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HISTORICAL GREEK COINS



# HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

DESCRIBED BY

G. F. HILL, M.A.

(OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM)

*WITH THIRTEEN PLATES*

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## PREFACE

THE title adopted for this volume is meant to indicate that the idea of such a compilation was inspired by the work of Canon E. L. Hicks, dealing with Greek inscriptions. It was while I was engaged with Dr. Hicks in preparing the second edition of his book that the thought of making a selection of coins on the same principle first suggested itself. It is seldom, indeed, that a single coin can be regarded as possessing equal value, from a historical point of view, with an inscription recording a public decree or treaty, or the erection of a monument to some great man of antiquity. Yet, in a more modest sense, of all fields of archaeological study, that of numismatics is the one of which we can most truly say: *quacunque ingredimur, in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus*. Every coin that has been issued under public authority since the invention of coinage is a historical document. Apart from monumental sculpture, inscriptions, and coins, the remains of antiquity are chiefly of interest as bearing on domestic life, on trade, on art, and religion; it is only exceptionally that they take rank (no matter

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whether we call it higher or lower rank) as state documents. Fortunately for the student of Greek art, in Greece the fact that a work was produced under the auspices of the state does not imply that it was, as a rule, below the average level of achievement of the time. The Greek coin, then, enjoys the advantage of being at once the best thing of the kind that Greek art could make, and an official document withal. What is more, the Greek die-engraver was at many mints allowed to give free play to his fancy; so that these official documents throw many an instructive sidelight on the life of their time.

The principles according to which the pieces discussed in this volume have been selected as 'historical' will, I hope, be fairly clear. Above all, they are pieces which, either by the mere fact that they were issued, or else by information conveyed through their fabric, types, inscriptions or standard, actually add their quantum to our knowledge of the period to which they belong. Sometimes, as in the case of the coins struck after the battle of Cnidus, the amount added is considerable. Sometimes, however, as with the early didrachm of the Achaean League, the coins cannot be said to do more than throw a pleasantly illustrative light on the period. Yet even such illustration should make our ideas of antiquity more vivid. The monetary series, which in this subsidiary manner



## PREFACE

mark the course of the rise and decay of states, are so numerous, so complete, that an acquaintance with them becomes almost as essential to the historical student as is the use of a geographical atlas. But the difficulties in the way of acquiring such an acquaintance are manifold—we cannot, perhaps fortunately, all be specialists. Nevertheless, by the exhibition of a few instances of the commentary which numismatics can furnish to literary history, it is possible to show that there is a whole mine of information lying ready to be worked, and that no historical problem should be attacked without asking: ‘How will the coins help us?’

The selection here employed for this purpose doubtless differs considerably from that which would be made by another writer if the task were set him, or even by myself, if I began my task again. Athens, for instance, is poorly represented; but, as is stated in the text, we have singularly little certain knowledge of the historical relations of its coinage. The coins of Corinth, again, hardly lend themselves to treatment in connexion with history, in spite of the fact that they formed one of the most important currencies in the ancient world. Even merely with a view to illustrating the economic phenomenon of the money of a single state obtaining an international character, other states provide

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better material than does Corinth. There are many other mints which might have been and are not represented here; but it is hardly necessary to insist that one cannot find room for everything.

Towards the end of the period under review, the centre of interest gradually shifts to Rome. The history illustrated by the Greek coins from the beginning of the first century B.C. becomes increasingly provincial and petty. The true continuation of the historical line in numismatics is to be found in the Roman coinage. If the present volume meets with sufficient encouragement, it may be followed by a companion dealing with Historical Roman Coins.

It is often said that controversy should be eliminated from a work which is not meant for advanced students. This book, however, is not intended for readers altogether untrained in the study of history, so that it has not seemed necessary entirely to exclude the discussion of certain doubtful points. No little harm is done by giving the impression that the course of study runs smooth, whereas it is beset by obstacles throughout. It is better that the beginner should realise the uncertainties of his path, provided these are not allowed to obscure its general direction.

The descriptions have been made as simple as possible. A few unavoidable technical terms are

## PREFACE

very summarily explained in the Glossary. The bibliographical references have been purposely restricted. Some books, such as Mr. Head's *Historia Numorum* and Professor Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins*, ought to have been cited in nearly every section. To save space I would make a general acknowledgment to them here. I much regret that it has not been possible to postpone publication until the second edition of Mr. Head's manual is available. Mr. George Macdonald's work on *Coin Types* would have been more frequently quoted had its publication been less recent. This volume was complete in manuscript before I had the privilege of seeing his proofs, so that it has only been possible to make occasional modifications in accordance with the new light which he has thrown on the subject. To his kindness and care in reading my own proofs are due improvements great and small on nearly every page.

It remains for me to express my thanks to the authorities of the coin cabinets at Berlin and Paris for their kindness in answering my inquiries and in providing casts of coins which were necessary in the preparation of the book.

G. F. HILL.

*March, 1906.*

## GLOSSARY

### OF SOME TECHNICAL TERMS USED IN THE TEXT

**Aeginetic Standard** : the standard based on a unit (stater or didrachm) of about 12·60 grammes. *See* No. 2.

**Attic Standard** : *see* Euboic-Attic.

**Babylonic, Persian or Lydian Standard** : the standard based on a unit (shekel or stater) of from 11·50 to 10·91 grammes. *See* No. 7.

**Blank** : *see* Flan.

**Campanian Standard** : a standard derived from the Phoenician, the didrachm weighing 7·76 grammes (later reduced to 6·82 grammes).

**Canting Type or Symbol** : a type or symbol which indicates, by means of a pun, the person or state to which it refers as the seal ( $\phi\acute{\omega}\kappa\eta$ ) of Phocaea, or the Pythian tripod of the magistrate Python at Abdera.

**Cast Coins** : *see* Struck.

**Coin** : a piece of metal (or, exceptionally, some other convenient material) artificially shaped and marked with a sign or type as a guarantee of its quality and weight, and issued by some responsible authority, to serve primarily as a medium of exchange, in terms of which the value of exchangeable commodities can be expressed. Distinguished from a token by having or being supposed to have an intrinsic value more or less nearly approaching the value imposed upon it by the issuing authority.

**Corinthian Standard** : a standard based on the same unit as the Euboic-Attic (8·72 grammes). The stater, however, was divided into three drachms instead of into two as in the latter system.

**Countermark** : a small mark impressed on a coin, usually by some person other than the issuing authority, and intended to give the coin fresh currency.

**Die** : the instrument containing the design which, by being impressed, produces the type on a coin. The coin in striking was placed between the upper and lower dies. The lower die in ancient times

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- was usually let into an anvil, its fellow inserted in the lower end of a bar of metal, the other end of which could be struck with the hammer.
- Drachm**: a division of the stater (*q.v.*), usually one-half, but in some systems, as the Corinthian, one-third. Usually derived (after Plutarch *Lysand.* 17) from *δράττεισθαι*, as representing a 'handful' of obols. This is probably a popular etymology, and *drachm* may be the same word as the Phoenician *darkemon*.
- Electrum** (*ἤλεκτρον, λευκὸς χρυσός*): any alloy, whether natural or artificial, of gold or silver, in which there is more than twenty per cent. of silver.
- Euboic-Attic Standard**: the standard based on a unit (stater) of 8·72 grammes. *See* Nos. 5, 6.
- Exergue**: that segment of the field of a coin which, lying below the type, is separated from the rest of the field either by the lower outline of the type itself, or by a line drawn expressly for the purpose.
- Fabric**: the external shape and appearance given to coins by the mechanism employed to cast or strike them; distinct therefore from style, which is conditioned by the artistic qualities of the designer.
- Field**: that portion of the surface of a coin (within the border, if any) which is not occupied by the type.
- Flan or blank**: the shaped piece of metal which is made into a coin by having the necessary types impressed on it.
- Incuse fabric**: the form of coin in which the type on one side is in intaglio instead of in relief. *See* No. 8.
- Incuse impression**: the sunk impression made on the flan by the upper die; according to the shape of this upper die, the impression is square, oblong, circular, triangular, etc. in outline.
- Italic Standard**: a standard reduced from the Corinthian, the stater weighing about 8·16 grammes and being, like the Corinthian stater, divided into 3 drachms.
- Litra**: the Sicilian pound of copper or bronze; or the silver coin of 0·87 grammes which was originally the equivalent of the pound of copper; or the bronze token nominally representing the pound of copper. *See* No. 49.
- Lydian Standard**: *see* Babylonian.
- Mina** (*μνᾶ, manah*): the weight of fifty shekels or staters. This money-mina is to be distinguished from the weight-mina (used for commodities) of sixty shekels.

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**Obol** : a division, almost without exception one-sixth, of the drachm.

Originally *ὀβολός* or *ὀβελίσκος* must have been a small bar of metal, which was one of the forms taken by primitive currency.

**Obverse** : the side of a coin impressed by the lower die, which was let into an anvil. Since, when one of the two types of a coin was a human head, it was usually produced by the lower die, it has become usual to regard the side with the head, by whichever die it was produced, as the obverse. But on many early coins, *e.g.* on the Damareteion (No. 20) the head was produced by the upper die, and is, technically regarded, on the reverse of the coin.

**Persian or Persian Standard** : *see* Babylonian.

**Pheidonian Standard** : practically equivalent to the Aeginetic. Named after Pheidon, King of Argos, who introduced or systematised it.

**Phocian Standard** : the standard based on a unit (stater) of about 16·50 grammes. *See* No. 3.

**Phoenician Standard** : the standard based on a unit (shekel or stater) of from 7·67 to 7·27 grammes. *See* No. 7.

**Reverse** : the side of a coin impressed by the upper die : *see* Die. The reverse in most early coins received an incuse impression by which it is recognisable. *See* Incuse

**Rhodian Standard** : a standard based on a unit (didrachm) of 7·77 to 7·45 grammes. *See* No. 31.

**Shekel** : the name for the unit of weight in the Oriental coin-standards. *Cp.* Stater.

**Standard** : a system of weights according to which the various denominations of a coinage are fixed.

**Stater** : the standard or unit-coin in any system ; *e.g.* the Attic silver stater was a tetradrachm of 17·44 grammes, the Attic gold stater a didrachm of 8·72 grammes, the Corinthian silver stater a tridrachm of 8·72 grammes. *Cp.* Shekel.

**Struck Coins** : coins on which the designs are produced by dies impressed on the previously fashioned blank by blows with a hammer ; opposed to **cast coins**, which are produced by the single process of pouring molten metal into a mould.

**Symbol** : a subsidiary type, being either (1) an attribute of the chief type, as the eagle of Zeus, or (2)—and this is the strict numismatic use of the term—independent of the chief type, and serving to identify a person (as the authority responsible for the issue of the

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coin) or a mint (where the chief types, as, *e.g.* in the case of coins of Alexander the Great, indicate not the place of issue but the ruler).

**Talent** (*τάλαντον*): the highest weight in all ancient systems, equivalent to 60 minae or 3000 (money) staters.

**Type**: the design on a coin. In the narrower sense, the essential portion of the design (as distinct from adjunct, inscription, border, etc.), which is the distinguishing mark of the issuing authority and guarantee of the good quality of the coin. *Effigies est nummi qualitas extrinseca, et signum testimonii publici* (Jac. Lampadius, *de Natura Nummi*).

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

- B. C. H.* = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*. (Athens and Paris.)
- B. M. C.* = British Museum Catalogue. The word following in italics, as *Ionia*, denotes the volume.
- C. A.* = *Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients*, by B. V. Head. 4th ed., London, 1895.
- C. I. G.* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. by Boeckh, etc. Berlin, 1828-77.
- H. N.*<sup>1</sup> = *Historia Numorum*, by B. V. Head. 1st ed., Oxford, 1887.
- I. G.* = *Inscriptiones Graecae*. (Berlin, 1873 ff.)
- J. H. S.* = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. (London.)
- l.* = left. Used not in the heraldic sense, but from the spectator's point of view.
- Num. Chr.* = *Numismatic Chronicle*. (London.)
- Num. Zt.* = *Numismatische Zeitschrift*. (Vienna.)
- r.* = right. Used not in the heraldic sense, but from the spectator's point of view.
- Rev. Num.* = *Revue Numismatique*. (Paris.)
- Syr.* = *Coinage of Syracuse*, by B. V. Head. (*Num. Chr.* 1874.)
- Z. f. N.*  
*Zeit. f. Num.* } = *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*. (Berlin.)



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## THE BEGINNINGS OF COINAGE IN ASIA MINOR SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.

### 1. *Obv.* Striated surface.

*Rev.* Three incuse impressions ; the middle one, oblong, apparently contains a fox running ; the others, square, have indistinct types (perhaps only rough marks made by punches).

British Museum. Electrum Stater, 10·81 grammes. Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 1, 1 ; B. M. C. *Ionia*, p. 183, No. 1, Pl. iii. 3.

As early as the sixth century B.C. it was believed that the Lydians were the inventors of coinage.<sup>1</sup> Herodotus<sup>2</sup> later put on record his belief that the Lydians first struck money of gold and silver. He has probably fallen into a confusion ; it is fairly certain that the first coins made in Asia Minor of pure gold and silver belong to the time of Croesus (see below, No. 7). But there exist much more primitive pieces of money, made not of pure gold or silver, but of electrum, a natural mixture of the two metals which used to be found in quantities

<sup>1</sup> Jul. Pollux, ix. 83, quoting Xenophanes.

<sup>2</sup> i. 94.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

in the Tmolus district. Further, there exist silver coins, such as those struck in Aegina (No. 2), which have all the appearance of being more ancient than the earliest silver coins of Asia Minor. It would seem then that the first coins were made either in Lydia or in its dependencies of electrum, but that the fame of the wealth of Croesus and of the *Κροίσειοι στατήρες* threw the earlier electrum into oblivion. It is not improbable that these first electrum coins may go back to the time of Gyges, under whom the new Lydian empire was established.

What, if any, coins among those now extant are to be assigned to the earliest Lydian issues it is hardly possible to say. The coin No. 1, which was very likely issued at one of the Ionian coast towns, such as Miletus, is merely given as a specimen of a very primitive kind of currency. Type on the obverse it has none; the striations are only due to the grooving of the lower die in order to enable it to bite the metal. But on the reverse there is an arrangement which seems to point to the existence even at this early period of a comparatively complex system of control. We have no less than three 'incuses' (whereas in later times one was made to serve), and in one at least of these there is a type. Other early coins of the same district show distinct types in each of the incuses, as well as one on the obverse. It has been suggested<sup>1</sup> that these incuses contain the signatures of individual bankers, the coins being really private, and not state issues. But the regularity with which

<sup>1</sup> Babelon, *Les Origines de la Monnaie*, p. 110 f.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

they are disposed shows that they must have been impressed at one and the same time; so that in all probability what they contain is the signatures of the officials responsible for the coinage.

The weight of the stater is that generally known as the Babylonian, Persian, or Lydian. It was normally used in later times for the silver coinage; but we shall see that it was also employed for pure gold in the coins attributed to Croesus (see No. 7, where the standards are explained).

### THE BEGINNINGS OF SILVER COINAGE IN GREECE SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.

2. *Obv.* Sea-tortoise, represented with smooth carapace decorated with a row of pellets down the middle.

*Rev.* Incuse square irregularly divided by diameters and diagonals into eight compartments.

British Museum. Silver Aeginetic Stater, 12·44 grammes. Head, B. M. C. *Attica*, etc., p. 126, No. 1; C. A., Pl. 6, 29.

It is generally admitted by numismatists that the earliest Aeginetan coins are also the earliest silver coins struck in Greece. They are the first of a long series on which the type remains substantially the same down to the fourth century B.C., although modifications are introduced in the representation of the tortoise, which seems to have begun as the sea-tortoise and ended as the marsh-tortoise!<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof-Blumer u. Keller, *Tier- u. Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen u. Gemmen*, p. 40, Pl. vi. 24-26; Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, p. 333.

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The letters AI, which fix the attribution of the coins to Aegina, do not appear until the fifth century.

It is not possible to attach anything like an exact date to any group in the series of Aeginetan coins until we reach the period of the restoration of Aegina by Lysander after the fall of Athens. Stretching back from the group which can be assigned to this period is a very long series showing the slow development by gradual modification of the type of the tortoise and of the incuse impression on the reverse. This development must have occupied a long time, and we are therefore justified in assigning the oldest, extremely archaic, pieces to the seventh century B.C., and to a fairly early period in that century. That the Greeks themselves realised the great antiquity of the Aeginetan coins is clear. Writers from Ephorus downwards attributed the establishment of the mint at Aegina to Pheidon, king of Argos.<sup>1</sup> Since then, the two questions of the date of the first Aeginetan coinage and the date of Pheidon have been inextricably, though unnecessarily, involved with each other. Unnecessarily, for there is absolutely no trustworthy evidence that Pheidon had anything to do with the introduction of coinage. Herodotus<sup>2</sup> simply says that Pheidon gave a system of measures (including, presumably, weights) to the Peloponnesians. It is obvious that the origination of a system of weights and measures does not necessarily carry with it the establishment of a

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> vi. 127.

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currency. Yet it is probable that on this statement of Herodotus, coupled with the fact of the archaic character of the Aeginetan coinage, Ephorus founded the theory that Pheidon first coined silver in Aegina.

The *χελῶναι* of Aegina must have been struck in enormous quantities, for ordinary specimens are by no means rare. From a very early period the Aeginetans commanded the commerce of Peloponnesus and the Aegean islands. The spread of the Aeginetic standard shows that their trade worked its way far eastwards, even to the coast of Cilicia and Cyprus, and westwards to the earliest Sicilian colonies. The standard is also found in northern Greece, from Thessaly southwards as far as the district in which the system known as the Euboic-Attic, with its modification, the Corinthian, prevails; but we cannot tell whether its occurrence there was primarily due to Aeginetan trade. It seems more probable that it was the weight-standard in use all over the Greek mainland as far north as Thessaly from very early times. When the Aeginetan mint was started, it would naturally not create a new standard, but rather adopt one which was likely to favour the widest possible currency for its coins. This explanation, however, does not apply to its appearance in eastern and western Greece; for there the occurrence of the standard is sporadic, and less likely to be due to a survival of an early widespread standard than to importation by Aeginetan trade.

The type of the tortoise at Aegina has not

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received any very satisfactory explanation. There seems to have been some connexion between the tortoise and Aphrodite, who is not uncommonly represented standing with one foot on this reptile.<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that the mint was set up in the temple of Aphrodite mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>2</sup> At a later period than the seventh century the Aeginetans might have been expected to place on their coins the attribute of their chief deity, who however was not Aphrodite. But it is wisest to admit that we do not know for what reason<sup>3</sup> the tortoise was adopted as the type of Aegina; we only know, in accordance with the principle governing the adoption of types in early times, that it must have been the distinctive badge or arms of the state.<sup>4</sup>

The very peculiar incuse square which occurs on all but the earliest coins of Aegina—a square divided by bands into five unequal compartments—is characteristic of the series. It is also found, however, on coins struck at Orchomenus, in Boeotia, in the late sixth and in the fifth centuries B.C. There can be no doubt that the people of Orchomenus

<sup>1</sup> See Frazer's *Pausanias*, vol. iv. p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 29. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ridgeway (*op. cit.*, p. 331) suggests, in pursuance of his theory of the commercial origin of many coin-types, that the old monetary unit of Aegina was the shell of the sea-tortoise. We may admit the possibility that Aegina may have had a large trade in tortoise-shells, and that the reptile may therefore have been adopted as the arms of the state, and then as the type of the coins. But if the intention had been to represent on the coin the monetary unit which the coin replaced, we should find as type the representation, not of a living tortoise, but of its shell.

<sup>4</sup> See G. Macdonald's *Coin Types*, especially pp. 43 ff., where the dominance of this principle in early times is clearly brought out.

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adopted it from Aegina. By doing so, they gave to their coins a strong resemblance to the Aeginetan; for the obverse type is a corn-grain, which at first sight recalls the early Aeginetan tortoise, especially as it appears when the pellets have been worn away by circulation. Imitation of well-known coins for commercial reasons is natural enough, and not uncommon at any time; thus the people of Solus in Sicily imitated the coins of Selinus, and the Counts of Flanders the well-known English sterlings. There may, however, have been a political reason at the back of this resemblance. In the days of the Calaurian Amphictiony, Orchomenus must have been brought into close connexion with Aegina. We do not certainly know when those days were. But it would seem that either the actuality or the memory of this association must have existed in the seventh century B.C., and prompted the Orchomenians to adopt a coinage modelled on that of the Aeginetans. An attempt has indeed been made<sup>1</sup> to explain away the curious fact of the presence in the Calaurian Amphictiony of the solitary Boeotian city of Orchomenus, by supposing that Strabo or a copyist has added ἡ Μινύειος to the name, whereas really the Arcadian Orchomenus was the member. But the fact that in later times a connexion between Aegina and the Boeotian city is proved by the coinage is alone sufficient to dispose of such a conjecture.

<sup>1</sup> E. Curtius, in *Hermes*, x. 388.

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## THE THALASSOCRACY OF PHOCAEA

*circa* 602-560 B.C.

3. *Obv.* Seal r ; below, ☉

*Rev.* Two shallow incuse squares of unequal sizes.

British Museum. Electrum Stater, 16·52 grammes. W. Wroth, *Num. Chr.*, 1894, p. 14, Pl. i. 14 ; cp. B. V. Head, *Num. Chr.*, 1875, p. 281 ff.

The type of this extraordinarily rare stater, of which but two specimens<sup>1</sup> are at present known, is the *φώκη* or seal, which was always the chief badge of the great Ionic trading city. It is a good instance of a punning or canting type ; for we have no reason to suppose that Phocaea was in any way a 'city of seals.' Its name may be explained in the light of the tradition that it was founded by two Athenians leading a party of Phocians.<sup>2</sup> During the earliest period of the Phocaeen coinage, *i.e.* down to the Persian conquest in 541 B.C., both electrum and silver coins were issued ; but the pieces in the former metal are generally assigned to the period of the thalassocracy, which has been fixed with some probability at about 602-560 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The standard on which these coins are struck, and which takes from them the name Phocaic, was adopted by a few other cities, chiefly in the north-west of Asia Minor, such as Cyzicus. The type of

<sup>1</sup> The other is at Munich.

<sup>2</sup> Paus., vii. 2. 4 ; 3. 10 ; Strabo, xiv. 633, speaks only of Athenians ; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, i<sup>2</sup>. p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> W. W. Goodwin, *de potentiae vet. gentium maritimae epochis apud Euseb.*, Göttingen Diss., 1855, p. 56 f.



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one electrum coin, a centaur carrying off a woman, suggests a Thracian or Thasian origin;<sup>1</sup> and even though the fabric of the coin is rather Asiatic, this seems to show the course of Phocæan trade, for though the coin may have been struck in Asia Minor, the people who made and used it appear to have been familiar with coins of Thasos and the mainland over against it. On the other hand, the extension of the standard southwards seems to have been blocked by the rivalry of the other great trading cities of the Ionian coast.

The metal of which the early Phocæic coins are made is a fairly high quality of electrum; the percentage of gold contained in it is about 51 per cent., since the specific gravity, taken by approximate methods, is 13·7.<sup>2</sup>

From the epigraphic point of view, the form  $\odot$  used for the initial of the city name is of some interest. The same form is found also on an early coin of Phaselis,<sup>3</sup> a Dorian colony on the coast of Lycia. Outside of these two cities we have no instance of the use of  $\odot$  for  $\phi$ . It is possible that it is actually meant for a *theta*. If so, it follows, not necessarily that the names of Phocæa and Phaselis began with any other sound than the labial aspirate, but merely that, at the time, the letter in the alphabet most nearly representing that aspirate was *theta*. *Phi*, as is well known, was not

<sup>1</sup> B. V. Head, B. M. C. *Ionia*, p. 9, No. 42; Babelon, *Mél. de Num.*, iii. p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. B. V. Head, *Num. Chron.*, 1887, p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> B. M. C. *Lycia*, Pl. xvi. 5, a coin dating probably from the end of the sixth century B.C.

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represented by a single sign until comparatively late.<sup>1</sup>

The two incuse impressions on the reverses of the two extant specimens of this coin, although formed by the same two dies, are not in the same position relatively to each other. This proves that the two small dies by means of which they were produced were not immovably joined together. Nevertheless, these two dies must have been used at the same time, and in the same mint. For, if we suppose that the two reverse impressions were made independently at different times, and by persons in different places, we meet with a double difficulty. First, why is it that the person who made the first impression always carefully left space for a second, instead of driving his die into the middle of the blank? Second, if we suppose that the blank, having received its *obverse* type and one *reverse* impression, then passed out of the mint, the subsequent striking of the second *reverse* impression would inevitably produce a corresponding flattening on the *obverse* side. It follows that both reverse impressions must have been made at the same time, while the blank was in position on the anvil with the die of the *obverse* below it. This may seem to be a matter of purely technical importance, but it bears on the question of the private origin

<sup>1</sup> The question is discussed by Babelon, *Rev. Num.*, 1903, pp. 414 f. He decides in favour of its being a *theta*, and supposes that the initial sound of the name was intermediate between  $\theta$  and  $\phi$ . (If I understand him rightly, he supposes these signs to have represented fricatives; but in classical times they represented true aspirates.) He points out that the occurrence of the form on these coins is of interest in connexion with F. Lenormant's theory that the sign  $\phi$  was derived from the sign for *theta*.

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of coinage which has been briefly discussed above.<sup>1</sup> There we saw that the regularity of the arrangement of the triple 'incuse' pointed to its having been impressed all at the same time; here, where there is a certain irregularity, we see that the same simultaneity of origin is nevertheless certain. The two or three small reverse dies may in each case have been held together for the time by the pincers, although not permanently fixed.

### SOLON AND THE EARLY ATTIC COINAGE

*circa* 594-560 B.C.

4. *Obv.* Owl standing l., head facing.

*Rev.* Incuse square containing triangle.

British Museum. Electrum, 1.36 grammes. Head, B. M. C. *Attica*, p. 1, No. 1.

5. *Obv.* Similar type to preceding, within raised border.

*Rev.* Rough incuse square divided by diagonals into four triangles.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Silver, 8.42 grammes. Babelon, *Journ. Internat.*, 1904, p. 235.

6. *Obv.* Head of Athena r., wearing crested helmet.

*Rev.* Owl standing to front; in field to l. olive-spray, to r. [A]⊙E

British Museum. Silver, 17.16 grammes. Head, B. M. C. *Attica*, p. 1, No. 4; *C. A.*, Pl. 6, 27.

It is a curious and somewhat disheartening fact that, in spite of the comparatively large amount

<sup>1</sup> See p. 2.

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of literary evidence available, the early history of the Attic coinage presents more uncertainties than are to be found in almost any other series. Can it be that if we possessed an equal bulk of literary references to other early coinages, such as the Aeginetan and Corinthian, we should find it no less difficult to fit the extant coins into their historical background?

In the present case, to put the matter baldly, we are asked to decide two or three questions. Did a mint exist at Athens before Solon's time, and, if so, what coins were issued from it? If Solon started the Athenian mint, did he issue the coins which are so familiar as the Athenian  $\gamma\lambda\alpha\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$  (No. 6), or something else? If he did not introduce the  $\gamma\lambda\alpha\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ , who did?<sup>1</sup>

The arguments in favour of the existence of a mint at Athens before Solon's time may be summarised as follows. In the first place, it seems highly improbable that while all the great cities in the neighbourhood—Aegina, Corinth, Chalcis, Eretria, to mention only the more important—had their own coinages, Athens should have been content to use the money of its neighbours and rivals. Secondly, had Solon actually started the mint for the first time, so remarkable an innovation would

<sup>1</sup> It would be beyond the scope of this book to discuss this complicated subject in detail. I can hardly do more than give a bare outline of the question. Since the appearance of M. Babelon's suggestive essay in the *Journ. Internat.* for 1904, I have gone into the evidence once more, and arrived at the conclusions stated here. They are in substantial accordance with the interpretation of the Aristotelian evidence proposed in *Num. Chron.*, 1897, which I see no reason to discard, and also with the classification of the coins proposed by Dr. von Fritze in *Zeit. f. Num.*, xx.

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hardly have been omitted in the record of his achievements. A writer dealing with history from the economic and constitutional point of view alone, like Aristotle in his *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία*, could hardly have passed it over in silence; it is still less likely to have escaped the Atthidographers. Again, when Solon's policy in relation to the coinage is mentioned it is implied that he altered in some way what existed before him. Finally, as there is usually some basis for the most foolish tradition, we may justifiably assume that the various legends attributing the invention of the coinage to Erichthonius and Lycus, or to Theseus, mean that the invention went back to some very early time, at least pre-Solonian.

First let us consider the most important piece of the literary evidence.<sup>1</sup> From the famous tenth chapter of Aristotle's *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία* we know that the pre-Solonian mina in use at Athens weighed 70 drachms, and that Solon raised the weight of the mina so as to be equivalent to 100 drachms. Now the pre-Solonian mina in use at Athens must have been the Pheidonian-Aeginetic; that is generally admitted, and is indeed implied in Aristotle's context. What happened was that the weight of the mina was increased until its drachm (or  $\frac{1}{100}$  part) was equivalent to  $\frac{1}{70}$  of the Pheidonian mina previously in use. Now  $\frac{1}{70}$  of the Pheidonian mina ( $\frac{1}{70} \times 611.24$  grammes) is 8.73 grammes. Therefore 8.73 grammes was

<sup>1</sup> Androtion's evidence has had to be corrected in the light of the passage of Aristotle. See *Num. Chr.*, 1897, p. 292.

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the weight of Solon's drachm, and 873 grammes the weight of his new mina.

In what then did Solon's *αὔξησις τοῦ νομίσματος*, as it is described by Aristotle, consist? The drachm which he introduced was obviously heavier than the drachm of the Pheidonian system (6·11 grammes). It was also heavier than (in fact, twice the weight of) the later Attic drachm (4·36 grammes). Thus, whether the drachm in circulation in Athens before Solon's time was a Pheidonian of 6·11 grammes, or a light Attic of 4·36 grammes, the introduction of a drachm of 8·73 grammes was obviously an *αὔξησις τοῦ νομίσματος*. But if we accept the latter of the two alternatives (the light Attic), we ought to be able to explain why Aristotle went out of his way to express the nature of the *αὔξησις* in terms of the *Pheidonian* standard. Instead of the painfully roundabout method employed, he could have said quite simply that the Solonian drachm was made double the weight of the older drachm. One is driven to the conclusion, therefore, that the standard in use for coins at Athens before Solon was the Pheidonian-Aeginetic. It is indeed difficult to see how, if Athens used the Pheidonian mina, as is admitted by the chief representative of those who believe in a pre-Solonian 'Attic' coinage, she could have used smaller weights belonging to another standard.<sup>1</sup>

Unless, then, we are prepared to reject the

<sup>1</sup> The Delphic mina of 70 drachms is merely a name for the Attic mina expressed in terms of Aeginetic drachms. See Th. Reinach, *l'Histoire par les Monnaies*, pp. 99 ff.

