

THE COINAGE OF KYTHNOS*

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ: Η Κύθνος, κατά την αρχαϊκή περίοδο, δεν έχει να επιδείξει νομισματική δραστηριότητα, η οποία φαίνεται να αρχίζει μόνο στον 2ο π.Χ. αι. Από την φάση αυτή σώζονται 80 νομίσματα, στα οποία απεικονίζονται έξι διαφορετικοί εμπροσθότυποι: κεφαλή Απόλλωνα, Αρτέμιδος, Αθηνάς Παλλάδας, μία γυναικεία και μία ανδρική προτομή, πιθανόν αυτοκρατορικές, και ένας σκύλος. Στους οπισθότυπους εμφανίζονται η κιθάρα ή χελύς, το ρόδο, σταφύλι, υδρία και αμφορέας. Σε όλα σχεδόν τα νομίσματα σώζεται η επιγραφή ΚΥ ή ΚΥΘΝΙ, η οποία επιβεβαιώνει την απόδοση στην Κύθνο. Δυστυχώς δεν υπάρχουν βέβαια χρονολογημένα νομίσματα από "θησαυρούς" ή ανασκαφικά σύνολα, όπως δεν ανευρίσκονται και κοινές σφραγίδες ανάμεσα στις διαφορετικές κοπές, ώστε να υπάρξει μία σχετική κατάταξή τους. Σύμφωνα πάντως με τεχνοτροπικά κριτήρια, η σειρά Απόλλων/χελύς φαίνεται να είναι η πρωιμότερη. Μπορούμε ωστόσο να διακρίνουμε, ανάλογα με το βάρος και τις διαστάσεις, τρεις διαφορετικές υποδιαιώσεις, από τις οποίες η μεγαλύτερη (Απόλλων/κιθάρα ή χελύς) ισοδυναμεί με διπλό χαλκού, η μεσαία (Απόλλων/ρόδο) με χαλκού, ενώ στην μικρότερη υποδιαίωση έχουν κοπεί σχεδόν όλοι οι άλλοι τύποι, εκτός από τη γυναικεία προτομή/κιθάρα, οι οποίοι χρονολογούνται πιθανότατα στην αυτοκρατορική περίοδο. Σύμφωνα με τα γνωστά παράλληλα άλλων νησιωτικών εργαστηρίων της περιοχής, η Κύθνος φαίνεται ότι συνέχισε τη νομισματική δραστηριότητά της μέχρι το τέλος του 1ου π.Χ. αι. και ίσως και μέσα στον 1ο μ.Χ. Εξαιρετικό ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει η σειρά Απόλλων/ρόδο, στην οποία έχει ήδη αναφερθεί ο L. Robert, συσχετίζοντας την με την ροδιακή κυριαρχία. Πηγαίνοντας ακόμα μακρύτερα και με βάση και τις επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες, μπορούμε να υποθέσουμε ότι η Κύθνος αποτελούσε για τους Ρόδιους ένα εξαιρετικό σημείο ελέγχου του Αιγαίου, και κυρίως του Σαρωνικού. Πιθανότατα είχαν εγκαταστήσει σε αυτήν και φρουρά, ενώ στην ίδια περίοδο χρονολογείται και η ενίσχυση των οχυρώσεων. Αυτή ακριβώς η σημαντική παρουσία των Ροδίων στο Αιγαίο και στο ίδιο το νησί φαίνεται ότι υποδηλώνεται με την απεικόνιση του ρόδου στα νομίσματα της Κύθνου.

INTRODUCTION

There has never been a study of the coinage of Kythnos¹. It might be argued that there is little reason; in the standard guides, such as the British Museum Catalogue, it is said to consist merely of small bronze issues from the 2nd and 1st centuries BC². This coinage is not known from any hoards. The only recorded finds are single pieces from Delos, and the Athenian Agora, and now two coins from the current survey of Kythnos by Alexander Mazarakis³. In compiling a corpus of this material we found that only three museums, Berlin, the British Museum and the Cabinet des Medailles (Paris) had anything more than the odd example. A brief glance at Seaby's price guide for the sale of Greek coins lists only two varieties, which could be purchased in the 1980's for £13 or £15⁴. There was clearly little reason for this coinage to appear in the catalogues of auction houses. There was also little reason

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Abbreviations:

BMC = W. Wroth, *BMC, Crete and the Aegean islands*, London 1886.

