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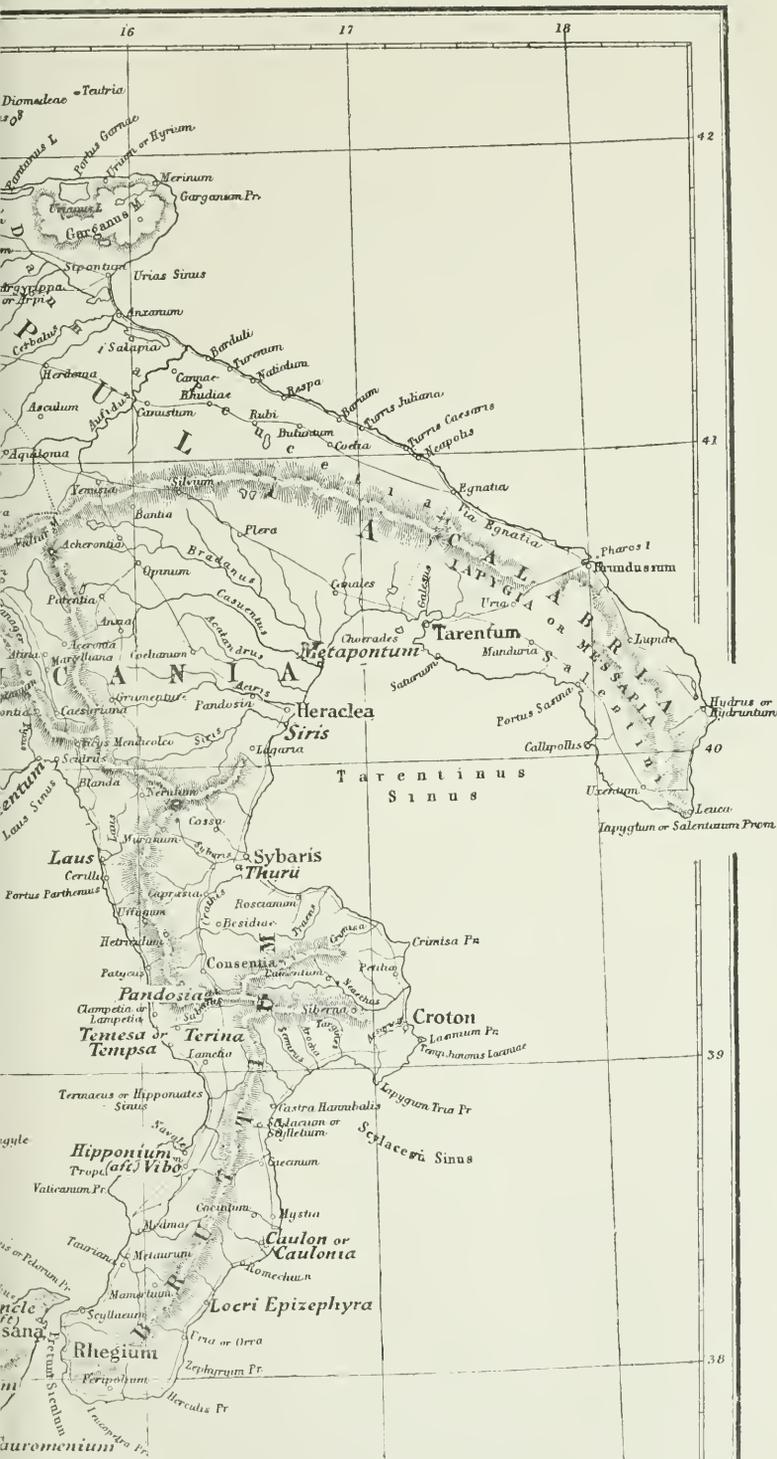
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COINS
OF
MAGNA GRÆCIA

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Diomedene - Teubria
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Garganus M.
Merinum
Garganum Pr.Uria Sirus
Anazarum
Salapia
Herdonia
Acadum
Aquilona

Uria Sirus
Anazarum
Salapia
Herdonia
Acadum
Aquilona
Tarentinus Sinus
Tarentum
Metapontum
Heraclea
Siris

Pharos I
Mundusum
Hydrus or Hydruntum
Callipollis
Ugentum
Leuco
Iapygium or Salentium Prom.
Tarentinus Sinus
Tarentum
Metapontum
Heraclea
Siris
Thurium
Croton
Caulonia
Loeri Epizephra
Rhegium
Hipponium

Thurium
Croton
Caulonia
Loeri Epizephra
Rhegium
Hipponium
Vibonum
Tarentinus Sinus
Sclaceti Sinus
Tarentum
Metapontum
Heraclea
Siris
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Rhegium
Hipponium
Vibonum
Tarentinus Sinus
Sclaceti Sinus
Tarentum
Metapontum
Heraclea
Siris
Thurium
Croton
Caulonia
Loeri Epizephra
Rhegium
Hipponium

COINS
OF
MAGNA GRÆCIA

THE COINAGE OF THE GREEK COLONIES
OF SOUTHERN ITALY

BY

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INTRODUCTION

The works hitherto published on Greek Coins have been written by experts, and therefore it may seem fitting that some apology should be offered by one who, not being of that number, yet ventures to publish a work on this subject.

The author offers this volume in the hope of supplying those who have but few books and little knowledge of the Classics with some help in the study of the Hellenic art and thought connected with coin-types. The coins issued from the Greek cities of Southern Italy may be used as a means of introducing some readers to a new world full of life, beauty, and suggestive thought, — the realm of Greek imagination.

A coin may mean more, and suggest more to us, than can be expressed in a simple description of its types, its date, or its weight, and those who try to see more than is given by the description in a catalogue will look kindly on this attempt to aid them. It is too often forgotten that when these coins were being modelled, more than two thousand years ago, the artists were still making use of forms and ideas belonging to the childhood of the race.

When an ancient Greek spoke of a mountain torrent as a rushing bull, and drew the bull to express the idea in his mind, he was no more confused intellectually than the child who cries out in his play "I'm a wolf" or "I'm a bear". It is necessary to the understanding of our children and of the childhood of the race that we should be not unmindful of our own childhood.

A coin may thus become not only a bridge across the chasm of the ages by which we are enabled to touch and handle the work of men who lived in cities long destroyed, but also a key, which,

cunningly used, will unlock the doors closed by ignorance and indifference, and open to us the fairy-land of Greek imagination.

Take a common coin of Neapolis which need not cost more than four or five shillings, and, when you have entered into the meaning of the types, read the Bacchæ of Euripides, and you will recognize the help given by the little silver coin with its bull type.

Imaginative powers however are so versatile, and vary so greatly in different ages and climes, that we cannot do without the help of Greek writers if we would unravel the clues to their myths. For that reason it has been thought necessary to the object of this work to give many passages from Greek authors in an English dress, instead of merely giving the references to books not likely to be found in the homes of the readers. When a translation of a well-known scholar was available it has been used ; for instance the rendering of Pindar's Odes is that of F. A. Paley, that of the passages from Pausanias is by Mr. Frazer. There are many collectors and students of Greek coins who are not classical scholars but who are nevertheless keenly interested in the myths and folklore of the ancients, and for such the present work is intended. Those who wish for more perfect and full descriptions of the coins will find all they desire in "*Les Monnaies antiques de l'Italie*", by M. Arthur Sambon.

If any reader knowing nothing of the history of Magna Graecia desires to read quickly and in English a sketch of the main events, he will find much help in Grote's *History of Greece*, chapter XXII, and in Thirlwall's, *History of Greece*, chapter XII. Those who read French will find the work of M. F. Lenormant "*La Grande Grèce*" most interesting and suggestive.

The mints of the cities of Southern Italy present us with specimens of the most beautiful work produced by the Greek coin-engravers, and also with a number of interesting designs illustrating the local legends and myths of Magna Graecia. The wonderful degree of excellence in artistic workmanship attained by these colonists of Italy is not commonly realized, but when we have examined some of their coins we shall more readily understand the

significance of Plato's words, in the Protagoras (318), concerning Zeuxippus of Heracleia, an artist who was visiting Athens, and is spoken of as capable of making his pupils good artists. This passage illustrates the influence of Magna Graecia upon Athens, the centre of Hellenic culture.

When we compare the coins of these colonial towns with those of the mother cities we see that their artists frequently surpassed in skill and delicacy of work those of the old country, and we no longer wonder that the importance of the artists of Magna Graecia was great enough to give them a privilege rarely elsewhere accorded, that of placing their names on the coins they designed and executed. The information here given concerning the artists is chiefly derived from the interesting work by Mr. L. Forrer, "*Notes sur les signatures sur les monnaies grecques*", 1905. Those who wish to picture to themselves the art schools of the Greeks will find much of interest in the work of Mr. Kenneth J. Freeman "*The Schools of Hellas*". The training of the Epheboi whose figures appear on so many of the coins of Tarentum is also described in that work. The government of these cities, and the changes from the kingly rule to that of the aristocracies, the usurpations of the Tyrants, and the rise of the democracies may be studied in "*The City State of the Greeks and Romans*" by W. Warde Fowler, and in "*La cité antique*" by Fustel de Coulanges. These works might well have been illustrated by photographs of the coins of Magna Graecia, and a study of this series of coins will help the reader to understand and realize the changes therein described.

The religious types on the coins of this series throw light upon the relationship of the various cities to each other, and to those in their Mother-Land.

We may obtain a far truer idea of the growth of Hellenism by the study of the colonial cities than would be possible were we to confine our attention to the history of Athens and Sparta.

One of the great interests afforded by this series of coins is found in their association with the great men who dwelt in Magna Graecia : the early flat incuse coins of Croton, for instance, are

associated with Pythagoras, Herodotus used the early coins of Thurium, some of the coins of Tarentum were issued by Archytas, and Parmenides used those of Velia. The mythological stories and legends of the foundation of some of these cities illustrate the love of Homer's poems and their influence in the schools of these cities.

The beautiful plants, birds, insects and fishes, so delicately wrought on many of these coins, are evidence of the loving study of nature which prevailed in Southern Italy, and of which the poems of Theocritus afford similar evidence.

The mythological subjects illustrated on the coins are treated in a similar manner on the beautiful terra-cotta vases of Southern Italy. Other objects of terra-cotta and bronze will be looked at with fresh interest by those familiar with these coin-types. It was in Southern Italy that the Romans first came into close contact with Hellenic culture, and those who have studied the coinage of the Roman republic will remember that some of the types of these colonial cities were copied by the Romans. Many of the coins first issued bearing the legend **ROMANO** were wrought by Greek artists.

The chief myths to which we shall be introduced by the types are those concerning Persephone, Dia-Hebe, Parthenope, Ligeia, Acheloüs, Poseidon, and those of the western wanderings of Heracles.

The types of Tarentum will be found to bear reference to the Mysteries or Brotherhoods connected with the cult of Dionysus and Iacchus. To Englishmen the history of these colonies planted among native tribes and spreading among them the culture of a higher race, must have a special interest.

To collectors of modest means this series possesses the special advantage of containing large numbers of coins which may be obtained at a very small cost, many indeed of Bronze for as little as two shillings or eighteen pence.

These chapters which have appeared in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* were written with no other arrangement or sequence than

that suggested by the attraction felt at the time for each subject. They have now been rearranged, and those cities grouped together which were colonised from one mother-city. The alphabetical order usually followed in numismatic works is here abandoned because it will be found much more interesting to continue the story of a city as it is developed in the history of its neighbours. Thus after studying Thurium we naturally turn to Heracleia founded by the Thurians; after reading of Cumae we pass on with interest to her daughter-city Neapolis.

In this volume only the coins of the purely Greek cities are described; those of the Samnite, Lucanian and Bruttian half-Greek cities may be treated in another volume; this will account for the omission of the coins of Nuceria, Petelia, Peripolium, Nola, Hyria and those of the Bruttii and Lucanians.

For the general history of Magna Graecia, the following table of dates will be found useful by those who desire to see at a glance the relative antiquity of the coins of this series. Such a table can hardly be made for the seventh century B.C. as that period merely furnishes us with traditions. The earliest colonies belong to the beginning of the eighth century, as for instance Cumae, Sybaris, Croton, Tarentum and Metapontum. None of the traditions of the seventh century refer to the coinage, for that did not begin to appear until about 560 B.C. For about one hundred and forty years the earliest Greek colonies of southern Italy were without mints of their own, and no doubt used the "colts" of Corinth, or the "tortoises" of Aegina in their commerce.

PRINCIPAL DATES OF THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

600. Laus, Poseidonia, Massilia, and Camarina founded.
584. Rich suitors for the hand of Cleisthenes' daughter left Sybaris and Siris, thus giving evidence of the wealth of these cities.
560. The battle of Sagras between Croton and Locri. Peisistratus at Athens. Mints existing at Siris and Sybaris.
550. The fall of Siris.
Opening of Mints at Croton, Caulonia, Metapontum, Poseidonia, and Laus.
540. The foundation of Velia and its mint.
533. The arrival of Pythagoras at Croton?
530. Opening of the Mints at Tarentum and Rhegium.
527. Death of Peisistratus in Athens.
510. The fall of Sybaris.
The exile of Hippias from Athens.
500. The lion on reverse type of Velia.
Mint opened at Cumae.

PRINCIPAL DATES OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

499. The Ionian revolt in Asia Minor.
490. Marathon.
480. Xerxes invades Greece.
End of period of flat incuse coins at Caulonia and Poseidonia and Metapontum and of period of incuse flying eagle types on coins of Croton. Rise of democratic government in most cities.
478. Many Athenians visit court of Hieron at Syracuse.
476. Death of Anaxilas, Tyrant of Rhegium, and flight of Greeks to Neapolis.
460. Opening of a Mint at Neapolis. Unique coin.
450. First abundant issue from Mint of Neapolis.
443. Foundation of Thurium colonized from Athens.

- 440. Athens at height of its glory.
- 436. Introduction of the horsemen type at Tarentum.
- 432. Heracleia founded.
- 431. First year of the Peloponnesian war.
- 430. Bronze coins introduced at Naples, Croton, and Pandosia.
- 420. The Lucanians invade Campania, take Capua and Cumae.
- 400. Head of Hera on coins of Poseidonia, soon after at Hyria and Pandosia. Bronze coins introduced at Poseidonia, Laus, Thurium, Consentia, Rhegium, Terina. Mint at Hyria. Campanian coins **CAMPANOS**.

PRINCIPAL DATES OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

- 391. Dionysius of Syracuse marries Doris of Locri.
- 390. Fall of Laus. Fall of Neapolis. League *contra* Syracuse.
Type of Heracles strangling snakes.
- 387. Victories of Dionysius at Caulonia and Rhegium.
- 384. Athletic victory of Dicon of Caulonia.
- 380. Archytas at Tarentum.
- 367. Death of Dionysius.
- 356. Rise of the Bruttii in power.
- 350. Bronze coinage begun at Metapontum, Velia and Nuceria.
- 344. The Spartan Archidamos comes to Tarentum.
- 340. Influence of Nola on Neapolis. Bronze at Neapolis.
- 334. Alexander, king of Epirus, comes to Tarentum.
- 330. Alexander's victory near Poseidonia.
Bronze coins now struck at Tarentum and Heracleia.
- 302. Cleonymos arrived at Tarentum. Federal didrachms struck.
- 300. Bronze coinage begun at Locri.

PRINCIPAL DATES OF THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.

- 300. Poseidonia called Paestum.
- 290. Venusia founded.
- 283. The Tarentines destroy the Roman fleet.

281. Pyrrhus landed in Italy.
End of the period of issue of Federal didrachms.
273. Pyrrhus leaves Italy. Pæstum colonized by Rome.
272. Tarentum a "civitas foederata".
270. Drachms issued at Neapolis.
268. Issue of the first Roman denarii.
264. First year of the First Punic war.
260. The Carthaginians ravage Italian cities.
241. The last year of the First Punic war.
235. Artistic revival at Tarentum under Roman rule.
218. The Second Punic war begun.
217. Thrasimene.
216. Cannæ.
212. Carthaginians occupy Tarentum.
211. Romans take Capua.
204. Hannibal defeated at Croton.
202. The defeat of Carthaginians at Zama.
201. Last year of second Punic war.
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				B.C.	
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Pandosia	187	—		550-400	Incuse ⚔
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NOTE

An asterisk (*) indicates that the coins thus marked may usually be obtained at 5/. and under.

GREEK COINS

MAGNA GRAECIA

To those who study the coins of Magna Graecia it will be interesting to enquire when the South of Italy was first known by that name. In 1754 Mazochi showed reasons for believing it was connected with the Pythagorean Brotherhood (Comment. in tab. Heracl.).

It has been said that the earliest mention of Magna Graecia is that found in Polybius (II, 39) "And first: when the burning of the Pythagorean club houses (συνεβήματα) in Magna Graecia was followed by great constitutional changes, ... deputations were sent from most parts of Greece to endeavour to bring about some settlement of these disorders".

This passage however is certainly not as early as the following fragment of Timaeus which dates from the first half of the third century B.C., while Polybius wrote nearer 170 B.C.

Timaeus quotes the proverb "Common are the goods of friends" and then adds "this was said in Magna Graecia (Μεγαλήτην Ἑλλάδα) in the days when Pythagoras persuaded those dwelling there to possess all in common" (ἀδελφονέμια) (fragment 77, Müller).

The name was used by Pseudo-Scymnus and by Athenaeus (XII, p. 523) early in the third century A.D. Strabo (VI, p. 253) used this expression, probably quoting Ephorus, and we also find it used by Porphyry and Jamblichus in their lives of Pythagoras.

It is interesting to notice that whenever Cicero uses the words "Magna Graecia" the context is concerned with the Pythagoreans (as in *Cic. Tusc.*, V, 10, IV, 2, I, 36, 38, *de Orat.* III, 139, II, 154. *Lael.*: 13); Valerius Maximus also refers to the Brotherhood in Magna Graecia (VIII, 7.2.) E. Pais thought the expression may have been made popular by Aristoxenus, the Pythagorean writer on Music, the pupil of Aristotle, who was born at Tarentum. The earliest writers used the term Magna Graecia to signify only the Greek cities of Southern Italy, but Dionysius of Syracuse included Sicily in his use of the term, and later Latin writers included even Lucania, but Terina was once the most northerly border city.

TARENTUM

The name "Greater Britain", often applied to our English colonies, was probably an allusion to "Magna Graecia", the name by which the Greek colonies in Southern Italy were known.

Many coins from these colonies are found in small collections, bearing types both beautiful as works of art, and interesting as witnesses to the history and religion of their period. Although the settlement of Greeks in Italy was very gradual, the regular establishment of their colonies did not take place until between 725 and 700 B. C.

The foundation of the Greek colony at Tarentum is usually dated at 708 B. C. The coins of this colony are here taken first because they present us with a more complete and continuous series than that of any other, and with a type which in its essential character remained unchanged for about two hundred and fifty years.

In the details, however, of this permanent type, there is a richer succession of varied attitudes and a greater number of combinations of types and symbols, than can be found on the coinage of any other city of ancient Greece.

The site of Tarentum was one of great importance in days when sailors ever preferred to sail in sight of land, for it was the only safe harbour within many miles.

From the story of Arion we see this was the port for which the Corinthian seamen made when trading with Italy and Sicily, and it was well known to the Phoenician mariners of Tyre and Carthage. The old city of the native Iapygians was built at the end of a tongue of land nearly enclosing an inland sea about six miles long and from two to three in breadth, and from its position commanded the entrance to the harbour. The site formed an ideal home for fishermen, for the inland sea was rich in the murex and other shell-fish. All around stretched the fertile fields celebrated for fine flocks of sheep and herds of horses.

When Horace wished to describe a scene of restful beauty and rural peace, to which one might flee from the troubles of public affairs, he chose this seat "Lacedemonium Tarentum" (Carm. III,

V, 56.) and again he refers to this site in the line “*flumen et regnata petam Laconi Rura Phalanto*” (in *Carm. II. VI, 111*).

The Greeks in these western colonies had this advantage over those of Asia Minor, that they were not opposed by any great powers like those of Assyria or Babylon. However, the colonists had to fight for many years with the older native races, the Iapygians and Messapians, and their victories were celebrated and kept in memory, by the works of art dedicated at Delphi, some of which were wrought by Ageladas, the master of Pheidias, and by Onatas and Calynthus. Pausanias (*lib. X, c. 10*) describes them as brazen horses and captive women.

National feeling was stronger among these western colonists than among those of Asia Minor, but they were unable to resist the enervating influences of wealth and luxury and thus fell before the more simple soldiers of Rome.

LEGENDS OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLONY.

The story of the founding of the colony, circ. 700 B.C., is thus told by Pausanias.

Tarentum is a Lacedæmonian colony; the founder was Phalanthus, a Spartan. As he was setting out to found a colony, an oracle came to him from Delphi telling him that he would gain a country and a city when he should feel rain under a cloudless sky (*ἄθροζα*). At first, without enquiring into the meaning of the oracle himself, or communicating it to one of the interpreters, he set out with his ships to Italy.

But when, in spite of his victories over the barbarians, he could not take any of their cities, or make himself master of the country, he remembered the oracle, and thought that the god had predicted what could never come to pass, for never, surely, could rain fall under a clear bright sky.

In his despondency, his wife, who had followed him from home, caressed him, in particular she laid his head on her lap and soothed him; and somehow for the love she bore him, she fell a-weeping to see that his fortunes were at a standstill. Now as she shed tears freely, and wetted her husband's head, he perceived the meaning of the oracle, for his wife's name was Aethra; and that very night he took Tarentum, the greatest and wealthiest of all the cities of the Barbarians on the sea.

They say that the hero Taras was a son of Poseidon and a native nymph, and that both the city and the river were named after him; for like the city, the river is called Taras.

Servius, the annotator of Virgil about the time of Honorius, refers to, and adds information to this story in his notes on *Æn.*, lib. III, 551, where he says Phalanthus was the eighth in descent from Heracles. Hence Virgil's line,

“Hinc sinus Herculei, si vera est fama Tarenti cernitur.”

THE STORY AS TOLD BY ANTIOCHUS

Antiochus, speaking of the foundation of the city (Tarentum), says that after the Messenian war such of the Lacedæmonians as did not join the army were sentenced to be slaves and denominated Helots; and that such as were born during the period of the war they termed Partheniæ, and decreed to be base; but these not bearing the reproach, (for they were many) conspired against the free citizens; the chief magistrates, becoming acquainted with the existence of the plot, employed certain persons who by feigning friendship to the cause should be able to give news of its nature.

Of this number was Phalanthus who was apparently the chief leader, but discontented with his associates.

It was agreed that at the conclusion of the contest in the Hyacinthine games, celebrated at Amyclæ, Phalanthus should put on his helmet as a sign when they should begin a simultaneous attack. The free citizens were distinguishable from others by their hair.

They were warned, and a herald came forward at the critical moment and proclaimed: “Let not Phalanthus put on his helmet.” Some of the conspirators, seeing that the plot was known, fled, others begged for mercy. The magistrate bade them not fear, and put some under restraint, but sent Phalanthus to enquire after a new settlement.

He received from the oracle the following response: “To thee, Satyrium I have given, and the rich country of Tarentum to inhabit, and thou shalt become a scourge to the Iapygians”.

The Partheniæ therefore went with Phalanthus to this destination, and the Barbarians and Cretans, who already possessed the country, received them kindly. (Strabo lib. VI, c. 3, § 2).

THE STORY AS TOLD BY EPHORUS, QUOTED IN STRABO.

The Lacedæmonians waged war with the Messenians who had murdered their king Teleclus (745 B.C.) when he visited Messene to offer sacrifice. They took an oath they would not return home before they had destroyed Messene.

In the tenth year of the war the Spartan wives sent to remon-

strate. The troops sent back the youngest of their number, as not being under the oath, and charged them to live with the unmarried women; hence their children were called Partheniæ. These children were not honoured, being born out of wedlock.

The same plot as that described by Antiochus is then related. So they departed and found the Greeks carrying on hostilities against the Barbarians, and taking part in the perils of the war, they obtained possession of Tarentum and settled there.

Pausanias tells of their fighting, Antiochus of a friendly reception on their arrival, and Ephorus implies the presence of other Greek adventurers.

There is another legend of Phalanthus told by Justin (lib. III, c. IV) of his "Historiæ Philippicæ" derived from the history of Trogus Pompeius. "They chose Phalanthus for their leader, the son of Arathus, who had advised the Spartans to send home the young men to raise children, that as they owed their birth to his father so they might have him for author of their hope and dignity.

. . . Several years after (their capture of the city) Phalanthus being exiled by a popular sedition went to Brundisium, where the native Tarentines had settled when driven out of Tarentum. He, at his death, advised them to grind his bones to ashes and privately scatter them in the market place at Tarentum, for Apollo had declared by his oracle that they should recover their city by this means.

Thus by the cunning of their exiled leader and the officiousness of their enemies the possession of Tarentum was secured to the Parthenians for ever. In memory of which benefit they decreed divine honours to Phalanthus". Confer the similar story of Hiero of Syracuse in Diod., Sicul., XI, 66.

Sometimes the Tarentines were called Phalantiadae (Steph. Byz.)

One of the few notices of Tarentum in the early days of the colony is that in Herodotus III, 136, in which he speaks of Tarentum as one of the cities visited by the Persian spies who came to Greece and her colonies, when Aristophilides was king of the Tarentines. The story is interesting as shewing the Spartan government of the city.

The story of Arion is also interesting as a witness to the connection of the city with Corinth in the days of Periander. (Confer. Herod. I, 24).

THE HORSEMEN.

The Obverse types of the Tarentine didrachms always represented a horse and his rider, a design admitting much variety of treatment. The subject was chosen partly in allusion to the ancient

games connected with the Hyacinthian festival at Amyclæ, the original home of the colonists, and partly as being popular among the horse-breeding natives of the plains round Tarentum. The connection with the games is clearly seen in most of the types, the commonest being a naked boy sitting on a horse holding a crown over its head; the horse is generally represented standing, and pawing the ground with one foot raised, or with all feet on the ground. Sometimes a flying victory crowns the boy.

On other types the horses are cantering or galloping in the races, and the riders are the youths, the *epheboi*, sometimes vaulting from the horses' backs, sometimes with a small shield on the left arm.

On some types issued during the stress of war the riders are armed warriors, but these are not so common as the riders in the games. They were introduced about the time of Alexander the Molossian.

Among the military horsemen we see represented the *Leukaspides* (white shield-bearers), and the *Hippakontists*, who aimed their darts from a distance, and avoided coming to close quarters; thus on the coins we see riders with two and three javelins or darts.

On some coins a second horse is seen; these may refer to the custom mentioned by Livy (XXXV, 28) of warriors using two horses.

Those riders seen vaulting with a shield and dart may perhaps also be military rather than agonistic types, representing men ready to fight on horseback or on foot. A bas-relief from a Corinthian temple recently discovered shews a similar figure.

In some of the military types we may see illustrations of the lancers described by Aelian (*Ælianus Tacticus*) and Suidas, known as "Tarentines".

The games called the *Hyacinthia* were originally held at Amyclæ in July, in honour of Hyacinthus, a son of the Spartan king Amyclas, who was unintentionally killed by Apollo during a game with the discus, which was blown against the youth's head by Borcas or Zephyrus. From his blood arose the flower called after his name which appears as a symbol on some of the coins. When these games were celebrated the hot July sun had caused the flower to die. This Lacedæmonian Apollo cult is not to be confused with that of the Dorian Apollo, the Sun-god, for the Spartan god was connected with the Chthonic cult of the *Hyacinthia*.

The *Dioscuri* became connected with the same cultus through the beautiful legend told by Pindar in his tenth Nemean ode, in which he describes Pollux "shedding his tears and crying aloud". "Father, son of Cronus, what then is to be the end of our griefs?"

Bid me too to die with him, O king; Zeus gave him the choice of this or that; if you wish to escape death... and dwell in Olympus with me... you have the chance of this, but if you make a stand for your brother... to take an equal share with him in everything, why then you may live half your time remaining beneath the earth and half in the golden abodes of heaven”.

Homer refers to the same legend. (*Iliad*. III, 243.)

The lines of Homer in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* (298.) illustrate the connection of the Dioscuri with the Chthonic cultus of Amyclæ.

“Next Leda came, the wife of Tyndareus,
Who to her husband did bring forth two sons,
Castor for steeds, — Pollux for boxing famed;
They, honoured even underground by Jove,
Live every other day in turn, and then
So die, thus honoured equal with the gods.”

According to some traditions they were born at Amyclæ; so Virgil relates in *Georgicon*, lib. III, 89.

The Dioscuri were introduced as types of Tarentum by the magistrates who wished to draw attention to the connection of the colony with the old Lacedæmonian home, especially at times when aid was sought and rendered, as in 315 B.C., when gold coins were issued bearing the figures of the Dioscuri, and again in the time of Pyrrhus, between 281 and 272 B.C., and again later during the alliance with Rome, 272-235 B.C.

The Romans who chose this type for their first denarii in 268 B.C. must have seen the Tarentine didrachms.

Poseidon was the giver of the horse to Corinth and his son Taras is thought to be seen in some of the horse riders. Tarentum was called “*Colonia Neptunia Tarentum*”. In one instance at least Mr. A. J. Evans identifies the rider with Phalanthus; it is a coin of the period between 334-302 B.C.: the rider bears a shield on which is a dolphin. The types of the horsemen should be compared with the small votive terra-cotta figures discovered at Tarentum on the site of Chthonic divinities, within the walls of the city. Confer *Hellenic Journal*, 1886, p. 8, 22, 23, “Recent discoveries of Tarentine terra-cottas.” They shew the relation of the horsemen types with a cult of departed heroes. This explains the presence of the symbols, the Ionic capital and the kantharos. Confer *Journal des Savants*, 1883, p. 154.

That the horsemen were sometimes looked upon as deities we may infer both from the figures of the Dioscuri on the coins, and also from an inscription given by Carducci in his Commentary on Aquino (*Delizie Tarantine*, l. 1) which refers to the naval victory reported by Livy, lib. XXVI, c. 39. The inscription records the

establishment of “ a yearly festival of Victory to the gods of the sea, and the Horse-gods, (*ἱππίσις θεοῖς*) by the Council and Commonwealth (*βουλῆ καὶ ἑ Δημόσει*) of the Tarentines, by the provision of Democrates, the leader of the Enomotia (Spartan band) according to the vow of the military band of youths.”

THE DOLPHIN RIDERS ON THE REVERSE TYPES.

Pollux (IX, 80), in his “ Onomasticon ”, published shortly before 177 A. D., when Commodus was Cæsar, tells us that Aristotle spoke of the type of the Tarentine nummos as “ Taras, the son of Poseidon ”.

We have seen that Pausanias relates that Taras was a son of Poseidon and a native nymph, and Servius, that Taras was the native founder of the city to which the Greek colonists came ; it therefore seems probable that such a hero should have been chosen for representation on the earliest coinage. From Strabo we learn that the colonists were welcomed, and for some time the citizens were probably of mixed race.

The name Taras appears in the field of the coins bearing this figure and has been interpreted as the name of the rider. The son of Poseidon would be an acceptable personage to the Spartan colonists, for the Poseidon of Tarentum was the Poseidon of Taenarum, the representative of Laconian maritime power ; moreover the priests of Poseidon at Tarentum were called *Ταιναρῆσται* ; confer Hesychius Lex s. v. *Ταιναρῆς*, and Tarentum was called Colonia Neptunia Tarentum.

Some, however, have suggested that the dolphin rider may have represented Phalanthus on account of the following passage in Pausanias, X, XIII, 10. “ The Tarentines sent another tithe to Delphi from the spoils of the barbarous Peucetians.” “ The offerings are the works of Onatas, the Aeginetan, and Calythus they comprise images of footmen and horsemen, to wit, Opis, king of the Iapygians, come to fight for the Peucetians.” “ He is represented slain in the fight, and over his prostrate body are standing the hero Taras, and Phalanthus of Lacedæmon ; and not far from Phalanthus is a dolphin. For before Phalanthus reached Italy they say that he was cast away in the Crisæan Sea, and was brought to land by a dolphin.”

The words “ *καὶ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Φαλάκθου δελφίς* ” (and not far from Phalanthus a dolphin) seem to shew that Pausanias regarded the dolphin as the symbol of that Spartan leader, and of his being saved from shipwreck ; the words of Pausanias, however, do not refer to the coin-type.

Perhaps the symbol of Poseidon, the dolphin, may have been connected with Phalanthus on account of the old Spartan associations with the word, which in Lacedæmon was once a surname of Poseidon, derived from the root $\Phi\lambda$, meaning the shimmering, gleaming, glancing light on the sea-waves; from the same root, the whale was called $\Phi\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda$. Professor Studniczka (in his work "Kyrene" pub. 1890) shews that this is very probable. If this be so, then it is easy to see how Hellenius Acron, the annotator of Horace in the fifth century A.D. could call Phalanthus "a son of Poseidon"; confer his note on Carm., XXVIII, which consists of a dialogue between a sailor and Archytus of Tarentum. According to Prof. Studniczka the legend $\text{TAPA}\Sigma$ refers to the mint rather than to the type, and the dolphin rider is Phalanthus, and this opinion seems in harmony with the words of Pausanias.

This recognition of the origin of the word does not necessarily involve the rejection of the legends told by Pausanias and Strabo, for the leader of the colonists may have borne the name of the old Laconian sea-god, and if this meaning of the name was recognized by the early Greek colonists at the time when the type was made, we can understand how the design satisfied both the Iapygian and the Spartan citizens, the former seeing their own Taras, the latter their own Phalanthus, in the type.

The symbol of Poseidon, the trident, is often found in the hands of the dolphin rider, and even the attitude and manner of carrying it are copied from works of art representing that deity.

A similar story of a man saved from drowning by a dolphin is found in Herodotus I, 24 and is probably better known than even the story of Taras. Shakespeare in "Twelfth night" Act. I. s. 2. makes the Captain comfort Viola by saying "I saw your brother.... where like Arion on the dolphin's back.

I saw him hold acquaintance with the waves so long as I could see."

In Rawlinson's Herodotus, p. 161, is a note which explains the origin of the story. The truth seems to be that the legend grew out of the figure at Taenarum, which was known by its inscription to be an offering by Arion. Confer also Creuzer's "*Dissert. de mythis ab artium operibus profectis*", § 2. The image at Taenarum in the temple of Apollo was one of the anathemata of the Tarentines, like those at Delphi mentioned by Pausanias. The musician Arion had probably noticed the attraction of music to the dolphins and had after a successful voyage dedicated the image to Apollo. The combination of the influences of Poseidon and Apollo is noticeable.

THE LEGEND OF ICADIUS.

The association of the Dolphin rider with Apollo may be illustrated by the note of Servius in *Aen.* III 332. Some say that in the temple of Apollo was an altar inscribed ΠΑΤΡΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ, because Icadius, a son of Apollo and a Lycian nymph, when he grew up, named the place of his birth after his mother Lycia, and built a temple to Apollo, and, that he might witness to his father, called it Patara. Afterwards when he sailed to Italy he was shipwrecked, and is said to have been saved on the back of a dolphin, when he landed near to the mount Parnassus, and erected a temple to his father Apollo, and from the dolphin called it Delphus; hence the altars which he erected to his father he called "patrias". Hence also the dolphin is said to have been received as one of the sacred symbols of Apollo.

The sea in that bay was hence called the Crisaean sea, or sea of the Cretan.

The brother of this Icadius was that Iapyx who migrated to Italy, and from whom the inhabitants near Tarentum were called Iapygians. The legend is a result of the tendency of the Greek islanders to go forth and form colonies in the West, and shews that the people displaced by the Spartans were themselves colonists.

In this late legend we see that in the days of Servius, i. e. the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the Apollo of the Dorians was confounded with the Lycian god.

On didrachms of the period of Pyrrhus, of the reduced weight, we see a direct imitation of the attitude of Apollo on some well-known types of the Diadochi, issued in Syria and Macedonia, but on these Tarentine coins the figure holds a helmet instead of a bow or arrow; notice the same attenuated proportions of the figure. Moreover the dolphin rider is represented with hair knotted behind and falling over his shoulders exactly as Apollo's hair falls on the coins of the Diadochi.

The earliest example is that of Seleukos Nikator 312-280 B.C.; it became common on coins of Antiochus I. 293-261 B.C. On these coins Apollo is seated on the omphalos and holding a bow or arrows.

The helmet in the hands of Taras has a horn in the front, similar to the horned Asiatic helmet seen on coins of Seleukos Nikator; these Tarentine coins are signed ΑΠΟΛ for ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ, as found on some coins. This type is a compliment to Alexander the Great who died the year before Pyrrhus started on his expedition.

Thus we see that in the later times of Pyrrhus the connection of

the dolphin with Apollo was recognized, although the idea was no doubt introduced as a compliment to those who helped Pyrrhus in his expedition.

THE WITNESS OF THE TYPES TO THE MYSTERIES.

The varied symbols which give so much interest to this series of coins are evidences of the popularity of the Mysteries in Tarentum. From its geographical position this is what we should expect, for its commerce with Egypt and the East brought to the Tarentines the “wanderers” (ἀγύρται) who professed to purify men from guilt, and the brotherhoods (θιάσος) which instituted the mysteries, at first as Private Associations, and afterwards as Public Mysteries in union with the State Religion, as at Eleusis.

Hence we see in these types the old state gods, Apollo of Sparta and Poseidon of Tarentum, sometimes with the symbols of the mysteries, and also even in the form of the eastern god of the mysteries, Iacchus. The story of how these “thiasi” arose and spread is told by Mr. I. B. Jevons in his “*Introduction to the History of Religion*”. The main ideas appear to have been a sense of the insufficiency of sacrifice, the need of communion by a sacrificial feast, and the teaching of a brighter hope of life beyond the grave.

The sixth century B.C. saw this introduction of a great innovation in religious belief. Hitherto all religions had been tribal or national, the new idea was that of a religion to which any man might be admitted, membership being voluntary. The new teachers at first travelled about professing to remove impurity, they were called (ἀγύρται) “vagabonds”, and generally they carried a chest, a tame snake, and some books, on an ass.

From their influence bands or brotherhoods were formed called Thiasi (θιάσος); these became important in the fourth century, especially in the republican centres. The members were called Mystæ, and their rites Mysteries. Their initiation consisted in covering the novice with a fawn-skin, stripping him, making him crouch, pouring water over him, and then cleansing him with clay and bran; he was then prepared for the communion meal. It was a revival of the original sacramental character of sacrifice. These were called private mysteries, and from them arose the Public or State Mysteries at Eleusis. The old private mysteries were connected not with the cult of any of the old gods of the states, but with that of Iacchus Sabazios or Zagreus. The first of the ancient religions to receive the new teaching was that of Demeter at Eleusis, where

all who had been admitted to the Thiasi, or Company of Iacchus, were admitted, no matter from what Greek city they came.

Iacchus was called a son of Dionysus and Persephone, the daughter of Demeter, the queen of Hades, and giver of a brighter life beyond the grave.

Peisistratus is said to have recognized this new myth, and the popularity of the Public Mysteries was owing to the new hope given of a bright future life. Thus the old state cult of Demeter became a Mystery, a band of initiated Mystæ drawn from all Greek lands. In 480 B.C. the popularity of the mystery of Iacchus was enormously increased, because the great victory of Salamis was won on the very day when the image of Iacchus was borne from Athens to Eleusis. The reception of Dionysus into the myth by regarding him as father to Iacchus was owing to the symbolism of wine as a revivifying power.

The mystic emblems, the Krateros and Distaff, appeared on the very early didrachms of the second period 473 B.C. but they did not influence the common types until the period of Archytas, 380 to 345, when the symbol, the kantharos, appears in the hand of the dolphin rider, and the rider himself appears no longer always in the athletic form of the son of the sea-god, but with the plump figure of Iacchus, the son of the wine-god Dionysus, the hero of the mysteries. For some time after this however the trident was a more common symbol. In the period of the Molossian Alexander 334-330 B.C. however, the plump child form appears with a flower-like topknot on his head, and a distaff with spirally twisted wool. These figures may be compared with that on a celebrated krater represented in the *Archæologische Zeitung* (1850, taf. XVI) described by Gerhard, p. 161 seqq. The figures of Iacchus mark the great influence of the Chthonic mysteries upon the older national cults of Poseidon and Apollo.

These plump little figures may be compared with the terra-cotta votive figures found in tombs at Tarentum, some of which are crowned with Bacchic ivy-leaves. Conf. *Hellen. Jour.* 1886.

Through the same Chthonic influence we see the dolphin rider adorned with locks like Apollo and bearing the flower of Hyacinthus in his hand, in reference to the games at Amyclæ, or the bow and arrow of that deity.

Allusions to contemporary events are sometimes made by the symbols or attitudes of the rider; for instance, on one coin he is seen bending mournfully over a heroic helmet, thus commemorating the death of Archidamos, and on the same coin the stars of the Dioscuri make allusion to the help given by the Lacedæmonians.

In times of peace the dolphin rider is fishing, in times of war, bending a bow, or armed, and in fighting attitude.

In Tarentum the Mysteries were encouraged by the Pythagoreans, who themselves were a brotherhood of similar character, and through their influence the old teaching of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter was changed, and the new idea introduced, that the good would be rewarded and the evil punished in the world to come. The Mysteries also afforded a basis for the Pythagorean doctrine of the opposition of the body to the life of the soul, for in the literature of the subject we see the legend that Zeus smote the Titans, and from their ashes arose the human race, and thus the two elements of good and evil, the material and spiritual, were accounted for.

Demeter and Persephone were called *χθόνια θεσία* (*Herod.*, vi, 134) and hence the cult of the Mysteries is called Chthonic, and the old Spartan worship of the Hyacinthian Apollo having reference to the legend of the Chthonic life connected with the Dioscuri naturally became prominent in the Mysteries at Tarentum, the Spartan colony.

We shall see in the examination of the types many references to the Dioscuri, and their connection with the mysteries of the underworld will explain their appearance.

In the 'Prolegomena to the study of Greek religion' by Jane Ellen Harrison (1903) the subject of the Mysteries is most ably treated, and all who wish to understand the meaning of the ideas represented on these coins of Tarentum should read that work.

THE DISTAFF.

What did the distaff signify to the mint masters who placed it as a symbol in the hands of the figure of the founder in 530 B.C. ? From the fact that we see the kantharos in the hand of the founder on some coins and on others the distaff, and on others the distaff in one hand and the kantharos in the other, we naturally ask whether the distaff can be looked upon as a symbol of Dionysiac or Chthonic rites, or whether it has any associations with the mysteries. On the early coins it refers to trade but on the later coins it is doubtful.

If it had appeared alone without the kantharos we might have thought it an emblem of the commerce of the city, following the line of thought suggested by Mr. William Ridgeway in his work "The origin of Metallic currency and weight Standard" 1892, and the presence of the cockle-shell and murex and the fisher types on some of the coins points to the same idea of a commercial meaning for the symbol. However, the fact that the kantharos is such a well known symbol of Dionysus causes us to enquire whether any reli-

gious or mythical meaning may be found. The Greek word for a distaff is ἄλακκίτις and this word is found associated with references to various goddesses, as Pallas, Amphitrite the wife of Poseidon, Leto, the mother of Apollo, also with Nereids and the Parcæ.

The reference to Pallas seems unlikely at the early date when the symbol first appears, although the head of Pallas appeared at a later date on Tarentine coins. Both Amphitrite and Leto are intimately connected with the gods honoured at Tarentum, but it is not easy to see why they should have thus been symbolized on the coinage. The following passages shew the references to the symbol by the poets. Pindar in the fifth Olympian ode (65) says in a prayer to Poseidon “and do thou lord and ruler of the sea give (my friend) a straight voyage out of trouble’s way, husband of Amphitrite with the golden distaff” (Ζεῦσσι γὰρ ἄλακκίτις). In the sixth Nemean Ode (62) he refers to Leto the mother of Apollo as “Latona of the golden distaff”.

Apollodorus, the Greek grammarian of Athens, who flourished about 140 B.C. (in III 12.3) tells us that Pallas was sculptured with a distaff and spindle in the Trojan Palladium, and she was commonly regarded as the patroness of spinning.

In Latin literature the distaff is more usually referred to as the symbol of the Parcæ, as we may see in the many references to poets in Facciolati under the words “colus”, “pensum” “fusus” “stamen”. Confer the description of spinning in Catullus (LXIV 305-319) on the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, and Lucan’s “tristia Parcarum stamina” (VI, 777).

It is not easy to find any reference to the Parcæ in connection with the mysteries of Eleusis; if such could be found, a reason for the introduction of the symbol would be made clear.

The Ionic capital may be regarded as a symbol of the races, because in the Greek race-course the goal was marked by an Ionic column. We see the same symbol on coins of Eryx on which an eagle is represented on an Ionic capital; the bird has been explained in Mr. G. F. Hill’s “*Coins of ancient Sicily*” (p. 51) as a symbol of victory, and the capital as the goal of the race course.

ARTISTS’ SIGNATURES.

These Tarentine didrachms offer still another interest which is lacking to many series, for they frequently present us with the signatures of the artists who cut the dies. They may be distinguished sometimes by being placed on a small raised tablet and sometimes by the minuteness of the letters and by being placed on some object in the design, as a helmet. Confer **E** and **H** on the dolphin. We find on the Tarentine series the letters **ΣΩΚ** on a small tablet.

When a series of coins bearing certain common features of style and composition all bear the same small letters, we are naturally led to consider them as the signatures of an artist ; for instance on these Tarentine coins we find this is the case with coins signed Λ or $\Xi\Lambda$ and with coins bearing K and $K\Lambda\Lambda$: these last especially present the characteristic feature of being inscribed in extremely small letters, and the signatures A API and ΦI are also thus written.

The signatures of the artists are interesting also as shewing that the craftsmen moved from one city to another : we have for instance the signatures $A\Gamma H$ API ΔAI ΓH $K\Lambda\Lambda$ ΣIM and ΦI on coins of Tarentum, Metapontum and Heracleia.



Sometimes the full name signified by these abbreviations may thus be discovered ; for instance on a coin of Terina we find the signature $\Phi I\Lambda I\Sigma T I$, and on coins of Velia $\Phi I\Lambda I\Sigma T I\Omega N$, which may well be the name of the artist who at Tarentum signed his didrachms only with ΦI $\Phi I\Lambda I$ or $\Phi I\Lambda I\Sigma$. It is likely because at the time of the issue of the coin of Terina, Alexander the Molossian had restored to that city its independence, and the Velian coin is of the same period.

This artist appears to have been one of those who had been used to work in a harder material, and signs of his having been a cutter of gems may be noted in the depth of the cutting which in some instances affects the design with harshness. Philistion's work also introduces us to the fact that sometimes two artists were engaged on the production of one coin, for we see some coins bearing both the signatures ΦI and $K\Lambda\Lambda$. The appearance of two artists' names on one type may perhaps imply that they were in some sort of partnership and held office together. When two names thus appear, one of them is generally written more fully than the other ; in such cases probably the latter name is that of the artist, the former that of his colleague.

The full-length signatures of the magistrates of the mint who were not artists are easily distinguished, as they take the place of honour under the principal type and the abbreviated names of the artists appear in the field as in the case of those signing ΣA EY or $Y\Xi$.

When we compare the signatures of the Tarentine artists with those on coins of other cities, the prominence given to them is seen to be unusual, and it has been suggested that it may be on account of the artists of Tarentum holding at the same time the position of head officer of the mint.

For further study of this subject confer Raoul Rochette "Lettre à M. le duc de Luynes". Confer. *Num. Circular*, p. 8519, August 1905; L. Forrer, *Les signatures de Graveurs sur les monnaies grecques*, Bruxelles, 1903-5.

LITERATURE.

For a description of the scenery and the modern aspect of the site, confer "La grande Grèce, paysages et histoire" by François Lenormant. Paris 1881 8°, especially vol. 1, pages 1 to 114. The first volume contains 466 pages. The other two volumes are concerned with the other cities of Magna Græcia.

For notes on the history, antiquities and religion of the city confer the admirable works of Dr Rudolf Lorentz. (a) "De origine veterum Tarentinorum", Berlin, 1827; — a pamphlet of 52 pages.

(b) "De civitate veterum Tarentinorum". A pamphlet consisting of 54 pages, Leipzig 1833, in which he treats of agriculture, herds, fishing, dyeing, commerce, money, wealth-customs, luxury, assemblies, dress, immorality, history.

(c) "De rebus sacris et artibus veterum Tarentinorum". Elberfeldiae. 1836. 31 pages. A work full of interest.

For the types of the didrachms confer the admirable work of Arthur J. Evans, "The horsemen of Tarentum" published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, third series. Vol. IX, 1889, consisting of 228 pages and eleven plates of illustrations.

For notes on the didrachms also confer the "Essai sur la numismatique Tarentine" in the "Mémoires numismatiques", p. 167 seqq.

For the study of the name Phalanthus confer the article by Professor Franz Studniczka in his work "Kyrene, eine altgriechische Göttin, archäologische und mythologische Untersuchungen" 1890.

For the story of Phalanthus confer the article in the "Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie" by W. H. Roscher.

For the foundation of the city confer an article by J. Geffcken "Gründung von Tarentum" in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher* 39, 1893, pp. 177-192.

GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF COINS.

EARLY RARE COINS (530-436 B.C.).

Four classes of these coins may easily be distinguished:—

(a) Flat coins with same type of Taras on both Obv. and R. but incuse on R.

(b) Four types, raised design on R, issued between 520-475 B.C. The R. on all is Taras on the dolphin.

Obverse 1. a wheel; 2. Hippocamp; 3. Head of Taras; 4. Head of Satyra.

(c) Obverse. Oekist seated to right; R. Taras on dolphin. 473 B.C.

(d) Obverse. Oekist seated to left; R. Taras on dolphin. 466 B.C.

DIDRACHMS OF 'HORSEMEN' TYPE.

These may be divided into two series according to weight:—

1st series weighing 123-120 grains (7.97-7.77 grammes).

I. Archaic.	450-420 B.C.
II. Transitional.	420-380 B.C.
III. Age of Archytas.	380-345 B.C.
IV. Age of Archidamos.	344-334 B.C.
V. Age of Alexander the Molossian.	334-330 B.C.
VI. Age of Cleonymos.	302-281 B.C.

For the distinctive marks of these periods confer notes which follow.

2nd series, reduced weight: 102-96 grains :

VII. The Pyrrhic Hegemony.	281-272 B.C.
VIII. The Civitas Foederata.	272-235 B.C.
IX. The Roman rule.	235-228 B.C.
X. The Carthaginian occupation.	212-209 B.C.

This classification is that of Mr. A. J. Evans.

THE FEDERAL COINAGE.

I. Didrachms.	Head of nymph type.	302-281 B.C.
II. Drachms.	Owl type.	302-281 B.C.
III. Diobols.	Hercules type.	380-onwards.

SMALL SILVER COINAGE.

Full Standard.		Reduced Standard.	
Hemiobol	$4\frac{1}{3}$ to $5\frac{1}{4}$ grains.	Hemiobol.	4 to $4\frac{1}{4}$ grains.
Obol.	$9\frac{2}{3}$ — $10\frac{1}{2}$ —	Obol.	8 — $8\frac{1}{2}$ —

HANDS.

Diobol.	20	—	20 $\frac{5}{6}$	grains.	Diobol.	16	—	17	grains.
Drachm.	60	—	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	Drachm.	48	—	51	—
Didrachm.	120	—	127	—	Didrachm.	96	—	102	—

SILVER COINS OF NATIVE DENOMINATIONS.

Litra.	11 $\frac{3}{5}$	—	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	grains.	Litra.	9 $\frac{3}{5}$	—	10 $\frac{1}{5}$	grains.
Half-litra.	5 $\frac{1}{5}$	—	6 $\frac{1}{5}$	—	Half-litra.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	5	—
Quarter-litra.	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	—					

EARLY RARE COINS.

(a) 530 B.C.

If the Colony at Tarentum was founded in 709, the citizens passed a hundred-and-eighty years without establishing a mint. It is most probable that the earliest coins used in Tarentum would be those of Corinth. Dr Head gives 530 B.C. as the date of the earliest Tarentine coins, and Mr. A. J. Evans about 550 B.C. Corinth had enjoyed the advantages of a coinage for about ninety-five years when the Tarentines first issued money of their own. The Corinthian Pegasus type was copied in Bruttium at Locri, Mesma, Rhegium, and Terina (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 341), at a later date as a sign of Corinthian influence.

The Lacedæmonian colonists of Tarentum showed by their first types their affinity with the Achæan colonists of Metapontum, Caulonia, Croton, Sybaris and Poseidonia; all these cities issued similar coins, flat in fabric, and with the Obverse type repeated incuse on the Reverse. Mr. A. J. Evans says that these early coins tend to show that already before the day of the sojourn of Pythagoras within these cities the Italiote Greeks had learned to federate for their common weal. According to Iamblicus, Pythagoras was 57 years of age in 513 B.C. If this be accepted he would have been 30 years old when the mint was established in Tarentum, and some writers, as Adolf Holm, say that he arrived in Italy ten years later, i. e. about 520 B.C. We cannot therefore attribute to this philosopher the introduction of coinage to Magna Græcia.

The types of this first coinage are :

(a) The figure of Taras nude riding on a dolphin with his right hand on the back of the fish, and his left stretched out before him. Under the dolphin, a shell. This same design is found incuse on the Reverse. These didrachms weigh 125 grains.

(b) Obv. ΖΑΡΙΑΤ (in field to l.). The Hyacinthian Apollo naked, hair *en queue* and tied in knot behind, kneeling on left knee, right

foot advanced, holding in right hand a hyacinth, and in left hand a tetrachord chelys. Cable ornamented border. Reverse same type as obverse, to right, but no flower and the interior of the chelys is clearly shown : border of radiating lines — all incuse. Wt. 7.9 gram. The intended weight perhaps 125 grains. Illustrated on Plate X, 1 *Num. Chr.*, 1907, and described on p. 277 seq. by M. M. P. Vlasto.

The last class of incuse staters minted in Tarentum bears the figure of Apollo on the Obverse in relief, and on the Reverse Taras on the dolphin to right, incuse. Only three specimens are known, all of which are in Paris collections. The last specimen found, formerly in Signor Nervegna of Brindisi's cabinet, is now in the possession of M. R. Jameson.

The issue of these incuse coins was probably of short duration, but was sufficiently abundant to require several dies.

EARLY RARE COINS.

(b) *circ.* 528 B.C.

From the evidence of finds we know that the coins bearing a wheel, and with the designs in relief on both sides of the coins were issued for some years before the destruction of Sybaris in 510 B.C., and that the issue of those bearing a hippocamp must have been about contemporary with that event, for in the Sava deposit, found in 1856, these latter were found in *fleur de coin* condition, and two with the head of a nymph fresh from the die. Obols were found with the didrachms.

(a) Obverse; the normal early Taras and a shell underneath. \mathcal{R} ; a four-spoked wheel; weight : 125 grains.

(b) Diobols. Obverse; cockle-shell; \mathcal{R} . Wheel. 20 grains.

Obol (?). Obverse; cockle-shell; \mathcal{R} . Wheel. 7 grains.

Quarter Obol (?). Obverse; wheel; \mathcal{R} . Wheel. 2 grains.

(c) Didrachm. Obv. Normal Taras type; \mathcal{R} . Winged sea-horse. 125 grains.

Diobol. Obv. Dolphin; \mathcal{R} . Winged sea-horse. 20 grains.

(d) Didrachm. Normal Taras. \mathcal{R} . Archaic head (Taras). 125 grains.

(e) Didrachm. Normal Taras; \mathcal{R} . Head of Satyra.

(f) Drachm. Half Hippocamp; \mathcal{R} . Head of Satyra. 61 grains.

(g) Litra. Cockle-shell; \mathcal{R} . Dolphin in circle. 125 grains.

(h) Hemi-litra. Cockle-shell; \mathcal{R} . Dolphin in circle. 5.6 grains.

(i) T surrounded by * \mathcal{R} . Obv. repeated.

(k) Trias or $\frac{1}{4}$ Litra. \mathcal{R} . Obv. repeated. 2.8 grains.

The local nymph Satyra was named after Satyrion, a locality near Tarentum mentioned in Virgil, *Geor.* II, 197 and in the notes of

Servius, and Diodorus, VIII, 21. Pausanias does not give the name of the mother of Taras.

The Wheel was an emblem of the sun-god and may perhaps show the influence of the Pythagoreans; it appears also on the coins of Tanagra and of Chalcis, and later also on coins of Phlius, *circ.* 431 B.C.

These coins show the rapid advance made by the Tarentines in Commerce and Art during the period 520 to 500 B.C.

EARLY RARE COINS.

(c) 473-460 B.C.

For the first seven years of this period the didrachms bore on the Obverse the figure of a young man seated to right, holding a distaff and two-handed vase or cup, and round the edge of the coin an archaic guilloche border. On the Reverse the dolphin and the naked rider with both hands stretched forward to right; under the dolphin a large cockle-shell, and behind the rider the legend ΣΑΡΑΤ (Taras, retrograde).

From 466-460 B.C. the type differed only in respect to the border, which was changed to a wreath, and the Reverse type, which was placed facing left instead of right. The figure on the Obverse has been interpreted as representing the Demos of the city, or the assembly of the commons; the word is frequently found in inscriptions “ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἡ Δῆμος”. But this attribution has been recently rejected because no such personification was in use at that period; confer the notes on the coins of Rhegium, period III. The figure on these Tarentine coins is now thought to represent the Oekist or founder of the city.

The change of type illustrates the change from the old Spartan aristocratic government which took place in 473 B.C., when the Tarentines lost the flower of their aristocratic youth in the defeat suffered by them at the hands of the Messapians, and a democratic government was established.

From 470-466 B.C. Taras holds in right hand distaff and in left a staff ending beneath arm-pit, or a kantharos in right hand and distaff in left.

EARLY RARE COINS.

(d) 460-420 B.C.

The coins of this period are similar to those of the last, the distinguishing features being the absence of any ornament round the edge and the figure of the oekist always seated to left. The dolphin

rider is sometimes to right and sometimes to left. After the year 436 B.C. these coins continued for some time to be issued together with the horsemen type which first appeared in that year.

About 420 B.C. Taras sits with legs crossed holding a dove by its wings in the right hand and rests the left arm on the back of chair. Confer p. 282, 283 *Num. Ch.*, 1907.

It is interesting to notice some of the chief events of this period of the Oekist didrachms. In 471 Thucydides was born, and Pericles began to take part in politics three years later. In 468 B.C. Socrates was born, and seven years after Pericles was at the head of public affairs in Athens. Hieron died in 467, and Xerxes, king of Persia, in 465 B.C. In 443 the Athenians colonized Thurii, and Herodotus visited that city in that same year. The year 431 was the first year of the Peloponnesian war.

DIDRACHMS BEARING HORSEMEN.

PERIOD 1 (436-420 B.C.).

Mr. A. J. Evans dates the first appearance of the horsemen on the Tarentine didrachms about the year 436 B.C., the year in which Isocrates was born. Herodotus was then 48 years old, and Thucydides 35 years old. Five years after this began the Peloponnesian war, and seven years later Plato was born.

During this period Tarentum attained that degree of commercial prosperity which assured the permanency of the type then introduced. It must be noted however that until 420 B.C. the old Oekist type with the figure seated to left was still sometimes issued.

The characteristics by which the coins of this period may be distinguished are the archaic style of the horses with thin tails, the horses galloping sometimes to right, sometimes to left, the riders are nude. Taras has the right hand stretched forth with open palm,



the left resting on the dolphin. On some, waves are represented, on others the cockle-shell, and on others the cuttle-fish, generally the legend ΤΑΡΑΣ.

PERIOD II (480-380 B.C.).

During this period the equestrian type entirely took the place of the seated Oekist type.

The didrachms still retain the broadspread appearance and slightly larger module characteristic of the preceding democratic class. The inscription is still sometimes retrograde, as ΨAT , $\Sigma\text{A}\Psi\text{AT}$, and $\Sigma\text{ONITNAPAT}$.

The design is sometimes surrounded by a plain or beaded ring. The horses are stationary, cantering or galloping. In this period we see for the first time the horseman with his knee bent under him, as if in the act of vaulting from his steed, and for the first time a stationary horse crowned by his rider. The horses are all archaic. On the Reverse, the dolphin rider is still sometimes seen in the same position as in the first period, but new representations are found; for instance, the rider aims a short javelin, he wears a helmet, carries a shield or some attribute, such as an oar or an acrostolium in his hands. The scallop-shell is often introduced to



symbolize the sea. Signatures of artists appear, as Λ , and $\Sigma\text{A}\cdot\text{A}\Gamma$.

One of the horsemen on a coin of the earliest years of this period is represented wearing a peaked cap, and this figure Mr. Arthur J. Evans thinks may probably have been meant for the Oekist Phalanthos. The coin is compared by him with two Macedonian types, one of Archelaos I. 413-399 B.C., and the other of Amyntas III. after 381. Mr. Evans gives nine varieties of design for the Obverse type.

The peaked cap may be compared with that on a terra-cotta head found in Tarentum, illustrated on plate VIII in the *Journal International Arch. Num.*, Athens, 1901.

PERIOD III (380-345 B.C.).

The Age of Archytas.

The coin-types of this period bear witness to a time of peace; very rarely are arms placed in the hands of the horseman on the obverse types, and the dolphin rider appears in an attitude of

repose, except when engaged in the peaceful art of fishing with a trident, or aiming at a fish below with a harpoon.

The introduction of smaller silver coins during this period may be an evidence of the political wisdom and liberality of the great ruler Archytas.

Mr. Evans says side by side with the litras of the traditional Tarentine system, there now appear obols of Attic standard to serve the purpose of a federal currency. They show the influence of Athens,



by the head of Pallas on the Obverse, and the influence of the Tarentine colony of Heracleia on the Reverse, on which is seen Heracles strangling the Nemean lion. Heracleia was the meeting place of the Federal Council of the Italiote Greeks.

The horses on the Obverse types of the Didrachms are more beautiful in proportion and show greater freedom in action, while the riders are of more varied ages; mere boys appear as well as the fully developed Epheboi of the earlier periods.

The Reverse types may be classed as the highest artistic productions of the Tarentine mint.

The inscription is simply **TAPAΣ** never written in the retrograde manner of the former periods.

The module of the coins is generally slightly smaller and more compact.

There were probably two mint offices, or die-sinkers' workshops, the first producing coins with a compact style of representation with a ring or border, the second coins with a broader and more massive treatment, and always without any border.

The types from the first of these offices are sometimes so like the work of sculptors that they may be copies of great works in marble, now lost.

On the coins issued from the second of the offices which show the broader, less compact treatment, the horses are sometimes massive and well developed. The attitude of the horseman vaulting from his horse is common among these coins.

The action of the dolphin rider is also similar, for the farther leg is represented as thrown forward in the act of vaulting off. The natural treatment of the hair, sometimes represented as blown by

the wind, is a noticeable feature of these coins. The wave-like crests on the horses' manes were probably imitated from bronze statues, such as those of the Tarentine "anathêmata".

Mr. A. J. Evans describes eighteen types of this period.

A unique coin of this period is described in *Num. Chr.* 1907, p. 283.

The coins of this period are especially interesting as the coinage used by the good ruler Archytas, who was famed not only as philosopher, mathematician, general, and statesman, but also as an honest and virtuous man. He was one of the friends of Plato, and when Dionysius held Plato in bondage his influence with the tyrant saved the life of his friend. Two letters which passed between these famous friends are preserved by Diogenes. Although it was usual for the strategos to hold office in Tarentum for one year, Archytas held that office seven times. He paid attention to the comfort of his slaves, and was interested, not only in the education, but also in the games of children, for whom he invented a rattle. As a philosopher he belonged to the school of Pythagoras. He applied the principles of mathematics to mechanics and was himself a skilful mechanician; his flying dove was famous. Both Plato and Aristotle were indebted to him for some of their views. Fragments of his teaching are preserved in the works of Stobaeus.

His death by drowning in the Adriatic is the subject of Horace's *Carmen* I. 28.

PERIOD IV (344-334 B.C.).

Archidamos and the first Lucanian War.

The chronological sequence of this period can be studied more accurately than that of the preceding, because of the help afforded by finds. In 344 B.C. the Tarentines were hard pressed by their Messapian neighbours, who had called to their assistance the Lucanians. The Greek colonists turned to their mother-city in Sparta for help, but practical aid seems to have been delayed until 338 B.C. when the Spartan king Archidamos landed at Tarentum (Diodorus XVI) and in the same year fell fighting, at the time when Philip was fighting at Chaeroneia.

In order to pay the auxiliary forces, an issue of gold coinage was made in 340 B.C. These gold coins represent the highest art attained by the Tarentines. They are not common, and therefore are not described in these pages, but the student desirous of studying them will find all the necessary help in the works of Dr Head and Mr. A. J. Evans.

On one of these gold coins the sea-god Poseidon bends favourably to hear the supplication of his son Taras, a beautiful symbol of the

city crying for help to the Spartan fatherland. The artist's signature occurs on some of the coins, as K or KAA, a signature found



also on coins of the Tarentine colony, Herakleia, and of the neighbouring city, Metapontum.

As the die-artists of the preceding period were influenced by the art of the Bronze founders, so the artists of this period seem to have been influenced by the painters. The horses on the obverse of the coins of this period attain the fullest mobility and freedom of execution, and the riders are more animated and well modelled.

The stars of the Dioscuri on some of the coins of this period are symbols of the mother-country Sparta. The types of the dolphin rider with head bowed over a helmet, are thought by Mr. Evans to refer to the mourning for the death of the Spartan hero, king Archidamos.

A unique stater of this period is described on p. 285 of *Num. Chr.*, 1907.

Seven staters (all from one find) belonging to this period are described on pages 286, 287, 288, *Num. Chr.*, 1907. Also a unique diobol with a head of Athene on Obverse and Heracles and the lion on the Reverse is described in the same article.

PERIOD V (334-302 B. C.).

From the coming of the Molossian Alexander to the Spartan Cleonymos.

The continual wars with the Lucanians and Messapian tribes caused the Tarentines to call in the help of Alexander the Molossian, king of Epirus, brother of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great. He was most successful; after defeating the Messapians he advanced against the Samnites and Lucanians, and gained a great victory at Paestum, after which he concluded a treaty with Rome. But when he freed Heracleia from the Barbarians he kept it for himself, therefore when he fell before the Brutians in 330 B. C. his death came as a relief to the Tarentines. The coinage of this period shows the influence of Alexander. On the gold coins we see the Macedonian type of the head of Heracles.

Alexander also issued both gold and silver coins in his own name, some of which were struck at Tarentum, others at Metapontum.

A gold half stater issued by Alexander is described on p. 289 of *Num. Chr.*, 1907.

The obverse types of the didrachms nearly always show a horseman with lance held downwards to right, within a beaded circle; on the Reverse, a seated eagle in the field to right appears. On all the coins between 334 and 330 B.C., we see the figure of Taras of corpulent proportions, or as a plump child, with the legend Φ I or Φ IΛIΣ. Eight varieties are given by Mr. A. J. Evans.



A new type with a corpulent Taras is described on p. 289 of *Num. Chr.*, 1907.

Terra-cotta figures discovered at Tarentum explain this plump form of the dolphin rider and are evidences of his being associated with Dionysus, and the infant Iacchos; some figures bear the attributes of Apollo.

These coins are evidence of the popularity of a Tarentine Chthonic Dionysus cult, with special reference to the mystic child Iacchos.

PERIOD VI (302-281 B.C.).

From Cleonymos to Pyrrhus.

In 302 B.C. Cleonymos, younger son of Cleomenes II., king of Sparta, who had been excluded from the throne in 309 B.C. on account of his violent tyrannical temper, was invited by the Tarentines to assist them against the Lucanians. His arrival with a considerable force caused them to make peace, but from the Roman annalists it appears that he was driven back to his ships, and sailed away to the Adriatic without helping Tarentum. He seized Corcyra and from there again came to Tarentum, but being beaten off returned to Corcyra. As Cleonymos treated his allies as slaves, his visits were far from bringing relief. Agathocles seized Corcyra and gave ships to the Peucetians and Iapygians, with which to attack the Tarentine commercial shipping, and Tarentum was only relieved by his being called off to the Punic wars until 288 B.C. when he met with a violent end.

In 292 B.C. the Romans founded Venusia, only two marches away from Tarentum itself, and the Thurians and Lucanians were obliged to become their allies. In 283 B.C. when the Tarentines destroyed the Roman fleet, they were obliged to call in the aid of Pyrrhus.

The didrachms of this Sixth Period may be distinguished most readily by the full-length signatures of the mint magistrates, such as Ἀνθρωσ, Ἀριστις, Νικοδωμοσ, Νικων, Νικωττις, and Φιλων.

The AY which occurs on the Reverse of these coins is probably the magistrate's name Λυκων, who alternately with Δεινοκρετις signs in full on the Obverse of coins bearing ΣΙ in the field.

The youthful rider on the Obverse sometimes assumes an androgynous appearance.



The figure of Taras holds either a tripod, an olive-branch, a bunch of grapes, a kantharos, or a distaff, and Victory in the right hand, and the letter K. On some he holds two javelins and a small round shield on which is E; in field ΕΟΡ.

In the field of one ΡΛ. type is an anchor and ΕΥ—ΑΡ.

On one the rider holds club and kantharos.

On another he holds a corn-spike; ΑΡΙ, a spear-head.

The Child types.

Child with distaff and kantharos ΕΟΡ.

Child with bunch of grapes, ΚΛΗ.

Child with tuft of hair, distaff and bunch of grapes, ΑΓΑ.

Child with lighted torch.

N. B. The figure of Victory on Obv. type standing before the horses differs from that in Period IV. in that the inscription ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ is here lacking.

Several of these types may be obtained, when not in the finest condition, from 5/. apiece.



REDUCED STANDARD. PERIOD VII (281-272 B. C.).

The Rule of Pyrrhus.

The effect of the coming of Pyrrhus upon the coinage was the reduction of the weight of the didrachms from about 123-120 grains to about 102-99 grains.

The evidence of the elephant symbol on these reduced coins is clear, moreover there is also the evidence of the gold coinage of this period, on which is seen the Epirote symbol of the eagle on the thunderbolt, and the spear-head in front of the eagle. The occurrence of the elephant symbol on the earliest of the lighter didrachms shows they were issued soon after the arrival of Pyrrhus.

Some few at least of the didrachms of full weight seem to have been struck in 282 B. C., for we see on them the Pyrrhic symbol of the spear-head.

The litræ with the scallop-shell and the figure of Pallas Promachos under the dolphin on the reverse weigh about 12 grains, corresponding to the full didrachms of 120 grains; these belong to the transition period, and lighter litræ appear soon after, bearing the Pyrrhic emblem, the elephant under the dolphin.

In 1887 a hoard of these coins of the time of Pyrrhus was found in Calabria, which contained 15 out of 17 known types, all in first-rate condition. The hoard proves this period to have been one of prolific mintage. Probably Tarentum was obliged to contribute large sums towards the expenses of the army of Pyrrhus. The fine condition of the coins of this hoard shows that the money had not been long in circulation.

When Pyrrhus landed he was about thirty-seven years of age; his father was a cousin of that Alexander of Molossos who was slain in Italy in 326. Pyrrhus as a child had escaped from Cassander, and been brought up in Illyria. In 295 B. C. he was established as king in Epirus, and next year as king of Macedonia. Pyrrhus was reigning in Epirus till in 282 B. C. he was called to Italy by the Tarentines to fight the Romans. He promised an army of 350,000 foot and 20,000 horsemen. To get rid of him Antigonus supplied ships, Antiochus money, and Ptolemy Ceraunus men. He brought 20,000 footmen, 3,000 horsemen, 2,000 archers, 500 slingers, and about 50 elephants.

The pleasure-loving Tarentines he forced to serve in his army and treated them as dependents rather than allies. In the first battle he defeated the Romans and advanced to within twenty-four miles of Rome. From there he retreated through Campania and into winter quarters at Tarentum, from whence he allowed the Roman

prisoners to return home for the Saturnalia, after which they returned.

Next year an indecisive battle was fought, and at last in 278 B. C. a truce was proclaimed, in order to allow Pyrrhus to go to Sicily to aid the Greeks against the Carthaginians. In 276 B. C.



he returned to Italy, reached Tarentum and recovered Locri. In 274 B. C. he was defeated by Curius Dentatus, and returned to Tarentum with only a few horsemen, and then soon after retired to Epirus leaving Milo with a garrison at Tarentum. Pyrrhus perished in 272 B. C., at Argos, slain by a tile thrown by a woman.

The didrachms issued during the period of the rule of Pyrrhus may be distinguished most easily by the emblems, the elephant, a large star on the Reverse, the monogram \times or \times , or by the race-lamp or torch in the hand of the horseman.

The Obverse type of the Dioscuri to left with bare heads belongs to this period, and should be distinguished from the type of Dioscuri belonging to the next, which shows the riders with pointed caps and riding to right.

PERIOD VIII (272-235 B. C.)

Coinage of Tarentum as a Civitas foederata.

The coins of this period show that the Romans did not put a stop to the minting of money in Tarentum when they entered the city in 272 B. C. There had long been a strong philo-Roman party in the city which probably arose from the severity of Pyrrhus and his general Milo. The Consul Papirius appeared before the walls as the champion of many exiled citizens who had suffered from Milo's oppression. A treaty (mentioned by Livy) was then made (l. XXXV, 16) by which, as the coins show, they retained the right to coin money as before. This is confirmed by a large find of over 1500 coins discovered in Tarentum in 1883, the greater part of which is now in the museum in that city. The coins of this deposit are nearly all of a period after that of Pyrrhus; a few of the coins of his time, well worn, are among them.

The coins are smaller and of more careless workmanship than those of the last period.

The abundance of the coins of this period shows that the prosperity of the Tarentines did not suffer from their alliance with Rome; and Livy (XXIII, 7) refers to the condition of the city under "the proud domination of Pyrrhus, and the miserable servitude of the Tarentines" during his rule. It was once thought that when the Romans issued their first silver denarii in 268 B.C., the mints of the federated cities were closed, but that this cannot have been the case, the coins themselves prove. The horseman type of the Obverse is monotonous in character, the rider is a boy crowning a stationary horse which lifts its off fore-leg; there are three exceptions to this rule.

Many of the symbols on the coins of this period refer to the magistrates whose signatures appear at full length beneath the horse on the Obverse. For instance, the name **ΛΕΩΝ** is coupled with the



symbol, a lion passant; the name **ΕΡΡΑ** beneath a symbol of a doe on **Ρ**. of a coin of the period 302-281 B.C. is similar, for it stands for **ΔΟΡΚΑΣ** a deer. In this period we also find **ΔΑΙΜΑΧΟΣ** with a torch or *δαίς* in the rider's hand.

But this type is copied from an older one with the same symbol to which is attached the name **ΕΡΡΑ** or **ΕΗΡΑΚΛΗΙ**. Now in the later coin we find the monogram for **ΕΡΡΑ** and very probably we may see in these two coins an instance of the magistrate who promoted the torch races calling his son *Δαίμαχος*, and the son when becoming in his turn mint-master, placed his father's symbol on the coins, making a reference not only to his own name, but to his father's work as well.

The name **ΗΣΤΙΑΡ** is found with a bunch of grapes, also **ΗΣΤΙΑΡΧΟΣ**.

The name **ΑΡΙΣΤΙΣ** or **ΑΡΙΚΤΙΣ** is found with an anchor.

The name **ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ** is found with a Term.

The name **ΕΗΡΑΚΛΗΤΟΣ** is found on coins with the dolphin rider holding in his hand a flower, and a censer is in the field, probably in allusion to the Hyacinthia.

PERIOD IX (235-228 B.C.).

Period of Artistic Revival during Roman Alliance.

In the great find at Taranto, among many coins of the last period which had been some time in use, there was a small group of coins fresh from the mint, which displayed such a revival of art, such a contrast to the careless workmanship of the previous period that they should be classed by themselves. These coins are characterized by the animated figures of the riders on the obverse, and the dolphin riders on the reverse, also by the minuteness in the engraving, which, though over elaborate, is worthy of a better age. On one of them the artist's name appears as ΣΩ.

A complicated style of monogram is also one of the characteristics of this period. In the style of writing also we notice the chevroned form of Α, the small ο for Ο, the round C for Σ.



The racing types of these coins point to a great revival of some religious celebration probably connected with the Hyacinthine Apollo. The funereal character of the races is seen in the prominence of the torch-bearers among the horsemen.

These races in honour of Apollo are of great interest as being probably the origin of the type so well-known on the common Roman denarii of the Calpurnian gens. The Calpurnius taken prisoner at Cannae may have seen these very games at Tarentum when serving in Southern Italy, and the Roman games were probably formed on the Tarentine model.

On the Roman coins we see the dolphin, the torches and the flower, as symbols of the Hyacinthian cult. We see how the horse-loving Iapygians and Messapian natives influenced the early development of the races imported from Sparta, and how thus a Roman type arose.

The Ludi Apollinares were introduced in Rome circ. 212 B.C. The coinage of this period was probably succeeded by the use of the Roman Victoriatae of full weight.

PERIOD X (212-209 B. C.).

The time of Carthaginian Occupation.

During the struggle of the Romans with the Carthaginians the city of Tarentum was naturally placed under martial law, and therefore the Tarentines looked upon Hannibal as a deliverer. Livy (in XXV. 8) says that leader gave them liberty, recognized their own laws, and freed them from tribute.

The suppression of their mint was doubtless one of the many grievances laid before Hannibal by the Tarentine conspirators (Polybius, VIII, c. 26). The depreciation of the Roman coinage must have affected that of all Southern Italy. The denarius fell from 4.55 grammes to 3.90 and the libral As was reduced by the Lex Flaminia to a single Ounce.

The Tarentines reverted to the old Victoriata system still preserved by their commerce with Illyricum, and their coins, though bearing the old Didrachm types, were really only Drachms weighing $53\frac{1}{2}$ grains or 3.46 grammes. The types are sometimes copied from coins of the earlier series, but the letters show a change of fashion. We no longer see C for Σ, and A is no longer seen for A. A new form of this letter appears, namely, A. The names of the magistrates are significant of the altered condition of the city; names of distinctly non-hellenic origin appear, such as ΣHPAMBOΣ and ΣΩKANNΑΣ. This latter suggests a possible derivation from the Semitic word מֶלֶךְ, the associate or friend of a king. If we turn the former name into Semitic letters we get שר prince, אִמָּה mother, often applied to cities, and בִּיטֵּ byssus or fine linen.

Hannibal's need of money was great, and he may have placed some of his own officers in the position of mint-magistrates. The names on the coins of this period are not those of the Strategoi, but rather of Mint-masters, for we never meet with the names of known Strategoi such as Philemnos, Nikon, or Democrates.

The party in power at this time was Democratic, and was aided by the sons of the older noble families who had been oppressed by the Romans.

AIDS TO CLASSIFICATION.

When a large number of Tarentine didrachms of the Horseman type are first shown to a student; the difficulty of classification at once presents itself, especially if the coins are not already arranged in chronological order. In this respect they may be compared with similar collections of Roman Republican denarii; in each case the only data for classification with reference to History are the weight, the style and the legends.

It will be easy to divide the Tarentine series into two classes : one class of the coins weighing over 102 grains, the other of those weighing less.

It will then be easy to class together the coins bearing the full names of magistrates, and to form another class with those bearing only two or three letters.

For further subdivision it will be necessary to consult the lists of the magistrates of each period here given.

Some of the striking variations of type or symbol are also given in the following table of reference.

I. Naked horsemen on steeds with thin tails, style archaic. Taras with one hand held forth. Θ the only letter, except the legend **TAPANTINON**, which is often written retrograde.