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authority of Aristotle, the standard in use for coins at Athens before Solon was the Aeginetic, and any coins attributed to the Athenian mint before Solon must conform to that standard. Here we are met by the fact that there are absolutely no extant coins of the Aeginetic standard which can with any sort of probability be connected with Athens!

We are loth to reject the literary evidence; so let us examine once more the general arguments which we stated at the outset. Many a parallel can be found to the absence of a coinage in a great commercial city in early times. None of the Phoenician trading cities issued coins before the second half of the fifth century. Egypt was without a coinage until late in the fourth century. And, owing to the importance of Attic literature, we are liable to have an exaggerated opinion of the greatness of Athens before the time of Peisistratus. Further, our ancient authorities on the history of coinage are so fragmentary and unsystematic that the absence of any record of the invention of coinage by Solon must not be regarded as astonishing. The collectors of the traditions relating to early Attic history were only too likely to foster theories which took back the invention of the Attic coinage to immemorial antiquity, thus casting additional glory on their theme. Those who mention Solon's reform do so, it is true, in language implying the previous existence of a coinage; but they do not necessarily imply that that coinage was Athenian.

In order to assign a pre-Solonian silver coinage

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to Athens it is necessary to interpret Aristotle in a way which, as we have seen, is liable to the gravest objection. And when this has been done, there arises a further, purely numismatic, difficulty. The coins which, even by the most moderate champion of this theory,<sup>1</sup> are assigned to Athens present an extraordinary variety of types. We have on them an owl, a horse, the forepart or hindquarters of a horse, an amphora, an astragalos, a wheel. It is difficult to admit that all these types can have been in use at Athens in the seventh century.

Among these coins, those with the owl on the obverse and a rude incuse impression on the reverse (No. 5) naturally suggest an Athenian origin. Moreover, all the known specimens have been found on Attic soil. Is it not then possible that these are the first coins issued from the Athenian mint as organised by Solon? The heaviest among them are what writers of a later period would have called *δίδραχμα*, that is, they weigh 8.47 grammes max., which doubtless represents the normal 8.73 grammes. Aristotle, in the passage we have discussed, says *ἦν δ' ὁ ἀρχαῖος χαρακτήρ διδραχμον*. This has by some been taken to mean that the *pre-Solonian* struck coin was a didrachm. The word *ἀρχαῖος*, however, may simply be used in reference to the writer's own time, and so may describe the denomination struck by Solon.

In addition to the silver coins, there exist a few

<sup>1</sup> Babelon, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 ff.



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specimens of an electrum *hekte*, or sixth of the stater, with a similar type (No. 4). The provenance of these specimens, so far as recorded, is entirely in favour of an Attic origin; none are known to have come from any other part of Greece. It is natural therefore to class these electrum sixths with the silver owl-coins as representing the earliest Attic coinage.

These coins with the owl as sole type are very rare. It may be suggested that they were not issued in very large quantities, and also that they were called in at the time of the introduction of the heavier coins with the head of Athena and the owl, similar to No. 6. The attribution of the double-type coins to Solon, although supported by high authority, has always been disputed. The style of the head, even on the most archaic specimens, seems to belong more to the middle than to the beginning of the sixth century. The appearance of coins with types on both sides is also, to say the least, excessively rare before the middle of that century. There is therefore much to be said for attributing this innovation to Peisistratus, on whose devotion to Athena we have no need to insist.<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the typically Athenian coinage thus coincides with the period when Athens began to count as a really great power in Greek politics.

<sup>1</sup> See H. von Fritze, *Zeit. f. Num.*, xx. pp. 153 ff.

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### CROESUS, KING OF LYDIA

555-541 B.C.

7. *Obv.* Foreparts of lion r., with jaws open, and bull l., heraldically confronted.

*Rev.* Two incuse squares side by side.

British Museum. Gold Stater, 8·03 grammes. B. V. Head, *Num. Chr.*, 1875, Pl. x. 1; B. M. C. *Lydia*, Pl. i. 15; *C. A.*, Pl. 1, 13.

The attribution of this coin to Croesus must not be regarded as absolutely settled; but as it and similar coins are almost certainly of Lydian origin, and in style belong to the sixth century B.C., they seem to have a better claim than any others to be regarded as the *Κροίσειοι στατήρες*.<sup>1</sup> They are of gold of a very fine quality, and fall into two classes. One of these weighs normally 8·18 grammes, or about 3 grains troy more than the English sovereign. The other weighs 10·91 grammes. These two standards we call by the names 'gold-shekel' and 'Babylonian' standard respectively. In addition to the gold staters, there were struck on each standard smaller denominations (thirds, sixths, and twelfths of the stater). Further, we have *silver* staters, halves, thirds, and twelfths on the Babylonian, but not on the gold-shekel standard. Electrum now disappears from the Lydian coinage, although it continues to be issued in the neighbouring Greek mints.

Among the electrum coins attributed to Lydia in an earlier period we find evidence of two

<sup>1</sup> Pollux, ix. 84; cp. Hesych., *s.v.*

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standards. One of these is the Babylonian; the other is the 'Phoenician,' of which the stater weighs normally 14·54 grammes. This Phoenician standard was convenient for commerce with many of the Greek cities on the coast, while coins on the Babylonian standard would naturally pass more easily towards the east. The new Croesean gold was issued on two standards for a similar reason. The relation between gold and silver was at this time, as we are told by Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> 13:1, or more accurately 13·3:1. At this rate, a *gold* shekel of 8·18 grammes would be equivalent to very nearly 10 staters of *silver* struck on the Babylonian standard.<sup>2</sup> Again a *gold* stater of the Babylonian standard would, on the same principle, be equivalent to 10 staters of *silver* struck on the Phoenician standard.<sup>3</sup> Thus, when both Babylonian and Phoenician standards were in use in neighbouring countries for the weighing of metal coined or uncoined, the advantage of the double system was obvious. Yet, as carried out, it had the drawback that the gold staters of the two standards were not distinguishable at a glance. This defect might easily have been remedied by a change of types; but the fall of Lydia and the Persian reorganisation produced an entirely new monetary system (see No. 11).

Herodotus says<sup>4</sup> that the Lydians were, to his knowledge, the first to strike and use coins of gold

<sup>1</sup> iii. 95.

<sup>2</sup>  $8\cdot18 \times 13\cdot3 = 108\cdot79 = 10 \times 10\cdot88$ .

<sup>3</sup>  $10\cdot91 \times 13\cdot3 = 145\cdot10 = 10 \times 14\cdot51$ .

<sup>4</sup> i. 94.

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and silver. He was perfectly familiar with electrum; and we know<sup>1</sup> that there are electrum coins of earlier style than the gold and silver money attributed to Croesus, while it is almost as certain that the silver coinage of Greece Proper begins as early as the seventh century B.C., long before the time of Croesus. Herodotus cannot be using 'gold and silver' in the sense of a mixture of the two metals. Nor can his words be strained to mean that the Lydians were the first to use a coinage which comprised both gold and silver, as opposed to the simple coinages in one metal. We are forced to conclude, therefore, that he had forgotten, if he ever knew, that there was any coinage earlier than the Lydian gold and silver with which we are dealing; and as has already been suggested,<sup>2</sup> the fame of Croesus—if to him these coins really belong—was such that his coinage would cause its predecessors to be forgotten.

The type of the coins has been variously explained, but never with much semblance of probability. The opposition of the lion and the bull is a common motive in the art of the Near East. In Asia Minor we shall not be far out in connecting it with the cult of the Anatolian Mother-Goddess, with which the symbol of the lion devouring the bull is so frequently associated.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Crowfoot in *J. H. S.*, xx. p. 118 f.

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### ZANCLE AND RHEGIUM, AT THE END OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

8. *Obv.* ΔΑΝΚΛΕ Dolphin l.; the whole within a sickle-shaped object, outside and inside of which are pellets.

*Rev.* Dolphin r. within similar object; all incuse.

British Museum. Silver Aeginetic Drachm. Wt. 5·68 grammes.  
W. Wroth, *Num. Chr.*, 1900, p. 5, Pl. i. 1; cp. A. J. Evans, *Num. Chr.*, 1896, p. 101, Pl. viii. 1. 2.

9. *Obv.* ΡΕΙΝΟΝ (retrograde). Bull with human head in swimming attitude l.; above, a locust.

*Rev.* Similar type r. and symbol; all incuse.

Fig. 1. — Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Silver Aeginetic drachm, 5·64 grammes. Garrucci, *Le monete dell' Italia antica*, Pl. cxiv. 1.

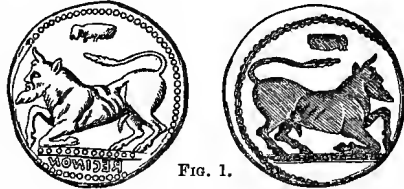


FIG. 1.

10. *Obv.* ΜΟΠ Poseidon, nude but for chlamys over shoulders, striding r., wielding trident. Cable border.

*Rev.* ΜΟΠ Similar, but type 1., and seen from *behind*; all, except the inscription and the trident, incuse.

British Museum. Silver Campanian Stater, 7·48 grammes. Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 7, 12.

It was about the middle of the sixth century that the cities of Magna Graecia began to issue coins with their own types, instead of using money

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imported from Greece Proper. The standard adopted by most of the Achaean colonies—Siris, Metapontum, Croton, Sybaris, Caulonia, Pyxus, Laüs, etc.—was the Corinthian, with staters of about 8·42 grammes, and thirds of about 2·85 grammes. Tarentum employed a stater of the same weight, but divided into halves. At Poseidonia (No. 10) we find the Campanian standard characteristic of its neighbour Velia. Rhegium, on the other hand, was closely connected with Zancle across the strait, and therefore employed the Aeginetic standard.<sup>1</sup> This standard, as it happened, was particularly convenient for the cities in this portion of the Greek west. The majority of the Greek colonies in Sicily employed the Euboic-Attic standard; and the Aeginetic drachm was approximately one-third of the Euboic-Attic tetradrachm. On the other hand it was also roughly the equivalent of two of the drachms of which the Corinthian stater contained three.

Euboic-Attic Tetradrachm.	Aeginetic Drachm.	Corinthian Drachm.
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$$\frac{1}{3} \times 17\cdot44 = 5\cdot81 = 2 \times 2\cdot90 \text{ grammes.}$$

So that the standard in use at Zancle and Rhegium exactly corresponds to the geographical position of the two cities.<sup>2</sup>

The early coins of Magna Graecia present a peculiarity of fabric which is not found elsewhere, save at Zancle. This peculiarity, illustrated by

<sup>1</sup> The highest weight recorded by Mr. Evans for the earliest coins of Zancle is 5·76 grammes. That these were meant to be Aeginetic drachms is shown by the occurrence of obols of ·90 grammes, which do not fit in with any other standard.

<sup>2</sup> Hill, *Handbook*, p. 36.

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the three coins before us, consists of the repetition on the reverse in incuse of the essentials of the obverse type, which is in relief. Small details, and usually the legend, are omitted in the repetition. The effect is almost that produced when in striking coins the workman forgets to take away one piece before he places the next in position. But there is this difference: what we have on the incuse reverse of these coins is often a back view of the figure on the obverse. Thus on No. 10 we see on the reverse that portion of the god's chlamys which on the obverse is concealed, because it passes behind his back. We have a naïve attempt to enable one, so to speak, to look through the coin and see the obverse type from behind.

What was the reason for this peculiar fashion?<sup>1</sup> Had it been adopted for some technical purpose, for convenience in striking or in packing coins, we can see no reason why it should have died out rather suddenly. Had the cause been a federation with a commercial and economic basis, we should have found it accompanied by a community of standard; probably also by some community of type.

It is well known that at the time with which we are dealing, the Pythagorean brotherhood exerted an extraordinary influence in southern Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere (*Handbook*, p. 152 f.) I have suggested that it was intended to facilitate the piling of coins. Mr. C. R. Peers pointed out to me the objections against this view, and suggested that there was probably, after all, something in Lenormant's theory of Pythagorean influence; but he is not responsible for the application which I have made of his hint.

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Pythagoras himself seems to have arrived in Croton at the beginning of the last third of the century.<sup>1</sup> The coinage of southern Italy cannot have begun much later, for we have a few coins of Sybaris, which was destroyed in 511-510 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The south Italian monetary 'federation' has already been connected with the Pythagorean domination. The peculiarities which differentiate this union, the sole bond of which appears to be similarity of fabric, from real monetary unions, prompt us to look for its explanation in some such abnormal influence as was wielded by the Pythagorean school. And as the fabric is a somewhat fantastic one, we need not fear the charge of fancifulness if we look for what, in other circumstances, would be a far-fetched explanation. Is it not possible that in this representation of both views, both front and back, of the same object, there may have been some awkward attempt to express one of those ten pairs of contraries of which the Pythagorean system made so much? Τὸ οὖν δεξιὸν καὶ ἄνω καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἀγθαὸν ἐκάλουν, τὸ δὲ ἀριστερὸν καὶ κάτω καὶ ὀπίσθεν κακὸν ἔλεγον.<sup>3</sup> Why, it may be asked, take so much trouble to represent—unnecessarily—what was κακόν? The answer is, that it was not unnecessary, according to this system, for the complete representation of the object in its essence: ἐκ τούτων γὰρ (τῶν στοιχείων) ὡς ἐνυπαρχόντων συνεσ-

<sup>1</sup> 533-532 or 529-528 B.C. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, ii.<sup>2</sup> 762.

<sup>2</sup> Also of Siris, the destruction of which Busolt dates about 530 (*op. cit.*, ii.<sup>2</sup> 758); but the date is quite uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. ap. Simplic. *de caelo*, 173<sup>a</sup> 11. See Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Phil. Gr.*, 55 e.



## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

τάμαι καὶ πεπλάσθαι φασὶ τὴν οὐσίαν.<sup>1</sup> Note that the peculiarity of the fabric emphasises the fact that we see back and front of the *same* figure, much more than would be the case if both sides were in relief, as on most coins.

But to return to less speculative questions connected with the coinage. Until the discovery near Messina in 1895 of the Zanclean coins, of which our No. 8 is an example, this fabric was supposed to be confined to the Italian peninsula. The discovery emphasises the intimacy of the relations between the two sides of the strait. Naxos, which was also in close relations with Zancle,<sup>2</sup> was sufficiently far removed from Rhegium to be uninfluenced by the peculiar fabric.

The hoard of coins from which No. 8 comes seems to have been buried about the beginning of the fifth century—possibly at the time of the revolution discussed below (Nos. 12 f.), after which the ‘Messenian’ coinage began.

The type of the Zanclean coin is a good instance of early heraldry. The local word ζάγκλον, which gave its name to the city, meant sickle,<sup>3</sup> and the harbour was enclosed by a sickle-shaped bar of sand. This fact is expressed by placing a dolphin—emblem of the sea—within a sickle-shaped bar. The word ζάγκλον may have meant anything sickle-shaped, and we may doubt whether the object is

<sup>1</sup> Aristot., *Metaph.*, I. 5, 986 b 9.

<sup>2</sup> The Messina hoard contained, in addition to the Zanclean coins, a smaller number of coins of Naxos. Evans, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Thuc., vi. 4.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

really meant for a sickle. It does not look as if it would be an effective instrument for reaping. True, this may be due to the inefficiency of the die-engraver; but on some of the later coins the object has four rectangular bosses on it, which would still further spoil its cutting power.<sup>1</sup>

The human-headed bull, which is the type of the earliest Rhegine coin, is a river god, and probably represents one of the small streams falling into the sea near Rhegium. Their ancient names seem to be unknown.

### DAREIUS I.

521-486 B.C.

11. *Obv.* The King of Persia, with long beard, wearing low crown (*kidaris*) and long robe (*kandys*), in semi-kneeling posture to r.; at his back, quiver; in his outstretched l., bow; in his r. spear, with apple-shaped butt.

*Rev.* Irregular incuse impression.

British Museum. Gold Daric, 8·35 grammes. Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 1, 17.

The etymology of the adjective *Δαρεικός* has been the subject of much discussion. Some have derived it from the Assyrian words *darag* or *dariku*: *darag* meaning 'degree' (i.e.  $\frac{1}{60}$  of the mina), *dariku* being explained as the name of a

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 107, suggests that they are buildings (so previously P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 90). The form *Δάνκλη*, as Evans remarks, shows that the word glossed by Thucydides was written *δάγκλον* by the Sicels—an easily paralleled dialectical variation.

PLATE I.



Nos. 1—11.



## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

measure, although it more probably denotes a vegetable product of some kind. Others again have derived it from the Persian name of Dareius, *Darayavaush*. To this it has been justly objected that this could not give us the form *Dareikos*. Curiously enough, in all this discussion, the etymology which stares one in the face has, if it has ever been seen, at least escaped approval.<sup>1</sup> The word *Δαρεικός* must be a pure Greek formation from the Greek form *Δαρείος* of the Persian name *Darayavaush*;<sup>2</sup> just as 'fanciful' is a pure English formation from the English form 'fancy' of the Greek *φαντασία*. If the word existed in Persian as the name of a coin—and of this there is no evidence—it would be necessary to find a direct Persian derivation for it. As it is, we may take it for granted, that the Greeks gave the name 'coin of Dareius' to the gold and silver<sup>3</sup> coins of the Persian Empire. But it does not necessarily follow that the coin was introduced by Dareius I. He, as Herodotus tells us,<sup>4</sup> took the purest gold, refined it to the greatest possible degree, and struck coins of it. This reads as if Dareius was the actual initiator of the Persian gold coinage. Harpocration,<sup>5</sup> on the other hand, says that most people thought the daric was called after Dareius the father of Xerxes, but that it really took its name from some older king. If the daric was in-

<sup>1</sup> It was the generally accepted Greek etymology. See Harpocration, cited below.

<sup>2</sup> See *Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. 'Shekel,' § 4.

<sup>3</sup> For the use of the name for silver coins, see Plut., *Cim.*, 10.

<sup>4</sup> iv. 166.

<sup>5</sup> *s.v.* *Δαρεικός*; cp. Schol. Aristoph., *Eccl.*, 602.

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troduced by one of the predecessors of Dareius I.—and coins of this class have been conjecturally ascribed to Cyrus and Cambyses—this fact, combined with the obvious significance of the name, would be sufficient to give rise to the tradition that they were named after an earlier Dareius.

Unfortunately, in the matter of classifying the large numbers of darics which have come down to us, the criterion of style can only be applied with the utmost caution; for the treatment of the type is extremely uniform and conventional, and the differences consist in minute details. M. Babelon,<sup>1</sup> however, starting from a class represented by a find from the Athos Canal—and therefore belonging to either Xerxes or his father—has attempted the difficult task of a chronological arrangement. The specimen here illustrated would, according to that classification, belong to Dareius I.

The silver coin which corresponded to the gold daric was generally known as the *σίγλος* (sometimes *σίγλος Μηδικός*). This word is the same as the Hebrew *shekel*. The normal weight of the daric is 8·40 grammes. The relation between gold and silver being 13·3:1,<sup>2</sup> one gold daric would be equivalent in value to twenty pieces of 5·58 grammes. This corresponds closely to the weight of the *σίγλος*, which was evidently fixed so as to make it a convenient fraction of the gold daric.

In type the siglos resembles the gold daric. The spear carried by the king is of the type used by

<sup>1</sup> *Les Perses Achéménides*, p. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 19.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

the *μηλοφόροι* of the royal body-guard; Herodotus<sup>1</sup> tells us that those nearest to Xerxes had (golden) apples on their spears. The attitude of the king is that familiar to all students of early Greek art—a crude attempt to represent running.

The gold darics formed one of the most important currencies of ancient times, and circulated in very large quantities in Greece, as well as on the outskirts of the Persian Empire. How far they were used in Persia itself is doubtful; probably they were intended primarily for external circulation, and for the payment of mercenaries employed by Persian generals.<sup>2</sup>

### RHEGIUM AND ZANCLE-MESSANA IN THE TIME OF ANAXILAS

494-476 B.C.

12. *Obv.* Lion's scalp on a round shield.

*Rev.* Prow of Samian galley l.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 17·31 grammes.  
P. Gardner, *Samos and Samian Coins*, Pl. i. 17 (*Num. Chron.*, 1882).

13. *Obv.* Lion's head facing.

*Rev.* MESSENION Calf's head l.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 17·31 grammes. Head,  
*H. N.*, p. 134; *C. A.*, Pl. 9, 30.

14. *Obv.* Mule-car (*apene*) driven to r. by a bearded charioteer.

*Rev.* MESSENION Hare running r.

British Museum. Silver Attic Didrachm. Wt. 8.49 grammes.  
G. F. Hill, *J. H. S.*, xvii. p. 88, Pl. ii. 7.

<sup>1</sup> vii. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. vii.

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15. *Obv.* Mule-car driven by male charioteer to r. ;  
above, Nike flying r. crowning the  
mules ; in exergue, laurel-leaf.  
*Rev.* MESSANION Hare running r. ; in field,  
laurel-spray.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm. Wt. 17·14 grammes.  
P. Gardner, B. M. C. *Sicily*, p. 101, No. 18.

16. *Obv.* Lion's head facing.  
*Rev.* RECI(N)ON (retrograde). Calf's head l.

British Museum. Silver Aeginetic Drachm, 5·69 grammes. R. S. Poole,  
B. M. C. *Italy*, p. 373, No. 1.

17. *Obv.* Mule-car driven r. by bearded charioteer ;  
in exergue, laurel-leaf.  
*Rev.* RECINON (retrograde). Hare running r.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm (or Aeginetic Tridrachm),  
17·17 grammes.

The Samians and the Milesian refugees were the only people who accepted the invitation to settle at Kale Aktethat was sent by the Zancleans to Ionia. On their way they touched at Locri, and there Anaxilas, who was on bad terms with Zancle, tampered with them. He persuaded them to take possession, not of Kale Akte, but of Zancle itself, which was at the time denuded of its military forces, since the king, Scythes, was occupied in the siege of a Sicel town. The new-comers made use of the opportunity, and the Zancleans, shut out of their city, appealed to Hippocrates of Gela. In this quarter also they met with treachery. Hippocrates betrayed their cause to the Samians, who retained possession of



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Zancle, while the original inhabitants were enslaved. Scythes ended his days at the Persian court. This is the account given by Herodotus in a passage which seems to be inspired by a source friendly to the old Zancleans.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere<sup>2</sup> he tells us that Cadmus, son of Scythes, whom Dareius had probably made tyrant of Cos, resigned the tyrannis which he had inherited from his father, and went to Sicily. There he received from the Samians<sup>3</sup> the city of Zancle τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ ὄνομα. From the preceding chapter, where it is said that Cadmus was employed on an important embassy by Gelon, it appears probable that he was reigning at Zancle in 480 B.C.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, Pausanias<sup>5</sup> has a circumstantial account of the capture of Zancle by Anaxilas and a party of Messenians. When they obtained possession of the city, they lived in concord with the old inhabitants, but altered the name of the city to Messene. But Pausanias dates all this in the 29th Olympiad, and makes it a sequel to the Second Messenian War! Are we to reject his story as a mere fabrication? It certainly bears traces of an aetiological origin:—‘the place was re-named Messene, therefore it must have been colonised by exiles from Messene in Peloponnesus.’ Possibly some support was given to the invention by the presence of Messenians among the colonists whom Anaxilas placed in the city.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> vi. 23, 24.

<sup>2</sup> παρὰ Σαμίων. Bekker reads μετὰ Σ.

<sup>4</sup> Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, ii.<sup>2</sup> p. 782, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Busolt, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> vii. 164.

<sup>5</sup> iv. 23, 5 ff.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

How do the coins illustrate this problem?<sup>1</sup> In the first place it must be noticed that the lion's *scalp* (not *head*) and the calf's head are types of Samos, and that the prow on No. 12 is of the Samian kind. The fact that tetradrachms like No. 12 have been found near Messina,<sup>2</sup> taken in conjunction with the absence of any inscription on them, gives much force to the suggestion that they are derived from the Samian colonists who came in 493 B.C. Next, we observe that the name Messene was borne by the city when it was still striking coins with Samian types, and that these Samian types are found on coins of Rhegium of contemporary style. Finally, in both cities appear the types of the mule-car and hare, and in the Sicilian city the legend, which at first had the Ionic form *Μεσσηνιον*, is afterwards changed to the Doric *Μεσσαγιον*.

Now as to the new types. Pollux<sup>3</sup> tells us, on the authority of Aristotle, that Anaxilas, having introduced the hare into Sicily, and having won the apene-race at Olympia, placed apene and hare on the coinage of Rhegium. Head<sup>4</sup> doubts the accuracy of this explanation. He regards the type of the hare as a religious one, connected with the worship of Pan, who on a tetradrachm of Messene is represented caressing a hare; the tradition of

<sup>1</sup> The coin with Poseidon on the *obv.*, and dolphin on the *rev.*, reading *Δαρκλαιον*, must belong, as Evans has shown (*Num. Chron.*, 1896, pp. 109 f.), to an otherwise unrecorded restoration of Zancle under its old name about the middle of the fifth century.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeit. f. Num.*, iii. p. 135, and v. p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> v. 73.

<sup>4</sup> *H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 93.

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the introduction of the hare into Sicily by Anaxilas may have originated merely in his introduction of the hare-coins. In any case, however, the instrumentality of Anaxilas in having the type of the mule-car placed on the coins is not denied. But the fact that both types appear at the same time in two cities politically connected with each other suggests that they owe their origin to the same cause. Is the hare merely the symbol of a cult introduced by Anaxilas, or does it allude to his introduction of the animal into Sicily as Aristotle (so far as we can trust Pollux) believed? On this question those who hold the extreme view of the religious origin of coin-types will pronounce for the former alternative. But why should not Aristotle's statement be accurate? The type of Pan caressing the hare cannot be held to prove that the hare was adopted as a type because it was his attribute. It only means that, once it was adopted, the die engraver, allowed to indulge his fancy, associated the animal with the god to whom it was sacred.

The connexion of these types with Anaxilas is clear enough; but the precise significance of the Samian types at both cities is difficult to ascertain. It is easy to understand why the Samians should issue in their new home coins with types recalling their old one. But why did Anaxilas himself issue in Rhegium coins with the same types (No. 16.)? It cannot have been merely out of sympathy with the new colony. We have to remember that Anaxilas was a tyrant, whose power in all probability was continually threatened by the remnants of the

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oligarchical party which he had subverted.<sup>1</sup> There is every reason to suppose that, when he bought the Samian immigrants at Locri, he did so because it was to his advantage to have friends instead of enemies across the straits. There was probably, therefore, a close alliance between the Samians in Zancle and Anaxilas in Rhegium, and of this alliance the similarity of coin-types is a proof. As to the change of name, this may or may not have been due to the influence of Anaxilas; but in any case the coins offer distinct evidence to the effect that the change was made while the Samians were still masters of the city. It was probably some time before 480 B.C. that Cadmus, the son of Scythes, returned to Sicily and entered into possession of his father's old dominion. This, of course, involved a breach with Anaxilas, and resulted in the expulsion of the Samians and their new king. Anaxilas then recolonised the place with a mixed population; and the fact that the inscription changes from the Ionic to the Doric form shows that the Doric element in the colony eventually got the upper hand. After the death of Anaxilas (476 B.C.) the Messanians continued to be ruled by his dynasty until 461 B.C.<sup>2</sup> From that date until 427 B.C. we have no light on the history of Messana, except such as is thrown by a coin (mentioned above, p. 32, note 1,) which shows that about the middle of the century there

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Pol.*, viii. (v.), p. 1316 a 38.

<sup>2</sup> His son had perhaps already been governor of Rhegium for some years (Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, iii. (i.)<sup>2</sup> 169, n. 7).



12



13



12



14



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17



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was a temporary restoration of the Zanclean faction.

Such seems to be the most probable outline of the history of Messana at this period. It is needless to insist on the large element which conjecture must play in the construction of such a sketch.

### ACRAGAS AND HIMERA UNDER THERON

488-472 B.C.

18. *Obv.* ΑΚΡΑ Eagle with closed wings standing l.  
*Rev.* Freshwater crab.

British Museum. Silver Attic Didrachm, 8·68 grammes. P. Gardner, *B. M. C. Sicily*, p. 6, No. 13.

19. *Obv.* ΗΜΕΡΑ. Cock standing l.  
*Rev.* Freshwater crab as on No. 18.

British Museum. Silver Attic didrachm, 8·59 grammes. P. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 78, No. 24.

Theron, son of Aenesidemus, seized the tyranny of Acragas in 488-487 B.C.<sup>1</sup> As an ally of Gelon of Syracuse, who married his daughter Damarete, he was opposed to the designs of Anaxilas of Rhegium in northern Sicily. Anaxilas was married to Cydippe, the daughter of Terillus of Himera. In the war which eventually broke out, Himera fell into the power of Theron, who retained possession until his death in 472-471. His son Thrasydæus, who had acted as his lieutenant in Himera,

<sup>1</sup> Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, ii.<sup>2</sup> 787.

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now succeeded to the whole dominion, only to fall immediately before the power of Syracuse.

During a brief period there appears on the reverse of the coins of Himera the freshwater crab, the special type of Acragas. This marks the epoch of Acragantine supremacy in the northern city. The coins of Himera had previously been struck on the Aeginetic standard; but with the change of masters the Euboic-Attic standard, which had always been in use in Acragas, was introduced into the coinage of Himera.

The crab is probably not a marine crab, but a freshwater species.<sup>1</sup> 'If so, the crab would represent the river Akragas.'<sup>2</sup> The eagle, the forerunner of the magnificent pair who figure on the later decadrachms of Acragas, is presumably the bird of Zeus. That his cult prevailed at Acragas, we know from later coins. The cock of Himera is by some, in the same way, connected with Asklepios,<sup>3</sup> or at least with some healing-god; for there were famous healing springs near Himera. But the coins struck in later times at *Thermae Himerenses* show no trace of such a cult. It is therefore worth while to consider the alternative explanation proposed by Eckhel, the founder of scientific numismatics. He suggests that, as the bird of day-dawn,<sup>4</sup> the cock is a punning allusion to the

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof-Blumer and Keller, *Tier- u. Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen u. Gemmen*, Pl. viii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Head, *H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Head, *H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Plut., *de Pyth. Orac.*, 12 (p. 400 c): ὅτ' ὃν ἀλεκτρυόνα ποιήσας ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐθωπὴν ὑπεδήλωσεν ὦραν καὶ καιρὸν ἐπιούσης ἀνατολῆς.



## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

name of the town. Plato<sup>1</sup> indeed says that *ιμέρα* was an older form of *ήμερά*; but on such a vague statement little reliance can be placed.<sup>2</sup> Still the words are near enough in spelling and sound to admit of a pun, such as is common in the history of Greek coinage.

### THE DAMARETEIA

480-479 B.C.

20. *Obv.* Slow quadriga to r., driven by male charioteer, in long dress, the horses crowned by a flying Nike; in exergue, lion r.

