

GREEK
FEDERAL COINAGE

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AN ESSAY
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BY THE
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P R E F A C E.

THE present Essay is an attempt to illustrate Mr. Freeman's History of Federal Government by evidence deduced from the Coinage of the times and countries therein treated of. The purely historical application of Numismatics is a point of such importance, that the author, conscious of the shortcomings of this general view of the subject, will be amply satisfied if it prove the means of stimulating some abler researches in the same direction.

Note.—All references in the following Essay “to the text,” or to a page with no particular work specified, are to Mr. Freeman's History of Federal Government. I have also followed as closely as I could the system of proper-name orthography adopted in his work.

AN ESSAY

ON

GREEK FEDERAL COINAGE.

THE coinage of a federation, in its greater or less uniformity, may be accepted as a faithful index of the actual vitality and practical working of the particular League. Witness our most perfect instances of federal government, Achaia and Lykia, as compared with the imperfect Leagues of Ætolia and Bœotia. In Lykia, we have existing coins of nearly twenty towns; under the Achaian League, a list of more than forty towns and districts,¹ struck, in each case, with the most perfect uniformity of types throughout the whole length and breadth of either League, and with the most regular recognition on each town's coinage of a superior federal authority. Such facts as these bring home to us, as forcibly as any written contemporaneous history, the full reality of a great national effort belonging to times so remote from our own. The contrast between federal and unfederal Achaia, between the Lykia of the League and the Lykia in other times, will be best appreciated in observing each city coining after its own type and its own devices.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

The federal
coinages
of Achaia
and Lykia
the most
uniform.

Again, the coinage of an imperfectly developed federalism, as of

¹ The whole list of places coining under the Achaian League, as I have given it, amounts to 41. 32 of these coins I have verified personally. This leaves 9 places given on the authority of Sestini, Mionnet, &c. These two authorities are not trustworthy on any point of great importance, but probably two-thirds of these 9 towns or districts have left actual coins, as seven of these are known from history to have actually been members of the League.

INTRO-
DUCTION. Bœotia, bears upon it the distinct impress of the main constitutional fault of that particular League. The coinage of Bœotia and its League is, eminently and in a very undue preponderance, the coinage of Thebes. The didrachms which claim to be considered federal by inscribing the name of the Bœotians differ only in this respect from those, which, professing to be struck by 'the Thebans,' would, if strictly interpreted, rank as a merely municipal currency. Again, another class of these didrachms, not numerically smaller than the coinage avowedly of the League or of the capital,—seems to waive the question of a federal or municipal ascription by merely naming a head magistrate without mention of town or country. Still, strictly speaking, even in this last class, the federal character predominates, by the all but certain assumption, that the Archon Epônimo of the Bœotarchs is thus named. The real fact is that, at least during the second period of Bœotian history, Bœotian and Theban had become practically synonymous; Thebes was the League and the League was Thebes;¹ hence, it made very little difference, for purposes of currency, or mere verbal significance in the eyes of a contemporary Bœotian, whether any particular didrachm was marked Theban or Bœotian. While, on the other hand, we can easily conceive that a didrachm inscribed 'of the Thyrrhéans'² was not equally current with another marked "of the Akarnanians" through every town of that League; nor could this last have conveyed the same meaning to an Akarnanian of the period, though identical in type and place of mintage with the federal issue. Last, the whole series of the other towns which coined in Bœotia is, even taken together, numerically inferior to the coins which we may suppose issued from the mint of Thebes alone at different periods.³

Thus in two instances, among the Leagues here discussed, was uniformity of coinage, with a recognition on each coin of the federal

¹ See Mr. Freeman's History of Federal Government, page 160.

² We shall show lower down that the Akarnanian League at one period met and struck federal coins at Thyrrhéon.

³ The number of coins which a town has left is not always a sure test of its relative importance as compared with neighbouring cities at the time those coins were issued. The accidental proximity of a mine sometimes leaves us a large series of a comparatively unimportant place.

authority, enforced among their constituent cities and states. I should conceive, however, that in no one instance did any League interfere with a previously existing right of coinage belonging to any small state within its influence. The rule seems almost invariable that federal and state coins should coexist. The coins of our most perfect Leagues, the Achaian and Lykian, unite both characters. In the more imperfect federations the towns generally coined with no recognition of any authority beyond their city walls. In Akarnania, Leukas occasionally, Oiniadai nearly always, bear what is no doubt the monogram of their League. Moreover, the type of the Achelôos head is prevalent. In Ætolia there is a distinctive type used by Ætolian towns, consisting of symbols relative to the Kalydônian hunt. Thus, beyond this approximation of type, which, in both these instances, may be as much owing to some community of religious influence as to any feeling of political or federal union, Akarnania and Ætolia illustrate their federal institutions but little through their coinage. In Thessaly and Epeiros we get the mere fact of a comparatively late federal coinage. In Chalkidikê, Bottiaia,¹ with several other neighbouring cities, uses the same types as the Chalkidians, but Bottiaia only inscribes her own name. Olynthos both uses the same type and prefixes "of the Chalkidians." For Olynthos their capital to style itself thus, does not infer much for the vitality of the League; had Bottiaia added to her own name XAAKIDAEON this would have had an infinitely greater significance. In the Arkadian League of Lykomêdês, Megalopolis, like Olynthos,—each the head town—at times acknowledges her own League by adding the monogram of Arkadia, but no minor Arkadian town seems to recognise this earlier League on its coinage, except possibly Pheneos, and this is more than doubtful.² Again, every constituent city of the Achaian and Lykian Leagues would possess as such the right of coining on their own League type. Hence, when Philopimên or Lykortas erected a new state, Pagai or Asea would eagerly inaugurate their political birth by setting up their pillar, and striking a League coin of their town.

¹ The city Bottiaia stood not far north of Olynthos and Potidaia. Leake. Numismata Hellenica, European Greece. P. 29.

² See below under "Arkadia."

INTRO-
DUCTION.

A central
mint some-
times em-
ployed by
several
towns.

The particular cities would not lose their right of striking, nor would the federal government be interfering with that right, if, for the mutual convenience of at least the smallest towns, a central mint were established, where a common staff was employed in coining money as occasion required from dies stamped with the name of each particular city. It is not really of any great importance, whether each small League city manufactured its own currency, or went to headquarters for it.¹ The principle is the same, and the right is unimpaired.

Monetary
leagues.
That of the
six Bœo-
tian cities.

The evidence of coins has however handed down to us records of a more limited class of leagues, which, but for coins, we should probably have never heard of. I mean the numerous monetary leagues between two or more Greek cities. The best typical instance of such an alliance is furnished us by the six Bœotian cities who coin on one type, perhaps from one mint.

Notmerely
com-
mercial.

Though we have no evidence of this league, beyond a compact to assimilate their currencies between six or more cities, with doubtless an agreement to make their coins, interchangeably, a legal tender throughout the town-districts of each ;—yet we may fairly presume that, in many such cases, the greater is implied by the less ; that a common currency may have meant a common council ; nor must we infer the absence of more complicated federal ties, because in the length of time only one of the then least details in the provisions of the league—a uniform type on their money—has survived to us.²

¹ The distinction between a coin of Patara and Podalia is merely the difference between ΠΑ and ΠΟ. This is hardly a more ostensible difference than between the single letters which number the different issues of the later Roman Empire, or indeed the numeral letters on the coins of Phaselis probably anterior to its joining the Lykian League. Thus, the postage stamps for our colonies are, I believe, manufactured at home. Still, I hardly think that this system of a central mint ever obtained much in Lykia or Achaia. The six Bœotian cities may however have struck from a common coining town, as may many of the less important monetary Leagues. Wide differences of fabric, as of period, exist among the coins of the Achaian and Lykian Leagues.

² I can hardly believe such monetary leagues to have been purely commercial. M. Müller (*Numismatique d'Alexandre Le Grand*, p. 45) speaks to the point : “ Quand les villes libres frappaient monnaie en commun, c'était une conséquence naturelle d'alliances faites pour la défense mutuelle, de liaisons commerciales, d'un culte commun, ou d'une bonne

It is not too much to say, that the oldest distinct record of any germ of federalism in Greece is furnished us by an archaic coin of the Arkadians, probably of the sixth century before Christ. In this, our earliest approximation to a federal system, the principal Arkadian cities of the same archaic period coin side by side without recognition of, or interference from the mint which issued money in the name of the whole tribe. Mantinea, Hêraia,¹ and Kleitôr have left a coinage as old, in the case of Hêraia, perhaps older, than that of the Arkadians. Of course, it would be an anachronism to expect anything beyond the very smallest germ of federalism in Early Arkadia. In fact the ethnic "Arkadian" may have only applied to the Arkadian villages clustered round the immediate vicinity of Lykosoura,² where as the religious centre of the tribes united by one common Arkadian origin, the coinage would issue and be inscribed "Arkadian" and not "Lykosourian." On the other hand Mantinea, Hêraia, and Kleitôr, were on their own account also centres to numerous surrounding villages, in each of which their head town Mantinea, Hêraia, or Kleitôr, rather than the vaguer name Arkadia, would inspire respect. Besides, an independent centre like Hêraia would rather inscribe its own name on a currency intended for surrounding and virtually dependent villages, than encourage among these any thought of an appeal beyond and above its own authority by any suggestion of Arkadia and the sacred supremacy of Lykosoura.

INTRO-
DUCTION.The oldest
federal
coinage
that of
Arkadia.Lyko-
soura.Mantinea,
Hêraia,
and
Kleitôr, in
their turn
also politi-
cal centres.

Having thus attempted a general view of the subject numismatically considered, I shall now pass in detail over the various

intelligence en général ; et le but en était probablement de donner un cours plus répandu à la monnaie et d'économiser sur les frais du monnayage." In 1802, Berne with five or six of the largest Swiss Cantons agreed to a *Concordate* under which they issued a uniform currency, though quite independently of the Federal Government. Compare this with our six Bœotian towns.

¹ If we refer the earliest coin of Hêraia to the seventh century B. C., as we distinctly can one of the latest to the reign of Caracalla, we have a great breadth of time for the numismatic series of an insignificant city, which outlasted several empires.

² Col. Leake suggested Lykosoura as the earliest Arkadian mint (see *Numismata Hellenica* under Arkadia. Again, on Lykosoura especially, in his *Supplement to Numis. Hell.* under Gortys, p. 110.) Pheneos has left a few semi-archaic coins, not so old however as those of the three Arkadian towns in the text. It is not impossible that Pheneos may have been the Federal Arkadian mint at some period before the League of Lykomédês. (See again below under "Arkadia.")

INTRO-
DUCTION.

Greek states where we trace any approximation to the Federal system admitting of illustration from the coins which have come down to us.

Following the arrangement adopted in the text for greater facility of reference we commence with—

PHOKIS.

PHOKIS.

Coin of
Onomar-
chos.

The Federal coinage of Phôkis extends over a considerable period of time; beginning with archaic specimens,¹ and ending close upon the Roman period. Intermediate between these in style is a brass coin reading ONYMAPXOY, which on the analogy of *ὀμώνυμος* and many similar instances, must be taken to be a local form of the name Onomarchos. This can only be the Phôkian general of the Sacred War, who was nominated to the chief command B.C. 353. The treasures of Delphi² were at his disposal, and consequently squandered largely by him in bribes. Considering the large force of mercenaries which he maintained, he is likely enough to have caused to be coined great quantities of the sacred treasure-bullion; as general he would naturally put his name on pieces thus coined in virtue of his office, or even if not warranted in thus doing, such a plan would suggest itself as an obvious way of inspiring greater respect in his hired armies, and from the foreign states with which he tampered.

Another of
his son
Phalaikos

A perfectly analogous coin exists reading ΦΑΛΑΙΚΟΥ³ in a wreath of laurel, with the head of the sacrificial ox of Phôkis added as usual on the other side. It is highly interesting that both Onomarchos and his son should be thus commemorated. Phalaikos also was suspected of appropriating the sacred treasure, and was deposed in consequence from the generalship, though subsequently restored to

¹ The φ on the earliest Phôkian coins reads like the θ turned on its side. The Ω is merely an omicron with a dot in the centre. These earliest federal coins of Phôkis must be nearly as old as the Arkadian.

² Strabo, ix. 3, sec. 8. Col. Leake has also published this coin but without comment under Phôkis, Num. Hell.

³ In the collection of General Fox. A similar coin in the British Museum appears to read ΦΑΛΔΙΚΟΥ. This very coin was published by Harwood. This may be a graver's slip for Phalaikos. Onomarchos had a brother Phayllos who succeeded him in the generalship during the minority of Phalaikos. The family seem to have established a semi-hereditary succession in Phôkis.

office. A careful study of the federal copper coinage of Phôkis may, PHOKIS. no doubt, bring to light many new names connected with the sacred war, upon the history of which some new light will be thrown.

This head of the sacrificial ox is the distinctive type of the Phôkian coinage. If the federal mint of Phôkis was in any town it probably was at Delphi. Still we know that there was no one dominant Phôkian city and that the Phôkikon stood by the wayside.¹

What is really valuable in the existence of coins "of the Phôkians"—The Phôkian federal coinage next to the Arkadian in antiquity. second perhaps only to the Arkadian in antiquity—is the distinct evidence they supply of a certain germ of Federalism in Phôkis at least five or six centuries before the Christian Era; that is, of the earliest beginnings of that Phôkian League of which that League which Pausanias saw was the decline and the mere shadow.²

The coinage of Delphi is not particularly noteworthy.

The coins reading merely AMΦIKTIONΩΝ are presumedly Coins struck by the Amphiktyonic Council. struck there. Anthêla near Thermopylæ has however been suggested³ as the place whence such pieces were issued, during some temporary meeting of the sacred deputies near Thermai. Delphi continues to coin under the Roman Empire.⁴

Of the other Phôkian towns Elateia⁵ has been given coins reading at full length, which, I fancy belong to the Thessalian Elateia. Uncertain Phôkian coinage cities. Mr. Borrell has published a coin which he attributes to Lilaia.

Môdeôn or Medeôn, Kyparissos and Amphikaia or Amphikleia⁶ have had coins also attributed to them with considerable uncertainty.

¹ See above, pp. 145, 146.

² P. 146, and on the rude federalism existing in many parts of early Greece, p. 144, note. Arnold's *Life*, i. 273 and also p. 145.

³ By M. Duchalais. These coins are fine Æginetan didrachms. A hemidrachm of this series with a similar legend is in the collection of Baron Prokesch-Osten. It bears a veiled head of Dêmêtêr, with a serpent twined round the sacred omphalos. This looks as if such pieces were minted at Delphi. It seems very strange that a primarily religious body like the Amphiktyons should have exercised the right of coining. See text, pp. 123—143.

⁴ A Negro's head, given by conjecture as Æsop's, though this is very doubtful, occurs on the small silver of Delphi. He is supposed to have been sold in slavery to the Delphians. The weight of the federal coinage of Phôkis follows the Æginetan scale.

⁵ Elateia was the largest Phôkian city in Strabo's time (ix. 3. 15).

⁶ See Paus. x. 3. The coin is supposed to read AMΦIKAI.

The coins of Amphissa and Thronion will be considered under Ætolia.

PHOKIS.

Pausanias identifies (x. 36, s. 5) Kyparissos with Antikyra. Strabo (ix. 3, s. 13) would place it elsewhere. There is however in the French national collection¹ an undoubted copper coin of the Phôkian Antikyra, bearing the head and trident of Poseidôn, whose temple in this town Pausanias² notices. Antikyra is specially mentioned by Strabo³ as one of the Phôkian towns which survived at his day. The style of this coin cannot be long if at all anterior to the capture of Antikyra by Flamininus B.C. 198.

AKARNANIA.

AKAR-
NANIA-Thyrrhêon
at one time
the federal
mint.

The very obvious resemblance of the federal coins of Akarnania to the silver currency of the city Thyrrhêon⁴ establishes with adequate certainty the fact of that town having been at some period the federal mint of the Akarnanians.

Polybios, it is true, records⁵ but one meeting of the Akarnanian League held at Thyrrhêon; yet to judge from numismatic evidence, such meetings must, at some indeterminate period, have been normal, not merely occasional.⁶ Perhaps Thyrrhêon⁷ became the

¹ Published by A. de Longperier. *Revue Num.* : p. 247. 1843. And by Barthelemy. (*Encyc. Roret.* pl. 7. 240.) M. Cohen kindly furnished me with an impression of this coin.

² This type is no doubt the upper part of the god's statue there described (§ x. 36). The coin reads *ANTIKTPEON*. Artemis hunting occupies the other side.

³ ix. 3, sec. 4. I do not think this coin belongs either to the Lokrian or Thessalian Antikyra, although possibly these may have also specially worshipped Poseidôn.

⁴ The type in each case is identical; the Aktian Apollo seated on one side, and the head of the deified Achelôos on the other. The name of the head magistrate of the League, probably the *Stratêgos* mentioned by Polybios (v. 6), and Livy (xxxvi. 11), perhaps the priest of the Aktian Apollo, is added, as *ΑΙΞΧΡΙΩΝ ΑΙΞΧΡΙΩΝΟΣ, ΑΤΚΟΤΡΡΟΣ*, &c.; this last is a name of frequent occurrence. The federal coinage reads *AKARNANON*, the municipal coinage *ΘΤΡΡΕΙΩΝ*, or *ΘΤΡΡΗΩΝ*, or *ΘΥΡΡΕΩΝ*. Thyrrhêon records also her own magistrates *ΞΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ*—*ΧΕΡΣΤΗΣ*—in all likelihood municipal not federal officers.

⁵ xxxviii. 5.

⁶ We cannot date the federal Akarnanian coinage with any precision. All that we can say is that it is later than Alexander. The silver currency consists of drachms and didrachms of low Æginetan weight. It probably extends over a very few years. I have seen an electrotpe of one small federal Akarnanian gold coin, of the usual type, from the Hunter Collection.

⁷ Polybios gives both *Θούριον* and *Θούριαν*. I have followed the second of these coin forms as the commonest.

capital of the League when Leukas was lost after the Third Macedonian War B.C. 167. Still the meeting recorded by Polybios¹ took place while Leukas was still in the League, and the fabric of these coins of Thyrrhêon, federal and municipal, seems hardly so late as the Roman capture of Leukas.

