GREEK
FEDERAL COINAGE
WARREN
AN ESSAY

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BY THE

HON. J. LEICESTER WARREN, M.A.

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PREFACE.

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

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

ON

GREEK FEDERAL COINAGE.

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

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

\(^1\) The whole list of places coining under the Achaian League, as I have given it, amounts to 41. 32 of these coins I have verified personally. This leaves 9 places given on the authority of Sestini, Mionnet, &c. These two authorities are not trustworthy on any point of great importance, but probably two-thirds of these 9 towns or districts have left actual coins, as seven of these are known from history to have actually been members of the League.
Bœotia, bears upon it the distinct impress of the main constitutional fault of that particular League. The coinage of Bœotia and its League is, eminently and in a very undue preponderance, the coinage of Thebes. The didrachms which claim to be considered federal by inscribing the name of the Bœotians differ only in this respect from those, which, professing to be struck by 'the Thebans,' would, if strictly interpreted, rank as a merely municipal currency.

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

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

¹ See Mr. Freeman's History of Federal Government, page 160.
² We shall show lower down that the Akarnanian League at one period met and struck federal coins at Thyrrhéon.
³ The number of coins which a town has left is not always a sure test of its relative importance as compared with neighbouring cities at the time those coins were issued. The accidental proximity of a mine sometimes leaves us a large series of a comparatively unimportant place.
VARIous FEDERAL COINAGES.

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


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

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

Though we have no evidence of this league, beyond a compact to assimilate their currencies between six or more cities, with doubtless an agreement to make their coins, interchangeably, a legal tender throughout the town-districts of each;—yet we may fairly presume that, in many such cases, the greater is implied by the less; that a common currency may have meant a common council; nor must we infer the absence of more complicated federal ties, because in the length of time only one of the then least details in the provisions of the league—a uniform type on their money—has survived to us.1

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

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

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

Having thus attempted a general view of the subject numismatically considered, I shall now pass in detail over the various intelligence en général; et le but en était probablement de donner un cours plus répandu à la monnaie et d’économiser sur les frais du monnayage.” In 1802, Berne with five or six of the largest Swiss Cantons agreed to a Concordat under which they issued a uniform currency, though quite independently of the Federal Government. Compare this with our six Boeotian towns.

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

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

INTRODUCTION.

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

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

PHOKIS.

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

Another of his son Palaikos

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

1 The φ on the earliest Phōkian coins reads like the θ turned on its side. The Σ is merely an omicron with a dot in the centre. These earliest federal coins of Phōkis must be nearly as old as the Arkadian.
2 Strabo, ix, 3, sec. 8. Col. Leake has also published this coin but without comment under Phōkis, Num. Hell.
3 In the collection of General Fox. A similar coin in the British Museum appears to read ΦΑΛΑΙΚΟΤ. This very coin was published by Harwood. This may be a graver's slip for Phalaikos. Onomarchos had a brother Phajillos who succeeded him in the generalship during the minority of Phalaikos. The family seem to have established a semi-hereditary succession in Phōkis.
PHOKIAN CITIES.

office. A careful study of the federal copper coinage of Phōkis may, Phōkis.

no doubt, bring to light many new names connected with the sacred

war, upon the history of which some new light will be thrown.

This head of the sacrificial ox is the distinctive type of the

Phōkian coinage. If the federal mint of Phōkis was in any town

it probably was at Delphi. Still we know that there was no one

dominant Phōkian city and that the Phōkikon stood by the wayside.¹

What is really valuable in the existence of coins "of the Phōkians"—

second perhaps only to the Arkadian in antiquity—is the distinct

evidence they supply of a certain germ of Federalism in Phōkis at

least five or six centuries before the Christian Era; that is, of the

earliest beginnings of that Phōkian League of which that League

which Pausanias saw was the decline and the mere shadow.²

The coinage of Delphi is not particularly noteworthy.

The coins reading merely ἈΜΦΙΚΤΙΟΝΩΝ are presumably

struck there. Anthēla near Thermopylæ has however been sug-

gested³ as the place whence such pieces were issued, during some

temporary meeting of the sacred deputies near Thermai. Delphi

continues to coin under the Roman Empire.⁴

Of the other Phōkian towns Elateia⁵ has been given coins reading

at full length, which, I fancy belong to the Thessalian Elateia.

Mr. Borrell has published a coin which he attributes to Lilaia.

Médéon or Medeón, Kyprissos and Amphikhaia or Amphikleia⁶

have had coins also attributed to them with considerable uncertainty.

¹ See above, pp. 145, 146.

² P. 146, and on the rude federalism existing in many parts of early

Greece, p. 144, note. Arnold's Life, i. 273 and also p. 145.

³ By M. Duchalais. These coins are fine Ἀγίνηταν didrachms. A

hemidrachm of this series with a similar legend is in the collection of

Baron Prokesch-Osten. It bears a veiled head of Démêter, with a serpent

twined round the sacred omphalos. This looks as if such pieces were

minted at Delphi. It seems very strange that a primarily religious body

like the Amphiktyons should have exercised the right of coining. See

text, pp. 123—143.

⁴ A Negro's head, given by conjecture as Ἀσσώπ's, though this is very

doubtful, occurs on the small silver of Delphi. He is supposed to have

been sold in slavery to the Delphians. The weight of the federal coinage

of Phōkis follows the Ἀγίνηταν scale.

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

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

The coins of Amphissa and Thronion will be considered under Ἀτολία.
PHOKIS.

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

AKARNANIA.

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

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

1 Published by A. de Longperier. Revue Num: p. 247. 1843. And by Barthelemy. (Encyc. Roret. pl. 7. 246.) M. Cohen kindly furnished me with an impression of this coin.
2 This type is new to the list of the god's statues there described (§ x. 36). The coin reads ANTÍKYPHE. Artemis hunting occupies the other side.
3 ix. 3, sec. 4. I do not think this coin belongs either to the Lokrian or Thessalian Antikyra, although possibly these may have also specially worshipped Poseidon.
4 The type in each case is identical; the Aktian Apollo seated on one side, and the head of the deified Achelós on the other. The name of the head magistrate of the League, probably the Stratōs mentioned by Polybios (v. 6), and Livy (xxvi. 11), perhaps the priest of the Aktian Apollo, is added, as ΑΙΣΧΡΩΝ ΑΙΣΧΡΩΝΟΣ, ΑΤΚΟΤΡΟΣ, &c.; this last is a name of frequent occurrence. The federal coinage reads ΑΚΑΡΝΑΜΩΝ, the municipal coinage ΟΥΠΕΡΙΑΟΝ, or ΟΥΨΗΦΟΝ, or ΟΥΨΕΡΙΑΟΝ. Thyrrhéon records also her own magistrates ΕΝΟΜΗΝΗΣ - ΧΕΡΕΚΣ - in all likelihood municipal not federal officers.
5 xxxviii. 5.
6 We cannot date the federal Akarnanian coinage with any precision. All that we can say is that it is later than Alexander. The silver currency consists of drachms and didrachms of low Αγηναντικ weight. It probably extends over a very few years. I have seen an electrotYPE of one small federal Akarnanian gold coin, of the usual type, from the Hunter Collection.
7 Polybios gives both Θῆριον and Θῆριο. I have followed the second of these coin forms as the commonest.
capital of the League when Leukas was lost after the Third Macedonian War B.C. 167. Still the meeting recorded by Polybius\(^1\) took place while Leukas was still in the League, and the fabric of these coins of Thyrrhéon, federal and municipal, seems hardly so late as the Roman capture of Leukas.

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

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

\(^1\) See text, p. 148. Throughout, and p. 664.

\(^2\) At all events between 197–167 B.C. That is after Stratos became Ἀἰτωλία, and before Leukas was lost. See above, p. 148.

\(^3\) See text, p. 149, and Rose, Inscript. Græc. p. 382. The Ἀρχαῖος of Polybios and Livy is omitted in this inscription. The type and symbols on the Leukadian coins support this in favour of the Priest’s name being intended. Still I fancy that these didrachms of Leukas were pro tanto the nearest approach to a federal coinage in the Akarnanian League at the time they were struck; judging both by their number, and the adequate certainty that Leukas was then the League capital. They bear the monogram of the League in some few cases, but there is nothing else the least federal about them beyond this. Hence, the Akarnanian League only at one period, and that a short one, could have had a real federal coinage, that of Thyrrhéon. In Smith’s Dict. of Geography, vol. ii. p. 170, a Leukadian didrachm is engraved which bears one form of the League monogram clearly enough. These coins are probably on the Attic standard.

The formula on the Leukadian series is ΛΕΥΚΑΙΩΝ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΗΣ, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΗΣ, &c. with a variety of symbols—a head—a grape bunch—an eagle—as on the Theban or Boeotian coinage. These are perhaps badges or what we should call crests of the particular officer’s family, but relate more probably to some small municipal ward, or district, and again may merely distinguish different issues. I am speaking above of coins with the silver Leukadian type, the statue of Artemis, and the half galley. The Corintho-colonial series of Leukas is also numerous but bears no immediate relation to the Akarnanian League, to which it was anterior in the time of its issue.
is no doubt synchronous with certain copper coins of Leukas of a common type with them, the Achelōs head. They both bear also what is more important the monogram, probably, of Akarnania—a distinct recognition of that League—above and beyond the authority of their own particular city district. ¹

EPEIROS.