*Rev.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ Female head (of Nike?) r., laureate, surrounded by dolphins. The whole in circular incuse.

British Museum. Silver decadrachm or πεντηκοντάλιτρον. 44·426 grammes. B. V. Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 17, 33. Cp. A. J. Evans, *Num. Chron.*, 1894, Pl. vi.

The traditions as to the origin of the Damareteia are two. Both agree in connecting the name with that of the wife of Gelon. Diodorus, however,<sup>3</sup> says that the coins were struck out of money received from the Carthaginians after their defeat, while,

<sup>1</sup> *Cratyl.*, 418 C.D.      <sup>2</sup> Cp. Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Grammar*, § 41.

<sup>3</sup> xi. 26, 3. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι (after their defeat by Gelon) παραδόξως τῆς σωτηρίας τετευχότες ταυτά τε (the indemnity demanded by Gelon) δώσειν προσεδέξαντο καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ Γέλωνος Δαμαρέτην προσωμολόγησαν. αὐτὴ γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀξιοθεῖσα συνήργησε πλείστον εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν τῆς εἰρήμης, καὶ στεφανωθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις χρυσοῦ, νόμισμα ἐξέκοψε τὸ κληθὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Δαμαρέτειον· τοῦτο δ' εἶχε μὲν Ἀττικὰς δραχμὰς δέκα, ἐκλήθη δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις ἀπὸ τοῦ σταθμοῦ πεντηκοντάλιτρον.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

according to Julius Pollux<sup>1</sup> and Hesychius,<sup>2</sup> it was produced from ornaments devoted by Damarete and other Syracusan women to their country's cause. We have further to reckon with the apparent fact that, according to one tradition, the gold out of which Gelon, Hieron, Polyzelus and Thrasybulus dedicated tripods at Delphi, was known as 'Damaretian gold.' An epigram of Simonides<sup>3</sup> contains a couplet saying that the tripods were dedicated

ἐξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πενήκοντα ταλάντων  
 Δαρετίου χρυσοῦ, τᾶς δεκάτας δεκάταν.

Bentley emended *Δαρετίου* to *Δαμαρετίου*. Whether, however, we accept his emendation or not, the evidence of this couplet is worth little; for it is clearly one of the many additions from which Simonidean epigrams have suffered at the hands of Alexandrian scholars.<sup>4</sup> Were the emendation certain and the couplet of Simonidean date, we could infer on excellent authority: (1) that all the treasure obtained from the Carthaginians went by the name of 'Damaretian,' and (2) that the coins called Damareteia were struck out of that treasure and not out of ornaments presented by the queen and other women. As matters stand, it seems (Bentley's reading being admitted) that the couplet

<sup>1</sup> *Onom.*, ix. 85. Ἡ Δημαρέτη Γέλωνος οὔσα γυνή, κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Λίβνας πόλεμον ἀποροῦντος αὐτοῦ, τὸν κόσμον αἰτησαμένη παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν συγχωνεύσασα νόμισμα ἐκόψατο Δαμαρέτιον.

<sup>2</sup> Δημαρέτιον, νόμισμα ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ Γέλωνος κοπέν, ἐπιδοῦσης αὐτῆ Δημαρέτης τῆς γυναικὸς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν κόσμον.

<sup>3</sup> *Suidas Δαρετίου* and *Anthol. Pal.*, vi. 214.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Götting. Nachrichten*, 1897, p. 314.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

enshrines just the kind of error that an interpolator would make. Knowing the fact that precious metal obtained from the defeated Carthaginians was associated with the name of Gelon's queen, he would extend the name 'Damaretian' to all the treasure, out of a tenth of which the tripods were dedicated.

Busolt<sup>1</sup> offers one solution of the difficulty. Accepting the tradition represented by Pollux and Hesychius, and assuming the first Damareteia to have been struck before the battle of Himera, he explains the other tradition by supposing that Gelon, after the victory, struck a number of coins which were known as Damareteia, because the first coins of that kind were struck in the circumstances already mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

Evans,<sup>3</sup> on the other hand, unhesitatingly prefers the account of Diodorus. In his favour we must remember that such a magnificent piece of money—it stands alone in the Sicilian coinage before the defeat of the Athenian expedition—is not the kind of coin which would be produced amid the pressure of war-preparations. It is, on the other hand, just the kind of coin which would be produced in the time of triumph after the victory of Himera. We have the analogy of the later Syracusan 'medallions,' pieces exactly similar in motive, although later in style by some seventy years at least.

<sup>1</sup> *Gr. Gesch.*, ii.<sup>2</sup> pp. 789, 796.

<sup>2</sup> Busolt's remark (p. 796, note 2), that the head on the Damareteia gives the impression of a portrait, will not, I think, be confirmed by any trained numismatist.

<sup>3</sup> *Syracusan 'Medallions,'* p. 123.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

These, as Evans has shown, belong to the period following the defeat of the Athenians at the Assinarus.<sup>1</sup>

There is probably something in both the traditions. In order to accept the view to which Evans has lent the weight of his authority, it is unnecessary wholly to reject the evidence of Pollux and Hesychius. What happened was probably this. Damarete and the other ladies made the sacrifice for which they have justly been honoured; but, when the new coins were struck after the victory, some sort of return for their treasures, which had been melted down, was made to them in the form of the Damareteia. When so much treasure was acquired from the enemy, it would be no derogation from the value of their sacrifice that they should be repaid in part or in whole.

Very few specimens of the Damareteion are extant. Evans<sup>2</sup> enumerates ten specimens, and among these he distinguishes no less than four different dies for the one side of the coin, and three for the other. Nevertheless 'the general style of the engraving is so uniform on all the existing varieties of the Damareteion, that we must continue to regard them as having been struck contemporaneously.' From a modern point of view, the number of dies used, compared with the number of extant specimens, is remarkably large. But the coin was of greater weight and diameter than any which had been produced in Sicily before, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Syracusan 'Medallions,'* pp. 131 ff. ; see below, No. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 190.

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strain on the comparatively weak dies which the Syracusans were capable of making must have been excessive. The coins, as we know, were struck out of the silver equivalent of 100 talents of gold. Some have supposed that the talents were the small Attic talents containing six gold drachms. More probably Diodorus' authority meant the local Sicilian talents, which, as the silver talent contained 120 litrae of silver, would contain 120 litrae of gold.<sup>1</sup> The wreath would therefore contain 12,000 litrae of gold, which at the exchange rate of 15:1 would account for an issue of 3600 πεντηκοντάλιτρα of silver. Any smaller number is rendered improbable by the number of recorded dies. Evans indeed goes further. Arguing from the emended and probably spurious couplet which we have discussed, he thinks<sup>2</sup> that 'the share of the Carthaginian loot received by Gelon and his brothers, with the exception of the tenth part reserved for the votive tripod, may have been devoted to the coinage of the Damareteia.' But this is disproved by the testimony of Diodorus<sup>3</sup> and others, to the effect that Gelon, among other things, built a considerable double temple of Demeter and Kore,—unless indeed we suppose that he turned his funds into coin in order to pay for these works. We have also to remember that tetradrachms were issued with exactly the same types as the decadrachms, and presumably out of the same treasure.

<sup>1</sup> See Evans, *Syracusan 'Medallions,'* pp. 124 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> xi. 25, 1; 26, 7. See Busolt, ii.<sup>2</sup> p. 796, n. 3.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

It is not possible to identify with certainty the goddess whose head is represented on the Damareteion. The supposition that she is Nike seems to have most in its favour. In any case, the significance of the dolphins is plain. Here, as on the later decadrachms (No. 29), they stand for the sea surrounding the island of Ortygia, on which the goddess was worshipped. As to the symbol in the exergue below the chariot, it may seem fanciful to suppose that it is the African lion, and refers to the defeat of the Carthaginians; but there is no doubt that exergual symbols on Sicilian coins often have historical significance of this kind. On the contemporary tetradrachms of Leontini, in addition to the lion which is used as the badge of the city, a similar lion occurs with apparently the same significance.<sup>1</sup>

The Damareteion, in historical significance, ranks almost first among Greek coins. Artistically also it is of incomparable importance. Its fixed date makes it the chief *point d'appui* for the numismatist in his classification of fifth century Sicilian coins. But, apart from this, it has extraordinary merit of its own; and the eye which has been sated by the beauty of the later Syracusan coinage finds relief in its fresh and naïve charm.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, p. 77, Pl. v. 4.

<sup>2</sup> I may refer to my *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, pp. 55 f. for a description of its artistic qualities.

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### HIERON'S FOUNDATION OF AETNA

476—BEFORE 461 B.C.

21. *Obv.* Head of bald Seilenus r.  
*Rev.* ΚΑΤΑΝΕ Thunderbolt with two curled wings.

British Museum. Silver Sicilian Litra, 0·28 gramme. P. Gardner, B. M. C. *Sicily*, p. 42, No. 9.

22. *Obv.* ΑΙΤΝΑΙΟΝ Head of bald Seilenus r. wearing ivy-wreath; beneath, beetle.  
*Rev.* Zeus Αἰτναῖος seated r. on throne covered with a skin, his r. hand resting on a vine-staff, his l. holding a thunderbolt with two curled wings; in the field, an eagle on a pine-tree.

Brussels (Hirsch Collection). Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 17·24 grammes. Hirsch, *Num. Chr.*, 1883, p. 164, Pl. ix. 1; Head, *ibid.* p. 171 f.

In 476-475 Hieron of Syracuse removed the inhabitants of Catana and Naxos from their homes, and replaced them by fresh citizens, drawn in equal proportions from Syracuse and Peloponnesus.<sup>1</sup> His object was not merely to satisfy a despotic whim, but rather to establish a reserve, in case his position in Syracuse should be threatened. The old inhabitants were removed to Leontini. Hieron renamed Catana, Aetna, and gave it the old 'Dorian' institutions; the government he placed in the hands of his son Deinomenes and his friend Chromius. He himself was honoured as founder, and was buried

<sup>1</sup> The ancient sources for the history of this whole episode are collected in my *Sources for Greek History*, 478-431 B.C., viii. 43-52, 155, 156.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

there. After his death (spring, 466) and the fall of Thrasybulus (spring, 465), it was not to be expected that the foundation would be left undisturbed; and indeed the Sicel leader Ducetius lost no time in attacking it. Assisted by the Syracusans, he was able to expel the Aetnaeans, who settled in Inessa, on the southern slope of Mount Aetna. This place in its turn took its name from the volcano,<sup>1</sup> while Catana reverted to its old name. Diodorus recounts these events under the archonship of Euthippus (461-460), but they probably took place soon after the fall of Thrasybulus.<sup>2</sup>

The unique tetradrachm, No. 22, one of the most remarkable in the whole Sicilian series, is not the only monument of the dozen years or so during which Catana bore the name of Aetna. There are small silver coins reading ΑΙΤΝΑΙ, and bearing the same types as the little coin, No. 21, with ΚΑΤΑΝΕ. The combination of the peculiarly formed thunderbolt with the head of Seilenus is sufficient to show that the two sets of coins belong to the same city under different names.

On the tetradrachm, every detail of the types serves to give local colour. In this connexion I can hardly do better than quote from Head's exhaustive publication of the piece. 'It can hardly be doubted that the Zeus here represented is the great god of Mount Aetna,<sup>3</sup> the volcanic soil of

<sup>1</sup> The coins struck in the fourth century and later reading ΑΙΤΝΑΙΩΝ belong to this place (Head, *H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 104).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, iii. i.<sup>2</sup> 172, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Pind., *Ol.*, iv. 10.



## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

which was especially favourable to the cultivation of the vine,<sup>1</sup> whence perhaps the vine-staff on which the god rests his arm. . . . It is noteworthy that across the throne of the god is spread the skin of a lion, or of some other mountain-bred beast of prey; but the most characteristic symbol on the reverse is undoubtedly the pine-tree, *έλάτη* or *πέυκη*, with which, according to Diodorus,<sup>2</sup> the slopes of Aetna were once richly clad. . . . Seilenos, as we learn from Euripides' satyric drama *Kyklops*, was enslaved by Polyphemos, and dwelt in the caves of Aetna with his savage master. More generally the head of Seilenos may be taken as pointing to the cultus of Dionysos, who, as we know from other coins, was especially revered at Catana; but, as if still further to specialise the locality, the artist has placed beneath the head of Seilenos one of those huge scarabei, *κάνθαροι*, for which Mount Aetna was celebrated.'<sup>3</sup>

### THEMISTOCLES IN MAGNESIA

AFTER 463 B.C.

23. *Obv.* ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΣ Apollo, wearing chlamys over his shoulders, standing r., his r. hand on his hip, his l. resting on a long branch of laurel.

*Rev.* MA Raven (?) flying.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, vi. p. 269: *έχειν τι οικείωμα προς την άμπελον εις την Αιτναίαν σποδόν.*

<sup>2</sup> xiv. 42-4. Cp. Pind., *Pyth.*, i. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Aristoph., *Pax*, 73 and Schol.

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Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Silver Attic Didrachm, 8·56 grammes. Waddington, *Mélanges de Numismatique*, Pl. i. 2; Babelon, *Perses Achéménides*, Pl. ix. 8.

Themistocles landed in Asia about summertime in 469 B.C., but did not reach Susa until shortly after the accession of Artaxerxes I. in 464. After another year's delay he presented himself before the king, and was received with favour. Being granted the revenues of the three cities of Magnesia on the Maeander, Lampsacus and Myus, he took up his abode in the first.<sup>1</sup> Thence he issued the now excessively rare coins bearing his name and the letters ΜΑ (for Μαγνήτων).<sup>2</sup> He represented on them the Apollo of Magnesia, and a bird which has been described as a raven, the oracular bird sacred to the god. But it bears, as Dressel remarks, much greater resemblance to some kind of hawk, a bird which, as we know, was connected with Apollo.<sup>3</sup> The identification of birds and mammals on Greek coins is among the most perplexing tasks that confront a numismatist.<sup>4</sup>

Themistocles' residence in Magnesia was long remembered. He was supposed to have instituted

<sup>1</sup> Thuc., i. 138, 5; Plut., *Them.*, 31; Hill, *Sources*, vi. 44 f.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the Paris specimen here illustrated, there are known to me two other didrachms, in the British Museum (Head, B. M. C. *Ionia*, p. 158, a *plated* specimen) and in the Berlin Museum (Dressel, *Zeitf. Num.*, xxi. Pl. v. 10, with Apollo to l., and a bird flying over his hand). Dr. H. von Fritze informs me that a specimen of the corresponding drachm, also plated, exists in the collection of A. Haji Demo at Aidin (Tralles).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *Il.*, xv. 237; *Od.*, xv. 526. Our bird has also been taken for an eagle, but there is no evidence of any connexion of the eagle with Apollo.

<sup>4</sup> There are coins of Paphos in Cyprus in which one despairs of deciding, not merely between an eagle and a hawk (which need not surprise us), but between these two and a dove!

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

there the festivals of the Panathenaea and the Choes—reminiscences of his fatherland.<sup>1</sup> After his death the people of Magnesia erected a monument, to his memory;<sup>2</sup> and even as late as the time of Plutarch, his descendants were accorded certain privileges (*τιμαί τινες*), which Plutarch's friend Themistocles enjoyed. Although the monument, which was doubtless a heroön of some dimensions, has not been found in the excavations of Magnesia, we have a representation of the statue of the hero on a bronze coin (Fig. 2)<sup>3</sup> issued at that city, with the head and name of Antoninus Pius, in the year of the Secretary (to the Council) Dioscurides Gratus.

It reads on the reverse ΕΠΙ ΔΙΟΣ[ΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ] ΓΡΑΤΟΥ ΜΗΤΡ (οπόλεως) ΜΑΓΝΗΤ (ων).

The type is a nude figure, identified by an inscription as ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ, standing to l.; his l. hand grasps a sheathed sword which hangs at his side; in his r. is a phiale, with which he pours a libation over a lighted altar. In front of the altar is seen the forepart of a slaughtered bull.



FIG. 2.—Coin of Magnesia, with figure of Themistocles.

There is no reasonable doubt that we have here a representation of the statue of Themistocles in the Magnesian agora. The analogy of other similar representations proves that, although he appears to

<sup>1</sup> Possis of Magnesia, quoted by Athen., xii. 533 d.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc., i. 138, 5; Diod., xi. 58; Plut., *Them.*, 32, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Rhousopoulos, *Athen. Mitth.*, xxi. (1896), p. 22.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

be performing a sacrifice himself, he is really the hero to whom the sacrifice is offered.<sup>1</sup>

Now we know that a vigorous tradition prevailed as early as the fifth century<sup>2</sup> to the effect that Themistocles committed suicide by drinking the blood of a bull which he was sacrificing to the Artemis of Magnesia. We can hardly hesitate to connect that tradition with the monument as represented on our coin. There was undoubtedly some mystery about his death; and the invention of the story of the bull's blood to account for it would be much facilitated by the existence of the statue of which the coin of Antoninus Pius gives us some, though doubtless but a rude, idea.<sup>3</sup>

Two out of the four extant specimens of the coinage issued by Themistocles are made of base metal plated with silver. The occurrence of plated coins in the period to which these pieces belong is on the whole not common; and we do not know how far we have to do with forgeries by private persons, or with state issues. But the proportion of good to bad in the case of the Themistoclean coinage is startlingly small; and we can hardly doubt that the swindling of his subjects by issuing plated coins must be reckoned among the tricks of the astute Athenian.

<sup>1</sup> Deities are often represented, as it were, sacrificing to themselves: an excellent instance is the river-god Selinos on coins of Selinus in Sicily.

<sup>2</sup> Aristoph., *Eq.* 83 f.

<sup>3</sup> Wachsmuth, *Rhein. Mus.*, 52, p. 140; P. Gardner, *Class. Rev.*, 1898, pp. 21 f.

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## NEW SYBARIS AND THURI

453-452-443 B.C.

24. *Obv.*  $\vee M$  (=  $\Sigma v$ ). Poseidon, nude, striding r., chlamys over l. arm, brandishing trident in r.

*Rev.*  $M O \Gamma$  (=  $\Pi o \sigma$ ). Bull standing r.

Fig. 3, British Museum. Silver Sixth of Italic Stater, 0.85 gramme. Poole, etc., *B. M. C. Italy*, p. 287, No. 1; G. F. Hill, *Handbook*, p. 115, Pl. iii. 8.

25. *Obv.* Head of Athena r. in Athenian helmet, bound with olive-wreath.

*Rev.*  $\Sigma Y B A \Pi$  Bull standing r., head reverted.

British Museum. Silver Third of Italic Stater, 2.64 grammes. Poole, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 286, No. 31.

26. *Obv.* Head of Athena r. in crested Athenian helmet, bound with olive-wreath.

*Rev.*  $\Theta O Y \Pi O \Lambda \Lambda H$  Bull butting r.

British Museum. Silver Italic Distater, 0.15 grammes. Poole, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 287, No. 1; Furtwängler-Sellers, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 105, note 2, Pl. vi. 1; Hill, *op. cit.*, Pl. vi. 5.

It was in 453-452 B.C.<sup>1</sup> that the descendants of those Sybarites, who had fled to Scidrus and Laüs after the destruction of their home more than half a century before, gathered together their forces and re-founded their city on the old site. But only six years later (445-447 B.C.) they were driven out by their implacable foes, the Crotoniates.<sup>2</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> For the history and chronology of this section, see Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, iii. i. pp. 522 f.

<sup>2</sup> There is evidence that at one time in its earlier history Sybaris had stood in friendly relations with Croton: witness certain silver staters

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they did not relax their efforts to recover their fatherland, and indeed made an appeal to Sparta and Athens to aid them in their aims. Sparta was characteristically unsympathetic; in Athens, Pericles was not slow to see the advantage of an outpost of Athenian commerce in southern Italy. So that in 445 a band of colonists, mainly Athenians, but including also many Peloponnesians, settled in New Sybaris with those who two years before had been expelled by the Crotoniates. We are told that the two elements did not harmonise, the old Sybarites reserving to their own families the more important offices and privileges. In 444 things came to an open breach; the Sybarites were expelled, and settled on the River Traeis, whence shortly afterwards they were driven by the Brutians. Now was the opportunity of Pericles. He reinforced the earlier colonists by a large expedition, which left Athens in the spring of 443 to seek a site near Sybaris, under the guidance of the soothsayer Lampon and others. They found it at a fountain called *Θοῦρία* ('rushing'), and called their new city *Θούριοι*.

Of the three coins illustrated, the first (No. 24) is attributed by most numismatists to the period of the first foundation of New Sybaris, 453-448 B.C. But it is not a coin of Sybaris alone; the type of

bearing on the obverse a tripod (type of Croton) and  $\text{Ϟ}\text{P}\text{O}$ , on the reverse (incuse) a bull with head reverted, and VM for Sybaris. F. von Duhn (*Zeit. für Num.*, vii. p. 310), and Busolt (*Gr. Gesch.*, ii.<sup>2</sup> p. 770) regard these coins as *Siegesmünzen* struck by the Crotoniates to commemorate their destruction of Sybaris, thus opening the way for a revision of the accepted interpretation of 'alliance-coinages.'

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the obverse is that of Poseidonia, and that city is also indicated by the inscription of the reverse. We have, in fact, to do with an alliance coin between Poseidonia and Sybaris. The interlacement



FIG. 8.—No. 24.

of the types and inscriptions of the two cities—for the bull belongs to Sybaris as much as Poseidon to Poseidonia—is an unusual but most effective way of marking the close alliance between the two cities.<sup>1</sup> To the same period belong other small coins, all of which have on one side or the other a figure of Poseidon. These therefore all induce to the conclusion that Poseidonia took a leading part in the restoration of Sybaris.<sup>2</sup>

The second coin (No. 25) is attributed by Head<sup>3</sup> to Sybaris on the Traeis. But in order to explain the Athenian character of the obverse type, he assumes that the banished Sybarites continued to maintain commercial relations with the more powerful city from which they had been obliged to retire. If we consider the feelings of the banished people, we must regard this as a somewhat unusual proceeding. It seems preferable to assign the coins to the second foundation (445 B.C.), which immediately preceded the foundation of Thurii.<sup>4</sup> The Athenian type is thus

<sup>1</sup> So too on a coin of Croton and Temesa (Head, *H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 80). The ordinary arrangement is found on a coin probably of Poseidonia and Sybaris (Garrucci, *Mon. dell' Italia Antica*, Pl. cxxi. 8).

<sup>2</sup> Head (*H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 70) and Holm (*Gr. Gesch.*, ii. p. 287) say that during the period of exile, from B.C. 510-483, the Sybarites lived in Scidrus, Laüs, and Poseidonia. Is this last a conjecture based on the coins with which we are dealing? I know of no other evidence. <sup>3</sup> *H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> So P. Gardner, *Types*, p. 103, followed by Busolt, iii. i.<sup>2</sup> p. 525 note.

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fully explained, and so is the uniformity of style of the coins; for the issue must have come to an end in two years, when Thurii sprang into existence. It is unlikely that Sybaris on the Traeis can have been a place of any importance.

The third coin (No. 26) is given as a specimen of the earliest coinage of Thurii. It belongs to a small group which is marked off from the later coins of Thurii by greater severity and nobility of style; unfortunately its preservation is not of the best.

### ARGOS AND THE ELEANS

IN 420 B.C.

27. *Obv.* Head of the Hera of Argos r., wearing stephanos with floral decoration.

*Rev.* ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ Two dolphins swimming in a circle; between them, wolf l.

British Museum. Silver Aeginetic Stater, 11·92 grammes. P. Gardner, *B. M. C. Peloponnesus*, p. 138, No. 33, Pl. xxvii. 9.

28. *Obv.* Head of Hera r. wearing stephanos with floral decoration.

*Rev.* FA Thunderbolt in olive-wreath.

British Museum. Silver Aeginetic Stater, 12·14 grammes. P. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 64, No. 55, Pl. xii. 11, and p. xxxvii. Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 14, 30.

The circumstances of the fourfold alliance which immediately preceded the battle of Mantinea are too well known to need recapitulation here.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, iii. (ii.) pp. 1216-1230.





20



22



21



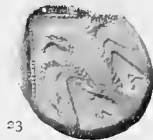
22



23



25



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26



28



26



27



27



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Argive and Elean coins illustrated belong to a class which, if we may judge by style, were first struck about this time.<sup>1</sup> It is significant that two heads so similar in arrangement should appear concurrently at the two mints, and at once take the position of chief type. The head at Argos, which is undoubtedly inspired by the Hera of Polycleitus, is, we may admit, not a fine work of art. This may be explained by the fact that up till this time the Argives had been content with coins of smaller size, affording less scope for a good artist. An engraver capable of treating the subject worthily was not to be found at a moment's notice. At Olympia, on the other hand, the mint had already produced some of the noblest works of art known to us among Greek coins; and the earlier of these heads of Hera, with their large and massive treatment, form fitting pendants to the head of Zeus, which was issued from the same mint about the same time. On some slightly later specimens, where the artist's style is softer, we find the name HPA written on or above the crown of the goddess. On such a coin as No. 28 there is no necessity for a label of this kind.

The dolphins on the reverse of the Argive coin are doubtless symbols of Apollo, to whom also the wolf belongs. On the Elean coin the thunderbolt of course represents Olympian Zeus, while the

<sup>1</sup> Head, *H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 354, places the appearance of the head of Hera at both Elis and Argos after 400 B.C.; but in the forthcoming second edition this date is modified. The early form of  $\rho$  found on some of the Argive, and the severe style of some of the Elean, coins are strong arguments in favour of the earlier date adopted by Gardner.

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olive-wreath is the prize at the Olympian games. The archaic form  $\Phi\Delta(\lambdaείων)$  for  $\text{'}\Lambda\lambdaείων$  remains in use at this mint down to the end of the autonomous period.

The alliance, as is well known, collapsed almost at once. Had the Eleans not possessed a cult of Hera at Olympia, we should perhaps have expected the new type to disappear from their coins as suddenly as it had come in. As things were, we can well understand why the type continued in use at both mints for some time to come.

### THE ATHENIAN DISASTER IN SICILY

413 B.C.

29. *Obv.*  $\Sigma\Upsilon\text{Ρ}\text{Α}\text{Κ}\text{Ο}\Sigma\text{Ι}\Omega\text{Ν}$  Head of the nymph Arethusa l.; around, four dolphins; on the lowest, signature of the artist,  $\text{ΚΙΜ}\Omega\text{Ν}$

*Rev.* Quadriga drawn l. by four prancing horses; the charioteer, who holds a goad, is crowned by Nike flying r. In the exergue, arranged on steps, a shield, pair of greaves, cuirass and helmet; below  $\text{Α}\Theta\Lambda\text{Α}$  On the upper surface of the exergual line, faint traces of the signature  $\text{ΚΙΜ}\Omega\text{Ν}$

British Museum. Silver Attic Decadrachm, 43.29 grammes. Head, B. M. C. *Sicily*, p. 176, No. 201; *C. A.*, Pl. 25, 29; A. J. Evans, *Syracusan 'Medallions'*, Pl. ii. 8

We have seen that the first large silver coins issued in Sicily, the Damareteia, are connected with

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the defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera (No. 20). The decadrachm No. 29 is one of a large group of coins which were likewise issued in connexion with the next epoch-making victory of the Syracusans over an invading foe. On or about September 16th, 413, the retreating army of Nicias was overwhelmed at the Assinarus. The day of this decisive termination of the war, the 27th Karneios, was appointed by the Syracusans to be celebrated annually as a festival, to which the name Assinaria was given.<sup>1</sup>

The researches of Evans have established the fact that the class of decadrachms to which No. 29 belongs was first issued in or shortly after the Syracusan victory, most probably out of the spoils of war. And while the chariot on the reverse symbolises the races which were run at the festival of the Assinaria, the panoply which stands below it, labelled 'Prizes,' still more plainly indicates the rewards which were given to the victors in the games. Whether the decadrachms themselves formed part of a money-prize is more doubtful.

The dies for this coin were engraved by the artist Cimon. We are enabled to identify the head as that of the nymph Arethusa, whose fountain of sweet water rose, and still rises, on the north side of the island of Ortygia. For on a famous tetradrachm by the same artist, representing obviously the same divinity in full face, her name is inscribed above the head.

The present coin, although issued before the end of the fifth century, was probably not one of the

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Nic.*, 28.

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first of its kind. In particular, one small and rare group of decadrachms by Cimon<sup>1</sup> shows a head of Arethusa, whose less florid treatment, combined with a somewhat less skilful technique, points to its being a little earlier than No. 29. Before the close of the century another artist, Euaenetus, who had already distinguished himself at Syracuse in the period preceding the Athenian expedition, was set to work on the decadrachms. With an almost identical reverse he combined a beautiful head of a goddess generally, but without certainty, called Persephone.<sup>2</sup> The significance of the dolphins has been explained above (No. 20). The decadrachms of this kind, some signed by Euaenetus, some unsigned, seem to have continued to appear from the mint nearly down to the end of the reign of Dionysius. Finally, there exists an extraordinarily rare variety, known from two specimens only.<sup>3</sup> The head approximates to the one created by Euaenetus, but differs in many small but characteristic details, which justify Mr. Evans in attributing it to an unknown artist of considerable merit.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, Pl. i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Specimens in Evans, *op. cit.*, Pl. v. and vi. ; Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, frontispiece 4-6.

<sup>3</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, Pl. iv. (enlargement), and Hill, *op. cit.*, frontispiece 7. The supposed signature on the reverse is merely due to a flaw in the die.

<sup>4</sup> The date which he assigns to it, between Cimon and Euaenetus, seems to me less certain. The style shows extraordinarily fine technique, but, so far as inspiration is concerned, the work must rank below the best of Euaenetus, to the artistic content of which it adds nothing. It is marked by a certain floridity and restless aiming at effect, which seem rather to indicate a later date; I would suggest that the engraver was called in towards the end of Dionysius' reign to design a new coin, and that these are the last of the decadrachms. Cp. *Le Musée*, i. (1904), pp. 50 f.

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### PHARNABAZUS AT CYZICUS

*circa* 410 B.C.

30. *Obv.* ΦΑΡ[Ν]ΑΒΑ Portrait-head of Pharnabazus r., bearded, and wearing Persian head-dress, with the flaps tied under his chin.

*Rev.* Prow of war-galley to l., adorned on the upper part with a griffin to l.; to r. and l. a dolphin, head downwards; below, a tunny l.

British Museum. Silver Phoenician Stater, 14·68 grammes. W. Wroth, *Num. Chr.*, 1893, Pl. i. 11.

