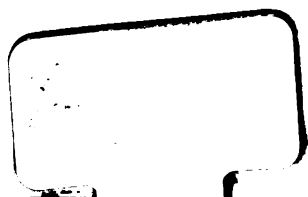


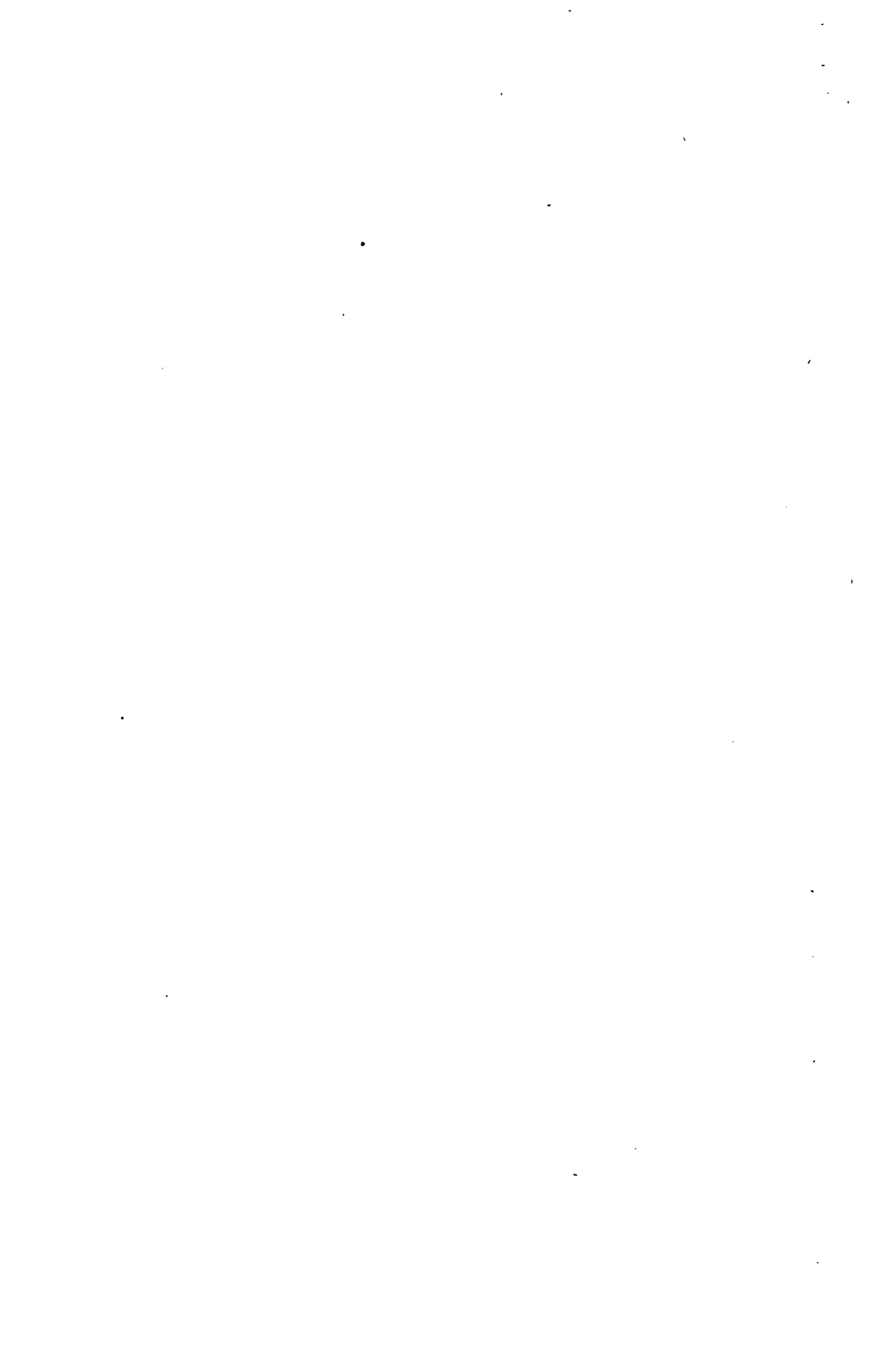
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Prof. P. Gardner
from the writer

ON THE
CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE
OF
THE COINS OF BEOTIA.

ON THE
CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE
OF THE
COINS OF BOEOTIA.

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ON THE
CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE
OF THE
COINS OF BŒOTIA.

INTRODUCTION.

THE basis of a scientific arrangement of the Coins of Bœotia has already been laid by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in his two admirable articles in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* of Vienna, vols. iii. and ix. In endeavouring to follow out in greater detail the study of the Numismatics of the Bœotian Confederacy, especially with the view of classifying the coins of the various epochs in chronological order, I shall not be accused of encroaching upon Dr. Imhoof's field. The object which he had chiefly in view was the correct attribution of the coins to the various Bœotian cities, a subject which numismatists, not possessed of the requisite knowledge either of the palæography or of the peculiarities of the Bœotian dialect, had allowed to fall into the direst confusion.

It is not too much to say that Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's two papers contain all that is necessary for a minute study of Bœotian numismatics.

In attempting to arrange the materials collected by him in a more strict chronological sequence, I do so rather in the hope of eliciting further criticism than with the idea that my classification will prove to be in all points final.

Bœotian coins, owing to the fact that the shield, which

as a rule they bear, offers, from first to last, the slightest possible indication of the progressive changes in the style of art, form, as a class, an extremely difficult series to arrange; and when, as is frequently the case, the coins of Bœotia have on one side a shield and on the other an amphora, the task becomes still more difficult. The amphora, like the shield, affords very slender scope for the display of those methods of work which often enable us to fix the date of a coin with a very near approach to certainty. Nevertheless, there are not wanting among the coins of Bœotia some few well-marked and characteristic reverse types which can only belong to certain definite epochs, and around these, upwards and downwards, we must find place as best we may for the various groups of coins with which we have to deal, keeping well and constantly in view fabric, style, palæography, and the historical possibilities of the period under consideration.

Among these fixed points or notes of time may be mentioned the Herakles types, circ. B.C. 446—426, with the well-defined incuse square; the gold coins of circ. B.C. 395—387; and the silver coins, with the infant Herakles, but without the incuse square, of the same period; a type which was at this time adopted by the cities of Ephesus, Samos, Rhodes, and Cnidus after the battle of Cnidus,¹ and especially the local Separatist currency of various Bœotian towns which obtained their autonomy on the temporary dissolution of the Bœotian League after the Peace of Antalcidas in B.C. 387.

The coins which bear the name of the illustrious Epaminondas are also very valuable, as indications of the date of the whole class to which they belong.

¹ Waddington, *Mélanges*, ii. p. 7 *seqq.*

These, together with some others, are the landmarks around which I have attempted to arrange the coins in the following sixteen historical periods, extending from about B.C. 600 down to the time of the Empire.

EPOCHS OF BÆOTIAN HISTORY AND COINAGE.

Period. Circ. B.C.

I. 600–550. Orchomenus and the Bæotian League.

Coinage of *Orchomenus* modelled upon that of Aegina. The earliest Bæotian federal coinage also consisting of Aeginetic drachms and smaller divisions, issued at *Thebes*, *Haliartus*, and *Tanagra*. Its characteristic type, the shield of Herakles, commonly called the Bæotian shield.

II. 550–480. Apparent advance in commercial activity.

First issue of the didrachm or stater in Bæotia. Coinage distinguished by initial letters of *Acræphium*, *Coroneia*, *Haliartus*, *Mycalessus*, *Pharæ*, *Tanagra*, and *Thebes*, which cities, with *Orchomenus*, were the leading members of the Union before the Persian wars.

III. 480–457. Effect on Bæotia of the Persian wars and humiliation of Thebes.

First introduction of reverse-types. Coinage struck at *Tanagra* in the name of the *Bæotians* 'in genere.' Origin of the wheel as a Tanagræan

Period. Circ. B.C.

coin-type in the worship of Apollo as a Sun-god at Delium (P), and of the amphora as a Theban type in that of Dionysus.

The coinage of *Orchomenus* remains unimportant.

IV. 456-446. **Athenian influence in Bœotia. Establishment of Democratical Constitutions.**

Coinage in this period at *Acraphium*, type, kantharos; *Coroneia*, type, Gorgon-head; *Haliartus*, types, amphora, kantharos; *Tanagra*, type, half-horse; *Thebes*, type, amphora.

V. 446-426. **Renewed ascendancy of Thebes.**

No coinage in Bœotia in this period except that of *Thebes*. Plentiful issue of Theban staters bearing various types, mainly representations of Herakles, of great artistic merit, resembling in style the contemporary works of the school of Pheidias.

VI. 426-395. **Continued hegemony of Thebes.**

The coinage of Bœotia still monopolised by *Thebes*; principal types, head of Herakles, head of Dionysus, amphora, &c.

VII. 395-387. **Anti-Spartan alliance between Thebes, Corinth, Argos, &c. Influx into Greece of Persian gold.**

Gold coined at *Thebes*, *obv.* head of Dionysus; *rev.* infant Herakles.

Silver coinage; types, amphora, infant Herakles, head of Dionysus facing, &c.

— 404
change

Period. Circ. B.C.

Abandonment of all traces of the incuse square.

VIII. 387-374. **Peace of Antalcidas:** Its effect in Bœotia. Dissolution of the Bœotian League, and establishment of oligarchies under Spartan patronage in the various Bœotian cities. Seizure of the Cadmeia by the Spartans, B.C. 382; its recovery, B.C. 379.

Coinage in this period at *Cheroneia*, \mathcal{A} and \mathcal{E} , type, club; *Copæ*, \mathcal{A} , \mathcal{E} , half bull, &c.; *Coroneia*, \mathcal{A} , Gorgon-head, head of Athena; *Haliartus*, \mathcal{A} , Poseidon Onchestius; *Lebadeia*, \mathcal{A} , thunderbolt; *Mycalessus*, \mathcal{A} , thunderbolt, &c.; *Orchomenus*, \mathcal{A} , horse, amphora, wheel, corn wreath, ear of corn, &c., \mathcal{E} , star; *Pharæ*, \mathcal{A} , amphora; *Plataea*, \mathcal{A} , head of Hera, \mathcal{E} , head of Hera, bull, &c.; *Tanagra*, \mathcal{A} , half-horse, half-galley, &c.; *Thebes* for Bœotia 'in genere,' $\frac{1}{2}$ drachms with **BO**—**I**, &c.; *Thespiæ*, \mathcal{A} , crescents, head of Aphrodite with crescents, amphora with crescent; *Uncertain*, archaistic, \mathcal{A} , with amphora and various letters, **A**—**P**, Δ —**I**, Λ — Ω , **H**—**I**, &c.

IX. 379-338. **Thebes the leading State in Greece.**
Age of Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

Institution circ. 378 of a new *federal currency*. The coinage signed by one of the Bœotarchs (?) but not by the eponymous archon of the League.

Period. Circ. B.C.

More probably by the three annual Polemarchs in rotation. Silver staters known with names of about forty magistrates. Small \mathcal{A} and \mathcal{E} , with head of young Herakles, and magistrates' names also struck in this period.

- X. 338-315. **Battle of Chæroneia. A Macedonian garrison in the Cadmeia (B.C. 338). Restoration of Orchomenus, Thespiæ, and Platæa. Destruction of Thebes by Alexander (B.C. 335), and partition of its territory.**

Coinage during this period for *Bæotia* 'in genere' probably at *Orchomenus* and *Thespiæ*. Staters with BO — Ω ; Hemidrachms and obols with BO — I and crescent; \mathcal{E} , with BOIΩTΩN, type, trident; also large \mathcal{E} , of various Bæotian towns (Thebes excepted) with API, ΘΕΞ, ΛΕΒ, ΟΡΧ, ΓΛΑ, ΤΑΝ.

- XI. 315-288. **Restoration of Thebes by Cassander. The Cadmeia his stronghold in Bæotia. Demetrius Poliorcetes expels Cassander's garrison (B.C. 304), but afterwards adopts his policy when he becomes king of Macedon. Finally, in B.C. 288, he presents Thebes with her liberty.**

Coinage in \mathcal{N} , \mathcal{A} , and \mathcal{E} , with types of Alexander the Great, struck at Thebes under Cassander and Demetrius. Also

Period. Circ. B.C.

Æ, with **ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ**, probably of this period.

XII. 288-244. Reconstruction of the Bœotian League.

Repulse of the Gauls (B.C. 278). Alliance with the Achæans. Invasion of Bœotia by the Ætolians (B.C. 245). Failure of the Achæans to defend their allies. Bœotia turns for protection to Macedon.

Coinage of tetradrachms of the Attic standard; *obv.* head of Zeus, *rev.* **ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ**, Poseidon seated; Æ, head of Pallas, *rev.* trophy; head of Herakles, *rev.* winged Pallas; head of Dionysus, *rev.* Apollo seated.

XIII. 244-197. Bœotia subject to Macedon under Antigonos Gonatas, Demetrius II., and Antigonos Doson (B.C. 244-221).

During this period Macedonian coins current in Bœotia.

Accession of Philip V., B.C. 220; his policy of non-interference. Bœotia adheres to the Macedonian alliance. Wars with the Romans.

Coinage B.C. 220-197, Æ, head of Persephone facing, *rev.* Poseidon standing; Æ, similar types restruck on coins of Antigonos Doson.

XIV. 197-146. Flamininus master of Thebes. He allows the Bœotians to retain their freedom. Bœotia sides first with Antiochus and then with Perseus against Rome, but again submits in B.C. 172. The

Period. Circ. a.c.

Bœotian League formally dissolved
by Rome, B.C. 146.

Coinage, *Æ*, head of Zeus, *rev.* Nike; *Æ*,
same types; also *Æ*, *obv.* shield, *rev.*
Nike, trident.

XV. 146-27. Bœotia under the Romans. A nominal
autonomy permitted.

Autonomous copper coinage in this period
at *Lebadeia*, *Orchomenus*, *Thebes*, and
Thespiæ.

XVI. B.C. 27- Bœotia under the Empire.

A.D. 192. Copper coinage of *Thebes*, with magis-
trates' names; of *Tanagra*, Augustus
to Commodus, often without the Em-
peror's head; of *Thespiæ*, only known
under Domitian.

PERIOD I. CIRC. B.C. 600—550.

The coinage of Bœotia begins in the sixth century B.C., probably about the same time as that of Athens. In very early times the Minyan Orchomenus, once the first city in Bœotia, had been a member of the naval confederation of Calauria, on the Saronic gulf. This fact points to the existence of commercial relations between Orchomenus and Aegina, the centre of trade in those waters, which is fully borne out by an examination of the ancient money of Orchomenus, which is as it were modelled upon that of Aegina.

It seems indeed probable that, as at Athens before the time of Solon, so also in Bœotia, the Aeginetan staters were at first the only circulating medium. Hence, perhaps, in these remote times there was no need felt in Bœotia for any local coinage excepting for small denominations such as the obol.

This small money appears to have been provided in the first instance by the city of Orchomenus. The grain of corn, which is the type of the obols of Orchomenus, although referring more or less directly to the unrivalled productiveness of the Orchomenian Plain, may yet have been selected as a coin-type from its close resemblance, as represented on the coinage, to the well-known tortoise on the money of Aegina, which island still contributed in all probability by far the greatest portion of the currency in the Bœotian markets. The incuse square on the reverse

of these earliest Orchomenian obols is also identical with that of the Aeginetan money, and it is curious to observe that as time goes on this reverse undergoes precisely the same developments at Orchomenus as at Aegina.

Shortly after circ. B.C. 600, the Bæotian coinage, properly so called, commences. Even if we had known nothing from other sources of the Bæotian Confederacy, its coinage would be alone sufficient to throw some light upon the subject, for no ancient money is more clearly federal in character.

The distinguishing type of the coinage of this league is the so-called Bæotian buckler, a round or oval shield with a semicircular opening at either side. As, among others, Herakles is commonly represented on vase paintings bearing a shield of this peculiar form, it is probable that the coin-type originated at Thebes in the worship of Herakles, the national divinity of that city.

The most ancient coins bearing on the obverse this shield, are characterized by an incuse square on the reverse, of the ancient Aeginetan pattern, that is to say, divided into eight triangular compartments, often of very rude and irregular form, four of which are in relief, the other four being deeply indented. The obverse or shield side is either without any inscription (in which case it is presumable that the coin is Theban), or else it has within the openings of the shield on either side the letters **Η—Η**, **Τ—Τ**, or **Τ—Α**, the mint-marks of the towns Haliartus and Tanagra.

These three cities, Thebes, Haliartus, and Tanagra, seem to have been the only minting places of the Bæotian Confederacy during the first half of the sixth century, the obols of Orchomenus above mentioned not being considered as federal money.

(i.) THEBES.—The following uninscribed coins being of very frequent occurrence may be ascribed to Thebes.

<i>Drachm.</i> 95—90 grs.	Bœotian shield.	Incuse square, in eight triangular compartments, of which four are deeply indented.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 1.]

$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>Drachm.</i> 45·8 grs.	Same.	Same.
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Obol.</i> 15 grs.	Same.	Same.
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[Brit. Mus.]


<i>Hemi-obol.</i> 7·7 grs.	Half shield.	Same.
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[Brit. Mus.]


<i>Tetartemorion.</i> 2·7 grs.	Bœotian shield.	Same.
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[Brit. Mus.]

(ii.) HALIARTUS, on the southern shore of the Lake Copais, was in early times one of the chief cities of the Bœotian Confederation, and the only one which remained faithful to the Hellenic cause in the struggle with Persia. On the following coins, which are certainly as early as any in Bœotia of the federal type, the mint-mark, consisting of the initial letter of Haliartus, the aspirate, is evidently not intended to attract notice, being half-concealed in the openings on either side of the shield.

<i>Drachm.</i> 95 grs.	Bœotian shield, within the openings in either side of which, 	Incuse square, in eight triangular compartments, of which four are deeply indented.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 2.]

<i>Drachm.</i> 93·5 grs.	Similar, but  .	Similar.
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[Brit. Mus.]

(iii.) TANAGRA.—This city, which stood on the left bank of the Asopus, not far from the borders of Attica, was in importance second only to Thebes, among all the members of the Bœotian League. Its earliest coins are, saving the mint-mark, identical with those of Haliartus, and with the anepigraphic coins of Thebes.

<i>Drachm.</i> 88·5 grs.	Bœotian shield, in either opening — — —.	Incuse square, in eight com- partments, of which four are deeply indented.
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Drachm.</i> 92 grs.	Similar, but one — —.	Similar.
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[Num. Zeit. iii. p. 379.]

<i>Drachm.</i> 93 grs.	Similar, but — — —.	Similar.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 3.]

<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 41·5 grs.	Similar, but — — —.	Similar.
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Obol.</i> 15·5 grs.	Similar, — — —.	Similar.
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[Brit. Mus.]


PERIOD II. CIRC. B.C. 550—480.

During the half century or thereabouts which preceded the Persian invasion, Bœotia, if we may judge from its coinage, must have made a great advance in commercial activity. Now for the first time the stater or didrachm makes its appearance, and the incuse reverse becomes more symmetrical, the alternate incuse triangles assuming the form of a conventional device which has been compared to the sails of a wind-mill.

The mint-mark also now takes up a more conspicuous position, being placed generally in the centre of the reverse instead of being half hidden in the narrow openings of the shield on the obverse.

The obols have the mint letter prominently placed in the centre of an incuse square. Of this type coins are known of the following towns.

(i.) ACRÆPHIUM, a town on the eastern shore of the Lake Copais, which is said by Pausanias (ix. 23, 3) to have belonged from the earliest times to Thebes. It would seem, however, that before the Persian wars, and indeed down to about the middle of the fifth century, it must have enjoyed at any rate certain intervals of autonomy. The coins of Acræphium, B.C. 550—480 are :—

<i>Stater.</i>	Bœotian shield.	 in the centre of mill-sail,
192 grs.		incuse.