The federal coinage of Epeiros reads AΠEIPOTAN with the

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

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

The cities geographically included in Akarnania of which coins remain are—Alyzia—Anaktorion—Argos Amphilochoikon—Métropolis—Stratos—Hérakleia—Leukas—Sollion—Oiniadai—Thyrrhēon. The towns in this list which we have not noticed in detail do not immediately illustrate the Akarnanian League. They are for the most part Corinthian colonies, and their types are rather Corinthian than Akarnanian; hence their coins are chiefly interesting as throwing light upon the chaotic and extensive Corintho-colonial series rather than upon the League of Akarnania. A coin of Sollion published by M. de Longperier (Revue Num. vol. viii. 423) reads at full ΣΟΛΛΙΛΩΝ, as also does a different type from the collection of Baron Prokesch-Osten. The attribution of Corinthian-type didrachms reading ΜΑ to the Akarnanian Métropolis is adopted from Leake (Europ. Greece, 75), but it is not absolutely incontestable. The same remark applies to the coins given by the same authority (p. 54) to the Akarnanian Hérakleia, out of the multitudinous Greek cities of that name. (See however Leake’s reasons for the attribution.) The other Akarnanian city-attributions are quite certain. M. Müller (Num. Alex. G. p. 178) publishes three tetradrachms of Alexander the Great inscribed ΟΙΝΙΑ, which had been classed by M. Pinder as struck at Oiniadai. M. Müller, I believe, rightly considers this only a Doric form of a magistrate’s name.
initial portion of one or more magistrates' names. Historically it Epeiros is impossible that these coins can be anterior to Alexander of Macedon, and, to judge merely by their fabric, a later date must be assigned to them. Colonel Leake would place the federal mint of the Epeirots at Dodona. His reasons for this supposition may be briefly stated thus: first, we have no coins of Dodona in its own name, nor of any other Epeirot city in the interior; the coining towns are all on the coast. Next, the types of these coins and most of their symbols relate to the worship of Zeus Dodonaiaos. Yet, with all respect for the high authority of Where struck. Colonel Leake, the fact of no coins existing of Dodona in its own name makes more strongly against this town having been the federal mint, than in favour of such a supposition. Thyrreion and Megalopolis issue their own municipal coinage side by side with the federal currency. Moreover the Epeirots, League, wherever it struck, was likely to multiply allusions to Zeus of Dodona; the deified

1 ΑΤΣΘΝ (Lysander) ΑΓΘΝ (Agénon) ΔΕΡΑΑ; some pieces bear two names; most have monograms of doubtful interpretation. In the passage of Livy quoted in the text (p. 152, and again p. 599) which implies three Epeirots the names are Aeropolis, Darda, and Philip. It is highly interesting that an Epeirot coin should give us ΔΕΡΑΑ. If we are to accept this as the same Darda of Livy we should get an Epeirot federal coin struck B.C. 204. The name however may have been common in Epeiros as in a dynasty of Elymiiotis (see Thirwall, viii. p. 98 note). In another passage of Livy (xxxii. 10) but one general is mentioned as Prator with a Magister Equitum (p. 152). On these conflicting passages I may remark that I have seen a federal Epeirot coin which seems to bear two distinct names or portions of names. The last two of these, however, as I give them, are partly in monogram so that small stress can be laid upon them. They are ΑΤΣΘΝ, ΑΡΚΟ, and ΑΝΤ or ΑΤ. A drachm of the Kasopian type published by Leake seems to bear one name, and that at full length, ΑΤΚΙΕΚΟΣ (Supp. Num. Hell. p. 125) like the ΧΑΝΝΩΣ of Kasóp; the former name is historical in both Etolia and Akarnania.

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

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

4 See Num. Halien, sub Epeiros passim.

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

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

KASSÒPÉ.

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 The following towns and tribe-districts of Epeiros have left authenticated coins: Amantia and Orikon (rather Illyrian than Epeiot cities),
The coins of the Molossian Dynasty of Epeiros in a few instances throw some light upon the working of federalism in that country. 

Ambrakia, Damaston, Kassōpē, Molossis (coining conjointly as Kassōpia Molossian), Pandosia, and Phoinikē.

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

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

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

I have given Elea on the authority of Col. Leake. (Ela Thesprotise. Europe, p. 48.) He there ascribes coins to this district reading ΕΑΕΑI (Eaeai) and bearing the type of Cerberus with ΘΕ added in one instance, as the Colonel would suppose, for ΘΕΙΝΩΝ. He believes these coins struck at Ephyre afterwards Kichyros, in the Eleatis. See Mion. Sup. iii. 418. (Celtis Aidonites.)

I cannot regard Col. Leake’s attribution as at all certain, yet I prefer it to that of M. de Cadalvène who reads ΕΑΕΩ on these coins, and would class them to the Besotian Heleon, a village of the Tanagriki. (Strabo, ix. 2. sec. 12.) The British Museum specimen certainly reads ΕΕΑ."
The Thespòtian coin of Pyrrhos. The Thespòtians, in Thukydidean times αβαρικευτος, have thus, according to Mionnet, left us a curious monument of their national existence in a coin bearing the head of Pyrrhos as King coupled with their own name on the other side. Such a piece might be compared to an Irish halfpenny with King George's head, or with the Anglo-Gallic coins of some of our Henries and Edwards.

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

THESSALY.

The federal coinage of Thessaly dates from a much later period than the other federal currencies of Greece. We have not, and indeed we should hardly expect, any distinct numismatic record of Thessalian federalism during the pre-Macedonian period. It is possible, but not likely, that Thessaly would coin as a collective body while Macedon was supreme in Greece. Accordingly, our oldest Aktian Apollo, which appears on the Akarnanian federal coinage struck at Thyrrhèon, would make Leukas the national mint of the League at that time.

1 Thuc. ii. 80.
2 Some of the beautiful coins of Pyrrhos were struck in Italy; some in Epeiros, perhaps from the same mintage-place as the federal Epeiroi didrachms, be that Dédôna or Kasopé. Of his Italian coins, Consentia the capital of the Bruttians and Syracuse are, according to Leake, the principal mintage-places. Possibly Pyrrhos may have struck also at Ambrakia his Epeiroi residence, and Taras.
3 I cannot guarantee the genuineness of this coin, only knowing it through Mionnet (sup. iii. 417), and no similar specimen existing in the English or French national collections. Still some of the silver pieces of Pyrrhos bear a letter and monogram probably resolvable into ΘΕΙ. This might be connected with a single isolated Α on several of these coins, and also on a few of the federal Epeiroi drachms, which might stand for Ambrakia or ΑΙΝΙΠΟΤΑΝ as well as anything else, though such interpretations are merely here offered as suggestions. However, Colonel Leake would ascribe the British Museum tetradrachm, which bears this Α, to Syracuse, and certainly other single letters occur on this king's coins. Some undoubted federal copper types of Epeiros merely bear ΑΙΙ which must stand for the name of the Epeiroi League.
4 The federal silver of Thessaly are probably ΑΕγίνεταν drachms.
5 See as illustrating this at p. 154, Pol. iv. 9, where the Thessalians as a body are enumerated among the allies of Macedon; which seems to imply their country's nominal independence. Also, especially, the note at p. 541, on Pol. iv. 76, and p. 499.
coins inscribed ῬΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ are little, if at all, anterior in date to the new Thessalian constitution of Flamininus and his resettlement of the country. Some few specimens, according to Leake the oldest, of this coinage bear the name of a single magistrate, but the great mass are inscribed with two names; whether these two names imply two magistrates is rather uncertain. At any rate in Thessaly under the Roman Emperors the coinage gives us one stratēgos; while a few apparently earlier coins of this community give likewise but one name, referring no doubt to the same

