odysseus a special plant to become invincible to the magic powers of Circe (10.277-307).¹⁷⁸ Norman Brown uses the encounter with Circe to explain how Hermes and his kerykeion have magical powers.¹⁷⁹ But the magic approach does not do full justice to Hermes' character. Hermes, by granting Perseus and Odysseus special attributes, becomes a guide. Not in the physical sense but in the sense that he is guiding them to fulfill their quest, to the completion of their *athlos*. Without his help both Perseus and Odysseus may not have reached their end goal and thus may not have fulfilled the role that they were meant to play in Greek history. I say history and not mythology because the Greeks, generally, believed that their mythological stories actually had occurred.

Similar to the coin type Leucas I, the type Mytilene III has Athena on it. There is no Pegasus on this coin type so it is unclear whether this coin type refers to the myth of Perseus. Nonetheless, the type Mytilene III is added to this theme concerning Hermes because of the connection between Athena and Hermes.¹⁸⁰

On the coin type Pheneus I, Hermes is depicted on the obverse and a ram on the reverse. There have been some who state that Hermes was thoroughly connected to cattle. Arlene Allan calls Hermes "the patron of all animals that roam together in herds, flocks and packs, both wild and *domestic*".¹⁸¹ This includes cattle, like rams. She bases her interpretation on the fourth Homeric Hymn and other literary sources like Aristophanes. She mentions how Hermes earned the epithet *oiopolos* (sheep-tending) and how, in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (Women at the Thesmophoria), Hermes is addressed as the god of those who tend sheep.¹⁸² Susan Shelmerdine has analyzed the Homeric Hymn and concludes that Hermes was intent on stealing Apollo's cattle from the beginning of the story.¹⁸³ According to Shelmerdine the myth was popular and multiple versions circulated.¹⁸⁴ She also tells how some antique writers focused solely on the theft of the cattle as the main point of the story.¹⁸⁵ For Norman Brown the scene of Hermes stealing the cattle of Apollo made perfect sense given the pastoral background of the

¹⁷⁷ According to Ogden (2008) 43-7 it became known in later sources that Perseus gained his sandals and cap from Hermes. However, the coin type that is under treatment here might indicate that this narrative was used earlier.

¹⁷⁸ Ogden (2008) 42.

¹⁷⁹ Brown (1947) 15-7.

¹⁸⁰ For more instances of Athena and Hermes working together in myth, see Russo (2000) 595-603.

¹⁸¹ Allan (2018) 11 [*italics added*].

¹⁸² *Ibidem* 60.

¹⁸³ Shelmerdine (1984) 201.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Shelmerdine explains how, for her, the absence or presence of the scene with the turtle is of greater importance but that matters less here.

region of Arcadia.¹⁸⁶ However, Brown also states that the cattle-raiding should not be seen as belonging to the essence of Hermes.¹⁸⁷

A different interpretation of the relation between Hermes and the ram is possible by reading the work of Gunnar Ekroth. This interpretation involves a ritual sacrifice called *sphagia*. Ekroth states the following:

A final kind of sacrifice not involving any consumption of the meat was undertaken on the battlefield. Such rituals, *sphagia*, were performed when the two armies were in sight of each other, in order to divine the outcome of the battle, and consisted of the killing and bleeding of the animal, usually a ram.¹⁸⁸

If we interpret the ram on the coin according to this information, Hermes can be referred to as *hegemonios* in the sense of a military leader making sure his troops have the favor of the gods and will win the battle.

While not impossible, this interpretation is highly conjectural. When the literary sources are taken into account, the ram could refer to the myth of the golden fleece. According to Apollodorus, who relates this in his *Library*, Hermes granted the flying ram with the golden fleece to Nephele in order for her to save her children: Phryxus and Helle (1.9). Again, Hermes is the giver of goods in order for others to complete their ordeal. Nevertheless, Helle dies by falling from the flying ram into the sea, giving the sea its name: the Hellespont.

The coin type Croton I refers not so much to a mythological scene, as well as a more historically accurate scene. Croton was known for producing many victors of Panhellenic Games and of these Milo of Croton was known best.¹⁸⁹ The imagery of this coin type is likely linked to the games. The tripod as a spoil for the victor, the Nike with the laurel wreath crowning the victors, and the link with Zeus through the eagle and thunderbolt can all be understood when the games are involved. When dealing with the iconography of the coin type Croton I, the article by Collard was already mentioned. Her conclusion is that herms can function as a means of communication between the human and the divine.¹⁹⁰ In a sense, the herm would then also be a cult statue, since there is a direct link between humans and the divine, which is the purpose of cultic practice. Whether it is called a cult statue or a herm, in the case of Hermes, both are a

¹⁸⁶ Brown (1947) 3.

¹⁸⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸⁸ Ekroth (2019) 233-4, and n. 32 in that work for further reference.

¹⁸⁹ For Milo of Croton, see Abdo (2020).

¹⁹⁰ Collard (2019) 241-2.

means of communication with the gods and therefore, for the rest of this thesis, there is no distinction between the two.

It would make sense to have a herm around when the victory ceremony of the Games is occurring. Victors would get the blessing of the gods and what better way to make sure that communication with the divine was possible. The presence of Hermes in a context of games or contests is not limited to the field of numismatic iconography. In Aristophanes' *Plutus* (Wealth), Hermes calls himself *enagonios* (1161), which translates to “president of games” or “of contests”.¹⁹¹ Brown explains how the change of iconography of Hermes from early archaic art changes in the sixth century to the god being the ideal role model for young men.¹⁹² The Games and contests between young men in Athens could fall under the influence of Hermes if it is believed that he was the god that could guide others to the completion of their goals, which could include victory in the Games.

Another interpretation of the imagery of this coin type from Croton could be possible. The tripod was also a symbol to indicate the oracle of Apollo at Delphi.¹⁹³ For the people of Croton, Apollo might have played a significant role in the foundation of the city.¹⁹⁴ When dealing with the coin type Hipponium II, I discuss how the eagle could be a symbol of a colonial context. The only aspect of this coin type (Croton I) that would be harder to explain in such a context is the appearance of the winged Nike crowning the tripod. Since the iconography relates so heavily to an agonistic context, this colonial interpretation seems less plausible.

There is one more aspect of everyday life that Hermes could influence in order for people to get what they want, which is trade.¹⁹⁵ Trade could also be of agonistic nature. To get the best deal, the other party had to be ‘defeated’. Brown relates how the earliest form of trade was ‘silent trade’. In this act, both parties would not even meet but only leave their items in a designated place. In order to get the best out of this deal, and not be deceived, Hermes could fulfill an important role. Hermes made sure that the items got to the place where they should end up. If you could persuade Hermes – by means of offers or prayers – to favor you, you would get the best deal.

The trade context is observed on the coin type Hipponium III. On the reverse of this type, an amphora is depicted. Amphorae were filled with olive oil or wine and its depiction here

¹⁹¹ The translations of the Greek word are Versnel (2011) 373 and Allan (2018) 63 respectively. Brown (1947) 97 translates it as the “patron of contests”.

¹⁹² Brown (1947) 96 calls Hermes “the ideal ephebe”.

¹⁹³ Rutter (1997) 3.

¹⁹⁴ Ibidem, 29.

¹⁹⁵ Mercury became the god of trade *per se*: Allan (2018) 125.

could be an indication of the trade position of the city.¹⁹⁶ Perhaps Hermes was already seen as the god of trade at this point in time in this particular area. Another reading of this type is that the amphora refers to wine which, in turn, could refer to Dionysus. The connection between Hermes and Dionysus is further explored below. A better solution would seem to be the amphora as a marker of trade. If we take that to be true, it can be noted that the local variant of Hermes concerned with trade is depicted here. This might have been the local version that became pervasive in Roman thought as Mercury, the god of trade.

Similar to the coin type Hipponium III, the type Cypsela I depicts pottery. On the reverse of this type a kantharos takes up the central position. However, the kantharos cannot be seen in the same light as the amphora. While amphorae were generally used to store liquids, a kantharos had other functions. It was a drinking vessel which was commonly associated with Dionysos and could be used in a ritual context as well.¹⁹⁷ Both Dionysos and ritual are important elements of the next theme: 'Hermes as the advocate of order'.

¹⁹⁶ According to Sterling Dow (1936) 50-8, the amphorae could also be a prize from Panathenaic events. The dating of the coin is, however, before the first occurrences of these depictions and it should thus not be viewed as such.

¹⁹⁷ LIMC 20442 is an Attic red-figure kantharos from Tarquinia that is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It figures Dionysos holding a kantharos and pouring from it on an altar. See also, Patton (2009) 73.

Hermes as the advocate of order

This theme relies heavily on the association of Hermes with other deities, especially Dionysos. What can be seen on the coins belonging to this theme, is Hermes as the opposite of Dionysos. Hermes' juxtaposition against Dionysos is an image that recurs amongst multiple different coin types. Dionysos is often seen as the god of the wild, or at least of causing wild frenzies. His connection with panthers is indicative of how he roamed about and was part of the wild. How Hermes relates to this and why that makes him the advocate of order is discussed below.

A coin from Mithrapata has Hermes on it and a lion's scalp on the other side of the coin. My interpretation of this coin, together with the ones which have Dionysos depicted on them, relies on the idea that Hermes was seen as a subduer of the wild. Because of his ability to subdue wild creatures or cross rugged areas, he was able to help humans in their fight against the wilderness. The coin types belonging to this part are Cypsela I, Hipponium II, Locri Opuntii I, Mithrapata I, Mytilene I and II, Sinope I and II, and Sybrita II, III, and IV.

On other coins – belonging to this theme – the position of Hermes as the founder of, or at least an important figure in, human ritual sacrifice is emphasized. This was another way for humans to differentiate themselves from wild animals and the wild in general. The coin types important in this analysis are Ainos II and III, Metapontum I and II, and Sybrita I.

First, the coin type Cypsela I is continued, as the kantharos on the reverse of this type was already shortly mentioned above. The kantharos on this type could either relate to Dionysos or to the ritual surrounding libating from the kantharos.¹⁹⁸ Why both of the relations are important within this theme is explained below, but first more coin types need to be analyzed.

The coin type, and perhaps also the city in general, that relies most on the connection between Hermes and Dionysos is Sybrita (II, III, and IV). On these types, Dionysos and Hermes are depicted as completely opposed to one another. On the type Sybrita II, Dionysos sits while holding a kantharos and it seems more likely that he is drinking than libating. Hermes is standing and holding a phiale, which he is holding as if he is libating. Hermes is in the active act of honoring the gods, while Dionysos is in a static act of sitting and drinking.