Robert = L. Robert, *Monnaies hellénistiques*, *RN* 19, 1977, 7-34.

1. Robert, 1-33, made a special study of Kythnian coins with the rose as a reverse type. In this important article, however, no attempt was made to assemble a corpus of coins, and only brief mention was made of other types.
2. *BMC*, 98.
3. Delos: Athens NM L 15.33, 1908-09, unpublished (fig. 2); Athens Agora N963 (badly damaged but probably Kythnos), S 5564 (now correctly listed in the Agora records as Rhodian): J.H. Kroll, *The coins, The Athenian Agora XXXI*, Princeton 1993, 252, cat. 841-2. Kythnos B91/Nx1 and B91/Nx2 (both unpublished). We wish to thank Alexander Mazarakis Ainian for information concerning the two coins found on Kythnos during the survey which he directed, and Dr M. Oikonomidou and Dr I. Touratsoglou for allowing us to publish the coins from Kythnos in the Athens Numismatic Museum.
4. D.R. Sear, *Greek coins and their values*, London 1979, 283, nos 3093, 3095.

for collectors to take an interest in the coins of Kythnos: the types were apparently undistinguished and not much could be said about them.

The purpose of this paper is not to present a classification of these coins, though something will be said on this account. Rather, our primary aim is to point to the importance of this material for the re-construction of the history of the island, a history which is largely ignored in the texts which have come down to us from antiquity.

The citizens of Kythnos were apparently reluctant to issue their own coins, and in this they went against the trend in the Cyclades for on the whole the islanders were enthusiastic minters⁵. One has only to look at the record of neighbouring Kea where at least three of the four cities of the island issued coinage from the Archaic period onwards⁶. Given the limited resources of these small island states it is surprising that they were so active, but their issues were relatively small, and at times highly sporadic. Kythnos is the only island in the west chain of Cycladic islands for which no Archaic coinage is known.

Among the Cyclades, besides Kythnos, only Syros, Mykonos, Ios, Amorgos and perhaps Andros have yet to be associated with Archaic coinage⁷. Further finds and research may show that most of this group did in fact have some small Archaic issues. By the end of the 3rd century no less than 22 mints had been active at some time on 18 islands. This is a remarkable figure. It is also remarkable that only Kythnos, an island with an area of 86 sq km, and which supposedly paid 3 talents a year in 425 BC as a member of the Delian League, together with the much less important island of Pholegandros, appear to have waited until the 2nd century BC (according to the current view) before issuing coins.

THE CORPUS OF KYTHNOS COINS

The corpus assembled for this study consists of some 80 coins. Eight different groupings based simply on the identification of distinct combinations of obverse and reverse dies can be drawn up. Six different obverse types could be recognized: the head of Apollo, the head of Artemis, the head of Pallas Athena, the bust of an unidentified, possibly imperial woman, another of an unidentified, possibly imperial, male, and the figure of a dog. Five reverse types can be listed: the kithara, and in some examples the chelys, the rose, a grape bunch, the hydria, and the amphora. The repertoire is thus richer than one might have expected. But there is no type which is distinctly Kythnian if we exclude the obverse dog type which is only attested on one group of small coins. There is no badge that would in some way clearly identify the origins of this coinage, as say the apple identified the coinage of Melos. In nearly all cases the presence of the letters K and Y or KYΘNI on the reverse confirm the attribution.