AKAR-
NANIA.

The important didrachmic series of Leukas is more numerous than and probably anterior to the federal coinage. Leukas would naturally have suggested itself as the most obvious place for the League mint.² The Leukadians, however, merely strike for the most part in their own name adding a single magistrate without doubt the priest of the Aktian Apollo, who seems to have been regarded as a kind of federal officer, inasmuch as the years of the League were in all likelihood counted in his name.³ These coins also bear sometimes the monogram of Akarnania.

The series of Leukas older than the federal coinage of Thyrrhêon

The numerous copper series of Oiniadai stands next, at least in historical importance, among the towns of Akarnania; these pieces attest considerable commercial consequence for this city during some period when Oiniadai was Akarnanian and not Ætolian; its coinage

Oiniadai.
Its copper series.

¹ See text, p. 148. Throughout, and p. 664.

² At all events between 197-167 B.C. That is after Stratos became Ætolian, and before Leukas was lost. See above, p. 148.

³ See text, p. 149, and Rose, *Inscript. Græc.* p. 282. The *Stratêgos* of Polybios and Livy is omitted in this inscription. The type and symbols on the Leukadian coins support this in favour of the Priest's name being intended. Still I fancy that these didrachms of Leukas were *pro tanto* the nearest approach to a federal coinage in the Akarnanian League at the time they were struck; judging both by their number, and the adequate certainty that Leukas was then the League capital. They bear the monogram of the League in some few cases, but there is nothing else the least federal about them beyond this. Hence, the Akarnanian League only at one period, and that a short one, could have had a real federal coinage, that of Thyrrhêon. In Smith's *Dict. of Geography*, vol. ii. p. 170, a Leukadian didrachm is engraved which bears one form of the League monogram clearly enough. These coins are probably on the Attic standard.

The formula on the Leukadian series is **ΑΕΤΚΑΔΙΩΝ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΗΣ**, **ΑΠΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΗΣ**, &c. with a variety of symbols—a head—a grape bunch—an eagle—as on the Theban or Boeotian coinage. These are perhaps badges or what we should call crests of the particular officer's family, but relate more probably to some small municipal ward, or district, and again may merely distinguish different issues. I am speaking above of coins with the silver Leukadian type, the statue of Artemis, and the half galley. The Corintho-colonial series of Leukas is also numerous but bears no immediate relation to the Akarnanian League, to which it was anterior in the time of its issue.

AKARNANIA.

is no doubt synchronous with certain copper coins of Leukas of a common type with them, the Achelôos head. They both bear also what is more important the monogram, probably, of Akarnania—a distinct recognition of that League—above and beyond the authority of their own particular city district.¹

EPEIROS.

EPEIROS. The federal coinage of Epeiros reads ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ with the

¹ The copper coins of Leukas with the Achelôos type, besides a few of the didrachms as already mentioned, bear behind the head in monogram AK. The coinage of Oiniadai (OINIAΔΑΝ) throughout a numerous series, which is exclusively copper, gives us, in the same position, AKAP or AK, both in monogram, or A simple; thus determining A with certainty as the initial letter of the monogram, K as the second letter, and leaving the rest probably resolvable into AKAP. It is only when an accident of this kind gives us the initial, that we venture on attempting to explain such slippery matters as Greek monograms.

Mionnet, after Eckhel, has published a silver coin of Anaktorion reading AN—ΠΙΩΝ (Anaktoriôn) on one side, AKAPNANON on the other. (Med. Rom. Sup. iii. 457.) This piece is of the federal Thyrrhêon type, of which it is probably a misread specimen; a magistrate's name like ΑΙΞΙΡΙΩΝ having been converted into a fragmentary Anaktoriôn. The same not very trustworthy authority has given us a most tempting coin of Larissa reading ΛΑΡΙΣΑ and ΘΕΞΣΑΛΩΝ (Mionnet. Med. Rom. ii. 17) which has never come to hand; this might, if genuine, commemorate some earlier Thessalian League before Kynoskephalai, but we much doubt its existence.

The cities geographically included in Akarnania of which coins remain are—Alyzia—Anaktorion—Argos Amphilochikon—Métropolis—Stratos—Hérakleia—Leukas—Sollion—Oiniadai—Thyrrhêon. The towns in this list which we have not noticed in detail do not immediately illustrate the Akarnanian League. They are for the most part Corinthian colonies, and their types are rather Corinthian than Akarnanian; hence their coins are chiefly interesting as throwing light upon the chaotic and extensive Corintho-colonial series rather than upon the League of Akarnania. A coin of Sollion published by M. de Longperier (Revue Num. vol. viii. 423) reads at full ΣΟΛΛΕΙΩΝ, as also does a different type from the collection of Baron Prokesch-Osten. The attribution of Corinthian-type didrachms reading MA to the Akarnanian Métropolis is adopted from Leake (Europ. Greece, 75), but it is not absolutely incontestable. The same remark applies to the coins given by the same authority (p. 54) to the Akarnanian Hérakleia, out of the multitudinous Greek cities of that name. (See however Leake's reasons for the attribution.) The other Akarnanian city-attributions are quite certain. M. Müller (Num. Alex. G. p. 178) publishes three tetradrachms of Alexander the Great inscribed OINIA, which had been classed by M. Pinder as struck at Oiniadai. M. Müller, I believe, rightly considers this only a Doric form of a magistrate's name.

initial portion of one or more magistrates' names.¹ Historically it EPEIROS. is impossible that these coins can be anterior to Alexander of Macedonia,² and, to judge merely by their fabric, a later date must be assigned to them.³ Colonel Leake⁴ would place the federal mint of the Epeirots at Dôdôna. His reasons for this supposition may be briefly stated thus: first, we have no coins of Dôdôna⁵ in its own name, nor of any other Epeiot city in the interior; the coining towns are all on the coast. Next, the types of these coins and most of their symbols relate to the worship of Zeus Dôdônaïos. Yet, with all respect for the high authority of Colonel Leake, the fact of no coins existing of Dôdôna in its own name makes more strongly against this town having been the federal mint, than in favour of such a supposition. Thyrrhêon and Megalopolis issue their own municipal coinage side by side with the federal currency. Moreover the Epeiot League, wherever it struck, was likely to multiply allusions to Zeus of Dôdôna; the deified

its federal series.

Where struck.

¹ ΑΥΣΗΝ (Lysander) ΑΙΗΝ (Agênôr) ΔΕΡΔΑ; some pieces bear two names; most have monograms of doubtful interpretation. In the passage of Livy quoted in the text (p. 152, and again p. 599) which implies three Epeiot generals the names are Aeropos, *Darda*, and Philip. It is highly interesting that an Epeiot coin should give us ΔΕΡΔΑ. If we are to accept this as the same Darda of Livy we should get an Epeiot federal coin struck B.C. 204. The name however may have been common in Epeiros as in a dynasty of Elymiôtis (see Thirwall, viii. p. 98 note). In another passage of Livy (xxxii. 10) but one general is mentioned as *Prætor* with a *Magister Equitum* (p. 152). On these conflicting passages I may remark that I have seen a federal Epeiot coin which seems to bear three distinct names or portions of names. The last two of these, however, as I give them, are partly in monogram so that small stress can be laid upon them. They are ΑΥΣΗΝ, ΦΑΡΚΟ, and ANT or AT. A drachm of the Kassôpaian type published by Leake seems to bear one name, and that at full length, ΑΥΚΙΣΚΟΞ (Supp. Num. Hell. p. 125) like the ΣΩΛΩΝΟΞ of Kassôpê; the former name is historical in both Ætolia and Akarnania.

² Epeiros became a Republic (B.C. 239—229) after the royal line had been massacred. (See text, 151.)

³ I know of a single small gold coin of federal Epeiros in the collection of E. Wigan, Esq. It bears a head of Dodônaian Zeus with a wreath, on one side. This head is of a more archaic and stiffer design than that on the federal drachms, where the hair is flowing and curled, here quite straight and simple. The other side gives the usual butting bull with ΑΝΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ.

⁴ See Num. Hellen. sub Epeiros passim.

⁵ Dôdôna was almost deserted in the time of Strabo (vii. 7, sec. 9).

EPEIROS. Achelôos thus continually reappears on coins of various Akarnanian towns,¹ as well as on the federal coinage of that League.

Kassôpê. If any place is to be suggested for the Epeirôt federal mint, the probabilities seem to point to Kassôpê. The resemblance in type between the federal drachms and those of this town is sufficiently noteworthy.² Neither is Kassôpê³ situated immediately on the coast, but, according to Leake, ten geographical miles north of Nikopolis at the modern Kamarína; sufficiently inland to have coined conjointly in one instance with the Molossians with whom the Kassôpaians marched to the North East. The ruins moreover of Kassôpê are among the most extensive in Northern Greece.^{4,5}

¹ Sc. Leukas, Oiniadai, Thyrrheôn and the federal coinage. The same head stands for the Arachthos perhaps rather than the Achelôos on coins of the Epeirôt Ambrakia. Both rivers appear on another piece. See also Mionnet's coin of Stratos (Sup. Med. Rom. iii. 472), which, however, I have never seen.

² The Zeus head and the Eagle on the thunderbolt is the common type of both. Kassôpê inscribes a magistrate ΚΑΛΩΝΟΣ, &c. like the federal drachms.

³ Leake himself afterwards speaks of the ruins of Kassôpê in "a lofty inland position" (p. 32, Europ. Greece). There seems to be some confusion between two places of the name Kassôpê or Kassôpaia. I find on some maps, I know not on what authority, a Kassôpaia marked about five miles N. E. of Passarôn, where the Kings of the Molossian Dynasty took their coronation oath. (Plut. Pyrrh. 5, cf. text, p. 151.) This would not be so very far from Dôdôna. There is besides the Kassiopê of Ptolemy placed nearly opposite the Korkyrean Kassôpê presumably by mistake (iii. 14). See Leake, Cassope Epiri, Europe, p. 32.

⁴ The federal didrachms with the busts of Zeus and Diônê, or perhaps Hêra, side by side, seem to me of rather later and more ornamented fabric than the drachms resembling the Kassôpaian ones, with the Zeus head and the Eagle on the thunderbolt; the drachm of the Zeus and Diônê type exists; I have never seen a didrachm of the Zeus and Eagle Kassôpaian type. There is, however, a beautiful silver drachm of Kassôpê, which bears an entirely different type, and reminds one of the more elaborate style of the federal didrachms, to the period of which it corresponds; this corroborates in some extent the hypothesis of a federal mint at Kassôpê. It bears a female head with a turreted diadem, probably Diônê, on one side, a serpent twined round a mystic kist with ΚΑΣΣΟΠΑΙΩΝ on the other.

The only specimen of this coin which I have seen is in the collection of General Fox. This last coin has been also given to Kassôpê or Kassiopê of Korkyra, apparently on no certain grounds.

⁵ The following towns and tribe-districts of Epeiros have left authenticated coins: Amantia and Orikon (rather Illyrian than Epeirôt cities),

The coins of the Molossian Dynasty of Epeiros in a few instances throw some light upon the working of federalism in that country. The
Molossian
Dynasty.

Ambrakia, Damastion, Kassôpê, Molossis (coining conjointly as Kassôpaian Molossians), Pandosia, and Phoinikê.

Buthrôton, and of course Nikopolis, coined only under the Roman Empire. The coins given to Thesprotia with the name of Pyrrhos, and to Eleatis in Thesprôtia will be discussed lower down. Damastion is certainly the oldest coining town in Epeiros; its coins are in some instances archaic. The accident of its contiguous silver mines rather than an earlier political importance must account for this (see Strabo, vii. 7). There are many similar instances.

Both Ambrakia and Kassôpê, as we should expect, record municipal magistrates on their coins. M. Müller gives us (p. 381) a diôbolos of Philip of Macedon, bearing the Achelôos head. This he classes to Ambrakia, and quotes Dio. Sic. xvii. 3, to prove that Philip occupied this town shortly before his death, but was never master of Akarnania, in which country this type is so common. M. Müller remarks that this Achelôos head also occurs on Corintho-colonial didrachms which must belong to Ambrakia. Leake suggests from its types that Damastion was colonized from Zacynthos. He also assigns the ruined walls of Dhramisíus as possibly the national mint of the Molossians. (Europe, Num. Hell. 44.)

The brass coin of the Molossians and Kassôpaians is extremely remarkable. It bears merely both these names in two wreaths one on either side the coin. The letters are rude and ill-formed, like those on the coins of Damastion; but in this case it seems rather the rudeness of barbarism than of antiquity. It is hard to conceive how the Molossians and Kassôpaians who issued good enough coins separately should have produced conjointly so clumsy a piece. It must surely have been issued by some rude intermediate tribe on the marches of both, assuming their joint names, or perhaps by the Kassôpaians while still in villages (Scylax, p. 12. Cf. Geog. Dict.). Again, seventy Molossian towns were, we know, destroyed by L. Æmilius. (See p. 666, and Pol. xxx. 15.)

I have given Elea on the authority of Col. Leake. (Elea Thesprotiæ. Europe, p. 48.) He there ascribes coins to this district reading ΕΑΕΑΙ (Ἐλεαῖοι) and bearing the type of Cerberus with ΘΕ added in one instance, as the Colonel would suppose, for ΘΕΞΙΡΩΤΩΝ. He believes these coins struck at Ephyрэ afterwards Kichyros, in the Eleatis. See Mion. Sup. iii. 418. (Celtæ Aïdonites.)

I cannot regard Col. Leake's attribution as at all certain, yet I prefer it to that of M. de Cadalvène who reads ΕΑΕΩ on these coins, and would class them to the Bœotian Heleon, a village of the Tanagrikê. (Strabo, ix. 2. sec. 12.) The British Museum specimen certainly reads ΕΑΕΑ.

The uncertain copper coins reading ΑΡΤΕΑΔΗΞ round a head of Zeus, and ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ ΙΕΡΕΤΞ round the bust of Artemis, are generally classed under federal Epeiros. Assuming this attribution as correct we are furnished with a parallel to the position of the priest of the Aktian Apollo in the Akarnanian League. Still the priest of Dôdôna appearing on the coinage would not make Dôdôna the federal mint, any more than the

EPEIROS. The Thesprôtians, in Thukydeian times ἀβασίλευτοι,¹ have thus, according to Mionnet, left us a curious monument of their national existence in a coin bearing the head of Pyrrhos² as King coupled with their own name on the other side. Such a piece might be compared to an Irish halfpenny with King George's head, or with the Anglo-Gallic coins of some of our Henries and Edwards.

Thesprôtian coin of Pyrrhos.

This Thesprôtian coin seems to point to a quasi-federal relation towards the Kings.³

THESSALY.

THESSALY. The federal coinage of Thessaly dates from a much later period than the other federal currencies of Greece.⁴ We have not, and indeed we should hardly expect, any distinct numismatic record of Thessalian federalism during the pre-Macedonian period. It is possible, but not likely, that Thessaly would coin as a collective body while Macedon was supreme in Greece.⁵ Accordingly, our oldest

Its federal series not earlier than Kynoskephalai.

Aktian Apollo, which appears on the Akarnanian federal coinage struck at Thyrrhêon, would make Leukas the national mint of the League at that time.

¹ Thuc. ii. 80.

² Some of the beautiful coins of Pyrrhos were struck in Italy; some in Epeiros, perhaps from the same mintage-place as the federal Epeirôt didrachms, be that Dôdôna or Kassôpê. Of his Italian coins, Consentia the capital of the Bruttians and Syracuse are, according to Leake, the principal mintage-places. Possibly Pyrrhos may have struck also at Ambrakia his Epeirôt residence, and Taras.

³ I cannot guarantee the genuineness of this coin, only knowing it through Mionnet (sup. iii. 417), and no similar specimen existing in the English or French national collections. Still some of the silver pieces of Pyrrhos bear a letter and monogram perhaps resolvable into ΘΕΞΠ. This might be connected with a single isolated Α on several of these coins, and also on a few of the federal Epeirôt drachms, which might stand for Ambrakia or ΑΜΒΡΑΚΙΑ as well as anything else, though such interpretations are merely here offered as suggestions. However, Colonel Leake would ascribe the British Museum tetradrachm, which bears this Α, to Syracuse, and certainly other single letters occur on this king's coins. Some undoubted federal copper types of Epeiros merely bear ΑΠ which must stand for the name of the Epeirôt League.

⁴ The federal silver of Thessaly are probably Æginetan drachms.

⁵ See as illustrating this at p. 154, Pol. iv. 9, where the Thessalians as a body are enumerated among the allies of Macedon; which seems to imply their country's nominal independence. Also, especially, the note at p. 541, on Pol. iv. 76, and p. 499.

coins inscribed ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ are little, if at all, anterior in date to the new Thessalian constitution of Flamininus and his resettlement of the country. Some few specimens, according to Leake the oldest, of this coinage bear the name of a single magistrate,¹ but the great mass are inscribed with two names;² whether these two names imply two magistrates is rather uncertain.³ At any rate in Thessaly under the Roman Emperors the coinage gives us one *stratégos*; while a few apparently earlier coins of this community give likewise but one name, referring no doubt to the same

THESSALY.

Probably bears a single name, the *Stratégos*.

¹ Generally in an abbreviated form ΠΑΤΞΑΝ, ΛΕΟΝ. The art on these particular coins is a trifle better than that of the main series, therefore Leake may be right in supposing them of a rather earlier date.

² The common type is the head of Zeus on one side. The Itônian Athêna throwing a spear on the other. This last figure is found also on the coins of some of the Macedonian kings when in possession of Thessaly. (Leake, Thessaly, Europ. Greece.)