On the type Sybrita III, Dionysos is riding a panther, while Hermes is fastening his sandal. On the type Sybrita IV, Dionysos is depicted as an elderly figure with a bunch of grapes, referring to wine, to his right. Hermes is depicted as a young man with the kerykeion, the

¹⁹⁸ On the reverse of the coin in fig. 9, a pentagram is located as a symbol above the kantharos. There is no definitive answer regarding the meaning of the pentagram as a symbol. According to Fernando Coimbra (2016), the pentagram may have been a symbol connected to the protection of people in a war context. There is, however, no consensus on this as of yet.

symbol of his divinity, to the right. Now, if Dionysos is the god of wine and Bacchic frenzies, with an association to the wild (riding panthers and reveling in nature), then Hermes is depicted as the opposite of that. The opposite of the wild, in Greek thought, probably was the polis, or at least the laws of Zeus that ruled in the polis and bound the Greeks living there together. Outside the polis, so in the wild, the law of Zeus did not apply. Thus, in depicting Hermes as the antithesis of Dionysos on these coin types, he is portrayed as the embodiment of Zeus' law. Hermes is the bringer of order as he is the link between the human sphere and the divine. This is similar to the function of the herms as proposed by Collard.¹⁹⁹

The juxtaposition of Hermes and Dionysos is apparent on other coin types as well, for instance on the type Locri Opuntii I. Hermes is depicted on the obverse of this type, while a bunch of grapes is depicted on the reverse. The bunch of grapes is associated with Dionysos, as the type Sybrita IV already showed. The clear connection between the two gods is not only apparent in numismatic iconography. One only needs to see the statue of Hermes and Dionysos by Praxiteles to understand that there was a connection between the two gods in other areas as well, for instance in the field of sculpture.²⁰⁰ Why exactly in this region the people decided to refer to both Dionysus and Hermes is unclear. Perhaps the coin type was a reaction to the statue made by Praxiteles, since they are both dated somewhere in the fourth century. The fact that these two gods are connected in both sculptural and numismatic iconography is interesting and it might indicate that this connection was established as late as the fourth century but not earlier. This is of course pure speculation as there are no sources to prove this theory.

On the coin type Mytilene II, similar to the type Sybrita III, a panther is found. The panther is associated with Dionysos. Eric Csapo explains that the relation between Dionysus and panthers may be sought in the realm of theatre. Because of the "iconographical tradition of depicting the panther as a frontal faced terror" the mask like appearance of the panther was related to the realm of actors, who wore masks during their performance.²⁰¹ The realm of theatre and performance was the realm of Dionysus and so the two became connected. Before that, the panther signified the wild nature, the kind of nature humans had to fear because they would not survive in it.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ Collard (2019) 241-2.

²⁰⁰ According to Allan (2018) 13: "the Athenians have an annual three-day celebration called the Anthesteria, which is a festival held primarily in honour of Dionysos, but at which Hermes is honoured on the third day." This indicates that there was at least some connection on the cultic level as well.

²⁰¹ Csapo (1997) 257.

²⁰² Csapo (1997) 256 explains how more predatory beasts were depicted frontally in iconography. This feature was reserved almost exclusively for those beasts.

Dionysus could resemble this wild state of being as well. Richard Seaford explains this ambivalence of Dionysus best.

And so even in wine, as in other gifts of Dionysos (notably mystery-cult), there is ambivalence. One explanation given of Dionysos' cult epithet *dimorphos*, 'dual-formed', is that drunkenness can produce joy or irascibility (Diodorus 4.5.2). Drinking unmixed wine could cause madness (Herodotus 6.84). But ritual must end well, and the moderate practice of drinking wine mixed with water at the Anthesteria [a festival in honor of Dionysus] was – we may infer from remarks by the historians of Attica Phanodemos and Philochoros – envisaged as commemorating the introduction of the practice by Dionysos himself.²⁰³

Dionysus' gift of wine can thus cause two different states. One of communal harmony amongst the citizens of the polis and one of madness caused by drinking unmixed wine. According to Susan Cole, Dionysus is connected to the altered state of 'frenetic dancing'.²⁰⁴ Dionysus had the ability to alter the state of humans, to put them in a trance of sorts. This could cause a sort of wild behavior to take hold of humans. Especially because the panther is depicted on this coin (fig. 26) I believe that, for the Greeks, the wild untamed side of Dionysus is invoked here.²⁰⁵ If we take Hermes to be the subduer of the wild, he could be the one to help avert the altered state caused by Dionysus. If the two deities are depicted together, we might view them as opposites.

Hermes as the subduer of the wild can also be interpreted from the type Mithrapata I. On the obverse of this coin a lion's scalp is depicted. There could be multiple reasons why the lion was used as the main figure on the obverse of the coins from Mithrapata. One could argue that Mithrapata was trying to establish his own divine genealogy by claiming descendancy from Herakles.²⁰⁶ Herakles slew the Nemean lion and wore its skin as a trophy. Thus, in Herakles' iconography the lion skin was already prominently present.²⁰⁷ Another interpretation could be that the lion figure was inspired by Near-Eastern influences. The lion in royal imagery of the Assyrian and Persian traditions was used to invoke a scene of hunting.²⁰⁸ Both the lion and the idea of hunting could relate to Hermes as a subduer of the wild.

²⁰³ Seaford (2006) 21-2.

²⁰⁴ Cole (2007) 332-3.

²⁰⁵ Isler-Kerényi (2021) 9 explains that Dionysus has been viewed as the "expression of the irrational and *wild* element of the individual" (italics added).

²⁰⁶ Some have argued for a Lycian cult for Herakles linked to the earlier veneration of an Anatolian deity called Kakasbos. For this, see Candaş (2006).

²⁰⁷ The relation between Hermes and Herakles keeps being largely unexplored in this thesis. That there was a connection between the two was already established by Zanker (1965) 9-18. Zanker sees this relationship abundantly in Attic vase paintings.

²⁰⁸ Barringer (2001) 185.

On the reverse of this coin a triskeles is depicted. The meaning of the triskeles as a figure on coins is uncertain.²⁰⁹ What is known is that it came to signify Sicily, because of the shape of the island, probably from the reign of Timoleon (344-339).²¹⁰ According to R. Wilson the first Sicilian coins depicting the triskeles had an image of Zeus *Eleutherios* (the liberator) on the other side of them.²¹¹ Later, during the reign of Agathocles (317-289), two important stylistic elements were added to the triskeles: the gorgoneion head as a substitute for the inner circle, and winged feet on the ends of the arms of the triskeles.²¹² Agathocles made this symbol his own emblem and according to Wilson this could signify his “ambitions of pan-Sicilian mastery”.²¹³ The winged feet probably relate to Hermes or Perseus, since there are no other instances known of deities or heroes wearing the winged sandals. The combination with the gorgon head could be very informative as the scene could indicate Perseus’ mastery over Medusa.

For the eastern Greek states the appearance of the triskeles may have had a different meaning than for the Sicilian Greek colonies. What is thought is that the triskeles was an iconographic element coming from the East. Its meaning could relate to the rotation of the sun around the earth, as was perceived by the Greeks.²¹⁴ But the combination of the triskeles with the lion’s scalp on this coin can be viewed in another light when we take an article by Angeliki Lebessi into account. Lebessi recognizes Hermes in the mysterious Master of Lions figure which was depicted on a votive plaque from Syme on the island of Crete.²¹⁵ Again, an eastern influence could be discerned here as Crete was in close contact with the Near-East.²¹⁶ Lebessi addresses how Hermes is depicted on Corinthian vase paintings from 600-550 as subduing wild animals and she links this to Hermes as the master of animals.²¹⁷ This version of Hermes played, according to Lebessi, an important part in the maturation ritual of girls on the island of Crete, together with Aphrodite.²¹⁸ His role was to guide the girls but also to keep them safe by

²⁰⁹ Recent work on the triskeles is done, in Italian, by Sapienza (2018); Coimbra (2016) has opted for a war and protection context behind the triskeles.

²¹⁰ Wilson (2000) 38-9; Voukelatos (2011) 7-8.

²¹¹ Wilson (2000) 38-9; on the series of Zeus Eleutherios series, see also Rutter (1997) 168-9. According to Jon Mikalson (2002), Herodotus relates that the Greeks believed that Zeus Eleutherios was one of the gods that granted them their victory over the Persians.

²¹² Wilson (2000) 39.

²¹³ Ibidem.

²¹⁴ Voukelatos (2011) 15.

²¹⁵ Lebessi (2010) 198.

²¹⁶ See, for instance, Hoffman (1997) for this contact.

²¹⁷ Lebessi (2010) 198.

²¹⁸ Ibidem.

subduing any wild animal intent on hurting the adolescents.²¹⁹ Hermes does not merely function as a guide here but also has the ability to tame wild animals and in doing so keeping people safe.

Another divinity that could symbolize the wild is Cybele. On the type Mytilene I, a female deity is depicted which was identified by Bodenstein as Artemis-Kybele. Artemis was the goddess of the wild *per se* as she always roamed around nature, preferring the company of animals over humans. The same could be said for Cybele if we look at the ancient sources. Aristophanes, in his play *Birds*, has his chorus sing about Pan and Cybele in the same stanza while they also mention how Cybele is praised by choirs on mountain tops (737-51). Pan was associated with wildlife and nature. This scene places Cybele in remote and wild areas of mountain tops. Aristotle mentions, in *Art of Rhetoric*, how Pindar used to call Pan ‘the dog of the Great Mother’, which was Cybele (2.24.2), stressing again the relation between Pan and the goddess. In *Hippolytus* by Euripides, Cybele is called the mountain mother and it is mentioned how she could cause others to be possessed by some sort of spell (141-4). Perhaps Pan and Cybele could cause humans to come into a state of wild frenzy. The same was true for Dionysus, as is discussed above, and I believe we should view the connection between Cybele (or Artemis) and Hermes on this coin type similarly. There is another source to highlight the relation between Cybele and Hermes, namely Herodotus. Herodotus explains that the river Hermus flows over the mountain which was sacred to Cybele and flows into the sea near Phocaea (1.80). While no direct link between the river Hermus and Hermes is known, the name leaves little to the imagination about which deity it was sacred to. Cybele may have represented the wild side of nature on this coin type and Hermes as the one who could tame it.

Another way in which Hermes is depicted that points towards him being an advocate of order, can be found on coin types coming from a colonial context. The connection between Hermes and Zeus in a colonial context is perceived here. This connection on its own would not be indicative of anything particular since Hermes was the son of Zeus and, as stated in the introduction of this thesis, Zeus was put on many coins, so his presence is not uncommon. The reason why it is of importance here, is that it is not Zeus depicted on the coins but an eagle, the animal associated with Zeus.²²⁰ Especially the fact that the eagle is holding a snake (as with the type Hipponium II) is an iconographical phenomenon used to indicate the triumph of good

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ For a diachronic look on the eagle of Zeus as a symbol, see Hemingway (2014); On the eagle and the snake, see Wittkower (1939).

(light) over evil (darkness). In a colonial context I believe that this scene is used to indicate the triumph of order over the wilderness to pave the way for humans to inhabit new areas.

On the type Hipponium II, the eagle holding a snake in its beak is depicted on the reverse. As mentioned, Hipponium was a colony and the iconography of the eagle relates to this colonial background. This light versus the dark context is explained through the connection of the eagle with Zeus. According to Rudolf Wittkower the symbol of the eagle defeating snakes was used to denote the good triumphing over evil.²²¹ The eagle was connected to, or a symbol of, Zeus.²²² The snake reminds of the Python-myth, wherein Apollo had to defeat the Python in order to establish his temple and oracle at Delphi.²²³ Apollo (the good) had to deal with the Python (the evil) in order for humans to inhabit the area. The image of the eagle biting off the head of the snake could very much relate to this myth. In this case the eagle eating the snake could be a reference to the foundation of the city through the help of Zeus (the eagle) who ward off evil (the snake).²²⁴ Even though Zeus did not come to vanquish the evil himself, his divine rule made for humans to be able to inhabit new areas and colonize hitherto unknown lands. As said before, Hipponium was a colony and in order to found a colony, uncharted ground must be explored. In order to survive that, the Greeks relied on the help of the gods.