We have no hoards and no finds from dated contexts to guide our organisation of this corpus. No die links between different combinations of types have been noted. General observations on style would suggest that certain types were minted in the same period, and we should not then look to place them in linear succession. On the grounds of accomplishment, the earliest coins could well be those which show a skilfully rendered head of Apollo on the obverse, and the chelys on the reverse (eg. *BMC* Cythnos 1). But the material does not readily lend itself to stylistic analysis and we have proceeded instead with the study of the weight and size of the coins.

Coins with the head of Apollo on the obverse and kithara (or chelys) on the reverse, numerically the largest group recorded, in general weigh between 4.00 g and 6.04 g and have a diameter of 14 to 19 mm. The rough average weight is approx. 5 g. There are three lighter coins, which we leave to one side for the moment, but the lowest weight is still 2.86 g. These coins were struck on what we may refer to as the large module. Coins depicting the head of Apollo on the obverse, and the rose on the reverse weigh between 2.02 g and 3.53 g. The rough average weight is approx. 2.7-3.0 g. The diameter varies between 12 and 17 mm. This then can be described as the middle module.

All the other types recorded, with one exception, appear on coins weighing less than 1 g, and on flans measuring less than 10 mm. This can then be recognized as the small module. The exception is that group with the bust of a woman on the obverse, apparently Artemis or an imperial figure, and the kithara on the reverse (fig. 4). The two examples weigh 4.06 and 4.84 g, and should then have been struck on the larger module. It seems likely that this large module may represent a double chalkous and the middle module the chalkous itself.

The same three basic modules can be observed in general terms in the coinage of other Cycladic states. It should be noted at this point, however, that within the Cyclades only the Hellenistic mints of Tenos and Kea have been studied in any detail. The work of Artemis Gysellen on the mint of Tenos, finished some twenty years ago, was never published but her catalogues are available in abstract form as an appendix to *Ténos II* published by R.

5. Since the conference a hoard has been found on Kythnos which suggests minting activity in the late Archaic period: A.K. Kyrou - D. N. Artemis, The silver coinage of Kythnos in the early fifth century BC, *Studies in the Greek Numismatics in Memory of M.J. Price*, London 1998, 233-236.

6. Ch. Papageorgiadou, *The Coinage of Kea, MEΛETHMATA* 24, Athens 1997; *BMC*, 86-7.

7. K.A. Sheedy, *The Archaic coinage of Paros and the Cycladic city states*, Sydney 1987 (unpublished thesis), attributes to Karthaia the amphora staters usually given to Andros.

Étienne⁸. Ch. Papageorgiadou's work on the mints of Keos has now been published. The appearance of the large module on Tenos can be associated with that phase of minting begun during the period of the 2nd Nesiotic League, ie from the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.⁹. This module was apparently unknown on Tenos before this date.

THE TYPES

The head of Apollo is inevitably the obverse type employed for coins of the large and middle size modules. He sometimes wears a wreath, and on some examples there is a laurel branch in the field. Apollo is not as common on Hellenistic Cycladic coins as one might have expected: Dionysos is, as Wroth once noted, "the chief divinity of the coinage of the wine-growing isles of the Aegean"¹⁰. A preliminary search reveals that the head of Apollo appears on the coinage of Keos in general, on that of three of the four Keian cities, on the coins of Delos, Thera, Anaphe, Kythnos, and perhaps on the few issues of Pholegandros¹¹. On the coinage of Thera and Anaphe this figure should allude to the two local cults of Apollo, Apollo Karneios and Aigletes¹². Neither of these two Dorian islands traditionally played any role in the worship of Delian Apollo. Apollo is depicted on the coinage of the Keian states. It seems likely that here again the image refers to well-established local cults, such as that of Apollo Smintheus at Korossia. The coinage of Delos, of course, carried the image of the island's famous deity. There is good evidence to show that Kythnos followed Delos in the selection of its types, and perhaps it alone among the Cycladic islands took this path.