II. Horses still archaic, but the riders bear shields, or spears, or crowns. Taras bears a symbol, helmet, oar, or shield, or points finger downwards. Letters Σ A AA or Ξ A, and on \mathcal{R} . generally **TAPAS** sometimes **TAPANTINON**.

III. Desultor and flying Victory.

Rider vaulting from horse.

Agonistic types of naked boy.

Taras vaulting from back of dolphin.

Obv. letters Γ , Θ , Π , Δ OP, NI A.

IV. Boy under horse holding horse's foot.

Nike flying to right behind rider.

Nike standing in front of horse prancing to l. **TAPANTINON**.

Helmeted figure standing behind horse to r.

Nude man standing in front of horse to l., no letters under horse.

Taras holding helmet, with stars in field.

Generally one letter on either side as \mathbf{K} , Φ or \mathbf{I} , sometimes Σ IM, Δ AI, KAV, API, or ONA.

V. All coins with an eagle on \mathcal{R} . in field belong to 334-330 B.C.

Horsemen pointing spear downwards.

Taras holds distaff, trident, palm, or bow and arrow, very frequently the letters Σ A, Δ AI, API, APH on Obv. on \mathcal{R} . Φ IPH or $\mathbf{K}\Lambda$. Σ OI.

VI. First of the periods bearing names at length.

Nike standing in front of horse prancing to l. but no inscription.

Plump figures of Taras or Iacchus with distaff, grapes or kantharos. Anchor symbol behind Taras.

The doe with \mathbf{IOP} .

For names of magistrates cf. list of legends.

COINS OF REDUCED WEIGHT.

VII. Noticeable obverse types are : Two amphoraë appearing under the horse. The Dioscuri with bare heads to left. The rider bearing the race-torch. A nude figure holding horse's forelock standing in front of horse (cf. Period IV); this is to be distinguished

by the letters $\overset{\text{API}}{\Sigma\text{TI}}$ beneath the horse from the earlier similar type, $\overset{\text{P}}{\Sigma\text{TI}}$ and by the elephant symbol on the reverse.

Reverse type of Taras, plump, as Iacchus, bearing distaff and a serpent in field.

The monograms X and X^* .

A small squatting figure holding a horn under the horse and on X . Taras holding Nike in r. and distaff in l. hand.

Taras holding horned helmet and with two twelve-rayed stars in field.

For the names of magistrates, and letters, confer lists of legends.

VIII. An anchor under the horse.

Dioscuri to right with peaked helmets, compare with coin of period VII shewing heads bare.

Horses generally stationary with one leg raised.

Symbols on Reverse, an owl, a term, a bullock's head, female head, a lion to l. under dolphin.

For lists of names confer lists of legends.

IX. A characteristic feature is the presence of a large monogram on the Obverse field.

Horse rider with body thrown backwards.

The dolphin rider generally bears a trident, one rider bears a hippocamp in the right hand, a trident in left, and in the field behind a head of Pan. One rider bears a kantharos, a cornucopia, and in the field behind is a tripod.

X. The weight only 3.46 grammes or $53\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

The legends with non-hellenic names such as $\Sigma\text{HPAMBO}\Sigma$, $\Sigma\Omega\text{KANNA}\Sigma$. Confer list of legends.

Horses generally stationary, and Taras with trident.

LEGENDS OF PERIOD I. 436-420 B.C.

Obverse.	Reverse.
No letter	TAPA... and T
No letter	TAPANTINON
⊙	TAPANTINONHMI
No letter	NONITNAIAT

PERIOD II. 480-380 B.C.

Obverse.

Reverse.

No letter
 ΣΑΡΑΤ
 Σ
 Σ
 No letter
 No letter
 No letter
 No letter
 ΑΛ
 ΑΛ
 Λ
 No letter
 Λ
 No letter
 Λ
 ΕΛ

ΡΑΤ
 Γ
 ΤΑΡΑΣ
 Σ
 ΣΑΡΑΤ
 ΤΑΡΑΝ
 ΤΙΝΩ[Ν]
 ΤΑΡΑΙΤΙΝΩΝ
 ΤΑΡΑΣ
 Same
 ΤΑΡΑΣ and Α
 ΤΑΡΑΣ
 ΣΩΝΙΤΝΑΡΑΤ
 ΤΑΡΑΣ and Α
 ΣΑΡΑΤ
 Λ and ΤΑΡΑΣ
 ΤΑΡΑΣ

PERIOD III. 380-345 B.C.

Obverse.

Reverse.

No letter
 Λ
 Λ
 Λ
 No letter
 Υ
 Λ
 Ι
 ΟΡΑ
 ΣΩΚ
 Κ and ΦΙ
 Κ and ΦΙ
 Κ and ΦΙ
 ΗΕ
 ΗΕ and ΗΣ
 ΑΡ
 ΑΡ
 Α or Γ
 Same
 Γ
 Δ
 Γ
 Γ

Λ
 Η and Ρ
 Λ
 No letter
 Ρ
 Λ
 Ξ
 No letter
 ΟΡΑ
 ΣΩΚ
 Α
 Χ and Α
 Κ
 No letter
 No letter
 Χ
 Ρ
 Α
 Ρ
 Ι
 Κ
 Γ
 Α

⊙	⊙
Γ	No letter
⊙	No letter
⊙	⊙ or ⊙
ΔOP or AOP	No letter
NI	No letter
A	No letter

PERIOD IV. 344-334 B.C.

Obverse.	Reverse.
AP	No letter
ΣIM	HP
K	Ω
Φ	E
Φ	Γ
Φ	No letter
Γ	A
ΔAI	Γ
ΔY	V
Ξ	Γ
K	Ξ
Ξ	K
TAPANTINΩN small letters }	KAA
ΓA M and KAA }	ΦI
Γ and A and KAA	API
Γ and A and KAA	KAA
Γ and A and KAA	ONA
Γ and A and KAA	
N and KAV	
N	K
TAPAN and KAA	KAA
TAPANTINΩN and Γ-Δ and	ΘI
KAA	

PERIOD V. 334-302 B.C.

Obverse.	Reverse.
ΣA	ΦI TARAS very small.
ΣA	No letters.
ΦIΛI	ΦI TARAS very small
ΔAI	ΦI
ΔAI	ΦH
ΔAI	HP
ΔA..	E
AA	E

ΗΡΑ	ΦΙ
ΣΑ	Κ
ΣΑ	Α
ΣΑ	Κ
ΣΑ	ΣΩ and dot
ΣΑ	Ω
ΣΑ	Σ
ΣΑ	Α
ΣΑ	Ρ
ΣΑ	ΗΡ
ΣΑ	ΗΡ ΗΡ
ΣΑ	ΗΡ Ϝ
ΑΡΙ and ΕΡΑ	ΚΛ
Ι and ΑΡΙ	ΚΛ and ΕΓΑ
Α	Α or Λ
Α and ΚΑΛ	ϚΟΙ
Ι above Λ to l. Λ to r. and ΑΓΗ	ϚΟΙ
ΣΑ	ΣΥΜ
ΣΑ	ΚΟΙ
ΑΓΗ	Φ
ΑΓΗ	ΗΗ
No letter.	ΗΗ

PERIOD VI. 302-281 B.C.

Obverse.

ΣΑ and ΑΡΕΘΩΝ
 Ϝ and ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ
 ΣΑ and ΦΙΛΙΑΡΧΟΣ
 ΛΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ
 ΑΓΩ and ΚΡΑΤΙΝΟΣ
 Α and ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ
 ΦΙΛΩΝ and ΕΥ
 ΕΥ and ΝΩΛΙΦ
 Ε and ΦΙΛΟΚΛΗΣ
 ΑΝΘΡΩΣ
 ΣΙ and ΔΕΙΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
 ΣΙ and ΛΥΚΩΝ
 ΘΕ and ΑΛΕΞΑΝ
 ΕΥ and ΝΙΚΩΤΤΑΣ
 ΕΥ and ΝΙΚΩΝ
 ΝΙΚΟΔΑΜΟΣ
 ΕΥ and ΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ
 ΥΞ and ΝΙΚΟΔΑΜΟΣ
 ΕΥ and ΕΥΑΡΧΙΔΑ[Σ]

Reverse.

ϚΑΣ
 ΙΟΡ or Κ
 ΑΓΑ
 ΙΟΡ
 ΙΟΡ
 Κ
 No letter
 No letter
 ΛΥ
 ΕΥ and ΑΡ
 No letter
 No letter
 No letter
 ΙΟΡ
 ΑΡΙ
 ΙΟΡ
 ΚΛΗ or ΚΑΝ
 ΑΓΑ
 No letter.

PERIOD VII. 281-272 B.C.

Obverse.	Reverse.
ΓΥ and ΑΡΙ	
ΣΤΙ	ΔΙ
Γ	
ΓΥ and ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	ΡΟΥ
ΕΥ and —	ΡΟΥ
ΕΥ and ΦΙΝΤΥΛΟΣ	ΡΟΥ
ΘΕ and ΑΛΕΞ	ΣΙ
ΣΙ and ΑΥΚΩΝ	ΓΥ or ΥΓ
ΓΥ and ΑΡΙΣΤΙΓ	ΔΙ
ΙΩ and ΝΕΥΜΗ	Ρ or ΑΡΙΣ or ΡΟΥ
Ⲙ and ΔΑΜΟΚΡΙ	No letter
ΕΥ and ΑΡΟΛΛΩ	ΘΙ or ΘΙ and Β
ΗΙ and ΑΡΟΛΛΩ	ΘΙ
ΗΙ and ΙΩΠΥ	Ⲙ
Ⲙ and ΣΑΛΩΝΟΣ	ΓΥ
Ρ and ΣΑΛΩΝΟΣ	ΓΥ
ΙΩ and ΗΙ ΑΡΟΛΛΩ	ΑΝ or ΑΝΘ
ΕΙC and ΙΩ	ΑΝΘ
ΙΩ and ΙΑΛΟ	ΑΝΘ or ΑΝ
ΕΥ and ΙΩΠΥ	ΘΙ
Ι and ΙΩΠΥ	ΘΙ
† ΗΡΑ	Ⲙ and Ι
† ΗΡΑΚΛΗΙ	Α

PERIOD VIII. 272-235 B.C.

Obverse.	Reverse.
ΑΡΙΣΤΙΣ	
ΦΕΙ with ΙΩΠΥΡΟΣ	
ΓΥ —	ΧΡΗ (?)
†ΑΓΕΑΣ	ΡΟΥ
ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ	
ΝC with ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑ	ΑΡΟΛ
— —	ΑΡΕΥ
ΣΥ and ΔΕ with ΑΥΚΙΝΟΣ	
beneath horse	
ΕΥ and ΗΙΣΤΙΑΡ	
ΔΙ and ΦΙΛΟΤΑΣ	
ΑΓΑΘΑ	
ΡΧΟΣ	
ΦΙ and ΙΩΠΥΡΟΣ	
ΛΕΩΝ	Α

Α and ΚΥ	
ΝΩΝ	
ΕΥ and ΦΙ and beneath ΞΕΝΕΑΣ	
In f. to l. ΦΙΛΟΧΡΑ and beneath	
ΝΣ	ΑΡΙΣΤΟ
Same —	ΑΠΟΛ
ΔΙ and ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ	
Α' and ΝΙΚΟΚΡΑΤΕΣ	
ΗΙ and ΦΙΛΗΜΕΝΟΣ	
ΦΙΛΙΣΚΟΣ	
ΗΗΡΑΚΛΗΤΟΣ	Ε
ΦΙ and same as above	
ΔΙ and ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	
ΘΙ and ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚ or ΑΠΟΛΛΩ	
ΗΓΓΡΟΔΑ	ΔΙ
ΦΙ and ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ	ΓΙ
ΦΙ and ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔ	⊠Ρ
ΕΥΝ and ΔΑΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ	⊠
ΕΥΦ and ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ	
Α' and ΝΙΚΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ	
ΝΙΚΥΛΟΣ	Α

PERIOD IX. 235-228 B.C.

Obverse.	Reverse.
⊠Ρ and ΔΑΙΜΑΧ·C	Monogram and ΤΑΡΑC
ΞΩΓΥΡΙΩΝ	Ε
ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ	
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΣ	ΤΑΡΑΣ
Monogram and ΟΛΥΜΠΙΣ	
Α' and ΑΡΙΣΤΙΓΓΟΣ	Υ and ΤΑΡΑC
Α' and ΦΙΛΟΚΛΗΣ	
Monogram and ΞΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ	Monogram
Monogram and ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ	ΝΕ

PERIOD X. 212-209 B.C.

Obverse.	Reverse.
ΚΛΗ and ΣΗΡΑΜΒΟΣ	ΤΑΡΑΣ ⊠
ΞΩ and ΣΩΡΕΝΗΣ	
ΚΡΙΤΟΣ	ΕΚ and Ἰ
ΦΙ and ΦΙΛΙΑΡΧΟΣ	
ΣΩΚΑΝΝΑΣ	ΤΑΡΑΣ
ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ	
ΣΩΚΑΝΝΑΣ	

FEDERAL DIDRACHMS. 302-281 B.C.

The didrachms which belong to this federal Italiote coinage weigh about 116 grains.

The Obverse type is the Tarentine design of the boy rider crowning his horse standing still.

The Reverse type is a female head said to be meant for Satyra, the mother of Taras.

Although the normal dolphin and Taras type was rejected as too definitely connected with Tarentum, a type which had been in use there in former days, and which also had reference to the myths of Tarentum was renewed.

That these coins were in circulation outside the city appears certain from the fact that they are never found in Tarentum itself, nor were they among the coins of the Beneventan hoard buried about 310 B.C. The majority of the coins of this type are of later date than the coming of Pyrrhus in 281 B.C., but they began to be issued in this period.

DRACHMS.

PERIOD VI. FROM CLEONYMOS TO PYRRHUS 302-281 B.C.

The drachms introduced during this period belong to the reduced standard which was not adopted for the didrachms until the second year of the next period.

Obverse. The helmeted head of Pallas to right, the crested helmet decorated with image of Scylla hurling a rock. According to Homer (*Od.* XII) Scylla was a daughter of Crataeis, a fearful monster. Later traditions represent her as the daughter of Phorcys by Hecate, Crataeis, or by Lamia; others call her the daughter of Triton or Poseidon and Crataeis. The form the helmet however probably refers to the tradition found in Ovid's *Metam.*, XIII, 732; XIV, 40. According to this legend Scylla was once a beautiful maiden who used to play with the sea-nymphs, and was loved by Glaucus. He asked Circe to make Scylla love him, but the jealous goddess threw magic herbs into the fountain in which she bathed, and thus changed the lower part of her body into the tail of a marine monster. Heracles is said to have killed her because she had stolen some of the oxen of Geryon, but Phorcys is supposed to have restored her to life, hence the reason for her appearance on the obverse of so many of the coins bearing Heracles on the Reverse.

The Reverse type is an owl with closed wings to left, seated on an olive-spray, in the field to left behind owl TAP, to the right

or TOP

TOP

On some varieties instead of the letters to r. we see a club and **ΙΟΡ**.

The letters **ΙΟΡ** are peculiar to the didrachms of the sixth Period. The Oria find, a deposit hidden circ. 300-281 B.C., presents us with drachms signed **ΙΟΡ**.

The drachms were probably issued in connection with the federal currency of the Italiote league: we may remember that the Diobols of the Heracles type which were also issued for the federal currency are of the reduced standard.

The weight of those diobols, 16 grains, corresponds to the third of the drachms bearing **ΙΟΡ**.

Probably the standard of the didrachms of the neighbouring cities, and especially of Heracleia, was reduced earlier than in Tarentum, and these smaller coins were issued to pass current beyond the walls of Tarentum.

DRACHMS OF PERIOD VII. 281-272 B.C.

I. Obverse. Head of Pallas to right with Scylla on helmet.

Reverse. Owl seated sideways to right with closed wings on olive-branch. To l. **ΝΕΥΜΗΝΙΟΣ** to r. **ΑΡΙ**.

The same names occur on didrachms of this period.

II. Same types. In field to l. **ΝΕΥΜΗΝΙΟΣ** to r. **ΡΟΛΥ**.

III. Same types. [**ΣΩ**] **ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ** to r. **ΡΟΛΥ** in field **ΕΥ**.

The same names occur on didrachms of this period.

IV. Same types. In field to l. **ΙΑΛΟ**, to r. **ΑΝ**.

The same names occur on didrachms of this period.

V. Same types, but on helmet of Pallas **Ι**, and the owl is to left. In field to r. **ΤΑΡΑΣ**.

In field to left ϋ beneath owl **Α**.

On a didrachm of this period we find **ΙΩ**.

ΑΡΟΛΛΩ **ΑΝΘ** i. e. the same signatures.

VI. Obverse. Head of Pallas, in Scylla helmet to l., but with hair flowing down behind, beneath **ΕΥ**.

Reverse. Owl on thunderbolt with opening wings.

In f. above **ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ**, in f. to r. **Ω**.

The thunderbolt is a symbol also on a didrachm of this period.

Obverse. Head of Pallas as on no I.

Reverse. Owl facing with opening wings seated on a serpent.

Above **ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ**. In f. to r. **ΣΟ** or **ΣΩΣ**. In f. to l. **ΔΙ**.

DRACHMS OF PERIOD VIII. 272-235 B.C.

Obv. Normal head of Pallas, in Scylla helmet, to right, on all but one.

I. Reverse. Owl to right with closed wings, on olive-spray, **ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ**, to right a term.

This legend and symbol occurs on a didrachm of this period.

II. Reverse the same.

In the field to l. **ΗΗΡΑΚΛΗΤΟΣ** and a flower growing out of an olive-spray. Compare similar symbol and same name on a didrachm of this period.

III. Reverse. The same, but the owl is seated on a fulmen. In the field to l. **ΗΙΣΤΙΑΡΧΟΣ**, to right **ΕΥ** and a bunch of grapes. Compare similar symbol and name on didrachm of this period.

IV. Reverse. The same, but the owl is seated on an anchor. In field to left **ΑΡΙΚΤΙΣ**, to r. **ΤΑ**. Compare didrachm of this period bearing **ΑΡΙΣΤΙΣ** and the symbol an anchor.

V. Reverse. The same, but the owl is seated on a bucranium. In field to r. **ΤΑΡ** and **ΛΕΩΝ**, the same name occurs on a didrachm of this period.

VI. Reverse. Same, but the owl is seated on an Ionic capital. In field to l. **ΝΙΚΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ**, to r. **ΤΑΡ** and **ΑΝ**. The same name occurs on a didrachm of this period with the Ionic capital as a symbol and **Α**.

VII. Reverse. The same; but owl seated on a thunderbolt. The head of Pallas on this coin is turned to left. In field to l. a lighted torch, to r. **ΤΑΡ**. This same symbol occurs on a didrachm of this period.

SMALL SILVER COINAGE.

There are three series of small silver belonging to the Euboean Attic standard known as diobols, obols and hemiobols, besides the litrae which properly belong to the older Sicilian and Italian standard. These coins may be classified according to weight, style, and type. All these three conditions must be considered together. The weights are seldom exactly what we should expect and vary in a degree most surprising.

The distinguishing types are generally : —

Diobol, the figure of Heracles.

Obol, the diota or two-handled cup.

Litra, the cockle-shell.

The proportionate weights are : —

Diobol, the sixth part of the didrachm.

Obol, the twelfth part of the didrachm.

Litra, the tenth part of the didrachm.

DIOBOLS.

EARLY PERIOD.

The diobols of the early period existing in the British Museum do not weigh as much as one-sixth part of the heaviest weight of the early didrachms; they weigh only 20 grains; moreover the type is that afterwards adopted for the litrae, a cockle-shell and the wheel with four spokes. The wheel formed the Reverse type of the early obols of Syracuse in 500-478 B.C.

DIOBOLS OF THE AGE OF ARCHYTAS. 380-345 B.C.

During this period an artist signing the coins with the letters Φ appears to have introduced a new type on Diobols weighing a maximum of 22.5 grains. Dr. A. J. Evans says: "There can be little doubt that the introduction of this noble design of Heracles and the lion at the Tarantine colony was due to the artist whose signature appears as Φ on contemporary coins of Heracleia, Thurioi, Terina and Neapolis, and who as Mr Poole has shewn (*Num. Chron.* 1883, p. 269 seq.) represents the grafting of Athenian art traditions on Italian soil..."



DIOBOLS.

On the Mallian coins the hero is represented standing on a distinct basis, a clear intimation that the design is taken from a statue, and M. Six has suggested (*Zeitschr. f. Num.*, XIV, p. 142 seq.) with great plausibility that the original should be traced to a bronze group of Myron.

These very common diobols with the type of Heracles, found in abundance, were probably the currency of the Tarentine fish-markets, which was also in use among the inhabitants of the towns and villages near the city, and even beyond its territories as far as Samnium. The type came from Heracleia, the city in which the federal congress of the Italiote Greeks met, and this money may be regarded rather as a federal than a city coinage. By the Romans the diobol was looked upon as equal to the sestertius and called "nummus", being nearly equivalent to ten ounces of bronze ($2\frac{1}{2}$ asses of 4 oz each). Moreover these Obols commonly bore the five dots as a mark of value, the diobol being then equivalent to the Dextans, which in Apulia was called a Nummus; Pollux, (IX, 80,) informs us that Aristotle spoke of a coin called the nummus

on which was the figure of Taras on the dolphin, but Pollux does not state that this coin was the didrachm, and the dolphin does occur on smaller types of the earlier periods. The litra was also called "nummus".

CLASSIFICATION OF DIOBOLS OF THE HERACLES TYPE. 235-228 B.C.

There are ten distinct Reverse designs of Heracles fighting with the Nemean lion to be seen in the British Museum.

1. Obverse. Head of Pallas, in crested helmet to right (15.5 — 7.6 grains).

Reverse. Heracles seated to l. holding club in r. hand. **TAPANT** in field to left.

2. Obverse. Same as n^o 1 (17.1 grains).

Reverse. Heracles, seated on a lion, holding one-handled cup and club.

3. Obverse. Head of Pallas to l. in Corinthian helmet (16.2 grs).

Reverse. Heracles attacking lion with one knee on its back, the lion to left looking back at hero.

4. Obverse. The heads of Pallas belonging to this series are extremely varied, there are eight varieties of Obv. type among the specimens in the British Museum. The Reverse type makes the series.

Reverse. Heracles struggling with the lion, his arm hanging down behind, holding club (17-18 grains). Some of these are of fine execution.

5. Obverse. Head of Pallas, helmet decorated with Scylla, and finely wrought.

Reverse. Heracles kneeling, strangling lion with his arm round the lion's neck.

Some specimens of very good style.

6. There are several distinct obverse types of this series, four varieties of the Head of Pallas, two of Heracles.

Reverse. Heracles standing to r. strangling the lion rampant; behind the hero is generally a club, but the following symbols are also seen, a bow and arrow, a bull's head, a fulmen, a bow and club, an aplustre.

N. B. On two examples Heracles stands to left.

Six obverse varieties of this sixth series: —

(a) Head of Heracles three-quarter face, wearing lion's skin.

(b) Head of Heracles in profile to right, wearing lion's skin.

(c) Head of Pallas, normal Scylla type, to right, and to left.

(d) Head of Pallas in plain helmet to right.

(e) Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet to left.

(f) Bust of Pallas, full-faced, wearing three-crested Corinthian helmet.

7. Obverse. Head of Pallas, normal Scylla type.

Reverse. Heracles, with one leg raised, strangling lion. Only one specimen in British Museum.

8. Obverse. Head of Heracles in profile with lion's skin. Head of Pallas, with crested helmet wreathed, to right. Head of Pallas to left, imperfect specimen.

Reverse. Heracles, kneeling, striking at lion with club held over his head, or raised in the field to left.

9. Obv. Head of Pallas three-quarter face, in Corinthian helmet.

Reverse. Heracles crushing Antaeus.

10. Obv. Head of Pallas to r. in Corinthian helmet.

Reverse. Heracles taming a horse, M in field.

OBOLS.

According to Dr Head (*Hist. Num.*, p. 56), the obol should be the twelfth part of a didrachm. The weights therefore should be from $10 \frac{1}{2}$ grs to $9 \frac{2}{3}$ grs of the heavy coinage, and from $8 \frac{1}{2}$ grs to 8 grs. of the reduced coinage.

The type usually associated with the obols is the Diota and three pellets.

The diota is the two-handled vessel referred to by Horace in Ode 1, 9, 8 "O Thaliarche merum diota". About 272 B.C. they weighed $6 \frac{1}{2}$ to $7 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. and bore generally one of the following letters Δ , R , K , Φ , E , Δ , HP : : Φ .

The diota ($\delta\iota\omega\tau\tau\epsilon$) is sometimes called the Cantharus.

The following types are in the British Museum :

Cantharus and on R . female head.

— — bucranium.

— — a cross saltire B.

Another type connected with obols is the horse's head found on both sides of the coin bearing the letters A , E , Φ , K , Δ , R .

The horse's head is sometimes bridled, and on other specimens unbridled; some of these in the British Museum weigh 7.7 grs.

The following note on the small coins found in the deposits is taken from Dr. A. J. Evans.

In 1883 a hoard of 1500 Tarentine coins was discovered; 1032 were didrachms, the rest litrae, hemilitrae, drachms, diobols, obols, hemi-obols.

The letters on these smaller coins refer to the moneys, as for instance ΣY on litrae and diobols, Δ , on litrae and diobols. The monogram K occurs on litrae, hemilitrae, diobols and obols. All these letters are also found on didrachms of the period 272 B.C.

The diobols with two horses' heads were absent from this find but the obols with one horse's head were in abundance. Litrae with cockle-shell and on \mathcal{R} . dolphin, weighing $9\frac{1}{2}$ grains, bear $\mathbf{E} \mathbf{P} \mathbf{\Delta} \mathbf{I} \mathbf{\Phi} \mathbf{I} \mathbf{\text{K}}$: some have a flying Victory above dolphin. Hemilitrae with same types, weighing $4\frac{1}{2}$ grains, bear \mathbf{E} , $\mathbf{\text{K}}$, $\mathbf{\Theta}$, \mathbf{T} , $\mathbf{\Phi}$.

The following types occur on small silver coins in the British Museum, difficult to classify.

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 1. Obv. Prancing horse; \mathcal{R} . Taras on dolphin. | 15.6 grs. |
| 2. Obv. and \mathcal{R} . Two horse's heads, back to back. | 15.5 grs. |
| 3. Obv. Two horses heads, back to back \mathcal{R} . | |
| 4. Obv. Two horses' heads facing; \mathcal{R} . Two horses' heads side by side. | 14. gr. 2 |
| 5. Obv. and \mathcal{R} . Two horses' heads side by side. | |
| 6. Obv. Bow and club in circlet; \mathcal{R} . distaff in wreath. | |
| 7. Obv. Female head to r. \mathcal{R} . dolphin. | 10 grs. |
| 8. Obv. and \mathcal{R} . a table. | 10.8 grs. |
| 9. Obv. Head of Heracles; \mathcal{R} . a dolphin. | 5.5 grs. |
| 10. Obv. a crescent and \mathcal{R} . dots. | 3.5 grs. |
| 11. Obv. Vase and \mathcal{R} . a wreath. | 3.5 grs. |



Some of these coins bear two, three, or four dots and are therefore difficult to classify, in some cases they may be fractions of the litra, but it is now almost impossible to name them.

LITRÆ.

The word " litra " is said to be the Siculo-Greek form of the Latin " libra ".

Before the advent of the Greeks Sicily had possessed a standard of its own, based on the pound or " litra " of bronze, which both in Sicily and Italy was the standard metal of the native commerce.

The litra of bronze corresponded in value to about $13\frac{1}{2}$ grains troy of silver and therefore a silver coin of that weight was called a litra, or $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\varsigma$, whence the Romans derived their word nummus for the sestertius. The litra was not found to be of a weight capable of being harmonized with the early Aeginetan coinage, but when the Euboic-Attic standard was introduced the litra was used as equal to one-tenth of the didrachm weighing 135 grains. Although the Tarentine didrachms did not apparently ever weigh much more than 127 grains, the litra of the early period was kept of the old weight of 13.5 grains.

The story of the ancient coinage of Southern Italy illustrates the history of the races who struggled for the possession of that fair

land. The word *litra* is a memorial of the native races whose coinage was principally of bronze. The earliest Greek intruders were settlers who sailed from Chalcis in Euboea, and introduced the Aeginetic



Æ. *Litra*.

standard. Their first settlement was on the north shore of the bay of Naples, to this they gave the name *Cumae* after the *Cyme* in Euboea. In order to ensure a safe passage for their ships through the straits of Messina they established colonies on either side. The Aeginetic standard was not that of the port from which they sailed, but probably that most popular with the sea-faring Greeks of the islands using the port at Chalcis. This standard however was soon displaced by the Euboic Attic about the middle of the sixth century B.C. and it was not until this was introduced that the *litra* was used as a coin of weight proportionate to that standard.

On page 43 of Mr. G. F. Hill's "Coins of Ancient Sicily" a table is given shewing the proportion of the *litra* to the Euboic Attic coins of Sicily.

<i>Euboic Attic name</i>	<i>Sicilian name</i>	<i>Weight</i>
Decadrachm	50-litra piece	675 grains.
Tetradrachm	20-litra piece	270 —
Didrachm	10-litra piece	135 —
Drachm	5-litra piece	67.5 —
—	litra	13.5 —
Obol		11.5 —

Introduced in the middle of the sixth century B.C. to Syracuse.

The following is a comparison of the weights in grains.

	<i>Athens</i>	<i>Corinth</i>	<i>Tarentum</i>	<i>Italia</i>
Didrachm	134 grains	88 grains	125 grains	83 grains.
Drachm	67 —	43 —	62 —	41 —
Obol	11 —		10 —	

EARLY LITRAE.

The early *litrae* of Syracuse were marked by the *sepia* for type.

1. The earliest Tarentine *litrae* bore a cockle-shell on the Obverse, and a wheel with four spokes on the Reverse. The following are the weights of the specimens in the British Museum: 11.1 gr., 10.8, 11.6 grs.

A half-litra with the same types weighs 6.5 grs. Very small coins of this type weigh only 1.8 and 1.7 grains.

2. Obverse, same. Reverse. ΖΑΡΑΤ. Dolphin to r., beneath a cockle-shell, around, a plain border. Weight: 12.5 grs. Some examples of this type have ΤΑΡΑ, some shew Ζ below dolphin

others **Λ**, others **Μ**. The half-litrae of this type weigh 5.6 or 5.5 grs. Smaller coins weighing only 2.8 or 2.5 grs. bear the same type. Probably quarter-litrae.

3. Obverse. Cockle-shell with plain border.

Reverse. Head of Taras to r., hair tied in knot behind, in plain border.

Weights : 13.1, 10.8, 13.3, 11.4, 11, 8.9.

Half Litrae of this type weigh only 5.1.

4. Obverse. Cockle-shell.

Reverse. Head of Heracles to r., in lion's skin. 13.4 grs.

5. Obverse. Cockle-shell, plain border.

Reverse. Female head to l., diademed, hair rolled.

Weights : 10.6 grs., 10.3 (with head to r.).



REDUCED STANDARD.

6. Obverse. Cockle-shell, no border.

(a) Reverse. Taras nude, seated on dolphin to l., holding cornucopiae and palm; below, **ΦΙ**. This signature occurs during the period 344-302 on didrachms. Weight : 9.5 grs. Also Half-litrae 4.2 grs. same **ΦΙ**.

(b) Reverse. Taras nude seated sideways on dolphin to l., holding cantharos and cornucopiae **ΜΙ** and **Ρ**, Weight 9. grs.

(c) Reverse. Same, but distaff for cornucopiae; same letters; weight 9. grs.

7. Obverse. Shell.

Reverse. Dolphin to left; above, a Nike bearing wreath flying to left; 10.1 grains.

This type is found with the following symbols.

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Period</i>
Thunderbolt	9.9 grains	VII
Tripod	10. and 11. —	VI
Grapes ΑΓ	12 —	VI & VII
Cornucopiae	10.8 —	VI & VII
Amphora	8.3 —	VII
Elephant	8.7 —	VII
Spear head ΑΓ	12.5 —	VII
Cornucopiae and ΠΟ	9.6 —	VII
Owl ΗΗΠ	11.7 —	VIII
Owl Γ	10.1 —	VIII
Owl ΦΙ	9.5 —	VIII
Rose Ε	10. and 8 —	VIII

Barleycorn ΣY	11.1	—	VIII
Ægis of five sides	11.2	—	?
Ant Σ	11.4	—	?
Club ΔA	10.1	—	?

HALF LITRAE

Obv. Cockle-shell.

Rev. Dolphin to r. ; beneath, owl to right	4.9	grs.
— bee	6.1	
— aplustre	3.9	
— club ΔA	5.6	
— female head ΔI	3.7	
— ΦI	5.1	

The following notes on the Litrae of the Period 281-272 B.C. are taken from Dr. A. J. Evans' work on the 'Horsemen of Tarentum'.

Obverse. The usual scallop-shell.

Reverse. The dolphin, below which a figure of Pallas Promachos and the signature Δ .

The weight, 12 grains, corresponds to the standard of the didrachms of the full weight of about 120 grains.

Reduced Litrae weighing 8.7 grains.

Obv. Shell. Rev. Dolphin below with an elephant.

Nine-and-a-half grains would be the normal weight to correspond to the reduced didrachms, and this is the average weight of the litrae of the Tarentine deposit. The monogram \mathcal{R} found on some of these probably signifies the name Aristippos found on late didrachms.

Dr. A. J. Evans mentions litrae with other reverse types, as a bunch of grapes between the letters $A\Gamma$, a doe looking back, a spear-head, a hippocamp.

BRONZE COINAGE OF TARENTUM.

A few of the bronze coins of Tarentum are fairly common, but as only eleven types are known, it will be worth while to describe all the designs, and state what is generally known of their history. The bronze coins are for the most part very small, and unimportant in regard to their types, which are merely copies of those described on the silver coinage.

M. Sambon assigns the date of the introduction of Bronze coinage

at Tarentum to the year 330 B.C. His work is called “*Recherches sur les anciennes monnaies d’Italie méridionale*” and was published in Naples in 1863.

This date 330 B.C. would be about four years after the arrival of Alexander the Molossian at Tarentum. Dr Head in the *Hist. Num.*, p. 56, puts the date at about 300 B.C.; this would mean soon after the arrival of Cleonymos from Sparta.

M. Michel. P. Vlasto in an article in the *Journal international d’archéologie numismatique*, t. XII, 1899, p. 1, ascribes the earliest bronze coinage to 281 B.C., that is, to the rule of Pyrrhus: this decision is the result of his study of the morphology and epigraphy of the coinage. M. Vlasto considers that the model from which the head of Zeus was taken was that of the gold coins of Alexander of Epirus.

If we attentively compare the bronze coins with the gold coins struck by Pyrrhus we shall find the style of these remarkably similar to that of the bronze coins.

From the style of the latest bronze coins we shall see that the issue of this series was continued to the year 209 B.C., when the city was deprived of its wealth, and fell into the hands of the Romans.

TYPE I. 281 B.C. SIZE $\frac{3}{4}$ INCH.

(a) Obv. Head of Zeus crowned with laurel, to right.

Rev. TARANTINΩN. Victory standing to right clothed in a chiton holding in her right hand a fulmen, and in her left a fold of her dress, and lightly touching the base of the fulmen.

(b) Obv. Same with border of dots around.

Rev. Same figure, but holding with both hands a crown of laurel.

(c) Obv. Same as (b) but of less sober style.

Rev. Victory standing to right crowning a trophy with her right hand, and holding a fold of her dress with her left.

(d) Obv. Same as (c).

Rev. Same, but holding in her two hands a shield which she is fixing on a trophy to left.

The head of Zeus on these coins may be considered one of the finest of the art conceptions of this period. The figure of Victory holding the symbol of the Epirote prince, the fulmen, is an evidence of the gratitude of the Tarentines to Pyrrhus for his aid. The figure is treated with delicacy and taste.

The series marked (c) and (d) were probably issued during the later time of the rule of Pyrrhus for they show a deterioration in

style similar to that noticeable on the didrachms of that later period.

The design of the Victory is seen also on coins of the Bruttii and may have been copied from the beautiful tetradrachm of Agathocles which may be seen illustrated on p. 159, fig. 107 of D^r Head's *Hist. num.*

TYPE II. 281-272 B.C., SIZE $\frac{5}{16}$ INCH.

Obv. Head of Pallas wearing a Corinthian helmet to r.; the helmet is ornamented with a winged hippocamp.

Rev. Heracles standing, nude, on the right, strangling the Nemean lion on the left; in the field sometimes a club, and **TAPAN**.

TYPE III. SIZE $\frac{3}{4}$ INCH.

Obv. Head of Pallas wearing a Corinthian helmet to right; the helmet is decorated with a griffin; border of dots around.

Rev. Heracles seated nude to left on a rock with the skin of the lion thrown over his knees, holding in his right hand a diota, and in his left a club; in the field of some, the letters **ΦΙ**, on others **EY**, and **TAPANTINΩN**.

FROM ABOUT 212-209 B.C.

Obv. Head of Pallas wearing a plain Corinthian helmet and without the border of dots around.

Rev. Same design but in rougher style, with **TARANTI** in exergue, and a bow behind the hero.

The Reverse of this third type is similar to that of the beautiful silver didrachms of Croton issued about 390 B.C., and although Heracles is represented on the diobols of Tarentum in a great variety of positions, it is only on a few very rare coins he appears in repose; this type may be a copy of these rare diobols. The legend **EY** and **ΦΙ** may show that the didrachms of this same period thus signed may be from the same mint office.

TYPE IV. 281-272 B.C. SIZE FULL $\frac{1}{2}$ INCH.

Obv. A diota between the letters **TA** on the left, and a bucranium on the right.

Rev. A diota between two stars of eight rays. The diota is also found on a series of obols of the same period. The two stars doubtless show that the diota refers to the constellation called the

Crater, or to the Dioscuri whose cult was very popular in Tarentum. The bucranium is found on didrachms of the same period.

TYPE V. 281-272 B.C. SIZE NEARLY $\frac{1}{6}$ INCH.

Obv. Helmeted head of Pallas to right, border of dots around.
Rev. Two crescents back to back, in the field four dots.

This Reverse design also appears to have reference to astronomic symbolism and the four globules or dots may be meant to signify stars. This design also appears on silver hemilitræ.

TYPE VI. 281-228 B.C. NEARLY $\frac{3}{8}$ INCH.

Obv. Shell.

Rev. Taras to left on dolphin holding in right hand a diota, and in his left a cornucopiae, on some specimens in the field under the dolphin **B** (a letter which appears also on a didrachm of Period VII, **TAPAN**).

TYPE VII. 281-228 B.C. $\frac{7}{10}$ NEARLY HALF-AN-INCH

Obv. Shell.

Rev. Two dolphins swimming to right, side by side. These are the most common, and appear to have had a long popularity. The style of their fabric is rough.

TYPE VIII. 212-209 B.C.

Obv. Shell.

Rev. Mollusc.

TYPE IX. 212-209 B.C. SIZE A LITTLE UNDER $\frac{1}{6}$ INCH.

Obv. Forepart of a winged hippocamp to right.

Rev. Forepart of a horse, bridled, to right.

TYPE X. 212-209 B.C. SIZE $\frac{3}{8}$ INCH.

Obv. Head of Pallas to right in Corinthian helmet.

Rev. Diota, and to left a leaf of ivy.

TYPE XI. 212-209 B.C.

Obv. Bust of Artemis with quiver. (?)

Rev. Star and crescent, **TA** in field.

The rough fabric of these four last types is that of the period indicated, and is similar to the style seen on the silver coins of that date.

METAPONTUM

Metapontum, the rival of Tarentum, the last home of Pythagoras, no longer exists, yet the coins which once were current in her corn markets may still be seen in all their beauty of workmanship, recalling the words of Théophile Gautier:

Tout passe, l'Art robuste
Seul a l'éternité ;
Le buste
Survit à la cité.

The beautiful heads on some of these coins also recall the lines of Hérédia in "Les trophées" :

Le temps passe, tout meurt, le marbre même s'use.
Agrigente n'est plus qu'une ombre, et Syracuse
Dort sous le bleu linceul de son ciel indulgent,

Et seul le dur métal que l'amour fit docile,
Garde encore en sa fleur, aux médailles d'argent,
L'immortelle beauté des vierges de Sicile.

Although these silver portraits are idealized they show that the maidens of Metapontum, Neapolis, and other Italian cities were as beautiful as those of Sicily, whose artist Kimon wrought also in S. Italy.



As Athenian coins are known by the owl, and those of Aegina by the tortoise, so the coins of Metapontum are known rather by the ear of barley, than by the heads of her maidens. As we have seen the coins of Tarentum associated with Archytas and the mercenaries who in vain tried to defend her, so we find the coins

of Metapontum associated with Pythagoras, his followers Lysis and Philolaos, and the same mercenaries.

The religious cults of Metapontum to which the coins give evidence are those of Demeter and Apollo: and the early myths to which they witness are those of Heracles, and the refugees from Troy.

The artistic merit of this series is considerable, many of the artists being the same as those who wrought in the mint at Tarentum, the variety in design is also greater than in the work of the Tarentine mint-engravers. Before sketching briefly the history of the city, the account given of the city by Strabo is here inserted, because, however tedious it may be, it is the ancient source of much of our knowledge, and few will be content to leave it unread.

STRABO LIB. VI I. § 15.

“Next in order is Metapontum at a distance of 140 stadia from the seaport of Heraclea. It is said to be a settlement of the Pylians at the time of their return from Ilium under Nestor; their success in agriculture was so great that it is said they offered at Delphi a golden harvest: they adduce as a proof of this foundation the offerings of the dead sacrificed periodically to the Neleïdæ; but it was destroyed by the Samnites (“it” may refer either to the city or the sacrifice). Antiochus says that certain Achæans who had been sent for by the Achæans of Sybaris settled in this place when it had been desolated; he adds that these were sent for on account of the hatred of the Achæans to the Tarentini, who had originally migrated from Laconia, in order to prevent their seizing upon the place which lay adjacent to them. Of the two cities, viz. Metapontum which was situated the nearer [and Siris the further] from Tarentum, the newcomers preferred to occupy Metapontum. This choice was suggested by the Sybarites because if they should make good their settlement there, they would also possess Siris, but if they were to turn to Siris, Metapontum would be annexed to the territory of the Tarentines which was conterminous.

“But after being engaged in war with the Tarentini and the Oenotrians, who dwelt beyond them, they came to an agreement, securing to them a portion of land which should constitute the boundary between Italy, as it then existed, and Iapygia.

“This, too, is the locality which tradition assigns to the adventures of Metapontus, the captive Melanippe, and her son Bocotus.

“Antiochus is of opinion that the city Metapontum was originally called Metabum, and that its name was altered at a subsequent period; and that Melanippe was not entertained here but at Dius, and thinks that the heroine, — as well as the testimony of the poet

Asius, 'the beautiful Melanippe in the hall of Dius bare Boeotus', — afford proof that she was led to Dius and not to Metabum.

“Ephorus says that Daulius, the tyrant of Crissa near Delphi, was the founder of Metapontum.

“There is however another tradition, that Leucippus was sent by the Achaeans to help to found the colony, and having asked permission of the Tarentini to have the place for a day and a night, would not give it up, replying by day to those who asked it of him that he had asked and obtained it till the following night, and when asked by night he said that he held it till the coming day”.

“The golden harvest” might mean a sum of coins bearing the ear of barley.

The Neleïdæ were the twelve sons of Neleus, of whom all except Nestor were slain by Heracles, the rites referred to were those to the dead brethren. Confer Homer, *Il.*, XI, 690. Pausanias, II, 18, § 7, IV, 3 § 3.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

A study of the history of Metapontum like that of all the Greek cities must be preceded by that of legends leading us back into a prehistoric past. Those of the cities of Magna Graecia all point to a very early connection between South Italy and Greece beginning in the time of heroes and demi-gods.

The eastern Greeks related the legends of the Argonauts, the western those of Heracles and the heroes who returned from the Trojan war. The legends of the West handed down to us by Antiochus, Ephorus, Strabo, and Diodorus are interesting to numismatists on account of the representations of Heracles, the altar to Apollo, and the head of Leucippus on the coins of Metapontum.

At the western end of the plain which extends from the territory of the Tarentines to the western mountains which overhang the sea just where the gulf turns to the south we find the few Doric columns which are all that remain of the ancient city of Metapontum. The city once stood on a fertile plain between two rivers; that on the east, called the Casuentus, flows deep and slow across the plain, that on the west, the Bradanus, rushes irregularly like a mountain torrent, sometimes losing itself in marshes, sometimes running between steep banks. The primitive inhabitants are said to have been Pelasgians called Oenotrians, who mingled peaceably with the earliest Greek settlers. The name by which their city was known in the days of Homer was Alybas; it is mentioned in the catalogue in the second book of the *Iliad* (856), where we read how

“Hodius and Epistrophus led the Alizonians from distant Alybas whence silver is derived”. In the last book of the *Odyssey* also we read that Odysseus claimed to have “come from Alybas where he dwelt in glorious halls”.

Eustathius in his scholia says “Alybas is Metapontum, a city of Italy mentioned in the catalogue in *Iliad* B 857”.

The old name Alybas was changed to Metabos from which the Greeks derived the name Metapontum, by which it was afterwards known. The name Alybas is associated with the legends of Heracles who is said to have visited it on his return with the oxen of Geryon. The story is told by Apollodorus (II, 5 10) who relates that during the time of the visit of Heracles a son was born to Alybas and named Metabos in reference to the oxen brought back by the hero.

Lenormant considers that the name Alybas is probably derived from a root signifying a personification of Malaria, and that the name is a reminiscence of the struggles of the early settlers with that disease before the draining and culture of the plain had rendered it habitable.

The same writer thinks the grasshopper on so many of the coins is a reference to a destructive power, and that the word “Alybas” was used to signify a grasshopper. The Oenotrians had apparently traded only with Sicily and had never attempted the voyage to Corinth.

GREEK LEGENDS.

When we turn from the Italian to the Greek legends we first come to that of Melanippe told by Diodorus (IV, 67) which also formed the subject of a lost play by Euripides. This fair daughter of Aeolus was loved by Poseidon and fled to Metapontum to escape the ire of her father. There she found refuge with Metabos and gave birth to twins, sons of Poseidon, who were adopted by the Italian hero. One of these founded a state in the Æolian isles now called Lipari, and the other, Boiotes, returned to Greece and gave his name to Boeotia (Pausanias, IX, 1. 1).

It is a transitional myth embodying Pelagic and Greek ideas. More thoroughly Greek is the myth of Acheloüs described in the chapters on the coins of Neapolis. It is illustrated by a coin of Metapontum on which we see the River-god, and read an inscription having reference to the games held there in his honour.

Lenormant associates the name with the Greek legend of those who escaped from Troy, on account of there having been a river Acheloüs in Triphylia which ran down from mount Lyceus.

The dispersion of the Trojan chiefs is the subject of many legends among the Greek cities of South Italy.

In Metapontum the citizens shewed in the temple of Athene Hellenia the very tools with which Epeios had made the wooden horse at Troy, and yearly sacrifices were made in honour of the sons of Neleus (Justin, XX). They reported that a band of Pyliaus, who had followed Nestor to Troy, had settled in their city after the war.

The date of the foundation of the Greek city appears to have been about 700 to 690 B. C. and therefore these legends connected with Troy can hardly contain any truth, but the legend told by Ephorus related by Strabo that the founders came from Crissa near Delphi may be more true, for Crissa was powerful at that time.

About the year 670 B. C. the ancient city of Metabos was destroyed in one of the raids of the mountain tribes, perhaps as Strabo says, by the Sabines.

The site was too valuable to be left long unoccupied and was coveted both by the Achaeans of Sybaris on the west and by the Dorians of Tarentum on the east.

In 668 B. C. Leucippus led hither a band of Achaeans fleeing from the Peloponnesus after the second Messenian war. The stratagem of Leucippus has been told by Strabo, and his ruse ended in a fight in which the Achaeans gained such advantages that the Dorians fixed the border of their lands at the river Bradanus and the men who had been conquered at Ira had their revenge in Italy.

The earliest mint in Metapontum is thought to have been inaugurated about 550 B. C., that is, about a hundred and eighteen years after this settlement of the Achaean colony.

The next event in the story of the city is the union of Croton, Sybaris, and Metapontum to destroy the Ionian city Siris in 510 B. C.

During the sack of the city fifty youths were slain with the priest in the temple of Athene Polias. The image is said to have turned from the slaughter. The civil discords, the diseases and troubles, which followed this war made men think they were being punished for this desecration of a temple.

The men of Croton sent to Delphi to enquire what they should do, and obeyed the reply ordering them to make statues of the youths slaughtered, and of the goddess. The men of Metapontum did the same. The Sybarites however did not obey the oracle and suffered accordingly.

The next event recorded was the coming of Pythagoras to Metapontum soon after the fall of Siris. The citizens welcomed the philosopher with great respect, his house they called a temple of Demeter, and the street in which he lived was renamed the street of the Muses. He was even regarded as an incarnation of Apollo.

His enemies however pursued him from Croton, and he died in the burning of his house. Aristeas, his pupil, who carried on his teaching, was venerated with a similar superstition, as we may see from the story in Herodotus (IV 15) of his having followed Apollo in the form of a crow. The men of Metapontum, on his death or disappearance, sent to Delphi, and they, in obedience to the Pythian oracle, erected in their forum a statue of Aristeas near that of Apollo, with bronze laurels around, which were thought to possess a supernatural power.

Aristeas wishing to introduce at Metapontum the cult of Apollo maintained before the citizens that he was formerly Aristeas Proconnesus, son of Ceystrobius, famous for his transformations.

The story is thus told by Herodotus (IV, 15). "The Metapontines say, that Aristeas himself, having appeared in their country, exhorted them to erect an altar to Apollo, and to place it near a statue bearing the name of Aristeas the Proconnesian; for he said, that Apollo has visited their country only of all the Italians, and that he himself, who was now Aristeas, accompanied him; and that when he went with the god he was a crow; and after saying this he vanished.

"The Metapontines say they sent to Delphi to enquire of the god what the apparition of the man meant, and the Pythian bade them obey, for, if they obeyed, it would be to their advantage; they accordingly having received this answer fulfilled the injunctions. And now a statue bearing the name of Aristeas is placed near the image of Apollo, and around it laurels are planted: the image is placed in the public square. Thus much concerning Aristeas."

The legend is interesting to us because it is illustrated by the Reverse types of coins.

Atheneus relates that a mysterious voice came forth from the brazen laurels in 354 B. C., when the Thessalian courtesan Pharsalia, the mistress of Phayllus, one of the Phocian chiefs, brother of Onomarchus, in the third sacred war, came to Metapontum and dared to present herself in public with her brow crowned with a golden laurel-wreath which had been stolen in the pillage of the Temple of Delphi (Diod., XVI, 35-38-61; Pausan., X, 46). The young men around her, excited by the desecration, slew her in the market place. Plutarch says, in *de Pythiae Oraculis* VIII, as she was dancing before the altar of Apollo her golden crown fell, and was immediately scrambled for by the young men in the market place, and she was slain in the struggle which followed.

480-350 B.C.

From 480 B.C. for a period of a hundred and thirty years the city grew in wealth and power and the flourishing state of art may be seen in the beautiful types of the coinage issued during the last fifty years of this period. In 473 B.C. the neighbouring Tarentines were defeated by the Lucanians. In 415 the men of Metapontum assisted the Athenians by sending three hundred archers and two triremes with the Athenian leaders Demosthenes and Eurymedon to Syracuse. It was probably during this period that the citizens sent the "golden harvest" to Delphi. The aristocratic rule of the Pythagorean brotherhood came to an end during this period, when Lysis and Philolaos escaped to Greece. Philolaos was a contemporary of Socrates, who was born 468 B.C., and died in 399 B.C. Lysis went to Thebes and became the teacher of Epaminondas.

When the power of Athens was broken in 413 B.C. at Syracuse the citizens of Metapontum, missing the support on which they had trusted, gradually lost their independence. The power of Tarentum where Archytas was reigning from 380 to 345 B.C. increased.

In 356 B.C. the Bruttii rose into a powerful state and made inroads upon the lands of the Greek cities, from which the Tarentines were unable to defend them. The Greeks were so weakened by their quarrels and their luxurious style of living that the old Federal League was powerless.



350 to 330 B.C.

About 350 B.C. the head of Leucippus appeared upon the obverse of the staters. It was probably a sign of the appeal of the citizens to the mother-country for help. Leucippus was the legendary leader of the Achaean colonists who arrived in 668 B.C., more than three hundred years before.

In 344 B.C. the Tarentines called for the help of Archidamus, the Spartan king, who landed in Tarentum in 338 B.C. and died fighting the Menapians that same year. In 334 B.C. the Molossian

Alexander, king of Epirus, the brother of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, arrived and was more successful, he defeated the Samnites and Lucanians at Paesum, and settled in Heracleia until his death in 330 B. C.

During this period we see that the same artists who issued coins in Tarentum also worked at Metapontum; for instance, we find the signature **K** or **KA** on coins of both cities.

330 to 250 B. C.

This was the period of the decline of art in the mint of Tarentum; the coins bearing a head of Persephone with flowing hair behind her back are of a style very inferior to that of the earlier periods.

In 281 B. C. the standard of weight was reduced at Tarentum, but the staters of Metapontum of this period still weigh from 119 to 126 grains.

In 302 B. C. Cleonymus came from Sparta to assist in the war against the Lucanians, but did little to help the cause; he died in 288 B. C.

In 283 B. C. the Tarentines destroyed the Roman fleet and were obliged to call in the help of Pyrrhus, a cousin of Alexander. In 278 B. C. he went to Sicily, where he remained two years, and then returned through Metapontum to Tarentum, and in 264 left Italy. The Roman power was gradually prevailing, and in 272 they defeated the Lucanians. The Metapontines lent active support to Pyrrhus, but we have no account of the precise date when they passed under the yoke of Rome. They were among the first to join Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ (Livy XXII, 61).

Hannibal occupied Metapontum until the defeat at Metaurus compelled him to leave the city, when he took with him the inhabitants to save them from the vengeance of Rome.

The city never recovered from that blow, but it continued to exist, for Cicero visited it (*de Fin.* V, 2). Pausanias (VII, 19) tells us the city was in ruins in his day, and after that it appears to have disappeared.

The only inhabited spot on the plain is the Torre di Mare opposite a small lagoon, once the port of the famous city.

TYPES.

THE EAR OF BARLEY.

An ear of barley was no doubt chosen as the coin-type of Metapontum on account of the abundant barley harvests grown in the fertile plain around the city, and the choice may be compared

with that made in many other cities in which a natural product was thus chosen, as for instance the mussel-shell at Cumæ, the wine-jar at Naxos, the celery at Selinus, the cow at Euboea, the sepia at Coresia, and the silphium at Cyrenaica. When however a symbol is found united with the head of a deity to whom that symbol is appropriate, we naturally infer that some religious influence was present to the minds of the mint magistrates who chose the symbol.

The head of Demeter is frequently found on the obverse of these Metapontine coins. Some writers consider the name Demeter to be connected with the root from which the Cretan word for Barley was derived, $\delta\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\iota$.

The verb $\delta\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\iota$ signifies to feed, hence the name Demeter is most appropriate to the divinity providing food for mankind. The myth of Demeter was introduced into Sicily and Southern Italy by colonists from Megara and Corinth at a very early date; the poems of Hesiod which celebrate this myth were old even then, and must have been well-known in Magna Graecia. Pindar also in his first Nemean Ode had already sung of Demeter and "Sicily the fertile, the best land in all the fruitful earth".

Pliny, in the eighteenth book of his *Natural History*, (c. vii), speaks of barley as the most ancient food of mankind, and among the ancient lake dwellings in Switzerland, belonging to the stone period, three varieties of barley have been found, among which is the small six-rowed barley "*Hordeum hexastichum sanctum*" which is the variety represented on the coins.

Pliny quotes Menander as the authority for the statement that the gladiators of Athens were fed upon this food, and from that fact were called "*hordearii*". Various methods of preparing barley for food are given in the above-quoted passage of Pliny.

Although, from its want of gluten, barley cannot be made into loaves like wheaten bread, still it is highly nutritious, the salts it contains having a high proportion of phosphoric acid, and hence it was fairly good food for the athletes of Crotona and Metapontum.

It seems strange to us modern men that athletes should have trained on barley food, if wheat could have been obtained, but an article in the *Journal of the R. Agric. Society* seems to prove the ears on the coins are not those of wheat but of barley. Confer p. 194 of III. Series of the *Journal of the R. Agricultural Society of England*, Vol. XI., part. II. On p. 195 are two illustrations showing the similarity of the barley on the coins of Metapontum with the wide-eared six-rowed barley *H. hexastichum* (var. *pyramidatum keke*).

Another illustration shews a coin of Camulodunum (Colchester) bearing a similar ear of barley but less accurately rendered. "We

have received from Dr Hans Schinz of the University of Zürich a paper by the late Professor Oswald Heer, which contains a number of most carefully executed figures of ears and grains of barley found by him when excavating the lake dwellings of Robenhausen" — "Barley is almost without doubt the oldest of our cultivated plants."

According to Haeckel, one of the latest monographers on wheat, the ancient Swiss lake dwellers cultivated spelt wheat with bearded grains, and this kind of wheat was also cultivated by the ancient Egyptians, and was common throughout the Roman empire.

THE HEAD OF PERSEPHONE.

It was not merely as the daughter of Demeter that Persephone was so frequently represented on the coins of Metapontum, but rather as the queen of Hades, "the house of Persephone", as Homer calls that abode of the departed. *Odys*, K. 491).

As one of the *θεοὶ γήενης* she was worshipped by the Greeks of Southern Italy, and especially in this city.

The myth of her marriage with Pluto, and her reign in Hades, was intimately connected with the barley culture on the plains near the city. Her story was a beautiful allegory of the immortality of the soul, and it can hardly have been unknown to St Paul when he wrote "that which thou thyself sowest is not quickened except it die" (1 Cor. XV, 36). The apostle may have taken the idea from his Master's words (S. John, XII, 24). "Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone, but if it die it beareth much fruit."

That the story was thus interpreted by the Greeks we see from the representations of Persephone on the sepulchral monuments, and from the reports of the Mysteries.

Among the initiated into the Mysteries she was regarded as the mother of Iacchus, whose image appears so often on the didrachms of Tarentum.

M. F. Lenormant in his work "La Grande Grèce" suggests that this cult of the *θεοὶ γήενης* may have been so much thought of because malaria was prevalent on the low-lying plain, and the goddess was regarded not only as reigning below, but having power to save those who were still on earth, an idea which is supported by the epithets found, as legends, together with her head.

Even the shadow of death was treated beautifully by the Greeks, and the bright side of the cult to which the epithets refer, and to which Shelley refers in his "Song of Proserpine", was not forgotten by the men who used the coins bearing these beautiful

heads. The story is generally taught us at school from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid (Lib. V) and from the fourth book of his *Fasti*.

THE GRASSHOPPER.

Among the creatures which resemble grasshoppers our English farmers recognize one species, the Mole cricket, *Gryllo talpa vulgaris*, as an enemy to their crops. These crickets lead a subterranean life burrowing among, and feeding upon the roots of the corn plants, especially when they are very young, when they somewhat resemble black ants. Some creature of this kind is represented on the leaf of the barley on the Reverse of these coins, and if it was not a mere ornament, its symbolism was probably that of a destructive power. M. Lenormant thinks there is a similar reference to the destructive power of malaria in the name *Alybas*, and asserts, but without giving any reference or proof, that grasshoppers were called by that name. Confer *La Grande Grèce*, p. 128, “car le mot *alibas* est quelquefois employé en grec pour désigner une sauterelle.” Another destructive creature, a mouse, is sometimes seen under the ear of barley.

LEUCIPPUS.

This name was popular among the Greeks; no less than fifteen different personages called Leucippus figure in Roscher's *Lexicon*. The name on the coins of Metapontum is generally associated with the leader of the Achaeans mentioned in Strabo's account of the city, and is the ninth person treated by Roscher, who does not mention any other author as giving this name to the leader in question. Mr. R. H. Klausen in his work published in 1839 “*Aeneas und die Penaten*” (p. 459) says that he regards the hero represented on our coins to be identical with Diomedes, and considers the attribution of the name to the leader of the Achaeans to involve a chronological error. Klausen however assumes that the head on the coins represents a founder of the city, and hence his idea that the hero belongs to an earlier date than the Achaean settlement.

The legends of the Trojan host were familiar at Metapontum, and especially those connected with the Pylans, moreover Diomedes was held in great honour in Southern Italy, for statues of that hero were erected at Argyripa, Metapontum, Thurii and in other cities.

His armour is said to have been preserved in a temple of Athene at Luceria in Apulia, and a gold chain of his was shown in a temple of Artemis in Peucetia. In the neighbouring city, Tarentum, the Dioscuri were held in honour, and they were sometimes called Leucippoi.

In Pindar's sixth Olympian ode "white steeds" are connected with the festival of the daughter of Demeter; white steeds are emblems of other mythical heroes also, as, for instance, the white-horsed Cadmeans in Pindar and the "white steeds" in the palace of the sire of Jason (P. IX and P. IV).

The name is so vague that it is even possible to imagine it may have been connected with the cult of Apollo who was called *Λύκειος* or *Λυκηγγενής* (*Il.*, IV, 101, 119). The subject has not yet been treated with sufficient research to enable us to feel sure as to the meaning attributed to the type by the men of Metapontum.

APOLLO.

The figure of Apollo appears upon the staters issued between 480-400 B. C.; he is represented as standing to left, nude, and holding a laurel bough or tree in his right hand, and a bow in his left.

On some varieties an altar is added to the type.

Another type represents the god seated wearing the chlamys and playing the lyre, before him a laurel-tree. Later, between 400-350 B. C., his head appears on the obverse, with the letters **ΑΠΟΛΛ**.

The worship of this deity is said to have been introduced to Southern Italy by the philosopher Pythagoras in 530 B. C., some fifty years before the earliest of these coins bearing the image of Apollo were struck. The choice of the type was made by members of his school about a generation after the death of their founder. The men of Croton regarded him as either the son of the Hyperborean Apollo or as identical with that god.

The joy and health of that mythical race of Hyperboreans in whom Apollo took special delight is celebrated in Pindar's ode *Pyth. X.* Their land was situated in the north and was thought to be rich in gold guarded by griffins, and it may be in reference to this idea that the moneyers of Metapontum placed a griffin as a symbol on the reverse of some of their coins. Pythagoras apparently believed in a god who was above all the gods of Greek mythology, and Müller thinks the cult of Apollo was not connected with nature-worship.

If this Apollo was "the averter of evil" *Ἀπέλαων* whose worship was transplanted from Delphi to Crete, his cult would have been in harmony with the ideas of the Metapontines expressed by M. Lenormant concerning the averting of Malaria by Alybas.

The bow in his hand is evidence of his connection with the Apollo of Crete, the laurel-bough of connection with Delphi. Pythagoras gave to S. Italy the highest and noblest of the cults of

the Greeks. From Aelian, Diogenes Laertius, and Iamblicus we learn that the initiation of members into the celebrated brotherhood was connected with the rites of the worship of Apollo.

APOLLO THE SHEPHERD.

The head of a youth, wearing a head-dress adorned with a ram's horns, seen on coins of Metapontum, is thought by some to represent Apollo as the protector of flocks and herds. Homer relates in the *Iliad* (XXI 488) how Zeus commanded Apollo to tend the cattle of Laomedon in the valleys of Mount Ida, and in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes the herds of the gods are spoken of as under his care. The story of his care of cattle is told in the opening lines of the play "*Alcestis*" by Euripides.



Pindar refers to this myth of Apollo in his ninth Pythian ode, in which he says the son of that god by Libya shall be "a holy Apollo, a most ready help to men, whom he loves, and a tender of sheep; so that some shall call him Agreus, and Nomius, and others Aristaeus". Virgil sang of the "pastor Aristaeus" (*Georg.* IV 317). In another place Virgil sang of Apollo as a shepherd; the third *Georgic* begins "Te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus Pastor ab Amphryso". The coins bearing this head adorned with the ram's horns bring these and other like passages to mind.

HERACLES.

About the same time that the figure of Apollo was represented standing nude with the laurel-bough, the mint magistrates issued didrachms bearing the figure of Heracles standing nude with club over his shoulder, and others with that hero sacrificing at an altar. They are thought to have been issued about 480 B.C. That was the period when the first change was made in the types which had before then consisted only of the ear of barley.

Some of the magistrates desired to commemorate the ancient myths of the city, while others wished to bring before the people the new cult of Apollo. The myth of Heracles visiting Metapontum on his return from the far west, whence he had brought the oxen

of Geryon, was told by Diodorus Siculus in the days of Augustus, and his work is our only authority for the legend. Homer and Hesiod do not relate the story of the twelve labours, and the selection of this number is probably the work of Alexandrians. Euripides, who was born about 480 B.C. mentions them; they must therefore have been known before he wrote of them as well-known legends.

ACHELOÛS.

About the same time that the nude figures of Apollo and Heracles appeared on the staters of Metapontum, another type recalled the myths of the earliest colonists. The rivers Bradanus and Casuentus enclosing the plain belonging to the city were by the earliest inhabitants regarded as under the influence of a river deity called by the Greek name Achelöus. The reference to the old country is noted in the section on Achelöus in the chapter on the coins of Neapolis.

Obv. **META**. Ear of barley.

Rev. The river Achelöus in human form, bearded, and with bull's horns and ears, standing facing, holding patera and long reed. Legend **ΑΥΕΛΩΖΩ ΑΕΛΩΩΗ**. Sometimes a dolphin in the field. Stater.

The legend shows that games were held in honour of this river-god at Metapontum as at Neapolis. These coins are very rare, the British Museum possesses no specimen; one may be seen at Paris.

ZEUS.

A beautiful head of Zeus appears on some didrachms of the period of fine art, 400-350 B.C.; sometimes with the legend **ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ**.

Zeus was regarded as the brother of Demeter, and the father of Persephone, by some ancient authors, and also of Apollo by Leto, hence we are not surprised to find his head on the coinage generally devoted to the honour of his sister and wife, or his children.

The legend **ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ** meant probably to describe Zeus as the bountiful freely-giving one. Aristotle's Ethics Nice. IV 1.1. Zen. Symp. IV 15. and in this sense the epithet was most suitable for the husband of Demeter, the giver of corn.

ZEUS AMMON.

A bearded head like those of Zeus Ammon appears on Hectæ or Sixths-Staters of the period between 400-350 B.C.

It was apparently issued at the same time as those hectæ which

bear the youthful head with ram's horns. If we are right in regarding this horned and bearded head on the hectae as that of Zeus Ammon we may infer that in Metapontum, where the myths of Heracles were received with reverence, the legend of Heracles calling upon Zeus when athirst, and being shewn where to dig for water by a ram scraping the sand, was well known, and was celebrated on these coins. For the legend, confer Servius *ad Aen.* IV, 196, p. 680 Ed 1680. If the idea came from Greece rather than from Egypt it refers to another legend relating to this form of head-dress as told by Herodotus (II 42). Heracles wanted to see Zeus, who cut off a ram's head, and held it before his face, holding the skin over his body and thus appeared to the hero.

Some think Pythagoras brought some of his teaching from Egypt; at any rate this symbol is one which may imply a knowledge of the Egyptian legend.

Eckhel (*Doctrin. num. vet.* l. I, p. 155) says the type of Zeus Ammon should not surprise us when found on the coins of Metapontum since the Eleans honoured this god with special veneration.

Herodotus (lib. II) says his rites were introduced by an Egyptian priestess and Pausanias (lib Vc. 15) writes of this cult among the Eleans. At Thebes in Boeotia was a temple of Ammon with a statue dedicated by Pindar. (Paus. IX, c 16).

NIKE.

Some staters issued between 330 and 300 B.C. bear **NIKA**, a female head to left, wearing stephanos adorned with olive-wreath, ending in two broad ribbon ends; in front of the neck, Σ. The reverse is the normal ear of barley, &c. In the Brit. Museum Catalogue no. 136 a specimen of these coins is called "Head of Nike".

Another specimen (no 141) is catalogued "NIKA, Head of Nike, r., wearing sphendone tied in front, ornamented behind with three stars, earring and necklace."

The olive-wreath suggests the attribution of these heads to Νίκη Ἀθηναία mentioned in Sophocles' play Philoctetes (134) "Victory Athene patroness of cities who ever protects me be our guide".

Athene is invoked as ὃ πρότυχα Νίκῃ in the Ion. of Euripides (457) and Aristophanes mentions the same goddess in line 326, of the Lysistrata.

Does this type really offer us a representation of the goddess Victory, or is it a head of Nike Athene, or may the epithet Victorious be applied to Persephone, who by returning yearly to the light obtains a victory over death? If this last may be received it is parallel with the epithet ΨΥΓΙΕΙΑ used also of Athene.

This legend **NIKA** is read by the Duc de Luynes as signifying the goddess of Victory, and he notes that it was common among the Bruttians and in Lucania. The question arises, are we to read the legend in reference to games or to war?

As success in war is not recorded at about the time of the issue of this coin it may probably have had reference to the Athletic contests which were so important in the eyes of the Pythagorean brethren.

HYGIEIA.

Hygieia probably means in this legend the health-giver; this title was not only the name of the daughter of Æsculapius but was used as an epithet for Athene; confer Pausanias L XXIII, 4. "But near the statue of Dytrephe there are statues of the gods, viz. one of Hygieia, the reputed daughter of Æsculapius, and another of Athene, who is likewise called Hygieia". In the Eumenides of Æschylus, 535, ed. Dindorf, we read of ὑγίεια φρεσῶν as a name of Athene.

On these coins the title appears with a head of Persephone, and was appropriate in a land where malaria was dreaded, and where this goddess was also called Σωτηρίς.

In the British Museum Catalogue (no 62) is a specimen of a stater bearing the legend **HYGIEIA** on the base of the neck, and the head is called a head of Hygieia.

ARISTE.

No specimen of a stater bearing this legend is in the British Museum but in the *Zeit. für Num.*, II, 2 an example is recorded. The title was often applied to Zeus as in Homer II., T. 19, 258). If we may regard the legend as applied to Persephone, it will be in harmony with the use of the verb in Pindar's first Nemean Ode, 20, ἀριστέβροισαν εὐκάρπου γθρόνης "fairest and best of all fruitful lands".

HOMONOIA.

Does this signify the idea expressed by the Latin Concordia or is it an epithet expressive of an ideal condition of mind aimed at by the Pythagorean brotherhood, and attributed to the goddess who was the guardian of the city?

As the other epithets found on these coins seem to express some influence of the goddess Persephone, it seems unlikely that we have in the head on this coin a representation of a distinct deity or impersonification such as we find on the Roman coinage of the Empire.

If we may think of ἑμονοία as a synonym for ἀρμονία which was

used in the sense of a union, or covenant, by Homer (Il., 22, 255), and in the sense of a harmonious system of government by Aeschylus (Prom. 551) and in the sense of the harmony of the body by Hippocrates and others, we should have a sense in which the Pythagoreans would have been most likely to use the word. The word suggests the ideal of the Brotherhood founded by the great teacher of the city.

SOTERIA.

Σωτήρ was an epithet often applied to the gods, as in Aeschylus (Supp. 982) "the Olympian gods are our saviours", Sophocles (Phil. 738) "that they (the gods) may come as our saviours". Above all it was especially used of Zeus, as in Pindar (Olym. Ode V, 39), "Zeus guardian god that sittest high." (Σωτήρ)

Confer the custom of dedicating the third cup of wine at a feast to him as Διὸς σωτηρίου σπονδὴ τρίτου κρητήρος (Sophocles frag. 357.), hence the proverb τὸ τρίτον τῷ σωτήρι.

The epithet was applied to Apollo by Aeschylus Ag. 512; also to Hermes, Aesculapius and Tyche, and it was used absolutely for any guardian or tutelary deity, as Herod. VIII, 138. On these coins of Metapontum it probably refers to Persephone as the tutelary goddess of the city. Confer Brit. Mus. Catalogue (n° 144).

The head of the goddess is nearly full faced and her head adorned with a barley-wreath.

Artists' signatures.

The signatures of artists are very rarely found except on the coins of Sicily and Southern Italy; none are found on the coins of Greece proper, only two are known on coins of Crete, and only one on a coin of Asia Minor. The earliest signatures date from about 440 B.C.; Eumenes of Syracuse is probably the first artist who was allowed to add his signature to his work, and soon afterwards Kimon obtained the same privilege in the mints of Syracuse, Metapontum, and Messana.

The coins of Metapontum bear the signatures of eight different artists, Apollonios, Aristippus, Aristozenes, Kal....Kimon, Polu.... Splu.... and Philistion. When we find a signature in very minute letters on several types all wrought in the same style there is good reason for considering the signature to be that of an engraver. The names of magistrates of the mint are wrought in larger, bolder letters, and are not placed in the same position on the coins.

The artists signed either under the base of the neck, or on a helmet, or ornament, or under a leaf, but the magistrates' names appear in the field.

Some signatures are accepted by all the principal numismatists as those of artists, while others are considered doubtful or rejected by some, for instance ΑΓΗ (ΑΡΗ or ΑΠΗ) rejected by Dr A. von Sallet, but received as an artist's signature by Dr A. Sambon and Dr H. Brunn; ΑΡΙΣΤΗ and ΑΥΓΙ rejected by Dr A. von Sallet.

Some of the artists worked for several mints, for instance, he who signed his work ΚΑΛ worked at Metapontum, Heraclea, Tarentum, and Thurium.

Aristoxenos worked at Metapontum, Heracleia, and Tarentum. Apollonios wrought both at Metapontum and Tarentum, while the famous Kimon worked both in Syracuse, Metapontum, Tarentum, and Thurium.

Mr. L. Forrer reminds us in conclusion that in these works of art "on y ressent cet accent de sincérité émue, de poésie personnelle et d'art véritable qui émane des vrais chefs-d'œuvre. Là triomphe la grâce antique. Point d'effort : l'extrême simplicité s'allie à l'extrême richesse."

ΑΓ—ΑΠΟΛ (APOLLONIOS).

M. Michel P. Vlasto has advanced conclusive arguments showing that these letters on the coins of Metapontum and Tarentum signify the name of an artist-engraver. He has shown that there were two artists of this name; the first worked in the second half of the fourth century before Christ and the second after 281 B. C.

The work of the first artist is seen on a beautiful stater of Metapontum bearing the head of Demeter, and on the field to right the letters ΑΠΟ in minute letters. On the reverse is a mouse under the ear of barley, and under the leaf Φ. (B. M. Cat. No 124).

An illustration of a similar coin with ΑΓ under the neck is given on p. 35 of Mr. L. Forrer's work. This is not as perfect a piece of work as the first mentioned, and may be by a pupil of the master. Another similar coin, (no 122 of B. Mus. Cat.), has the signature Α to right of the neck, and Γ to left.

Another beautiful coin by this artist is figured in Mr. Forrer's work (p. 37), it represents the head of Demeter, nearly full face, with the signature in the field to right in minute letters.

This signature ΑΠΟΛ is also found on the base of the neck of the head of Apollo, but some consider this rather as the name of the god than of the artist, because we have similar names of divinities on coins of this period.

ΑΡΙΣΤ (ARISTIPPOS).

On a didrachm of Metapontum belonging to the period 400-350 B. C. the signature ΑΡΙΣΤΙ is found on the base of the neck of

the goddess on the obverse. Behind the neck is the legend ΣΘΑΤ; on the reverse is the normal type with a mouse.

According to Brunn, Von Sallet and others the legends ΑΡΙΣΤΙΗΠ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΗ ΑΡΙΣΤΙ, are the signatures of magistrates rather than of artists; Mr. Forrer gives illustrations of two coins signed ΑΡΙΣΤΙ, differing much in style one from the other, pp. 42 and 43.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΞΕ (ARISTOXENOS).

About 400-350 B.C. an artist named Aristoxenos flourished at Metapontum whose signed work is worthy of the best period.

The signature is found on the base of the neck of the goddess on the obverse, ΑΡΙΣΤΟ, and on one specimen the name is thus inscribed  behind the head of the goddess. Illustrations are given on pp. 48, 49, 50 of Mr. L. Forrer's work. A specimen signed ΑΡΙΣΤΟ on the base of the neck is in the Brit. Mus. Cat., no 74. There can be no doubt that these very minute signatures are those of the artist and the style is ever the same on them all.

ΚΑΛ

The artist signing ΚΑΛ was a colleague of Aristoxenos, and these fellow craftsmen succeeded the engraver Philistionos, who signed his work Φ.

The artist who signed ΚΑΛ, the author of the design of Heracles strangling the lion, flourished about 345 B. C. He seems to have travelled continually between the three cities of Metapontum, Thurium and Tarentum.

The latest of his designs are those issued at Metapontum bearing the laureated head of Zeus which belong to the period of the sojourn of Alexander of Epirus in that city.

His signature ΚΑΛ is seen in minute letters on a bucranium on the reverse of a coin bearing the head of Demeter and the legend ΔΑΜΑΤΗΡ. Also on similar coins with different symbols, a dove or a serpent, and on one without a symbol.

The same signature is seen on a coin of Metapontum bearing a youthful head of Dionysus three-quarters to left wearing an ivy crown.

ΚΑΛ also appears on a coin bearing a head of Zeus crowned with oak-leaves; on the reverse of some is a peacock's head and ΚΑΛ.

The letter Κ is seen on a coin bearing the head of a young hero with the legend ΘΑΡΡΑΓΟΡΑΣ. On the Reverse is ΟΝΑ; this shows that the letter Κ signifies ΚΑΛ for we find these two signatures ΟΝΑ and ΚΑΛ on coins of Tarentum.

The letter **Κ** is also found on coins of Metapontum bearing the head of **ΔΑΜΑΤΗΡ** to left wearing a wreath of barley; on the reverse of this we see the signature **ΑΡΧΙΜ**.

ΚΙΜΩΝ.

The celebrated Syracusan artist, who signed his work **ΚΙΜΩΝ**, worked also in the mint of Metapontum.

In Garrucci's *Le monete dell'Italia antica*, (Tav. CIII, fig. 16.) we may see an illustration of a coin bearing a head of Persephone to right with this signature behind the neck.

ΠΟΛΥ.

Dr Head, Mr. G. F. Hill, M. Imhoof-Blumer and M. von Sallet, all agree that the letters **ΠΟΛΥ** on coins of Metapontum are the signature of an artist. The name is seen on the lower part of the neck of a head of Proserpine illustrated in Garrucci, *op. cit.*, pl. CIV, and a specimen is in the British Museum (cf. B. M. C. Italy, p. 250, no 93).

The same signature is found under heads of Apollo. Dr Imhoof-Blumer considers these coins are the work of the same artist who signed himself **ΑΠΟ** for Apollonios.

Σ

This letter often found on coins of Metapontum may be the signature of an artist.

ΣΠΑΥ (400-350 B. C.)

This signature occurs on a didrachm of Metapontum bearing a laureated head of Apollo to right and the hair bound up. The letters appear under the neck with **Σ** below. On the reverse an ear of barley and the symbol of an owl flying to left. (B. M. C., nos 95, 96.) No Greek name is known beginning with these letters and if it is not a barbarian name it may be a misspelling.

PHILISTION (Φ ΦΙ ΦΙΛΙΣ) (340-315 B. C.)