Why would a coin be produced with Hermes on the obverse and this particular scene with the eagle on the reverse? It is known that the people from Hipponium featured the heads of other deities on their coins as well. The gods that are known to be included were: Zeus, Apollo, Athena, Hermes, and a river god (perhaps a local variant).²²⁵ The reverse types that are known – besides the ones already mentioned – include: the standing figure of Pandina, a standing figure of Nike, and a club. Figuring Hermes on some of these coins must have had a reason. Either he was connected to the scene on the reverse of the coin or he must have held special significance for the people of Hipponium. His role here must be connected to creating order among the chaos. His epithet of *Argeiphontes* (Argus-slayer) indicates that he was able to defeat evil creatures. His trait of guiding people made him especially well suited to make sure the colonists would arrive unharmed at the new location. In short, he could have an active role in bringing order to wild areas. Only then could colonists settle there.

²²¹ Wittkower (1939) 308.

²²² Whether this connection was there from the beginning is problematized by Mylonas (1946) but the previous mentioned scholarship has thoroughly proven it to be evident in the Classical Period.

²²³ For an analysis of the myth and similar myths from other religions, see Fontenrose (1980).

²²⁴ That the eagle was the symbol or even the embodiment of Zeus was already noted by Cook (1925).

²²⁵ Rutter (1997) 78.

On the types Sinope I and II, the eagle is depicted as well. The reverses of these types from Sinope help in strengthening the idea that Hermes is connected to the creation of order for colonies to thrive.²²⁶ In 2007 John Hind published an article in which he tried to explain the reverse type of the eagle holding another animal. According to him the meaning of this reverse type had not been addressed properly before that year.²²⁷ In his article Hind claims that the type could be explained as ‘an omen of Zeus’.²²⁸ It is the work of Xenophon that is instructive in this matter as is explained by Hind.

He [Xenophon] tells us that, when he was setting out from Ephesos, an eagle, standing to his right, screamed out. A soothsayer, when consulted, told him that it presaged glory, but also much trouble; as the eagle had been standing, it was in a position where other smaller birds tend to mob its unwelcome presence. Xenophon adds that the Delphic oracle had told him to seek *Zeus Basileus* (‘Zeus the King’) as his patron deity (*Anab.* 3.1.6). Many months later Xenophon recalled his personal omen and its interpretation, when he arrived, at the head of the survivors of the army, at Armene in the territory of Sinope (*Anab.* 6.1.23-4). It is very likely that one of the things that reminded him of the incident at the outset of the campaign was the sight of the coinage of Sinope, so common in that region, with its eagle-on-dolphin motif.²²⁹

Hind’s analysis concentrates on the ‘eagle-on-dolphin’ motif, but the mentioning of the standing eagle evokes the images of the reverse of fig. 27.

That this type relates to an omen of Zeus is established. Now the question remains what kind of omen this reverse type belonged to. From the passage of Xenophon we can only deduce that glory was expected after seeing the standing eagle. What kind of glory? If it relates to glory in battle, the scene could relate to the theme of ‘Hermes as the bringer of good tidings’. According to Hind, who uses a passage of Pindar’s *Pythian* (1.155-177), the eagle was viewed as the messenger of Zeus. In this light the scene could relate to the theme ‘Hermes as messenger’, which is elaborated upon below (p. 134-135). Perhaps the eagle on this coin type (Sinope I) takes the place of the kerykeion but conveys the same connotation of Hermes as the divine messenger. A third interpretation is possible if more of Xenophon’s *Anabasis* than Hind explains is taken into account. Right before the passage where Xenophon recalls his personal omen, he was in the act of sacrificing to the gods, *Zeus Basileus* in particular (6.1.22). Perhaps it was during the sacrifice that the recount of omen came to him as a sort of epiphany.

²²⁶ It has recently been opted that there might have been a temple for Hermes in Sinope but there is no conclusive evidence: Braun (2021).

²²⁷ Hind (2007) 9.

²²⁸ Ibidem 10.

²²⁹ Ibid.

The importance of the ritual act of sacrifice in antiquity cannot be underestimated. The act of sacrifice to the gods ensures the differentiation between the human and the divine sphere. According to ancient myth, this divide was according to Zeus' will after Prometheus had stolen the fire. Thus, in playing a substantial role in the ritual act of sacrifice, Hermes ensures that Zeus' will, of the divide between the human and the divine, is executed. Hermes ensures this natural order is maintained.²³⁰ From the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* we learn that Hermes was the one who invented the whole ritual act of sacrificing for the gods in the first place (125-30).²³¹ He is also the one to invent the use of fire-sticks and fire (110-5). Even though it was Prometheus who, according to Hesiod's *Theogony*, gifted humans with fire and the sacrificial ritual of burning meat for the gods, it was Hermes who invented it all.

From Hesiod's *Work and Days* we learn that fire was seen as a means of making life easier (42-6). With the invention of the fire, Hermes provided men with the means of fending for themselves more easily. In inventing the sacrificial ritual Hermes established the tripartition between gods, men, and animals. The reason for men to be better than animals was the consumption of cooked meat and not eating it raw. The burnt meat would excrete smells which would rise to the heavens and on which the gods fed themselves. They did not need other substances to survive but humans did and therefore they were mortal.²³² Despite creating an insurmountable gap between gods and humans, Hermes also gave humans the opportunity to be better than wild animals. The coin types that indicate Hermes' role in ritual are Ainos II and III, Metapontum I and II, and Sybrita I.

The object connecting Hermes to ritual on the coin types from Ainos is the astragal. It is the first symbol to appear on the reverse of the coins from Ainos.²³³ The astragal was used as a symbol on coins from different cities. In the catalogue, the cities of Ainos, Abdera, and Sybrita all contain an astragal in combination with Hermes. On coins from Kolophon Apollo would appear on the obverse and an astragal on the reverse.²³⁴ Apollo was known for his oracular powers and his oracle in Delphi was well known. From the Homeric hymn to Hermes we learn that Hermes came to be connected with oracular bee maidens and astragals are also connected

²³⁰ According to Gunnell Ekroth (2008) 87, the act of animal sacrifice also meant bridging the gap between the human and the divine. Who better than to both maintain and abridge this gap than 'the border crosser'?

²³¹ This passage is the subject of Versnel's chapter 4 of *Coping with the Gods* (2011) 309-76.

²³² This theory is explained in short by Ekroth (2019) 238-9. It originates from the Paris school of thought. Vernant and Detienne are named as examples of these scholars by Ekroth.

²³³ For the astragal see, May (1950) Plate I P.6.

²³⁴ For instance the following coin: Leu Numismatik AG, Web Auction 16, 22/05/2021, lot 919.

to oracular contexts.²³⁵ The Homeric hymn is dated to around 520 and could therefore be the reason for connecting Hermes and astragals on the coins from Ainos.²³⁶ On coins from Teos a griffin would be depicted on the obverse with an astragal as a symbol to the right of it.²³⁷ The connection between Hermes and griffins is explained above. It does not seem to be a coincidence that an astragal and a griffin can be found in the same scene on a coin type. This could be connected to Hermes.

More importantly, if the astragal as a symbol is viewed this way, it would seem odd for magistrates to use it as a symbol to denote their family line or themselves. On the coin type Ainos II, another symbol that is found is the herm. Given the divine character of the herm, which is opted for in this thesis, the hypothesis of the symbols meaning something other than magistracies gains a stronger footing. Perhaps the astragal symbol points towards a local version of Hermes which had the power of divination. There is, however, not enough evidence to fully stake this claim. It would explain why the coin type Sybrita I contains Hermes on the obverse and an astragal on the reverse. This can, however, not be assured.

The coin types of Metapontum (I and II) present Hermes more directly in the act of sacrifice. There is a mythological background for this theory. From the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* we learn that Hermes was involved in getting Persephone back from the realm of Hades to Demeter.²³⁸ After rejoicing, Demeter founded the Mysteries of Eleusis and instructed human males in its rituals.²³⁹ These rituals were then performed on a regular basis and we know incredibly little about them. Perhaps Hermes played a role in the first offers that were made during these ceremonies and that could be why there is a link between him and Demeter on the coin types from Metapontum. In a city, as for instance Metapontum, where Demeter was the chief deity, some form of the rituals of the Mysteries would probably have been in place. Hermes in the act of sacrifice on the type Metapontum I then starts to make sense.

There is another character in the *Homeric Hymn* who makes the connection between Demeter and Hermes more intricate: Triptolemus. In the hymn Triptolemus is mentioned as one of the wise leaders of the city where Demeter takes refuge in her agony.²⁴⁰ It has been argued

²³⁵ Hom. *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 552-66; for astragals, their oracular function, and further references, see Bar-Oz (2001) 215-7; for an analysis of the identity of the bee maidens and their possible connection with Hermes, see Larson (1995) 341-57.

²³⁶ For the dating of the Homeric hymn to Hermes, see Johnston (2009) who adds credibility to the hypothesis already stated by Brown (1947).

²³⁷ For instance on the following coin: Leu Numismatik AG, Web Auction 16, 22/05/2021, lot 979.

²³⁸ Hom. *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 375-85.

²³⁹ Hom. *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 470-82.

²⁴⁰ Hom. *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 150-4.

that Triptolemus was the first *hierophant* of the Lesser Mysteries, a division of the best known cult of Demeter.²⁴¹ It has also been argued that Hermes was viewed as the ancestor of the Kerykes family, “the Athenian family charged with overseeing the Lesser Mysteries”.²⁴² Triptolemus and Hermes were also intrinsically linked in Athens through the cult of the dead.²⁴³ Hermes may have played an important mythological part in the institution of the Mysteries. This local version of Hermes would logically be placed where the Mysteries were prevalent.

The same could be true for the coin type Metapontum II. Only here it was not Hermes directly involved but a herm. Similar to the statue of Hermes *perpheraios*, the statue on the type Metapontum II could be a local cult statue of Hermes. This local variant was concerned with the proper execution of the ritual acts of sacrifice which were performed within the Mysteries. In a sense, this Hermes upheld the local order that the gods instituted.

²⁴¹ Matheson (1995) 365.

²⁴² Ibidem.

²⁴³ Elderkin (1936) 97-8.

Hermes as messenger

Hermes has often been viewed as the messenger of the gods. This manifestation of his power should, however, not be seen as his main task within the Olympic hierarchy. The foremost reason for this is the fact that he is not the only deity functioning as a messenger. In the *Homeric hymn to Demeter*, Hermes is one of the messengers that Zeus employs. First, he sends Iris to convey his message to Demeter.²⁴⁴ When his message fails to persuade Demeter to come back, Zeus sends Hermes to Hades.²⁴⁵ This time, however, Hermes is not sent to just convey a message. Hermes is sent to Hades specifically to change Hades mind by advising him with sweet words (μαλακοῖσι παραιφάμενος).²⁴⁶ Hermes succeeds in doing this. Later, near the end of the hymn, Zeus sends Rhea to convey another message to Demeter.²⁴⁷

On a kylix cup from Attica (490-480) both Iris and Hermes are depicted.²⁴⁸ They both hold a kerykeion. That image, together with the information gained from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, leads me to believe that the interpretation of Hermes' function as a messenger is correct, but it is not his main role within the Greek mythological world. If he was, why then would there be room for two more goddesses who could be asked to convey messages? It seems as if Hermes transcends the role of mere messenger by making sure that the information within the message would be executed. Iris and Rhea could not do the same.