The larger module coin of Kythnos depicts the head of Apollo on the obverse, and the kithara or chelys on the reverse (fig. 1). The kithara was often employed on Delian bronze coinage as a reverse type, for this musical instrument is typically associated with Delian Apollo and the choregic festivals of the Delian sanctuary¹³. When the Athenians were given control of Delos in 166 BC they issued a series of small bronze coins commemorating their newly won rule of the sanctuary¹⁴. One of these coins depicts the head of Apollo on the obverse, and the kithara on the reverse¹⁵. A preliminary search shows that only two other Cycladic islands employed this type, the Dorian states of Melos and Thera; these coins belong to the period of Roman control and do not appear to be common¹⁶.

According to one legend Kythnos was the son of Apollo¹⁷. At the moment, however, there is no evidence for the cult of Apollo on Kythnos itself but the island has been little explored¹⁸. Kythnos was traditionally settled by the Dryopians from the Greek mainland¹⁹. By the Hellenistic period, however, inscriptions reveal that the city of Kythnos was employing the Ionian or Attic alphabet²⁰. It then appears that Kythnos had moved closer to her Ionian neighbours. It may have even received settlers from Attica at some point. The head of Apollo was combined with two different reverse types (figs 1, 2). The kithara or chelys seems to have been reserved for the large module coins, while the middle module often carried the rose. Less often we find the rose combined with the head of Artemis on the obverse (fig. 3). The rendering of the rose leaves no doubt that it was modelled on the famous rose type on the reverse of Rhodian coins. Kythnos was the only Cycladic state to adopt this type. In fact it is fairly uncommon, and a brief review of those mints which did employ the rose as a type is instructive, and will follow shortly.

Concerning the less common types, and those used for smaller module coins the following brief notes will serve to complete this survey of the island's numismatic iconography. The head of Apollo was combined with one other reverse type: the grape bunch. This is a very common type in the Cyclades, but it does recognise that Kythnos valued its wine production²¹. The type of the standing dog is only known from Kythnos in the Cyclades (fig. 5). Within the region Sirius the dog star is associated with Keos alone, but it seems unlikely that the Kythnos dog refers to this cult²². The final group of types all appear to belong to the period of Roman domination. The bust of a woman, and the unidentified male head are probably imperial types but they are without inscriptions (fig. 4). The head of Pallas Athena is a type seen again on Imperial coins from the islands of Melos, Paros, Amorgos and

8. L.A. Gysellen, L'atelier monétaire de Ténos, *Ténos II*, R. Etienne (ed.), Athènes 1990, 225-252.

9. *Ibidem*, 239-247.

10. *BMC* xlvi.

11. This review is largely based on the holdings of the British Museum, *BMC*.

12. As suggested in *BMC* xlvi-ii.

13. *BMC*, 99.

14. J.H. Kroll, The coins (*supra* n. 3), 66-71, cat. 111.

15. *Ibidem*.

16. *BMC*, 105 (Melos), 132 (Thera).

17. *Ἱστορία Κύθνου*, 2.

18. L. Bürchner, *RE* (Kythnos), XI, 2, 2308-2320.

19. *Ibidem*.

20. *Ἱστορία Κύθνου*, 7.

21. Robert, 15-16.

22. Ch. Papageorgiadou, *Kea* (*supra* n. 6).

Siphnos, and the coins from Kythnos are likely to date to this period²³. It would then appear that minting on Kythnos continued on to the end of the 1st century BC and perhaps into the 1st AD.

RHODES, KYTHNOS AND THE NESIOTIC LEAGUE

Hellenistic Kythnos comes briefly into view during the course of the Second Macedonian War. Philip V had taken control of the Cyclades in 201 BC. with a newly constructed fleet²⁴. In the following year, however, the Rhodians managed to liberate most of these islands. According to Livy and Polybius three islands, which had received garrisons, remained in Macedonian hands: Andros, Paros and Kythnos²⁵. Following the capture of Andros an attempt was made in 200 BC by a combined fleet from Rhodes, Pergamon and Rome, some 90 ships in all, to dislodge the garrison at Kythnos. It failed. Kythnos was not freed until 197 BC when Philip gave in to the superior forces of the Romans. The island then joined the Second Nesiotic League.