The view that this coin, issued by Pharnabazus, bears his own portrait, and not that of the reigning king of Persia, is now generally accepted. This fine head stands as one of the earliest examples of portraiture on a coin; and its only rivals in point of date (with one possible exception, of which below) must be sought among coins issued by other non-Hellenic rulers. Such are the dynasts of Lycia, one of whom (Käriga) struck coins bearing what appears to be his own portrait some time during the last third of the fifth century. On Greek coins proper, portraiture does not find a place until the breaking down of civic independence has begun with the Macedonian period. Even then, the portraits are at first more or less disguised by assimilation to a divine type, as on the coins of Alexander the Great. An exception to this rule seems to be the remarkable electrum stater of Cyzicus, which

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bears the likeness of a bearded, bald-headed person, with a laurel crown (Fig. 4).<sup>1</sup> This coin belongs



FIG. 4.—Stater of  
Cyzicus.

to the first half of the fourth century. Many, it is true, deny that the head is a portrait; but the extraordinarily realistic treatment, in no way approaching the representation of any daemonic beings in the art of the time, seems to point to a human subject. J. P. Six proposed to identify the person as Timotheus, son of Conon.<sup>2</sup> It seems on the whole safer to refrain from identification. The occurrence of a portrait may surprise us less at Cyzicus when we remember that what we are accustomed to speak of as the type of these electrum coins is really a glorification of a differentia, a mint-mark, or moneyer's symbol. The civic type is the tunny-fish, the reduction of which to a subordinate position on this series, just as the seal is reduced on the electrum sixths of Phocaea, has given scope for some of the most beautiful designs in the whole Greek coinage. Many of these designs are obviously copied from monuments; for instance, the group of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, and the two types which between them reproduce the Cecrops Gaia and Erichthonius group, known to us from various other works of art.<sup>3</sup> A Cyzicene magistrate, who for some reason was interested in

<sup>1</sup> W. Wroth, B. M. C. *Mysia*, Pl. viii. 9 and p. 33, No. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Num. Chr.*, 1898, p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> These Atticising types may have had a special political significance; but the evidence hardly seems to me strong enough for Weil's theory that Athens had a special arrangement with Cyzicus to supply gold coins (*Zeit. f. Num.*, xxv. pp. 52 f.).



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an honorary statue erected to some distinguished person—a Timotheus or a Conon—might therefore very well place a copy of the portrait on the coin which he issued, and do so without offence, since he was not in any way dishonouring the civic type.

This digression has a bearing on the coin of Pharnabazus, since in all probability that coin also was struck at Cyzicus, at a slightly earlier date than the electrum stater. The Cyzicenes would thus have a precedent for issuing a coin bearing a portrait. The presence of the tunny-fish on the reverse is strong evidence in favour of the attribution of this piece to Cyzicus. Babelon has connected it with the fact<sup>1</sup> that at the time of the campaign of Alcibiades in the Hellespont Pharnabazus was in Cyzicus, and was keeping Mindarus well supplied with money for his troops.<sup>2</sup> There is less probability in the suggestion of J. P. Six,<sup>3</sup> that these coins were issued by Conon when in 395 he was rescued by Pharnabazus from Pharax, who was blockading the Athenian admiral at Caunus in Caria.

If the coin of Pharnabazus was struck at Cyzicus in the circumstances mentioned, it need not surprise us that it is an essentially Greek coin, by a Greek engraver, and with a Greek inscription. For it was issued to pay Greek forces and circulate among the Greek cities of Asia Minor. The same is true of

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Num.*, 1892, pp. 442 f.

<sup>2</sup> Xen., *Hellen.*, i. 1. 14: Alcibiades says οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν χρήματα ἡμῶν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἀφθονα παρὰ βασιλείως; and 24: Pharnabazus, after the defeat, supplies the troops of the slain Mindarus with pay for two months, as well as with clothing.

<sup>3</sup> *Num. Chr.*, 1890, p. 256; cp. Wroth, *Num. Chr.*, 1893, p. 12.

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the other satrapal coins issued in these parts. It is only when we move farther east that we find legends wholly or partially non-Greek, as on the satrapal coins issued in Paphlagonia or Cilicia. These coinages were nearly all purely military issues, and had to conform to the local necessities of the case. Just so, in the Abyssinian War of 1868, the British army was obliged to use Austrian dollars with the types, legends, and date (1780) of the Empress Maria Theresia, since they alone would circulate in the country.

### THE FOUNDATION OF RHODES

408 B.C.

31. *Obv.* Head of Helios, nearly facing, inclined to r.

*Rev.* ΡΟΔΙΟΝ Half-blown rose, with bud on l.; to r., an aphiaston (?).

British Museum. Silver Rhodian Tetradrachm, 15·14 grammes. Head, B. M. C. *Caria*, p. 232, No. 19, Pl. xxxvi. 7; cp. pp. cii f.

The three cities of Lindus, Ialysus and Camirus joined together to found the famous city of Rhodes in 408 B.C. They had previously struck coins in their own names, although Camirus and Lindus may have ceased to issue money for some little time before the synoecism.<sup>1</sup> One of the first measures taken was to inaugurate a new and splendid

<sup>1</sup> About the time of the Sicilian expedition, the Athenians decreed restrictions on the coinage of the allies (see R. Weil, *Z. f. N.*, xxv. pp. 52 f.) possibly not for the first time. It may have been in accordance with some such decree that the mints of these two cities became idle.

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coinage. For obverse type the Rhodians chose the head of the sun-god, the chief deity of the island, boldly represented as it were 'in his noonday glory, with rounded face and ample locks of hair blown back as if by a strong wind, and thus delicately suggesting his rapid course.'<sup>1</sup> The type has not, it is true, the delicacy of the best facing heads on the coins of Syracuse or Amphipolis, nor the robust vigour of the head of Hermes at Aenus; but it has an attractiveness of its own which makes the coin on which it is found one of the most popular in the Greek series. For the reverse the Rhodians adopted a beautiful, very slightly conventionalised, rendering of the rose, at once the canting badge of the island and a local product.

The first coins were issued on the Attic standard, which is also found about the same time at Samos. But the Rhodian coins of this weight are rare, and a new standard, hereafter known as the Rhodian, soon came into use. The tetradrachm weighs from 15·55 to 14·90 grammes, and the system thus seems to be nearly identical with that of Chios.<sup>2</sup> Soon after its inauguration, we find the standard in widely different parts of Greece. As we shall see, certain coins issued by Byzantium early in the fourth century conform to it. For this there were political reasons; but probably the use of the standard, or of one closely approximating to it, at such a city as Aenus in Thrace was due to purely commercial causes. One of the chief courses of Rhodian trade seems to have been toward the east,

<sup>1</sup> Head, B. M. C. *Caria*, p. ciii.

<sup>2</sup> Head, *op. cit.*, p. civ.

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so that we are not surprised to find the standard in Cyprus and, for a short time, in Egypt. The coins had a very wide currency, and some of the later silver was actually in circulation in 71 A.D., for an inscription of that date tariffs Rhodian drachms at 10 assaria, or  $\frac{5}{8}$  of the denarius.<sup>1</sup> And they have always been plentiful in the Levant; which accounts for the curious fact that, out of the fifteen or twenty coins which are known to have been preserved in various Christian churches as relics of the Betrayal of Christ ('Judas-Pennies'), at least eight were Rhodian coins of the fourth century B.C.<sup>2</sup>

### ANTI-SPARTAN LEAGUE AFTER THE BATTLE OF CNIDUS (394-389 B.C.)

**32.** *Obv.* ΣΥΝ Infant Heracles, kneeling, strangling a snake in either hand; around his body, crepundia.

*Rev.* ΕΦ Bee; beneath, ΓΕ

British Museum. Silver Rhodian Tridrachm, 11·44 grammes. W. H. Waddington, *Rev. Num.*, 1863, p. 224; Head, B. M. C. *Ionia*, Pl. ix. 6; *C. A.*, Pl. 19, 29; Regling, *Z. f. N.*, xxv. p. 210.

**33.** *Obv.* Similar to preceding.

*Rev.* ΣΑ Lion's scalp.

British Museum. Silver Rhodian Tridrachm, 11·55 grammes. Waddington, *op. cit.*, p. 223; P. Gardner, *Samos and Samian Coins*, Pl. iii. 1.; Head, B. M. C. *Ionia*, Pl. xxxv. 13; *C. A.*, Pl. 19, 28. Regling, *loc. cit.*

These two coins, the first of Ephesus, the second

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. G.*, 4380 a.

<sup>2</sup> For this curious chapter in the history of relics, I must refer to my article 'The Thirty Pieces of Silver,' in *Archæologia*, lix.

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of Samos, belong to a small group which also includes coins of Cnidus, Iasos, Rhodes and Byzantium. From their style these pieces must be judged to belong to the beginning of the fourth century; and they furnish undoubted evidence of the combination of these cities in a league. The only political circumstances suitable for such a coinage in the early fourth century are found in the period immediately succeeding Conon's victory at Cnidus, when there was a general uprising against Sparta.<sup>1</sup>

The issue of Cnidus is distinguished by the head of the Cnidian Aphrodite, and the inscription ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ; at Iasos we have the head of Apollo and ΙΑ; at Rhodes, a rose and ΡΟ; at Byzantium, a bull standing on a dolphin and ΥΥ (Βυ).<sup>2</sup> All agree in having as their common type the infant Heracles strangling the snakes, in the inscription ΣΥΝ(μαχικόν),<sup>3</sup> and in the weight, which is that of three drachms of the Rhodian standard. In addition to these coins with ΣΥΝ, the same type makes its appearance at about the same time at Thebes,<sup>4</sup> Croton,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The historical significance of this group of coins was first pointed out by Waddington. On the date of the league, see F. H. Marshall, *Second Athenian Confederacy*, p. 3, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Head, B. M. C. *Caria*, Pl. xiv. 9 (Cnidus) and Pl. xlv. 2 (Rhodes); Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Gr.*, Pl. F. 6 (Iasos). My attention was called by Dr. H. von Fritze to the hitherto unknown Byzantine coin, which has since been exhaustively dealt with by Dr. Regling (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ on the Sicilian coins issued at the time of the alliance against the Carthaginians organised by Timoleon (No. 49).

<sup>4</sup> Silver didrachms, and electrum hemidrachms and obols, of the Aeginetic standard: Head, *Coinage of Boeotia*, Pl. iii. 10, 11, 14, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Silver staters and diobols of the Italic standard: Gardner, *Types*, Pl. v. 10, 16.

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Lampsacus,<sup>1</sup> and Cyzicus.<sup>2</sup> At Zacynthus, too, we have a somewhat similar type; but it has been pointed out that there the boy seems to be not strangling but caressing one of the snakes.<sup>3</sup> Possibly he is a young health-god. And on all coins of the latter group the inscription ΣΥΝ is lacking. We cannot therefore regard them as evidence that Thebes, Croton, Lampsacus, and Cyzicus, much less Zacynthus, belonged to the league. Nevertheless, the Theban coins are of importance in this connexion. For the type does not now appear at Thebes for the first time; it is to be found as early as the period succeeding the battle of Coroneia in the fifth century. It seems reasonable therefore to assume that the type—in itself eminently suitable to a movement towards freedom—was borrowed by the league from Thebes. It has indeed been suggested that the very weight of these coins (11·67 grammes normal) was an approximation to the Aeginetic standard prevalent in Boeotia. But the Theban coins of this period rarely fall as low as the maximum weight of a Rhodian tridrachm. The approximation is closer to the silver stater of the Babylonian or Persian standard, which prevailed along the southern coast of Asia Minor at this time. And our knowledge of the relations between the anti-Spartan Greeks and Persia enables us to understand why Rhodes and her allies issued money on a standard suited to districts under Persian

<sup>1</sup> Gold staters: Gardner, *Types*, Pl. xvi. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Electrum staters and sixths: Greenwell, *Electrum Coinage of Cyzicus* (*Num. Chr.*, 1887), Pl. iii. 14. Here Iphicles is introduced.

<sup>3</sup> See *Z. f. N.*, xviii. p. 197.

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rule, and lying in the path of Rhodian trade with the eastern Mediterranean.

Although it is hardly possible to accept Holm's explanation of the weight of our coins, and of the origin of the Rhodian standard in general, his acute note on the questions suggested by this federal issue should be carefully studied.<sup>1</sup> He points out that Thebes was able to issue electrum coins—a metal almost confined to Asia Minor—because it commanded a supply of Persian gold, and that gold was brought to Thebes by the *Rhodian* Timocrates.

The accession of Byzantium to the league, to which the coin mentioned above testifies, must be connected with the fact that, some time after the battle of Cnidus, Thrasybulus ended the Spartan rule, and re-established democracy there.<sup>2</sup> As this can hardly have been before 389 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> the league probably lasted on until the Peace of Antalcidas.

Of the other cities, on whose coins the snake-strangling Heracles is found, Croton may have first employed it when, about 390 B.C., she began to organise opposition against Dionysius. But for the variation in the type at Zacynthus, we should have connected it with the adhesion of the Zacynthian democracy to the Second Athenian Confederacy.<sup>4</sup> There remain the coins of Lampsacus and Cyzicus. We have already seen<sup>5</sup> that the types of the Cyzicene coinage cannot be interpreted

<sup>1</sup> *Griech. Gesch.*, iii. pp. 54 f.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, *Hellen.*, iv. 8. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See Regling, pp. 207, 214.

<sup>4</sup> Hicks, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> P. 58.

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in the usual way; and similarly, at Lampsacus, the design on the obverse of the coins is not the civic type or badge, but varies with each issue. It is possible that these states may have expressed their sympathy with the anti-Spartan league by adopting this significant type for one issue. But, speculation being put aside, the fact remains that the coins with this type and the inscription ΣΥΝ reveal the existence of a federation which all extant literary authorities pass over in complete silence.

### THE OLYNTHIAN LEAGUE

*circa* 392-379 B.C.

34. *Obv.* Head of Apollo r., laureate.

*Rev.* ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ Lyre (kithara) with seven strings.

British Museum. Silver Phoenician Stater, 14·35 grammes. W. Wroth, *Num. Chron.*, 1897, p. 8, and Pl. iii. 1.

The great variety of dies—representing, as Wroth has shown, at least four principal styles—used for the large series of coins of the Chalcidians of Thrace, shows that these issues must have extended over a considerable period of time. Twelve or thirteen years are hardly sufficient to account for the great and varied output of which the extant specimens are evidence. Some of the smaller denominations seem<sup>1</sup> to be rather earlier in style than any of the tetradrachms, and it is possible, therefore, that they may have been issued before

<sup>1</sup> As Professor Oman first pointed out to me.





Nos. 29—35.



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the superior limit usually assigned to this coinage. Some of the staters, again, we should hardly be wrong in supposing to have been struck after the fall of Olynthus in 379, and before its destruction at the hands of Philip in 348. But the present coin we need not hesitate, judging by its style, to date within the shorter period.

These coins call for little remark apart from the great beauty of the designs on both sides, and the evidence which they bear to the wealth and importance of the Olynthian league. It may, however, be noted that the representation of the kithara, owing to its excellence of detail, is one of the most valuable guides to the reconstruction of that particular form of lyre. A curious freak of the engraver is to be noticed on some specimens, where the lines of the lyre distinctly suggest a grotesque human face.<sup>1</sup>

### DEMONICUS, KING OF CITIUM

388-387 B.C.

**35.** *Obv.* Athena standing l., r. resting on spear, shield on her l. arm; in the field a symbol resembling the Egyptian *ankh*.

*Rev.* Phoenician inscr. 'belonging to the King Demo[ni]kos.' Heracles, with lion's skin fastened round his neck, striding r., holding bow in outstretched l., club in r.

<sup>1</sup> Some coins of Acragas show a similar treatment of the shell of the crab.

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Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Silver Persic Stater, 10·95 grammes.  
Babelon, *Perses Achéménides*, p. cxxxii; Hill, B. M. C. *Cyprus*,  
p. xxxix a.

The solution of the problems involved in the group of coins to which No. 35 belongs is mainly due to the researches of Babelon. The person whose name is recorded on this coin is that Demonicus, son of Hipponicus, to whom the first oration of Isocrates is addressed. Late literary authorities connect him with Cyprus: one says that he was a Cypriote, another that he was son of Euagoras, king of Salamis (possibly he was his son-in-law); a third that he was king of Cyprus. Now there exists a small group of coins, some uninscribed, others with Phoenician inscriptions, one with the Greek inscription ΒΑ(σιλέως) ΔΗ, and all with types similar to those of No. 35. Of the Cypriote origin of the coins, and of their date (in the first half of the fourth century), there is no doubt; and the type of the reverse enables us to attribute them to the mint of the Phoenician city of Citium. For this Heracles—treated, it is true, in a much less free style—is the regular type of the Citian coins of the fifth and fourth centuries. The Athena of the obverse, on the other hand, seems to reproduce the Athena Promachos of Pheidias. Here then, in the Greek inscription (note that the Η shows the dialect to be not Cypriote, but Ionic or Attic), in the free rendering of the figure of Heracles, and in the Attic type of Athena, are indications of an interruption of the ordinary course of the strictly Phoenician coinage of Citium by an intrusive Attic element. And the Phoenician

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inscription on No. 35, written at greater length than on any of the other coins, gives us the king's name. The omission of the *nun* must be put down to the unfamiliarity of the engraver with this Greek name in its Phoenician transliteration.

During a brief period in the first half of the fourth century, the Athenian commander Chabrias controlled Cypriote affairs. It is to this period, then, that the short reign of Demonicus must be assigned. It follows that he was king of Citium in what was strictly the fifth year of the reign of Melekiathon, the Phoenician ruler whom he ousted for the time from his throne. Inscriptions are extant dated in the second, third, fourth, and sixth years of Melekiathon; but there are none known bearing the date of his fifth year. Is this no more than a coincidence?

### EPAMINONDAS

*circa* 379-362 B.C.

36. *Obv.* Boeotian shield.

*Rev.* ΕΠΑΜΙ (AM corrected from ΓΑ). Krater with fluted pattern on shoulder; above, rosette.

British Museum. Silver Aeginetic Stater, 12·21 grammes. B. V. Head, *Coinage of Boeotia*, Pl. xii. 2; B. M. C. *Central Greece*, Pl. xv. 4.

Head dates the series of coins to which this specimen belongs to about 379-338 B.C., the initial date being given by the expulsion of the Laconising party from Thebes by Pelopidas, and the evacua-

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tion of the Kadmeia by the Spartan garrison. The league, which had been dissolved after the peace of Antalcidas, was now revived in all its strength. A series of coins was issued uniform in type, and differing only in the name of the person responsible to the league for the coinage, and in a varying symbol which usually accompanies the main type. No ethnic adjective is inscribed on the coins, save in the case of a series issued, according to Head, by the separatist party at Orchomenus. These latter are inscribed ΕΡΧΟ, in addition to bearing a magistrate's name. All the others, there can be no doubt, were issued at the leading city of the confederation, Thebes.

We note the following names as occurring on coins of this series:<sup>1</sup> 'Αγλα . . . , 'Αμφι . . . , 'Ανδρ . . . , 'Αντι . . . , 'Απολ . . . , 'Αρκα . . . , 'Ασωπ . . . , Βοιω<sup>2</sup> . . . , Δαιμ . . . , Δαμοκλ . . . , Δαμω . . . , Διογ . . . , Διοκ . . . , Διω . . . , 'Επαμι . . . , 'Εππα . . . , ΕὐΦαρα . . . , Εὐγι . . . , 'Εχε . . . , Γαστ . . . , Φεργ . . . , Θεογ . . . , Θεοπ . . . , †Ικε . . . , †Ισμε . . . , Καβι . . . , Καλι . . . , Καλλι . . . , Κλεεσ . . . , Κλεσ . . . , Κλιων . . . , Κρατ . . . , Λυκι . . . , Ξενο . . . , 'Ολυμ . . . , 'Ονας . . . , Πελι . . . , Πθο[ι] . . . or Ποθ[ι] . . . , Πολυ . . . , Πτοι . . . , Τιμι . . . , Τιμο . . . , Φιδο . . . , Φιλο . . . (?), Χαρο . . .

Among these, it is remarkable that we find names resembling those of Charon, who took an active part in the liberation of 379,<sup>3</sup> Epaminondas, Damo-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Regling has kindly examined for me the coins and casts of this series at Berlin, and thus enabled me to add one or two names to the list.

<sup>2</sup> Unless this is for Βοιωτών—a by no means necessary interpretation.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *Pelop.*, 9-11.

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cleidas, Theopompus,<sup>1</sup> Ismenias, Androcleidas,<sup>2</sup> who all belong to the same party. Further, among the Boeotarchs of 366-365 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> we find a Τίμ[ων(?)], and in 364-363 B.C.<sup>4</sup> Asopodorus and Diogiton.<sup>5</sup> Another important statesman whose name appears on the coins is Euares, known from a Delphian inscription.<sup>6</sup> There is thus considerable probability that these coins are signed by prominent members of the Boeotian government; and the presumption amounts almost to a certainty that we have, in No. 36, a coin issued by the authority of the great Epaminondas himself in one of the years between 379 and 362. It must be admitted as curious that Pelopidas, who was Boeotarch continuously from 378-364, is not represented on the coins. Possibly the superintendence of the coinage devolved on the holder of some particular office in the college of Boeotarchs, an office which Pelopidas may never have filled.

The Boeotian shield (which derives its shape from the Mycenaean<sup>7</sup>) is the commonest of all Boeotian coin-types. The krater on the reverse is also common in this district of Greece. It is evidently meant to be of metal, and is of the form

<sup>1</sup> The coin with Θεορ (not a misreading of Θεογ) is published by Prokesch-Osten, *Inedita*, 1859, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *Pelop.*, 6-8.

<sup>3</sup> *I. G.*, vii. 2407; Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 99. The restoration is uncertain; Poccocke's wretched copy, on which the text depends, has TIMOM> . . . Possibly Poccocke's ΟΙΩΝΟΣ represents Πρωτωνος.

<sup>4</sup> *I. G.*, vii. 2408; Michel, *Recueil*, 218.

<sup>5</sup> A Diogiton was also in command of the Theban army in the campaign in which Alexander of Pherae was crushed (Plut., *Pelop.*, 35).

<sup>6</sup> See *B. C. H.*, 1896, p. 551, and 1898, p. 577.

<sup>7</sup> A. J. Evans, *Journ. Hellen. Stud.*, xiii. (1893), p. 214.

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most affected in the fourth century, with high voluted handles. On some of the coins of the class with which we are concerned, it is decorated with ivy-leaves. It is reasonable then to regard the krater as representative of the Theban Dionysus, whose head appears on some fine Theban coins of an earlier date than ours.

### THE NEW ARCADIAN LEAGUE

370 B.C.

37. *Obv.* Head of Zeus l. laureate.

*Rev.* ΑΡΚ in monogram. Pan, nude, human except for horns, seated l. on rock on which is spread his cloak; he holds in r. a throwing-stick (*lagobolon*); at his feet, syrinx; on the rock, ΟΛΥ (name of magistrate or engraver).

British Museum. Silver Aeginetic Stater, 12·34 grammes. P. Gardner, B. M. C. *Peloponnesus*, pp. lix f., p. 173, No. 48. (The reverse is illustrated from a specimen in Sir H. Weber's Collection. See Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Greek Art*, 1903, pl. cv. 374).

The earliest coins which bear an inscription patently connecting them with Megalopolis (ΜΕΓ) belong to the third century B.C. Nevertheless it is clear that the large series of fourth-century coins of the league established by Epaminondas, inscribed with the monogram of the first three letters of Ἀρκαδικόν, must have been, at any rate for the most part, struck at Megalopolis. The style of the earliest is consistent with their having been issued



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about the time of the establishment of the league. They are not Megalopolitan but federal coins, and therefore do not bear the name of the city, any more than their predecessors in the fifth century, inscribed ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ (or some other form of the same word), bore any indication of mint-place. But the mint of the league was presumably at its political centre.

The types—the Zeus and Pan of Mount Lycaeus—are essentially Arcadian, and among the most beautiful that have come down to us. The head of Zeus in particular should be compared with that of 'Asklepios' from Melos in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> The marble, in the treatment of the hair of the head and beard and the general expression, represents exactly the same type as the coin. As the earliest coins cannot be much later than 360 B.C., they give us a *terminus ante quem* for the creation of this type in sculpture. They also show that there is something to be said in favour of calling the marble head Zeus rather than Asklepios.

### THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE

*circa* 367-362 B.C.

38. *Obv.* Female head l., wearing earring with pendants; hair taken up and tied in knot at top of the head.

*Rev.* ΑΧΑΙΩΝ Zeus enthroned l., holding on extended r. an eagle, resting with l. on

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Gardner, *Greek Sculpture*, p. 417.

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sceptre; in the field l. a crested helmet (slightly double-struck).

British Museum. Unique. Silver Aeginetic Stater, 12 grammes.  
W. Wroth, *Num. Chr.*, 1902, pp. 12 f. Pl. xvi. 4.

On his third expedition to Peloponnesus (367 B.C.), Epaminondas forced the Achaeans to admit the Theban hegemony. He was judicious enough to respect the aristocratic constitution of the cities. But it was not long before the extreme democratic party in Thebes, egged on by the Arcadians, procured the despatch to the Achaean cities of Theban harmosts, who expelled the aristocrats and established democracies everywhere. The new régime was, however, short-lived. The exiles found their way back, and Achaea went over to the anti-Theban side. Soon afterwards the majority of the Arcadians themselves broke with Thebes. Thus at the time of the battle of Mantinea we find the Achaeans associated with the Arcadians, Eleans, and Phleisians in an alliance with Athens.<sup>1</sup>

To this period of close association with the Arcadians we are justified in ascribing the unique stater described above. In style it at once recalls the fine large coins struck by Arcadian cities such as Pheneüs and Stymphalus, by the Arcadian *Kowòv* at Megalopolis (above, No. 37), and by Messene, shortly after the battle of Leuctra. Apart from the general stylistic resemblance, note such a coincidence as the peculiar shape of earring

<sup>1</sup> The inscription of the year of Molon (362-361) probably records an alliance made after the battle in practically the same terms as the agreement which had preceded it. See Hicks, *Gk. Hist. Inscr.*<sup>2</sup>, 119.

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common to the Achaean coin with those of Stymphalus.

Before the discovery of this didrachm, the smaller denominations of the same group (on which the peculiarities of style were less patent) were attributed to Achaea Phthiotis in Thessaly. The reasons for that attribution seemed sound; but they have all been upset by this didrachm, the Peloponnesian character of which is beyond all doubt.

Aegium was the chief city of the Achaean League, the meetings being held in the grove of Amarium, under the protection of Zeus Amarios and Athena Amaria. It is probable, therefore, as Wroth suggests, that this coin was struck at Aegium, and that the Zeus of the reverse is Zeus Amarios, who appears on the coins of the later league. There is nothing that enables us to identify the goddess or nymph who is depicted with so much originality and grace on the obverse. Possibly the figure of Athena charging with spear and shield, which is found on the smaller denominations, represents Athena Amaria. A somewhat similar Athena is found on the coins of Patrae of the period 146-132 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The helmet on the reverse of our stater is probably a mint-mark or moneyer's symbol.

<sup>1</sup> B. M. C. *Peloponnesus*, p. 23, Pl. v. 8.

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### THE ARCADIANs OCCUPY OLYMPIA

365-364 B.C.

39. *Obv.* Head of Zeus, laureate.

*Rev.* ΓΙΣΑ Three half-thunderbolts.

Berlin Museum. Gold Trihemiobol, 1.55 grammes. P. Gardner, *Num. Chr.*, 1879, p. 247 f., Pl. xiv. 7; Weil, *Z. f. N.*, xxii. p. 10.

40. *Obv.* ΦΑΛΕΙΟΝ Head of Zeus l., laureate.

*Rev.* ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ Head of Olympia r., hair in sling.

British Museum. Silver Aeginetic Stater, 10.34 grammes. P. Gardner, B. M. C. *Peloponnesus*, p. 66, No. 71, and p. xxxvii.

The only coins with the name of Pisa, the little community which had once enjoyed the right of conducting the Olympian games, but had been destroyed by the Eleans, are small gold pieces of 1½ obols (as No. 39) and 1 obol. In style they belong to the first half of the fourth century. There can be little doubt, therefore, that they were struck during the brief period of the revival of the rights of Pisa.<sup>1</sup>

In 365 the Arcadians seized the festival-place, and expelled the Eleans; the presidency for the 104th Olympiad was placed in the hands of the descendants of the original Pisatans. During the festival a fight took place in the Altis, in which the Arcadians, supported by the Argives and Athenians, held their own against the Eleans. Peace was restored in 363 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Xen., *Hellen.*, vii. 4, 14-35. Another document of this period is the proxenia-decree of the Pisatans in honour of two Sicyonians (Hicks, *Gk. Hist. Inscr.*<sup>2</sup>, 115). Cp. also Weil, *op. cit.*, p. 5, n. 1.

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These gold coins were probably struck out of the treasures of the temple, which we know was robbed for the purpose of paying the troops.<sup>1</sup> The obverse type of both is the head of the Zeus of Olympia; on the reverse the obol has a single thunderbolt, the trihemiobol three half-thunderbolts. The reverse types are thus made to indicate the denomination in a rough-and-ready way.

To the claim of the Pisatans to issue coins as presidents of the festival, the Eleans, on their return to power, seem to have retorted by striking coins of the kind represented by No. 40. Here, not for the first time, it is true, but contrary to the general rule, the ethnic of the Eleans appears in full. What is more, it is associated with the head of the chief god of the sanctuary. And the placing of the nymph Olympia, legibly labelled, on the reverse expresses the claim of the Eleans to dominate the festival-place of which she is the personification. It should not be forgotten that the coinage of the Eleans<sup>2</sup> was especially connected with Olympia, and probably had more of the character of a temple-coinage than any other considerable series known to us. This fact it was sometimes necessary to state clearly on the coins themselves, and the present is a case in point. There exists an earlier coin reading ΟΛΥΜΠΙΚΟΝ, without the

<sup>1</sup> As often happens in the history of Greek coinage, where the ordinary series is of silver, in time of stress and necessity a gold coinage appears. It gave less trouble to melt down the temple treasures and strike coins out of the gold than to realise their value in silver.

<sup>2</sup> It is not strictly accurate to speak of the coinage of Elis, as if it were a single city state.

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name of the Eleans at all. This must have been issued at some especially important Olympic festival; possibly after the completion of the great temple (between 468 and 456 B.C.),<sup>1</sup> for the style of the coin permits of its being assigned to that period.<sup>2</sup>

### PHILIP'S FOUNDATION AT CRENIDES

357 B.C.

41. *Obv.* Head of young Heracles r., wearing lion's skin.

*Rev.* ΘΑΣΙΟΝ ΗΡΕΙΡΟ Tripod, adorned with fillets; above, laurel-branch.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Gold Stater, 8·5 grammes.

42. *Obv.* Head of young Heracles r., wearing lion's skin.

*Rev.* ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ Tripod, adorned with fillets; above, laurel-branch; in field r., a Phrygian helmet.

British Museum. Gold Stater, 8·62 grammes. Head, B. M. C. *Macedon*, p. 96; *C. A.*, Pl. 21, 13.