Yet the iconography of the kerykeion seems to point to the role of messenger in a given context. That is why both Hermes and Iris are holding the kerykeion on the kylix cup. When the iconography of Hermes on numismatic evidence is concerned, I believe the same is true. When Hermes is depicted without any other iconographic elements, which could point into the direction of a certain theme, except the kerykeion, his role as messenger is probably being invoked.

The coin type Ainos I illustrates this. Hermes is depicted on the obverse and the kerykeion on the reverse. It seems no other connection can be made other than Hermes being a messenger of the gods. The coin type Phocaea II follows this pattern. The same is true for the type Hipponium I. The coin type Pheneus II is different. On this type the nymph Maia, Hermes' mother, is depicted on the obverse and Hermes himself on the reverse. He is holding the kerykeion quite conspicuously. In comparison with the type Pheneus II, Hermes is not holding

²⁴⁴ Hom. *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 314-324.

²⁴⁵ Hom. *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 335-337.

²⁴⁶ Hom. *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 336.

²⁴⁷ Hom. *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 441-442.

²⁴⁸ LIMC 3343.

Arcas here. He himself is the central figure of the reverse. It might, therefore, be that the divine genealogy of Hermes is invoked in this type. There is the connection between Hermes and Maia and the fact that these coins come from Pheneus, where the birth myth of Hermes takes place. A scene referring to the birth myth of Hermes and advocating one of his roles within the Greek pantheon would seem plausible. That would mean that his role of messenger was the most readily known, compared to the other roles of Hermes described in this thesis.

Because of that reason, it seems reasonable to add the coin types Phocaea I and Tragilos I to this theme. These two types figure Hermes on the obverse and there is no specific clue to tie them to another theme. Since the role of Hermes as messenger may have been the most known, the appearance of only his head on these types could point towards his role as the messenger.

Uncertain theme

The connection between Hermes and a rose, on the coin type Tragilos II, is unclear. The rose as a symbol was used to indicate the island of Rhodes as issuing authority.²⁴⁹ However, the coins here come from Tragilos and should not be connected to Rhodes. Perhaps a connection between Hermes and Aphrodite is alluded to here, since the rose is known to be connected to Aphrodite.²⁵⁰ In myth, they had a child named Hermaphroditus. According to Brown, the union between Hermes and Aphrodite stems from their connection to ritual and magic.²⁵¹

In antiquity the rose was a flower that was thought to have defensive properties.²⁵² There is, however, not enough evidence to put this coin type into one of the themes. If the defensive properties of the rose in ancient Greek thought are proven, this coin can be put into the theme ‘Hermes as guardian’. If the connection between Hermes and Aphrodite is exploited on this type, then the type belongs to the theme of ‘Hermes as the advocate of order’. Until further evidence becomes available, I have decided to leave the coin out of any of the themes.

²⁴⁹ Ashton (2001) 79-85 relates how the rose was already used by the cities of Kamiros and Ialysos on the reverse before 400 but became more dominant after the synoecism of those cities with Lindos.

²⁵⁰ For the connection of Aphrodite with roses and how this is attested in ancient sources, see Cyrino (2010) especially 63.

²⁵¹ Brown (1947) 14.

²⁵² Cyrino (2010) 63, 96; Hom. *Il.* 23.185-7.

Conclusion

The scenes on the coins from different cities tell stories about ancient thought and myth. Where the literary sources are silent, numismatic evidence can supply the missing information. By using the coin types, I have identified different themes regarding the functions of Hermes within the Greek pantheon. To indicate how similar the roles of Hermes in these themes are to local cult versions, an epithet of Hermes is appointed to each of the themes. The case of the cult statue of Hermes at Ainos figures as the prime example of how this relates to each other.

Sometimes, Hermes functioned as a guardian. The epithet relating to this is *perpheraios*. This epithet is, as one of the few epithets of Hermes, readily connected to his cult, in the form of a statue at Ainos.

Another theme, wherein Hermes is visible through numismatic evidence, is him as the bringer of good tidings. While no literary sources attest this version, it probably was important at certain places because of the coins on which he was depicted. In the *Iliad*, Hermes is called *eriounios* (the helper, or luck bringer according to the LSJ).²⁵³ This epithet coincides with all the coin types relating to Hermes as the bringer of good tidings.

For Hermes as the advocate of order, it seems harder to find an epithet that fully explains the reach of his role. His name of *argeiphontes* (the slayer of Argus) does seem to relate to this. Argus was a titan that Hermes killed for Zeus, in order for Zeus to get to Io. By slaying this creature, Hermes ensured that Zeus got what he wanted. Io, after being taken by Zeus, went on to play an important role in the establishment of many great Greek bloodlines. Thus, Hermes helped in the establishment of the order of the world that the Greeks of the Archaic and Classical periods knew.

For his role as messenger, the epithet of *diactorus* seems to be most fitting. Hermes is already called by this title in Hesiod's *Work and Days* (68).

Thus, these four epithets fit Hermes' roles, recognized within this analysis, best. That does not mean that Hermes only fulfilled these roles at the places where these coins were found. There was, similar to what we know of cults, room for more than one cult of a certain god within cities. What can be concluded for the cities – the places from which the coins in this thesis stem – is that a certain version of Hermes was prevalent at a certain time at a certain place, similar to cult.

²⁵³ Hom. *Il.* 24.440.

That the accumulation of different local versions of a deity in one city is possible, is well attested in literary sources. Pausanias, for instance, reports that in Sparta there were two sanctuaries of Artemis (*aiginaea* and *issoria*) very closely located to each other (3.14.2). Similarly, he reports of the presence of sanctuaries for both Athena *axiopoinos* and Athena *calliste*, also in Sparta (3.15.6). Likewise, the versions of Hermes that are depicted on the coins could exist alongside each other. The dating of the different coins, however, shows a change over time. Take, for instance, the coin types from Hipponium. Type I is dated to 380 – 350, type II to either 380 – 350 or 330 – 280, and type III to 350 – 325. The types seem to be consecutive, except for the double dating of type II. With the types from Pheneus, the same is possible, but the uncertainty regarding the dating makes it impossible to make any hard claims. At Phocaea there is a clear break between the earlier type I and the later type II. Consequently, the cult of Hermes within this city could have switched from Hermes *diactorus* to Hermes *perpheraios* in that time period.

The recognition of the four themes in which Hermes appears does not give an answer to the question about the essence of Hermes. To find that answer, the four themes must be put together. Underneath every role of Hermes, a deeper meaning can be found.

Hermes always acts in accordance with, or on behalf of, Zeus. Zeus was the father of the gods and his will reigned. With a simple nod of his head, he would demand how things ought to be. But we rarely find Zeus in the act of making sure that what he ordained actually came to pass (unless it meant he could create new offspring). That is where Hermes comes in. Hermes made sure that the divine law of Zeus' will was executed. He made sure that certain people or cities were protected from harm, he guided others to the accomplishment of their *athlos* by bringing them certain items or bringing them to new places, and he played an important part in the establishment of new colonies. Where Dionysos was the god of wild frenzies and nature, Hermes was the god who enforced the law of Zeus within the polis.

In light of this, the evolution of Hermes into Hermes Trismegistus and Mercury also makes sense. Firstly, in the Hellenistic period, the syncretism of the Greek Hermes and the Egyptian Thoth formed Hermes Trismegistus. Thoth was an Egyptian deity connected to wisdom and scribes. He was also connected to the deity Ma'at, and together, within the Egyptian religious system, the two formed a duo that reminds of Hermes' role as a force of Zeus' will. Ma'at was the embodiment of the cosmological order and peace for the Egyptians. Thoth would create Ma'at every day for the most important god of the Egyptians: Ra.²⁵⁴ Hermes

²⁵⁴ Bleeker (1973) 119.

does the same for Zeus, as he creates the order within the cosmos that is instructed by the will of Zeus. Hermes is the force that guides everything along to come into being, just as Zeus had willed it. Thus, the evolution of Hermes into Hermes Trismegistus, through his syncretism with Thoth, seems understandable. Secondly, within Hermes resided the power to guide transactions in favor of one of two parties. If Hermes, and Zeus as well, was properly praised, transactions could be decided in your favor. Thus, it would make sense that at later times Mercury became the god of trade *per se*. Perhaps this was caused by an increase of usage of money through the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods.

Hermes ensured that things came to be where they should be. If you did not live by the rules of Zeus, you would not deserve any good things. That is where his role in guiding trade deals comes from. Hermes seems to deliver in all aspects possible within the cosmos that is ruled by Zeus. Hermes was the divine secretary, the chief executive of Zeus' law that applied both to immortals as well as mortals.

The idea of Hermes as the deity that made sure everything came to be as his father willed is not entirely a new idea. Arlene Allan already realizes this aspect of Hermes when she treats the Homeric Hymn to Hermes. She says: "Zeus' plan for his cosmos was accomplished and embodied in this child [Hermes]".²⁵⁵ She also states that Hermes is "the god that brings things to pass".²⁵⁶ However, Allan mentions this aspect of Hermes merely as one of his traits, together with his other traits. What I propose here, based on numismatic evidence, is that this trait of Hermes is the most important. All of his other feats and powers stem from this one core task: bringing his father's will to fruition.

Any other interpretations to the essence of Hermes can be traced back to this one task. His role as *psychopompos* naturally evolved from his ability of crossing borders in order to make sure that the souls of the departed came to be where they should. This was in accordance with the division between the realms of Zeus and Hades, as Zeus had willed. His reputation as a trickster, in both antiquity and in modern conceptions, proceeds from this as well. Sometimes the cosmos seems against you if things do not go the way you want them to. In antiquity people blamed Hermes, while in fact they should have been blaming Zeus. Hermes merely did what his father commanded. Hermes needed to be crafty, and he needed to steal sometimes in order to get things done. That may have been why he was called the 'friendliest of the gods to men'.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Allan (2018) 17.

²⁵⁶ Ibidem.

²⁵⁷ Hom. // 24.334-5.

There was a certain human trait to him as he needed to get the things done that the other Olympian gods would not get down from Olympus for.

This may have been the reason why earlier scholars, like Walter Otto, viewed Hermes as lacking dignity, or Norman Brown to think of Hermes as the god of thieves. Rather, we should view Hermes as the honorable squire of Zeus, loyal to the (thigh)bone, and always there to do the work that needed to be done in order for the cosmos to keep existing.

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Appendix

ID no.	Denomination	Obverse
194.410.015.475	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
1.941.131.481	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.432	Drachm	Winged griffin l. springing
1992.54.414	Tetrobol	Winged griffin l. springing
194.410.015.440	Drachm	Winged griffin l. springing
194.410.015.441	Drachm	Winged griffin l. springing
2008.1.1	AE 20	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.524	AE ..	Hermes hd. l.
1948.19.533	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
0000.999.7317	AE ..	Hermes hd. l.
2011.21.550	AE 25	Hermes hd. facing
194.410.015.489	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
1.957.172.722	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
1909.999.35	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1.956.140.120	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1.967.152.221	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
194.410.015.488	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.490	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.492	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.493	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.494	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.495	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.498	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.499	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.500	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.501	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.502	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.503	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.504	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.505	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.506	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.507	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.508	Diobol	Hermes hd. l.
194.410.015.509	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.510	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.511	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.512	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.513	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.514	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.515	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.

