REVUE BELGE
DE
NUMISMATIQUE
ET DE SIGILLOGRAPHIE
PUBLIÉE
SOUS LES AUSPICES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ROYALE DE NUMISMATIQUE
AVEC LE CONCOURS DU GOUVERNEMENT
DIRECTEURS:
MM. MARCEL HOC, DR JULES DESNEUX ET PAUL NASTER
1956
TOME CENT DEUXIÈME

BRUXELLES
5, RUE DU MUSÉE
1956
KOINON ΊΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ

A Study of the Coinage of the "Ionian League" (*)

The coins which specifically refer to the thirteen cities of the Ionian Federation, KOINON ΊΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ, bear the portraits of three emperors: Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. It is this series to which this article is devoted. There are two later issues of coins from the City of Colophon during the reigns of Trebonianus Gallus and Valerian which have little direct connection with the Ionian Federation as such. An example of the

(*) This paper is intended as supplementary to the preceding work of Dr. L. Lacroix, Un aspect méconnu de la légende d'Héraclès sur une monnaie de Pergame, p. 5-30.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are deeply indebted:

To the following for valuable suggestions and assistance in obtaining material for this article:

Dr. T. O. Mabbott, Hunter College, New York.
Dr. David Magie, Princeton University.
Edward Gans, Berkeley, California.
H. Von Aulock, Istanbul.

To the following for furnishing casts and photographs and assistance in procuring them:

Dr. Karl Pink and Dr. Eduard Holzmair, National Collection, Vienna.
Dr. W. Schneewind, Historical Museum, Basel.
Miss Anne S. Robertson, Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow.
Dr. G. Erxleben, National Museum, Berlin.
Sr. Gian Guido Belloni, Sforza Museum, Milan.

And to the following dealers for their generous cooperation:
Trebonianus Gallus issue is shown on plate VIII as No. 31 for purposes of information and comparison only.

All known specimens are of medallion size. It is doubtful whether they are to be referred to as coins or not. Those bearing the portrait of Marcus Aurelius are from 36 mm. to 38 mm. in size or about the average diameter of the early imperial sestertii but all are quite thicker. Those of Antoninus range from 42 to 45 mm. except one in the Historical Museum, Basel, with a diameter of 50 mm. and one which was in the Levis Collection with a diameter of 55 mm. All of the Antoninus pieces are of the average thickness of the imperial sestertii excepting the two huge specimens above referred to. The medallion of Commodus has a diameter of about 48 mm., judging from the photograph. Thirty specimens in all have been located by us, 24 with the portrait of Antoninus, 5 with that of Marcus Aurelius and one only of Commodus, of which we were unable to obtain a cast. It was No. 1011 in the Collection of Count Waldeck zu Arolsen, and apparently was unknown to Head.

The Antoninus Type

There is only one observe type of the Antoninus Pius issue and all of these are struck from the same identical die, which is combined with no less than six distinctly different reverse dies of which in turn there are a total of eleven varieties.

Dr. Herbert A. Cahn, Basel.
P. and P. Santamaria, Rome.
B. A. Seaby, Ltd, London.

We wish to add that without Prof. L. Lacroix of the University of Liège this work would have been almost impossible. He and Prof. Naster of the University of Louvain amended our manuscript.

General Bibliography

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Aelius VII,
Antoninus IV, V, VI, IX,
* Marcus Antoninus * I, V, VI,
Verus I, III, IV.

Sedgewick, Life of Marcus Aurelius, Yale University Press, 1921.

Other references such as the British Museum Catalogues, etc., are noted in the text.
There are two obverse types of Marcus Aurelius which are combined with two types of reverse dies and there are three varieties of one of these reverses. The inscription on the reverses states that they were issued by direction of one M. Claudius Fronto, Asiarch and High Priest of the Thirteen Cities.

The photographs of the 24 specimens of the Antoninus Pius type (pl. III-VII) show slight differences which are readily explainable as being due to processes of photography or casting, or retouching of the dies. As a matter of fact less than one-half of those we have are free from this, namely Nos. 1 to 9 and 12 and 13. Even Nos. 3, 4 and 6 are in such condition that it is difficult to determine whether they have been worked over or not. We do not have the obverse of No. 5.

Nos. 1 to 6 are combined with reverse dies of the same type and may be the first pieces struck from the Antoninus die. Nos. 7 to 11 are combined with two other different reverse dies which, however, resemble each other. Nos. 7 and 9 are two of the outstanding specimens from the standpoint of condition and we believe that Nos. 7, 8, and 9 have not been retouched and that the markings in front of the nose on No. 9 are merely scratches. Although Nos. 10 and 11 are in this group, we can form no opinion from No. 10 because the photograph is from a drawing of the coin and No. 11 has been thoroughly worked over by someone who evidently had to guess at the original reverse inscription. What is left of the inscriptions on Nos. 10 and 11 is so garbled as to be unintelligible. The original of No. 10 has disappeared. It was in the monastery of St. Florian near Vienna and the photograph is taken from the catalog of the Monastery collection made by Kenner in 1871.

Nos. 12 to 16 are combined with two different reverse dies and form the third type. No. 12 is the finest preserved specimen in the catalog both as to obverse and reverse. It is free from any evidence of retouching whatever. No. 13 is in very poor condition but still shows no evidence of having been tampered with. No. 14 is No. 584 in the Catalog of the Levis Collection sold by Naville and Company, June 18-20, 1925. We have been unable to obtain either a cast or photograph of it and know it only from the description given there. The cataloguer describes it as having been «retouched».