The fall of Amphipolis in 357 B.C. and the alliance with Olynthus made Philip definitely master of the mining district of Mount Pangaeus, and especially of Crenides. On this spot, a year or two before, a Thasian colony had settled, possibly

<sup>1</sup> See Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iii. p. 493.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, ΟΑΤΜΠΙΚΟΝ has been compared with the ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ of the early Arcadian coins (B. M. C. *Peloponnesus*, p. lvii). The former, however, is found on an isolated issue, the latter on a large series; the coin with the former seems to represent a special occasion, those with the latter to be an ordinary currency.

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at Philip's own suggestion.<sup>1</sup> In any case, Philip now reinforced the settlement, and renamed it Philippi.<sup>2</sup>

The Pangaeian gold mines were at their richest near Crenides, but were not properly exploited until Philip turned his attention to them. The 'Thasians of the Mainland' who struck the coin No. 41 were without doubt the colonists of 360-359 B.C. When Philip reorganised the settlement, he issued thence the coins represented by No. 42, with the types of the old colony, but with the new name. The mines yielded him more than one thousand talents a year,<sup>3</sup> a fact which accounts for his enormous output of gold staters.<sup>4</sup> Very few of these staters, however, were of the types of No. 42. Philip found it more in accordance with his policy that his gold coinage should be still more closely identified with himself, and hence the vast mass of his newly acquired gold was made into royal staters of the kind described below (No. 43). Philippi was then no longer allowed to issue coins in its own name; but its badge, the tripod, is of

<sup>1</sup> Diod., xvi. 3, 7 (B.C. 360-359); D. G. Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander*, p. 48. The Thasians had for a long time possessed settlements on the mainland. The new foundation appears to have been led by the Athenian orator Callistratus, who is said (Scylax, 68) to have founded a colony at Daton (he was in exile at the time). The name Daton probably included the whole district of Crenides and the coast on which stood Neapolis. Heuzey (*Miss. de Macédoine*, pp. 35, 62 f.) by this explanation reconciles the statement of Appian (*Bell. Civ.*, iv. 105) and Harpocration, that Philippi was once called Daton, and still earlier Crenides, with Strabo's account (vii. 331 fr. 36) of Daton as on the coast near the Strymon.

<sup>2</sup> Diod., xvi. 8. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Diod., *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> 1000 talents=6,000,000 drachms=3,000,000 didrachms or staters. But we cannot be quite certain that Diodorus is speaking of talents of gold alone.

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common occurrence as a symbol on the gold coins of Philip and his successors, showing that, as was but natural, its mint still remained in operation.

In addition to the gold coins which have been described, there exist bronze coins of the 'Thasians of the Mainland' and also silver and bronze coins of Philippi bearing the same types as the gold.

### PHILIP OF MACEDON

359-336 B.C.

43. *Obv.* Young male head r., laureate.

*Rev.* ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Two-horse chariot r.; in field, thunderbolt.

British Museum. Gold Attic Stater, 8.62 grammes. G. F. Hill, *Handbook*, Pl. vii. 2.

44. *Obv.* Head of Zeus l., laureate.

*Rev.* ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Youth on horseback r., carrying palm-branch; in field, bee.

British Museum. Silver Phoenician Stater, 14.39 grammes. W. Wroth, *Num. Chr.*, 1894, p. 2, No. 1, Pl. i. 1; G. F. Hill, *J. H. S.*, xvii. p. 79, Pl. ii. 11.

The circumstances, under which Philip became able to issue the enormous bulk of coinage represented here by Nos. 43, 44, are explained in the preceding section. The gold coins of the type of No. 43 are the well-known Φιλίππειοι στατήρες or χρυσοί, *nummi Philippii*, *regale nomisma Philippii*—to mention only some of the names by which they went.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a list with references, see F. Hultsch, *Gr. u. Röm. Metrol.*, p. 243, note 2.







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These are the first gold coins issued in any quantity in Greece Proper. Hitherto the most common gold currency had been the Daric (No. 11), with which the Cyzicene and Lampsacene staters, not to mention the few gold coins issued by Athens in her own name, can have maintained but an unequal competition. Philip's new coin soon superseded the Daric in the west. The introduction of a gold coin which would more or less take the place of the Persian money may or may not have been part of Philip's grand policy;<sup>1</sup> at any rate it is noticeable that in the somewhat higher weight of his gold coins he approximated to the Attic rather than to the Persian standard. The enormous quantity of coin issued by him seems to have sent down the value of gold all over Greece.<sup>2</sup>

His silver is struck on the 'Phoenician' standard, which had been in use in Macedon in the fifth century, but under Archelaus I. had been replaced by the 'Babylonian.' It is difficult to see what can have been his object in reviving this standard, unless he wished in some way to regulate the ratio between gold and silver. His gold stater is divisible into halves, quarters, eighths, and twelfths, and was probably equivalent to 24 drachms of silver at 3.62 grammes, or to 6 of his tetradrachms, the ratio of gold to silver being 10 : 1.<sup>3</sup>

The types of Philip's coins are not, at first sight,

<sup>1</sup> Hultsch, *loc. cit.*; but see Th. Reinach, *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Reinach, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 f.

<sup>3</sup> Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 62. The older explanation, which assumes a ratio of 12½ : 1, is shown by Reinach to be improbable.

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very remarkable, but they have been a good deal discussed. The male head on the gold stater is probably meant for Apollo. In the case of certain specimens, where the hair is long,<sup>1</sup> this interpretation can hardly be disputed. Other heads, such as that here illustrated, have by some been called Ares.<sup>2</sup> But it is unlikely that more than one god should be intended in the obverse type of this highly uniform series of coins. And the argument for Ares rests solely on a comparison with the head labelled ΑΡΕΟΣ on coins issued more than half a century later by the Mamertines in Messana. Now that head is copied directly from a head on Syracusan coins, which is there called ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΥ, and which is itself inspired by the coins of Philip. The fact is that the type was adopted by the Sicilians without reference to its original significance. They were returning the compliment paid to them by the Greeks of Thessaly who had copied the head of Arethusa to represent the nymph Larisa.

Philip's reverse types merely carry on the tradition of the Macedonian coinage; for none of his predecessors who issued coins at all was able to dispense with the type of the horse in one form or another. This is but natural in the land which produced the Macedonian cavalry. In the case of Philip the significance of his name makes the types doubly appropriate. Finally, we have the statement of Plutarch,<sup>3</sup> that Philip celebrated his Olympian victory with the chariot by engraving it on

<sup>1</sup> *e.g.* Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 22, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Gardner, *Num. Chr.*, 1880, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Alex.*, 4.

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his coins. Just about the time, also, when he was first obtaining the metal from his new mines, he won a victory *ἵππῳ κέλητι* at Olympia, and there can be little doubt that this event is commemorated on his silver tetradrachms.

The symbols in the field of Philip's coins in most cases represent the mint at which they were struck : thus the thunderbolt is in all probability the badge of Pella, while the bee indicates Melitaea in Thessaly. But as a rule the identification of mints by these symbols is very hazardous.

The coinage of Philip had a great attraction for the barbarians in the upper parts of the Balkan Peninsula, and also for the inhabitants of Gaul. Thanks to this fact, the earliest coinage of Britain is to be traced back to the gold staters of Philip. These coins were introduced into Gaul, possibly by the Massalites,<sup>1</sup> and largely imitated there. From Gaul, the influence passed to Britain. The imitation, when it reaches this stage, bears but a faint resemblance to the original ; but the intermediate links make the process fairly clear.

<sup>1</sup> There is much to be said for the route up the Danube valley, across to the Rhine valley, and so into Gaul. But most authorities pronounce for Massalia as the intermediary (see J. A. Blanchet, *Traité des Monnaies gauloises* (1905), pp. 207-225). The evidence as to finds of original Philippei along the great central trade-route is apparently very deficient ; and very few originals have been found in Gaul itself.

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### DION OF SYRACUSE IN ZACYNTHUS

357 B.C.

45. *Obv.* Head of Apollo r., laureate.

*Rev.* ΔΙΩΝΟΣ Tripod, between the feet of which, ΙΑ

British Museum. Silver Aeginetic Stater, 11·23 grammes. P. Gardner, *Num. Chr.*, 1885, p. 96, and B. M. C. *Peloponnesus*, p. 97, No. 33.

It was at Zacynthus that Dion assembled the small but picked body of troops (less than eight hundred men) with which he made his daring and successful descent on Sicily. The chief deity of Zacynthus was Apollo, and to him Dion offered up a magnificent sacrifice, going in procession to the shrine with all his men in full armour.<sup>1</sup> During his exile Dion had travelled much in Peloponnesus and Attica, and made a considerable impression on the Greeks at home, by his wealth as well as by his personal qualities. He received the citizenship of Sparta, he was honoured by Epidaurus, and his relations with the Academy at Athens are well known. As he chose Zacynthus for his base, that city must have granted him special facilities. Among these was the right to issue a coinage to pay his troops. The coin before us bears his name and the letters ΙΑ (for Ζακυνθίων), and its types are the regular types of the Zacynthian coinage.<sup>2</sup> Had we not known of the connexion of the son of

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Dion.*, 23.

<sup>2</sup> There are also bronze coins of the same series on which the name is abbreviated to ΔΙ.

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Hipparinus with Zacynthus, the Dion of the coin would have been taken for an ordinary magistrate, like the Anaxippus who signed coins in the period immediately following. It is improbable, however, that the son of Hipparinus occupied any constitutional position at Zacynthus. It was as much to the advantage of the Zacynthians as to his own that he should be allowed to convert some of his silver into coin, of which a large proportion would be spent in the island. That it was not intended primarily to be carried in his treasure chest to Sicily is proved by the standard on which it is struck. That is the Aeginetic, in use in Zacynthus and Peloponnesus, but not in Sicily. The privilege of putting his own name on it was balanced by the use of the regular Zacynthian types and inscription. None the less, in view of the jealousy with which each little Greek state guarded its right of coinage, these coins are eloquent of the great influence which Dion exercised in the land of his exile.

### DION AND TIMOLEON IN SICILY

357-337 B.C.

46. *Obv.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ Head of Athena r., in Corinthian helmet.  
*Rev.* Pegasus flying to l.

British Museum. Silver Corinthian Stater, 8.48 grammes. Head, B. M. C. *Corinth*, etc., p. 98, No. 1.

47. Similar to preceding, but ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ

British Museum. Silver Corinthian Stater, 8.51 grammes. Head, *op. cit.*, p. 98, No. 2.

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48. Similar to 46 but inscribed ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ, and with grain of barley behind head.

British Museum. Silver Corinthian Stater, 8·34 grammes. Head, *op. cit.*, p. 98, No. 1.

49. *Obv.* ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ Head of Apollo l., laureate.  
*Rev.* ΣΥΜΜΑΧ[ΙΚΟΝ] Torch between two ears of barley.

British Museum. Bronze litra, 30·60 grammes. B.*M.* C. *Sicily*, p. 28. No. 2.

We have seen the mark which Dion left on the coinage of Zacynthus. It is only natural that we should look for some similar indication of his presence in Sicily. We do not, it is true, find his name on the coins; but there is now a general agreement in attributing to his time certain electrum coins with Apolline types, and also certain 'Pegasi' (Nos. 46, 48) or imitations of the ordinary Corinthian coins, differing from the originals only in the legend ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ or ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝΟΝ, which replaces the ϣ (koppa) of the Corinthian mint. These coins, like the later 'Pegasi' reading ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (No. 47) used to be given to Timoleon. Evans,<sup>1</sup> however, pointed out that the tyrant Hicetas, who ruled Leontini for great part of Timoleon's time,<sup>2</sup> was not friendly to the liberator. It is therefore more probable that this earlier group of 'Pegasi,' with inscriptions ending in -ΟΝ, belongs to Dion's time.

From the point of view of weight, there was no difficulty in the introduction of 'Pegasi,' for

<sup>1</sup> *Syracusan 'Medallions'*, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Not throughout; see Holm, *Gesch. Sic.*, iii. p. 652.



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Leontini and Syracuse had long employed the Euboic-Attic standard, in which the didrachm corresponded to the Corinthian stater; and ordinary Corinthian 'Pegasi' must have long been circulating in Sicily

Among the types which owe their origin to Timoleon, first in importance is the head of Zeus Eleutherios. It is found at Syracuse, at Halaesa, at Aetna, and at Agyrium. The horse unbridled which occurs on coins of this time may also be a symbol of liberty; but it is already found in the preceding period at Syracuse.

A considerable number of minor Sicilian cities, as Head has noticed,<sup>1</sup> began to issue coins for the first time under the auspices of Timoleon. No. 49 is one of a group of bronze coins which agree in the legend ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ (*scil. νόμισμα*). Other varieties have a head of Sikelia, the nymph personifying the island, or of Apollo Archagetas on the obverse, with the same reverse type as No. 49, or a thunderbolt and grapes. But these are all without the name of the people in whose city they were issued. Others again have the legend ΚΑΙΝΟΝ (*scil. νόμισμα*), with other types and no mint-name. Some, but not necessarily all, of these varieties were issued from Halaesa. For some of them the type of Apollo Archagetas suggests Tauromenium as the mint. But the coins are perhaps the more interesting for the lack of the mint-name, in that they illustrate all the better the formation of the anti-Carthaginian confederacy

<sup>1</sup> e.g. in *Hist. Num.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 101.

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by which Timoleon sought to guarantee the safety of the cities.

Another feature of the coinage of this time is found in the fact that large bronze coins make their first appearance in the Sicilian towns which came within the sphere of Timoleon's influence. In the interior of Sicily, as in central Italy, bronze was evidently of far greater importance as a medium of exchange than in the more completely Hellenised parts of the Mediterranean. Where bronze hitherto had been issued by Greek cities, it was only in the form of a token coinage, with an artificial value. But to appeal to the people whom Timoleon now organised into a confederacy under the leadership of Syracuse, a confederacy which was to be strengthened by increasingly intimate commercial ties, it was necessary to issue coins which would not shock the ideas of people accustomed to regard bronze as a precious metal. And if Halaesa, Centuripae, etc., issued these large coins, it was necessary that Syracuse should also issue them.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement arrived at was, however, a compromise, since these new coins, substantial as they were, probably represented a value somewhat greater than their weight.<sup>2</sup> The civilised Greeks

<sup>1</sup> Holm (*Gesch. Sic.*, iii. p. 620, No. 137), whom I have elsewhere followed (*Coins of Ancient Sicily*), places the issue of the large Syracusan *litra* earlier. Many of the *litrae* of other Sicilian cities are struck on these Syracusan *litrae*; on the reverse of No. 49 it is easily possible to discern the dolphins of the original type; but such over-strikings might occur very soon after the issue of the Syracusan coins, if the cities in the interior found themselves short of bronze in any other form, or wished to avoid the trouble of casting new blanks.

<sup>2</sup> Head, *loc. cit.*

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would never have accepted coins of the unwieldy size which satisfied the honest Romans of the time.

### THE SACRED WAR

356-346 B.C.

50. *Obv.* Bull's head facing, bound with fillets hanging from horns.  
*Rev.* ΟΝΥ|ΜΑΡ|ΧΟΥ in laurel-wreath.

Fig. 5. Berlin Museum. Bronze. Cp. Head, B. M. C. *Central Greece*, pp. xxvii and 23, No. 103; Pl. iii. 24.



FIG. 5.—No. 50.

FIG. 6.—No. 51.

51. *Obv.* Similar to No. 50.  
*Rev.* ΦΑ|ΛΑ|ΙΚΟΥ in laurel-wreath.

Fig. 6. Berlin Museum. Bronze. Cp. Head, *op. cit.*, pp. xxvii and 23, No. 104.

52. *Obv.* Head of Demeter l. wearing veil and wreath of barley-leaves.  
*Rev.* ΑΜΦΙΚΤΙΟΝΩΝ Apollo, wearing long-sleeved chiton, seated l. on omphalos covered with network of fillets; he rests his chin on his r. hand, his r. elbow on a large kithara beside him; in his l. is a long laurel branch resting on his shoulder; in the field, to l., a tripod.

British Museum. Silver Aeginetic Stater, 12·14 grammes. Head, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxiii, 27, No. 22, Pl. iv. 13; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.*, p. 122, Pl. Y. viii.

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About the dating of these coins there can be little divergence of opinion. The two bronze coins bear the names of two strategi of the Phocians during the Sacred War. Philomelus, as we know, did not at first touch the temple-treasures. But he was eventually driven to borrow—not for the first time in Greek history—from the sacred treasury. His successor, Onymarchus—called Onomarchus by most, if not all, ancient literary authorities—was even less scrupulous or more pressed, and from the first levied contributions on the shrine. He is said to have struck gold and silver coins.<sup>1</sup> Enormous quantities of treasure were melted down; but no such thing as a Phocian gold coin is extant, nor is there anything of this period in the way of silver except small coins. We know, it is true, that a considerable quantity of the coins were melted down by pious Locrians after the war, and returned to the sanctuary in the form of a hydria,<sup>2</sup> but this is hardly enough to explain the entire disappearance of the gold coins. Nor can it be explained by the drain out of the Phocian territory to which this currency would naturally be subject in these troublous times; for there is no reason why these coins should not be lost and found in neighbouring districts. That Onymarchus melted down gold objects we have the best of reasons for believing; that he struck gold coins is not so certain, though a gold coin may be turned up any day to banish our doubts. The authority of

<sup>1</sup> Diod., xvi. 33.2, 56.6.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *de Pyth. orac.*, 16, p. 401 F.

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Diodorus on a detail of this sort is not good; and the fact that much of the treasure was of gold no more proves that gold coins were struck, than the similar circumstances in the case of Damarete's crown (see above No. 20) prove that the Damareteia were gold coins. The small Phocian silver coins, on the other hand, are common and were evidently struck in large quantities, but they do not bear the names of any of the strategi.

The fact that Onymarchus and Phalaeus<sup>1</sup> placed their names on the coins has been reckoned as an item in the charges against them.<sup>2</sup> A tyrant like Alexander of Pherae had recently done the same; but the position of these strategi was constitutionally more similar to that of the Boeotarchs of the Boeotian league. Yet no one sees a sign of despotism in the fact that Boeotian coins bear the names of Boeotarchs.

If Onymarchus or his successors placed their names on silver as well as on bronze coins, the former have not survived. Probably the generals did not go so far. Here again, it is unlikely that some of the large quantity of coins which must have been issued should not have escaped the pious zeal of the Locrians. Too much has perhaps been made of this single fact related of the Locrians, and we have no reason to suppose that their example was very generally followed.

The style of the fine stater (No. 52) is entirely in favour of the general opinion which attributes it to

<sup>1</sup> Phayllus seems to have abstained in this respect.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. by Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, ii. p. 324.

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the close of the Sacred War. It was struck, as the inscription shows, by the Amphictionic Council. Some doubts have been expressed as to whether it was issued at Delphi, and not rather at one of the alternative meetings held by the Council at Thermopylae. The large size of the coin, which is unprecedented in the general Phocian series (although in the fifth century Delphi coined a certain number of large pieces), may seem to point to the Thermopylaean meeting as the more likely occasion of issue. But we must remember that the great Pythian festival which was celebrated in 346, with Philip as president, was an event of extraordinary importance to all the Greeks who cared for the honour of the Delphian sanctuary. That the Amphictionic Council should strike splendid coins to commemorate their recovery of the shrine from the robbers who had so long possessed it, was highly fitting; that, on the other hand, they should issue these novel pieces at one of the meetings at Thermopylae, to which no unusual importance attached, would be inexplicable. The head of the Demeter of Anthela on the obverse of this coin<sup>1</sup> has been taken to point to the Thermopylaean mint. But the Apollo of the reverse points as clearly the other way. Wherever the Amphictionic coins were issued, it would be proper for them to bear the types of the two deities under whose protection the Council met.

Of the types of the coins which we have dis-

<sup>1</sup> As on the small silver coins with the same inscription (*Rev. Num.*, 1860, Pl. xii. 8; Head, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.). The reverse type is an omphalos with serpent twined round it.







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cussed there is little more to say. The head of the bull is decorated with fillets as though for sacrifice. As we know that kine were sacrificed to Apollo with Leto and Artemis at Delphi<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere, there is no reason why this type should not represent one of the victims. On the stater of the Council, Demeter is represented in her usual guise, veiled and crowned with barley-leaves, as the grain-giving earth-mother. Apollo has all his attributes: his omphalos and tripod as the oracular god of Delphi, his purifying laurel-branch, his lyre and citharoedic dress as god of music.

### PHILIP II. AND THESSALY

353-343 B.C.

53. *Obv.* Head of the nymph Larisa, nearly facing, inclined to r., hair confined by a fillet seen over her forehead.

*Rev.* ΛΑΡΙ Horse grazing to r.; below its belly, in small letters, ΣΙΜΟ

British Museum. Silver Aeginetic Drachm, 6·03 grammes. P. Gardner, B. M. C. *Thessaly*, etc. pp. xxv and 31, No. 77, Pl. vi. 9.

The coins struck at Larisa in Thessaly with the name of Simus have been brought by Gardner into relation with the history of Thessaly during the Sacred War. We know from Harpocration<sup>2</sup> that

<sup>1</sup> *B. C. H.*, v. (1881) p. 164: θύοντω δὲ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ βοῦς τελει[ους] τρ[εῖς] οὓς καὶ οἱ πολῖται δῶντι τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ [τῶι Λ[ατο]ῖ καὶ τῶι Ἀρτέμιτι, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> *s.v.* Σιμός.

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Simus was one of the Aleuadae who were regarded as partisans of the Macedonian, and from Demosthenes<sup>1</sup> that he was thrown over by Philip as soon as the king had subjected Thessaly to Macedonian rule: μέχρι τούτου [Εὐδικος καὶ] Σίμος ὁ Λαρισαῖος (*scil.* φίλος ὀνομάζετο) ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ ἐποίησεν. Under Εὐδικος Harpocration has: Δημοσθενῆς ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος. εἰς δ' ἐστὶν οὗτος τῶν κατασταθέντων ὑπὸ Φιλίππου κυρίων Θετταλίας ἀπάσης. From this we see that the name of Eudicus occurred in the manuscript of Demosthenes used by Harpocration or his source. If it was interpolated, the interpolation must be a fairly old one.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, an interpolator would not have allowed the grammatical false concord to stand. Possibly the singular ἐποίησεν is due to the two singulars which precede it, and we should read: μέχρι τούτου Εὐδικος [ὁ \* \* \* ] καὶ Σίμος ὁ Λ. ἕως . . . ἐποίησ(α)ν. We do not know that Eudicus was a Larisaean.

We have now to consider in what capacity Simus placed his name on the coin. The name is not very rare;<sup>3</sup> nevertheless we need not hesitate to accept Gardner's identification of the Simus of the coin with the Aleuad. The question is whether he issued the coins as a 'tyrant' on his own account, or as one of Philip's governors. Philip at one time divided Thessaly into tetrarchies. Most modern

<sup>1</sup> *De Cor.*, 48 (p. 241).

<sup>2</sup> Harpocration's date is perhaps the second century after Christ, but may be as late as the fourth.

<sup>3</sup> See the entries in Pape-Benseler, *Wörterb. d. gr. Eigennamen*.

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writers assume that this was done after the second expedition into Thessaly, when the 'tyrants' were expelled, and the Macedonian power firmly established in the country.<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes speaks of the new tetrarchal organisation of the country in 344-343 and two years afterwards, in a tone which he would hardly have employed had it been ten years old.<sup>2</sup> We may take it therefore that the current view as to the date of the new organisation is correct. If, as Gardner supposes, Simus issued the coins as one of Philip's tetrarchs and by his permission, we may be surprised that none of the three other tetrarchs, who doubtless enjoyed the same privileges, is known to have issued coins with his own name. The coins therefore would seem to belong to the period before the organisation of the tetrarchy. Simus, and the others who had invited Philip into Thessaly, such as Eudicus and Thrasydaeus,<sup>3</sup> were made 'tyrants' over their fellow-countrymen under Philip's protection; and when Philip had done with them, after his second expedition, he cast them off. This was the expulsion of the tyrants of which Diodorus speaks; and the statements of Demosthenes and Harpocration accord perfectly well on this hypothesis. The position of the 'tyrants,' in the comparatively informal arrangement which subsisted between Philip's two expeditions, need not have been quite the same in all

<sup>1</sup> Diod., xvi. 69.8 (344-343 B.C.).

<sup>2</sup> *Phil.*, ii. 22, iii. 26. In the former passage Reiske has shown that δεκαδρχων should be τετραρχων (see Beloch's note, *Gr. Gesch.*, ii. pp. 532-3).

<sup>3</sup> Theopomp., fr. 235 (*F. H. G.*, i. 317) in Athen., vi. 249 C.

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cities of Thessaly; hence it is that, while the coins name Simus of Larisa, they are silent as to the others.

The new organisation of Thessaly, after the fall of the tyrants, brought about a great change in the coinage of the Thessalian cities. Philip's own new coins were now issued at various Thessalian mints, and this system was continued by Alexander the Great. Consequently there was no longer any necessity for the silver, or perhaps even for the bronze, autonomous coinage of the Thessalian cities. There was a resumption of autonomous coinage by some mints in the time of Demetrius Poliorcetes. But silver soon disappeared again from the Thessalian currency, not to return, except in the brief period 196-146 B.C., when it was issued by the tribal unions of the 'Thessalians,' Aenianes, Magnetes, and Oetaeans.

The date to which, on the grounds above stated, it seems best to assign the coins of Simus is the date already determined by Gardner; the divergence from his view lies in the hypothesis that Simus, when he issued coins with his own name, was, although in a position of unusual influence, not necessarily tetrarch, but tyrant on the conditions prevailing between 353 and 343 B.C. Few will hesitate to agree with Gardner's further suggestion that the interesting coins with a head of  $\text{AAEY}\alpha\varsigma$ , the founder of the great family to which Simus belonged, must be attributed to this tyrant's time.

The head of the nymph Larisa, represented

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nearly facing, is derived from a famous Syracusan coin-type, the head of Arethusa by the great engraver Cimon. The horse of the reverse is the most characteristic of Larisæan coin-types, the Thessalian cavalry horse, evidently one of the small sturdy animals of the kind represented in the procession of the riders on the Parthenon frieze, and still to be seen in Greece.<sup>1</sup>

MAZAEUS, GOVERNOR OF NORTHERN SYRIA

AND CILICIA

350-333 B.C.

54. *Obv.* *Ba'altarz* (in Aramaic). Baaltars seated l., wearing himation and holding lotos-headed sceptre; in the field l. an ear of barley, bunch of grapes, and Aramaic letter *n*; under the seat, *m*.

*Rev.* *Mazdai*, who is over *Ebernahara* and *Chilik* (in Aramaic). Two lines of wall, one behind the other, each with four towers; above, lion slaying a bull.

British Museum. Silver Persic Stater, 11·09 grammes. Hill, B. M. C. *Lycaonia*, etc., Pl. xxx. 9.

55. *Obv.* Similar to No. 54, but without bunch of grapes or Aramaic single letters; under the seat, *l* (for Issus).

<sup>1</sup> Macdonald (*Coin Types*, pp. 98 f.) makes the interesting suggestion that the horse on the earlier Thessalian coins (which have on the reverse a youth seizing a bull by the horns) is the mount of the Thessalian matador. Possibly then the type on coins such as No. 53 is still the horse used in the *ταυροκαθάψια*.

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*Rev.* Similar to No. 54, but without inscription; in the field, a club.

British Museum. Silver Persic Stater, 11·02 grammes. Hill, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxxi. 7.

56. *Obv.* Similar to No. 54, but no Aramaic inscription or letters; under seat T (for Tarsus); in field r., B and ivy-leaf.

*Rev.* Bust of Athena nearly facing in triple-crested helmet; in field r., ivy-leaf.

British Museum. Silver Persic Stater, 10·90 grammes. Hill, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxxi. 14.

Mazaeus governed Cilicia for the Persian king for some ten years, before he received in addition the governorship of Syria. From 350 to 333 B.C. he could call himself by the title which is to be read on our coin (No. 54), where 'Ebernahara,' or 'the land beyond the river,' must be understood from the Persian point of view, so as to mean the land west of the Euphrates.<sup>1</sup> Mazaeus struck coins in great quantities, in both parts of his government. The present coin (No. 54) was issued from Tarsus. This is made clear, not merely by its resemblance to the other Tarsian issues, and by the type and legend of the obverse, but also by the group of animals on the reverse. For the bull-slaying lion is one of the emblems of the city of Tarsus, where it appears at intervals throughout the whole history of the coinage.<sup>2</sup> The ear of barley and the bunch of grapes are merely symbols of the fertility of the

<sup>1</sup> Halévy, *Mémoires d'Épigraphie*. (Paris, 1874), pp. 64-71.

<sup>2</sup> On the significance of the bull-slaying lion in Anatolian religion, see J. W. Crowfoot, *J. H. S.*, xx. pp. 118 ff.

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district, which was owed to the local Baal, who, as 'possessor' of the land, was also a god of fruitfulness.<sup>1</sup> It remains only to explain the double line of walls over which the animal-group is placed. It has usually been regarded, and that very naturally, as the *enceinte* of Tarsus itself. Babelon,<sup>2</sup> however, has proposed to identify these walls with the gates which we know to have marked the boundary between Syria and Cilicia. His theory is at first blush most attractive, especially in the light of the inscription which describes Mazaeus as governing the two provinces which these gates at once connected and disjoined. Further considerations, however, rob the theory of some of its plausibility. It destroys the connexion between the two portions of the type: the emblem of Tarsus stands not over the city of Tarsus, but over a gateway distant from the city many a mile. Again, the representation of the walls is not always accompanied by the title of 'satrap of Ebernahara and Cilicia'; for there is another series of coins (No. 55) with the same types, but without anything else to connect them with Mazaeus. These coins bear the initials of Issus, Mallus, Soli, and Tarsus, but were all probably issued from the last mint out of funds provided by the various cities.<sup>3</sup> They should be compared with yet another series (No. 56), having a facing head of Athena on one side, and Baaltars on the other; here again we find the initials of the same

<sup>1</sup> Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, ii. 2650.

<sup>2</sup> *Perses Achém.*, p. xlv.

<sup>3</sup> See B. M. C. *Lycæonia*, etc., pp. lxxxiii f.

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four cities, but not the name of Mazaeus. To the time of Mazaeus, nevertheless, they have usually been attributed. But it has recently been suggested that they more probably belong to the period after Mazaeus, a period which hitherto had not been provided with its coinage.<sup>1</sup> Accepting this series with Athena as later than Mazaeus, we naturally class with them the coins just mentioned (No. 55), bearing the initials of the four cities, but not the name of Mazaeus. It follows that the double line of walls which occurs on these coins can have no special relation to Mazaeus as satrap of the provinces on both sides of the gates; and that it only occurs on his coins as the representation of the chief city of his Cilician province. Finally, the two walls entirely fail to express the nature of gates of any kind, whereas, except in being double, they do not differ in any way from other representations of a fortified city. There were, it is true, two walls at the gates in question. But they were at a distance of three stadia from each other, running down from the high ground to the sea at right angles to the road. Between them flowed the river Carsus, a plethron broad. The gates were pierced in these two walls. On our coin, if any sort of passage is indicated, it is by a road running between and parallel to the walls, and the gates, the most important feature, are absent. Even in the conventional representation, which alone was within the capacity of a die-engraver of the fourth century, we should not expect such an omission.