On the reverse of a coin bearing a head of Demeter to right wearing a veil and crowned with barley, we see the normal ear of barley and a mouse, and under a leaf the signature **Φ**. Many coins bear **Φ** and are most probably the abbreviation for Philistion, as for example on coins bearing an amphora on the reverse with the ear of barley. (B. M. C. no 114, cf. also no 125.)

PHILISTION 350-300 B.C.

This name also appears on coins bearing the head of Leucippus and is associated with the triquetra. Confer also the reverse of the coin on which **KAA** signed the obverse three-quarter-face of Dionysus.

The coinage.

The Standard and divisional system adopted by the early Achæan cities of South Italy is that of Corinth, somewhat reduced. We may perhaps gather from this that the course of trade between these Italian cities and the East flowed for the most part through Corinth rather than by the long sea route from Metapontum to Miletus, as by the Corinthian route the mariners were able to reach Asia Minor without losing sight of land. The art of coining money came to Magna Graecia no doubt from Corinth, for the flat fabric of the staters bearing Pegasus evidently served as their model; they copied also the manner of forming a reverse type incuse such as we see on the Corinthian coins. The Euboic Standard was also adopted from Corinth with its division into three parts. This standard was derived from the light Assyrio-Babylonian gold mina with its shekel of about 130 grains and was probably brought from Samos. For about 270 years the Corinthian coinage had been the only one in circulation in S. Italy, for the mint at Metapontum was probably opened cir. 550 B.C. while that of Corinth had been in use since cir. 626 B.C.

The earliest coinage of Metapontum consists of :

Staters weighing	126 grains.
Thirds of a stater	42 —
Sixths of a stater	21 —
Twelfths of a stater	11 —

What these portions of the stater were commonly called we do not know, but as the *litra* of the Sicilians must have been well-known, and at one time weighed about 11 grains, the twelfths may have been called *litrae*, if so, the sixths would have been called *trehemilitrae*, and the thirds *trilitrae*.

The influence of Corinth however was at any rate equal to that of Sicily, and the Corinthian small coins were called *obols* and *drachms*, but if the twelfths were *obols*, the sixths may have been *trehemio bols*, and the thirds *drachms*.

The word **ΟΒΟΛΟΣ** indeed occurs on some bronze coins of Metapontum, but their value can hardly have been equal to 11 grains of silver. The bronze coins seem to have been money of account and it is very difficult to understand the significance of this legend.

CLASS I. 550-480 B. C.



The silver staters of the earliest period are found in three different sizes, but all weighing about the same, from about 117 to 129 grains. The normal weight was 126 grains.

(a) The earliest are about an inch-and-a-sixteenth in diameter, very thin and flat and much more round than ordinary Greek coins.

Obv. An ear of barley : a border of dots with or without lines, or a border of dots on raised band.

Rev. Same type incuse.

The shape of the letters in the legend is archaic; **ΜΕΤ**, or **ΜΕΤΑ**, or **ΜΕ-ΤΑ**, or **ΜΕΤΑΡ**, or the same in reverse order.

One of these early coins in the British Museum has a grasshopper on the right of the type.

Sometimes these types are found struck on Pegasus coins of Corinth, the wing of Pegasus is clearly to be seen on one specimen in the British Museum.

(b) The coins issued a little later differ only in size and are of a slightly thicker fabric.

They measure about $\frac{45}{16}$ of an inch in diameter, and weigh from 120 to 126 grains.

(c) Towards the end of this first period the coins of the same weight were still thicker in fabric, and measure only about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in diameter, the types of both Obverse and Reverse being the same as on the earlier coins (a) and (b).

DENOMINATIONS.

Thirds. The normal weight should be 42 grains but the specimens known weigh from 38 to 40 grs.

Sixths. Normal weight 21 grains.

Obv. An ear of barley.

Rev. A bull's head facing, incuse.

Twelfths. Normal weight 11 grains.

(a) Obv. and Rev. same as on Staters.

(b) Obv. Ear of barley.

Rev. Corn-grain incuse, and on either side of type O, both on Obv. and Rev.

THE BULL'S HEAD.

There is a legend that early settlers came from Phocis, and some have thought the Bull's head a reference to this origin : a bull's head appears on coins of Phocis.

Pausanias (lib. X, 16) says the Plataenses dedicated oxen to Apollo.

CLASS II.

Obv. Ear of barley, **META**.

Rev. Five corn-grains arranged in a star pattern; only one specimen is in the British Museum, it weighs 124.4 grains. The fabric is thick, and the modelling bold. These are rare coins.

CLASS III. 480-400 B. C.

Staters of this period weigh from 121 to 125 grains.

1. Obv. Ear of barley, same as on earliest coins, **META**, raised band with dots around.

Rev. Nude figure of Apollo standing to left, holding a laurel-tree or bough in right hand, and a bow in his left.

2. Same as 1., but an altar is added to left of Apollo, on which the laurel-bough rests.

3. Obv. Same as 1.

Rev. Nude figure of Heracles standing to left with club over his shoulder.

4. Obv. same as 1.

Rev. Nude figure of Heracles sacrificing at an altar; over his right extended arm an object, called in B. M. Cat., a bucranium? (no. 51).

5. Obv. Ear of barley, **META**.

Rev. The River Acheloüs in human form, bearded and with bull's horns and ears, standing facing, holding patera and long reed. Legend ΑΥΕΥΟΖΟ ΑΕΘΛΟΗ.

These coins were probably prizes given at the games held in honour of Acheloüs.

6. Obv. Ear of barley, **META**.

Rev. Apollo seated wearing Chlamys, playing the lyre, before him a laurel-tree.

DENOMINATIONS OF CLASS III.

1. Obv. An ear of corn, **META**.
Rev. Figure of Apollo standing to right with head facing, his hair tied in knot, right hand on hip, his left holding a bow, all within a laurel-wreath.
This coin in the B. Museum weighs 55.7 gr. It may perhaps be an under-weighted half-stater.
2. Obv. An ear of barley.
Rev. Head of Acheloüs, the man-headed bull in profile.
This is a Hectæ, a sixth; weights vary from 11.3 to 12.3 grs.

CLASS IV. 400-350 B.C.

This is the period in which the coin-engravers attained the highest perfection of their art.

1. Obv. A varied series of female heads in profile, generally facing to right. There are however six specimens in the British Museum, belonging to this class, which face to left, some are placed as early, others late in the series.

D^r Head remarks: "The purity and extreme beauty of the work exemplified on the numerous variety of the heads on these coins leave nothing to be desired".

Some of the heads are accompanied with legends naming or qualifying the deity in whose honour they were struck, as, **ΔΑΜΑΤΗΡ** Demeter, **ΑΡΟΛ** Apollo, **ΑΡΙΣΤΕ** Ariste, **ΎΓΕΙΑ** Hygeia, **ΉΜΟΝΟΙΑ** Homonoia.

That bearing the head of Demeter is signed by **ΚΑΛ**.

Rev. An ear of barley, **META**, sometimes with a symbol, as a bird, a murex shell, a vase, a honey-suckle blossom, a locust, a poppy-head, an owl flying, and sometimes an artist's signature.

2. Obv. A head of Heracles in lion's skin headdress.

Rev. Ear of barley, **META** and locust.

3. Obv. Youthful male head with ram's skin head-dress, with horn and ear. D^r Head suggests that this represents "either the Lybian Dionysus or possibly Apollo Karneios the god of flocks and herds".



4. Obv. Head of Zeus, sometimes with **ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ**.

DENOMINATIONS.



Sixths. Obv. A youthful horned head.

Rev. Ear of barley.

Obv. A bearded horned head, perhaps Zeus Ammon.

Rev. Ear of barley.

CLASS V. 350-330 B.C.

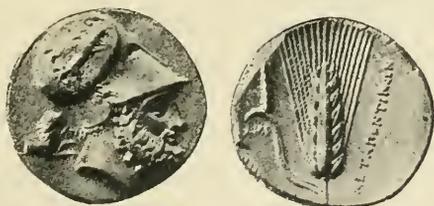
The coins of this period show that the citizens assimilated their coinage to that of Thurium and that they adopted a divisional system by two and four instead of by three and six.

1. Tetradrachm or Distater. Weight 240 gr.

Obv. Head of bearded hero Leucippos wearing Corinthian helmet. Symbol, fore-part of goat behind. On the helmet Nike, in fast quadriga, and above hinge, sea horse with curled wing; behind, half of running lion to right in front of which ΑΓΗ, border of dots.

Rev. Ear of barley, ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝΤΙΝΩΝ.

Magistrate's name abbreviated, ΑΜΙ.



2. Staters. Weighing 122 grs.

Obv. Head of Leucippos wearing Corinthian helmet and showing slight whiskers. ΘΑΡΡΑΓΟΡΑΣ.

3. Half Stater weighing 62 grs.

Obv. Apollo standing with bow.

Rev. Ear of barley, the whole in olive-wreath, ΜΕΤΑ.

4. Obv. Owl on olive-branch, ΣΙ.

Rev. Ear of barley, ΜΕΤΑ. 49 grs.

CLASS VI. 330-300 B.C.

As there are no coins of Metapontum of the reduced standard as at Tarentum, it is probable that no coins were issued after the Lucanians took the city shortly before the year 300 B.C.

1. Staters. Obv. Head of Persephone with locks of hair flowing freely behind her back, the head generally turned to right. The style is very inferior to that of the earlier classes. Weight from 120 to 126 grs.

2. Same goddess with hair rolled.

3. Same goddess with hair in sphendone.

4. Same goddess with veil hanging; helmet.

5. Same goddess with hair in net.

6. Same goddess with head veiled.

7. Same goddess with head facing, inclined to right, wearing wreath of honey-suckle and barley, sometimes with legend **ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ** above.

8. Head of **NIKA**. Victory wearing laureate stephanos.

9. Head of **NIKA** wearing sphendone adorned with stars.

Rev. Ear of barley with a symbol, as for instance, plough, ant, cornucopiæ, amphora, vine-branch, cicada, star, Nike, satyr, tongs, griffin, rake, Artemis, club, fulmen, bucranium, leaf, caduceus, tripod, mouse.

DENOMINATIONS.

Half Staters. Weighing from 49 to 56 grs.

Obv. Head of Pallas in winged helmet.

Rev. Ear of barley; symbol, club, **ΛΥΚ** monogram.

Diobols. Weighing 21 grs.

1. Obv. Head of Demeter with flowing hair.

Rev. Ear of barley; symbol, plough.

2. Obv. Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet, **ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝΤΙ**.

Rev. Ear of barley, and, as symbol, a plough or cornucopiæ, &c.

BRONZE COINAGE.

Bronze coinage was introduced at the neighbouring city Tarentum about 330 B.C., soon after the arrival of Alexander the Molossian, and this appears to be the date of its introduction to Metapontum and Heracleia. Dr Head ascribes the earliest bronze

coins of Neapolis to 40 B.C., but others think some of the bronze coins of that city date from circ. 430 B.C. At Croton bronze coinage had apparently been in use a hundred years before it was adopted in Metapontum, where Greek influence was stronger than Italian. The farther north we go the more easily would bronze be obtained, and at Rome the bronze coinage preceded the silver.

The bronze coins of Metapontum were all small, the largest in size being only seven-eighths of an inch in diameter and the smallest only .4. These larger coins are called oboli and the word itself is found on some of them.

1. Oboli. Cir. 330 B.C. Size .85 or about seven-eighths of an inch.

Obv. Hermes to left wearing petasos and chlamys, his right arm extended, his left hand holding caduceus; in field to left **EY**; all in a circle of fine dots.

Rev. **ME**. **OBOLOS**, an ear of barley.

2. Size slightly less than no 1. (circ. 330 B.C.)

Obv. Head of Persephone to right.

The heads on various specimens vary as on the staters in regard to head-gear.

Rev. **OBOLOS**. Ear of barley, sometimes with symbols as on the staters.

3. Size .65 or nearly eleven-sixteenths of an inch.

Same types as on no 2. Same date as 2.

4. Size .65.

Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing Corinthian helmet.

Rev. Ear of barley, uncertain legend.

5. Size .55 or five-eighths of an inch.

Obv. Head of Persephone to right crowned with corn.

Rev. **META**, ear of barley.

6. Size. The same as no 5.

Obv. Head of Heracles in lion's skin.

3rd century.

Rev. **META**, ear of barley.

7. Size .55.

Obv. Head of Zeus to right.

3rd century.

Rev. Two ears of barley.

8. Size .55.

Obv. A bearded helmeted head.

Circ. 300 B.C.

Rev. **M—E**. A barleycorn.

9. Size .5 or about half-an-inch.

Obv. A mask to right, hair rolled.

Rev. A barleycorn.

10. Size .45.

Obv. Head of Persephone to left with hair long behind.

Rev. A barleycorn, **ME** and **A**Γ.

11. Size. about half an inch. 3rd cent.
Obv. A Tripod.
Rev. A barleycorn.
12. Size .5.
Obv. Head of Hermes. Circ. 300 B. C.
Rev. Three barleycorns arranged starwise with **M—E**.
13. Size. About half-an-inch.
Obv. Helmeted head of Pallas to right.
Rev. Same as no 12, but with fly as symbol.
14. Size, about half-an-inch.
Obv. Bust of Helios full face and radiate. circ. 300 B.C.
Rev. Same as no 12, symbol, lighted torch.
15. Size .5.
Obv. Beardless male head with ram's horn headdress.
Rev. **META**. Ear of barley. Symbol, a pruning hook.
16. Size, about half-an-inch.
Obv. Head of Persephone. Circ. 3nd cent.
Rev. Ear of barley.
17. Size .65, nearly three-quarters of an inch.
Obv. An eagle to left with wings extended.
Rev. Ear of barley and fulmen.
18. Size .55.
Obv. Pallas Promachos. Circ. 300.
Rev. **META**. An owl on an ear of barley.
19. Size .45.
Obv. Head of Artemis, hair in knot, over shoulder bow and quiver.
Rev. **META**. Ear of barley; amphora in field.
20. Size .65.
Obv. Head of Leucippos, r. bearded and wearing crested Corinthian helmet.
Rev. **META**. Persephone facing, wearing wreath of barley, holding in r. hand long torch with cross pieces at top, her left hand resting on hip.
21. Size .65.
Obv. Bearded male head, r. bound with wreath or diadem.
Rev. Ear of barley, uncertain inscription.
22. Size .6.
Obv. Bust of Demeter, r. wearing stephane and veil.
Rev. **META**. Ear of barley
23. Size .65.
Obv. Head of Persephone, r. wearing wreath of barley, earrings, necklace. A border of dots.
Rev. **META**. Between two ears of barley, that on the right with leaf, on which a dove with wings partly open.

24. Size .65.

Obv. Head of Dionysos, l. bound with ivy-wreath.

Rev. **META**. Ear of barley with leaf on right, above which short torch with cross pieces above

25. Size .4.

Obv. Head of Zeus, r. laureate.

Rev. Same as 24 but with longer torch.

26. Size .4.

Obv. Head of Hermes, r. wearing petasos.

Rev. **ME**, above a winged caduceus, **TA** below.

27. Size .45.

Obv. Head of Pan, r. horned and wreathed.

Rev. **META**. Ear of barley with leaf to right, above which an uncertain object.

28. Size .35.

Obv. Head of Pan without wreath.

Rev. **E**. A barleycorn.

* Specimens of many of these types may be procured for 1/. to 5/. apiece when not in finest state.

SIRIS and PYXUS.

The mere collector of coins will take but little interest in those of Siris because they are so rare that they are only found in great museums, but the student delivered from the lust of possession will be free and ready to imagine a series of very beautiful pictures of an ancient city which he will mentally weave out of the pages of Strabo and Athenaeus.

Moreover the thin disc-like plates of silver which were issued in this long lost city are exactly like those of Sybaris and only differ in the legends : there is therefore no special reason for regretting the rareness of these coins, or our inability to add a specimen to our cabinets.

The exact site on which Siris stood has not been yet identified by excavations, but we know it was on the fertile plain near the mouth of the river Siris, now called the Sinno, now desolate on account of malaria. It was founded originally by the Pelasgian Chones a tribe of the Oenotrians and its name is said to have been given either from that of a daughter or a wife of some native ruler or from that of the river on which it stood. We shall see that Strabo relates a legend of Trojans dwelling there, but he also represents the Ionian colonists from Colophon as taking it from the Chones. As this race was highly civilized they may have dwelt together with Trojan colonists. Athenaeus (lib. XII, 25) tells us the city was first occupied by men who came from Troy and afterwards by a colony from Colophon near Ephesus, and he quotes Timaeus and Aristotle as his authorities. Timaeus was a Sicilian who carried his history of S. Italy down to the year 264 B. C. He tells us that the men of Siris were as luxurious as those of Sybaris, and wore garments of brilliant hues, “ ἀνθινὸς κιτῶνας ”, and girdles of great price, “ μέγιστος πολυτελέσει ”.

Athenaeus also quotes some lines of Archilochus of Paros, who visited Siris about 690-680 B. C., describing the site thus : “ There is no place so beautiful nor to be so much desired and loved as that by the river Siris ”.

Strabo preserves an interesting legend concerning the Trojan occupation of the city in book VI. "They point out the statue of the Trojan Athene which is erected there, as a proof of its colonization by the Trojans. They also relate as a miracle how the statue closed its eyes, when the suppliants, who had fled for sanctuary to her shrine were dragged away by the Ionians, after they had taken the city". Although we know the city only by the name Siris, Strabo tells us the Ionians changed its name to Polieum. Herodotus (lib. VI, 127) has preserved for us another interesting reference to the wealth and luxury of Siris during the period 595-580 B. C. In describing the suitors for the hand of Agarista the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, he says: "From Italy came Smindyrides of Sybaris and Damasus of Siris, son of Amyris the wise".

This Amyris was celebrated as giving rise to the proverb "Ἀμυρῆς μολίεττι, "the wise man is mad."

Athenaeus tells us (XII 520.) that Amyris went to enquire of the Pythian god with others, how long they should prosper. He is also mentioned by Suidas and by Eusthathius ad Il. ii, p. 298.

The fall of Siris about 550 B. C. was brought about by the jealousy of the Achaean Colonies of Metapontum Sybaris and Croton. A league of Achaeans was formed against the Ionian colony; that the city was destroyed and its inhabitants expelled we learn from Justin (XX, 2).

About seventy years afterwards Themistocles threatened Eurybiades that he would take the Athenians to Siris and form a colony there, so the site was evidently unoccupied (Herodotus VIII, 62).

PYXUS

The trade route across the isthmus from Siris to Laus and Pyxus was probably one of the causes of the prosperity of Siris. The site of Pyxus is said to be that now called Policastro on the west coast of Lucania, in the bay of Laus, and about twenty miles from that city. From Siris it was about fifty miles, the road would pass by Nerulum and thus avoid the higher ranges on each side. Strabo says of Pyxus (lib. VI, 252) "and beyond Palimarus are the promontory, harbour, and river of Pyxus, the three having the same name. This colony was founded by Micythus then tyrant of Messina in Sicily; but those who were located here, except a few, abandoned the place." Strabo refers to an attempt to occupy the ruined site of the old city, made in the year 471 B. C., that is nearly eighty years after the fall of Siris. It is probable that Pyxus fell by the same power which crushed the mother city.

THE COINS.

There are two specimens of these coins of Siris in the British Museum.

1. Obv. **ΜΟΙϞϞϞΜ** retrograde. A Bull standing to left on a line of dots turning his head round and biting his back : dotted cable border.

Rev. The same type as obv. but incuse and reversed : wreathed border, incuse. **ΓΥΧΟΕΜ**.

2. Obv. **ΟΜ** Similar type : border of dots on band.

ϞϞϞΜ

Rev. **ΧΥΓ**. Similar type : incuse border of radiating lines.

The letter **Μ** is an old form of **Σ**.

The letter **Ϟ** is an old form of **Ι**.

The letter **Ϟ** is an old form of **Ρ**.

SYBARIS.

The citizens of Sybaris earned the unenviable notoriety of having their name applied to lovers of luxury and ease, and the story of their fall has been used as an object lesson in all ages.

About half way between Croton and Tarentum, near the shore of the great gulf, stood Sybaris, the oldest of the cities of Southern Italy. According to the geographical poem by Scymnus of Chios, it was founded as early as 720 B. C., that is to say ten years before the settlement at Croton, twelve before the foundation of Tarentum, four years before Gyges began to reign in Lydia, and seven after Hezekiah was crowned in Jerusalem.

According to Strabo, the founder of the city was a citizen of Helice in Achaia, who led a band of Achaeans and Troezenians to this site, but the latter were soon turned forth, and the city became wholly Achaean. Like the men of other cities of Magna Græcia the Sybarites in later times claimed as their founder a Trojan hero, for Solinus, a geographer of the third century of our era, says that a son of Ajax Oileus was the founder of Sybaris, but his words merely record a claim which cannot be substantiated.

The great fertility of the soil was not the only source of wealth to the citizens, they were wise enough to encourage immigrants, and to subdue the Oenotrians who dwelt in the cities between Sybaris and Laüs on the northern shores, thus winning a road by which merchandise might be taken by land across the isthmus, a distance of about forty miles. The perils of the voyage between Scylla and Charybdis, and the greater perils of the Carthaginian pirates, caused the merchants from Corinth and Miletus to send their goods through Sybaris, and on account of this commerce the city grew richer and greater than any other in South Italy. The Sybarites claimed to rule over twenty-five subject cities, and to possess an army of 300,000 men, but this is probably an exaggeration, and some of the subject cities may have been Oenotrian villages or forts along the great high road.

The power of the citizens was great enough to found such colonies as Poseidonia, Laüs and Scidrus. The city was said to have been 50 stadia in circumference, and in the religious processions no less than 500 horsemen rode to their temple. Herodotus tells us of the luxury and wealth of one of the citizens, who became a suitor for the hand of one of the daughters of Cleisthenes of Sicyon (VI, 127). Athenæus, Diodorus, and Suidas all wrote of the luxury of the citizens, of their fine woollen garments from Miletus, and the costly robe of fabulous price given as a votive offering by Alcimenes of Sybaris to the Lacinian Hera.

History is generally silent concerning prosperous cities, and so we naturally hear but little of Sybaris until shortly before its fall. Herodotus incidentally refers to the times of Smindyrides, about 580-560 B.C., as the period when Sybaris was at the height of its power, and it was then that its mint was established. Coins shewing a commercial alliance with Croton are found which were issued between 500 and 480 B.C.

The fall of the city was brought about by internal dissension; the oligarchal party was defeated by the democrats under a leader named Telys, and the exiled party fled to Croton. When Telys called upon the Crotoniates to deliver up to him the refugees, war was proclaimed, the result of which was the utter defeat of the Sybarites on the banks of the river Trais in 510 B.C., and the utter destruction of their city, by the turning of the waters of the Crathis upon the site of the plundered town. Cf. Cavallari in the *Notizie degli Scavi* (Lincci) Rome, 1879.

From the rarity of the coins of Sybaris issued during the period of prosperity we may infer that during the first century of her commercial activity the trade was carried on without the aid of coined money. Probably the coinage of Corinth was used for some short time, and at any rate it would be from the Corinthian merchants that the citizens of Sybaris learned the advantages of a coinage. The site of the ancient city is now a desolate swampy tract, pestilential from malaria, and inhabited only by herds of wild animals. Keppel Craven writes of a wall sometimes visible in the bed of the stream when the water is low.

Cf. p. 454 Hieron, *Dic. Biog.*

The fact that Hieron sent Theron on a military expedition against the Sybarites in Italy between 478-466 B.C. shews that they were not utterly crushed.

THE RETURN. 453-448 B.C.

In 510 B.C. the survivors of the terrible defeat fled to Laüs and Scidrus, perhaps the modern Sapri, a fishing village six miles east

of Policastro. Fifty-seven years afterwards the descendants of these fugitives made an attempt to restore the city of their fathers, and in 453 B.C. they began to build as near as possible to the old site. After five or six years the men of Croton drove them away, but during that time the Sybarites had prospered sufficiently to establish a mint, and issue small silver coins, which can only be attributed to that date. At the same time they issued coins in alliance with Poseidonia.

If it were not for these coins bearing the letters ΜΟΠ we might conjecture that the money of this second period was all struck in Paestum, the workmanship and design being so similar. The rude style bears witness to the poverty of the new city.

THURII AND SYBARIS ON TRAIS. 443 B.C.

The fugitive Sybarites who fled from the ruins of their restored and newly devastated city, appealed to the Spartans for aid, but without success, they then applied to the Athenians, and their prayers for help were heard. Pericles sent a body of colonists, under the command of Lampon and Xenocritus; it was a mixed band of men from many cities, the number of Athenians being small. Plutarch, in his life of Pericles, thus relates the sending of the colonists. He sent "others into Italy, who settled in Sybaris and changed its name to Thurii. These things he did to clear the city of a useless multitude, who were very troublesome when they had nothing to do; to make provision for the most necessitous, and to keep the allies of Athens in awe, by placing colonies like so many garrisons in their neighbourhood."

Among these, however, were two celebrated men, Herodotus the historian, and Lysias the orator. These new colonists at first attempted to settle near the site of the ancient Sybaris, but in 448 B.C., in obedience to an oracle, at length moved to a new site near a spring called Thuria.

The Crotoniates, perhaps overawed by the fame and power of Athens, appear to have left this new colony undisturbed. Very soon the Sybarites, by their arrogant claims to every post of preeminence and of political privilege, were driven forth and obliged to attempt the building of a new city on the banks of the Trais, the scene of their forefathers' terrible defeat. They were here left in peace by the Crotoniates because the men of Thurii had concluded a treaty of peace with Croton. This last home of the Sybarites does not appear to have lasted many years, but long enough for the establishment of a mint, from which small silver coins were issued, similar in type to the coins of Thurii, but with the legend ΣΥΒΑ, shewing that

the name of the older city was still proudly given to the poor little suburb of Thurii. The change of the name from Sybaris to Thurii may have been arranged partly with a view to conciliate the men of Croton who had fought against the restoration of the city which had been their enemy.

The last home of the Sybarites was destroyed by the native races which afterwards assisted in the destruction of Croton. Diodorus XII, 22 calls these tribes Bruttii, but this is an anachronism, for at that time the Sabellian tribes of the Lucanians were pressing southward and it was not till about 356 B.C. that the Bruttii became an acknowledged power; perhaps Diodorus knowing the Bruttii were of the Lucanian stock spoke of Lucanians by the name they afterwards received.

THE COINS.

There are only about ten different types of Sybaris, all of silver, four belong to the ancient city, three to the city which was destroyed in 448 B.C. and three to the last city destroyed by the Lucanians.

The oldest coins belong to the flat incuse series common to so many cities of Magna Græcia, which has been described in the chapter on Croton. In the earliest days of the Pythagorean brotherhood the citizens of Croton and Sybaris were friendly, and it is possible that in these flat coins we may see evidence of the influence of that brotherhood. While the government of Sybaris remained in the hands of an oligarchy the old friendship continued, and Croton was chosen for a refuge when the democracy overcame their rulers. The coins of the first city are distinguished by the Bull type, those of the second by the Poseidon type, and those of the third city by the type of Pallas Athene. The coins of the second and third cities were only obols and drachms, of rude workmanship, such as we might expect to find among poor colonists.

TYPES.

THE BULL TYPE.

In the chapter concerning the bull on the coins of Neapolis the significance of this type is explained as a symbol of one of the powers of nature, that of the mighty force of a swift river. The Crathis, named by the early Achaean colonists after a river near their old home, was one of the most considerable rivers of Southern Italy, and like all streams flowing from mountains along a plain was subject to violent inundations and changes of its course. When

Sybaris was a flourishing city no doubt the river was restrained by dams and embankments, and hence it was readily used by the men of Croton to destroy the very site of the city by the withdrawal of the artificial restraints. The attitude of the symbolic bull on the coins of the city in its days of prosperity was in harmony with the calm restrained strength of the river, for the bull was represented with the head turned backwards, as if peacefully licking its back. No doubt the artist arranged the attitude to make the design fit the circular space to be covered with the figure, and that same object was equally well attained by the later artists who represented the bull charging with his head down. It is noteworthy that this attitude was in harmony with the changed condition of the river, which rushed impetuously across the ruins of the city unrestrained by the old dams. The new type was a symbol of the new name Thurium, and the connection of the old city with the new is commemorated by the Scholiast on Sophocles, Ajax (line 212) "Speak since the ardent Ajax (Θούριος Αἴας) dearly loving thee, honours thy captive bed".

The note is "Θούριος, ὁ ἑρμητικός, Θούριον δὲ οὐδετέρως πόλις ἢ καὶ Σύβαρις" (Thourios means the impetuous, but in the neuter signifies a city, that is Sybaris); the passage is quoted by Eckhel, vol. I, p. 163.

Diodorus and Strabo say the fountain near which the colonists from Athens settled was called Thuria τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον μετέθηκαν πλησίον καὶ Θουρίους προσηγόρευσαν ἀπὸ κρήνης ὁμωνύμου. Strabo, p. 19, t. II, Tauchnitii.

POSEIDON TYPE.

When the descendants of the Sybarites made their first attempt to restore the city of their forefathers in 453 B.C., new types were chosen for the drachms issued about that time : on the Obverse we see Poseidon, and on the Reverse a dove.

As the head of Athene on the coins issued after 443 B.C. witnesses to the influence of the Athenian colonists at Thurium, so the figure of Poseidon on the coins of 453 B.C. witnesses to the help given by the colony of Sybarites settled at Poseidonium, now called Paestum. Herodotus in Bk VI mentions the Sybarites as settling in Laüs and Scidrus after their defeat in 510 B.C., but does not mention Poseidonia; however these coins are witnesses to the help given by the men of that city in 453 B.C. The coins of Paestum bear the same figure of Poseidon in the same attitude on the Obverse, and a bull on the Reverse.

The following additional reason for thinking this deity most

suitable for the new coinage of 453 B.C. may be only a modern fancy.

Poseidon with the help of Apollo is said to have assisted Laomedon in the building of the walls of Troy. In the Iliad of Homer (VII, 452) we find Poseidon's prayer to Zeus concerning the wall and trench dug by the Greeks, "and men shall lightly deem of that wall which I and Phoebus jointly raised with toil and pain for great Laomedon."

This hero's refusal to give the god the stipulated reward made Poseidon turn to help the Greeks, and hence the pious Aeneas was tossed upon the waves. Apollo however opposed Poseidon as we read in Book XX: "For there to Royal Neptune stood opposed Phoebus Apollo with his arrows keen". These lines connected the building of walls under Poseidon with the opposition of Apollo, the god of the Crotoniates, and show how apt was the choice by the Sybarites of this Poseidon type for the Obverse of their new coinage.

How suitable a deity for such a race as the Sybarites was Poseidon, of whom Gladstone said: "Of all the divinities from whose character the higher elements are absent, Poseidon is the most remarkable. Lustful, vengeful, headstrong, self-assertive, yet ever shrewd; he is not under complete control even from Zeus himself." This reads like a description of the characters of those who placed his image on their coins at Sybaris.

THE BIRD TYPE.

No explanation of this type has yet been offered, and probably no satisfactory elucidation can be given, but the problem remains an interesting one. The form of the bird is on some specimens exactly that of a dove, but on others something like that of an eagle. The artists of that period have left many specimens of bird forms which are so imperfect that we doubt which bird they were meant to represent. If we could regard the bird as meant for an eagle no difficulty would be felt in regard to its symbolism: it would of course be the bird of Zeus. The dove is usually regarded as sacred to Aphrodite, but that goddess does not appear to have influenced the cities of Magna Graecia. The similar bird on coins of Laüs is called a crow.

This crow may have reference to Herodotus IV, 15, Aristaeus was said to have been with Apollo as a crow.

On these coins the bird is found connected with Poseidon and we therefore look for some connection between these deities in the Homeric legends and myths. The only myth connecting these

deities seems to contain a probable confusion between Aphrodite and Amphitrite; it is recorded by Hesiod, (Theog. 930) that Rhodos was the child of Amphitrite and Poseidon, but she is called “the child of Aphrodite and Poseidon” by the Scholiast ad Pindar Olym. VII, 24.

On p. 228 of Smith’s Clas. Dic. vol. I, sub voce Aphrodite, the reference is given to Pindar (Pyth. VIII, 24), but apparently this is a mistake. This reference to the connection of Poseidon with Aphrodite is not sufficiently well founded to enable us to see any connection between the myth and the appearance of a dove on the coins of Sybaris.

The cult of Aphrodite was developed in the Eastern part of the old Greek world, and we hardly expect to find her symbols in the West. No coins of Poseidonia in the British Museum bear a dove, but I have heard of a bronze coin of that city on which Poseidon is represented with a fulmen in one hand and a dove on the other. It is possible this may be an example of a composite deity in whom the attributes of Zeus and Aphrodite are combined. The choice of such a symbol by the men of Sybaris would be in harmony with that of Poseidon, for his character was as evil as that of Aphrodite in the Homeric legends.

Gladstone says “she is made odious and contemptible by her weakness and cowardice, as well as by her merely sensual character”.

These were the ideals worshipped by the men whose very name has become a byword and reproach.

Period I. Before 510 B.C.

The coins of this period consist of Staters weighing about 126 grs., thirds weighing about 42 grs.; sixths weighing about 21 grs., and twelfths weighing about 10 grs.



The sixths with the diota incuse on the Reverse are attributed to this period by Dr Head on p. 70 of the *Hist. Num.*, but in the

British Museum Catalogue, and in the trays, they are arranged under Period II.

D^r Head's arrangement is here followed.

I¹. Staters. Size 1.2; normal weight 126 grs.

Obv. VM in the exergue, the letter M is that called San which was after 443 B.C. written Σ.

The type is a bull standing to left on a dotted bar, turning his head round and licking or biting his back; a border of a dotted cable.

Rev. A similar type to the obverse, but incuse and reversed; an incuse border of dots.

On some specimens an incuse border of radiating lines; on others the bull stands on a double dotted line, and on some the bar is like the radiated border.

II*. Third part of a Stater. Size .75. Weight : 42 grains.

Obv. and Rev. Same as the stater.

III. Sixth part of a Stater. Size .45. Weight : 21 grains.

Obv. Same as Stater. Bull either advancing to left or standing to right.

Rev. Diota incuse : border of radiated lines incuse.

IV*. Twelfth of a Stater. Size .3. Weight : 10 grains, but worn specimens 7, and some 6.9 grs.

Obv. Same as Stater.

Rev. No type. The letters M filling the field.

If the smallest coin was called an Obol, the sixth may have been called a drachm, the third a tetradrachm, and the stater a dodecadrachm, but we do not know what these pieces were called in Sybaris.

Period II. 453-448 B.C.

The coins of this Second Period are inferior in artistic value to those of the First, and they consist only of sixths or drachms and small coins, weighing about 6 grains, perhaps obols.

I. Size .4. Weight about 20 grs.



Obv. VM or ABVM. Poseidon naked advancing to right, striking with trident and his left arm extended.

1. The coins marked with an asterisk are common and may be obtained in fair state for 10/. to 15/.

Rev. A dove or crow to left, or right, sometimes within a wreath.

II. Size .4. Weight about 20 grs.

Obv. No letters. Poseidon advancing to right, striking with trident, wearing chlamys falling over both arms, the left arm being extended : border of dots.



Rev. **VM** or **BYM**. Bull advancing to left.

Variety with **ABYM** on Reverse, and bull to right on a plain line above a dotted one.

III. Size .25. Weight : 6.2 grs.

Obv. Similar type to no II, border of dots.

Rev. Bull standing, to left, border of dots.

Period III. After 443 B.C.

The coins of this period are distinguished from those of the earlier times by the head of Pallas on the Obverse.

I*. Size .6. Weight : 40 grs.

Obv. Head of Pallas to right, wearing crested Athenian helmet adorned with olive-wreath.

Rev. Legend **ΣΥΒΑΠΙ** in exergue.



Bull standing to right, with his head turned biting his flank as on the earliest series.

II*. Size .55. Weight : 35.9.

Obv. Similar type to no I.

Rev. Legend in field above type **ΣΥΒΑΠΙ**.

Bull standing or walking to right with his head lowered.

In the exergue, a fish to right.

III. Size .3. Weight : 6.3 grs.

Obv. Similar type to nos 1 and 2.

Rev. Legend in field above type **ΣΥΒΑ**.

A bull's head to right.

On some specimens the legend is **ΜΥ**.

Alliance Coinage.

During the Second Period coins were issued similar in type to those of III with the legend **VM** on the Obverse and **ΜΟΓ** on the Reverse in alliance.

No bronze coins of Sybaris are known.

LAUS.

The coins of this city can hardly be regarded as common, but they are described here because they are connected with those of Sybaris, and belong to the series of early flat coins with incuse reverses associated with the Pythagorean brotherhood, and bear a type which is similar to the common coins of that series.

The bronze coins are also interesting, as presenting an unsolved problem in the Obverse type, which appears to present us with a head of Aphrodite, a goddess whose cult is very rare in Southern Italy.

The crow also on the Reverse offers another problem, and perhaps is a symbol of some local legend which has not been recorded by any ancient author.

This bird is sometimes associated with Apollo, but when found in connection with the head of a goddess presents a problem which offers scope for ingenious enquiry.

Laüs was founded as a colony by men from Sybaris on a site chosen as that suitable for a port at the northern end of the road along which merchandize was carried from the southern port of Sybaris. This northern port was formed by the mouth of a little river called Laüs which formed the boundary between the lands of the Lucanians and Bruttians. We have no record of the date of the foundation of the colony, but from the fabric of its earliest coins we know it must have been before 550 B.C., for their fabric is that of the earliest period of coinage in Southern Italy, which is usually associated with the influence of the great Pythagorean brotherhood. The type, a bull, is similar to that of the mother city, but differs in that the bull on coins of Laüs is represented with a human head.

The city of Laüs does not appear to have produced or sheltered any men of note, and the citizens probably were too much like those of Sybaris, wealthy and effeminate, for they fell before the sturdy simple Lucanians in 390 B.C. and from that date the city was probably ruled by that people, for we find small coins of bronze which bear Lucanian names.

The letters ΣΤΑ and ΟΥΙ found on these bronze coins may represent the name Stenius or Statilius, mentioned by Pliny, and Valerius Maximus, as the leader of the Lucanian hosts, which besieged Thurium about that time.

Statilius was the man against whom the tribune of the plebs, C. Aelius, brought forward a lex, and thus won for himself a golden crown presented by the grateful Thurians.

Strabo speaks of the city of Laüs as existing in his time, but it had fallen into ruin before the time of Pliny. The river Laüs still retains its ancient name under the modern form of Lao or Laino, and it is still a considerable stream running into the gulf now called Policastro, but in the days of its ancient prosperity it was known as the gulf of Laüs.

From Strabo we learn that “after Pyxus are the gulf, the river, and the city of Laüs, this the last city of the Lucanians, situate a little above the sea, is a colony of the Sybarites and distant from Elea 400 stadia.” It is more like fifty miles.

Near to Laüs is seen the tomb of Draco, one of the companions of Ulysses, and the oracular response given to the Italian Greeks alludes to him.

Some day, around the Dragon's stony tomb,
A mighty multitude shall meet their doom?

For the Greeks of Italy, enticed by this prophecy, marched against Laüs, and were defeated by the Lucanians.

About the year 390 B.C. this prophecy was fulfilled.

The Greek league was headed by the Thurians.

The account of their impetuosity and the sad result to their army is given by Diodorus Siculus (Lib. XIV, CI & CII, p. 615, Ed. Dindorf). The Thurians, as members of the League for mutual defence, were bound to assist the citizens of Laüs, but should have waited for further aid. The Lucanians retreated into rocky defiles, and caught the Thurians in an ambush. Some 10,000 Greeks are said to have been slain, as the Lucanians at first would give no quarter. The lives of many were saved by their swimming out to the fleet coming up from Rhegium, which they hoped was manned by their friends. They found themselves on board the fleet of their enemy Dionysius, whose brother Leptinus was in command, and he persuaded the Lucanians to save their lives on receipt of a mina of silver for each man.

Herodotus (VI. 21) tells us that in 494 B.C. “when the Milesians suffered thus at the hands of the Persians, the Sybarites, who inhabited Laüs ad Scydrus, having been deprived of their country did not show equal sympathy. For when Sybaris was taken by the Crotoniates all the Milesians of every age shaved their heads and

displayed marks of deep mourning, for these two cities had been more strictly united in friendship than any others we are acquainted with”.

PERIOD I 550-500 B.C.

The earliest coins of this city are similar in fabric to those of Sybaris, thin plate-like coins, with incuse reverse types, the same as those on the obverse.

The type is a human-headed bull, standing, with the face looking backward, and the tail hanging down at rest. The fact that the bull is represented with a human head is evidence that the type was not an emblem of the trade in bulls, as Mr. Ridgeway suggests.

The legend is divided, the first half being on the Obverse, and the second on the Reverse. Mr. George Macdonald in his work on “Coin-types”, p. 131, says that “the survey of the coin is incomplete until both sides have been looked at”. The legend is **ΝΑΣ** on the Obverse, and **ΝΟΜ** on the Reverse, sometimes the letters are placed retrograde. The legend **ΛΑΙΝΟΣ** forms the singular masculine of the ethnic, and probably refers to the word **ΣΤΑΤΗΡ** understood. These earliest silver staters weighed originally 126 grains, but many specimens weigh only from 120 to 123 grains. There is a raised border upon which are dots around the type, and the exergual line is similar to the border.



PERIOD II. CIRC. 500-450 B.C.

The types of these coins are in relief on both sides, and the legend, retrograde, **ΖΑΛ**, is the same on both sides.

Obv. A bull with human head looking back.

Rev. A bull with human head, but not looking back.

The weight of these staters is the same as of those of Period I.

One coin, in the British Museum, has **ΣΑΛ** on the Rev. on which the head is looking forward and the border is plain; on the Obv. **ΜΟΝ** the head is looking back, and the border is enriched with dots.

Another coin has the legend **ΜΟΜ** on the Rev. and **ΝΑΖ** on the Obv.

The border of this coin is plain on Obv.

Thirds of a Stater, weighing 42 grains; specimens weigh often about 39 gr.

Obv. Man-headed bull to right; in exergue, barley-corn, $\Sigma\Lambda\Lambda$ above bull.

Rev. Same type, bull to left, same legend.

Sixths of a stater, weighing 21 grains; specimens weigh often 17 grains.

Obv. Bull to left looking back.

Rev. A large acorn upright.

BRONZE COINS.

PERIOD III. 400-350 B.C.

Numismatic Chronicle, p. 97, III Series, vol. XVII.

“Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1896.”

1. Obv. Female head to right, wearing myrtle wreath, earring and necklace, hair rolled and bound with a cord; behind, $\Delta\epsilon\rho$? (magistrate's name).



Rev. $\Lambda\Lambda\text{IN}\Omega\text{N}$ in field to left, a crow standing to right; in field to right, a bull's head reversed.

The whole type in circular incuse.

From the Bunbury Sale. June 1896, lot 119.

The wreath is almost certainly of myrtle and the goddess therefore Aphrodite.

2. Size .8. Obv. Head of a goddess much worn but of fine style, wearing sphendone.

Magistrate's name, perhaps $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$, but almost illegible.

Rev. $\Lambda\Lambda\text{IN}\Omega\text{N}$. A crow standing to right: as symbol in front a ram's head.

A magistrate's name between the legend and the back of the crow: ΣTEA , but rather illegible.

3. Size .75. Obv. $\Lambda\Lambda\text{IN}\Omega\text{N}$. Head of goddess, surrounded with dolphins.

Rev. A crow to right, standing; symbols, a stag's head in front and a star above.

Magistrates' names **MI—BE** on either side of star.

4. Size .55. **AA**. Head of a goddess with hair in a sphendone; border of dots.

Rev. A crow to right.

Magistrates' names **KO—MO**.

5. Size .6. **AA**. Bust of Demeter? facing, shoulders draped.

Rev. Two crows passing one another in opposite directions, walking with wings closed.

6. Size .5. Obv. Head of a young river-god to right, horned, hair flowing back. Probably the god of the river Laüs. Border of dots.

Rev. Two crows in opposite directions.

7. Size $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Obv. Head of Dionysus to right, wreathed with ivy.

Rev. A crow to right. Legend **ΣΤΑ—ΟΥΙ**.



In front a ram's head to right.

8. Size $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Obv. Head of Heracles wearing lion's skin. Border of dots.

Rev. Same as no. 6; behind, **ΣΤΑ**, in front **ΟΨ**.

9. Size. Obv. Female head with hair rolled.

Rev. A crow. Legend **ΕΥ—ΒΙ**.

The Bronze coins are seldom found in fine condition; indeed the difficulty of determining the goddess represented by the head is largely owing to the poor condition of the specimens. If we are right in identifying the one coin in fine condition as representing Aphrodite, most probably the other heads represent the same goddess, for they are very similar, but in too poor condition to shew of what leaves the crown consisted.

If the head be identified as that of Hera it would be only what we might have expected to find, for there was a temple of Hera Areia on the banks of the Silarus not far off, and the head of this goddess appears on the coins of Poseidonia about the beginning of the fourth century. Her head, however, generally appears facing and not in profile.

On the brass coins of Pæstum the head of Demeter appears, and the appearance of that goddess would have caused no surprise if met with on coins of Laüs.

The head of her daughter Persephone would also have been an easily understood type.

In regard to the crow we should note what Mr. G. Macdonald says of the crow (p. 108 of "Coin-types"). He refers to some lost legend to which he thinks the crow on coins of Mende refers: "It may have been the tale told to Pausanias by the people of Naupha... the story he says is not worth repeating, so I omit it" (Paus. II, 38, 3).

May not this crow have some connection with the story told in Herodotus (IV. 15), of Aristaeus accompanying Apollo in the form of a crow ?

The crow or raven may have been an emblem of Apollo.

POSEIDONIA.

Both Laüs and Poseidonia were founded by colonists from Sybaris, probably about 600 B.C., a time when that city had attained its highest degree of prosperity. There is evidence that the men who founded Poseidonia were Dorians who had come from Troezen to Sybaris and been expelled by the Achaean party in that city.

Aristotle in his *Πολιτικῶν* (V 3, p. 132, ed. Bekkers) tells us the story of their expulsion, and Solinus who wrote on geography about 240 A.D. calls Poseidonia a Doric colony. The shapes of the letters on the coins also bear witness to the Dorian origin of the colony. A comparative table of the ancient forms of Greek letters is given in *Dict. des Antiquités* of Daremberg et Saglio, p. 199.

On coins of Poseidonia we find the letter **M** to which Herodotus refers as Dorian; (I, 139) speaking of the names of Persians he says: "they all terminate with the same letter which the Dorians call San, and the Ionians Sigma".

Poseidonia was one of the northern ports to which the commerce of Sybaris was shipped after its land transport, hence its commercial prosperity.

Hardly anything is recorded of the city during the first century of its growth; Herodotus however mentions a citizen of Poseidonia advising the Agylleacans to colonize Velia, about 540 B.C.

The greatest event in the history of the city and which interests us because it brought about a change in the coinage, was the influx of fugitives from Sybaris in 510 B.C., when that city was destroyed. Mr. Macdonald, in his work on "Coin types", suggests that it was soon after this event that the bull type appeared on the reverse of the staters.

The large increase in the number of citizens may have led to the opening of fresh commercial connections, involving the change of the weight standard from the Campanian to the Achaean.

One result of this influx of Sybarites was the influence exercised by the mint of Poseidonia over the coinage current from 452-448

B.C. in the new city founded by the Sybarites in 452 B.C. ; these coins of the new Sybaris being mere copies of those of Poseidonia.

After 510 B.C. Poseidonia flourished for little more than about a hundred years, during which period the Lucanians were growing stronger than the Greeks.

The older native races of Southern Italy, the Oenotrians, were less warlike, and more open to receive the civilization of Greece, but the Lucanians, coming from the more northern territory of the Samnites, were less amenable to Grecian influence.

About 420 B.C. they had conquered Campania, and from 410 to 400 B.C. they began to encroach upon the southern cities. Poseidonia being the more northern city fell first before them, some few years before the destruction of Laüs in 390 B.C. Athenodorus quotes Aristoxenus as relating that the Lucanians did not utterly destroy or expel the Greeks from Poseidonia, but forced them to submit to their rule.

The victory of Alexander of Epirus over the Samnites and Lucanians, "as he was making a descent on the district adjoining Poseidonia," is recorded by Livy (VIII, c. 17). The date of his victory is 330 B.C., and the result was the deliverance of the city from the Lucanian power for a short time; the death of Alexander so graphically related by Livy (VIII, 24) restored the city to the Lucanians.

It is not easy to picture to oneself the condition of the city during the victorious career of Pyrrhus, but we know that when he left Italy, in 273 B.C., the Romans took possession of the place, and planted a colony there, giving it the new name Paestum by which it was afterwards known.

Paestum remained faithful to Rome throughout the second Punic War. Between 300 and 268 B.C. staters weighing 111 grs. were issued by the Lucanian rulers and perhaps also by the Romans before the issue of the celebrated denarii. After 268 B.C. only bronze coins were struck in Paestum, about twelve different types of which are known.

The gradual decay of the city is thought to have been caused by the malaria arising from the stagnant waters of the stream which once flowed beneath its walls, and which about that time began to be obstructed. The whole circuit of its walls may still be traced, and the ruins of its four gates may even now be seen.

The choice of Poseidon for the god of the new colony was just what we should expect from men whose families belonged originally to Troezen. Pausanias (II, xxx, s. 6) tells us one of their earliest kings was a son of Poseidon, and that during his reign that god contended with Athene for supremacy, their dispute ending in their agreeing to share the worship of the land according to the will of

Zeus. The ancient coins of Troezen, which date however only from 430 B.C., bore as types a trident on one side, and the head of Athene on the other.

A city built by a later king Aetius was called Poseidonia. Strabo (IX, p. 373) also says Troezen was once called by that name. These early kings were Ionians, but when the Dorians came they sent colonists from Argos who mingled with the Ionians.

We have seen how the poems of Homer influenced the citizens of Magna Graecia and we may therefore note how appropriate a choice for their deity to preside over the building of a new city Poseidon would be considered, for he is said to have assisted Apollo in building the walls of Troy, and to have resented the destruction of his work by the Greeks (*Iliad*, XII, 17, 28; XXI, 443).

The character of Poseidon, as already remarked, presented by Homer is one destitute of the higher elements. Gladstone says he was represented as "lustful, vengeful, headstrong, self-assertive, yet ever shrewd". If we may think of the men who worshipped such a being as attributing to their god their own character, Poseidonia must have been an unpleasant city in which to dwell.

The religious motive of the type is evident, and can in no way be made to fit Mr. Ridgeway's theory of a representation of a barter unit. It is natural to enquire whether the representation of the god on the coins was copied from some celebrated statue, but we cannot point to any statue now existing as that from which the type was taken. Mr. Macdonald (p. 97, *Coin-types*) thinks it is highly probable the type was derived from a statue at Potidaea mentioned by Herodotus (VIII, 129).

The figure on the coins of Poseidonia is one of the most ancient representations of the god known to us, and the fact that he bears the trident is especially noticeable, because on very many of the most ancient representations of Poseidon the sceptre borne by him is more like that borne by Zeus, and it is often difficult to decide which god the figure was meant to represent. Probably the natives of the hills thought of the supreme Deity as the god of the air, whose voice was the thunder, and the dwellers by the seashores naturally looked upon the sea, with its mysterious power and beauty, as an exhibition of the power of the supreme Deity, whose voice was heard in the sound of the waves, and whose anger was felt in the storms. It has been said that "Poseidon was in fact Zeus in his marine aspect", and in one of the Orphic Hymns Poseidon is called πάντιος ἐνθάτιος Ζεὺς.

That the cult of Poseidon was more in harmony with those of the other cities of Magna Graecia than would appear at first sight to be the case, we may see when we consider the relation of his cult with those of Dionysus and Demeter in the mother country.

His temple at Troezen, where he was prominent as a deity of vegetation, was contiguous to that of Demeter Thesmophorus. Plutarch states that Poseidon was Δημητρεὺς σύννομος, the sharer of Demeter's temple. According to Eustathius, a πομπή or procession in his honour was part of the Demeter festival of the Haloa at Eleusis; and he shared in the honours paid to the Mother and Daughter at an altar on the Sacred way from Athens. His name may probably be connected with πόσις, ποτόν, and ποταμός, and he was evidently in some places looked upon as a freshwater god. In harmony with this idea is the title ὑπὸ ἁλμύρας which Plutarch attests was given to him at Athens and Troezen.

The men of Cyzicus were bidden by the Delphic Oracle to associate him in sacrifice with Γῆ καρποφόρος. If we can trust Hesychius Poseidon had his share in the Dionysiac festival of the πρόσθρυγαί.

As the god of freshwater springs he was called Νυμφαγέτης, and hence a nymph might naturally have appeared on some of the coins struck in honour of his cult. The bull type which we find on the Reverse in Period II. appears more natural and easy to understand when we realize the old association of Poseidon as the god of the rivers and fountains as well as of the sea. The type has been explained in the notes on the coins of Neapolis.

As a specimen of the prayers offered to Poseidon we may take that in the Knights of Aristophanes 533 (p. 114, Ed. Mitchell): —

“Hail King Poseidon, thou god of horses, thou that lovest the tramp and neighing of brazen-shod steeds, the swift triremes with their dark-blue beaks of onset, and the strite of youths who glory and suffer hardship in the chariot race, lord of the golden trident and fosterer of dolphins.”

However much this god was associated with fresh water, it was with his power over the sea we most frequently find him associated both in art and literature.

All the statues of Poseidon of which we read in Strabo or Pausanias are of later date than the earlier coins of Poseidonia. The references to these works of art are very slight, and give no descriptions by which we might imagine their appearance (Strabo VIII; Pausanias VIII, 14, 5; III, 17, 3; V, 26, 2).

From none of these passages can we gather any information as to the trident or sceptre.

In the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (vol. XIII, p. 19) is an article on “Poseidon's tridents” by Mr. H. B. Walters in which he seeks to show that the trident was a development of the three-pointed flowery termination of the sceptre which in the earliest vase paintings and votive tablets was shewn as that borne by Zeus and Poseidon.

In 1879 a heap of broken terra-cotta tablets was discovered about a mile and a half from the south-west side of the Acropolis at Corinth.

These tablets ($\pi\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ or $\pi\iota\nu\alpha\lambda\iota\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ from $\pi\iota\nu\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}$) or pinakes were made between 650 and 550 B.C. and are now preserved in the Berlin Museum.

They are especially interesting to us as preserving many votive figures of Poseidon. The sceptres on these pinakes illustrate the great variety of floral ornaments with which they were decorated: they may be seen illustrated in Furtwängler "Antike Denkmäler", 1886 (Vol. I, Tafel 7).

The flowers on some of these are so like a trident that Mr. Walters suggests the trident may have been developed from the form of these old sceptres, and adopted as characteristic of the god of the sea. Perhaps the transformation of the flower into the trident may have been suggested by some picture or statue which shewed a tunny-fish as the emblem of the god, for it was with such a three-pronged spear the fishermen took the tunnies. The type created by the hand of Lysippus cannot have suggested the trident, because that sculptor lived two hundred years after the earliest coins of Poseidon were issued, but a picture by Kleantes, who is mentioned by Pliny as the inventor of line drawing (XXXV, 3), is said to have shewn a tunny-fish in the hand of the god, and many other pictures now lost to us, by adding the fish may have made the trident-spear seem a natural form for the sceptre of the sea-god.

A similar transformation of a flower emblem into the head of a spear is known to students of Indian art, and is mentioned in Mr. O'Neill's "The Night of the Gods". If it be objected to this theory of the evolution of the trident from the flower, that we read of the trident as the symbol of Poseidon in the *Iliad* of Homer, a poem far older than any work of art representing the sea god, the value of the objection will depend upon the meaning of the word $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\lambda\alpha$ found in line 506 of Book Δ or IV of the *Odyssey*, or in line 27 of Book \mathbf{M} or 12 of the *Iliad*. If the sceptre of Poseidon was represented in Homer's time as tipped with a three pointed flower, it might still have been described as $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\lambda\alpha$.

The word $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma\text{-}\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, used by Epicurus of the atoms which were of a three-pointed form, is found in the treatise "de placitis Philosoph." of Plutarch (II, 877 F) who there quotes Epicurus.

Many of the early works of art representing Poseidon refer to his power over the horse, hence it was natural to the artists of Poseidonia to represent him on their coins wearing the horseman's cloak, or scarf, called the Chlamys ($\chi\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$). The ends which fall over each arm of the god represented on the coins were called wings ($\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$ or $\pi\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$).

A description of the garment may be seen in Bekker's *Charicles* (p. 420). The material was for the most part woollen, and the colour differed according to the rank and office of the wearer, hunters and fishermen generally wore a dull colour, in order to avoid attracting the attention of their prey. Vases, coins, and statues present us with many varied ways of wearing the garments.

The study of the Poseidon cult is of more value to the historian than to the student of ancient religious ideas, because it lacks the spiritual and ethical interest found in some of the higher cults of the Olympian gods.

It is an early cult which never developed as did some of the others, and was never like them associated with the progress of the nation. The student of numismatics however will observe the evidence of the coins as to the history of the migrations of the Hellenic tribes and something may be gathered concerning the diffusion of this worship from the coin-types. Confer especially : "*The Cults of the Greek States*," by L. H. Farnell.

NOTES ON THE COINS.

The coins may be divided into four series. (I) those issued between 550-480 B.C. (II) those issued after the fall of Sybaris. (III) those issued by the Lucanians. (IV) the bronze coins of the Roman colony of Paestum.

Those of the first series are easily distinguished from the others by their size, fabric, and standard of weight.

They followed the Campanian standard, the staters weighing 118 grains, and their fabric is similar to that of all the early cities



influenced by the Pythagorean brotherhood. They bear the same type on both Obverse and Reverse, but the figure is represented on the latter as seen from behind ; note especially the back view of the chlamys falling over the god's back.

N. B. Specimens of Staters and subsidiary coinage of Poseidonia may be obtained from 10/ upwards.

Mr. Macdonald points out ("Coin-types", p. 14) that the difference of weight standards in this series of flat Southern Italian coins is against the idea of their representing a monetary convention, the purpose of which would be to facilitate exchange.

Their similarity of fabric was only that which naturally arises in the mints of particular districts.

PERIOD II, 480-400 B.C.

The second series follows the Achaean Standard of weight, the Staters weighing 126 grains, the Thirds 42 grains, the Sixths 21 grains, and the Twelfths 11 grains.



Their fabric is thick and compact, and the types are in relief on both sides. The Obverse type was copied from that of the 1st series, but a bull appears on the Reverse, standing to left with the head in profile.

The bull is thought to be an emblem of the water deity, the ocean god Poseidon.

About the year 400 B.C. or a few years before the fall of the city a new type was introduced, viz. the head of Hera Areia, facing: she was the goddess worshipped in the temple on the banks of the Silarus near the city. This type was copied by the mint artists of Phistelia, Hyria, and Neapolis; the Reverse type continued the same as before, a bull.

To this period belong the bronze coins, similar to the silver staters, with the bull type on the Reverse.

PERIOD III.

The coins of the third period are very rare; there is no silver of this age in the British Museum, but three varieties of bronze coins issued during the Lucanian rule are to be seen there. The two types then introduced were the heads of the Dioscuri, and the dolphin; on the backs of some of the dolphins the naked boy Eros is represented.

What influence does the Dioscuri type imply? These gods were

introduced to Rome in 498-6 B.C. and were at that time worshipped by the Latin races conquered in that war. Were they introduced by Samnite or Lucanian influence to Poseidonia? As they were looked upon as protectors of those who travel by sea, Poseidon is said to have given them power over the winds and waves, that they might assist the ship-wrecked mariners. They are thus spoken of in the 'Helen' of Euripides (1525) as sending to the sailors prosperous winds from Zeus, and in the Homeric Hymn on the Dioscuri as subduing the storm clouds.

The dolphin was frequently represented with Poseidon as one of his emblems, so the introduction of that fish as a type is easily understood, but the boy-rider presents a problem not so easy to solve.

There is a well-known denarius of the year 76 B.C. issued by L. Lucretius Trio bearing a head of Neptune on the Obverse, with a trident behind the head, and on the Reverse a dolphin to right, with a winged Cupid on its back. Another denarius of circa 49 B.C. issued by Manius Cordius Rufus in the East bears the head of Venus Verticordia on the Obverse, and a dolphin to right, with a winged Cupid riding on its back.

It is natural to suppose that these later coins may have been copied from the Poseidonian design, or at any rate refer to the same idea of a connection between Poseidon and Aphrodite. We have seen on some coins a bird like the dove of Aphrodite, which may refer also to the same connection of these deities in the minds of the Southern Italian Greeks.

In Overbeck's large work, the figure 7, on Tafel XIII, gives us a most interesting design in which Aphrodite, Poseidon, and Eros are all represented with Amymone. It is on a crater, now at Vienna, and was published by Laborde among the Count Lamberg vases. The story of Amymone was also represented on a vase discovered at Naples in 1790.

The dolphin was equally the emblem of Poseidon and Aphrodite the goddess of the sea foam, hence, as we have seen, that emblem appeared on one Republican denarius with the head of Neptune, and on another with the head of Venus for the Obv. type.

In the Louvre at Paris is a statue of a Marine Venus with an Eros winged on a dolphin by her side (N^o 156). With a Venus in Bronze of Kellers, 1687, from a work of Cleomenes, are two Cupids on a dolphin.

PERIOD IV.

The coins of the fourth and last period are all of bronze; they may be divided into two series: those bearing the legend ΓΑΙΣ

with the mark of value, and those with the legend **PAES** and the marks of value.

The following deities are represented by their heads, Poseidon, Artemis, Dionysus and Demeter.

The two last deities were well-known, and much venerated in Southern Italy, and their introduction by the Roman mint-masters is only one instance of the common practice of the Romans to introduce and honour all the gods of the conquered races over which they ruled.

The Artemis would probably be the Arcadian goddess of the nymphs, whose sanctuaries were near rivers, and who is often connected with river-gods, as with Alpheius, and to whom fish were sacred.

The cult of such a goddess would be more in harmony with the worship of Poseidon than that of the Artemis, the sister of Apollo.

These Roman Colonial bronze coins consist of the following values : Semis, Triens, Quadrans, Sextans, Semuncia, and Uncia all bearing **PAIS** and their respective marks of value.

Also Semis, Triens, Sextans, and Semuncia bearing **PAES** with their respective marks of value. They are not often found in a very good state of preservation and therefore were probably long in use.

The latest series of this fourth Period, bearing the legend **PAE** and the marks of value, extended down to the time of Tiberius.

Some of these coins bear the letters **P·S·S·C** signifying *Paeste Signatum Senatus Consulto*.

This is an unusual privilege allowed by the Roman Senate and it has not been explained.

COINS OF PERIOD I. 550-480 B.C.

The Campanian standard, according to which the coins of Poseidonia were first issued, was derived from the Phoenician.

In many of the Campanian cities the didrachms weighed 7.41 grammes or 114.35 grains, a weight which very nearly corresponds with that of the Phoenician shekel of the reduced royal norm, 7.46 to 7.48 grammes or 115.12 to 115.43 grains. Many of the earliest didrachms of Poseidonia weigh 115.1 to 116 grains.

The coins are in fabric flat, thin and round, similar to those of the cities which were influenced by the Pythagorean brotherhood, the Reverse type being the back view of the Obverse type struck incuse.

The legend is generally retrograde **MOΠ** but some are found in the later order **ΠOM**. The middle letter is sometimes found in the square or angular form **◇**. The same legend is repeated on the

Reverse, but on some coins the order of the letter is ΓΟΜ on the Obv. and ΜΟΓ on the Rev. On some the middle letter is Ο on the Obv. and ϙ on the Rev. and on others ϙ on the Obv. and Ο on the Rev.

The type on all these coins is a figure of Poseidon, helmeted, advancing to right, nude except for a chlamys hanging over his back and arms and with the right arm raised ready to strike, with a three-pronged trident, the left arm being extended in front. The eye is formed in the archaic manner, the helmets are varied. On the Rev. the same figure incuse, but as it were seen from the other side, that is the chlamys in front instead of behind the figure.

In size the coins generally measure 1.1 and the weight varies between 112 and 116 grs.

The variations are as follows :

I. The god's hair is tied in a knot with one end falling in formal curls and the other standing out.

The chlamys has pointed ends.

The trident is ornamented.

The border is a cable pattern enclosing dots; on Obv. and on the Rev. a wreathed border.

II. The same, but both ends of the knot of hair fall in formal curls.

III. The same, but in front of the figure a sea-horse without wings to right.

IV. The same, but the trident and chlamys unornamented; the chlamys has square ends.

V. Same type, but in the left hand the god holds a necklace. The border consists of large dots within which is a plain border.

VI. Similar type and border on Obv., but border on Reverse of radiating lines.

DRACHMS OF PERIOD I.

The specimens existing weigh from 50 to 59 grains, the maximum, and are $\frac{7}{8}$ of-an-inch in diameter.



The types are the same as those of the staters.

On some specimens the ends of the chlamys are pointed and on

others square. The border is sometimes decorated with dots, and sometimes plain.

On some specimens a pistrix is seen in the field, but generally there is no symbol. The legends are generally ΠΟΜ on Obv., and ΜΟΠ on Rev. The fabric is the same as that of the staters and the Rev. type incuse.

PERIOD II. 450-400 B.C.

The coins of this period are very easily distinguished from those of the last by their increased weight, their smaller diameter, and the greater thickness of their fabric. Their standard is that of the Achaean cities of Southern Italy, Sybaris and Croton, the weight of the didrachms being 126 grains, that is, eight grains more than the weight of the old Campanian coins.

The stylé of art is not generally very fine, but some specimens are found much more carefully wrought than the work generally seen.

The Obv. type is similar to that on the coins of the first period, but the square ends of the chlamys, hanging over the arms of Poseidon, do not end in a horizontal line; the left end hangs lower than the right and the fold is better expressed.

There is considerable variety in the legends; we find ΠΟΜΕ, ΖΞΜΟΠ, ΠΟΜΕΣ▷Α—ΝΣΑΤΑΜ, ▷ΞΜΟΠ, ΠΟΜΕΣ, ΠΟΜΕΙΔ, ΠΟΜΕΣ▷, ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ or with Ν added.

The shape of the coins of this period is not always as round as usual, oval coins are often met with, and on these the figure of the god is always struck along the centre of the oval, so that the head or feet of Poseidon are never cut off. Many of the coins however are as round as coins of that period ever are.

The letters Α, Δ, and Θ appear in the field of some Obv. types.

On two coins in the British Museum the head of a sea-monster appears in the field on the Obv. to right, and a branch of olive to left.

The Rev. type is a bull walking generally to left, but there are varieties with the bull to right.

The bull's head is in profile, and is not lowered as if butting, and the tail is always hanging down at rest. The Rev. type is in relief and is sunk in a circular depression.

On the oval-shaped coins the bull is always arranged with the length of its body along the longer space of the oval, and the circular depression is cut off above and below by the want of space across the oval.

Smaller Silver Coins.

The small silver coins are found in three sizes; the largest (.45 or 5) weigh from 16 to 20 grains.

These are probably Sixths, and should be of 21 grains; we may suppose they were Diobols, as they are nearly the weight of the Attic diobols.



The second size is from .35 to .4 and the weight about 19.6 grains. These are perhaps also Sixths of, perhaps, a later period and of reduced size and weight.

The third size is about .25, and the weight 6.9 grains. These may be the obols, although we expect an obol to weigh 11 grains.

If these are Twelfths, they should weigh $10\frac{1}{3}$ grains.

These coins are found in various styles, some early and others quite late.

The types of all are the same.



Obv. Poseidon sometimes naked and sometimes wearing the chlamys, striking with the trident; ΠΟΣΕΙ or ΠΟΣΕ or ΜΟΓ or ΠΟΜ.

Rev. A Bull to left, sometimes a dolphin above.

The borders are plain, or with dots, or the border is wanting.

There is one small silver coin in the British Museum with a different type (n^o 20 in the Catalogue). Its weight is 8.7 grains and its size .3.

Obv. Poseidon kneeling on one knee to right, wearing chlamys with pointed ends falling over both shoulders, and striking with the trident, his left arm extended; a border of dots.

Rev. The letters ΟΓ only.

Bronze coins (Period II).

1. Size 1.7. Obv. Poseidon as on Silver coins.
Rev. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ on band under type of butting bull.

2. Size .5 or .55. Obv. Poseidon as on silver coins.
Rev. Bull butting with a symbol in field above, such as a dolphin, a club, a fulmen, or a caduceus.

The bronze coins of this period are similar in type to the silver coinage, as is the case in many other cities, and the variety in the types of the bronze coins generally was introduced later.

PAESTUM.

PERIOD III. 300-268 B.C.

Sambon (Plate xx, 26) records a silver Stater, 111 grains.

Obv. ΓΑΙΣΤΑΝΟ. Head of a young river-god, horned, and crowned with reeds; behind, a swan.

Rev. The Dioscuri on horseback.

In the British Museum are specimens of bronze coins of this period.



1. Obv. Size .75. Head of Poseidon, laureate, to right.

Rev. ΓΑΙΣΤΑΝΟ. Eros ?, naked, seated on dolphin to left, and holding wreath and trident.

2. The same type is found in size .8.

3. Obv. Size .5. Head of Poseidon to right, diademed; a border of dots.

Rev. ΠΑΙ. Dolphin to right, border of dots.

4. Size .45. Obv. Heads of the Dioscuri to right: border of dots.

Rev. Π. Dolphin to left: plain border.

THURIUM.

To all who have enjoyed the charming stories of Herodotus the earliest coins of Thurium must be especially interesting, as the coinage used by the father of history during the years in which he was polishing and rewriting the pages which have delighted so many.

Those also who value the art of the age of Pericles and Pheidias will find in these coins specimens of the engraver's art which show what the money of Athens might have been had not the conservative spirit of the Athenians insisted on preserving the archaic type of her famous coinage, even at a time when Art had passed from that early stage.

Those too who care for the bye-paths of Mythology will be interested in the types which preserve the memory of the local cult of Athene Sculetria. All who are interested in the artists who worked in these old Greek mints will find in the coins of this city an unusual number of signatures of artists, men of renown not in one mint only, but whose work can be traced in many cities.

The story of the city itself is of considerable importance to those interested in the history of colonies, for we find in this city an instance of the regular laying-out of a town such as we are familiar with in Australia and New Zealand.

The coinage of few cities is associated with so many famous men as that of Thurium; when, therefore, we look at a collection of coins struck in this city, although we shall not find much variety in the types, we shall be led to many pleasant and interesting subjects of study.

The coins of Thurium differ from those of the older cities of Magna Graecia hitherto described in that we have none of the large flat coins with an incuse reverse; the date of the foundation of the colony 443 B. C. being later than the period of that flat series. The story of the origin of the colony has already been partly told in the chapter on the coins of Sybaris, and Plutarch's description of the part played by Pericles was there quoted.

The site is said to be about six miles from that of the ruined Sybaris, on the higher ground of the rightbank of the Crathis, where the river enters the plain, and it is now indicated by a few insignificant ruins.

The oldest description of the city is that given by Diodorus Siculus, a contemporary of Augustus, who has preserved much information from earlier writers. He tells us how the city was planned with great regularity, and divided by four broad streets named after Heracles, Aphrodite, Zeus Olympias and Dionysus, and these were crossed by three roads called Hera, Thuria, and Thurina.

British colonists may compare Thurium with many cities in New Zealand and Australia. As in Christchurch the principal streets are named after English Cathedrals, so in Thurium the chief streets were named after the principal cults of their fatherland. The work at Thurium was planned and superintended by Hippodamus, a native of Miletus, who had laid out the town of Piraeus and who afterwards did the same for Rhodes. He aimed at being not only an architect, but a politician and a philosopher, and he is supposed to have been the object of the wit of Aristophanes in his play *The Birds*. Some of his philosophical ideas are preserved by Stobaeus, and they seem to have been drawn from Pythagoras.

The first settlers were led by a distinguished body of men; Lampon was the chief in command and Xenocritus was associated with him. Lampon was said to be gifted with prophetic power, and was a soothsayer, and interpreter of oracles; Aristophanes alludes to him also in *The Birds* (521, 986).

The most distinguished of this famous band however was the historian Herodotus, who was then about forty years of age. He had completed his travels and had already written some of his famous work. He had been in Athens about three years, where he had enjoyed the friendship of the most famous men and women, Pericles, Aspasia, Thucydides, Damon, Pheidias, Protagoras, Zeno, Cratinus, Euripides, and Sophocles.

He was probably induced to join the colonists partly because he wished to enjoy quiet in order to polish and finish his great work, and partly on account of the expense attached to life in Athens.

The balance of evidence shows that he lived at Thurium, making only one expedition to Athens about 430 B.C. and a few small journeys in Magna Græcia, dying at Thurium at the age of about 60 years, circ. 420 B.C., happily for him, before the troubles became acute between the Athenian and the Spartan parties at Thurium (Pliny N. H., XII, iv, 8).

Another famous man who accompanied Herodotus to Thurium was Lysias, the orator, then a boy little more than fifteen years of age. After the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, when he was about

forty-five, he, with three hundred other Athenians, was driven forth and returned to Athens. He must have been the owner of vast sums of these Thurian coins for he was able to help Thrasybulus on his return most liberally.

The Spartan general Cleandridas was another member of this famous band of colonists. His joining an Athenian colony is accounted for by his having been accused of receiving a bribe from Pericles to induce him to withdraw his Spartan troops from Attica. Apparently he met with considerable success against the Lucanians, so that afterwards, when the war broke out between the Thurians and Tarentines, he was made general of the Thurian army.

It seems probable that the philosopher Protagoras visited Thurium, for we gather from Plato that he was long absent from Athens, and that he visited Sicily; and Diogenes Laertius, who wrote about the second century after Christ, says that Protagoras was the law-giver of Thurium.

Another famous visitor to Thurium in its earliest period was Empedocles of Sicily, the brilliant orator and student of natural science.

The form of government was democratic, and therefore Diodorus can hardly be right in saying the laws were those of Charondas, who had long been dead, and who was opposed to a democracy.

The first troubles of the colonists were occasioned by the pride and forwardness of the Sybarites, who were ultimately either slain or expelled. The peace of the community, however, was further disturbed by the factions naturally formed among people gathered from so many different cities.

The city was divided into ten tribes, three from the Peloponnese, Arcadian, Achæan, Elean; three from Central Greece, Boeotian, Amphictyonic, and Dorian; four from Athens and her dependencies, Ionian, Athenian, Euboean, and Nesiotic.

The most important civil strife arose between the supporters of the Athenian and the Spartan parties.

Demosthenes and Eurymedon were received in Thurium by the Athenian party, and assisted with seven hundred hoplites and three hundred dartmen. This quarrel caused the citizens to send to Delphi to appeal to the Oracle, as to who should be considered the founder, and they received the answer that it was Apollo himself.

The principal author of the revolt against the Athenian party was a Rhodian named Dorieus, son of Diagoras.

Dorieus had been exiled by the Athenians, and ever cherished a hatred to that city. He was a celebrated athlete, and had won the pancratic prize in the years 432, 428, and 424 at Olympia.

The Spartan power may have brought in a change of laws

founded on those of Charondas, but the aristocracy abused their powers, and were checked by the lower classes refusing to fight against the Lucanians until their grievances were redressed. They copied the tactics of the Roman plebs who seceded to the Mons Sacer.

We may now turn to trace the connection of Thurium with the other cities of Magna Graecia.

As soon as the Sybarites were expelled a friendly alliance was formed with Croton. The first cause of contention with another city was the old claim, mentioned by Herodotus, and about 430 B. C. advanced by the Athenian party in Thurium, to the possession of the fertile lands of the Ionian city Siris, which had been destroyed by the Achaean citizens of Metapontum, Sybaris and Croton, and to which the Tarentines laid claim.

In 432 B. C. this dispute was settled by the building of a new city called Heracleia a few miles further up the river from the old Siris, the remains of which became the port of the new city. Heracleia was made the meeting place for the *πανηγυρις* of the Greeks of Southern Italy; this was a meeting which had been originally of a religious character, but at this time was more political than religious.

In 390 B. C., the year in which Rome was taken by the Gauls, the Thurians led the forces which met the Lucanians near Laüs and were utterly defeated. It is said that 10,000 Greeks perished there.

The oppression of the elder Dionysius had weakened the Greeks, and thus rendered possible the great success of the Lucanians.

Some of the fugitives from the battle took refuge on board the ships of Dionysius, and were saved by the humanity of Leptinus, the brother of Dionysius, who helped to bring about a peace. Soon afterwards, when his conduct had offended his brother, he took refuge in Thurium, with Philistus, his son-in-law, until recalled and reinstated in favour with his brother. Forty-seven years after this great defeat, in 343 B. C., the Romans began their first Samnite war.

In 332 B. C. the Lucanians fought with Alexander of Epirus, who made a treaty with the Romans, and Alexander wished to change the centre of the League from Heracleia to Thurium.

From Livy (X, 2) we learn that Thurium was taken by Cleonymos in 301 B. C. when he was acting as a buccaneer along the coasts of Italy, and that a Roman army came to deliver the city just too late to prevent its being taken. Soon afterwards, when the Lucanians threatened Thurium, the citizens remembering this assistance from Rome, again appealed for Roman aid.

The appeal arrived when the plebs were in Janiculum, therefore no aid could be given, and the Lucanians ravaged the Thurian territory. In 284 B. C. Ælius, one of the tribunes, proposed and

carried a law against the Lucanian leader Stenius Statilius (Pliny, N. H., 34) and as a mark of gratitude for his help the Thurians voted him a statue and a crown of gold.

Two years later C. Fabricius defeated the Lucanians and Brutians in several battles, and raised the siege of Thurium, driving away Statilius. Again the grateful citizens erected a statue to their Roman deliverer.

To secure the safety of Thurium a fleet under L. Valerius was sent to the mouth of the Crathis. Some of the vessels of this fleet sailed on to Tarentum, where they were destroyed by the citizens, and Valerius was slain.

Appian says the Tarentines taxed the Thurians with preferring Roman aid to that of the Greek cities, and sent an army to Thurium. When the city capitulated the Roman garrison was allowed to depart, but the city was plundered, and the principal citizens exiled. The Romans then sent L. Postumius to demand an explanation from the Tarentines, who received him with insult, and L. Æmilius was sent to avenge the wrong. The campaign of Pyrrhus followed from 278 to 275 B. C. after which date Thurium was garrisoned by the Romans. Pyrrhus caused a change in the weight of the stater in Tarentum, Heracleia, and Thurium, and new types were issued at Thurium from about 278 to 268 B. C., when the mint ceased to issue any silver money.

The Romans began their celebrated issue of silver denarii in 269 B. C., with types which bear witness to the influence of the coinage of Magna Græcia.

After the battle of Cannæ the Thurians joined the Carthaginians, but in 213 B. C. they returned to their alliance with Rome (Livy, XXV, 1). In 212 B. C. however, they again revolted from Rome, and received the Carthaginian Hanno. In 210 B. C. Hannibal removed the men of Atella from their ruined city to Thurium, and six years later he moved 3,500 of the citizens to Croton.

In 194 B. C. Thurium became a Roman Colony with Latin rights, consisting of 3000 foot soldiers, 300 knights, and the old name was changed to Copia in reference to the fertility of the soil.

From 194 B. C. bronze coins were issued in Copia of the Roman semi-uncial weight.

The cornucopia which forms the reverse type of this coinage was copied by Sulla in 82 B. C., when he issued money here to pay his troops on their return to Italy from the East.

THE TYPES.

It seems probable from the style of the earliest coins that the first colonists established a mint as soon as possible, for their style is Athenian, and that of the School of Pheidias.