The reverse of Nos. 15 and 16 closely resembles that of Nos. 12 to 14 but is different enough to justify being placed in a separate
group because of the difference in the inscription as well as the positions of the figures on the coin. We know of only two specimens of it and both of these have definitely been retouched.

Nos. 17 to 23 are combined with still another different group of dies, all of which so closely resemble each other as to be classed as one type. All of the specimens of this type have been retouched, but, remarkable as it is, No. 21 affords us the most complete reverse inscription in the entire series.

The conclusion is inescapable that there is only one Antoninus Pius die and it was used with five reverse dies before we find evidences of any change in it. We summarize the Antoninus group as follows:

**Obverses:**

One type, one variety. Bust of Antoninus to left.

**Reverses:**

Type I. Hades carrying off Persephone.

Group 1. Inscription around border. (Two varieties).
   Nos. 1 to 6.

Group 2. Part of inscription in the field. (Two varieties).
   Nos. 7 to 11.

Type II. Heracles and Auge.

Group 1. Inscription refers to citizens of Ephesus and Pergamum. (One variety). Nos. 12 to 14.

Group 2. Usual inscription, and differences in posture of the two figures. (One variety). Nos. 15 and 16.

Type III. Demeter in biga of serpents or griffins. (Four varieties). Nos 17 to 23.

Type IV. Bust of Dionysus to right. (One variety). No. 24.

The minor varieties will be described in the catalogue.

This last was in the Hirsch sale of April, 1909. Its type is not only different from all of the others but also out of harmony with them. The inscription is the same as that on all the others excepting Nos. 12 to 14. The portrait of Dionysus to the right with long flowing beard and hair entwined with huge bunches of grapes is extravagantly overdone. The coin is one which has been thoroughly worked over, probably in modern times, but nevertheless is undeniably genuine. It is the only coin with the reverse type of Dionysus.
The inscription begins at the base of the bust with the letters ΩΣΓΙΠΟΛΕ. The back of the neck ends in a point which separates these letters from the rest of the inscription which begins with ΩΝ. The next three letters KOI are clear but those which follow and precede ΠΡΟΝΟ are quite doubtful. The rest is very plain and materially aids in determining what the basic inscription is. This is the most peculiar piece in the entire catalogue. The inscription shows considerable wear and yet the body of the coin itself is in excellent condition. It is of course a recut die.

The obverse die of the Antoninus type was one which required working over possibly because of inferior metal, but its use and combination with so many reverse dies is evidence that all known specimens constituted one issue, which was an extremely limited one because of the few specimens extant. Even though so many of them have been worked over, that has not destroyed the evidences of their genuineness because enough remains of the original lettering and design to establish the identity of the dies from which they were made. We are informed that the genuineness of the Levis specimen No. 14 has been questioned and for that reason we especially regret that we could not obtain either a cast or photograph of it and we feel that comparison with the casts we do have would show that it too is either tooled or from one of these same over worked Antoninus dies.

The Marcus Aurelius Type

The second obverse group is that of Marcus Aurelius which is catalogued as Nos. 26 to 30 (pl. VIII). There are two obverse dies and four reverse dies. The first obverse type is combined with two reverses, and the second is combined with only one reverse, but with three varieties of it.

We have found only five specimens. Nos. 26, 27 and 28 bear a youthful portrait of Marcus Aurelius in cuirass with head bare, which resembles his portrait on the Imperial Roman coins struck under Antoninus Pius about the time Aurelius was made consul. All of the three known specimens have been retouched. We have been able to examine No. 27 itself very carefully since it is in the writer's collection. The photograph is an excellent one and shows the broken letters at the right of the portrait quite clearly. This particular coin has been worked on after Nos. 26 and 28 were
struck because the letters are not broken on Nos. 26 and 28. Also the coin has been worked on after it was minted because the line on the lower cheek is cut into the coin and the lines around the eye result from tooling. The reverse shows no evidence whatever of having been retouched which, remarkable as it is, is a characteristic feature of all of the reverses in both the Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius groups excepting Nos. 11, 21 and 24. Nos. 26 and 27 bear the same reverse, i.e. Tyche standing to left. No. 28 is combined with one of the varieties of the second reverse types, i.e. a temple, and yet the letters in the inscription on No. 28 are not broken as they are on No. 27.

The second obverse die and type, Nos. 29 and 30, has the head of Marcus Aurelius bare facing left and wearing paludamentum. The portrait in fact should be described as "boyish" and more closely resembles that on the imperial Roman coins struck under Antoninus Pius at the time of the adoption of Marcus by him. The temple type reverse has three varieties of which we have only one specimen of each, i.e., one combined with the Marcus Aurelius Type I and two with his obverse Type II.

Following are the main distinguishing features and groupings of the Marcus Aurelius issue:

**Obverse**

I. Portrait to right. Nos. 26 to 28.
II. Portrait to left. Nos. 29 and 30.

**Reverse**

I. Tyche standing facing left, with left hand holding cornucopiae and right hand resting on a rudder. Nos. 26 and 27.
II. Temple with statue of goddess in center. Nos. 28 to 30.

The varieties will be described in the catalogue.