<sup>1</sup> Howorth, *Num. Chr.* (1902), p. 83.



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We conclude, therefore, that the walls of Tarsus, which must have had a double line of fortification, are represented on these coins.

### TARENTUM IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

350-330 B.C.

57. *Obv.* ΤΑΡΑ Head of Demeter r., wearing stephane and transparent veil; in front, dolphin; behind, Ε

*Rev.* ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ Poseidon, nude to waist, seated l., his l. hand supporting his trident; before him, infant Taras, wearing crepundia, raising his hands; in field r., star and Τ; below seat, κ; on the edge of the coin ζ (?).

British Museum. Gold Stater, 8·58 grammes. W. Wroth, *Num. Chr.*, 1899, Pl. vii. 5. Cp. A. J. Evans, *Horsemen of Tarentum*, p. 66, Pl. v. 1.

Besides being one of the most beautiful in the whole Greek series, this coin belongs to a period of considerable interest in the history of Tarentum. The half-barbarous tribes in the southern part of the peninsula, Lucanians, Brettians, Messapians, by their harassing attacks on the Greek colonies, were preparing the way for the final subjection of the whole region under the power of Rome. Sorely pressed by their enemies, the Tarentines turned to Greece for aid. About 346 B.C. (to follow the chronology of most historians) Archidamus III. of Sparta was sent to aid them with a large army consisting mainly of mercenaries. His expedition

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lasted until the disaster of 338, in which he and the greater part of his army were destroyed at Mandonium (or Manduria) on the day, it is said, of the battle of Chaeroneia. Some four or five years later (the date is vague) Tarentum found another helper in Alexander I. of Epirus, who fought successfully against all the neighbouring hostile tribes, and entered into friendly relations with Rome. But he fell into disagreement with the Tarentines, and was treacherously killed (about 330) by Lucanian hands.

As considerable sums of money must have been required to support the large numbers of troops which these two generals employed, it is probable that the series of gold coins with varying types, to which No. 57 belongs, was issued to defray the expenses of the wars. It is perhaps unsafe to particularise on this point. Evans, indeed, sees in the reverse type the personification of the city Tarentum appealing to its fatherland, personified in Poseidon. For Taras was the son of Poseidon and a nymph,<sup>1</sup> and the sanctuary of Poseidon on Mount Taenarum was among the most important in Laconia. If this interpretation is right, we may think of the coin as struck by order of Archidamus himself rather than of the Tarentines. On the other hand, if this explanation appear to be far-fetched, we must class the type as simply one more, and the most charming, of the many representations of Taras on Tarentine coins. Wroth is somewhat inclined to bring the coin down to the slightly later period of

<sup>1</sup> Paus., x. 10, 8.

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Alexander of Epirus, to whose time coins from the same obverse die are attributed by Evans, and with the style of whose own South Italian coinage that of the Taras and Poseidon stater has some points of affinity. But, where the dates of the possible alternatives are so close together, we shall be more discreet in merely regarding the coin as a monument of Tarentine art in the middle of the fourth century, without attempting to decide more particularly what event in the troublous history of the time occasioned the issue.

### ALEXANDER THE GREAT

336-323 B.C.

58. *Obv.* Head of Athena r., in crested Corinthian helmet adorned with serpent; below, thunderbolt.

*Rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Winged Nike standing to l., holding in r. wreath, in l. cruciform object; in the field, monogram of ΔΗ

British Museum. Gold Stater, 8·62 grammes. B. V. Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 30, 4.

59. *Obv.* Head of young Heracles r., with features resembling Alexander's, wearing lion's skin.

*Rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Zeus, nude to waist, seated l., his l. resting on sceptre, in his r. an eagle; in the field, a prow.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 17·26 grammes. Head, *op. cit.*, Pl. 30, 6; Gardner, *Types*, Pl. xii. 1. 15; Hill, *Handbook*, Pl. vii. 4.

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60. *Obv.* Head of young Heracles r., in lion's skin.  
*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Zeus seated  
as on No. 59; in field l., ΘΕ; below,  
monogram of ΟΔΗ

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·20 grammes. Head,  
*op. cit.*, Pl. 64, 2.

It is generally supposed that the huge currency most commonly associated with the name of Alexander the Great was not issued until his invasion of Asia. But it is difficult to suppose that the enormous amount of gold produced by the mines at Crenides was not at once turned into coin; and therefore, unless Alexander went on issuing coins with his father's types, we must admit that gold staters like No. 58 were issued from 336 onwards. As regards silver, Imhoof-Blumer has attributed to the first years of Alexander a series of coins of which the chief type is the eagle on a thunderbolt. If his attribution is correct, this coinage can only have lasted a very short time.

The types of Athena and Nike are quite new to the Macedonian coinage. Their general appropriateness to Alexander's scheme of conquest is obvious—nearly as obvious as that of the type of Heracles and the giant in Napoleon's medal of the 'Descente en Angleterre.' It has further been remarked<sup>1</sup> that the deities who now appeared on Alexander's coins had been most prominent as champions of the Greek side against the Trojan; and that the deities to whom Alexander sacrificed

<sup>1</sup> Gardner, *Types*, p. 51.

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on landing in Asia were Zeus, Athena, and Heracles.<sup>1</sup> On the gold staters Nike appears naturally as the associate of Athena. The object which she holds has given rise to considerable discussion. One fact is clear, that it is of a naval character, and it seems most probable that it is a naval standard.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the coins of these types actually struck in Alexander's lifetime at various mints, there is an enormous series of coins of the same types issued after his death. Of the gold and bronze coins with his name it is not supposed that any were struck after about 280 B.C. But the imitations of the silver continued to be issued in some places nearly as late as the beginning of the Roman Empire. Alexander's coinage indeed was among the most lasting of his institutions. The distinction of the epoch and place to which the various classes of imitations belong is a matter of considerable difficulty. In especial, the local attributions made by L. Müller,<sup>3</sup> and now generally followed merely for the lack of a better classifica-

<sup>1</sup> Arr., *Anab.*, i. 11. 6; see Holm, *Gr. Gesch.*, iii. note 12 on chap. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> See Assmann in *Z. f. N.*, xxv. pp. 215 ff, with a review of previous theories, all of which are satisfactorily refuted, so far as the nature of the object is concerned. He holds that it is Phoenician in origin, and that Alexander adopted it in commemoration of his acquisition of the sea-power, hitherto enjoyed by the Phoenicians. In a subsequent number of the same *Zeitschrift* I confirm Babelon's assertion that a similar object occurs in 336-335 B.C. at Athens, in the hands of Nike, and also of Athena, on Panathenaic vases of that year. This form of standard was therefore known in Greece, outside the area of Phoenician influence, before Alexander took over the Phoenician fleet; and the contrary is part of Assmann's chief argument. Whether, as Babelon has argued (*Mél. de Num.*, i. pp. 203-17), Alexander borrowed the type from Athens is a different question; probably he did not.

<sup>3</sup> *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, Copenhagen, 1855.

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tion, have been proved wrong in various important particulars. As regards date, in classifying the coins with Alexander's name, Müller divides them into no less than seven classes, of which only the first three can be regarded as in any sense contemporaneous with Alexander. Following a general tendency, the later Alexandrine coins become flatter and more 'spread' as they recede from Alexander's time. As an instance of the final stage of development, we may take the semi-barbarous coin No. 60 with the monogrammatic mint-mark of Odessus. It belongs to the first century B.C.

It is curious that the coins of Alexander had nothing like the same vogue as his father's among the barbarians. The market had already been captured when Alexander's coins appeared on the scene.

### PTOLEMY I.

323-284 B.C.

61. *Obv.* Head of Alexander the Great r., with ram's horn of Zeus Ammon, wearing elephant's-skin headdress, and aegis round neck.

*Rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Zeus seated l., holding eagle in r., and resting with l. on sceptre. In field l., thunderbolt; under chair, ΟΡ

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 17·18 grammes. Poole, B. M. C. *Ptolemies*, p. 1, No. 1; Svoronos, *Νομισμ. τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολ.* p. 5, No. 243.

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62. *Obv.* Similar to No. 61.

*Rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Archaistic figure of Athena, standing on tip-toe, wearing long chiton and chlaina, wielding spear in r., holding shield on l. arm. In field, on l., monogram of ΑΓ, on r., ΕΥ and eagle on thunderbolt.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 17·14 grammes. Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 2, No. 6; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, p. 9, No. 44γ.

63. *Obv.* Head of Ptolemy r., wearing diadem and aegis.

*Rev.* ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Eagle standing l. on thunderbolt; in field l., monogram of ΔΑ

British Museum. Silver Phoenician Tetradrachm, 14·92 grammes. Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 23, No. 85; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, p. 33, No. 190a.

The earliest coinage issued by Ptolemy Soter probably consisted of pieces of the usual Alexandrine types (see Nos. 58, 59), and bearing the name of Alexander or of Philip (*i.e.* Philip III.). After the murder of Philip in 317 B.C. these issues probably came to an end, being replaced by tetradrachms similar to No. 61. The old Macedonian reverse type is preserved, but we get an obverse which is more distinctly connected with Egypt. Lysimachus of Thrace, as we shall see, placed the horned head of the deified Alexander on his coins; so too does Ptolemy, but he associates it with his African dominion by covering the head with an elephant's skin. The name ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ may be read as referring either to Alexander the Great, or to

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Alexander IV., for whom Ptolemy was regent.<sup>1</sup> A modest allusion to Ptolemy himself is found in the thunderbolt; this afterwards, as we shall see, becomes an important element in the regular Ptolemaic type.

Next comes (No. 62) a change in the reverse type; Zeus is replaced by a figure of Athena, usually supposed to represent the Macedonian Athena Ἀλκίς. Beyond the fact that Livy<sup>2</sup> says that the Athena of Pella was called *Alcis*, I do not know what evidence there is for this identification. It is true that on coins struck by Antigonus Gonatas or Antigonus Doson and by Philip V.<sup>3</sup> we find a somewhat similar figure of Athena. But the two differ in one important detail; on Ptolemy's coin the goddess wields a spear; on the others, her weapon is a thunderbolt. Since the coins of Antigonus and Philip were doubtless issued from Pella, it is reasonable to suppose that they, rather than the coins of Ptolemy, preserve for us the figure of the Athena worshipped there. In any case the figure of the goddess, in its attitude and dress, is an excellent illustration of the archaistic cultus-statue of the time. The eagle on the thunderbolt, which figures as a symbol beside it, is the badge of Ptolemy in its fully developed form.

Either contemporary with these Attic tetradrachms, or (more probably) immediately subsequent to them, are tetradrachms struck with the same types, but on a different standard, which

<sup>1</sup> Dr. J. Six's theory (*Röm. Myth.*, 1899, pp. 88 f.), that the head represents Alexander IV., does not seem to me to be convincing.

<sup>2</sup> 42, 51.

<sup>3</sup> See below, No. 79.



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has been recognised as the Rhodian.<sup>1</sup> Whatever we may call it, it seems to have bridged the gap between the Attic standard formerly in use and the Phoenician standard which Ptolemy finally adopted. It is difficult to believe that these Ptolemaic 'Rhodian' tetradrachms can have been issued contemporaneously with others of exactly similar types but Attic weight. Possibly the standard was found useful in a most important part of Ptolemy's dominions, Cyprus, where the silver coinage of the kings of Salamis from the time of Euagoras II. (361-351 B.C.), was of Rhodian weight. If this be the case, we may conjecture that it was adopted soon after Ptolemy's brother, Menelaus, finally reduced Cyprus (after 312).

The last stage in Ptolemy's monetary experiments is reached with No. 63, about 306 B.C., when we have as types the ruler's own head and his badge, the eagle on a thunderbolt. The king wears the aegis, as we have seen it worn by Alexander on coins of the preceding series. The standard of the silver is now changed once more, this time to the Phoenician, which prevails to the end of the Ptolemaic series. Possibly after the loss of Cyprus in 306 the commercial relations between Egypt and Phoenicia may have been strengthened, and the necessity for a coinage on the Rhodian standard reduced. Finally, since Ptolemy, following the example of Demetrius,<sup>2</sup> took

<sup>1</sup> Svoronos calls it Phoenician; but there are specimens weighing as much as 16 grammes, whereas the Phoenician standard rarely, if ever, rises above 15·34 grammes. It is evidently distinct from the ordinary Phoenician standard used by Ptolemy at the next stage.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 69.

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the title of 'King' in 306, and since there was no longer any necessity for perpetuating the name of Alexander on the coinage, the inscription is now ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Ptolemy's name without the royal title had already appeared on some earlier coins, issued after the death of Alexander IV.; but these were unimportant and probably local issues.

### AGATHOCLES, TYRANT OF SYRACUSE

317-289 B.C.

64. *Obv.* Young male head l., laureate (as on coins of Philip II. of Macedon, No. 43).

*Rev.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ Two-horse chariot to r.; below, triskeles symbol.

British Museum. Gold Drachm, 4·29 grammes. B. V. Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 43; *C. A.*, Pl. 35, 27; Gardner, *Types*, Pl. xi. 24.

65. *Obv.* Young male head r. wearing elephant's skin head-dress.

*Rev.* ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ Winged Athena fighting r. with spear and shield; at her feet, owl.

Vienna Cabinet. Gold Stater, 8·45 grammes. Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Zt.*, iii. p. 4; Head, *Syr.*, p. 46 f.; Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, Pl. xi. 12.

66. *Obv.* ΚΟΡΑΣ Head of Persephone r. wearing wreath of barley.

*Rev.* ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ Nike, nude to waist, standing to r., fastening helmet to trophy; in field r., triskeles symbol.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·88 grammes. Head, B. M. C. *Sicily*, p. 196, No. 384.



61



62



63



64



65



64



66



67



66

Nos. 61-67.



## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

67. *Obv.* Head of Athena r. in crested Corinthian helmet decorated with griffin.  
*Rev.* [Α]ΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟ[Ξ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ Winged thunderbolt; in the field, monogram of TP

British Museum. Gold Octobol, 5·69 grammes. Head, *Syr.*, p. 51, Pl. ix. 10; *C. A.*, Pl. 35, 30.

The money issued by Agathocles<sup>1</sup> during his tenure of power offers the most apt illustration of the gradual development from the position of *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*, to which he was chosen in 317-316 B.C., to the absolutism of his later years. His earliest issues do not bear his name. But a group of coins, to which No. 64 belongs, assignable on grounds of style to the last third of the fourth century, agrees in bearing the triskeles symbol with later groups of coins inscribed with the name of Agathocles. It is clear that this first group belongs to the early years of Agathocles. The triskeles is usually explained as the symbol of the three-cornered island Trinacria; if so, it must have been placed on the coins as an indication of a claim to rule all Sicily. It is possible, however, that it is no more than the private signet of Agathocles. It may be doubted whether Syracuse could with any show of reason have made a claim to the sovereignty of all Sicily during the earliest period of Agathocles' tenure of power. True, this object appears as the symbol of Sicily on Roman coins of P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus with the head of Marcellus, the con-

<sup>1</sup> For brief accounts, see Head, *H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, pp. 158 f.; Holm, *Gesch. Sic.*, iii. pp. 677 ff.; Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, pp. 152 f.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

queror of Syracuse. But these coins were struck as late as 42 B.C.; nor can we argue from Roman to Greek ideas of symbolism. On the other hand, had the Agathoclean triskeles indicated the sovereignty of Sicily, we should have expected it to reappear on the coins of Hieron II.

The types of the gold drachm (No. 64) are, significantly enough, identical with those which had already become familiar to all Greeks on the staters of Philip II. (see No. 43).

Nos. 65 and 66 belong to the second stage of the Agathoclean coinage. They bear his name, but were evidently issued before his assumption of the title of βασιλεύς. When he took that title is somewhat uncertain. If, on the authority of Diodorus,<sup>1</sup> some say that it was in the year 307-306, we may reply that just then the affairs of Agathocles were in a most awkward plight. He was hardly in a position to proclaim himself king without exciting general derision, until after the defeat of Deinocrates, leader of his banished enemies, at Torgium in 305-304. We may therefore assign 304 B.C. as the lower limit of the group of coins with which we are dealing.<sup>2</sup> As to the upper limit, the types afford a suggestion. On the obverse of the gold coin we have a plain reference to the African campaign; on the reverse is a somewhat less plain allusion to the victory of Agathocles, in 310, over Hanno and Bomilcar. On that occasion<sup>3</sup> the Syracusan general is said to have

<sup>1</sup> xx. 54. 1.

<sup>2</sup> On the date of the assumption of the title of βασιλεύς, see B. Niese, in his *Gesch.*, i. p. 473, or in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, i. 755.

<sup>3</sup> *Diod.*, xx. 11. 3.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

excited the courage of his troops by letting fly captured owls, which settled on the weapons and helmets of the men, and seemed an omen that the goddess of battle was on their side. The coin bears an obvious general resemblance to tetradrachms issued by Ptolemy with the name of Alexander (No. 62). Agathocles was in close relations with Ptolemy, whose daughter Theoxena he married.<sup>1</sup> But from this last fact no certain evidence can be extracted as regards the chronology of the coins.

The type of Persephone on No. 66 is by no means new to the Syracusan coinage, for Demeter and her daughter were the tutelary deities of the State. But it is now treated in a manner quite different from anything we have hitherto seen. Further, there is an insistence on the importance of the type, shown by adding the name of the goddess in the genitive (ΚΟΡΑΣ), that no one may mistake the identity of the Maiden Goddess. We are reminded of the fact that on landing in Africa Agathocles, before burning his ships, sacrificed to Demeter and the Maiden and dedicated his fleet to them.<sup>2</sup> One cannot help thinking also that the addition of the name *Kópas* may have been an excuse for getting rid of the word *Συρακοσίων*.

All these coins, then, with their obvious references to the African campaign, we may well feel justified in dating from about 310 to about 304 B.C.

On the group to which No. 67 belongs, Agathocles has assumed the title of king, which is, of course, expressed in the Doric genitive form. The

<sup>1</sup> See Holm, *Gesch. Sic.*, iii. p. 681.

<sup>2</sup> Diod., xx. 7.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

gold coin before us, taken at the ratio of 12:1, would be the equivalent of four silver tetradrachms similar to No. 66. No. 65, on the same ratio, is the equivalent of 6, No. 64 of 3 such tetradrachms.<sup>1</sup>

The coins which we have discussed are of course only a selection from those issued by Agathocles. An examination of all his coinage would show that in the first period (317-310 B.C.) all three metals (gold, silver and bronze) bore simply the legend ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ; that in the second (310-304) the gold coin bore the tyrant's name, the bronze the name of the people, the silver a combination of the tyrant's name,<sup>2</sup> and (1) that of the people, or (2) that of Kora. In the third period, the name of Agathocles with the royal title is found on both gold and bronze. But the only silver coins which can be attributed to this time are staters of Corinthian types (head of Athena and Pegasus); they bear no inscription, but are identified as Agathoclean by the triskeles symbol. The weight of these

<sup>1</sup> On the ratio, see Th. Reinach, *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 82. M. Reinach does not accept the attribution to Agathocles of No. 64; he gives it to the period between Timoleon and Agathocles.

<sup>2</sup> The adjective Ἀγαθοκλείος on some of these coins is explained by Head as belonging to Νίκη, understood from the type. But the analogy of other similar adjectives, such as Ἀλεξάνδρειος (*scil.* στατήρ), Ἀλεξανδρεία (*scil.* δραχμή) on coins of Alexander of Pheræ, would suggest a similar substantive here, were it not that στατήρ was the usual name for the didrachm and not the tetradrachm.—A few of the coins with the types of No. 66 have no legend on the reverse. Many are of very barbarous style. Probably (Head, *Syr.*, p. 48) these barbarous specimens were struck in Africa, where the means of minting were not so easily to be obtained; and those without the legend may have been issued in the African camp after the flight of Agathocles to Sicily. As regards the bronze coins of this period, Agathocles had less excuse for putting his name on them, since he would not require to strike them largely for military purposes.



## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

'Pegasi' is somewhat reduced; they contain eight instead of ten litrae (6·96 instead of 8·7 grammes), and the gold coin No. 67 was equivalent to ten such 'Pegasi' at the ratio of 12 : 1.

### THE BEGINNINGS OF THE AETOLIAN LEAGUE

314-279 B.C.

68. *Obv.* Head of young Heracles r. in lion's skin.  
*Rev.* ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ Personification of Aetolia seated r. on pile of shields; she wears a kausia on her head, short girt chiton, chlamys and boots; her r. rests on spear, her l. holds sword in sheath. Of the shields one, of Macedonian shape, is inscribed ΛΥ; on the other, of Gaulish shape, is A; in the field, a monogram. Below her feet, a Gaulish trumpet (karnyx) ending in a dragon's head.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 17·17 grammes.  
P. Gardner, *Types*, p. 202; B. M. C. *Thessaly*, etc., pp. lv f., p. 194, No. 4.

The actual origin of the Aetolian league is obscure. We first hear of an organised *κοινόν* in 314 B.C., when Cassander invaded the country of the Aetolians in order to punish them for their support of Aristodemus,<sup>1</sup> the Milesian lieutenant of Antigonus. After organising the defence of Acarnania by a general synoecism of the smaller places into the larger towns, Cassander left the Aetolian war in the hands of Lyciscus, the governor of Epirus. Against

<sup>1</sup> Diod., xix. 66. Cp. Niese, I. pp. 282 ff.

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this general the Aetolians won a considerable success, capturing the newly founded city of Agrinium.<sup>1</sup> The Aetolians continued to absorb fresh members into their confederation, and when in 279 the Gauls invaded the country, the Aetolian League was the strongest power in Central Greece. It prevented the Gaulish leader Acichorius from combining forces with Brennus in the attack on the Delphic temple, and took great part in the decisive defeat of the invaders. The Aetolians were most zealous in the pursuit of the enemy, and followed Acichorius as far as the Spercheius. In 277 the Aetolians founded the penteteric festival of the Soteria;<sup>2</sup> but we are more especially concerned with the 'figure of an armed woman, presumably Aetolia,'<sup>3</sup> which was dedicated by them 'after they had punished the Gauls for their cruelty to the people of Callium.' There is no reasonable doubt that this statue is represented on coins like No. 68; and a very high degree of probability accordingly attaches to Gardner's suggestion that the A on the Gaulish shield and the ΛΥ on the Macedonian may stand for Acichorius and Lyciscus respectively. The custom of inscribing names, initials or monograms on shields was common in Greece, one of the most famous instances being the Σ of the Sicyonians.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of the anti-Macedonian character of the

<sup>1</sup> Diod., xix. 67 f.

<sup>2</sup> Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 206.

<sup>3</sup> Paus., x. 18.7.

<sup>4</sup> Xen., *Hellen.*, iv. 4.10. For other instances, see Gardner, B. M. C. *Thessaly*, etc. p. lvii; Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iii. p. 420; and G. H. Chase, *The Shield Devices of the Greeks* (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xiii., 1902), pp. 77, 87, etc.

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reverse, the Heracles of the obverse is derived from the silver tetradrachms introduced by Alexander the Great. At the time (shortly after 279 B.C.) when this federal coinage was first issued, these Alexandrine tetradrachms were the most widespread currency in Greece.

### DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES DEFEATS

PTOLEMY : 306 B.C.

69. *Obv.* Prow of galley l., on which Nike standing l., blowing salpinx and holding standard.  
*Rev.* ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Poseidon, nude, seen from behind, standing l., wielding trident in r., chlamys wrapped round l. arm ; in field, two monograms.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 17·24 grammes. Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 31, 17 ; Gardner, *Types*, Pl. xii. 4 ; Hill, *Handbook*, Pl. vii. 10.

In 306 B.C. Demetrius, commanding for Antigonus, inflicted a crushing defeat on Ptolemy off Salamis in Cyprus. The coin before us, with its evident reference to a naval victory, must have been struck soon afterwards. Demetrius, it is to be noted, bears the title of king ; it was in consequence of this victory that Antigonus himself assumed the royal diadem and gave his son permission to follow his example.<sup>1</sup>

The obverse of the coin has a special interest as

<sup>1</sup> The assumption of the title by Demetrius has nothing to do with his actual reign as king of Macedon, which began about 293 B.C.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

reproducing the statue known as the Nike of Samothrace, discovered on that island in 1863 and now in the Louvre.<sup>1</sup> The coin has indeed made it possible to place the statue on the prow in its original position. This fine work was evidently dedicated in the sanctuary of the Cabeiri by Demetrius or by his father in the thanksgiving for the victory. As we are able, thanks largely to the coins, to date the monument within a few years, it supplies an important fixed point in the history of Greek sculpture.

The object held by Nike in her left hand is the same as we have met with on the coinage of Alexander the Great (above, p. 105), *i.e.* probably a naval standard.

The same figure of Nike occurs on a gold stater of Demetrius at Florence,<sup>2</sup> combined with the reverse type of Athena Promachos; and the types of our tetradrachm are also found on silver drachms and half-drachms. All these were probably issued together.

### THE FOUNDATION OF THE SELEUCID KINGDOM

306 B.C.

70. *Obv.* Head of Seleucus I. r. in helmet covered with skin and adorned with horn and ear of bull; round his neck, lion's skin.

<sup>1</sup> Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpt. Gr.*, ii. Pl. x; E. A. Gardner, *Handbook*, p. 486. For the various excavations, see especially Conze, Hauser, etc., *Archäol. Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, 1875-80.

<sup>2</sup> Conze, fig. 42 b, No. 1.

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*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ Nike r. placing  
wreath on trophy; in field, Ε and  
ΔΙ

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·85 grammes. Gardner, B. M. C. *Seleucid Kings*, p. 4, No. 36, Pl. i. 11. Cp. E. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, Pl. i. 14.

The coinage of the founder of the Seleucid house presents a variety of remarkable types. His first coins were of the ordinary Alexandrine class, being distinguished by the *anchor*—the birthmark of Seleucus.<sup>1</sup> The transition to what is more definitely his own coinage was given by tetradrachms with the head of Zeus and elephant, and by gold double-staters with the head of Alexander in a lion's skin, and Nike holding wreath and standard—a combination of the silver and gold types of Alexander's own coins. Next appear coins inscribed with the name of Seleucus, which gradually displaces that of Alexander. When Antigonus and Demetrius took the title of βασιλεύς in 306, Seleucus followed suit. After this, although Alexandrine types were not at once discarded, the majority of the types issued were peculiar to Seleucus.

On the gold staters and silver tetradrachms which have the head of Seleucus without his helmet, he is represented with a bull's horn; and the reverse type of those coins is the head of a horse with bull's horns. The elephants which draw the car of Athena on other coins of Seleucus are horned. And on No. 70 the helmet worn by Seleucus himself has

<sup>1</sup> Justin, xv. 4.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

the horn and ear of a bull.<sup>1</sup> These features are generally explained by a passage of Appian,<sup>2</sup> in which we are told that the portrait-statues of Seleucus were horned, because on one occasion, when Alexander was sacrificing, he by sheer strength subdued a bull which had escaped from the altar. The explanation would be acceptable, were it not that, on coins of about the same time, Seleucus' rival, Demetrius Poliorcetes, is also represented with a bull's horn sprouting from his temple. Probably, therefore, Seleucus borrowed the horn, as he borrowed the royal title, from Demetrius. The bull was employed by the Greeks as a symbol of ultra-human force. That is why their artists chose it for the form in which they embodied the river-god, whether they represented the deity as an ordinary bull, or as a bull with a human head, or as a human being with small bull's horns sprouting from his forehead. That, again, is why Dionysus, the lusty god, was represented as *ταυροκέρωσ*, or conceived actually as *ταῦρος*. The bull's horns of Seleucus therefore indicate his superhuman power as a divinised ruler, and have probably nothing to do with the story told by Appian.

The reverse type is interesting in connexion with the somewhat similar type adopted by Agathocles about the same time. The silver tetradrachms of the Sicilian tyrant with Nike nailing a helmet to a trophy-stand (No. 66) were first issued about 310.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Herodot., vii. 76: the helmets of an Asiatic tribe in the host of Xerxes had crests, bull's horns, and ears. For other instances, see B. M. C. *Cyprus*, p. liv, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Syr.*, 57.

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They thus precede the coins of Seleucus with Nike crowning a trophy, since on these Seleucus is called βασιλεύς. Probably here again we have a case of copying; and the adaptation made by the engravers of Seleucus cannot be called an improvement on the Sicilian original. It is impossible to say whether the resemblance between the two types implies any political relation between Syria and Sicily. The coins of Agathocles must have been struck in enormous quantities for his African campaign, and probably circulated far and wide. But of political relations between Agathocles and the Diadochi we hear little until after his victory over Deinocrates and assumption of the royal title in 304. And then his friendship seems to have been especially first with Ptolemy Soter, then with Pyrrhus, and last of all with Demetrius.

### LYSIMACHUS, KING OF THRACE

306-281 B.C.

71. *Obv.* Head of Alexander the Great r., idealised, with ram's horn of Ammon, wearing diadem.

*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ] ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟ[Υ] Athena, wearing crested Corinthian helmet, chiton and peplos, seated l. on seat decorated with palmette downwards, holding in r. Nike who crowns the king's name; her l. elbow rests on her shield, of which the device is a lion's

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

head ; her spear rests on her r. shoulder.  
In the field, cornucopiae and lyre  
(chelys).

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 17·21 grammes. W. Wroth, *Num. Chr.*, 1895, p. 4, No. 5, Pl. v. 4 ; Hill, *Handbook*, Pl. vii. 6.

Lysimachus, like the other Diadochi, assumed the title of king in 306 B.C. His coins with the royal title were issued between this date and 281, when the battle of Corupedium ended his life. The great wealth of this ruler, whose hoarding tendency earned him the nickname of γαζοφύλαξ,<sup>1</sup> has in part descended to us in the very considerable mass of coins struck by him in his own name. None of the other Diadochi issued coins to anything like the same extent. By far the greater quantity are of the types here described, which are used for both gold and silver ;<sup>2</sup> but among the earlier issues with the royal title are some silver coins with Alexandrine types.<sup>3</sup>

The head on our coin of Lysimachus is by nearly all numismatists admitted to be a portrait of Alexander the Great. Even apart from the attribute of the ram's horn, the features on most good and early specimens bear a distinct resemblance to those of Alexander.<sup>4</sup> The figure of Athena on the reverse

<sup>1</sup> Phylarchus ap. Athen., vi. 261 b.

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks usually, and wisely, differentiated the types of gold and silver ; but there are cases, as at Athens, where a divergence from types made popular by wide currency would have hindered the circulation.