³ Thessaly is of so little account in federal history that I shall merely state most briefly the intricate question of the number and interpretation of the magistrates' names on this federal series, reserving its more lengthened discussion for some subsequent opportunity elsewhere. Leake is of opinion that the earliest of these coins bear a single name, the later two names. One probably the *Stratégos*, the other the *Tagos*, since both offices occur in Thessalian inscriptions of the last century before Christ. I am however inclined to suspect that the great mass of these coins bear only one name after all; the second name being nearly always in the genitive case or a patronymic. Thus ΔΙΟΚΑΗΞ ΙΤΑΛΟΤ, ΔΑΜΟΘΟΙΝΟΞ ΠΑΘΞΝΙΑΔΗΞ. This one name would be the *stratégos*. Thus Leake publishes one of these coins struck under Augustus which reads ΞΩΞΑΝΑΡ(ΟΞ) ΞΩΞΑΝΑΡΟΤ; and on this point we may compare the ΑΙΣΧΡΙΩΝ ΑΙΣΧΡΙΩΝΟΞ—ΛΕΩΝ ΟΡΞΙΚΡΑΤΟΤΞ on federal Akarnanian drachms, in all which cases we must perforce interpret Aischriôn the son of Aischriôn, or Sôsandros son of Sôsandros, &c. Mionnet, and Leake in one instance, have published coins with both names in the genitive; such a specimen I have never seen. On the Thessalian quasi-federal coins under the Roman Empire, to which class the Sôsandros coin belongs, there is generally a single name with the office, the generalship, specified, as ΕΠΙ ΛΑΟΤΡΟΤ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΤ. There is much more to be said on this subject, but it is somewhat too technical for general interest. It is however worth notice that the second name, which I presume in the genitive, often elides its final *r* as ΚΑΞΞΑΝΑΡΟ. The coins of Dyrrhakion and the Illyrian Apollônia bear two proper names, the second distinctly in the genitive. I have one silver coin of Federal Thessaly which distinctly bears three names; a duplicate of this is in the British Museum. I fancy however that in this exceptional case a third name, the grandfather, is added for distinction's sake from some previous General of the same name. (See Sestini, p. 67.)

THESSALY. office, distinctly mentioned, as we know, in the constitution of Flamininus, B.C. 197.¹

Unimportant in the history of federal coinage.

Federalism could not have found at any age a very congenial soil in Thessaly. Its city-confederacy could only have been of the loosest and most impermanent kind; liable to subversion, or at least temporary abeyance, at the pleasure of an ambitious Tagos,² or at the hands of any local or neighbouring tyrant.³ The town of Pherai in Thessaly coins about B.C. 300, in alliance with Larissa,⁴ and also with Atrax. The last alliance coin has been generally classed to the Bœotian Pharai or Pherai in alliance with Tanagra, of which we know this was a subordinate canton.⁵

¹ Magnésia and Perrhaibia had also leagues of their own set up by Flamininus, as well as Eubœia. There are coins of the Magnésians (ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ) of this period struck at Demetrias (Liv. xxxv. 81), which resemble in style the coins of Federal Thessaly; as also of the Perrhaibians (ΠΕΡΡΑΙΒΩΝ). (See Num. Hell. under Magnésia.) The coins inscribed ΕΥΒΟΙΕΩΝ are probably of this period rather than that of Kallias (Text, p. 207). Chalkis or Eretria must have struck them.

² See above, pp. 152, 153.

³ Perhaps Alexander of Pherai and certainly Tisiphôn (on the coin Teisiphôn) have left coins. The tetradrachms of the former belong as Mr. C. Newton (Num. Chron. vii. p. 110) supposes, to a King of Paionia, and M. Lenormant (Trésor de Glyptique, &c. Rois Grecs, p. 41) corrects the attribution of the drachm given to Alexander of Pherai, as merely a coin of Alexander of Macedon. Still I think some drachms in the British Museum are probably rightly attributed to the former. We have very early coins of several Thessalian cities, though the federal coinage is only of a later date. Under the Roman Empire these cities cease to strike (see Leake, Numis. Hell. sub Thessalia), but the quasi-federal series continues. Leake also quotes a curious coin of this series dated with the 174th year of the Aktian æra (5th of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 143).

⁴ Huber Sale Catalogue, p. 29, and the British Museum. It reads ΦΕΡΑΙ, with a horse's head, and a lion's head as a fountain. On the other side ΑΑ with a man holding a bull by the horns.

⁵ I have altered the classification on the authority of a paper by M. A. Duchalais (Rev. Num. xviii. p. 255). What was before read ΤΑ—ΦΕ—Tanagra, Pherai, he reads ΑΤ—ΦΕ—Atrax, Pherai. The coin bears the half horse on one side—found, curiously enough, both on coins of the Bœotian Tanagra, as well as many Thessalian cities—and the ear of wheat, or what M. Duchalais, I fancy rightly, calls a bud of the Hellebore, on the other. He also suggests alliances between Pherai and the Athamanians, Argæsa, and Kasthaneia respectively, and publishes coins of analogous type reading ΦΕ—ΑΘ, ΦΕ—ΑΡ, and ΦΕ—ΚΑ. These last are not improbable, but perhaps not as yet incontestably established by the coins there published. For instance ΦΕ—ΑΡ (sic) may be merely ΦΕ, ΡΑ, as Pherai is often written

THE ATHAMANES, AMYNANDER.

It is worth recording that we have coins struck by the Athamanes. THEATHA-
MANES,
AMYNAN-
DER. These were hardly an Hellenic nation, and are reckoned by Strabo among the Thessalians, by Pliny as Ætolians.¹ In Leake's opinion their national mint was at their capital Argithea.² Mr. Waddington has published a satisfactory coin of their king Aμynander.³ As his reign was the most prominent epoch in the history of this tribe, without doubt the coins reading AΘAMANΩN must be referred to about 200 B.C.

BÆOTIA.

The federal series of Bæotia and the municipal coinage of BÆOTIA. Thebes, the mintage-place of both, extend concurrently over at least four or five hundred years: these coins are, in consequence, of extreme interest, from the variety and excellence of art at different epochs with which they furnish us. The earliest coins are of great antiquity.⁴ It is not too much to assert that there have come down to us coins of each of the three distinct Bæotian periods;⁵ although, in most cases, we can only approximately guess at the date of the particular specimen under inspection.⁶ The great mass, however, were doubtless struck during the second period, that is the

Its federal
series
extends
over four
or five
centuries.

ΦΕΡΑΙ and ΦΕΡΑΙΟΝ. The ΦΕ—ΚΑ may be ΦΕ—ΡΑ, blundered or misread, as the engraving of the other side of this coin seems to bear other letters not explained. The alliance too with the Athamanians seems strange, though this coin reads clearly enough on the plate. This ΑΘ or ΘΑ may mean other places besides Athamania. For instance we have ΑΞΤΟ inscribed on coins of Pherai, hardly explainable by an alliance.

¹ Strabo, ix. 5, sec. 13, Pliny, iv. 2. cf Smith, Dict. of Geog. sub Athamania.

² See Livy, xxxviii. 1. "Caput Athamaniae."

³ Revue Numismatique, vol. 25, p. 104. On Aμynander see text, p. 586, and elsewhere.

⁴ See for instance two highly curious archaic didrachms (Suppl. Numis. Hell. pp. 177, 178), one Theban, the other Bæotian, both of which Col. Leake considers not much, if at all, later than 600 B.C. The angular alpha and beta, the crossed theta, and the circle with a central dot for omicron, are here found.

⁵ On the three periods of Bæotian history, see p. 159.

⁶ The usual type of the Bæotian buckler and the diota or pitcher is the

BÆOTIA. period of Theban greatness, down to the city's destruction by
B.C. 387— Alexander.
334.

The coins, however, with archaic types or letters, can be distinctly assigned to the first federal period; while there are many coins both federal and Theban, at least in copper, whose fabric would date them long subsequent to 334 B.C.¹

The distinction between the federal series and the municipal series of Thebes merely verbal.

In this League, however, where Thebes was everything, and where the terms ΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ and ΒΟΙΩΤΟΣ were to all intents equivalent and synonymous,² it is of no great historical importance to attempt rigidly to separate the city and federal coinage beyond

same on the coins of Federal Bæotia, as on those of Thebes striking on her own account. The head of Dionysos, and Hēraklēs stringing his bow or strangling the serpents, &c., are also found on Theban coins. When such coins read ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ they are assigned to the federal series; to the city series, those which bear ΘΕΒΗ, ΘΕΒΑΙΩΝ, ΘΕΒΑΙΩΝ, or any other orthographical variations of the city name. Intermediate between these is the class of coins identical with them in type, weight, &c., but which merely bear a magistrate's name; these may fairly be considered federal coins also, as the name they bear must be the Archon Epōnymos of the Bæotarchs; to this class the Epameinōndas coin hereafter to be noticed belongs. It is somewhat curious, that when a magistrate's name does occur on these didrachms, it occurs *alone*; all mention of Thebes or the Bæotians is left out. In like manner we get ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ or ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ indifferently, but no magistrate. I am mainly speaking of the didrachmic currency of the second period in this generalisation. The list of magisterial names is a curious one enough; here are a few out of many in their abbreviated forms which have come under my personal observation. ΗΙΚΕ (Mionnet gives also ΗΙΚΕΜΕ), ΕΠΙΑΜΙ, ΧΑΡΟ with the long R, ΕΥΡΑΡΑ (Ευάρης, Εὐράρης), ΦΑΣΤ (δοῦννομος; δοῦννίδης), ΚΑΙΩΝ (dialectic form of ΚΑΕΩΝ), &c. &c. The interpretations are Colonel Leake's (see also some additional names in Suppl. to Numis. Hell. Europe, p. 117). Another didrachm reads ΑΒΙ; one is reminded of the Bæotarch Aboiōkritos (Plut. Ar. 16, or rather Amaiokritos, Pol. xx. 4. See text, p. 375), who is slain on the side of Aratos during his first generalship. Still very few of these federal didrachms would be as late as this. In the name ΧΑΡΟ we find the archaic arrow-headed form of the X as the initial letter. This may be Charōn the partisan of Pelopidas. (Xen. Hell. v. 4, 3, cf Geog. Dict.) There are a few small gold coins of Thebes.

¹ A very late Theban copper coin struck close upon Roman times apparently commemorates a fifth Archonship (ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙ ΠΕΜΤΑΟ (*sic*)). On the shadow of the Bæotian League which continued during the Roman Empire, see p. 185, note. There are late copper coins, probably Theban, bearing merely a magistrate's name with the head of Hēraklēs and the bow, club, &c. which read ΦΕΙΔΟ—ΑΙΚΙΝΩ—ΠΥΡΡΗΙ—and so on. The last, Mionnet (Sup. iv. 235) strangely misclassifies to the Lakōnian Pyrrhichos.

² On "Theban" and "Bæotian" see pp. 160, 161.

the verbal distinction above mentioned; even were the two series ΒΑΕΩΤΙΑ not so identical in type, and apparently synchronous in commencement and duration.

We might expect historically speaking that the majority of earlier specimens should read ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ, the great mass of later ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ, as the ascendancy of Thebes became more prominent during the second period; but the political preponderance of Thebes is not illustrated in any marked degree by a contrast of the earlier with the later coins.

A coin in the British Museum of the usual didrachmic type bears upon it the name of Epameinōndas.¹ This must be the name of some Archon Epōnymos of the college of Bæotarchs as deputed by the several cities constituting the League; and although it is conceivable that there may have been a second Epameinōndas, who was Archon during Bæotian League history, yet there is every probability of this coin referring to the greatest of that name.

One of the most noticeable facts in the coinage of Bæotia, is the very remarkable monetary league existing between some of its towns; pieces precisely similar, and obviously contemporaneous, were issued in the names of the following towns: Hariartos or Haliartos—Lebadeia—Orchomenos—Plataia—Tanagra—Thespia.²

¹ It reads ΕΠΙΑΜΙ distinctly; above the diota is a rose. Mr. Burgon was the first I believe to point out this coin's attribution. (See also Poole, "Numismatics," *Encycl. Britannica*.) The coin evidently belongs to the middle Theban period. (See the coins which Col. Leake assigns to Euphrōn of Sikyōn, the contemporary of Epameinōndas, *Num. Hell. European Greece*, p. 164.)

² These coins are copper, with the buckler on one side, part of the city's name on the other.

The coin of Hariartos, no less than the one of Lebadeia, are the only specimens known, as far as I am aware, of their coinage under this town alliance; hence there is every probability of our list of towns in this monetary League receiving additions. Mr. Burgon, and subsequently I believe Colonel Leake, pointed out the existence of this League; the similarity of these coins must strike any one studying at all the series of Bæotia. Hariartos is a new addition to their list of towns included under it. We may presume, for instance, a similar coin of Délion, as an alliance between Tanagra and Délion is commemorated by a possibly authentic coin given by Mionnet, Barthélemy, and others. Korōneia and Délion are also supposed to strike in alliance, but this attribution is hardly certain. Leake compares with the six-city league a similar monetary alliance which he places in Attica among towns near the Bæotian frontier. He suggests out of coins of this class

A coin of
Epamei-
nōndas.

The
Bæotian
six-city
monetary
league.

BOEOTIA. In this instance, we have the most conclusive evidence of a league—for the purposes, at least, of striking money—entered into between these towns; it seems nowise unfair, having established thus much, to suspect and infer stronger and more complicated provisions of federal union between the component members of such a community.

A common mint for this monetary league. I should prefer to believe that one common mint existed for these six towns, and probably others of whom corresponding coins have not yet come to light; such a supposition seems the simpler mode of accounting for the contemporaneous issues of six or more towns, differing in nothing but part of the particular city name stamped upon them. Doubtless this system of one mint for a surrounding district was common enough in antiquity, though I have never seen any stress laid upon this circumstance.

Plataia, Thespia, Tanagra, and Orchomenos destroyed by Thebes within a few years of each other. It is remarkable that four out of six of these very towns, Plataia, Thespia, Tanagra, and Orchomenos were destroyed by Thebes within a few years of each other. It is stated in the text that the dates of these events are uncertain; Plataia was destroyed soon after Leuktra, Thespia however and Tanagra fell before that battle.¹ The fabric of these alliance coins seems rather subsequent to these events, otherwise it would be interesting to refer the date of this monetary league to the period immediately preceding Leuktra. Their old alliances however would naturally be renewed, as often as events required or permitted in the subsequent history of these towns.²

possible attributions to Attic *dêmes*, mentioning the border towns Psaphis and Orôpos. (Numis. Hellen. sub Thespiæ.) These coins are not so very unlike the Boeotian; the head of Pallas replaces the shield on one side, the other bears a single and varying initial letter. I prefer Col. Leake's attribution of these coins, though they must still at best remain doubtful, to that of Baron Prokesch-Osten (Revue Numismatique, 1860), who would ingeniously interpret Ω—P—Δ— and Γ on coins of this class into a Peloponnésian League of Olénos, Rhypai, Dipaia, and Gortys. These towns are however so far apart and the evidence for this attribution so scanty that I prefer leaving the point as Col. Leake has put it. M. L. Müller had attributed previously similar coins to Mantinea, Psôphis, Olénos, Patrai, and Rhipa. M. Dumersan gives one to Tegea.

¹ On the dates of the destruction of these towns, see p. 174.

² On cities in frequent alliance without any absolute federal tie, see pp. 34 and 35, in the text.

The coins of this six-town league do not seem to be older from their fabric

There is little doubt that there were local Archons in the different Bæotia. Bæotian cities. Besides an inscription later than the period of Kassander's restoration of Thebes,¹ we may notice a coin of Orchomenos with a distinct magistrate's name ΕΥΔΟΡΟ.² This didrachm is certainly as early as the second period.³ Local archons found on the coinage.

The following Bæotian cities have left authenticated coins: Bæotian Kôpai—Korôneia—Délion—Haliartos⁴—Lebadeia—Mykalessos⁵ coining cities.
—Orchomenos—Pharai—Plataia—Tanagra—Thespia.⁶ The

than 300 B.C. Mr. Burgon dated them between 100 and 200 B.C. This is surely, however, too late.

¹ See above, p. 164, on the inscription in Boeckh (i. 729).

² Erchomenos is the invariable numismatic form of the city's name. The only exception I know is the nearly unique coin of the six-city league which reads OPX. This fact besides their fabric would point a rather later date to this class of coins.

³ Still it is possible that this Orchomenian may have been *federal* Archon, and therefore commemorated as a matter of pride on his native town's coinage as well. The didrachms of Orchomenos corresponding to the federal ones of the second Theban period, inscribe however both town name and magistrate according to the general rule elsewhere. The name ΕΥΔΟΡΟ (Eudôros), mentioned above, appears as ET followed by EPX. This is merely mentioned to contrast the leading Bæotian city after Thebes, with Thebes itself and her federal coinage. I would rather give the beautiful hemidrachms usually classed to Orchomenos with the head of Persephonê to Eretria in Eubœia.

⁴ I have seen two specimens of early silver coins of Haliartos or Hariartos; they read ΑΡΙΑΠΤΙΟΝ. I cannot doubt the authenticity of one of them. (Gen. Fox's collection.) The "grassy" Haliartos (Strabo, ix. 2, sec. 18) was destroyed in the war against Perseus (ix. 2, sec. 30). A hemidrachm of this town in the collection of Baron Prokesch-Osten exactly resembles that of Délion but reads AP instead of ΔΙ. A didrachm in the British Museum probably bears the same legend but the lettering is not very distinct.

⁵ Pharai and Mykalessos were in Strabo's time mere villages of the Tanagrikê. Délion is mentioned as merely a temple of Apollo. Their coinage attests an earlier importance.

⁶ Thespia and Tanagra alone continue to strike frequent autonomous coins close on Roman times; we know from Strabo that these were the only flourishing Bæotian towns under Augustus (ix. 2, sec. 25)—of the rest names only and ruins remained. Thespia, Tanagra, and Orchomenos have left coins corresponding in style, date, and in many respects in type, with the main federal or Theban series of Æginetan didrachms. A remarkable tetradrachm of Attic weight bearing a seated Poseidôn is an anomaly in this last series. The large Gorgonian-headed pieces given to Korôneia are also on the Attic scale, and are sometimes ascribed to Athens and also to the Macedonian Neapolis, once Daton, but no attribution is certain. We should expect a very old coinage at Korôneia, the seat of the Bæotian Amphiktyony, out of which the political

BOEOTIA. coins of Delion read ΔΙ in the Boeotian dialectic form.¹ This has tempted some persons to attribute them to Dionysia.

Many other Boeotian towns have had coins ascribed to them with more or less uncertainty. Erythrai and Ismênê are among these.