**The Commodus Type**

We have reserved the references to No. 25 (pl. VII) to the last and the coin itself should have properly been placed at the last. The only known specimen bears on the obverse the portrait of Commodus with his usual titles and we placed it between the Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius groups because of the reverse type which most closely resembles that on Nos. 12 to 14, not only in the position of the figures, Heracles and Auge, but also in the text of the inscription.
It is the most remarkable piece of all. It is the only one with the portrait of Commodus. It too purports to have been issued under the direction of Fronto and yet several years elapsed between its issue and those which bear the portrait of Marcus Aurelius which were also struck under his direction; that is, if we accept the evidence which indicates that the Aurelius types were struck shortly after Antoninus began to reign in 138.

It is the only one which shares with Nos. 12 to 14 the inscription which refers to the Ephesians and Pergamenes. Even the arrangement of the inscription is the same.

Because of its reference to Fronto it also raises further questions as to the dating of the coins, but we believe the content of the coins with portraits of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius indicates that they are one issue.

The Inscriptions

Obverses

The Antoninus type:

Ο ΤΙΑΙΑΔΙΑΝΟΟΚ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΟΕΥΑΝΟΚΑΙ
(Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Imperator Caesar)

The Marcus Aurelius types:
I. Μ.ΑΙΛΙΟΚΑΥΦΗ .ΒΗΡΟΣΚΙΑΚΑΙΚΑΡ.
(M. Aelius Aurelius Verus Caesar).
II. Μ.ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΚΑΥΦΗ .ΟΥΡΟΣΚΙΑΚΑΙΚΑΡ.
(M. Aurelius Verus Caesar).

The Commodus type:

Ο ΜΑΥΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΔΟΣΒΑΚΤΟΧΑΙΟΧΕΡΑΚΛΗ-
ΡΩΜΑΙΟΚΑΙ(SIC)ΑΥΚΑ
(M. Aurelius Commodus Augustus Sol Hercules Romanus
Imperator Caesar).

Reverses

All types:

There are two distinctly different reverse inscriptions. No. 1 has small minor variations which will be noted in the specific descriptions in the catalogue. No. 2 is the same on Nos. 12, 13, 14 and 25. They are:

No.1.Ο ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΩΝ.ΠΟΛΕΩΝ.ΠΡΟΝΗΜ.ΚΑ.ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΚ.
ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ.ΚΑΙ.ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΝ.ΓΙ.ΠΟΛΕΩΝ.
Commonwealth of Thirteen Cities; by direction of Μ
Cl(audius) Fronto Asiarch and High Priest of (the) Thirteen Cities.

No. 2 ) ACIACPTROTON ΕΦΕΕΙΩΝ ΠΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ 
(around border) 
KOINON ΓΠΟΛΕΩΝ 
ΠΡΟΜ ΚΑΦΡΟΝΤΩ 
N 
(in exergue)

Of the leading citizens of Asia, Ephesians (and) Pergamenes, Commonwealth of Thirteen Cities, by direction of M. Cl. Fronto.

Except for minor variations noted in the descriptions, the reverse inscriptions as given by Head (BMC, Ionia 16) are the same on all but Nos. 12, 13, 14 and 25. We have found only two of the thirty specimens with an inscription so complete as to leave every letter free from doubt. Undoubtedly Head reconstructed the inscription, as given by him, from other specimens available besides the two in the B. M. Each of the major types have varying inscriptions and it is impossible to complete the inscription of some of the types from one specimen. That is the reason for our showing all of the thirty known (except the piece from the Levis collection). Even though we feel we have correctly quoted the inscriptions we concede that there is ground for difference of opinion regarding our readings. Let us refer to Nos. 26 and 27. On No. 26 the first clear letter at left is Ρ followed by ΟΝ. Then follow three letters which we read ΟΗΜ. The letter before Ρ seems to be Π which would give the word Προνοατοτος, etc., as read by Head. However, the letters below the right foot of Tyche are ΚΟ, the beginning of the word ΚΟΙΝΟΝ, but there is hardly enough space between the ΚΟ and the next legible letter for all of the letters necessary to make the complete inscription ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΓΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΝΟΗΜ. An examination shows in general that this part of the inscription usually reads ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΓΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΜ ΚΑΦΡΟΝΤΩΝ.

We meet with ΠΡΟ, ΠΡΟΝ and in one instance ΠΡΟΝΟΗ. In some cases ΟΝ is dropped from ΚΟΙΝΟΝ and ΟC from ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟC and the titles ΑΦΙΑΡΧΟΥ and ΑΡΧΕΡΕΩC are usually abbreviated. The numeral is usually written Γ1 at the beginning and Γ1 at the end although one inscription has it Γ1 in both places.
General Discussion

The series as a whole presents a number of most interesting, problems, i.e., (I) whether it consists of more than one issue (II) when and under what circumstances the coins were issued, (III) the identity of M. Claudius Fronto, and (IV) the cultus image in the temple on the reverse of the Marcus Aurelius type and the identity of the temple itself as is evident from the work of Dr. Lacroix on the series.

I. — Unity of Issue

The various factors to establish this are:

(1) Similarity in style, workmanship and inscription.

For example, the size of the letters and their arrangement especially on the reverses is identical. The same inscription appears on the Marcus Aurelius group which appears on most of the Antoninus Pius group. Although the portraits are of two different individuals nevertheless the treatment of various features is almost identical. For example, the treatment of the eye, nose and mouth.

