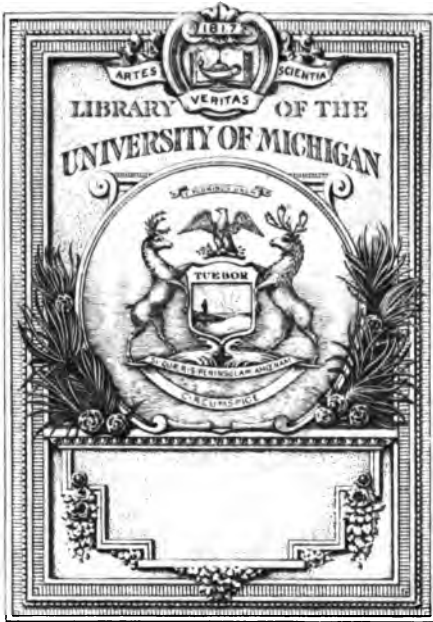


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Academia Gronovensis.

ARNOLD PRIZE HISTORICAL ESSAY.—1864.

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THE

Value of Numismatics

IN THE

Study of Ancient History.

BY CHARLES S. MEDD, M.A.,

*Fellow of University College, Oxford.*

“Τίνας ἢ ἐκῶν αὐτῆ  
καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ;”  
S. MAT. xxii. 20.

“*Decipit  
frons prima multos: rara mens intelligit,  
quod interiore condidit cura angulo.*”  
PHÆDRUS.

OXFORD:

T. & G. SHRIMPTON, 23 & 24 BROAD STREET.

CAMBRIDGE AND LONDON: MACMILLAN AND Co.

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THE VALUE OF NUMISMATICS.

IN THE

STUDY OF ANCIENT HISTORY.



ACADEMIA OXONIENSIS.

Arnold Prize Historical Essay. 1864.

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## The Value of Numismatics in the Study of Ancient History.

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"Tantus honos operi : finesque inclusa per arctos  
Majestas."

STATIUS IV. SYLV. 6.

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ANTIQUITY has left no monuments of its living form and character at all comparable in number and variety to its coins and medals. A calculation<sup>a</sup> of great authority estimates the number of groups of coins, each group distinguished from every other by its own peculiar stamp or type, as lying between eighty and one hundred thousand. They constitute thus a most complete cabinet of illustrations, in which, more impressively than in any other mode, the whole body, soul, and spirit of the ancient world is still visible in its beautiful life. The strong expressiveness of the types required a frequent reconstruction of the mintage machinery; "Dans l'antiquité," says L. Müller,<sup>b</sup> les frais du monnayage ont dû être beaucoup plus grands que dans le temps moderne, soit à défaut de connaissances techniques, soit par suite de la qualité même des monnaies, dont le relief fort (qui faisait que le même coin ne pouvait suffire à un monnayage considérable) rendait nécessaire un plus grand nombre de coins." Thus there was very frequent opportunity for new types to be used. Probably it is this immense variety of figures that is the first thing to strike a person who considers the subject of ancient Numismatics. In English money there is nothing like it; except, perhaps, the diversity of types upon local Token Coinage which abounded between the years 1770 and 1820. Sheffield pennies then bore the Head of Nelson, with the legend, "England ex-

<sup>a</sup> Pauly : *Real. Enkyklopädie*, s.v. Nummi.

<sup>b</sup> *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, p. 46. Copenhagen, 1855. For his acquaintance with this and many of the chief works consulted for this Essay, the writer is indebted to the kindness of M. Adrien de Longpérier, of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