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

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

3 Thessaly is of so little account in federal history that I shall merely state most briefly the intricate question of the number and interpretation of the magistrates' names on this federal series, reserving its more lengthened discussion for some subsequent opportunity elsewhere. Leake is of opinion that the earliest of these coins bear a single name, the later two names. One probably the Stratēgos, the other the Tagos, since both offices occur in Thessalian inscriptions of the last century before Christ. I am however inclined to suspect that the great mass of these coins bear only one name after all; the second name being nearly always in the genitive case or a patronymic. Thus ΔΙΟΚΑ ΗΣ ΙΤΑΛΟΤ, ΔΑΜΟΘΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΘΕΝΙΑΔΗΣ. This one name would be the stratēgos. Thus Leake publishes one of these coins struck under Augustus which reads ΧΩΣΑΝΑΡΟΣ ΧΩΣΑΝΑΡΟΤ; and on this point we may compare the ΑΙΧΡΙΟΝ ΑΙΧΡΙΩΝΟΣ—ΑΕΟΝ ΟΡΕΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ on federal Akarnanian drachms, in all which cases we must perforce interpret Aischirôn the son of Aischirôn, or Sôsandros son of Sôsandros, &c. Mionnet, and Leake in one instance, have published coins with both names in the genitive; such a specimen I have never seen. On the Thessalian quasi-federal coins under the Roman Empire, to which class the Sôsandros coin belongs, there is generally a single name with the office, the generalship, specified, as ΕΠΙ ΛΑΣΤΡΟΤ ΣΠΑΘΗΓΟΤ. There is much more to be said on this subject, but it is somewhat too technical for general interest. It is however worth notice that the second name, which I presume in the genitive, often elides its final ι as ΚΑΙΣΑΝΑΡΟ. The coins of Dyrrhakion and the Illyrian Apollônia bear two proper names, the second distinctly in the genitive. I have one silver coin of Federal Thessaly which distinctly bears three names; a duplicate of this is in the British Museum. I fancy however that in this exceptional case a third name, the grandfather, is added for distinction's case from some previous General of the same name. (See Sestini, p. 67.)
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The federal coinage of Thessaly, office, distinctly mentioned, as we know, in the constitution of Flamininus, B.C. 197. ¹

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

¹ Magnesia and Perrhaibia had also leagues of their own set up by Flamininus, as well as Euboea. There are coins of the Magnesians (ΜΑΥΡΗΘΩΝ) of this period struck at Demetrias (Liv. xxxv. 31), which resemble in style the coins of Federal Thessaly; as also of the Perrhaibians (ΠΕΡΡΑΙΒΩΝ). (See Num. Hell. under Magnesia.) The coins inscribed ΕΥΒΟΙΩΝ are probably of this period rather than that of Kallias (Text, p. 207). Chalkis or Eretria must have struck them.

² Perhaps Alexander of Pherai and certainly Tisiphon (on the coin Tisiphon) have left coins. The tetradrachms of the former belong as Mr. C. Newton (Num. Chron. vii. p. 110) supposes, to a King of Paonia, and M. Lenormant (Trésor de Glyptique, &c. Rois Grecs, p. 41) corrects the attribution of the drachm given to Alexander of Pherai, as merely a coin of Alexander of Macedon. Still I think some drachms in the British Museum are probably rightly attributed to the former. We have very early coins of several Thessalian cities, though the federal coinage is only of a later date. Under the Roman Empire these cities cease to strike (see Leake, Numis. Hell. sub Thessalia), but the quasi-federal series continues. Leake also quotes a curious coin of this series dated with the 174th year of the Aktian era (5th of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 143).

³ Huber Sale Catalogue, p. 29, and the British Museum. It reads ΦΕΠΑΙ, with a horse’s head, and a lion’s head as a fountain. On the other side AA with a man holding a bull by the horns.

⁴ I have altered the classification on the authority of a paper by M. A. Duchalais (Rev. Num. xviii. p. 255). What was before read TA—ΦΕ—Tanagra, Pherai, he reads ΑΤ—ΦΕ—Atrax, Pherai. The coin bears the half horse on one side—found, curiously enough, both on coins of the Boeotian Tanagra, as well as many Thessalian cities—and the ear of wheat, or what M. Duchalais, I fancy rightly, calls a bud of the Hellebore, on the other. He also suggests alliances between Pherai and the Athamanians, Argos, and Kastaneia respectively, and publishes coins of analogous type reading ΦΕ—ΑΘ, ΦΕ—ΑΠ, and ΦΕ—ΚΑ. These last are not improbable, but perhaps not as yet incontestably established by the coins there published. For instance ΦΕ—ΑΡ (sic) may be merely ΦΕ, ΡΑ, as Pherai is often written
THE ATHAMANES, AMYNANDER.

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

ΒŒOTIA.

The federal series of Boeotia and the municipal coinage of Boeotia. Thebes, the mintage-place of both, extend concurrently over at least four or five hundred years: these coins are, in consequence, of extreme interest, from the variety and excellence of art at different epochs with which they furnish us. The earliest coins are of great antiquity.⁴ It is not too much to assert that there have come down to us coins of each of the three distinct Boeotian periods;⁵ although, in most cases, we can only approximately guess at the date of the particular specimen under inspection.⁶ The great mass, however, were doubtless struck during the second period, that is the ΦΕΡΑΙ and ΦΕΡΑΙΟΝ. The ΦΕ—ΚΑ may be ΦΕ—ΡΑ, blundered or misread, as the engraving of the other side of this coin seems to bear other letters not explained. The alliance too with the Athamanians seems strange, though this coin reads clearly enough on the plate. This ΑΘ or ΘΑ may mean other places besides Athamania. For instance we have ΑΣΤΟ inscribed on coins of Pherei, hardly explainable by an alliance.

¹ Strabo, ix. 5, sec. 13, Pliny, iv. 2. cf Smith, Dict. of Geog. sub Athamania.
² See Livy, xxxviii. 1. "Caput Athamaniae."
⁴ See for instance two highly curious archaic didrachms (Suppl. Numis. Hell. pp. 177, 178), one Theban, the other Boeotian, both of which Col. Leake considers not much, if at all, later than 600 B.C. The angular alpha and beta, the crossed theta, and the circle with a central dot for omicron, are here found.
⁵ On the three periods of Boeotian history, see p. 159.
⁶ The usual type of the Boeotian buckler and the diota or pitcher is the
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period of Theban greatness, down to the city’s destruction by Alexander.

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

In this League, however, where Thebes was everything, and where the terms ΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ and ΒΟΙΩΤΟΣ were to all intents equivalent and synonymous,² it is of no great historical importance to attempt rigidly to separate the city and federal coinage beyond the same on the coins of Federal Boeotia, as on those of Thebes striking on her own account. The head of Dionysos, and Hēraklēs stringing his bow or strangling the serpents, &c., are also found on Theban coins. When such coins read ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ they are assigned to the federal series; to the city series, those which bear ΘΕΘΗ, ΘΕΘΑΙΩΝ, ΘΕΘΑΙΩΝ, or any other orthographical variations of the city name. Intermediate between these is the class of coins identical with them in type, weight, &c., but which merely bear a magistrate’s name; these may fairly be considered federal coins also, as the name they bear must be the Archon Epónymos of the Boeotarchs; to this class the Epameinōndas coin hereafter to be noticed belongs. It is somewhat curious, that when a magistrate’s name does occur on these didrachmas, it occurs alone; all mention of Thebes or the Boeotians is left out. In like manner we get ΘΕΘΑΙΩΝ or ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ indifferently, but no magistrate. I am mainly speaking of the didrachmic currency of the second period in this generalisation. The list of magisterial names is a curious one enough; here are a few out of many in their abbreviated forms which have come under my personal observation. ΗΙΚΕ (Mionnet gives also ΗΙΣΜΕ), ΕΙΝΑΙΜΙ, ΧΑΡΟ with the long R, ΣΤΙΑΙΑ (Εοδης, Εδορατος), ΦΑΧΤ (δανυσμος, δανυμηθων), ΚΑΙΝ (dialectic form of ΚΑΙΝ), &c. &c. The interpretations are Colonel Leake’s (see also some additional names in Suppl. to Numis. Hell. Europe, p. 117). Another didrachm reads ΑΒΙ; one is reminded of the Boeotarch Aboiokritos (Plut. Ar. 16, or rather Amoikritos, Pol. xx. 4. See text, p. 875), who is slain on the side of Aratos during his first generalship. Still very few of these federal didrachmas would be as late as this. In the name ΧΑΡΟ we find the archaic arrow-headed form of the X as the initial letter. This may be Charōn the partisan of Felopidas. (Xen. Hell. v. 4, 3, cf Geog. Dict.) There are a few small gold coins of Thebes.

¹ A very late Theban copper coin struck close upon Roman times apparently commemorates a fifth Archonship (ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΗ ΠΕΡΙΠΔΟΙ οια (sic)). On the shadow of the Boeotian League which continued during the Roman Empire, see p. 185, note. There are late copper coins, probably Theban, bearing merely a magistrate’s name with the head of Hēraklēs and the bow, club, &c., which read ΦΙΛΟ—ΑΙΚΙΟΝ—ΙΠΤΠΙ—and so on. The last, Mionnet (Sup. iv. 286) strangely misclassses to the Lakonian Pyrrhichos.

² On “Theban” and “Boeotian” see pp. 160, 161.
the verbal distinction above mentioned; even were the two series Boeotia.
not so identical in type, and apparently synchronous in commence-
ment and duration.