(2) Comparison with other issues.

On the supplemental plate (fig.) we have shown certain contemporary coins both from Rome and from the Greek provinces for the purpose of comparison.

There are two striking examples: the first is a coin of Marcus Aurelius struck at Hierapolis in Phrygia (BMC, Phrygia, Pl. XXXII, No. 1) (fig. 1). The expression on the face, the features, the arrangement of the curls in the hair, are all so much alike that if it were not for the fact that the portrait is smaller we might at first sight say they were from the same die. The second is a coin of Aezanis (BMC, Phrygia, Pl. VI, No. 1) (fig. 2). Here the style and treatment of Antoninus's portrait is the same as that on the Ionian League coins. The reverse is that of Tyche, which although a very common subject in the Greek imperial series, nevertheless in this instance so closely resembles the reverse Type I Aurelius as to convince us that it is the work of the same person. The position, the lettering, all of the features are strikingly similar. It is important too to note that this coin combines the
Fig. 1 à 7.
portrait of Antoninus Pius with the reverse which appears on the Marcus Aurelius issue of Type I.

These latter two coins and those of the Ionian League in fact may be the work of the same artist, as is indicated by these striking similarities, and if so, he was an artist of superior ability. To prove this we need only compare them with other contemporary pieces from Asia Minor (See: BMC, Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos, Aegae, Pl. XVIII, No. 12; BMC, Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia, Tarsus, Pl. XXV, No. 1; Seleucia, XXIII, No. 7; Heraclea-Salbace, XX, No. 9; BMC, Lydia, Talle, XXXVII, No. 7; Blaundus, VI, No. 8; Cilbiani, VII, No. 8; Nacrasa, XVIII, No. 10).

The other comparison is with coins issued by Antoninus early in his reign bearing the portrait of Marcus Aurelius on the reverse. Since their portraits were combined on certain imperial coins it would not be surprising to find their portraits on two groups constituting one and the same issue in another section of the empire. In this case the portrait of Antoninus closely resembles his portrait on Cohen No. 28, BMC, IV, 194, 1212 (fig. 3: Magnaguti Coll., 30), and the portrait of Marcus Aurelius is the same youthful type which appears on this series. The same remarks apply to Cohen No. 33 which bears another very youthful portrait of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 4: Trau Coll., 1563).

The Imperial Roman Mint of Antoninus issued an extensive series of coins which bear on the obverse the portrait of Antoninus Pius and on the reverse very youthful portraits of Marcus Aurelius on which he is designated as COS and in some inscriptions COS. DES. So, if Antoninus himself caused coins to be issued with this combination early in the beginning of his reign, it is not surprising to find the same thing done in other parts of the empire. For example, Cohen No. 457, BMC, IV, 226, 1405. A similar conclusion will also be reached by reference to some of the famous medallions from the Imperial Roman Mint such as Toynbee, Roman Medallions, Plate XIV, No. 3, XXIII, No. 1, and XXVI, No. 3.

The point is that all of these similarities in so many different coins from various sections of the empire indicate the adoption of these particular types at one and the same time and in connection with the observance of or the desire to commemorate some important event or events.

Two other examples are Cohen, II, p. 409, 8 with a very boyish portrait of Aurelius with the title COS DES (fig. 5: Levis Coll.,
588, M. B.) and Cohen, II, p. 411, 34 with another extremely young portrait and the title COS (fig. 6: Levis Coll., 589). As a matter of fact, this series of the imperial Roman coins with the combined portraits of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius was issued prior to 141 and it is therefore not remarkable to find a similar situation in the provinces. There are contemporary provincial coins bearing the portrait of Antoninus on the obverse and that of Aurelius on the reverse (BMC, Cyprus, p. 83, 42, and p. 84, 47) (fig. 7). The portrait on these provincial coins are similar to those of the Imperial Roman Mint.

(3) The identity of the issuing authority and even of the sponsor.

All of the thirty specimens are of the KOINON IΓ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ and all of them purport to have been issued under the direction of M. Claudius Fronto. The fact that No. 25 was issued under Commodus does not indicate that the Antoninus and Aurelius series were not issued at the same time. No. 25 must have been a commemorative piece (1).

(4) The identity of the obverse Antoninus die.

As has been shown above, the reverse of the Antoninus coins 1 to 24 are combined with the one obverse die and are closely tied in with the Marcus Aurelius issue by the inscription and style, etc.

There are factors though that would indicate separate issues, i.e. the differences in the portraits of Marcus Aurelius, one presenting far more youthful features than the other, and the references regarding the Ephesians and Pergamenes on Nos. 12 to 14. But the importance of these objections is lessened by the fact that one of the obverse dies of Marcus Aurelius is combined with one of the reverses of the same type that is combined with the other Aurelius obverses (No. 28), and the reverse referring to the Ephesians and Pergamenes resembles closely the other Heracles-Auge type (15 and 16) and is combined with the Antoninus obverse die.

No. 25 is the coin which presents the greatest problem inasmuch as it was issued under Commodus. In our judgment that should not affect our conclusion because of the well known custom of the Roman mints, Imperial and Provincial, to repeat the same theme decade after decade.

(1) If it is indeed genuine.
The other subjects are common to the Greek imperial coinages of city after city and emperor to emperor, such as Tyche holding cornucopiae and rudder, Hades carrying off Persephone and Demeter in biga.