The head of Athene is free from the archaic style of the coinage of Athens, but preserves the undulating waves of hair below the helmet. It is just what we might have expected the coinage of Athens to be like at this period. On the obverse, instead of the stiff leaves in the Athenian helmet of the Goddess, we see an artistic spray of olive-leaves forming a crown.

The reverse type was no doubt chosen as that of the city whose citizens had requested their aid: the characteristic type of Sybaris, the bull, was retained, and only altered in detail. Moreover the butting bull was admirably suited to express the meaning of the name adopted by the new colony, and taken from its site near the rushing fountain Thurii. The fish added to the exergue was probably merely an emblem of the water from which the city took its name. The significance of the reverse type has already been explained in the chapters on Sybaris.

Among the coins of the first period of fine art we find some on which the helmet of Athene is decorated with a figure of Scylla.

It has commonly been thought that these coins should be attributed to the period after 390 B. C., but from the style of many coins bearing this figure on the helmet it is probable that this type was introduced sometime before that date.

When we seek for an explanation of the departure from the Athenian type we naturally try to find it in the political disputes which troubled the citizens even from the earliest times of the colony. The two parties which alternately seem to have been predominant were the Athenian and the Achaean or Spartan, and the Scylla type was probably that chosen by the latter party.

There are coins with the olive-wreath, and others with the Scylla helmet, which were evidently engraved by the same artist, for on the reverse we find the symbol, a bird with the wings raised, and with the signature Φ on each. The style of art is the same, and one artist executed both designs.

If the type with the olive-wreathed helmets was that used by the Athenian party we should expect it to disappear from the coinage after the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, and to find that after 413 B. C. the helmet was always decorated with the figure of Scylla.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINS.

The distinctive obverse types of this coinage are found in several periods, so it will not be possible to arrange the coins in chronological order merely by placing those bearing the similar obverse types together without regard to style of workmanship, or the reverse types.

Period I. 440 to 420 B.C.

The earliest coins are those on which the bull with pendant tail is walking, with the head slightly lowered, and in profile. We shall find the obverse types with both the olive-wreathed helmets and those decorated with the figure of Scylla with her right hand on her hip and the left raised to her brow, and also with the griffin instead of Scylla.

Period II. 420-410 B.C.

On these coins the tail of the bull is whisked up over the back, the right foot is raised and the head, though still in profile, is further lowered, so that the nose almost touches the knee of the left leg, which supports the whole weight of the forepart of the animal.

The obverse types of this period are similar to those of the first.

Period III. 410-400 B. C.

The bull's head on coins of this third period is seen turned three quarters round towards the spectator. This is the type which seems to have been copied on the alliance coins of Leontini and Catana in 404 B.C. The coins also of Poseidonia bearing a butting bull issued about 400 B.C. seem to have been copied from this type of Thurium.



Period IV.

The bull's head on coins of the fourth period is found represented in full face, as on the coin with the letters ΣΙΜ above the bull and a flying cupid in the exergue.

This classification is taken from the article in the *Num. Chron.* (1896, III. Series. vol. XVI) by Dr A. J. Evans.

THE SCYLLA TYPES.

The Scylla on the helmet of Athene is not like the horrible monster described by Homer in the twelfth book of the *Odyssey*;—

a creature with twelve feet, six necks very long, surmounted by ugly heads with three rows of teeth, her body concealed in the cave, from which her necks protrude and snatch the dolphins and sea-dogs, or even sailors from their blue-proved ships. Was it an octopus?

Strabo, in Book I., remarks that there is a natural explanation of part of this description of Scylla; "for the tunny-fish carried in shoals by Italy, and not being able to reach Sicily, fall into the straits where they become the prey of larger fish, such as dolphins and dog-fish, and it is by this means the galeotes (which are also called sword-fish), and dogs fatten themselves." Scylla's occupation as described by Homer reminded Strabo of the dangerous sport of spearing the sword-fish with tridents. The trident on some of the Scylla types reminds us of this passage in Strabo.

The tradition which is represented on the coin-type is the later one of which we read in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (XIII, 732): "The other (Scylla) has her dreadful paunch surrounded by fierce dogs, having the face of a virgin, and (if the poets have not left us all things wrapped up in fiction) she was for some time actually a virgin." The romantic story of the manner in which she was deformed is told by Servius in his note to Virgil (*Æneidos*, Lib. III). The fullest account of this romance however is in the first seventy-five lines of Ovid's fourteenth book of *Metamorphoses*.

"The goddess (Circe) was very angry with him (Glaucus), and since she could not hurt him, and would not, as being in love with him, she is angry with her (Scylla), who was preferred before herself, and being offended with the refusal of her favour, immediately she bruises herbs remarkable for their horrid juices, and mixes Hecateian charms with them when bruised. Putting on green clothes, through a troop of fawning wild beasts she advances from the middle of her hall, and going to Rhegium, which lies directly over against the rocks of Zancle, she enters the waters swelling with great commotion, upon which she trod as upon a solid bank, and skims over the tops of the seas with dry feet. There was a small pool of water curling into an arched recess, an agreeable resting place for Scylla, to which she withdrew herself from the heat both of the sea and the air, when the sun was very hot in the middle of his course, and had made shadows from the heights very small. The goddess infects this water, before her coming, and pollutes it with wonder-working herbs. She sprinkles on it liquor squeezed from hurtful roots and thrice nine times with her magical mouth mutters a song of enchantment, darkened with the obscurity of new words. Scylla coming, went down up to the middle of her body, when she beholds her groin deformed with barking monsters, and at first not believing them to be parts of her body, she flies from them, and tries to drive them away, and fears the rude mouths of the dogs,

but drags along with her those she fled from. And seeking for the substance of her thighs and legs and feet, she finds Cerberian jaws instead of these parts. And the madness of the dogs continues, and the backs of the wild creatures adhere to her cropped groin, and her body swelling out... Scylla continued in the same place, and as soon as an opportunity was given her, in hatred of Circe, she robbed Ulysses of his men."

"This same (Scylla), soon after, was going to sink the Trojan ships, had she not been transformed into a rock, which now stands out of the water all of stone."

The earliest of the Scylla designs suggest the representation of the nymph trying to disengage the dogs at the moment of her transformation, the left hand raised in horror to her brow.

In the sketch of the history of Thurium the quarrels between the Athenian party and those who opposed them were noticed, and if we try to find a reason for the differences in the obverse types found on the coinage, it is natural to seek in those quarrels the origin of the divers types. The Athenian party would be likely to adopt the design most like that of the Athenian coinage and the Colonial party to adopt some local design, hence we probably may recognize the olive-wreath as the type of coins issued when the Athenian party was in power, and the Scylla-type as that of coins issued



when the Colonial party had the upper hand. The Scylla-types appeared at about the period of the foundation of Heraclea in 432 B.C. and this design was chosen for the obverse type of the coinage of that city.

According to Ovid's legend the nymph struggling to free herself from the dogs fixed to her side by her jealous enemy is a fit type to represent the efforts of the Colonials to free themselves from the presence of the Athenians.

THE OBTVERSE SCYLLA TYPES.

I. Those on which the figure of Scylla is represented with her right hand on her hip and the left raised to her head.

The letters found on coins with this type are :

Obv. ΙΔ; Φ; Ε; Κ; Ξ; Μ; Γ.

℞. ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ; Ɱ; ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ ΗΡΑ; ΘΟΥΡΙ ΕΥ :

The bull is butting and stamping, or walking on the earlier coins. Athene's head is found both to right and to left.

Tetradrachms average 241 grains; the Didrachms average 122 to 115 grs.

The crest is less stiff than on the coins with the olive-wreath and the less stiff the crest the later is the appearance of the coin; the crests on this series vary considerably in that respect.

The bull on the Didrachms is similar to that of the Tetradrachms, varying according to date.

II. Those on which the figure of Scylla bears an oar on her right arm, and the dogs in front.

No letters appear on these coins (Δ? L. Forrer, p. 63. Obv. also on ℞. of another).

The hair of the goddess is in wavy curls blown backwards and the crest of the helmet is no longer in stiff straight lines but in curled locks.

The bull is butting and stamping.

III. Those coins on which Scylla is represented hurling a stone or rock with her left hand.

The letters appearing on these types are :

Obv. ΣΑΝ : ΣΙ with ΝΙ on ℞. Α with ΣΙ on ℞.

℞. Φ : ΙΡ : Σ : ΔΙ with ΔΙΩ.

Φ with ΘΕ on ℞. : ΕΥ with ΘΕ on ℞. : ΚΑΑ with $\frac{\Sigma I}{\text{ΚΑΑ}}$ on ℞.

ΣΩ with same on ℞. and ΦΙ; underneath, ΔΙ :

Τ with ΕΥΦΑ on ℞. Κ with ΕΥ on ℞.

Rev. ΣΙΜ : ΗΡΑ : ΘΕ : ΦΑ : ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝΦΡΥ : ΔΑ :

ΕΥΦΑ : ΘΟΥ ΕΥ ΦΡ : ΓΑΡ :

The crest of the helmets end over the neck in a long tail slightly curled, and the upper part of the crination is stiff and straight. Under the neck-piece of helmet regular wavy curls appear.

The head of the goddess is always turned to right.

The hair of Athene on some of the didrachms is in the old four waves of hair seen on the coins of Athens.

IV. Those coins on which Scylla is represented with two sea-dogs and with her arm round a dog's neck.

The letter Κ is found on the back of the bull and also Κ on the neck of the helmet (in the collection of Raoul Rochette) Ξ on back of bull (p. 306, L. Forrer).

Crest of helmet stiff until near neck.

The hair of the goddess over the brow is in the old Athenian four waved curls.

The bull is stamping and butting.

V. Those coins on which Scylla holds a trident in her right hand and before her are the sea-dogs.

The letters found on these types are :

Obv. Γ with Α on Ῥ. : Κ with ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ on Ῥ. : ΣΩ with ΣΩΓ on Ῥ.

Ῥ. Ι : ΕΥΦΑ : ΗΡ Κ : ΝΥ : ΣΟΣ : ΣΩ : ΣΩ ΚΑ : ΩΞ : ΣΩ
ΞΕ : ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ.

The manner in which the hair is tied, which flows from under the neck-piece, is peculiar to this period. There are some specimens of No. III which show the same style of tying the hair.

The hair on Athene's brow is in the later short wavy curls.

Art of decadent period.

VI. Those coins on which Scylla holds an oar or rudder over her left shoulder, and the sea-dogs in front. On the Ῥ. of some ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ ; Ῥ. ΕΥ. Ῥ. ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ ΙΚ : (p. 252, Forrer).

The crest is stiff at the top, but ends with the tail like those of No. II.

The hair on Athene's brow is in the old Athenian waves.

The bull is stamping.

VII. Those coins on which the helmet is decorated with a griffin instead of Scylla.

The letters found on these types are :

Obv. Γ with Η ΡΑ on Ῥ. : ΣΙ with ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ on Ῥ. and ΕΥΦΑ ΔΑ.

Ῥ. ΕΥΦΑ : ΕΥ Φ : Υ ΦΡ : ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ.

The head of Athene is always turned to right.

The helmet is very similar to that of No. III.

One early coin in the British Museum (N^o 48) bears a winged sea-horse, the bull is walking and is in early style.

Didrachm with the head of Apollo in careless style, wreathed, and to right, with bull butting and stamping on Ῥ., with ΑΡΙ and a palm-branch in field above.

The style shows this must have been issued only a few years before the closing of the mint of Thurium.

OBOLS.

The obols in the British Museum are all of late date, after 300 B.C. They bear on the obverse the normal head of Athene with the Scylla-types (No. I, No. III, No. V). Some of the latest coins bear a winged helmet, others a plain helmet crested, with the long tail, and on others the helmet is decorated with the griffin.

* Tetradrachms of the later periods may be obtained in fair state for about £ 5 ; Didrachms for 10/. ; and lesser denominations for 5/. ; but the earlier and more artistic types are worth considerably more, and sell according to their respective merits.

NOTES CONCERNING THE SIGNATURES OF ARTISTS AND OFFICERS.

In Vol. III, Third series of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1883, is an article entitled "Athenian Coin-engravers in Italy" by Reginald Stuart Poole. This article draws attention to a group of coins which differ in style from the work of the ordinary gem-engravers of the Western school of art.

The coins of Thurium are pointed out as affording examples of art which show the influence of sculpture, and especially of the school of Greece. The coinage of Terina supplies further examples of this series of coins.

Poole says the Greek artists who copied the work on the beautiful Syracusan decadrachms, "excelled in strength, simplicity and purity, the originals which they admired and followed". The similarity of the style of the coins signed Φ in Thurium and Terina is very striking. The signature $\Phi\PY$ is found on a coin differing in style from those signed Φ and it may be conjectured that $\Phi\PY$ worked with Φ , and wrote his name more fully for the sake of distinction. At Terina it is thought the Φ stood for $\Phi\text{I}\text{A}\text{I}\Sigma$.

On page 27 of Mr L. Forrer's interesting work, "Notes sur les signatures des graveurs sur les monnaies grecques" he says: It is generally recognized that the letters **A**, Δ , **E**, **K**, **M**, Φ and **VE** which are frequently found on certain coins of Thurium placed on the back of the bull which decorates the reverse, are the signatures of artists. An illustration of a coin of the Scylla-type is given on which we find **A** on the bull.

The letter **A** with Θ below occurs behind the head of Pallas on a coin of M. G. Philipson of Copenhagen.

The letters on the bull are often found repeated on the Obv.

The letters $\overline{\text{VE}}$ are found on the bull on a coin formerly in the collection of Dr Imhoof-Blumer, which is also signed by the artist $\text{I}\Sigma\text{TO}\rho\text{O}\Sigma$. Many examples of a double signature are known, in some instances, one name may be that of the mint-master, the other of the engraver. The question arises, may the **A** on coins of Thurium stand for $\text{A}\rho\text{I}\Sigma\text{TO}\Xi\text{E}\text{N}\text{O}\Sigma$ of Heracleia?

The letter **B** is found on the Obv. of a coin bearing the olive-wreathed helmet and Δ on the Obv. of a Scylla type no II.

The full name $\text{I}\Sigma\text{TO}\rho\text{O}\Sigma$ occurs on the line or ground under the bull on a beautiful tetradrachm in the de Luyne's Collection (circ. 360-350 B.C.). The helmet is decorated with the Scylla-type no I. On the back of the bull the letter **E** is found. It is a case of double signature.

The letter **K** is found on the back of the bull on a coin with the Scylla type n° IV.

The letter **K** is found also on a coin bearing Scylla with the trident, class Δ .

On some specimens the letter **K** is placed in the hand of Scylla instead of a stone, and the dolphin in the exergue being the symbol of Tarentum makes it probable that this artist was the same as **KAA** of Tarentum.

The letter **M** is found both on Obv. and **R.** of a coin bearing the Scylla-type no. 1, and is probably the abbreviation of the name of the artist **ΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΣ**. The following writers are all agreed that this name is that of an engraver : Raoul Rochette, von Sallet, Brunn, Head, Evans, and Blanchet. In a find of Tarentine coins of the period 420-430 B.C., several coins of Thurium signed **ΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΣ** were noted. This artist's work is inferior to that signed **ΦΡΥ** and may be considered as an imitation of Phrygillos' work. The helmet of Athene is decorated with Scylla of Class I.

The name of the artist **ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ** appears on a didrachm of Thurium published by Friedländer (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1847) Scylla-type n° IV (490-350).

The period of this artist was probably that between those of Historos and Molossos, for the style is transitional between that of these artists, but approaching more nearly to that of Molossos (*Num. Chron.*, 1849, pp. 137-138).

Von Sallet prefers the style of Nikandros to that of Molossos. He must not be confused with the gem-engraver of the same name who flourished in 300 B.C..

The coins signed by **ΙΣΤΟΡΟΣ** belong to n° II of Scylla types, those by **ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ** and **ΦΡΥ** to n° III.

The work of **ΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΣ** shows a complete gradation from n° II to n° III and therefore his work was wrought before 404 B.C. and was therefore contemporaneous with the work of the best Sicilian artists, 404 to 338 B.C.

The didrachms wrought by **Φ** belong to n° I not later than 420 B.C.

In regard to the signature **Φ** Furtwängler says these dies are most probably the work of the artist who signed in the same manner at Terina and whose personality makes itself so distinctly felt on its coinage ; he must have been a pupil of Pheidias.

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SYMBOLS IN THE EXERGUES.

Generally in the earlier series we find a tunny-fish in the exergue, but in the later series we find a winged sea-horse, a minute qua-

driga, a pegasus, a star with eight rays, a dolphin, a spear, two dolphins meeting, etc.

Over the bull's back we also see the symbol of a Victory flying to right, a torch over the bull's back, and a fish in the exergue.

These may be symbols of the magistrates, but the fish symbols seem to refer to the Scylla-type and the words of Strabo.

BRONZE COINS.

D^r Head in the *Historia Numorum* says the Bronze coinage of Thurium began about the year 400 B.C.

The types of the bronze coins for the first hundred years of their issue were the same as those of the silver. In size they were .9, .6, or .5.

About the middle of the fourth century a sudden and remarkable increase in the size and weight of the bronze coinage took place.

A similar rise at the same time is noticeable in the weight of the bronze money in Sicily.

During the last period from 300 to 269 B.C. the old types were no longer issued and we have in their place types referring to the worship of Apollo and Artemis.

EARLIER PERIOD.

1. Obv. Size .6 or .5. Head of Athene with olive-crowned helmet.

℞. ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ Bull with head lowered, walking to right.

The letter T is found on some above the bull.

2. Obv. Size .7 and .5. Head of Athene with helmet decorated with winged sea-horse; ΘΟΥΡΙΩ; fish in exergue.

℞. Bull with tail erect and butting. On some the letter H above bull.

3. Obv. Size .9. Athene with Scylla helmet hurling a stone.

℞. Same as no 2., tunny-fish in exergue.

4. Obv. Size .9. Athene with Scylla helmet, holding trident.

℞. Same as no 2., AP above, IP below.

5. Obv. Size .45. Athene in plain crested helmet.

℞. No legend. Bull as no 2.

6. Obv. Size .7. Athene with olive-wreathed helmet.

℞. ΘΟΥΡ. Bull stands to right turning his head round to bite his back as on coins of Sybaris. Ex., tunny-fish.

7. Obv. Size .5 and .45. Head of Athene wearing crested and winged Athenian helmet.

℞. Bull with tail, erect butting, on some, HPA, on others, ΣI and Nike flying to right crowning bull.

8. Size .6. Head of Athene wearing crested Corinthian helmet and border of dots.

℞. ΘΟΥΡ. Bull with fore-foot raised, butting; ΡΓΣΣΩ in exergue or ΡΙΣΣΩΦΙ.

9. Obv. Size 1.15. Head of Athene with Scylla hurling a stone on helmet.

℞. Bull with tail erect, butting; [ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ] only traces.

10. Obv. Size .45. Head of Athene in plain crested helmet.

℞. ΘΟΥ. Bucranium with pendent fillets.

LATER TYPES.

11. Obv. Size .45. Head of young Heracles wearing lion's skin.

℞. ΘΟΥ. Forepart of galloping bull to right; ΣΩ.

12. Obv. Size .5. Female head to right, wearing wreath and peculiar net with tresses escaping.

℞. ΘΟΥ in exergue similar to no 11 but with Nike crowning bull.

13. Obv. Size .7. Head of Apollo to l., laureate, hair long.

℞. ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ. Tripod lebes with neck and three handles.

14. Obv. Size .65. Same as n^o 13.

℞. ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ. Five-stringed lyre ΑΕ.

15. Obv. Size .6. Same as n^o 13.

℞. ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ. Winged thunderbolt; Ε beneath.

16. Obv. Size .9. Same as n^o 13.

℞. ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ. Artemis walking to right, in her right hand a torch, in her left two darts, at her feet a dog, a border of dots on both Obv. and ℞.

17. Obv. Size .65. Head of Artemis, diademed, over her shoulder a quiver.

℞. ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ ΚΛΕ ΩΝ. Apollo nude, holding plectrum and lyre.

18. Obv. Size .5. Head of Apollo laureate, hair short.

℞. ΘΟΥ. Horse galloping to right; beneath, Ρ?

19. Obv. Size .5. Head of Apollo laureate, hair long, behind his head Ρ.

℞. ΘΟΥ. Cornucopiae; in field to l. Ω beneath, ΦΙ; on some in field to left ΣΩ.*

* Some of the copper coins are common and may be obtained for a few shillings.

HERACLEIA.

In the chapter on the coins of Thurium we have seen how the Athenian colonists of that city claimed a right to the inheritance of the old Ionian colony at Siris.

Herodotus (lib. VIII, 62) tells us that Themistocles threatened Eurybiades that if he would not yield to his advice: "We will take our families on board and remove to Siris in Italy, which is an ancient possession of ours, and oracles say it is fated to be founded by us."

Herodotus was one of the colonists of Thurium, and this old claim would have been made known to the citizens by him. We have seen how this claim was resisted by the Tarentines, and how the dispute ended in the building of a new city, called Heracleia. Diodorus dates the foundation of this new city in the year 432 B.C., that is, fourteen years after that of Thurium. From Diodorus XII, 36, and Livy VIII, 24, we gather that the city was founded by the Tarentines, but Antiochus, quoted by Strabo (VI, p. 264) informs us of the part taken by the men of Thurium. From the history of the city, however, we see that the Tarentines were predominant in power, and defended Heracleia from the attacks of the Messapians.

According to Herodotus (VII, 170) these people were of Cretan origin, and their language appears to have been akin to that of the Greeks. They were in some manner related to the Iapygians, and were celebrated for their famous breed of horses, and their good horsemanship.

The citizens of Heracleia became famous for culture, we read in the Pythagoras of Plato (318, 8) that Leuxippus of Heracleia visited Athens, an artist of such renown that any youth desiring to become a painter would go to him for instruction. Another citizen of this city was educated at Athens by Isocrates, who wrote to him when he was made Tyrant of Heracleia and commended to his notice another old pupil, Autocrator.

During the time when Archytas was ruling in Tarentum, that is,

from 380-345 B.C., the general assemblies of the Greeks of South Italy were held in Heracleia, and this was the period of the city's greatest prosperity.

When Alexander of Epirus turned against the Tarentines, about 331 B.C., he took possession of Heracleia, and ordered the general assemblies to meet at Thurium. His death is related graphically by Livy (VIII, 24).

About 290 B.C. the Romans founded their colony at Venusia, about 70 miles to the north of Heracleia, and forced the Thurians and Lucanians into alliance with Rome. Pyrrhus came to Italy in 281 B.C., and one effect of his invasion was the reduction of the weight of the didrachm from 123-120 grains to about 102-99 grains. The Consul Laevinius was defeated by Pyrrhus near Heracleia soon after his arrival. Up to that time the citizens had been in alliance with the Tarentines and Lucanians against the Romans, but in 278 B.C. they entered into a most favourable alliance with Rome, spoken of by Cicero (*Pro Balb.*) as "prope singulare foedus". From that time the city was saved from the decline which befell the other Greek cities around, and for many years some degree of prosperity was preserved.

The mint continued to issue coins until 268 B.C. ; after this date the new Roman denarii, issued for the first time in 269 B.C., took the place of the Greek coinage.

Although no ruins of importance now exist, many of the foundations of ancient buildings are to be seen near a farm called Policoro, about three miles from the sea, near the right bank of the Aciris or Agré.

The most important and celebrated find is that of the *Tabulae Heracleenses* containing a Latin inscription relating to the municipal regulations of Heracleia. It is now in the Museum at Naples. It is a copy of the *Lex Julia Municipalis* issued in 45 B.C. On the back of the two bronze tables is a much older Greek inscription of inferior interest.

These tables are not without interest to numismatists, as we may see in Boeckh, *Corpus Inscr. Gr.*, 5774, line 123, where a distinction is drawn between a silver and a bronze nummus. The silver nummus was the diobol, the Federal unit of account in several cities, especially Tarentum and Heracleia. Confer Dr Head's, *Hist. Num.*, p. 55 for interesting details.

COIN-ENGRAVERS OF HERACLEIA.

The following names of artists will be familiar to those who have studied the coins of the neighbouring cities. We meet with

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΞΕΝΟΣ not only on coins of Heracleia, but also on those of Tarentum and Metapontum.

The signature **K**, which may perhaps be a shorter form of the abbreviation **KAA**, is found at Heracleia, Tarentum, and Thurium, while **KAA** is also found on the coins of all these cities.

The signature **Φ** is found on the money of Heracleia, Neapolis, Pandosia, Tarentum, and that of Terina and Velia.

The full signature **ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝ** is found on the coins of Heracleia, Metapontum, and Tarentum.

On page 46 of Mr. L. Forrer's work, "Notes sur les signatures des graveurs sur les monnaies grecques," is an illustration of a didrachm of circ. 380 B.C. signed by the artist Aristoxenos. The signature occurs on the helmet of Athene decorated with Scylla hurling a rock, on the Obv., and also on the Rev. between the feet of Heracles struggling with the lion.

This artist seems to be the only one who signed his name both on the Obv. and Rev., except those of Syracuse.

On the Obv. Aristoxenos has not only signed his name in full on the helmet, but placed the letter **A** in the field, also perhaps because he signed in two capacities as Artist and Mint official. The above mentioned coin is in the collection of Dr Imhoof-Blumer (Musée de Berlin).

Another didrachm in the Berlin Museum is signed simply with **A**; another in the same museum bears the letter **A** on both Obv. and Rev.

In the British Museum is a didrachm bearing on the Obv. the head of Athene wearing a helmet, decorated with Scylla hurling a rock, and with **Δ—K—Φ** in the field. On the Rev. Heracles struggling with the lion, and with the signature **KAA** to left.

The letter **Δ** is no doubt the initial of a magistrate, because both sides of the coin are evidently by the same artist.

The artist, who in Heracleia signed his work **KAA** was the successor of the artist Philistionos, and wrought at his work in Heracleia about 345-334 B.C.

An illustration is given in Mr. Forrer's work on p. 179, from the coins in the British Museum, Nos 28 and 29.

The Obv. bears the head of Athene wearing a helmet decorated with Scylla hurling a rock; before the head are the letters **Δ K Φ**, and the signature **KAA** is on the Reverse; behind, the figure of Heracles struggling with the lion. On another coin in the British Museum the letter **K** is on the Obverse and **ΑΘΑ** on the Reverse. No 33 B.M.C. This coin bears the type of the head of Athene in a Corinthian helmet decorated with Scylla, and the Rev. type of Heracles standing facing, nude, holding a reversed club, and the skin of the lion hanging over his left arm.

On some coins of Heracleia the signature Σ is found together with Φ ; for an illustration *confer* p. 284 of Mr. Forrer's work, and Nos 12, 13 (B.M. Catalogue).



We come now to the work of the artist who signed his work with the letter Φ , probably for Philistion.

In the article entitled "Athenian Coin Engravers in Italy" which appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1883 our attention is drawn to the fact that this artist introduced into Southern Italy the style of Pheidias in marked contrast to the style of the artists of Magna Graecia. On plate VI of Furtwängler's "Masterpieces" are illustrations of this artist's work.

Stuart Poole, in the *Num. Chron.*, 1883, considered that the artist who signed his work Φ was the same who signed work Φ I and Φ IΛIΣΤI and Φ IΛIΣΤIΩN, but Dr A. Evans refuted this opinion in the "Horsemen of Tarentum", p. 110. Prof. Furtwängler remarks that the style of the artist who signed Φ IΛIΣ at Terina is absolutely different from that of the artist who signed Φ , and considerably later.

On page 332 of Mr. Forrer's work is an illustration of a didrachm bearing a head of Athene wearing a helmet decorated with a Hippocamp, with the letter Σ behind, and on the Reverse the normal figure of Heracles struggling with the lion, and with the signature Φ between his legs. 380-300 B.C. (No 12, B. M. Catalogue). In this case the letter Σ may be the signature of an artist.

The signature Φ is also found on a hemidrachm (B.M. Cata-



logue, no 6) bearing on the Obv. a bearded head of Heracles to right, and on the Rv. a lion running to right.

The artist who signed more fully Φ IΛIΣΤIΩN appears to have worked from about 344 to 332 B.C. He it was who introduced the Corinthian form of helmet.

These signatures must be carefully distinguished from those which probably represent Philokles ΦΙ, ΦΙΑΞ and ΦΙΑΟ.

The signature ΦΙΑΟ occurs on didrachms bearing the head of Athene to left wearing a Corinthian helmet ornamented with a griffin and on the Ῥ., a figure Heracles standing nude with club reversed and with the lion's skin hanging over the left arm. An illustration is given on p. 350 of Mr. Forrer's work. (No 45 B. M. Catalogue; 380-300 B.C.)

The signature ΦΙΑΩ occurs on a coin with very similar types but with the head of Athene to right (B.M. Catalogue No 50).

THE TYPE OF HERACLES STRUGGLING WITH THE LION.

This type has no connection with the Eastern design of a man holding a lion in either hand. The oldest Greek representations of Heracles show the hero standing apart from the lion, swinging his club, as we may see on the early Corinthian vases of the VII. century B.C. On the vases of the VI. century B.C. the sword takes the place of the club. For the normal type of the black figured vases see the British Museum "Vases", Vol. II, p. 13 seq.

In the best period of Art, the beginning of the fifth and end of the fourth centuries B.C., the old types are developed into a design from which the coin-type seems to have been copied (Gerhard, *Spiegel*, 133, — *Sammlung Sabonoroff*, 148).

A beautiful illustration is given of a bronze in a private collection exactly similar to the design of the coin-types on the didrachms, even showing the club behind the figure, and the hero's right arm round the lion's neck, just as on the coins.

Although the design looks as if it were copied from some celebrated statue we search in vain among the writings which describe the great works of art for any mention of such a master-piece as we might imagine to have given inspiration to the die-engravers.

The design is thought by some to have been copied from a group by Myron of Eleutherae in Boeotia, the pupil of Ageladas of Argos, who flourished B.C. 500-440 B.C. (cf. Mr. L. Forrer, p. 10 *Num. Circular*, Oct. 1907).

The kneeling figures of Heracles on the diobols remind us of the hero as depicted on ancient vases.

In the Bronze Room at the British Museum, in case A, is a mirror-case of bronze on which is a bas-relief of the hero struggling with the lion, very similar in design to the coin-types, but on this mirror-case the lion is on the left and the figure of Heracles is turned to meet the beast, in fact the design is reversed.

The vale of Nemea in Argolis, in which Heracles is said to have

slain the lion is about ten miles south-west of Corinth between Phlius and Cleonæ.

Hesiod tells the story in Theog. 327, and Apollodorus in II, 5, § 1. Servius, the commentator on the Æneid (VIII, 295) says strangely enough "Nemea silva est vicina Thebis".

It is the first of the twelve labours ascribed to the hero by the Alexandrian later writers. Heracles was sent to slay the lion by Eurystheus, and proceeded to Cleonæ where he was received by a poor man named Molorchus. The hero found the man about to sacrifice to Zeus, and persuaded him to stay until his return. Heracles arrived just as the man was about to sacrifice, after waiting thirty days.

According to Theocritus (XXV) the combat took place in the open air, but some said the hero strangled the lion in its den; a very graphic account of the fight may be read in the English translation of A. Lang in the Golden Treasury Series "Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus", p. 140, seq.

The Nemean games were said by some to have been instituted in honour of the great victory of Heracles over the lion, but this is not the most generally received tradition. Pausanias tells us that when he visited the place, the temple of the Nemean Zeus was well worth seeing, but the roof had fallen in, and there was no statue to be seen. It would be interesting to know whether the statue once standing there was a figure of Zeus, or of Heracles and the lion (Pausanias II, xv). This type of Heracles was naturally adopted by the Greek colonists of Achaean origin, and the famous Argolic legend was a reminiscence of the old country from which many of them had emigrated.

TRANSLATION FROM THEOCRITUS, XXVth IDYL.

The poet wrote between 280-260 B.C.

"Now this labour did Eurystheus enjoin on me to fulfil the first of all, and bade me slay the dreadful monster. So I took my supple bow, and hollow quiver full of arrows, and set forth; and in my other hand I held my stout club, well balanced, and wrought, with unstripped bark, from a shady wild olive tree, that I myself had found, under sacred Helicon, and dragged up the whole tree with the bushy roots. But when I came to the place whereby the lion abode, even then I grasped my bow and slipped the string up to the curved tip, and straightway laid thereon the bitter arrow. Then I cast my eyes on every side, spying for the baneful monster, if perchance I might see him, or ever he saw me. It was now

midday, and nowhere might I discern the tracks of the monster nor hear his roaring. Nay, nor was there one man to be seen with the cattle, and the tillage through all the furrowed lea, of whom I might inquire, but wan fear still held them all within the homesteads. Yet I stayed not in my going, as I quested through the deep-wooded hill, till I beheld him, and instantly essayed my prowess. Now early in the evening he was making for his lair, full fed with blood and flesh, and all his bristling mane was dashed with carnage, and his fierce face, and his breast, and still with his tongue he kept licking his bearded chin. Then instantly I hid me in the dark undergrowth, on the wooded hill, awaiting his approach, and as he came nearer I smote him on the left flank, but all in vain, for naught did the sharp arrow pierce through his flesh, but leaped back, and fell on the green grass. Then quickly he raised his tawny head from the ground, in amaze, glancing all around with his eyes, and with jaws distent he showed his ravenous teeth. Then I launched against him another shaft from the string, in wrath that the former flew vainly from my hand, and I smote him right in the middle of the breast, where the lung is seated, yet not even so did the cruel arrow sink into his hide, but fell before his feet, in vain, to no avail. Then for the third time was I making ready to draw my bow again, in great shame and wrath, but the furious beast glanced his eyes around, and spied me. With his long tail he lashed his flanks, and straightway bethought him of battle. His neck was clothed with wrath, and his tawny hair bristled round his lowering brow, and his spine was curved like a bow, his whole force being gathered up from under towards his flanks and loins. And as when a wainwright, one skilled in many an art, doth bend the saplings of seasoned fig-tree, having first tempered them in the fire, to make tires for the axles of his chariot, and even then the fig-tree wood is like to leap from his hands in the bending, and springs far away at a single bound, even so the dread lion leaped on me from afar, huddled in a heap, and keen to glut him with my flesh. Then with one hand I thrust in front of me my arrows, and the double folded cloak from my shoulder, and with the other raised the seasoned club above my head, and drove at his crest, and even on the shaggy scalp of the insatiate beast brake my grievous cudgel of wild olive-tree. Then or ever he reached me, he fell from his flight, on to the ground, and stood on trembling feet, with wagging head, for darkness gathered about both his eyes, his brain being shaken in his skull with the violence of the blow. Then when I marked how he was distraught with the grievous torment, or ever he could turn and gain breath again, I fell on him, and seized him by the column of his stubborn neck. To earth I cast my bow, and woven quiver, and strangled him with all my force,

gripping him with stubborn clasp from the rear, lest he should rend my flesh with his claws, and I sprang on him and kept firmly treading his hind feet into the soil with my heels, while I used his sides to guard my thighs, till I had strained his shoulders utterly, then lifted him up all breathless, — and Hell took his monstrous life.

“And then at last I took thought how I should strip the rough hide from the dead beast’s limbs, a right hard labour, for it might not be cut with steel, when I tried, nor stone, nor with aught else. Thereon one of the Immortals put into my mind the thought to cleave the lion’s hide with his own claws. With these I speedily flayed it off, and cast it about my limbs, for my defence against the brunt of wounding war.

“Friend, lo even thus befell the slaying of the Nemean Lion, that aforetime had brought many a bane on flocks and men.”

CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINS.

Period I (BEFORE 380 B.C.)

For about fifty years no coins of higher value than the diobol seem to have been issued in Heracleia. The citizens no doubt used the didrachms of Tarentum and Thurium for transactions needing a larger coinage. The Federal didrachms bearing the Tarentine design of the boy rider crowning his horse standing still and a female head, perhaps representing Satyra, the mother of Taras, were not issued until 302-281 B.C. The earliest diobols of Heracleia were not copied from any Tarentine design, we never find the pecten shell or wheel pattern, but the weight seems to have been about the same, probably about 20 grains; many specimens weigh on an average 19 grains.

1. Obv. Head of Heracles wearing the lion’s skin, to right.

Rev. **HE**, or **EH**, a lion running.

2. Obv. Similar to no 1.

Rev. Heracles kneeling on his right knee, with the left knee raised, struggling with the lion, and holding in the right hand his club, **HE**.

Period II (380-300 B.C.)

This period begins with the year of the great gathering of the Federated Greek cities in Heracleia summoned under the presidency of Archytas of Tarentum. circ. 380 B.C. Then for the first time

didrachms were issued from the local mint. The types were apparently chosen as emblems of the Athenian and Achaean parties, the Obv. bore a head of Athene, and the Rev. a figure of Heracles, which was probably copied from the didrachms of Croton issued between 420 and 390 B.C.

1. Obv. A bare head of Athene to right, her hair bound with olive and turned up behind. The head is surrounded with the aegis, bordered with serpents.

Rev. **ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΝ** with or without the **Γ**, Heracles sitting nude on a heap of rocks against which he leans on his left elbow; his right arm is extended and in his hand he holds a wine cup.

2. Obv. Head of Athene to right, wearing Athenian helmet decorated with winged Hippocamp. The crination of the helmet stiff on upper part, but ending in a tail, and the hair of the goddess under the neck-piece arranged as on some of the coins of Thurium.

Rev. Legend same as on no 1.

Heracles nude to right standing and strangling the lion, behind him the club, and on some specimens, a symbol, as a pecten shell, club, and strung bow, an ear of corn, or a letter, as **Σ** for instance.

This design is generally thought to have been introduced by the artist who signed his work **Φ**. It was copied on the diobols of Tarentum.

3. Obv. Head of Athene facing, wearing crested helmet.

Rev. Similar to no 2.

4. Obv. Head of Athene, three-quarter faced to right, wearing crested helmet.

Rev. Heracles standing nude to right with club raised, strangling lion with left hand.

5. Obv. Head of Athene wearing earring, necklace and crested Athenian helmet decorated with figure of Scylla hurling a rock. In

field in front Δ
Κ a border of dots.

Rev. **ΗΗΡΑΚΛΗΙΩΝ**. Heracles nude to right, strangling lion with both his arms. Behind, **ΚΑΛ** and club, between his legs an owl to r.

Variety. Obv. same, except that instead of a rock, Scylla hurls what looks like an octopus.

Rev. Similar, but in field to left, a strung bow over the club.

6. Obv. The normal Scylla type of no 5*.

Rev. Heracles standing, facing, nude, resting his right hand on the handle of his club, which is upright, resting on the ground. Over his left arm hangs the lion's skin and in his left hand a bow. To left in the field a Victory flies to crown the hero. To right in the field the letter **Σ**.

The symbols in the field vary on different specimens : a bird, an owl, a craterus, or a one-handed vase.

7. Obv. Similar to no 4, but with longer hair*.

Rev. Heracles nude, facing, leaning on his club, but with the elbow of the right arm turned outwards instead of towards the body as on no 6. In the field, a cantharus.

DRACHMS.

Obv. Head of Athene to right wearing Athenian helmet decorated with Scylla hurling a rock. The lower part of the crest in form of a tail, which begins higher than usual.

Rev. An owl seated with closed wings, an olive branch in front, and rose between the owl and the branch.

Compare this design with the similar type on the drachms of Tarentum issued 302-281 B.C.

The drachms were probably issued in connection with the Federal currency of the Italiote League.

The weight of the specimen in the British Museum is 48 grains.

DIOBOLS OF PERIOD II.

The weights of the diobols vary between 16 and 20 grains.

1. Obv. Head of Athene to right wearing Athenian helmet decorated with a winged hippocamp.

Rev. Heracles to right kneeling with his right arm round the neck of the lion.

2. Obv. Similar to no 1.

Rev. Similar to no 1. but differing in that the right arm of Heracles is drawn back and in his hand a club is seen on some specimens.

3. Obv. Head of Athene with helmet decorated with hippocamp; **CEPT** in field in front.

Rev. Heracles kneeling (as on no 2) on his right knee. **ΑΠΟΛ** in field over lion.

4. Obv. Head of Athene in helmet decorated with figure of Scylla to left and also to right.

Rev. Heracles standing strangling lion with his right arm round the lion's neck.

OBOLS.

1. Weight 6.5 grains. Obverse a barley corn, on which is an owl, very small in proportion to the barley corn, with its wings extended. A border of dots.

Rev. A plough to right, with **HPA** above.

2. Weight 6.5 and 9.3 grains. Obverse, a female head diademed on an aegis bordered by serpents.

Rev. Club and strung bow crossed diagonally; around, five dots. We might expect the weight to have been as much as 10 grains.

Period III. (300-268 B.C.)

The Corinthian helmet takes the place of the Athenian on the Obv. of the didrachms of this period, and this change may perhaps be an evidence of the influence of the armies which came to the assistance of the Greeks in Southern Italy from Corinth.

1. Obv. Head of Athene wearing crested Corinthian helmet without any other decoration, the crest ending in a large tail.

Rev. Heracles standing facing nude resting his right hand on the handle of club, the right elbow turned from the body, and with the lion's skin hung over his left arm, a bow in the left hand with two arrows.

2. Obv. Similar to no 1 but with a figure of Scylla hurling a rock, on the upper part of the helmet.

Rev. Similar to no 1, but the right elbow is close to the body. In field to left an owl with wings extended.

3. Obv. Head of Athene in Corinthian helmet to left, decorated in the upper part with a winged hippocamp **HPAKΛEIQN**.

Rev. Figure of Heracles standing three-quarters to right, the elbow of right arm turned outwards similar to no 1. In the field to right a flying Nike to left **ΦΙΛΟ**.

4. Obv. **ΑΓΑΣΙΔΑΜ**. Same type as no 3, behind a monogram.

Rev. **HPAKΛEIQN**. Heracles nude standing towards left, resting his right hand on club, the elbow near his body, and holding a cornucopiae in his left hand. A lion's skin is hanging over the left arm suspended by a strap passing over his right shoulder. In the field to left a flying Nike below **HA**.

5. Obv. **HPAKΛEIQN**. A griffin on the Corinthian helmet.

Rev. Heracles, nude, standing to left holding in his extended right hand a vase and on his left hand a club, the lion's skin hangs over his left arm. In the field to right a thunderbolt, to left an altar.

6. Obv. **HPAKΛEIQN**. Same type as no 5. **HA** behind.

Rev. Heracles stands three-quarter to left with his body bent backwards, in his right a drinking cup, his left rests on club and the lion's skin hangs over left arm.

7. Obv. The Corinthian helmet is decorated with a figure of Scylla hurling the rock and behind is **HA**.

Rev. Heracles standing nude, facing, but with head turned towards the right, his right hand is raised to his head as if crowning himself, his left hand rests on club. His lion's skin falls over his left shoulder, the suspending strap crosses over right shoulder.

In field to left an aplustre, to right ΦΙΛΩ.

Bronze coinage.

1. Size .75. Obv. Head of Persephone to left, bound with wreath of barley : a border of dots.

Rev. Ear of barley with a leaf on right side, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΝ.

2. Size .75. Obv. Two figures of Heracles to left, each holding in his right hand a patera, and with the left hand holding the club over the shoulder, and the lion's skin hanging down.

In the exergue ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΝ.

Rev. Pallas standing to left wearing long chiton with diploidion or little double cloak (Pol. 7, 49). On her head a helmet, she holds a patera in her right hand over a flaming altar, with her left hand she leans on her spear, behind her a shield and torch with cross pieces.

3. Size .65. Obv. Head of Athene, helmeted, wreathed in olive, behind, a bow in case.

Rev. ΗΡΑ ΚΛΕΙΩΝ. Heracles nude, standing to left holding patera in his right hand, and with the club and lion's skin in left.

4. Size .55. Bust of Athene, full-face, wearing helmet with three crests, to right a spear.

Rev. ΗΡΑ ΚΛΕΙΩΝ. Trophy consisting of cuirass, spear, shield, helmet, and greaves.

5. Size .5. Obv. Head of Athene wearing crested Athenian helmet bound with olive wreath ; behind, a shield : border of dots.

Rev. ΗΡΑ ΚΛΕΙΩΝ. Heracles nude, standing to left holding a patera in his right hand and with his left holding club over his shoulder and the lion's skin. In field to right an agricultural labourer's fork with four prongs.

6. Size .45. Obv. ΗΡΑ. Owl to right on a fulmen.

Rev. Fore-part of a galloping horse, to right.

7. Size .6. Obv. Head of Athene to right wearing crested Corinthian helmet : border of dots.

Rev. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩ(N). A marine deity, perhaps Glaucus, to right, armed with helmet, shield, and spear, plain border.

8. Size .5. Obv. Head of beardless Heracles to right, wearing the lion's skin.

Rev. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΝ. Above the legend, a bow in case, with strap attached, beneath, a club to right.

9. Size .4. Obv. Head of beardless Heracles to right bound with wreath.

Rev. H . A strung bow and club to left, and bow case with strap attached.

10. Size .55. Obv. One-handed vase to left.

Rev. Quiver with its strap and arrow arranged in the form of Ω .

It is not certain that this last was minted in Heracleia.

VELIA

The coins of Velia, so justly valued as specimens of Greek art, are more esteemed by many on account of their associations with the great thinkers and teachers who as citizens of Velia must have used them. As we associate the coins of Thurium with Herodotus, and those of Croton with Pythagoras, so the coins of Velia must ever remind us of Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Xeno : it is also probable that Leucippus, who first taught an atomic theory of nature, was also a Velian. Towards the close of the second century after Christ, Diogenes Laertius (p. 244 ed. 1664) described Velia as “ a poor city, but knowing how to nourish good men ” ; how great these men were we can now appreciate, better than ever Diogenes could have done. We may learn something of the artistic value of the coins from the interesting volume “ Notes sur les signatures de graveurs sur les monnaies grecques ”, by Mr. L. Forrer, in which he gives fifteen initials of artists' names, besides the full names of the three well-known artists, Heracleides, Kleodorus, and Philistion, found on the coins of this city.

As some of these artists' names appear also on the coins of other cities in Magna Graecia we may see in them proof of the intercourse between Velia and the great cities of Southern Italy. Philistion worked not only in Velia, but also in Heracleia, Metapontum, Tarentum, and Terina, and the initial letter Θ is also found on coins of Tarentum, and Metapontum.

Many of these old cities were renowned as being built near the grave of some hero, and probably the site of Velia was in like manner famous as being near the grave of Palinurus, the faithful pilot of Aeneas. Servius (Virg. *Aen.* VI, 477), says : “ The Lucanians being troubled by pestilence received an oracle that they should pacify the manes of Palinurus. On this account they made a tomb and cenotaph in a grove not far from Velium ”.

This may have been a tradition of an old deserted Lucanian city chosen as a site by the Greek founders of Velia.

Æneas comforted the spirit of his pilot with the words : “ But take this comfort to thy misery, the neighbouring towns and

people far and near compelled by prodigies, thy ghost shall free, and load thy tomb with offerings year by year, and Palinurus' name for aye the place shall bear". (Translation of E. F. Taylor).

Strabo describes the site as in the bay to the south of the Bay of Posidonium, "a bay, on which is built the city which the Phocaeans called Hyela, Ἰελαίη, when they founded it, but others Ella, Ἐλαίη, from a certain fountain. People in the present day call it Elea. It is here that Parmenides and Zeno, the Pythagorean philosophers, were born. And it is my opinion that through the instrumentality of those men, as well as by previous good management, the government of that place was well arranged, so that they successfully resisted the Lucanians and Poseidoniatae, notwithstanding the smallness of their district and the inferiority of their numbers. They are compelled, therefore, on account of the barrenness of the soil to apply to maritime trade chiefly, to employ themselves in the salting of fish, and in such other occupations. Antiochus says that when Phocaea was taken by Harpagus, the general of Cyrus, those who had the means embarked with their families, and sailed under the conduct of Creontiades, first to Cynos and Massilia, but having been driven thence, they founded Elea, the name of which some say is derived from the river Elees. The city is distant about two hundred stadia from Poseidonia." That is about twenty miles.

In this account of the city by Strabo we notice the careless statement that the philosophers were Pythagoreans, and that he derived his knowledge rather from Antiochus than from Herodotus.

Phocaea, the city from which the founders started, was the most northern of the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, about 200 stadia from Smyrna. We can picture to ourselves the foundation of Velia most vividly from the words of Herodotus and therefore part of his story shall be given from *Clio*, I, 163, 164.

He says : "the Phocaeans were the first of all the Greeks to take long voyages and they are the people who discovered the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas, and Iberia and Tartessus. They made their voyages in fifty-oared galleys and not in merchant ships."

He then relates how they built the walls of Phocaea with money given by the King of Tartessus.

164. "Now the wall of the Phocaeans had been built in the above manner; but when Harpagus marched his army against them, he besieged them, having first offered terms. The Phocaeans detesting slavery said they wished for one day to deliberate... in the interval, they launched the fifty-oared galleys, and having put their wives, children, and goods on board, together with the images from the temples and other offerings, except works of brass or stone or pictures, having put everything on board and embarked them-

selves they sailed for Chios, and the Persians took Phocaea abandoned by its inhabitants. The Chians refused to sell them some islands near, so they set sail for Cynus, where by the admonition of an oracle they had twenty years before built a city named Alalia... They had sunk a mass of red hot iron in the sea near Phocaea and swore that they would never return to Phocaea until this iron should appear again...

166. On their arrival at Cynus they lived for five years in common with the former settlers, but as they ravaged the territories of all their neighbours, the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians combined together to make war against them, each with sixty ships... the Phocaeans obtained a kind of Cadmean Victory, for forty of their ships were destroyed, and the twenty that survived were disabled, their prows being blunted.

They sailed back to Alalia, took on board their wives and children and all their ships could carry, and leaving Cynus sailed for Rhegium.

Those who belonged to the ships which were destroyed fell into the hands of the enemy who took them on shore and stoned them to death...

But the others who fled to Rhegium left that place and got possession of that town in the territory of Ænotria, which is now called Hyela, and they colonized this town by the advice of a certain Poseidonian who told them the Pythia had directed them to establish certain rites to Cynus as being a hero, but not to colonize the island of that name."

Cynus is the old name for Corsica, which was called later on *Κορσίς* and *Κορσίκια*. The first colony called Alalia was on its eastern coast.

Strabo spoke of the good government of the city of Velia, and this is in harmony with what is recorded by Speusippus, in Diogenes Laertius, that the citizens every year bound their magistrates to render obedience to the laws laid down by Parmenides.

For the later history of the city we depend upon Roman writers such as Livy, Val. Maximus, and Cicero. One incident is related by Diogenes Laertius which points to some failure of the good government above alluded to; he tells an obscure story of Zeno being put to death by a tyrant named Nearchus or Diomedon.

It is not clear when the city entered into alliance with Rome, but it was early enough to have given the city the protection of that power, and thus to save it from the barbarians.

Cicero and Valerius Maximus tell us it was from Velia and Neapolis the Romans used to obtain priestesses of Ceres for their city, (pro Balb. 24) and Cicero mentions Velia as a well-known instance of a "foederata civitas".

In 391 B.C. Dionysius of Syracuse was freed from his struggle with the Carthaginians in Sicily, and was able to turn his attention to the Greek cities of Southern Italy. He had secured the alliance of the Locrians by marriage with Doris, a lady of that city. Rhegium had been opposed to him and became the refuge of the exiles from Syracuse. The Italian Greek cities, though pressed by the Lucanians, made a league against Dionysius, who in his turn entered into alliance with the Lucanians. Soon afterwards, Caulonia, Hipponium, and Rhegium fell before Dionysius in 387 B.C. He conciliated the Athenians, who gave him the freedom of their city. In 367 Dionysius died, and was succeeded by his son, the younger Dionysius, then less than thirty years of age.

The intercourse of Plato with these two tyrants and the friendly reception of philosophers from the cities of S. Italy in Syracuse, the absence of any account of a siege of Velia, the friendship of the Velians with Athens all help to explain the escape of that city from the troubles brought upon the cities of S. Italy by the Syracusan armies.

It does not seem possible to connect the changes of type with any known civic events, but the principal changes seem to have taken place as follows. About 500 B.C., that is about forty years after the foundation of the city, the types then introduced lasted until 400 B.C. but during the hundred years they were much improved in style.

The first change took place about 400 B.C. when the decorative design of the lion on the stag was introduced. This was just before the troubled time caused by the tyrant Dionysius.

Bronze coins were introduced about 350 B.C. and were issued for about a hundred years. The silver coinage was not issued after 268 B.C. when the Roman mint was instituted.

The ruins of Velia now existing are of Roman date. They are to be seen on a low ridge of hill, which rises about a mile and a half from the sea, near the river Alento. The outline of the walls may still be traced, in circuit not more than about two miles. In the days of its prosperity it is probable that suburbs extended to the artificial harbour, the site of which is now a marshy pool. The river itself near the mouth was large and deep enough to afford refuge for the shipping of those days. Portions of aqueducts and reservoirs still exist, and bear witness to the energy and prosperity of the ancient Velians.

Our interest in the coins of Velia will certainly be deepened by a due appreciation of the greatness of the two citizens mentioned by Strabo, Parmenides, and Zeno.

The ideas of their forefathers concerning the many gods of Olympus, described by Homer and Hesiod, were put away by

these great thinkers, and the new doctrine of the oneness of the universe and the unity of the Deity was first proclaimed by them. Xenophanes, the teacher of these two, was born at Colophon near Ephesus, about 50 miles south of the mother city of Phocaea, whose desertion he could remember. He had, like so many of the Greeks of Asia Minor, sailed to the new western colonies, and had lived some time in Sicily before he came to Velia. There he first endeavoured to exalt the idea of the deity above the anthropomorphic definitions, teaching that the deity was the animating power of the world. His great pupil Parmenides was born in Velia about thirty years after the foundation of the colony. Like Xenophanes, his teacher, he taught in verse, or poetic form. His didactic poem entitled "On nature" was written in hexameter verses, copious fragments of which have been preserved.

They show him to have been but a poor poet, though a great and serious thinker. The introduction to his poem is in the form of a beautiful allegory.

He describes himself as one led on the road from darkness to light, to the gates of the House of Wisdom, which were unbolted to him by Righteousness, who shewed him the unchangeable heart of Truth.

His teaching naturally met with much opposition, and the wits of the age, who laughed at Parmenides, were answered by his pupil Zeno, who also was a native of Velia. His important advance upon the teaching of his masters was his perception of the value of words, and he was called the inventor of logic, or ἡ διαλεκτικὴ τέχνη, dialectic skill.

To him words bore to philosophy the relation which sensible objects and numbers bore to that of his predecessors and to the Pythagoreans. Our language embodied to him the law of our mental working. Mathematical science we owe to the East, but the science of Logic to the Greeks of Velia.

Plato tells us of the coming of Parmenides and Zeno to Athens, when the former was about sixty years of age, and the latter about forty. Socrates was at that time about twenty years old, and as he was born in 469 B.C. their arrival in Athens was about the year 450 B.C. The influence of the two Velians upon Socrates and Plato was evidently great as we may see by Plato's references to them in his dialogues, and through them all the world has been influenced. Their visit to Athens is interesting from a numismatist's point of view also, for it is evidence of a commerce or communion with Athens which perhaps is expressed by the Athenian owl, seen on the reverses of so many coins of Velia, and by the head of Pallas seen on of many of the obverse types.

THE LION TYPE.

The founders of Velia must have been familiar with the coinage of many of the cities of Asia Minor and would therefore have seen the lion's head adopted as a coin-type; for instance the electrum coins of Samos bore a lion's scalp facing and had been in use long before the Phocaeans left their home.

On the coins of Cnidus also they may have seen the forepart of a lion, and on the Lydian coins a lion's head together with a bull's. Lions were probably not very rare animals in Asia Minor at that time, for even as far west as Acanthus Xerxes lost some of his camels by the attacks of lions, while he was marching from there to Therma (Herod. VII, 125). The coins of Acanthus, which had for their type a lion devouring a bull, were a little later than the evacuation of Phocaea. That type however was probably copied from more ancient gems, with which the Phocaeans may have been familiar.

Two lions rampant are found on an ancient electrum coin in the British Museum from Asia Minor, and that looks also like a gem-type.

The coins of Termera bearing a lion's head were later than the fall of Phocaea.

In the West we find the lion's head type on coins of Leontini in Sicily; this was a Chalcidic colony from Naxos.

These coins however are dated by Dr Head from 500 B.C. and therefore are probably slightly later than those of Velia. Soon afterwards a similar type appeared on coins of Zancle or Dancle in Sicily, but on these coins the head is facing, and very similar to the type adopted in Rhegium, circ. 466 B.C.

Apparently the citizens of Velia were the earliest in the west to introduce the lion's head as a coin-type. No doubt it was derived from the East, and perhaps copied from some of the older types.

The symbolism was probably that which caused the popularity of its use in all ages, viz. the king of beasts, the strong, courageous animal, was a type of strength and dominion.

The earliest coins of Velia bore on the obverse the forepart of a lion devouring his prey, but circ. 500 B.C. the lion was transferred to the reverse as soon as a second type was brought into use, just as at Metapontum the ear of barley was similarly treated, and at Croton the tripod.

The lion's head had been the *πρῶτον* of the city, and the decline of the importance of the old symbol may have been due to the association of the coins with religion, for the Obverse types bore generally the head of the divinities worshipped in each city.

The inscription or legend was usually placed on the reverse as the interpretation of the symbol of the town-arms, so it appeared under the seal on the early coins of Phocæa where we have the letter Θ for Φ . The lion's head belongs to the early heraldic series rather than to the later religious types. Among the earliest obverse types of Velia we find the head of a river nymph, and a name which according to Strabo was derived from the name of the river, this name, on the obverse, may then be the name of the nymph, and, as it was the name also of the town, we do not find it on the reverse, where it usually appeared. Thus, as the name of the nymph, the unusual position of the legend would be explained.

It is thought that the head of Aphrodite on the coins of Cnidus is the earliest example of the head of a deity on any coin. Cnidus was 240 miles south of Phocæa and must have been well-known to the sea-faring Phocæans, moreover a lion's head forms the reverse type of these coins of Cnidus.

The Athenian tetradrachms also were among the earliest to place the head of a deity on the obverse; they appeared fifty years before those of Velia.

The coins of Cumæ with the head of Pallas are dated about 490 B.C., by Dr Head, that is about ten years after the appearance of these Velian coins with a head on the obverse. The citizens of Velia apparently introduced the custom of placing a head on the obverse into Magna Græcia.

The influence of religion upon the sculpture of that period was very great, and the art of the die-engravers was closely allied to that of the sculptors.

The beautiful design of the lion leaping upon a stag may be owing to a decorative influence which prevailed at that time. We find animal groups, such as the type of the cow suckling her calf, which occurs not only at Corcyra and her colonies, but also at Eubœa and elsewhere, and is recognized as a type of greater antiquity than the art of coin-die engraving.

From a kindred source comes the type of the lion leaping on the bull, seen on the coins of Acanthus, but also found on gems from Mycenæ, and on an ivory tablet from Sparta figured in A. S. Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*.

The Cilician coins of Mazæus of Tarsus on which we see the same design of the stag and the lion were not issued until 362 B.C.

We have seen that the lion type on the earliest coins was a symbol which the first colonists brought from Asia Minor, but we have not yet considered whether it may have had a connection with some cult of the East. The lion was sacred to Rhea, the mother of the gods, the divinity of the earth, and the lion was chosen apparently as the strongest of the earthly creatures.

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, X, 696, we read the legend of Cybele turning the defilers of a cave into lions to avenge an act of disrespect to a sacred place.

Demeter, worshipped at Metapontum, was the daughter of Rhea. She is said to have purified Dionysius and taught him the mysteries.

A passage in the play 'Helen' of Euripides (lines 1300-1310), shews how similar was the manner of speaking of Demeter to that in which her mother was regarded. The recognition of her son Sabazius by the citizens of Tarentum shews that the influence of this cult was not unknown in Magna Graecia.

At first sight it seems strange that a city so famous for its navy as Phocaea should not have adopted Poseidon as their deity, but the cult of the mother of the Gods was probably established in Asia Minor long before the Greeks had introduced Poseidon to the cities on that coast, and the natural conservative spirit, seen generally in regard to religion, may have influenced the men of Phocaea to retain the old religion of the East.

THE COINS OF VELIA ¹.

I. Obv. Forepart of a lion to right, crouching over prey, in bold relief, mane in regular lines, head turned facing, shewing both ears and eyes.

Rev. Indented square pattern divided by raised cross lines, two half-quarter indentations and two quarters fully indented.

Weight 61.2 or 60. 2 grains; size a little over half-an-inch.

Many coins with the same types but much smaller are found at Marseilles, some only $\frac{3}{16}$ of an-inch in diameter, others $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch. Weight of smallest 7.5 grains.

These coins are attributed to Velia, but they bear no inscriptions.

II. Obv. Lion to right, in the act of springing; sometimes a letter, as **B** or **Ϣ** in field above. The lower die is the proper Obv. ²



Rev. **VEAH** under a nymph's head, but with plain fillet; no earring or necklace; on some specimens the necklace appears. Upper die.

1. The coins of Classes XVI, XVII, and XX may be met with at very reasonable prices, from 5/. upwards.

2. Cf. Note on p. 320.

Weight from 115 to 123 grs. Size .8 or .75.

III. Obv. **YEA**— or **YEAH**. Head of nymph with narrow stephane and hair turned up behind, hair in conventional lines, generally turned to left.

Rev. Lion crouching to right with head raised.

Weight : 118 grs. Size .75.

IV. Drachms. Obv. Head of Nymph similar to N° III.

Rev. **YEAH**. Owl to right on olive branch, in field a letter **Δ** or **Ε** or **Χ** or no letter.

Weight : 60 grains. Size .6 or .55.

V. Drachms. Obv. Head of Pallas, with long hair, wearing Athenian helmet without crest, and with serpent on the side. Sometimes a letter behind head **Γ** or **Δ** or **Ε**.

Rev. **YEAH**. Owl to right, in front an olive-branch, sometimes, legend **ΞΙΛΞΞ** or **ΞΕΛΗ**.

Weight : 59 grains. Size .6.

VI. Drachms. Obv. Head of Nymph, generally to left, with hair rolled behind in three plaits.

Rev. Owl standing, with wings closed, both to right and to left. These coins differ from N° IV in the spray of olive being much larger.

VII. The best period of art.

Obv. Lion crouching to right, in exergue an owl to r. : border of dots.

Rev. Head of Nymph to right, hair rolled and wavy, wearing earring and necklace : in front a vine-branch, with leaf and bunch of grapes **Φ**.

Weight : 115.6. Size .8.

VIII. Drachms. Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing crested Athenian helmet, adorned with olive-wreath : above, **Δ**.

Rev. **YEAH**. Owl to right on olive-branch.

Weight : 59.9 grains. Size .65.



IX. Didrachms. Obv. Head of Pallas to left, helmet same as N° VIII ; behind, an owl to left.

Rev. **HT ΕΩ**. A lion seizing a stag, to right or to left.

Weight from 117 to 119 grains. Size .85.

X. Obv. similar to N° IX.

Rev. **ΥΕΛΗΤΩΝ** lion by side of fallen stag, seizing it by the throat.

Obv. Similar, but flap of helmet plain, sometimes a letter as **Τ** or **Θ** behind.

Rev. A lion walking to right.

Legend in exergue **ΥΕΛΗΤΩΝ**; border plain, in exergue owl flying to right.

On some the owl is above the lion. On some the letter **Θ** or **Φ** or **Χ**.



XII. Obv. same as N°s IX, X and XI.

Rev. A lion running to left with right paw raised, **ΥΕΛΗΤΩΝ** in exergue.

XIII. Obv. Head of Pallas wearing crested Athenian helmet adorned with olive-wreath.

Rev. Lion to right crouching. Legend in field above.

XIV. Obv. same as N° XIII; behind, **ΞΕ**.

Rev. Lion to left looking back, holding ram's head with left fore-paw; beneath **ΞΕ**, plain border, **ΥΗΛΗΤΩΝ** in exergue.

Weight : 113.8. Size .83.

XV. Obv. Female deity three-quarters facing, towards left, hair long, wearing necklace and winged Phrygian helmet inscribed **ΚΛΕΥΔΩΡΟΥ**.

Rev. A lion to left devouring prey, held with left fore-paw : between hind legs **ΞΕ** : plain border.

Weight 116.7. Size .75.

XVI. Obv. Head of Pallas smaller than on N° VIII, wearing Phrygian helmet on which is a female centaur with drapery over the left arm, behind **ΞΕ**.

Rev. ...**ΩΝ**. A lion seizing a stag to r. ; beneath, **ΦΙ**, a border of dots.

Weight 117.2. Size .85.

XVII. Obv. similar to N° XVI, sometimes with **ΞΕ**.

Rev. **ΥΕΛΗΤΩΝ** in exergue. Lion to left devouring prey, with various letters, as **Κ Ξ Θ, Φ** with **ΞΕ**.

XVIII. Obv. Head of Pallas wearing helmet decorated with fast quadriga and a griffin on flap, ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ on band beneath crest.



Rev. YEΛHTΩN. Lion walking to right.
In exergue, Φ I and vine-branch with snake.
Weight : 114.1. Size .85.



XIX. Obv. Head of Pallas wearing Corinthian helmet, with name ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ on band under crest.

Rev. Lion standing on bones of carcass gnawing his prey; above, Nike flying to left holding wreath, YEΛHTΩN in exergue, ΦI behind lion.

Weight : 113.2. Size .9.



XX. Obv. Head of Pallas in Athenian helmet, letters Φ, Κ, Α, Γ, Α, Δ.

Rev. Lion walking to right or left, YEΛHTΩN in exergue and ΦI. in field. Various symbols.

SMALLER SILVER COINS.

XXI. Obv. Female head wearing sphenone, earring and necklace; behind, Θ : border of dots.

Rev. **YEAH**. Owl facing towards right, wings open. In field to right **Σ**. or **X**.

Weight: 15.3. Size .45.

BRONZE COINS.

I. Size .85. Obv. Head of Pallas in Phrygian helmet adorned with olive-leaves.

Rev. Forepart of lion devouring ram's head; above, in field **ΦΑ**.

II. Size .6 or .55. Obv. Head of young Heracles.

Rev. **YEAH**. Owl to right or left on olive-branch, sometimes with wings open.

III. Size .55. Obv. Head of Poseidon, diademed and laureate.

Rev. Owl facing, wings open, **ΑΡ**.

IV. Size .4. Obv. Nymph's head with broad diadem.

Rev. Owl facing, wings closed, **ΑΡ·YEAH**.

V. Size .35. Obv. Head of Persephone, wearing wreath of corn-leaves.

Rev. Same as N^o IV.

VI. Size .55. Obv. Head of Heracles in lion's skin.

Rev. **YEAH**. Owl facing, wings open, **Α**.

VII. Size .4. Obv. Head of Pallas with crested Corinthian helmet.

Rev. Owl to right. **YEAH ΤΩΝ**.

VIII. Size .4. Obv. Head of Pallas with crested Athenian helmet.

Rev. Owl to right, **YEAH**.

IX. Size .5. Obv. Head of Pallas (?) with crested Athenian helmet, hair in formal curls.

Rev. :

Υ	Ε
Λ	Η

 Tripod varied in different specimens.

These bronze coins are not usually found in very good preservation.

CROTON

The coins and legends of this city illustrate most fully the general history of the early settlements of the Greeks in Southern Italy ; they also possess especial interest from their associations with the Pythagorean brotherhood. We shall find the same legends in the early history of Croton as those met with in our study of the coins of Metapontum. The origin of the name Croton however seems to have been unknown to the framers of these early myths. It is now thought to have been derived from the root $\chi\rho\acute{o}\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, which appears in the Latin *hortus* and the Saxon *geard*, the root from which many other ancient city-names were derived, as for instance Cortona of Etruria, Gortyna of Crete, Certonium or Cyrtonium of Mysia, Cyrtone of Boeotia, and Corythos of Arcadia. The old legends of Croton are perhaps best known from the writings of Ovid and Strabo, and may be most satisfactorily told as nearly as possible in their own words.

OVID.

In the fifteenth book of his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid tells how Numa visited the city of the entertainer of Hercules, and upon his enquiring what founder had built that Græcian city upon the Italian coast, an old man, a native, not unacquainted with the former ages, thus replied : It is said that the son of Jupiter, Hercules, being enriched with the Iberian oxen, fetched from the ocean, made by a happy course the Lacinian shore ; and whilst his herd strolled through the tender grass, he entered the house, and no inhospitable habitation, of one Croton, and eased his long toil with rest ; at his departure he spoke thus ; “this shall be the site of a city in the time of your grandsons ”, and his promise proved true.

For there was one Myscelos begot by the Argolic Alemon, the most acceptable man to the gods of that age.

The club-bearer, Hercules, bending over him, oppressed with the heaviness of sleep, speaks to him thus : Come, leave your native dwelling : go, and repair to the waters of Æsar a great way hence,

running over stones, and unless he obeys threaten him with many and dreadful things.

After describing the opposition to his departure that he endured, Ovid continues: "he found the mouth of the Æsarian river destined by the fates for his settlement, and not far from thence a tomb, under which the ground covered the sacred bones of Croton : and built there a city in the land he was ordered, and transferred the name of the buried man to the city".

STRABO.

The first (of the Greek cities) is Croton, 150 stadia from Lacinium and the river Esarus; there is also a haven there, and another river Neaethus, the name whereof is said to be derived from the following circumstance — they say that certain of the Achæans who had wandered from the fleet which had besieged Troy, having arrived in this place, disembarked to take a survey of the country, and that the Trojan women who accompanied them in the fleet, having observed the absence of the men, and being wearied with the voyage, set fire to the ships, so that they were compelled to abide; moreover they said that the soil was very fertile.

Many others arriving soon after, and being desirous to live near their fellow countrymen, founded several settlements. Most of them derived their names from the Trojans, and the river Neaethus received its appellation from the destruction of the ships by fire.

But Antiochus of Syracuse (*circ.* 425 B. C.) relates that an oracle having commanded the Achæans to found Croton, Myscellus went forth to view the place, and having seen Sybaris already built on a neighbouring river of the same name, thought it better, and returned to the God to ask if it might be given him to found that instead of the other; but the oracle answered, applying to him an epithet denoting his defective stature, for Myscellus was hump-backed :

"O short-backed Myscellus, whilst seeking somewhat else for thyself, thou pursuest only misfortune, it is right to accept that which is offered to thee". He returned and built Croton, wherein he was assisted by Archias, the founder of Syracuse, who happened to touch at Croton by chance as he was proceeding to the Colony of the Syracusans. The Iapyges possessed Croton before this time, as Ephorus (before 341 B. C.) relates.

The city cultivated martial discipline and athletic exercises to a great extent, and in one of the Olympic games all the seven wrestlers, who obtained the palm in the stadium were Crotoniates; whence it seems the saying arose that the last wrestler of Croton was the first of the other Greeks; and hence, they say also, is the

origin of the expression “ more salubrious than Croton ”, as instancing a place which had something to show, in the number of wrestlers which it produced, as a proof of its salubrity, and the robust frame of body which it was capable of rearing. Thus it had many victors in the Olympic games, although it cannot be reckoned to have been long inhabited on account of the destruction of its citizens who fell at the river Sagras. Its celebrity too was not a little spread by the number of Pythagoreans who resided there, and Milo, who was the most renowned of wrestlers, lived on terms of intimacy with Pythagoras, who long abode in this city.

The legend of the Trojan women burning the ships can hardly be called history, but the great movement of the Greeks to the southern shores of Italy about 710-700 B. C. is historical.

Myscellus was not regarded as the founder, partly because it was usual to seek a divine being, or at least a demi-god, as founder, and Heracles may have been chosen because Myscellus was of the race of the Heracleidæ.

If the story told by Strabo about Archias going to Croton on his way to Syracuse means the visit was made when on his way to found Syracuse, it can hardly be historical, because that city was founded about twenty-four years before 710 B. C.

The legends collected by Servius, the annotator of Virgil, which differ from those of Ovid and Strabo are not sufficiently connected with the types of the coins to interest us.

The coins of Croton must have been used by the shepherds of whom Theocritus writes in his fourth ode, where we read of Corydon saying, “ No by Earth, for sometimes I take her (the heifer) to graze by the banks of Aesarus ; fair handfuls of fresh grass I give her too. ”

Corydon also speaks of the river Neæthus “ where all fair herbs bloom, red goat-wort, and endive, and fragrant bees-wort ”, and again — “ the praise of Croton I sing — and Lacinium that fronts the dawn. ” The Syracusan poet Theocritus thus sang of the beauty of the scenery about 290-260 B. C., when only half the city was inhabited and the Romans were the rulers of that fair land.

Croton was built on a plain about 13 kil. from N. to S. bounded on the west by mountains, on the east by the sea, where its strand forms a shallow bay open to the north-east, and protected on the south by the promontory Lacinia which forms the extremity of the entry to the great gulf of Tarentum.

The river Aisaros flows near the southern side of the plain in a clear slightly winding stream to the sea. The Duc de Luynes thought this name was connected with Aisar, an Etruscan word for god.

An ancient local legend connected it with the name of a hunter

drowned therein when pursuing a doe. This myth may be compared with that of Saron, King of Trézène who was also drowned, when in pursuit of a doe sacred to Artemis, and from whom the gulf was called the Saronic.

The legend has for us a numismatic interest, for the head of the young hunter Aisaros appears on silver coins of Croton issued circ. 370-330 B.C. His head also appears on bronze coins, decorated with little horns.

About a third of a mile from the mouth of the Aisaros is a tongue of land projecting enough to form a slight haven, and the land round this was chosen as the first site of the city.

Among the sources of the prosperity of Croton we may note that the port or haven though small was the best between Tarentum and Sicily, and was the centre of a considerable commerce.

Silver was found also in their own lands; near Verzino, traces of ancient silver mining are still to be seen, and hence the abundant output of the mint of Croton, and the material for the high degree of artistic skill which we find in the coins which remain.

For the first two centuries after the foundation of the city the men of Sybaris had been regarded as friends, for the Achæan Greeks were more able to live without dissension than any others.

When the Greek colonists had won from the natives the lands around their cities the parties whose ancient quarrels were not forgotten, the Dorians and Achæans, began a new and disastrous strife.

Sybaris fought Tarentum and Croton fought with Locri. When however Sybaris fought with Croton it was like a fight between brothers, and they fought to the death. The cause of the quarrel was the desire for supremacy over the Achæan lands.

Lenormant takes Justin, the abbreviator of Trogus Pompeius, as his guide for the date of the battle of Sagras. He agrees, with Heyne and Grote that the Sagras battle took place in 560 B.C., and that the influence of Pythagoras was great on account of his cheering them after so terrible a defeat.

The Locrians went to Sparta for help, and brought back news that the Dioscuri had come with them. The Crotoniates sent to Apollo at Delphi and heard that the victors would win not by force of arms, but by religious prayers, so they vowed a tenth of their spoil, but the Locrians hearing of this, vowed a ninth.

The victory of the Locrians was hardly won against the trained athletes of Croton, but rather over the Pelasgian and Oenotrians, countrymen forced to fight for their masters of Croton, whereas the Locrians were more equal in quality, viz. that of the rough Dorian soldiery, and all fighting for their very existence.

The site chosen by the Locrians was a narrow pass like that at

Thermopylæ. The victory so unexpected was afterwards attributed to the Dioscuri, and 60 years later the Romans managed to obtain credence for the same help at the battle of Lake Regillus.

The leader of the Crotoniates is said to have been healed of his wounds by Achilles and Helen who sent him to Himera, to the poet Stesichorus, who was blind on account of slighting Helen; he was to write a Palinode, and he would see. This poet died in 556 B.C., and his Palinode is a proof that Lenormant is right in his date of the battle of Sagras.

Soon after, about 550 B.C., occurred the taking of Siris by a coalition of all Achæans of Italy under the leadership of Sybaris, and the motive of the war was the succour given to the men of Siris by the Locrians.

Croton was as celebrated as Sparta for the cultivation of athletic exercises. The victories at Olympus won by citizens of Croton began in 588-480 B.C.; before the introduction of a mint in that city. The exercise in which the men of Croton excelled was that of wrestling, Milo won the wrestling prize for six years in succession 532-526 B.C. after having been previously victor in the wrestling matches for youths. This success in athletics points to a life of leisure and aristocratic government, in a city celebrated for its health giving climate. But success in athletic sports was not the only aim of the citizens, for the great philosopher Pythagoras influenced the citizens in higher aims, and the city became a great school of students in medicine, literature, mathematics, philosophy and religion.

It was probably about 530 B.C. that Pythagoras became a citizen of Croton.

Southern Italy was to the Greeks of Asia Minor very much what America was to Europe. The relations between Samos and Croton were very friendly, and Pythagoras was born at Samos.

The influence of this great man was especially seen in the spheres of teaching, and politics, for in regard to religion he introduced nothing new in the way of ceremonies, but rather aimed at deepening the ideas of truths expressed by existing forms, and bringing them into closer relation to moral conduct. He despaired of raising the lower classes, but aimed at the elevation and dignity of womanhood.

He denied the materialism of the Ionic teachers, and set up the ideal principle of Order and Number. His ideas of Moderation and Harmony included purity of soul and body, thus elevating the older teaching which sought external purification only. From the east he also introduced the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and its transmigration, and the judgment after death from Egypt. One effect of his influence was seen in the victory won over the rich

and luxurious citizens of Sybaris. Commercial jealousy may have been the cause of the final struggle.

Lenormant (on p. 76, Tome II) says one can hardly refuse to Pythagoras the honour of having instituted the coinage which was spread over all the Greek cities of S. Italy, with one exception, viz. Locri, which refused to receive the doctrines of Pythagoras. The Philosopher had not forgotten the lessons he learnt as a boy in his father's art studio. His influence was so great that we can understand how it could be possible for such a great reform in commerce to be so quickly made. The saying used by his disciples to settle disputes *αὐτὸς ἔφακ* (" ipse dixit ") is well known.

In the troubled times after the death of their leader the Pythagoreans gave up the old oligarchic principles and became liberal conservatives, hoping that they might save the democracy from falling into a demagogy, and they were the rulers during the time of the highest prosperity of Magna Graecia.

The Achaean colonies of Metapontum, Croton, Sybaris, Siris, Caulonia, Pyxus, Laüs, &c. adopted the Corinthian standard. The flatness of fabric is not the only point of interest to be noted, there is the peculiar manner in which the figure on the reverse type is made to represent the back view of the obverse type. Mr. G. F. Hill, in his recent work " Historical Greek Coins ", says we have here a naïve attempt to enable one, so to speak, to look through the coin, and see the obverse type from behind. If the flat fabric and this peculiar treatment had been devised for any practical utility we should have expected it to have been continued, whereas we find this peculiarity lasted only while the Pythagorean Brotherhood exercised a powerful influence.

Pythagoras is thought to have arrived in Croton about 533 or 529 B. C. Mr. G. F. Hill in the above-mentioned work says: " Is it not possible that in this representation of both views, both front and back of the same object, there may have been some awkward attempt to express one of those ten pairs of contraries of which the Pythagorean system made so much? τὸ εὖν δεξιὸν καὶ ἄνω καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἀγαθὸν ἐκάλουν, τὸ δὲ ἀριστερὸν καὶ κάτω καὶ ὀπίσθεν κακὸν ἔλεγον (Aristot. ap. Simplic. de caelo, 173^a 11). Why, it may be asked, take so much trouble to represent — unnecessarily — what was κακόν? The answer is that it was not unnecessary, according to this system for the complete representation of the object in its essence: ἐκ τούτων γὰρ (τῶν στοιχείων) ὡς ἐνυπαρχόντων συνεστάναι καὶ πεπλάσθαι πᾶσι τῆν εὐσίαν (Aristot. Metaph 1.5.986 b 9). Note that the peculiarity of the fabric emphasises the fact that we see back and front of the same figure much more than would be the case if both sides were in relief, as on most coins."