The eleven
or thirteen
Boeotarchs.

It is worth notice that the list here given of Boeotian coining towns, without Thebes, amounts to eleven. We are thus left with eleven cities who might have sent the eleven Boeotarchs; Thebes furnishes two more. I do not pretend that subsequent numismatic research may not almost certainly add to or diminish my list. Still it is curious that the numbers should so nearly agree with the passage of Thucydides.²

OLYNTOS AND CHALKIDIKE (B.C. 382).

OLYNTOS
AND CHAL-
KIDIKE
(B.C. 382.)

A coin of
Olynthos
inscribing
itself of
the Chal-
kidian
League.

A silver coin bearing the head of Apollo on one side with the inscription ΟΑΥΝΘ, a lyre with ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ on the other,³ may be accepted in all certainty as a coin of the Chalkidic Confederacy, struck at its capital Olynthos. This coin in type nearly resembles the beautiful tetradrachms and drachms of what we may call the federal coinage of the Macedonian Chalkidians. These last coins read merely ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ with the addition of the name of the head federal magistrate, ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΣ, ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΥΕΥΕΝ, ΕΠΙ ΑΣΚΑΗΝΙΟΔΩΡΟ, and are likewise to be referred to the most

Boeotian League had its rise. (See text, pp. 159—160.) There are certain smaller coins reading ΚΟΡΟ. Délion strikes with the pitcher and buckler, but her coins are much smaller and lighter than the didrachms of the main series, and are probably drachms and hemidrachms of the same Æginetan scale. M. Müller (p. 209) publishes coins of various denomination with types of Alexander the Great and Philip of Macedon, supposed to have been struck at Thebes or at least in Boeotia. These bear the Boeotian buckler as a symbol accompanied, on the coins of Alexander, by the staff of Dionysos in some instances. I think this attribution is stronger than many of M. Müller's. But we get this buckler also at Salamis.

¹ Cf. Leake, sub Phars, Mycalessus, Delium.

² iv. 91. See text, 161, 162, on this passage and the doubt between eleven or thirteen Boeotarchs.

Mykalessos was perhaps only another constituent of Tanagra and not a voting city. Its coinage is unimportant and not very early. Délion was in early times probably a voting city though it afterwards declined.

³ In the British Museum (36 grs.). See also Millingen, *Coins of Greek Cities*, p. 45. On the Olynthian League see text, pp. 190—197.

flourishing period of this confederacy. According to Leake, these Chalkidians never had any city Chalkis, but Torône, Apollônia, and last Olynthos were successively adopted as their capital.

The coins of Bottiaia differ only in the substitution of their own name for that of the Chalkidians round the lyre: we have thus conclusive proof that this town was included in the confederacy.^{1 2}

OLYNTHOS
AND CHAL-
KIDIKE.

Coinage of
Bottiaia
analogous
in type.

Col. Leake supposes that these federal Chalkidic tetradrachms were issued at the Chalkidian Apollônia; but surely the coin first described of Olynthos would make this last city the federal mint, even did we not know that Apollônia, so far from being the centre or capital of this League, was, with Akanthos, one of its most violent opponents (see p. 192).

The only gold coin of the Chalkidians with which I am acquainted³ was probably struck during the last years of Olynthos, at some time previous to its capture by Philip in B.C. 347. This coin seems contemporaneous with the beautiful staters of Philippi minted by that king, as in European Greece hardly any gold was coined before his reign. The gold mine of Philippi⁴ no doubt supplied the

Its gold
coinage not
long an-
terior to
its capture
by Philip.

¹ The types of the Chalkidian copper are the wreathed head of Apollo, with the lyre or the tripod on the other side. A comparison of these types with those of neighbouring Macedonian cities leads to the suspicion that a large class of coins might be set aside as struck under the influence, or about the time, of the Chalkidic League. We may suggest that points of resemblance occur in the Apollo on coins of Orthagoria, which Col. Leake hence places at the modern Nizvoro in the Chalkidic peninsula, denying its identity with Stageira. A beautiful specimen of this type in General Fox's collection puts this resemblance in a very striking light.

² Leake (Supplement, Num. Hellen. Europe, 118) distinguishes between these Chalkidic Bottiaians on their coinage *BOTTIAION*, and the Bottiatæ of Macedonia on their coins *BOTTEATON*. These last were in the neighbourhood of Pella between the Axios and the Haliakmôn, as there is a Mygdonian as well as a Chalkidian Apollônia.

Similarities of type and fabric also occur on the coins of Pella which we know was included in the Chalkidic Confederacy. (See Xen. Hell. v. 2. 13, and text, p. 192, note.)

³ A stater in the collection of Edward Wigan, Esq. The omission of the magistrate's name seems at first sight significant; but Mionnet (see p. iii. 60) describes a similar stater on which he gives ΕΠΙ ΟΑΥΜΗΙΚΟΥ. The omission in the present instance must be merely from want of room, as the letters are already minute on the tetradrachms.

⁴ Philip of Macedon gave the name Philippi to Krênides and discovered, or at all events, first worked extensively the neighbouring gold mine. The first coinage of gold in Greece proper is connected with this fact. The

OLYNTHOS
AND CHAL-
KIDIKE.

metal for this Chalkidian stater as well. It follows the type of the tetradrachms omitting the magistrate's name. The fact which this coin seems to indicate is that Olynthos had still vitality or pretension enough to strike pieces inscribed ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ at some period after the virtual dissolution of her League by Sparta in B.C. 379, and before her capture by Philip in B.C. 347. No doubt after Leuktra all serious fear of Spartan interference would be at an end.¹

ARKADIA.

ARKADIA.

A very
early
federal
coinage.

The federal coinage of Arkadia is peculiarly valuable as testifying to the existence of a distinct germ of federalism in the Peloponnèse at a very early period. The decidedly archaic character of these coins leaves no doubt of their being much older than the Arkadian League of Lykomédès and the foundation of Megalopolis. It is sufficient for our purpose to have established thus much, without endeavouring to determine their exact antiquity.²

gold coin of Thasos struck on the mainland near Krénides, and one of Ainos (Num. Chron. iii. p. 106, cf Müller, p. 59) are about the only gold pieces known in Northern Greece anterior to Philip. Strabo (vii. frag. 17) speaks of the whole region about Mount Pangaios as auriferous. Perhaps the Chalkidians knew of and worked these mines before Philip. Last we must notice in connection with these mines the most remarkable gold coin in the Paris collection reading ΘΑΣΙΩΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΟ (ΘΑΣΙΩΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΟΤ. Leake, Num. Hell. Insular Greece, p. 45.) This bears with the head of Héraklès on one side, a tripod, as on the coins of Philippi, on the other. Col. Leake dates this from the lettering to the fifth century B.C., and believes it struck from the Thasian mines on the mainland at their capital and haven Daton. (Herod. ix. 75.) This town stood close to Neapolis the port of Philippi. M. Müller (p. 41) supposes this very coin struck either at Krénides, afterwards Philippi, by the Thasians, or by them in alliance with that town. It is however very doubtful whether the Thasians had possession of Krénides much before 360 B.C. (see Geog. Dict. "Philippi"). M. Müller (p. 44) also finds the tripod of Philippi on coins of Amphipolis, and the torch of Amphipolis on coins of Philippi. He remarks that these two symbols appear together on coins of Philip and Alexander. M. Müller would hence infer an alliance between these towns.

¹ Col. Leake publishes (Num. Hell. European Greece, p. 33) a smaller silver coin of the Chalkidians with what he suggests may possibly be the Persian countermark. The Colonel is however by no means sure of the fact and puts a note of interrogation after it. I have never seen any Chalkidian coin which looked as old as the Persian invasion.

² Mr. Poole (Encycl. Britan. "Numismatics") represents these coins as being at least of the sixth century B.C. and in denomination chiefly hemi-

On one of the earliest of these coins we find the legend ABKA-
ΔΙΩΝ in archaic letters¹ round the head of Despoina. Zeus
Aietophoros² is seated on the other side. Other coins exist of this
series more or less archaic in character.³

ARKADIA.

Archaic
coinage of
Lyko-
soura.

Concurrently with this early federal coinage of Arkadia must
have existed the power of striking money in its different town
districts. Hêraia, Kleitôr, and Mantinea, have each left us coins of
a remote antiquity. Hêraia especially in the most archaic orna-
mentation of its coinage bears the impress of very early times.⁴

Also of
Hêraia,
Kleitôr,
and Man-
tinea.

Nowhere did so many towns little more than villages strike at
various periods in Grecian history, considering the extent of its geo-
graphical area, as in Arkadia. The physical configuration of the
country would naturally break up the inhabitants into a number
of small detached city-centres. These would be determined by the
fortuitous accessibility between different mountain valleys: all Arka-
dians however were united, at least in theory, by the bond of a
supposed community of origin lost in a remote antiquity.⁵

Colonel Leake has with great probability selected Lykosoura as
the mintage-place of the earlier federal coinage of Arkadia, which
must be carefully distinguished from the later federal Arkadian

The later
federal
series of
Megalo-
polis.

drachms struck upon the Æginetan system, or, what are about the same
weight, Attic tetrobola. (48 grs. or 45 grs.)

B.C. 370-
362.

¹ This coin is in the British Museum. Col. Leake observes that its
legend contains both the K and the Koph (ϙ). the original of the Latin Q.
APKAAIΩN is like ΦENIKON of Pheneus, that is KOMMA or ΣΗΜΑ,
hardly NOMISMA, understood.

² The bird flies from his hand. E. Curtius in the Beiträge zur Alteren
Münzkunde, p. 87, would suggest Zeus *ἀφείσιος*.

³ Mr. Grote (vol. x. 283 and note) is apparently in doubt on the date of
certain coins of Arkadia as illustrating the germs of Pan-Arkadian union,
whether any such can be confidently dated before Leuktra.

⁴ The acorn of Mantinea is regarded by Mr. Poole (Encycl. Britan.
"Numismatics") as a trace of a primæval nature-worship. Cf. *Βάλαρυ-
φάγος* in the Herodotean Oracle.

⁵ The ARKAAIΩN coin would be called by numismatists Arkadia
in genere; so the coins reading FAΛEION would be called Elis *in genere*.
This technical and somewhat awkward expression I have rendered where-
ever I could "Federal." Elis, a city with a district, and Arkadia, a system
of towns with no predominant city, should not be included under one
common sweeping term. It is worth notice that there is no perfectly
authenticated coining city in the district of Elis. Polybios remarks on
the rural habits of the Eleians, some of whom never went to the city for
three generations.

ARKADIA. series, which belongs to the era of the foundation of Megalopolis,¹ and was therefore struck under the Arkadian League B.C. 370. of Lykomédês. Megalopolis had now become the federal mint, as is evident from the identity of its city coins with the federal coinage of this period, and instances where Megalopolis inscribes herself in monogram "of the Arkadians." The late foundation of Megalopolis is peculiarly valuable to the numismatist, as giving him, what is seldom accessible in the Greek city series, a distinct date. By this he is able to estimate the age of the coins of neighbouring Arkadian towns as posterior or anterior to the League of Lykomédês, and to gain a stand-place of firm ground whereby he may attribute with increased certainty the coins of this League themselves.²

¹ The new Messênê also commemorates her foundation under similar auspices by beautiful didrachms analogous to the federal ones of Megalopolis.

² The finest of these silver coins, a didrachm of Æginetan scale, bears on one side Pan seated on the Arkadian Olympus, with APK in monogram and OATM in small letters on the rock. This Olympus was Mount Lykaïos, called also in Pausanias "the sacred summit of the Arkadians." (Arcad. c. 38, cf. Leake, sub Arcadia.) The other side gives us the head of Zeus. The numerous smaller silver coins of Megalopolis itself are identical in type and only differ in many instances from the smaller federal coinage, thence issued also, in reading MEΓ instead of APK. The copper of Megalopolis generally bear besides uninterpreted letters and monograms with possible reference to League magistrates' names. Sometimes on these silver hemidrachms (Æginetan) we have both MEΓ (Megalopolis) and APK (Arkadôn); that is to say, we have Megalopolis distinctly inscribing herself as a constituent of the League of Lykomédês. This is more frequent on the copper currency of Megalopolis struck during this League. (See Leake, Suppl. to Num. Hellen. Europe, p. 133.) The copper type is an eagle on a thunderbolt and more rarely the Pan seated, with the head of Zeus.

There yet remains a rather indeterminate and numerous class of federal Arkadian coins in silver and copper—the last rather thick—all bearing the head of Pan or Zeus with a large APK in monogram, or A spreading over the whole coin on the other side, below it a pan-pipe. These are neither archaic enough for Lykosoura nor much like the remaining federal coinage of Megalopolis.

Col. Leake publishes a not uncommon small copper coin of Pheneos whereon he reads ΦΕΝΕΩΝ "with a horse feeding to right, under it AP united (Ἀρκεῖον)." If the Colonel's proposed interpretation be correct, the coin is noteworthy as showing the more extended recognition of the Arkadian League of Lykomédês. (See Leake, Suppl. Num. Hell. p. 140.) Pheneos has, however, inscribed on a contemporaneous didrachm the name of Arkas the eponymos hero of her country, and her own mythical King. Probably the AP merely refers to him. Another coin of Pheneus bears ΣΙΜΟΣ beneath a ram.

The foundation of Megalopolis must have given an immense impulse to numismatic art¹ throughout Peloponnésos. The Arkadian didrachms struck there within a few years of its foundation show an immense progress at least in execution when contrasted with the earlier Arkadian series of Lykosoura.

ARKADIA.
The rise of Megalopolis an era in numismatic art.

From the period of the foundation of Megalopolis I am tempted to date the appearance of a class of coins, utterly unlike anything that preceded or succeeded them in Peloponnésos, both in the beauty of their execution and the violent treatment, and for the most part mythological symbolism, of the subjects represented. The other side of these coins bears a beautiful but rather over-elaborate head of Nymph or Goddess. The typical specimen of this class, is the fine Æginetan-scale didrachm of Stymphalos, giving us the head of Artemis laurel-wreathed on one side; a naked Héraklès in the very act of striking with his club, treated in highly exaggerated action, on the other.² There is a curious relation between this class of coins and certain Cretan types.³

Next to the didrachm of Stymphalos⁴ in artistic importance, and of analogous fabric and evidently contemporaneous issue, is the didrachm of Pheneos.⁵ This gives us, with the head of Démêtér,

Coins of Pheneos, Tegea, and Achaia belonging to this class.

¹ The impulse given to numismatic art may be accepted as a fair index of the magnitude of this movement in other respects.

² Col. Leake publishes from the Paris National Collection (Num. Hell. Europe, p. 164) another perfectly analogous didrachm of Stymphalos. On this Héraklès naked on one knee draws an arrow. One of the Stymphalidès is flying on the other side.

³ Especially the didrachm (Æginetan) of Chersonasos in Crete, almost a copy of the Stymphalian didrachm. I shall refer to this point again under Achaia. The didrachms of Pheneos, Stymphalos, and a few others, are a class within a class, and are like enough to have been issued from a common mint. Again, the didrachms of Messénè and the Federal Arkadian didrachm of Megalopolis are evidently by their style contemporaneous, even without history to help us, but no one could ever conceive their being minted at the same place; thus, as we extend our radius the points of similarity between the didrachmic series of the Peloponnèse are broader and much less exact. The difficulties of the Cretan question, of which no quite satisfactory explanation has yet been given, touch only this class within the class.

⁴ The didrachm of Stymphalos weighs within three grains of the federal didrachm of Megalopolis above described.

⁵ In the British Museum. Col. Leake's didrachm actually reads **APKAZ** besides **ΦENE**. (European Greece, Addenda, p. 163.) The Colonel inter-

ARKADIA. often found on this class of coins, a piece of highly dramatized mythology; Hermès, in motion, bears the caduceus in one hand, while on his left arm he is carrying off the infant Arkas; the child points the god melodramatically forward. Next, a smaller silver coin of Tegea with a naked warrior combating to the right would infer the existence of a corresponding didrachm struck by this town. Again, another silver coin bears a nymph's head like the Dêmêtêr of Pheneos, with a combating Artemis; it reads AXAION.¹ This curious coin was probably struck between B.C. 280 and 251, while the League was strictly Achaian. I need hardly say that it has nothing in common with the usual and subsequent silver type of the Achaian League. Last, to omit less important instances, we have the drachm of Argos whereon Diomede is represented stealing the Palladium, also to be counted with the foregoing, since the subject chosen for commemoration as well as its treatment is eminently characteristic of this class.

Didrachms
of Argos,
Elis, and
Messênê.

In fact, to attempt a generalisation founded upon a broad similarity in weight, style, and subject, I would refer the whole un-archaic Æginetan didrachmic series of Peloponnêsos, with its corresponding subdivisions, in its commencement, to the foundation of Megalopolis. The Hêra and the Zeus didrachms of Elis, the ornate Hêra Antheia of the same coins at Argos, the Dêmêtêr and the naked Zeus Ithômâtês launching a thunderbolt of Messênê,—are the important constituents of this currency. In the case of the Messênian didrachm there can be no doubt about its date; the extreme similarity it bears to the federal didrachms of Megalopolis, coupled with the fact of the erection of the later capital of Messênê by Epameinôndas B.C. 369,

prets the action of the type somewhat differently from the text. Another drachm of Pheneos in the British Museum has a Hermes seated amid rocks, reminding one of the Pan on the Arkadian Olympos of the federal series.

¹ In the British Museum, probably an Æginetan-scale hemidrachm, as were the later League silver coins. This coin must have been one of the very last struck before the uniform League type came in. It shows that the above class of coins in its wider acceptation was, probably, the silver currency of the Peloponnêse from the rise of Megalopolis through the earlier years of the Achaian League. No doubt the great bulk were struck in the brilliant period of the influence of Epaminôndas and Lykomédês. The first currency of the Achaians may perhaps intentionally have revived to some degree the style of the period of the Lykomédês League.

the year after the foundation of Megalopolis, establishes beyond question the period of its own issue; and makes us suspect that the other Peloponnesian didrachms of analogous art began to be struck also about this period.¹

I would further suggest that this didrachmic currency and its subdivisions continued to be struck throughout the Peloponnèse to some extent during the whole century between the commencement of the League of Lykomédês and the first few years of the Achaian League, after which the uniform types "of the Achaians" must have superseded the rest,² as the different states of Peloponnêsos entered the League.