pects every man to do his duty;" others commemorated Sir Isaac Newton or the Duke of Wellington; Stockton-on-Tees displayed its river and its bridge; Macclesfield published, in 1791, the fame of its copper-works and their founder; masonic bodies astonished the uninitiated by mystical figures and marvellous inscriptions on pence and halfpence. But this was not public money, and it is only now mentioned to show how slight any resemblance must be between ancient and modern coinages in respect of expressiveness and variety of types. Everywhere there must be a living union of art and religion, in every district a special hero, special worship, special mythology, the masters of the mints must cease to resemble Addison's Cynthio<sup>c</sup> (who never imagined that a coin "could have any nobler use in it than to pay a reckoning") before anything like the beautiful coinage of Greece can again arise among a people. Certainly in mechanical finish, roundness of shape, and exact position of figures in the field, modern coins generally excel the ancient. But what are these neat trim figures? Crowned heads and heraldry, repeated year after year with a sameness that is unbroken, except by the occurrence of a new accession or of a revolution. The legends are equally monotonous, and repeat merely political titles of state or the value of the coin. The extended commerce of Athens made it necessary that her coins through long ages should retain the same chief characteristics, the helmeted Head of Pallas and the Owl; and other commercial states display the same phenomenon in antiquity. But still even these states introduce copies of the master-pieces of art at various times in the same field, along with the standing and well-known types of their money. Again: to illustrate the variety of types on Roman coins, what would the English mint have to do in order to resemble the Roman? It would have to send forth an issue not only on such rare or splendid occasions as successes in the Crimea or in China, exhibition buildings, royal journeys and marriages, reviews of fleets and armies, but also in commemoration of the finest among recent public works of religious or secular art, and of the less heroical advantages of good harvests, healthy seasons, remissions of income tax, new roads, hospitals, docks, and bridges; and this issue must not be merely an issue of a few medals to be worn, but of real everyday coins to be spent. For in fact the Roman coins are of this kind: their common money was stamped with appropriate types and legends, illustrative of events of the above or a similar nature. Thus the various typically distinct groups of Greek and Roman coins, though composed of common change of the market, have far more meaning than even the occasional medals of modern times; for they range over a far wider sphere of topics, and each

<sup>c</sup> *Addison's Works*, v. p. 17.



group of them displays infinitely greater difference from other groups than ever appears between the successive issues of modern mints.

Such being the vast range of the types and legends of ancient coinage over the spheres of art and religion, and over history, whether it be that of politics and commerce, or of war and peace, of literature and philology, or of society and families, it is obvious that antiquity could not leave to posterity any memorials of such widely instructive importance as its varied coinage. It is true, as Pope<sup>d</sup> sang, -

“Ambition sighed; she found it vain to trust  
The faithless column and the crumbling bust;  
Huge moles, whose shadow stretched from shore to shore,  
Their ruins perished and their place no more!  
Convinced she now contracts her vast design,  
And all her triumphs shrink into a coin;  
A narrow orb each narrow conquest keeps:  
Beneath her palm here sad Judæa weeps;  
Now scantier limits the proud Arch confine,  
And scarce are seen the prostrate Nile and Rhine;  
A small Euphrates through the piece is rolled,  
And little eagles wave their wings in gold.”

Thus it is (and it is hoped that it may appear more convincingly in what follows) that coins are often the only still surviving memorials of some of the most important elements out of which the whole figure of the ancient world is to be shaped for modern eyes. In all cases they are truly “a light to the sciences concerned with antiquity, a metallic mirror of the collective form of the old world” (*Metallspiegel der gesammten alten Welt*); and as the writer\* who uses these expressions continues, “They reflect Nature in her three kingdoms, they copy her products, and the works of art formed from them; they display the progressive phases of the Arts; they go with the community of a town through all its circumstances: its citizen-life (*Städteleben*), its laws and institutions, its wars, conquests, and conclusions of peace, its constitutional changes, its commerce, its colonies, its alliances with other peoples. They immortalize the destinies of illustrious races, and maintain in living memory the features and appearance of great men.”

There are two peculiar difficulties in the discussion of the usefulness of ancient medals as illustrative of History. The first may be called the incoherence of the material. For though it will be convenient to group the instances of their usefulness under the heads of politics, language, religion, and art, the materials of each group are, nevertheless, in general a disconnected aggregate of single instances. This clearly arises from

<sup>d</sup> *Moral Essays*, Epistle v.

\* Frederic Creuzer, in *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift*, 1838.