In Mr. Gardner's work " Coin types " p. 86, we read: " In Italy

repoussé work was extremely common in the decoration of bowls and tripods. He notes that in making these coins of Croton "two distinct dies both carefully executed must have been used and the blank placed accurately between them".

In a recently published work by Mr. Macdonald on "Greek Coin-types" p. 12, are some interesting remarks on the early coins of this series.

"The fact that various cities struck coins shewing an alliance is against the theory that all the cities issuing the thin coins of the early period are coins of a great alliance. Confer coins of Croton and Temesa, Siris & Pyxus. There is no identity of type in these coins of Magna Graecia. But identity of type is characteristic of practically all other coinages that we know with certainty to be federal, or based on a political union. The Æacid shield is on all the coins of Boeotian cities, clearly marking their coinage as federal.

Moreover there were three systems of weights among these cities, and uniformity of weight is of more importance than of type. The similarity is only that natural to the coinage of a district; and its popularity may have been due partly to the facility with which the coins could be packed or stored."

Although we may give up the idea that these flat coins form an alliance coinage we may still see in the peculiar fabric the influence of the Pythagorean brotherhood.

It was Dionysius I. of Syracuse who brought the prosperity of Croton to an end, and ruined the Greek communities of Southern Italy, and to aid him in this object the help of the Lucanians was enlisted. The Greek colonists had helped Dionysius against the Carthaginians, but in 405 B.C., when an insurrection against the tyrants broke out in Syracuse, the Greek auxiliaries returned home, and this desertion was the beginning of his quarrel with the Greeks of Italy. The great combat with Carthage began in 397 B.C.

The Italian Greeks, fearing an attack by Dionysius, made a league between Croton, Caulonia and Thurium, and chose as their headquarters the Temple of Zeus Homarios in Croton. This was a building erected in imitation of that at Aegira in Achaia.

Rhegium and Tarentum joined the league, which was especially formed for defence against the Lucanians. This league is illustrated by the coins bearing the figure of Heracles strangling the serpents, one of which represented Dionysius, the other the Lucanians.

The men of Croton helped those of Rhegium against Dionysius in 391, and in the year following they sent an army of 25,000 men to Caulonia where they suffered defeat, and Caulonia, Hipponium, and Scylltion were destroyed. Rhegium fell in 387 B.C.

In 368 Croton was taken by surprise, and for twelve years suffered servitude, many of the principal citizens being executed, and many exiled.

The Lucanians were triumphant in the land. On the death of Dionysius Croton recovered her liberty, Archytas of Tarentum gave them his assistance and the Crotoniates joined the league reformed by his care. Now, however, Tarentum became the chief city, and Croton never regained her former position; Heraclea, not Croton, was now the meeting place of the League.

After the death of Archytas the Bruttians rose to the height of their power and in 353 B.C., Terma, Temesa, and Pandosia, colonies of Croton, were taken by them.

After the battle of Issus Alexander sent a portion of the spoils to the Greek cities as far distant as Croton.

The Bruttii made Croton the object of their attack, and Alexander the Molossian died fighting them at Pandosia. In 319 the Crotoniates begged aid of the Syracusans, who sent an army to their assistance, but internal dissension rendered the help useless. Aristocrats and Democrats fought each other. At length in 299 B. C. Agathocles of Syracuse took the city, and gave it up to pillage.

In 297 the Bruttii conquered the citizens; they were hardy mountaineers, shepherds leading a simple life, which enabled them to conquer the effeminate luxurious citizens.

C. Fabricius Luscinius in 282 B.C. crushed the power of the Lucanians, and the Crotoniates turned to the Romans to deliver them from the Bruttii. In 277 B.C. the Aristocratic party again fought the Democrats, and their civil war was ended only by P. Cornelius Rufinus taking the city under the Roman rule.

Next year Q. Fabius Gurges used Croton as his military base.

During the struggle between Rome and Carthage the Aristocrats took the Roman side, and the Democrats the Carthaginian. Many citizens took refuge at Locri, and after this time the city was hardly Greek.

Croton, now called Cotrona, is a pretty little gay and flourishing town of about 8000 souls. Its general aspect is that of a mass of flat white roofs on a hill-side overhanging the sea, against which the white roofs gleam.

TYPES.

The common badge or *παρασημεῖον* of Croton was the Tripod; associated with the great Pythagorean brotherhood, but there is considerable variety in the obverse types; the heads of four deities, Apollo, Hera, Pallas, and Persephone, the figure of the demi-god Heracles as founder, and the head of the mythical Aesarus, all

contribute to the variety and interest of this city's coinage. The absence of Dionysiac types is noticeable in a region where that cult was so popular, and the reason may be found in the influence of Pythagorean teaching. The earlier types are all in harmony with the influence of the Brotherhood, the tripod of Apollo and the eagle of the supreme deity whose mouth-piece was the Delphic god.

The heads of the other deities were adopted as types when the Brotherhood lost power, that of Hera from 400 to 390 B. C., those of Pallas and Persephone on diobols and bronze coins from circ. 330 to 300 B. C. The figure of Heracles appeared on the coins from circ. 420 to 390 B. C. and the head of Aesarus from circ. 370 to 330 B. C.

The periods of misery resulting from internal dissension between the Aristocrats and the Democracy do not seem to have affected the mint. As no coins of the lighter weight which became current at Tarentum are known it is not probable that the city was in a position to issue coinage after that change was made, circ. 300 B. C. ; all the staters of Croton are from 118 to 126 grains in weight.

THE TRIPOD.

The types of the earliest coins of Croton are thus described in the British Museum Catalogue.

Obv. Weight 115.7. \mathcal{A} . size 1.2. Legend ῬΠΟ . Tripod lebes, the legs ending in lion's feet, with three handles, and surmounted by two serpents' heads : dotted cable border.

Rv. Same type as Obv., incuse, but the handles and serpents' heads in relief : incuse border of radiating lines.



The $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta\varsigma$ $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ was probably smaller than the $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ and was sometimes of costly workmanship; they were used as gifts or prizes, such as we read of in Homer's *Iliad* (V. 259), "and from the ships he brought forth prizes, lebetes and tripods". We have seen, in the account given by Strabo of the city, how important the games were in the estimation of the citizens. Moreover tripods were associated with the worship of Apollo. Herodotus mentions the custom

of giving tripods as prizes won in the games in honour of Triopian Apollo (Clio I. 144). We may see a tripod by the side of Apollo on a medallion in the Arch of Constantine, illustrated on p. 117 of *Dict. Greek & Roman Antiquities*.

The Choragic monuments of Thrasyllus and Lysicrates were erected by them to preserve and display the tripods won by them.

Whether the tripods on the coins represented the athletic prizes or the seat of the oracle at Delphi, they were equally connected with the cult of Apollo, the most typical and representative of all the Hellenic deities, and his oracle at Delphi was one of the most powerful influences which moulded the religious thoughts of the Greeks.

The origin of the cult of Apollo has been traced to northern Greece, and the name of the Hyperboreans has been shewn by Ahrens to be a Macedonian dialect form, from the word ὑπερβόρειον, used of the carriers of the offerings to Apollo.

The epithets applied to this god do not lead us to associate him in the earliest times with the sun-god. He was called λύκειος, from λύκος, "a wolf."

The first writer who associated Apollo with the sun was Euripides, who did not pay strict attention to popular ideas of religion. Apollo was at first a god of fertility and growth, in both the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and hence we find him even in S. Italy regarded as the Shepherd-god, for whom also corn was sent to Delphi as tribute from many Greek states.

One of the most important ideas connected with his worship was that of purification from sin, not involving any essential relation to moral purity, but similar in idea to the early Hebrew laws concerning the clean and the unclean. The shedder of blood was especially considered in need of this outward form of purification, which was performed by sprinkling with swine's blood from a laurel-bough.

This important rite is connected with the legend which relates to the slaying of the Python by Apollo, who was afterwards himself purified in this way at Delphi.

The tripod on the coins leads us to consider another important side of this Delphic religion, that of prophecy and revelation by the oracle. Some Delphic sayings witness to the growth of moral ideas, for instance the beautiful oracle in the Greek Anthology (Bohn's Ed., p. 170). "Enter the shrine of the pure god pure in soul, having touched thyself with holy water; lustration is easy for the good, but a sinner cannot be cleansed by all the streams of ocean."

Another good effect of the Delphic oracle was the tendency towards monotheism which resulted from the view that Apollo was

the mouth-piece of Zeus the supreme god. Pythagoras was by some thought to be the messenger of Apollo, and his name Pythagoras was connected with the Pythian oracle, but his name was given to him before his visit to Delphi, before he knew Themistoclea, the Pythian priestess.

APOLLO AND THE PYTHON.

On the reverse of a silver coin weighing 121.2 grains, and measuring nine-tenths of an inch, is the legend **KPOTON** in the exergue. A tripod-lebes, having three handles filleted, standing on a bar; in the field to left Apollo stooping and directing an arrow at the Python coiled and erect in the field on the right.

Hyginus relates that Apollo four days after his birth went to Mount Parnassus, and there killed the dragon Python, who had pursued his mother Leto during her wanderings before she reached Delos.

Æschylus in the play *Agamemnon* (1081) connects his name Apollo with ἀπὸλλομι “to destroy”, making Cassandra cry: “Apollo Apollo, my destroyer, Apollo mine! for thou hast without difficulty destroyed me the second time”.

The Python appears on many of the reverse types near the Tripod.

What does this serpent signify, who was this guardian of the oracle at Delphi, dwelling in the caves of Parnassus, and slain at length by Apollo?

It will be interesting first to see what the ancients said on this point.

Strabo suggests that the whole myth of the Python may have arisen from a mistaken understanding of the word πύθισθαι “to enquire”.

He says (lib. IX c. III, § 5): “The place where the oracle is delivered is said to be a deep hollow cavern, the entrance to which is not very wide. From it rises up an exhalation which inspires a divine frenzy: over the opening is placed a lofty tripod on which the Pythian priestess ascends to receive the exhalation, after which she gives the prophetic response in verse or prose. The prose is adapted to measure by poets in the service of the temple. Phemonoë is said to have been the first Pythian prophetess, and both the prophetess and the city obtained their name from the word (πύθισθαι) to enquire.”

Strabo in the same passage records the story of the slaying of the serpent as told by Ephorus, thus — “When speaking of the Delphians and their origin, Ephorus says that certain men called

Parnassii, an indigenous tribe, anciently inhabited Parnassus, about which time Apollo, traversing the country, reclaimed men from their savage state by inducing them to adapt a more civilized mode of life and subsistence; that, setting out from Athens on his way to Delphi, — when he arrived at the Panopeis, he put to death Tityus, the master of the district, a violent and lawless man; that the Parnassii, having joined him, informed him of Python, another desperate man, surnamed the Dragon.

Whilst he was despatching this man with his arrows they shouted Hie Paian, whence has been transmitted the custom of singing the pæan before the onset of a battle: that, after the death of the Python the Delphians burnt even his tent, as they still continue to burn a tent in memorial of these events”. On this Strabo remarks “now what can be more fabulous than this? — Why did he call the fabulous dragon a man unless he intended to confound the provinces of history and fable.”

Homer appears to use the words snake and dragon indifferently.

In the account of the same legend given by Apollodorus (lib. I, c. iv, § 1) the Python is described as (ὄφις) a serpent. Apollo having learnt prophecy from Pan, son of Zeus and Thymbris, went to Delphi, where Themis then gave the oracles.

The Serpent Python, guardian of the cave in which were uttered the oracles, forbade him to approach. Apollo slew him and took over the business of the oracle: (τὸ μαντικὸν παραλαμβάνει). Soon after he slew Tityus, son of Zeus and Elares, daughter of Orchomenos. This son of Zeus, of gigantic stature, became enamoured of Leto, who appealed to her son for defence, and Tityus when slain by his arrows, underwent further punishment in Hades where vultures tore his heart. Aelian (Var., *Hist.*, III, 1) relates the legend in the form in which Apollo slays a snake. He purified himself at Tempe, making a laurel crown and taking a branch of the tree, he came to Delphi, and took charge of the oracle. For a similar modern purification after the killing of a snake, see John Duncan “Travels in Western Africa”, I, p. 195.

The slaying of a lion among the Kaffirs even now involves a ceremonial rite.

The original object of rules relating to ceremonial purity aimed not so much at bringing a man nearer to God as the keeping evil spirits at a distance, and this is what we gather from Porphyry (Euseb., *Præpar. Evang.*, IV, 23).

Many similar savage rites of purification are still known to exist among uncivilized tribes: examples are given in Frazer's translation of Pausanias in the notes on Book II, c. vii.

In the legends of Heracles we see the courage and strength of a mortal hero regarded as supernatural, and giving rise to a

religious cult, so the heroic slayer of a huge reptile, who was legally purified, who spoke as a prophet, and by his influence civilized and raised his wild neighbours, became regarded as the deity known to us in some of his attributes as the Apollo of the Hyperboreans.

THE CRANE.

On the coins struck between 475 and 450 B. C. we see the figure of a crane by the side of the tripod.

It is said to be a reference to an incident which happened at Croton. Some children were murdered and thrown into the sea, and the same time a flock of cranes flew over the spot. Some time afterwards the murderers, seated in the market place at Croton, saw a flock of cranes fly overhead when one of the murderers exclaimed "behold the witnesses", a bystander cited them before the senate, and the crime was confirmed.

The origin of the saying "behold the witnesses" is the similar story of the murder of the poet Ibycus who flourished about 550 B. C. whose murder was revealed in exactly the same way at Corinth. The story is prettily told in the Greek Anthology (Palatini codicis. VII, 745) by Antipater of Sidon, a contemporary of Crassus Quaestor in Macedonia in 106 B. C. The poem about a memorial to Ibycus at Rhegium in Anth. VII, 714 may only refer to a memorial, not to his real place of burial. The cranes and their annual migrations were also associated by the Pythagoreans with the land of the Hyperboreans.

THE EAGLE OF ZEUS.

The Duc de Luynes suggested that the eagle represented on the coins of Croton may have been considered a suitable type for coins issued by the Pythagorean brotherhood, because that master used to keep a tame eagle as a symbol of his communion with Zeus. The type disappeared immediately upon the overthrow of the brotherhood, and reappeared when their influence revived.

Zeus was regarded by them as the supreme god, and Apollo as his interpreter or prophet; the eagle would therefore be a peculiarly suitable type because in Homer we read of that bird as revealing the will of Zeus. In the last book of the *Iliad* we read Priam's prayer: "Send on my right hand a winged messenger, the bird thou lovest the best, of strongest flight, that I myself may see and know the sign, and firm in faith approach the ships of Greece. Thus as he prayed the lord of counsel heard and sent forth with an eagle, feathered king, dark bird of chase, and Dusky thence surnamed". Translation by Lord Derby, p. 240.

THE EAGLE AS AN INCUSE TYPE.

The oldest coins which bear an eagle belong to the early period when the types were still incuse on the reverse.

Obv. $\Psi\text{PO TOM}$. Tripod lebes having three handles, and with two serpents emerging from it; and between the legs two serpent's heads facing each other, all within a dotted cable border.

Rev. An eagle, incuse, flying to right, both wings shewn extended. Incuse border of radiating lines. On some specimens the legend is retrograde $\text{O}\Psi\text{P}$ and the type without the snakes.



THE TYPES OF AN EAGLE WITH WINGS CLOSED.

1. Obv. An eagle to left with wings closed resting on an Ionic capital; above, in the field ΨPOT . border of dots.

Rev. Tripod-lebes, a grain of barley to left, ΨPOT to right.

2. Obv. An eagle to right with wings closed in upright position on an Ionic capital, in the field to right a branch of olive, border of dots.

Rev. Tripod-lebes with neck and three handles, from the left a fillet hanging, the lower end of which is turned up on the right, ΨPO , borders of dots.

3. Obv. Eagle standing on a ram's head to left with the head turned back. Nothing in the field. A border of dots.

Rev. Tripod-lebes with neck and three handles, to left ΨPO ; to right, a spray of olive.

4. Obv. Eagle standing to left, with head turned back, on nose of stag's head to right. Plain border.

Rev. Same as no 3 but legend on right and ivy-leaf to left.

5. Obv. Eagle standing to right with head turned back, on a cornice of temple, the gutta visible below. In the field to right an antelope's skull.

EAGLE WITH SPREAD WINGS.

1. Obv. Eagle standing to right with head and wings raised as if in the act of flight.

Rev. Tripod-lebes with neck and three handles, Ψ PO to right and a leaf to left of Tripod.

2. Obv. similar eagle standing on olive-branch ; beneath right wing BOI.

Rev. Ψ POTΩ. Same type, but from right handle of lebes hangs a fillet, behind tripod is a bough of laurel.

3. Obv. Similar eagle but to left in exergue BOI.

Rev. Ψ PO. Same type but from left handle of lebes hangs a fillet.

4. Obv. Eagle flying to left holding a hare in its talons ; in field to left AI : border of dots.

Rev. KPO. Tripod-lebes, no fillet, in field to right a stork with raised leg standing to left : same border.

5. Obv. Eagle standing to left on olive-branch.

Rev. Same as n° 4 but with Δ beneath stork.

6. Obv. Eagle with spread wings standing to left on olive branch and turning back its head ; on the right of the wing the legend KPOTΩNIATAN.

Rev. Tripod-lebes standing on a base.

Two handles on Tripod and a conical cover with handles. In field to left an ear of barley with leaf, and Φ E.

In field to right a dolphin to right, turning with head downwards $\begin{matrix} K \\ P \\ \Phi MI \end{matrix}$; plain border.

On some specimens instead of the dolphin, a Python coiled erect, and a fillet hangs from the handle of the Tripod.

HERA LACINIA.

Between 420 and 390 the head of Hera appeared on the silver staters of Croton. The head was facing looking slightly to the right and wearing a lofty stephanos.

On the reverse a nude figure of Heracles reclining on rocks and holding a wine-cup in his right hand while his left rests on his club, behind which his bow is seen. Letters of some magistrates' names appear in the field, as ME. MΔ.



Stater of Croton.

The type is a reference to the story told by Servius, the commentator on Virgil *Æn.* III 552. According to Servius, Lacinus was a robber slain by Heracles on that headland, who after purification from the slaughter, founded there a temple to Hera. Diodorus also tells the story (IV, 24).

Others say, however, that Lacinus was a King among the Bruttii and the founder of the Temple, but the figure on the reverse shews that the legend relating to Heracles was that in the mind of the type designer. The Greek “*Ἥρα*” is probably the same as the Latin “*hera*” —mistress. Argos and Samos were the principal seats of her worship, and we have seen how close was the intercourse of Croton with Samos, the birth-place of Pythagoras. The worship of Hera would be therefore popular among the Brotherhood.

Moreover Zeus communicated to her his secrets more often than to the other gods, as in *Iliad*, I. 545, and Hera is also represented as able to confer the gift of prophecy, as in *Iliad.*, XIX, 407.

In the *Iliad* she appears as the enemy of Heracles, and is wounded by his arrows, V, 392. Originally the goddess worshipped on the Lacinian headland was probably an earth-goddess of the native Oenotrians, who was afterwards identified with the Greek Hera Argonia, Argeia, or perhaps Areia? (Strabo VI I. I), whose temple stood near Poseidonia, and whose head appears on the coins of Neapolis and Hyrina very similar in design to those on the coins of Croton. She was an armed goddess, as we may gather from her surname *ἑπικρομία*. Her temple was one of the most celebrated in all Southern Italy, and on certain festivals, vast crowds flocked to Croton to partake in the ceremonies and games. The modern name of the headland is derived from the ruins of this temple.

For the story of the marvellous garment presented to the temple of Hera and stolen by Dionysius, confer Athenaeus 541. p. 247 Ed. Tauchnitii. He sold it to the Carthaginians for 120 talents. The attempts to gather deputies from all parts in this temple at Croton were never more than partially successful.

PALLAS.

We have seen the head of Pallas on the half-staters and diobols of Metapontum issued between 330 and 300 B. C., and Pallas was chosen for the type of the coins of Thurium, and from the influence of that mint her head was also placed on the coins of Neapolis from 450-380 B. C.

At Tarentum also we find the head of Pallas on drachms of the seventh period 281-272 B. C.

The head of Pallas on the coins of some of these cities of S. Italy is a symbol of the influence of Athens, but the Athenian power

was broken at Syracuse in 413 B.C. and the reason for the choice of this type after that date can hardly be connected with Athenian influence.

When once a type became well known it was not easily discarded; moreover this head of Pallas had become the usual type for the smaller silver coins of many cities.

PERSEPHONE.

At the date when the head of this goddess appeared on the bronze coinage of Croton, about 300 B.C., the influence of the Pythagorean brotherhood had passed away, and the religious ideas of the cities in which the cult of Persephone was predominant began to be felt in Croton. For the ideas connected with this type confer the chapters on the coins of Metapontum.



The bronze coins bearing the head of Persephone are in size .85. Her head on the obverse is to right, crowned with a wreath of corn. Rev. K P O. Each letter within a crescent, the horns outward.

HERACLES.

After reading the early legends of Croton we should naturally expect to find the founder Heracles among the types. It has been thought probable that the die-engravers or designers were inspired in forming these types by the paintings of the renowned artist Zeuxis, who was working in Croton at about the time when these figures of Heracles appeared, viz about 420. The subject of one of his pictures was, we know from Pliny (*N. H.*, XXXV c ix and x) that chosen in 390 B.C. as the type for the coinage issued by the league against Dionysius and the Lucanians. The struggle of the infant Heracles with the two serpents, so beautifully told by Theocritus in his twenty-fourth Idyll, and by Pindar in his first Nemean ode, was emblematic of the struggle between Light and Darkness, Good and Evil, of free and united Hellas over Tyranny and Barbarism. It is probable that the other earlier types of Heracles at the altar, and pouring the libation at the grave of Croton, were

also inspired by the paintings of Zeuxis. It is in harmony with this idea that the proportions of the figure of the hero on these coins shew just the faults criticized by Pliny in the work of Zeuxis; the undue proportions of the head and lower limbs of Heracles.

However, we must remember here the fault in regard to the size of the head is a common one on coin types, perhaps due to the difficulty of making the features on a smaller scale. The care taken by Zeuxis in delineating the human form is noticed in the interesting story of that artist choosing five of the most beautiful maidens of Croton as models for his picture of Helen. We have continually to notice the influence of Homer upon the Greeks of Southern Italy and it is very apparent in the works of Zeuxis.

On the silver coins of Croton we have six different types of Heracles.

1. The archaic legend on the obverse is noticeable $\text{O}\Sigma\text{K}\Sigma\text{M}\text{TAM}$. The letters which look like M are the old "san" an early form of S. In this archaic alphabet the letter M is formed thus M .

The second and fourth letters are the old forms for I and the word in the letters of the third and fourth centuries B.C. would be $\text{OIKI}\Sigma\text{TAS}$ "Founder". The only suggestion I can make in regard to the reason for using this ancient script is that the die-engraver copied the word from the inscription under some statue, and this may be the explanation of other similar cases of the use of archaic letters. Confer however D^r Head's *Hist. Num.*, p. 90, on the occurrence of these letters on coins of Pandosia.

The obverse type represents the hero naked, seated to left on a rock covered with a lion's skin. He holds a laurel-branch, bound with a fillet, in his right hand, and his left hand rests upon his club. Behind him on the ground are his bow and quiver. In front an altar bound with laurel. In the exergue are two fishes meeting.

The reverse is that described above bearing Apollo slaying the Python with a tripod between.

2. Very similar to this is the reverse type of the coin bearing the Head of Hera Lacinia on the obverse. Heracles is seated on the same rock with the same weapons but in his right hand he holds a wine-cup and his left elbow is resting on the rock and his left hand on the handle of his club. In the field **ME**.

It has been suggested the hero is represented in the act of making the funeral libation before the grave of Croton.

3. Obv. $\text{K}\rho\text{OT}\Omega[\text{NIA}]\text{TAS}$. Head of Apollo to right, laureate, hair long: a border of dots.

Rev. The infant Heracles seated facing, on a bed; in each extended hand a serpent which he is strangling, and whose folds entwine his body.

4. Obv. of drachm weighing 43.7 grains size .6. Head of

Heracles to right wearing diadem ending in spike over his head.
Rev. **ΚΡΟ**. An owl standing to left on stalk of an ear of barley with leaves.

5. Weight 14.9 grains size .55. Diobols 18 grains.

Obv. **ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙΑ ΤΑΝ**. Head of Pallas to right wearing crested Corinthian helmet.

Rev. **ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ**. Heracles standing to right clad in a lion's skin, leaning on his club which he grasps with both hands.

On some specimens the letter **Δ** behind the figure, on others the letter **ο**.

6. Diobol 17 grains.

Obv. Same as no 5.

Rev. Heracles strangling the Nemean lion.

AESARUS.

The story of the hunter Aesarus is only found in a commentary on the poem of Dionysius Periegetes who lived about 300 A.D., and the commentator, Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica, wrote as late as the last half of the twelfth century A. D. It may be found on p. 185 of the Latin Edition of A. Polito, 1741. "The river which flows near Croton is called Aesarus because of a hunter of that name, who was drowned together with a doe which he had followed into the water, and thus the river was named after him". The name Aesarus may however be connected with an Italian word for god, Aesar.

There is no reference to the hunter in the poem of Dionysius, the passage referred to is line 370.

"Near to which is a pleasant city Croton, well crowned with walls, a happy site near the river Aesarus, whence thou mayst see the high home of Lacinian Hera." The head of Aesarus appears on bronze coins, in size .65, bearing on the obverse **ΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ**. A young male head to right, wearing a diadem, and his hair long. On the reverse **ΚΡΟΤΩ**
ΝΙΑΤΑΝ a thunderbolt, above which a star of eight rays. The star supports the story of a mortal made immortal.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINS OF CROTON.

No thorough or detailed chronological classification of the coins of Croton has yet been made; such work could only be undertaken by one having leisure and opportunity to compare the great collections of European fame, and by one possessing greater knowledge than the writer of these pages.

The following classification is the preparatory step which most collectors and students would make, that of placing together the coins of each type and noticing the distinctive details.

FIRST PERIOD. 550-480 B.C.

The coins of this first period may be divided into two classes or series. The one consisting of coins bearing a Tripod in relief on the obverse, and the same type incuse on the reverse: and the other consisting of coins bearing the tripod on the obverse and a flying eagle incuse on the reverse.

Which may be looked upon as the earlier type does not seem quite certain, and whether the two designs were issued at the same time from the mint is uncertain. Although the earliest coins of Corinth were smaller and thicker than those afterwards issued with the flat flan, as in all collections of S. Italian coins the flat, large, thin coinage is placed first, it will be convenient to place them here in the first class.

CLASS I. 550-500 B. C.

1*. Size 1. 2 ; weight 115 to 122. Obv. ΨPO on left of tripod with straight top and three handles. Legs of tripod straight ending in lion's claws, and on the under side at top of legs a stem curling under in a simple volute. No symbol or letter on right of tripod. A circle of dots or cable around the whole.

Rev. Same tripod incuse with handles and mouldings in legs in relief in the incuse. No letters or symbols in field.

2*. Obv. Same as no. 1, but with a crab as symbol on right of tripod.

Rev. Same type incuse but $\text{O}\Psi$ in relief, and crab as symbol rudely scratched in.

3*. Size .9 weight 117-8. Obv. Normal type but crab on left, ΨPO on right, of tripod; dotted border. Rev. Cuttle-fish as symbol to left, and a dolphin as symbol on right of tripod.

4. Size .95. weight 117 gr. Obv. Same as no 3.

Rev. A lyre as symbol; on left ΨPO on right of tripod.

5. Size .9. weight 118 gr. Obv. Same as no 3.

Rev. ΨPO on left of tripod and a dolphin on right.

6*. Size 1.05. Weight 123.3. Obv. ΨPO on left of tripod and a crane on right.

Rev. Same as Obv. symbols in relief.

* Specimens of the coins marked thus may be obtained for a few shillings.

7*. Size 1.05 and .95. Weights 104.9 gr.

Obv. Same as no 6.

Rev. ΨPO on left, **TON** on right of tripod, letters in relief. The distinguishing mark is the border of radiating lines.

8. Size .8 or .85 Weight 124.2. Obv. same as n° 6.

Rev. Normal tripod without any letters, field plain ; radiate border.

9. The third part of a stater. Size .6. Weight 38.6 grs.

Obv. Crane in field on left of tripod, on right ΨPO .

Rev. Same as no 8.

10. Size .4. Weight 6.1.

Obv. ΨPO on left of tripod, nothing to right ; dotted border.

Rev. Incuse tripod, nothing in field, border radiated.

CLASS II.

TRANSITIONAL COINS 500 TO 480 B.C. FLYING EAGLE TYPES.

1*. Size .95. Weight 113 to 118.

Obv. Normal tripod with ΨPO on right and **TON** on left.

Rev. An eagle flying to right, incuse, with feathers marked and a border of radiating lines.

2. Size .8 Weight. 123. Types same as no. 1 but omitting **TON**.

3. Size .35 Weight 6.5 gr. Same types as no. 2.

ALLIANCE COINS.

Alliance coins are found, with Sybaris, bearing **VM** and a bull with head reverted on Rev. and the Obv. = no 1.

With Temesa, same Obv. and on Rev., a helmet incuse, with **TE** sometimes added.

CLASS III. 490 to 480 B.C.

CORINTHIAN HELMET TYPE.

1. Stater. Size .75. Weight 122 grs.

Obv. Normal tripod with ΨPO on the right.

Rev. A Corinthian helmet to right. Underneath **ON**.

2. The third of a stater. Size .5. Weight 38.8.

Obv. Same as on stater.

Rev. Corinthian helmet to right but no legend ; around, a radiated border.

The radiated border perhaps suggests these should belong to the transitional period, 490 to 450 B. C.

CLASS IV.

TRIPOD TYPES. 480-420 B.C.

1. Size. .8. Weight 122.5.
Obv. Rude plain tripod; no ornamentation. In border of dots, PPO to left.
Rev. Same tripod in relief but no legend.
2. Size. .85 or .8. Weight 111.2. Tripod with voluted ornament on legs, distinguished from that on the earlier series by the ring between the legs above the feet. A crane in the field on the left, and PPO on the right.
Rev. Same type, in relief.
3. Size. .9. Weight 119.7.
Obv. Tripod with three handles without the ring between the legs but with volute ornament. A kantharos in the field to left and PPO on right of tripod.
Rev. Similar tripod in relief. ΔA in field to left, an incense altar to right; all in border of dots.

CLASS V.

SMALLER SILVER COINS, BEFORE 420 B.C.

1. Size. .5. Weight 16.7 grs.
Obv. Tripod with ring between legs, on the right in field a leaf.
Rev. An upright fulmen, on the left a star, on the right an eagle on a Ionic capital.
2. Size. .45. Weight 17.6 grs.
Obv. Tripod with no binding ring, a crane on the left and PPO on the right.
Rev. A cuttle-fish with tentacles spread.
3. Size. .4. Weights vary from 12 to 19 grs.
Obv. Tripod with no binding ring P or PPO in field to right.
Rev. Pegasus with wing curled in archaic manner; P underneath.
4. Size .5. Weight 16.7. Obv. Tripod with two serpents' heads between legs.
Rev. A kantharos with coiled snakes on either side.
5. Size .4. Weight 10.2. Obol. Obv. Tripod with neck and three handles, on the left in field an ivy-leaf, on the right P .
Rev. A hare running to right with O above and O beneath.
6. Size. .4. Weight 10.4.
Obv. A symbol consisting of two grains of corn one above the

other, and on each side a circle with a dot in the centre, the whole within a radiated border. This may perhaps be classed with those coins mentioned above as of the earliest part of this Period or even of the Transitional Period.

CLASS VI.

THE SERIES OF EAGLE TYPES IN RELIEF. 480-420 B.C.

1. No 63 in Brit. Mus. Catalogue.

Size .9. Weight 117.3.

Obv. **ΨPOT** in field above eagle standing to left, wings closed, on Ionic capital : border of dots.

Rev. **ΨPOT** to right, and grain of barley to left. Tripod with three handles, volute ornaments under bowl and near the feet ; on some specimens the relative positions of legend and grain are reversed.

2*. No 66. Size .85. Weight 116.

Obv. Eagle on capital to right with branch of olive in field ; border of dots.

Rev. **ΨPO** to right, Tripod with neck and three handles, volute ornaments under bowl, and ring near feet, border of dots.

3. No 67. Size .85. Weight 119.1.

Obv. Eagle standing on ram's head to left looking back : border of dots.

Rev. **ΨPO** to left, spray of olive to right of tripod similar to no. 2.

4. No 68. Size .8. Weight 122.6

Obv. Similar eagle standing on a stag's head, plain border.

Rev. Similar to no 3, but ivy-leaf to left and the legend **ΨPO** on right of tripod.

5. No. 70. Size .9. Weight 122.1.

Obv. Eagle on pediment of a temple.

Rev. Same as no 3.

6. No. 73. Size .9. Weight 118.5.

Obv. Eagle standing over serpent with wings raised ; border of dots.

Rev. Similar tripod to no 2, **ΨPO** to left, and ear of barley on right : plain border.

7. No. 74. Size .8. Weight 119.8.

Obv. Eagle standing to right with head raised as if about to spring upwards.

Rev. similar to last but laurel-leaf, to left, and **ΨPO** to right of tripod.

AFTER 420 B.C.

8. No 77. Size .9 Weight 121.8.

Obv. Eagle flying to left holding a hare in its talons, in field to left **AI**, border of dots.

Rev. **KPO**. Normal tripod of this series, stork in field to right with raised leg standing to left.

9. No 78. Size 9. Weight 118.1.

Obv. Eagle standing to left on olive-branch with wing raised.

Rev. Same as last, but **Δ** under the stork.

10. No 82. Size .9. Weight 101.5.

Obv. **ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ** in small letters over spread wing of eagle standing to left on olive-branch, turning back its head.

Rev. Tripod, on left an ear of barley and **ΦΕ**, and on the right a dolphin and **ΚΡΦΜΙ**.

CLASS VII. 420-349 B.C.

Types consisting of figures of Apollo and Heracles.

D^r Head says : “ It was towards the close of the fifth century when Thurium was rising to be the first city of Southern Italy, that the long Ionic **Ω** came into general use in the West. About this time also we note that the old letter **ϙ** is replaced by **K** on the coins of Croton. ”

Perhaps these types with the figures of Heracles and Apollo were issued to celebrate some great festival, and that may account for their rarity and the difference of type from that of the normal coinage.

1. No 85. Size .9. Weight 121.2.

Obv. **ΟΣΚΣΜΤΑΜ**. Heracles naked seated on rock to left holding laurel-branch in right and club in left hand; in front an altar, in exergue two fishes meeting.

Rev. Tripod with straight plain legs, two fillets hang between the legs. Apollo on the left aims an arrow at the Python on the right.

2. No 87. Size .95. Weight 123.2.

Obv. Same as no 1.

Rev. **ϙPO** on right of tripod with voluted ornamental rings near feet of legs; in field to left, a large barley-corn.

3. Nos 88 to 93. Size .85. Weight 117.4 to 123.1.

Obv. Head of Hera Lacinia wearing stephanos and necklace : border of dots.

Rev. **ΚΡΟΤ** or **ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ**. Heracles naked reclining on rock, right hand extended holding wine-cup, left elbow resting on rock.

4. No 96. Size .8. Weight 123.1.
Obv. Head of Apollo to right, laureate, hair long : border of dots.
Rev. Infant Heracles seated on bed holding in each hand a serpent.
5. No 96. Size 9. Weight 118.8.
Obv. Head of Apollo as No 4.
Rev. **KPO** to right of tripod, to left a branch of laurel filleted. A ring inside legs half way down legs, and a second ring with ornamental leaves near the feet.

CLASS VIII.

SMALLER SILVER COINS OF SAME PERIOD.

1. No 103. B. Mus. Cat. Size .6. Weight 43.7.
Obv. Head of Heracles wearing diadem ending in spike to right.
Rev. Owl standing to left, **KPO** on right, on stalk of barley with leaves.
2. No 104. Size .5. Weight 24.4.
Obv. Head of Apollo, laureate.
Rev. **KPO**, same type as No 4 of staters.
3. No 105. Size .55. Weight 14.9 grs.
Obv. Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet **KPOTΩNIATAN**.
Rev. **OIKIΣΤΑΣ**. Heracles standing to right leaning on club grasped in both hands.
4. Size .35. Weight 5.5 gr.
Obv. Tripod with neck, no binding ring, on left an ivy-leaf, on right **ῬΡ**.
Rev. Four crescents placed back to back.

BRONZE COINAGE.

1. Size, one inch in diameter.
Obv. A tripod with neck.
Rev. A hare running to right.
2. Size, nine-tenths of an inch.
Obv. A tripod with neck.
Rev. Sepia with arms extended.
3. Size, nearly an inch.
Obv. Bow **TPI**.
Rev. A Club.
4. Size .6 of an inch. No 109. B.M.C.
Obv. Eagle standing to right looking back.
Rev. Tripod, **KPO** to left ; Crane to right, a ring half way down to feet, and volutes under bowl.

5. Size .75, $\frac{3}{4}$ of-an-inch. No 110. B.M.C.

Obv. Eagle on ram's head to right.

Rev. Upright fulmen, a crescent on either side.

6. Size .65.

Obv. Head of Aisaros ΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ.

Rev. ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ. Fulmen with a star above and the legend half above and half below.

7. Size .75.

Obv. Head of young Heracles in lion's skin, in field Η, above head ΑΥΚΩΝ.

Rev. Eagle flying to right carrying serpent; behind, an ivy leaf.

Size .65.

Obv. Rude head of Heracles in lion's skin.

Rev. Eagle standing to r. looking back, ΚΡΟ.

Size .75 also .6.

Obv. Head of Heracles in lion's skin.

Rev. A crab ΚΡΟ.

10. Size .65.

Obv. Female head (perhaps Persephone) to r.

Rev. Three crescents back to back, ΚΡΟ a letter in each crescent.

None of these bronze coins are finely wrought, they are generally in rather poor condition.

Those which bear a type similar to that on a silver coin were probably issued at the same period.

No attempt has been made to arrange the bronze coins in chronological order, as no sufficient number of the coins have been examined.

CAULONIA

Although there is very little variety in the designs of the coin-types of Caulonia, and no artists' signatures have been found on coins from this mint, yet the design which prevailed as long as the city existed is full of interest to students of the worship of Apollo, or of the influence of the Pythagorean brotherhood in Southern Italy.

From the great number of coins which remain to us we may gather that the city was very wealthy, but it is difficult to gain any information as to the citizens from ancient literature. So complete was its destruction that its very site is uncertain.

The Tabulæ, which help us usually to fix sites, fail us in this district on account of the corrupt state of the texts. Strabo leads us to infer it was near to, and on the east of, the Sagras river; he says “μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σάγραν Ἀγχιῶν κτίσμα Καυλωνία, πρότερον δ' Ἀυλωνία λεγομένη”. After the Sagras is Kaulonia, a foundation of the Achæans, which was at first called Aulonia “διὰ τὸν προκείμενον ἀυλῶνα” on account of the neighbouring valley; it is now deserted.

Pausanias (VI, 3) names the founder of the city, when mentioning a statue to Dicon, son of Callibrotus, the winner of the great prize in the Stadium in 384 B. C. He tells us that Dicon when a boy was proclaimed a Caulonian, as indeed he was, but afterwards, when corrupted by gifts, caused himself to be proclaimed a Syracusan. Grote says, (p. 308, cap. LXXXIII,) “to hear this well-known runner now proclaimed as “Dicon the Syracusan” gave painful publicity to the fact that the free community of Caulonia no longer existed, and... the absorption of Grecian freedom effected by Dionysius.” This story confirms the impression that Caulonia was a very healthy site, capable of sending forth successful athletes. The name of the founder given by Pausanias is Typhon “οἰκιστῆς δὲ ἐγένετο ἀντὶς Τύφων Λιγυεύς” (p. 427, Ed. Schubart). We shall see that this name is suggestive of the windy character of the site of the city, only twenty miles from Locri, surnamed ‘of the west wind’.

Other accounts of the foundation of the city are given by

Scymnus of Chius, and Stephanus of Byzantium; these writers affirm that the founders were colonists from Croton. As Croton was situated about seventy miles to the east of Caulonia it is probable that the Achaean colonists may have at any rate stayed some time at Croton on their way to seek a site for their new home.

The flat fabric and incuse reverse types of the earliest coins bear witness to the influence of the Pythagorean brotherhood of Croton, and from Polybius we learn that Caulonia shared the disorders which arose after the expulsion of the Pythagoreans from Croton.

Iamblichus mentions Caulonia in his life of Pythagoras as one of the cities in which the teaching of that master made great progress, and Porphyry tells us that Pythagoras actually sought refuge in Caulonia after his expulsion from Croton.

The coins with the flat fabric appear to have been in use until about 480 B.C., that is until about 30 years after the fall of Sybaris. At about that period the old flat coinage was also discontinued at Croton and Poseidonia, and the coins of all these cities then issued bore types in relief on both sides, with a thicker fabric, more like that of the coinage of the old country. The year 480 B.C. is memorable as the year in which Xerxes invaded Attica and suffered defeat at Salamis.

It seems probable that a democratic government at that time took the place of the aristocratic party in Caulonia, and the cities of Magna Græcia seem to have all shared a similar change of government, and increased intercommunication. From 478 to 468 B. C. Hieron, the tyrant of Syracuse, attracted to his court many celebrated men, such as Æschylus, Pindar, and Bacchylides, and if their journey was made by sea they would pass by Caulonia, for at that time ships steered near the land from port to port. Nothing however is known of the port of Caulonia.

In the war between the Athenians and the Syracusans the men of Caulonia seem to have taken the side of Athens, for Thucydides, (VII, 25) relates that the Syracusans burnt a quantity of timber in the Caulonian territory which had been got ready for the Athenians. The period of the city's prosperity ended about the year 400 B.C. when the Lucanians began to menace the city.

A third period of eleven years, from 400 to 389 B.C. is marked by a change in the character of the types. During this period we notice the introduction of symbols of the moneyers or the magistrates and a more fully written legend.

About 393 B.C. the Greek cities entered into a league for their mutual defence against the Lucanians on the north and Dionysius of Syracuse on the south. There are some coins struck in Caulonia, evidently copied from those bearing the symbol, a fibula, which appear to be the work of Lucanian rulers, so perhaps the citizens

were conquered before the utter ruin of the city by Dionysius in 389 B.C. when the inhabitants were taken away to Sicily. The ruined city was given to the Locrians, who had sided with Dionysius. Pausanias relates that the city was taken by the Campanian auxiliary forces of the Romans, but otherwise the name of the city is not mentioned by those who wrote of the Roman victories in Southern Italy.

We cannot associate Caulonia with the names of any celebrated men, neither do we find the city mentioned in any of the poets, except once, when Virgil, by a poetic licence, with a curious anachronism, mentions Caulonia as existing in the days when Æneas sailed along those shores on his way to Italy (*Æneidos*, lib. III, 553).

“Next is seen the bay of Tarentum, sacred to Hercules, if report be true, and the Lacinian goddess rears herself opposite; the towers of Caulonia (are seen) and Scyllaceum, infamous for shipwrecks.”

The “Aulon” mentioned by Horace (II, ode 6) as famed for its vines is not the same as “Aulonia”, but refers to a hill near Tarentum; it is also mentioned by Martial (XIII, 125). These references are given wrongly by Servius in his notes on Virgil (*Æn.*, III, 553), as if they referred to Caulonia. Pliny refers to the “*vestigia oppidi Caulonias*”, and its name just appears in the *Tabula Peut.*

THE TYPES.

The earliest type found on the coins of Caulonia is not at first sight easy to interpret, and is in some ways unique. It looks like an attempt to reproduce some group of statuary which may have adorned the market place of the city or the temple of Apollo. At any rate it cannot be made to fit in with any theory of a barter unit, or refer in any way to commerce. At Metapontum we found a similar celebrated statue of Apollo represented on the coinage.

The legend varies, ΟΙΥΑΝ or ΚΑΥΝ.

A naked archaic male figure advancing to right, his hair bound with a diadem and falling in long curls; in his raised right hand a branch, on his extended left hand a small figure, holding a branch in each hand, running to right and looking back; in front of the main figure, a stag, to right, looking back: a dotted cable border, outside of which, traces of a border of radiating lines.

The Reverse type is similar, but incuse, except the small running figure which is in relief: incuse border of radiating lines.

The best explanation of the design is that given in Mr. Percy Gardner's work “*The Types of Greek Coins*” in which the main figure is regarded as certainly Apollo. The stag so frequently seen connected with the god is said to be turning towards him for

protection. In regard to the explanation of the little figure upon the arm of Apollo, the theory of Mr. Watkin Lloyd, published in 1848 in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, is approved by Mr. Gardner. The little naked figure running with winged feet, and holding a branch in each hand looking back to Apollo as if listening to his command which it hastens to fulfil, is an emblem of the wind with which the god Catharsius cleanses the air. The site of the town is said to be noted for its breezes, and it is possible that the very name Caulonia may be derived from the root $\acute{\alpha}\omega$ $\acute{\alpha}\eta\mu\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\omega}$, to blow. Strabo derived it from $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$, a valley, but this meaning contains the idea of a narrow pass through which the winds blow.

This summer the writer noticed great numbers of branches torn from the trees after a storm at Corneto, and the aptness of the little figure with branches in his hands and winged feet as an emblem of the wind was forcibly brought to mind. Raoul-Rochette thought the branches signified purification, and Rathgeber thought the figure signified fear, $\delta\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, but the connection of the breezes with purification of the air seems more in harmony with the name of the city and the character of its site. Some have seen in the little figure an emblem of the wrath of Apollo, but this is usually figured by arrows rather than by branches.

The importance of the stag may be seen from the fact that it was chosen for the Reverse type when the incuse Reverse was given up, and the legend **KAY** or **VYAN** or **KAVN** was inscribed by its side. This however is not like the ordinary transference of the $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\eta\mu\alpha$ to the Reverse, because the stag still appeared on the Obverse for some time. Apparently the stag was the town symbol of Caulonia just as the lion was for Velia.

The double inscription is noticeable as very rare on Greek coins; we find it however on the coins of Poseidonia.

The stag is often found in connection with Apollo in Greek art, and may have been chosen in consequence for the town arms, as the symbol of the religion of the citizens, just as the ear of barley was chosen by the men of Metapontum.

For illustrations of the figure of a stag in connection with Apollo confer "*Antike Denkmäler zur griechischen Götterlehre*", by C. O. Müller and F. Wieseler.

Very early figures of Apollo and Artemis with a stag or hind between them are shown on Lieferung III, XXII, 17 and 19.

Apollo and Artemis are seen in a biga of stags from the temple of Apollo in Phigalia, in XXIII, 7.

Again, Apollo is seen in a chariot drawn by winged horses shooting Tityos, who is represented kneeling in front to left, shot through with an arrow; and under the horses' bodies is a stag running with them to left. The work is Etruscan, XXVI, 5.

On a crater from Vulci, now in London, is depicted the struggle between Heracles and Apollo for the tripod, and here again a roe-deer stands by the side of the god. On a fresco-painting in Pompei, in the 'Casa dei capitelli colorate', Apollo is represented standing to left, a branch in his right and a cithara in his left hand, and a recumbent stag looking up.

PERIOD I.

The type has been described, but a few general notes on the coins of this period will be useful.

The size of the Staters is $1 \frac{2}{8}$ of an inch.

The weight of specimens seen by the writer varies between 113 and 128 grains.

The figure of the god on the Obverse is in bold relief, the ringlets of Apollo are wrought in formal Archaic dotted curls.



On five of the specimens in the British Museum there is a ring or circlet in the field above the stag and under the arm of Apollo.

Some specimens omit the legend on the Reverse and omit also the little figure on the god's arm. The little figure when shown is in relief. On some specimens a branch is substituted for the little figure on the reverse.

The Reverse border is incuse with radiating lines which form little incuse squares.

In the last years of this first period the coins differ slightly in fabric, they are thicker, more compact, in size $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch. They bear the same types and the \mathcal{R} . is still incuse. In the field there is sometimes a crane behind the god. The legend is $\text{V}\Lambda\mathcal{X}$, on the Obv.

Thirds.

Weight : 35.1 grs. Size $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch.

Type same as that of Staters. Legend $\text{O}\Lambda\text{Y}\Lambda\mathcal{X}$.

Sixths.

Weight : 7.6 grs. Size $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch.

Obverse. A triskelis with dots on each knee and one in the centre.

Rev. $\begin{matrix} \text{V}\Lambda\text{X} \\ \text{O}\Lambda \end{matrix}$ and the dots.

PERIOD II.

The weight may have been the same as that of the earlier period, *circ.* 125 grs., though some of the early coins weigh as much as 128 grs. Owing to the worn state in which the coins of this period are found they weigh generally from 112 to 124 grs.

Obv. Similar type to earlier coins, legend $\Lambda\text{V}\Lambda\text{X}$.

Notice the head of Apollo is without the long curls. The border is of dots. The head of the stag is turned back as on earlier coins.

Rev. Type is quite new, and in relief. An antlered stag to right ; in front, a branch. $\Lambda\text{Y}\Lambda\text{X}$ in field above. The branch is varied, sometimes all on one stalk, sometimes branched in two.

On one specimen in the Brit. Museum the stag is to left.



Thirds.

Weight : 39 grains. Size .6.

Types the same as of Staters.

PERIOD III.

The coins of this period are similar in fabric and type, and are to be distinguished from those of Period II by the head of the stag on the Obverse, which is always looking forward instead of turned back.

Letters sometimes are found, such as Φ , ΘE , and on some a fibula. This looks at first sight like a monogram, but is clearly seen to be a fibula by the copies made by Lucanians.

The legends are varied. $\text{K}\Lambda\text{Y}\Lambda$ to left of Apollo or $\dots\text{O}\text{N}\Sigma\text{A}\text{T}\Lambda\text{M}$ (for Σ) or $\dots\Lambda\text{O}\text{N}\Sigma\text{A}\text{T}\Lambda\text{N}$ or $\Sigma\text{A}\text{T}\Lambda\text{I}\text{I}\Omega\text{V}\text{Y}\Lambda\text{X}$ in upright line behind Apollo.

The stag is generally on a line, but in two specimens in the British Museum it is on a pedestal.

On some specimens a large fly is placed as a symbol in the field behind the god and on other specimens a dolphin is placed on each side of the god in the field.

Reverse, a stag with symbols, as an ivy-leaf above, or a crab to right of stag, or a star under the stag, or three ivy-leaves with a berry in field above, or a fir-tree in front of the stag.

Thirds.

Weight · 39 grains. Size .6.

Types the same as Staters.

Smaller Silver Coins.

1. Weight : 12 grs. Size .45.

Obv. Head of Apollo laureate with long hair, a plain border.

Rev. KAV. A stag to right on ornamented base ; above, ivy-leaf.

2. Weight 12 . 1. Size .4.

Obv. ···ONSA. A female head to right, hair rolled.

Rev. A stag to right.

No bronze coins of Caulonia are known ; the city was destroyed before the time of the general introduction of bronze.

PANDOSIA.

Very little is known of this Greek colony from Croton, founded in one of the older Oenotrian cities, but we are led to take an interest in its history on account of the great beauty of its coins which afford evidence of the culture and wealth of its citizens.

Although these coins are too rare to be possessed by collectors with small means, they are too beautiful, and their types too interesting, to be utterly neglected by students of the coinage and art of Southern Italy.

Three Greek cities bore the name Pandosia; that in Bruttium, from which the coins were issued, another in Lucania, which does not appear to have possessed a mint, and the third in the district of Thesprotia in Epirus, the ruins of which remain on the height called Kastri. There is no doubt as to which of these cities our coins belong; they come from the old Bruttian city among the mountains, about five miles to the south-west of Consentia. The city once stood on the banks of the Acheron, a tributary of the Crathis, about seven miles from the Mediterranean sea, and sixteen miles north of Terina. The exact site, which is not yet identified, is thought to have been about five miles west of the Via Popilia which ran through Consentia from north to south.

Strabo tells us in the first chapter of Book VI "a little above (Consentia) is Pandosia, which is strongly fortified, The position has three summits, and the river Acheron flows by it,

They say that Pandosia was formerly the residence of the Oenotrian kings".

The Acheron, now called Mucone, flows into the Crathis, and may have been once identified with it, for the god of that river is represented on some of the coins with the legend ΚΡΑΘΙΣΜ the older form of ΚΡΑΘΙΣ.

The statement of Eusebius, that it was founded in the same year as Metapontum, may refer to its Oenotrian origin, but the date given by him, 774 B.C., seems certainly inadmissible.

Like Terina it seems to have been colonized by Greeks from Croton, for its earliest coins, issued about 450 B.C., shew its alliance with that city; they bear ὄΠΟ, and a tripod on the Obverse, and

ΠΑΝΔΟ, and a bull in an incuse square on the Reverse. Scylax and Scymnus Chius both call it a Greek city. The one historical event which made the city memorable was the death there of Alexander of Epirus in 326 B.C. Strabo says "This prince was led astray by the oracle of Dodona, which commanded him to avoid Acheron and Pandosia, for places with names like these being pointed out in Thesprotia, caused him to lose his life here.

He was also mistaken in another oracle :

O Pandosia, thou three-topped hill,
Hereafter many people thou shall kill,

for he thought that it foreshadowed the destruction of his enemies, and not of his own people".

The story of his death is told with detail by Livy (lib. VIII. 24).

No doubt the Pandosians joined the league of Greek cities formed in 393 B.C. against the Lucanians. Perhaps some of the citizens were with the Thurian army defeated near Laus in 390 B.C.

The later history of the city cannot be traced by reference to the coinage, for no money seems to have been issued after that year. The city probably was held for some time by the Lucanians, and perhaps by the Bruttians. In 204 B.C. it was taken by the Romans (Livy, XXIX, 36), and as it was compared with the "ignobiles alia civitates", it probably was then still a place of some importance. Strabo seems to imply that it still existed in his time, but after that no trace of the city can be found.

Dr. Barclay V. Head describes a stater of Pandosia as "one of the most exquisite productions of any Greek mint", and as at present these coins are all that remain of the city whose very site is unknown, we have in them another example of the idea expressed by Théophile Gauthier :

" Tout passe, l'Art robuste
Seul a l'éternité,
Le buste survit à la cité."

The types represent four mythological personages, the nymph of the city Pandosia, the river god Crathis, the goddess Hera Lacinia, and the god Pan.

The art schools of Pandosia must have been among the best in Magna Græcia if the artists who wrought in the mint were educated in their own city. We know however that artists visited and wrought in other cities so frequently that we cannot tell how far the beauty of these coins of Pandosia was due to the art of their own schools.

THE NYMPH OF PANDOSIA.

On the didrachms of this city we find a beautiful female head turned to the right and surrounded with a wreath and with the name Pandosia, which has been interpreted as that of the tutelary $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ or nymph of the city.

The head on coins of Terina was regarded in a similar manner, and the artistic treatment of the subject in Pandosia was so similar that it is very probable some of the artists of Terina influenced, or perhaps visited, the mint engravers of Pandosia.

The wreath around the head has been thought by some to indicate that the nymph partook of the character of Nike, and as we had a nymph called Terina Nike so this may have been a Pandosian Nike. The name of the city may have been adopted by the prominence given by the early settlers to the cult of the god Pan which was so common in the homes of their ancestors, and Pan was a leader of nymphs, but as no nymph of this name appears in Greek literature, the head seems all the more likely to be that of Nike.

The composition of the name Pandosia is similar to that of the later name Theodosius, and the giving to a city the name of a deity was not uncommon among the Greeks; we have, for instance, Heracleia, Poseidonia, Panormus in Sicily, Apollonia in Lycia, Aphrodisias in Asia Minor on the Menander.

THE RIVER GOD CRATHIS.

This river rises among the mountains near Consentia and flows towards the north for about 40 miles until it falls into the Sinus Tarentinus near Thurium and the old site of Sybaris. It is thought the bull on the coins of these two cities was meant to represent the power of this stream. On the bronze coins of Consentia a young river-god is represented which some have regarded as the god of the Crathis, but others as that of the stream called Carcines. If Strabo had not told us Pandosia was built on the banks of the Acheron we should have looked for its site on those of the Crathis, because the coins bear the name of that river on their type representing the river-god. The personification of the river-god in human form rather than in the older bull form, points to the higher development of art in Pandosia in the middle of the fifth century B.C. when art was in a transitional stage and archaic forms and treatments were passing away.

Euripides in the *Troades* 226-230 wrote of "the Crathis the most beautiful, watering the neighbouring lands, brightening with

yellow glow the hair, and feeding sacred founts ". Ovid refers to the same strange idea (*Metam.*, XV, 315).

Crathis et huic Sybaris nostris conterminus arvis
Electro similes faciunt auroque capillos.

Strabo, Pliny (XXXI, 2-10) and Timaeus all tell the same strange story of the effects of this river on the colour of the hair.

In the fifth Idyll of Theocritus we find this river mentioned in a passage which also refers to the god Pan. "Lacon : Nay verily, so help me Pan of the sea shore, it was not Lacon son of Calaethis that filched the coat of skin. If I lie, sirrah, may I leap frenzied down this rock into the Crathis".

Herodotus (Bk I 145) tells us this river in Italy takes its name from the river in Greece, next Aegyra and Aege.

Strabo (VIII, 386), explains the meaning of the name and the derivation from the Achaeon river.

"Close to the Achaeon Ægae flows the river Crathis augmented by two rivers and deriving its name from the mixture of their streams. From this circumstance the river Crathis in Italy derives its name".

At such a distance from its mouth and at such an elevation as that of the sites of Consentia and Pandosia, the river can have been of no use for the carriage of merchandise, but the valley of the river may have been one of the great outlets for the communication of the citizens with the outer world, and the Crathis therefore a very familiar river. The force and beauty of a river were appreciated by the ancients and often looked on as something superhuman and worthy of some kind of cult.

HERA LACINIA.

In Volume I of the *Cults of the Greek States* by L. R. Farnell (cap. VII, p. 178) we may find the fullest and most interesting account of the Greek cult of Hera.

Mr. Farnell says "we may regard the cult as a primeval heritage of the Greek peoples, or at least of the Achaeon and Ionic tribes, for its early and deep influence over these is attested by the antiquity and peculiar sanctity of the Argive and Samian worship; Hera was the tutelary deity of Argos".

The marriage of Hera with Zeus is a myth formed from the springtide union of heaven and earth. Zeus shrouding himself in clouds descends upon the earth in showers, producing flowers. Samos, which was so intimately connected with some of these Greek cities of S. Italy, was especially given up to this cult of Hera

S^t Augustine mentions her (*De Civit. Dei*, VI, 7) as “the mistress of the island”.

In the *Bullet. de Corr. Hellén.*, (2, p. 180), an inscription is recorded found near a temple of Hera, in which she is called the founder (ἄρχηγέτις); at that time Hera was evidently regarded in Samos as the deity worshipped by the earliest Greek settlers in the island.

Although the influence of Samos in S. Italy was very great, it is probable that the Achaean influence in regard to the cult of Hera was greater. Pindar described the Argives as “the manly folk of Hera” (*Nem.*, X, 36).

The idea that Hera was an earth-goddess may have been suggested by the old myth of the marriage of Heaven and Earth in the spring; it is found in the writings of Empedocles and in modern times has been supported by Welcker.

The adoption of this cult in Pandosia was probably owing to the influence of the early colonists from Croton, who had worshipped in the famous temple near that city. The headland was named Naus (ναῦς), in allusion to the building which crowned its height, and was a well-known landmark for the sailors. In our own day it is still named, from the ruins still existing, Capo delle Colonne. Virgil (*Aen.*, III, 552) in relating the voyage of Aeneas refers to it “Attollit se diva Lacinia contra”. Some legends relate that Heracles, others that Lacinus, founded it when visited by Heracles; another legend, told by Servius in his notes on this passage of Vergil, attributes its foundation to Lacinus the robber killed there by Heracles, the temple being built in expiation of the deed.

There is another legend relating that Thetis gave the site to Hera before the Trojan war, and it is interesting as shewing the antiquity of the custom of gathering large numbers of people on this spot.

Around this temple the Greek Colonists held their great annual assembly, at which a procession took place in honour of Hera, and splendid gifts were offered. The festival became a favourite occasion for the citizens of the neighbouring cities to display their wealth. Athenaeus (XII, 541, § 58), says : Alkisthenes of Sybaris appeared in a gorgeous robe ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῆς Ἥρας unto which all the Italians went.

The temple was adorned with paintings by Zeuxis, one of which was a picture of Helen, for which five of the most beautiful maids of Croton sat as models (Pliny, XXXV, 1x). This famous sanctuary was spared by Pyrrhus and Hannibal, but was at length profaned by the Roman Censor Q. Fulvius Flaccus in 173 B. C., and again by Sex. Pompey in 36 B. C.

The date of the appearance of the head of Hera as a coin type in S. Italy corresponds to that of the association of the Greek cities to repel the attacks of Dionysius the Syracusan and of the Lucanians.

The Achaean Greeks apparently sought the shelter of the protection of their ancestral deity. On the banks of the river Silarus a temple was dedicated to Hera Areia.

Lycophron calls her the armed goddess (*ἑπλυσμια*), an epithet which we also find applied to her husband Zeus. At her festival the youths hurled their lances at a shield and the women offered costly robes. We have in the Greek Anthology a little poem by Nossis, the poetess of Locri, written about 310 B. C. recording such an offering (VI Anathematica, 265): "O highly honoured Hera, who often leaving heaven dost look down upon the Lacinian shrine fragrant with incense, receive this fine linen garment woven by Theuphila and her beauteous daughter Nossis". In Plato's *Phaedrus*, in a passage discussing the influence of various cults, that of Hera is thus described, "But those who are followers of Hera seek a royal love".

The head of Hera on these coins of S. Italy is always represented nearly full-face, whereas on the coins of Peloponnesus her head is in profile. We find the head of Hera on the coins of Croton, Poseidonia, Hyria, Neapolis, Phistelia and Venusia.

A good illustration of a coin of Pandosia, bearing the head of Hera, is given on page 318 of Mr. L. Forrer's work "Notes sur les signatures des graveurs sur les monnaies grecques". This coin bears in the field the letter Φ , considered by some numismatists to be an artist's signature. Furtwängler has pointed out that it cannot be that of Phrygillos of Thurium because the style is quite different to his.

PAN.

If we may regard the *Idyls* of Theocritus as giving specimens of the conversations of shepherds and fishermen, the frequency with which they spoke of Pan and swore by him, is in striking contrast to the infrequency with which his image was represented on the coins of Magna Graecia. Comatus says (*Id.*, V) "I will by Pan", and Lacon "So help me Pan", Delphis says (*Id.*, VI), "I saw her by Pan", and Corydon (*Id.*, IV) swears by Pan. Herodotus (II, 145) says: "Among the Greeks the most recent of the gods are thought to be Heracles, Dionysus and Pan".

He also tells us the date of the introduction of the cult of Pan to Athens was about 490 B. C. when Phidippides, the courier of Miltiades, told the Athenians Pan had called him, and asked why

he was not worshipped by the Athenians. The chief centre of his cult was Arcadia and Argolis, from whence it was naturally imported by the Achæans into Southern Italy and was thus introduced together with the cult of Hera.

Pan appears on bronze coins of Metapontum and Salapia, and on silver coins only on these of Pandosia. In this city Pan was evidently regarded in his character of the hunter, for he bears two hunting spears, and his hound lies at his feet. In the seventh Idyl Theocritus refers to the Arcadian custom of scourging his statue. "Ah Pan, thou lord of the beautiful plain of Homola, bring, I pray thee, the darling of Aratus unbidden to his arms whoso'er it be he loves. If this thou dost, dear Pan, then never may the boys of Arcady flog thy sides and shoulders with stinging herbs when scanty meats are left them on thine altar."

G. Hermann thought the scene of this Idyl was in Lucania, and W. R. Paton thinks we can identify the places named therein by the aid of inscriptions (*Class. Rev.*, II, 8, 265), Theocritus (Idyl I) speaks of the legend that Pan loved the rest of noontide; "Nay shepherd, it may not be; we may not pipe in the noontide. Tis Pan we dread who truly at this hour rests, weary from the chase; and bitter of mood is he, the keen wrath sitting ever at his nostrils". The scene of this Idyl is laid in Sicily, and the singer was a hunter of wolves, who called "O Pan, Pan, haste hither".

The caduceus tied to Hermes on the coin-type may refer to the prophetic powers of Pan mentioned by Apollodorus (I, 4, § 1). The Italian god Faunus had these prophetic and oracular powers attributed to him, and perhaps as the cult of Hera is thought by some to have taken the place of an Oenotrian cult, so Pan may have been the Greek Achæan name applied to a native deity of the woods and groves in which such oracles were often sought.

THE COINS.

The earliest silver coins of Pandosia in alliance with Croton are described on p. 339, *Revue numismatique*, IV series, tom. X, § 101. They are dated of the fifth cent. B. C.



Obv. ΠΑΝ▷Ο, retrograde.
HANDS.

A bull standing to right, turning back his head, in a rectangular depression with border : border decorated with lines radiating.

Rev. ΨPO on a vertical line, to left a tripod, the ground represented by double lines : border of dots. Weight : 7.93 grammes or 123 grains. No specimen of these very rare coins is to be seen in the British Museum.

II. Obv. $\Gamma\text{AN DOM SA}$.

Head of a nymph to right, probably, from the legend, that of Pandosia. She is wearing a broad double diadem, beneath which the hair is turned up behind ; the head and legend are surrounded with a wreath of olive.

Rev. $\text{KPA}\Theta\text{SM}$ round lower field to right.

The nude figure of the river god Crathis standing, facing, with his head turned to left, holding a patera in his extended right hand, and in his left hand a long branch of olive, which rests against his shoulder : at his feet a fish, with the head raised towards the patera. Weight 104.7 grains.



III. Obv. No legend. Head of Hera Lacinia, nearly full-faced, inclined to right, wearing earrings, necklace with acorn-shaped pendants, and on her head a stephanos ornamented with honey-suckles and the foreparts of two griffins arranged alternately ; her hair loose.

Rev. In field to right ΔOZIN . A nude figure of Pan seated to left on a rock on which lies his garment, holding in his right hand two lances which rest on his shoulder ; he is leaning on his left hand resting on the rock ; by his side his hound is lying to left, looking backward.



The letter Φ is in the field to left. In front of the figure of the left is a term with bearded head to right, attached to the term is a filleted caduceus.

On the trunk of the term is the legend **ΜΑΛΥΣ..?**. Weight : 120.1 grains.

IV. A Third? Weight 33.7. Size 6.

Obv. Similar head of Hera Lacinia but differing in the stephanos being ornamented with rosettes. No legend.

Rev. **ΠΑΝΔΟΣΙ** in field to right. A nude figure of Pan seated to left on a rock; his right hand stretched forward, the elbow resting on his right knee, his left hand resting on the rock. Two hounds to right at his feet; behind him, two lances. In field in front **ΝΙΚΟ**.



V. Diobol or Hectae? Weight 16.6 grains. Size .45.

Obv. Same as IV.

Rev. **ΠΑΝΔΟΣΙΝ**. Pan, nude, seated to right on rock, on which lies garment, holding in left hand two lances, his right hand resting on the rock, on the side of which a syrinx; behind, **ΝΙΚΟ**.



BRONZE COINS.

VI. .45. Obverse. Head of Hera Lacinia similar to that on the Thirds and Hecte.

Rev. **ΠΑΝ**. An incuse altar.

The legends on the silver coins present us with the old forms for **Σ** and **Ι**, **Μ** and **Σ** but they are among the most modern instances



of the use of these ancient forms which were given up generally about the middle of the fifth century. The ordinary later forms are found in S. Italy as early as 443 B.C.

TEMESA

The rare coins of this city all bear one type, and it seems probable that the city was destroyed at an early date, and never recovered sufficiently to coin money again. So complete was the destruction that the very site has not been discovered, but from the *Tabula*, and the references to it in ancient authors, we know it must have been situated on the coast a few miles north of Terina, and about ten miles south of Clampetia, about two miles south of the river Savuto. Although very few English people visit the site, and very few possess a specimen of the coins, which as a rule are only to be found in the larger public museums, the city is associated with such charming and suggestive legends that students of the coins of Magna Graecia will be glad that their studies lead to their consideration. As usual in these chapters we will turn first to see what Strabo tells us of the city.

Strabo (Lib. VI 255). "From the Lao the first city is Temesa of the Bruttii, which at present is called Tempsa. It was founded by the Ausonians; afterwards the Ætolians, under the command of Thoas, gained possession of it. These were expelled by the Bruttii; Hannibal and the Romans have overthrown the Bruttii. In the vicinity of Temesa is the Heroum of Polites, one of the companions of Ulysses. It is surrounded by a thick grove of wild olives. He was treacherously slain by the barbarians, and became in consequence very wrathful, and his shade so tormented the inhabitants that they submitted to pay him a tribute, according to the direction of a certain oracle. Thus it became a proverb among them, Let no one offend the hero of Temesa, for they said that for a long time he had tormented them.

"But when the Epizephyrian Locrians took the city, they feign that Euthymus the pugilist went out against him, and having overcome him in fight, constrained him to free the inhabitants from tribute. They say that the poet intended this Temesa and not the Tamassus in Cyprus (for it is said the words are suitable to either) when he sings, "in quest of brass to Temessa", and certain copper mines are pointed out near the place which are now exhausted."

Thoas the Ætolian is mentioned in Homer *Il.*, II, 638, IV 529 VII 168, XIII 216, XV 281.

The Locrians took the city between 480 and 460 B.C. Livy (XXXIV 45) says "The territory of Tempsa was taken by the Bruttii : the Bruttii had expelled the Greeks". He says the city was made a Roman Colony in 194 B.C. under L. Cornelius Merula and C. Salonius.

Strabo's reference to Polites, the companion of Ulysses, is taken from Homer's *Odyssey* K 224. It is the passage in which Circe's hall is described. Polites speaks to them first and is spoken of as the most dear to Ulysses.

The copper mines mentioned by Strabo are also referred to by Ovid *Met.* XV 706 "Themesesque metalla" as being among the objects passed in a voyage along the coast.

The story of the Locrian Euthymus, mentioned by Strabo, is given in such a charming manner by Pausanias that we shall be unwilling to pass it over.

In Lib. VI, after relating his victories at Olympia, he says "Euthymus after this, passing over into Italy, fought with a hero of whom the following particulars are related. They say that Ulysses, during his wanderings after the destruction of Troy, among other cities of Italy and Sicily to which he was driven by the winds, came at length to Temesa with his ships. Here one of his friends having ravished a virgin, in consequence of being heated with wine, was stoned to death by the inhabitants for the action.

"But Ulysses, who considered his death as of no consequence, immediately set sail and left the place. The daemon however of the murdered man did not cease from cutting off the inhabitants of Temesa of every age, till the Pythian deity ordered them to propitiate the slain hero, to consecrate a temple to him, and devote to him every year the most beautiful virgin in Temesa. When all this was performed according to the mandate of the god, they were no longer afflicted by the wrath of the daemon. But Euthymus, who happened to arrive at Temesa at the time at which they sacrificed after the usual manner to the daemon, having learned the particulars of this affair, requested that he might be admitted within the temple, and behold the virgin. His request being granted, as soon as he saw her, he was at first moved with pity for her condition, but afterwards fell in love with her. In consequence of this the virgin swore she would marry him if he could release her from the impending death, and Euthymus arming himself, fought with the daemon, conquered him, and drove him out of the country; and afterwards the daemon vanished, and merged himself in the sea. They further report that in consequence of the city being freed through Euthymus from this grievous calamity, his nuptials were

celebrated in a very splendid manner. I have likewise heard still further concerning this Euthymus that he lived to extreme old age, and that having avoided death he departed after some other manner from an association with mankind.

“Indeed I have even heard it asserted, by a seafaring merchant, that Euthymus is alive at present at Temesa. And such are the reports which I have heard, but I also remember to have seen a picture which was painted very accurately after an ancient original. In this picture there were, the youth Sybaris, the river Calabrus, the fountain Calyca, and the cities Hera and Temesa.

“The daemon too who was vanquished by Euthymus was represented in this picture. His colour was very black, and his whole form was terrible in the extreme. He was clothed with the skin of a wolf; and the name Lybas was given to him in the inscription on the picture. And thus much concerning particulars of this kind.”

The same story is told by Suidas under the word Euthumus in his Lexicon, but he gives the name Alybas instead of Polites. Aelian also tells this story (*Var. hist.* VIII 18) and Eustathius also in his note on *Odys.* I 185, The word *δαίμων* is used for a ghost in a sepulchral inscription of Paros published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1882. p. 246.

“They sacrificed a bull in the fire to my ghost and to the gods below.”

The offering of a present of that which was dear to the departed spirit when he was on earth is found to be a custom among uncivilized people not given up entirely even in modern times. We have an instance of this custom in the *Journal of Anthropological Society of Bengal*, 1886, p. 104, where it is related that the natives offered cigars and strong drink over the grave of an English Colonel in the hope of propitiating his spirit.

THE TYPES.

1. Obv. A tripod between two greaves.
Rev. **TEM** a Corinthian helmet to right.
Weight should be about 120 grains.

ALLIANCE COINS.

2. Obv. **QPO** Tripod.
Rev. Helmet.
3. Obv. **TE** Tripod.
Rev. **QP** Helmet.

These coins commemorate an alliance with Croton, their date is about the year 500 B.C.

The one specimen of no 1 in the British Museum, being in a bad state of preservation, the legends are not visible, nor are the greaves.

Dr Head says : “ From its coin type, a helmet and greaves, it might be inferred that the Temesaeans excelled in the manufacture of bronze armour ”, and it is reported that in its territory were mines of copper.

MEDMA or MESMA.

We have no record of the date when Medma was founded, but according to Strabo it arose as a colony from Locri Epizephyrii, from which it was distant about twenty-three miles.

The site of this city has not yet been identified, but it must be sought a few miles from the west coast of Bruttium, about five miles south of Nicotera, which seems to have arisen when Medma was deserted. It must have been about thirty miles north of Rhegium, on the high road from that city to Vibo. Medma was still in existence in the time of Strabo, and is also mentioned by Pliny (*H. N.*, III, v), but Ptolemy, the geographer in the second century A.D., does not mention it.



The name Mesima is still borne by a river flowing into the sea a little below Nicotera. As a colony on the North coast belonging to a city on the South coast, it was probably of the same importance to Locri that Laüs was to Sybaris. By carrying their goods across the mountain pass the Locrian merchants avoided the dangers of a sea voyage between Scylla and Charybdis.

The most interesting among the references to Medma in ancient literature is that found in Strabo (VI, 256):

“In this voyage we pass Medma (Μέδμα) a city of the Locrians which bears the name of a copious fountain, and possesses at a short distance a naval port (ἐπινησεον) called Emporium. Very nigh is the river Metaurus, and also an anchorage (ὑφορμουε) bearing the same name.”

Only five other writers appear to have mentioned this city. The author of the poem which passes under the name of Scymnus of Chios calls it μέδμα, so also does Stephanus of Byzantium who quotes Scymnus. Scylax of Halicarnassus, a friend of Panaetius and Polybius, mentions the city, spelling it Μέσα for

Μέσμεα, in his work the Periplus; another writer, Apollodorus, cited by Stephanus, also spelt the name with an σ.

This Apollodorus was the Greek grammarian of Athens who flourished about 140 B.C., and wrote a work on Geography in Iambic verses often quoted by later writers on that subject.

We find both these ways of spelling the name of the city on the coins, but ΜΕΣ or ΜΕΣΜΑΙΩΝ is that most commonly met with.

Strabo we have seen spells it with δ, so also Stephanus of Byzantium “Μέσμη, πόλις Ἰταλίας καὶ κρήνη ἐμώνυμος” in his geographical lexicon Ἐθνικά, written between 450 and 550 A.D.

This diversity of spelling is accounted for by the fact that the Locrians in Greece spoke the Aeolic dialect in which the letter Δ was used when the Attic Greeks used Σ; for instance they said ἐδμή for ἐσμή and ἔδμεν for ἔσμεν.

Grote says the Locrians departed less widely than others from the Ionic and Attic dialects, hence it may be that we find Σ on the coins, and the ancient authors using both ways of spelling the name.

When the Italian Greek cities formed a league against Dionysius and the Lucanians, the Locrians did not join them, but remained allies of Dionysius; and were rewarded by him with the lands of some of the conquered cities. If then Medma was loyal to its mother city Locri it was in no danger from Dionysius. When we read in Diodorus, XIV, 78, that Dionysius transported to Messina a company of a thousand Locrians and four thousand Medmaeans, it is evident that they were not transported as conquered enemies, but as allies to strengthen his forces in Sicily. This is related by Diodorus between the account of his treaty with Mago in 392 and that of the treaty with the Lucanians in 390. The four thousand probably left about that time.

No account of a siege of Medma seems to be given in Diodorus or in Grote's history, and therefore it seems probable that the following passage in Mr. W. Wroth's article in *Num. Chron. Series, III*, 1900, part. I, p. 5 is an oversight. “The main fact in the little-known history of Mesma is its capture, in B.C. 388, by Dionysius the Elder, and the bestowal by him of its territory upon the Locrians.” Moreover some of the bronze coins of Medma are from their style considerably later than 388 B.C., and are witnesses to the prosperity of the city for nearly another hundred years.

The destruction of Medma is more likely to have been the work of the Lucanians, Bruttians, or Carthaginians.

As the Locrians began to issue money as late as 344 B.C., Dr B. V. Head (p. 89 of the *Hist. Num.*) thinks the bronze coins are later than 388 and probably later than 344 B.C.

To this period we may certainly attribute the only silver coins known to have been issued from Medma. They are like the Corinthian staters of the Pegasus type, and similar to those issued by the Locrians.

Those belonging to Medma bear the letters **M** or **ME**, and those to Locri the letters **Λ** or **ΛOK**.

Among the bronze coins of Medma in the British Museum is one which has been described by Mr. Warwick Wroth in the *Num. Chron.*, III series, n° 77, 1900, p. 5.

“The style of one reverse type (which may be almost called Praxitelean) may seem best suited to this latter date (344 B.C.), but on the whole, I am myself inclined to place the coinage *before*, rather than after 388 B.C.” Mr. Wroth then gives three reasons: (1) the coinages of Bruttium come to an end, generally circ. B.C. 388; (2) The coins of Mesma differ much from those of Locri; (3) The type of a nude seated figure belongs, in Italy, especially to the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century.

The types of the other bronze coins, which appear from their style to be a little later, are those common in Magna Graecia. The head of Apollo reminds us that his cult had been important in the Pythagorean brotherhood in Locri, where the celebrated teachers Timaeus, Echecrates and Acirion taught.

The head of the fountain nymph Medma reminds us of other nymphs of a like nature at Pandosia and Terina.

The head of Persephone appears also on coins of Locri the mother city.

Nike carrying a wreath was a popular type in Magna Graecia as we have seen on the coins of Terina.

The only unusual type is that quoted by Dr. Head in the *Hist. Num.*, a running horse.

We meet with a prancing horse on the coins of Arpi and Luceria in Apulia, and also on coins of Beneventum, thirty-two miles east of Capua, in Samnium, and on those of Larinum also, but these are generally of a later date, after 268 B.C. It seems more likely that the horse on the coins signifies the same as that on the Italian coins, rather than that which the Phoenicians signified, the cult of Baal, when they placed a horse on their coins of Sicily or Carthage.