[Paris. *Num. Zeit.* ix. Taf. i. 85.]


<i>Obol.</i> 12·5 grs.	Bæotian shield.	 in incuse square.
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[Brit. Mus.]



<i>Hemi-obol.</i> 7·5 grs.	Half - Bæotian shield.	 in incuse square.
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[Brit. Mus.]


(ii.) CORONEIA, which stood on a hill at the entrance of a valley leading upwards to Mt. Helicon, visible at the head of the valley in the south, while towards the north is a broad level plain, and beyond this the Lake Copaiia. The coins of this city of the time before the Persian wars are :—

<i>Drachm.</i> 98 grs.	Bæotian shield.	 in centre of mill-sail, incuse.
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[Bunbury Collection.]

<i>Obol.</i> 15·7 grs.	Bæotian shield.	 in incuse square; others with  .
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[Brit. Mus.]



<i>Hemi-obol.</i> 7·5 grs.	Half - Bæotian shield.	 , similar.
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[Num. Zeit. ix. p. 19.]

<i>Tetartemorion.</i> 4·2 grs.	Bæotian shield.	 , similar.
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[Num Zeit. l.c.]

(iii.) HALIARTUS, in B.C. 480, was utterly destroyed by the Persians on account of her having remained faithful to the Hellenic cause. The following coins are anterior to that event :—

<i>Stater.</i> 190·5 grs.	Bæotian shield.	 in centre of mill-sail, incuse; others with  .
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 4.]

<i>Drachm.</i> 94 grs.	Bæotian shield.	Similar.
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>'Temi-drachm.</i>	Bæotian shield.	Similar.
47·2 grs.		

[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Obol.</i>	Bæotian shield.	H in incuse square.
15 grs.		

[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Tetartemorion.</i>	Bæotian shield.	Similar.
2·7 grs.		

[Num. Zeit. ix. p. 17.]

(iv.) MYCALESSUS, a Bæotian town mentioned in Homer (Il. ii. 498), was situate not far from the Euripus. Of its coinage before the Persian wars the following specimens have come down to us :—

<i>Stater.</i>	Bæotian shield.	M in centre of mill-sail, in-
189 grs.		cuse.

[Paris. Num. Zeit. ix. Taf. i. 60.]

<i>Drachm.</i>	Same.	Same.
98 grs.		

[Berlin. Num. Zeit. l.c. p. 21.]

<i>Hemi-obol.</i>	Half - Bæotian	M in incuse square.
4·5 grs.	shield.	

[Num. Zeit. ix. p. 22; Cat. Margaritis, No. 84.]

(v.) PHARÆ.—As to this town, which was probably situate about four miles north-west of Tanagra, we have very little information. From the number of its coins which are still extant, it would seem to have ranked as one of the most prosperous members of the Confederacy during the flourishing period before the invasion of the armies of Xerxes.

<i>Stater.</i>	Bæotian shield.	O in centre of mill-sail, incuse.
192·1 grs.		

[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 5.]

<i>Stater.</i> 189 grs.	Similar, but Ⓢ in one of the openings of the shield.	Mill-sail, incuse. [<i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. No. 57a]
<i>Stater.</i> 200 grs.	Same die.	Ⓢ in centre of a star or floral pattern, the whole in incuse square. [<i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix. Taf. i. 85.]
<i>Drachm.</i> 95 grs.	Bœotian shield.	Ⓢ in centre of mill-sail, incuse. [<i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. Taf. ix. 11.]
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 47 grs.	Same.	Same. [<i>Munich. Num. Zeit.</i> l.c. p. 372.]
<i>Obol.</i> 16 grs.	Same.	Ⓢ in incuse square. [<i>Paris. Num. Zeit.</i> l.c.]

(vi.) TANAGRA.—The only coins of this city which certainly belong to Period II., being later in style than those described under Period I., are the following:—

<i>Drachm.</i> 90·2 grs.	Bœotian shield, in one opening, Ⓢ.	Incuse square, within which four incuse compartments, symmetrically arranged; in the alternate ones, Ⓢ — Ⓢ. [<i>Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 6.</i>]
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(vii.) THEBES.—Of Thebes the coinage of the concluding years of the sixth and early parts of the fifth centuries is very plentiful.

<i>Stater.</i> 192·7 grs.	Bœotian shield.	⊕ in the centre of an incuse square, irregularly divided into eight compartments, of which four deeply indented (mill-sail pattern). [<i>Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 7.</i>]
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<i>Drachm.</i> 95·5 grs.	Same.	Same. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 46·5 grs.	Same.	Same. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Obol.</i> 16·4 grs.	Same.	⊕ in the centre of an incuse square. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Hemi-obol.</i> 8·3 grs.	Half shield.	Same. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Tetartemoron.</i> 4 grs.	Boeotian shield.	Same.
<i>Stater.</i> 190·2 grs.	Boeotian shield.	⊕ in centre of mill-sail incuse, within the four sunken compartments ⊕—⌘—⌘—⌘. [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 8.]
<i>Stater.</i> 190 grs.	Boeotian shield.	⊕ in the centre of a star or floral pattern, the whole in incuse square. [Num. Zeit. iii. pl. x. 19.]

The obverse of this coin being, according to Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, from the same die as one of those previously described, it must belong to the same period.

From a consideration of the above-described coins, all presumably issued before the Persian wars, it may be inferred that the Boeotian League at this time consisted of at least the seven cities, Acræphium, Coroneia, Haliartus, Mycalessus, Pharæ, Tanagra, and Thebes. The number of confederate cities, however, varied from time to time, and whether or not the towns which possessed the right of coining their own money represent only the leading members of the union, we are unable at present to decide.

On the whole question of the constitution of the Bæotian League the evidence is only too scanty. All that we are able to affirm with confidence is that the more important cities were autonomous members of the League, and that the smaller towns and villages were comprised in the territories of the larger and subject to their jurisdiction. The probability is, therefore, that those cities of which we possess the larger denominations of the silver money of any given period, were during that period the principal members of the Bæotian League.


With regard to the coins of Orchomenus the case is somewhat different. Of all the cities in Bæotia Orchomenus is the only one of which the coinage does not, in early times, bear the shield, the type of all the contemporary federal money of the other allied cities, but its own peculiar and distinct type, the grain of corn, referring, as a religious symbol, to the extraordinary productiveness of the Orchomenian plain, the fertility of which even in our own days is so remarkable that Leake was able to count as many as 900 grains in a single ear of corn. The stem of this plant is very strong and large, and when plastered with mud forms the most common material of the present cottages near the Cephissic marshes. (Leake, *N. Greece*, p. 158.)

The fact that none of the early coins of Orchomenus are of the Federal type would seem to indicate that Orchomenus, still perhaps the richest town in all Bæotia, continued to stand aloof from the confederacy. On the other hand, as there are no large silver coins of Orchomenus of the sixth and fifth centuries, it is probable that this independence of Orchomenus was not complete. The city doubtless retained certain privileges, forms rather than

realities, which may have served the useful purpose of recalling to the minds of the people the memory of their ancient prestige.

The following are some of the principal varieties of the coinage of Orchomenus which appear, on account of their globular fabric, to belong to the sixth and earlier part of the fifth centuries.

The thinner and flatter coins of the next half-century will be described in the next Period.


<i>Obol.</i> 16·5 grs.	Sprouting corn-grain on one side of which  .	Incuse square divided into eight triangular compart- ments as on the earliest coins of Aegina.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 9.]

The reverses of these obols are not always identical, the most frequent variety has three of the triangles in relief and five incuse.

<i>Hemi-obol.</i> 7·8 grs.	Half of sprouting corn-grain.	Incuse, as above.
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Obol.</i> 15·8 grs.	Ξ — R sprouting corn-grain.	Aeginetan incuse of later form thus  .
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Obol.</i> 18 grs.	Я — E, similar.	Similar.
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Obol.</i> 18·5 grs.	No inscr., similar.	Similar, in two of the divi- sions, Ξ — R.
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Obol.</i> 14·5 grs.	Similar.	Similar, but E — R.
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Obol.</i> 18·8 grs.	Similar.	Incuse square, within which, in large characters, E R.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 10.]

PERIOD III. CIRC. B.C. 480—457.

Perhaps no district of Hellas suffered more from the Persian wars, both at the time and afterwards, than Bœotia. With the exception of the Platæans and Thespians, the Bœotians were generally looked upon as traitors to the cause of freedom, and treated accordingly. Not only was Thebes humiliated before all Greece, but her authority in Bœotia itself received a serious check. She was no longer able as formerly to assert her undisputed claim to the hegemony of the League. Unfortunately, we know very little of the internal affairs of Bœotia during the twenty years which elapsed between the battle of Plateæa in 479 and the expedition of the Lacedæmonians into Bœotia in 457, the principal object of which was to restore Thebes to her old position as chief of the Bœotian confederacy, with the view of counterbalancing the growing influence of Athens in Central Greece.

In the absence of other evidence concerning the affairs of Bœotia during the time of the humiliation of Thebes, B.C. 479—457, the coinage comes to our aid, not as affording direct information, but rather as suggesting an inference. This inference is that Tanagra, relying perhaps on the support of Athens, aspired for a time to the leadership of all Bœotia. Of this fact, if it be one, I am not aware that there is any hint whatever in history, but the money of Tanagra struck in the name of the Bœotians

'*in genere*' can hardly be accounted for on any other hypothesis.

The following are the coins to which I allude :—

TANAGRA.

<i>Stater.</i> 190·8 grs.	Bœotian shield in the openings of which \dashv — ∇ .	\mathfrak{B} in a circle in the centre of a mill-sail incuse.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 13.]

The reverse type of this coin being (but for the letter \mathfrak{B} in the middle) identical with those of Period II., we may confidently place it soon after the year B.C. 479, for before the fall of Thebes Tanagra would hardly have ventured to strike coins in the name of all Bœotia.

<i>Stater.</i> 186·7 grs.	Bœotian shield, on the rim of which at one end a small T , in the side open- ings \dashv — \succ .	\mathfrak{B} — \bigcirc — I in three quarters of a wheel of four spokes, the whole in incuse circle.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 14.]

<i>Stater.</i> 189·6 grs.	Bœotian shield, on the rim of which at both ends T .	\mathfrak{B} — \bigcirc in two quarters of a wheel of four spokes, the whole in incuse circle.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 15.]








<i>Obol.</i> 15·5 grs.	Bœotian shield.	\mathfrak{B} in incuse square.
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[Brit. Mus.]

The following coins of Tanagra belong apparently to the same period as those struck in the name of the Bœotians.

<i>Stater.</i> 184 grs.	Bœotian shield, in the openings of which \dashv — ∇ .	Wheel of four spokes in incuse circle.
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Stater.</i> 187·2 grs.	Similar, but  only.	Similar wheel, in two quarters.  .
	[Brit. Mus.	Pl. I. 16.]
<i>Stater.</i> 187·4 grs.	Similar, no letter.	A—T in two quarters of similar wheel.
	[Brit. Mus.	Pl. 1. 17.]
<i>Stater.</i> 186 grs.	Bæotian shield, on rim of which at both ends  .	Wheel of four spokes, no inscription, the whole in incuse circle.
	[Brit. Mus.]	
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 45·5.	Similar shield, in the openings of which  —  .	Wheel of four spokes in incuse circle.
	[Brit. Mus.]	
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 47·8 grs.	Similar, but in one opening  .	Wheel of four spokes, in two quarters of which T—A .
	[Brit. Mus.]	
<i>Obol.</i> 14·5 grs.	Bæotian shield.	Wheel of four spokes (not letter ) in incuse square.
	[Brit. Mus.]	

The wheel as a Tanagræan coin-type may have been borrowed from the wheel on the archaic coins of the neighbouring Eubæan town of Chalcis, which was distant from Tanagra only about 100 stadia (circ. 12 English miles), and which must have been in constant commercial relations with Aulis, the port of Tanagra on the opposite bank of the Euripus. This interchange of coin-types between Tanagra and Chalcis is further exemplified by a remarkable stater of Chalcis of the Euboic standard in the cabinet of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, having on the obverse a Bæotian shield and the letter **Υ**, the initial letter of Chalcis, and on the reverse a wheel in an incuse square.

Another type which may also be borrowed by Tanagra from Eubœa, in this instance perhaps rather

from Eretria than from Chalcis, is the Gorgon-head on the following rare obol :—

<i>Obol.</i>	Gorgon-head.	Fore-part of horse springing r., in incuse square.
10·8 grs.		
[Brit. Mus.]		

As, however, the weight of this piece does not exceed that of the Euboic obols, it may be attributed with equal probability to Eubœa, and to a somewhat later date (circ. B.C. 456—445), in which case the reverse type might be borrowed from the coins of Tanagra of the next period. There can be little doubt that the wheel both on the coins of Chalcis and Tanagra is symbolical of the cultus of Apollo, as a sun-god, and that the Gorgon-head symbolizes moon-worship.

THEBES B.C. 480—457.—The coinage of Thebes which I would assign to the time of her humiliation, compared with that of Tanagra, is far from plentiful. Here also, as at Tanagra, the mill-sail incuse of the period before the Persian wars gives place to an artistic though simple reverse type, in this case the amphora, symbolical of the worship of Dionysus, in the same way as the wheel on the coins of Tanagra indicates that of Apollo.


<i>Stater.</i>	Boeotian shield.	Amphora in incuse square.
182·2 grs.		
[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 18.]		

<i>Drachm.</i>	Same.	Same.
94 grs.		
[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 19.]		

<i>Obol.</i>	Same.	Same.
15·5.		
[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 20.]		

ORCHOMENUS.—The following small coins of Orchomenus clearly belong to the same period as the foregoing.

They are much flatter in fabric than the obols of this town previous to the Persian wars. The incuse reverses are identical in style with the latest obols of Aegina, which ceased to coin silver when it surrendered to the Athenians in 456.

<i>Obol.</i> 12·5 grs.	E—P , sprouting grain of corn.	Aeginetan incuse of the later form 
	[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 11.]	
$\frac{1}{4}$ <i>obol</i> or <i>tritemorion</i> . 10·2 grs.	E—P , three sprouting corn-grains.	Same.
	[Brit. Mus.]	
<i>Tetartemorion</i> . 8·5 grs.	E—R , sprouting corn- grain.	Same.
	[Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 12.]	

PERIOD IV. CIRC. B.C. 456—446.

The disorganization of the ancient Bœotian confederacy which was the result of the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, and of the consequent lowering of the influence of Thebes, lasted about twenty years (circ. B.C. 479—459), during which the Athenian ascendancy in Bœotia was continually on the increase.

At length, however, Sparta awoke to the consciousness that the time was come to take active steps to reinstate Thebes in her old position as the effective ruler of all Bœotia, in order to prevent the various autonomous communities in Central Greece from joining the Athenian alliance. The Lacedæmonians accordingly sent a force into Bœotia, nominally to chastise the Phocians for an aggression upon the territory of the Dorians, but in reality to compel the Bœotian cities to submit to the headship of Thebes. This result they brought about by rebuilding the fortifications of Thebes on a larger scale, and by establishing oligarchical governments in all the Bœotian towns.

At first Sparta was entirely successful, the Athenians, who marched across their borders to meet them, being vanquished at the battle of Tanagra (B.C. 457), but in the following year Athens not only retrieved on the field of Oenophyta, near Tanagra, all she had lost, but became absolute mistress, not merely of Bœotia, but of all Central Greece. The Spartan policy was thus at once reversed,

free democracies being substituted in all the towns for close oligarchies and the leading oligarchs driven into exile.

This state of affairs lasted for a period of about ten years, 456—446, during which it is probable that the principal democratical municipalities were eager to celebrate the recovery of their autonomy by the issue of coins in their own name and bearing their own types.

We can point without hesitation to the following coinages as almost certainly inaugurated during this decade of Bæotian democratical government.

CIRC. B.C. 456—446.

ACRÆPHIUM.

<i>Stater.</i>	Bæotian shield.	A — K. Kantharos, above which laurel leaf, the whole in incuse square.
180·5 grs.		
[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 1.]		

Acræphium possessed a temple and a statue of Dionysus (Paus. ix. 23, 3), to whose cultus the type of the stater refers.



CORONEIA.

<i>Hemi-</i>	Bœotian shield.	K—O Gorgon-head in incuse R—O. square.
<i>drachm.</i>		
44·7 grs.		
[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 2.]		

Epigraphically this coin is of importance as showing that the φ of the coins before 480 has now given place to K. It will be observed that the *Rho* still retains its ancient form. The Gorgon-head on the coins of this town may perhaps refer to the worship of Athena Itonia, whose temple stood within the territory of Coroneia, and was the meeting place of the council of the Bæotian League

(Paus. ix. 34, 1). Compare the story of Iodama, priestess of Athena Itonia (Paus. l.c.), to whom, when one night she entered the sacred temenos, the goddess appeared with the Gorgon-head upon her chiton, and transformed Iodama into stone. The custom of daily kindling fire upon the altar of Iodama was still kept up at the time when Pausanias visited Coroneia.

HALIARTUS.

<i>Stater.</i> 188·4 grs.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Bœotian shield, of which the rim is studded with nails.</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;">1 —  — A. Amphora wreathed with ivy, the whole in incuse square.</div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 3.]</div>
<i>Obol.</i> 16·5 grs.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Bœotian shield.</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;"> A. Kantharos in incuse square.</div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">[Berlin. <i>Prok. Osten.</i>]</div>
<i>Tetartemorion.</i> 8·4 grs.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Bœotian shield.</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;">A. Kantharos in incuse square.</div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">[Berlin.]</div>

Haliartus was, as we have seen, destroyed by the Persians in 480. It must have been rebuilt in the first half of the fifth century: the exact date we do not know. Although the above coinage can hardly have commenced before B.C. 456, there is nothing to show that it ceased in 446; it may therefore in part belong also to the next period.

TANAGRA.

<i>Stater.</i> 188 grs.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Bœotian shield, rim divided into twelve sections.</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;">T — A. Forepart of horse springing l., the whole in incuse square.</div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 4.]</div>
<i>Stater.</i>	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Similar.</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;">A — T Similar type r., N — A.</div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">[<i>Prok. Ost. Ined.</i>, 1854, pl. ii. 59.]</div>
<i>Stater.</i> 189 grs.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">Similar, rim plain.</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;">T — A. Similar horse, bridled.</div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 5.]</div>

<i>Stater.</i> 189·5 grs.	Similar.	T—A. Similar horse, bridled, around his shoulder, wreath.
[Num. Zeit. iii. pl. x. 15.]		

<i>Stater.</i> 189 grs.	Similar.	T A W. Similar.
[Brit. Mus.]		

<i>Hemi- drachm.</i> 47·8 grs.	Similar.	T A W. Similar.
[Brit. Mus.]		

<i>Hemi- drachm.</i> 47 grs.	Similar.	T—A. Similar.
[Brit. Mus.]		

<i>Obol.</i> 15·5 grs.	Similar.	T A. Horse's head r., in in- cuse square.
[Brit. Mus.]		

<i>Hemi- obol.</i> 5·5 grs.	Half Bœotian shield.	T—A. Similar.
[Brit. Mus.]		

At Pheræ in Thessaly the forepart of a horse springing from a rock perhaps represents the fountain Hypereia. It may be then that at Tanagra a similar horse (where, however, the rock does not appear) symbolizes the river Asopus, which is seen from Tanagra, forcing its way through a rocky ravine from the Parasopia into the Tanagraean plain (Leake, N. Gr. ii. 424).

Another and far more probable explanation of the horse may be sought in the worship of Apollo as a sun-god. In this case it would express the same idea as the wheel on the older coinage of Tanagra. The famous temple of Apollo at Delium, which belonged to Tanagra, was doubtless the centre from which this worship spread.

THEBES.