<sup>3</sup> Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 31, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless von Sallet (*Berlin Beschreibung*, p. 302) maintains that it is the head of Lysimachus, for the reason that it occurs on coins of Lysimacheia. But this foundation of Lysimachus might very well repeat



## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

was perhaps suggested by the head of Athena on Alexander's gold staters (No. 58). The ingenious *motif* of Nike crowning the king's name is echoed on coins of a later period: thus, at Pergamum, from Attalus I. onwards, the seated Athena crowns the name (ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ) of the founder of the dynasty;<sup>1</sup> and on coins of the Bithynian dynasty Zeus, standing, crowns the name of the reigning king.<sup>2</sup>

The coins of Lysimachus were struck at many mints, and the attributions are as difficult as in the case of Alexandrine coins.<sup>3</sup> As regards the present coin, Mytilene is a possibility, but no more.

Just as was the case with Alexander's coins, so the wide popularity of the money of Lysimachus led to its being imitated for nearly three centuries after his death, not only in Thrace but in Asia Minor. Particularly common are the coins of this class issued at Byzantium, often exceedingly barbarous in style. They are distinguished by the letters BY and a trident. Some are countermarked with the letters CLCÆS,<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* C(aius) L(ucius)

on its coins the type which its founder had placed on his own. The same city reproduces from the coins of Alexander the head of young Heracles wearing the lion's skin. It is quite possible that on some specimens there may be an approximation to the features of Lysimachus (cp. Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen*, p. 17); but as we do not know what he was like, it seems better to adhere to the prevailing view, which is supported by the ram's horn and general likeness to the Alexander type. For a recent comparison between the coin and sculptures, see P. Gardner, *J. H. S.*, xxv. p. 253.

<sup>1</sup> Wroth, B. M. C. *Mysia*, Pl. xxiv. 2 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Wroth, B. M. C. *Bithynia*, etc., Pl. xxxvii. 2 f. Cp. also the coin of Orophernes, No. 86 below.

<sup>3</sup> For a list, see L. Müller, *Die Münzen des thrakischen Königs Lysimachus*. Copenhagen, 1858.

<sup>4</sup> Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 64, 4.

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Cæs(ares), which show that they were circulating in the time of Augustus.<sup>1</sup>

### THE FOUNDATION OF THE PERGAMENE KINGDOM

281 B.C.

72. *Obv.* Head of Seleucus I. of Syria r., wearing plain round fillet without ties.

*Rev.* ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ Athena seated l., her r. resting on her shield before her, her left arm supporting spear; in the field, ivy leaf and bow.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·81 grammes. Wroth, B. M. C. *Mysia*, p. 114, No. 28, Pl. xxiii. 12.

73. *Obv.* Head of Philetaerus r., wearing plain round fillet with ties.

*Rev.* Similar to No. 72, but monogram of ΑΘ on side of Athena's seat.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·96 grammes. Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 115, No. 30, Pl. xxiii. 13.

In the generally accepted classification of the coins of the Pergamene dynasty, which is due to Imhoof-Blumer,<sup>2</sup> the tetradrachm No. 72 is assigned to Philetaerus himself (281-263), No. 73 to Eumenes I. (263-241). The obverse of No. 72 without doubt represents Seleucus Nicator; that is proved by a comparison with Syrian coins (cp. No. 70).

<sup>1</sup> Caius and Lucius were adopted as heirs by Augustus in 17 B.C. and died in 4 and 2 A.D. respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon (Abhandl. der K. Preuss. Akad., 1884)*. A recently suggested modification of the arrangement (A. J. B. Wace, *J. H. S.*, xxv. pp. 99 f.) does not affect the coins with which we are dealing.



Nos. 68—73.



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It is generally supposed that the coin was struck after the death of the founder of the Seleucid dynasty in 281, since he is represented wearing a fillet, in those days still a sign of divinity. The premiss is unsound, since there is evidence that Seleucus was worshipped during his lifetime; but the conclusion is probably correct, since we may doubt whether Philetaerus would have issued coins in his own name before the epoch-making events of 281.

The head on No. 73, which occurs as the ordinary type of the Pergamene tetradrachms down to the reign of Attalus II., also represents a divinised person. The cast of the features, and the appearance throughout the whole series of the name of Philetaerus, make it quite certain that we have here a portrait of the eunuch who founded the dynasty. Philetaerus, the son of Attalus,<sup>1</sup> who had controlled the treasury of Lysimachus in Pergamum, fell away to the side of Seleucus shortly before the battle of Corupedium (spring 281), in which Lysimachus lost his life. The assassination of Seleucus followed in the same year, and Philetaerus was able to set himself up as an independent ruler. But, presumably as a matter of policy, and in order to obviate any objections to his independence on the part of Antiochus I., who now succeeded his father on the Syrian throne, Philetaerus placed the head of Seleucus on his coins, just as he showed especial honour to the body of the murdered

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Smith in *J. H. S.*, xxii. pp. 194 f.; Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.*, No. 748.

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king. For the portrait of Philetaerus himself we have to wait until the reign of his successor, his nephew and adopted son. The coins on which he is represented wearing the plain taenia are rare, and seem to belong to the beginning of the reign of Eumenes I. After this the founder wears either a laurel wreath and diadem entwined, or a plain laurel wreath.

Athena naturally appears on the reverse of the coins as the goddess who was especially honoured at Pergamum, and it is even possible that the monogram which appears on her throne on No. 73 refers to her.

The significance of the symbols of the ivy-leaf and the bow is not quite clear. They (like other of the symbols found on the Pergamene regal tetradrachms) occur as independent types on the bronze coins. Were it not that there is evidence for the origination of the *cistophori* (see No. 82) outside Pergamum, we might see in ivy-leaf and bow a kind of shorthand indication of the cults which furnished the cistophoric types.

### LOCRI IN THE PYRRHIC WAR

280-275 B.C.

74. *Obv.* Head of Zeus l., laureate; below, NE in monogram.

*Rev.* ΛΟΚΡΩΝ The goddess Roma (ΡΩΜΑ) seated r., with shield and sword, is

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

crowned with a wreath by Loyalty ( $\Gamma\Lambda\Sigma\Gamma\Lambda\Sigma$ ), who stands before her.

British Museum. Silver Italic Stater, 7.08 grammes. Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 45, 23.

75. *Obv.* Head of Dodonaean Zeus l., wearing oak-wreath. Below,  $\Theta\text{E}\Sigma$  (partly in monogram).

*Rev.*  $[\text{B}]\text{A}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\Sigma \text{PYPPOY}$  Dione, wearing stephanos, seated l. on throne; in her r. a sceptre; her l. raises her peplos like a veil; in exergue.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16.72 grammes. P. Gardner, B. M. C. *Thessaly*, etc., p. 111, No. 6, Pl. xx. 10; *Types*, Pl. xi. 7; Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 46, 27.

Locri was one of the cities which sided with Rome on the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy. The effect of Pyrrhus' victory at Heracleia was such that the garrison was betrayed to him, and he was able to occupy the city. He made it one of his principal bases; and the strong resemblance in style between the heads of Zeus on the two coins, Nos. 74 and 75 makes it almost certain that he set up a mint there.<sup>1</sup> His son Alexander was in command of the occupying force; but he was called to Sicily when the king's affairs began to go ill, with the result that Locri fell into the hands of the Romans (277 B.C.). When Pyrrhus returned in the spring of 275 B.C. Locri once more changed

<sup>1</sup> Head, *H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 88. The fact that Pyrrhus' tetradrachms have frequently been found in South Italy, and even on the site of Locri itself, is some confirmation of this conjecture; although, since Locri was one of the king's chief strongholds, it is inevitable that some of the coins with which he paid his troops should be found there, wherever they were struck.

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hands. The members of the Roman party were harshly punished, and the king set up his headquarters in the city. To pay his troops he even plundered the temple of Persephone. But he finally left Italy in the autumn of the same year. When Locri returned to Roman hands is uncertain; but, in view of the strength which the Roman party in this city had always possessed, it is unlikely that it hesitated after the death of Pyrrhus (273), if indeed it did not come over even sooner.

No. 75 must have been struck between 280 and 277 or in 275; it can hardly be later than the date of Pyrrhus' final departure. It is difficult to say whether the Locrian coin, No. 74, was struck in the interval between the two occupations by Pyrrhus, or after his departure and before 268, when most of the South Italian mints were closed for silver. Head explains the coin as celebrating the good faith of Rome towards the Locrians; but in that case it is difficult to see why Pistis is represented as crowning Roma. If, on the other hand, Pistis personifies the loyalty to Rome of the Roman party in Locri, there would be much significance in the adoption of this type during either of the brief periods mentioned, when that party was in the ascendant. The crown is given to Rome as a token of honour and amity.

The coin of Pyrrhus has interesting types—the two deities of Dodona. Zeus wears a wreath of leaves from his sacred oak; his consort Dione holds her peplos-veil in the conventional attitude of the bride.



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### ANTIGONUS GONATAS DEFEATS THE EGYPTIAN FLEET

*circa* 253 B.C.

76. *Obv.* Head of Poseidon wearing wreath of some marine plant.

*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ Apollo, nude, seated on prow of war-galley l.; he holds bow in r.; in field, a monogram.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·85 grammes. Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 41, 6; *H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 203.

Although the inscription on this coin does not enable us definitely to say to which Antigonus it ought to be attributed, the choice certainly lies between Antigonus Gonatas (276/5-240/39 B.C.) and his nephew Antigonus Doson (229-221/0 B.C.). The now generally received attribution<sup>1</sup> is to the former, the type, which obviously refers to some naval victory,<sup>2</sup> being connected with the battle off Leucolla in Cos, where, about 253 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> Antigonus defeated the Egyptian fleet. As a thank-offering for the victory he dedicated a trireme to Apollo: τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ἱερὰν τριήρη, ἣ ἐνίκησε τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς περὶ Λεύκολλαν τῆς Κώας, ὅπου δὴ καὶ τῆ Ἀπόλλωνι αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν.<sup>4</sup> This is obviously the vessel represented on the coin; it

<sup>1</sup> See Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Gr.*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes, No. 69.

<sup>3</sup> On the date, see Beloch, *Die Schlacht bei Kos* in Lehmann's *Beiträge zur alt. Gesch.*, i. pp. 289-294.

<sup>4</sup> Athen., v. 209e. Beloch (*loc. cit.*) condemns ἱερὰν τριήρη as corrupt, since a ship of large dimensions is concerned. But one need not look for accurate naval terminology in such a passage.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

was dedicated either on the island, or at Triopium on the mainland.<sup>1</sup>

Of the other attributions of this coin, that proposed by Head<sup>2</sup> assigns it to Antigonus Doseon, with reference to his expedition to Caria in 228 B.C.<sup>3</sup> His chief argument is the comparatively late appearance of the style of the work; but the force of Imhoof-Blumer's arguments on the other side is admitted. A. J. Evans,<sup>4</sup> on the contrary, accepting the attribution to Gonatas, would place it even earlier in his reign. 'Already in 280 we find him aiding Pyrrhus with his ships. He had inherited his naval power from his father Demetrios Poliorketes, and there seems no good reason why he should not have alluded to it on his earliest coinage.' In the face of this divergence of opinion—which shows, among other things, how little help is afforded in this period by style—we are free to choose. Now the type clearly betokens some dedication of a ship to Apollo; and it is rejecting the best gifts of Providence to ignore the passage of Athenaeus, which tallies so exactly with the somewhat unusual type. A mere general reference to naval power would have been sufficiently expressed by a ship without an Apollo.

<sup>1</sup> Benndorf, *Neue arch. Untersuch. auf Samothrake*, pp. 84 f. On the circumstances in general, see Niese, ii. pp. 130, 131.

<sup>2</sup> *H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> Niese, ii. p. 326.

<sup>4</sup> *Horsemen of Tarentum*, p. 150.

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### THE FOUNDATION OF THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE

*circa* 248 B.C.

77. *Obv.* Beardless bust l. wearing helmet tied with diadem, earring, torque, and cloak fastened on shoulder.

*Rev.* ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ Figure, beardless, seated r. on omphalos, wearing helmet as on obverse, scale-armor, short cloak and boots; in outstretched r. a bow.

British Museum. Silver Attic Drachm, 3·80 grammes. Wroth, *B. M. C. Parthia*, p. 1., No. 1., Pl. i. 1.

The attribution and classification of the series of Parthian coins present enormous difficulties; but there can be little doubt that No. 77 represents the earliest coinage. Practically all the Parthian coins bear the name ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ,<sup>1</sup> but only on this class is it unaccompanied by any title. It is doubtful whether any coins were struck by Arsaces himself, who with his brother Tiridates revolted against their Seleucid sovereign in the middle of the third century, and founded the independence of Parthia. These coins were perhaps struck by Tiridates I., who reigned *circa* 248-211 B.C. The person whose head is represented on the obverse, and whose figure as a bowman is the standard type of the Parthian coinage from beginning to end, is most probably Arsaces. His regal status is indicated by a diadem fastened round his helmet: he is represented as an

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Strabo, xv. 702: 'Αρσάκαι γὰρ καλοῦνται πάντες, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὁ μὲν Ὀρώδης ὁ δὲ Φραάτης ὁ δ' ἄλλο τι.



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At first sight the obverses of these two coins may not seem to be in any close relation to each other. But the appearance of an Apollo with whiskers, and with very definitely individualised features, arrests our attention; and we can have no doubt that it is a human being represented in the guise of a divinity. Few who are familiar with the coins of Philip v. and Perseus will doubt that we have to do with some member of that family. The Cretan coin, if we may judge by style and weight, may well belong to the closing years of the third century, so that no objection can be raised on the score of date to the identification here maintained.

Towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy III., who exerted considerable influence on the affairs of Crete, the smaller places in the island were for the most part subject to the two powerful cities of Cnossus and Gortyna.<sup>1</sup> But Lyttus resisted their domination and, soon after the death of Ptolemy in 221-220 B.C., the league broke up. Polyrrhenium, with four other cities, went over to the side of Lyttus. Even in Gortyna there were two parties. With the help, however, of some Aetolian allies, the Cnossians gained the upper hand in Gortyna and captured Lyttus itself, which was reduced to ruins and never recovered from the blow. But the anti-Cnossian party did not despair. An appeal to

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the period, see Polyb., iv. 53-55; Strabo, x. 478; Niese, ii. pp. 428 f.; Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, No. 241. The alliance between Cnossus and Gortyna is illustrated by certain bronze coins issued with the name and reverse type (labyrinth) of Cnossus, but with the obverse type (Europa on bull) of Gortyna (Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. xvi).

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Philip and to the Achaeans brought some seven hundred men (Illyrians, Achaeans, Phocians) to Crete, while the Cnossians induced Rhodes to take their side. The influence, diplomatic and military, of Philip and Aratus secured the complete triumph of their allies.

It was probably to commemorate this successful intervention of Philip on the side of Polyrhenium that the city struck the coin on which the Macedonian king is represented in the guise of Apollo. The local goddess, in allusion to the same event, holds a figure of Nike. The thunderbolt, which appears as a symbol, represents Zeus, whose head is found on some of the earlier coins of the place.

It is significant of the shifting politics of the time that Polyrhenium was one of the cities which twenty years later signalled their adhesion to an anti-Macedonian alliance by striking coins with Athenian types (see No. 80).

### ATHENS AND CRETE IN THE LEAGUE AGAINST PHILIP V. 200 B.C.

80. *Obv.* Head of Athena Parthenos r., wearing triple-crested helmet, adorned with Pegasus and foreparts of horses.

*Rev.* ΚΝΩΣΙΩΝ Owl standing to front on a prostrate amphora; in the field, a square labyrinth. The whole in olive-wreath.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·48 grammes. Wroth, *B. M. C. Crete*, p. 23, No. 4 and p. xviii; Head, *H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 390; Svoronos, *Num. de la Crète anc.*, p. 88, No. 174, Pl. viii. 1.

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This coin, in all respects except the reverse inscription and the Cnossian symbol of the labyrinth, resembles the coinage of Athens at the end of the third and the beginning of the second century B.C. (cp. No. 84). Contemporary with this Cnossian coin are others issued at the cities of Cydonia, Gortyna, Hierapytna, Polyrrhenium and Priansus, which agree in copying the types of Athens in the same way. If this series of coins were large and seemed to extend over a long period, we should infer that the imitation of the Athenian currency was due to commercial reasons, such as inspired the barbarous imitations of the same coinage made by the Himyarites of Arabia. But the coinage is so small that it does not seem to have extended over more than a few years. We are therefore justified in accepting the theory that it commemorates a definite political connexion between Crete and Athens, such as that which was effected by the anti-Macedonian statesman Cephisodorus in 201-200 B.C. Pausanias<sup>1</sup> says that Cephisodorus brought about an alliance between Athens on the one hand and Attalus I. of Pergamum, Ptolemy V. of Egypt, the Aetolians, the Rhodians and the Cretans on the other. Eventually also (from Polybius we know that it was in 198-197 B.C.<sup>2</sup>) he headed an embassy from Athens to Rome.

<sup>1</sup> i. 36. 5 f.

<sup>2</sup> xviii. 10. Niese (ii. p. 590, note 1) assumes that Cephisodorus had previously gone to Rome at the time of the formation of the league, when (in 200) the Athenians sent an embassy saying that King Philip was marching on Attica and threatening its independence (Liv., xxxi. 5).

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The Cretan coins, then, which resemble the Athenian, were doubtless issued by the Cretan cities to pay the army which they raised on that occasion. The Attic weight-standard, which had but recently penetrated to Crete, was convenient for troops which were to serve with the Athenian army.

### FLAMININUS IN GREECE

198-190 B.C.

81. *Obv.* Head of Flamininus r.

*Rev.* T. QVINCTI. Nike standing l., holding wreath and palm-branch.

Berlin Museum. Gold Stater, 8.55 grammes. Friedländer *Z. f. N.*, xii. (1885), p. 2; cp. E. Babelon, *Monn. de la Rép. Rom.*, ii. p. 391.

At some time between the victory of Cynoscephalae (197) and the return of T. Quinctius Flamininus from Greece in 194, or, less probably, during his second sojourn in Greece (192-190), the Roman general struck a small number of gold coins, of which but three specimens have come down to us. He issued them in virtue of his *imperium*, and for military purposes. In weight, as was necessary for circulation in Greece, they conformed to the gold standard which was so familiar to all Greeks, thanks to the staters of Philip and Alexander; and their reverse type recalls, though it does not exactly reproduce, the gold staters of the latter king. But otherwise (with the exception to be noted below) it is a Roman coin, and the use of the



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Latin language is no 'significant compliment.'<sup>1</sup> Friedländer notes that in style it corresponds to the Macedonian regal coins of the time, and was therefore probably struck in Macedon, not farther south. If it had been struck by Greeks in honour of Flamininus, it would probably have borne a complimentary inscription in the Greek language, rather than a Latin inscription of the form which is found on most purely Roman coins.<sup>2</sup>

The head on this coin is the earliest contemporary portrait of a Roman. Macdonald has shown<sup>3</sup> that the exercise of the right of portraiture here, as on earlier coins struck in Greece, is connected with the deification of the person represented. Flamininus was actually deified by the Greeks, and accepted the honour, apparently without demur.

### EUMENES II. AND STRATONICEIA

*circa* 186 B.C.

82. *Obv.* Cista mystica, with half-open lid, serpent issuing from it; the whole in ivy-wreath with berries.

*Rev.* Bow-case, containing bow, between two serpents; above, thunderbolt; on either side a human head, male r., female l.; within coils of serpent, BA EY; on bottom of bow-case, Δ; in field below, ΣTPA

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, ii. p. 247, note (Eng. trans.).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. F. Lenormant in *Rev. Num.*, 1852, pp. 192 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Coin Types*, pp. 153 f.

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British Museum. Silver Cistophorus, 11·86 grammes. Head, B. M. C.  
*Lydia*, p. 284, No. 1, Pl. xliii. 1.

83. *Obv.* Similar to No. 82.

*Rev.* Type similar to No. 82; in field l. ΠΕΡΓ  
in monogram, r. torch.

British Museum. Silver Cistophorus, 12·47 grammes. Wroth, B. M. C.  
*Mysia*, p. 123, No. 90, Pl. xxvi. 1.

The somewhat obscure city of Stratoniceia on the Caïcus was until late years much confused with its better-known namesake in Caria. From its coins we learn that its people originally bore the name of *Indi* . . . (*Ἰνδικοὶ* ?) *Pediatae*. It evidently obtained its name of Stratoniceia from Eumenes II. in honour of his wife Stratonice, daughter of Ariarathes. Eumenes received Stratonice in marriage about 189-188 B.C., and the re-naming of the city must have taken place very soon afterwards. For, both on No. 82 and on another cistophorus with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ, struck at the city of Apollonis (similarly named after the mother of Eumenes II.), we find the letter Δ. A third cistophorus of Eumenes struck at Thyateira bears the letter Β. These letters almost certainly represent dates, so that the two former cistophori were struck in the fourth, and the last in the second, year of some era. The dates cannot be the regnal years of Eumenes; for in his fourth year (194) he was not yet married to Stratonice, and Stratoniceia had not yet received its new name. The era is therefore probably that of the extension of the Pergamene realm in 189

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B.C., and the date of the coins of Apollonis and Stratoniceia is 186 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The coin of Stratoniceia is not a very good specimen of the cistophorus. The details of the bow-case, with one end of the strung bow projecting from it, are better seen on other specimens, such as No. 83, which was struck at Pergamum. According to the most probable theory,<sup>2</sup> the cistophoric coinage was initiated at Ephesus, before that city came into the hands of the Pergamene kings, and was afterwards rapidly adopted as a sort of common (not, properly speaking, federal) currency throughout the Pergamene dominions.<sup>3</sup> While the weights of the cistophorus and its divisions<sup>4</sup> correspond to no denomination in circulation at Pergamum, Ephesus was issuing, during the period of Ptolemaic rule from 258-202, coins which correspond in weight to the cistophoric didrachm and drachm.

The types of the cistophorus and of its divisions, it will be observed, are partly Dionysiac. Thus on the cistophoric tetradrachm we have within an ivy-wreath the Dionysiac *cista mystica* (which gives its name to the coin) with a serpent issuing from it. On the didrachm and drachm the reverse type is a bunch of grapes lying on a vine-leaf. On the other hand, the lion's skin and club on the obverse of the didrachm and drachm point

<sup>1</sup> See Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen der Dyn. von Pergamon*, pp. 30 f.

<sup>2</sup> Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> From the beginning of the second century down to the early days of the Roman Empire the cistophorus was the most important silver coin in Asia Minor.

<sup>4</sup> The tetradrachm weighs 12.73 grammes normal.

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to Heracles. From this division of the types between Dionysus and Heracles it seems to follow that the bow-case and the two serpents on the reverse of the tetradrachm must belong to the latter god. The serpents probably have a mystical significance, so that the types on both sides seem to allude to the mystic worship in which Heracles and Dionysus were associated.<sup>1</sup> It may be that the types were suggested by some great religious corporation or corporations, such as the *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται*, who enjoyed a position of considerable influence, political as well as religious, in Asia Minor under the Attalids.<sup>2</sup>

### ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AT ATHENS

175 B.C.

84. *Obv.* Head of Athena Parthenos r., in triple-crested helmet adorned with Pegasus and fore-parts of horses.

*Rev.* ΑΘΕ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΚΑΡΑΙΧΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΓΕ  
Owl standing on prostrate oil-amphora;  
in the field, an elephant; on the  
amphora Ι; below, ΞΝ The whole  
in olive-wreath.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·17 grammes. Head, B. M. C. *Attica*, p. 36, No. 328, Pl. xi. 1.

Antiochus, the son of Antiochus III. and Laodice, was sent to Rome as a hostage in 189, after the

<sup>1</sup> On the connexion of Heracles with the mystic worship of the Eleusinian deities and of Dionysus, see Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexikon*, i. 2185 f.

<sup>2</sup> F. Lenormant in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. s.v. Cistophorus*.

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battle of Magnesia. On his return homewards in or before 175<sup>1</sup> he spent some time at Athens. Here he heard of the murder of his brother Seleucus IV., which enabled him to succeed to the throne as Antiochus IV. During his stay at Athens he made munificent gifts to the temple of Zeus Olympius—surpassing, as Polybius says, all who had reigned before him in his generosity; and to the theatre he gave a golden aegis bearing a gorgoneion.<sup>2</sup> From the coins on which his name appears it seems that he held some constitutional office. The Athenian tetradrachms of this period bear three names, of which the third seems to belong to the treasurer (*ταμίης*) of the prytany in which the coin was issued. But no attempt to decide what offices are represented by the first and second names has yet been found quite satisfactory—a curious illustration of the gaps in our knowledge of the Athenian constitution. It has been noted that those ‘magistrates’ who can be identified belong to the greatest Athenian families, and that the first two names often belong to brothers or cousins. These facts suggest that the offices represented by the first two names may possibly have been of the nature of *λειτουργίαι*.

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the significance of the types of this coin. On the obverse we have a head representing the Parthenos of Pheidias. On the reverse are the owl of the goddess, standing upon an amphora of the kind in which was stored

<sup>1</sup> Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb., xxvi. 1. 10; Liv., xli. 20; Paus., v. 12. 4.

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the oil made from the olives grown under her protection. The border of the coin, again, is an olive-wreath. The elephant is evidently the symbol of the future Syrian king. Although it does not occur on his own coins struck during his reign, it is one of the badges of the Syrian kings in general;<sup>1</sup> and we can prove that it is associated with him in this particular case. We assume that the symbols which occur in the field of the Athenian tetradrachms of this time are connected with one of the three names of magistrates.<sup>2</sup> It cannot be connected with the third name, which may vary as often as a dozen times in the year, while the symbol remains the same. Now all the coins with the name of Antiochus bear the elephant; but on some of these the second magistrate is Νικου(ένης), on others Καράϊχος. From this it follows that the elephant must be the symbol of Antiochus, unless (which is highly improbable) it represents yet a fourth person.

The letter Z on the oil-amphora marks this coin as having been issued in the sixth month of the year. The letters ζ Ω below the amphora probably indicate the particular *officina* of the mint in which the coin was produced. No better illustration than this coin could be found of the elaborate system of control over officials which prevailed under the Athenian democracy of the second century. Any official fraud or adulteration could, by means of the various names

<sup>1</sup> See Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, pp. xxvii f.

<sup>2</sup> For an analysis of the evidence as to relation of the symbol to the name, see my *Handbook*, pp. 122 f., and Macdonald, *Coin Types*, pp. 54 f.

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and letters on the coins, be traced to the culprit with the minimum of difficulty.

### THE FOUNDATIONS OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES

175-164 B.C.

85. *Obv.* Veiled female head (Demeter?) r.  
*Rev.* ANTIOXEΩN TΩN ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΣΑΡΩΙ  
Horse trotting l.; countermark containing uncertain object (quiver?).

Fig. 7. British Museum. Bronze.  
Wroth, *Num. Chr.*, 1904, p. 305,  
No. 27.



FIG. 7.—No. 85.

History has left no written record of the existence of a city called Antiochia on the Sarus in Cilicia. We know, however, from various sources that the name Antiochia was given by Antiochus IV. to more than one city in the Seleucid dominions, only to fall out of use immediately or soon after the end of his reign. Thus the people of Tarsus for a few years were called 'Αντιοχεῖς οἱ πρὸς τῷ Κύδνῳ, and struck bronze coins in this name. 'Antiochia on the Sarus' is therefore to be looked for in Adana, the only city of importance on that river. The identification is rendered certain by the fact that coins bearing types like those of No. 85 exist with the inscription ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ. Another coin with the same inscription as No. 85 has for types a radiate

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and diademed head of Antiochus IV., and Zeus seated holding Nike.

In these apparently insignificant bronze coins we have illustrations of the policy of Antiochus Epiphanes. We do not know how far he modified the constitution of Adana, as he had modified that of the great Syrian Antiochia, in accordance with the Athenian model which he had learned to admire before he became king.<sup>1</sup> But these and similar coins throw a little light on the way in which he set about his task of unifying the Seleucid Empire. The king's head on coins of this time, struck at many different cities, is radiate, as though to bring his divinity into manifestation. The usual reverse type is Zeus<sup>2</sup>—the special object of the king's worship, possibly even identified with him. In the cults of the king and of Zeus, whether separate or combined, was the religious bond between the various cities of the empire. Citizens who had been known as Ἀδανεῖς, Ταρσεῖς, Μοψεᾶται, Οὐνιάνδιοι, Ἐδεσσαῖοι were now compelled to call themselves Ἀντιοχεῖς οἱ πρὸς τῷ Σάρῳ, Ἀντιοχεῖς οἱ πρὸς τῷ Κύδνῳ, Σελευκεῖς οἱ πρὸς τῷ Πυράμῳ, Ἐπιφανεῖς, Ἀντιοχεῖς οἱ ἐπὶ Καλλιρόῃ. All these names recalled either Antiochus himself or the founder of the dynasty.

The veiled head on the obverse of No. 85 is probably a goddess. An identification with Antiochis,

<sup>1</sup> See Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. p. 151; and for the significance of the coins and their types, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless Antiochus was not always the first to introduce the Zeus cult into all these cities; but at least he seems to have endowed it with special privileges.



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the concubine to whom the king gave the revenues of Tarsus and Mallus, suggests itself. But the same head appears on many coins issued by Adana after the death of Antiochus; and the features of the hateful woman against whom the Cilicians revolted would certainly not have been retained on the coins when once the control of Antiochus was removed. It is most probably Demeter who is represented. The horse has apparently some local significance, which escapes us.

In the British Museum is another bronze coin<sup>1</sup> of Adana with the same veiled head and, on the reverse, the figure of Zeus seated holding Nike. Behind the head of 'Demeter' is an eagle, and this side of the coin is countermarked with a radiate male head. If, as seems possible, this head represents Antiochus IV., then the coin must have been issued before he gave the new name to the city, for it is inscribed ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ; and it follows that two of the types, which as we have seen appear on coins with the new title, were already in use at Adana a little earlier.

### OROPHERNES AND PRIENE

159-156 B.C.

86. *Obv.* Head of Orophernes r. diademed.

*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΟΡΟΦΕΡΝΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ  
Nike standing l. holding palm in l.,

<sup>1</sup> B. M. C. *Lycania, etc.*, p. 15, No. 1.

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with r. placing wreath on the king's name; in field l., owl on round basis, and monogram.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·39 grammes. Newton and Clarke, *Num. Chr.*, 1871, pp. 19 f.; Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 51, 23; Wroth, *B. M. C. Galatia*, etc., p. 34, No. 1, Pl. vi. 5.