There is at present no firm evidence that Kythnos actually began minting in the 2nd century BC. It is possible, for example, that the 'large module' coins showing the head of Apollo and the chelys on the reverse (*BMC* Cythnos 1) were struck in the 3rd century. There is, however, good reason to believe that the mint on Kythnos was active during the period of the Second Nesiotic League. The use of the rose on this coinage, an emblem so clearly modelled on that of Rhodian coinage, is unlikely before Rhodes assumed the leadership of this League. The type chosen for the obverse, the head of Apollo, together with the reverse type of the kithara, appear to make a very direct reference to the Delian Apollo. This evocation of a traditional symbol of unity among the members of the Cyclades would seem most appropriate with the re-founding of the League. It is true that Tenos was chosen as the meeting place for the League, in contrast to Delos where the first League had met; this was probably caused by the need to provide quarters for a standing or seasonal force of ships, and such a base was not possible on Apollo's sacred island. But it is likely that patronage of the League remained with Apollo²⁶.

The period of the Rhodian led Nesiotic League saw most of the island city states mint coins. In fact this appears to be the period of the most prolific coining activity in the history of the region, with almost all states that were to operate mints striking coins (both silver and bronze). Those that continued to issue silver now struck on a Nesiotic standard instead of the Attic.

The most important Cycladic mint during the 2nd century BC was that on Tenos²⁷. Those scholars who have paid attention to the island issues of this period have noted that a rose emblem appears on the reverse of Teniot bronze coins showing the head of Poseidon on the obverse, and a trident reverse, and coins with the head of Zeus Ammon on the obverse and a standing Poseidon on the reverse. D. Sippel, in his thesis study of Rhodes and the Nesiotic League, has argued that this emblem should refer to Rhodian control of the League and to the fact that its headquarters was on Tenos²⁸. This assessment, however, might appear to overplay the degree to which Rhodes wished to appear as the dominant power. For Tenos it may have served as a symbol of the co-operation between their island, as the representative of the Cyclades, and Rhodes as the leader of the League. Rhodes offered the islands freedom from piracy which had been a major problem in the Aegean during the second half of the 3rd century. It also offered protection from the designs of the warring dynasts, such as Philip V who had recently overrun the area. What is important for our study, however, is that one of the Cycladic islands, Kythnos, actually adopted the Rhodian rose as a reverse type.

L. Robert appears to have been the first to point to the significance of the rose type for the study of Kythnian history²⁹. He perceived a double Rhodian influence in the coinage of Kythnos. At first Kythnos struck bronze coins with the Rhodian rose and then, at a later stage (when Rhodian pressure had been relaxed or had ended), the Kythnians resorted to countermarking Rhodian silver coins³⁰. This numismatic influence made manifest a Rhodian interest in the island which Robert believed stemmed from the strategic position of Kythnos. The evidence which he was able to gather (mostly inscriptions) to support the view that Kythnos was important because of its location as a base and as an observation point for the movement of ships in the Aegean and the Saronic Gulf is convincing. There are, however, a number of problems with his analysis of the numismatic material. Firstly, his

23. *BMC*, 83 (Aegiale), 106-7 (Melos), 117 (Paros), 122 (Siphnos).

24. The standard account of this period in the Aegean is to be found in R.M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, Ithaca and London 1984.

25. Livy 31.15.8; Polybios 16.25.10.

26. D. Sippel, The meeting place of the Rhodian Nesiotic League, *The Ancient World* 13, 1986, 35-40; *idem*, Tenos and the Nesiotic League, *ibidem*, 41-46.

27. L.A. Gysellen, L'atelier monétaire (*supra* n. 8).

28. D. Sippel, Tenos (*supra* n. 26), 43.

29. Robert.

30. *Ibidem*, 22.

study focused on a silver drachm of Rhodes which he believed had been countermarked by the Kythnian authorities (and which was the evidence for his second and later phase of Rhodian influence on Kythnian coinage)³¹.