<i>Stater.</i> 187·5 grs.	Bæotian shield.	☞ — ⊕. Amphora in incuse square. [Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 6.]
<i>Stater.</i> 186·6 grs.	Similar.	⊕ — E. Similar. [Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 7.]
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 46·2 grs.	Similar.	⊕. Similar. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Hemi-Obol.</i> 5·5 grs.	Similar.	⊕. Similar. [Brit. Mus.]

PERIOD V. CIRC. B.C. 446—426.

During the years of democratical government which followed the success of the Athenians at Oenophyta, the exiled oligarchs, no inconsiderable body, mustered their forces and had obtained possession of Orchomenus and some neighbouring towns of smaller importance. The Athenians then dispatched a force to expel them, a force, however, too hastily got together, and eager more to show their mettle than to follow the wise counsels of Pericles, who advised delay. The result was a disastrous defeat in the neighbourhood of Coroneia. A counter-revolution throughout Bœotia was the immediate effect of this repulse of the Athenians, the democracies sustained by Athens were overthrown, the exiled oligarchs were reinstated, and Thebes was once more the leading state in Bœotia (B.C. 446).

From the battle of Coroneia to the commencement of the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 431), Thebes was occupied in consolidating her authority throughout Bœotia. Platæa alone of all the Bœotian townships remained faithful to Athens, and though only about nine English miles distant from Thebes, steadily refused to join the League. The treacherous attack of a body of Thebans upon Platæa in 431, the subsequent two years' siege of the brave little town by the united forces of the Peloponnesians (B.C. 429—427), the heroic defence, the hair-breadth escape of half the garrison, the surrender when at the point of starvation, the cold-blooded execution, man by man, of

the sturdy defenders, and the ultimate destruction of the city B.C. 426, need only be mentioned to recall to our minds a thrilling chapter of history. With the fall of Plataea Thebes becomes the undisputed ruler of a united Bœotian Confederacy.

COINAGE OF THEBES B.C. 446—426.

<i>Stater.</i> 185·9 grs.	Bœotian shield.	⊗ m—B	Herakles, naked, advancing r., holding club and bow, the whole in incuse square.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 8.]

<i>Stater.</i> 188·2 grs.	Similar.	⊕EBAIOS	Herakles naked, kneeling r. on one knee and stringing his bow, the whole in incuse square.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 9.]

<i>Stater.</i> 194·5 grs.	Similar.		Similar, but club behind him.
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Stater.</i> 195·2 grs.	Similar.		Similar, but club in front.
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Stater.</i> 195 grs.	Similar.		Same inscr., Herakles kneeling r. on one knee and shooting an arrow from his bow, the whole in incuse square.
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Stater.</i> 187 grs.	Similar.	⊕EBAION	Herakles naked, stooping and stringing bow, in front club, the whole in incuse square.
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[Coll. Bompöis. Num. Zeit. ix. p. 98.]

<i>Stater.</i> 185 grs.	Similar.	⊕EBAION	Herakles naked, striding towards r., carrying off the Delphic tripod and wielding his club, the whole in incuse square.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 10.]

<i>Stater.</i> 189·8 grs.	Similar.	 ΘΕΒΑΙΟΣ . Infant Herakles kneeling l., strangling serpents, the whole in incuse square. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Stater.</i> 192·7 grs.	Similar.	Similar, but infant Herakles kneeling in a more upright attitude, the whole in incuse square. [Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 11.]
<i>Stater.</i> 180 grs.	Similar.	Similar, but above to l. a large ivy-leaf. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Stater.</i>	Similar.	 ΘΕΒΑΙΩ Ν . Herakles wearing short chiton and chlamys, kneeling r. and looking back, both hands raised, his r. holding club, the whole in incuse square. [Paris. Pl. II. 12.]
<i>Stater.</i> 185·6 grs.	Similar.	 ΘΕΒΑ . Female figure seated r. on chair without back, holding a helmet in her hand, the whole in incuse square. [Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 13.]
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 47 grs.	Similar.	 Κ Kantharos, in incuse square. [Brit. Mus. Pl. II. 14.]
<i>Obol.</i> 16·8 grs.	Similar.	Similar. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Obol.</i> 15 grs.	Similar.	 in incuse square. [Brit. Mus.]

Concerning the attribution of the above-described series of coins to the period of about twenty years preceding the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, there can hardly be much doubt. Nevertheless, it must not be assumed that *all* Bæotian coins with the archaic forms **A**, **B**, **D**, **Θ**, **R**, **Σ**, **Υ**, &c., &c., are necessarily anterior to others

with the later forms of those letters. The introduction of the more modern forms was a gradual process, and some of the archaic letters are met with on the coins as late as circ. 370.² **D**, **R**, **Σ**, and **Υ** seem to have continued in occasional use in Boeotia for many years after **Δ**, **Α**, and **⊕** had ceased to be employed. A surer note of time is offered by style of art than by epigraphy. Fabric also, where both fail us, must not be overlooked, and is indeed always of the utmost value. But a wide experience is needed before the eye attains the power of accurate discrimination which, when once acquired, becomes almost an instinct.

The style of the art of the Theban coinage here given to the period B.C. 446—426 resembles in so many respects that of the Metopes of the Parthenon, which are generally believed to be rather earlier than the frieze, and to date from about 450—445, that I have no hesitation in making them almost contemporary works. After Pheidias a remarkable change took place in Greek art, of which there are no indications in the Herakles types above described. The style of the seated female figure on the stater reading **ΘΕΒΑ** is quite consistent with that of the Herakles types, and notwithstanding the **Θ** certainly contemporary with them. With regard to the question as to whom this figure may represent there is much doubt. I would suggest that it may be Harmonia, daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, and wife of the Theban hero Cadmus.

² See Kirchhoff, *Studien*, 3rd edition, p. 193.

PERIOD VI. CIRC. B.C. 426—395.

Once more did the Athenians make an attempt to regain their lost ascendancy in Bœotia, in compliance with the wishes of the repressed democratic parties in the various Bœotian towns, but it was all to no purpose. Near Delium, which they had seized and garrisoned, they sustained a crushing defeat which put an end for ever to all hopes of recovering Bœotia. From this time until the close of the Peloponnesian war and the fall of Athens, Thebes was reckoned among her bitterest enemies.

But after the close of the Peloponnesian war and the humiliation of Athens, B.C. 404, a complete revolution took place in the sentiments and policy of the previous allies of Sparta. Thebes especially, which so long as Athens was a formidable rival was her bitterest foe, now afforded a refuge to the Athenian fugitives, and supplied substantial aid to Thrasybulus in his noble struggle against the Thirty, in gratitude for which he dedicated in the Herakleion at Thebes statues of Athena and Herakles, said to be by Alcamenes (Paus. ix. 11, 4). This timely assistance and sympathy was more than requited by Athens in 396, when she sent an army into Bœotia to help Thebes against the Spartans, who had invaded their territory from both sides at once. The result of this 'Bœotian war,' as it is usually called, was the defeat of the Spartans and the death of their great general Lysander under the walls of Haliartus. Orchomenus, as the rival

of Thebes, took the side of the Spartans in their struggle. From this time forward we find Thebes occupying a much more prominent position in the international policy of the Grecian states than heretofore.

During the whole of the period B.C. 426—395, of which the above is a slight sketch, there is no indication of any Bœotian coinage except that of Thebes. This is entirely in accordance with what we should expect from all that we know of the history of the growth of the dominion of Thebes, whose harsh treatment of the other confederate towns is exemplified by her conduct towards Thespisæ after the battle of Delium (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, iii. 5, 6).

CLASS (a)

<i>Stater.</i> 182·2 grs.	Bœotian shield.	Ⓞ—E. Head of bearded Herakles r., in lion's skin; the whole in incuse square.
	[Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 1.]	
<i>Stater.</i> 188·2 grs.	Similar.	Ⓞ—E. Similar head l.
	[Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 2.]	
<i>Stater.</i> 186 grs.	Similar.	Ⓞ—E. Head of bearded Herakles facing.
	[Num. Zeit. ix., Taf. ii., No. 129.]	
<i>Hemi-obol.</i> 6·5 grs.	Half Bœotian shield	ⓄEBA. Club l., beneath, ivy-leaf.
	[Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 3.]	
<i>Hemi-obol.</i> 7 grs.	Similar, but on it a half-club.	Similar.
	[Num. Zeit. ix., No. 149.]	
<i>Hemi-obol.</i> 6·5 grs.	Similar (no club).	ⓄEBA. Club l., above ivy-leaf.
	[Brit. Mus.]	
<i>Tetartemoron.</i> 8 grs.	Bœotian shield.	Ⓞ—E. Club diagonally in incuse square.
	[Num. Zeit. ix., p. 46., No. 147.]	

<i>Tetartemorion.</i> 8·5 grs.	Similar.	⊙—E. Club.
	[<i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. Pl. X. 21.]	
<i>Tetartemorion.</i> 8·8 grs.	Similar.	Club between ⊙ and ivy-leaf.
	[<i>Brit. Mus.</i>]	

CLASS (β).

<i>Stater.</i> 190·2 grs.	Boeotian shield.	⊙ Head of bearded Dionysos r. in incuse square.
	[<i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. III. 4.]	
<i>Stater.</i> 189·7 grs.	Boeotian shield on which club.	Similar.
	[<i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. III. 5.]	
<i>Stater.</i> 187·7 grs.	Similar.	⊙—E. Similar.
	[<i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. III. 6.]	

Of these staters numerous varieties exist.







<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 39·8 grs.	Boeotian shield.	⊙—EB. Kantharos, above which club, the whole in incuse square.
	[<i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. III. 7.]	
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 38·5 grs.	Similar.	Similar, in field l. battle- axe.
	[<i>Brit. Mus.</i>]	

The hemi-drachms reading ⊙—EB seem to be some years earlier than others of the same type reading ⊙EBH.

CLASS (γ).

<i>Stater.</i>	Boeotian shield on which sometimes a club.	⊙—E. Amphora of which the upper part is ribbed or fluted; to one or both handles an ivy-leaf is sometimes attached: the whole in incuse square. ³
	[<i>Brit. Mus.</i> , 8 specimens.	Pl. III. 8.]

³ The coin engraved by Dumersan, *Cat. Allier de Haute-roche*, Pl. VI. 6. *Obv.* ⊙—⊙. Amphora, an ivy-leaf hanging

<i>Stater.</i> 187·7 grs.	Bœotian shield.	 Obv. Similar amphora; incuse square. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Stater.</i> 184 grs.	Similar.	 Obv. Similar amphora; in field r., bunch of grapes, incuse square. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 40·8 grs.	Similar.	 Obv. BH. Kantharos, above which club; incuse square. [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 9.]
<i>Hemi-obol.</i> 8 grs.	Half Bœotian shield	 Obv. Bunch of grapes. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Tetartemorion.</i> 8 grs.	Bœotian shield.	 Obv. Bunch of grapes. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Tetartemorion.</i> 8 grs.	Similar.	 Obv. Bunch of grapes and two ivy-leaves. [Cat. <i>Margaritis</i> , No. 44.]

With the exception of the staters of class (α) with the head of Herakles, all the coins of this period are of frequent occurrence. The incuse square is still plainly visible upon every well-preserved specimen. During this period a remarkable innovation takes place in the spelling. Instead of the form **ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ** we now find **ΘΕΒΗ[ΟΝ]**, the letter **H** having been adopted to take the place of the diphthong **AI** some time before the introduction of the other letters of the Ionian alphabet. An intermediate method of representing this same diphthong was **AE** for

from one handle. *Aev.* Incuse of the early Corinthian *Swastica* type, is probably false. The obverse appears to be from a die by Bekker; the reverse is certainly not Boeotian in type, and seems to be much too archaic for the obverse. A specimen of this coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris weighs 82.4 grs.

a short time towards the close of the fifth century, but up to the present this form has only been noticed in inscriptions of Tanagra (P. Foucart, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii. p. 136). Possibly the inscription **ΘΕΒΑ** on coins which I would place between those with **ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ** and those with **ΘΕΒΗ** may point to a similar transitional orthography at Thebes.

The staters of this period are of three types: (i.) the head of bearded Herakles in profile or facing, which preserves much of the archaic treatment; (ii.) the head of bearded Dionysus; and (iii.) an amphora. Of the two last mentioned it is hard to say which is the more recent, but probably it is the amphora, as this is the type which, as we shall see, was ultimately adopted to the exclusion of all others.

In these series the drachm is wanting; the half-drachm is distinguished by the kantharos; and the obols, &c., by the club of Herakles or the bunch of grapes.⁴

On all the coins of this period except the smallest the ancient incuse square is still retained, but is less sharply cut than on the more archaic series. In the next period it gradually disappears altogether, at first on the staters and afterwards on the hemi-drachms.⁵

⁴ Dr. Imhoof-Blumer engraves in the *Num. Zeit.* iii., Pl. X. 20, a hemi-obol in the Munich cabinet, wt. 8 grs. *Obv.* **Θ—Ε**, head of Dionysus r., bearded and with wreath, the whole in dotted circle. *Rev.* **ΘΕ** in monogram in dotted square within incuse square.

This remarkable little coin, if it be Theban at all, would belong to this period.

⁵ A very sharply defined incuse square occurs, however, upon a series of coins which I am compelled on other grounds to assign to a later period (B.C. 387—374). See page 57 *sq.*

PERIOD VII. CIRC. B.C. 395—387.

The first offensive movement undertaken by Thebes against the Spartan Empire in Northern Greece was the expedition into Thessaly to expel the Lacedæmonian harmosts and garrisons in those regions. This object was effected by the Theban leader Ismenias.

Thebes now became one of the principal states of a great anti-Spartan alliance, including among its members Athens, Corinth, Argos, and nearly the whole of Central Greece.

The events of the next few years are in brief as follows :—

395. Formation of the anti-Spartan alliance by Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Argos.

394. Spartan victory over the allies near Corinth.

394. Defeat of the Lacedæmonian fleet off Cnidus by Conon.

Agesilaus, recalled from Asia, crosses the Hellespont and invades Bœotia from the north.

Battle of Coroneia. Hard-won victory of Agesilaus.

The result not unfavourable to the Thebans.

Agesilaus withdraws his forces into Peloponnesus.

393—387. Corinthian war and other campaigns.

391. Abortive peace negotiations. Thebes offers to recognise the autonomy of Orchomenus.

387. Conclusion of the Peace of Antalcidas, by which the Bæotian confederacy was for a time dissolved, each city in Bæotia being recognised as autonomous.

PALE GOLD.

<i>Half-drachm.</i> 46·8 grs.	Head of beard- ed Dionysus right, wearing wreath of ivy.	⊙—E. Infant Herakles seated, facing, head towards left, strangling serpents; be- neath club: traces of incuse square. [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 10.]
<i>Obol.</i> 15·8 grs.	Similar.	⊙—E. Similar type, to- wards right; no club. [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 11.]

SILVER.

<i>Stater.</i> 191 grs.	Bæotian shield.	⊙. Amphora of which the upper part is ribbed or fluted; concave field. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Stater.</i> 191·8 grs.	Similar.	^B ⊙—E. Similar; in field l. bow; concave field or cir- cular incuse. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Stater.</i> 191 grs.	Similar.	⊙—E. Similar; in field, bow, club, or bunch of grapes; concave field. [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 12.]
<i>Stater.</i> 185·6 grs.	Similar.	⊙—E. Similar amphora, an ivy-leaf above attached to handle; in field l. cenochoë, concave field. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Stater.</i> 184·2 grs.	Similar.	⊙—E. Similar amphora, the whole in wreath of ivy; concave field. [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 13.]

<i>Stater.</i> 186·8 grs.	Similar.	⓪—E. Infant Herakles seated, facing, head to r., strangling serpents; in field r. on one specimen a bow; concave field. [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 14, 15.]
<i>Stater.</i> 188·2 grs.	Similar.	[⓪—E]. Head of bearded Dionysos facing, wearing ivy wreath; field nearly flat. [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 16.]
<i>Tritemorion.</i> 10·2 grs.	Three half-shields, in the centre ⓪.	Same type as obverse, but on each half-shield a club; concave field. [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 17.]
<i>Hemi-obol.</i> 5·7 grs.	Half - Boeotian shield, on which club.	Ⓜ—E. Amphora, in field l., club; concave field. [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 18.]
<i>Hemi-obol.</i> 5·2 grains.	Similar, without club.	Ⓜ—E. Similar; no club. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Tetartemorion.</i> 8·5 grs.	Boeotianshield.	⓪—E. Kantharos, above, club; concave field. [Brit. Mus. Pl. III. 19.]

The introduction of a gold, or rather electrum, coinage at Thebes during this period is doubtless due to the intimate relations which commenced about this time between the Persians and certain states of Greece, and the consequent influx into Greece of Persian gold. The Rhodian envoy Timocrates visited this year (B.C. 395) Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and other cities with the sum of 50 talents, which he was directed by the Satrap Tithraustes to expend in the promotion of the anti-Spartan alliance.

It is noteworthy that Athens begins to coin gold money about the same time as Thebes. The Theban coins of this period are easily distinguishable from earlier coins of the same types, first by the total disappearance of the incuse square, and next by the much more infantile appearance of the Herakles.

PERIOD VIII. CIRC. B.C. 387—374.

The condition of Bœotia after the signing of the Peace of Antalcidas was greatly changed. Though all the cities of that land, with the exception of Orchomenus and Thespiæ, appear to have been sincerely attached to the time-honoured form of government, of which their elected representatives the Bœotarchs, formed the executive; and although they were on the whole content with the federal head-ship of Thebes, nevertheless there was in each of them a Separatist minority favourable to the independent autonomy of the individual communities, and this party was now won over to the Spartan alliance.

Oligarchies under Spartan patronage, and upheld by the presence in most of the towns of a Spartan harmost and garrison, were now set up throughout Bœotia, while at the same time Plataea was rebuilt as a dependency of Sparta, nominally, like the rest, autonomous.

From the time of the signing of this peace there were no longer any general assemblies of the Bœotians, or any elections of the Bœotarchs. The ancient confederacy was broken up into its constituent parts.

At Thebes itself there was a Spartan faction headed by Leontiades, one of the Polemarchs. This was the man who betrayed the Theban citadel into the hands of the Spartans under Phœbidas in B.C. 382, and drove into exile his fellow Polemarch, Ismenias, together with Pelopidas and many others. Sparta was now supreme, and for three

years her will was law in every Bæotian town. Then came the reaction. The carefully contrived conspiracy of Pelopidas and his friends was completely successful; the Cadmeia was recovered; the Spartans expelled; and the ancient institutions, at least in Thebes, were restored (B.C. 379—8). The other Bæotian towns remained in the hands of the Spartans for some years longer, until the Thebans under Pelopidas gained a victory over the Lacedæmonians, B.C. 376, which enabled them to restore the ancient confederacy, and by the year B.C. 374 Orchomenus was the only Bæotian town not included in the League. This city, the ancient rival of Thebes, remained faithful to Sparta down to the battle of Leuctra, B.C. 371.

This period of disintegration, B.C. 387—374, has left marked traces upon the coinage. At no other epoch in the history of Bæotia can we point to such a variety of coin-types, the issue of so many independent mints. The Bæotian shield on the obverse is, however, still retained as a matter of custom, rather perhaps than as the symbol of any actual union between the different Bæotian cities.

The following are the coins of the non-Theban mints which, perhaps with a few exceptions, can only belong to this period. The coinage of Thebes itself is less easily distinguished, and will be discussed later on.

CHAERONEIA.

<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 36 grs.	Bæotian shield.	X in two lines, between A I. them a club r.
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[*Prok. Ost.*, 1854, Taf. ii. 49.]

<i>Bronze.</i> Size 4, <i>Mion.</i>	Similar.	XAI in two lines, be- ΩNE. tween them club r.
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[*Prok. Ost.*, l. c. No. 50.]

Chaeroneia, which was formerly included in the terri-

tory of Orchomenus, probably obtained autonomy at the Peace of Antalcidas.

COPÆ.