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

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

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

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

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

The coin of Hariartos, no less than the one of Lebadeia, are the only
specimens known, as far as I am aware, of their coinage under this town alli-
ance; hence there is every probability of our list of towns in this monetary
League receiving additions. Mr. Burgon, and subsequently I believe Colonel
Leake, pointed out the existence of this League; the similarity of these
coins must strike any one studying at all the series of Boeotia. Hariartos is
a new addition to their list of towns included under it. We may presume,
for instance, a similar coin of Dêlion, as an alliance between Tanagra and
Dêlion is commemorated by a possibly authentic coin given by Mionnet,
Barthélemy, and others. Koròneia and Dêlion are also supposed to strike
in alliance, but this attribution is hardly certain. Leake compares with the
six-city league a similar monetary alliance which he places in Attica among
towns near the Boeotian frontier. He suggests out of coins of this class
In this instance, we have the most conclusive evidence of a league—for the purposes, at least, of striking money—entered into between these towns; it seems nowise unfair, having established thus much, to suspect and infer stronger and more complicated provisions of federal union between the component members of such a community.

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

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

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

1 On the dates of the destruction of these towns, see p. 174.
2 On cities in frequent alliance without any absolute federal tie, see pp. 34 and 35, in the text.

The coins of this six-town league do not seem to be older from their fabric
There is little doubt that there were local Archons in the different Beotia. Besides an inscription later than the period of Local Kassander's restoration of Thebes, we may notice a coin of Orchomenos with a distinct magistrate's name ΕΥΔΟΡΟ. This didrachm is certainly as early as the second period.

The following Beotian cities have left authenticated coins: Beotian coining cities.
Kôpai—Korôneia—Délion—Haliartos—Lebadeia—Mykalessos—Orchomenos—Pharai—Plataia—Tanagra—Thespia. The than 300 B.C. Mr. Burgon dated them between 100 and 200 B.C. This is surely, however, too late.

1 See above, p. 164, on the inscription in Boeckh (i. 729).
2 Orchomenes is the invariable numismatic form of the city's name. The only exception I know is the nearby unique coin of the six-city league which reads ΕΡΩ. This fact besides their fabric would point a rather later date to this class of coins.
3 Still it is possible that this Orchomenian may have been federal Archon, and therefore commemorated as a matter of pride on his native town's coinage as well. The didrachms of Orchomenos corresponding to the federal ones of the second Theban period, inscribe however both town name and magistrate according to the general rule elsewhere. The name ΕΥΔΟΡΟ (Eudoros), mentioned above, appears as ΕΤ followed by ΕΡΩ. This is merely mentioned to contrast the leading Beotian city after Thebes, with Thebes itself and her federal coinage. I would rather give the beautiful hemidrachms usually classed to Orchomenos with the head of Persephonē to Eretria in Euboea.

4 I have seen two specimens of early silver coins of Haliartos or Haliartos; they read ΑΠΙΑΠΤΩΝ. I cannot doubt the authenticity of one of them. (Gen. Fox's collection.) The "grassy" Haliartos (Strabo, ix. 2, sec. 18) was destroyed in the war against Perseus (ix. 2, sec. 30). A hemidrachm of this town in the collection of Baron Prokesch-Osten exactly resembles that of Délion but reads ΑΡ instead of ΑΙ. A didrachm in the British Museum probably bears the same legend but the lettering is not very distinct.
5 Pharai and Mykalessos were in Strabo's time mere villages of the Tanagrikē. Délion is mentioned as merely a temple of Apollo. Their coinage attests an earlier importance.

6 Thespia and Tanagra alone continue to strike frequent autonomous coins close on Roman times; we know from Strabo that these were the only flourishing Beotian towns under Augustus (ix. 2, sec. 26)—of the rest names only and ruins remained. Thespia, Tanagra, and Orchomenos have left coins corresponding in style, date, and in many respects in type, with the main federal or Theban series of Εγινεταν didrachms. A remarkable tetradrachm of Attic weight bearing a seated Poseidon is an anomaly in this last series. The large Gorgon-headed pieces given to Korôneia are also on the Attic scale, and are sometimes ascribed to Athens and also to the Macedonian Neapolis, once Daton, but no attribution is certain. We should expect a very old coinage at Korôneia, the seat of the Beotian Amphiktyony, out of which the political
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Boeotia. coins of Delion read Δι in the Boeotian dialectic form.\(^1\) This has tempted some persons to attribute them to Dionysia.

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

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

OLYNTHOS AND CHALKIDIKE (B.C. 382).

A silver coin bearing the head of Apollo on one side with the inscription \(\text{OLYNO}\), a lyre with \(\text{ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ}\) on the other,\(^3\) may be accepted in all certainty as a coin of the Chalkidic Confederacy, struck at its capital Olynthos. This coin in type nearly resembles the beautiful tetradrachms and drachms of what we may call the federal coinage of the Macedonian Chalkidians. These last coins read merely \(\text{ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ}\) with the addition of the name of the head federal magistrate, \(\text{ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΟΣ, ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΥΕΝ, ΕΠΙ ΛΑΚΑΗΠΟΔΩΡΟ,}\) and are likewise to be referred to the most Boeotian League had its rise. (See text, pp. 159—160.) There are certain smaller coins reading \(\text{ΚΟΡ}\). Déliōn strikes with the pitcher and buckler, but her coins are much smaller and lighter than the didrachms of the main series, and are probably drachms and hemidrachms of the same \(\text{Εγκενας}\) scale. M. Müller (p. 209) publishes coins of various denomination with types of Alexander the Great and Philip of Macedon, supposed to have been struck at Thebes or at least in Boeotia. These bear the Boeotian buckler as a symbol accompanied, on the coins of Alexander, by the staff of Dionysos in some instances. I think this attribution is stronger than many of M. Müller's. But we get this buckler also at Salamis.

\(^1\) Cf. Leake, sub Pharn, Mycaleus, Delium.

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

\(^3\) Mycaleus was perhaps only another constituent of Tanagra and not a voting city. Its coinage is unimportant and not very early. Déliōn was in early times probably a voting city though it afterwards declined.

\(^3\) In the British Museum (36 grs.). See also Millingen, Coins of Greek Cities, p. 45. On the Olynthian League see text, pp. 190—197.
flourishing period of this confederacy. According to Leake, these Chalkidians never had any city Chalkis, but Torône, Apollônía, and last Olynthos were successively adopted as their capital.

The coins of Bottiaia differ only in the substitution of their own name for that of the Chalkidians round the lyre: we have thus conclusive proof that this town was included in the confederacy.¹²

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

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

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

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

³ Similarities of type and fabric also occur on the coins of Pella which we know was included in the Chalkidic Confederacy. (See Xen. Hell. v. 2. 13, and text, p. 192, note.)

⁴ A stater in the collection of Edward Wigan, Esq. The omission of the magistrate's name seems at first sight significant; but Mionnet (see p. iii. 60) describes a similar stater on which he gives ΕΠΙ ΟΑΜΠΙΝΙΚΟΤ. The omission in the present instance must be merely from want of room, as the letters are already minute on the tetradrachms.

⁵ Philip of Macedon gave the name Philippi to Krônides and discovered, or at all events, first worked extensively the neighbouring gold mine. The first coinage of gold in Greece proper is connected with this fact. The
Olympos metal for this Chalkidian stater as well. It follows the type of the and Chalkidike. tetradrachms omitting the magistrate's name. The fact which this coin seems to indicate is that Olympos had still vitality or pretension enough to strike pieces inscribed ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ at some period after the virtual dissolution of her League by Sparta in B.C. 379, and before her capture by Philip in B.C. 347. No doubt after Leuktra all serious fear of Spartan interference would be at an end.¹

ARKADIA.

Arkadia. The federal coinage of Arkadia is peculiarly valuable as testifying to the existence of a distinct germ of federalism in the Peloponnese at a very early period. The decidedly archaic character of these coins leaves no doubt of their being much older than the Arkadian League of Lykomèdes and the foundation of Megalopolis. It is sufficient for our purpose to have established thus much, without endeavouring to determine their exact antiquity.²
gold coin of Thasos struck on the mainland near Krénides, and one of Ainos (Num. Chron. iii. p. 106, cf Müller, p. 59) are about the only gold pieces known in Northern Greece anterior to Philip. Strabo (vii. frag. 17) speaks of the whole region about Mount Pangaios as auriferous. Perhaps the Chalkidians knew of and worked these mines before Philip. Last we must notice in connection with these mines the most remarkable gold coin in the Paris collection reading ΘΑΞΙΩΝ ΗΠΕΙΠΟ (ΘΑΞΙΩΝ ΗΠΕΙΠΟΤ. Leake, Num. Hell. Insular Greece, p. 45.) This bears with the head of Héralàs on one side, a tripod, as on the coins of Philippi, on the other. Col. Leake dates this from the lettering to the fifth century B.C., and believes it struck from the Thasian mines on the mainland at their capital and haven Daton. (Herod. ix. 75.) This town stood close to Neapolis the port of Philippi. M. Müller (p. 41) supposes this very coin struck either at Krénides, afterwards Philippi, by the Thasians, or by them in alliance with that town. It is however very doubtful whether the Thasians had possession of Krénides much before 360 B.C. (see Geog. Dict. "Philippi"). M. Müller (p. 44) also finds the tripod of Philippi on coins of Amphipolis, and the torch of Amphipolis on coins of Philippi. He remarks that these two symbols appear together on coins of Philip and Alexander. M. Müller would hence infer an alliance between these towns.
¹ Col. Leake publishes (Num. Hell. European Greece, p. 33) a smaller silver coin of the Chalkidians with what he suggests may possible be the Persian countermark. The Colonel is however by no means sure of the fact and puts a note of interrogation after it. I have never seen any Chalkidian coin which looked as old as the Persian invasion.
² Mr. Poole (Encycl. Britan. "Numismatics") represents these coins as being at least of the sixth century B.C. and in denomination chiefly hemi-
On one of the earliest of these coins we find the legend ΑΡΚΑΔΙΑΣΙΟΝ in archaic letters\(^1\) round the head of Despoina. Zeus Aietophoros\(^2\) is seated on the other side. Other coins exist of this series more or less archaic in character.\(^3\)