The only coins by which Orophernes, the pretender to the Cappadocian throne, is known to us were accidentally found in 1870 in the basis of the statue of Athena in her temple at Priene. They were a foundation-deposit, showing, in accordance with a custom which has lasted from immemorial antiquity to the present time, that to Orophernes the Prienians owed the cultus statue which rested on the basis.<sup>1</sup>

Orophernes was an elder, supposititious brother of Ariarathes v., the legitimate king of Cappadocia and faithful ally of the Romans. Demetrius I. of Syria failed to attach Ariarathes to his own side in his quarrel with Rome, but he was more successful with Orophernes. Supported by Demetrius, Orophernes seized the throne. While he still held it, he deposited with the Prienians a large sum of money, four hundred talents, and this for security was placed in the national bank, the treasury of the temple. Ariarathes, when shortly afterwards he succeeded in expelling his rival (156), demanded the money from the Prienians, on the ground that it was the property of the Cappadocian state, and not of Orophernes. Rather than yield up the

<sup>1</sup> On this statue, of which, unfortunately, only small fragments remain, see Dressel, *Sitzungsber. d. kön. preuss. Akad.*, 1905, No. xxiii.

PLATE XI.



Nos. 80—86.



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treasure to any but the depositor, the Prienians suffered their city to be besieged by Ariarathes and his ally, Attalus II. They succeeded in keeping their trust inviolate, and Orophernes eventually received his deposit back intact.

Orophernes in his youth had been sent to Ionia, in order to get him out of the way, and secure the succession for the legitimate son of Ariarathes IV. and Antiochis. It was doubtless thus that his connexion with Priene began. Later, when he felt insecure on his usurped throne, he probably sought to provide himself with support in Priene, and with that view endowed the city in the way already mentioned. It has indeed been supposed that Orophernes did not dedicate the statue of Athena until after the Prienians had shown their fidelity to him in so remarkable a manner; that, in fact, the presentation was an expression of his gratitude. Except, however, for the four hundred talents—about £100,000—which had been preserved for him, we may doubt whether Orophernes, after his expulsion from Cappadocia, was in a position to spend much money on the Prienians. On the other hand, while still king, he distinguished himself by all kinds of extortions, and by the plundering of the treasury of Zeus. Probably, then, he thought well to invest some of this ill-gotten gain in securing the fidelity of a powerful Ionian city.

The coins, as is clear from their fabric, must have been struck in some city on the western coast of Asia Minor. A similar broad *flan*, with bevelled edge, is found in the large tetradrachms of Smyrna,

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

Magnesia, Lebedus, and Myrina.<sup>1</sup> Priene itself has been suggested, the owl that appears in the field of the coin being regarded as a mint-mark; for an owl on an olive-branch is one of the types found on Prienian bronze coins. It is true that the owl—after all, a natural type wherever there was a cult of Athena—occurs at other Ionian cities, such as Lebedus and Heracleia ad Latmum. But, in view of the history of Orophernes, Priene certainly seems the most probable mint. We may note further that the owl is standing on a round basis. It is probably, therefore, the representation of a particular figure of an owl, dedicated, we may suppose, in some temple of Athena. It is difficult to abstain from the conjecture that Orophernes dedicated a figure of an owl in the temple to which he afterwards gave its cultus-statue, and that when his coins were struck for him at Priene that owl was used at once as a mint-mark, and as an allusion to the king's gift to the Prienian sanctuary.

On the *motif* of the crowning of the king's name, see above, No. 71.

### THE REVOLT OF ANDRISCUS

150-149 B.C.

87. *Obv.* Bust of Artemis Tauropolos r., with bow and quiver at shoulder, in the centre of a Macedonian shield.

*Rev.* ΛΕΓ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ Club; in the field,

<sup>1</sup> Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 49. 15; 50. 18-20

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above, hand holding olive-branch. The whole in oak-wreath.

Berlin Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·87 grammes. Berlin *Beschreibung*, ii. p. 21. 2; Gaebler, *Z. f. N.*, xxiii. 149 c.

88. *Obv.* Similar to preceding.

*Rev.* ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ Club. The whole in oak-wreath.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·70 grammes. Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 54, 11.

89. *Obv.* Youthful male head l. as Perseus, wearing winged helmet decorated at top with griffin's head; over shoulder, harpe. The whole in centre of a Macedonian shield.

*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Club. The whole in oak-wreath.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·76 grammes.

The traditional classification of the three groups of Macedonian tetradrachms corresponding to Nos. 87, 88, and 89 has recently been upset, and the true arrangement conclusively established.<sup>1</sup> After the battle of Pydna, the Romans divided up Macedonia into four regions; but the right of coinage was withheld for ten years, and then only granted to the first and second regions as regards silver, and to the fourth as regards bronze. Of the third region no coins are known. The mints were probably at the capitals of the respective regions, Amphipolis, Thessalonica, and Pelagonia respec-

<sup>1</sup> H. Gaebler, *Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens*, iii. in *Z. f. N.*, xxii. pp. 141 ff.

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tively. The silver tetradrachms read ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ or ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ, and have types representing Zeus, Artemis Tauropolos,<sup>1</sup> and the club of Heracles.

The praetor P. Iuventius Thalna, who appeared in Macedonia in 149 to oppose the pretender Andriscus, issued for military purposes a number of tetradrachms similar to No. 87. On these the hand holding the *θαλλός* of olive is his canting badge. The coins bear the letters LEG as having been issued by Thalna's *legatus pro quaestore*. The mint—which was at Amphipolis—saved itself trouble by using for the reverses of these coins old dies of Philip v. slightly altered. Traces of the original inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ are visible on the Berlin specimen.<sup>2</sup>

When Andriscus had made himself master of Macedon, the mint which had formerly worked for the Romans immediately began to produce coins similar to Nos. 88 and 89. Gaebler has proved, by a minute examination of a number of specimens, that here again the moneyers did not make new reverse dies, but altered the old dies of Thalna. The discovery of traces of the old type on the dies has enabled him to reconstruct the whole numismatic history of this period, and is a good instance of the way in which historical facts of some interest can be ascertained by the diligent examination of minutiae of technique.

<sup>1</sup> For her worship at Amphipolis, see Diod., xviii. 4, 5, and Livy, xliv. 44.

<sup>2</sup> The line-drawing in Gaebler, p. 149 c, shows these traces, which are not discernible in a process illustration.



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The types of the coins concerned have already been in part explained. On the obverse of No. 89, it is evidently Andriscus himself who appears with the attributes of the hero Perseus. On certain of the tetradrachms of Philip v. we find a bearded head in similar head-dress; it has been taken to represent Philip v. himself, although it is in many respects more like his son Perseus.<sup>1</sup> Andriscus thus in his coinage under the name of Philip vi. harks back to the old fashion, representing himself with the attributes of the hero whose cultus his 'grandfather' had affected, and after whom his 'father' had been named.

### ANTIOCHUS VII. AND THE JEWS

139-134 B.C.

90. *Obv.* A chalice. Hebrew inscr. 'Shekel of Israel' and date 'year 4.'

*Rev.* Lily-stalk with three flowers. Hebrew inscr. 'Jerusalem the Holy.'

British Museum. Silver Shekel, 14.25 grammes. Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 52, 31. Cp. Th. Reinach, *Jewish Coins*, pp. 10 f.

Immediately after the murder, by Tryphon, of the young king Antiochus vi., in 143-142 B.C., Simon the Hasmonaean made overtures to the rival king, Demetrius Nicator.<sup>2</sup> The opportunity was favourable for improving the position of the Jewish

<sup>1</sup> See *Num. Chr.*, 1896, pp. 34 f.

<sup>2</sup> For the history of this period, see Niese, iii. pp. 283 f.; Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. pp. 230 f.

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

people. Simon was able to throw a considerable force into the scale, in return for which he obtained not only the remission of arrears of taxes, but also exemption for the future from any sort of taxation or tribute. He himself was granted the title of High Priest. A partial exemption had been obtained by Simon's brother Jonathan two years before. The almost complete removal of the Gentile yoke was commemorated by the adoption of a new 'era of liberty': the year 143-142 B.C. is 'year one of Simon, High Priest, General and Ruler of the Jews.' In the next year Simon was able to occupy the citadel of Jerusalem, which had hitherto been held by the Syrian garrison. In 139-138 B.C. he once more profited by the accession of a new king. Demetrius fell into the hands of the Parthians, and his brother Antiochus VII., anxious to retain the support of the Jews, confirmed all the earlier exemptions, pronounced Jerusalem and the Holy Places free, and granted to Simon the *right of striking his own money for his land*.

The question of the date of the silver shekels (similar to No. 90) and half-shekels, which were struck during a period of five years, is the *crux* of Jewish numismatics. Reinach, who now assigns them to the time of Simon Maccabaeus, was himself the first to support by detailed argument the theory that they belonged to the revolt of 66-70 A.D. That late date has found many other supporters.<sup>1</sup> But the modified form in which Reinach now maintains the attribution to the Hasmonaean

<sup>1</sup> See Kennedy, in Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, iii. p. 430.

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period is easier to accept. It is true that little stress must be laid on the supposed archaic appearance of the coins. Jews reviving their liberty in 66-70 A.D. would be sure to feel the attraction of old traditions, and as likely to strike archaistic coins then as two centuries earlier. In any case the supposed archaism is more probably mere rudeness. Nor again can we safely argue that the coins belong to a standard which was obsolete in 66-70 A.D., and therefore cannot have been issued then. In the first place, the silver coinage of Tyre, struck on the same standard, goes down as late as 57 A.D. In the next, even had the standard been quite obsolete, what more likely than that the revolted Jews should revert to the old standard of the sacred shekel? On the other hand, the resemblance in fabric and module of these coins to the pieces produced at Antioch in the time of Nero and Vespasian is hardly, to my eye, so close as Kennedy insists.

The fact is, that we must not attempt to date these shekels by comparison with others. They are like nothing else in the world. They are as different from any other coins as are the Persian darics and sigli. And why, in a nation which assimilated foreign customs with reluctance, should this surprise us? Presumably, for the purposes of the Temple treasury, which would surely have been profaned by the admission of pieces bearing the graven images of strange gods or human beings, the foreign money in which the Temple-tax was paid was melted down. The officials of the treasury

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would thus have experience of casting; and when it became necessary to strike silver money, we have no reason to suppose that they would consciously adopt the exact methods of the Gentiles. Rather would they endeavour to impart to their coinage 'a quite peculiar, a national character, as well in its exterior aspect as in its types and legends.'<sup>1</sup>

This being so, the attribution of the pieces must be based on other grounds than comparison with the coins of neighbouring peoples in respect of fabric or weight. The only acceptable attribution is one which gives them to a period of independence lasting five years, but (in accordance with the rarity and poor workmanship of the coins of the fifth year) showing towards the end considerable stress of circumstances. Such a period has been found by Reinach. Those who formerly assigned the coins to Simon Maccabaeus usually made the series begin with the first year of Simon's high-priesthood (143-142 B.C.). Among other difficulties raised by this dating is the fact that it makes the coinage come to an end just after Antiochus granted Simon the right of coinage. Reinach has shown that the difficulties disappear if we assume that the coins begin in the year of the rescript of Antiochus granting the right of coinage—surely a natural era to adopt. Then the first year of the coins corresponds to April 139—April 138; the fifth year to April 135—April 134. Simon died in February 135, and was succeeded by John Hyrcanus. Antiochus had already quarrelled with Simon and begun hostilities; there is no

<sup>1</sup> Reinach, *loc. cit.*

## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

reason to suppose that he confirmed John in the high-priesthood. Nevertheless John succeeded in striking a few coins, which bear the date 'year 5,' and are rare as well as poorly made in comparison with their predecessors. Then this curious coinage comes to an end. Incidentally its cessation—if we accept this dating—seems to prove that the war was terminated by the fall of Jerusalem by April 134, and that the city did not hold out until 130-129, as the texts of Josephus and Eusebius give us to understand. Had the siege lasted four years, we should have heard more of it, and probably also some numismatic record would have come down to us.

The types of the shekels and half-shekels used to be described as Aaron's rod that budded and a pot of manna. These identifications are now discarded as fanciful. The 'pot' is clearly a chalice of some kind, and is usually represented with jewels (pearls?) round the rim. Why it, or the triple flower, was placed on the coins we do not know.

The weights of these shekels and half-shekels are normally 14·54 grammes and 7·27 grammes respectively. There can be little doubt that they represent the 'shekel of the sanctuary' or 'sacred shekel' and its half, which were merely the tetradrachm and didrachm of the Phoenician standard in use at Tyre and other Phoenician cities. The Temple-tax for each person was a half-shekel. In the time of Christ there were very few Phoenician didrachms, or half-shekels, in circulation; and thus, as in the case of the miracle of the stater or tetradrachm

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taken out of the mouth of the fish, the tax must often have been paid by two persons in combination.

ALEXANDER ZABINAS

129/8-123/2 B.C.

91. *Obv.* Head of Alexander II. of Syria r. diademed ; fillet-border.

*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ Zeus, wearing himation about lower limbs, seated l. on throne, holding in his r. Nike with wreath, and resting with his l. on sceptre.

British Museum. Gold Stater, 8.66 grammes. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, pp. cxlix f. ; Wroth, *Num. Chr.*, 1897, p. 115, Pl. v. 8.

This unique gold coin probably belongs to the close of the reign of Alexander Zabinas or Zebinas. Deserted by the man who had set him up, Ptolemy Euergetes II., and vigorously attacked by Antiochus Grypus, the usurper was defeated and forced to fly to Antioch (123-122). At a loss for money to pay his troops, he laid hands on the treasure of the temple of Zeus. He seized, in particular, the solid golden statue of Nike which belonged to the shrine, indulging in the somewhat poor jest, *Victoriam commodatam sibi ab Iove esse*.<sup>1</sup> Of the gold coins which were presumably made out of the metal obtained by melting down this statue, but one, No. 91, has come down to us. The type of the enthroned

<sup>1</sup> Just., xxxix. (ii.) 5.

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Zeus holding the figure of Nike does not, it is true, now appear for the first time on Seleucid coins, or even on the coins of Alexander himself; for there exist silver coins of his reign with this type issued from 126-125 to 123-122 B.C. But there is an impudent aptness in the use of the image of the god, whose treasure Alexander had plundered, as the type of the coins which he was thus able to strike.

There is little else in the types which calls for remark. The portrait of Alexander shows a weak and foolish type of face. The fillet-border which surrounds it is first used by Antiochus III. (the Great).<sup>1</sup> It undoubtedly had in the beginning a religious significance, for it is simply one of the woollen fillets which were tied to sacred or devoted objects, or worn by priests; and it is as expressive of the divine character of the king as the title *θεός* would be. But it soon lost its special significance, and was used as a purely ornamental border.

The title *Νικηφόρος* borne by the king is generally assumed to have a direct reference to the fact that Zeus holds a figure of Nike.<sup>2</sup> That there is some allusion of this kind it would be pedantic to deny; but the concrete sense thus given to the verbal part of the compound is foreign to the usage of good writers.

<sup>1</sup> It occurs on coins which have been attributed to 'Antiochus, son of Seleucus III.'; but this prince is a myth, and the coins are probably later. See Macdonald, *J. H. S.*, xxiii. pp. 111 f.

<sup>2</sup> See E. R. Bevan, *J. H. S.*, xx. (1900), pp. 28 f.

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### PROVINCIA MACEDONIA

93-88 B.C.

92. *Obv.* CAE · PR · ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ Head of Alexander the Great r. with horn of Ammon and flowing hair.

*Rev.* AESILLAS Q Club downwards between money-chest (*fiscus*) on l. and *sella quaestoria* on r.; the whole in laurel-wreath.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 15·49 grammes.

93. *Obv.* ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ Head of Alexander r. as on No. 92; behind ☉, in front, traces of S I

*Rev.* SVVRA · LEG · PRO Q Club, *fiscus* and *sella*, all in laurel-wreath as on No. 93.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·07 grammes. Head, *C. A.*, Pl. 65, 10. Cp. Gaebler, *Z. f. N.*, xxiii. p. 171.

Sura is evidently the Q. Bruttius Sura who acted as legate of the praetor C. Sentius Saturninus in Macedonia.<sup>1</sup> To meet the demands on the military chest at this period, the Roman governor issued coins, which were signed by his leg(atus) pro q(uaestore), Sura. One of Sura's coins is from the same obverse die as one of a series signed by the quaestor Aesillas. Now a certain number of the coins issued by Aesillas bear the name of the praetor Caesar (No. 92). This Caesar was L.

Borghesi, *Œuvres*, ii. pp. 236 f.; Gaebler, *loc. cit.*

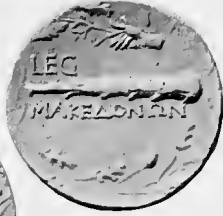




87



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## HISTORICAL GREEK COINS

Iulius, who was consul in 90, and evidently governed Macedonia as praetor immediately before Saturninus.

For about half a century before the praetorship of L. Iulius Caesar there was no issue of coins in Macedonia. The coins with his name are uncommon. On the other hand coins with the name of Aesillas alone are among the commonest that have come down to us. Gaebler accordingly suggests that he must have continued in office for some time under Saturninus, until he was relieved by Sura. To this period would belong his coins without Caesar's name. Some bear monograms or letters showing that they were issued from the mints of Thessalonica and Bottiaea (Pella), while others without any mint-mark belong to Amphipolis. Further, some of the latest of his coins, like that of Sura No. 93, bear the letters S I, probably giving the value of the tetradrachm in sesterces ( $s' = 16$ ).

The head of Alexander the Great with the horn of Ammon is descended from the type of Lysimachus (No. 71). Before this period it does not appear on Macedonian coins, nor, indeed, does any undisguised portrait of the hero-king. But from this time forward the king's head is the commonest of Macedonian types. Under the empire the *Κοινὸν Μακεδόνων* was allowed to issue a large series of bronze coins, of which the obverse type is the head of Alexander, sometimes half-disguised, it is true, as Heracles, but at others wearing merely a diadem or a helmet.

The club on the reverse is the relic of the type

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of the earlier tetradrachms (Nos. 87 f.); and the quaestorial insignia explain themselves. The habit of putting such symbols of office on coins is in keeping with Roman custom; and the combination of the two kinds of type in one well expresses the way in which the Greek element in civilisation was embraced in and absorbed by the Roman.

The doubling of the vowel V to represent length is characteristic of Latin inscriptions from the time of the Gracchi to about 75 B.C. It was introduced by the poet Attius.<sup>1</sup>

### ATHENS IN THE MITHRADATIC WAR

87-86 B.C.

94. *Obv.* Head of Mithradates the Great r. diademed, with flowing hair.

*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ  
Stag feeding l.; in field l., sun in crescent; r. Δ and monogram of ΠΕΡΓ; beneath, another monogram; the whole in ivy-wreath.

British Museum. Gold Stater, 8.48 grammes. Wroth, B. M. C. *Bithynia*, etc., p. 43, No. 1, Pl. viii. 5.

95. *Obv.* Head of Athena Parthenos r. wearing triple-crested helmet (as on No. 84.)

*Rev.* ΑΘΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ  
Owl standing to front on a prostrate amphora (as on No. 84); in the field r.,

<sup>1</sup> J. C. Egbert, *Introd. to the Study of Latin Inscr.*, p. 30.

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sun between crescents. The whole in wreath of olive.

British Museum. Gold Stater, 8·23 grammes. Wroth, *Num. Chr.*, 1897, Pl. iv. 9 ; Hill, *Handbook*, Pl. ix. 7.

The Aristion,<sup>1</sup> whose name is read on No. 95, is the Athenian 'philosopher' and agent of Mithradates. He had little difficulty in persuading the Athenians of the probable success of the king; and, backed by the presence of some two thousand mercenaries, and by a share of the plunder of the treasury of Delos, with which the general Archelaus sent him to Athens in 88 B.C., he inaugurated a tyranny which lasted until March 86. The Athenian silver coins of the year 88-87 bear the names of Aristion and Philon. The types are those of No. 95—the regular types of the Athenian coinage—but in the field is the symbol of Pegasus drinking. That symbol is one of the chief types of the coinage of Mithradates himself. In the next year (87-86) the names are as on No. 95, the symbol being changed to a sun and crescents.<sup>2</sup> This symbol again is only a modification of the sun in a crescent which occurs constantly on the coins of Mithradates (No. 94). Aristion further marked the breach with Rome by issuing a coinage in gold. Mithradates caused gold coins to be issued about the same time at Ephesus,<sup>3</sup> Smyrna,<sup>4</sup> and possibly elsewhere, with local types ;

<sup>1</sup> On the history of this period and its connexion with the coins, see especially Weil in *Athen. Mitth.*, vi. (1881), pp. 315-337.

<sup>2</sup> Note that the coin is further distinguished from the ordinary issues of the Athenian mint by the absence of mint-letters.

<sup>3</sup> Head, *Coinage of Ephesus*, p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Head, *H. N.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 509.

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some of his own gold staters (as No. 94) were struck at Pergamum, for they bear the letters ΠΕΡΓ in monogram. They are also marked with single numerals Α, Β, Γ or Δ, and not with the years of the Bithynian era which he used on his other coins. Probably the numerals represent the years of a new era beginning in 89-88 B.C., when the Romans were expelled from Asia.<sup>1</sup>

The Athenian gold coinage thus falls into a general scheme organised by the Pontic king for subsidising his partisans against Rome. These are the last gold coins struck by the Greeks, if we except the series issued by the kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, to whom the Romans for special reasons granted the privilege.<sup>2</sup>

The coins with the head of Mithradates are the last fine works of art produced by the coin-engraver in Greece. They—especially the silver tetradrachms, on which the work can be better appreciated owing to their larger size—indeed stand almost alone in the first century. Nothing approaching them had been produced since the time of Philip v. But although the technique is good, the treatment is rather showy, so that the eye, although at first attracted, soon tires of the subject.<sup>3</sup>

The ivy-wreath on the reverse of the coins of Mithradates<sup>4</sup> reminds us of the cistophori. Whether

<sup>1</sup> Th. Reinach, *Trois Royaumes*, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> For apparent exceptions, see Hill, *Handbook*, pp. 86 f.

<sup>3</sup> See the excellent criticism in Ruskin's *Aratra Pentelici*, § 120.

<sup>4</sup> See Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 441, and Wroth, B. M. C. *Bithynia*, etc., p. xxv, on these types.

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it was adopted for commercial reasons we cannot say; but in any case it was appropriate to Mithradates, who posed as Dionysus. The feeding or drinking stag, it has been suggested, may, as the symbol of Artemis Agrotera, refer to the king's love of hunting; the Pegasus, as the offspring of the Gorgon Medusa, refers to Perseus, the legendary ancestor of Mithradates.

### THE END OF THE SELEUCID KINGDOM

83 B.C.

96. *Obv.* Bust of Tigranes r.; wearing Armenian tiara, decorated with sun between two eagles. Fillet border.

*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ The Tyche of Antioch seated r. on rock, holding palm-branch; at her feet, half-figure of the river-god Orontes swimming r. In the field, mint-letters. The whole in a wreath.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16.45 grammes. Gardner, B. M. C. *Seleucid Kings*, p. 103, No. 2, Pl. xxvii. 6; cp. Macdonald in *Num. Chr.*, 1902, pp. 193 f.

The slow decay of the Seleucid dynasty had, at the beginning of the first century B.C., brought the affairs of Syria to such a degree of disorder that nothing less than the removal of the diseased member could restore the state to health. The remedy was close at hand, for under the great Tigranes Armenia had risen to be a power. This

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king carved large pieces out of the territories which surrounded his own, chiefly at the expense of Parthia and Cappadocia. In 83 B.C. he was invited, or invited himself, into Syria, and the ruling power collapsed, apparently at his mere approach. Some places remained loyal to their old masters, notably Seleucia. But from 83 B.C. onwards Tigranes was regarded as king of Syria, and he occupied the throne until in 69 he was defeated by Lucullus. Then he retired to reign once more in Armenia proper. He seems to have issued the majority of his coins from Antioch on the Orontes, as is clear from the type represented on the reverse of No. 96. The figure of Tyche is copied<sup>1</sup> from the famous group of Tyche and the Orontes made by Eutyichides of Sicyon, an artist of the Lysippean school. This work was set up at Antioch soon after the foundation of the city, and many copies, varying in details, have been preserved. Of these the best known is the graceful marble statuette in the Vatican. Tyche wears a mural crown—not clearly visible on this specimen—and is seated on Mount Silpius. The river Orontes is represented at her feet in the attitude of swimming.

The choice of this type by Tigranes was obviously dictated by a desire to publish the fact that he was ruling in Antioch. The statuery group was widely known, but, curiously enough, it had occurred to none of the Seleucid dynasty to represent it on their coins. Possibly it would have

<sup>1</sup> For the literature, see Wroth, B. M. C. *Galatia*, etc., p. lxi.



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savoured too much of civic independence. Tigranes was therefore able to break effectively with the tradition of the Seleucid coinage, and at the same time to keep in touch with local feeling, at least as regarded the most important city in his new possessions.

The statue of Eutyichides, or more probably the representation of it on the coins of Tigranes and on later coins of Antioch, was widely copied on the coins of other places, where it represents the local Tyche. Macdonald<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that some of the coins of Tigranes himself with this type were probably struck outside of Antioch, perhaps at Damascus.

### THE CONQUEST OF CRETE

69-63 B.C.

97. *Obv.* [P]ΩΜΑΣ Head of Roma in winged helmet, adorned on one side with elephant's head; in front, KA in monogram.

*Rev.* ΓΟΡΤΥΝ Cultus-figure of the Ephesian Artemis; in the field, above, bee and elephant's head; on l., monogram and prow; the whole in wreath.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 15.09 grammes. Cp. Friedländer, *Z. f. N.*, x. (1883), p. 119.

Q. Caecilius Metellus, who by the subjection of Crete earned the cognomen Creticus, was occupied

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

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first with the conquest of the island, and then for a number of years with its organisation as a Roman province. The well-known quarrel with Pompeius, whose command by the terms of the Gabinian law included the sphere in which Metellus was occupied, delayed the completion of the work. It was not until 63 that Metellus appeared in Rome to claim his triumph.

The tetradrachm No. 97 must have been struck in Gortyna after its occupation by Metellus, but before the constitution of the province. For the piece is evidently an autonomous one, and not issued—like the cistophorus *Κρηταιέων* of somewhat later date—as a provincial coin. On the other hand, the obverse type and legend indicate a close relation to Rome. The connexion of the coin with Metellus is definitely established by the elephant's head which occurs on both sides of the coin. On several Roman coins issued by members of the Caecilia gens we find an elephant-car or an elephant's head, in allusion to the victory won by L. Caecilius Metellus over the Carthaginian elephants at Panormus in 251 B.C.

It has been justifiably assumed that Gortyna yielded of its own free will to the Roman general, on the ground that this coin was issued in his honour. There is no record of any struggle round Gortyna, such as took place before Cydonia, Cnossus, Lyttus, Lappa and Eleutherna fell into the hands of the conqueror.

If the meaning of the obverse type is clear, no explanation has yet been found of the occurrence on

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this coin of the Artemis of Ephesus and her sacred bee. It seems certain only that Gortyna must at the time have been in alliance, complimentary or effective, with Ephesus.

### POMPEIUS ORGANISES SOUTHERN ASIA MINOR

66 B.C.

98. *Obv.* Head of Pompeius r., behind, uncertain object; in front, star and lituus; fillet border.

*Rev.* ΠΟΝΗΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΙϚ Athena standing l., with Nike, spear and shield; in field, initials of magistrates.

British Museum. Bronze. Hill, B. M. C. *Lycaonia, etc.*, p. 152, No. 48, Pl. xxvii. 2.

The city of Soli was probably depopulated by Tigranes when, shortly after 83 B.C., he collected the inhabitants of twelve Greek cities into his new foundation, Tigranocerta. It lay waste until Pompeius refounded it. That this was in 66 B.C. is proved by the era according to which the coins subsequently issued at the city are dated. The new inhabitants at first called themselves Pompeiani; but very soon afterwards the city appears as Pompeiopolis and the coins are inscribed Πομπηιοπολιτων.

No. 98 is dated in the sixteenth year (ἔτους ις') of the city, that is 51-50 B.C. It bears the head of the founder. In front is the curved rod, the lituus,

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quod clarissimum est insigne auguratus.<sup>1</sup> The star was used as a type by the Pompeiani on some of the first coins issued at the newly-founded city. Its especial significance here is obscure. On earlier coins of Soli it also occurs as a symbol, seemingly with reference to one of the cults of the city. Athena was the chief local deity, and her head appears on the coins from the latter part of the fifth century onwards.

### AMYNTAS, KING OF GALATIA

36-25 B.C.

99. *Obv.* Head of Athena r. in crested helmet.

*Rev.* ΚΛΕΥΧ Nike advancing l., carrying a diadem. In the field, a slipped pomegranate.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 15·85 grammes. Hill, B. M. C. *Lycia*, etc., p. 148, No. 39, Pl. xxvii. 5.

100. *Obv.* Similar to No. 99.

*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ Nike advancing l. carrying sceptre bound with regal diadem.

British Museum. Silver Attic Tetradrachm, 16·05 grammes. Wroth, B. M. C. *Galatia*, etc., p. 2, No. 5, Pl. i. 3.

Amyntas, who first appears in history as a secretary of king Deiotarus, adopted a consistent policy of deserting the losing side during the civil wars which followed the murder of Caesar. For

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *De Divinat.*, i. xvii. 30.



94



94



95



96



95



98



98



97



99



100





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abandoning Brutus and Cassius he was rewarded by Marcus Antonius with the crown of Galatia, including Pisidia and parts of Pamphylia and Lycaonia; and by deserting Antonius before Actium he succeeded in retaining his realm until his death in 25 B.C.

The chief city in his dominions was the port of Side, and here he seems to have established a mint. No. 99 is a tetradrachm of Side, struck just before the city came into his hands. The attribution is proved by the pomegranate (*σίδη*), which is the canting badge of the city, and occurs either as type or as symbol on all its coins down to this period. So well was the meaning of the pomegranate known that the Sidetans dispensed with the inscription of their name on the coins long after such inscriptions had become almost universal at other mints. The tetradrachms of the class with which we are concerned were first issued after the fall of Antiochus the Great, when these 'spread' coins came into fashion. That the coins signed by the magistrate ΚΛΕΥΧ (which represents some name like Κλέοχος or Κλεοχάρης) are the latest of the class, is proved by their style, by their comparatively low weight,<sup>1</sup> and by the fact that they have been found with tetradrachms of Amyntas in the same condition and averaging practically the same weight.

Many of the coins issued by Κλευχ. differ from their predecessors in that Nike on the latter carries

<sup>1</sup> Out of a total of 54 tetradrachms in the British Museum and the Hunterian Collection, the average weight of which is 16·37 grammes, there are 12 of Κλευχ., with an average of 15·87 grammes.

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not a taenia or diadem, but a wreath. The significance of this variation is not clear. But Amyntas, besides removing the mint-symbol, and placing his own instead of the local magistrate's name on the coins, made Nike carry his royal sceptre with the diadem tied to it.

The silver coins of Amyntas furnish a curious but by no means solitary illustration of the way in which gaps in our numismatic knowledge may become filled. The Hunterian collection at Glasgow, formed chiefly between 1770 and 1783, contains no silver coins of Amyntas, in spite of its generally representative character. Indeed these coins were quite unknown until the forties of the next century. Now they are by no means uncommon — the British Museum, for instance, possesses seven specimens.



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