Obol. | Bœotian shield. | **ΚΩΠΑΙΩΝ**. Forepart of bull,
10·8 grs. | rushing r.
[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 1.]

Bronze. | Bœotian shield. | **Κ—Ω**. Bull's head, facing.
Size 1½.
[*Prok. Ost.*, 1854, Pl. II. 51.]

The town of Copæ stood on the edge of the Lake Copais, not far from the Katabothra, into which the Cephissus flows on emerging from the lake. The rushing bull may symbolise that river.

CORONEIA.

Obol. | Bœotian shield. | **Κ—Ο**. Gorgon-head in circular
14 grs. | incuse.
[Brit. Mus.]

Obol. | Similar. | No inscription; similar.
10·2 grs. |
[Brit. Mus.]

Obol. | Similar. | **Ο—Α**. Head of Athena Itonia
18·5 grs. | facing, wearing helmet with
three crests.
[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 2.]

Obol. | Similar. | **Ο—Κ (?)**. Head of Athena Itonia
16 grs. | helmeted, r., in circular incuse.
[Brit. Mus.]

These are the latest-known coins of Coroneia. It is not probable that this city continued to strike money after B.C. 374, although it remained for about ten years after that date a member of the confederacy, when it appears to have been destroyed by the Thebans and its territory appro-

priated, about the same time that Orchomenus was similarly treated, circ. B.C. 364.

HALIARTUS.

<i>Stater.</i> 182 grs.	Bæotian shield, on which tri- dent.	ARIARTIOΞ . Naked Poseidon advancing right, striking with trident.
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[Imhoof Coll., *Num. Zeit.* iii. Taf. ix. Fig. 8. Pl. IV. 3.]

This remarkable stater is attributed by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer to the same period as the early Theban staters reading **ΘΕΒΑΙΟΞ**. I venture to give it to a later time, first, because it has a symbol on the shield, which I believe never occurs on any of the Theban coins of that early date; next, because there are no traces of an incuse square on the reverse, while on the Theban coins B.C. 446—426 the incuse square is always clearly defined; and in the third place, because the figure of Poseidon is far less archaic than any of the figures on the Theban coins in question. The similarity in the form of the inscription does not, in my judgment, outweigh the other considerations, for it is well known that many archaic forms of letters remained in use in Bæotia even down to the time of Epaminondas.⁶ The type of this coin refers to the celebrated temple and grove of Poseidon at Onchestus in the territory of Haliartus, which was the meeting-place of the Amphictyonic Council of the Bæotians (Strab. ix. 2, 33). The statue of Poseidon Onchestus was still standing there in the time of Pausanias (ix. 26, 5).

LEBADEIA.

<i>Di-obol.</i> 29·8 grs.	Bæotian shield.	Λ—E In two lines, between B—A. them, a thunderbolt.
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[*Arch. Zeit.*, 1848, Pl. XVIII. 6.]

⁶ See Kirchhoff, *Studien*, third edition, p. 133.

This is the only known silver coin of Lebadeia. Cavendon (*Arch. Zeit.* 1851, p. 384) takes the thunderbolt to be a symbol of the worship of Ζεύς Ῥέϊος, whose statue stood in the grove of Trophonius in the open air (Paus. ix. 39, 3).

MYCALESSUS.

Obol. 18 grs.	Bæotian shield.	M—Υ. Thunderbolt.
	[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 4.]	
Obol. 12·5 grs.	Similar.	Υ—M. Similar.
	[Brit. Mus.]	
Hemi-obol. 7 grs.	Half Bæotian shield.	M—Υ. Thunderbolt.
	[Imhoof, <i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix. No. 68.]	
Tetartemorion. 2·7 grs.	Bæotian shield.	M—Υ. Thunderbolt.
	[<i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. Taf. ix. No. 4.]	
Tetartemorion. 4 grs.	Similar.	Bunch of grapes between ivy- leaf, and Σ [M].
	[<i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. Taf. x. 18.]	
$\frac{1}{2}$ Obol. 2·5 grs.	Similar.	M over a kantharos, in in- cuse square.
	[<i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix. No. 64.]	

Mycalessus was utterly destroyed by some Thracian mercenaries in B.C. 413. I do not know whether there is any evidence as to its having been restored other than the coins above described, which are too recent in style to be attributed to the time before the destruction. Although this town does not seem to have ever attained to any impor-

tance, it probably enjoyed a few years of autonomy between B.C. 387 and 374.

ORCHOMENUS.

‡ <i>Obol</i> or <i>Tritemorion</i> .	E—P. Three sprouting grains of corn. [Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 10.]	Free horse.
‡ <i>Obol</i> .	Similar, beneath, ER . [Num. Zeit. iii. Taf. ix. 8.]	Wheel of four spokes.
‡ <i>Obol</i> .	Similar. [Num. Zeit. iii. Taf. ix. 9.]	Wreath composed of two ears of corn.
‡ <i>Obol</i> .	Half - sprouting corn- grain in field, some- times ivy-leaf. [Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 11.]	E—R. Ear of corn.
‡ <i>Obol</i> or <i>Tetartemorion</i> .	E—R. Sprouting grain of corn. [Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 12.]	E—R. Ear of corn.

Many slight varieties of the above coins are known with the letters **Ξ**, **ΞΞ**, **ER**, **EP**, and in one instance **OP**, on one or both sides. These small coins of Orchomenus probably extend over the whole period between B.C. 395, when Orchomenus revolted from the League and joined the Spartans, and 364, the year of its destruction.

The following larger coins, having on the obverse the Bœotian shield, belong to the latter part of the same period, the stater with the amphora being closely copied from the new Federal coinage first issued at Thebes about B.C. 379—8 (see below, p. 61. Pl. V. 1—5).

<i>Stater</i> . 188·2 grs.	Bœotian shield.	EPX. Free horse galloping r., above, ΥΔΟΡΟ and ear of corn. [Brit. Mus.; Millingen, <i>Anc. Coins</i> , Pl. IV. 6. Pl. IV. 5.]
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<i>Stater.</i>	Similar.	Similar, without EPX . [<i>Mion. Suppl.</i> iii. 520, 97.]
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 88·3 grs.	Similar.	EPX within a wreath composed of two ears of corn. [<i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. IV. 9.]
<i>Stater.</i> 186 grs.	Boeotian shield.	EP—XO . Amphora, of which the upper half is fluted, in field r. ear of corn. [<i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. IV. 6.]
<i>Stater.</i> 167 grs.	Similar.	O—X Similar amphora ; E—P . above, EVD . [<i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix. Taf. i. 88.]
<i>Stater.</i> 189·5 grs.	Similar, on shield ear of corn.	EP—XO . Similar amphora ; above, EY . [<i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. IV. 8.]
<i>Stater.</i>	Similar, shield plain.	EP—X . Similar ; above, EYDO , in field l. ear of corn. [<i>Cat. Allier de Hauteroche</i> , Pl. VI. 2.]
<i>Stater.</i> 188·2 grs.	Similar.	EP—[X ?] . Similar ; above, EY▷O , in field r. ear of corn. ⁷ [<i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. IV. 7.]
<i>Stater.</i> 187 grs.	Similar.	E—P . Similar amphora ; above, EYΔO . [<i>Prok. Ost. Ined.</i> , 1859, p. 14.]
<i>Stater.</i> 168 grs.	Similar.	E—P Similar amphora ; O—X . above, EYΔO . [<i>Prok. Ost. Ined.</i> , 1859, p. 15.]

The above-described coins have the appearance of having been issued by the Separatist party in power at Orchomenus as a sort of protest against the arrogance of the Federal party at Thebes, who were endeavouring to centralise the government of all Boeotia in Thebes alone.

The magistrate whose name appears on these Orchomenian

⁷ Traces of the ear of corn are visible on the original coin, but not on the Plate.

menian coins, variously spelt **ΥΔΟΡΟ**, **EVD**, and **EΥΔΟ**, may be supposed to have held in that city the same post (perhaps that of a Polemarch) as the magistrate at Thebes, who is responsible for the contemporary Federal money.

The following bronze coin may also belong to this period :—

Æ. , size 8. Average wt. 40 grs.	Bœotian shield on which ear of corn.	E—P—X—O between the eight rays of a star.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 13.]

PHARÆ.

<i>Obol.</i> 12 grs.	Bœotian shield.	Φ—A. Amphora.
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[Brit. Mus.]

<i>Obol.</i> 12·5 grs.	Similar.	Φ—A. Amphora, to left of which, ear of corn.
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[Brit. Mus.]

7. *Inscrip* 7, *xvii*, 42

Between the Persian wars and the Peace of Antalcidas, a period of nearly a hundred years, Pharæ struck no coins. At the Peace of Antalcidas its autonomy, like that of the other Bœotian cities, was restored.

PLATÆA.

<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 88·7 grs.	Bœotian shield.	ΠΛΑ. Head of Hera r., wearing stephanos.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 14.⁸]

<i>Di-obol.</i> 28·5 grs.	Similar.	Similar.
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[*Rev. Num.*, 1860, p. 270.]

<i>Obol.</i> 9·7 grs.	Similar.	No inscription. Similar.
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[*Rev. Num.* l. c.]

<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 87·2 grs.	Similar.	ΠΛΑ. Head of Hera facing, wearing stephanos.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 15.⁹]

⁸ Nos. 14 and 15 are by an oversight marked **Æ** on the Plate.

There are no coins of Platæa which can be attributed either to the time before the Persian wars or even to the remaining portion of the fifth century. After its destruction by the Peloponnesians in 426 no coinage is possible until the Peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, when it was restored by the Lacedæmonians, to be again destroyed by the Thebans in B.C. 372. This is the period to which the above-described silver coins appear to belong. Some of the copper coins may belong to this period, others are apparently subsequent to the restoration of the town for the third time by Philip of Macedon after the battle of Chæroneia.

The head of Hera on these coins may be that of the statue by Praxiteles in the Heræum (Paus. ix. 2, 7).

BRONZE B.C. 387—374 ?

Æ. 8. | Bœotian shield. | Γ in laurel-wreath.
[*Prok. Ost. Ined.*, 1854, Taf. ii. 56.]

Æ. Size $1\frac{1}{2}$. | Head of Hera r., | $\Gamma\Lambda\Lambda$. Bull walking r.
27 and 18 grs. | wearing stephane. |
[*Brit. Mus.*]

Æ. 2. | Similar. | Similar type l.
15·4 grs. |
[*Num. Zeit.* iii. Pl. IX. No. 12.]

Of the following two coins, the first seems to belong to a later period than the foregoing; but as it stands alone I have not thought it necessary to remove it from the other pieces. The second coin is very probably not Platæan at all.

Æ. $8\frac{1}{2}$. | Head of Apollo, | $\Gamma\Lambda\Lambda$
Dionysus, or Zeus | $\Gamma\Lambda\Lambda$ in circle of dots.
Eleutherios (?) l.,
with flowing hair. | $\Gamma\Lambda\Lambda$

[*Prok. Ost. Ined.*, 1854, Taf. ii. 58.]

Æ. 4.	Head of Pallas, helmeted r., ΠΑΤ-ΕΙ////.	////ΛΑΤΙΟ////. Owl r., in front of olive branch.
[Rev. Num., 1848, Pl. X. 5.]		

TANAGRA.

Stater. 182·7 grs.	Bœotian shield.	T—A. Forepart of horse springing r., his neck bound with laurel-wreath, the whole in concave field.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 16.]

Obol. 10·8 grs.	Similar.	Similar.
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[Brit. Mus.]

Stater. 180 grs.	Similar.	TA. Similar, but beneath horse bunch of grapes.
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[Num. Zeit. iii. 881.]

Obol. 15·4 grs.	Bœotian shield.	TA. Forepart of horse r., in concave field.
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[Brit. Mus.]

Of these obols there are many varieties reading T—A, TA—NA, T—A_W, &c., the horse on the reverse being sometimes to the left. A specimen described by Mionnet, ii. p. 107, has the letter Φ in the field.

Hemi-obol. 6·7 grs.	Half Bœotian shield.	T—A. Horse's head r., in concave field.
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[Brit. Mus.]

Tetartemorion. 4 grs.	Bœotian shield.	Similar, r. or l.
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[Num. Zeit. ix. No. 95.]

Tetartemorion. 2½ grs.	Similar.	T—A. Forepart of horse l., in concave field.
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[Num. Zeit. ix. No. 100.]

On all the above coins the square incuse is replaced by

a circular one, which little by little disappears altogether. The coinage of small silver coins at Tanagra during this period appears to have been very plentiful; among the most recent specimens are the following.

Obol. 18·7 grs.	Bœotian shield.	Forepart of bridled horse, beneath ivy-spray.
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[Brit. Mus.]

Obol. 14 grs.	Similar.	T—A. Similar; beneath, ivy- leaf.
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[Brit. Mus.]

Obol. 12·7 grs.	Similar.	T—A. Similar; beneath, grapes.
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[Brit. Mus.]

Obol. 14 grs.	Similar.	T—A. Similar; beneath, pellet.
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[Num. Zeit. iii. No. 75.]

Obol. 14·5 grs.	Similar.	T—A. Similar; in field, Ξ.
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[Num. Zeit. iii. No. 76.]

Obol. 18 grs.	Similar.	AT. Stern of galley, in concave field.
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[Num. Zeit. ix. No. 101.]

Obol. 18·7 grs.	Similar.	TA. Stern, r. or l.
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[Brit. Mus.]

Hemi-obol. 6 grs.	Half Bœotian shield.	TA. Stern l.
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[Brit. Mus.]

Tanagra was not, like many of the Bœotian towns, cut off from the sea, for its harbour of Aulis was, according to Strabo (ix. 403), capable of containing fifty galleys. Hence, perhaps, the above coin type.

THEBES.—It now remains to be considered what was the coinage of Thebes herself during this period of Spartan supremacy in Bœotia, B.C. 387—379. The provisions of the Peace of Antalcidas investing with autonomy the various members of the Bœotian confederacy were a blow to the Theban influence throughout the length and breadth of the land such as had not been felt since the Persian wars. The effect which this loss of supremacy had upon the coinage was probably a very considerable diminution in the quantity of money issued from the Theban mint, but it does not seem certain that any change was made in the types.

There is, however, a class of hemi-drachms and smaller coins, reading **ΒΟΙΩ** and **ΒΟΙ** (Pl. IV. 17), distinctly later in style than those of the same type described above (p. 36 *sq.*), reading **ΘΕΒ** and **ΘΕΒΗ** (Pl. III. 7, 9), while they are earlier than another series of similar coins *without the incuse square* which I have attributed to a subsequent period (see p. 78 and Pl. V. 12). These coins, struck in the name of Bœotia '*in genere*,' fall naturally therefore into this intermediate period when, it will be remembered, Thebes put in a claim to sign the peace on behalf of the whole of Bœotia.

Although this claim was not admitted by Sparta, it does not seem improbable that Thebes may have issued coins in assertion of some such claim about this time.

The following are the coins in question :—

<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 38 grs.	Bœotian shield	ΒΟ—ΙΩ. Kantharos, above which, thunderbolt.
	[Brit. Mus.]	
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 32 grs.	Similar.	Similar; above, club.
	[Brit. Mus.]	

<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 41·8 grs.	Similar.	B—OI. Similar. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 89·7 grs.	Similar.	B—O. Above kantharos a club; in field r., ivy-leaf. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 40·5 grs.	Similar.	B—OI. Similar. [Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 17.]
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 41 grs.	Similar.	BO—I. Similar. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 87·7 grs.	Similar.	BO—I. Similar, but in field r., grapes. [Brit. Mus.]

The above coins all have traces more or less distinct of the incuse square on the reverse.

<i>Tetartemorion.</i> 8·1 grs.	Boeotian shield	B—O. Bunch of grapes in concave field. [Brit. Mus.]
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THESPLÆ.

<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 48 grs.	Boeotian shield	No inscr. Amphora; in field r., crescent, the whole in incuse square. [Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 21.]
<i>Obol.</i> 15·2 grs.	Boeotian shield	⊙—E—Σ—Γ! around two crescents back to back, the whole in concave field. [Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 18.]
<i>Obol.</i> 14·4 grs.	Similar.	⊙EΣ. Crescent, horns upwards. [Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 19.]
<i>Hemi-obol.</i> 5·7 grs.	Half Boeotian shield.	⊙EΣ. Similar. Prokesch-Osten. <i>Arch. Zeit.</i> , 1849., Taf. ix. 18.]
<i>Tetartemorion.</i> 8 grs.	Boeotian shield	⊙EΣ. Similar. [Brit. Mus.]

Note.—On the above coins the \leq is sometimes reversed \geq .

<i>Stater.</i> 191·5 grs.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100px; width: 100px;"></div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> Bœotian shield </div>	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100px; width: 100px;"></div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> ΘΕΣΓ—ΙΚΟΝ. Head of Aphrodite r., wearing earring and necklace; in front and beneath, a crescent; the whole in concave field. </div>
	[Brit. Mus. PL. IV. 20.]	
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 48 5.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100px; width: 100px;"></div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> Similar. </div>	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100px; width: 100px;"></div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> Θ—Ε—Σ. Similar head; in front, crescent. </div>
	[Brit. Mus.]	
<i>Obol.</i> 14·2 grs.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100px; width: 100px;"></div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> Bœotian shield, on which crescent. </div>	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100px; width: 100px;"></div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> Θ. Similar head, no crescent. </div>
	[Brit. Mus.]	

Thespiæ, like *Plataea*, an ancient enemy of Thebes, became, after the peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, one of the strongholds of Sparta in Bœotia. When, therefore, Thebes in 379—8 shook off the foreign yoke and began to reconstitute the old confederacy, *Thespiæ* and *Plataea* were among the last of the Bœotian towns to submit, and did so in the end only by constraint when their friends the Spartans had been finally driven out of the country, circ. B.C. 376.

It is probable that all the above-described varieties of silver coins of *Thespiæ* fall into the ten or dozen years between B.C. 387 and circ. 376—4, for subsequently the *Thespians* were, however unwillingly, attached to the League and no longer in the enjoyment of autonomy. At the battle of Leuctra, in B.C. 371, this hostility of the *Thespians* to the Bœotian cause was evidenced by their retirement *en masse* from the ranks before the engagement; after which the *Thebans* refused to readmit them as members of the League and expelled them from Bœotia.

The coins of this city are epigraphically very instructive, as indicating the exact period of the introduction of

the Σ in place of the older form Σ , and should be compared with the contemporary coins of Orchomenus, which show the substitution of Δ for the older D , and P for R , and with those of Haliartus with **ARIARTIOΣ**, &c.

Mythologically also the coins of Thespiae are of value, as they prove that in addition to Eros, who was the god especially revered at that city, Aphrodite *Melainis* (Pausanias, ix. 27) was there worshipped as a moon goddess. The crescent-moon is more constant as a mint-mark on the coins of Thespiae than the club on those of Thebes, the ear of corn on those of Orchomenus, or the trident on those of Haliartus.

UNCERTAIN.

CIRC. B.C. 387—374.

(a.)

<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 86 grs.	Bœotian shield.	A— Φ . Amphora in incuse square.
[<i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix. No. 48. Coll. Soutzo, Athens.] <i>Y. l. + 7, X², 4</i>		
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 40 grs.	Similar.	A—P. Similar.
[Berlin. Prokesch-Osten Coll.]		

(b.)

<i>Stater.</i> 186 grs.	Bœotian shield.	Δ —I. Amphora in incuse square; above amphora, pellet.
[<i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. p. 326, No. 9.]		
<i>Drachm.</i> 90.8 grs.	Bœotian shield, on which caduceus.	Δ —I. Amphora in incuse square.
[Brit. Mus. Pl. IV. 22.]		
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 44.2 grs.	Similar, no caduceus.	Δ —I. Similar.
[Brit. Mus.]		
<i>Tetartemorion.</i> 8.7 grs.	Similar.	Δ —I. Kantharos in incuse square.
[Brit. Mus.]		

i

Y. l. + 7, X², 6
u - 1 200 200

(c.)