BRONZE COINS OF MESMA

1. Size .85. Obv. **MEΣMA**. A female head to right; her hair rolled and flowing behind the neck; she wears earring and necklace; in front a crescent; behind, a vase reversed; border.

Rev. A youthful male figure naked, seated to left on a rock covered with an animal's skin; his hair long; his legs crossed; his

left hand rests on the rock; with his right he holds up a crab towards which a dog is leaping; border.

An illustration is given on Plate I, fig. 2 in *Num. Chron.*, loc. cit. It is a beautiful coin covered with a pale green patina and is a variety of the type published by Millingen in his 'Ancient coins of Greek cities', p. 21. Pl. II. 1.

The type is also mentioned by Leake, *Num. Hell.*, p. 128, and by de Luynes, *Choix*, Pl. IV, 9.

2. Size .85. Obv. **ΜΕΣΜΑΙΩΝ**. Head of Apollo to right, laureate, with hair long. There are three varieties of the mode of arranging the hair: (a) rolled boldly; (b) with a wreath of small leaves; (c) with a wreath of larger leaves.

Rev. A Female head, perhaps Persephone, full-faced, crowned with barley, wearing earrings and necklace; in the field to left an oenochoe, or vessel for ladling the wine from the large bowl to the cup: border of dots.

3. Size .6. Obv. **ΜΕΔΜΑΙΩΝ**. Head of Apollo.

Rev. A horse running.

4. Size .6. Obv. **ΜΕΣΜΑ**. A male head to l.

Rev. Nike carrying a wreath.

5. Size .6. Obv. A female head to right. **ΜΕΣΜΑ**.

Rev. Nike carrying a wreath.

No specimens of these three coins are in the British Museum but they are mentioned by Dr Head in the *Hist. Num.*

PAL—MOL.

Among the very rare coins only to be seen in the public museums of our great cities are the silver didrachms similar in fabric and style to the early flat coins with the Reverse type incuse issued from the Achean cities of Southern Italy.

The type is a boar, with a crest of bristles all along his back, running to right. In the exergue of the Obverse the letters ΛΑΓ read backwards; a border of two plain rings between which a row of dots. The line on which the boar runs consists of a double row of dots. The Reverse type is the same but incuse and the legend in the exergue is ΛΟΜ. The name of the city wherein these coins were struck has not been identified. The names of several cities in Apulia or Samnium or even further north begin with the letters ΠΑΛ such as Pallanum, a city of the Frentani, Palio, a city of Apulia, and Palatium near Verona, but these cities are all out of the question, for their citizens never coined money with a fabric like that of the Achaean cities.

The only city in Lucania which bore a name beginning with ΠΑΛ is the port near the headland called Palinurus. It is about fifteen miles west of Buxentum and twelve south of Velia and the headland thus named forms the end of the land which stretches out westward to form the bay called Laüs Sinus. The small but safe harbour called by the same name is still called Porto di Palinaro.

The name *παλίνυρος* was once *παλίνουρος*, and signified the favourable breeze which assisted the sailor to return again *πάλιν εὔρειν*. A prosperous voyage was called *εὔριος πλοῦς*.

We must not imagine that the city and headland were named after the pilot of the fleet in which Æneas arrived in Italy.

Virgil desired to bring into his epic poem an incident like that of the death of Phrontis, the pilot of the fleet of Menelaus, or Canobus another pilot of Menelaus. The story also of Elpenor is similar to that of Palinurus in some respects, and was probably imitated by Virgil.

If a Lucanian hero was ever known by the name of the headland it would be one of those cases in which a man was named after a locality.

Virgil evidently desired to bring into his epic the familiar impressive story of a pilot hurried to his doom on the eve of attaining his haven, and gave the name Palinurus instead of the Laconic form Kinados or Kinaithos which has been by others woven into the myth of Aeneas. In the same way the incident of the meeting with the spirit of Elpenor is introduced by changing the name to Palinurus. We do not know whether Virgil followed others especially in regard to the association of this Palinurus with Iosides, at which he hints in the Italo-Trojan genealogies.

The fullest investigation of this myth is that of Roscher's Lexicon.

The myth is built on the common custom of the ancients to found a city over the grave of a hero, a custom which has been referred to several times in these pages. Virgil in Book, V, 833 says: "Welcome blow the gales behind them. Palinurus leads the line. The rest his course obey, and follow at his sign".

Then follows the story of how Night came in the form of his companion Phorbas asking him to leave the tiller to him, and on his refusal, how the god sprinkled over the brow of Palinurus a bough thrice dipt in Styx and drenched in Lethe's dew.

The slumbering man fell overboard and was drowned while the god flew away on the breeze. Æneas steers the fleet into the harbour, and bewails his friend, who had confided too much in the fair weather, and whose end was—"Nudus in ignota, Palinure, jacebis arena". Then again in Book VI Virgil describes how Æneas saw the ghost of Palinurus who related the manner of his death — how he swam ashore, but was murdered by the cruel people.

The ghost then begged him to sail to Velia and to cast earth upon his body.

Then the Prophetess addressed the ghost, and said "Hope not by thy prayer to bend the Fates' decree but take this comfort for thy misery; The neighbouring towns and people far and near, compelled by prodigies, thy ghost shall free, and load thy Tomb with offerings year by year, and Palinurus' name for aye the place shall bear".

Servius, in his note on line 381, tells of two other pilots who gave names to places near which they were drowned, Pelorus and Canobus.

The legend on the Reverse **MOA** is even more obscure than that on the Obverse **ΓΑΑ**.

The only Greek word beginning with **MOA** which has any connection with the type, a wild boar, is *μολόβριον* used by Aelian for that animal. It is adapted from the word *μολόβρος*, a glutton, which we find used in the *Odyssey*, 17, 219 Πῆ δ' ἤ τόνδε μολόβρον ἄγειε, ἀμέγαρτε σὺ βῶτα "where dost thou lead that hungry fellow, thou pitiful swineherd".

The word ΜΟΛ may be the abbreviation of the name of a man, and if so then it would be that of the oekist or founder of the city, just as we have ταρταξ on the coins of Tarentum.

No known name of any town in Lucania or Bruttium begins with these letters. and if we may take ΠΑΛ as the name of the city we may regard the name on the reverse as very possibly that of the founder.

Thucydides in IV, 8 mentions a certain Epitadas, son of Molobrus as commander of four hundred and twenty men; we have here evidence of the use of Μελοβροξ as a man's name, moreover this name appears in Inscrip. 1511 mentioned in Dr W. Pape's "*Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*".

The only other name beginning with ΜΟΛ which appears likely to have been in use in S. Italy is Μελοσσος. It is the name of an engraver at Thurium mentioned by M. Forrer in his "*Notes sur les signatures de graveurs sur les monnaies grecques*", p. 242, and in the *Num. Chron.*, 1896, p. 138.

He appears to have flourished circ. 404-388 B.C., but this name has no apparent connection with the type as has Μελοβροξ.

However no legend of any hero of that name is recorded, and the conjecture that the letters may have signified this name is only a suggestion founded on the type, a boar.

TERINA

The coins of Terina are among the most beautiful of all those issued by the Greek cities of Southern Italy, but we know very little of the men who used them. The very site of the city is unknown, and the references to Terina in the writings of the Greeks are very few and brief. The beautiful didrachms are seldom found in a good state of preservation, but sometimes fair specimens of the smaller Thirds are seen in small collections; we can therefore hardly call the didrachms common coins, indeed, those which are well enough preserved to shew the delicate workmanship of the artist are very valuable, and are worth many pounds. Didrachms in a very imperfect condition may be bought for a few shillings, but they give no idea of the beauty the coins possessed when first issued from the mint.

Those coins, however, which may be obtained by collectors with slender purses, offer the same interest to students of the ideas involved in the types, and the study of the winged maiden will be found full of interest.

It is thought by some that Terina stood near the mouth of the river Sabatus. Smith and Lenormant thought it was near S. Eufemia, and that the river spoken of in the legend related by Lycophron was the Fiume dei Bagni. Rathgeber thought the fountain of Terina was the stream called il Piscaro, a little to the north of the Fiume dei Bagni.

There is a proverbial saying quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium from Apollonides who lived in the time of Tiberius *τέρινα ... ἐξαλειπτο δὲ καὶ Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς ὡς Ἀπολλωνίδης ἔ Νικαεύς ἐν τῷ περὶ παροιμιῶν*. Rathgeber, in his 'Grossgriechenland und Pythagoras', has created a romance on this proverb (1886, Gotha).

Scymnus describes Lucania as in Italia on the border of *Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς* (v. 300, seq.), and when he comes to name the Greek cities records that of Terina first.

Ettore Pais considers the proverbial saying arose from the habit of travellers exclaiming the name of a country of renown when first they see it as, we say "Italia", on crossing the Alps and looking down on the fair and famous land below us.

A general idea of its position in regard to other cities may be obtained by remembering it was about equidistant from Thurium on the north, and Caulonia on the south, each of these cities being about fifty miles distant.

Terina was only about twenty miles away from Hipponium which was situated at the southern end of the gulf of Sta Eufemia.

It has been thought that Terina was originally an Ænotrian city because the legend of the Siren Ligeia has reference to a period earlier than the earliest settlements of the Greeks in Southern Italy. Starting from this Ænotrian origin it will be interesting to picture to ourselves the gradual change from the rude native walled town or fortified village, built near the sacred fountain, to the more civilized city of the Greek colonists from Croton. Architecture and sculpture would soon change the appearance of the city, and commerce and intercourse with a wider world would bring a prosperity and life far beyond any known to the older natives. The influence of the mother-city Crotona would be supreme, and for some time at least the Pythagorean culture and government would prevail. The fact that no coins were struck in Terina until about 480 B.C. suggests that the coins of the mother-city sufficed for the men of Terina, whose trade would naturally be in the hands of the Crotonians. Soon after the fall of Sybaris 510 B.C. all the cities of Magna Græcia passed through a troubled period of violent change of government, the Pythagorean rule giving place to a democratic government.

The mediation of the Achaean Greeks of the Peloponnesus finally brought peace, and a friendly congress was held, when a temple was founded to Zeus Homarius. The followers of the Pythagorean culture were again admitted into the cities of Magna Græcia, and the Pythagorean Archytas even ruled in Tarentum. In 480 B. C. thirty years after the fall of Sybaris, a mint was established in Terina, and the coins there issued were similar in fabric to those issued at that time in Metapontum, Croton, and Caulonia. The old flat fabric with the incuse reverse was given up, and a more compact fabric with the reverse type in relief took its place.

The fact that the coins of Terina were so similar to those of the other cities of that date shows that considerable intercourse with these cities was then maintained. From 480 to 450 B.C. the silver coins bore on the Reverse a standing figure of Nike; those issued in the later years of this first period show considerable improvement in the artistic nature of the work.

From the opening of the mint in 460 B.C. the city enjoyed considerable prosperity; the only trouble mentioned appears to be the war with the Athenian colonists at Thurium in 443 B.C., soon after their arrival, when the Spartan Cleandrides defeated the army

of Terina, driving them back to their walls (Polyaenus, *Strategemata*). The war may have resulted from the quarrel of the Sybarites with the Athenians, but as soon as the Sybarites were expelled by the Thurians peace was made with Croton, the mother-city of Terina, and probably with Terina also; for we find evidences of the friendly intercourse between Thurium and Terina in the Athenian style of the mint-engravers.

The coin-engraver who signed his work Φ worked in the mints of both these cities. An excellent account of this influence of the Athenian school of Phidias in Italy is given in the article of Reginald Stuart Poole in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1883. The period of this influence was that between 440 and 430 B.C.

In 414 B.C. the citizens of Terina may have seen the fleet of Gylippus, son of Cleandrides, driven off the bay of Terina by the storm described by Thucydides (VI, 104), but it is not clear which side they took in the war of Athens against Syracuse.

The period of prosperity and peace came to an end when the Lucanians began to attack the Greek cities.

In 393 B.C. a league was formed against the Lucanians, but the Greeks were unable to unite.

In 388 B.C. Dionysius invaded Italy, and Hipponium, only about 20 miles away, was taken. Although Terina does not seem to have been mentioned as taken, yet the fact that Corinthian Staters with the monogram **TE** are found, and bronze coins with the Sicilian crab and crescent were issued, seems to show that Dionysius handed over the whole region to the rule of his Locrian allies.

Twenty years later the Lucanians took Croton in 368 B.C. and soon afterwards the Bruttians rose to the height of their power, and took Terina in 356 B.C., the first of the Greek Cities to fall into their hands.

The story is told by Diodorus (XVI, 15), but the city was evidently not destroyed by the Bruttians. We learn from Livy (VIII, 24) that thirty years after Alexander of Epirus retook Terina.

Dr A. Evans, in his work on the coins of Tarentum, writes of a coin of Terina signed $\Phi\Lambda\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma$.

“It seems to me by no means improbable this coin may be referred to the brief period of restored independence which, from about 334 B.C. onwards, Terina owed to the intervention of the Molossian Alexander. A remarkable didrachm (*Berliner Blätter*, III, p. 9, and T. XXIX, 3) must in all probability be brought into relation with this historic episode, and brings Tarentum into a special connection with Terina. And in view of this chain of evidence it is impossible to avoid the suggestion that the full name of our

Philis is to be read **ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝ**, and that he is in fact one and the same with the engraver who has left his signature in full on some of the coins of Velia." Compare however Mr. R. S. Poole's Notes in *Num. Chron.*, quoted further on.

From the evidence of the coins, then, we may look upon the city as still at that time existing, with freedom to coin money.

After the death of Dionysius the citizens of Terina must have shared the hopes of liberty raised by Dion, which all the cities of Magna Graecia entertained.

In 272 B.C. when the war in Southern Italy was brought to a conclusion by the submission of the Tarentines to Rome, bronze coins were struck in Terina bearing a head of Apollo on the Obverse and a flying Pegasus with a sword in the scabbard on the Reverse, as an emblem of the peace then made. The city was destroyed by Hannibal when he found himself unable to defend it during the Second Punic war.

In the days of Strabo and Pliny the city was in existence, but it never recovered from the ruin caused by the Carthaginians.

PERIOD I. 480-450 B.C.

The different Reverse types of this period all represent the figure of Nike standing.

I. Obv. **ΤΕΡΖΜΑ** above inverted, female head to right, her hair bound with narrow fillet and looped up behind, a necklace of pearls, and the whole in a border of dots.

Rev. **ΑΞΝ** i. e. **NIKA** retrograde, in field to right the wingless figure of Nike standing, in chiton and upper garment, facing, looking to left, with palm-branch in right hand held downwards, the left hand resting on hip. The whole in a garland of olive or laurel-leaves.



II. Obv. **ΤΕΡΣΜΑ** above inverted.

Female head to right with three fillets on head, the hindmost binding hair in small loops, hair behind in small knot, a pearl necklace.

Rev. A winged maiden standing in chiton and upper garment, the left wing only showing on the right side of figure. She

holds a garland in her right hand, and a palm-branch in the left, which hangs downwards : border of dots. No legend.

III. Obv. $\Sigma\Theta\Theta\Gamma$ to right, underneath, inverted. Female head with hair rolled with two fillets, and rolled up behind. In front a branch of olive-leaves.

Rev. A winged maiden standing, facing, with wings outspread on either side, dressed in chiton and upper garment, holding in each raised hand a branch. Border of dots. No legend.

IV. **TEPSMASON** read from within around edge on right side.

Female head to right, less archaic, hair bound with three small fillets, and plaited in large close mass behind.

Rev. Winged maiden standing to left in chiton and upper garment, and with cloak wound round her body, holding out right hand bearing a garland, her left hidden in folds of the cloak.

Style less archaic than in the preceding figures.

PERIOD II. CIRCA 445-435 B.C.

V. Obv. Head of female to left. The hair bound with snood (or $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\upsilon\acute{\alpha}$). In earlier coins of the series three rolls of hair on the top, and in later coins about ten rolls radiating from just above the ear. On some specimens around the head is an olive-wreath. The style is much more developed than in Period I. No legend.

Rev. A winged maiden sitting to left on a hydria with its opening to left; she is clothed in a chiton, the upper part of the body nude. The right hand extended holding a wreath, the left arm held back and downwards, in the hand a caduceus. On some specimens a bracelet on l. arm. The legend **TEPIMAIOM** read from within the coin, is round the left side of the field.

VI (a). Obv. Head of female to left similar to earlier heads of No V, very beautifully wrought. Waves of hair round fillet very many and delicately engraved. No legend.

Rev. Winged maiden sitting to left on a light seat of round turned wood with knob at the top of each leg, only two of which are shown.

Her right hand, stretched forth, holds a wreath. Her left arm is hanging down behind the seat and in her left hand is a caduceus, not very clearly depicted. Legend **TEPINAIOM**, read from within the coin.

VI (b) Some specimens similar to VI (a) but the maiden is seated on a cippus. The relief of the figure is greater than on VI a.

On the Obverse is the signature Δ behind the head. The hair is plaited over a band decorated in front, where it shows, with olive-leaves.



PERIOD III. CIRCA 425-420 B. C.

The coins by the engraver who signed Φ .

VII (a) Obv. **TEPI Λ ION** beginning at left read from within. Female head to right with broad fillet. Φ behind head.

Rev. Winged maiden sitting to left on a cippus, both wings extended, one on either side. Her right arm resting on her knee, a caduceus in the right hand, the left arm hanging down, and in the hand a small crown.

The similarity of this type to that of Elis signed **EY Θ** is noticeable.

It may be noted that the artist Euthymus, who, while employed in the mint at Elis, produced a coin bearing Nike in this position, afterwards worked in the mint at Syracuse. He may have visited Terina.

We have on a design by Euthymus made at Syracuse an example of the flying Nike crowning another figure driving a chariot which reminds us of the coin issued at Terina of a Nike crowning a seated figure.

VII (b) Rev. **TEPI Λ ION** read from within on left of field. A winged maiden seated to left on a seat which shows two back legs in perspective without the turned ornaments of the earlier ones. With her right hand she plays with a ball and her left is resting on the hinder part of the seat.

VII (c) Rev. A very beautiful figure of a winged maiden sitting to right on a hydria, the top of left wing seen behind the head, on



her left hand is a bird, and in her right hand raised is a caduceus, **TEPI Λ IO** on the right.

VII (d) Rev. A winged maiden sitting to left on a cippus on

which are the letters Δ
 Γ . The top of the right wing stretched more
 Π
 forward than in any other specimen. On her knees a pitcher, into
 which water is pouring from a spout in form of a lion's head. In
 front of her feet a swan swimming to left in a square basin. Her
 left arm hanging down behind, and in her hand a caduceus. B. M.
 Cat. 12.

VII (e) Coin signed with both the signatures Φ and Γ , very similar
 in design to VII (a).

PERIOD IV. 420-400 B.C.

The period of the artist signing the coins Γ .

VIII (a) Obv. Head of maiden with hair arranged with a
 tuft or knot on the top of the head, sometimes to right, at others to
 left. Signed Γ behind the head.

Rev. A winged maiden standing bending forwards, clothed
 in chiton and himation, with her right foot resting on a block of
 rock, her right elbow on her knee, and in her hand a caduceus, the
 left hand behind her resting on her hip. Γ in field to left. B. M.
 Cat. 22. Confer fig. 51, Tafel X, Die Siegesgöttin, F Studniczka.

VIII (b) Rev. A winged maiden standing to left, leaning her left
 elbow on a pillar, her right hand extended. Before her a cippus on
 which a bird stands with wings closed. Γ in field to right.

VIII (c) Rev. $\Lambda\Theta\xi\Lambda\Lambda\zeta\Theta\Gamma$, Γ on the cippus.

A winged maiden sitting to left on a cippus without base, her
 right hand outstretched holding a wand, her left resting on the
 cippus.

VIII (d) Rev. A winged maiden seated to left on a cippus with
 base, wearing chiton and himation, her right hand stretched for-
 ward, and resting on the top of a caduceus which stands on the
 ground, her left hand rests on the back part of the cippus on which
 is the signature Γ .

VIII (e) Rev. Similar, except that the upper part of the
 maiden's body is nude, and there is no base to the cippus.

VIII (f) Rev. In general design a copy of the work of Φ VII (a).
 The distinctive difference is in the two-leaved twig of olive in the
 right hand of the maiden.

VIII (g) Rev. Seated winged maiden similar to (d), the distinc-
 tive difference is in the caduceus being held sloping, with the head
 of the staff near her shoulder. Γ in the field behind cippus.

VIII (h) Rev. Similar to (g) with the distinctive difference that
 the head of the staff is formed like a bird. Π on the cippus.

VIII (i) Rev. A winged maiden seated to left on a cippus, holding in her right hand a garland, resting her left hand on the back of the cippus : Π in the field to left. Note that the garland was seen on V. in period II.

VIII (k) Rev. Similar, with the distinctive difference that the maiden bears in her right hand a sceptre with a ball surmounted with knob on the end which is near her shoulder : Π in the field to left.

VIII (l) Rev. Similar to (i) with the distinctive difference that on the right hand holding the garland is a bird with wings spread as if just alighting : Π behind cippus.

VIII (m) Rev. Similar to (l) but without the garland. The signature Π is on the Obverse. Head with sphendone.

VIII (n) Rev. Similar to (i) but with pomegranate on cippus.

VIII (o) Rev. Similar to (i) but instead of garland a branch of olive with five leaves. No signature.

VIII (p) Rev. Similar to (i) but maiden sitting to right instead of to left. A bird like a swan on the cippus. No signature.

VIII (q) Rev. Winged maiden seated on cippus to right, holding in her right hand a caduceus with top pointed downwards : Π to left underneath.

VIII (r) Rev. Winged maiden standing to left bending her body forward, with her right foot on a piece of rock, on which is inscribed Π. Her right arm rests on her knee, and in the right hand is a caduceus with its head near the shoulder of the maiden. Similar to (a), but differing in that this has the legend on R. ΤΕΡΙΝΑΙ.

VIII (s) Rev. Wingless maiden to left sitting on a cippus holding in her outstretched hand a circular object like a patera, her left hand leaning on back of cippus. Behind the seated figure a flying Nike holding aloft a crown in each hand, ΤΕΡΙΝΑ; no 42 B. M. Cat.

PERIOD V. CIRCA 400-256 B.C.

The variety of detail which characterized the latter period ceased in this, and one type prevailed.

Obv. Head of a maiden to right, differing from the heads on



the earlier series, in the full prominent roll of hair over the forehead and ear. The legend ΤΕΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ.

Rev. A winged maiden dressed in sleeveless chiton and himation, seated to left on a cippus, the end of which is seen in perspective, and the base is prominent. On her extended right hand a bird is perched, with wings raised as if it had just alighted, her left hand rests on the back of the cippus.

THIRDS.

The thirds of a Didrachm weigh 36 grains.

Types same as didrachms, but on the Obverse is frequently found the Sicilian triskelis, showing they were struck after the taking of the city by Dionysius.

BRONZE COINS.

CIRCA 400-388 B.C.

I. Size .5. Obv. Head of Pandina to right, hair rolled, ΠΑΝΔΙΝΑ.
Rev. Winged maiden seated on cippus, holding a bird.
TEPI.

388-356 B.C.

II. Size 1. Obv. Female head with hair rolled.

Rev. A crab **TEPI.**

III. Size .7. Obv. Female head with hair rolled.

Rev. Crab and crescent **TEPI.**

CIRCA 272 B.C.

IV. Size .85. Obv. Lion's head facing.

Rev. **TEPINAION.** Head of Apollo with flowing hair.

V. Size .65. Obv. **TEPINAION.** Head of Apollo.

Rev. Pegasus flying; above, a sword in sheath.

NIKE.

On the earliest coins of Terina Nike is represented as a wingless maiden standing dressed in chiton and an upper garment, holding a palm-branch in her right hand which is pointed downwards. The attribution to Nike is made certain by the legend in the field to right.

Before attempting to understand what this figure signified to the men of Terina it will be necessary to trace the history of the poetic and artistic figures of Nike. In the *Iliad* of Homer no such person was mentioned, for in that poem victory was the work of Zeus, and

sometimes of Pallas Athene. Even in Hesiod, Pallas “has victory and glory in her immortal hands”. In the *Iliad* Iris, and in the *Odyssey* Hermes, are represented as acting the part of the divine messenger which in later times was almost monopolized by Nike.

Hesiod indeed does attribute personality to Nike, but we must note it is only a personification of the attributes of Zeus. The passage in the *Theogony* may be translated thus: “Styx, daughter of Ocean after union with Pallas in his palace, bare Zelus and beauteous ankled Nike, and she gave birth to Strength and Force, illustrious children whose mansion is not apart from Jove, nor is there any seat nor any way where the god does not go before them, but ever do they sit beside deep thundering Zeus”.

It was not until the time of Pindar and Bacchylides that Nike received the personality of the spirit of victory in the Athletic Games, which we find received in Southern Italy and Sicily in the fifth century B.C.

The name Nike only occurs twice in the poems of Pindar: *Nem.* V, 42 “you, Euthymenes, by falling into the arms of Nike at Ægina did win for yourself varied strains:” and in *Isth.* II, 26. “Him, too, the heralds of the seasons greeted... and in sweetly breathed tones they greeted him as having fallen at the knees of golden Nike on their land.” Xenocrates of Agrigentum had won the prize in the chariot race B.C. 476.

Bacchylides mentions Nike more frequently, and at the beginning of the fifth century B.C. the goddess had won an assured place in literature and art. It is thought by some that Bacchylides sought to associate this new goddess with the old deity of Hesiod. Perhaps the most accessible of Bacchylides' poems is that in the *Anthology* VI 313; ἀναθηρηματικὴ, a translation of which is given on p. 438 of *Bohn's English translation*: “O venerable Victory, the many-named daughter of Pallas, mayst thou ever look with forethought on the delightful choirs of the descendants of Cranaus, and in the amusements of the Muses, place many wreaths on the brows of Bacchylides of Ceos.” (Here “ἀθύρημασι Μοισῶν” means “songs” or joys = ἄγλαμα) “Queenly” would be more nearly the sense of πόντις than venerable.

The representations of mythological subjects on the black figured vases are most important to all who would trace the growth of these legends. None of the representations of Nike on these are very archaic, and all appear to belong to the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

The first appearance of Nike on the coins is found at Leontini from 500-466 B.C., at Syracuse from 500-478 B.C., at Camarina about 495-465 B.C., at Catana from 480-476 B.C., at Messina about 480 B.C., at Himera about 472 B.C., and at Gela from 470 to 466 B.C.

In Greece, soon after the Persian wars, Nike appears on the coins of Elis, and we cannot help noticing the similarity of that design to the types of Terina.

Sicilian and Southern Italian cities had then become famous for their agonistic victories, and it seems most probable that at first all the figures of Nike referred to athletic victories rather than to those won in war.

The earliest application of the Nike type to war is probably to be found in connection with the victories over the Persians in 480 B.C. when Pallas Athene received the surname **NIKH** (Bendorf, Kultusbild der Athene Nike).

The figure of Nike holding an aulastre on coins of Himera is an early instance of a probable reference to a naval victory.

Winged figures do occur at an earlier date on coins of Mallus in Cilicia, but these are thought to represent various Phoenician deities rather than Nike. Some of the earliest representations of Nike still preserved are the four marble statues discovered on the Acropolis at Athens. Two, and possibly a third, of these may be dated 520-500 B.C., the fourth more probably about 475 B.C.

When we read in Pausanias of his seeing a statue of Nike we must remember that at this late date any winged figure was called a Nike, and he probably did not realize that the Athene Nike was a representation of Athene herself. A celebrated instance of the difficulty of naming the ancient winged-figures is that of the so-called Nike of Archermos, the oldest Greek statue of a winged figure preserved to our times. It was called Nike because it was thought a passage in a scholiast of Aristophanes on Aves 574 supported the identification. On the authority of Karystios this Scholiast informs us that it was Archermos of Chios who first gave wings to Nike, but others, he observes, referred the invention to Aglaophon the painter.

The value of this information depends entirely upon the date of the Scholiast; if he wrote after the fifth century B.C. his words are of as little value as those of Pausanias.

Mr. E. E. Sikes has written a monograph on this subject "The Nike of Archermos" (published at Cambridge, 1891) in which he shows how unlikely it is that such an early piece of sculpture should have been made to represent a personification which is only met with in the fifth century B.C.

The wingless Nike has frequently been identified as a representation of Athene Nike mentioned by Pausanias (Bk 1.42, § 4) when describing Megara: "There is also another temple of Athene who is called Nike". In the "Ion" of Euripides (line 469) Athene is called ὦ πύργια Νίκᾳ, (she is also mentioned in line 1529). Also in the play Philoctetes by Sophocles (line 134) Ulysses

says " O Athene Nike, patroness of cities, who ever defends me. " She is described as **ΝΙΚΗ ΑΠΤΕΡΟΣ** by Heliodorus and Harpocrates in speaking of her image on the Acropolis. The question arises, have we here on this early coin of Terina evidence of Athenian influence in the city? Athenian artists apparently did influence the cities of Thurium and Terina as we may see in Vol. III of the Third series of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1883, in the article by Reginald Stuart Poole " Athenian coin-engravers in Italy ". It is strange that the only notice in history of any connection of Terina with Thurium should be an account of war between the two cities, the cause of which is not mentioned.

Another explanation of the wingless figure of Nike on the coins of Terina is, that just as Athene was called Nike at Athens and the guardian spirit of Catana is figured as Nike with the legend **KATANE** or **KATANAION**, so perhaps the guardian nymph of Terina may have been figured as **NIKE** with the legend **NIKA** on the Reverse and **TERINA** on the Obverse, on which the head of the same is represented.

It is said that Nike herself was not honoured with a special cultus before the time of the Roman conquest of Italy (Dion. Hal. I, 33, C.I.G., n° 2810. Knapp, p. 6).

However we may be inclined to assent to these explanations of the figure on the earliest coins, it is interesting as showing the gradual growth of the imagery of Nike in this city from its early stages to the latest, when the playful figures such as we also find on the vases are fully represented on the coins. Nike was never represented wingless except when expressing a combination of cults.

In the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Series III, Vol. III, p. 270. Mr. R. S. Poole says of the coin engravers of Terina " the theme in which they delighted, the figure of Nike, is not a ' memory-sketch ', like the recumbent Herakles of Croton and Heraclea suggested by a work of art, but is developed in a free series of variations, and thus indicates a strong school... The subject has a remarkable resemblance in some of its forms to the exquisite contemporary balustrade-relief of the temple of Nike Apteros, at Athens, while the earliest coin of Terina dating about 480 B. C. presents the goddess in the wingless shape, with her name written beside her figure. We do not know of an older temple of Nike Apteros at Athens than the famous one dating from before 400 B. C. It is a startling hypothesis that an engraver carried away the general form of the reliefs of the balustrade, and reproduced them in another country. Yet a later temple generally preserved an older worship and we must look on the relief of the temple at Athens as typical of the School rather than as a solitary example merely

because to us it was long so. A new instance is rather a proof of the individual force of a style than of mere copying, and no one who had the facility of the great engravers of Terina would have condescended to copy a relief”.

THE HYDRIA.

It is natural to ask why, on the next series of coins, Nike was represented sitting on a water-pot or Hydria.

The answer is given by Bendorf in his work on *Greek and Sicilian Vases*, p. 41. On Tafel XXIII, fig. 2, is a figure of Nike about to lift a hydria from a base under the spout of a fountain. He remarks on this figure that in later art the Greeks were fond of idealizing the common work of life by representing Eros and Nike as performing such actions, especially those connected with sacrifices. On the vases we see Nike bringing incense, or the necessary implements, or the beasts to the altar, preparing the fire, pouring out the libation, or completing the sacrifice. Since water was a necessary requisite for a legal sacrifice it is not strange to find Nike as a water-bearer in this connection.

In Period II the figure of Nike was represented as seated on a Hydria, not as on the vases standing by one; the reason for this sitting position is probably merely the fact that this was most convenient for the artistic composition of a subject made to fit a circular space.

The crown in her hand may be looked upon as that with which the animal to be sacrificed should be crowned. If we think of the crown as ready for the athlete for whom the sacrifice was made we have no knowledge of any one whose agonistic victory was of such importance that such a type should be adopted by the city.

The coin in Period III (VII d) which represents the Nike with a pitcher on her knees, into which water is pouring from a spout in the form of a lion's head, is a beautiful variation of the Hydria design, and is in harmony with the idea of the preparation for the sacrifice suggested by the designs on the vases.

The pitcher on these coins was regarded by Birch in the article in the *Num. Chron.*, Vol. VII, 1845, as evidence that the winged maiden was Iris, and he referred to the following lines of *Hesiod Theog.* 775:

“And seldom goes the fleet-footed daughter of Thaumias, Iris, on a message over the broad back of the sea, namely, when haply strife and quarrel shall have arisen among the immortals: and whosoever, I wot, of them that hold Olympian dwellings, utters falsehood, then also Jove is wont to send Iris to bring from far in a golden ewer the great oath of the gods, the renowned water, cold

as it is, which also runs down from a steep and lofty rock." The water was taken from the Styx, we learn from lines further on. "ἐν χρυσῇ πρροχέω" "in a golden ewer"; the πρροχέω was the pitcher or ewer used in pouring water on the hands of guests. The kindred πρροχέω was used of the mouth of a river. Birch noted that the names of the Styx, the Crathis, the Acheron, and other rivers of the Peloponnesus were all given to rivers of Magna Graecia.

The evidence of the vases, and the period at which these coins were issued point rather to the Nike legend than to that of Hesiod's Iris. The older legend may have influenced the form of the later Nike conception, but on consideration of all the evidence concerning Nike it seems almost certain that we have Nike rather than Iris on the coins of Terina.

THE BIRDS.

Nike is sometimes represented on the vases as in pursuit of a bird, or offering a bird to a youth (Reinach, II, 216). Mr Percy Gardner in *The Types of Greek Coins* says: "Nike on the coins of Terina is introduced as amusing herself in many ways. Sometimes she plays with a ball, sometimes she fills a pitcher from a spring, at other times she fondles a pet swan or dove. She seems in fact at Terina to embody the fresh gladness of nature and the sportive joy of open air life in a soft and genial region. Above all Greeks the peoples of S. Italy seem to have loved birds and insects and flowers, all of which actually swarm on their coins, just as they do in the seventh Idyll of Theocritus, the scene of which is laid most appropriately at Velia."

It is perhaps in this sense that we must understand the birds on the coins engraved by the artist signing his work Γ, but there is an exception on the coins signed Φ, for in that case it has been thought probable that the bird is the symbol of the artist Phrygillos whose name signifies a finch (φρυγίλος) as in Aristophanes *Aves* 763, 875.

THE CADUCEUS.

Birch (*Numismatic Chronicle* VII, § 142 seq.) looked upon the caduceus which often appears in the hand of the winged maiden on the coins as an attribute of Iris, of whom we read in the Homeric poems as the bearer of messages from Ida to Olympus. From such duties her name was sometimes derived, from εἶρω εἶρω, meaning the speaker or messenger, but others derive her name from εἶρω "I join", whence εἶρήνη, so that she was looked upon as the messenger of peace. In the *Odyssey* Hermes takes the place of Iris.

In later times she appeared as in the service of Hera. Servius thought the rainbow was merely the road used by her, hence it appeared only when she needed it. She was frequently represented on vases and in bas-reliefs either standing dressed in a long tunic with wings on her shoulders, and carrying the caduceus, or flying with wings on both shoulders and sandals, and with staff and pitcher in her hands; but unless the name of the goddess is actually written upon the vase we cannot be sure of the identification with Iris, unless the wings on the sandals are thought of as her distinctive sign.

The interpretation of the figure of the maiden as Eirene proceeds from Milani, who regards the caduceus in the hand of many of these figures as proof of that attribution. He refers to the coins of Locri bearing a seated figure of ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΛΟΚΡΩΝ on a square cippus holding a caduceus, but these coins were not issued until about 345 B.C., that is, about 100 years later than those of Terina.

The caduceus was certainly an attribute of Pax on the coins of the Roman Imperial period, but in the fifth century B.C. it was so commonly placed in the hands of Nike that it is just as suggestive of that goddess as of Eirene; moreover, the pitcher, the crown, and the bird, all of which appear so often on these coins of Terina, are, when combined, almost conclusive proof that the ideal, playful, helpful Nike was the goddess intended.

THE WREATH.

The wreath recalls the Chorus with which the Phoenissæ of Euripides ends

ὦ μέγα σεμνὰ Νίκα, τὸν ἐμὸν
βίωτον κατέχοις,
Καὶ μὴ λήγοις στεφανοῦσα.

“O great revered Victory, mayst thou hold my life, nor ever doest thou cease from crowning me.”

The result of the investigation just sketched points to the conclusion that the figure on these coins represented the local Nymph Terina as a being thought of as having all the characteristics of the Nike which was then a fresh idea influencing the whole of Magna Græcia. The new ideal or spiritual conception was in harmony with the taste of the citizens of Terina, refined by their Pythagorean ancestors, and by communion with the Greek cities in which art was especially studied by the mint officials. The connection with the Athenian artists who wrought at Thurium and Pandosia influenced the form in which the design was developed, and the fresh ideal then pervading Magna Græcia influenced the adoption

of the form of Nike as that in which their local deity should be represented.

THE OBERSE TYPE.

The Obverse type on the didrachms of Terina was always a maiden's head, the identification of which has given rise to much speculation, and the names Nike, Terina, and Ligeia have all been given to this beautiful design. We generally find the head on the Obverse of Greek coins is that of the deity whose figure or symbol is found on the Reverse, and therefore those who see in the seated winged figures the form of Nike will readily agree in calling the head on the obverse by that name, and if it be objected that the name **TEPINA** is often found on the Obverse, that name will naturally be the name of the local Nike whose full name was Terina Nike, corresponding to the Athenian Athene Nike.

It is thought by many that the head on the coins of Syracuse issued by Demarete, the wife of Gelon in commemoration of his victory over the Carthaginians in 480 B.C. is that of Nike. It was about that time that the first coins of Terina were issued, and the head on these coins is very similar to that on those of Syracuse. The growth of the idea of the stately Nike to that of the playful Nike of the period immediately following may be seen, not only on the Obverse, but also on the Reverse. The crown of victory surrounds many of the earlier heads, and then the leaves are seen in the broad fillet over the brow, and lastly the hair is simply curled and wound around the head.

LIGEIA.

E. H. Bunbury in his article in Smith's *Geog. Dic.* says: "The winged female figure on the Reverse, though commonly called a Victory, is more probably intended for the Siren Ligeia". This idea may have arisen from the word ἰριθυόπαιδος used by Lycophron of the Siren, and indeed the Sirens are spoken of by Euripides (*Helena* 167) as πτεροσφόροι νεάνιδες παρθέναι χθονὸς Κόρυι. But in the early times the Sirens were depicted not as winged maidens, but as creatures half maid and half bird (confer Mnasalcus *Anth.* VII, 171).

The introduction of the idea of a Siren into the legend may have arisen from the fact that Sirens were sometimes depicted on ancient tombs, and so some ancient nameless tomb near the shore hard by the city may have given rise to the legend told by Lycophron in his poem *Alexandra*, 726. "Then Ligeia shall be cast on shore at Terina vomiting forth the wave, and the sailors will bury her on the beach by the cliffs hard by the eddies of the Okinaros. This ox-horned river-god will wash her grave with his streams, inspiring

her abode with draughts of Siren prayer (ἀρῆς)”. This last word seems to have been confounded by the scholiast Tzetzes who says “ Okinaros is a river near Terina called *Ares* as strong and ox-horned on account of the ringing noise when the water brings down the horned and the bull-headed one, perhaps on account of the ringing noise and bellowing of the rushing water, for Ares is not a river near Terina, but Eris or Iris is a river, as some write it, hence they added it as a surname to Okinaros ”. It may be that this note of Tzetzes is the source of the idea that the maiden who so frequently was represented as bearing the caduceus was to be regarded as Iris, the messenger of the gods, but the evidence of the vases on which we so often see Nike with a caduceus is against such an identification, especially when we put together the various designs and symbols which fit the character of Nike so admirably.

The Siren buried near the mouth of the river by the sailors is evidently not the river nymph, and the river is here not called the Terina but Okinaros. The name of the Siren must be derived from λιλύξ λιλύειξ, which is used in the Homeric poems for a shrill clear sound, and later, as in Æschylus especially, for sad-toned sounds. Some ancient nameless grave may have given rise to the legend of the siren, the name being suggested by the murmuring brook hard by. The voices of waters are frequently mentioned by many poets : confer Wordsworth (XIV) “ the river Duddon”, “ attended but by thy own voice ” ... (XXV) “ the waters seem to waste their vocal charm ”, and the waves are called “ a choral multitude ”. Virgil just mentions the name Ligeia (*Georg.* IV, 336) among those of other nymphs attendant on Cyrene, and Eustathius (p. 1709, in Homer) gives a brief note. The Siren Parthenope of Neapolis found a place on the coins, but the Siren Ligeia of Terina is not represented by any type, for the earliest heads of Nymphs bear the legend **TEPINA**.

That the figure seated on the Hydria is not meant to represent the river nymph Terina we may gather from the fact that river-deities are masculine, as in Hesiod (*Theog.* 340-367), where, after naming the rivers as sons of Tethys to Oceanus, he mentions pools or fountains and ocean nymphs as daughters.

Terina as a nymph may have been, however, the spirit of a pool or fountain in or near the city. Thurium is a similar instance of a city named after a fountain.

PANDINA.

Some have thought that the moon may have been symbolized under this name Pandina, others that it was given to Proserpina, but no sufficient reasons have been advanced to content enquirers.

The name appears on bronze coins issued about 400 B. C. and is probably formed from the root ΔΙΝ from which δίνεζ a whirling or rotation is derived. From this root idea it has been suggested that we may have in the word Pandina the name of the nymph of the whirlpool which cast up the nymph Ligeia on the shores of the bay, but there is no mention of a whirlpool in the words of Lycophron from whom that legend was derived. To these suggestions I would add a fresh one, namely, that as Terina was a colony of Croton it is probable that the doctrines of Pythagoras were well known to the citizens and one of his theories is connected with the root idea of the word; according to Philolaus he taught that the heavenly bodies performed their circling dance around a central fire.

Philolaus assumed a daily revolution of the earth around this central fire but not round its own axis. Anaxagoras of Clazomene, born about 499, who became the friend of Pericles at Athens, also taught that the revolution of the heavenly bodies was the effect of the νοῦς, the regulator of the Universe. The teaching is referred to by Aristophanes in his play "the Clouds" (372 373) and some good notes are given in the Ed. of T. Mitchell p. 92. It might be objected that the year when the coin was issued bearing the name Pandina was too remote from the days of the Pythagorean Brotherhood for the mint magistrate to have been influenced by them, but "the Clouds" was performed about the year 411 B. C., and Philolaus, a contemporary of Socrates and Aristophanes, was born at Croton and was well known in the cities of Magna Graecia. If, then, we associate the name Pandina with any theory of rotation of heavenly bodies we may well see in the type an attempt to symbolize ideas which we know were current at that time not only in Athens but also in Italy.

Mr. P. Gardner in the 'Types of Greek Coins' says "we know from inscriptions that Pandina was a local form of Hecate".

THE COIN-ENGRAVERS.

We have seen that there are two groups of coins, the earlier signed with the letter Φ and the later with the letter Π. Mr. R. S. Poole in the above quoted article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* says: "The works of the earlier master, Φ, are in style somewhat before B. C. 400. The severity of the transitional age is not wholly lost by him, though when he is severe, he is so by choice, not of necessity: and one type of the Terina head is strikingly similar in composition to some of the Syracusan transitional tetradrachms.

The heads require no detailed analysis; they are remarkable for beauty, skill and balance and the presence of two types; that already

noticed, and another surrounded by an exquisitely drawn wreath of wild olive, affording another proof of the power in variety that marks the engravers of Terina". Of the reverse types of this engraver Mr R. S. Poole says: "The skill of the work as a whole is marvellous"... "With all this care for detail the work is large".

PHILIS.

A drachm signed $\Phi\Lambda\Lambda\text{C}$ bearing on the reverse a Nike seated on a base wreathed with olive, and with a bird in her hand, seems a little later in date.

"The type of head is not dissimilar from that surrounded by the wreath, yet has more affinity with the Maenad's head on the coin of Velia signed Φ , possibly a work of the Terinaean Φ . Is $\Phi\Lambda\Lambda\text{C}$ for $\Phi\Lambda\Lambda\text{C}\text{T}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$? That name occurs on coins of Elea about two generations later, and it may be suggested very tentatively that if the Φ of Elea is the Terinaean $\Phi\Lambda\Lambda\text{C}$, then the later Velian engraver may possibly have been grandson of the Terinaean, according to the Greek fashion of giving a name in alternate generations. The possible identity of Φ at Terina and Velia with $\Phi\Lambda\Lambda\text{C}$ at Terina has nothing to do artistically with the descent of $\Phi\Lambda\Lambda\text{C}\text{T}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$ who has a purely Italian style like all his contemporaries of Magna Graecia."

Γ

"The coins of Terina signed Γ are in part contemporary with, in part later than, those with Φ ."

We may venture to think them works of a pupil, and in general not equal in force and beauty to those of his master. In the heads of Terina he follows the type which is not surrounded by a wreath, and the execution is that of a copyist, unmistakably inferior".

LITERATURE.

1. "Die Goetin. Entwurf der Geschichte einer antiken Idealgestalt" von Franz Studniczka. Leipzig. Teubner. 1898. Containing XII plates of useful illustrations and 27 pages of letter-press.

2. "Nike in der Vasenmalerei", von Dr Paul Knapp, containing 100 pages, but no illustrations.

3. "Terina" von Kurt Regling, containing 80 pages of letter-press and three beautifully executed plates of coins illustrated by photography. Berlin. Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer. 1906. This work by K. Regling is indispensable to students and collectors of coins of Terina.

LOCRI EPIZEPHYRII.

This name was given to a colony which had started from Locri Opuntii, a country bordering on the sea coast to the north of Boeotia, about fifty miles north of Athens.

Opus was their chief town, hence their name Opuntii.

The new name, added to the colonial city to distinguish it, was given in reference to the west wind which swept the headland on which the colonists first made a settlement. The ancient Greek colonists named their new cities after their old homes just as did the English in later times, calling one New York, another Boston.

The Locri in Italy was only about sixteen miles from Caulonia, which we have seen was also named from the windy nature of the site, but the character of the colonists and the history of their cities were very different. From a numismatic point of view indeed, Locri differs from all the other cities of Magna Graecia, especially in the fact that the citizens issued two currencies at a very late date, one for foreign, and the other for home trade. We know very little of the Caulonians, but of the Locrians we know many names famous in various ways. The poet Pindar in his tenth and eleventh Olympian Odes thus sang of the Locrian citizens "you shall come to them, not as to a nation that shuns strangers, or has no experience in gaining honours, but to one that is first-rate in poetry, and skilled with the spear". And again, "for truthfulness directs the city of the Locri on the west; Calliope too is their delight and mail-clad Ares." This refers to the Muse of Epic Poetry.

The blind poet Xenocritus who founded the Locrian style of lyric poetry was born here, and the lyric poetess Theano who flourished in the fifth century before Christ was also a native of this city. A particular kind of harmony, called the Locrian, was used by Pindar and Simonides, but it does not seem to have lasted long in favour.

The Pythagorean brotherhood, although allowed to flourish here, was not permitted to influence the government, which was already aristocratic and conservative. It was indeed peculiarly their

own, and founded on the wisdom of their great lawgiver Zaleucus. The names of some celebrated Pythagoreans among the Locrians are well known, such as Timaeus, Echecrates and Acrion, who is said to have initiated Plato into the mysteries of their master. The Locrian Eunomus was a celebrated musician and Euthemus the Locrian Athlete was scarcely less renowned than Milo of Croton.

The original settlers at Locri are said to have arrived soon after the foundation of Croton, about the year 710 B. C. The generally received tradition is that they came from Locri Opuntii. From Polybius we learn that the earliest settlers were a body of slaves who had carried off their mistresses. As the Locrians are said to have derived the nobility of their families from the female side, this custom points to the truth of the legend told by Polybius.

Pausanias tells us that the Lacedæmonians sent colonists to Locri at the time when they settled in Croton, and it is only probable that additional bands of colonists gradually joined the earliest settlers.

Strabo's account of the city is as follows, "Then is the state of the Locri Epizephyrii, a colony of Locrians transported by Evanthes from the Crissæan gulf, shortly after the foundation of Croton and Syracuse. Ephorus was not correct in stating that they were a colony of the Locri Opuntii. They remained at first during three or four years at Cape Zephyrium; afterwards they removed their city with the assistance of certain Syracusans who dwell among them. There is also a fountain called Locria in the place where the Locri first took up their abode. From Rhegium to Locri there are 600 stadia."

The city is built on a height which they call Esopis. Robert Browning has celebrated, and made well known by his poem "A Tale" a beautiful legend of a statue in Locri which is also told by Strabo, "The statue of Eunomus the harper having a grasshopper seated on his harp is shown at Locri." Strabo quotes the legend from Timaeus.

The earliest information concerning the Locrians is concerning the career of the celebrated lawgiver named Zaleucus, who is said to have flourished about the year 660 B. C.

One legend represents him as having been originally a slave who asserted that Athene had revealed to him in a dream the laws he promulgated; another story speaks of his noble birth and great culture of mind. His code is said to have been the first collection of laws tabulated by the Greeks. According to Ephorus, his laws, which were severe in character, were founded on those of Crete, Sparta, and Athens. He is said to have been the first lawgiver to fix the penalties for certain crimes which before then had been settled after the trial

and passing of the sentence of guilt. From the interesting legends connected with his name we may gather that he was a truly great man. The government in his day seems to have been confined to certain families called the Hundred Houses, the members of which were all descended from females of the earliest settlers, and this too agrees with the legend of the origin of the colony.

The first event of importance recorded in the history of the city is the famous battle on the banks of the river Sagras about the year 560 B. C., when 10,000 Locrians defeated 130,000 Crotoniates. Reference to this battle has been made in the chapter on Croton, where its effects on that city are described. The victory affords evidence of the bravery and discipline of the Locrians at a very early date.

Another event of importance was the quarrel of the Locrians with the citizens of Rhegium, about 477 B. C., when Anaxilas, the despot of that city, attacked them, and they were only saved from a destructive war by the intervention of Hieron of Syracuse.

The friendship of the Locrians with Syracuse was one of the sources of their prosperity.

In 466 B. C. Thrasybulus, the fallen tyrant of Syracuse, retired to Locri, and lived there as a private citizen. We naturally find the Locrians taking the side of the Syracusans in their war with the Athenians, and hence in 415 B. C. the Athenian fleet was refused permission to anchor off the harbour of Locri. At a later period the Locrians also sent troops to Greece to aid the Lacedæmonians.

About 392 B. C. Dionysius the elder sought to strengthen his position by marriage with a Locrian wife. Plutarch tells us how he killed the sons of a Locrian citizen named Aristides who had refused him his daughter in marriage.

Dionysius however succeeded in securing as his wife Doris, the daughter of Zenetus, one of the principal citizens of Locri, and from that time the Syracusans obtained a footing in the south of Italy, and the Locrians increased their power. Only five years later, in 389 B. C., the territory of Caulonia was given to Locri, and their influence was also strengthened among the more northern cities of Hipponium and perhaps Terina.

During all this period and down to the year 344 B. C. the Locrians had no mint, probably because the laws of Zaleucus were like those of Lycurgus in forbidding the coinage of money.

In 344 B. C. we have seen that the Tarentines, being hard pressed by the Menapians and Lucanians, called for assistance from Sparta. Croton had been taken by the Lucanians in 368 B. C. and soon after the Bruttii rose to the height of their power. The need of a coinage may have been felt imperative at a time when the Locrians were obliged to maintain an army to defend their city.

They issued two series of coins, one for their maritime commerce, and another for their home use and their trade with the neighbouring cities. The younger Dionysius of Syracuse, son of the Locrian Doris, when expelled from that city, came to Locri in 356 B. C. where he seized the citadel and established himself as despot. In 350 B. C. the Locrians drove out his garrison and took terrible vengeance on his wife and daughters. The horrible story of the wickedness of Dionysius, and the cruel revenge of the Locrians on his daughters is told by Strabo VI, § 8.

The city had been weakened by the despotism of Dionysius II, and was in constant danger from the Bruttians when they first inaugurated a mint. The coins issued for maritime commerce were Corinthian staters bearing a head of Pallas in a Corinthian helmet on the Obverse and Pegasus on the Reverse, weighing 135-130 grains. This type does not point to a desire to obtain help from Corinth in the defence of the city but was derived direct from Syracuse. In the case of Tarentum the influence of the allies from the old country was apparent on their coinage.

The first coins issued for the Locrian home trade weighed 120-115 grains. They bore on the Obverse a head of Zeus, laureate, with short hair, and on the Reverse Eirene, seated on a square cippus, holding a caduceus, a type which may point to the hope of peace entertained by the citizens on the expulsion of Dionysus II, and of the advent of assistance from their Corinthian friends.

In the year 332 B. C. a change of type appeared. It was the period when the Molossian Alexander was fighting the Lucanians. It is noticeable that on the coins then issued at Locri the head of Zeus was no longer represented with short curls, but with long flowing locks as on the contemporary money of Alexander, introduced into Italy at that time. Instead of the Reverse type of Eirene we have the eagle devouring a hare, and in the field a fulmen, which had appeared on the Reverse of Alexander's coinage as the main type. A body of Locrian troops may have been in the successful army which took Heraclea and Consentium from the Lucanians, and Terina and Sipontum from the Bruttii. In 329 B. C. Alexander was slain near Pandosia, and in that year this series of coins ceased to be issued.

During this period the Corinthian staters still continued to be issued with the same types as formerly.

From the death of Alexander in 326 to the year 300 B. C. the Locrians continued to issue money, but many of the coins of this period are so negligently made that they appear to be Bruttian imitations rather than the work of Greek artists.

The struggle with the Bruttii was still maintained, but we know nothing of the history of the city during this period. The Corin-

thian staters show a different and debased style, the legend is shortened from $\Lambda\text{OKP}\Omega\text{N}$ to ΛO or ΛOK , usually on the Reverse instead of on the Obverse. Corinthian drachms also now appear, bearing a female head facing, or in profile, wearing earrings and necklace, and on the Reverse Pegasus flying, and the legend; they weigh 39 grains.

The staters for home use are similar to those of the last period without the fulmen on the Reverse, but generally the work is very careless. The Corinthian staters ceased to be issued at the end of this period *i. e.* circ. 300 B. C.

Between 300 and 280 B.C. Staters weighing 118 grs. were issued with a fresh Obverse type, an eagle devouring a hare, and on the Reverse $\Lambda\text{OKP}\Omega\text{N}$, a fulmen, and symbol, usually a caduceus.

Also Diobols weighing 18 grains bearing on the Obverse an eagle with spread wings, and in front a caduceus; on the Reverse $\Lambda\text{OKP}\Omega\text{N}$ in two lines, between them a fulmen.

Also Obols weighing 11.5 grains bearing on the Obverse $\Lambda\text{—O}$, an eagle with closed wings, and on the Reverse, a fulmen between two annulets.

These coins bear so close a resemblance to those of Agathocles that there can be no doubt as to their date. That tyrant of Syracuse crossed over to Italy to fight with the Bruttii, but his designs were frustrated by his death, which was hastened by family troubles. Do these coins suggest that he landed at Locri after plundering the Lipari islands?

His death occurred in 289 B.C. Arnold in chapter xxxv of his 'History of Rome' gives an interesting account of his influence.

Pyrrhus crossed over to Italy in 280 B.C. and in the same year defeated the Roman Consul Laevinus on the banks of the Siris. Then followed his victorious march to within sight of Rome, and his retreat to Tarentum. About this time the Locrians had submitted to Rome in order that they might be defended by them from the Bruttians.

When however Pyrrhus appeared before their walls they opened the city and received him and his son Alexander, whom Pyrrhus left at Locri when he departed to Sicily. The soldiers of Pyrrhus behaved with such cruelty that the Locrians again sought the help of the Romans, and Pyrrhus, on his return to Italy in the autumn of 276 B.C., again besieged and took the city. Being in want of funds to pay his mercenaries, Pyrrhus robbed the Locrian temple of Persephone, and putting the treasure on board his ships set sail for Tarentum, but was driven back to Locri by a storm. Dreading the wrath of the goddess he restored the plunder and departed. In 274 B.C. Pyrrhus sustained a defeat at Beneventum and fled to Greece.

On the departure of Pyrrhus the Locrians again submitted to

Rome, and continued loyal until the second Punic War, when after the battle of Cannae in 216 B.C., they received the Carthaginians, and it was not till 205 B.C. that Scipio took the city.

Scipio's officer Pleminius plundered the temple of Proserpina, but the Senate caused restitution to be made, and the impiety was expiated at the public cost. The head of Persephone on the bronze coins of the last period serves to remind us of the speech of the Locrian legate at Rome reported by Livy, XXIX, 18, "Fanum est apud nos Proserpinæ de cujus sanctitate templi credo aliquam famam ad vos pervenisse Pyrrhi bello."

On the departure of Pyrrhus the Locrians showed their loyalty to Rome by issuing Staters bearing on the Obverse the head of Zeus and on the Reverse a figure representing Fides standing placing a wreath upon the head of Roma seated before her, leaning on a shield, with the legend **ΛΟΚΡΩΝ ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΡΩΜΑ**.

The head of Zeus on these coins is so like that on the coins of Pyrrhus that it is most probable the same engraver wrought them both; perhaps this may imply that Pyrrhus struck his famous Tetradrachms while he was resident in Locri or during the time that city was in his power. Many of his coins have been found not only in South Italy but even in Locri itself.

The coins bearing the figure of Fides crowning Roma are the last silver coins issued in Locri. They are interesting as being the earliest on which we see the personification of Rome, so often found on the denarii of the Republic.

The ruins of Locri which remain have been described by the Duc de Luynes in the *Ann. d'Inst. Arch.*, vol. II, pp. 3-12. The city was nearly two miles long by about one broad, extending from the mouth of a little river now called S. Ilario towards the hills. The ruins are about five miles from the modern town Gerace.

PERIOD I. 344-332 B.C.



Obv. **ΙΕΥΣ**. Head of Zeus to right, laureate, with short hair.

Rev. **ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΛΟΚΡΩΝ**.

Eirene wearing long chiton and peplon over her knees, holding a caduceus in her right hand, seated to left on a cippus, the front of which is ornamented with a bucranium.

PERIOD II. 332-326 B.C.



Obv. ΛΟΚΡΩΝ. Head of Zeus to left, laureate, with long flowing locks.

Rev. Eagle flying to left devouring a hare, behind the back a fulmen, beneath the tail Η; in field below a dot.

The fulmen is sometimes in front.

On some the monogram Α, or Α, or Ψ. On some the legend ΛΟΚΡΩΝ is on Reverse instead of on Obverse.

PERIOD III. 300-290 B.C.



Obv. Eagle flying to left devouring a hare ; border of dots.

Rev. ΛΟΚΡΩΝ. Fulmen ; beneath, a caduceus to left : border of dots.

On some specimens Ο behind back of eagle.

On some ΛΟΚΡΩΝ. Fulmen and border of dots.

DIQBLS of 18 grains.



Obv. Eagle standing to left and looking back, with wings open ; in front a caduceus to left : plain border.

Rev. ΟΚΛΡΩΝ. A fulmen.

OBOLS of 11.5 grains.

Obv. ΛΟ. An eagle to left, with wings closed : border of dots.
Rev. A fulmen between O—O; plain border.

PERIOD IV. 273-217.

Obv. Head of Zeus to left, laureate; beneath, ΝΕ, border of dots.
Rev. ΛΟΚΡΩΙ in exergue.

Roma seated to left on a throne, wearing long chiton, and peplon over her knees; her right arm rests on an oval shield upon which is a fulmen; under her left arm, a parazonium.



She is crowned by a female figure representing Fides, standing to left, wearing a long chiton and peplon, one end of which is brought over her left shoulder and is held in her left hand : behind the figures respectively the words ΡΟΜΑ and ΠΙΣΤΙΣ. On some specimens the legend ΛΟΚΡΩΝ is added on the Obverse and there is no legend in exergue of Reverse.

BRONZE COINS.

PERIOD I. 344-332 B.C.

1. Size 1. Obv. Head of Zeus to right, laureate, short hair.
Rev. Eagle to right with wings closed.
On some specimens the eagle on the Rev. is standing on a rock.

PERIOD II. 332-326 B.C.

2. Size .85. Obv. Head of Zeus to right, laureate; behind, a fulmen. ΔΙΟΣ.

Rev. ΛΟΚΡΩΝ. A winged fulmen.

3. Size .95. Obv. Head of Zeus to left, laureate : border of dots.

Rev. ΛΟΚΡΩΝ. Winged fulmen; in field to right an incense altar.

PERIOD III. 300-290 B.C.

4. Size .65. Obv. Head of Pallas to left, wearing crested Corinthian helmet : border of dots.

Rev. ΛOK
 $P \Omega N$. A winged fulmen.

On some specimens the legend is in one line.

5. Size .6. Obv. Head of young Heracles to left, wearing the lion's skin.

Rev. $\Lambda OKP \Omega N$. Pegasus flying to left ; beneath, a club to left.

6. Size 1.05. Obv. Head of Persephone, diademed, wearing earring and necklace, and having a long tress of hair tied behind her head ; behind, a poppy-head, or bunch of grapes, or lighted torch : border of dots.

Rev. $\Lambda OKP \Omega N$. An eagle with its wings closed, standing to left on a fulmen : behind, a wreath : border of dots. On some specimens instead of a wreath we see a bunch of grapes and in front Λ , on others the symbol is a palm filleted.

7. Size .75. Obv. Head of Persephone similar to last coin, but with ear of barley as symbol behind head.

Rev. $\Lambda OKP \Omega N$. Pallas to left wearing crested Corinthian helmet, and long chiton with diploidion, rests right hand on spear and left on shield placed on the ground : in field to right a star of seven rays and cornucopiæ : border of dots.

8. Size 1.1. Obv. Head of Pallas to right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet, earring and necklace ; behind, ΛEY : border of dots.

Rev. $\Lambda OKP \Omega N$. Persephone wearing long chiton seated to left on throne, the front leg of which is in the form of an animal's leg : holding in her right hand a patera, and in the left a sceptre surmounted by a poppy-head ; above, on either side, a star of eight rays : a border of dots.

On some specimens instead of ΛEY on Obv. EY .

9. Size .75. Obv. Head of Pallas to left wearing earring, necklace, and crested Corinthian helmet, adorned with an olive-wreath : border of dots.

Rev. $\Lambda OKP \Omega N$. Eagle to left on fulmen, wings open ; in front cornucopiæ : border of dots ; on some specimens a star of eight rays for symbol. EY on Obverse ; on others the letter Λ .

10. Size .75. Obv. Busts of the Dioscuri to right, each wearing laureated pilos surmounted by a star, their shoulders draped : border of dots.

Rev. Zeus seated to left on a throne, naked to waist, holding patera and sceptre ; behind, cornucopiæ : border of dots.

HIPPONIUM.

The colonists from Locri who settled in the old native city Hipponium did not abandon their reverence for the laws of Zaleucus, the lawgiver of their old home, by whom the coinage of metal was forbidden. We have seen that his laws were obeyed at Locri until 344 B.C. and it may have been this old prejudice against a mint which prevented the men of Hipponium from coining silver money.

However, thirty-five years before the Locrians instituted a mint, the colonists at Hipponium coined bronze money. The Italian races had been used to a bronze coinage from an earlier period, and it may be owing to the Greek colonists mixing more freely with the native races in their new home that they instituted a mint and issued bronze coins.

There is a special interest attaching to these coins of Hipponium, their types illustrating the history of the city most clearly.

The site of Hipponium is on a hill overlooking the beautiful fertile plain which extends to the southern end of the bay, on the west coast of Bruttium. At the northern end of the bay stood Terina, about twenty miles distant. The name by which the bay was known was sometimes derived from the southern and sometimes from the northern city, hence Strabo calls it Ἰππωνιάτης κέλευθος, and Thucydides Τερινιάτης κέλευθος. The name of the city is spelt **CEI** on the early coins of Hipponium, and hence we may gather that the name is that given by the early native race which founded a city on that site. The letter **C** is the Sabellian *f* written either **Ϛ** or **F** by the Umbrians, or **Ϙ** or **ϙ** by the Oscans, and **F** by the Latins. The sound of the letters **C** and **V** were sufficiently alike for the Romans to spell the name Vibo at a later date.

The description of the city given by Strabo is as follows : “ After Consentia is Hipponium, founded by the Locrians. The Romans took it from the Bruttii, who were in possession of it at a subsequent period, and changed the name into Vibo Valentia. And because the meadows in its vicinity are luxuriant and full of flowers, it is supposed that Proserpine came over from Sicily to gather them, and from thence the custom among the women of this city to gather flowers and to plait garlands, prevailed to such

an extent, that they now think it shameful to wear purchased garlands at the festivals. It also possesses a harbour made by Agathocles, the Tyrant of Sicily, when he was in possession of the town.”

We may gather further details of this beautiful neighbourhood from Athenaeus (XII, 542, p. 249, t. III) who quotes from the historian Duris of Samos, whose work is carried down to 281 B.C. He describes a sacred grove near the city, well watered with fountains, and of surpassing beauty, in which was a place called the horn of Amalthea, which had been adorned and planned by Gelon of Syracuse.

Athenaeus also quotes a poem in which the tunny fish caught in this bay were praised (Lib. VII, 302).

We know nothing of the history of the city until the year 390 B.C., when Dionysius sent a fleet commanded by his brother Leptinus, and an army which gained the great victory on the banks of the Helorus over the combined forces of the Italian Greeks. The story of this battle has been told in the chapter on Laüs. The citizens of Hipponium must have sided with the other Greek cities and have been no longer looked upon as Locrians, for their city was taken by Dionysius in 389 B.C., and the citizens exiled to Syracuse, where they remained ten years, while their lands had been given to the Locrians (Diodorus, XVI, 107). Their release appears to have been the result of the victory of the Carthaginians over the forces of Dionysius, but details are not given by Diodorus.

The earliest coins of Hipponium are those issued by the returned exiles about 376 B.C. They bear the head of Hermes on the Obverse, and three Reverse types, an eagle on a serpent, an amphora, and a caduceus, with the legend ΣEI or ΣEIN in Sabellian or Oscan letters, the use of which may either signify that the Bruttians had even at that date some influence, or that the citizens wished to commemorate the ancient name borne by the city before the Locrian Greeks settled there.

The Bruttian rule in Hipponium was interrupted by the victories of Alexander of Epirus, who took the city from them, and from about 330 to 325 B.C., a second series of coins were issued, this time with the Greek legend $\text{EIP}^{\text{O}}\text{NIE}^{\text{O}}\text{N}$ on the Reverse, some with the eagle on a fulmen, others with the amphora, and others with the interesting new type of Pandina standing, holding sceptre and caduceus, or wreath, and some smaller coins with a club as type. On the Obverse we have three types, first the head of Zeus Olympios, on the second the head of Apollo, and on the third the head of a young river-god Rheon.

The head of Zeus, probably copied from the coins of Alexander, appeared on the Obv. ; and the fulmen on the R^{L} , on which the eagle sits, was also on Alexander's coinage.

After the death of Alexander in 326 B.C., on the banks of the Acheron near Pandosia, described by Livy (lib. VIII), the Bruttians appear to have regained their power over the city, and to have held it until about 296 B.C., that is for a period of about thirty years.

About the year 296 Agathocles, the formidable Tyrant of Syracuse, crossed over again to Italy and released the citizens of Hipponium from the power of the Bruttii. We first hear of Agathocles in Italy as coming from Syracuse under his brother Antander, the general of the forces sent to assist the Crotoniates against the Bruttians. We do not know the date, the duration, nor the issue of this expedition, but when Agathocles returned to Syracuse he was one of the first held in honour for bravery and military success. An account of his wars in Sicily and Africa with the Carthaginians may be seen in Chapter XCVII, Part II of Grotes *Hist. Gr.* When he came to Hipponium and Croton about 296 he established an alliance with Demetrius Poliorcetes, and gave his daughter Lanassa in marriage to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. Arnold (chapter XXXV *Hist. Rome*) briefly tells the sad story of his latter years. Hipponium was evidently regarded by him as a strong base for his war in Italy, and the building of the harbour, spoken of by Strabo, was necessary as a refuge for his ships of war, and as a safe landing-place for his troops. The harbour also served to render secure the export of timber from the neighbouring forests, and for building and repairing his ships. Agathocles died in 289 B.C., and soon afterwards the garrison left by him in Hipponium was defeated by the Bruttii.

The coins which we may associate with the name of Agathocles were issued between 296 and 289 B.C., that is during a brief period of about seven years.

On the Obverse we see the head of Pallas wearing a Corinthian helmet, and the legend ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ, in reference to the salvation of the Greeks from the Bruttians, and on the Reverse a figure of Nike standing, sometimes with the legend ΝΙΚΕ, but all bear the legend ΕΙΡΩΝΙΕΩΝ.

Livy tells us that the Carthaginians devastated all the country round, and the inhabitants enjoyed no peace until the Romans, in 192 B.C., settled a colony of 4000 settlers, including 300 knights, (Livy, XXXV, 40) and changed the name of the city to Valentia, or as Strabo calls it Ὀυλιβώνη Οὐλεντία (VI, 256).

Vibo is evidently the Bruttian name of Hippo to which the Romans added Valentia.

The town seems to have flourished after the Romans settled there, for Cicero calls it a noble and illustrious municipium (in Verrem, V, 16) “ipsis autem Valentinis ex tam illustri nobileque municipio”.

The coins of the Roman Valentia consisted of the Roman series of bronze : the As, the Semis, Triens, Quadrans, Sextans, Uncia, and Semiuncia ; they are described in the following table of the coins.

CLASS I. 379-354 B.C.

Coins of the returned exiles.

1. Æ. Size .85. Obv. Head of Hermes to right, wearing petasos tied under the chin.

Rev. **CEI**. An eagle to right, with closed wings, holding serpent with its claws and beak.

2. Æ. Size .7. Obv. Same type as no 1, but with traces of inscription.

Rev. An amphora.

3. Æ. Size .65. Obv. **CEI**. Same type.

Rev. A caduceus ; on some, a border of dots.

CLASS II. 330-325 B.C.

Coins issued under Alexander of Epirus.

4. Æ. Size .8. Obv. **ΔΙΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΥ**.

Head of Zeus to right, laureate : border of dots.

Rev. **ΕΙΡΩΝΙΕΩΝ**. Eagle on fulmen, wings spread.

5. Æ. Size .75. Obv. **ΔΙΟΣ**. Same type as no 4.

Rev. **ΙΠΩΝΙΕΩΝ**. Amphora : in field to right a torch, lighted.

On some specimens **†** on obverse beneath head to left.

6. Æ. Size .65. Obv. Head of Apollo to right, laureate.

Behind, **ΑΜ** : border of dots.

Rev. **ΕΙΡΩΝΙΕΩΝ ΓΑΝΔΙΝΑ**.

Pandina standing to left, wearing long chiton with diploidion and holding whip ? and sceptre.

On some specimens a cantharos behind head on Obv. and Rev. ; in the field to left, a star of eight rays.

7. Æ. Size .4. Obv. Head of a young river-god **ΡΕΩΝ**.

Rev. A club. **ΕΙΡΩΝΕΙΩΝ**.

CLASS III. 296 B.C.

Coins issued under Agathocles.

8. Æ. Size .85. Obv. **ΣΩΤΕΪΡΑ**. Head of Pallas to right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet, on which a griffin, or a sea-horse, or Scylla, or with no device.

Rev. **ΕΙΡΩΝΙΕΩΝ**. Nike standing to left wearing long chiton

with diploïdion, holding wreath and sceptre; beneath the left arm, II, probably marks of value : these are absent on some specimens. On some specimens **NIKA** in field to left and a crab.

CLASS IV.

The coins of **VIBO VALENTIA** issued by the Romans.

1. As. Æ. Size 1.1. Obv. Head of Zeus to right, laureate.

Behind, I. Border of dots.

Rev. **VALENTIA**. A winged thunderbolt placed perpendicularly; in the field to right, I, and a lyre : border of dots.

The symbols vary as : a staff ending in the head of a boar, a crescent, a bee, a star of twelve rays, a vase without handles.

2. Semis. Size .8. Obv. Female head, without probably Hera, to right, hair long, wearing stephane, earring and necklace; behind, **S** : border of dots.

Rev. **VALENTIA**. Double cornucopiae, lower points turned to left, in the field to right **∞**, and crescent : border of dots.

On some specimens **S** and star of six rays, or **S** and a lyre.

Or with lower points turned to right, and in field to left a bull butting to left and **S**.

Other symbols are : a cray-fish, a star of twelve rays, a tripod, a dolphin, wreath-bearing Nike.

3. Triens. Size .17. Obv. Head of Pallas wearing crested Corinthian helmet, earring and necklace : behind, $\ddot{\vdots}$: border of dots.

Rev. **VALENTIA**. An owl to right, in front, $\ddot{\vdots}$ on some specimens a star of six rays, above or below, or at the right of mark of value.

On others a vase with two small handles, or a bull butting to right.

Obv. Head of Demeter $\ddot{\vdots}$.

Reverse. Cornucopiae $\ddot{\vdots}$.

4. Quadrans. Size .65. Obv. Head of bearded Heracles to right wearing lion's skin; behind $\ddot{\vdots}$: border of dots.

Rev. **VALENTIA**. Two clubs upwards, the handles united; in field to left a star of six rays, and $\ddot{\vdots}$: border of dots.

On some specimens the symbols are a plough to left upwards, a bull butting to left.

On some coins is a plain border.

5. Sextans. Size .5. Obv. Laureate head of Apollo to right; behind, $\ddot{\vdots}$: border of dots.

Rev. **VALENTIA**. Lyre, in field to right $\ddot{\vdots}$: plain border.

On some specimens a bull butting beneath $\ddot{\vdots}$.

6. Uncia. Size .45. Obv. Head of Artemis to right; over her shoulder a quiver, and ● : border of dots.

Rev. VALENTIA. Hound running to right; above, ● : plain border.

7. Semiuncia. Size .4. Obv. Head of Hermes to right wearing winged diadem; behind, ξ : border of dots.

Rev. VALENTIA. Caduceus; in field to left ξ : border of dots.

RHEGIUM

After Naples, Rhegium, among the cities of Magna Græcia, is most frequently visited by English travellers, as it is a port at which the steamboats call which ply between Messina and Naples. It is situated nearly opposite to Messina on the coast of Bruttium, at a point where the straits are only about six miles in width.

The account of the foundation of the city is thus given by Strabo in Book VI: "Rhegium was founded by certain Chalcidenses, who, as they say, were decimated as an offering to Apollo in a time of scarcity, by order of an oracle, and afterwards removed hither from Delphi, taking with them certain others from home. As Antiochus says, the Zanclæans sent for the Chalcidenses, and appointed Antimnestus chief over them. Certain fugitives of the Messenians of Peloponnesus accompanied this colony..." "These fugitives had fled to Macistus whence they sent for instructions to the oracle of Apollo who commanded them to accompany the Chalcidenses to Rhegium. They obeyed the oracle and thus it was that the rulers of the Rhegians were all of the Messenian race until the time of Anaxilas," that is until 494 B.C.

The oldest Greek colony in Italy is said to have been Cumæ near to Naples, and this was also of Chalcidian origin. It is therefore probable that the two later colonies of Zancle and Rhegium were assisted by the Cumæans, who were thus enabled to secure a free passage for their ships through the straits between the mainland and Sicily.

From Pausanias (IV, 26, §4) we gather that the date of the foundation of Rhegium was before 720 B.C. that is shortly after the first Messenian war. Strabo says: "It was called Rhegium either, as Æschylus says, because of the convulsion which had taken place in this region; for Sicily was broken from the continent by earthquakes... Whence it was called Rhegium."

He goes on to mention, but refuses to discuss, other derivations, such as that from the "Sannite word Regium which signifies royal". The word for the sea breaking upon the beach was $\rho\eta\gamma\gamma\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta$ and for a chasm or cleft $\rho\eta\gamma\gamma\mu\alpha\chi$; the verb $\rho\eta\gamma\gamma\upsilon\sigma\mu\iota$ was used by Plato of the breaking of the earth by an earthquake.

The root once had the digamma, hence the Latin *frango fregi*, and indeed our English "break".

Recent events have shown how appropriate the name of the town would have been in this connection.

Until 494 B.C. when Anaxilas began to rule, the laws of the city were those of the Sicilian Charondas who influenced all the Chalcidian cities of Sicily. From Aristotle we gather they were framed for an aristocratic government; from Athenæus that they were put forth in verse; and from Stobæus that by his laws all commerce was to be conducted by ready-money payments, the government refusing to aid those who lost money by giving credit.

Charondas is also said to have been the first to have proposed the prosecution of false witnesses.

The governing body consisted of a thousand of the wealthiest citizens, generally those of Messenian origin. According to Iamblichus the Pythagorean brotherhood became firmly established in Rhegium, and after the death of their master the city became their head-quarters.

In the chapter on the coins of Croton we have seen how probable it is that the flat early coins with the incuse reverse types were all issued under the influence of the Pythagoreans. The earliest coins of Rhegium may therefore be regarded as evidence of the truth of the account given by Iamblicus.

The only incident known of this early period appears to be the reception at Rhegium about the year 543 B.C. of the Phocæan fugitives from Corsica. Who were sent on by the advice of the citizens to found a city on the site afterwards called Velia. Theagenes the Philosopher, who is said to have been the first to write a book on Homer, was born in Rhegium. He is said to have been contemporary with Cambyses who died 521 B.C. (Euseb, *Praep. Evang.*, X, 11. Suidas s. v. Theag.).

The time of the greatest prosperity of Rhegium seems to have been that during which the city was ruled by Anaxilas, who, according to Diodorus, began to reign in 494 B.C. At about that time many fugitives from Samos and other Ionian cities, driven forth by the Persians, took possession of Zancle. They had been invited by the men of that city to come and colonize a site called Cale Acte, but Anaxilas persuaded them to seize Zancle. Herodotus tells the story fully (VI, 22, 23) and Thucydides (VI, 4) tells us that Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, not long after expelled the Samians, colonized the city with a mixed population, and changed its name to Messana, after his own native land. Anaxilas had married Cydippe, a daughter of Terillus of Himera, and in 480 B.C. went to the assistance of his father-in-law against Theron (Herodotus VII, 165). The daughter of Anaxilas was married to Hieron of Syracuse, and we may regard it as likely that she may have met at his court the poets Aeschylus and Pindar.

The influence of Hieron was great enough to prevent Anaxilas from prosecuting his quarrel with the Locrians. From Thucydides we gather that Locri had always been a rival, and as we shall see later, this rivalry was carried on for many generations. According to Justin (IV, 2) Anaxilas had the reputation of being one of the mildest and most equitable of all the rulers of Rhegium.

It was soon after Hieron's successful effort to keep the peace that Anaxilas died in 476 B.C. when the government was carried on, during the minority of his two sons, by Micythus, a manumitted slave, who ruled both Rhegium and Messana with justice and moderation for nine years, that is until 467 B.C.

During the reign of Micythus the Rhegians sent three thousand men to assist the Tarentines against the Iapygians, and lost the greater part of them in the defeat suffered by the Tarentines in 473 B.C.