the nature of the subject: each coin is a text for comment; the comment ended, another coin presents itself, belonging to a different town or age, and thus perfectly distinct from the former, even though the types and legends of both illustrate the same kind of usefulness in coins. Thus, for example, it would be quite impossible to give a generally readable account of the vast labours of the Abbé Belley, published between the years 1749 and 1766, in the *Anciens Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*. Tomes xxvi. and xxxii., for instance, each contain six articles by him, which show demonstratively the absolute necessity of Numismatical evidence in settling chronology; but each article is occupied with one or two coins of some generally unknown Eastern city, as Neoclaudiopolis, and the object is to settle the date of its still obscurer local era; because the local era being fixed, the date of the circumstances to which the types and legends refer, and which in many cases are of great importance, is at once determined. The reiteration of small instances that occur in reading produces gradually a definite and decided feeling of the necessity of Numismatics to history: to convince others of the same truth, it will be, perhaps, impossible to avoid something of this incoherent aggregation of instances. For every one confesses that coins must be of some use to historians; but nothing except an accumulation of examples could turn this vague admission into a definite opinion upon the nature and extent of this usefulness. The second difficulty consists in the extraordinary magnitude of the material. In Werlhof's *Handbuch der Griechischen Numismatik*<sup>f</sup> this ancient coinage is seen to range in locality from Eborā (Evora in Portugal) to Bactria and the Hydaspes, and from the realm of Cunobelin in Britain to Coptos on the Nile. As to time, there are coins of Ægina, Caulon, &c., assigned by M. Raoul Rochette<sup>g</sup> to the eighth century B.C. If the reigns of Gallienus and of his successors down to Constantine the Great be taken as the closing epoch of ancient Numismatics—an age forming a convenient boundary, partly because Eckhel<sup>h</sup> shows that about the time of Gallienus the local mints ceased to issue coins, partly because the approach of a modern age begins already to show itself about this time in Christian types and legends on the imperial currency—the series of ancient coins thus extends over more than a thousand years. The literature of the subject is correspondingly enormous, as may be most conveniently seen in Werlhof's book, and consists chiefly of works relating each to some minute department of this

“ . . . . longis spelunca recessibus ingens.”

<sup>f</sup> Published at Hannover, 1850, by Hahn.

<sup>g</sup> *Lectures on Ancient Art*, p. 117. London, 1854.

<sup>h</sup> Eckhel: *Doctr. Num. Vet.*, i. p. x.

Nor can one be surprised that professed Numismatists should not stop their researches in order to defend, in a special work, the historical utility of their labours to the satisfaction of the general world. The vast work of Spanheim<sup>1</sup> had, indeed, something of this intention: but it is already two centuries old. In fact, there are perhaps few at present, even among Numismatists, who can pretend to anything like a complete mastery of the whole subject: investigations relating to the spirit of a long extinct religion, to the value and successive phases of ancient art, to the reconstruction of dead languages, and the comparison of their philological characteristics, to the unravelling of complicated or the deciphering of delicate points of history, call for different mental gifts in the inquirers. In the midst of such difficulties, it will be a sufficient task to point out some few results of those efforts which, basing themselves on numismatic evidence, have long been throwing year after year more and more light upon the realities of the ancient world.

In beginning to treat more in detail of the value of coins in elucidating the History of Greece, it is impossible to refrain from quoting the words of one at once a great Numismatist and an ardent Philhellen. Colonel Leake<sup>2</sup> writes, "The real glory of Greece is to be measured by the extent and duration of its language. A collection of coins is alone sufficient to show that the customs or institutions, which were at once the cause and consequence of Greek civilization, lasted for more than a thousand years, and extended from Spain to India; proving at the same time that the Greeks never lost that innate habit of their race, which is the foundation of all national freedom: namely, the system of separate communities, each managing its own internal concerns, whether as an independent state, or as a member of a federation under a dominant republic, or as forming part of the dominions of a Macedonian king or of a Roman Emperor . . . . There exists hardly a Greek coin which does not bear the impress of the national genius either in design or execution, and more frequently in both." Nothing but coins can show what Hellenism was to the ancients: how really cosmopolitan it was, how fruitful everywhere, how widely active. To use an apt, though remote comparison, their evidence is like that given by the astronomer's telescope: the dark nebulæ and obscure regions of history are resolved by the light of coins into clear individual points of detail; innumerable centres of the Hellenic life are found to have existed whose names would otherwise have been unknown, and such discoveries affect the light in which the well-known cities must be regarded. The name of Greece as that of a determinate

<sup>1</sup> *De Usu et Præstantia Numism. Antiquor.* Rome, 1664.