<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 84 grs.	Bæotian shield.	Λ—O. Amphora in incuse square.
	[<i>Cat. Margaritis</i> , Pl. I. 86.]	
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 86·5 grs.	Similar.	Λ—Ω. Similar.
	[Paris and Berlin. Prokesch-Osten Coll. Pl. IV. 23.]	

(d.)

<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 48 grs.	Bæotian shield.	No inscr. Amphora, in field C, the whole in incuse square.
	[<i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. IV. 21.]	
	(Probably struck at Thespizæ, see p. 57).	

(e.)

<i>Drachm.</i> 87 grs.	Bæotian shield.	No inscr. Amphora in incuse square.
	[<i>Brit. Mus.</i>]	
<i>Hemi-drachm.</i> 44·5 grs.	Similar.	Similar.
	[<i>Brit. Mus.</i>]	

(f.)

<i>Tetartemorion.</i> 4 grs.	Bæotian shield.	H—I. Bunch of grapes.
	[<i>Rev. Num.</i> , 1869, Pl. VI. 15.]	

(g.)

<i>Tetartemorion.</i> 4 grs.	Bæotian shield.	Σ. Bunch of grapes, in field l. ivy-leaf.
	[<i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii., Pl. X. 18.]	
	(Perhaps struck at Mycalessus, if Σ = M, see p. 47).	

To what town or towns the above described series of coins belong it is difficult to decide. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has proved most satisfactorily that none of the old attributions, such as Delium, Dionysia, Olmium, &c. (*Num. Zeit.*, iii. p. 326, *sqq.* ix. p. 15), can be accepted, although

he has no objections to offer to Haliartus as the place of mintage of the coins with **A — P**.

For my part I am inclined to attribute the whole series to a later period than has hitherto been usual, and to look upon the letters on the reverse as the initials not of towns but of magistrates.

That they are not contemporary either with the anepigraphous coins of Haliartus and Thebes, with the amphora, (B.C. 480—456, Pl. I. 18, 19), or with those reading **ΙΣΑ** and **Ξ—Θ**, which I have given to Period IV. (B.C. 456—446, Pl. II. 3, 6, 7), will be evident to any one who examines the two classes side by side. Not only are they of a much flatter and more recent fabric, but some of them bear a symbol (caduceus) upon the shield, an indication that they cannot well be earlier than the latter end of the fifth century, after which time a symbol very commonly appears in this position. Moreover the **Ω** on the two hemi-drachms in the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the Prokesch-Osten Collection now at Berlin is quite distinct, and this brings them down at any rate to B.C. 400. At this time, however, and as late as the Peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, there was no coin in Bœotia except that of Thebes. Is there any reason, then, why they should not be brought down to the period of autonomy subsequent to B.C. 387? I know of none except the presence of the well-defined incuse square on the reverses; and although as a general rule there is no better indication of date than the presence or absence of the incuse square, no numismatist will deny that there are exceptions to this rule [cf. my "Coinage of Syracuse," Pl. V. 13].

I would suggest, therefore, that these coins may have been struck at various Bœotian cities B.C. 387—374,

among which the crescent may stand for Thespiæ and the caduceus for Tanagra (?),⁹ not yet brought under subjection by Thebes. The magistrates' names, as at Orchomenus and Thebes during the same period, are doubtless those of the local superintendents of the currency at the cities in question.

⁹ The worship of Hermes at Tanagra is referred to by several of the late bronze coins.—*Num. Zeit.* ix. p. 29, *sqq.*

PERIOD IX. CIRC. B.C. 379—338.

THEBES.—Next follows a long series of Bœotian didrachms which, judging by style, certainly commences early in the fourth century—*obv.* Bœotian shield, *rev.* amphora and the three or four first letters of a magistrate's name. Of these names a very large number is known, so many indeed that there can be no doubt that this series must extend down to the capture of Thebes by Philip in B.C. 338. The point to be settled is the exact date of its commencement.

The total number of names handed down to us by these coins is about forty. It is also, on other grounds, tolerably certain that this coinage lasted about forty years.

The temptation to regard the names on the coins as those of the eponymous archons of the Bœotians is doubtless very strong. Nevertheless, when we bear in mind how improbable it is that the number of names now known can be anything like the complete list, I think it is safer to reject the theory that they are the names of the annual eponymi, either of the Bœotian League or of the city of Thebes, for there was an eponymous archon in each town as well as an eponymous archon of the whole League.

It seems to me that it is, on the whole, more reasonable to suppose that certain municipal (or federal) magistrates, perhaps the three Polemarchs (concerning whose duties see Foucart, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iv., Inscriptions d'Orcho-

mène), who were elected annually, formed themselves into a committee for the regulation of the currency, and that the president of this board placed his name upon the coin struck during his term of office.

Supposing, therefore, that of the three Polemarchs each was in turn president of the board of currency for a term of one month, and that there were several issues from the Theban mint during the year, it might so happen that the names of all three Polemarchs appeared on the coinage during their year of office, or, on the other hand, it might happen that all the issues took place quarterly, and in those particular months during which the same man happened to be president. In this case of course only one name would appear on the coinage for the year in question. It is thus manifest that when once the eponymous character of the signature on the coins is not provable the number of names can be but a very rough test of the duration of any given series of signed coins.

We must, therefore, have recourse to other methods of fixing the date of the commencement of this series of coins.

It should be noted: 1st, that the coinage in question forms a single and unbroken series; 2nd, that it is federal in character, not bearing the name of any one city in particular; 3rd, that it is closely imitated by certain coins of Orchomenus above described (see p. 49, Pl. IV. 6—8). It would seem, therefore, that it must have been in circulation before the destruction of that city, B.C. 364.

Now, as we have already traced the Theban coinage down to about B.C. 387, we may take it for granted that the new federal coinage can hardly have commenced before that date; and from B.C. 387—379, as the Bæotian confederacy had ceased to exist, no general coinage on a large scale such as this is possible. But with the appoint-

ment of the new Bœotarchs, Pelopidas, Mellon, and Charon, in B.C. 379—8, the reconstitution of the League commenced, and by the year B.C. 374 it was again generally recognised throughout Bœotia, excepting at Orchomenus. The year of the restoration of the old order by Pelopidas and his friends, B.C. 379—8, seems therefore to be the date when the new federal money was first issued, and the fact that it does not bear the name of Thebes is an additional argument for its having originated at a time when the Theban authority was not generally recognised by the other cities.

That there is a difference in style and palæography between the earliest and latest specimens of this long series of didrachms is indisputable. By patient and prolonged study and comparison of minute points of detail, one might even arrive, perhaps, at an approximately correct chronological classification of the whole series. This, however, is a task which it is hardly worth while to undertake. I proceed, therefore, to give a list of all the names on this class with which I am acquainted, arranged in alphabetical order:—

Obv. Bœotian shield.

| *Rev.* Amphora, in concave field.

NAME.	ABOVE.	ON HANDLE.	IN FIELD.	
AΓ—ΛΑ	Wreath			B. M., Mion. tom. ii. 13.
AM—ΦΙ				Mion. 15.
AN—ΔΡ ¹⁰				B. M., Mion. 17.
AN—ΔΡ				Mion. 16.
T—I				B. M.
A—N	Club			B. M.
A—N				
T—I				

¹⁰ Amphora with tall stem.

NAME.	ABOVE.	ON HANDLE.	IN FIELD.	
AN—TI IT—WA	Dolphin			Mion. S. iii. 10. L. Müller, Cat. Thorwaldsen, 293.
ΑΓ—ΟΛ ΑΡ—ΚΑ ΑΡ—ΚΑ	Grapes	two ivy-leaves on each handle		B. M., Mion. 18. Leake, p. 28. B. M., Mion. 19.
FA—ΣΤ FA—ΣΤ	Corn-grain	✓		Cat. Allier, p. 46. B. M., Mion. 46. [Pl. V. 4.]
FA—ΣΤ FA—ΣΤ	Ivy-branch	✓		B. M., Mion. 47. Num. Zeit. ix. p. 7, 15.
A—Ξ	Bucranium			Cat. C. Roma, 1863, n. 101.
A—Ξ	Bull's head		r. grapes	B. M.
Ω				
A—Ξ	Club		crescent	Mion. S. iii. 11.
Ω				
A—Ξ	Club			B. M.
Ω Γ				
ΔΑ—ΙΜ ΔΑ—ΙΜ				B. M.
ΔΑ—ΙΜ	Club	ivy-leaf		Sestini, Descr. p. 172, 8. Cat. Allier, p. 45.
ΔΑ—ΜΟ				
ΔΑ—Μ[Ο ΔΑ—ΜΟ	Ivy-wreath			B. M.
ΔΑ—ΜΟ	Club	l. ivy-branch		B. M.
ΔΑ—ΜΟ	Club	l. ivy-leaf		[Pl. V. 3.] Num. Zeit. p. 7, 17.
ΔΑ—ΜΩ	Club	l. ivy-branch		B. M.
ΔΑ—ΜΩ	Wreath			Mion. 21; M. Six, ΔΑ—ΜΟ?
ΔΑ—ΜΟ	Club			B. M.
Κ Λ				
Δ—Ι	Club			B. M.
Ο Γ				
ΔΙ—Ο[Κ?				B. M.
ΔΙ—ΟΚ				Mion. 22.
ΔΙ—Ω[Ν?				B. M.
ΕΓ—ΓΑ				Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.
ΕΓ—ΓΑ	Bœotian shield			Mion. 24.
ΕΓ—ΑΜ ¹¹	Rose			B. M. [Pl. V. 2.]

¹¹ Altered in the die from coin, reading ΕΓ—ΓΑ.

NAME.	ABOVE.	ON HANDLE.	IN FIELD.	
ΕΠ—ΑΜ				B. M.
Ε]Π—ΑΜ ¹²				B. M.
FE—ΠΓ				B. M.
EY—FA	Club & grapes			B. M.
P A				[Pl. V. 5.]
EY—FA	Crescent			Mion. 28.
P A				
EY—FA	Grapes		r. club	Pembroke, 736; Mion. S. 16.
P A				Mion. S. 15; Pembroke, 740.
EY—ΓΙ				
E—E	Club	r. & l. ivy-leaf		B. M.
Υ				
E—XE	Club	r. & l. ivy-leaf		B. M.
E—XE				B. M., Mion. 26.
ΘΕ—ΟΓ	Caduceus			B. M.
ΘΕ—ΟΓ	Club			Leake, Sup. p. 117.
ΘΕ—ΟΓ				Prokesch. Ined. 1859, p. 16.
ΘΕ—ΟΤ ¹³	Club	r. ivy-leaf		Mion. 34.
ΗΙ—ΚΕ	Club	r. & l. ivy-leaf	l. olive-sprig	B. M.
ΗΙ—ΚΕ ¹⁴	Club	r. & l. ivy-leaf	r. olive-sprig	Mion. 31.
ΗΙ—ΚΕ	[Club?]	r. & l. ivy-leaf		B. M.
ΗΙ—ΚΕ	Laurel-wreath			B. M.
ΗΙΞ—ΜΕ				B. M.
ΗΙΞ—				Eckhel, ii. p. 196.
ΜΕΝ				
ΚΑ—ΒΙ				B. M.
ΚΑ—ΛΙ				Mion. 36.
ΚΑ—ΛΛ				Hunter, No. 14.
ΚΑ—ΛΛΙ				B. M.
ΚΙ—ΕΕ			r. thymia-terion	Fox, Uned. Coins, i., No. 88, pl. viii.
ΚΙ—ΕΕΞ			r. thymia-terion	Num. Zeit. ix. p. 8, n. 19.
Κ]Λ—ΕΕΞ	Laurel-wreath			Paris.
ΚΛ—Ε[Ξ	Laurel-wreath			B. M., M. Six.
ΚΛ—ΙΩ				B. M.

¹² Plated.¹³ Probably misread for ΘΕΟΓ.¹⁴ Cast, weighing only 164 grs.

NAME.	ABOVE.	ON HANDLE.	IN FIELD.	
ΚΛΙ—ΩΝ				Mion. 38.
ΚΛ—ΩΝ ¹⁵				B. M.
ΚΡ—ΑΤ				B. M.
ΛΥ—ΚΙ				v. Prokesch. Ined., 1859, p. 16 & 21.
ΞΕ—ΝΟ ¹⁶	Arrow			Mion. 39; Rec. pl. 72, 6.
ΟΛ—ΥΜ	Laurel-leaf?			B. M.
ΟΛ—ΥΜ ¹⁷	Spear-head?			Eckhel. M. Cæs., p. 110, 6.
ΟΝ—ΑΣ				B. M.
ΡΕ—ΛΙ ¹⁸				M. Six.
ΡΤ—Ο[Ι			r. club	B. M., Mion. 42.
Τ—Ι ¹⁹				Num. Zeit. ix. p. 8, 20.
Μ				
Τ—Ι			r. club	B. M.
Μ				
Τ]Ι—ΜΙ			l. club	B. M.
ΤΙ—ΜΙ	Club	l. ivy-leaf		B. M.
ΤΙ—ΜΟ				B. M.
ΦΙ—ΔΟ	Grapes			B. M.
ΦΙ—ΛΟ	Grapes			M. Six.
ΥΑ—ΡΟ	Laurel-wreath			B. M.
ΥΑ—ΡΟ	Ivy-wreath			[Pl. V. 1] Mion. 48; Pellerin, Rec. i., pl. 24, 6.
ΥΑ—ΡΟ			r. & l. ivy- wreath	B. M.
ΥΑ—ΡΟ				Num. Zeit. ix. p. 9, No. 23.
ΟΡ—ΑΥ	Ivy-leaf in ivy-wreath			Num. Zeit. ix. p. 9, No. 22.
ΧΑΡ				Prokesch. Ined., 1859, p. 16.

Concerning some of these names a few remarks are called for. Above all, we must be careful not to strain

¹⁵ A plated specimen at the Hague has a fish on the shield on the *obv.*

¹⁶ Amphora entirely fluted.

¹⁷ These two are probably identical.

¹⁸ Amphora entirely fluted.

¹⁹ On shield on *obv.* club.

the classification, which should rest upon style, for the purpose of identifying any of the names with those of persons mentioned in history. Thus, for instance, although **HIΞME** doubtless stands for *an* Ismenias, it would be rash to assert that it is the great Ismenias, one of the Polemarchs of Thebes in B.C. 382, the victim of the treachery of his colleague Leontiades, and judicially murdered by the Spartans in the same year.

Not only is the coin reading **HIΞME** later in style than is consistent with such a supposition, but there is every reason to suppose, as I have already remarked, that the signed money did not commence for some three or four years after the death of that distinguished Theban. **ΑΝΔΡ** also, on another coin, for the same reasons can hardly stand for Androkleidas, who was murdered while in exile at Athens, by an assassin hired for the purpose, by the usurping rulers of Thebes, circ. B.C. 379. Again, **KABI** cannot be the eponymous archon of Thebes for the year B.C. 379, named Kabeirichos, who was slain together with the two Polemarchs, Archias and Philippos, by Pelopidas and the other Liberators (Plutarch, *De Gen. Soc.* c. 30), since the coin which bears this name is not by any means one of the earliest of the series.

On the other hand, there is no absolute objection to the identification of the **ΥΑΡΟ** on the coins with the Charon of history, one of the Liberators and a Bæotarch in B.C. 379—8, the very year in which I suppose this coinage to have commenced, although, as Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has remarked,²⁰ this is an abbreviation more conformable to such a name as *Χαροπίωνος*.²¹

²⁰ *Num. Zeit.* ix. p. 9.

²¹ Cf. Bœckh, *C. I. G.*, 1575, **ΧΑΡΟΠΙΝΩ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΟΙΩΤΟΙΣ**.

Nor does there seem to be any objection to a recognition of the name of the illustrious Epaminondas in the ΕΠ ΠΑ, ΕΠ ΑΜΙ, and ΕΠ ΑΜ of the coins. Epaminondas was a Bœotarch in 371, 370, 369, 367, 363, and 362.

ΔΑΜΟ, ΘΕΟΠ, and ΗΙΞΜΕ may also stand for Damokleidas, Theopompus, and Ismenias, all friends of Pelopidas (Plutarch, Pelop. c. 7, 8; Diod. xv. 78), the last-mentioned perhaps a son of the great Ismenias, and on more than one occasion a colleague in office with Pelopidas.

It is unfortunate that among so many names we have no precise information as to what offices excepting that of Bœotarch, in the cases of Charon and Epaminondas, the men who bore them held.

It is extremely unlikely that all the seven (or more) Bœotarchs were in the habit of placing their names upon the coinage *quâ* Bœotarchs. The large number of names on the coins as compared with the possible number of years during which this coinage can have lasted, makes it also very improbable that the signatures are only of those particular Bœotarchs who held the office of eponymous archons of Bœotia. The same fact precludes the idea that they are those of the eponymous archons of Thebes, or of any other single city. All that we can say about them, therefore, is that they seem to be the names of the presiding magistrates of a board or committee, consisting of some of the Bœotarchs and entrusted with the supervision of the mints.

SMALL SILVER AND BRONZE CURRENCY. B.C. 379—338.

To the same period as the foregoing didrachms we must attribute the following *obols*:—*obv.* shield, *rev.* head of young Herakles; and *bronze*:—*obv.* head of Herakles, *rev.* club, &c.

The occurrence of many of the same magistrates' names on the coins of both these series, as on the didrachms, is a sufficient proof that they are contemporary. It is noticeable that some of these coins bear two magistrates' names. The names common to the two classes are—

<i>Obols.</i>		<i>Didrachms.</i>
ΕΓ	= ?	ΕΓΑΜ.
ΘΕ	=	ΘΕΟΓ, ΘΕΟΡ, or ΘΕΟΤ.
ΙΞ	= ?	ΗΙΞΜΕΝ.
ΚΛΕ	=	ΚΛΕΞ.
<i>Bronze.</i>		<i>Didrachms.</i>
ΦΕΡΓ	=	ΦΕΡΓ.
ΘΕΟΤΙ	=	ΘΕΟΤ.
ΛΥΚΙΝΩ	=	ΛΥΚΙ.
ΟΛΥΜ	=	ΟΛΥΜ.
ΟΝΑΣΙ	=	ΟΝΑΣ.
ΦΕΙΔΟ	= ?	ΦΙΔΟ.

The following is a description of the coins :—

OBOLS.

<i>Obol.</i> 14 grs.	Bœotian shield on which club.	Head of young Herakles r., in lion's skin ; in front	ΕΓ [<i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. 886, 91.]
<i>Obol.</i> 13 grs.	Similar.	Similar, but	ΘΕ [<i>Brit. Mus.</i> Pl. V. 6.]
<i>Obol.</i> 14 grs.	Similar.	Similar, but	ΙΞ ? [<i>Brit. Mus.</i>]
<i>Obol.</i>	Similar.	Similar, but	ΚΛΕ [<i>Prokesch-Osten. Ined.</i> 1859, p. 16.]
<i>Obol.</i>	Similar.	Similar, but	ΚΟ [<i>Mion. S.</i> III., No. 53.]

COINAGE OF BŒOTIA.

BRONZE COINAGE.

Average Size, 2½. Average weight, 88 grs.

Type (a), R. Club.

Head of young Herakles, l.	Club	ΛΥΚ-ΙΝΩ	Brit. Mus.
" " "	"	ΟΛΥΜ-ΕΠΙ	[Pl. V. 7.] <i>Num. Zeit.</i> ix. p. 11. No. 80.
" " r.	"	ΘΕΟ-ΤΙ	Leake, p. 29.
" " "	"	ΘΕΟ-Ρ:?	<i>Mus. Kotschoubey</i> , i. p. 277.

Type (b), R. Club and Arrow.

Head of young Herakles, r.	Club and Arrow	ΘΕΟ-ΤΙ	Brit. Mus.
" " "	" "	ΛΑΑΝ-ΘΕ	Brit. Mus.