The uniform Achaian League types must have superseded other Peloponnesian currencies.

LYKIA.

The Lykian League, of which we derive our information from the account of Strabo, furnishes an excellent example of a symmetrical numismatic illustration of history.

With the early coins of this country with Lykian inscriptions, we have little or no concern. It is uncertain how early these com-

The coins with Lykian characters

¹ Perhaps the didrachms of Zakynthos and Sikyon are contemporaneous in commencement and owing to the same influence. I do not mean to say that the Æginetan system was not found, and pretty general, throughout Peloponnêsos, before the foundation of Megalopolis, but only that the great mass of didrachms with these kind of representations and of this kind of art began to be struck then in Peloponnêsos. There occur here some few archaic didrachms of course long anterior to Megalopolis.

² Indications exist of possible monetary leagues in Arkadia. As for example, to judge by their small silver coinage, possibly at one time between Hêraia and Mantineaia.

Kleitôr — Hêraia — Mantineaia — Megalopolis — Pheneos — Stymphalos — Tegea — Thelpousa — are the Arkadian coining cities before the times of the Achaian League. We may perhaps add Alea to this list. The coin of the Achaian League struck there, and the bow which appears above AA on this piece, which is not a League type, would support this attribution against Alos in Thessaly. Pausanias specially mentions a temple of Artemis at Alea, and places the town near Stymphalos. I have a copper coin of this town, found in the Peloponnèse, and Col. Leake remarks that copper coins are seldom found far from where they are struck. I have an impression from Baron Prokesch-Osten of probably the identical coin of Alea published by Cadalvene (Rec. de Med. grecq.). Cf. Mionnet Sup. Med. Rom. iv. 273. On Arkadia, see text, pp. 197-207. Tegea commemorates on a coin her mythical King Aleus, founder of Alea.

LYKIA. menced, or when they ceased being issued. Sir Charles Fellows immaterial has attributed some of these coins to the towns to which they probably in the belong; but the Lykian alphabet continues as yet too much a vexed numisma- philological puzzle to insist absolutely on the correctness of his inter- tic history pretations. Sir Charles Fellows has also published ¹ a tetradrachm of League. Alexander the Great with the Lykian triquetra or hooked ring upon it, probably struck in or near this country; ² the same authority, rightly, I believe, considers all Lykian city coins with Greek inscriptions posterior to the conquests of Alexander. Col. Leake would seem to imply that the language held out into a still later period; he says, this ceased to be employed in writing about the time of Augustus; bilingual inscriptions of an earlier date show that it was already going into disuse. ³

Although then, judging by the tetradrachm of Alexander, coins of Lykian cities with Greek legends were issued probably from about the time of Alexander downwards, superseding with more or less rapidity that earlier currency with Lykian inscriptions, yet the series of the Lykian League, properly so called, must be given to a much later date. Most coins of this interesting League series belong to about

Greek legends come in with Alexander.

¹ Coins of Ancient Lycia before the reign of Alexander, by Sir Charles Fellows, 1855, pl. 111; but as this bears also, what M. Müller (p. 279) explains as the head of Perseus—a common Kilikian but not Lykian type—and is more Kilikian in fabric, M. Müller hence supposes it to be struck by a Kilikian town with whom some Lykian neighbour was then in alliance.

² Aristotle mentioned the constitution of Lykia in his great political collection. (See Phôtios, Bibl. 104, 5 ed. Bekker, and text, p. 214.) The country was, therefore, to some extent federal in the time of Alexander. On the Lykian League see text, pp. 208—217. M. Müller (Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand. Copenhagen, 1855, p. 274) publishes also coins of various denominations and the usual types of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaïos which bear AT and are consequently supposed to have been struck in Lykia. The AT is over a prow like that on the coinage of Phasélis on a tetradrachm of each King. M and Ξ are also associated with the AT; possibly, M. Müller suggests, for Myra or Massikytos and Xanthos. He also attributes another tetradrachm of Alexander, bearing ΦΑ with a star above each letter, to Phasélis, and other coins of the same King bearing AI to Limyra. The whole question of the correctness of these attributions, where we have so little to go by, must depend upon a minute comparison of the fabric of such coins. See however M. Müller's reasons at pp. 274—6 and p. 396 for such classifications.

³ Numis. Hellen. Asiatic Greece, p. 76.

the time of Augustus, probably none are earlier than the deliverance of the Lykians from the Rhodians,¹ B.C. 168. Claudius annihilated Lykian federalism and these coins are all consequently of a period anterior to his reign. The system of a uniform League currency in Lykia was manifestly part of the new Lykian constitution which arose upon the declaration of freedom from Rhodes, and some of the heaviest and best-designed silver coins of the uniform Lykian type may be nearly as old as that event; but the acme of the League's prosperity must have been in the days which succeeded the destruction of Xanthos and procured for Lykia the favour of Augustus; such times would induce a corresponding increase of activity in the Lykian town mints.²

Massikytos and Kragos certainly, the latter in alliance with Tlōs, and probably several others³ of the principal cities of Lykia, struck

LYKIA.

Its League coinage begins with the deliverance from Rhodes, B.C. 168.

¹ Certain coins of Lykian cities with Rhodian types, not of the League, should no doubt be assigned to a period intermediate between the defeat of Antiochus the Great, B.C. 190, when Lykia was ceded by Rome to Rhodes (B.C. 188), and the Lykian deliverance from the Rhodians, B.C. 168. (See p. 214.) The full-faced Apollo, with an eagle on the cheek, and the rose or pomegranate flower is found on coins of Xanthos, Massikytos, and Kyaneai. There is also a similar coin of Xanthos and Massikytos in alliance, and of perhaps Patara and Arendai (Trebenna). There is another of Patara and Xanthos in the British Museum. I fancy I have there discovered a similar coin of Pinara with Myra, which reads III—MY, if we read it from left to right, and another possibly of Patara with Arykanda, APT, in monogram; but the last is rather uncertain. Of course this class of coins has nothing to do with those of the same towns coining under the League, and are as unlike them as possible; nor must we confuse with these the alliance coins struck under the League by some of these very towns. (See articles by M. de Longperier in the *Revue Numismatique* of 1840, p. 405, 1840, p. 451, and 1843, p. 333, who first attributed such pieces.)

² Xanthos has left scarcely any coins. This looks as if the date of the mass of these League coins were after it had fallen.

Still though outwardly at the height of visible and commercial prosperity, the town alliance coins of the Augustan age show a certain degeneracy in the League, recalling the bad days of the Rhodian occupation and allying the same towns under different circumstances.

³ The Lykian Apollōnia coins under Augustus. (Cohen, *Med. Imp.* i. p. 104.) Perhaps Telmessos coins with Kragos (Cavedoni, but see below, p. 41 of this Essay, note 3), and there is a coin of Kragos, possibly allied, in the Huber sale mentioned below. Tiberius coins at Phasēlia. (Cohen, i. p. 127.) I should be curious to know whether Phasēlia under Tiberius styles herself "of the Lykiana." (See below on Phasēlia.) I have never seen any of the coins quoted in this note.

LYKIA.
Lykian
coins with
the por-
trait of
Augustus,
but with-
out his
name or
titles.

denarii with the head of Augustus but without his name or imperial title, and merely AY for AYKION, while on the other side they bore MA for Massikytos, KP for Kragos, and the double or single lyre; as on ordinary silver of the League we have the single lyre. But on the denarii of the province of Lykia struck under Claudius the subverter of Lykian liberties we have the full imperial name and style round his portrait. The Augustan denarius of Massikytos as contrasted with that of Claudius, illustrates well the position of federalism in Lykia under Augustus, a Roman dependency that still retained its own laws and internal government.¹ Massikytos calls herself "of the Lykians," but places, out of compliment, the portrait of the Emperor without even his name or title of "Autokratôr," on her coin struck upon the Roman standard.² Claudius destroys Lykian liberty and the title Autokratôr straightway appears.

The purely
federal
currency
of the Ly-
kians ex-
ceptional.

We have, moreover, some few coins of the Lykian League, with purely League types, but which merely read AYKION,³ without specifying any particular city. Although this is at first sight the most purely federal currency of this League, it must be considered as exceptional, of rare occurrence, and little historical significance; thus some few silver coins of the Achaian League bear merely the

¹ I have seen coins of the province of Lykia with full imperial titles, of Claudius, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, &c.

² See text, p. 210. The Augustan coin of Kragos in the British Museum is precisely analogous. Massikytos no doubt minted her purely League coins on her own standard concurrently with these semi-imperial denarii. No doubt the denarius of Claudius without his titles exists somewhere, struck before the subversion of the League, corresponding to the denarius of Augustus, with the uninscribed portrait.

There are also similar copper coins of Augustus struck at Massikytos. (See Leake, Num. Hell. Asia, p. 81.) The denarius of Lykia under Trajan given by Leake, and supposed by him to have been struck at Patara, was in all probability minted also at Massikytos, from the symbol of an owl which occurs on it, as on one of the denarii of Massikytos with the Augustus head. We may hence presume a continuous imperial coinage at Massikytos in the intermediate period between these two Emperors' reigns.

³ In the British Museum. See an article by Mr. Borrell (Numis. Chron. vol. 10, p. 80) where these coins are first published. Such coins are, with some exceptions, for gravers' slips, imperfect preservation, &c., no doubt among the earliest of the Lykian League, as analogous ones may have been of the Achaian. I have a silver coin merely reading AY, of the type of M. Longperier's coin of Kragos with Tlôs (see below note 1, p. 41).

monogram of the Achaïans with no town name or even symbol LYKIA. added.¹

It may, therefore, be suggested that the Lykia of Augustus, in virtue of its being to some extent incorporated with the Empire, had, in at least the principal cities, its Roman or imperial mint concurrently with the federal or particular mint of each Lykian coining city.² As the common federal assembly chose for its place of meeting any city which seemed best,³ there was probably no one determinate League mint any more than in Achaia. There is a strong analogy, not of type or fabric, but of inscription and the general organization of their currencies, between these two most perfect of the Leagues of antiquity. The idea of uniform types for the whole League to be reproduced by each individual city whereon its own name should be inscribed after that of its League, is manifestly a copy by Lykia from the Achaian prototype.⁴

Several cities must have had an imperial mint as well as a federal one.

Strabo has given us the six principal cities by name of the Lykian League, though he tells us distinctly that the whole number was twenty-three.⁵ These six cities were—Xanthos, Patara, Pinara, Olympos, Myra, and Tlôs: ⁶ all of which, except Pinara, have left League coins; no doubt some specimen of Pinara will be hereafter discovered.⁷

Strabo only names the six principal towns.

¹ The perfectly anomalous copper coin of the Achaian League given first in Sestini and supposed to bear two magistrates' names with AXAIΩN but no particular town, must be very doubtful at best.

² M. Müller illustrates this in his observations on the coinage of Alexander. He says that the symbols and monograms on these "engagent à supposer que quelques-unes en aient été frappées par le gouvernement royal, d'autres par la magistrature communale." He goes on to remark that autonomous coins of Sikyôn are found to bear initial fragments of the same names which occur on tetradrachms of Alexander, struck there probably by Macedonian dynasts after his death. ³ See text, p. 209.

⁴ I do not mean that a coin of the Lykian the least resembles one of the Achaian League, but the *theory* of a League currency was evidently the same in both. Lykia is however in one respect original, *its League coinage commemorates no names of magistrates.*

⁵ In this part of my Appendix which relates to Lykia I have drawn largely on an excellent article by Mr. Horace Waddington, "Un voyage en Asie-Mineure au point de vue numismatique—sixième article." *Revue Numismatique*, Paris, vol. xviii. 1853. My other principal authority has been the able essay on Lykian Numismatics by M. Koner in the *Beiträge zur älteren Münzkunde*. Berlin, 1851.

⁶ See the passage of Strabo (xiv. 3) translated in the text, p. 209.

⁷ There are coins of Pinara not of the League. See the *Beiträge* p. 119, and in the British Museum.

LYKIA.

In addition to these six more important cities, authenticated League coins exist of thirteen other towns, which but for numismatic evidence we should never know for certain had belonged to the League.

Coins
supply
fourteen
more
names of
League
cities.

These are Antiphellos, Aperlai, Apôllonia, Arykanda, Kragos, Kyaneai, Limyra, Massikytos, Phasêlis, Phellos, Podalia, Rhodia or Rhodiapolis, Trebenna.

Telmessos may really be reckoned as increasing our list to fourteen though its name only appears on coins in alliance with Kragos ; of this more presently.

We have thus supplied twenty out of twenty-three city names ; future researches will no doubt fill in the remainder.^{1 2}

¹ See however the note at the end of this chapter.

² The common Lykian League silver type is the head of Apollo with elaborate curls, and AT, ATKION or other abbreviation, coupled with the lyre in an incuse square, and the two initial letters of the town, as, ΠΑ Patara, ΞΑ Xanthos, on the other side. Sometimes the ATKION at full length or abbreviated occupies the incuse square above the lyre ; different small symbols are sometimes added. These are small silver coins ; the earliest with a maximum weight of 43 grs., but the great mass weigh about 29 grs. Perhaps they are Æginetan hemidrachms following the Rhodian small silver monetary denominations. These last have an average weight of about 40 grs., which is about the maximum weight of the Achaian League silver. Mr. Poole suggests that the earlier Lykian standard was Phœnician. (Numismatics, Encyc. Brit. Lycia.) The copper types are various ; the heads of Artemis, or Apollo, the stag, or the bow and quiver crossed in the incuse square, are the commonest. There is as small difficulty in recognising a Lykian silver League coin as an Achaian League one by its type alone. The important historical fact derivable from these type descriptions is, that the superior authority of the League is recognised in the formula ATKION ΚΡΑΓ(ΩΝ), like ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ.

There is also a strong presumption in favour of several of the copper types being Lykian League types, even when we cannot decipher the confirmatory AT ; especially that of the bow and quiver crossed in the incuse square. Still Bubôn has left coins of nearly this type, but without the incuse square, yet probably this was not one of the 23 cities.

Mr. Waddington says that "Bubon ne fit partie de la ligue que dans les derniers temps ; aussi, il en existe des monnaies au type lycien, sans le carré creux." He goes on to say that it is very doubtful whether Bubôn could have been comprised in the twenty-three League towns of Artemidôros, as his work seems from a passage in Marcian of Hêrakleia to have been completed about 650, A.U.C. (103, B.C.) or twenty years before Murena united Bubôn to Lykia. To this period of their Lykian incorporation would Mr. Waddington refer the coins of Bubôn. Kibyra has also left coins (on the interesting tetrapolis of Kibyra, see text, p. 211, note). There are coins of Balboura of Caligula (ΓΑΙΟΥΣ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΟΥ) with nothing.

The alliance coins of the Lykian League are as follows :—Kragos ^{LYKIA.} appears in alliance with Tlôs,¹ Xanthos,² Telmessos,³ and Myra ^{Lykian cities coin} respectively on four separate coins. ^{ing in alliance under its}

The appearance of Telmessos in alliance with Kragos raises the question whether the former, like its ally of whom we have separate League coins, is to be admitted among the Lykian cities. Although no coin is at present known of Telmessos coining separately, yet the alliance coin is both in inscription and fabric so undoubtedly struck under League authority and of a common type with the other

about them to connect these with the Lykian League coinage. (Beiträge, p. 112, and Leake, Num. Hell. Sup. p. 29.) General Fox publishes (Cat. part 2, pl. 19) an autonomous coin of Balboursa reading at full.

¹ M. de Longperier has published the only League alliance coin in silver of which I have ever heard. It is of Tlôs and Kragos in alliance. The type is not quite the usual one, though it occurs in other instances, and the AT for ATKION is wanting, but M. Koner quotes this coin, with a similar specimen from the "Arch. Zeitung" where the AT occurs. (See Revue Numismatique, 1843, p. 434, and the Beiträge, p. 120.) I have a new copper coin of these towns in alliance, with the AT, of the stag and Artemis head type.

² In the British Museum. The Kragos and Myra coin is engraved in the Encyc. Roret. Num. Anc. pl. 8, 277, and in the Revue Num. 1843.

³ All these town alliances converge at Kragos. I suspect we are still a good deal in the dark about their real original history. Kragos and Massikytos have left, of Lykian towns, by far the most federal coins; but Massikytos is never once allied at this period. Are we to suppose that Kragos, in the last days of the League, was the centre of the Anti-Roman party, and Massikytos the stronghold of Roman influence? M. Koner publishes at p. 115 of the "Beiträge" from Cavedoni a copper coin of Kragos and Telmessos in alliance, bearing the head of Augustus on one side, KP TEA and a lyre in a laurel wreath on the other. (Cavedoni, Observ. sur les Mon. de la Lycie, p. 38.) This is probably the precisely similar coin which Mr. Waddington publishes and reads KP TA (at p. 93 of his Essay). That is Kragos and Tlôs in alliance. I hardly think both coins can exist, and I prefer the able guidance of Mr. Waddington. This piece is in either case important as dating such town alliances to the reign of Augustus. Mr. Waddington has with justice I believe referred these town alliances to the Augustan age, and traces in them the germ of those internal discords which led afterwards to the suppression of Lykian autonomy under Claudius. (On the Lykian dissensions, see text, p. 216.) I find also in the Huber Sale Catalogue, p. 59, a denarius with the head of Augustus and AT, and the two lyres with K and TP in monogram; it is there ascribed to Kragos. It is dangerous to attempt to attribute any coin from a mere catalogue description, but one is tempted to suggest an alliance between Kragos and Trebenna. This, of course, is the merest guess, and assumes the correctness of the reading.