<sup>2</sup> *Numismata Hellenica*: Preface, p. vi.

region, embracing the territories of some few conspicuous towns carries with it far too slight an intimation of these phenomena. For a true History of Greece must be a History of the Greeks in all that fullness of their mental and social sway over the ancient world, which they exerted with an early and lasting supremacy, only adequately conceivable by the aid of numismatic evidence. The mere material extensiveness of the reign of Hellenism, as shown by coins, is at first sight astonishing. Whoever the modern Greeks may be, the *Numismata Hellenica* may well attain its object, which its author<sup>k</sup> asserts to be "that of making known to the modern Greeks the geography of the countries which had been civilized by their ancestors, and of giving them some account of those numerous extant monuments of that unrivalled people, which contain no small portion of their lost history." Nothing so well as numismatic monuments can now explain how it was that the Greeks (it would be wrong to say Greece) dazzled all other ancient peoples: coins realize still before modern eyes the immense multiplicity and wide dispersion of various centres of Hellenic brilliancy in art; and, with the dates to which they refer, they show how early the Greeks had preoccupied the widest ground of ancient civilization, and how all the polish of most of the peoples embodied afterwards in the Roman Empire was, in origination, and generally also in development, entirely Hellenic. It is no longer wonderful that "Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit." For the Greeks, ever young, as the Egyptian priest says in Plato,<sup>l</sup> and throbbing in every centre of their ubiquitous energy with that fever of young health which Richter<sup>m</sup> describes, "als schlage in jedem Gliede ein besonderes Herz," have left in coins the most complete picture of their vigorous life and its many hearts. These monuments in the various spheres of commerce and politics, art, and religion, reveal in short the place which the Greeks have filled in the history of the world, in a manner, and with a superfluity of evidence, of which no mere history of Greece, as distinguished from what may be called a history of Hellenism, can give even an approximate conception.

Athens must of right receive the first notice. But her history shines too brightly in great historians and splendid remains to leave much darkness for coins to illuminate. There are, however, some few observations, chiefly connected with commerce and political economy, that may be made in reference to the coins of this city. First of all, their almost unvarying sameness of types and of artistic style through long successive ages is, as has been before said, extremely astonishing, especially in the case of this "eye of Greece, mother of Arts."<sup>n</sup> No one who thinks of the ex-

<sup>k</sup> Col. Leake: *Supplement to Numism. Hell.*, Preface init.

<sup>l</sup> Plato: *Timæus*, 22 B.      <sup>m</sup> Titan, 4th *Zykel*.

<sup>n</sup> *Paradise Regained*, book iv.

pensive adornments of the Propylæa, who remembers how nearly all artists of antiquity are connected with the name of Athens, and who has noticed, as one side of Athenian character, the love of doing with sumptuous elegance all that was to be done in connection with public occasions of social and political life (as seen, for instance, in the accounts of the rich "Appareil" of the Sicilian expedition in Thucydides,<sup>o</sup> and of the house of Callias in Plato<sup>p</sup>), will agree with those who, with a sneer at commercialism, say that Athens was too niggardly disposed to be willing to improve her coinage. Another explanation has been offered, and is decisive. Coins are a very convincing proof how wide the commerce of Athens was extended, and how widely current her money was. The Owl of Athens appears on coins with the Corn-ear of Sicily, with the Elephant of Africa, the Pegasus of Corinth, the Sphinx of Egypt, the Rose of the Rhodians, the Lion of Leontium, and with numberless other independent local emblems. Thus the money of Athens was available in perhaps the whole<sup>q</sup> sphere of ancient commercial activity. To keep up the wide acceptability of her currency, Athens was obliged to keep up the well-known types under which her coinage was known and welcomed. This explains the whole matter, and may be paralleled by many modern examples: Venice continued to issue rude sequins without alteration, merely because the old ones were what passed current in Turkey. In 1818 rude crowns of the style of Maria Theresa's mint continued to be issued at Turin for the Levant trade.<sup>r</sup> Even among the ancients other examples occur. Gold staters copied exactly from those of Philip II. of Macedon were struck at several local mintages long after his death. They were even adopted by barbarous tribes who had dealings with the Greeks, as, for instance, about Massalia; and by such foes to Macedon as the people of Rhodes. The special locality of these issues is seen from the addition of a small type or countermark expressive of the place to the usual types of Philip II. The instance of Rhodes shows that it would be absurd to attribute this practice to a servile wish of flattering the Macedonian dynasty. In fact, says L. Müller,<sup>s</sup> it arose "par la raison seule que ces statères avaient le meilleur cours dans le commerce." All Alexander's successors, except in Egypt, continued for a similar reason to use his silver tetradrachma, with his name and types, down to B.C. 306,

<sup>o</sup> Thucydides, vi. 31.

<sup>p</sup> *Protagoras*, c. 6, *seqq.*

<sup>q</sup> Eckhel, ii. 211. A passage in Plato (*Legg.* v. p. 742) is quoted by Eckhel i. p. lxxv, as proving that there was some currency available throughout the whole Greek world. He has no doubt that in Plato's time this was the Athenian money, as in later times the tetradrachma of Alexander the Great.