It now appears that the countermark was in fact made by Kyanaea, a Lycian state which also employed the Head of Apollo and the kithara as types for their coinage, and that this coin reflects the importance of Rhodian silver in Lycia, the location of the famous Rhodian Peraea³². The influence of Rhodes in the selection of the rose as a type for the Kythnian coinage is certainly apparent. But the nature of this influence requires a little more attention. Robert did not look at this material as small bronze coins from a small island mint, but rather as a vehicle for an iconography which had historical implications. By examining the nature of this 'vehicle' we believe that a somewhat clearer understanding of the significance of the coinage can be reached.

In considering the use of the rose as a type, we should set to one side those mints which produced virtual imitations of the well known silver Rhodian didrachms and drachms. Here the obverse and reverse types, the head of Helios, and the rose, were simply copied; only the inscription was changed to identify a magistrate rather than the Rhodian state. There were a good number of these issues during the 2nd century BC produced in mints (perhaps operated by the Rhodians themselves) on the Greek mainland and Asia Minor. Perhaps the most interesting examples are those said to have been struck on Crete in order to pay Cretan mercenaries³³. The motivation behind these issues, which were all of silver, was either to supplement the supply of real Rhodian coins or to gain the ready acceptance of a local coinage by direct reference to the trusted Rhodian coins.

The Kythnian coins belong to a quite different category: here the rose was combined with local types, and the metal could be either silver or bronze. In this case there was no *overt* attempt to offer the coin as if it were Rhodian. The list of mints is short and the issues appear to be uncommon. Astyra in Caria used the rose as a type in the archaic period³⁴. Traelium in Macedonia and Paphos on Cyprus used this type on 4th century coins³⁵. These precede the popularity of the Rhodian type. Only four other issues remain: Phanagoria in the Bosphoros, Kibyra in Caria, and Plarasa and Aphrodisia (which minted jointly) in Caria issued coins after the mid 2nd century BC with the rose type³⁶. The fourth mint was that of Kythnos. The coins of Plarasa and Aphrodisia and of Kythnos are in bronze. It was clearly highly uncommon to use the rose as a type.

A. Bresson has recently challenged a number of theories concerning the circulation of Rhodian silver³⁷. On the evidence of a detailed study of Rhodian hoards, he has argued that Rhodian coinage did not circulate widely until after 166 BC. He suggests, furthermore, that prior to this date the Rhodians enforced a closed monetary zone (a practice best known from the policies of their Ptolemaic neighbour and ally). He then concluded that Rhodian coinage played a secondary role in the currency of the Cyclades. As evidence he notes that the Rhodian coins mentioned in the Delian temple inventories are not of paramount importance in size (there were noticeably more coins from the Euboean mint of Histiaia)³⁸. Those that are recorded, he suggests, may well have been imitations of Rhodian coins (though in fact there is no evidence to prove this). These proposals are of some importance for the study of Kythnian coinage for if the circulation of Rhodian coinage was limited until after 166 BC then the decision by Kythnos to use the Rhodian types would seem to depend less on the common use of the coin in the region (and on Kythnos itself) and more on other factors.

The bronze coinage of the Cycladic city states was intended for local use, and its circulation was very largely limited to the island on which it was minted. The coinage of Kythnos was no different. The types then could be expected to have had an immediate relevance to Kythnos. The head of Apollo and the kithara were very familiar images to a Cycladic people, and we have argued that they would have readily recalled the god's cult on Delos. Although Rhodian coinage was not as commonly used as we have previously supposed, it might still be argued that the use of its well known emblem would advance the acceptance of these local coins. It is hard to completely discount this argument but we would like to propose another line of argument which though related to that of the use of easily recognizable types stresses the reality of the contemporary military and political situation.

It is possible to argue that the island's coinage, like the dedication found on Rhodes which honours (the stratagos?) Hagemachos, recognised a particularly close relationship between Rhodes and Kythnos³⁹. In an unpublished paper Sheedy follows Robert in arguing that the Macedonians had demonstrated that Kythnos was

31. *BMC Caria*, 159; Robert, 17, fig. 1

32. H. Troxell, *The coinage of the Lycian League*, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 162, New York 1982, 26-27.