LYKIA. Lykian towns, that I readily follow the previous authorities¹ in counting Telmessos as one of the twenty-three cities of the Lykian League.²

Phaselis at some time in the League. I have increased Mr. Waddington's and M. Koner's list of League towns by venturing to add Phaselis to the number. I have done so on the authority of a silver coin in the British Museum of the unmistakable silver Lykian League type, reading ΦΑΣΗΛΙ above the lyre in the usual incuse square, with two symbols, a torch and hand on either side the lyre. It is fair to add that I cannot on this coin discover the ΑΥ for ΑΥΚΙΩΝ on either side the Apollo's head, but as a silver League coin of Olympos leaves this out side by side with an identical specimen which bears the ΑΥ, I think the identity of the normal silver type and even symbols is sufficient to warrant my adding Phaselis to the Lykian League. This town had, in times anterior to the League, a distinct and peculiar monetary system of its own.³

¹ That is Col. Leake, Mr. Waddington, and M. Koner. Col. Leake says "it was doubtless one of the twenty-three cities of the Lykian confederacy." See Note, Suppl. Num. Hell. Asia, p. 101. Mr. Waddington discovered Lykian inscriptions in the ruins of Telmessos.

² Of Telmessos Strabo says (xiv. 3) that it is *πολίχνη Λυκίων*. He adds, *"ἔλαβε δὲ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο παρὰ Ῥωμαίων Εὐμένης ἐν τῷ Ἀντιοχικῷ πολέμῳ καταλυθείσης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας, ἀπέλαβον πάλιν οἱ Λύκιοι*. This must mean that when the kingdom of Pergamos ended, circa B.C. 133, Telmessos was added to the League. Here then is a case of annexation *before* the time of Artemidōrus.

³ Col. Leake (Num. Hell. Phaselis) publishes a similar silver coin also without ΑΥ, differing from the above in certain symbols only. The torch and hand of the British Museum coin are frequently repeated on other town coins with the ΑΥ. I also possess a precisely similar coin of Phaselis, but of ruder fabric.

An editor's note at p. 119 of the *Beiträge* says that the League types on the coins of Phaselis given by Mionnet, one of which is in the collection at Berlin "lassen schliessen, dass diese Stadt (Phaselis) eine Zeitlang dem Lycischen Bunde angehört hat; . . . aber zu Strabos Zeit war sie ausgetreten."

Of Phaselis Strabo (xiv. 3, sec. 9) says, *"Ἔστι μὲν οὖν καὶ αὕτη ἡ πόλις Λυκιακή, τοῦ δὲ κοινοῦ τῶν Λυκίων οὐ μετέχει, καθ' αὐτὴν δὲ συνέστηκεν*. He gives no explanation of this isolation, which is well illustrated by the isolated system of the civic coinage of Phaselis as contrasted with that of other Lykian towns. M. Koner thinks Phaselis may have come into the League in late times. Mr. Waddington says, "Que Phaselis, tout en ayant un gouvernement et un système monétaire à elle propre, a cependant frappé des médailles au type de la ligue lycienne, et peut en avoir fait partie dans

Of course it will not do to assume that the cities which composed **LYKIA**, the Lykian League in the time of Strabo were in every name identical with those of the League of Artemidôros, if there is a tittle of evidence the other way. Otherwise the presumption would rather be in favour of the same extent at both times. The Greek Leagues of course fluctuated to and fro, but that was because they were wholly independent, liable to conquer and be conquered. But one cannot fancy anything added to or taken from Lykia between Artemidôros and Strabo, and again between Strabo and the dissolution of the League under Claudius, without Roman authority.

Did its
League
fluctuate?

Then comes the question whether Phasêlis at the time of Strabo had seceded from the League into the peculiar isolation which he mentions, or, what is more probable, whether this town did not subsequently attach herself to the other Lykian League cities?

Again, could Xanthos after its overthrow by Brutus have kept its place as one of the six great cities? This would depend on a point of Lykian law which we do not know. In England it clearly would till specially altered, just as Old Sarum kept its two members. In America it as clearly would not, the representation being adjusted to the population at each census. Nor have we any means of knowing whether the three classes of cities were fixed, or whether there was any way, as in America, of rising or falling from one to another.

Did Xan-
thos keep
its place
after its
overthrow?

Some such hypothesis might explain the subsequent accession of Phasêlis even without special Roman authority, but its isolation in the passage of Strabo seems perfectly voluntary.

The very few League coins which Xanthos has left seems somewhat to favour the supposition of its having lost its place in the League, after the overthrow by Brutus. Still Pinara, a first-class

les derniers temps." I presume Mr. Waddington means analogous silver pieces of Phasêlis in speaking of its coins on the Lykian League type. There is greater divergency in the League copper, but I should fancy the fact of a town using the one silver League type conclusive. The peculiar monetary system of Phasêlis before its League incorporation, reminds us of other times and countries; the copper reads ΦA , ΦB , $\Phi \Gamma$ — ΦE . This is like the numbering of the issues on the small copper currency of Rome. Mr. Waddington publishes a tetradrachm of Phasêlis with a magistrate's name $\text{APKE}\Sigma\text{IAO}\Sigma$. The unfederal coins of Kyaneai also record magistrates' names at full in some instances, as $\Phi\text{APO}\Sigma$ (in the British Museum), $\text{K}\Theta\text{H}\Gamma\text{O}\Sigma$ (Beiträge, p. 115).

LYKIA. Lykian town, has left us absolutely no League coinage as yet discovered.

I am also able to add Apollônia¹ to Mr. Waddington's list of the League.

Kadyanda. Araxa has a good chance of having authenticated coins assigned to it.² Mr. Waddington suggests, moreover, Kadyanda³ and Kandyba, as towns whose League coins may some day be discovered.

THE ACHAIAN LEAGUE.

THE ACHAIAN LEAGUE. We learn from Polybios that the effect of the Achaian League was to introduce an identity of laws, weights, measures, and coinage⁴

¹ In the collection of E. Wigan, Esq., a small copper coin of an undoubted League type, with the identical stiff-curved silver Apollo head, and the A of the AT visible on one side of the neck, reading AΠO distinctly, with the bow and quiver crossed in the incuse square. Mr. Waddington has, with justice I believe, corrected M. Koner's attribution of a League type reading AΠ to this town in favour of Aperlai. Mr. Waddington quotes from Sestini (Revue, p. 184) a League coin of Apollônia without the incuse square but with a full-faced Apollo. Sestini and Mionnet had published a nearly similar coin to Mr. Wigan's; these it is interesting to be able to confirm, though Sestini and Mionnet are not to be trusted on such points without additional evidence. Col. Leake (Suppl. Num. Hellen. p. 80), as well as Mr. Waddington, has published a League coin of Phellos. Mionnet's coin of Korydalla (iii. p. 433), wisely doubted by Mr. Waddington, I have discovered to be only a misread specimen of a not uncommon class of coins usually given to Lacedæmon. This reads AA above and not AT. The other letters vary; I have one with KO, another with TH. These are only magistrates' names. The rest of the description, even to the square Θ in the field, minutely corresponds.

² Col. Leake evidently believed in some coin attributed to Araxa, which he publishes in a list of Lykian cities coining under the Leagues. Perhaps he means the doubtful specimen in the French collection.

³ Mr. Borrell has published (Num. Chron. vol. 10, p. 89) an autonomous but not a League coin of Kadyanda. See also Huber's Cat. p. 49, for another specimen.

⁴ Ὅστε μὴ μόνον συμμαχικὴν καὶ φιλικὴν κοινωνίαν γεγονέναι πραγμάτων περὶ αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, καὶ σταθμοῖς, καὶ μέτροις, καὶ νομίμασι, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις, ἀρχουσι, βουλευταῖς, δικασταῖς τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Polyb. ii. 37. The uniform League copper and silver type probably followed and was provided for in the federal constitution enacted about 274 B.C. See text, p. 264. The tetrobols or hemidrachms of Sparta and Messênê are doubtless contemporaneous with the League silver type, and probably cease

throughout the whole Peloponnèse. This passage, and the general geographical extent of the League, will be curiously illustrated by the considerable list of towns and districts of which authenticated coins have descended to us ; all of these were struck under the authority, and during the continuance of the Achaian League. One silver type and one copper type was used in common by all the members of the confederation. The formula adopted on the copper currency—much more historically important than the silver, since it inscribes the particular coining city's name in full—consists in giving us the name of the Achaians collectively, immediately followed by the addition of the town itself, striking in each case under League authority ; thus—AXAION KOPINΘION—AXAION ΠΑΤΑION.¹

THE
ACHAIA
LEAGUE.
Its effect in
intro-
ducing one
uniform
silver and
copper
type
through-
out Pelop-
onnèsos.

The single magistrate's name occurring upon the copper at full length, on the silver in part must rather represent in each case the town's head local magistrate than the stratêgos or president for the year of the whole Achaian League. I am inclined to this opinion from never having found at full length any name such as Aratos, Philopoinên, Lydiades ; and considering the number of times these were each stratêgos, such a non-occurrence would be hard to explain on any other supposition.² Neither have I found in any

Only mu-
nicipal
magi-
strates'
names
found on
the coin-
age.

when Sparta and Messênê were incorporated into the League and obliged to strike with League types.

¹ The one copper type bears the full-length Zeus Homagyrîos holding a victory, with a magistrate's name nearly always in full on one side ; Démêtêr Panachaia seated, the name of the Achaians, and that of the coining city on the other. Thus Pausanias (vii. 24) says, 'Εφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Ὁμαγυρίῳ Διὶ Παναχαΐας ἐστὶ Δῆμητρος. The silver is likewise of one denomination, the Attic tetrobolon, or equal to two-thirds of a light Attic drachm, or what would be much the same in weight, the Æginetan hemidrachm (see Böckh's *Metrolologische Untersuchungen*, &c. Berlin, 1838, p. 98, and Mr. Poole, "Numismatics," *Encyc. Brit.* p. 371). It bears the head of Zeus the assembler of men, the federal god whose altar was at Aigion, generally without further inscription on that side. The other side bears the large monogram of the Achaians with generally the two initial letters of the coining city added much smaller, as ΣΙ for the Sikyônians, FA for FAÆTION (the Eleans preserving the digamma even after 188 B.C.). Sometimes there is only the city symbol given, as a dove for Sikyôn, a wolf's head for Argos. Portions of a magistrate's name are generally added, seldom the whole, except on League silver of Aigion or Elis.

Some towns are only known through their League coins, but of course the majority coined both before and after League times though with types perfectly distinct from their currencies of that epoch.

² I have found on silver League coins of Dyme, Patrai, Aigeira, and Elis,

THE
ACHAÏAN
LEAGUE.

instance the name of any other recorded Achaian general. Mionnet publishes (Med. Rom. p. 158) a League hemidrachm of

the initials AP and AT; a coin of Dyme reads both AP and AT. This however proves too much, for had these initials anything to do with Aratos and Lydiades, the two names would never occur on the same coin. Cousinery (Essai sur les Monnaies d'argent de la Ligue achéenne, Paris, 1825) discovers both the name of Aratos (AP) and Euryleôn (ET) on the coins of Sikyôn which do not belong to the League. Mr. Burgon interpreted a monogram on the League coin of Gortys into the name of Aratos; but the signification here is quite as uncertain as on our other specimens. Plenty of other names begin with AP and AT besides the two notable ones we require; for instance there is Lysippos, a general of the League in the time of Philopoiôn (Plut. Philop. 12). AP is common on League silver of Patrai where it occurs both with and without ΠΑ. M. Cousinery would read Aroë, which is doubtless found on this town's coins under the Empire with Patrai. The AP in monogram on Cousinery's coin of Aigion, which he there interprets as Aratos, is probably only the ΑΡΙCTΟΔΑΜΟC, a local magistrate, of the next coin he gives of the same town, abbreviated. Supposing the uniform League coinage to have commenced so early as from the accession of Sikyôn to the League, as Aratos continued for the next five years head of its local government (B.C. 251—245) (see text, p. 368), we should have the best chance of finding his name on Sikyônian copper coins of the League. We have also a chance on the Argeian coins, as he was once elected out of compliment its head local magistrate.

The interpretation however of the letters and monograms of the League silver, as distinguished from the copper, is so slippery a task, that we cannot insist much on evidence hence derived; as we are liable, among other elements of confusion, to mistake the city initials for a magistrate's name and *vice versa*; thus one of these coins reads FA, AN, where the former may mean Eleians (FAΛEÏON) the latter Antigoneia, and there is no sort of city symbol to help us between the two on this specimen; all notion of an alliance between these would be utterly out of place in the Achaian, whatever it might be in the Augustan times of the Lykian League. With these reservations, some of the League silver appear to bear two magistrates' names in a few instances; and in these, could we establish our fact with any certainty, one might be the federal, one the municipal magistrate. Sestini makes them the local eponymous magistrate, his father, and at times his grandfather (p. 69), for Sestini insists on some League coins bearing three names. Certainly the silver of Elis bear one name at full length with two more monograms beside the city name, at times in monogram also, but the number of distinct persons named must be extremely doubtful at best; although it is common enough in Greek numismatics to find the magistrate's father and occasionally his father again. Still the League silver is so perfectly anomalous as at present classed, giving us, sometimes a symbol, the two first letters of the town, one or two magistrates' names, perhaps a double name of a town like Aroë or Patrai, or, again, the monogram of Patrai on a Corinthian League piece with the Koph (in my collection); and these again singly, or in combination—that it cannot be rashly decided when to read a town, and when a magistrate's

Elis which bears the name NIKIOY. This cannot be the insignificant Nikias who was federal general B.C. 209—8 (Liv. xxviii. 8),

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ACHAÏAN
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name in many of these abbreviations or monograms. Cousinery publishes a silver and a small brass coin, of the type usually silver, in his first plate. These he reasonably classes to the League before the annexation of Sikyôn on account of their bearing simply the Achaian monogram without symbol or inscription. Their fabric is also very different from the usual silver coins of the League; although these last differ again widely in fabric among themselves. There are several similar specimens in the British Museum. See also the hemidrachm at p. 34 of this essay, reading AXAIΩN, which must have been struck about this period, but is classed, from analogy of fabric, with the Peloponnésian didrachmic series.

Cousinery (p. 24) instances towns of the second order which only coined copper under the League, such as Asea, Asiné, Eua, Pallanteon. He would thence infer that such were "subordonnées à une métropole," from whence they received the silver they required. I do not think that under the Achaian League any such distinction can be maintained. It is true that of many League towns we have only copper coins, but then the attribution of the League silver is generally so uncertain, unless we get a perfectly ascertained symbol to guide us as in some few cases like Argos, Megara, Sikyôn, that we cannot be sure that there was no silver League coinage of the four towns mentioned above, because we cannot distinguish it from the mass of Achaian silver. In fact a silver coin reading ΠΑΑ and given by Cousinery to Pellênê, is referred by Col. Leake with much more probability to the last of these very towns Pallanteon. It is this attempted distinction between head and subordinate towns under the League which leads Sestini into some strange theories respecting the appearance of the mint-master's name at full length on the League copper (see pp. 68, 69).

Still on the other hand there are also League towns and districts that we know only by their silver coins, but I believe copper was struck in each though the coins have not yet come to hand. These are 6 out of our list of 41, Aigina—Dyme—Patrai—Lacedæmon—Troizên and Elis. Aigion is the only League town which inscribes its full name on its silver currency; and with Elis, Aigion is the only town which inscribes the full magisterial name on coins of the same metal; though Elis never gives its own name in full. Still the FA (ΑΕΙΩΝ) of Elis, and the bonnets of the Dioskouroi of Lacedæmon attribute their League silver with adequate certainty. Hence the fact of Aigina, Dymê, Patrai, or, in some extent, Troizên having left any *known* coins of the League, though we may be sure they did coin, is not nearly so certain, as that the other towns in our list have, of which copper coins reading the city name in full remain. When we have established the existence of a copper coin of any city it is not very important for our present purpose to inquire into the often interesting numismatic puzzle of finding a corresponding League coin in silver.

Cousinery has endeavoured with a certain ingenuity to set apart a class of Corinthian drachms with a pegasus, and a female head or that of Apollo, as struck by Corinth and certain Peloponnésian towns authorized by Corinth to imitate her coinage for commercial purposes about the time of the Achaian League, and supposed by him to have had a concurrent circulation

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against the
occurrence
of the
name of
the Fede-
ral Stratê-
gos.

Coins of
Philopoi-
mên's
townships.

Coins of
Kleônai
under the
League.

as Elis was only annexed to the League some twenty years afterwards. The name is, moreover, not an uncommon one. Only in a very few cases, such as a Chaireas of Corinth, and a Chaireas of Messênê, a Phaénos of both Argos and Sikyôn,—does the same name occur on League coins of different towns; which would surely be the case frequently were the federal magistrate of the whole League named.

The existence of League coins of Alipheira, Asea, Dipaia, Gortys, Pallanteon, and Theisoa, illustrates the policy of Philopimên about B.C. 194, in erecting separate small states out of the townships of Megalopolis. The coin of Pagai, may have been struck at the second incorporation of Megara, B.C. 208. The policy of encouraging and fostering this town in opposition to the neighbouring power of Megara, was dictated earlier by the same motives. The port of Megara and the second town in the district would naturally suggest itself as a convenient counterpoise to the capital to the mind of Philopimên.

The earlier acquisition of Kleônai by Aratos, B.C. 399, which also has left League coins, was part of the same policy directed against the then non-Achaian Argos.¹

The League coin of Korônê as a separate canton is also important, as there is no doubt about its geographical position to the south of Messênê. This must have already separated from Messênê at the death of Philopimên, or have been subsequently enfranchised by Lykortas. We have additional evidence of its belong-

with the regular League types. Cousinery has moreover a strange theory that King Philip, warring against Ætolia, made the League towns most attached to the Corinthian interest strike for him Corinthian types which would circulate in Northern Greece instead of Achaian ones. Such a theory is entirely gratuitous and improbable. Cousinery's only fact seems to be a presumed rarity of Corinthian League coins of the regular types, and a find of coins in the neighbourhood of Epeiros. But Argos and Sikyôn, at least in their symbol-bearing coins of the League, are nearly as seldom found; and the League copper of Corinth in the British Museum are more in number than that of any other League town. Besides, one's credulity is much taxed to believe in Corinthian types attributed on the authority of two letters or a monogram to the inland Tegea and strangest of all to Federal Arkadia (see pt. 11, at p. 17). Sestini also finds the name of Aratos (AP) on Corinthian didrachms of the usual colonial type; whose fabric, to omit other difficulties, must class them long before his time. See Sestini, pp. 71—86.