<sup>r</sup> *Walpole's Collection*, i. 433.

<sup>s</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 371, *seqq.*

when they began to call themselves kings. These tetradrachma were elsewhere still and much later continued, *e.g.*, many cities of Asia Minor used them for thirty-three years, and Phœnician cities used them for seventy-six years, the counting being in each case<sup>†</sup> reckoned from the accession of Alexander, who in fact only reigned thirteen years.

It would be very easy to add to the case of Athens other instances of the value of coins in showing the commercial relations between towns. A coin shows these and other relations between towns, by either containing their several distinct types united together or by being inscribed with their several names. Sometimes very distant cities are thus connected. There are coins proving commercial relations between Alexandria and Ephesus, Alexandria and Samos, Athens and Smyrna.<sup>‡</sup> Tarentum, though a Doric State, sometimes issued coins which differed from those of Athens with the helmeted Pallas-Head and the Owl only by the inscription ΤΑΡΑΣ in place of ΑΘΕ or ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ, so strongly did Athenian commerce influence this colony of Sparta. It has been observed that a reflecting inhabitant of Pekin by the examination of a packet of old Greek coins might discover that the ancient Greeks had attained considerable acquaintance with some points of political economy.<sup>§</sup> The passage in Aristophanes (Plutus, 816):—

στατήρσι δ' οἱ θερίποντες ἀρτιάζομεν χρυσοῖς,

and the remark in Xenophon (*περὶ προσ.* iv. 10), οἶδα ὅτι καὶ χρυσόν, ὅταν πολὺ παραφανῆ, . . . τὸ ἀργύριον τιμώτερον ποιεῖ, coupled with the facts that Athens had no gold<sup>¶</sup> coinage of her own and that foreign staters are still discovered in Attica, show that the Athenians must have had some skill in the settlement of the delicate relations of a contemporaneous gold and silver currency. For these staters bore at Athens only their intrinsic value; and it may fairly be argued that such a use of a foreign coinage implies no little success in the practical economy of an intricate monetary system. The wealth of Italy, in the time before the Roman supremacy was established, and the high price of food in those early prosperous days of Etruria and Magna Græcia, may be inferred from the fact that their usual silver currency was that of the didrachma. If Athens, Corinth, and other large towns of Greece proper, be excepted, the currency of that country was chiefly composed of a much minuter issue than the didrachma of early Italy, and implies a much lower general level of prosperity. Another way

<sup>†</sup> L. Müller, *Op. Cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>‡</sup> Eckhel, iv. 337, *seqq.*

<sup>§</sup> See article on Greek Coins in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. civ.

<sup>¶</sup> Eckhel, ii. 206.

in which the coins themselves suggest reflections connected with questions of political economy is in the comparative value of the different metals. For example: Col. Leake<sup>2</sup> observes that a comparison of the silver and copper coinages of Syracuse shows that "the value of the two metals was in the ratio of 1 to 445, a proportion which seems enormous when compared with that of modern times, or of the Byzantine Empire. But at Rome in the time of Hieron II. it was as great if not greater." The same author shows how the Syracusan coinage illustrates the commercial connection of Athens, Syracuse, and Corinth: Athens and Syracuse giving up their didrachma and decalitra in favour of the Corinthian stater currency, whilst Corinth adopted the tetradrachma of Athens and Syracuse instead of her own. He observes in short that "it would seem that each of these three greatest commercial cities continued to adapt the weight of its silver money to the general convenience and common circulation of them all." The great orderliness and the commercial convenience of the mintage system which the Greeks found it possible to contrive in spite of the multiplicity of monetary scales, and of independent mints, are, indeed, no little testimony to their skill. Upon this Werlhof (*Handbuch*, p. 69) observes, "Interessant ist die Wahrnehmung, dass bei den Alten der internationale Verkehr in Maassen, Gewichten, und Münzen der verschiedenen Völker, auch ohne desfallsige Staatsverträge, eine bisweilen grössere Uebereinstimmung herbeigeführt hatte, als sie unter den gebildeten Völkern der Jetztzeit besteht."

But it is only in this suggestive indirect manner that coins can reveal anything illustrative of the history of the greater cities. It is in elucidating history that has remained obscure, either through its remote antiquity or the neglect of historians, that coins recall the line,—

"Facta abeunt, monumenta manent."