Concurrently with this early federal coinage of Arkadia must have existed the power of striking money in its different town districts. Héraia, Kleitóra, and Mantinea, have each left us coins of a remote antiquity. Héraia especially in the most archaic ornamentation of its coinage bears the impress of very early times.\(^4\)

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

Colonel Leake has with great probability selected Lykosoura as the mintage-place of the earlier federal coinage of Arkadia, which must be carefully distinguished from the later federal Arkadian drachms struck upon the Aeginetan system, or, what are about the same weight, Attic tetradrachma. (48 grs. or 45 grs.)

\(^1\) This coin is in the British Museum. Col. Leake observes that its legend contains both the K and the Koph (?). the original of the Latin Q. ΑΡΚΑΔΙΑΣΙΟΝ is like ΦΕΝΙΚΟΝ of Phoenus, that is ΚΟΜΜΑ or ΖΗΜΑ, hardly ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ, understood.

\(^2\) The bird flies from his hand. E. Curtius in the Beiträge zur Alteren Müntzkunde, p. 87, would suggest Zeus ἀπόσιως.

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

\(^4\) The acorn of Mantinea is regarded by Mr. Poole (Encycl. Brittn. "Numismatics") as a trace of a primeval nature-worship. Cf. Βαλάνη-φάγος in the Herodotean Oracle.

\(^5\) The Arkadíasion coin would be called by numismatists Arkadia in generis; so the coins reading ΦΑΣΙΝΩΝ would be called Elis in generis. This technical and somewhat awkward expression I have rendered wherever I could "Federal." Elis, a city with a district, and Arkadia, a system of towns with no predominant city, should not be included under one common sweeping term. It is worth notice that there is no perfectly authenticated coinage in the district of Elis. Polybius remarks on the rural habits of the Eleians, some of whom never went to the city for three generations.
GREEK FEDERAL COINAGE.

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

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

² The finest of these silver coins, a didrachm of Aeginetan scale, bears on one side Pan seated on the Arkadian Olympos, with APK in monogram and OATM in small letters on the rock. This Olympos was Mount Lykaion, called also in Pausanias "the sacred summit of the Arkadians." (Arcad. c. 38, cf. Leake, sub Arcadia.) The other side gives us the head of Zeus. The numerous smaller silver coins of Megalopolis itself are identical in type and only differ in many instances from the smaller federal coinage, thence issued also, in reading MEΓ instead of APK. The copper of Megalopolis generally bear besides uninterpreted letters and monograms with possible reference to League magistrates' names. Sometimes on these silver hemidrachms (Aeginetan) we have both MEΓ (Megalopolis) and APK (Arkadôn); that is to say, we have Megalopolis distinctly inscribing herself as a constituent of the League of Lykomédês. This is more frequent on the copper currency of Megalopolis struck during this League. (See Leake, Suppl. to Num. Hellen. Europe, p. 138.) The copper type is an eagle on a thunderbolt and more rarely the Pan seated, with the head of Zeus.

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

Col. Leake publishes a not uncommon small copper coin of Pheneos whereon he reads ΦΕΝΕΩΝ "with a horse feeding to right, under it AP united (Ἀρκασῶν)." If the Colonel’s proposed interpretation be correct, the coin is noteworthy as showing the more extended recognition of the Arkadian League of Lykomédês. (See Leake, Suppl. Num. Hellen. p. 140.) Pheneos has, however, inscribed on a contemporaneous didrachm the name of Arkas the eponymos hero of her country, and her own mythical King. Probably the AP merely refers to him. Another coin of Pheneus bears ΞΙΜΟΞ beneath a ram.
The foundation of Megalopolis must have given an immense impulse to numismatic art throughout Peloponnēsos. The Arkadian didrachms struck there within a few years of its foundation show an immense progress at least in execution when contrasted with the earlier Arkadian series of Lykosoura.

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

Next to the didrachm of Stymphalos in artistic importance, and of analogous fabric and evidently contemporaneous issue, is the didrachm of Pheneos. This gives us, with the head of Dēmētēr, the head of Apollo and the head of Marsyas. Coins of Pheneos, Tegae, and Achaia belonging to this class.

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

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

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

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

5 In the British Museum. Col. Leake's didrachm actually reads ἈΠΚΑΣ besides ΦΕΝΕ. (European Greece, Addenda, p. 163.) The Colonel inter-
often found on this class of coins, a piece of highly dramatized mythology; Hermès, in motion, bears the caduceus in one hand, while on his left arm he is carrying off the infant Arkas; the child points the god melodramatically forward. Next, a smaller silver coin of Tegea with a naked warrior combating to the right would infer the existence of a corresponding didrachm struck by this town. Again, another silver coin bears a nymph's head like the Démétèr of Pheneos, with a combataing Artemis; it reads AXAIΩN. In this curious coin was probably struck between B.C. 280 and 251, while the League was strictly Achaian. I need hardly say that it has nothing in common with the usual and subsequent silver type of the Achaian League. Last, to omit less important instances, we have the drachm of Argos whereon Diomede is represented stealing the Palladium, also to be counted with the foregoing, since the subject chosen for commemoration as well as its treatment is eminently characteristic of this class.

Didrachms of Argos, Elis, and Messénē.

In fact, to attempt a generalisation founded upon a broad similarity in weight, style, and subject, I would refer the whole un-archaic Æginetan didrachmic series of Peloponnēsos, with its corresponding subdivisions, in its commencement, to the foundation of Megalopolis. The Héra and the Zeus didrachms of Elis, the ornate Héra Antheia of the same coins at Argos, the Démétèr and the naked Zeus Ithomatēs launching a thunderbolt of Messénē,—are the important constituents of this currency. In the case of the Messénian didrachm there can be no doubt about its date; the extreme similarity it bears to the federal didrachms of Megalopolis, coupled with the fact of the erection of the later capital of Messénē by Epaminöndas B.C. 369, pretends the action of the type somewhat differently from the text. Another drachm of Pheneos in the British Museum has a Hermes seated amid rocks, reminding one of the Pan on the Arkadian Olympos of the federal series.

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

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

I would further suggest that this didrachmic currency and its subdivisions continued to be struck throughout the Peloponnesian LEAGUE to some extent during the whole century between the commencement of the League of Lykomèdès and the first few years of the Achaian League, after which the uniform types “of the Achaians” must have superseded the rest,\(^2\) as the different states of Peloponnesos entered the LEAGUE.

LYKIA.

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

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

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

\(^2\) Indications exist of possible monetary leagues in Arkadia. As for example, to judge by their small silver coinage, possibly at one time between Héraia and Mantinea.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Massikytos and Kragos certainly, the latter in alliance with Tlos, and probably several others 3 of the principal cities of Lykia, struck

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

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

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

3 The Lykian Apollonía coins under Augustus. (Cohen, Med. Imp. i. p. 104.) Perhaps Telmessos coins with Kragos (Cavedoni, but see below, p. 41 of this Essay, note 3), and there is a coin of Kragos, possibly allied, in the Huber sale mentioned below. Tiberius coins at Phaselis. (Cohen, i. p. 127.) I should be curious to know whether Phaselis under Tiberius styles herself “of the Lykians.” (See below on Phaselis.) I have never seen any of the coins quoted in this note.
denarii with the head of Augustus but without his name or imperial title, and merely ΛΥ ΚΙΩΝ, while on the other side they bore MA for Massikytos, KP for Kragos, and the double or single lyre; as on ordinary silver of the League we have the single lyre. But on the denarii of the province of Lykia struck under Claudius the subverter of Lykian liberties we have the full imperial name and style round his portrait. The Augustan denarius of Massikytos as contrasted with that of Claudius, illustrates well the position of federalism in Lykia under Augustus, a Roman dependency that still retained its own laws and internal government.¹ Massikytos calls herself "of the Lykians," but places, out of compliment, the portrait of the Emperor without even his name or title of "Autokrator," on her coin struck upon the Roman standard.² Claudius destroys Lykian liberty and the title Autokrator straightway appears.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Strabo has given us the six principal cities by name of the Lykian League, though he tells us distinctly that the whole number was twenty-three.\footnote{5} These six cities were—Xanthos, Patara, Pinara, Olympos, Myra, and Tlós;\footnote{6} all of which, except Pinara, have left League coins; no doubt some specimen of Pinara will be hereafter discovered.\footnote{7} Several cities must have had an imperial mint as well as a federal one.