¹ See text, p. 400.

ing to the Achaian League in the name of its harbour, "the port of the Achaïans."¹ On his march to relieve Korônê Philopoimên was taken prisoner.² THE
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The coin of Mantinea, under its name of Antigoneia, is important, as giving us a date subsequent to 222 B.C., the year of its name being changed in honour of Antigonos Dôson. Antigo-
neia.

There exists a coin moreover of Eliphasia or Elisphasia, one of the townships of Mantinea (See Polyb. xi. 11),³ also separated by Philopoimên as a check upon its uncertain and turbulent mother city. This last instance shows the division of large States to have been pursued systematically. Eliphasia.

Colonel Leake would attribute a League copper coin, reading KOPTYNION AXAION⁴ and belonging to Gortys in Arkadia, to Gortyna in Crete. He argues from the insignificance of the Arkadian village, as contrasted with the zeal shown by the Cretan Gortynians in the cause of the League; he instances how on one occasion the latter people invited Philopoimên to command their army, and how subsequently 500 of these joined Flamininus on the League side against Philip. Federal
coin of
Gortys.

The question however is, have we any evidence to show that these Cretan Gortynians were ever anything more than *Allies*? To have struck this coin they must have been not merely zealous supporters, but a regularly confederated city. With regard to the insignificance of the Arkadian village, it could not have been of greater Not the
Cretan
Gortyna

¹ Paus. iv. 34. Cf. Geog. Dict. Corone. Pausanias professes himself unable to account for the name.

² Livy (xxxix. 49) says, "Philopoemen prætor eorum capitur ad præoccupandam *Coronen* profectus," while Plutarch (Phil. 17), καὶ κόμην τῇ καλουμένην Κολωνίδα προσηγγέλθη (Δεινοκράτης) μέλλων καταλαμβάνειν. Pausanias distinguishes between the two, but puts them not far apart, τῇ Κορωναίων δὲ πόλει ἐστὶν ὁμοῖος Κολωνίδες (iv. 34). Again Ptolemy talks about Κολώνη (iii. 15, s. 7, cf. Geog. Dict.). The imperial-colonial coins read ΚΟΛΩΝΙΕΩΝ, &c. The autonomous coins inscribed ΚΟΛΩΝΑΙΩΝ belong, according to Mr. Borrell, to a Kolônê in the Troad (Num. Chron. vi. 193. Cf. Müller. Alex. Gr. p. 237). Leake had classed these to the Messénian Kolônê.

³ τῇ τῶν Ἐλισφασίων χώρα. This is, I fancy, the only reference in the authorities of the period for this township. The coin is, consequently, highly important.

⁴ Kortys and Gortys, as Gnosso and Cnossos. See Leake, Supplement to Numis. Hellen. sub Gortynæ Cretæ passim. A similar specimen of Baron Prokesch-Osten's reads ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ.

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Reasons
for and
against
the Cretan
Gortyna.

insignificance than Alipheira, of which we have coins, and other places which became independent by the policy of Philopoimên and Lykortas.¹ There is another point at first sight rather in Colonel Leake's favour, which, however, he does not mention, namely, the great resemblance which exists between the types of certain Cretan and Peloponnésian cities as between coins of Stymphalos and the Cretan Chersonêsos especially. It is, moreover, remarkable that a tetradrachm of Gortyna should differ from a latter tetradrachm of Athens only in inscribing a different name and symbol.² Still, the inferences of history are so strongly against the Cretan theory, and the existence of League coins of other small Arkadian townships is so entirely corroborative of the Arkadian attribution, that I have no doubt that a coin to all appearances a coin of the Achaian League was struck by a League city, Gortys in Arkadia, within the usual limits of League influence; nor do I see any necessity for going as far as Crete to produce an isolated city from that island in all respects confederated equally with Aigion or Megalopolis.

Doubtful
coin of
Keryneia.

Sestini and after him Mionnet, have published a League coin of Keryneia, the city of Markos, described as reading AXAÏON KAPI-NOÏON. I am unaware whether there be any except numismatic

¹ Gortys was of sufficient importance to be taken by Euripidas the general of the Eleians in the social war, B.C. 219. The mere fact of Arkadia, a district of small towns, supplying 18 out of 39 ascertained cities in my list of coining towns, is a sufficient answer to Col. Leake's objection on the score of the insignificance of the Arkadian Gortys.

With regard to Philopoimên, he had already served in Crete and acquired reputation in the wars of Cnossos and Lyttos. Throughout Polybios there is frequent mention of Cretan contingents serving on every side of the question in Greek politics (see p. 538). Thus we find Polyrrhênians in the army of Philip (Polyb. iv. 61), and Cretans in the troops of Sparta (Polyb. iv. 80). There are many other instances. We might as reasonably expect Achaian League coins of Athens as of Gortyna. (On Philopoimên in Crete, see text, p. 505.)

² These facts were I believe first noticed by Mr. Burgon, see also Mr. Poole's article on Numismatics in the *Encycl. Britan.* Mr. Poole (*Numis. Chron. New Series*, No. 3, p. 173) also notices "that Cnossos Cydonia Gortyna Hierapytna Polyrrhenium and Priansus" copy the types of late Athênian tetradrachms on certain of their coins. M. Poole has given a good explanation in supposing that these Cretan towns copied the Athenian tetradrachm on account of its widely-spread commercial circulation. He has also kindly informed me, that in the cities of Tarentum and Velia strong commercial relations with Athens may be traced in their issue of drachms with modified Athenian types.

authority for this reading of the city's name. Sestini quotes another example reading KAPINAIQN. This comes more nearly to the received orthography, which seems to have varied much in different authorities.¹ I have never personally inspected a specimen of this coin, which I regard as far from certain.

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On looking at the subjoined list² of towns coining under the League, we are able fully to understand the vitality and importance of such a confederation, wherein states like Lacedæmon, Corinth, or Elis, were content to merge their political individuality into mere membership of a League, on a par with Pagai and Alipheira, and were satisfied to inscribe AXAIQN before their own name on the public coinage.

Its extent
well illus-
trated by
its coin-
age.

The obscure history of the Eleuthero-lakonic townships is not much cleared up by the coinage of the Achaian League. Pausanias tells us eighteen out of the twenty-four names, and of those which he specifies in no single instance has an Achaian League coin come down to us.³ We should hardly expect at first sight each of the twenty-four

The Eleu-
thero-lakō-
nic town-
ships.

¹ Κερόνια Κεραυνία—perhaps Κεκρόνια (Paus. vii. 6). On Markos, see text, p. 248. Perhaps this is a misread League coin of Corinth—KAPINOIQN for KOPINΘIQN. The magistrate's name, Hermokratēs, is actually found on Corinthian League copper, and the theta in KOPINΘIQN on the British Museum League coins of Corinth looks just like a large omicron, while the omicron which follows the kappa is a mere dot.

² See p. 53 of this Essay. It is hardly necessary to warn the reader that some coins like those bearing AXAIQN ETMENEQN of the Phrygian Eumeneia have neither in type or otherwise any connection with the Achaian League. IQNQN, ΘPAKQN, MAKEAQNQN, are thus found on coins of Asiatic cities, and "record probably the union of some colonists from European Greece." (Leake, Sup. Num. Hell. p. 52.) A coin reading ΠETMATION with something like the Achaian monogram does not belong to the League.

³ But Gythion, Las, Asōpos, and Boiai have left imperial-colonial coins of the Severus period. Col. Leake (Num. Hell. Cyprissia) publishes an autonomous coin of Kyparissia with the symbolical head and name PΩMA on one side; a standing Artemis, K... AAKETI and KTYIAPICCIA on the other. This, he suggests, may be a coin of Asōpos after all. Kyparissia would then merely be an epithet of the Artemis, as it was of the Athēnē in the Acropolis of Asōpos mentioned by Pausanias (iii. 22, Cf Leake "Cyprissia"). Certainly the two towns were close to each other, and the imperial coins of Kyparissos read KTYIAPICCIEQN not KTYIAPICCIA an unusual numismatic termination for a city name. I have inspected, through the kindness of Mrs. Leake, and would read, this coin somewhat differently, namely KOI(NON) AAKE(ΔAIMONIQN), TI(MAPICTOZ),

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townships to coin as an independent canton, since such a number added at once to the League would be serious. It would seem more reasonable to infer that some system, like that of contributory boroughs, regulated their connection with the Achaian League, rather than that each petty township should have come in for a distinct vote. Still the analogy of the coining townships of Megalopolis makes rather for the last supposition. Now six of these Eleuthero-lakônîc names Pausanias does not tell us, because the towns had been reannexed by Sparta in his time. We have however two names in our list worthy of consideration as possibly supplying two of the missing names—Asinê, and Eua.

Doubt between the three Asinêa.

The Messénian Asinê, if we attribute our League coin to this town rather than the Argeian Asinê, was only five miles distant from Korônê, which town we know coined under the League. Moreover the Argeian town was in ruins in the time of Pausanias.¹ But then we have a third Lakonian Asinê of Polybios near Gythion,² which seems to have been close to or the same as Las, the Eleuthero-lakônîc township; and it seems no easy matter to decide whether our League coin belongs to the Argeian, Messénian, or Lakônian town.³

ΚΥΤΙΑΠΙCΙΑ. The last word is still, I consider, merely an epithet of the Artemis. Timaristos, a magistrate, occurs very commonly in the same abbreviated form, and once is named at full length, on coins of Sparta of about the reign of Augustus. If this coin was Eleuthero-lakônîc, the formula would rather be ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΛΑΚΩΝΩΝ than what we have. Possibly, however, these towns arrogated to themselves an equal right with the Spartans to be called *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*. If so, we should have a distinct coin of the Eleuthero-lakônîc League as set up by Augustus. But I much doubt whether this is even a coin of Asôpos, and may not be only one of Sparta after all. ΣΠΑΡΤΗ, an allegorical head like the ΡΩΜΑ, occurs on the coinage of this last, and as we hear there of temples both of an Artemis Orthia and Limnaia, so there may have been a Kyparissian Artemis.

¹ Paus. ii. 36. Τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶν Ἀργείων ἢ ποτὲ Ἀσίνης καλούμενη, καὶ Ἀσίνης ἐστὶν ἐπέκτα ἐπὶ Θαλάσσης. Cf. Leake, Num. Hell. Asine.

² V. 19. Dr. Smith (Geog. Dict. Asine) doubts the existence of a Lakonian town of this name, and suggests a confusion in Polybios between Mount Asia and Asine, since Pausanias (iii. 24) speaks of the same event—a repulse of King Philip—happening at Las on Mount Asia. It seems strange however to trust Pausanias before Polybios on a matter of history.

³ Of this Asinê—be it Lakônian, Messénian, or Argeian—there are imperial-colonial coins of Septimius Severus, Plautilla and Domna, reading ΑΣΙΝΑΙΩΝ. There is an autonomous coin of one of the three Asinêa in Huber's Sale Catalogue, p. 39, reading ΑΞΕΝΑΟΝ, with the square sigma.

The coin of Eua must, I fancy, probably belong to the Eua of the Thyreatis mentioned by Pausanias with Athênê and Nêris, and as the largest of the three.¹ It is true we have Mount Eua close over the city of Messênê, the southern summit opposite to Ithômê, but if we attributed the coin to this site, we should have to create a town there. Assuming this to be the village in the Thyreatis, it may have been Eleuthero-lakônîc, but as I have never seen its coin, besides its having no historical corroboration as a member of the League, we must accept such a coin with caution.

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Coin of
Eua.

The passage of Livy which treats of the first separation of the maritime Lakônian towns by Flaminius, B.C. 195, certainly looks more like mere protection by, than incorporation with the Achaian League.² Still when we afterwards read of Diaios both garrisoning and attaching to the League the towns which afterwards became the Eleuthero-lakônîc cities³—identical in all probability with the maritime Lakonian towns of Livy—it seems unreasonable to doubt that these were admitted at some period to the League on the same terms and as part of the same policy, which dictated Philopimên's separation of the Megalopolitan townships, and, possibly, Pagai. Therefore it is not too much to expect that League coins of some, possibly of all, these towns must hereafter come to light. Surely their important position as a check upon hostile Sparta would ensure them as good terms of incorporation as the townships of Megalopolis were able to obtain.^{4 5}

On what
terms ad-
mitted to
the
League.

¹ ii. 28.

² Cf. p. 622, and Liv. xxxv. 13. *Achæis omnium maritimorum Laconum tuendorum a T. Quintio cura mandata erat.*

³ Cf. p. 692, and Paus. vii. 13. *Τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς Σπάρτης πόλιστα ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπηγάγετο εὐνοίαν, ἐσήγαγε δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ φρουράς, ὁρμητήρια ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην Ἀχαιοῖς εἶναι.* It is suggested at p. 692, that Iasos, mentioned lower by Pausanias as *Ἀχαιῶν ὑπήκοον*, was one of the six whose names are not given. This statement of subjection to the League is surely considerably modified by the previous *ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπηγάγετο εὐνοίαν*. See also the remarks at pp. 622 and 692, from whence the arguments above are derived.

⁴ In B.C. 146, Mummius puts these Eleuthero-lakônîc cities back again under Sparta; Augustus separated them again, seemingly setting them up as a sort of distinct confederacy, and not adding them to the Achaian League. Between that time and when Pausanias wrote, Sparta had recovered six of these cities.

⁵ I insert at the end of this notice of the coinage of the Peloponnêsos

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under the Achaian League, some account of an interesting small copper coin, of which M. Feuardent has kindly sent me the impression, bearing the helmeted head of Pallas ; and on the other side the prow of a galley with BA, ANT in monogram, and the monogram of Patrai (ΠΑΤΡ) with a branch. This he suggests in his catalogue was struck by Antigonos Dōsōn at that town. I fancy however that the piece is rather of Antigonos King of Asia. His general Aristodēmos drives Kassander's garrison out of Patrai, B.C. 314. (See text, p. 243.) It could hardly be struck by a local tyrant in honour of Antigonos Gonatas, as Patrai revived the League (B.C. 280) three years before he obtained permanent possession of his kingdom (B.C. 277). The galley on this coin closely resembles that engraved on the coin of the King of Asia in the Geog. Dict. and the branch occurs on an undoubted coin of Patrai in Leake. Still the galley is common enough on coins of the Seleukian Dynasty and elsewhere, and the laurel branch occurs on coins generally given to Antigonos Gonatas. About the monogram of Patrai I think there is little doubt. Neither do I think the coin belongs to Antigonos Dōsōn who never specially took Patrai, except in the sense in which he may be said to have taken all Peloponnēsos ; and who, as he scrupulously respected constitutional forms, was not likely thus to interfere with the sovereignty of any city of the League. If we make it the first Antigonos, the coin and the historical notice fit in just as they should with one another.

I am tempted to connect with the above-mentioned coin a tetradrachm of Alexander which bears as its symbol an identically shaped prow of a galley, the same monogram of Patrai but without the P, the monogram AX, perhaps to signify the position of Patrai in Achaia, and last, Arion on his dolphin. This representation is found on coins of Corinth and the dolphin is a prevalent type of Patrai. M. Müller however gives the coin to the Lesbian Mēthymna, Arion's native town, where this type also appears on the coinage (Müller, p. 242, and pl. XIV. No. 982). Perhaps the municipal authorities of Patrai issued this coin as well at the date of the occupation by Aristodēmos.

I subjoin a list of towns and districts which have left coins struck under the Achaian League. When an authority follows the city-name, this means that I have never personally verified the coins given. Some of the attributions grounded only on silver coins without a city-name are not absolutely certain. The references apply to the text. I add the actual, probable, or approximate date of League-incorporation where I am able, except at Antigoneia, where I give the date of its change of name :—

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|------|---|
| B.C. | |
| 229. | 1. Aigina? Silver only. A fish. p. 425. |
| 243. | 2. Megara. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ. (Sestini.) p. 377. |
| 208. | 3. Pagai. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΠΑΓΑΙΩΝ. (Probably separated from Megara.) p. 628. |
| 243. | 4. Corinth. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ. p. 377. |
| 251. | 5. Sikyōn. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΩΝ. p. 364. |
| 228. | 6. Phlious. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΛΕΙΑΣΙΩΝ. p. 428. |

IN ARGOLIS.

- | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|
| 228. | 7. Argos. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ. p. 428. |
|------|-----------------------------------|

- B.C. 8. Asine. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΣΙΝΑΙΩΝ. (Qy. Messénian : THE ACHAÏAN LEAGUE.
see below.)
229. 9. Kleonai. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΛΕΩΝΑΙΩΝ. p. 401.
229. 10. Hermione. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΕΡΜΙΩΝΕΩΝ. (Sestini.)
p. 425.
243. 11. Epidaurós. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΔΑΥΡΕΩΝ. (Sestini.)
p. 377.
243. 12. Troizén. Silver only. A trident. p. 377.

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- (At the earliest) 274. 13. Aigeira. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΓΕΙΡΑΤΑΝ. p. 246.
275. 14. Aigion. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΓΙΕΩΝ. p. 246.
280. 15. Dymé? Silver only ΔΥ. A round-bodied fish.
p. 245.
275. 16. Keryneia? ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΡΙΝΟΙΩΝ (sic). (Sestini.)
p. 246.
280. 17. Patrai? Silver only. ΠΑ and a dolphin. p. 245.
- At the earliest) 274. 18. Pellênê. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΠΕΛΛΑΝΕΩΝ. See p. 246.

IN ARKADIA.