33. R.H.J. Ashton, *A series of pseudo-Rhodian drachms from mainland Greece*, *NC* 148, 1988, 21-32 (esp. 31: the coins in the name of Ainetor, Gorgos and Straton struck c. 200 BC).

34. Astyra: *BMC Caria*, 60.

35. Traelium: *BMC Macedonia*, 131; Paphos: *BMC Paphos*, 44.

36. Phanagoria: *SNG IX*, British Museum 1, 999; Plarasa and Aphrodisia: *BMC Caria*, 25.

37. A. Bresson, *La circulation monétaire Rhodienne jusqu'en 166*, *DHA* 19, 1993, 119-169.

38. *Ibidem*, 142-149.

39. F. Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Inscripfen aus Rhodos*, *AM* 23, 1898, 391; Robert, 28-29.

important strategically for the Aegean and for control of the Saronic Gulf³⁹. But it was the threat of the establishment of a line of Attalid bases, such as Aegina and Andros, along the important route which connected central Greece with the Aegean and with Athens following the Second Macedonian War that led to a particular Rhodian concern with the island of Kythnos, which faced the Saronic Gulf, and in general with the formation of the Cycladic islands into a federal League. The Rhodians may have garrisoned Kythnos. It is certainly likely that they took an interest in the defenses of the city, and in building up the island's fleet. The impressive fortification walls which surround the city may well have been strengthened at this time. The decision to begin minting a local coinage might be linked with an increase in the volume and complexity of payments made by the authorities on Kythnos. It is possible that the primary cause of this activity was the city's defenses, though we are certainly not arguing that this was a coinage minted for the payment of those involved with the city's defenses. Rather we are arguing that it is symptomatic of a certain level of fiscal activity. The use of the rose as a reverse type could have alluded to co-operation between Rhodes and Kythnos. Like the use of the rose as an emblem on the bronze coinage of Tenos, it may have reflected the reality of Rhodian influence and power in the Cyclades.

A preliminary listing of type combinations

		Publication	Athens Num.	Museum	Fig.
A.a	Ob. Head of Apollo / Rv.Chelys	BM Cythnos 1			
A b	Ob. As above / Rv.Lyre		Π511	3.42gr.	
B	Ob. Head of Apollo / Rv.Rose	Cop.SNG 664	1908-9	3.92gr.	1 +2
C	Ob. Head of Artemis / Rv.Rose	BM Cythnos 8	4758β	0.70gr.	3a- c
			4758γ	1.07gr.	3b
			4759	0.75gr.	3c
					3d
D	Ob. Bust of woman or man (imp.?) / Rv.Lyre	Karlsruhe 1892-93	KΘ' 619	2.48gr.	4a +b
E	Ob. Head of Apollo / Rv.Grape bunch	BM Cythnos 4	4761	5.18gr.	5
F	Ob. Dog / Rv.Rose	BM Cythnos 10	4760	1.37gr.	
G	Ob. Head of Pallas Athena / Rv.hydria	Paris 182			
H	Ob. Head (male) / Rv.amphora	Paris 183			

Kenneth A. SHEEDY - Charikleia PAPAGEORGIADOU
Athens

39. K.A. Sheedy, The defence of Kythnos and the origins of the Second Nesiotic League, *Historia* 45, 1996, 423-449.

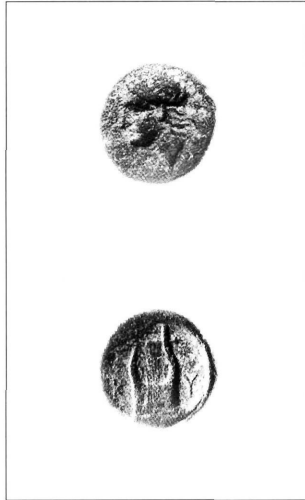


Fig. 1.