The earliest light upon Grecian history comes from coins, and records the forgotten supremacy of Argos, other notices of which are quite fragmentary and uncertain. Even if it be denied that any actual coins of Phidon, struck for him at Argos,<sup>3</sup> still remain, yet the early Æginetan coins have been reasonably reckoned as struck under his authority. Grote says of this early mintage<sup>4</sup> that it must imply a very considerable preponderance on the side of Argos: "the first coinage of copper and silver money is a capital event in Grecian history, and must be held to imply con-

<sup>2</sup> In *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. iii. p. 366. The next quotation is from *ibid.*, p. 358.

<sup>3</sup> Upon this see *Numismatic Chronicle*, April, 1843: "On an early coin struck for Phidon."

<sup>4</sup> *History of Greece* (fourth edition), vol. ii. p. 431.

siderable commerce, as well as those extensive views which belong only to a conspicuous and leading position." Another example of the use of coins in relation to this early period may be quoted from the same historian: "Of the importance of Chalkis and Eretria during the seventh and part of the eighth century before the Christian era we gain other evidences, partly in the numerous colonies founded by them, partly in the prevalence throughout a large portion of Greece of the Euboic scale of weight and money." This passage will have more weight as showing the use of coins, if it be observed that the early prosperity of the colonies, alluded to as proving that of the mother country, is itself chiefly known from coins, as will be seen hereafter, and that the Euboic scale of money prevailed in Athens itself before the time of Solon. Again: there are coins of silver which show the prosperity of Ceos in the seventh century B.C., and copper coins which prove that this prosperity continued till the third century B.C. These coins of Ceos display particularly the prominence of Coresus and Carthæa. The word Carthæa is Phœnician and its meaning is The Town: thus this town, by the mere legend on its coinage, proves itself to have been founded by the Phœnicians, and before there was any other town in Ceos. Again: its types are an Amphora, a Bee, and Zeus Ikmaios; this proves the nature of the land to have favoured agricultural commerce. Still further: of two of its silver coins, whose types are exactly the same (viz., Amphora [rough "quadratum incusum," with diagonal lines]), and which belong, therefore, to very nearly the same age, one is of the Æginetan, the other of the Attic scale. This proves that Ceos adopted the Solonian system as soon as it was introduced. It may further be observed that in thus reconstructing the part that was played in Grecian history by towns with which written history has dealt very sparingly, the artistic appearance of the coins may fairly be taken as a trustworthy indication of the contemporaneous state of general civilization. Millingen<sup>b</sup> insists very much on this, observing that coins not only teach the progressive phases of the special art of die-engraving, but "nous apprenons quel était l'état de la sculpture et de la peinture aux mêmes époques: puisqu'il est de la nature même des choses que les diverses branches des beaux-arts aient toujours une étroite liaison ensemble. Or de la connaissance de ces arts chez un peuple quelconque on peut inférer l'état de sa civilisation, connaissance fort utile dans les recherches historiques." Evidence similar to that argued upon in the case of Carthæa applies to its neighbour-city Coresus, and proves its early commercial rivalry with Ægina. In this way, a very sufficient picture of the

<sup>a</sup> *History of Greece* (fourth edition), vol. iii. 229.

<sup>b</sup> *Considerations sur la Numismatique de l'ancienne Italie*: Florence, 1841, in Preface.



early wealth and commerce of Greece might be constructed from the coins of almost unknown cities. A still more illustrative group of instances will be given in the case of Sicily and Italy. Before these, however, are treated of, it will be convenient to show here some of the uses of coins in settling geography.

Coins help geographers in tracing the divisions of provinces, according as they used the phrase  $\text{AN}\Omega$  or  $\text{KAT}\Omega$  to describe their position. Prusias in Bithynia, Antioch in Syria, Heliopolis in Cœle-Syria, Cæsarea in Cappadocia, &c., assist in fixing their own locality by their coins bearing respectively the inscriptions  $\text{ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ, ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΝ, ΠΡΟΣ ΛΙΒΑΝΩ, ΠΡΟΣ ΑΡΓΑῶ, \&c.}$  This kind of help is often given by their mentioning a sacred grove, stream, fountain, or temple. Two cities have been sometimes by old geographers (Ptolemy, &c.) made out of the two names of one city, *e. g.*, a city in Commagene puts on its coins  $\text{ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΗΣ}$ : whereas, instead of the one city, Cæsarea Germanica, the geographers spoke of two, Cæsarea and Germanicia. A more interesting case is given in the *Edinburgh Review*, to which reference has already been made. After passing Salmone, S. Luke says,<sup>c</sup> *ἤλθομεν εἰς τόπον τινὰ καλούμενον Καλοῦς Λιμένας, ἧ ἔγγυς ἦν πόλις Λασαία.* For Λασαία, the Alexandrian and another manuscript read Ἄλασσα: the Vulgate gives Thalassa. This difficulty of reading, with the difficulty also of the fact that no geographer speaks of Lasæa, is cleared up by coins: for in the district still called *στοὺς καλοὺς λιμῶνας*, coins are found which prove that there flourished in that region, and in the time of S. Paul, a city with the name Thalassa. The locality where coins of a place are most abundantly found is one of the chief guides in determining the site of old cities. Copper coins are in general found very near the place where they were minted. Col. Leake,<sup>d</sup> for instance, says the site of Phistelia cannot be exactly settled, except by tracing the oboli of the town to their place of discovery.