II. — THE DATING OF THE COINS

From what has already been said regarding the unity of the issue it would almost follow that the coins could hardly have been struck much later than the year 140. Even though the provinces were very little concerned with the imperial consulship, because that office was particularly a local Roman one and therefore we would not expect to find Aurelius's consulship referred to on a Greek imperial coin, nevertheless the portraits on Nos. 26 to 30 are very similar to those which appear on the imperial Roman coins which bear his title of COS or COS DES.

The titulature of Antoninus is also a point. The form « T. Ael. » disappears from the Imperial Roman Mint after 139 and does not reappear until 145.

Moreover, the obverse die with bust facing left and draped, seems to be derived from Roman medallions which are in fact dated 139 (?).

Aurelius too appears under Antoninus Pius as M. Aelius Aurelius Caesar: e.g. DESSAU, Inscr. lat. selectae, 353 and 354. The inscriptions in Dessau are both about or very shortly after Aurelius's second consulship which was in 145.

On all Greek imperial issues which bear this youthful portrait of Aurelius he has no other title than KAI CAP whereas on those which bear his older portraits he is usually laureated and with titles added.

The coin from Aezanis in Phrygia above described is likewise of importance in the dating. There Antoninus is referred to as « T. Aelius » and the coins of Marcus Aurelius which immediately follow it refer to him by the same titles as appear on the Ionian issue. We believe these Phrygian coins from Aezanis were contemporary with the Antoninus coins just as are the Ionian coins. The similarity of the titles would date them about 140.

(1) e.g. in GNECCI, Medaglioni romani, II, pl. 48, 2.
Aurelius was designated consul in 139 and became consul January 1, 140 at which time he was nineteen years old. Hadrian adopted Antoninus Pius early in 138 with the understanding that he adopt Aurelius at which time the latter took the name of Aurelius instead of Annius. Although Aurelius and Faustina were married in 145, they had been betrothed shortly after the death of Hadrian. The imperial Roman coins show Aurelius was certainly "COS DES" in 139. This chronology would lead us to expect that in 140 or possibly 139 these important events would be celebrated throughout the empire and that the Ionian League along with other parts of the empire would hold its customary games on even a more elaborate scale than usual in order to commemorate at least some of them. We believe these coins were issued in connection with games because it was customary for the Greek cities to do so, but it is notable that there are no agonistic types in the series.

The worship of Rome and Augustus was deep rooted and widely observed throughout the empire. Since the KOINON IΩΝΩΝ was bound by a religious bond and was more of a religious than a political union, it was much concerned with the imperial cult, and the appearance of a new emperor in 138 — with Aurelius, two new emperors — in the cult of Rome and Augustus may have occasioned this issue.

Again we point out that these Aurelius types could hardly have been issued when or after Aurelius became emperor (161) and we know of no reason for a combined issue of the two emperors after 145.

III. — THE IDENTITY OF FRONTO

An M. Claudius Fronto took an active part in the Parthian campaign under Verus, commanding "Legio I Minervia". During his career he held many offices and bore many important titles which are listed in an inscription found at Sarmizegetusa in Dacia, and in another similar inscription found at Rome the authenticity of which is questioned (1). It would seem that his career was more in Dacia, Moesia and other parts of the empire than in Ionia. He was consul probably in 166 or some time before and died pro-

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(1) DESSAU, Inscr. lat. sel., 1097; C.I.L., III, 1457 and 1088; C.I.L., VI, 1877.
probably in 170. On these coins M. Claudius Fronto is designated as Asiarch and High Priest of the Thirteen Cities. If the Ionian official is the same as the Fronto referred to in the inscriptions he was promoted to very high positions after holding the priesthood in Ionia. If he died in 170 as seems to be true, then why is he credited as directing the issue of the Koinon under Commodus (No. 25)? The answer to that question would seem to be that the Commodus medallion is purely commemorative and took as its type the remarkably outstanding design of Heracles and Auge.

It is our belief however that the identity of the Ionian Fronto and the Dacian Fronto cannot be definitely established.

IV. — Identity of the Temple

In the catalogue we do not identify the temple as that of any particular goddess but we believe it to be that of the goddess of Sardis, for two reasons:

1) As Lacroix has shown, the cultus image is that of the goddess of Sardis (Kore) and it is logical to infer that her image would surely be found in her own temple (1).

2) The temple cannot be that of Artemis-Ephesia because as has been shown by Trell in the monograph on the temple of Artemis (2) that edifice did not have an arctuated lintel, as has the temple on our coins. The columns on our coins are Corinthian, whereas those on the temple of Artemis were Ionic.

So, since the temple is not that of Artemis, the only sound conclusion from the facts as we know them is that it is that of the goddess of Sardis.

We have added as No. 31 in the plates a coin of Colophon, one of the thirteen cities, struck under Trebonianus Gallus which shows a temple, a bull beneath it, and 13 figures arranged in a semicircle in front of the temple. A similar issue was made under Valerian (3). Reference to these coins is made to show that the

Koinon as such was still referred to on coins a century after the Antoninus issue, and possibly sixty years after the Commodus issue, so the idea of perpetuating the memory of the Koinon persisted even into the latter half of the third century. Because of the differences in the inscription, the type and occasion of issuance, these later coins are out of place in this discussion nor do they harmonize with the remarkable coins of the KOINON 𐊘𐊗𐊝𐊛 series which is without parallel in the entire field of Greek imperial numismatics. In the issue of the Ionian Koinon we have one of the most sublime portraits of Antoninus Pius extant. Even the reverse designs are drawn in detail with a skill equal if not superior to that of the Imperial Roman Mints and all of the interesting reverse types are treated with the highest degree of artistry.