194.410.015.516	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
194.410.015.517	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
194.410.015.518	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
194.410.015.519	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. facing
194.410.015.520	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. facing
194.410.015.521	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. facing
194.410.015.522	Diobol	Hermes hd. facing
194.410.015.523	Drachm	Hermes hd. 3/4 r.
1944.53.2	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1.941.153.319	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
1.941.153.320	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
1.941.153.321	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
1.941.153.322	Drachm	Hermes hd. r.
1.941.153.323	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1.941.153.324	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
1.941.153.325	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
1.941.153.326	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. facing
1966.75.47	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. r.
1966.75.48	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1966.75.49	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
1954.203.93	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. facing
1908.999.6	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1909.999.32	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
1909.999.33	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. r.
1909.999.34	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1.957.172.723	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
1.957.172.724	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
1.957.172.725	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
1.957.172.726	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1.957.172.727	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1.957.172.728	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
1.957.172.729	Diobol	Hermes hd. facing
1983.51.72	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1987.25.20	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1923.214.10	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
0000.999.7316	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1955.54.78	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1.977.158.181	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
1.977.158.182	Drachm	Hermes hd. 3/4 r.
1.967.152.218	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
1.967.152.219	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
1.967.152.220	Drachm	Hermes hd. r.
1.960.170.105	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.015.655	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.

19.441.006.976	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
19.441.006.977	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
19.441.006.978	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
19.441.006.975	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
1940.126.10	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
1940.126.11	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.019.285	Stater	Winged Pegasus l.
194.410.019.286	Stater	Winged Pegasus l.
1996.63.3	Stater	Lion's scalp facing
194.410.019.654	AE ..	Hermes hd. l.
194.410.019.655	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.019.656	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
1969.30.63	Stater	Maia hd. r.
194.410.046.738	Hekte	Hermes hd. l.
1.977.158.240	Obol?	Hermes hd. l. within dotted border
194.410.011.932	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.011.933	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.011.934	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.011.935	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.011.936	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.011.937	AE ..	Hermes hd. l.
194.410.011.938	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
194.410.011.939	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
1.941.131.448	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.
1947.97.72	AE ..	Hermes hd. r.

ID no.	Reverse	Date
194.410.015.475	Winged griffin stg. l.	250 BC - 150 BC?
1.941.131.481	Winged griffin stg. r.	250 BC - 150 BC?
194.410.015.432	Hermes hd. l. within square	411 BC - 385 BC
1992.54.414	Hermes hd. l. within square	411 BC - 385 BC
194.410.015.440	Hermes stg. r. within square	360 BC - 350 BC
194.410.015.441	Hermes stg. r. within square	360 BC - 350 BC
2008.1.1	Goat stg. r. with monogram to the r.	280 BC - 200 BC
194.410.015.524	Kerykeion with A in l. field	x
1948.19.533	Kerykeion	x
0000.999.7317	Kerykeion flanked by inscription on both sides	x
2011.21.550	Goat stg. r. with helmet to the r.	x
194.410.015.489	Goat stg. r. with herm to the r.	455 BC - 452 BC
1.957.172.722	Goat stg. r. with herm to the r.	455 BC - 452 BC
1909.999.35	Goat stg. r. with herm to the r.	432 BC - 431 BC
1.956.140.120	Goat stg. r. with herm to the r.	432 BC - 431 BC
1.967.152.221	Goat stg. r. laurel-spray to the r.	378 BC - 376 BC
194.410.015.488	Kerykeion flanked by inscription on both sides within incuse square	474 BC - 472 BC
194.410.015.490	Goat stg. r. with astragal to the r. within incuse square	471 BC - 468 BC
194.410.015.492	Goat stg. r. with crescent to the r. within incuse square	456 BC - 454 BC
194.410.015.493	Goat stg. r. with crescent and ivy wreath to the r. within incuse square	457 BC - 455 BC
194.410.015.494	Goat stg. r. within square flanked by inscription and Pan to the r. within incuse square	453 BC - 450 BC
194.410.015.495	Goat stg. r. with kerykeion to the r. within incuse square	412 BC - 409 BC
194.410.015.498	Goat stg. r. with bell and branch to the r. within incuse square	410 BC - 408 BC
194.410.015.499	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
194.410.015.500	Goat stg. r. with double-axe to the r. within incuse square	431 BC - 429 BC
194.410.015.501	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
194.410.015.502	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
194.410.015.503	Goat stg. r. with laurel-spray to the r.	409 BC - 407 BC
194.410.015.504	Goat stg. r. with laurel-spray to the r.	409 BC - 407 BC
194.410.015.505	Goat stg. r. with vine tendril to the r.	427 BC - 424 BC
194.410.015.506	Goat stg. r. with club to the r.	429 BC - 426 BC
194.410.015.507	Goat stg. r. with club to the r.	429 BC - 426 BC
194.410.015.508	Goat with lowered hd. scratching within incuse square	421 BC - 418 BC
194.410.015.509	Goat stg. r. with vine tendril to the r.	417 BC - 414 BC
194.410.015.510	Goat stg. r. with vine tendril to the r.	417 BC - 414 BC
194.410.015.511	Goat stg. r. grazing at vine to the r.	423 BC - 420 BC
194.410.015.512	Goat stg. r. grazing at vine to the r.	423 BC - 420 BC
194.410.015.513	Kerykeion under crescent flanked by A l. and l r. in incuse square	458 BC - 454 BC
194.410.015.514	Kerykeion flanked by A l. and l r. in incuse square	455 BC - 452 BC
194.410.015.515	Kerykeion flanked by A l. and l r. in incuse square	464 BC - 460 BC
194.410.015.516	Goat stg. r. with laurel-wreath to the r. within incuse square	374 BC - 371 BC
194.410.015.517	Goat stg. r. with kerykeion and petasus to the r. within incuse square	388 BC - 385 BC

194.410.015.518	Goat stg. r. with cithara to the r. within incuse square	365 BC - 362 BC
194.410.015.519	Goat stg. r. with tripod to the r. within incuse square	363 BC - 360 BC
194.410.015.520	Goat stg. r. with trophy to the r. within incuse square	382 BC - 379 BC
194.410.015.521	Goat stg. r. with grapes and corn-grain to the r. within incuse square	385 BC - 383 BC
194.410.015.522	Goat stg. r. with corn-grain sprouting to the r. within incuse square	402 BC - 399 BC
194.410.015.523	Herm stg. l. on throne with corn-grain to the l.	357 BC - 341 BC
1944.53.2	Kerykeion under crescent flanked by A l. and l r. in incuse square	458 BC - 454 BC
1.941.153.319	Goat stg. r. with crescent and star to the r. within incuse square	458 BC - 456 BC
1.941.153.320	Goat stg. r. with amphora to the r. within incuse square	462 BC - 460 BC
1.941.153.321	Goat stg. r. with dog to the r. within incuse square	463 BC - 461 BC
1.941.153.322	Goat stg. r. with amphora to the r. within incuse square	462 BC - 460 BC
1.941.153.323	Goat stg. r. with club to the r.	429 BC - 426 BC
1.941.153.324	Goat stg. r. with small hd. of Hermes to the r.	370 BC - 367 BC
1.941.153.325	Goat stg. r. with vine in leaf from which hang two grape clusters to the r.	398 BC - 395 BC
1.941.153.326	Goat stg. r. with hydria to the r. within incuse square	396 BC - 393 BC
1966.75.47	Goat stg. r. with double-axe to the r.	431 BC - 429 BC
1966.75.48	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
1966.75.49	Goat stg. r. with vine in leaf from which hang two grape clusters to the r. within incuse square	396 BC - 393 BC
1954.203.93	Goat stg. r. with bee to the r.	367 BC - 364 BC
1908.999.6	Goat stg. r. with club to the r.	429 BC - 426 BC
1909.999.32	Goat stg. r. with willow tree in leaf with pilos hanging from branch within incuse square	410 BC - 408 BC
1909.999.33	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs	408 BC - 406 BC
1909.999.34	Goat stg. r. with vine tendril to the r.	427 BC - 424 BC
1.957.172.723	Goat stg. r. with crescent and ivy wreath to the r. within incuse square	457 BC - 455 BC
1.957.172.724	Goat stg. r. with kerykeion to the r. within incuse square	412 BC - 409 BC
1.957.172.725	Goat stg. r. with kerykeion to the r. within incuse square	412 BC - 409 BC
1.957.172.726	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
1.957.172.727	Goat stg. r. with vine tendril to the r.	427 BC - 424 BC
1.957.172.728	Goat stg. r. with snake to the r.	376 BC - 373 BC
1.957.172.729	Goat stg. r. with rose to the r.	405 BC - 402 BC
1983.51.72	Goat with lowered hd. Scratching	421 BC - 418 BC
1987.25.20	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
1923.214.10	Goat stg. r. with club to the r.	429 BC - 426 BC
0000.999.7316	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
1955.54.78	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
1.977.158.181	Goat stg. r. with vine tendril to the r.	427 BC - 424 BC
1.977.158.182	Herm stg. l. on throne with lyre to the l.	357 BC - 341 BC
1.967.152.218	Goat stg. r. with crescent and ivy wreath to the r. within incuse square	457 BC - 455 BC
1.967.152.219	Goat stg. r. with bearded hd. of Silenus facing to the r. within incuse square	461 BC - 458 BC
1.967.152.220	Goat stg. r. with amphora to the r. within incuse square	462 BC - 460 BC
1.960.170.105	Goat stg. r. with fly to the r. within incuse square	469 BC - 466 BC
194.410.015.655	2-handled vase flanked by monograms	415 BC - 387 BC?

19.441.006.976	Eagle stg. r. holding snake	380 BC - 280 BC?
19.441.006.977	Amphora	350 BC - 325 BC?
19.441.006.978	Kerykeion within dotted border	380 BC - 350 BC
19.441.006.975	Eagle stg. r. holding snake	380 BC - 280 BC?
1940.126.10	Amphora	350 BC - 325 BC?
1940.126.11	Kerykeion within dotted border	380 BC - 350 BC
194.410.019.285	Helmeted hd. of Athena r. with Hermes stg. r. to the l.	350 BC - 300 BC
194.410.019.286	Helmeted hd. of Athena r. with Hermes stg. r. to the l.	350 BC - 300 BC
1996.63.3	Triskele with inscription above and to the r. and Hermes hd. facing with kerykeion to the l. within incuse square	380 BC - 370 BC
194.410.019.654	Bunch of grapes flanked by inscription on both sides	400 BC - 300 BC?
194.410.019.655	Bunch of grapes flanked by inscription on both sides	400 BC - 300 BC?
194.410.019.656	Bunch of grapes flanked by inscription on both sides	400 BC - 300 BC?
1969.30.63	Hermes stg. r. holding kerykeion and infant Arkas with inscription to the r.	370 BC - 365 BC
194.410.046.738	Uneven 4-part incuse square	478 BC - 387 BC
1.977.158.240	Heraldic eagle facing flanked by inscription on both sides and monogram to the r.	380 BC - 340 BC
194.410.011.932	Ethnic in four quarters with letters in them	450 BC - 400 BC
194.410.011.933	Ethnic in four quarters with letters in them	450 BC - 400 BC
194.410.011.934	Rose surrounded by inscription	410 BC - 390 BC
194.410.011.935	Ethnic in four quarters with letters in them	450 BC - 400 BC
194.410.011.936	Rose surrounded by inscription	410 BC - 390 BC
194.410.011.937	Rose surrounded by inscription	410 BC - 390 BC
194.410.011.938	Rose surrounded by inscription	410 BC - 390 BC
194.410.011.939	Rose surrounded by inscription	410 BC - 390 BC
1.941.131.448	Rose surrounded by inscription	410 BC - 390 BC
1947.97.72	Rose surrounded by inscription	410 BC - 390 BC