Type (c), R. Club and Bow.

Head of young Herakles, l.	Club and Bow	ΑΡΙΞ	Brit. Mus.
" " "	"	ΑΡΙΞ-ΦΕΙΔΟ	Brit. Mus.
" " r.	"	ΞΙΡΑ-ΦΕΙΔΟ	Cited by M. Six.
" " l.	"	ΦΕΙΔΟ	Brit. Mus.
" " "	"	ΕΠΙ?-ΟΛΥΜ	Brit. Mus.
" " "	"	ΟΛΥΜ	Cited by M. Six.
" " "	"	ΘΕΟ-ΤΙ	"
" " l.	"	ΓΥΡ-ΡΙ	"
" " r.	"	ΞΑ-ΦΕΡΓ	Brit. Mus.
" " "	"	Ρ-ΑΓΕΙ	Cited by M. Six.
" " l.	"	Α-ΘΙΩΝ	Brit. Mus.
" " r.	"	Η-ΘΙΩΝ	Brit. Mus.
" " "	"	ΘΕ-ΘΙΩΝ	Cited by M. Six.
" " l.	"	Λ-ΘΙΩΝ	Munich.
" " r.	"	ΙΜ-ΘΙΩΝ	Munich.
" " l.	"	Kantharos-ΘΙΩΝ	Paris.
" " ?	"	ΘΩΝΑ	Baretta, No. 50.
" " r.	"	and Star; no inser.	<i>Prok. - Ost.</i> , 1854, p. 24.
" " l.	"	ΦΑ-ΡΑΙ	<i>Num. Zeit.</i> iii. p. 374.

Type (d), R. Club and Thyrsus.

Head of young Herakles, l.	Club and Thyrsus	ΑΡΙΣ	Brit. Mus. [Pl. V. 8.]
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Type (e), R. Club and Grapes.

Head of young Herakles, r.	Club and Grapes	ΟΝΑ—ΞΙ	Brit. Mus.
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Type (f), R. Club and Caduceus.

Head of young Herakles, l.	Club and Caduceus	ΟΛΥΜ	Brit. Mus.
	„ ΟΛΥΜ—ΕΠΙ(?)		Brit. Mus. cf. Num. Zeit. ix., No. 80
	„ ΦΕΙΔΟ		Brit. Mus.

Type (g), R. Club and Bæotian Shield.

Head of young Herakles, r.	Club and Bæotian shield	ΓΥΡ—ΡΙ	Brit. Mus. [Pl. V. 9.]
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Whether these bronze coins are *chalkoi*, of which the Bæotian obol was worth twelve and the Attic obol eight,²² or only three-fourths of the *chalkous*, it is difficult to decide. If the contemporary Phokian bronze coins, weight 135 grs., marked with a **Τ** and three bulls' heads, are *trichalkoi*, the *chalkous* ought to weigh 45 grs. The Theban coins, however, of this period do not weigh on the average more than 33 grs.

The Bæotian coinage from B.C. 378—338 consisted, therefore, of didrachms, obols, and bronze coins bearing the signature of a magistrate, but without the name of Thebes.

As there is nothing in the history of this period which bears upon the coinage, it is only necessary to recall to our minds the principal events.

²² Foucart, Inscriptions d'Orchomène. *Bull. corr. Hell.* iv. p. 90.

B.C.

872. Destruction of Plataea by Thebes.
871. Battle of Leuctra. Commencement of Theban supremacy.
871. Expulsion of the Thespians from Bœotia.
864. Destruction of Orchomenus.
862. Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminondas.
858. Eubœa recovered from Thebes by Athens.
857. Irritation of the Thebans against the Phokians. The Amphictyonic Council under Theban influence consecrates the Phokian territory to Apollo.
856—846. Sacred war.
858—2. Successes of Onomarchus. Embarrassment of the Thebans. The Phokians come into conflict with Philip of Macedon.
846. Philip victorious, and appointed President of the Amphictyonic Council.
338. Second expedition of Philip into Greece.
Chæroneia.

PERIOD X. CIRC. B.C. 338—315.

Whether Thebes made any further resistance after the battle of Chæroneia we are not informed, but it is certain that the city fell almost immediately into the hands of the conqueror.

The leading citizens were now either put to death or driven into exile, and a council of 300 Thebans, partizans of Philip, was invested with absolute power and supported by a Macedonian garrison in the Cadmeia.

Thebes was now degraded from her proud position as head of all Bœotia, her ancient enemies, Orchomenus, Thespiæ, and Plataea, were restored, and autonomy was conferred once more upon all the more important Bœotian towns, such as Orchomenus, Thespiæ, Haliartus, Leba-deia, and Plataea.

The constitution of Bœotia was once more very much what it had been in the days when the Spartans held the land half a century before. Now, as then, Thebes was the greatest sufferer, and galling in the extreme were the insults and personal injuries which her citizens were compelled to submit to at the hands of the barbarous Macedonian soldiery.

Driven at length to despair they rose against their oppressors, B.C. 335, slew Timolaus, one of the leading partizans of Philip, proclaimed themselves autonomous, and proceeded to the election of Bœotarchs. But the Macedonian garrison in the Cadmeia was not to be so

easily expelled, and as no adequate assistance was forthcoming, the Thebans were driven to blockade their own citadel.

In time, no doubt, they would have been successful, had not Alexander, whose reported death had encouraged them to revolt, suddenly appeared in Bœotia at the head of an army of relief. The tables were now again turned, and Thebes, although she made a brave resistance, was taken by storm, and her whole population given over by her conqueror to indiscriminate slaughter. Orchomenus and Plataea were now more than revenged. Thebes was levelled with the ground, the Cadmeia being alone spared as a convenient fortress by means of which all Bœotia might be held in subjection.

The Theban territory was now divided among the cities of Orchomenus, Thespiae, and Plataea, and for twenty years to come the site of Thebes was a desert.

In the Lamian war (323) the Bœotians held fast to the Macedonian alliance, as there was nothing they dreaded so much as the restoration of Thebes, which would immediately have followed the success of the Greeks; nevertheless, in B.C. 315, when Cassander advanced into Bœotia at the head of a formidable army, and announced his intention of rebuilding the ruined city, they thought it more politic not only to abstain from all resistance, but actually to assist in the restoration of their ancient enemy. Thus, after lying in ruins twenty years, the walls of Thebes once again rose at the bidding of Cassander, amid general rejoicing throughout Hellas.

It is interesting to observe how, as history repeats itself, the coinage, so to speak, reflects the history. There are three distinct periods in which the influence and importance of Thebes had sunk to the lowest point: first,

after the battle of Platæa, B.C. 479; second, after the Peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387; and third, after the battle of Chæroneia, B.C. 338. Now on each of these three several occasions a considerable portion of the currency appears to have been issued in the name of *the Bæotians*, with the inscription **B**, **BO**, **BOI**, or **BOIΩ**, while the coinage of Thebes itself either sank for the time being into insignificance or ceased to be issued altogether.

With the battle of Chæroneia and the Macedonian occupation of the Cadmeia it is probable that the long series of didrachms bearing the names of (presumably Theban) Bæotarchs was brought to an abrupt close, after lasting with little or no change for just forty years. The revolution in the municipal organization of Thebes which then took place is sufficient to account for the omission henceforth of the magistrate's name on the coinage, supposing the didrachms reading **BOIΩ** to have been struck at Thebes, but that they are Theban at all is a point which is exceedingly doubtful. Granting that a portion of them may be earlier than the destruction of Thebes by Alexander in B.C. 335, it seems certain from the number of varieties which have come down to us that the majority of them must belong to the twenty years between the devastation of Thebes in B.C. 335 and its restoration by Cassander in B.C. 315. They must in this case have been struck at one or more of the other Bæotian towns which were restored by Philip after the battle of Chæroneia.

The hemi-drachms with the same inscription **BOIΩ**, which I would also attribute to this time, are all marked with a little crescent in the field beside the kantharos. This I take to be the mint-mark of Thespiæ (see above, p. 57). However closely these coins may resemble the series of similar hemi-drachms previously described (p. 54),

there are, nevertheless, differences in style and fabric, such as the final disappearance of all traces of the incuse square, which have led me to bring them down to a later period.

It may be, then, that in 338 or 335 B.C. Orchomenus began the issue of didrachms for the whole of Bæotia, while Thespiæ undertook to supply the smaller currency in silver. In addition to the silver staters and hemi-drachms reading **BO IO**, certain small copper coins reading **BOION** appear to belong to this period. These copper pieces have on the reverse the trident, the symbol of Poseidon Onchestios.

At the same time a new local bronze coinage was commenced, in which most of the leading towns of Bæotia took part. These coins bear the inscriptions **API**, **ΘΕΞ**, **ΛΕΒ**, **ΟΡΧ**, **ΠΛΑ**, **ΤΑΝ** (Haliartus, Thespiæ, Leba-deia, Orchomenus, Plataea, and Tanagra), but no types whatever on the reverse. The absence of the name of Thebes on the coins of this class is a strong argument that they belong to the period when Thebes was not in existence. In fabric, these bronze coins resemble the didrachms reading **BOIO**, the surface of the reverse being slightly concave. The shield on the obverse is in very low relief, and has a narrow double rim. In weight they are somewhat lighter than the Phocian *trichalkoi*, averaging about 120 grains. It is probable, however, they are also pieces of 3 chalkoi, and if so they would be equal in value to the tetartemoron, or $\frac{1}{4}$ obol (the Bæotian obol being equal in value to 12 chalkoi), which had ceased to be coined in silver when the *chalkous* was introduced into Bæotia in the first half of the fourth century. Supposing the early bronze money of Greece to have been real money corresponding approximately in value to its

weight in metal, and not (as it afterwards became) merely a token currency,²³ the proportionate value of bronze to silver would have been in those days about 30 to 1 in Central Greece, or about twice what it was in Egypt shortly afterwards under the Ptolemies.

B.C. 338—315.

ORCHOMENUS ?

Staters.

<i>Stater.</i> 186 grs.	Bæotian shield.	BO—ΙΩ. Amphora ; above, club and grapes. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Stater.</i> 189·5 grs.	Similar.	BO—ΙΩ. Amphora ; above, grapes. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Stater.</i> 190 grs.	Similar.	BO—ΙΩ. Amphora ; above, bow. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Stater.</i> 191 grs.	Similar.	BO—ΙΩ. Amphora wholly fluted ; above, bow. [Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 10.]
<i>Stater.</i> 190 grs.	Similar.	BO—ΙΩ. Amphora ; above, bow and arrow. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Stater.</i> 187 grs.	Similar.	BO—ΙΩ. Amphora ; above, club and bow. [Mion., No. 58.]
<i>Stater.</i> 189·5 grs.	Similar.	BO—ΙΩ. Amphora ; above, club. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Stater.</i> 188 grs.	Similar.	BO—ΙΩ. Amphora ; ivy-leaves on one handle ; above, club. [Berlin. Münzkabinet, No. 179.]
<i>Stater.</i> 184·2 grs.	Similar.	BO—ΙΩ. Amphora ; above, dolphin. [Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 11.]

²³ See below, p. 91.

Stater. | Similar (on shield, club). | **BO—ΙΩ.** Amphora; above, dolphin and corn-grain.

[Cadavène, p. 152.]

Stater. | Similar. | **ΩΙ—OB.** Amphora; above, grapes.

[Brit. Mus.]

Stater. | Similar (club on shield). | **BO—ΙΩ.** Amphora; above, bow.

[Num. Zeit. ix., Pl. I. 18.]

THESPIÆ?

Hemi-drachms.

Hemi-drachm. | Bœotian shield. | **BO—Ι.** Kantharos; above, club; in field r., crescent; concave field.

45·2 grs.

[Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 12.]

Obol. | Similar. | **BO—Ι.** Similar.

18 grs.

[Brit. Mus.]

UNCERTAIN MINT.

Bronze.

Æ., size 2½. | Bœotian shield. | **BOΙΩΤΩΝ.** Ornamented trident, beside which, dolphin; in field r. ivy-leaf.

80 grs.

[Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 14.]

Æ., size 2½. | Similar. | Similar, but in field r. grapes.

80 grs.

[Brit. Mus.]

HALIARTUS.

Æ., 6, 188 grs. | Bœotian shield. | **API** in large letters, concave field.

[Brit. Mus.]

THESPIÆ.

Æ., 5½, 125 grs. | Similar. | **ΘΕΞ.** Similar.

[Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 13.]

LEBADEIA.

Æ., 5. | Similar. | **ΛΕΒ.** Similar.

[Num. Chron. i. p. 248.]

ORCHOMENUS.

Æ., 5, 101 grs. | Similar. | OPX. Similar.
[Brit. Mus.]

PLATÆA.

Æ., 5½, 119 grs. | Similar. | ΠΛΑ. Similar.
[Brit. Mus.]

TANAGRA.

Æ., 5½, 120 grs. | Similar. | TAN. Similar.
[Brit. Mus.]

KORONEIA

KOP

PERIOD XI. CIRC. B.C. 315—288.

The Bœotians as a body now again stood in opposition to Thebes, which, with its Macedonian garrison in the Cadmeia, remained faithful to Cassander. The Bœotians, therefore, welcomed Demetrius as a deliverer when he landed in Greece in B.C. 304, drove out Cassander's garrisons, and proclaimed freedom in Hellas. Foremost among the flatterers of Demetrius was Thebes, herself so lately the stronghold of Cassander. The Thebans even went so far as to dedicate a temple to Lamia, the mistress of Demetrius, under the name of Lamia Aphrodite (B.C. 302).²⁴

Notwithstanding all this, Bœotia, including Thebes, turned against Demetrius when, in B.C. 294, he took the place of Cassander, and necessarily adopted his policy as King of Macedon. In the campaigns which followed Thebes was twice taken by Demetrius, once in B.C. 293, and again in B.C. 290, but on each occasion he used his victory with moderation, allowing the city to retain its municipal institutions, although he took care to keep the Cadmeia well garrisoned with Macedonian troops. This garrison does not appear to have been withdrawn until B.C. 288, when Demetrius, who had then fallen from the height of his power, presented Thebes with her freedom, hoping perhaps thereby to attach Bœotia to his cause.

²⁴ See *Num. Chron.* N.S. vol. xviii. p. 267.

The coins which clearly belong to the period of the Macedonian occupation of Thebes, first by Cassander and then by Demetrius, are the following, with Macedonian types :—

<i>Æ. Stater.</i>	Alexandrine types. <i>Symbol</i> , Bœotian shield. [Müller, No. 751.]
<i>Æ. Tetradrachm.</i>	Alexandrine types. <i>Symbol</i> , Bœotian shield. [Müller, No. 752, Cl. IV.]
<i>Æ. Obol.</i>	Alexandrine types. <i>Symbol</i> , half Bœotian shield. [Müller, No. 753.]
<i>Æ.</i> , size $8\frac{1}{2}$. 62 grs.	Young male head ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. r., laur. Prancing horse r., be- neath, Bœotian shield. [Müller, No. 753b.]
<i>Æ. Tetradrachm.</i>	Alexandrine types. <i>Symbol</i> , Bœotian shield and serpent. [Müller, No. 754, Cl. IV.]
<i>Æ. Tetradrachm.</i>	Alexandrine types. <i>Symbol</i> , Bœotian shield and thyrsus. [Müller, No. 755, Cl. IV.]
<i>Æ. Tetradrachm.</i>	Alexandrine types. <i>Symbol</i> , Bœotian shield, in front thyrsus. [Müller, No. 756, Cl. IV.]
<i>Æ. Tetradrachm.</i>	Alexandrine types. <i>Symbol</i> , Bœotian shield, in front thyrsus and Ε . [Brit. Mus.]

The two coins which follow seem also to fall into this period, the head of Herakles being later in style than that which occurs on the somewhat similar *Æ.* coins of Period IX.

<i>Æ.</i> , size 2. 85 grs.	Head of young Thyrsus and club, between Herakles, r. them ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ. [Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 15.]
<i>Æ.</i> , size $1\frac{1}{2}$. 28 grs.	Bœotian shield. ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ. Trident. [Brit. Mus. Pl. V. 16.]


PERIOD XII. CIRC. B.C. 288—244.

From this time the Bœotian League began to reconstruct itself, and of the seven Bœotarchs, the representative of Thebes appears to have been chosen as the archon of the League.

Ten years afterwards (B.C. 278) we hear of the Bœotians as taking an active part in the struggle with the Gauls.

About B.C. 246 they entered into an alliance with the Achæan League, but in the very next year the Aetolians invaded Bœotia and gained a signal victory near Chæroneia, in which the Bœotians lost their general, Abœocritus or Amaecritus, and a thousand men. They were now compelled to ally themselves with their conquerors, the Aetolians, but this did not prevent them from being fallen upon by an armed band of Aetolians while they were peacefully celebrating the festival of the Pambœotia in B.C. 244. This perfidious attack threw Bœotia once more into the hands of the King of Macedon, Antigonus Gonatas, to whom alone they could look for protection against the Aetolians (B.C. 244).

The coins which on stylistic grounds seem to me to belong to this interval of independence and autonomy (B.C. 288—244), which was the free gift of Demetrius Poliorcetes, are the following :—

<i>Æ. Tetra- drachm.</i> 263 grs.	Head of Zeus r., laur.	BOI—ΩΤΩΝ. Poseidon holding dolphin and trident, seated l. on throne, on the side of which, Boeotian shield. [Paris. <i>Mion.</i> ii. p. 108, No. 59.]
<i>Æ. Tetra- drachm.</i> 238·4 grs. (worn).	Similar.	BOIΩ Similar. ΤΩΝ. [Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 1.]
<i>Æ.</i> , size 5. Average 110 grs.	Head of Pallas r., wearing crested Corinthian hel- met.	BOIΩΤΩΝ. Trophy of arms. [Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 2.]
<i>Æ.</i> , size 4. Average 75 grs.	Head of young Herakles r., in lion's skin.	BOIΩΤΩΝ. Winged Pal- las standing r., wielding thunderbolt and holding ægis. In field, r., Boeotian shield. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Æ.</i> , size 4.	Similar.	Similar in field, l.,  . [Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 3.]
<i>Æ.</i> , size 4.	Similar.	Similar, without shield or monogram. Pallas helmeted and without wings. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Æ.</i> , size 5.	Similar.	BOIΩΤΩΝ. Winged Pal- las running r., wielding thunderbolt and holding ægis. In field, r., wreath. [Brit. Mus.]
<i>Æ.</i> , size 4. Av. 53 grs.	Head of young Dionysus crowned with ivy.	BOIΩΤΩΝ. Apollo, naked, holding bow, seated left on cippus marked with trident, on which and behind Apollo, tripod. In field, left, wreath. [Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 4.]

PERIOD XIII. CIRC. B.C. 244—197.

The quarter of a century which follows the second absorption of Bœotia into the orbit of Greek states dependent upon and virtually subject to Macedon (B.C. 244) is marked by the total absence of any coins issued either in the name of the Bœotian League or of Bœotian towns. Nevertheless, the anti-Macedonian party was not idle, and in B.C. 229, on the death of Demetrius II., an attempt was made to renew the Aetolian alliance. But Antigonus Doson had many and faithful adherents in Bœotia, among whom the names of Ascondas and Neon are conspicuous.²⁵

The latter of these, who held the office of Hipparch, was enabled to confer a signal favour upon Antigonus, by persuading his countrymen to spare him on one occasion when the king and his fleet, stranded by stress of weather on the Bœotian coast, were entirely at the mercy of the Bœotian horse (B.C. 228).²⁶

The influence of Antigonus Doson became now paramount, and was openly acknowledged in a formal congress held at Aegium, consisting of Achæans, Bœotians with Megarians, Epirots, Acarnanians, Phocians, and Thessalians. These were the allies of Antigonus when in B.C. 221 he fought the battle of Sellasia and conquered the Spartans under Cleomenes. In this engagement the Bœotian contingent consisted of 2,000 foot and 200 horse.