- Before 235. 19. Aleia. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΛΕΙΩΝ. See p. 454.
194. 20. Alipheira. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΛΕΦΕΙΡΕΩΝ. (Probably
separated from Megalopolis.)
222. 21. Antigoneia. (Mantineia) ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΓΟ-
ΝΕΩΝ. p. 495.
194. 22. Asea. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΣΕΑΤΩΝ. (Probably separated
from Megalopolis.)
194. 23. Dipaia. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΔΙΠΑΙΕΩΝ. (Probably sepa-
rated from Megalopolis.)
24. Eua? ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΕΥΩΝ. (Sestini.) In the Thyreatia.
- Before 234. 25. Heraia. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΗΡΑΙΕΩΝ. p. 403.
194. 26. Gortys. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ. (Probably
separated from Megalopolis.)
227. 27. Kaphyai. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΦΥΕΩΝ. p. 442.
234. 28. Megalopolis. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ. p. 404.
194. 29. Pallanteon. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΠΑΛΛΑΝΤΕΩΝ. (Proba-
bly separated from Megalopolis.)
- Before 234. 30. Pheneos. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΕΝΕΩΝ. p. 403.
219. 31. Psôphis? ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΨΩΦΙΣΙΩΝ (ΦΑΕΙΑΣΙΩΝ?)
(Eckhel.) p. 538.
208. 32. Phigaleia or Phialia. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΙΓΑΛΙΩΝ. (Must
have joined with Triphylia. See p. 538.)
- Before 234. 33. Stymphalos. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΩΝ. p. 403.
222. 34. Tegea. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ. p. 495.
- Before 234. 35. Thelpousa. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΘΕΛΠΟΥΣΙΩΝ. (Sestini.)
p. 403, and Pol. ii. 54.
194. 36. Theisoa. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΘΕΙΣΟΑΙΕΩΝ. (Sestini.) (Pro-
bably separated from Megalopolis.)
191. 37. Elis. Silver only. ΕΛ. A thunderbolt. p. 636.

ÆTOLIA.

ÆTOLIA.
Its federal
coinage

The fine federal coinage of Ætolia in gold and silver is inscribed ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ, and may, perhaps, refer in its type to some special victory in the annals of this League. I prefer, however, to believe that the figure seated on shields holding a small victory in its hand, is such an impersonification of their country as a tribe who lived in a perpetual atmosphere of petty warfare would naturally choose.¹

192. 38. Lacedæmon. Silver only. The bonnets of the Dioskouroi. p. 630.

191. 39. Messênâ. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ. p. 636.

184. 40. Korônâ. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΩΝΑΙΩΝ. (On Korônâ's position towards the League, cf. Liv. xxxix. 49, with Plut. Phil. 17.) p. 648.

About 194? 41. Eliphasia. ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΕΛΙΦΑΣΙΩΝ. A township of Mantinea. (Polyb. xi. 11.) This reference had not come to hand before the publication of Mr. Freeman's work, consequently, Eliphasia is there suggested as Eleuthero-lakônîc. I am, in a great measure, answerable for this mistake (see p. 714).

I have received impressions of the League coins of Dipaia, Pheneos, and Eliphasia, through the kindness of Baron Prokesch-Osten at Constantinople, in whose collection these coins occur. (See also his article in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1860.)

I have left Asine under Argolis, although this may be the Messênian town, or the Lakonian Asine or Las of Polybios after all. (See p. 52.)

League coins will no doubt be some day discovered of other more important cities, such as Kleitôr, Orchomenos (of which Kaphyai was merely a district town, p. 442), Tritaia, Kynaitha, Leontion, and Lepreon.

We might also from Polyb. xxv. 1, expect something of Abia, Thouria, and Pharai; of which Thouria has perhaps left autonomous coins (p. 649).

Epidaurus and Megara though I only give their brass coins from others, have left plenty of tolerably certain silver bearing the serpent and lyre, respectively, but without the city-name.

Eckhel's League coin of Psôphis is, I think rightly, questioned by Sestini as a misread coin of Phlious. Still we know this town must have coined under the League, as must Keryneia. (Sestini, *Sopra le medaglie antiche relative alla Confederazione degli Achei*. Milano, 1817. To this work the references to Sestini in my list apply.)

¹ Colonel Leake, from various details of type (see *Num. Hell. Europe*, p. 7), corrects Millingen's identification of this figure with the statue of Ætolia dedicated at Delphi to commemorate the slaughter which the Ætolians inflicted on the Gauls, B.C. 278. (See Thirwall, viii. 70.) The Colonel would suppose this figure had reference to the prominent part which the Ætolians took on the Roman side at Kynoskephalai. The date of these coins is

We have of this type staters and tetradrachms, since we may so *ÆTOLIA*. call them, as they coincide in weight with such pieces of Alexander the Great; while the heads of Pallas and the young *Hēraklēs*, which these bear on the other side to the figure of *Ætolia*, are distinct copies of Alexander's stater and tetradrachm types.¹ With regard to the date of such coins, all that can be said with certainty is, that they are posterior to Alexander but certainly a good deal earlier however much earlier. Again we hear of a statue of *Aitōlos* at *Therma* quoted by *Ephoros* (*Strabo*, x. 463).

Ἐνδυμῖωνος καὶ Αἰτωλῶν τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν
Αἰτωλοὶ σφετερεῖς μνημ' ἀρετᾶς ἐσορᾶν.

(See text, p. 328, cf. *Thirlwall*, viii. 226) which, did we attach much weight to such special interpretations, might perhaps be connected with the naked male figure with its foot on a rock which appears, on what I imagine, the oldest federal coin of *Ætolia* (an *Æginetan* didrachm, the third coin given in *Leake* under *Ætolia*). We hear, however, later of many statues in the sanctuary of *Apollo* at *Thermos*, a special enactment to protect artists (*Thirlwall*, viii. 228), and of the private magnificence of the leading *Ætolians*—facts all corroborated by the beauty of their coinage.

¹ The *Ætolian* League was certainly developed to some extent before the death of Alexander. Philip had ceded *Naupaktos* to the *Ætolians* after *Chairōneia*. (See text, pp. 327, 328.) Still I fancy such pieces were struck after the death of Alexander. Mr. Poole ("Numismatics," *Encyc. Britan.* p. 370) would refer such coins "probably to about Alexander's time." The *Æginetan* scale didrachms are very likely slightly anterior to Alexander; the rest of the federal coinage which follows the Attic standard is clearly based upon his monetary system.

The fact, however, of their being copies of Alexander's coinage need not of necessity imply that they were struck during or even soon after his reign. Col. *Leake* ("Alexander," p. 4. *Num. Hell.*) remarks with justice that many of such staters and tetradrachms were issued in Asiatic cities and elsewhere, some long after the death of Alexander. M. Müller treats this interesting subject at great length (see p. 53. *et seq.*), and shows such to have been the case among other reasons, by the appearance of Seleukidan badges on types of Alexander, and by some pieces of that king being struck by towns only founded under the Successors, like the *Thrachian* *Lysimachia*, and *Philadelphieia* of *Palestine*. M. Müller further instances (p. 370) a remarkable stater on the type of those of Philip of *Macedon* which, he remarks, must have been struck by the *Rhodians*, merely on account of the extensive commercial credit and circulation of such pieces, long after that King's death—for the *Rhodians* never were even on friendly relations with Philip. The coin is of undoubted *Rhodian* mintage as it bears PO with the pomegranate and a magistrate's name at full. Few of the regal *Macedonian* pieces can have their mint-place so satisfactorily attributed. A drachm usually classed to Philip *Arridaios* is likewise certainly struck at *Sikyōn*, probably by some tyrant supported by *Macedon*. This bears ΣΙ and the dove. The last is historically interesting.

ÆTOLIA. than Kynoskephalai; the great mass however of the more common silver and copper types were struck no doubt during the most prosperous period of this League.¹

The federal series everything in Ætolian numismatics.

The federal series of Ætolia gives us a variety of types in each metal, some of which are sufficiently numerous; but the federal series of Ætolia proper is everything, the town or municipal series of this country next to nothing. This illustrates well the fact that, as contrasted with the Achaian League, this last was a league of cities, Ætolia a league of tribes.² Thus Thermon where the League usually met has left no coins; and the Corinthian didrachm³ ascribed to Naupaktos is of more than doubtful attribution; it has anyhow nothing Ætolian above it, and, even if true, would be anterior to the times of the Ætolian League, for Naupaktos was Ætolian through-

¹ There exists of Federal Ætolia a half stater besides in gold, and, as I have said, some few specimens of perhaps an earlier currency of Æginetan-scale didrachms and drachms. Böckh (*Metrologische Untersuchungen*) says, "Auch bei den Aetolern als Volk, kommt der Attische Fuss, jedoch nicht ausschliesslich vor," p. 97. The later and more numerous small silver series (Attic tetrobola?) agree in weight with the silver of the Achaian League, with which they are perhaps contemporaneous. They bear the Kalydōnian boar with a spear-head and part of the name of the annual Stratēgos of the League thus, ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ ΚΛΕΟΔΕ (Cleodēmos), &c. In the curious scene under the walls of Medeōn (see text, p. 413) the Ætolian general expressly complains that going out of office before the town was taken his name would not be inscribed on the trophies (Pol. ii. 2), a direct analogy establishing its habitual inscription on the public coinage. Yet the magisterial name seldom exceeds two letters or a monogram on the larger coins or the copper. On the other side we have a young head wearing the *causia*, representing Atalantē, as Col. Leake would suggest. I fancy however, this is merely the head of the statue on the larger coins.

Last, there is the numerous copper federal currency, which must also be as late as the times of the Achaian League. The types of this also refer invariably to the Kalydōnian hunt; we have the boar's jaw-bone, the spear-head, at times the ear-ring of Atalantē, a star, grapes, &c. In this series, when federal, ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ is added. The towns of Amphissa, Thronion, and the Æteans, strike copper of this Ætolian type substituting, respectively, ΘΡΟΝΙΩΝ—ΑΜΦΙΣΣΕΩΝ—ΟΙΤΑΙΩΝ. Mionnet describes (vol. ii. p. 88) an analogous coin of Apollōnia, an Ætolian town mentioned by Livy (xxviii. 8) with Potidania. I have passed over a few other unfrequent types.

² See text, p. 326.

³ Col. Leake classes it to Anaktorion: it reads simply NAT with AN in monogram, and is of the usual Corinthian type. Again, others of such didrachms have been classed to the Ætolian Lysimachia, as have tetrobola of the type given above which read AT.

out the whole federal period. Neither has Kalydôn left any undoubted autonomous coins.¹ ÆTOLIA.

Three towns only, and these not strictly and geographically Ætolian, have left copper coins of the same type and contemporaneous with the Ætolian federal currency in that metal—Amphissa, Thronion, and the Æteans,² evidently struck during the period that the Ætolian League incorporated Lokris and Thessaly.³ Amphissa, Thronion, and the Æteans coin with Ætolian types.

We may add the town of Apollônia to the former three, as likely to have left authenticated coins struck under the Ætolian League,⁴ but on none of these towns' coins is there any recognition of League authority. It is impossible to determine in what town was the federal mint of the Ætolian League, nor considering the character of this federation, is the question of much historical importance. The ordinary assemblies were held at Thermon,⁵ and if the extensive federal series was thence issued, it is highly curious as illustrating the entire preponderance of federalism over the municipal influence of the capital, of which no coins in its own name remain. Probable coins of the Ætolian Apollônia.

LOKRIS.

The coins with Corinthian types,⁶ inscribed ΔΟΚΡΩΝ do not belong to the Italian Lokris, which was not a colony from Corinth. LOKRIS. Coinage of the Lokrians.

¹ Those given by Mionnet are probably of Chalkêdôn in Bithynia with the ΚΑΛΧΑΔΟΝΙΩΝ misread as ΚΑΛΥΔΟΝΙΩΝ. Kalchêdôn not Chalkêdôn is the invariable coin form. There is one coin of this town however quoted as struck under Severus.

² Thronion has silver coins of rather earlier date, but in type still resembling the Ætolian, as also have the Æteans but unconnected with Ætolia. The Æteans are associated by Col. Leake with Ætolia through Amphissos the mythical founder of the city Æta, but I conceive the copper coin must plainly mean that the Æteans were included in the Ætolian League when it was struck. Their predatory habits were eminently Ætolian.

³ On the towns in Thessaly and the Phthiôtic Achaia under Ætolia, see text, p. 395, note.

⁴ The Ætolian type would exclude the coin from belonging to any other Apollônia, the town is too obscure for the coin to be false, and Mionnet could not well have mistaken the reading in this instance. This town again is only on the borders of Ætolia. I have also seen a Corintho-colonial didrachm bearing ΑΠΟΛ, which may belong to this town rather than the Illyrian Apollônia.

⁵ Or even at Naupaktos (see text, p. 334) perhaps according to Livy xxxi. 29, 40. Naupaktos was at an earlier time the federal mint of the Hesperian Lokrians according to Col. Leake (Numis. Hell. Locris).

⁶ That is the pegasus and helmeted head of Pallas, the type of the

LOKRIS. Col. Leake, who has thus corrected their attribution, suggests that such pieces were minted at Naupaktos, "the most important position in the country of the Locri Hesperii or Ozolæ."

Coins inscribed indifferently ΔΟΚΡΩΝ or ΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ.

There are besides larger silver coins, Æginetan didrachms, or their subdivisions, bearing the head of Dêmêtêr, and a naked warrior, the lesser Ajax,¹ combating; these read indifferently ΔΟΚΡΩΝ² or ΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ, being in other respects precisely similar; thus indicating, either that it was a matter of indifference which of these names they adopted, or rather, that they chose to distinguish at least in inscription, if in no other respect, the city coinage of Opous from the general coinage of their tribe; although we may well imagine the city Opous to have been everything to their nation.

Coinage of the Epiknêmidian Lokrians.

Next comes a small copper coinage with a head of Pallas and a bunch of grapes inscribed ΔΟΚΡΩΝ, some fragmentary magistrate's name being added; similar to these, but without a magistrate, are also pieces which read ΔΟΚΡ. ΕΠΙΚΝΑ. Certainly, therefore, the last class, and probably both classes, were struck by the Epiknêmidian Lokrians.³

The distinction between

Strabo, from whom the division between Opuntian and Epiknêmidian Lokrians is first mainly derived, mentions Opous as the

Corintho-colonial didrachmic series. One of these reading NAT has been attributed to Naupaktos. Col. Leake wisely corrects this; thus we have no certain coins of this town. (See Leake, Numis. Hell. sub Locris passim.)

¹ A specimen in the B.M. and in M. Prosper Dupré's collection reads ΑΙΑΞ, below the warrior. Col. Leake had suggested Patroclus. Strabo (ix. 4. 2) says, Οὐ μὴν ἐβασίλευε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος (Μενέτιος) τῶν Ὀποντίων ἀλλ' Αἴας ὁ Λοκρὸς, πατρίδος ὦν, ὡς φασι, Ναυρίκου.

² At times ΟΠΟΥ is added in monogram to ΔΟΚΡΩΝ. The forms ΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ or ΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ are both found. There are also similar hemidrachms and drachms. Very likely these coins began to be issued contemporaneously with the didrachmic series in the Peloponnês, about the time of the League of Lykomêdês. There are also copper coins with the helmeted Pallas and grape-bunch which read ΟΠΟΥΝ.

³ Sestini publishes a coin, probably misread, of very late date, quite a different type and much open to suspicion on which the Opuntian and Epiknêmidian Lokrians conjointly inscribe their names. If this coin were satisfactory it would show at least under the Roman Empire to which date it must be referred, a virtual fusion of the two tribes. (See Mionnet. Med. Rom. Sup. iii. 492.)

metropolis of the Epiknēmidian Lokrians.¹ At any rate the coins LOKRIS. seem to indicate that both tribes, though probably at different Opuntian periods, issued money at Opous. The OIIOYNTION class is im- and Epi- measurably finer and certainly a good deal earlier than the Epi- knēmidian. knēmidian small copper series.²

CONCLUSION.

This Essay is not primarily written for Numismatists; hence I CONCLU- have carefully abstained from the use of the commonest technicali- SION. ties of their science; and, in many cases, passed over and omitted matters of high importance to those who study coins on their own account, such as details of type, weight, &c., when such particulars were not likely to convey directly or indirectly any historical illustration of my subject. Hence, I may fall into the reproach of being too dry for general readers, without being sufficiently scientific for the rigid requirements of numismatic reference.

The subject-matter of the study of Coins is so infinite and in such a perpetual state of progression and fluctuation, that it is difficult to write anything which in a few years will not become practically obsolete. Fresh coins come every day to light which enlarge, modify, or confute the accepted canons and generalizations of the science a few months back. Again, numismatic literature is very scattered and unsuited for purposes of rapid reference; the best monographs are often buried in back numbers of periodicals which it is not very easy to refer to. So that some allowance must be made for points omitted, as for slips and misstatements, when even a writer of Colonel Leake's immense ability and caution, has in some few instances fallen into views which the experience of the few years since the appearance of his work have been able to correct. I cannot refrain from testifying here how greatly numismatic science is indebted to his most able and trustworthy researches.

Another disadvantage with which I have had to contend is that there is no one accurate work of reference for the Greek series.

¹ Strabo, ix. 4, cf. Geog. Dict.

² Coins have been attributed to the Lokrian Skarpheia. The coins of Axia must go to Axos in Crete.

CONCLU-
SION.

Colonel Leake's "Numismata Hellenica" is excellent as far as it goes, but then this work only professes to be a catalogue of his own collection, not a work on the whole Greek series. This has, however, been my text-book through the whole of this Essay, and my obligations to it appear on every page. I have endeavoured to give a reference whenever I quote from this work, but I have quoted so often that in some cases, though unintentionally, I may have omitted to do so.

The Lykian part of my task has been comparatively easy as compared with my attempted numismatic illustration of other Greek Federations. In Lykia, and only in Lykia, have I had special and exhaustive monographs of the highest authority for reference and quotation. The excellent essay of Mr. Waddington in the *Revue Numismatique*, of which I have copiously availed myself, is an excellent example of numismatic writing in its proper and primary historical application.

I am also greatly indebted to an able general view of the subject in Mr. Poole's article on "Numismatics" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th edition, as well as for much personal assistance from him, and Mr. J. De Salis.

My obligations to Mr. Freeman will appear on a comparison of every page of this Essay with his History. To him I owe the original suggestion of this Essay, and of most of the more important historical illustrations which it contains.

To Mr. Vaux, Mr. Madden, and Mr. Pfister, my thanks are due for the facilities they have afforded me for inspecting the public collection.

I must also thank Mrs. W. Martin Leake and Dr. Mordtmann for much valuable assistance.

To Monsieur H. Cohen and Baron Prokesch-Osten I owe some most important impressions of coins.

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