ID no.	Location	Axis	Diameter	Weight
194.410.015.475	Abdera	8	x	2.83
1.941.131.481	Abdera	8	x	3.35
194.410.015.432	Abdera	3	x	2.62
1992.54.414	Abdera	3	x	2.47
194.410.015.440	Abdera	2	x	2.67
194.410.015.441	Abdera	9	x	2.91
2008.1.1	Ainos	6	20	7.50
194.410.015.524	Ainos	0	x	0.89
1948.19.533	Ainos	11	x	0.95
0000.999.7317	Ainos	11	x	7.47
2011.21.550	Ainos	12	25	15.74
194.410.015.489	Ainos	0	x	16.46
1.957.172.722	Ainos	0	x	16.35
1909.999.35	Ainos	1	10	1.28
1.956.140.120	Ainos	11	10	1.22
1.967.152.221	Ainos	0	x	15.81
194.410.015.488	Ainos	9	x	15.68
194.410.015.490	Ainos	3	x	16.03
194.410.015.492	Ainos	6	x	16.36
194.410.015.493	Ainos	9	x	16.53
194.410.015.494	Ainos	9	x	15.89
194.410.015.495	Ainos	12	x	16.03
194.410.015.498	Ainos	6	x	16.19
194.410.015.499	Ainos	6	x	2.65
194.410.015.500	Ainos	2	x	2.76
194.410.015.501	Ainos	7	x	1.37
194.410.015.502	Ainos	6	x	1.31
194.410.015.503	Ainos	1	x	1.31
194.410.015.504	Ainos	12	x	1.26
194.410.015.505	Ainos	4	x	1.30
194.410.015.506	Ainos	0	x	x
194.410.015.507	Ainos	7	x	1.12
194.410.015.508	Ainos	9	x	1.29
194.410.015.509	Ainos	12	x	1.32
194.410.015.510	Ainos	4	x	1.31
194.410.015.511	Ainos	7	x	1.36
194.410.015.512	Ainos	9	x	1.31
194.410.015.513	Ainos	3	x	1.24
194.410.015.514	Ainos	0	x	1.25
194.410.015.515	Ainos	0	x	1.15
194.410.015.516	Ainos	12	x	14.72
194.410.015.517	Ainos	0	x	15.19
194.410.015.518	Ainos	12	x	15.35

194.410.015.519	Ainos	12	x	2.35
194.410.015.520	Ainos	12	x	2.41
194.410.015.521	Ainos	12	x	2.37
194.410.015.522	Ainos	6	x	1.33
194.410.015.523	Ainos	6	x	3.25
1944.53.2	Ainos	0	x	1.32
1.941.153.319	Ainos	12	x	16.34
1.941.153.320	Ainos	9	x	15.81
1.941.153.321	Ainos	3	28	15.75
1.941.153.322	Ainos	6	x	3.89
1.941.153.323	Ainos	1	x	1.10
1.941.153.324	Ainos	12	x	13.85
1.941.153.325	Ainos	1	x	14.89
1.941.153.326	Ainos	12	x	2.37
1966.75.47	Ainos	4	x	2.73
1966.75.48	Ainos	7	x	1.20
1966.75.49	Ainos	0	x	15.00
1954.203.93	Ainos	12	x	2.36
1908.999.6	Ainos	1	x	1.29
1909.999.32	Ainos	6	x	15.60
1909.999.33	Ainos	7	x	2.70
1909.999.34	Ainos	7	x	1.17
1.957.172.723	Ainos	3	x	16.43
1.957.172.724	Ainos	3	x	16.68
1.957.172.725	Ainos	6	x	15.50
1.957.172.726	Ainos	6	x	1.29
1.957.172.727	Ainos	2	x	1.23
1.957.172.728	Ainos	1	x	14.31
1.957.172.729	Ainos	6	x	1.32
1983.51.72	Ainos	9	x	0.70
1987.25.20	Ainos	6	x	1.29
1923.214.10	Ainos	10	x	1.27
0000.999.7316	Ainos	6	x	1.28
1955.54.78	Ainos	6	x	1.18
1.977.158.181	Ainos	9	x	1.13
1.977.158.182	Ainos	12	x	3.52
1.967.152.218	Ainos	12	28	16.35
1.967.152.219	Ainos	3	x	16.18
1.967.152.220	Ainos	6	x	4.12
1.960.170.105	Ainos	9	x	16.48
194.410.015.655	Cypsela	12	x	1.99
19.441.006.976	Hipponium	11	x	11.90
19.441.006.977	Hipponium	12	x	8.38
19.441.006.978	Hipponium	2	x	4.28

19.441.006.975	Hipponium	2	x	13.43
1940.126.10	Hipponium	11	x	7.60
1940.126.11	Hipponium	5	x	5.00
194.410.019.285	Leucas	12	x	8.54
194.410.019.286	Leucas	1	x	8.39
1996.63.3	Mithrapata	9	25	9.83
194.410.019.654	Locri Opuntii	8	x	2.03
194.410.019.655	Locri Opuntii	5	x	2.13
194.410.019.656	Locri Opuntii	6	x	1.76
1969.30.63	Pheneus	12	x	12.04
194.410.046.738	Phocaea	0	10	2.53
1.977.158.240	Sinope	12	x	1.21
194.410.011.932	Tragilus	10	x	2.94
194.410.011.933	Tragilus	11	x	0.80
194.410.011.934	Tragilus	10	x	0.90
194.410.011.935	Tragilus	2	x	4.63
194.410.011.936	Tragilus	1	x	3.60
194.410.011.937	Tragilus	2	x	3.93
194.410.011.938	Tragilus	10	x	3.86
194.410.011.939	Tragilus	12	x	3.49
1.941.131.448	Tragilus	6	x	3.94
1947.97.72	Tragilus	12	x	3.93

ID no.	Metal	Attributes	Inscription
194.410.015.475	AE	Petasis	
1.941.131.481	AE	Petasis	
194.410.015.432	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: EPI APOLANIOΣ
1992.54.414	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: Illegible
194.410.015.440	AR	Petasis and chlamys	Obv: ABD. Rev: EPI ΦΙΛΑΙΟ.
194.410.015.441	AR	Petasis and chlamys	Obv: ABD. Rev: EPI ΦΙΛΑΙΟ.
2008.1.1	AE	Petasis	Rev: AINI ON
194.410.015.524	AE	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: A [I?]
1948.19.533	AE	Petasis and kerykeion	
0000.999.7317	AE	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: A I N I O N
2011.21.550	AE	Petasis	Rev: AINION
194.410.015.489	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
1.957.172.722	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
1909.999.35	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
1.956.140.120	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
1.967.152.221	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
194.410.015.488	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: AIN ION
194.410.015.490	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
194.410.015.492	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
194.410.015.493	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
194.410.015.494	AR	Petasis	Obv: AINI Rev: [A]NT [I]A ΔΑΣ
194.410.015.495	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: AIN
194.410.015.498	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
194.410.015.499	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
194.410.015.500	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
194.410.015.501	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
194.410.015.502	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
194.410.015.503	AR	Petasis	
194.410.015.504	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
194.410.015.505	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
194.410.015.506	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
194.410.015.507	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
194.410.015.508	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
194.410.015.509	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
194.410.015.510	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
194.410.015.511	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
194.410.015.512	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
194.410.015.513	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: A I
194.410.015.514	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: A I
194.410.015.515	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: A I
194.410.015.516	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
194.410.015.517	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: AINION
194.410.015.518	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION

194.410.015.519	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
194.410.015.520	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
194.410.015.521	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
194.410.015.522	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
194.410.015.523	AR	Petasis	
1944.53.2	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: A I
1.941.153.319	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1.941.153.320	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1.941.153.321	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1.941.153.322	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1.941.153.323	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
1.941.153.324	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
1.941.153.325	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
1.941.153.326	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
1966.75.47	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
1966.75.48	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1966.75.49	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
1954.203.93	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
1908.999.6	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
1909.999.32	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
1909.999.33	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
1909.999.34	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
1.957.172.723	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1.957.172.724	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: AINI
1.957.172.725	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: AIN
1.957.172.726	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1.957.172.727	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
1.957.172.728	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
1.957.172.729	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1983.51.72	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1987.25.20	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1923.214.10	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
0000.999.7316	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1955.54.78	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1.977.158.181	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
1.977.158.182	AR	Petasis	
1.967.152.218	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1.967.152.219	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1.967.152.220	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
1.960.170.105	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
194.410.015.655	AE	Petasis	
19.441.006.976	AE	Petasis	
19.441.006.977	AE	Petasis	
19.441.006.978	AE	Petasis and kerykeion	

19.441.006.975	AE	Petasis	Rev: Illegible
1940.126.10	AE	Petasis	
1940.126.11	AE	Petasis and kerykeion	
194.410.019.285	AR	Kerykeion and chlamys	
194.410.019.286	AR	Kerykeion and chlamys	
1996.63.3	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: MEXT P PATA
194.410.019.654	AE	Petasis	Rev: LOK RQN
194.410.019.655	AE	Petasis	Rev: LOK RQN
194.410.019.656	AE	Petasis	Rev: LOK RQN
1969.30.63	AR	Petasis, kerykeion and chlamys	Rev: ARKAS ΦE NE
194.410.046.738	EL	Petasis	
1.977.158.240	AR	Petasis	Rev: ΣI NO
194.410.011.932	AE	Petasis	Rev: T R A I
194.410.011.933	AE	Petasis	Rev: T R A I
194.410.011.934	AE	Petasis	Rev: T RAIL O N
194.410.011.935	AE	Petasis	Rev: T R A I
194.410.011.936	AE	Petasis	Rev: T RAIL O N
194.410.011.937	AE	Petasis	Rev: T RAIL O N
194.410.011.938	AE	Petasis	Rev: T RAIL O N
194.410.011.939	AE	Petasis	Rev: T RAIL O N
1.941.131.448	AE	Petasis	Rev: T RAIL O N
1947.97.72	AE	Petasis	Rev: T RAIL O N

ID no.	Denomination	Obverse
SNGuk_0300_1136	Drachm	Winged griffin l. springing
SNGuk_0300_1140	Drachm	Winged griffin l. springing
SNGuk_0504_3484	Drachm	Winged griffin l. springing
SNGuk_0101a0101	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0101a0102	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0101a0103	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1151	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1152	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1153	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1154	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1155	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1156	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1157	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1158	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1159	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1160	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1161	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1162	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1163	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1164	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1165	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1166	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_1167	Diobol	Hermes hd. l.
SNGuk_0300_1168	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0300_1169	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0300_1170	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0300_1171	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0300_1172	Obol	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0300_1173	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3517	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3518	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3519	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3520	Drachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3521	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3522	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3523	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3524	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3525	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3526	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3527	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3528	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3529	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3530	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3531	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.