The next group of instances relates to the history of the Greeks in Italy and Sicily, and to the general condition of those countries down to the establishment of the Roman supremacy. To this age Millingen<sup>e</sup> gives the name of "la période brillante pendant laquelle les colonies helléniques et les divers états tyrrhéniens formés dans l'Italie avaient atteint un degré de puissance et de richesse qui excédait de beaucoup celui auquel la Grèce était parvenue à la même époque réculée. Ces peuples furent également distingués par leur goût pour les beaux-arts et pour la philosophie, et présentent tous les caractères d'une civilisation extrêmement avancée. A ces considérations on peut ajouter celle

<sup>c</sup> *Acts of the Apostles*, c. xxvii. v. 8.

<sup>d</sup> *Num. Hellen. Ital.*, p. 135.

<sup>e</sup> *Op. Cit.*, Introduction, init.

de l'immense intérêt qui résulterait d'une connaissance véritable de l'origine de Rome." This opinion upon the characteristics of that remote age is nearly entirely derived from coins. There are some few other authorities, such as local ruins, and fragmentary notices in authors, who, except Thucydides, are of too little weight in general to be accepted without the testimony of coins. Thus for this period coins may well be regarded as almost the sole authority. "Cette classe de monumens," continues the author just quoted, "est sans contredit la plus nombreuse, et en même tems la plus importante par la grande variété des faits dont elle transmet une connaissance certaine." Instances will now be given. The different monetary systems prevalent in Italy and Sicily among the Greeks serve at once to illustrate the origination of the various groups of colonists from various tribes of the mother Greece. The Corinthian scale prevailed among the Achæan colonies, and accordingly is found at Siris, Pandosia, Pyxus, Metapontum, Croton, Caulonia, and Sybaris with its dependencies Laus and Posidonia, the later Pæstum. Velia (or, as it may be more truly called, Hyele) being a colony from Phocæa naturally followed the Babylonian scale, which was generally used in Asia. The early coinage of the Chalcidian towns, as Cumæ, Naxos, Catana, and Himera, belongs to the Æginetan system. Tarentum, and its colony Heraclea, though of Dorian origin, adopted the system used by the Achæan settlers. The other Doric cities, as Syracuse, Gela, and Agrigentum, adopted the Solonian scale. The mere weight, therefore, of specimen coins of these different cities would be an infallible guide by means of which they might be divided into distinct groups of kindred or connected cities, and their origin in great measure discovered. The types would give still more convincing proofs as to the origin of towns and their relationship to one another. For in many cases the types are so constantly maintained, though with improvements in the execution, that they are of the same use in tracing the origin of cities as coats of arms are in pointing to genealogical connection of families. Thus Athens founds Phocæa : Phocæa founds Alalia about B.C. 570, and Alalia, perhaps with Phocæa, founds Hyele about B.C. 530, and this descent is accompanied throughout by the Athenian type of the helmeted Pallas-head, the constant ornament of the coins of Hyele, and occasionally is further illustrated by the coins bearing the Owl or the Olive-branch on the reverse. It may be observed, moreover, that the continuance of this Pallas-head on coins of Hyele illustrates the practice of colonies carefully maintaining the religious rites of their metropolis : and on this account instances of a similar kind perpetually recur on coins, and are of extensive use in tracing the relations of cities.