To those who doubt the validity of our somewhat enthusiastic tribute to this coinage we only ask that they carefully examine and study Nos. 7, 12, 16, 17, 23 and 24.

THE CATALOGUE

Antoninus Pius

The Antoninus Pius coins are all classified according to the Re­verses because the Obverses are of one type and from the same die.

Type I, Nos. 1 to 11 (Hades carrying off Persephone).

Group 1, Nos. 1 to 6 (Inscription entirely around border).

Variety 1, (Nos. 1 to 5):

This variety is distinguished by a round wheel and the figure of Eros above the upper three horses.

1. Obv. : Bust of Antoninus to left, laureate ; wears paludamentum. Rev. : Hades with flying chlamys in quadriga of galloping horses to right ; carrying off Persephone and holding scepter. The horses are driven by small winged figure of Eros above their heads, holding torch and reins ; beneath the horses a basket of flowers overturned. 

63.06 gr. 50 mm. Dies ↑ ↑ . Basel, Historical Museum. Obv. good ; rev. fair.

2. Obv. Id. Rev. Id. Inscription almost legible.
No weight given. 42 mm.

BMC, 1. Obv. good; rev. fair to good.

3. Obv. Id. Inscription complete.
   Rev. Id. Inscription almost legible.
   No weight. 43 mm. ↑↓

4. Obv. Id.
   Rev. Id. Very little of inscription legible.
   No weight. 43 mm.
   Berlin, ex Lobbecke Collection. Obv. fair; rev. poor.

5. Obv. Id. No photograph available.
   Rev. Id. Inscription obliterated.

Variety No. 2 (No. 6):
   Wheel slightly oval and Eros is between Hades and lowest horse's head.

6. Obv. Id. The countermark (Eagle in small oval frame) is the symbol of the House of Este, placed on coins in the collection of that family as Dukes of Modena and dispersed at the beginning of the 19th century. It also appears on No. 30 of this catalogue. We have also noted it on a coin of Hadrian, No. 321 in the Magnaguti Sale, June 26th-28th 1950.

   Rev. Id. with differences noted in heading. Inscription reads ΠΡΟΝΟ Μ ΚΑ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝ.
   48.70 gr. 43 mm. ↑↓

Group 2, Nos. 7 to 11.
This group has the letters ΓΙΠΟ under the horses' hoofs.
ΛΕΩΝ

Variety No. 1, (Nos. 7 and 8):
Large round wheel and large letters. Torch in Eros' arm nearly touches head of upper horse.

7. Obv. Id.
   Rev. Id. Ω ΝΚΟ[Ι]ΝΟΝ ΠΡΟ ΚΑ.ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΣ
   [ΑΚΙΑΡΧΟΥ]ΚΑΙΑ[ΡΧΙΕΓ] ΠΟΛΕΩ around border of coin. ΓΙΠΟ
   ΛΕΩΝ under horses' hoofs.
   53.9 gr. 42 mm.
   Vienna. Obv. very fine; rev. fine but part of inscription destroyed.

8. Obv. Id.
   Rev. Id. ΚΑΦΠΟΝΤΩΝΟΣA
   No data.
   Berlin, Ex Lobbecke Coll. Obv. and rev. fair.
Variety No. 2, (Nos. 9, 10 and 11):
Smaller wheel and letters; torch is between 2 and 3 mm. from horses' head; horses' legs are shorter.

9. Obv. Id. Scratches in front of face (may be attempt at tooling).
Rev. Id., but differences noted in heading. Inscription may be garbled. Letters at top of torch seem to be: \( \text{ΡΩΚΛ} \) and in front of horses: \( \text{Α-ΑΡΧΟΥ} \). Inscription ends in: \( \text{ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΠΟΛ} \ldots \ldots \text{ΓΙΠΟ} \text{ΛΕΩΝ} \) under horses' hoofs.

56.80 gr. 42 mm. ↑ ↑ ↓ ↓
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Obv. very fine; rev. fine but part of inscription obliterated.

10. Obv. Id.
Rev. Id.
Photograph only.
Formerly in Monastery of St. Florian, Vienna, Cat. by Kenner, 1871, No. 117. May be a different die variety because inscription reads \( \text{ΠΡΟ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΣ} \).

11. Obv. Id. Retouched.
Rev. Id. But thoroughly worked over, and the inscription is badly garbled. Hades looks to the front instead of to the rear and there is no basket below the horses as on all the others.
45.5 gr. 41 mm. ↑ ↑ ↓ ↓
Vienna.

TYPE II, Nos. 12 to 16. Heracles and Auge.

Group 1, Nos. 12-14. 1 variety.
This group is distinguished from Group 2 in three respects. 1) Heracles is taking Auge by the hand, 2) the inscription refers to the Ephesians and Pergamenes, and 3) large part of inscription is in exergue.