²⁵ *Polyb.* xx. 5.

²⁶ *Polyb.* xx. 5.

Immediately after this Antigonus appointed Brachyllas, the son of Neon, to be Epistates of Thebes in acknowledgment of the fidelity of all his family to the Macedonian cause.

In B.C. 220 Philip V., a youth of seventeen, succeeded his uncle Antigonus, and it was not long before he gave evidence of a remarkable talent for governing. It appears to have been his policy to interfere as little as possible with the domestic concerns of the allied states, and to allow them considerable freedom of action, provided always that it was not detrimental to the general interests of the confederacy.²⁷

It may be taken for granted that Bœotia, now virtually governed by members of the family of Neon, on whom Philip could implicitly rely, was treated with especial generosity. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that about this time we find the Bœotians once more beginning to coin money in their own name after an interval of some five-and-twenty years or thereabouts, during which the Macedonian coinage was probably the recognised currency of Bœotia. That this was the case is at any rate to be inferred from the fact that nearly all the copper coins which I would attribute to the period commencing about B.C. 200 are *restruck* on pieces of Antigonus Doson: *obv.* head of Herakles; *rev.* B—A, youth on horse, beneath which is the monogram ΑΙ (ΑΝΤΙ). During the reign of Antigonus himself a general recoinage of the royal money in Bœotia is, to say the least, highly improbable. Such a proceeding would have been tantamount to an act of rebellion. Neither does it seem at all likely that these bronze pieces were restruck in Bœotia for the first time

²⁷ *Polyb.* iv. 24.

after the general declaration of freedom in Hellas by Flamininus in B.C. 197, for had this been the case the coins restruck would assuredly have been those of Philip and not those of Antigonus, who died in B.C. 220.

All things considered, it seems, therefore, safer to attribute to the reign of Philip and to the period *before* B.C. 197 the bronze coins in question, as well as the silver with the same obverse type, viz. the head of Persephone facing, which cannot be separated from the bronze.

These silver coins weigh about 80 grains, and may be called *drachms* of a standard, to which for distinction's sake we may give the name of Aetolian. The origin of this standard is doubtful (perhaps it is simply the Aeginetic reduced). In the coinage of the Aetolian League we find it combined with the Attic, the various Aetolian denominations weighing 260 grs. (Attic tetradrachm), 160 grs., 80 grs., and 40 grs. The same coin-standard is also prevalent during the same period in Corcyra, Epirus, Acarnania, and Eubœa.

SILVER AND BRONZE, CIRCA. B.C. 220—197.

Æ. 78 grs.	Head of Persephone facing, wearing cornwreath.	ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ. Poseidon, naked, standing r., resting on trident and holding dolphin; in field, Bœotian shield and various letters or monograms, among which are the following, ΔΙ, ΔΞ, Α, Δ, ΕΙ, Κ, Ε.
[Pl. VI. 5.]		
Æ. Size 4. Average 57 grs.	Similar.	ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ. Poseidon, naked, standing l., resting one foot upon a rock and leaning on trident.
[Pl. VI. 6.]		

A large majority, if not all, of these bronze coins are restruck on bronze of Antigonos Doson: *obv.* head of Herakles in lion's skin; *rev.* B—A; youth on horse r. beneath, monogram **Α**.

Æ., size 8. 28 grs.	Head of Pallas r., helmeted.	ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ. Poseidon standing l., resting on tri- dent and holding dolphin.
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[*Num. Zeit.* iii. p. 825.]

PERIOD XIV. CIRC. B.C. 197—146.

In the wars which ensued, B.C. 214—197, between the Romans and Philip, the Bœotians were among the allies of the latter; but when Flaminius, in B.C. 197, made himself master of Thebes by stratagem, a decree was carried, without a single dissentient voice, of alliance with Rome, in a general assembly of the Bœotians, convoked by the Bœotarch Antiphilus the day after the entry of Flaminius into the city.

Notwithstanding this nominal alliance, a number of Bœotians fought on Philip's side at the battle of Cynoscephalæ under the command of Brachyllas, who was taken prisoner on that occasion, but released by Flaminius soon afterwards. Brachyllas was immediately elected archon of the Bœotian League by his fellow-countrymen, who thus openly displayed their Macedonian tendencies. Not long after, Brachyllas was assassinated with the connivance of Flaminius, which so incensed the Bœotians that they wreaked their vengeance on Rome by privately murdering about 500 Roman soldiers as they passed either singly or in small bodies through Bœotia.

Flaminius next laid siege (B.C. 196) to the cities of Acræphium and Coroneia, which he supposed to be chiefly responsible for the murders which had been committed, and all Bœotia became again subject to Rome, being condemned also to pay a fine of thirty talents. The Romans nevertheless still abstained from any active interference

with the internal government of Bœotia, which yet remained in the hands of the party opposed to Rome.

When, therefore, Antiochus the Great landed in Greece, B.C. 192, the Bœotians were among the foremost to join the coalition against Rome, but were once more compelled to surrender on the defeat of Antiochus in the following year.

Bœotia now became a prey to internal dissensions and disorders of every description, and it became evident that the old League was rapidly falling to pieces.

On the occasion of the rupture between Rome and Perseus, the new king of Macedon, B.C. 173, two at least of the Bœotian cities, Iliartus and Coroneia, sided with the latter, so also did Neon, Hippias, and Ismenias, one of the Bœotarchs. But when the Roman envoy demanded an explanation, the government of the confederacy represented what had occurred as merely the work of a faction.

The Romans, however, gladly seized the opportunity which now offered of breaking up the League without resorting to open force. A mere hint that it would best appear which cities adhered to Rome and which to Macedon if they would severally and separately declare their decisions was all that was necessary. The federal body immediately broke up into a number of helpless communities, each anxious to obtain for itself the most favourable terms. This was in B.C. 172. Henceforth we hear little of Bœotian affairs until B.C. 146, when, after the destruction of Corinth, the Bœotian confederacy, which had practically ceased to exist B.C. 172, was legally and formally dissolved. Some of the Bœotian cities, with Pytheas, who had been elected Bœotarch, had joined the Achæans in this final struggle, and Thebes was now punished by the demolition of her walls.

The following are the coins which fall into the period between the declaration of freedom in Hellas by Flamininus in B.C. 197, and the legal dissolution of the Bæotian League in B.C. 146 :—

Æ. 78 grs.	Head of Zeus r., laur. border of dots.	ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ. Nike stand- ing l., holding wreath, and resting on trident; in front, various monograms, &c., of which the following are in the Brit. Mus. and Paris collec- tions, Α, Β, grapes and Α, Χ, Σ, Α, Π, Ι, Ε Μ, bipennis and Γ, Κ and crab? thyrsus and Μ, Π, thyrsus and Α, Π Β, Ω, ΔΕ and Ι, Ε, ΕΥ.
	[Brit. Mus.	Pl. VI. 7.]
Æ., size 5.	Similar.	Similar.
	[Hunter, Pl. XIII. 14.]	
Æ., size 3. Av. 44 grs.	Bæotian shield, on which club.	ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ. Similar type.
	[Brit. Mus.	Pl. VI. 8.]
Æ., size 2. Av. 27 grs.	Bæotian shield.	ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ. Trident and dolphin.
	[Brit. Mus.	Pl. VI. 9.]

These coins are much ruder in style and fabric than the previous series of this type attributed to Period X. (Pl. V. 14).

With regard to the respective values of the silver and bronze money of Bæotia during this period, B.C. 197—146, some light may be gained from a very remarkable inscription now in the museum at Thebes,²⁸ by which it

²⁸ *Hermes*, 1874, p. 481.

appears that a certain Hipparch named Pompidas, being insufficiently supplied with funds by the State, and being obliged to pay the salaries of his officers in silver, was compelled to buy, or rather borrow, 110 silver drachms of the federal currency from a banker named Kaphisodorus, and that subsequently he repaid the amount borrowed in the same number of bronze drachms plus 25 per cent. *agio*, in all $137\frac{1}{2}$ Æ drachms.

ἐπριάμεθα παρὰ Καφισοδώρου . . . συμμαχικῶν ΗΔ (= 110 Æ drachms). Thus he records the sum borrowed. The repayment is noted in the following terms:—

Καφισοδώρῳ ἀργυρίου συμμαχικῶν δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν δέκα τμηὴν . . . χαλκῶν ΗΔΔΔΡΤΤΙΙΙ (= 137 drachms 3 obols of bronze, or $137\frac{1}{2}$ Æ drachms).

It is thus evident that the bronze drachm must have been treated simply as a money of account, and that it had been rendered legally equivalent to the silver drachm. At the same time it would seem that although the Hipparch was able to obtain silver in exchange for bronze at the banker's by paying him 25 per cent. on the transaction, he was obliged to pay his officers in silver.

This looks as if in the general financial disorganization which prevailed at this time in Bœotia, the State had commenced the issue of drachms in bronze, and had enacted a law to make them legal tender in the place of the silver drachms, but that the salaries of the troops continued to be paid in good silver.

The three denominations referred to in the inscription would seem, therefore, to be the following, which are more fully described above.

- 1st. The silver drachm, weighing about 80 grs. *Obv.* head of Zeus. *Rev.* ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ, Nike, &c.
Called ἀργίριον συμμαχικόν or βοιώτιον.

- 2nd. The copper drachm, identical in size and types with the silver. [Cf. Hunter, Pl. 18, ix. and xiv.]
Called δραχμή χαλκοῦ.
- 3rd. The obol, probably the smaller copper coin with the shield on the obverse, and either Nike or a trident on the reverse, six of which were equivalent to one drachm.

PERIOD XV. CIRC. B.C. 146—27.

Not many years after the dissolution of the League in B.C. 146, Pausanias tells us,²⁹ the Romans, repenting of their severity, restored to the Greeks (the Bœotians we may suppose among the rest) their ancient republican institutions, *ἔτεσι δὲ ὅν πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἐτράποντο ἐς ἕλκον οἱ Ρωμῆαιοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ συνέδριά τε κατὰ ἔθνος ἀποδιδόασιν ἐκάστοις τὰ ἀρχαῖα*. Of course these so-called *ἀρχαῖα συνέδρια* were mere empty forms and shadows of what had in the olden days been living realities.

Between 146 and the time of the early empire, the coins which were struck in Bœotia are neither numerous nor of any great interest. The following bronze coins of Bœotian towns appear to belong for the most part to this period. Some of them may, however, be of imperial times, but as they are without the head of an emperor it is more convenient to include them all under one heading:—

LEBADEIA.

Æ., size 8. 40 grs.	Head of Pallas wearing crested helmet, l.	Æ in olive wreath.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl. VI. 10.]

Æ., size 8. 42 grs.	Similar head, r.	Similar, but ruder.
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[Brit. Mus.]

²⁹ *Paus.* vii. 16, 7.

ORCHOMENUS.

Æ., size 2½. 88 grs.	Bust of Hera r., veiled, over her shoulder, sceptre, border of dots. [Brit. Mus.	EP—XO. Tripod, the whole in laurel-wreath. Pl. VI. 11.]
Æ., 2. 27 grs.	Similar. [Num. Zeit. iii. p. 869, No. 55.]	Similar, no wreath.

THEBES.

Æ., size 2.	Bœotian shield, on which club. [Num. Zeit. ix. p. 47.]	ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ. Nike stand- ing l., holding patera and resting on trident.
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This coin may have been struck before the total dis-
solution of the League between B.C. 172 and B.C. 146.

Æ., size 3.	Torch between two ears of corn and two poppy- heads. [Brit. Mus.	ΘΗΒΑ—ΙΩΝ. Lyre; bor- der of dots. Pl. VI. 12.]
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THESPLÆ.

Æ., size 3-2.	Female head r., laur. wearing stephanos (?) and veiled; bor- der of dots. [Brit. Mus.	ΘΕΣΠΙ ΕΩΝ. Lyre; the whole in laurel wreath. Pl. VI. 13.]
Æ., size 2½.	Head of Pallas l. wearing Co- rinthian helmet without crest. [Sestini, Mus. Font. ii., Pl. IV. 17.]	ΘΕΣΠ ΙΕΩΝ. Artemis huntress, advancing l., hold- ing bow.

PERIOD XVI. IMPERIAL TIMES.

There can be little doubt that the following coins, even those which are without the emperor's head, belong to imperial times.

THEBES.

Æ., size 4½.	ΘΗΒ—ΑΙΩΝ. Head of bearded Herakles, l. laur. border of dots.	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙ—ΠΕΜΠΤΙΔΟ —Υ. Club and arrow (or rather thyrsus) crossed.
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[Brit. Mus. Pl VI. 15]

Æ., size 4.	ΘΗΒΑΙ—ΩΝ. Female head r., turretted and laureate.	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙ—ΠΕΜΠΤΙ- ΔΟ—Υ ³⁰ . Dionysus wear- ing long robes standing r., holding kantharos.
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[Sestini, *Mus. Font.*, Pl. IV. 16.]

With Head of Galba, A.D. 68—69.

Æ., size 5.	ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΓΑΛΒΑΣ ΣΕΒ- ΑΣΤΟΣ. Head of Galba r.	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΠΕΜΠΤΙ- ΔΟΥ and in an inner circle. ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ. Nike on prow, l., holding wreath and palm.
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[*Berl. Blätt.* Bd. III. p. 167.]

³⁰ The reading here given is conjectural. Sestini both in his Plate and in his text has ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ ΜΠΤΙΔΟ, which must, I think, be a misreading. *Proke h-Ost. Ined.*, 1859, p. 16, in describing a coin which evidently bears the same name, gives it as ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΠ—ΕΜΠΩΔΟΥ. Mion. ii., p. 110, has another coin, *obv.* head of Herakles, r. laur.; *rev.*

Whether the Magistrate's name on the above coins is Archipemptides or Pemptides we cannot positively decide. Such a name as Archipemptides, although of course possible, is quite new. Pemptides, on the other hand, is a known Theban name.³¹ If, therefore, we read Pemptides, the legend of the coins must be completed thus **ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙ** [*επίως*] **ΠΕΜΠΤΙΔΟΥ**, and we must suppose Pemptides to have been high priest of the Imperial cultus (*τῶν Σεβαστῶν*) at Thebes in the time of Galba. No *ἀρχιερεύς* is, however, known on any coin of Greece proper.

Æ., size 4. | **ΘΗΒΑΙ—ΩΝ.** | **ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΕΜ. Γ. Κ.**
 Female head r., | **ΜΑΚΡΟΥ.** | Dionysus
 turreted and | wearing long robes, standing
 laur. | r., holding kantharos.
 [*Prok.-Ost.*, 1859, Pl. II. 32.]

Æ., size 4. | **ΘΗΒ—ΑΙΩΝ.** | **ΕΠ ΠΟΛΕΜ Γ.Κ. ΜΑΚ-**
 Head of bearded | **ΡΟΥ.** | Club and arrow
 Herakles, l., | crossed, border of dots.
 laur. |
 [*Kenner, Stift St. Florian*, p. 57.]

These two coins may be attributed to a Roman of the name of Gaius Calpurnius Macer. It does not seem improbable that he may be identical with the Calpurnius Macer who lived in the reign of Trajan, and was a correspondent of the younger Pliny's.

Whether he issued money in virtue of his office of Polemarch of Thebes, or whether the mention of his magistracy is, as is sometimes the case, merely a statement of the fact that while holding the office of moneyer he was at the same time Polemarch, is a point which there

ΕΠΙ ΩΝΟΚΛΕΤΙΑΣ, club and arrow. This, I think, must be another misreading for **ΕΠΙΑΡΧΙ ΠΕΜΠΤΙΔΟΥ**.

³¹ *Plut. Erot. XII., seqq.* See also Keil's restoration of the inscription in Bœekh, C. I. G., 1686, where the name also occurs.

is no evidence in this instance to decide.³² This remark applies also to the coins reading **ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙ**[*ερέως* ?] **ΠΕΜΠΤΙΔΟΥ**. It is not probable that Pemptides struck money *quæ* archiereus, but there is no reason why he may not have been also a monetarius (Polemarch ?) at the same time.

With Head of Trajan, A.D. 98—117.

Æ., size 6.		ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤ-		ΕΠΙ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΠΟΛΕ-	Nike
		ΩΡ ΤΡΑΙΑΝ-		ΜΑ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.	
		ΟΣ. Head of		on globe with wreath and	
		Trajan laur.		palm.	

[Sestini, *Lett. Num. Cont.*, t. ix., Pl. I. 4.]

The above coin is thus described by Sestini. It does not seem at all unlikely (when it is remembered how inaccurate Sestini's descriptions often are) that we should read **ΜΑΚΡΟΥ** for **ΜΑΡΚΟΥ**, in which case this coin would help us to date those of the Polemarch C. Calpurnius Macer. I would, therefore, in this case conjecture the true reading to be **ΕΠΙ ΜΑΚΡΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΥ**.

In addition to the above-described coins of Thebes which belong to Imperial times, there are numerous coins of this period struck at the two cities of Tanagra and Thespiæ, the only towns of any importance remaining in Bœotia in the time of Augustus. The Tanagræan coins, like the Theban, are frequently without the emperor's head.

TANAGRA.

Æ., size 8.		T—A Beardless		Α]ΩΠΟΣ.	Bearded head
		N—[A. head r., border of dots.		of the river Asopus r.	

[*Num. Zeit.* ix. p. 30.]

³² Cf. Lenormant, *Mon. dans l'antiquité*, tom. iii. p. 103.

Æ., size 8.	TANA ΓΡΑΙ ΩΝ	in laurel wreath.	T—A N—A.	Winged caduceus.
	[Brit. Mus.]			
Æ., size 8.	Pegasus flying r.	T—A.	Winged caduceus.	
	[Num. Zeit. ix. p. 29.]			
Æ., size 8.	Youthful bust r., draped, at shoul- der crooked staff, in front, ear of corn ?	TANA Γ ΠΑΙΩΝ.	Her- mes Kriophoros standing, facing, carrying a ram across his shoulders.	
	[Brit. Mus. Cf. Num. Zeit. ix. p. 80. Pl. VI. 14.]			
Æ., size 8.	Laureate head r.	T—A N—A.	Similar.	
	[Prok.-Ost., 1854, Pl. II. 62.]			
Æ., size 8½.	ΠΟΙΜ ΔΡΟΣ.	AN Beard- ed bust of Poe- mander r.	TANAGR—ΑΙΩΝ. Similar.	
	[Num. Zeit. ix. p. 29.]			
Æ., size 8.	Female head r.	T—A N—A.	Artemis running r. holding torch.	
	[Prok.-Ost., 1859, taf. ii. 81.]			
Æ., size 2½.	TANA—ΓΡΑΙ. Turreted female head r.	Artemis running with torch.		
	[Num. Zeit. ix. p. 29.]			

Near Tanagra was Mount Kerukion, where it was related that Hermes was born. Of this god there were two temples at Tanagra, where he was worshipped respectively as Kriophoros and Promachos. Concerning the statue of Hermes Kriophoros, Pausanias (ix. 22) tells us that it was the work of Calamis. On the festival of Hermes, the Tanagræan youth who surpassed all the rest in beauty was in Pausanias's time still wont to carry round the walls a ram upon his shoulders, in remembrance of the deliverance of the city from a pestilence which the god himself was believed to have thus expelled.

With regard to Pœmander, all that we know is that he was the founder of Tanagra and the spouse of the nymph of that name, who was a daughter of the river Asopus (Paus. ix. 20).

Imperial coins of Tanagra bearing the head of the emperor are known of Augustus, Tiberius, Drusus, Germanicus, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and Commodus. The most interesting types have been already fully explained by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Num. Zeitschrift*, ix. p. 30, *sqq.*

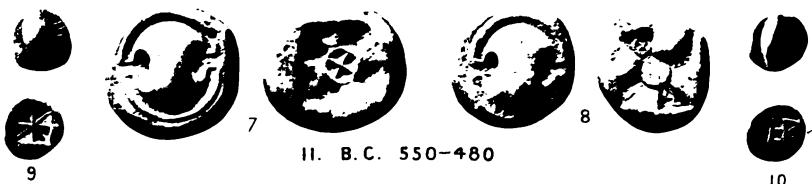
THESPIÆ.