When Micythus retired to Tegea in Arcadia the two sons of Anaxilas began their brief reign of six years, for, in 461 B.C. they were expelled from the city by the same political upheaval which affected so many other cities of Magna Graecia.

The Rhegians are said by Justin to have suffered much from party strife after the expulsion of the tyrants, but his account is uncorroborated and not quite trustworthy.

Thucydides (III, 86) relates that in 427 B.C. thirty-four years after the fall of the tyrants, the Athenians sent a fleet under Laches and Charoeades, to support the Leontines against Syracuse, and this fleet was allowed to make its head-quarters at Rhegium and was assisted with a considerable force. This action brought the Rhegians into collision with their old enemies the Locrians.

In 415 B.C. however, when the Athenians sent their great expedition to Syracuse. the Rhegians refused to take any part in the contest, and remained neutral to the end. Sixteen years later, when Dionysius of Syracuse was at war with the Chalcidian cities of Sicily, the men of Rhegium fitted out a force of fifty triremes, 6000 foot, and 600 horsemen to oppose him, but when the Messenians withdrew from the alliance the Rhegians made peace.

Dionysius, who was then preparing for war with the Carthaginians, desired their friendship, and proposed a matrimonial alliance, but was roughly rejected, whereupon he turned to their rivals the Locrians and married Doris, the daughter of one of their rulers. In 363 B.C. Dionysius took Messana and fortified it as a starting point from which he might attack Rhegium. Three years later he appeared before the city, with 20,000 foot and 1,000 horsemen, and blocked the harbour with 120 triremes. In 389 B.C. Dionysius won his great victory over the Italian Greek armies on the banks of the river Helorus, and Rhegium was allowed a truce on payment of

three hundred talents and seventy triremes. Next year however the siege was renewed and the city subdued. The survivors were sold as slaves and their general Phytton barbarously slain (Grote, cap. LXXXIII). On the death of Dionysius in 367 B.C. his son restored the ruined city and placed therein a garrison. In 351 B.C. the city was taken by the Syracusans and the survivors restored.

The Corinthian general Timoleon crossed over from Rhegium in 344 B.C. and advanced to Syracuse, where Dionysius was shut up in the citadel. Timoleon succeeded in winning Syracuse, and repeopling it with colonists from Corinth. In 339 he won his great victory over the Carthaginians, on the Crimesus. The influence of Corinth and of the Corinthians who came to Sicily under the rule of Timoleon is seen in the Corinthian staters issued in Rhegium about this time.

When Pyrrhus came into Italy, in 280 B.C., the men of Rhegium entered into an alliance with the Romans and received a body of 4000 Campanian mercenaries into the city under a leader named Decius, but these soon after slew all the male inhabitants, and reduced the women and children to slavery.

In 270 B.C., ten years afterwards, the Roman Consul Genucius took the city after a long siege, and slew the Campanian garrison. The city never recovered its former prosperity. During the second Punic war the city continued faithful to Rome, and was accounted one of the federated cities.

The coins of this city afford excellent illustrations of its history; for instance, the period of the Pythagorean rule is illustrated by the flat coins with incuse reverses of the period 530-494, the influence of the Samian colonists may be seen in the types of the lion's head which appear on the coinage from 494 to 480 B.C. and the influence of the celebrated despot Anaxilas is seen in the types of the mule-car and hare on the coinage from 480 to 468 B.C.

The influence of the Democracy is seen in the types of the local rural god which prevailed between 469 and 415 B.C. The influence of Sicily is perhaps seen on the coins with the Apollo type issued between 415 and 389, the year of the destruction of the city by Dionysius. Probably the Corinthian staters which were circulated between 450 and 270 are evidences of the influence of the Corinthian Timoleon, as the rare silver coins with the head of Apollo issued between 270 and 203 were witness to the continued influence of Sicily.

THE MULE-CAR TYPE.

Julius Pollux, who occupied the chair of rhetoric at Athens in the reign of Commodus, tells us that Anaxilas, the tyrant of Rhegium, having won a victory at Olympia with his mule-car, introduced the

car and a hare on the coinage of Rhegium (V, 75, p. 261, Ed. Dindorf) ἔμοῦ δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπία νικήσας ἀπήγη, τῷ νομίσματι τῶν Ῥηγίνων ἐνετύπωσεν ἀπήγην καὶ λαγῶν.



The races with mule-cars are celebrated by Pindar in his fifth Olympian ode, in which he says : “The sweet record of exalted deeds of valour, and of crowns won at Olympia, with patient-footed mules receive, daughter of Ocean.” Pindar’s fourth Ode is also written for the same victor, Psaumis of Sicily, for his mule-car victory won in the year 452 B.C.

In his fourth Pythian ode, written for the King of Cyrene, Arcesilas, a mule-car is also mentioned. Pelias is represented as “coming in head-long haste on his mules and polished car”.

THE REVERSE TYPE OF PERIOD III. 461-415 B.C.

The seated male figure on the reverse of the coins issued by the Democracy has been thought by some to represent the Demos, by others the founder Iocastos, and by others the rural god Aristaeus. The attribution of the figure to Demos was made by Raoul Rochette in 1840, and those who have followed his suggestion note that it would be a natural object for a type made by a democratic government. The somewhat similar figure on the coins of Tarentum has been claimed as having the same meaning,

In our consideration of this attribution we have two investigations to make, first as to the history of the representations in Greek art of such personifications, and secondly the witness of coins as to the date of the first introduction of such figures on coin-types.

In the East and in Egypt pictorial representations of cities were wrought at a very early date, long before they were adopted by the Greeks.

Among the Hellenes we never find an attempt to represent a perspective view of the walls or building of a city; they were so much interested in human personality that a city was thought of as having the character of its inhabitants which could only be depicted by a personification of their character.

The Greek cities were so much smaller than those of our times that they could be fairly represented in this manner. The earliest distinctive characteristic being religious, the deity worshipped was chosen as the emblem. The next was probably the founder or *κτίστης*, and then an allegorical figure, and the latest emblem was the Tyche or Fortuna.

The earliest statue of a city personified appears to be that of which we read in Herodotus VIII. 121 (circa 478 B. C.) "After that they divided the booty, and sent the first fruits to Delphi, from which a statue was made, holding the beak of a ship in its hand, and twelve cubits in height". The painter Panaenus (circa 448 B. C.) painted a picture of Hellas and Salamis on the base of the statue of Zeus (Pausanias V, 11); in this picture Salamis also holds the prow of a ship in her hand.

The earliest known existing example of a relief with such a personification of a city, happens to be a representation of the city Messene. It is an archaic figure standing to right with arms outstretched, and on her head a lofty crown. By the shape of the letters inscribed thereon **ΜΕΣΣ** [...] it is attributed to 450 B. C. After 454 B. C. the Messenians were fugitives. It is evidently the people rather than the city which the artist desired to commemorate. Sicily is personified on one of these Athenian reliefs, but with the appearance of Demeter, and holding a torch.

Another relief represents the city Heraclea of Magna Graecia by a figure of Heracles himself. On the alliance coins of the cities of Asia Minor under the Roman Empire the cities were represented by the deities worshipped by the citizens.

Allegorical figures were represented on the chest of Cypselus described in Pausanias, V, 17 on which we see Night carrying her children Death and Sleep, Justice scourging Injustice, Eris and Ker.

On an Athenian relief is a figure of Eutaxia, or Good Order. A statue of Arete was made by Euphranor who was working till after 336 B. C. ; he made another of Hellas crowned by Valour. He was also a painter and made a picture of Democracy and Demos and Pharasius painted a figure of Demos, which Pliny records.

Agoracritus made a statue of Nemesis between 370-360 B. C. Lysippus wrought a statue of Kairos, Time, or perhaps Opportunity (Callistr. Stat., p. 698), but this was during the time of Alexander, when allegorical figures became more common.

In the earlier works the emblems were fused with, and incorporated in the design of the figure itself, but later the artists multiplied external, and easily understood, symbols. In poetry and literature emblematic figures are found, as in the Persæ of Aeschylus, in the Helena of Euripides, and the Demos in the Knights of Aris-

tophanes, and Aristotle's description of the robe of Alcimenes of Sybaris (ed. Didot, IV, 90). He shews there were figures of Zeus, Hera, Themis, Athena, Apollo, and Aphrodite, and at each side Alcimenes himself and the city of Sybaris in person, but we do not know how it was represented.

Let us now turn to the coins and note the dates at which the personification of the Demos appears. The earliest coin which has been considered by some to represent the Demos is that of Tarentum on which a seated figure appears holding a distaff or kantharos. But the legend **ΤΑΡΑΣ** suggests that we have here rather a figure of the founder than of the Demos.

No seated figure like these on the coins of Rhegium or Tarentum bears the legend **ΔΕΜΟΣ**. The head on the coin of Melos bearing that legend was not issued until circa 200 B. C.

The legend **Ο ΔΕΜΟΣ**, on the stater of Athens without a representation of the figure, was not issued until circa 86 B. C.

About forty-five coins of the Imperial period bear the legend **ΔΕΜΟΣ**, but there are apparently no instances of this legend at the time of the third period of the coins of Rhegium. Moreover all the allegorical subjects of a like nature found on the coin-types are later than 460 B. C.; as for instance that of Roma on the coins of Locri Epizyphrii, or that of **ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑ** on those of Alaesia.

The figure of **ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ** found on a coin of Cyzicus issued early in the fourth century is looked upon as the earliest allegorical coin-type.

From a consideration of the history of personification in Greek art we might expect to find such work familiar to the coin-engravers, but from the witness of the coins, we gather that the introduction of the Demos design was later than that of the portrait of the founder, who however may have been looked upon as sharing the character of the Demos. In Greek cities there was generally a temple dedicated to the founder, whose bones were buried in the marketplace. The citizens appealed to him for help especially when invaders threatened their city.

Much valuable information on the personification and allegorical figures in Greek art will be found in an article by Mr. P. Gardner "Countries and Cities in ancient Art", vol. IX, p. 47, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

IOCASTOS THE OEKIST.

Seeing that the figures on the coins of Tarentum and Rhegium more probably represent the founder than the Demos, we ask what may be known of the founder of Rhegium? We learn from Dionysius Periegetes, who lived about the end of the fourth century

A. D. ; from Tzetzes, and from Diodorus (V, 8), that the founder of Rhegium was Iocastos the son of Eolus. That he died from the effects of a snake-bite we learn from Heraclides Pont (XXV), a pupil of Plato (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, II, p. 219) "Rhegium was founded by Chalcidians who had left Euripas on account of a pestilence; they were aided by Messenians, who settled down first near the grave of Iocastos, one of the sons of Eolus, whom they say died from the bite of a snake" (ἐν φασιν ἀποθανεῖν πικρῆ γέντα ὑπὸ δράκοντος). The fact that his brothers were commemorated on coins of Messana and Tyndaris renders it likely that Iocastos should likewise be made the subject of a type. The brothers' names were Pheraimon and Agathurnos.

In the *Num. Chron.* for 1896, Part. IV, Third series, No 72 is an article by M. J. P. Six in French, on the subject of this type, in which he shows some reasons for regarding the seated figure as representing Iocastos.

M. Six regards some of the details of the garments, and of the seat on which the figure is seated as representing the snake alluded to in the legend. A snake does occur under the seat on a coin in the Cabinet at Paris, but this he looks upon as a personal symbol of a magistrate; in the same way he regards all the other objects which appear under the seat on various coins. One fact to which M. Six draws our attention is very interesting; he notes that in the year 493 B. C. Pythagoras the sculptor came to Rhegium, and he suggests that the figure on these staters may be a representation of a piece of sculpture executed by him for the market-place or some temple in the city.

From a careful study of the photographs of these coins given on plate VIII in the *Num. Chron.*, for 1897, and from a study of the coins in the British Museum, it is very doubtful whether any trace of a snake on either the seat, or the staff, or the garments of the seated figure can be found. The only coin which does clearly show a snake is regarded by M. Six as presenting us with a magistrate's symbol. There is a brass coin in the British Museum (Cat., No 87) on which a standing figure bears a sceptre, round which perhaps there is a serpent, the word serpent is marked "?" in the catalogue.

This M. Six claims as a figure of Iocastos. The important point in this discussion appears to be the character of the objects under the seat, and their relation to the main type. Dr B. V. Head and Mr. E. J. Seltman consider these objects to be related intimately to the main type, and therefore not to be magistrates' symbols.

We thus are led to consider the third attribution of the figure which has found favour, viz. that to Aristaeus.

ARISTAEUS.

In the *Historia Numorum*, p. 94, Dr. B. V. Head writes concerning this figure: "For my own part I am inclined to look upon him as a divinity of the nature of Agreus or Aristaeus, the Patron of rural life and pursuits. The shepherd's dog, the duck, and the crow, frequently seen under or beside his seat, would thus stand in some sort of intimate relation to the main type; whereas, if the figure is Demos they must be regarded merely as adjunct symbols unconnected with the principal figure."

On similar types, such as that of Pandosia, or that of Epidaurus, we cannot separate the dog from the figures of Pan, or Æsculapius. Mr. Seltman notices that the hare on the earlier coins of Rhegium was a symbol of the god Pan, and that when the Democracy changed the type of their city's coinage they preserved a religious idea although they gave it a more local form. The god Aristaeus had many of the characteristics of the god Pan, and the cult of Aristaeus seems to have been especially prominent in Magna Graecia.

Agreus was a surname given to Pan, as well as to Aristaeus. In Virgil (*Georg.* I, 14), he is distinguished from Pan "and thou, tenant of the groves for whom three hundred snow white bullocks crop Cea's fertile thickets: thou, too O Pan, guardian of the sheep.... draw nigh propitious". Again in *Georg.* IV, 315, Virgil asks: "What god, ye muses, what god, disclosed to us this art? Whence took this new experience of men its rise?" And the answer is "The shepherd Aristaeus flying from Peneian Tempe, having lost his bees by disease and famine, stood mournful and oft complaining, and with these accents addressed his parent: Mother Cyrene.... Lo I, though thou art my mother, am even bereft of this very glory of my mortal life, which amidst my watchful care of flocks and agriculture, I after infinite essays with much difficulty achieved". Virgil ends the story by saying he was at Neapolis when he wrote these lines.

The most ancient reference to Aristaeus is found in Pindar's ninth Pythian ode. The poet was born about 522 B. C. and lived until about 442 B. C. In 473 Pindar visited the court of Hieron, staying there about four years.

The coins, on which is the figure probably representing Aristaeus, were issued between 481 and 475 B. C., and were therefore in use during the lifetime of Pindar. In that ode the poet tells the story of the birth of a child borne to Apollo by Cyrene; he says the "goddesses of the seasons setting down the infant on their lap, shall regard him as an immortal, a Zeus, or a holy Apollo, a

most ready help to men whom he loves, and a tender of sheep; so that some shall call him Agreas, and Nomius, and others Aristæus”.

Aristæus is also mentioned by Apollonius of Rhodes (III, 507), and by Diodorus IV, 81. We have then in this cult an idea more refined than that presented by Pan, more akin to the worship of Apollo, who was himself connected with the care of sheep, as we have seen in the chapter on Metapontum. The coins of that city bearing his head are later, circ. 400 B. C.

On the later coins of this series the figure seated on the rocks is represented with a youthful beardless head, diademed, whereas on the earlier coins the head is bearded. This later representation with the youthful head is in harmony with the connection of the god Aristæus as the son of Apollo.

The son of Apollo was endowed with gifts of prophecy and healing, the Nymphs taught him the culture of bees and olive groves. At Cyrene he creates the Silphium. In Ceos he aided the islanders to escape the influence of the dog star. In Thrace he was associated with the culture of the vine, and with the orgies of Dionysus. In Syracuse his figure was placed in the temple of that god. Everywhere he was regarded as the protector of herds and flocks and the guardian of hunters.

On one very rare drachm, specimens of which may be seen at Berlin and at Paris, the seated figure is represented with his head bent down and resting on his right hand in an attitude of repose.

Now Pan was thought to rest and slumber at noontide in the woodland glades, and we have seen how intimately Aristæus was connected with that god. Another coin at Paris represents the figure turning round, as if vexed at being disturbed, and may be regarded as a similar expression of this belief in the identity of the nature of Pan and Aristæus.

THE ACCESSORY OBJECTS.

1. Four varieties of staff may be noted, first a simple straight rod, then a pedum or shepherd's crook, with bent head, then a rough staff, as if cut from a bough, and lastly a budding staff. The pedum would be just what we should expect to find in the hand of Aristæus *Νέμιος*. The rough staff may represent an olive-bough, the culture of which was under his care.

2. The wreath which encloses the type is most probably meant for an olive-wreath, because of the bent and curved leaves found therein. If it had been meant for a laurel-wreath the leaves would have been all straight and stiff.

3. The cup or kantharos is seen in the right hand of the figure, when the staff is resting on the left shoulder.

4. The patera for wine libations is also found in his hand on some specimens. These emblems are such as we might expect in the hands of Aristaeus, who was taught by Dionysus, and sometimes shared the honours of his temples, as at Syracuse.

5. A star appears on a drachm in the collection of Mr. E. J. Seltman, it is seen under the seat, and probably represents the Dog-star, Sirius.

6. The dog of the shepherd or hunter Aristaeus is seen on a coin in the British Museum, and on another in Berlin; as it is represented turning to look up at its master; it is probably meant for the shepherd's dog rather than the dog Sirius.

7. A panther cub playing with a ball, seen beneath the seat on a coin in Berlin, is probably a Dionysiac symbol having reference to the connection of Aristaeus with that deity.

8. A crane is seen on another coin in the Berlin cabinet, and as the symbol of the all-seeing eye of the god of light, the witness of all that goes on on earth, it is a suitable emblem of the son of Apollo.

9. The raven was as a symbol the bird of prophecy, and was sacred to Apollo.

10. The water-bird may perhaps be introduced as a symbol of all the creatures of the wilds which were under the protection of Aristaeus. The bird may have been chosen because numbers of sea-fowl approach the shores of Rhegium, especially in stormy weather.

11. The serpent may be regarded as a fitting emblem of the healer Aristaeus, the son of Apollo.

12. The vine-branch with grapes, found on a coin in the Paris Cabinet, is a common Dionysiac symbol; it is the only one not placed under or close behind the figure.

13. A doubtful object on a coin in Mr. Seltman's collection is regarded by him as either a fir-cone, the fruit of a tree sacred to Sylvan deities, or a half-open blossom of the Silphium, which was regarded as the gift of Aristaeus to Cyrene. If we consider these objects or even many of them to be united in design with the main figure in the type, it is difficult to avoid coming to the conclusion that we should regard the figure as a representation of a local rural deity.

But it is not necessary to conclude that the type represents any one of these three ideas alone. We see that Heracles was not only the founder but also the guardian spirit of Croton. On some of the coins of that city we see, in a similar type to this of Rhegium, Heracles seated, and with the legend ΟΣΚΣΜΤΑΜ (ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ). It is possible both Mr. Seltman and M. Six may be right, in as far as they do not altogether exclude the ideas which they reject as the principal motive of the design.

On a relief representing an alliance between Athens and Methone, a colony of Eretria in Euboea, the founder and hero was represented as a hunter and shepherd (Plut. Quaest. Gr. 11).

Iocastos, the son of Eolus, may have been regarded as a hunter and shepherd, and as the guardian spirit of the town, may have had some of the attributes of Pan or Aristaeus ascribed to him. The name by which the Rhegians called him we do not know, but the rural character of the local spirit is sufficiently indicated by the design.

Some of the bronze coins of Rhegium illustrate a passage in the Acts of the Apostles (XXVIII 11, 12). "And after three months we set sail in a ship of Alexandria which had wintered in the island, whose sign was 'The Twin Brothers'. And touching at Syracuse we tarried there three days. And from thence we made a circuit, and arrived at Rhegium: and after one day a south wind sprang up and on the second day we came to Puteoli."

The Dioscuri, the protectors of sailors, were much worshipped at Rhegium, and the mariners who put in there were accustomed to pay their vows to the Twin Brothers in their temple.

The figure-heads on the ship which carried St. Paul were probably very like those which appear on these bronze coins.

PERIOD I. 530-494 B. C.

Obv. **RECINON** (retrograde). Bull with human face.

Rev. Bull with human face, incuse.

Drachms weighing 87 grains.

The weight standard is that of the Chalcidic cities, Aeginetic, and the conformity of the coinage to the Achæan colonies is only outward as to type and fabric, Croton and Sybaris being too distant to influence the weight standard.

It is strange that all these Chalcidian cities should have followed the Aeginetic standard for their coinage, instead of the Euboic as we should naturally have expected. Dr Imhoof-Blumer considers the early coins, weighing about 92 grains, should be looked upon as Euboic octobols or Thirds of the Euboic tetradrachm of 270 grains, slightly over weight. Dr Head (on page 1 of the introduction to his *Historia Numorum*) suggests that the unexpected choice of the Aeginetic standard may be accounted for by the fact that the early settlers were not nearly all men of Euboea. Chalcis was the port from which they embarked, but a great number of the colonists may have been drawn from other cities of Greece where the Aeginetic standard was in use, for Aegina was still at that time one of the greatest naval powers of the Greek world. Strabo mentions that among the early settlers were men of Messene who had been driven from their homes; they first

settled at Macistus but moved on to join the Chalcidian colonists at Rhegium; these men would have been accustomed to the Aeginetic standard.

PERIOD II. 494-476 B.C.

The coinage of Anaxilas.

Drachms of Aeginetic weight, 88 grains.

Obv. Lion's scalp: border of dots.

Rev. **ΝΟΙΣΕΡΑ**. Calf's head to left: border of dots.



Tetradrachms of Attic weight, 272 grains.

Obv. Lion's head facing.

Rev. **RECINON** (retrograde). Calf's head to left.

Obv. Lion's scalp, facing, on round shield.

Rev. No inscription. Prow of Samian galley (267 grs).

This last coin was found at Messina and its weight is not that prevalent at Samos. The type however was probably introduced by the colonists from that island. It seems therefore probable that the name of Zancle was changed to Messene while the city was occupied by the Samians.

Thucydides (VI, 4) asserts that the change of name occurred after their expulsion, but Herodotus (VII, 164) does not give the exact date of the change.

Tetradrachms of the mule-car type. 261-265 grains.

Obv. Mule-car (*ἄπληγῆ*) to right, driven by a seated bearded charioteer, holding reins and goad: border of dots.

Rev. **NONΙΣΕΡΑ**. A hare running to right: border of dots. In the exergue of the Obverse, on some specimens, is an olive-leaf.

Drachms weighing 62 to 64 grains.

Obv. Same type as former.

Rev. Same type and border, **ΙΝΙΣΕΡΑ** or **RECINON**.

Obols weighing 11.6 grains.

Obv. A hare running to right: border of dots.

Rev. **ΣΕΡΑ** within a border of dots.

PERIOD III. 461-415 B.C.

Coins bearing seated figure to left.

Tetradrachms weighing from 258 to 267 grains.

Obv. Lion's scalp : border of dots.

Rev. **RECINOS**. Male figure, bearded, naked to waist, seated to left, his right hand resting on staff, his left resting on hip: the whole within an olive-wreath:

Varieties (a) Obv. In field to right a bunch of grapes.

(b) Obv. Above each eye-brow a small circle enclosing three dots.

(c) Obv. In field to left a sprig of olive and fruit.

(d) Obv. In field to right a sprig of olive with two fruits.



(a) \mathcal{R} . Legend retrograde.

(b) \mathcal{R} . A dog beneath seat to left.

(c) \mathcal{R} . A duck beneath seat to left.

(d) \mathcal{R} . The seated figure is youthful, wearing diadem.

Drachms weighing 64 grains.

Types the same as on the tetradrachms.

Obols? weighing 15 grains.

Obv. Lion's scalp.

Rev. $\Sigma\text{E}\text{A}$. Within a border of dots.

Obols. Weighing from 10 to 11 grains.

Obv. Lion's scalp and border.

In field to right an ivy-leaf.

Rev. **RECI** within an olive-wreath. Variety without the olive-leaf on Obv.

PERIOD IV. 415-387 B.C.

The period of the finest art.

Tetradrachms weighing 265 to 268 grains.

Obv. A lion's scalp : border of dots.

Rev. **ΡΗΓΙΝΩΝ**. Head of Apollo to right, laureate, hair turned up at back of neck ; behind, a sprig of olive.

Variety : Obv. Same type but the lion's mane is arranged in a double ridge on the top of the head.



Rev. Same type and symbol but the legend **ΡΗΓΙΝΟΣ** and in front of head the name of the engraver in small letters **ΚΡΑΤ**
ΟΠΠΙΣ
or **ΚΡΑΤΗΣΙΠΠΟ**, according to Garrucci, or **Κ ... Ε(πέρι)**. Cf. *Greek and Roman Coins* by G. F. Hill, p. 195. Confer also p. 173. "Notes sur les signatures de graveurs sur les monnaies grecques", by L. Forrer¹.

Drachms weighing 61 to 63 grains.

Obv. Lion's scalp.

Rev. **ΡΗΓΙΝΟΝ**. Head of Apollo as on Tetradrachms.



Half Drachms? Weighing 32.8 grains.

Obv. Lion's scalp.

Rev. **ΡΗ**. A sprig to right consisting of two leaves with two olives : border of dots.

Obols weighing from 11 to 13 grains.

Obv. Lion's scalp.

Rev. Same type as Half drachms.

Tetradrachms at end of this period, after 350 B.C.

Obv. Lion's scalp : border of dots.

Rev. **ΡΗΓΙΝΟΣ** or **ΡΗΓΙΝΟΝ**.

1. The specimen of this coin from the De Luynes Collection distinctly reads **ΚΡΑΤΕ**
ΟΠΠΙΣ, leaving no doubt as to the correct reading of this signature (*L. F.*).

Head of Apollo to left or to right, laureate, with hair long : behind, a sprig of olive and either border of dots or plain border.

PERIOD V. 270-203 B.C.

A coin weighing 26.8 grs. described as a two litrae piece.

Obv. Head of Apollo to left with hair long; behind, a dolphin head downwards : border of dots.

Rev. Head of lion facing : border of dots : **PHΓI ΝΩΝ**. This coin found in the Lipari isles was described by Mr. Geo. Macdonald in *Num. Chron.*, p. 189, 1896.

BRONZE COINAGE OF RHEGIUM.

We may conveniently classify the bronze coins into four classes according to the Obverse types.

I. Those bearing a lion's scalp.

II. Those bearing a head of Apollo.

III. Those bearing a head of Artemis.

IV. Those bearing the mark of value on the Reverse, that is, of the Quincunx, the Quadrans and the Triens.

CLASS I.

1. Size .65. Obv. Lion scalp : border of dots.

Rev. **PH**. Sprig of olive to right with two leaves and three olives : border of dots.

Size .45. The same but plain border on **℞**.

2. Size .5. Obv. Lion's scalp : border of dots.

℞. **Ξ·Ρ**. Within a border of dots.

3. Size .5. Obv. The same.

℞. **Ρ·Ε**; beneath a sprig of olive : border of dots.

4. Size .6. Obv. Same.

℞. **PHΓINΩΝ**. Lyre; above, a crescent with its horns downwards : plain border.

5. Size .75. Obv. Same.



℞. **PHΓINΩN**. Head of Apollo to right, hair turned up behind; in field to left an olive-leaf.

Size .45. Obv. the same.

℞. The same as last without the olive-leaf.

6. Size .8. or .75, .9, .65. Obv. the same.

℞. **PHΓINΩN**. Head of Apollo to right, laureate, hair long; behind, a half-open rose : border of dots. The following symbols are found also in place of the rose : omphalos, wreath with long ends, a strung bow, a parazonium, **Α**, **ΞΕ**, **Ε**, amphora, caduceus, cornucopiæ, a crab, a dolphin, a tripod, a lyre, a murex.

CLASS II.

7. Size .45. Obv. **PHΓINΩN**. Head of Apollo to left, laureate, hair long : border of dots.

℞. Tripod lebes, with neck and three handles : border of dots.

8. Size .9. Obv. Same, but no legend.

℞. Similar type; beneath, an omphalos; in field, **I**, **R**.

Some specimens have **Π** beneath, head on Obv. others bear symbols on Obv., a cornucopiæ, a lyre, a dolphin, an omphalos.

9. Size .6. Obv. Same, with no legend.

℞. **PHΓINΩN** (in exergue), a lion walking to right.

CLASS III.

10. Size .9. Obv. Head of Artemis to right wearing stephane, earring and necklace, a bow and quiver over her shoulder : border of dots.

℞. **PHΓI**
NΩN. A lion walking.

11. Size 1. Obv. the same as n^o 10.

℞. **PHΓINΩN**. Apollo, naked, seated to left on omphalos, holding arrow and strung bow : border of dots.

12. Size .9. Obv. the same.

℞. **PHΓI**
NΩN. A seven-stringed lyre : border of dots. Some specimens have five strings to lyre, and others have a cornucopiæ in field.

13. Size .9. Obv. The same.

℞. **PHΓI**
NΩN. Naked male figure standing, facing, wearing wreath; his right hand outstretched holding branch of laurel and a bird; his left resting on a sceptre round which is twined a serpent? In field to left a cornucopiæ : border of dots.

A variety of this type differs only in the legend which is **PHINΩN** and in the symbol in field, a tripod-lebes.

CLASS IV.

QUINCUNX.

14. Size 1. Obv. Janiform female heads, laureate, and each wearing a modius, stephane, earrings and necklace.

℞. **PHΓINΩN**. Asklepios naked to waist, seated on high-backed chair, holding in right hand a staff round which is twined a serpent; in field to left, Π.

On some specimens $\frac{\Pi}{B}$ with a plain border. On others a tripod beneath the letter Π and in exergue a serpent: border of dots.

15. Size .85. Obv. Head of Pallas to left wearing crested Athenian helmet on which is a griffin: border of dots.

℞. **PHΓINΩN**. Pallas standing to left wearing long chiton with diploidion, holding in right hand Nike bearing a trophy, her left resting on a shield, a spear rests against her left shoulder. In field to left a thunderbolt, and Π: border of dots.

QUADRANS.

16. Size .85. Obv. Head of Asklepios to right, laureate; border of dots.

℞. **PHΓINΩN**. Hygieia standing to left, wearing long chiton, holding in her right hand a patera, and feeding a serpent; with her left she raises her garment; in field to left, III: plain border.

17. Size .6. Same as 16.

℞. Same as 16.

TRIENS.

18. Size .1.5. Obv. Heads of Apollo and Artemis jugate, Apollo laureate and Artemis wearing stephane and necklace; behind, Θ: border of dots.

℞. **PHΓI
NΩN**. Tripod-lebes with neck and three handles resembling wheels of four spokes: in field ⋮: border of dots.

Some specimens, .95 in size, bear an anvil behind heads on Obv.

19. Size .65. Heads of Asklepios and Hygieia, both laureate: border of dots.

CUMÆ.

Cumæ is best known as the residence of the Cumaean Sibyl, and as the most ancient of the Greek colonies in Italy, but it was not one of the first to coin money. For about two hundred years its merchants must have used the coinage of Ægina or Corinth or the flat coinage of the cities in the South of Italy. The earliest coins of Cumæ were issued about the year 500 B. C. during the government of the aristocracy. The Cumaean coinage is not to be compared with that of the more southern Greek cities of Italy for beauty or artistic finish. The mussel-shell which was chosen as the *Παράσημον*, or device of the city, did not lend itself to the formation of a very beautiful design. It was chosen as the representation of an object for which the place was famous, just as was the ear of barley for the device of Metapontum, or the owl of Athens, or the tortoise of Ægina. The coins of Cumæ are not among the common coins of Magna Graecia, and are seldom seen except in Museums.

Cumæ is one of the few Greek cities frequently visited by English travellers in Italy, being now easily accessible from Naples by railway. The story of its foundation is mythical, and the date uncertain. Curtius thought the myths of its earliest settlers were of the tenth century B.C. but Beloch puts the date as late as the eighth. If Thucydides is right in saying that Naxos in Sicily was the earliest of all the Greek Colonies (VI 3), then the date would be after 735 B. C. From Strabo we learn the founders of Cumæ came from Euboea, and from others that these were joined by colonists from Corinth and Samos. The Cumaeans early sent settlers to Rhegium and Zancle in the straits of Messina, in order to keep open that passage to their fleets; and hence we find the rival merchants of Miletus made Sybaris the centre of their commerce in the West.

The account given by Strabo of this city is as follows :

“ After these (cities of Campania) comes Cumæ, the most ancient settlement of the Chalcidenses and Cumaeans, for it is the oldest of all (the Greek cities) in Sicily or Italy. The leaders of the expedition, Hippocles the Cumaean, and Megasthenes of Chalcis, mutually agreed that one of the nations should have the manage-

ment of the colony, and the other the honour of conferring upon it its own name. Hence at the present day it is named Cumæ, while at the same time it is said to have been founded by the Chalcidenses. At first this city was highly prosperous, as well as the Phlegraean plain, which mythology has made the scene of the adventures of the giants, for no other reason, as it appears, than because the fertility of the country had given rise to battles for its possession." (Lib. V, Casaub. 243 CIV § 4).

Both Eusebius and Velleius Paterculus ascribe the date of the foundation of Cumæ to a period before the Æolic and Ionian migrations; this extremely early date is in harmony with the legends of the Augustan period, but is not probable. Livy in his account of the earliest settlers is more likely to have drawn his information from a credible source, for he relates that they first landed in the Islands Ænaria and Pithecusæ, and that they afterwards settled on the mainland. Velleius Paterculus belonged to an ancient Campanian family, and from family tradition gives us a picturesque account of the first voyage, "the fleet of Hippocles and Megasthenes was guided by doves which flew before them, and by the sound of cymbals by night, such as are wont to be heard in the festivals of Ceres". In the Augustan period Virgil wrote of the early ages without regard to chronology; we have seen how he described Æneas passing the towers of Caulonia long before that city was founded, and in regard to Cumæ he is equally careless of chronology, for he writes of Æneas landing at Cumæ, and of the myth of Daedalus coming to this city. In Book VI of the *Æneid* we may read the most picturesque details of the visit paid by Æneas to the Sibyl. Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* (XIV) tells the same story of the landing of Æneas but he adds nothing to the information given by Virgil. These poets evidently regarded the Sibyl as having been known in Cumæ at a date long before the time of Tarquinius Superbus.

ARISTODEMUS.

The story of the life of Aristodemus is given at length by Dionysius, who tells us he was of a noble family and bore the surname Μελιχρής. In the year 502 B. C. he made himself Tyrant, having won the popular favour by his bravery and courtesy. Many of the chief citizens he put to death, and many were sent into exile. As usual with Tyrants, he surrounded himself with a strong body-guard, and disarmed the citizens, who were then educated in an effeminate manner. He assisted the Romans against the Etruscans who were endeavouring to restore Tarquinius Superbus, who took refuge at his court, and died there. Livy (l. II, 21) says: "He

died at Cumæ, whither he had fled to the tyrant Aristodemus after the reduction of the power of the Latins". The fall of Tarquinius is dated 495 B. C., that is, seven years after the accession of Aristodemus to power. Niebuhr says (p. 382): "Aristodemus, whose name is notorious even amongst those of the Greek Tyrants for greater atrocities, was his (Tarquinius) heir, and substantiated his claim against the commonwealth for the private property of the Tarquinian family, when some years after, the state ordered a quantity of corn to be purchased in his city, at that time the mart of Campania" (Livy, II, 34; Dion., VII, 2.12). The exiled nobles of Cumæ gathered an army of Campanians and mercenaries, and succeeded in getting possession of the city and taking cruel vengeance on Aristodemus and his family. (Dionysius Halicarnassus VII, p. 418 &c.)

Aristodemus is interesting to numismatists as the ruler who changed the standard of the coinage from the Euboic to the Phocæan. Cumæ was so weakened by these civil dissensions that when attacked by the Etruscans, about 474 B. C., the citizens called in the aid of Hieron, the despot of Syracuse, who obtained a great naval victory and delivered the Cumæans from their enemies.

Pindar sang of this victory in his first Pythian ode, "the fate they endured through their defeat by the ruler of the Syracusans, who flung into the sea the flower of their youth from their quick sailing vessels, delivering Hellas from the heavy yoke of slavery".

A bronze helmet dedicated at Olympia as part of the spoils by Hieron is now in the British Museum.

The period of about fifty years, during which the prosperity of Cumæ lasted, was wonderfully rich in great men, and the citizens were not shut off from communication with the older civilizations, being in constant touch with Syracuse and Thurium, where Herodotus was at work on his *History*. It was the age of Socrates, Pericles, Sophocles, Æschylus, Euripides and Aristophanes. The visits of Plato to Sicily would not be unknown to the Cumæans, and his teaching would be discussed. The Greek cities, however, were unable to resist the enervating influences of luxury, and the hardy Samnites gradually succeeded in becoming their masters. In 423 B. C. they conquered Capua, a city not more than a day's journey from Cumæ, and three years later the army of the Cumæans which was sent to oppose their advance was utterly routed. The city was besieged by the Samnites and after several assaults fell into their power. Many citizens fled to Neapolis, many were slain, and the women who remained in Cumæ were made slaves. The city never recovered, but the mint was not then closed.

THE MUSSEL SHELL.

The Mussel-shell on these coins is said to be the *Mytilus gallo-provincialis*.

The lake Avernus and the Lucrine lake were celebrated for shell fish. Horace refers to them in Epode II, 49

“Non me Lucrina juverint conchyliā”

and again in Sat. II, iv, 33 :

“Murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris”

On the coins we often see a crab in the field, and it is interesting to note the following passage from Agnes Catlow's work “Popular Conchology” p. 112. “Frequently towards the end of autumn small crabs are found in the shell of the *Mytilus*, which live there sheltered from danger, without hurting the inhabitant”. This fact was noted by the ancient Greeks, as by Aristotle, *De animalibus*, lib V, c 13, and by Pliny, *N. H.*, IX, 66, by Ælian *De natura animalium*, III, 29, by Athenæus, *Deipnosoph.*, III, 38. By them this crab was called *πινυροπέδη* or *πινυρούλαξ*.

Athenæus and Pliny tell us the crab warns the mollusc of the approach of an enemy by touching the shell with its claws. But the relative size of the crab on the coins, which looks much too large for one of these parasites, caused Millingen to regard the crab as the enemy of the mussel; and he quotes in support of this idea a passage in Oppian (*Halieut.*, II, 169-180) concerning the wonderful sagacity of the crab, who waits patiently until the mussel opens its shell, when it suddenly inserts its claw. Sir H. Weber agrees with this way of understanding the type.

At any rate these coin-types are interesting examples, in the history of Greek art, of an attentive study of nature. We have seen how natural objects were studied at Terina and Metapontum, and in the odes of Theocritus.

The crabs are not the only enemies of the mussel depicted on the coins : we find for instance a water-rat, a dog, a plant, and a duck (*oedemia nigra*) which is very fond of eating mussels and has been called for this reason in France “cane moulière”.

THE EARLIEST OBTVERSE TYPE.

The design of the earliest Obverse type of the Cumæan coinage is formed by placing the skin of a lion's head between two boars' heads, and its significance has been the subject of much speculation.

Millingen and L. Sambon have seen in this device a reference to the pretensions of the Cumæan citizens to possess the tusks of the

boar of Erymanthus as one of the treasures in the temple of Apollo at Cumæ (*Ancient Coins*, pl. 1-4. — *Consid.*, p. 121; L. Sambon, *Recherches*, p. 137, 1).

The ancient authority for the story is Pausanias, VIII, 24.

“It is also said that Heracles in consequence of the mandate of Eurystheus, slew the boar in Erymanthus which was so remarkable for its size and strength. The Cumaeans among the Opici assert that they have the tusks of this boar suspended in a temple of Apollo, but there is not the least probability in their assertion.”

The centre part of the design has been regarded by Cavedoni as an allusion to the Samian Colony of Dicaearchia or Puteoli, which was the port of Cumæ. Stephanus of Byzantium and Eusebius both ascribe the origin of Puteoli to the Samian colonists. They may have brought with them some money from Samos, and naturally desired that the design on the new coinage of their western home should be copied from the coins of their old eastern home. The coins of Samos bore the skin of a lion's head facing.

Avellino put forward the idea that there might be seen in this device a reference to the fable of Circe and her magical changing of the companions of Ulysses into beasts, and Garrucci appears to have approved of this reading of the type. The fourteenth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* depicts the palace of Circe near this coast, but the story of Circe's lions and boars was told originally in the tenth book of the *Odyssey*. The connection however of Circe with Cumæ is not very clear, and the theory of Cavedoni seems much more likely to be based on facts.

Mr. G. Macdonald in his work “Coin-types” (p. 79), says: “On the assumption that this must conceal some religious meaning, many conjectures have been indulged in as to the divinity indicated or the myth alluded to. If, however, we compare it with the products of Mycenaean art, it becomes doubtful whether it is anything more than a formal composition. There are certain Zakro sealings for instance to which it has a strong general resemblance.”

Fanciful devices composed of animals, such as winged boars or lions or griffins, are more common on the coins of Asia Minor, and they probably form a link connecting Greek art with that of the previous ages. Mr. A. J. Evans has pointed out the indebtedness of “archaic” Greek types to designs on the Mycenaean lentoid gems, and says they should be “regarded as due to deliberate revival, akin to the adoption of classical models by Quattro-and Cinque-Cento Italian artists”. (*Numismatic Chron.*, 1899, pp. 364 f.)

The lion's scalp occurs on the coin of Rhegium at a period earlier than at Cumæ, and Rhegium was a colony from Chalcis and in alliance with Cumæ.

THE HEAD ON THE OBVERSE.

Eckhel considered the female head on these coins to be that of Parthenope the Siren. Dr A. Sambon in his most important and learned work "*Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie*" (p. 142), says "d'autres moins perspicaces, ont pensé aux Sibylles", and he refers to Poole's Catalogue of these coins in the British Museum, where however the description is "Female head (Sibyl?) 1., diademed". Millingen (in his *Syll. of Anc. coins*, London, 1837), regarded these heads as the personification of the town of Cumæ, and he drew attention to the fact that some of them are surrounded by the legend **KVME** while on the reverse we find the legend **KVMAION**. Dr A. Sambon agrees with this attribution, saying: "The Cumæans have thus placed upon their coins the image of a nymph Cumæ, whom they venerated as the tutelary deity of the town (the *τύχη πόλεως*), just as in a similar way the Neapolitans placed on theirs, with an analogous meaning, the head of the Siren Parthenope, and the Terinaeans the head of Ligaea Nike."

There is however this difficulty in the attribution of the head on the coins of Cumæ to the nymph of the city, that we do not meet with any similar idea on the coins of other cities. At Neapolis the Siren Parthenope may have been regarded as the tutelary spirit, but there the myth preceded the idea of the guardianship. The similar heads on the coins of Syracuse are those of Arethusa, the nymph of the fountain. Perhaps the heads on the coins of Velia and Pandosia may at first sight support this view of the head being that of the guardian spirit of the locality, but at Velia the head was first that of the water-nymph, and of Pandosia we know practically nothing, but probably the case is the same. Now there was at Cumæ a nymph, or being, endowed with supernatural powers, the Sibyl, celebrated by Virgil, Ovid, and Pausanias, and if we look for the Cumæans to have acted in the same way as the citizens of other cities of Magna Græcia we must allow that it would have been only natural for them to adopt the head of their celebrated Sibyl as that of their guardian spirit.

It does not follow that the legend **KVME** gives us the original name of the guardian spirit of the city, for on the coins of Catania in Sicily, we have the legend **KATANE** around a figure of Nike.

In all the cases where the legend is regarded as the name of a nymph representing the guardian spirit of a city, we find the nymph had another name, so here it seems probable that the Sibyl may have been adopted as the spirit of Cumæ.

The head on these Cumæan didrachms is similar to those found on the coins of Neapolis and the earliest coins of Syracuse. In those cases we know the heads represent those of Parthenope the

Siren, and Arethusa the water-nymph, and they are intimately connected with those cities. In regard to Cumæ there is also a mysterious female intimately connected with that city, the Sibyl.

The similarity of all these heads is merely that which arises from the conventionality of the work of the period. In our school days we first heard of the Sibyl in connection with the story of Tarquinius refusing to purchase her nine books, and at last buying the three she offered at the price of the nine. The story is told by Dionysius (IV, 62), by Varro, quoted by Lactantius (I. 6), by Gellius (I. 19), and by Pliny (*N. H.*, XIII, 27).

Göttling has shewn that this story relates to the Cumaean Sibyl. The period of which this story is related is that at which the coins were issued bearing this female head. Pausanias devotes the twelfth chapter of Book X to an account of the Sibyls, he says : “ The next woman who similarly gave oracles is said by the historian Hyperochus of Cumæ to have been a native of Cumæ in the land of the Opici, and to have been called Demo. The Cumæans have no oracle of hers to produce, but they point to a small stone urn in a sanctuary of Apollo, alleging that in it are deposited the bones of the Sibyl ” (Translation of J. G. Frazer). These words of Pausanias, agree with those of Varro cited by Lactantius (*Inst.*, I, 6).

“ The verses of all these Sibyls are preserved, and are handed about except those of the Cumaean Sibyl ; for her books are concealed by the Romans, and may not be inspected by any one except the Fifteen Men ”. The author of the *Exhortation to the Greeks* which passes under the name of Justin Martyr professes to have visited the Sibyl’s cave at Cumæ, and to have been told by his guides that the oracles used to be taken down from the Sibyl’s lips by uneducated persons, and that this was the reason why some of the oracles were unmetrical. Hence Prof. Maas has inferred that in spite of the statements of Varro and Pausanias, oracles of the Sibyl must have been current.

Trimalchio in Petronius says “ at Cumæ I saw with my own eyes the Sibyl hanging in a jar, and when the children said to her ‘ Sibyl, what do you wish ? ’ she used to answer ‘ I wish to die ! ’ ”

There is another legend of a Sibyl shut up in an iron cage which hung from a pillar in the temple of Heracles at Argyrus (Ampelius, *Lib. Memorialis*, VIII, 16).

Parallels with these legends are found in German folk-lore, and are given in p. 292-293 of Frazer’s notes.

We learn the derivation current in the days of Servius, the beginning of the fourth century A.D. of the word Sibyl from his notes on Virgil’s *Æneid* (III, 444). “ The Aeolians called the gods *αἰούρες*, and *βουλή* means thought. ”

In Thucydides V, 77, we have this spelling in the phrase “ *πέρη*

ἐξ τῶ πῶ σὺ μὰ τὸ θεῖον, “with respect to the offering to the god”, and the Spartans used this form of the word in their common oath *ἐξ τῶ πῶ*.

The Cumæan Sibyl is however connected with an event far more interesting than the story so familiar to our school days, for Virgil professed to draw from the Sibylline oracles the description of the new age which was introduced by the birth of a child. Dr W. I. Ramsay has shewn that most probably Virgil had read a Greek translation of Isaiah, the Hebrew prophet, and incorporated the imagery of Isaiah into his poem, the fourth Eclogue.

“The last era of Cumæan song is now arrived : The great series of ages begins anew.”

St Augustine in his letter to Martinianus (Ep. CCLVIII) says of this poem : “For indeed it is not to any other than the Lord Christ that these words apply”. He quotes the lines “Under thy conduct whatever vestiges of our guilt remain, shall, being done away, release the earth from fear for ever.” “Which it is acknowledged Virgil took from the Cumæan, that is the Sibyl’s song, for perhaps even that prophetess had heard in spirit something of the One Saviour which she felt obliged to pour out.”

From Virgil, Dante in the middle ages made this Eclogue popular among Christian poets; confer his lines in *Purgatorio*, Canto XXII, 70 seq.

We are all familiar with the lines of the celebrated Hymn *Dies iræ dies illa*.

Solvat sæclum in favilla
Teste David cum Sibylla.

To this Eclogue of Virgil the following verses from a Latin Mystery (published in the *Journal des Savants*, 1846, p. 88) refer :

“Et vos gentes non credentes
Peperisse virginem
Vestræ gentis documentis
Pellite caliginem.”

There is a celebrated passage on the Sibyl in St Augustine’s *Dei civitate Dei*, Liber VIII, c. xxii, and another in Lactantius, T. 6. 7 on which this popularity of the Sibyl’s prophecy in the middle ages depended largely.

Our own English poet Pope wrote a poem : “Messiah, a Sacred Eclogue in Imitation of Virgil’s Polio”.

SCYLLA.

On some of the later coins of Cumæ we find the figure of Scylla, and we naturally ask what was the significance of this design in the

minds of the mint magistrates. The myth of Scylla has been explained, and the celebrated passage from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* given, in the chapter on the types of Thurium.

From 450 B.C. the coins of Neapolis were copied from those of Thurium, the head of Pallas with the crested Athenian helmet decorated with olive-leaves is an evident copy of the Thurian coins. The intercourse between Thurium and Neapolis probably extended to Cumæ. The adoption of the figure of Scylla with which to decorate the helmet of Pallas was probably earlier at Thurium than the issue of the Cumæan didrachms bearing the Scylla type. May we not find in this design evidence of the alliance with Thurium against the Lucanians?

CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINS.

The earliest coins of Cumæ were issued according to the Euboic standard, the weight of the didrachm being 130 grains and the weight of the smaller coins about 92 grains. These are all very rare coins; no specimens are to be seen in the British Museum, but drachms of this period may be seen at Berlin and at Paris and a didrachm weighing 129.94 gr. or 8.42 grammes is preserved in the Naples Museum (Coll. Santangelo). Another is in the Cabinet of Milan.

D^r Head says: "The Attic (or Tarentine) didrachm of 130 grains took no firm root at Cumæ, and early in the fifth century it gives place to the Phocæan didrachm or stater of 118-115 grains imported from the Phocæan colonies Velia and Poseidonia before its abandonment by them". In D^r Head's Introduction to the *Hist. Num.* (p. XLIX) he adds: "It is somewhat remarkable that the earliest coins of Cumæ, Naxos, Zancle and Himera all follow the Æginetic standard of which they are drachms, and not as we should have naturally expected the Euboic", and in a note: "Hence D^r Imhoof-Blumer argues that these pieces of about 92 grains are in reality Euboic octobols or Thirds of the Euboic Tetradrachm of 280 grs slightly over weight". The reason why the Greek Colonists in the West adopted a system more like that of Ægina may have been that though the earliest settlers were from Chalcis in Eubœa yet the greater number may have come from other parts of Græcia where the Æginetic system prevailed, and this seems to be the opinion of M. A. Sambon, who thus describes these earliest drachms of Cumæ:

" $\frac{1}{3}$ du statère Euboïque ou drachme éginétique de poids affaibli, système des colonies chalcidiennes d'Italie et de Sicile."

These coins were issued by the aristocratic government of Cumæ before the Tyrant Aristodemus destroyed their power.

CLASS I.

Didrachms of the Euboic Standard, 130 grs.

1. Obverse. Head of Nymph to right in bold relief, the style fine and archaic, the eye full-faced without the pupil being marked, the hair falling over the back of the neck in two folds. Over the brow, two rows of dots. Border of dots.

Reverse. Mussel-shell with the hinge to left; above, a two-handled drinking cup.

Thirds or Drachms? about 83 grs.

2. Obverse. Skin of lion's head between two boars' heads; border of large dots.

Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to left; above **∨**∧, below **ME**.

3. Obverse. Head of Pallas to right wearing Corinthian helmet: **∨**∧**IA****∨**∧**∨**. Border of dots.

Reverse. A crab attacking a mussel-shell with its claws, the shell above the crab. Bunbury Cat. 1896-1. 32.

4. Obverse. Similar.

Reverse. Similar to 3. but the shell, with hinge to left, is below the crab. Style archaic.

CLASS II.

Phocæan Standard.

The coins of this period consist of those didrachms weighing generally a little less than 118 grs. and distinguished by the archaistic style of the Sibyl's head and the hair worn in a net hanging over the back of the neck. The eye is full-face instead of in profile. The hair is decorated with a band or fillet. The border of dots sometimes is accompanied with a raised line within the circle of dots.

1. Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to right, surmounted by sea-weed,

$\frac{\text{E—M}}{\text{KV}}$. Border of circle and dots.



2. Mussel-shell, hinge to right, dolphin above $\frac{\text{ON}}{\text{IAMVX}}$. Border of circle and dots.

3. Mussel-shell, hinge to right, surmounted by two sea-gulls; legend same as no 2. Same border.

4. Mussel-shell, hinge to right; above, a sea-gull, **NOIAMVX**
 $\frac{IO-N}{VM\Lambda K}$. Same border.

5. Mussel-shell, hinge to right, $\frac{MYX}{NOIA}$. Same border.

6. Mussel-shell, hinge to right, surmounted by star-fish with six rays $\frac{\cdot V\Lambda}{WVION}$. Same border.

7. Mussel-shell, hinge to right; above, a gland and a globule.

8. The hair on the obverse of this, instead of being in a simple net, is similar to that on n° 6, in two folds; before the head is the legend **KVME**.

Reverse the same as the Obverse of the early coins, the skin of a lion's head between two boars' heads. A specimen is in the Cabinet de France (Luynes).

9. Mussel-shell, hinged to right, surmounted by a grasshopper to right; below, **IAMVX**. Border of dots.

10. Mussel-shell, hinged to right, above a water-rat, to right or to left, appearing to eat the shell. Same legend as last.

11. Mussel-shell hinged to right; above, a fly, **KVMAION**.

CLASS III.

In this class we may place all the didrachms of the Phocæan standard bearing on the Obverse the following type.

1. The skin of a lion's head between two boars' heads. Border of dots.

Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to left. **NOIAMVX** read from outside the coin. Border of dots.

2. Obverse. Similar to No 1.

Reverse. Similar to No 1, but adding above the mussel-shell, which is hinged to right, a barley-corn.

3. Obverse. Similar.

Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to right, surrounded by four dolphins.

4. Obverse. Similar.

Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to right, above the mussel a sea-shell, below **KVMAION**.

CLASS IV.

1. Obverse. Head of Sybil to left wearing *κεκρύφαλος*, a head-dress narrow in front and much broader behind.

Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to right; above, an owl, **KVMAION** around. Border of dots (C. de France).

2. Obverse. Same head diademed, hair in chignon.

Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to left; above, a bearded head of a Satyr, **KVMAION**. Border of dots.

CLASS IV. (AFTER 470 B.C.)

Types copied from the Syracusan Demareteion type.

1. Head of Sibyl to right; behind, a sprig of laurel, **KVMAION**.

Reverse. A mussel-shell, hinge to right, surrounded with four dolphins.

2. Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to right; above, a bow. **KVMAION**.

3. Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to left; above, a fish.

4. Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to right; below, a nautilus, **KVMAION**. Border of dots.

CLASS V.

The heads of the Sibyl in this class are all to left. The hair is shorter and is drawn up behind to the top of the head; it is generally wavy and hides the diadem where that apparently is worn. There is no legend on the Obverse.

1. Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to right above, a pistrix, below **NOIAMVX** read from within the coin.

2. Reverse. Similar, but above the shell, a hippocamp.



3. Reverse. Similar, but hinge to left, above the shell, a fish.

4. Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to left; above, a sea-gull or duck called in France "la cane moulière". Around **KVMAION**. Border of dots.

5. Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to right; above, the figure of Scylla, round left side **KVMAION**. Rude style. The same type is found also in fairly good style with the legend retrograde.

CLASS VI.

Class VI consists of didrachms of fairly good Greckstyle; the heads of the Sibyl all turned to the right. The hair in waves radia-

ting from a point above the ear where it is massed in a prominent manner.

1. Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to right; above, a fish to right, below **KVMAION** or **KVMAION**. Border of dots.

2. Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to right; above, a star with sixteen rays. It looks like a sea-anemone seen from above, below **KVMAION**. Border of dots.

4. Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to left; above, a large crab; below, **KVMAION**. Border of dots.

4. Reverse. Similar, but with an owl? above. Bunbury Col. Cat. 1896.

5. Obverse. Normal of class, but with β behind head.

Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to right; above, the dog Cerberus with three heads, below **KVMAION**.

6. Reverse. Similar to n° 5, but with grain of barley above shell, below **KVMAION**. Border of dots.

CLASS VII.

In this class we may place the didrachms similar to Class VI but of barbarous style.

1. Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to left low down, and above, a bearded sea-deity with fish's tail, his left arm extended, his right hand on the tail. **KVMAION**. Border of dots.

2. Reverse. Similar to Class VI, 6. but legend retrograde.

3. Reverse. Similar design but shell hinged to left, and ridges marked on shell, legend below.

4. Reverse. Similar design but legend above.

The Obverse is a clumsy imitation of some coins of Terina.

CLASS VIII.

1. Obverse. Head of Pallas in crested Athenian helmet decorated with olive-wreath.

Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to right; above, a little dog holding a snake in its paws. **KVMA**. Border of dots.

2. Obverse. Similar to n° 1.

Reverse. Mussel-shell, hinge to left; above, a grain of barley, **KVMAION** retrograde and **G**. Border of dots. Barbarous style.

3. Obverse. Same as 1 and 2.

Reverse. Mussel-shell with serpent above, round **NOIAMVX**. Border of dots. Barbarous style. In the Cabinet at Naples.

CLASS IX.

Phocæan system, circ. 343.

The coins of this class bear Neapolitan types.

1. Obverse. Female head to right, hair banded, jewelled.

Reverse. Man-headed bull walking slowly to right with the head facing; above, a flying victory holds crown over the bull. In exergue **KVMAION**. Poor style. In the Cabinet of France.

OBOLS AND SUBDIVISIONS

These smaller silver coins may be divided into three classes :

I. A head of Pallas on the Obverse.

II. A Corinthian helmet on the Obverse.

III. A dolphin on the Obverse.

CLASS I.

Euhoic obols.

1. Obverse. Head of Pallas wearing Corinthian helmet without crest. Border of dots.

Reverse. Mussel-shell; above, **KV** separated by a little sea-shell; below **ME**. Border of dots, weight 11 grs. To be seen at London, Berlin and Naples.

2. Obverse. Same design but of finer style and with long hair hanging down below helmet at back.

Reverse. Mussel-shell; above, a small sea-shell, **KVMAION**. Border of dots. C. of Berlin, weight. 10.64. On a specimen in B. Mus. is the letter **M** on the shell, weight 8.2 grs. and on another at Naples is the letter **N** on the shell.

Phocæan Obols.

3. Obverse same as 1.

Reverse. Mussel-shell; above, **VX**, below, a grain of barley. Border of dots. At Naples. On a specimen in B. Mus. the legend is **KVM**, weight 8.2.

4. Obverse. Same as No 1.

Reverse. Mussel-shell; above, a bird, at the sides **ΛΛ = (KV)**.

5. Obverse. Same as No 1.

Reverse. Mussel-shell; above, a serpent. Border of dots.

6. Obverse. Same as No 1.

Reverse. Mussel-shell; above, **KA**, below, a dolphin. Border of dots.

7. Obverse. Same as No 2.

Reverse. Mussel-shell, above, **∇X** or **>X** or **YX**.

Quarter of an Obol.

1. Obverse. Head of Pallas.

Reverse. A wheel with four spokes, globules in the spaces (Brit. Mus.)

CLASS II.

Obols.

1. Obverse. A Corinthian helmet without crest to right. Border of dots.

Reverse. Mussel-shell; above, **KV**; below, **ME**. Border of dots. A specimen in Paris has **И** on the shell.

Quarter of an Obol.

1. Obverse. Same helmet to left.

Reverse. Shell without legend. At Berlin.

Eighth of an Obol.

1. Same type as obol of this Class. Weight 1.5 grs.

CLASS III.

Quarter of an Obol.

1. Obverse. A dolphin to right, below, **∇X**.

Reverse. Wheel with three spokes, a globule in each space, Weight 2.2 grs.

2. Obverse. Same as 1.

Reverse. A wheel with four spokes, a globule in each space.

BRONZE COINS.

1. Size .8. Obverse. Female head to right.

Reverse. **ИΟΙΜΥX**, a mussel-shell, hinge to left, above which a barley-corn.

2. Size .85. Obverse. A young male head to left wearing pilos laureate? : plain border.

Reverse. Scylla to left with the dogs' heads in the usual position protruding from the waist, her right hand extended, and in her left a curved rod, perhaps an oar.

These coins are generally found in a much worn condition.

NEAPOLIS

The scenery of Naples is better known in England than that around any other ancient Greek city, but the ancient coins of Neapolis are not so well known as those of many other cities of the Greeks, although they may be classed among the common coins of the old world.

Probably the reasons for this neglect may be their general uniformity of type, the absence of associations with great men, and the obscurity of the myths represented by the types. The artistic skill of the mint-engravers of Neapolis was not so great as that of their Tarentine and Syracusan fellow craftsmen, yet the coins of Neapolis issued in the days of her prosperity are very beautiful works of art. Although we do not find in this Neapolitan series the same interesting variety of detail afforded by the Tarentine didrachms, yet there are differences of design which lead us to arrange the coins into classes having distinct historical and religious reference to changes of government and worship.

Neapolis was never strong enough to stand alone without the alliance of some stronger power, although never weak enough to give up her autonomy, until the Roman conquest. We see in the types evidences of her alliances with Athens, Syracuse, Thurium, Tarentum, and with the league of the Southern Italian Greek cities. The struggle for supremacy between the Ionian and Dorian colonists is also seen in the spelling of the legends, and the Samnite influence is also found in the names, such as ΟΥΙΛΛΙΟΥ (Villius), and in the barbarous spelling of some legends, and the rough style of art in one period.

The earliest types introduce us to the myth of Acheloüs and the Siren Parthenope, more primitive and rural in character than any found on the types hitherto studied in these chapters, and the late types present us with symbols connected with the mysteries and the Chthonic side of the cult of Dionysus.

The literature of this special field of Numismatics is not apparently large. We turn naturally first to Dr Barclay Head's *Historia Numorum* (p. 32) and then to the work of M. Arthur Sambon.

“Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie” in the Bibliothèque du

“Musée”, and the *Riv. Num. It.* 1902 “La Cronologia delle monete di Neapolis” “La grande Grèce”.

Some information may be found in the work of F. Lenormant. Eckhel “De tauro cum facie humana”.

Num. Chronicle, 1890, p. 75 *re* the engraver Cimon.

Strabo.

Livy.

Roscher’s Lexicon sub voce Achelöus.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE DIDRACHMS

It is sometimes thought that we may divide the didrachms into three classes according to the three terminations of the legends, **ΝΕΑΡΟΛΙΤΕΣ**, **ΝΕΑΡΟΛΙΤΗΣ**, and **ΝΕΑΡΟΛΙΤΩΝ**; but although this is roughly true, the exceptions are many, and such a classification neglects important differences of type.

The obverse heads resembling those of the water-nymphs should be classified apart from those of Dia Hebe; the bulls with faces in profile from those with the head turned facing, and the absence or presence of the flying victory on the Reverse should be noted in classifying these coins.

The following six Classes are formed by noticing all these points together with the variations of legend. The unique coin in the Cabinet de France is not here made into a class, and the coins bearing Hebe’s head similar to those of Hyrina, not being really Neapolitan, are also here omitted. These exceptions are, however, noticed in the following descriptions of the coins.

THE SIX CLASSES

- I. Obv. Head of Parthenope to right — 450-400 B.C.
 Ῥ. Bull with human head in profile, **ΝΕΑΡΟΛΙΤΕΣ**.
- II. (a). Obv. Head of Pallas wearing helmet without crest — 430-415 B.C.
 Ῥ. Bull as in n° 1. **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΑΣ** and **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΗΣ**.
 (b) Obv. Head of Pallas wearing crested helmet — 415-380 B.C.
 Ῥ. Bull, as n° 1, **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΕΣ** and **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΗΣ**.
- III. Obv. Head of Parthenope, nearly full face, — 405 B.C.
 Ῥ. Bull as in n° 1, legend as on II b.
- IV. Obv. Head of Dia Hebe to right, or left, — 390 seq. B.C.
 Ῥ. Bull with human head facing, and victory above, **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΗΣ**. Fine Period of Art, the last part of this period.
- V. Obv. Head of Dia Hebe to right, a symbol behind, — 325-280 B.C.
 Ῥ. Same as in IV, and sometimes **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΩΝ**.
 Sometimes a letter or letters under the Bull.

VI. Obv. Head of Dia Hebe always turned to left, — 300-240 B.C.

℞. Same as n° IV, but always **ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ**.

THE UNIQUE COIN OF THE CABINET DE FRANCE

In classifying common coins we may pass over unique examples, but to students of the witness given by coins to History, the fact of the existence of a single coin is important. Moreover it is well that collectors should know the rare types in order that, if they were fortunate enough to find one, they might recognize the value of the treasure.

In the Cabinet of France is a unique didrachm of Neapolis attributed by M. A. Sambon to the year 460 B. C.

On the Obverse is a head of a Nymph to right, surrounded with a laurel wreath. Her head is decked with a circlet of pearls and the hair behind is arranged as if in a net on the neck.

The Reverse type represents the forepart of a man-headed bull, in the attitude of swimming; around the body is a cincture decorated with dots.

The legend below the bull, is upside down **ΙΕΗΛ**, and above the bull **ΞΙΝΟ**. It is described as a Phoenician didrachm of good transitional style, shewing the influence of the mint of Gela.

The importance of the Reverse type of this unique coin is great, as it shows that at any rate when the mint was first established in Neapolis the River god Achelöus was chosen for the subject of the ℞. type.

The head of the Obverse type also is evidently similar to heads on coins of other cities which are generally acknowledged to be heads of water-nymphs.

CLASS I. 450-415 B. C.

Obverse. Head of Nymph, probably the Siren Parthenope, to right, sometimes **ΙΛΟΠΟΞΙ**, retrograde, in front of face.

The hair is variously arranged, sometimes bound with a diadem or a circlet of pearls, sometimes arranged in a chignon, as on the unique coin above-mentioned, generally with wavy locks.

The style of all is rather poor.

Reverse. Man-headed bull walking, generally to left, but on some specimens to right, the face of the human head in profile. Style archaic, and poor.

Three specimens are known with a flying Victory above the bull to left. One specimen is known with an ear of corn over the Bull and the legend on the Obv.

As a general rule the legend on the Reverse is placed above the

bull, and written in retrograde manner is **ΙΛΟΓΟΞΙ**, and this is sometimes even more abbreviated.

Sometimes not retrograde, as **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΑΣ** or **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΕΣ**: these are later in date than those written retrograde.

The weight is from 7.40 gr. to 7.60 gr., one specimen weighs 7 gr. 70 and some very little over the 7 grs. From about 114 to 118 grains.

These coins are rare.

CLASS II *a*) 450-420 B. C. *b*) 415-380 B. C.

In this second class may be placed all the didrachms bearing a head of Pallas, but the class may be subdivided by placing together those on which the helmet is crestless, and those with the crested helmet, the former are rare and valuable, a poor specimen being sometimes sold for £ 10. The former class (*a*) is of the same period as Class I.

(*a*) Obverse. Head of Pallas to right wearing crestless Athenian helmet decorated with olive-leaves, **ΟΡΟΞΙ** round neck in field.

Reverse. Human-headed bull to left **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΑΣ** or **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΗΣ**, or an abbreviated form, in field over bull.



Sometimes an ear of corn in exergue.

(*b*) Obverse. Head of Pallas to right, wearing crested Athenian helmet decorated with olive-leaves.

The head is copied from the types of Thurium.

Reverse. Human-headed bull, generally walking to left, but on some to right, with near forefoot raised and head lowered. Legend **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΕΣ**, and **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΗΣ**.

(*c*) Some coins of the type of (*b*) are of very poor style and with imperfect legends, such as **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΣ ΤΗΖΝΕΡΟΛΙ** or **ΝΕΡΟ**. These are classed by Mr. A. Sambon as Samnite imitations or works of ancient forgers.

(*d*) About 340 B.C. an owl appears on the helmet of Pallas and a flying Victory over the bull on the Reverse. Legend **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤ** in exergue of Reverse.

The head of Pallas probably indicates the influence of Athens.

The weight of these coins with the head of Pallas is generally slightly heavier than those of Class I.

Mr. A. Sambon quotes 7.55, 7.59, 7.64, 7.79 but some as low as 7.43, 7.14, 7.28, 7.30 grammes. Note 7.50 grammes = 115.74 grains.

Most of the Didrachms of this class are scarce, but occasionally specimens with the head of Pallas may be obtained for under £ 1.

CLASS III

This third Class is composed of those coins bearing the head of a Nymph nearly full face with locks of hair flowing freely around the head; they are not common coins, being valued at from £ 2 to £ 6.



There are only two specimens in the British Museum, one weighing 113.8 grains, the other 87.5 (? plated.)

Dr Head says of these types "in this case it may be intended for Hera, confer the coins of Hyria and Poseidonia".

Mr. A. Sambon in p. 198 of *Les monnaies ant. de l'Italie* gives, as issued about 405 B.C. "Tête de la Nympe de face", and in the description of the series. "Tête de femme presque de face" &c. We may compare this head with that of Arethusa, the water-nymph of Syracuse on the coin by ΚΙΜΩΝ (p. 155, *Hist. Num.*), which also is attributed to the same date 405 B.C. Specimens are mentioned in C. de Berlin, C. de Naples, C. Bunbury, Coll. Fortunate, C. de Naples, Coll. Santangelo, C. de France (Luynes).

Reverse: Man-headed bull to left with head in profile, and the legend either **ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΣ** or **ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ**.

Fine specimens of this class now fetch high prices.

CLASS IV 400-360 B.C.

The distinguishing characteristics of this class are :

1. The Head of Dia Hebe to right.
2. The human head on the bull turned facing.
3. The flying figure of Victory crowning the bull in field above.

4. The legend generally **ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ**.

The artistic workmanship of the coins of this period is very fine.

The goddess wears a spondone, the hair at the back escaping in loose locks, sometimes she wears earrings and a necklace.

Some coins are found which seem to be barbarous Samnite imitations of the coins of this period.

A few coins of this period shew the head turned to left.

The legends on the Reverse are sometimes found in rude letters which are said to be imitations of Punic characters, intended to facilitate trade with the Carthaginians in Sicily.

Some of the barbarous imitations are thought to have been struck in Nola, with the legend **ΝΟΥΠΟΛΙ**.

The letter **Γ** is sometimes found under the bull.

From 370 to 340 B. C. the letters **ON** and **Γ** are found under the bull and sometimes **E** behind the head of the goddess.

Specimens of this class may be obtained from about 10/. each.

CLASS V 325-280 B. C.

These coins were issued after the arrangement of the “*Foedus Neapolitanum*” in 326 B. C., and they were influenced by the commerce of the city with Sicily. The series begins with work of beautiful style, and ends with a rapid decline in artistic value.

The characteristic marks by which these coins may be distinguished are :

(1) The head of the goddess *Dia Hebe* turned to right, with a symbol behind the head.

The following symbols occur : a bunch of grapes with an ear of corn under the neck, an ivy-leaf, a cock, a cantharus, knuckle-bone, statuette of *Pallas*, a club.



(2) A name of a magistrate under the neck of the goddess as **ΔΙΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ**, **ΔΙ**, the word **ΝΕΟΠΟΛ**, **ΑΡΤΕΜ**, **ΑΡΤΕΜΙ**, **ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔ**, **ΑΡΤΕ**, **ΓΑΡΜΕ** (*γελου*), **ΧΑ**, **ΧΑΡΙ**, or **ΧΑ**, **ΣΤΑ**, which is probably an Oscan name.

The letters **Ρ** or **A** occur before the neck, and the letter **X** behind the neck or the monogram for **ΕΚ** or **ΕΡΚ**.

On the Reverse an ivy-leaf, under the bull **ΓΔ** in monogram, or **Π**, or **O**, monogram of **ΑΤΟΔ**, **ΤΜΟ**, **ΝΑΤΟ**; between the bull's legs **ΟΛΥΜΠΙ**, **ΔΙ**, or **ΘΕ**; under the bull **ΟΥΙΛ**(*λυίου*), **N** or **И**, or **ΠΥΤ** joined, **ΜΥ** joined, **K** very small, **ΛΟΥ** (the Oscan name Loukies), **ΒΙ**., **Θ**, **ΕΥΞ**, **N**, **A**, **N**, **ΙΣ**.

The legend **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΗΣ**, and sometimes **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΩΝ**.

Many of the coins of this class are common, and specimens may be obtained for a few shillings each.

CLASS VI

This latest class may be distinguished by the head of Dia Hebe being always turned to left, and by the legend on the Reverse always being **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΩΝ**.

Either a symbol or a letter generally appears behind the neck of the goddess, as for example a statuette of Artemis holding in each



hand a torch, or of Pallas Promachos, a chaplet, an ithyphallic term, a trophy, a buckler, a bearded term, a comic mask, a lyre, a Satyr, an amphora, a simpulum, a cuirass, an elephant, a Victory, a hippocamp, a Pegasus, a fulmen, a heron, head of a peacock, a star of eight rays, a race-torch, a tripod, a pentagon, a cornucopia, a dolphin, a lion seated, forepart of a lion, a trident, a rudder, an acrostolium, an owl, a helmet, a harpoon, a craterus, or a cock as on the above illustration.

Letters under the neck **ΓΝΑΙΟΥ**, behind neck **ΕΥ**, **ΤΑΡ**, with **ΕΥΞ** underneath neck, behind neck **NE**, under neck **X**, behind neck **ΒΙ** or **B**, or with **M** under neck, or **ME** under neck.

On the Reverse we find under the bull **N**, **ΛΟΥ** (the Oscan name Loukies) **ΕΡΙ**, **ΙΣ**, **ΒΙ**, **ΕΓ**, **E**, **A**.

SMALL SILVER COINAGE

The types of the obols and their subdivisions were copied from those of Cumae, Sicily, Terina, Acarnania, and from the common types of the Neapolitan didrachms, and we may therefore conve-

niently classify them according to the types of these various places.

The Cumaean types (450-327 B. C.)

I. Obol. Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing Corinthian helmet, before **IE**, on some specimens **И**. A circle.

Rev. Bivalve shell with hinge to left, above **N**: border of dots.

II. One sixth of an Obol. Obv. Corinthian helmet, vizier to right. A circle.

Rev. Same as no 1 with **N**, or **NE**, above the shell.

III. Obv. One sixth of an Obol. Head of nymph to right, hair in sphendone.

Rev. Same as no 1 with **NE** above shell: border of dots.

IV. One sixth of an Obol. Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing Athenian helmet.

Rev. Same as no 1 with **NEO** above shell. Border of dots.

V. One quarter Obol. Obv. dolphin to right.

Rev. A wheel with globules between spokes.

Brit. Mus. o gr. 14?

VI. One quarter Obol. Obv. Head of Pallas to right.

Rev. A wheel with globules between the spokes.

Sicilian types (450-360 B. C.)

VII. Obol. Head of Pallas to right wearing Corinthian helmet, before **ΞИ**, behind **O**. Sometimes a border of dots.

Rev. Forepart of bull to right in attitude of swimming, with legend **ΠΟΞΝ**, or **NEO**, or **ИEO**? The bull is sometimes found to left.

Sometimes no inscription on either Rev. or Obv.

VIII. Obol. Obv. Head of nymph to right, behind **A**.

Rev. Forepart of bull swimming, with a heron perched on the bull's shoulder pluming its feathers, above **NE**, below, traces of letters.

Brit. Mus. Cat., no 21. Weight: 10.2 grains (o gr. 54).

IX. Obol. Obv. Head of Pallas to right.

a) With winged helmet. b) With crested helmet. c) Crested helmet adorned with laurel. d) Head turned to left.

Rev. Forepart of bull swimming, **NEOΠ** above, or **ΠOΞИ**. Bull sometimes to left.

Some of these are called either Obol or Litra.

X. Half Obol. Obv. Head of Pallas to right, Athenian helmet.

Rev. The letters **NE** separated by the sign **Υ** which is perhaps a mark of value meaning half obol.

Types taken from Terina (380-340 B. C.)

XI. Obol or Litra. Obv. Head of Nymph to right, before **ΝΕΟΓΟΛΙΤΗΣ**.

Rev. Nymph seated to left holding caduceus (?) in her left hand, and a crown in her right resting on her knee.



XII. Obol. Obv. Head of young river-god to right with a horn on his forehead, and a diadem on head; around the head the legend **ΣΕΠΤΕΙΟΣ**.

Rev. A winged nymph seated to right, on an urn reversed, urning herself, and lifting up her head; **ΝΕΟΓΟΛΙΤΗΣ**. The legend s nearly always imperfect.

Acaranian types (350-340 B. C.)

XIII. Obol. Obv. Laureated young beardless head, probably of Apollo, to right.

Rev. Head of Acheloüs facing, the horns decorated with infulae; above **NEO** or **NE**.

Sometimes no inscription, and no infulae.

Sometimes X appears behind the head of Apollo and that of Acheloüs.

Tarentine types.

XIV. Obol. (a) Obv. Beardless laureated head to right probably of Apollo, sometimes O is found behind the head. The style is fine : border of dots.

Rev. Hercules kneeling to right grasping the neck of a lion, in the field a club, around **ΝΕΟΓΟΛΙΤΩΝ**.

(b) The head massive like that of Heracles.

(c) Head like that of (a) with **ΝΕΟΓΟΛΙΤΩΝ** around.

(d) Head like that of (a) with a sprig of olive behind.

(e) Head like that of (a) to left with letter Y behind : border of dots.

Neapolitan type.

XV. Obol. Obv. Head of nymph to right.

Rev. Man-headed bull walking to right, and crowned by Victory flying above.

In exergue **ΙΑΝΟΛΟΝ**.

TRIOBOLS.

Triobols were issued from about 300 to 280 B.C. during the latter part of the time, when the didrachms bore the head of the goddess turned to the right, and they seem to have ceased about the time when the change was made in the type by turning the head of the goddess to the left.

I. The triobols bear on the Obv. the head of Apollo to right, and the legend **ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ** in front of the head; under the neck is an uncertain letter.

On the Rev. a cock to right; with **Χ** or a star in the field above.

These coins are seldom found in good preservation; they weigh from 1 gramme 24 to 1 gr. 84 or roughly from about 19 grains to 28 grains.

II. Another type bears on the Obv. the head of Apollo, to right, with the same legend in front of the face.

Rev. A Victory driving a biga to right, and in the exergue the following letters **ΔΙ. ΧΑ**, or **ΓΑΚ**. This may be the Oscan name *Paquius* found on inscriptions at Ischia.

DRACHMS CIRC. 270-250 B.C.

About the time when the Romans first issued their denarii, the Neapolitans struck drachms, apparently rather lighter than the denarii.

Pliny in his *Nat. Hist.*, XXI, 100, tells us the Roman denarii were equal to the Attic drachm, which weighed 4 grammes 55, and that seventy-two were struck from a pound. The weights of the Neapolitan drachms given by M. A. Sambon vary between 3 grammes 20 to 3. 58 (roughly speaking between 50 and 55 grains).

It looks as if the Neapolitans wished to issue a coinage that would correspond with the Roman denarii, and the appearance of these two series about the same time may be a result of Roman influence in Neapolis.

The drachms bear on the Obv. the head of *Dia Hebe*, and a symbol, or a letter **A**, **B**, **Δ**, or **E** instead.

On the Rev., the normal man-headed bull to right with the head facing, crowned by the flying Victory.

In the exergue **ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ**. The drachms may be divided into three classes distinguished by the letters under the bull's body **BI** or **ΙΣ** or **A**.

Some are found without these letters, they bear as a symbol on the Obv. a chaplet.

Those bearing **BI** on the Rev. bear the following symbols on the Obv., an elephant, an oval shield, a ewer or jug.

Those bearing $\text{I}\Sigma$ on the Rev. bear the following symbols on the Obv., a dolphin, a swan, an ear of corn, a cornucopiæ, a trophy, or the letters **A, B, Δ, E**.