12. Obv. Id.
Heracles, nude, seated on rock covered by lion's skin, his club at his side; Auge in front, her left hand grasped by his right; her right holds fold of garment which has fallen to her waist and his left hand rests on rock; quiver with arrows at left. \( \text{ΑΣΙΑΣΙΠΡΟΣΙΝΕΦΕΙΚΩΝΙΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΟΣ} \).
In exergue: \( \text{ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΠΙΠΟΛΕΩΝ} \)
\( \text{ΠΡΟΜΚΑΦΡΟΝΤΩ} \)

53 gr. 44 mm. ↑ ↑ ↓ ↓
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Obv. and rev. in extremely fine condition.

13. Obv. Id.
Rev. Id.
Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik, I, 1947, p. 74, Pl. III.
Published by Theodore Bieder. Obv. and rev. in very poor condition.


Group 2, Nos. 15 and 16, one variety.

Resembles Group 1, except Auge's right arm is held in a curve so that the hand is at her shoulder, while her left holds her garment which has fallen below her waist and Heracles holds his right hand on her shoulder and is drawing her to him. ΚΟΙΝΟΝ only is in the exergue.

15. Obv. Id.

Rev. As above described.

Ο ΚΟΙΝΟΝ (in exergue).

53.94 gr. 43 mm. ↑↑

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Both obv. and rev. only fair; but enables us to complete latter part of inscription on Nos. 16. Cf. Mionnet, Supplement VI, 4-5.

16. Obv. Id.

Rev. Id. ΚΟΙΝΟΝ (in exergue). Ω ΚΟΙΝΟΝ (in exergue).

55.60 gr. 45 mm. ↑↑


Type III.

One Group. Nos. 17-23. Four varieties.

Demeter, to right, in biga drawn by two winged serpents; she holds a long torch in each hand; drapery flying behind her.

Variety No. 1 (Nos. 17-19):

Wheel and tails of serpents form three symmetrical circles of nearly the same size and parallel with a straight ground line. ΠΡΟΜ ΚΛ ΦΡΟΝ at bottom, a feature different from all 30 specimens.

17. Obv. Id. Shows evidences of tooling.

Rev. Description as above. Ω ΠΡΟΜ ΚΛ ΦΡΟΝ ΝΑ- ΣΙΑΡΚΛΙΑΙΑΡΧΙΓΙΟΝΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΓΙΟΝΩΝ.

Inscription is not complete on coin and is quoted from Head, BMC, Ionia, p. 16, No. 2.

42 mm. No weight or other data.

BMC, No. 2. Both obv. and rev. in very good condition.

18. Obv. Id.

Rev. Id. Inscription obliterated.

43 mm.
New York, American Numismatic Society. Obv. fair; rev. poor. Does not seem to have been tooled.

19. Obv. Id.
Rev. Id. Inscription mostly worn off but shows $\text{POM KΛ-}$
$\PhiΩΝΩΝ$ at bottom of coin.
42 mm. ↑↑↓.

*Variety No. 2.* One specimen only:
Large wheel which breaks the ground line. Serpents tails above ground line and above wheel and do not form circles. Is distinguished from following (Nos. 21 to 23) as having a ground line under serpents.

20. Obv. Id.
Rev. Id. as above. Inscription entirely worn away.
40 gr. 43 mm. ↑↑↓.

*Variety No. 3*:
Oval wheel, no ground line, tails of serpents form circles but are far above line of the wheel.

Rev. Obviously tooled. Inscription complete. $\bigcirc \text{ΚΟΙ-}$
$\text{ΝΟΝ ΓΙΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΠΡΟ Μ ΚΛΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΚΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ-}$
$\text{ΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΝ ΕΩΝ.}$
46.5 gr. 44 mm. ↑↓↓.
Vienna. Obv. fair; rev. fine.

*Variety No. 4 (Nos. 22 and 23):*
Easily distinguished by ground consisting of waving lines.

22. Obv. Id.
Rev. Id., but as described. Partly double struck so as to give appearance of a broken wheel. $\bigcirc \text{----------ΟΝΟ}$
$\text{Μ ΚΛΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΚΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ}$
51.28 gr. 43 mm. ↑↓↓.

23. Obv. Id.
Rev. Id. $\bigcirc \text{ΚΟΙΝΟΝΠΟ ΝΟ Μ ΚΛΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΚΑ-}$
$\text{ΣΙΑΡΧΟ}$
53.60 gr. 43 mm. ↑↑↓.

**Type IV.** One group and one variety. 1 specimen.
Rev. Head of Dionysus.

24. Obv. Id.
Rev. Head of Dionysus to right bearded; clusters of grapes entwined through hair. $\bigcirc \text{ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΓΙΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΝΟΜ}$
$\text{ΚΛΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΚΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΝ ΕΩΝ.}$
Photograph only. 44 mm. No other data.

**Commodus**

One type and one specimen. No. 25.

25. Obv. \( \text{MAV KOMMO} \text{OCC} \text{EBA} \text{CTOCH} \text{I} \text{OCHPA KΛH - PΩM} \text{Λ} \text{(sic)} \text{AV KA}. \) Bust of Commodus to left, laureate in lion’s skin.
Rev. Heracles and Auge. Same grouping of figures and same inscription as on Nos. 11 to 13, but figures are more heavily drawn.
47 mm. No other data.
Berlin, ex Waldeek, No. 1011. Both obv. and rev. extremely fine. Forgery?

**Marcus Aurelius**

Obverse. — Two Types.