Of this town there are Imperial coins of the Emperor Domitian only. See *Mion. Supp.*, tom. iii. p. 533.





I. B. C. 600-550

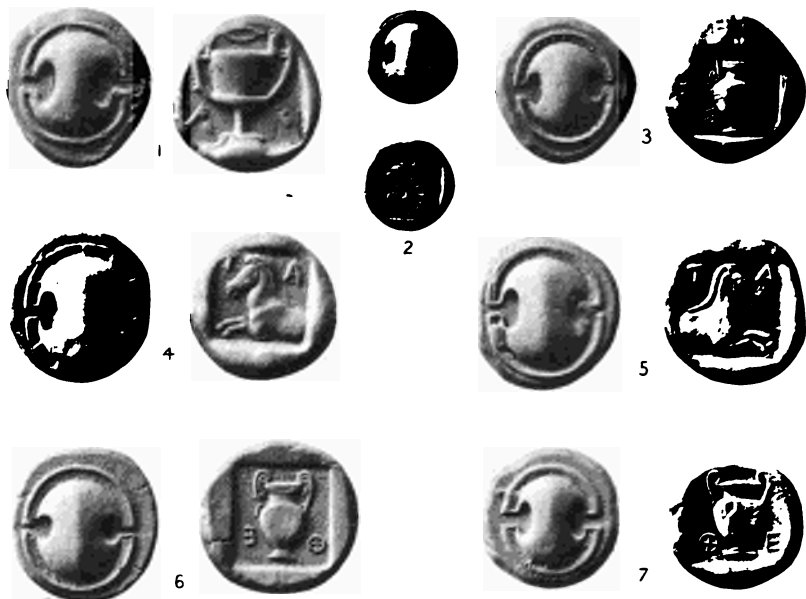


II. B. C. 550-480



III. B. C. 480-457

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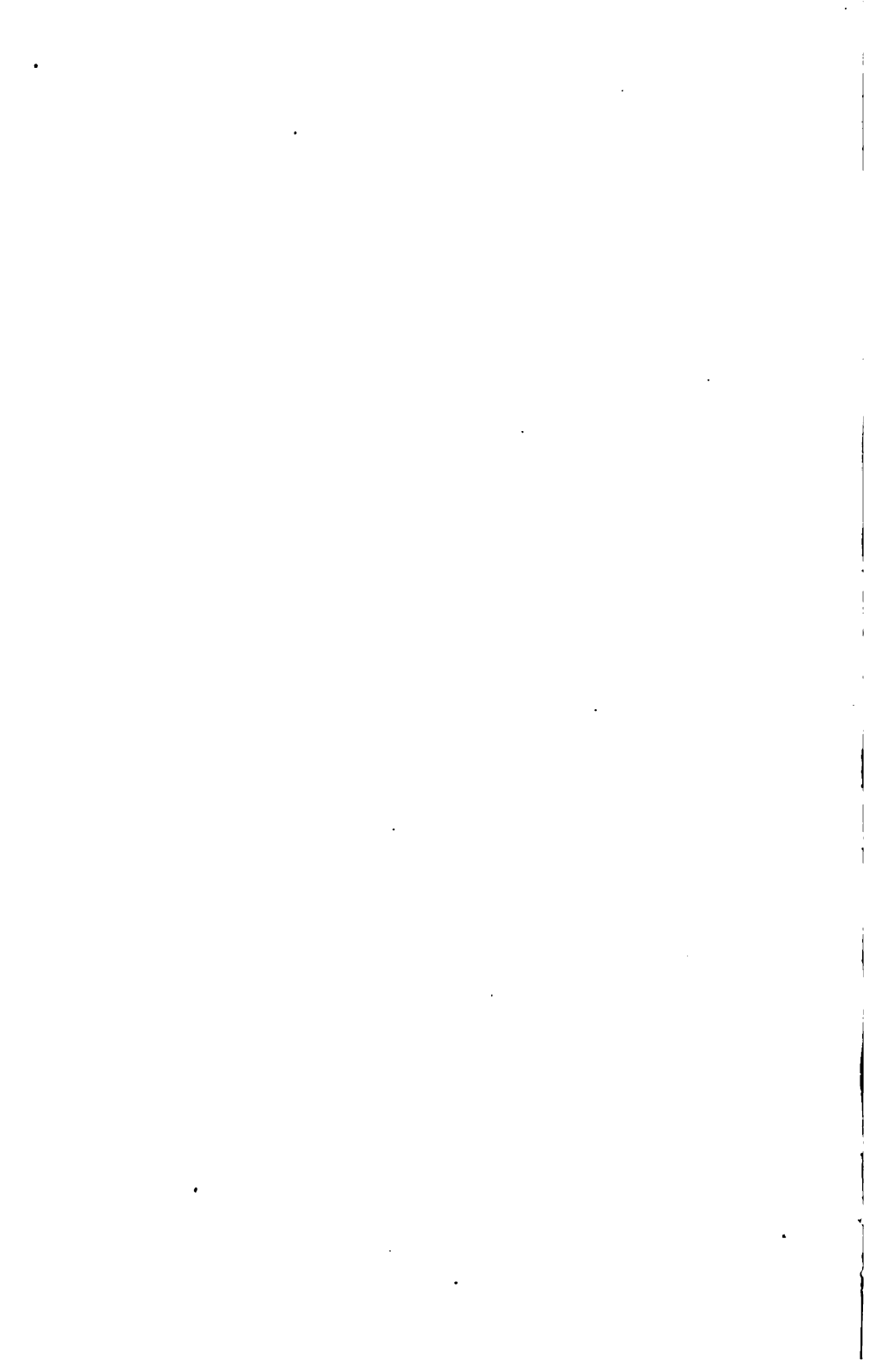


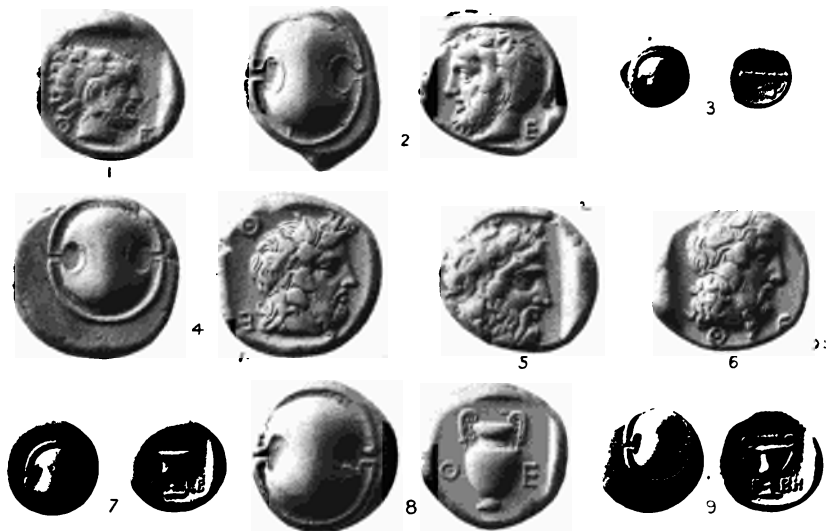
IV. B. C. 456-446



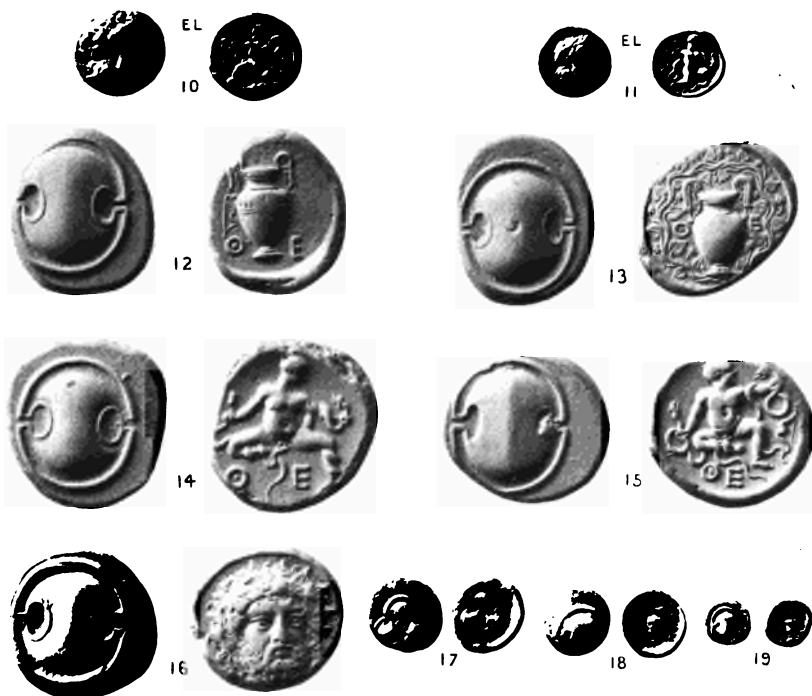
V. B. C. 446-426

AUTOTYPE

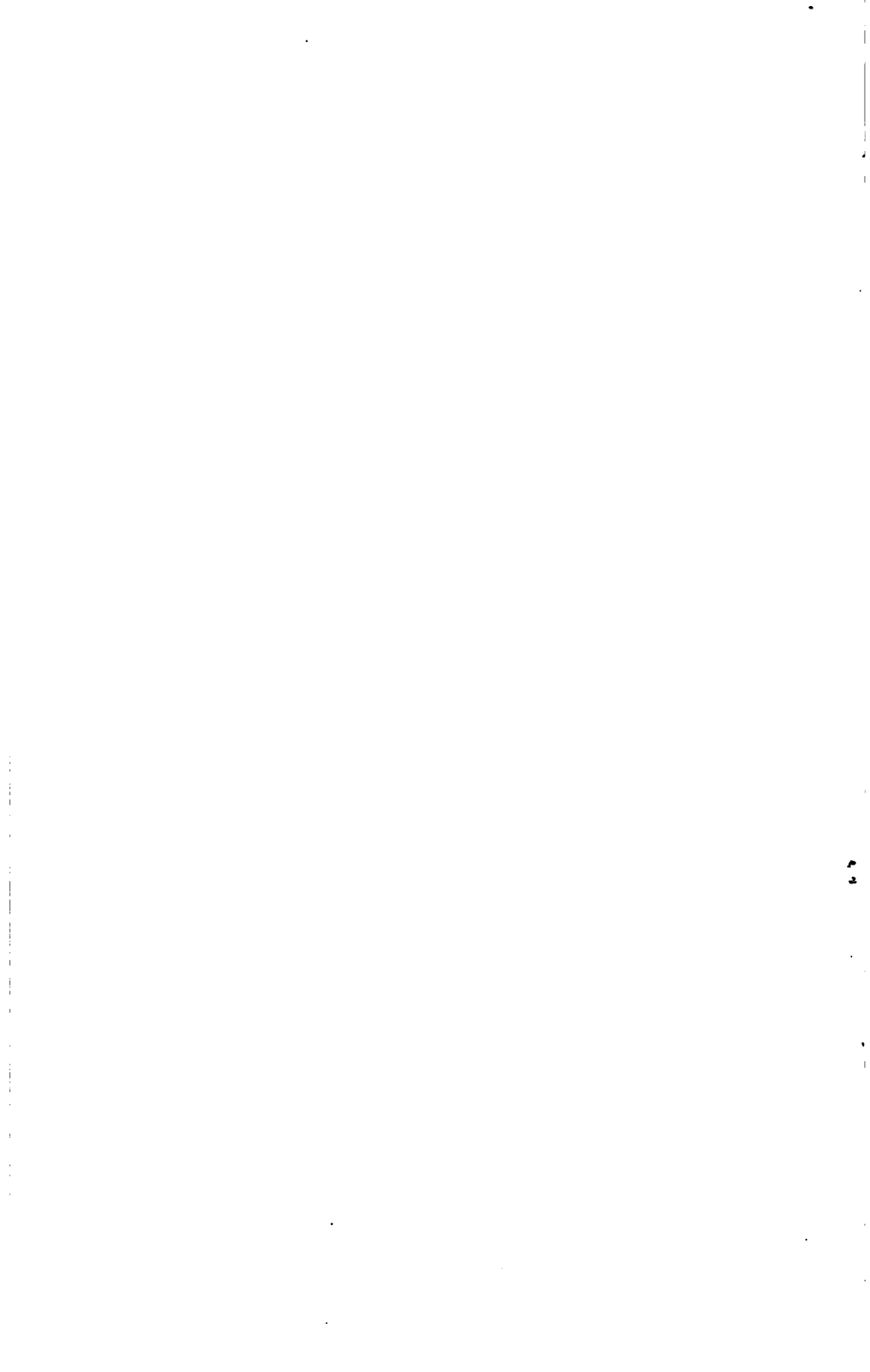


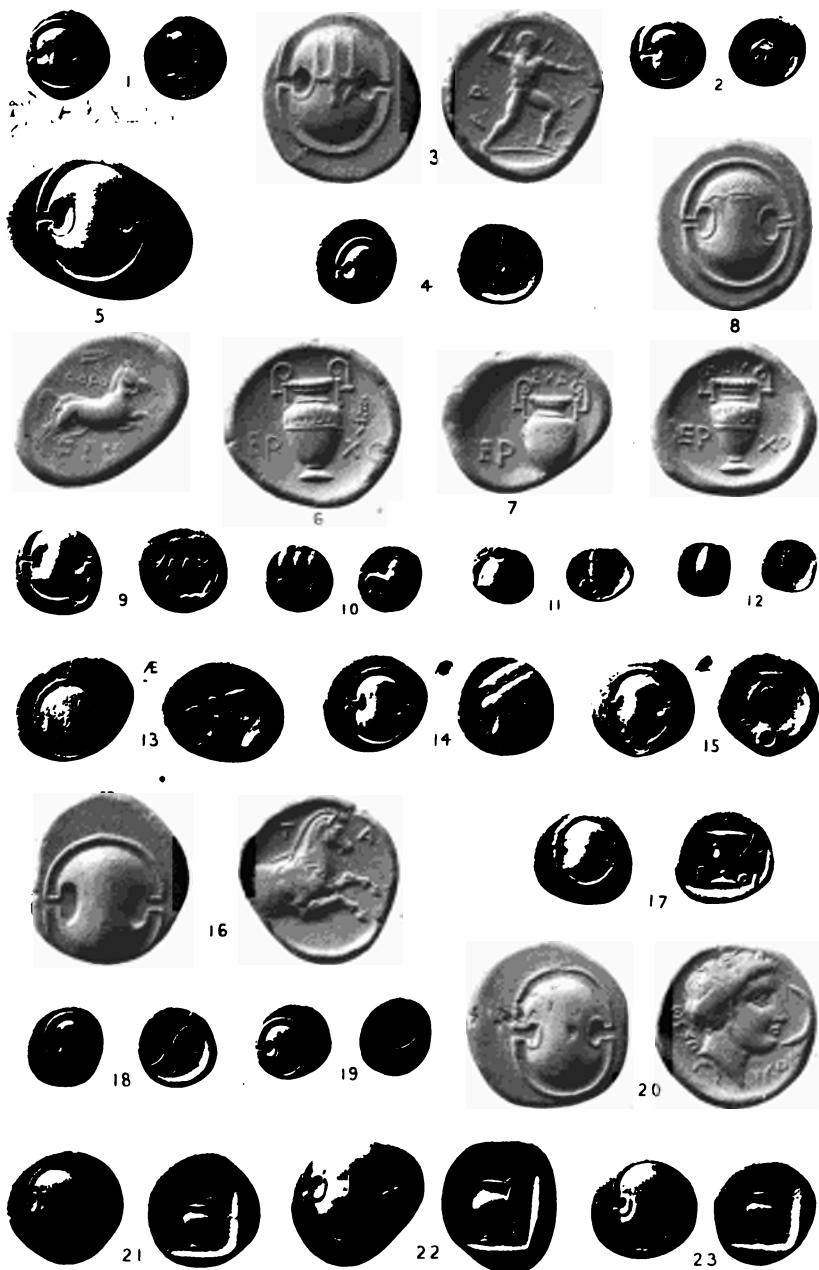


VI. B. C. 426-395



VII. B. C. 395-387

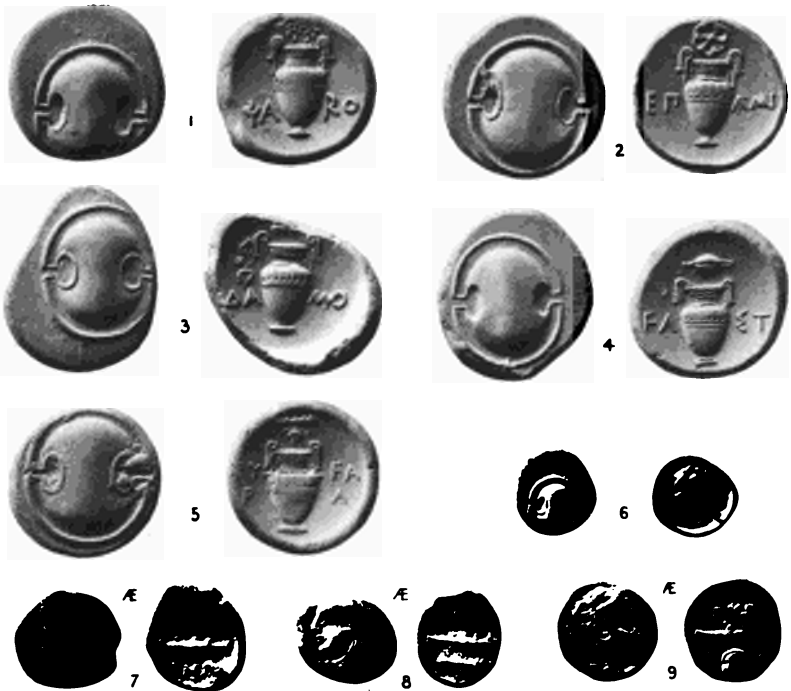




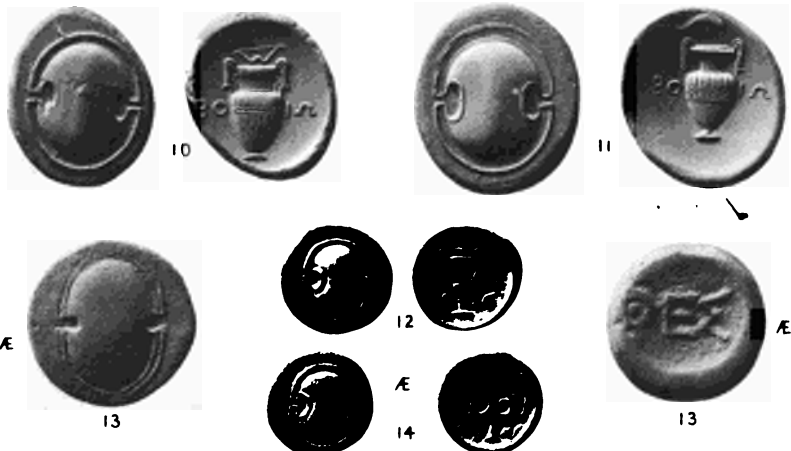
VIII. B. C. 387 - 374.

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IX. B.C. 379 - 338



X. B.C. 338 - 315



XI. B.C. 315 - 288





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2



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2



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4



3

XII. B.C. 288-244



5



Æ



6

XIII. B.C. 244-197



7



XIV. B.C. 197-146



Æ



8



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10

Æ



11

Æ



12

Æ



13

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XV. B.C. 146-27



Æ



14



Æ



15

XVI. IMPERIAL TIMES



8176