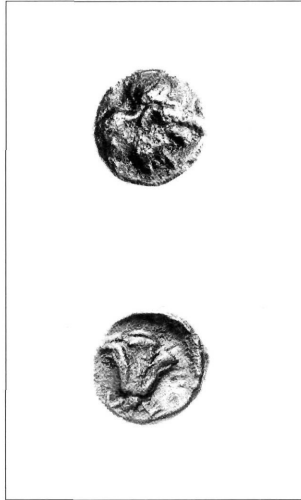


Fig. 2.

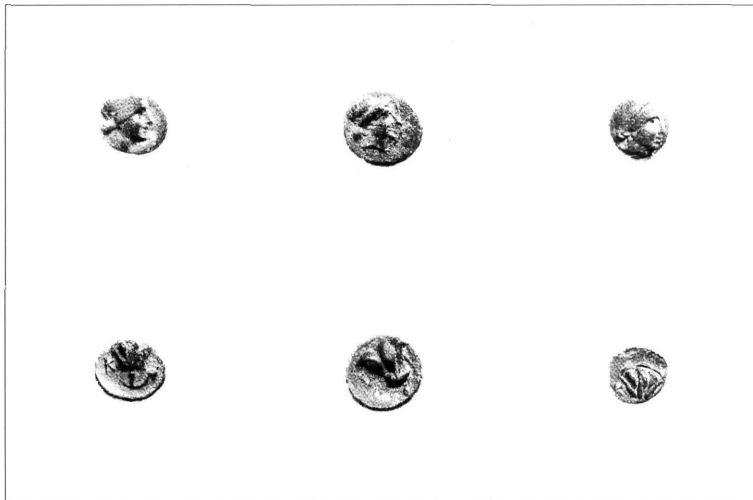


Fig. 3a.

Fig. 3b.

Fig. 3c.

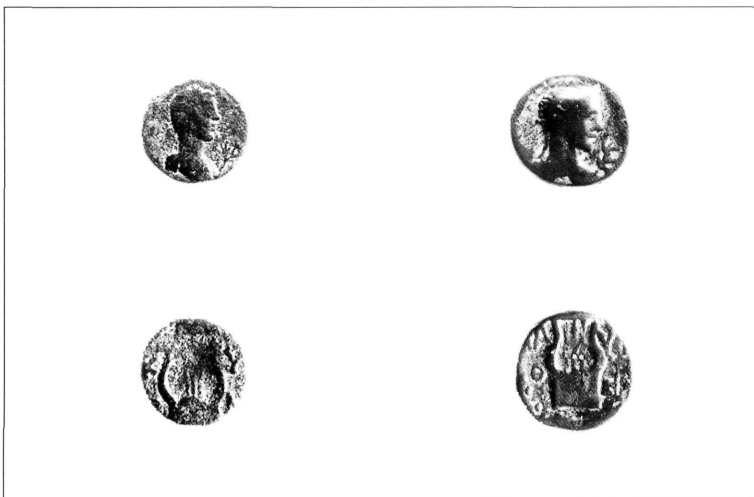


Fig. 4a.

Fig. 4b.

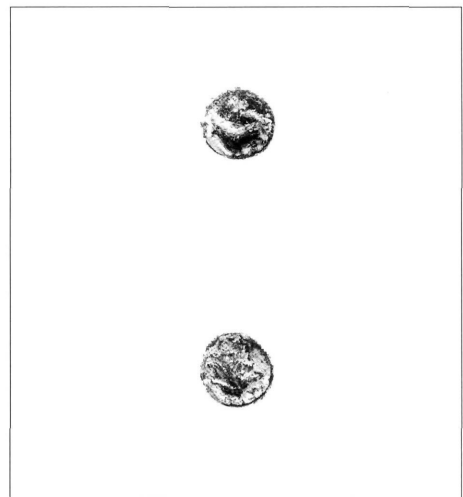


Fig. 5.