SNGuk_0504_3532	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3533	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3534	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3535	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3536	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3537	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3538	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3539	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3540	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0504_3541	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0504_3542	Diobol	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0504_3543	Diobol	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0504_3544	Diobol	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0504_3545	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0504_3546	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0504_3547	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0504_3548	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0504_3549	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0504_3550	Tetrobol	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0504_3551	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0504_3552	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0504_3553	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0504_3554	Drachm	Hermes hd. 3/4 r.
SNGuk_0504_3555	Drachm	Hermes hd. 3/4 r.
SNGuk_0601_0454	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0700_0769	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0700_0770	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0700_0771	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0800_0316	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0800_0317	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0800_0318	Diobol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0800_0319	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0800_0320	Tetradrachm	Hermes hd. facing
SNGuk_0300_0636	Stater	Eagle stg. on thunderbolt r. facing l. with herm to the r. holding kerykeion and phiale and inscription on both sides of eagle hd.
SNGuk_1000_0407	AE 20	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_1000_0408	AE 13	Hermes hd. r. with monogram and inscription to the l.
SNGuk_0300_2284	Stater	Winged pegasus stg. l.
SNGuk_0700_0906	AE 14	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_1000_0275	AE 20	Hermes stg. l. holding kerykeion and phiale within dotted border
SNGuk_1000_0277	AE 19	Demeter hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_2762	Hekte	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0406_4355	Hekte	Hermes hd. r.

SNGuk_0406_4358	Hekte	Turreted hd. of Cybele r.
SNGuk_0300_2525	Stater	Maia hd. r.
SNGuk_0300_2526	Drachm	Maia hd. l.
SNGuk_0405_3896	Obol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0405_3897	Stater	Maia hd. r.
SNGuk_0700_1134	Obol	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0601_0944	AE 19	Hermes hd. r.
SNGuk_0901_1503	Obol	Hermes hd. l. within dotted border
SNGuk_0300_2669	Hemidrachm	Turreted hd. Of Tyche l. with a countermark to the r.
SNGuk_0300_2608	Stater	Dionysus sitting l. holding cantharus and thyrsus
SNGuk_0300_2609	Stater	Dionysus l. sitting sideways on running panther holding thyrsus
SNGuk_0800_0571	AE 14	Hermes hd. r.

ID no.	Reverse	Date
SNGuk_0300_1136	Hermes hd. l. with kerykeion to the l. in square with inscription around the edges	411 BC - 385 BC
SNGuk_0300_1140	Hermes stg. r. with astragalos to the r.	360 BC - 350 BC
SNGuk_0504_3484	Hermes stg. r. with astragalos to the r.	360 BC - 350 BC
SNGuk_0101a0101	Goat stg. r. with astragalos to the r. within incuse square	471 BC - 468 BC
SNGuk_0101a0102	Goat stg. r. with rhyton to the r. within incuse square	394 BC - 391 BC
SNGuk_0101a0103	Goat stg. r. with ivy branch to the r. within incuse square	415 BC - 412 BC
SNGuk_0300_1151	Kerykeion flanked by inscription on both sides within incuse square	474 BC - 472 BC
SNGuk_0300_1152	Kerykeion flanked by inscription on both sides within incuse square	458 BC - 454 BC
SNGuk_0300_1153	Goat stg. r. with bearded hd. of Silenus facing to the r. within incuse square	461 BC - 458 BC
SNGuk_0300_1154	Goat stg. r. with boar hd. r. to the r. within incuse square	466 BC - 463 BC
SNGuk_0300_1155	Goat stg. r. with fly to the r. within incuse square	469 BC - 466 BC
SNGuk_0300_1156	Goat stg. r. with laurel-spray to the r. within incuse square	409 BC - 407 BC
SNGuk_0300_1157	Goat stg. r. with kerykeion to the r. within incuse square	412 BC - 409 BC
SNGuk_0300_1158	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
SNGuk_0300_1159	Goat stg. r. with double-axe to the r. within incuse square	431 BC - 429 BC
SNGuk_0300_1160	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
SNGuk_0300_1161	Goat stg. r. with vine tendril to the r. within incuse square	423 BC - 420 BC
SNGuk_0300_1162	Goat stg. l. with sapling to the l.	425 BC - 422 BC
SNGuk_0300_1163	Goat stg. r. with ivy branch to the r. within incuse square	417 BC - 414 BC
SNGuk_0300_1164	Goat stg. r. with vine tendril to the r. within incuse square	427 BC - 424 BC
SNGuk_0300_1165	Goat stg. r. with club to the r.	429 BC - 426 BC
SNGuk_0300_1166	Goat stg. r. with club to the r.	429 BC - 426 BC
SNGuk_0300_1167	Goat with lowered hd. scratching within incuse square	421 BC - 418 BC
SNGuk_0300_1168	Goat stg. r. with vine in leaf from which hang two grape clusters to the r.	398 BC - 395 BC
SNGuk_0300_1169	Goat stg. r. with flaming race torch to the r. within incuse square	400 BC - 397 BC
SNGuk_0300_1170	Goat stg. l. with greave to the l.	361 BC - 358 BC
SNGuk_0300_1171	Goat stg. r. with tripod to the r.	363 BC - 360 BC
SNGuk_0300_1172	Goat stg. r. with inscription to the r.	403 BC - 401 BC
SNGuk_0300_1173	Goat stg. r. with kerykeion to the r. within incuse square	412 BC - 409 BC
SNGuk_0504_3517	Goat stg. r. with astragalos to the r. within incuse square	471 BC - 468 BC
SNGuk_0504_3518	Goat stg. r. with astragalos to the r. within incuse square	471 BC - 468 BC
SNGuk_0504_3519	Goat stg. r. with boar hd. r. to the r. within incuse square	466 BC - 463 BC
SNGuk_0504_3520	Goat stg. r. within incuse square	474/3 BC - 449/8 BC
SNGuk_0504_3521	Goat stg. r. within incuse square	474/3 BC - 449/8 BC
SNGuk_0504_3522	Kerykeion under crescent flanked by A r. and I l. in incuse square	461 BC - 458 BC
SNGuk_0504_3523	Kerykeion under crescent flanked by A l. and I r. in incuse square	458 BC - 452 BC
SNGuk_0504_3524	Kerykeion under crescent flanked by A l. and I r. in incuse square	458 BC - 452 BC
SNGuk_0504_3525	Goat stg. r. with club to the r.	429 BC - 426 BC
SNGuk_0504_3526	Goat stg. r. with club to the r.	429 BC - 426 BC
SNGuk_0504_3527	Goat stg. r. with ivy branch to the r.	427 BC - 424 BC

SNGuk_0504_3528	Goat stg. r. with ivy branch to the r.	427 BC - 424 BC
SNGuk_0504_3529	Goat stg. l. with sapling to the l.	425 BC - 422 BC
SNGuk_0504_3530	Goat stg. r. with vine tendril to the r. within incuse square	423 BC - 420 BC
SNGuk_0504_3531	Goat stg. r. with kerykeion to the r. within incuse square	412 BC - 409 BC
SNGuk_0504_3532	Goat stg. r. with kerykeion to the r. within incuse square	412 BC - 409 BC
SNGuk_0504_3533	Goat stg. r. with kerykeion to the r. within incuse square	412 BC - 409 BC
SNGuk_0504_3534	Goat stg. r. with laurel spray to the r.	409 BC - 407 BC
SNGuk_0504_3535	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
SNGuk_0504_3536	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
SNGuk_0504_3537	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
SNGuk_0504_3538	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
SNGuk_0504_3539	Goat stg. r. with crab between front legs within incuse square	408 BC - 406 BC
SNGuk_0504_3540	Goat stg. r. with rape cluster on stalk with leaf to the r.	406 BC - 404 BC
SNGuk_0504_3541	Goat stg. r. with rose to the r.	405 BC - 357 BC
SNGuk_0504_3542	Goat stg. r. with rose to the r.	405 BC - 357 BC
SNGuk_0504_3543	Goat stg. r. with corn grain sprouting to the r.?	402 BC -399 BC
SNGuk_0504_3544	Goat stg. r. with corn grain sprouting to the r.?	402 BC -399 BC
SNGuk_0504_3545	Goat stg. r. with corn grain on long stalk to the r.	402 BC -399 BC
SNGuk_0504_3546	Goat stg. r. with corn grain sprouting to the r.	402 BC -399 BC
SNGuk_0504_3547	Goat stg. r. with star to the r.	380 BC - 377 BC
SNGuk_0504_3548	Goat stg. r. with grape cluster and corn grain to the r.	385 BC - 383 BC
SNGuk_0504_3549	Goat stg. r. with amphora to the r. and astragalos below	383 BC - 381 BC
SNGuk_0504_3550	Goat stg. r. with trophy to the r.	382 BC - 379 BC
SNGuk_0504_3551	Goat stg. r. with laurel wreath to the r.	374 BC - 371 BC
SNGuk_0504_3552	Goat stg. r. with crested helmet to the r.	372 BC - 369 BC
SNGuk_0504_3553	Goat stg. r. with eagle to the r.	359 BC - 356 BC
SNGuk_0504_3554	Herm stg. l. on throne with bucranium to the l.	357 BC - 342 BC
SNGuk_0504_3555	Herm stg. l. on throne with hd. of goat r. to the l.	357 BC - 342 BC
SNGuk_0601_0454	Goat stg. r. with eagle to the r.	359 BC - 356 BC
SNGuk_0700_0769	Goat stg. r. with fly to the r. within incuse square	469 BC - 466 BC
SNGuk_0700_0770	Goat stg. r. in square frame surrounded by inscription with Pan stg. r. to the r. of frame within incuse square	453 BC - 450 BC
SNGuk_0700_0771	Goat stg. r. with crested helmet to the r. within incuse square	372 BC - 369 BC
SNGuk_0800_0316	Goat stg. r. with crescent to the r. within incuse square	456 BC - 454 BC
SNGuk_0800_0317	Goat stg. r. in square frame surrounded by inscription with Pan stg. r. to the r. of frame within incuse square	453 BC - 450 BC
SNGuk_0800_0318	Goat stg. r. grazing at vine to the r.	423 BC - 420 BC
SNGuk_0800_0319	Goat stg. r. with ivy branch to the r. within incuse square	415 BC - 412 BC
SNGuk_0800_0320	Goat stg. r. with corn grain on long stalk to the r.	402 BC -399 BC
SNGuk_0300_0636	Tripod crowned by winged Nike with inscription to the r.	400 BC - 375 BC
SNGuk_1000_0407	Eagle r. holding snake with monogram and inscription above	380 BC - 280 BC
SNGuk_1000_0408	No type	350 BC - 325 BC
SNGuk_0300_2284	Helmeted hd. of Athena r. with Hermes to the l. sitting and holding kerykion	350 BC - 300 BC
SNGuk_0700_0906	Bunch of grapes flanked by inscription on both sides	400 BC - 300 BC
SNGuk_1000_0275	Corn grain flanked by inscription on both sides	400 BC - 350 BC

SNGuk_1000_0277	Corn grain flanked by herm to the l.	425 BC - 350 BC
SNGuk_0300_2762	Panther stg. r. within square	377 BC - 326 BC
SNGuk_0406_4355	Panther stg. r. within square	377 BC - 326 BC
SNGuk_0406_4358	Hermes hd. r. within square	412 BC - 378 BC
SNGuk_0300_2525	Hermes stg. facing with hd. to the r. holding kerykeion and infant Arkas with inscription to the r.	370 BC - 365 BC
SNGuk_0300_2526	Hermes sitting on rocks l. holding kerykeion with inscription to the r.	370 BC - 365 BC?
SNGuk_0405_3896	Ram stg. r. with inscription above and underneath	370 BC - 300 BC
SNGuk_0405_3897	Hermes stg. facing with hd. to the r. holding kerykeion and infant Arkas with inscription to the r.	370 BC - 300 BC
SNGuk_0700_1134	Ram stg. r. with inscription above and underneath	430 BC - 370 BC
SNGuk_0601_0944	Forepart of griffin r. with inscription underneath	200 BC - 100 BC
SNGuk_0901_1503	Heraldic eagle facing flanked by inscription on both sides and monogram to the r.	380 BC - 340 BC
SNGuk_0300_2669	Heraldic eagle facing flanked by inscription on both sides and monogram to the r.	300 BC - 200 BC?
SNGuk_0300_2608	Hermes stg. l. holding kerykeion and phiale with inscription to the r.	330 BC - 300 BC
SNGuk_0300_2609	Hermes l. binding sandal with kerykeion to the l. and inscription to the r.	330 BC - 300 BC
SNGuk_0800_0571	Rose surrounded by inscription	410 BC - 390 BC