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

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

\footnote{3}{See text, p. 209. I do not mean that a coin of the Lykian the least resembles one of the Achaian League, but the theory of a League currency was evidently the same in both. Lykia is however in one respect original, its League coinage commemorates no names of magistrates.}

\footnote{4}{In this part of my Appendix which relates to Lykia I have drawn largely on an excellent article by Mr. Horace Waddington, ‘‘Un voyage en Asie-Mineure au point de vue numismatique—sixième article.’’ Revue Numismatique, Paris, vol. xviii. 1853. My other principal authority has been the able essay on Lykian Numismatics by M. Koner in the Beiträge zur älteren Müntzkunde. Berlin, 1851.}

\footnote{5}{See the passage of Strabo (xiv. 3) translated in the text, p. 209.}

\footnote{6}{There are coins of Pinara not of the League. See the Beiträge p. 119, and in the British Museum.}
In addition to these six more important cities, authenticated League coins exist of thirteen other towns, which but for numismatic evidence we should never know for certain had belonged to the League.

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

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

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

1 See however the note at the end of this chapter.
2 The common Lykian League silver type is the head of Apollo with elaborate curls, and AT, ATKION or other abbreviation, coupled with the lyre in an incuse square, and the two initial letters of the town, as, HA Patara, EA Xanthos, on the other side. Sometimes the ATKION at full length or abbreviated occupies the incuse square above the lyre; different small symbols are sometimes added. These are small silver coins; the earliest with a maximum weight of 43 grs., but the great mass weigh about 29 grs. Perhaps they are Ἀγινηταί hemidrachms following the Rhodian small silver monetary denominations. These last have an average weight of about 40 grs., which is about the maximum weight of the Achaian League silver.

Mr. Poole suggests that the earlier Lykian standard was Phoenician. (Numismatics, Encyc. Brit. Lycia.) The copper types are various; the heads of Artemis, or Apollo, the stag, or the bow and quiver crossed in the incuse square, are the commonest. There is as small difficulty in recognising a Lykian silver League coin as an Achaian League one by its type alone. The important historical fact derivable from these type descriptions is, that the superior authority of the League is recognised in the formula ATKION KPAIQON, like AXAIQN KOPINQION.

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

Mr. Waddington says that “Bubon ne fit partie de la ligue que dans les derniers temps; aussi, il en existe des monnaies au type lycien, sans le carré creux.” He goes on to say that it is very doubtful whether Bubon could have been comprised in the twenty-three League towns of Artemidóros, as his work seems from a passage in Marcin of Hérakleia to have been completed about 650, A.U.C. (108, B.C.) or twenty years before Mirena united Bubon to Lykia. To this period of their Lykian incorporation would Mr. Waddington refer the coins of Bubon. Kibyra has also left coins (on the interesting tetrapolia of Kibyra, see text, p. 211, note). There are coins of Balouera of Caligula (ΓΑΙΟΣ ΞΕΒΑΣΤΟϹ) with nothing:
ALLIANCE COINS OF THE LYKIAN LEAGUE.

The alliance coins of the Lykian League are as follows:—Kragos appears in alliance with Tlōs,¹ Xanthos,² Telmessos,³ and Myra respectively on four separate coins.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Of Telmessos Strabo says (xiv. 3) that it is πολίχης Λυκίων. He adds, Ἐλαβε δὲ τὸ χαρίαν τοῦτο παρὰ Ἰωνίων Εὐμάνης ἐν τῷ Ἀρταδίῳ πολέμῳ καταλυθέντος δὴ τῆς βασιλείας, ἀπείλαθον πάλιν οἱ Λύκιοι. This must mean that when the kingdom of Pergamos ended, circa b.c. 133, Telmessos was added to the League. Here then is a case of annexation before the time of Artemidorus.

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

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

Of Phaselis Strabo (xiv. 3, sec. 9) says, Ἐστὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὕτη ἡ πόλις Λυκιακή, τῷ δὲ κανόνι τῶν Λυκιῶν οὐ μετέχει, καθ' αὐτήν δὲ συνέστηκεν. He gives no explanation of this isolation, which is well illustrated by the isolated system of the civic coinage of Phaselis as contrasted with that of other Lykian towns. M. Koner thinks Phaselis may have come into the League in late times. Mr. Waddington says, “Que Phaselis, tout en ayant un gouvernement et un système monétaire à elle propre, a cependant frappé des médailles au type de la ligue lycienne, et peut en avoir fait partie dans
Of course it will not do to assume that the cities which composed the Lykian League in the time of Strabo were in every name identical with those of the League of Artemidóros, if there is a tittle of evidence the other way. Otherwise the presumption would rather be in favour of the same extent at both times. The Greek Leagues of course fluctuated to and fro, but that was because they were wholly independent, liable to conquer and be conquered. But one cannot fancy anything added to or taken from Lykia between Artemidóros and Strabo, and again between Strabo and the dissolution of the League under Claudius, without Roman authority.

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

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

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

The very few League coins which Xanthos has left seems somewhat to favour the supposition of its having lost its place in the League, after the overthrow by Brutus. Still Pinara, a first-class les derniers temps." I presume Mr. Waddington means analogous silver pieces of Phasélis in speaking of its coins on the Lykian League type. There is greater divergency in the League copper, but I should fancy the fact of a town using the one silver League type conclusive. The peculiar monetary system of Phasélis before its League incorporation, reminds us of other times and countries; the copper reads ΦΑ, ΦΒ, ΦΓ—ΦΕ. This is like the numbering of the issues on the small copper currency of Rome. Mr. Waddington publishes a tetradrachm of Phasélis with a magistrate’s name ΑΡΚΕΣΙΑΟΝ. The unfederal coins of Kyaneai also record magistrates’ names at full in some instances, as ΦΑΟΧ (in the British Museum), ΚΘΙΟΧ (Beiträge, p. 115).
GREEK FEDERAL COINAGE.

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

I am also able to add Apollonia¹ to Mr. Waddington’s list of the League.

Kadyanda. Mr. Waddington suggests, moreover, Kadyanda² and Kandyba, as towns whose League coins may some day be discovered.

Kandyba.

ARAXA has a good chance of having authenticated coins assigned to it.³ Mr. Waddington suggests, moreover, Kadyanda⁴ and Kandyba, as towns whose League coins may some day be discovered.

THE ACHAIAN LEAGUE.

We learn from Polybios that the effect of the Achaian League was to introduce an identity of laws, weights, measures, and coinage⁵

¹ In the collection of E. Wigan, Esq., a small copper coin of an undoubted League type, with the identical stiff-curl silver Apollo head, and the Λ of the ΛΔ visible on one side of the neck, reading ΑΠΙΔO distinctly, with a bow and quiver crossed in the incuse square. Mr. Waddington has, with justice I believe, corrected M. Koner's attribution of a League type reading ΑΙ to this town in favour of Aperlai. Mr. Waddington quotes from Sestini (Revue, p. 184) a League coin of Apollonía without the incuse square but with a full-faced Apollo. Sestini and Mionnet had published a nearly similar coin to Mr. Wigan's; these it is interesting to be able to confirm, though Sestini and Mionnet are not to be trusted on such points without additional evidence. Col. Leake (Suppl. Num. Hellen. p. 80), as well as Mr. Waddington, has published a League coin of Phelloa. Mionnet's coin of Korydalla (iii. p. 438), wisely doubted by Mr. Waddington, I have discovered to be only a misread specimen of a not uncommon class of coins usually given to Lacedaemon. This reads ΛΑ above and not ΛΔ. The other letters vary; I have one with ΚΟ, another with TH. These are only magistrates' names. The rest of the description, even to the square Θ in the field, minutely corresponds.

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

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

⁴ "ὅστε μὴ μόνον συμμαχίαν καὶ φιλικὴν κοινωνίαν γεγονόται πραγμάτων περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόμοις χρήσαται τοῖς αὐτοῖς, καὶ σταθμοῖς, καὶ μέτροις, καὶ νομίζομαι, πρὸς ἰδίον οἰκονομίας, βουλευτικάς, δικαστικάς τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Πολυβ. ii. 37. The uniform League copper and silver type probably followed and was provided for in the federal constitution enacted about 274 B.C. See text, p. 264. The tetrobola or hemidrachms of Sparta and Messenē are doubtless contemporaneous with the League silver type, and probably cease
THE ACHAIAN LEAGUE.