I. Youthful portrait facing right, bare, cuirassed. 
Nos. 26 to 28.

II. Boyish portrait, facing left, bare, wears paludamentum. 
Nos. 29 and 30.

Reverse. — Two types:

I. Tyche standing. Nos. 26 and 27.

II. Temple with cultus image of Goddess. Three varieties. 
Nos. 28 to 30.

26. Obv. Type I. \( \text{M} \text{AIΛIOCAVRPH BHPOCKAI} \text{CAP}. \)  
Youthful portrait as described above.
Rev. Type I. Tyche standing to left, holding cornucopiae in left hand and right hand resting on rudder. \( \text{KΟΙΝΟΝΙΓ} \text{ΠΟΛ ΕΩΝΠΡΟΝΟΗ ΜΚΑΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟCA CIARPXOY.} \text{ΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΠΩΝ, ΠΙΠΟΛΕΩΝ}. \)  
38.60 gr. 37 mm. ↑↑.

27. Obv. Id. Tooled.
Rev. Id. First part of inscription illegible. 
41.3 gr. 36 mm. ↑↑.

28. Obv. Id. Tooled.
Rev. Type II, variety 1. Hexastyle temple with arcedtuated lintel, three steps. Within, cultus image of Goddess of Sardis (Kore), wearing tall crown surmounted by a crescent, robe draped in circular folds around neck and bust falling below feet and covering arms and body.
KOINON below steps, rest of inscription around border, distinguishes this variety from 2 and 3. There are also obvious differences in the size and shape of the roof decorations but they are unimportant as distinguishing features.

- M. ΚΑ. ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΝ. ΑΧΙΑΡΧΟΥ.
  ΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΩΝ. ΠΙ. ΠΟΛΕΩΝ.

37 gr. 37 mm. ↑↑.

29. Obv. Type II. M. ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΟΒΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΙ. Boyish portrait of Aurelius to left, bare, wears paludamentum.
Rev. Type II, variety No. 2. Same type as No. 28 but image is broad and almost fills space between columns. Inscription is entirely around border and word ΠΡΟΝΟΘΕΝΤΟΣ is abbreviated ΠΡΟ.

- M. ΚΟΙΝΟΝΙΤΙΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΝΟ. ΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΩΝ.
  ΑΧΙΑΡΧΟΥ. ΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΙ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ.

38.7 gr. 38 mm. ↑↓.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Both obv. and rev. are in very good condition, but rev. has been scratched.

30. Obv. Same die as 29. Countermark as No. 6.
Rev. Same type but Variety 3. This variety is marked by the cultus image being smaller than it is on the other two varieties and the word ΠΡΟΝΟΘΕΝΤΟΣ being abbreviated ΠΡΟΝΟ and other differences: M. ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΠΡΟΝΟ Ν. ΚΑΙ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝ Ν[ΟΚ]. ΑΧΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΩΝ. ΠΟΛΕΩΝ.

37 mm. No other data.
Milan, Sforza Collection. This is the piece referred to by Head footnote, BMC, Ionia, p. 16.

31. City of Colophon.
Obv. ΑΥΚ. Γ. ΟΒΗΡ. ΤΡΕΒΩΝΙ ΑΝΟΣΓΑΛΛΟΣ.
Bust rt. laureate of Trebonianus Gallus.
Inscriptions: ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝΙΩ under temple; ΝΩ around border; ΕΠΙΣΤΡ ΚΑΛΛΙΚ ΤΟ ΒΙΕΡΩΝΙΩΝ ΚΟΛΑΦΩΝΙΩ.

36 mm.

**New Smyrna Beach, Florida (U.S.A.)**

J. U. GILLESPIE.
Cette étude est consacrée aux monnaies de très grand module émises par les treize villes de la Ligue ionienne qui portent les portraits des trois empereurs Antonin le Pieux, Marc-Aurèle et Commode, en tout trente exemplaires.

Un seul coin de droit d'Antonin a été lié à onze variétés de revers, qui se répartissent en quatre types : enlèvement de Perséphonè par Hadès, Héraclès et Augè, Démèter dans un bige trainé par des serpents ou des griffons, buste de Dionysos. Pour Marc-Aurèle il y a deux coins de droit, au portrait juvénile, et quatre de revers correspondant à deux types : Tychè et un temple avec une statue de culte. Une seule pièce est de Commode et porte au revers Héraclès et Augè. La plupart de ces pièces sont assez fortement retravaillées. Les inscriptions sont rarement complètes ; celles du revers, toujours les mêmes à des variantes près, signalent que les émissions se sont faites sous l'asiarque M. Cl. Fronton. La similitude de style et de technique est un indice de l'unité de l'émission, ce qui est corroboré par la comparaison avec d'autres monnaies contemporaines de l'Empire. Marc-Aurèle porte seulement le titre de césar sur ces pièces de la Ligue ionienne et celles-ci doivent être comparées, notamment en ce qui concerne le portrait, aux monnaies impériales romaines qui portent le titre COS ou COS DES. Le moment de l'émission doit être 139/140 ou peu de temps après.
Coinage of the "Ionian League"
Coinage of the "Ionian League"
C O I N A G E  O F  T H E  & I O N I A N  L E A G U E &
Coinage of the *Ionian League*
COINAGE OF THE "IONIAN LEAGUE"
COINAGE OF THE "IONIAN LEAGUE"