ID no.	Location	Axis	Diameter	Weight
SNGuk_0300_1136	Abdera	6	15	2.83
SNGuk_0300_1140	Abdera	1	15	2.77
SNGuk_0504_3484	Abdera	6	15	2.77
SNGuk_0101a0101	Ainos	6	23	15.97
SNGuk_0101a0102	Ainos	12	24	15.85
SNGuk_0101a0103	Ainos	6	24	16.41
SNGuk_0300_1151	Ainos	9	23	15.93
SNGuk_0300_1152	Ainos	6	11	1.28
SNGuk_0300_1153	Ainos	3	24	16.23
SNGuk_0300_1154	Ainos	3	24	16.41
SNGuk_0300_1155	Ainos	6	25	16.11
SNGuk_0300_1156	Ainos	9	24	16.12
SNGuk_0300_1157	Ainos	9	23	16.71
SNGuk_0300_1158	Ainos	6	13	2.73
SNGuk_0300_1159	Ainos	12	12	2.73
SNGuk_0300_1160	Ainos	6	12	1.29
SNGuk_0300_1161	Ainos	12	12	1.26
SNGuk_0300_1162	Ainos	11	11	1.32
SNGuk_0300_1163	Ainos	12	12	1.29
SNGuk_0300_1164	Ainos	12	10	1.28
SNGuk_0300_1165	Ainos	9	10	1.32
SNGuk_0300_1166	Ainos	6	11	1.32
SNGuk_0300_1167	Ainos	9	12	1.32
SNGuk_0300_1168	Ainos	12	25	14.86
SNGuk_0300_1169	Ainos	12	25	15.70
SNGuk_0300_1170	Ainos	12	26	14.99
SNGuk_0300_1171	Ainos	12	13	2.46
SNGuk_0300_1172	Ainos	6	10	1.27
SNGuk_0300_1173	Ainos	12	25	17.83
SNGuk_0504_3517	Ainos	6	24	15.97
SNGuk_0504_3518	Ainos	7	23	16.21
SNGuk_0504_3519	Ainos	3	25	16.40
SNGuk_0504_3520	Ainos	12	14	4.16
SNGuk_0504_3521	Ainos	3	24	16.40
SNGuk_0504_3522	Ainos	6	10	1.28
SNGuk_0504_3523	Ainos	7	10	1.31
SNGuk_0504_3524	Ainos	11	10	1.28
SNGuk_0504_3525	Ainos	11	11	1.30
SNGuk_0504_3526	Ainos	7	11	1.28
SNGuk_0504_3527	Ainos	7	11	1.30
SNGuk_0504_3528	Ainos	1	11	1.31
SNGuk_0504_3529	Ainos	11	11	1.31
SNGuk_0504_3530	Ainos	6	11	1.29
SNGuk_0504_3531	Ainos	6	25	16.52

SNGuk_0504_3532	Ainos	6	24	16.57
SNGuk_0504_3533	Ainos	3	26	16.57
SNGuk_0504_3534	Ainos	12	11	1.21
SNGuk_0504_3535	Ainos	6	12	1.34
SNGuk_0504_3536	Ainos	6	13	1.36
SNGuk_0504_3537	Ainos	6	11	1.38
SNGuk_0504_3538	Ainos	6	12	1.38
SNGuk_0504_3539	Ainos	6	12	1.24
SNGuk_0504_3540	Ainos	9	11	1.08
SNGuk_0504_3541	Ainos	5	12	2.55
SNGuk_0504_3542	Ainos	6	10	1.30
SNGuk_0504_3543	Ainos	11	10	1.27
SNGuk_0504_3544	Ainos	12	11	1.09
SNGuk_0504_3545	Ainos	11	25	14.70
SNGuk_0504_3546	Ainos	11	14	2.33
SNGuk_0504_3547	Ainos	12	24	14.52
SNGuk_0504_3548	Ainos	12	24	14.68
SNGuk_0504_3549	Ainos	12	25	15.18
SNGuk_0504_3550	Ainos	12	14	2.11
SNGuk_0504_3551	Ainos	12	26	15.23
SNGuk_0504_3552	Ainos	12	24	15.32
SNGuk_0504_3553	Ainos	12	26	15.36
SNGuk_0504_3554	Ainos	12	17	3.76
SNGuk_0504_3555	Ainos	12	18	3.77
SNGuk_0601_0454	Ainos	12	26	15.24
SNGuk_0700_0769	Ainos	6	25	16.07
SNGuk_0700_0770	Ainos	2	26	15.56
SNGuk_0700_0771	Ainos	12	27	14.52
SNGuk_0800_0316	Ainos	12	24	16.15
SNGuk_0800_0317	Ainos	12	23	14.71
SNGuk_0800_0318	Ainos	12	10	1.29
SNGuk_0800_0319	Ainos	6	23	16.47
SNGuk_0800_0320	Ainos	12	24	15.83
SNGuk_0300_0636	Croton	12	20	6.54
SNGuk_1000_0407	Hipponium	6	20	16.88
SNGuk_1000_0408	Hipponium	x	13	4.62
SNGuk_0300_2284	Leucas	3	21	8.50
SNGuk_0700_0906	Locri Opuntii	12	14	1.75
SNGuk_1000_0275	Metapontum	7	20	8.09
SNGuk_1000_0277	Metapontum	6	19	9.10
SNGuk_0300_2762	Mytilene	x	11	2.52
SNGuk_0406_4355	Mytilene	9	11	2.54
SNGuk_0406_4358	Mytilene	12	11	2.48
SNGuk_0300_2525	Pheneus	1	24	12.04
SNGuk_0300_2526	Pheneus	3	21	5.56

SNGuk_0405_3896	Pheneus	11	13	0.81
SNGuk_0405_3897	Pheneus	5	25	11.33
SNGuk_0700_1134	Pheneus	12	12	0.62
SNGuk_0601_0944	Phocaea	12	19	4.22
SNGuk_0901_1503	Sinope	12	11	1.02
SNGuk_0300_2669	Sinope	12	14	1.96
SNGuk_0300_2608	Sybrita	3	26	10.82
SNGuk_0300_2609	Sybrita	6	25	10.85
SNGuk_0800_0571	Tragilus	6	14	4.12

ID no.	Metal	Attributes	Inscription
SNGuk_0300_1136	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: [HR] OΦ AN HΣ
SNGuk_0300_1140	AR	Petasis, kerykeion and chlamys	Obv: ABD. Rev: EPI ΦΙΛΑΙΟ.
SNGuk_0504_3484	AR	Petasis and chlamys	Obv: ABD
SNGuk_0101a0101	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0101a0102	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0101a0103	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0300_1151	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: A I N I O N
SNGuk_0300_1152	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: A I
SNGuk_0300_1153	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0300_1154	AR	Petasis	Rev: INIA
SNGuk_0300_1155	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0300_1156	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN I
SNGuk_0300_1157	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: AIN I
SNGuk_0300_1158	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0300_1159	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
SNGuk_0300_1160	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0300_1161	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0300_1162	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0300_1163	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0300_1164	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
SNGuk_0300_1165	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
SNGuk_0300_1166	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
SNGuk_0300_1167	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0300_1168	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0300_1169	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINIO[N]
SNGuk_0300_1170	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0300_1171	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0300_1172	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION ER
SNGuk_0300_1173	AR	Petasis	Rev: AN
SNGuk_0504_3517	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3518	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3519	AR	Petasis	Rev: INIA
SNGuk_0504_3520	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3521	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN I
SNGuk_0504_3522	AR	Petasis	Rev: I A
SNGuk_0504_3523	AR	Petasis	Rev: A I
SNGuk_0504_3524	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: A I
SNGuk_0504_3525	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
SNGuk_0504_3526	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3527	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
SNGuk_0504_3528	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
SNGuk_0504_3529	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3530	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3531	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: AIN I

SNGuk_0504_3532	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: AIN I
SNGuk_0504_3533	AR	Petasis and kerykeion	Rev: AIN I
SNGuk_0504_3534	AR	Petasis	Rev: ...
SNGuk_0504_3535	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINIO[N]
SNGuk_0504_3536	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3537	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3538	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3539	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3540	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3541	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3542	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3543	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3544	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0504_3545	AR	Petasis	Rev: [A]INIO N
SNGuk_0504_3546	AR	Petasis	Rev: [A]INIO[N]
SNGuk_0504_3547	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0504_3548	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0504_3549	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0504_3550	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0504_3551	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0504_3552	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0504_3553	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0504_3554	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0504_3555	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0601_0454	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0700_0769	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0700_0770	AR	Petasis	Rev: AN T I A DAΣ
SNGuk_0700_0771	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINION
SNGuk_0800_0316	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI
SNGuk_0800_0317	AR	Petasis	Rev: AN T I A DAΣ
SNGuk_0800_0318	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
SNGuk_0800_0319	AR	Petasis	Rev: AIN
SNGuk_0800_0320	AR	Petasis	Rev: AINI O[N]
SNGuk_0300_0636	AR	Kerykeion and phiale	Obv: Φ I. Rev: KRO
SNGuk_1000_0407	AE	Petasis	Rev: EI
SNGuk_1000_0408	AE	Petasis	Obv: EI
SNGuk_0300_2284	AR	Kerykeion	
SNGuk_0700_0906	AE	Petasis	Rev: LOK RΩN
SNGuk_1000_0275	AE	Petasis, kerykeion, chlamys and phiale	Obv: EU. Rev: [OBO]LOS ME
SNGuk_1000_0277	AE	Petasis	Obv: O[BOLOS]
SNGuk_0300_2762	EL	Petasis	
SNGuk_0406_4355	EL	Petasis	
SNGuk_0406_4358	EL	Petasis	
SNGuk_0300_2525	AR	Petasis	Rev: ARKAΣ ΦE NE

SNGuk_0300_2526	AR	Kerykeion and chlamys	Rev: ΦΕΝΕΥΝ ΥΗΡΙ
SNGuk_0405_3896	AR	Petasis	Rev: ΦΕ ΑΡ
SNGuk_0405_3897	AR	Petasis, kerykeion and chlamys	Rev: ΑΡΚΑΣ ΦΕ ΝΕ
SNGuk_0700_1134	AR	Petasis	Rev: ΦΕ ΑΡ
SNGuk_0601_0944	ΑΕ	Petasis	Rev: Φ-Ω ΠΥΘΙΣ
SNGuk_0901_1503	AR	Petasis	Rev: ΣΙ ΝΟ
SNGuk_0300_2669	AR	Petasis	Rev: ΣΙ ΝΟ
SNGuk_0300_2608	AR	Petasis, kerykeion and phiale	Rev: ΣΥΒΡΙΤΙΟΝ
SNGuk_0300_2609	AR	Kerykeion and chlamys	Rev: ΣΙΒΡΥΤΙ[ΟΝ]
SNGuk_0800_0571	ΑΕ	Petasis	Rev: Τ ΡΑΙΛΙ Ο Ν