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

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

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

¹ The one copper type bears the full-length Zeus Homagyrios holding a victory, with a magistrate’s name nearly always in full on one side; Dēmēter Panachaia seated, the name of the Achaians, and that of the coining city on the other. Thus Pausanias (vii. 24) says, Ἐφεθης δὲ τῇ Ὀμηροπρὸ Δῖτ Παναχαίας ἕτοι Δήμητρος. The silver is likewise of one denomination, the Attic tetradrachm, or equal to two-thirds of a light Attic drachm, or what would be much the same in weight, the Ἀγινετον hemidrachm (see Böckh’s Metrologische Untersuchungen, &c. Berlin, 1838, p. 98, and Mr. Poole, “Numismatics,” Encyc. Brit. p. 371). It bears the head of Zeus the assembler of men, the federal god whose altar was at Aigion, generally without further inscription on that side. The other side bears the large monogram of the Achaians with generally the two initial letters of the coining city added much smaller, as Σιλ for the Sikyōnians, ΠΑ for ΠΑΛΛΕΙΩΝ (the Eleans preserving the digamma even after 188 B.C.). Sometimes there is only the city symbol given, as a dove for Sikyōn, a wolf’s head for Argos. Portions of a magistrate’s name are generally added, seldom the whole, except on League silver of Aigion or Elia.

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

² I have found on silver League coins of Dyme, Patrai, Aigeira, and Elia,
instance the name of any other recorded Achaian general. Mionnet publishes (Med. Rom. p. 158) a League hemidrachm of

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

The interpretation however of the letters and monograms of the League silver, as distinguished from the copper, is so slippery a task, that we cannot insist much on evidence hence derived; as we are liable, among other elements of confusion, to mistake the city initials for a magistrate’s name and vice versa; thus one of these coins reads FA, AN, where the former may mean Eleians (FAELION) the latter Antigoneia, and there is no sort of city symbol to help us between the two on this specimen; all notion of an alliance between these would be utterly out of place in the Achaian, whatever it might be in the Augustan times of the Lykian League. With these reservations, some of the League silver appear to bear two magistrates’ names in a few instances; and in these, could we establish our fact with any certainty, one might be the federal, one the municipal magistrate. Sestini makes them the local eponymous magistrate, his father, and at times his grandfather (p. 69), for Sestini insists on some League coins bearing three names. Certainly the silver of Elis bear one name at full length with two more monograms beside the city name, at times in monogram also, but the number of distinct persons named must be extremely doubtful at best; although it is common enough in Greek numismatics to find the magistrate’s father and occasionally his father again. Still the League silver is so perfectly anomalous as at present classed, giving us, sometimes a symbol, the two first letters of the town, one or two magistrates’ names, perhaps a double name of a town like Aroë or Patrai, or, again, the monogram of Patrai on a Corinthian League piece with the Koph (in my collection); and these again singly, or in combination—that it cannot be rashly decided when to read a town, and when a magistrate’s
Elis which bears the name NIKIOY. This cannot be the insignificant Nikias who was federal general B.C. 209—B (Liv. xxviii. 8), ACHAIAN LEAGUE.

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

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

Still on the other hand there are also League towns and districts that we know only by their silver coins, but I believe copper was struck in each though the coins have not yet come to hand. These are 6 out of our list of 41, Aigina—Dyme—Patrai—Lacedaemon—Troizên and Elis. Aigion is the only League town which inscribes its full name on its silver currency; and with Elis, Aigion is the only town which inscribes the full magisterial name on coins of the same metal; though Elis never gives its own name in full.

Still the ΦΑΞΙΩΝ of Elis, and the bonnets of the Dioskouroi of Lacedaemon attribute their League silver with adequate certainty. Hence the fact of Aigina, Dyme, Patrai, or, in some extent, Troizên having left any known coins of the League, though we may be sure they did coin, is not nearly so certain, as that the other towns in our list have, of which copper coins reading the city name in full remain. When we have established the existence of a copper coin of any city it is not very important for our present purpose to inquire into the often interesting numismatic puzzle of finding a corresponding League coin in silver.

Cousinry has endeavoured with a certain ingenuity to set apart a class of Corinthian drachms with a pegasus, and a female head or that of Apollo, as struck by Corinth and certain Peloponnesian towns authorized by Corinth to imitate her coinage for commercial purposes about the time of the Achaian League, and supposed by him to have had a concurrent circulation.
as Elia was only annexed to the League some twenty years afterwards. The name is, moreover, not an uncommon one. Only in a very few cases, such as a Chaireas of Corinth, and a Chaireas of Messene, a Phaënes of both Argos and Sikyôn,—does the same name occur on League coins of different towns; which would surely be the case frequently were the federal magistrate of the whole League named.

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

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

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

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

¹ See text, p. 400.
GORTYS AND KERYNEIA.

ing to the Achaian League in the name of its harbour, "the port of the Achaians." 1 On his march to relieve Korônê Philopoimê was taken prisoner. 2

The coin of Mantinea, under its name of Antigoneia, is important, as giving us a date subsequent to 222 B.C., the year of its name being changed in honour of Antigonus Dêsôn.

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

Colonel Leake would attribute a League copper coin, reading KOPTYNIΩN AXAIΩN 4 and belonging to Gortys in Arkadia, to Gortyna in Crete. He argues from the insignificance of the Arkadian village, as contrasted with the zeal shown by the Cretan Gortynians in the cause of the League; he instances how on one occasion the latter people invited Philopoimê to command their army, and how subsequently 500 of these joined Flamininus on the League side against Philip.

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


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

4 Kortys and Gortys, as Gnossos and Cnossos. See Leake, Supplement to Numis. Hellen. sub Gortyna Crete passim. A similar specimen of Baron Prokesch-Osten's reads KOPTYNIΩN.

D
GREEK FEDERAL COINAGE.

The Achaian League. Reasons for and against the Cretan Gortyna.

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

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

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

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

² These facts were I believe first noticed by Mr. Burgon, see also Mr. Poole's article on Numismatics in the Encycl. Brit. Mr. Poole (Numia. Chron. New Series, No. 3, p. 178) also notices "that Cnosus Cydonia Gortyna Hierapytna Polyrhenium and Priansus" copy the types of late Athenian tetradrachms on certain of their coins. M. Poole has given a good explanation in supposing that these Cretan towns copied the Athenian tetradrachm on account of its widely-spread commercial circulation. He has also kindly informed me, that in the cities of Tarentum and Velia strong commercial relations with Athens may be traced in their issue of drachms with modified Athenian types.
authority for this reading of the city's name. Sestini quotes another example reading KAPINAION. This comes more nearly to the received orthography, which seems to have varied much in different authorities.\footnote{1} I have never personally inspected a specimen of this coin, which I regard as far from certain.

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

The obscure history of the Eleuthero-lakônic townships is not much cleared up by the coinage of the Achaian League. Pausanias tells us eighteen out of the twenty-four names, and of those which he specifies in no single instance has an Achaian League coin come down to us.\footnote{2} We should hardly expect at first sight each of the twenty-four

\footnote{1} Kepwia Kepwinia—perhaps Kekwróna (Paus. vii. 6). On Markos, see text, p. 248. Perhaps this is a misread League coin of Corinth—KAPIÒN for KOPINÒN. The magistrate's name, Hermokratês, is actually found on Corinthian League copper, and the theta in KOPINÒN on the British Museum League coins of Corinth looks just like a large omicron, while the omicron which follows the kappa is a mere dot.

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

\footnote{3} But Gythion, Las, Asôpos, and Boiai have left imperial-colonial coins of the Severus period. Col. Leake (Num. Hell. Cyprus) publishes an autonomous coin of Kyparissia with the symbolical head and name ROMA on one side; a standing Artemis, K...AKETI and KYTAPICCIa on the other. This, he suggests, may be a coin of Asôpos after all. Kyparissia would then merely be an epithet of the Artemis, as it was of the Athênês in the Acropolis of Asôpos mentioned by Pausanias (iii. 22, Cf Leake "Cyprusist"). Certainly the two towns were close to each other, and the imperial coins of Kyparissia read KYTAPICCIQ not KYTAPICCIa an unusual numismatic termination for a city name. I have inspected, through the kindness of Mrs. Leake, and would read, this coin somewhat differently, namely KOI(NON) LAAKE(DAIMONION), TI(MA)PTOZ, \(D2\)
townships to coin as an independent canton, since such a number added at once to the League would be serious. It would seem more reasonable to infer that some system, like that of contributory boroughs, regulated their connection with the Achaian League, rather than that each petty township should have come in for a distinct vote. Still the analogy of the coining townships of Megalopolis makes rather for the last supposition. Now six of these Eleuthero-lakonic names Pausanias does not tell us, because the towns had been reannexed by Sparta in his time. We have however two names in our list worthy of consideration as possibly supplying two of the missing names—Asinē, and Euas.

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

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


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

3 Of this Asinē—be it Lakónnian, Messénián, or Argeian—there are imperial-colonial coins of Septimius Severus, Plautilla and Donna, reading ΑΞΙΝΑΙΩΝ. There is an autonomous coin of one of the three Asinês in Huber’s Sale Catalogue, p. 39, reading ΑΞΕΝΑΟΝ, with the square sigma.
ELEUTHERO-LAKONIC TOWNSHIPS.