Those bearing **A** on the Rev. bear the following symbols, on the Obv., a prow, a drinking cup, a harpoon, a lotus flower, a mask?, a bell.

THE OBVERSE TYPES.

We meet with four distinct types on the Obv. of the coins of Neapolis.

- I. The head of the Siren Parthenope in profile.
- II. The head of Pallas.
- III. The head of the Siren nearly full face.
- IV. The head of Dia Hebe.

The female heads have generally been described as representing only one person, either the Siren or the Dea Hebe, but an attempt is here made to shew that it is more probable the earlier heads are those of Parthenope, the daughter of Acheloüs, and the later heads those of Dia Hebe, associated with Dionysus Hebon; and this attribution of the heads will be found to be in harmony with the Reverse Types, on which we see the Bull form at first associated with the myth of Achelöus and afterwards with that of Dionysus.

I

PARTHENOPE.

The most ancient city near the site of Naples was called Parthenope. Strabo (V, iv) tells us the tomb of the Siren Parthenope was shewn there, and Pliny quotes his words.

Silius Italicus (XII, 33) who was Consul in 68 A. D., and retired to Naples to live there in seclusion, mentions the Siren thus :

“Sirenum dedit una suum memorabile nomen
Parthenope maris Acheloias, æquore cujus
Regnare diu cantus, cum dulce per undas
Exitium miseris caneret non prospera nautis.”

The Sirens were originally the islands at the mouth of the river Acheloüs, which flowed into the Ionian sea between Acarnania and Aetolia, but just as the name of Acheloüs was used in Italy by the Greek Colonists for their river-gods, so the islands on the Italian coast were also called Sirens.

Strabo (I c II) thus writes of the position of the Sirens, which was questioned by commentators on Homer's *Odyssey*.

“Some say the Sirens of Homer are situated near Pelorus (i. e. cape Faro in Sicily) and others that they are more than two thousand stadia distant, near Sirenessæ (i. e. between the gulfs of

Naples and Salerno), a three-peaked rock which separates the gulfs of Cumæa and Posidonium.

“ Now in the first place, the rock is not three-peaked, nor does it form a crest at the summit at all, but a long and narrow angle reaching from the territory of Surrentum to the strait of Capria having on one side of the mountain the temple of Sirens, and on the other side, next the gulf of Poseidonius, three little rocky and uninhabited islands named the Sirens.

“ . . . If any one adds that the monument of Parthenope who was one of the Sirens is shewn in Naples, this only confirms us the more in our belief. . . ”

If we compare the heads of the Nymph, or Siren, on our earliest Neapolitan coins with those heads on the coins of cities in S. Italy and Sicily, which are universally acknowledged to be heads of water-nymphs, we shall see they are all very similar in design, and that very probably the craftsmen of the Neapolitan mint copied some of them.

Compare our early Neapolitan Obverse types with the staters of Terina, or the coins of Syracuse figured on pp. 152, 153 of Dr Head's *Hist. Num.*

The head of the Naiad Arethusa is that of the water-nymph of the well in Ortygia at Syracuse, of whom Shelley sang in his poem “ Arethusa ”.

The head is assumed by Dr Head to be that of “ Arethusa identified with Artemis ”. This must be the Arcadian Artemis (Ἄρτεμις or Ἄρτεμις). In her sanctuaries were wells as at Corinth. As a nymph she is connected with river-gods, as with Alpheius who fell in love with her: confer the story as related by Ovid in *Met.*, V, 572, and Servius, ad *Virg. Ecl.*, X, 4.

Hence fish were sacred to her (*Diod.*, V, 3).

The influence of Sicily is recognized as being felt at that time in the city of Neapolis, and therefore it is more than probable that the Sicilian myths influenced the mint-artists at that time.

The arguments for the attribution of these early female heads to Parthenope are:

- (a) the name of the early city, Parthenope,
- (b) the connection of the Siren with Achelous, who appears on the unique earliest coin in the Cabinet of France,
- (c) the similarity of the types with those of cities issuing types of water-nymphs.

II

THE HEAD OF PALLAS.

Strabo informs us that Athenians were among the earliest colonists of Neapolis. According to Beloch and E. Ciaceri the citizens

about the middle of the fifth century B. C. freed themselves from the supremacy of Cumae, and for many years the rival powers of Athens and Syracuse contended for the friendship of the Neapolitans. A fragment of Timaeus of Tauromenium mentions the arrival at Neapolis of the Athenian admiral Diotimus and the institution of torch-races in honour of Parthenope. This passage is a witness to the probability of the head of the nymph on the coinage being the head of Parthenope. It has been thought that the visit of Diotimus was made with the intention of enlisting the Neapolitans on the side of the Athenians in their struggle with Syracuse. De Petra in his work "origini di Neapolis" considers that Diotome arrived in that city about the year 425 B. C. and that the coins with the crested head of Athene were then issued.

The Athenians had made treaties with the citizens of Rhegium and Leontini as early as 433 B. C., their object being to enlist the sympathies of the Chalcidian colonists of Magna Graecia. This was easily accomplished, as these colonists themselves stood in need of any help which Athens could give, for the Ionian Greeks had been unable to oppose the supremacy of the Dorians.

In 427 B. C. the Leontini appealed to Athens for help and Laches and Charoeades sailed to Sicily.

The former was recalled, and Sophocles and Eurymedon on their arrival in Sicily being defeated, returned to Athens in 425 B. C. In 422 Phaeax was sent to Sicily, and next year peace was proclaimed.

Between Segesta and Athens there was an alliance which resulted in the generals Alcibiades, Lamachus, and Nicias being sent to the assistance of the former state.

Hopes in Athens were raised of an Empire in the West, and thus began the great struggle between Athens and Syracuse.

The date attributed to the coins bearing the head of the Athenian goddess with the crestless helmet is earlier than the arrival of Diotime in 425 B. C., and they are among the earliest coins issued in Neapolis.

The later coins of this type, after 410, cannot be taken as evidences of Athenian influence but rather of that of Thurium, which city had then cast off its alliance with Athens.

The date given to the earliest coin bearing the head of Pallas is earlier than the foundation of Thurium 443 B. C., we cannot therefore say that these early coins with the crestless helmets were copied from coins of that city. The later coins, however, bearing a head of Athene in a crested helmet, are attributed to the year 415 B. C. by A. Sambon, and by De Petra to the year of the visit of Diotime 425 B. C. The coins of Thurium, which appear to be the models from which the Neapolitan coins were copied, attained their greatest beauty of artistic work about 420 B. C., and it seems more probable therefore that M. A. Sambon is right.

Compare coins of Thurium before 425 B. C.

After the defeat of the Athenians near Syracuse in August 413 B. C. the influence of Athens would not account for the continuation of the Pallas type on the coins of Neapolis. After that date the influences signified in the type were those of Thurium, until 356 B. C. when that city was taken by the Bruttii, and afterwards of Nola until 313 B. C.

INFLUENCE OF NOLA.

Some of the helmets of Athene are ornamented with an owl, as on the coins of Nola. They are found among the coins of the fine period 415-380 B. C. with the Reverse type without the flying Victory, and also among the later coins after 340 B. C., with the flying Victory, crowning the bull with the human head, full faced. These are apparently rare types valued at from £ 4 to £ 5, while the former series with the owl on the helm are valued at from £ 1 to £ 2. In 327 B. C. Nola was powerful enough to send 2000 soldiers to Neapolis, but fourteen years later the Romans took that city (313 B. C.).

The influence of Nola may be expressed by this imitation of the types of that city.

INFLUENCE OF THE SAMNITES.

M. A. Sambon describes a series of these coins bearing the head of Athene wrought in rude style, with the bull butting, and with the off foreleg raised and tail curled. The legends are rude, **ΝΕΟΡΟΝΙΤΕΖ** or **ΝΕΟΡΟΝΙΤΖ** or **ΝΕΡΟΝΙΤΕΖ** or **ΤΗΖΝΕ-ΠΟΛΙ**. There is no flying victory on these coins and some of them may be the work of ancient forgers.

DIA-HEBE.

At Syracuse the mint officials continued to issue coins bearing the head of a water-nymph until the time of the great defeat of the Athenians in 413 B. C., soon after which the head of Persephone, called by the Romans Proserpina, appears as the obverse type. The influence of Sicily upon the city Neapolis may be seen in the change made about the year 400 B. C. in the Neapolitan types, for the head of the Siren Parthenope was then changed for that of a head evidently copied from the Syracusan coins. The new type is easily distinguished from the older by the bunch of curls looped in the sphendone behind the head, with the ends of the locks loose; and also by the more gracious style of the face.

The divine power represented by the different names of Perse-

phone in Syracuse, Libera in Rome, and Dia Hebe in Neapolis, is that of the Spring, with its force of life and warmth, of light and growth, rising to displace the death and coldness, the darkness and withering of winter.

The mysteries expressed these ideas without giving that power a name more definite than that of the Kore or maiden.

We have seen on the types of Tarentum the prominent position taken by Dionysus and Iacchus, and it is thought by many that the bull form on the reverse of these coins bearing the head of the kore is meant to represent the Dionysus Hebon, whose cult will be considered in the chapter on the Reverse types.

The myth of Persephone was probably introduced into Sicily and S. Italy by the colonists from Corinth and Megara. Theocritus associates her with the new life of Spring (III, 48), and Plutarch identifies her also with that season. In the Mysteries the revival of life was made an emblem of immortality, hence the kore was frequently carved on sarcophagi. In the Orphic Hymn (29, 16) she is described as the goddess of Nature who destroys and revives everything. The exact nature of her relation to Dionysus, Iacchus, Zagreus, and Sabazius is not easy to define, sometimes she is called the mother of these powers, sometimes the wife. Her festivals were held at both the times of sowing and of harvest (Diod., V 4, Athen IV).

The festival at Rome called the Liberalia was held on the 17th of March. Apparently the old festival of Parthenope and Achelouïs at Neapolis was displaced by that of the Dia Hebe when the Mysteries became more popular than the older myths.

Hebe is the Greek ἠβή (youth) and it was used metaphorically for the state of freshness, cheerfulness, or joy. Pott has suggested a connection with the Sanskrit *juvan* (*juvenis*). The goddess of Spring was therefore naturally called Dia Hebe.

In modern poetry the same image is used, as in Wordsworth's ode (XXXVIII) composed on a May morning:

While from the purpling earth departs
The star that led the dawn,
Blithe Flora from her couch upstarts
For May is on the lawn.
A quickening hope, a freshening glee
Foreran the expected Power,
Whose first drawn breath, from bush and tree
Shakes off that pearly shower.
All Nature welcomes her whose sway
Tempers the year's extremes.

The "power" of which Shelley wrote in Part II of his poem

“The Sensitive plant” is that expressed by the old name Dia-Hebe, and the song of the Maiden taken to Hades is given by him in “The song of Proserpine”. His “Hymn to the Spirit of Nature” also is an expression of the old ideal personification expressed in Dia-Hebe.

REVERSE TYPES.

The symbols on the Obverse and Reverse types of ancient coins are generally connected or associated with the deity worshipped by the citizens issuing the coinage. In Neapolis the earliest coins, having the Siren Parthenope on the Obverse, bear the image of her father Acheloüs on the Reverse, and the later coins which show the head of Dia Hebe on the Obverse bear the symbolic image of her relative Dionysus Hebon on the Reverse.

ACHELOÛS.

Eckhel in his treatise “de tauro cum facie humana” contends that the bull with the human head did not represent a river-god, but his main argument is drawn from the fact that river-gods are generally represented in human form, either reclining by the spring, or swimming in the water. This however is not an argument which can be applied to this type, because all the instances he refers to are of later date, and it is now generally agreed that in the fifth century B.C. a bull was the symbol used by many cities for the river-god of their locality.

The head on the Obverse type is certainly the head of a water-nymph, and the name of the ancient city Parthenope directs us to the particular Nymph represented. She was the daughter of Acheloüs the river-god of the land of the Acarnanians, and Aetolians, between whose territories the river flowed for some hundred miles from mount Pindus in Epirus. Where the river enters the sea, the waters have left islands, which were poetically called the daughters of the river-god and named Sirens. The colonists in S. Italy and Sicily remembered the myths of their fatherland, and named the islands off their coasts Sirens, and their river-gods Acheloüs. This poetic myth carries us back to the earliest days when rivers, fountains, trees or mountains were considered the seats of deities or powers of nature to be revered.

The name $\text{A}\gamma\epsilon\lambda\phi\omega\varsigma$ is thought to be derived from the root AX meaning water, from which “aqua” was also formed. The irresistible force of the water rushing in a roaring torrent from the mountains was symbolized by the form of the bull.

Very early artists endeavoured to commemorate the labours of Heracles in draining the land near the Copaic lake by representing

him struggling with a bull, and the fruitful fields, irrigated by man's restraint of the forces of the streams, were symbolized as the horn of Amalthea torn from the terrible power thus overcome. Professor Cardella thus explained the myth in his treatise "lotta di Ercole con Archeloo" (Orvieto, 1894). His work is illustrated with a drawing of an Etruscan carving representing Heracles struggling with the bull.

The small rivers of Southern Italy and Sicily are subject to floods like those of New Zealand, and the old symbol of the bull would naturally seem appropriate to the early colonists.

The labour of Heracles in subduing the power of the water-floods is spoken of by Horace in Ode Lib. I, III (I. 3. 36).

Acheron's bar gave way with ease
Before the arm of labouring Hercules:
Nought is there for man too high.

The bull form is seen on coins of Southern Italy struck in cities situated on rivers or by fountains, as for instance at Laüs, at Thurium, at Siris and Pyxus, and at Sybaris. A very ancient coin of Metapontum is especially important as a witness to this meaning of the bull type for it bears a figure of Acheloüs with the horns and ears of a bull, with the inscription ΑΧΕΛΟΙΟ ΑΘΛΟΝ in reference to the games celebrated in his honour. Such coins may have been given as (ἄθλοισι) prizes to the successful athletes. We know that similar games were also held in Parthenope.

The coins of Gela with a bull, apparently in the act of swimming, are also especially interesting, because the earliest known coin of Parthenope was probably copied from its type.

It is not doubted even by Eckhel that Acheloüs was represented on coins of Acarnania.

The Acarnanian river was not the only stream called Acheloüs; a mountain torrent in Arcadia flowing into the Alpheus from the north of mount Lycaeus, (Pausan. VIII, 38, § 9) was also so named, and from there the early colonists of Metapontum are said to have come after the Trojan war.

Many instances are found in Italy of the desire to trace the origin of colonists; among the heroes of that war for example, the Romans desired to be thought descendants of pious Aeneas.

DIONYSUS.

Coins and vases afford ample evidence that the cult of Dionysus was firmly established among the Greek colonists of Magna Graecia in the fourth century before the birth of Christ, especially in Tarentum and Campania.

From the coins of Tarentum the connection of this cult with

the Mysteries is also clear; when therefore we see the Head of *Dia Hebe*, who represented the *Kore* of the Mysteries, on the Obverse of the didrachms of Neapolis, we naturally associate the Bull form on the Reverse of these coins with *Dionysus Hebon*. This symbolic form of the god is frequently mentioned in the poems of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and in *Magna Graecia* the poems of the latter were particularly popular. It is difficult for us with our modern methods of thought to understand the rise of this particular symbol, but in the period of the childhood of the race the separation now felt between animal and human life was not as clearly marked; the animals were brothers, and even in the *Bacchae* of *Euripides* we see the expression of a desire to return to the wild free life of the woods and mountains.

The idea symbolized was that of the power of moisture, life-giving sap, and in the earlier days of this cult *Dionysus* was the god of the vine.

The bull form which had in Neapolis been used as the symbol of the river-god was easily made to represent the divine moisture of the spring and the sap of the vine. The same form was used also as a symbol of *Poseidon* the sea-god. *Plutarch* in his work on *Isis* and *Osiris* speaks of *Dionysus* as the principal of moisture.

Southern Italy was especially celebrated by the Greek and Latin poets as the land of *Liber* and *Ceres*, of wine and corn, of *Dionysus* and *Proserpina* (*Orphic Hymn*, XXIV) *Pindar* speaks of the "cymbal-worshipped *Demeter*, and the flowing-haired *Dionysus*". (*Isth.*, VI, 3), and *Virgil* sings of 'Liber et alma *Ceres*' (*Georg.*, I, 5).

The Bull form of the deity was especially celebrated by *Euripides*, who was so popular in Sicily that many Athenian captives in the year 413 B.C. obtained relief and even release by repeating lines from his poems.

In his play the *Bacchae*, the King *Pentheus*, when led forth under the charm of the god to the mountain is made to say "yea and mine eye is bright! yon sun shines twofold in the sky. Thebes twofold and the wall of seven gates... and is it a wild bull this, that walks and waits before me? There are horns upon thy brow! What art thou, man or beast? For surely now the Bull is on thee!"

And the leader of the band of *Bacchae* sings "appear! appear! whatsoever thy shape or name O mountain Bull, Snake of the hundred heads, Lion of burning flame! O God, Beast, Mystery come!" The poet makes *Agave*, the mother of *Pentheus*, sing of the head she bears. "See, it falls to his breast curling and gently tressed, the hair of the wild bull's crest, the young steer of the fell!"

The bull form is also emphasized in the Hymn given by *Plutarch* in his "Greek questions", XXXVI.

“Hero Dionysus, come to thy temple home, here at Elis worshipful we implore thee, with thy Charites adore thee, rushing with thy bull foot, come! Noble Bull, Noble Bull. (ἄξις ταῦρε.) The Dionysian song, the dithyramb, is mentioned by Pindar in his Olympian ode XIII, “Dionysus with the dithyramb that drives off the ox” the epithet “βουηλάτης” is generally supposed to refer to the ox as the prize driven off; Donaldson however says “it is more probable that it refers to the symbolical identification of Bacchus with this animal”, and he then quotes the Hymn from Plutarch given above.

The Bull was not the only form under which this power was symbolized, for we meet with the forms of the lion, and the snake also, and the name Dionysus was not his only name; we read of Bromius, and Sabaja, Thracian names for various forms of strong drink. His many names are referred to by Sophocles in his *Antigone*, in the Chorus beginning line 1115 “O thou who art hailed by many a name, glory of the Theban nymph, Son of loud thundering Zeus”, and ending with “thee their dispenser Iacchus”.

In Tarentum the forms of Dionysus and Iacchus were represented as the riders on the dolphin; in Neapolis the bull form symbol was adopted as the reverse type as soon as the influence of the Mysteries became strong enough to supersede the older local cult of the river-god. Eckhel in his treatise “de tauro cum facie humana” quotes a passage from Macrobius (1, 13) shewing this was the opinion in the days of Honorius. This tauriform Chthonic divinity became predominant in Campania especially, as we may see from the designs on many Campanian vases, but among these designs some refer to the river-god, and other to Dionysus.

Miss Jane Harrison says, “I know of no instance where an actual bull Dionysus is represented on a vase painting, but on an Amphora in the Würzburg Museum he is represented clothed and in human form riding on a bull.

In the Orphic Hymns (VI) this symbol is applied not only to Dionysus, but also to Protogonus who is called the “Bull-roarer”, and in Hymn IX the moon is called “Bull-horned”.

In Hymn XXX Dionysus is described as “two-horned, with ivy crowned, bull-faced bearer of the vine”, and in Hymn XLV we read:

Come blessed Dionysus, various named,
Bull-faced, begot from thunder &c.

The Hymn LII begins:

Bacchus inflamed, much-named, blest, divine.
Bull-horned, Lenaean, bearer of the vine.

The Hymn LIII, to Amphietus Bacchus, associates him with “the Nymphs of lovely hair” and he is thus invoked “Come blessed,

fruitful, horned, and divine". These passages are all illustrated by the coins of Neapolis and help us to understand the symbol chosen for the reverse type.

The change of meaning attached to the symbol is accompanied by two changes in the Reverse type.

(a) We now see a flying Victory above the bull bearing a crown. Eckhel appears to think this is a reference to a myth that Dionysus was crowned on account of his victories over the Titans and Indians, and he draws attention to a coin on which Dionysus is represented as being crowned by a female figure standing before the god.

Usually we are accustomed to regard the figure of the flying Victory as an emblem of the victories in the games, as for instance on the didrachms of Tarentum, and we know that games were celebrated also in Neapolis. The obscure verse of Pindar above mentioned suggests the idea that an ox was sometimes the prize of the Victorious Athlete.

(b) The second change is in the position of the human head of the Bull, which from the time of the change of meaning is always represented full-faced, whereas on the former series it had always been in profile.

THE WITNESS OF THE COINS TO HISTORY.

The story of the city Neapolis during the period of the Greek mintage naturally falls into three well-marked periods, that of the influence of Syracuse and Athens, that of the supremacy of the Samnites, and that of the Roman dominion.

THE EARLY PERIOD.

Many years before the year 500 B.C., the Greek Colonists of Cumae had sent their citizens to Parthenope for the sake of commerce, but about the year 474 B.C. their trade had so increased that colonists from Cumae commenced to build a new city along the shores of the bay to the east of the old city, hence the names by which the two cities were afterwards known, Palaeopolis and Neapolis. Pliny speaks of "Neapolis Chalcidensium et ipsa Parthenope a tumulo Sirenis appellata".

The Chalcidian Greeks of whom Pliny speaks were colonists from Rhegium, driven thence by Anaxilaus the Tyrant who died in 479 B.C.

According to Strabo these were soon afterwards joined by Athenian colonists. These early Cumaeon Colonies had been long struggling against the power of the Etruscans, and in 474 they were saved by Hiero of Syracuse from these enemies. The influence of Cumae declined about 450 B.C. and in 417 the old city of

Cumae was destroyed by the Campanians. The period becomes connected in our minds with general history when we remember that Thucydides was born in 471 and Socrates in 460 B. C. and the reign of Hiero lasted from 478 to 467 B.C. We may see in the British Museum a famous helmet which bears an inscription relating to Hiero's Victory over the Etruscans. The degree of culture and civilization enjoyed by these western Colonies may be understood when we remember that the court of Hiero was visited by such men as Aeschylus, Pindar, Bacchylides, and Simonides, and as the citizens of Neapolis were in constant communication with Syracuse they were by no means cut off from the culture of Greece.

The coinage of this period bears witness to all the above-mentioned influences; we have first the unique coin evidently copied from the coins of Gela in Sicily and having reference to the name of the old city Parthenope and her sire the Acheloüs, then the coins with the Siren's head like those of Syracuse, and lastly the coins illustrating the Athenian influence. In 443 the Athenians colonized Thurium and from that time began their struggle to obtain supremacy over the Dorian Greek Colonists. We find the Dorian termination in the legends **ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΣ** and the greater frequency with which we find the Ionian spelling **ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ** shews of how successful the Athenian influence was in Neapolis; but the spelling of the legends bears witness to the constant presence of the different parties in the city, which, by weakening the state, facilitated the supremacy of the Samnites. In the notes on the head of Pallas the visit of Diotimus and the various expeditions of the Athenians which ended with the great defeat in 413 B.C. have been referred to. The coins issued after that date shew the importance of the connection with Thurium, and probably the alliance had for its object the defence of the Greek cities from their Samnite and Lucanian foes. Laüs fell before them in 390 B.C. the same year that Neapolis was taken. In 406 B.C. Dionysius the elder began his reign in Syracuse, but was at first occupied with the Carthaginians; he however assisted the Lucanians against the Greek cities of S. Italy. Commerce between Sicily and Neapolis seems to have continued, for Sicilian influence is seen on some of the coins.

PERIOD OF THE SAMNITE SUPREMACY.

In 390 B.C. the Samnites occupied Neapolis, and from about that date inscriptions shew that the magistrates were chosen, one from the Greeks, and the other from the Samnites; the coins also shew Oscan names.

For some time before that date the Samnites had been gradually obtaining a footing in the cities near the sea, and Diodorus tells us

that 800 Samnites served as mercenaries sent by Neapolis to help the Athenians against Syracuse.

When the Athenians were defeated, the Samnites hired themselves to the Syracusans. This great movement of the mountaineers may perhaps have been influenced by the pestilence invading their homes and by the bad seasons from which Italy suffered about that time. The Greek Colonists were, in comparison with these hardy simple highlanders, effeminate, luxurious, and weak. The simplicity and morality of the barbarians gave them a force of character which easily won for them a supremacy over the citizens among whom they settled.

The impetus given to the worship of Dia Hebe during this period may have been the result of the above-mentioned pestilence and famine, for the mysteries were Chthonic, and her power was that of vegetable growth and renewal of life.

Her cult however was Greek, and not Samnite, moreover the influence of the new comers was not likely to affect the designs of the mint-masters.

The coinage is that of Class IV in which the bull with the human head is turned facing, and a flying Victory appears over the bull.

About 340 B.C. the influence of Nola is seen in the copies of the coins of that city issued in Neapolis. On them we see the owl in the helmet of Pallas and the same letters Γ and Ο appear on the Reverse of coins of Nola, Hyrina and Neapolis. The influence of the Samnites on the coinage is to be seen in certain coins bearing illegible inscriptions which are considered by some to be the work of Samnites, and by others an attempt to copy Phoenician legends and to be the result of Sicilian influence.

The period of conclusion and art-decadence owing to the Samnite influence cannot have lasted very long, for some of the most beautiful heads on the didrachms were executed during this period; perhaps the period of decadence lasted only from 390 to 380 B.C. It was during this time that those coins which are evidently restruck on older coins were issued.

The coins bearing the figure of Herakles strangling the Nemean lion, which bear witness to the union of Neapolis with the league of the S. Italian Greek cities, were issued about 340 B.C.

In the Museum at Naples is an interesting coin bearing the head of Apollo and the Tarentine horseman similar to the coins of Tarentum in 340 B.C. ; its legend ΝΕΟΠΟ shews it was issued in Neapolis. From that time to the end of this period there was considerable intercourse with Tarentum, and that city sent men to help against the Romans in 326 B.C.

THE PERIOD AFTER THE ROMAN ALLIANCE.

The incidents which led to the League between Neapolis and Rome are related in Livy Lib VIII. c. 22-25.

Some of the citizens hearing of the unsettled nature of Rome's alliance with the Samnites, and of the terrible pestilence which had ravaged Rome, committed acts of hostility against Romans settled in Campania, and when heralds were sent to demand satisfaction gave an impudent reply. The Consul Q. Publilius Philo then began the war by stationing his forces between Neapolis and Paleopolis. Two thousand men from Nola and 4000 Samnites were received into Paleopolis.

Livy tells us that the names of the men who arranged the surrender of the city were Charilaus and Nymphius; the former went to Q. P. Philo and arranged matters, the latter stayed behind and plotted to get the Samnites out of the city that night by pretending to plan an expedition against Rome. As soon as they left, the Romans entered the city in the darkness and when it was made known what had occurred, the Nolans fled to Nola and the Sabines to the hills.

Coins are met with bearing the name Charilaus $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\lambda\epsilon[\Omega\Sigma]$. Pellerin published a coin of exactly similar type with the legend POMAIQN .

It is also noticeable that on other coins of this period we find the monogram $\overset{N}{\text{N}}$ (i. e. NY) for Nymphius or Nympsius the colleague of Charilaus. The effect of the Foedus Neapolitanum arranged by these men was to bring in a new period of prosperity to Neapolis.

Neapolis was from 326 B.C. a "foederata civitas" enjoying the protection of the Roman State with but a small share of its burdens. Cicero in his "pro Balb" (8 24) shews the citizens were not at all eager to obtain the Roman franchise.

They continued faithful to Rome throughout all temptations such as the invasion of Pyrrhus in 280 B.C. who came near to the walls of the city, but withdrew (Zonar. VIII. 4): even Hannibal was deterred by the strength of its fortifications (Livy, XXIII, 1, 14, 15, XXIV, 13). Neapolis became a naval base for the Roman ships.

A NEAPOLITAN MINT-ENGRAVER.

In studying the Coinage of Tarentum or Syracuse we find the names of a few artists in small letters on the types, but no name has been found on any of the didrachms of Neapolis.

Many of these coins possess, however, such beauty and character, that we should naturally be glad to learn anything of the artists who produced them. We have seen that the connection with Syracuse was close enough to influence the designs of the types on the Neapolitan coins. This however is not all, since some of the obverse types, bearing the head of Dia Hebe in profile, shew a similarity to certain Syracusan coins wrought by the hands of the celebrated artist Kimon, which leads us to enquire whether there is any likelihood of his having been the artist who wrought some of the Neapolitan coins also.

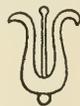
The profile heads of Arethusa on the tetradrachms of Syracuse wrought by Kimon shew the same bold relief, the same manner of treating the hair, and the same details in regard to the earrings, as those found on certain didrachms of Neapolis.

Moreover the expression on the faces of the nymphs, which so ably expresses the double nature of the mythical being, half-nymph, half Artemis, an expression of mingled pride and grace, is found both on Kimon's work at Syracuse and on some Neapolitan didrachms.

Coincidences of style, design and technique are also observed on the three-quarter facing heads of Arethusa wrought by Kimon, and on the similar heads issued in Neapolis about 413 B.C. Neapolis is not the only Italian city in which we may gather from these coincidences that Kimon worked; for instance, he executed dies for Messana, the Chalkidian mother-city of Himera, before he began his work in Syracuse. He also made a die for Metapontum. We may notice that Kimon's name is not found in association with those of other Syracusan artists, and this might be explained by the fact that he was probably regarded as a foreigner in that city. Now there is a fact which is considered by some to throw some light on these observations. The earliest coin which bears what is thought to be an artist's signature is a coin of Himera struck between 470 and 450 B.C.

When we remember how hereditary the trades and artistic callings were in the ancient Greek world, it becomes at least probable that the Kimon who executed that early coin may have been the grandfather of the celebrated artist who signed the Syracusan coins. This supposition would account for all that has been observed concerning the work of Kimon in Italian mints and the great similarity of style seen on the coins of Syracuse and Neapolis. If moreover we observe the details of the earrings we shall see that those on the Neapolitan coins are very similar to those on the coins signed by Kimon.

At Neapolis, Hyrina, and Nola, the form is as in (A) illustration A,





while that of Kimon's Syracusan coins is as in illustration B.

(B) The bar form with triple pendant appeared later in the fourth century, and is said to have reached Syracuse through Carthaginian influences. Those who wish to study further this interesting suggestion will find further information in Mr. Arthur J. Evans' "Syracusan Medallions and their Engravers" (Quaritch, 1892).

"La Cronologia delle monete di Neapolis" "Prototypes monétaires siculo-grecs". E. Seltman. "Le monete dell' Italia Antica". Garrucci.

BRONZE COINAGE.

TYPE I. 430-280. B.C.

Obv. Head of Apollo to right wearing wreath of olive-leaves in a triple row, the hair behind flowing backward in the form of half a crescent. Behind the head of Apollo Δ or Λ I or Æ or K or Λ or P or ME .

Rev. The forepart of a man-headed bull with the near foreleg bent as if running, and the off leg straight, sometimes a four-rayed star upon the bull's shoulder. The legend varies as follows, **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΕΩΝ ΝΕΟΡΟΛΕΤΕΩΝ ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΗΣ ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΗΝ ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΩΝ** and **ΝΕΥΡΟΛΙΤΩΝ**.

The following letters are found in the field.

N IA ΔΙΟ Μ and **Ι Σ ΛΟ Υ**
ΒΙ ΒΙ

The following are the dimensions of coins with these types .8 of an inch, .7, .6, .5, .4.

Weights from 5.80 to 1.70 grammes.

These types are found with the archaic style of work, with the fine style, and with a poor style.

TYPE II. 270-250 B.C.

Obv. Laureated head of Apollo to right with the hair knotted behind.

Rev. The man-headed bull swimming to right **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΩΝ**.

Weight from 3.9 to 1.45 grammes.

Size .5 of an inch.

Rev. Lyre and the omphalos, above which is a serpent, and in the exergue **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΩΝ** and a club. In size some are .8 of an inch.

TYPE III. 320-280 B.C.

Obv. Laureated head of Apollo to right with hair in loose curls over back of neck, and the legend **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΗΣ** in front of face.

Rev. The normal man-headed bull walking to right with face turned facing, above the bull in the field as symbol an eight-rayed star, a dolphin, an arrow, star and crescent, wreath, Phrygian helm, tripod, a dove in a crown, bunch of grapes in a crown, star in a crown, Helios facing, a cock, a cantharus, a fulmen, a lyre, winged hippocamp, buckler, a flower between the letters **ΕΓ** with **Ρ** below, an eagle to left, bull's head, a swallow, a serpent, cornucopia, a head in profile with a trident below. Under the bull the following letters **ΛΕ ΕΚ ΘΜ, ΑΞ, Μ, Δ, Ζ**.

The coins bearing this type are called *litrae* and *hemilitrae*. In size the former are $\cdot 9$ of an inch, the latter $\cdot 6$. In weight the former about 10.50, the latter about 5 to 6 grammes.

TYPE IV. 270-240 B.C.

Obv. Laureated head of Apollo to left with the legend **ΝΕΟΡΟΛΙΤΩΝ** before the face; behind a symbol or a letter as **Β Γ Δ Ε Ξ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Ρ Σ Τ Υ Χ**.

Rev. The man-headed bull walking to right with head turned acing, crowned by a flying Victory.

Perhaps a *litra* of the reduced weight.

Under the bull some letters as **ΜΕ** or **ΙΣ**.

ΙΣ is frequently in the exergue where other letters also appear as **ΡΩ, Χ ΣΠ, ΟΣ, Μ, ΜΕ, ΚΕ**.

In size from $\cdot 8$ to $\cdot 7$ of an inch.

In weight from a little less than 6 grammes to 6.50. From 240 to 210 B.C. this same type appeared on coins still smaller in size and weighing only 2.67 to 3.94 gr. They may be *litrae* of much reduced standard; they measure $\cdot 05$ of an inch.

TYPE V. 300-200 B.C.

Obv. A manly beardless head to left, laureated, and with short hair.

Rev. A tripod and the legend divided on either side **ΝΕΟΡΟ-ΛΙΤΩΝ**.

They are *hemilitrae* of reduced weights and are wrought in the fine style.

The head appears to be like that of Heracles.

TYPE VI. 250-200 B. C.

Obv. Laureated head of Apollo to right with letters behind as **ΧΑΙ** or **ΧΑ**. Behind the head a symbol, border of dots.

TYPE VII. 250-200 B.C.

Obv. Head of Diana to right with quiver behind neck.

Rev. Cornucopiæ full of fruit, the point sometimes terminating in the head of a doe, or garnished with ribbons or little wings.

ΝΕΟΓΟ to left, ΛΙΤΩΝ to right.

They are Hemilitræ and weigh from 1. 94 to 3. 25 gr. In size about $\cdot 5$ of an inch. They are sometimes of fine style.

TYPE VIII. OF SAME DATE.

Obv. Manly beardless head with short hair, representing one of the Dioscuri, with a star behind.

Rev. A rider on a horse to left cantering.

In the exergue ΝΕΑΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ and with a letter or letters under the horse, as Σ ΑΣ ΔΗ ΛΥ ΦΙ ΡΟ ΕΑ ΧΑΙ.

They are Hemilitræ and weigh from 3. 95 to 2.21 gr. In size some are $\cdot 6$ of an inch, others $\cdot 5$.

Between the years 240-210 B.C. we find the following letters ΔΗ ΦΙ on Rev., and Δ, ΚΙ or ΚΤ or Κ on obv.

Some of the coins of this type bear the legend ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ, some are of fine, and others of poor style.

WEIGHT STANDARDS.

Many are interested in the myths and legends connected with the Greek coin-types who shrink from entering upon the difficult study of the origin and growth of the weight standards, and thus miss much which is of importance in the historical study of the coinage.

Mr W. Ridgeway has shewn in his work "On the Origin of Metallic Currency of Weight Standards" how interesting the subject may be, and Dr B. V. Head has shewn in the Introduction to his "*Historia Numorum*" the connection of this study with history.

By the exercise of a little historical imagination the weight of the coins, regarded at first by some as utterly uninteresting, may become a real help in tracing the history of the colonists of Magna Graecia, whose myths and legends have already proved so full of interest and charm.

The subject will be treated only from the point of view of the student who desires to understand the relative values of the coins, and the historical importance of the different standards which prevailed in Southern Italy.

An examination of any large collection of coins of S. Italy, or a glance at the Catalogue of the coins in the British Museum, reveals to us the fact that there is a bewildering variety in the weights of the coins. When however we remember that very many of the coins still existing are more or less worn, we shall realize that much of the variety in the weights catalogued is thus accounted for. Only such specimens as are in mint condition are of use as aids to the understanding of the system of weights to which they belong.

The Greek coins of Magna Graecia were issued throughout a period of about two hundred and seventy years, during which time the relative value of silver to gold changed at various times, and the gold standard itself also changed. The earliest colonists of Cumæ used the Aeginetic gold weight of 230 grs, the Velians used the Phocaean gold weight of 260 grs., and the Achaean cities that of Persia 130 grs.

In considering the meaning of the weight of a silver coin we

must therefore note its date, and the origin of the colonists who issued it. Thus, if a coin weighs 126 grains, and its date is of the fifth or sixth century B.C. we must decide whether it belongs to one of the Achaean colonies or to one of the Athenian, before we know how to classify it in regard to its weight standard.

So also, if the date of a coin is later than the period when Philip's Macedonian gold standard prevailed, and earlier than the time of Agathocles, *i. e.* from 345 to 317 B.C., we should seek to understand its weight by reference to the table here given of the Macedonian standard.

The weight standards we are about to consider are those by which silver was weighed, for gold was used only exceptionally in Magna Graecia for the coinage. The expression "ratio" commonly used to express the relative values of gold and silver, is somewhat misleading when applied to the early silver coinage of the Greeks, and a more accurate expression would be "the market value of gold darics or bars of gold".

When silver was coined it was always mixed with a very small amount of copper, as without some alloy it would have been too soft to be conveniently used for circulation.

The amount of alloy was very variable, the least is found in the coins of Athens, where 985 parts out of a thousand were of fine silver, and this degree of purity was preserved up to the time of Alexander. After that time the silver of Athens contained only about 950 parts in the thousand. The coins of Alexander contained 967 parts in the thousand. The coins of Aegina and Corinth give an average purity of 961 in the thousand.

The purity of the silver coins of Magna Graecia has been tested by M. de Rauch (*Zeitschr. f. Num.*, t. I, p. 36).

IN THE VI CENT. B. C.

Didrachms	of	Caulonia	96	per cent fine silver.
—		Poseidonia	97	—
—		Tarentum	94	—

DURING THE PERIOD OF FINE ART.

Didrachms	of	Campania	98	per cent fine silver.
—		Croton	96	—
—		Hyrina	94	—
Drachms		Heraclea	93	—
Obols & Diobols		—	92	—
Didrachms		Neapolis	94	—
—		Nola	94	—
—		Tarentum	93	—

Obols & $\frac{1}{2}$ obols	—	91	—
Didrachms	Terina	94	—
—	Thurium	94	—
Obols	—	91	—
Drachms	Velia	96	—

In the later periods there was a tendency to use a little more alloy, as at Tarentum where the later coins fell as low as 88 per cent fine silver.

THE SILVER STANDARD.

When the first silver coins were issued in Aegina the smaller coins were called obols and drachms, because the weight of silver contained in these coins was calculated to be the value of the obol, or nail, or bar of copper, and that of the drachm to be the value of the handful of six obols.

The silver was probably weighed by seeds as among all ancient people.

Hultsch in his work *Metrol. Script.*, vol. I, p. 248, gives a fragment from Galen which testifies to this manner of weighing silver “ ἡ δὲ δραχμὴ κέρατα κή, ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν ἔχει γράμμας τρεῖς, τὸ γράμμα ἐβολουὺς β', ὁ δὲ ἐβολουὺς κέρατα γ', τὸ δὲ κέραιον ἔχει σιτάρια δ'.

“ For the drachm equals eighteen kerata, or, as others say, it has three grammai, now the gramma is equal to two obols, and the obol to three kerata and the keration hath four grams of corn”.

In India precious articles have always been weighed by the seed called ratti, a creeper known as the gunja, or to botanists as the *Abrus precatorius*.

The Arabians weighed gold by the seed of wheat and by the *Ceratonia Siliqua* seed.

Four grains of wheat were accounted equal to one seed of the *Ceratonia*, which was called *κέραια* by the Greeks. It is mentioned in St Luke XV, 16 “ the husks that the swine did eat”. The Arabs also considered one kerat equal to three barley seeds.

In England from the days of Alfred the Great down to those of Henry VII., i. e. from 871-1509 the weight of the silver penny was fixed by the primitive custom of weighing with 32 grains of wheat.

The 12th of Henry VII, c. v. ordains that :

- 1 Bushel = 8 gallons of wheat.
- 1 Gallon = 8 pounds of wheat.
- 1 Pound = 12 ounces Troy.
- 1 Ounce = 20 sterlings or pennies .

1 Sterling = 32 grains of wheat that grew in the middle of the ear of corn.

The old standard of the Roman empire had for its basis the seed of the *Ceratonia Siliqua*.

The solidus of gold = 72 grains troy. and was divided into 24 *siliquæ*.

We get our English word "Carat" from this Greek word *κεράτις*.

Among the Semitic races also we find the same custom of weighing with seeds, they used the Lupin seed, and called it a *gerah*.

10 *gerahs* = 1 *bekah*.

2 *bekahs* = 1 *shekel*.

The Greeks called the Lupin a *thermos*, and regarded 1 *thermos* as equal to 2 *kerata* or 8 grains of wheat or 6 barleycorns.

It is easy for us to form a table of the Greek coins which fits in with the theory that the ancient Greeks weighed their silver with barley seeds, but the words *obol* and *drachm*, in their original meaning, point to a rougher way of measuring than that by weight.

The measurement thus indicated by the word *obol* was of copper, not silver, and when silver took the place of the old spikes or copper nails, the amount of silver at which they were estimated would naturally be weighed.

The old words were retained because they expressed the idea of value which was the meaning aimed at in the use of the word.

In the earlier period we find the Greeks computed amounts by the number of drachms, not, as later, by didrachms, so they would count 100 drachms to the *Mina*, not 50 *stater*s, the *drachm* being an old native word while the *Mina* was foreign, and used only by merchants.

According to the table given below the *obol* weighed 12 barleycorns, but according to the fragment from Galen given above, the *obol* was equal to 3 karats, and as 1 karat equalled 4 grains of wheat or 3 barleycorns, so the *obol* would have been equal to 9 barleycorns or 12 grains of wheat.

It looks as if the weights of the silver coins were fixed by a compromise between the system of adopting the earlier weights of the *obols* and *drachmæ*, which may have been independent of any ratio between silver and gold, and the system of adopting the value in silver of a gold talent, or *daric* weighing 130 grs. *N.*, and dividing it by ten or fifteen according to the system chosen.

The *obols* were generally independent of the larger coins.

Professor Ridgeway has given a table of weights in the 'Cambridge Companion to Greek Studies' shewing the relation of the

Athenian coin-weights to the barleycorn. With one or two misprints corrected it is as follows :

1	Barleycorn weight	0.060 gram. or	.9 grains.
1½	— <i>ἡμιτέταρτον</i>	0.090 —	1.39 —
3	— quarter obol	0.18 —	2.78 —
6	— half obol	0.363 —	5.55 —
12	— obol	0.728 —	11.11 —
72	— drachm	4.373 —	67.28 —
144	— didrachm	8.747 —	134.88 —

On p. 64 of Mr. G. F. Hill's 'Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins' is a similar table, in which what Mr. Ridgeway calls the *ἡμιτέταρτον* is called Hemitetartemoron "The *ἡμιτέταρτον* was probably a still smaller denomination." Mr. Hill gives the drachms as weighing 4.36 and the didrachms 8.72 or 134.57 grs. The weights differ but very slightly from the table in Dr Head's, *Historia Numorum*, p. 310.

What was the relation of the silver weights to the gold Talent of the Greeks?

The gold coins of Athens, and those of Tarentum, weighed 135 grs., and the Persian Daric 130 grs. As the didrachms weighed 135 grs., or thereabout, we may gather that 15 of these would be the equivalent for a gold coin weighing 135 grs., when the ratio was 15 : 1.

If the didrachm's weight was arrived at by the doubling of the drachm's weight, and that weight was the old value of the copper nails then it is a happy coincidence that fifteen of the didrachms weighed about the value of the gold Talent.

Many numismatists reverse the process and take the gold weight, and divide it by fifteen, to get the weight of the didrachm, and, moreover, they think the gold weight was derived from the East. This seems to be the most likely process to have been evolved, but the obols and drachms may have had the more primitive origin and have been made to fit in.

In considering how far the Greeks were indebted to the Eastern nations we note at once that the word *Μνᾶ* (Latin Mina), is a semitic word *מנא* signifying a division or portion, derived from the verb to divide. It seems difficult to find out how early it was in use among the Greeks but before the coinage had been very long in circulation the word *Μνᾶ* was used to express the value of 100 drachmæ.

Mr. Ridgeway thinks that in the Maneh we can trace a primitive method of measuring by a gourd. On p. 258 he refers to the use of the cocoanut, and the joints of bamboo of certain sizes, as measures of capacity, and asks "is it possible that the maneh had a similar origin?" Was some natural object such as the gourd,

which is at the present moment the ordinary unit of capacity at Zanzibar, taken to serve as a measure of liquids or corn? It is probable that the Greek cyathus (κύαθος like its Latin congener cucurbita) meant originally some kind of gourd.

Mr. Petrie found on the site of Lachish archaic pottery in the shape of a gourd. It is of course merely a speculation that the early Semites made 50 shekels of gold a much used weight, because it was roughly equal to their maneh, the gourd measure.

Herodotus (III, 96), describes how gold dust was melted into earthen-ware jars which were then broken. It seems likely that from a jar, or more primitively, a gourd, the mina was derived.

According to Böckh another manner of measuring the Maneh was adopted, namely by weighing the amount of water which trickled from a vessel pierced with a little hole, during a certain given time. Thus the measurement of weight was made to come into connection with that of time. This scientific method may well have been adopted when the sciences had been long studied, but in the earlier days it seems more probable that some such simple manner of measurement as that by a gourd was adopted.

It is noticeable that in the earlier books of the Bible we find only the smaller weight, the shekel, is mentioned, and the mina and kikkar only when the civilization had become more advanced.

So among the Greeks the Talent at first corresponded to the Shekel; the Mina and later Talent were introduced with the more complex civilization.

Even before 3000 B. C. the Babylonians had given up the primitive methods of weighing, and had elaborated a metrological system which, in its scientific basis and inter-relation of standards, bears a striking resemblance to the metric system of the Continent. The sexagesimal principle is the characteristic of the Babylonian system. Our division of the hour into 60 minutes, each of 60 seconds, is a legacy from Babylon. The unit of weight in the fully developed system was the Maneh, or Mina, written ideographically **MA·NA**. Whether it is of Sumerian or Semitic origin seems doubtful. We note it is also found as Mana in the Vedic literature of India. In Babylon the higher weight consisted of 60 Minæ and the Shekel was $\frac{1}{60}$ of the Mina. The clearest modern account of these Eastern systems is that by A. R. S. Kennedy in Hasting's *Dic. Bibl.*, p. 901, vol. IV.

When the Greeks were introduced to the Minæ of the East we must remember that there were two distinct weights called by this term, viz. the heavy gold Mina, and the light gold Mina.

The heavy Mina weighed 15,600 grs.

The light Mina weighed 7,800 grs.

Those who derive the Greek standards from these Minæ derive

the Aeginetan from the heavy Mina, through the Phoenicians, and the Euboic standard from the light Mina through the trade with Asia Minor.

It is curious to notice that the Aeginetans divided their silver equivalent to the gold stater into 10 silver coins, although the Phoenicians divided theirs into 15 shekels; and the Euboic Greeks divided their silver by 15, although the Persians divided theirs by 10. This points to the independence of the Greeks in forming their silver standard.

THE TALENT OF THE HOMERIC AGE.

The word *τάλαντον*, (from *τάλω*, Sanskrit *tul*, Latin *tollo*, Gothic *thule*, Saxon *thole*) a talent, signified a weight.

In Homer values are expressed in terms of oxen, as in *Iliad.*, VI. 236, “golden arms for brazen, those worth one hundred oxen for those worth nine”.

In Homer the Talent is only mentioned in relation to gold, Dr Hulstsch (*Métrologie*, p. 165) maintains that there is no connection between the ox and the talent, but Mr. Ridgeway points to *Iliad.*, XXIII, 750, that in the list of three prizes appointed for the foot-race, the second is a cow, the third is half a talent of gold; it is impossible to believe that the poet had not some clear idea of the relative value of an ox and a talent. The ox stamped on the early Euboean coins points to the same conclusion, and the method of counting reindeer as units of value in Siberia, and cows in the Caucasus is also similar. Draco also in his laws used oxen as the method of expressing values.

THE WORD TALENT IN THE VI. CENTURY B.C.

At the time when the Greek merchants trading with Asia Minor adopted the eastern weight, the Maneh, and called it *μνᾶ*, they also introduced the larger weight consisting of 60 minae, and called it a talent. This large weight was the same as that which the Hebrews called *kikkar* (כִּכָּר), and we find that Hebrew word translated by the Greek word Talent in the Septuagint.

The Eastern word meant a “load” or “lump” and we find it used in this sense in II Kings, V, 23 where the Septuagint has *διετάλαντον* and the Vulgate has “duo talenta”.

The Mina consisted of 100 drachmæ or 50 didrachms.

The Talent consisted of 60 Minæ or 3000 didrachms.

The Greek word Talent meant a weight, and when the Daric became the common word for the old gold weight which had been called a talent, the word talent was free to be applied to the newly introduced weight.

THE GOLD STANDARDS

Before the Macedonian gold standard was introduced in the reign of Alexander the Great, three gold standards influenced the coinage of Magna Graecia the Persian, derived from the light Assyrio-Babylonian gold Mina, with staters of 130 grs., the Phocæan, derived from the heavy Assyrio-Babylonian gold Mina with staters of 260 grs., and the Aeginetic, derived from the heavy Assyrio-Babylonian standard through the Phoenician standard.

The Euboic or Persian standard.

The Persian Daric seems to have been introduced into Greece about the time of Xerxes. Herodotus (IV, 166) speaks of Darius as issuing refined gold coins, and (VII, 28) he represents Pythius as confessing to Xerxes that he had "of gold four millions of Daric staters, all but seven thousand".

Thucydides (VIII, 28) says "while they delivered to Tissaphernes the town and all the captives both bond and free, for each one of whom they stipulated to receive from him a Daric stater".

Xenophon in "the Anabasis" often mentions these gold coins, and they are also mentioned by Demosthenes (XXIV, 129).

Aristophanes, in the play *Ecclesiazusæ*, 602, makes Blepyrus say "how then if any of us do not possess land, but silver and Darics?" Diodorus (XVII, 66,) says Alexander found at Susa nine thousand talents of gold in Darics. From such passages we see how well known these coins were in Greece and in Asia, but we do not gather from ancient literature that the Daric was ever used as a coin in Magna Graecia.

The weight of the Daric is 130 grains, and it formed the sixtieth part of the light Babylonian Mina of 7800 grains, i. e. 60 Darics. We gather from Xenophon (*Anab.* 1.7.18) that 3000 Darics were regarded as equal to one talent, and from the number of silver coins then passing for a Daric we learn that the ratio of silver to gold was as 13.3 : 1. Among the Greeks generally, before the time of Alexander, 130 grs. seems to have been the common weight of gold coins. Mr. Ridgeway questions whether this weight was really taken from the Daric and suggests that it was the old Greek Talent of Homeric days. The fact that it was the same as that of the Daric made the introduction of the higher units of the Mina and late Eastern Talent easy.

The ratio between silver and gold in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. is said to have been generally as 15 : 1, but when gold became more plentiful, as in 440 B.C., it was as 14 : 1, and in Alexander's time it fell lower. The fact that at Syracuse in 405 B.C. we find the ratio was 15 : 1 is accounted for by the action of the tyrant Dionysius, and this ratio was only in force in his dominion.

In Magna Graecia gold was not used for coinage until silver coins had been in circulation for more than a hundred years, and we note that the gold staters of Tarentum were not of the weight of the Daric, 130 grs., but of the weight of the old Mycenaean rings 135 grs.

In Magna Graecia the only cities which issued a gold coinage were Tarentum and Heraclea, of which one gold coin is preserved.

The weights of the silver coinage of Magna Graecia were adopted from the merchants of Corinth, the mother-city of the commerce of South Italy.

The Corinthians had adopted 130 grs. as the unit of weight in measuring the precious metals, and it was through their merchants that the Persian standard was introduced to S. Italy. The commerce between Corinth and Tarentum was considerable, but some merchants traded between Miletus and Sybaris, and between Samos and other Italian ports, sailing direct round the south of Greece, and not using the isthmus of Corinth.

D^r B. V. Head says : “The extension of the Corinthian standard and system of division by three and six to the Achaean quasi-federal currency of S. Italy can be most satisfactorily proved not only by the weights themselves of the coins of Croton, Sybaris, Metapontum, &c., but by their flat fabric, incuse reverse type, and by the fact that they are frequently restruck on Corinthian coins of the most archaic type.” It is interesting to note that the people who brought the darics to Corinth, the Euboeans, were also the earliest colonists from Greece to settle in S. Italy.

The Chalcidians from Euboea settled at Cumæ, Rhegium, and Zancle some considerable time before the Achaeans crossed to Italy. The weight-standard introduced by the Euboeans was however not the Euboic but the Aeginetic; that standard did not last long, and was succeeded by the Euboic-Attic.

The Euboeans traded with Samos, and probably received from that island the gold standard we call the Persian, with its daric of 130 grs. Corinth and Euboea were closely connected by trade, and through Corinth the Euboic standard came to Tarentum, but not the Corinthian manner of subdividing the coins.

The Tarentines preferred the Athenian divisions into drachms and didrachms, the Achaean cities followed Corinth and divided into drachms and tridrachms.

Two suggestions have been made in regard to the origin of the Euboic system. The older idea was that it is an adaptation of the light Assyrio-Babylonian gold standard, with its shekel or stater of about 130 grs., made by the Euboeans of Chalcis by transferring the eastern gold system to their silver coinage and raising it slightly to 135 grs. But Mr. G. F. Hill in his “Handbook of Greek and Roman

Coins”, p. 36, says “Lehmann’s suggestion (Hermes 1892, p. 549) is again more plausible. He supposes that Chalcis the copper city, where this standard probably originated, commanded the market in copper, and was able to put an unusually high price on that metal.... If we suppose the people of Chalcis raised the price of copper one fifth, the relation of silver to copper would now be 96:1. In the Euboic-Attic system the chalcus was $\frac{1}{96}$ of the stater — one stater of silver was worth ninety-six of copper.” It is interesting to note that this system outlasted all the others, for it was that chosen by Alexander the Great for his currency.

The Tarentine and the Cumaean standards were Euboic-Attic, but the Achaean was Euboic-Corinthian. The didrachms of Tarentum, weighing 132 grs., were of this standard; those of Cumæ are very rare, they may be seen at Paris and Naples, weighing nearly 130 grs. These gave place to the Phocæan staters through the influence of the Velian merchants. At Rhegium, instead of didrachms, we find tetradrachms of this standard weighing from 261 to 267 grs., and drachms of 65 grains.

Table of Weights of the Sicilian Euboic-Attic Standard.

Hemiobolon	.364 grammes	=	5.55 grains
Obol	.73	=	11.26
Trihemiobolon	1.09	=	16.82
Diobolon	1.45	=	22.38
Triobolon	2.075	=	31.99
Drachm	4.366	=	67.28
Octobolon	5.33	=	82.56
Didrachm	8.7	=	124.88
Tetradrachm	17.4	=	249.6

TABLE OF COINS BELONGING TO THE DARIC STANDARD.

The Euboic-Corinthian or Achaean at the rate of 15 : 1.

160 Obols or Twelfths weighing	12.1	} 1950 gr. \mathcal{R} . = 130 gr. \mathcal{A} .
90 Diobols or Sixths	— 21.7	
46 Drachms or Thirds	— 42	
15 $\frac{1}{2}$ Tridrachms or Staters	— 126	

The Euboic-Attic at the rate of 15 : 1.

30 Drachms weighing	65 grs.	} 1950 gr. \mathcal{R} . = 130 gr. \mathcal{A} .
15 Didrachms	— 130	
7 $\frac{1}{2}$ Tetradrachms	— 264	
or 7 Tetradrachms	— 278	

The Reduced Attic at the rate of 15 : 1.

31 Drachms weighing 63 grs. }
 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ Didrachms weighing 126 } 1950 gr. \mathcal{R} . = 130 gr. \mathcal{A} .

Note the difference between the manner of subdividing the amount of silver equivalent to the gold unit, the Euboeans making 15 didrachms and the Aeginetans ten didrachms.

The Euboic-Corinthian or Achaean at the rate of 13.3 : 1.

150 Obols, or Twelfths weighing 11 grains }
 82 Diobols, or Sixths — 21 } = 1729 grs. \mathcal{R} .
 41 Drachms, or Thirds — 42 } = 130 grs. \mathcal{A} .
 13 $\frac{2}{3}$ Tridrachms, or Staters — 126

The Euboic-Attic at the same rate.

26 Drachms weighing 65 grains and a fraction }
 13 Didrachms — 132 — and a fraction } 1729 grs. \mathcal{R} .
 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ Tetrdrachms — 264 — and a fraction } = 130 grs. \mathcal{A} .

The Reduced-Attic at the same rate.

27 $\frac{1}{2}$ Drachms weighing 63 grains } 1729 grs. \mathcal{R} .
 13 $\frac{2}{3}$ Didrachms weighing 126 — } = 130 grs. \mathcal{A} .

It is difficult to see any regular progression in the subdivision of the weights of the obols and diobols, and it looks as if the Achaean system had become so popular that the weights of the Sixths or Diobols were accepted for the other two systems. The weights of the obols are very often 12 grains.

List of the cities which used the Euboic-Corinthian or Achaean system consisting of Tridrachms and Drachms:

Metapontum.
 Siris and Pyxus.
 Sybaris.
 Laüs.
 Poseidonia.
 Croton.
 Caulonia.
 Pandosia.
 Terina.

REDUCED ATTIC STANDARD.

Connected with the Persian Daric Standard we have a series of coins which have been classed by English numismatists as belonging to the Reduced Attic Standard.

This was adopted by the Athenian colonies at Thurium and Heraclea, and by the Velians, whose friendly intercourse with Athens has been noted in the chapter on their city.

The reduction was nine grains, that is, the Athenian didrachm of 135 grs. was reduced to 126 grs., perhaps to facilitate intercourse with the Achaean cities, whose didrachms were of that weight. But the Heracleans did not depart from the Athenian manner of dividing the didrachm into two drachms and their coinage is thus shewn to belong to the Attic and not the Achaean standard, although their stater weighed the same as the Achaean.

THE PHOCAEAN STANDARD.

Phocaea, on the north-west of Lydia, about 60 miles north of Ephesus, at a very early period based its coinage on the sixtieth part of the Heavy Assyrian Mina ($15,600 \div 60 = 260$ grains *A*). The ratio between silver and gold there was also as 13.3 : 1.

In the chapter on the coins of Velia we see how the colonists from Phocaea brought with them to S. Italy the standard with which they were familiar in their old Asiatic home. From Velia this Eastern standard spread to Cumæ, Naples, and Poseidonia.

In 545 B.C. the drachms of Phocaea weighed 58.5 grs, and we find drachms of Velia of about that weight, and some of 60 grs.

The didrachms vary from 115 to 123 grs. Those weighing 115 would correspond in proportion to the weight of the old Phocæan tetradrachms of 230 grs., fifteen of which would weigh 3458 grs at the ratio 13.3 : 1, $260 A \times 13.3 = 3458 A$.

It appears from the coins that the Phocæan colonists did not long continue to use the weights they brought from Asia Minor, for they increased the weight of the drachms from 58.5 to 59 grs., thus making their didrachms of 118 grs.

If the ratio of silver to gold was 13.3 : 1.

60 Drachms weighing	58 grs.	}	= 3458 g. <i>A</i> . = 260 g. <i>A</i> .
30 Didrachms	— 115		
15 Tetradrachms	— 230		

At this rate the didrachms of 118 grs. would give $58 \frac{1}{2}$ drachms weighing 59 grs.

$29 \frac{1}{4}$ Didrachms weighing 118 grs., but this is not a likely arrangement.

If the ratio was as 14 : 1 we should get:

59 Drachms weighing 58.6 grs.

29 Didrachms — 117.7 grs.

It looks as if the increase of weight was owing to the change of ratio from 13.3 : 1 to 14 : 1.

At Neapolis the ratio was evidently 13.3 : 1 as the didrachms there weighed 115 grs.

AEGINETAN STANDARD.

It is very difficult for those who have not studied this subject as experts to judge between the various suggestions which have been made concerning the origin of this standard.

D^r B. V. Head looks upon it as a lowering of the Phoenician standard, Mr. Flinders Petrie as of Egyptian origin, D^r Hultsch as an independent standard, Brandis as a Babylonian silver standard raised from 172.5 to 196 grs.

It seems difficult to believe in the Egyptian influence, because the merchants who connected Egypt with Aegina were Phoenicians.

The difficulty in the way of our at once accepting the theory of D^r Hultsch is the fact that silver was to gold in Asia as 13.3 : 1 and in Greece as 15 : 1, for gold was more scarce in Greece than in Asia. Herodotus I, 62, shews how they had to send to Asia for gold when much was wanted.

The old Homeric talent of 130-135 grs. was most probably still in the year 700 B.C. the Greek unit for weighing gold; if so, with silver at the ratio of 15 : 1 we should find that the weight of a silver coin, issued as one-tenth of the talent, would be just about the weight of many existing Aeginetic didrachms.

$$135 \times 15 = 2025 \text{ grs. } \mathcal{R}.$$

$$2025 \div 10 = 202.5 \text{ grs. } \mathcal{R}.$$

But many more of the coins in good condition weigh only 195 or 194 grs, and this weight can be similarly explained.

$$130 \times 15 = 1950 \text{ grs. } \mathcal{R}.$$

$$1950 \div 10 = 195 \text{ grs. } \mathcal{R}.$$

From this Mr. Ridgeway concludes that the mint-masters of Aegina did not borrow their standard of weight for their new silver coinage from the Phoenicians, but made a silver standard in harmony with the Homeric talent.

If we make tables of the Aeginetan standard on the basis of 230 grs. \mathcal{A} we cannot get 15 didrachms.

$$230 \text{ grs. } \mathcal{A} \times 15 = 3450 \text{ grs. } \mathcal{R}.$$

$$35 \text{ Drachms weighing } 97 \text{ grs. } \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} 230 \text{ grs. } \mathcal{A} \times 15 \\ 35 \text{ Drachms weighing } 97 \text{ grs.} \end{matrix}} \right\} = 3450 \text{ grs.}$$

$$17 \text{ Didrachms } - 195 \text{ grs. } \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} 230 \text{ grs. } \mathcal{A} \times 15 \\ 35 \text{ Drachms weighing } 97 \text{ grs.} \\ 17 \text{ Didrachms } - 195 \text{ grs.} \end{matrix}} \right\}$$

$$\text{or } 220 \mathcal{A} \times 14 = 3320 \text{ grs. } \mathcal{R}.$$

$$\left. \begin{array}{r} 35 \text{ Drachms weighing } 93 \\ 17 \text{ Didrachms } \quad \quad 187 \end{array} \right\} = 3220 \text{ grs. } \mathcal{R}.$$

This ratio 14 : 1 was prevalent in 438 B.C. when the famous statue of Athena was made at Athens (M. Foucart, *Bullet. de Correspond. Hellen.*, 1889, p. 171).

or $230 \times 13.3 = 3059 \text{ grs. } \mathcal{R}.$

$$\left. \begin{array}{r} 34 \text{ Drachms weighing } 90 \\ 17 \text{ Didrachms } \quad \quad 130 \end{array} \right\} = 3059 \text{ grs. } \mathcal{R}.$$

The Phoenician standard is sometimes given as having a stater of 230 grs., as in D^r B. V. Head's *Hist. Num.*

Talent of 690.000 grs. = 3000 staters.

Mina of 11.500 grs. = 50 staters of 230 grs. each.

D^r Head says on p. xxxvii:

“ Nevertheless, as is continually the case where there is no state authority to regulate the standard, the weights, which the Phoenicians had introduced into the Peloponnesus, suffered in the course of time a gradual reduction, if this inference may be drawn from the weight of the staters of Aegina, which are the earliest of all European coins. ”

The *Parian Chronicle* says of Pheidon Φείδων ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐδήμειυσε τὰ μέτρα... καὶ ἀνεσκεύασε, καὶ νόμισμα ἀργυροῦν ἐν Αἰγιῶνι ἐποίησεν.

Pheidon of Argos published the standard and lowered or remade it and made silver money in Aegina.

The didrachm of Aegina in the Bib. Nat. at Paris weighing 207 grs. is not silver but electrum, and so cannot be brought into comparison with those weighing 202 grs. more or less.

That the Greeks had already long before 700 B.C. a gold unit of 135 grs. we know from the rings of Mycenae; it may be that some Egyptian influence can be traced in the Mycenaean remains, but that is not the same as an Egyptian influence on the mint of Pheidon.

If the Homeric talent was of Egyptian origin it does not follow that the Greeks adopted a scientific system related to the later Eastern systems. The weighing of gold in that early period was probably by seeds.

Although the earliest Greeks Colonists in Italy were Chalcidians from Euboea they brought with them men from other cities, and this influence was strong enough to cause the Aeginetic system of weights to be preferred by the colonists. It is probable that the money issued by the Chalcidian colonists was adapted to an easy interchange of coins belonging to either the Euboic or the Aeginetic standards. Some of the coins of Naxos, Zancle, Himera, and Rhegium, usually called Aeginetic, are regarded by D^r Imhoof-Blumer as thirds and eighteenthths of the Euboic-Attic tetradrachm; and Mr. G. F. Hill says on p. 36 of his *Handbook of Greek and*

Roman Coins “ this seems on the whole most probable”, and “ it is still noteworthy that these curious denominations must have been chosen because they fitted in with the Aeginetic standard”.

Mr. A. J. Evans notes (*Num. Chron.*, 1898, p. 321) that the coins weighing 0,90 gramme (i. e. 14 grs.) struck at those cities have no obvious relation to any but the Aeginetic system, of which they are obols; on the other hand what appear to be Euboic-Attic obols were commonly struck at Zancle and Naxos. In any case, therefore the system was a dual one”.

MOHURS.

A comparison of the gold Mohurs of India with the Darics of Persia is interesting. The Mohur is a gold rupee = 15 silver rupees thus representing the same ratio we find in ancient Greece.

But the Mohur is not a legal tender, its value is not fixed. In India as in ancient Greece gold is used much for ornaments. Any one can take gold to the mint and have it made into coins on payment of a small charge, and this is done because it is convenient to have its weight and fineness certified in this manner, thus saving each one the trouble of weighing and assaying for himself. The Mohur passes from one man to another as a commodity and is bought and sold on the basis of the current market price of gold.

A DOUBLE STANDARD.

In France and the United States of America a debtor has the right to discharge his debt in either gold or silver, at a ratio fixed by the state.

But as neither of these countries will give silver coin weight for weight in exchange for silver bullion while they do give gold coin for standard gold bullion, gold is the real standard by which all values are measured. The mere possession of a double standard is not the same thing as Bimetallism. That only exists where the mint is open to coin either the gold or silver brought to it.

MACEDONIAN GOLD STANDARD.

D^r B. V. Head on p. 196 of the *Historia Numorum* says:

“ It would appear that the principle of bimetallism lay at the root of Philip’s monetary reforms, for, while issuing his gold money on the Daric standard, he adopted for his silver the Phoenician weight (or 15 stater-standard), 15 staters or 30 drachms corresponding in value, at the then market price of gold (1 : 12½), to one gold stater. This standard was probably selected with the object of keeping up the price of gold as compared with that of silver, the round numbers thus obtained facilitating such a result.

But the immense influx of gold from the newly opened mines soon proved the futility of the plan. Gold began to fall in value, and Alexander on his accession found himself compelled to return to a monometallic currency, issuing both his gold and his silver according to one and the same standard, gold being again simply regarded as bullion, and no attempt being made to fix definitely the number of silver drachms for which a gold stater should be legally exchangeable (Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, I, 155)."

Thus the citizens coining money were at liberty to choose what rate of exchange for silver and gold appeared to them desirable, instead of having, as under Philip, that ratio fixed.

The tetradrachms of Alexander weighed about 266 grs. but were gradually reduced to 260 grs., the drachms weighed about 66.5 grs.

At the rate of 12 : 1 six tetradrachms weighing 266 grs. would = the aureus. Twenty-four drachms weighing about 66 grs. would have thus passed for the aureus.

In Dr Head's *Hist. Num.*, we find the expression "staters of Italic weight" used, on p. 87, of the coins of Locri Epiz., issued circ. B. C. 332-326, and in p. LIII of the introduction we find "all the other Locrian coins follow the Italic standard".

The series of coins referred to in these passages are didrachms weighing 120 grs. and drachms of 60 grains. At that date it seems probable that the Macedonian gold standard was that adopted in the mints, and we get the following table by taking the rate of exchange at 10 : 1.

22 Drachms of 60 grs. = 1330 grs. \mathcal{R} . = 133 grs. \mathcal{A} .

11 Didrachms of 120 grs. = 1330 grs. \mathcal{R} . = 133 grs. \mathcal{A} .

at the rate of 12 : 1.

$26\frac{1}{2}$ Drachms of 60 grs. = 1596 grs. \mathcal{R} . = 133 grs. \mathcal{A} .

$13\frac{1}{4}$ Didrachms 120 grs. = 1596 grs. \mathcal{R} . = 133 grs. \mathcal{A} .

There does not seem to have been a standard of silver currency which we can call Italic.

345 to 317 B. C. Macedonian Gold Standard 133 grs.

Number of coins	weight grs.	weight	weight
	at rate 12 : 1	at rate of 10 : 1	at rate of 9 : 1
150	10.5	9	8
100	16	13.3	12
70	22.8	19	17.1
60	26.5	22.2	20
50	32	26.6	24
40	40	33	30
30	53	44	40

24	66	55	50
20	80	66	60
16	100	83	75
15	106.4	89	80
14	114	95	85.5
13 $\frac{1}{2}$	118	99	89
13	122	102	92
12	133	111	99
11	145	121	109
10	159.6	133	119.7
8	199	166	149
6	266	221	199
<hr/>			
one gold coin =	1596 grs. \mathcal{A} .	1330 grs. \mathcal{A} .	1197 g. \mathcal{A} .

THE SICILIAN GOLD STANDARD.

Dr B. V. Head in the *Hist. Num.*, p. 153, says that gold was first coined in Sicily between 418 and 405 B.C., but Th. Reinach dates the introduction of a gold coinage between 440 and 420 B.C.

The gold coins of Tarentum were introduced to S. Italy later, about 400 B.C.

The first gold coins of Syracuse and Gela appear to have been issued at a ratio of 15 : 1.

This early Sicilian gold coinage did not affect the mints of S. Italy, and it was not until the time of Agathocles, 317 to 289 B.C. that Italy was affected by Sicilian gold. His gold staters weighed 90 grains.

The ratio of 12 : 1 appears to have prevailed after 411 B.C. but in the third century B.C. it had fallen to 10 : 1. So eight didrachms of 113 grs. would be equal to Agathocles' gold piece and the drachms would be 56.5 grains in weight.

Sicilian Gold Standard 90 grs. to Aureus.

Number of coins	rate 12 : 1	rate 10 : 1
100	10.5 grs.	9 grs.
90	12	10
80	13	11
50	21	18
44	24	20
40	27	22
30	36	30
20	54	45
18	60	60

16	67	56
14	76.5	64
9	120	100
8	135	112
7 $\frac{1}{2}$	144	120
7	155	128
Aureus=	1080 grs. \mathcal{A} .	900 grs. \mathcal{A} .

THE ROMAN GOLD STANDARD.

Gold was kept in the Public Treasury at Rome in the form of lingots of gold, and was first coined into money during the first Punic war, when the pressing needs of the state caused the Romans to fall back upon their reserve of gold treasure.

The relative value of silver to gold was then as 11 : 1.

The gold pieces of 217 B.C. belong to the Romano-Campanian series, and were issued according to the Lex Flaminia by the generals opposing Hannibal in Campania.

Pliny (*N. H.* XXXIII, ciii) says: "Aureus nummus post annum LXII quam argenteus, ita ut scrupulum valeret sestertiis vicenis, quod efficit in libras ratione sestertiorum, qui tunc erant, sestertios DCCCC."

The nummus of gold was coined sixty-two years after that of silver, so as to make a scrupule equal to twenty sestertii.

These gold coins were issued in Capua.

Some bear the head of Janus on Obv., and the sacrifice of a pig on the \mathcal{R} . Others which bear marks of value, show a head of Mars on the Obv., and an eagle on a fulmen on the \mathcal{R} . Those bearing VX weigh 3.40 gram. = 52?

Those bearing XXXX weigh 1.26 gram. = 35.

Those bearing XX weigh 1.13 gr. = 17.44 grs.

The eagle type used in the mint of Capua was probably copied from a Tarentine type.

The influence of the gold coinage of Rome upon the Greek cities of S. Italy could not have commenced until about the year 205 B.C.

The Aureus of 106 grains at the ratio 11 : 1 = 1166 grs. \mathcal{A} .

The weights of the Didrachms vary from 112 to 106 grs.

Eleven Didrachms weighing 106 grs. = an Aureus.

Ten Didrachms weighing 112 and a drachm = an Aureus.

Roman gold weight 106 grs. used from 268 B. C.

	Weight rate 11 : 1	Weight rate 10 : 1	Weight grs. to 9 $\frac{1}{4}$: 1
100 pieces	11.17	10.6	9.80
90	12.9	11.7	10.6
80	14.5	13.25	11.92
60	19.4	17.6	15.9
50	23.2	21.2	19.08
30	39	35.3	31.8
20	58.5	53	47.7
11	97	88.3	79.5
12	106	96.36	86.72
10	117	106	95.4
9	134	121.70	106
	<hr/> 1170 grs.	<hr/> 1060 grs. \mathcal{A} .	<hr/> 950 grs.

This standard influenced Velia, Croton, Neapolis.

For further information we may read the article on the weights of coins in “Klio, *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* (Sechster Band. Leipzig, 1906), by K. Regling. It consists of 34 pages entitled *Zum älteren Römischen und Italischen Münzwesen*. The average and the maximum weights of the staters of each city are given. We must beware of taking an average of the weights of the coins issued under different standards at different ratios. Such a list can only be used with caution.

Another useful work containing valuable information is the *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, by G. F. Hill (Macmillan & Co, 1899).

Mr. G. F. Hill thus explains the terms Obv. and Rev. :

The lower die, which was let into the anvil, produced what is called the *obverse* side of the coin. The upper die produced the *Reverse*. Down to the fourth century B. C., the reverse die was made smaller than the surface of the blank, so that it left an *incuse* impression, the edges of the blank rising up around it. In most parts of the Greek world the upper die was at first square in shape so that the incuse impression was also octangular.

In later times the upper die was made so large that it covered the whole surface of the blank, and the reverse was then only differentiated from the obverse by a slight concavity of surface. Numismatists have become accustomed to use the terms *Obv.* and *Rev.* without regard to their technical significance.

The reason for the laxity of expression is that on most later coins the head stands on the obverse. Since the head was usually treated in higher relief than the reverse type the strain on the die was correspondingly greater, and the die with the head was therefore placed where it would receive the greater support from the anvil below it and around its edges.

Most numismatists have thus formed a habit, difficult to discard, of thinking of the side of a coin which bears the head as necessarily the obverse, unless the incuse impression is very deep : and in Sicily it is usually shallow.

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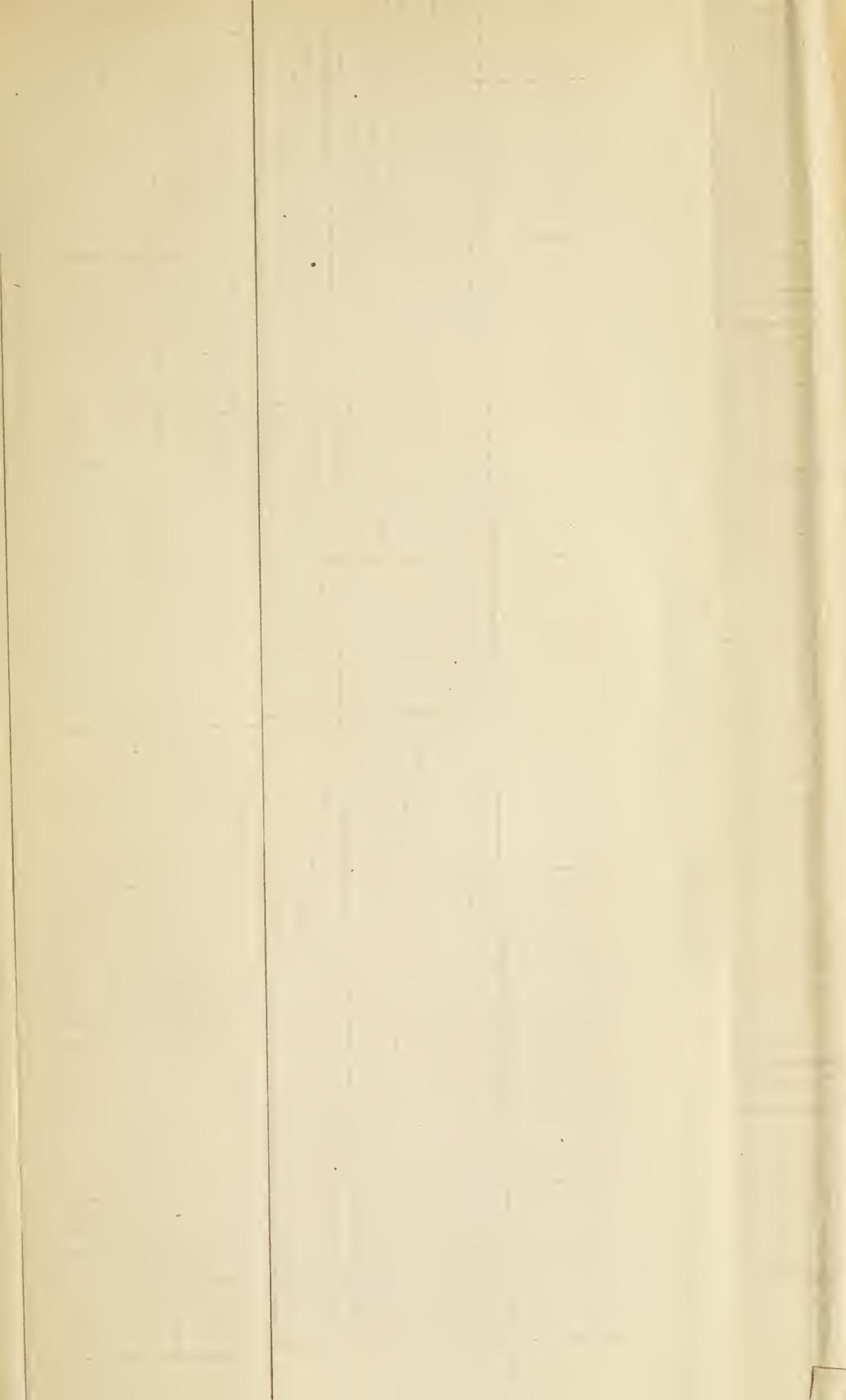




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