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

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

1 ii. 28.
3 Cf. p. 692, and Paus. vii. 13. Τα ἐν κόλπῳ τῆς Ἑπάρτης πολισματα ἐστὶν 'Ἀχαιῶν ὑπηγύγετο εἴνοια, ἐνγέγυγα δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ φρονώς, ὀρμηθρία ἐν τῆς Ἑπάρτης Ἀχαϊῶς εἴναι. It is suggested at p. 692, that Iassos, mentioned lower by Pausanias as 'Ἀχαιῶν ὑπήγεος, was one of the six whose names are not given. This statement of subjection to the League is surely considerably modified by the previous ἐς τῆς Ἀχαιῶν ὑπηγύγετο εἴνοιας. See also the remarks at pp. 622 and 692, from whence the arguments above are derived.
4 In B.C. 146, Mummian puts these Eleuthero-lakônic cities back again under Sparta; Augustus separated them again, seemingly setting them up as a sort of distinct confederacy, and not adding them to the Achaian League. Between that time and when Pausanias wrote, Sparta had recovered six of these cities.
5 I insert at the end of this notice of the coinage of the Peloponnēsos
under the Achaian League, some account of an interesting small copper
coin, of which M. Feuardent has kindly sent me the impression, bearing
the helmeted head of Pallas; and on the other side the prow of a galley
with BA, ANT in monogram, and the monogram of Patrai (ΗΑΠ) with a
branch. This he suggests in his catalogue was struck by Antigonos Doseon
at that town. I fancy however that the piece is rather of Antigonos King
of Asia. His general Aristodemos drives Kassander’s garrison out of
Patrai, B.C. 314. (See text, p. 243.) It could hardly be struck by a local
tyrant in honour of Antigonos Gonatas, as Patrai revived the League
(B.C. 280) three years before he obtained permanent possession of his King-
dom (B.C. 277). The galley on this coin closely resembles that engraved
on the coin of the King of Asia in the Geog. Dict. and the branch occurs
on an undoubted coin of Patrai in Leake. Still the galley is common
enough on coins of the Seleukian Dynasty and elsewhere, and the laurel
branch occurs on coins generally given to Antigonos Gonatas. About
the monogram of Patrai I think there is little doubt. Neither do I think the
coin belongs to Antigonos Doseon who never specially took Patrai, except in
the sense in which he may be said to have taken all Peloponnesos; and
who, as he scrupulously respected constitutional forms, was not likely thus
to interfere with the sovereignty of any city of the League. If we make it
the first Antigonos, the coin and the historical notice fit in just as they
should with one another.

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

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

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**In Argolis.**

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LIST OF ACHAIA\N LEAGUE TOWNS.

B.C. 
8. Asina. **A\XAI\N A\XINAI\N.** (Qy. Messenian: see below.)
229. 9. Kleonai. **A\XAI\N KA\E\SONAI\N.** p. 401.
229. 10. Hermione. **A\XAI\N E\RMIO\NE\N.** (Sestini.) p. 425.
243. 11. Epidauria. **A\XAI\N E\PI\DA\AT\FE\N.** (Sestini.) p. 377.

IN ACHAIA.

(At the earliest) 274. 13. Aigeira. **A\XAI\N A\GE\I\PT\AN.** p. 246.
275. 14. Aigion. **A\XAI\N A\I\TE\N.** p. 246.
280. 15. Dyme? Silver only \AT. A round-bodied fish. p. 245.
276. 16. Keryneia? **A\XAI\N KA\PO\NO\N (sic).** (Sestini.) p. 246.
280. 17. Patrai? Silver only. \PI\A and a dolphin. p. 245.

At the earliest) 274. 18. Pellene. **A\XAI\N \PE\L\AL\AN\N.** See p. 246.

IN ARKADIA.

Before 235. 19. Aleia. **A\XAI\N A\LE\I\N.** See p. 454.
194. 20. Alitheira. **A\XAI\N A\LE\FI\P\EI\N.** (Probably separated from Megalopolis.)
222. 21. Antigoneia. (Mantinea) **A\XAI\N ANTI\GO\NE\N.** p. 495.
194. 22. Asea. **A\XAI\N AXE\AT\ON.** (Probably separated from Megalopolis.)
194. 23. Dipaia. **A\XAI\N \DI\PA\I\E\N.** (Probably separated from Megalopolis.)
24. 24. Euai\† **A\XAI\N \E\T\AN.** (Sestini.) In the Thyreatia.

Before 234. 25. Heraia. **A\XAI\N HPA\E\I\N.** p. 403.
194. 26. Gortys. **A\XAI\N KOP\TY\N\N.** (Probably separated from Megalopolis.)
227. 27. Kaphyai. **A\XAI\N KA\F\TE\N.** p. 442.
234. 28. Megalopolis. **A\XAI\N MEGA\AL\O\PO\AI\TA\N.** p. 404.
194. 29. Pallanteon. **A\XAI\N PA\LA\AN\TE\N.** (Probably separated from Megalopolis.)

Before 234. 30. Pheneos. **A\XAI\N \F\NE\N\N.** p. 403.
219. 31. Pedhis\† **A\XAI\N WP\DI\I\N (\F\LE\I\X\I\N)!** (Eckhel.) p. 538.
208. 32. Phigalia or Philia. **A\XAI\N PH\IA\AL\I\N.** (Must have joined with Triphilia. See p. 538.)

Before 234. 33. Stymphalos. **A\XAI\N SY\MPH\AL\I\N.** p. 403.
222. 34. Tegea. **A\XAI\N TE\GE\AT\AN.** p. 495.
Before 234. 35. Thelpousa. **A\XAI\N \TE\L\P\OU\TA\N.** (Sestini.) p. 403, and Pol. ii. 54.
194. 36. Theisca. **A\XAI\N \THE\SI\O\AE\N.** (Sestini.) (Probably separated from Megalopolis.)
ÆTOLIA.

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Ενθύμασον παὶ Αἴτωλδν τὸν ἀνέθηκαν
Ἀἴτωλοι σφετέρῳ μηδ' δρατὰσ ἐσοφέρη.

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

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

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

A drachm usually classed to Philip Arridaeus is likewise certainly struck at Síkyon, probably by some tyrant supported by Macedon. This bears XI and the dove. The last is historically interesting.
than Kyneakephalai; the great mass however of the more common silver and copper types were struck no doubt during the most prosperous period of this League.  

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

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

Last, there is the numerous copper federal currency, which must also be as late as the times of the Achaean League. The types of this also refer invariably to the Kalydônian hunt; we have the boar's jaw-bone, the spear-head, at times the ear-ring of Atalantê, a star, grapes, &c. In this series, when federal, ΑΤΤΙΑΣΩΝ is added. The towns of Ambise, Thronion, and the Éteans, strike copper of this Ätolian type substituting, respectively, ΘΩΝΙΩΝ—ΑΜΦΙΣΩΝ—ΟΤΑΙΩΝ. Mionnet describes (vol. ii. p. 88) an analogous coin of Apollônia, an Ätolian town mentioned by Livy (xxviii. 8) with Potidania. I have passed over a few other unfrequent types.

2 See text, p. 326.

3 Col. Leake classes it to Anaktorion: it reads simply ΝΑΤ with ΑΝ in monogram, and is of the usual Corinthian type. Again, others of such didrachms have been classed to the Ätolian Lysimachia, as have tetrobola of the type given above which read ΑΤ.
out the whole federal period. Neither has Kalydon left any undisputed autonomous coins.\footnote{1}

Three towns only, and these not strictly and geographically Aetolian, have left copper coins of the same type and contemporaneous with the Aetolian federal currency in that metal—Amphissa, Thronion, and the Aetans,\footnote{2} evidently struck during the period that the Aetolian League incorporated Lokris and Thessaly.\footnote{3}

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

LOKRIS.

The coins with Corinthian types,\footnote{6} inscribed ΛΟΧΡΩΝ do not belong to the Italian Lokris, which was not a colony from Corinth. Coinage of the Lokrians.

\footnote{1} Those given by Mionnet are probably of Chalkedon in Bithynia with the ΚΑΛΧΑΩΝΙΩΝ misread as ΚΑΛΧΑΩΝΙΩΝ. Chalkedon not Chalkedon is the invariable coin form. There is one coin of this town however quoted as struck under Severus.

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

\footnote{3} On the towns in Thessaly and the Phthiotic Achaia under Aetolia, see text, p. 395, note.

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

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

\footnote{6} That is the pegasus and helmeted head of Pallas, the type of the
Col. Leake, who has thus corrected their attribution, suggests that such pieces were minted at Naupaktos, "the most important position in the country of the Locri Hesperii or Ozole."

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

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

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

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1 A specimen in the B.M. and in M. Prosper Dupré's collection reads ΑΙΑΣ, below the warrior. Col. Leake had suggested Patroclus. Strabo (ix. 4. 2) says, Οἱ μὲν Ἐπικλέους γε ἱκένος (Μενυκτίος) τῶν Ὀπούντιων ἄλλας δὲ Δορίδος, πατρίδος ἄρν, ὡς φησὶν, Ναρκέου.

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

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

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

CONCLUSION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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