The degree in which it is literally true that civilization in Italy was Greek from the beginning, is strikingly shown by the fact

that there is no trace<sup>f</sup> of any coinage circulating in Italy before the Achæan silver didrachma, whose date extends back certainly beyond B.C. 600. Coins, moreover, by their types and legends, distinguish in the most interesting manner the Greeks who influenced Etruria from those who influenced Latium, as is clearly shown in Mommsen's *History of Rome*.<sup>g</sup> Greek culture came to Etruria from Attica, and to Latium from Sicily. After mentioning arguments from the discovery of Attic vases in Etruscan tombs, and from Tyrrhenian candlesticks and goblets being in great request in Athens, Mommsen says,<sup>h</sup> "Still more definitely is such an intercourse indicated by the coins. The silver pieces of Populonia are struck after the pattern of a very old silver piece, stamped on one side with a Gorgoneion, on the other merely presenting an incuse square, which has been found at Athens, and on the old amber route, in the district of Posén, and which was in all probability just the coin struck by order of Solon, in Athens." And as it is on coins that the shapes of letters of this early age are made known, it is again to coins that recourse is had for a new argument to show this difference between the Hellenism of Etruria and that of Latium, when Mommsen in the same passage proceeds: "The Greek alphabet which reached Etruria is essentially different from that communicated to the Latins. While the former is so primitive that for that very reason its special origin can no longer be ascertained, the latter exhibits exactly the signs and forms which were used by the Chalcidic and Doric colonies of Italy and Sicily. . . . . Every other trace which has survived from so remote an age leads to the same conclusion, such as the coin of Posidonia found in Latium, the purchase of grain, when a failure of the harvest occurred in Rome, from the Volscians, Cumæans, and Siceliots, and, as was natural, from the Etruscans also; but, above all, the relation subsisting between the Latin and Sicilian monetary systems. . . . The Latin designations of weight, *libra*, *triens*, *quadrans*, *sextans*, *uncia*, which came into use in Latium for the weighing of the copper which served instead of money, had already found their way into the common speech of Sicily in the third century of the city, under the corrupt and hybrid forms, *λίτρα*, *τριᾶς*, *τετραῶς*, *ἐξᾶς*, *ὀνγκία*. Indeed, among all the Greek systems of weights and moneys the Sicilian alone was brought into a determinate proportion to the Italian copper system." The passage is too long for further quotation: it may be added, however, that a very early coin of Syracuse in silver was issued, an exact equivalent of the ponderous Roman "*libra æris rudis*," and was called *λίτρα ἀργυρίου*, "a pound of copper in

<sup>f</sup> Millingen: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 4 & 6.

<sup>g</sup> Book i. cc. x., xiii., xv., in general.

<sup>h</sup> Vol. i. p. 208, of the Rev. William Pitt Dickson's Translation of Mommsen's *History of Rome*, London, 1862.

silver." This would imply that Rome and Latium bought from Sicily, but had no active trade in exportation: for it shows that Roman and Latin currency was drained to Sicily. This passive character of the Latins in this southward commerce is further confirmed in a negative manner by coins, from the fact that very few coins of foreign peoples of this period have been found in Latium. It may be added here that from this relation of the Latin and Sicilian coinages, Mr. Grote derives an interesting inference with respect to the conduct of these Greek colonists, especially in Sicily, towards the native populations. After remarking that whereas the native Greek money reckoning was by talents, obols, drachmæ, and minæ, and the native Italo-Sicilian reckoning was by pounds and ounces, these reckonings were gradually intermingled, he observes,<sup>1</sup> "In the final result the native system seems to be predominant, and the Grecian system subordinate. Such a consequence as this could not have ensued if the Greek settlers in Italy and Sicily had kept themselves apart as communities, and had merely carried on commerce and barter with communities of Sikels. It implies a fusion of the two races. . . . . When the Greeks gradually extended their territory, this was probably accomplished not by the expulsion, but by the subjugation of these Sikel tribes, &c." The coins prove that though subject the Sikels were not so crushed as to cause their native culture, however slight, to be trampled out: conquerors and conquered are seen as it were fused into a new people, and something appears of how it was that the Greeks in Sicily were many ways different from the Greeks of Greece proper. This fusion of races took place also in many of the regions in Italy, where Greeks and natives came in contact: among the exceptions, however, are the old Achæan settlements, such as Sybaris and its contemporaries, who reduced the natives to absolute slavery, and thus had little influence<sup>1</sup> on the Hellenization of Italy, and in fact soon wore themselves out in factions, servile wars, and luxury. On the coins of these Achæan cities will, in the first ages, be found that old form of the Greek alphabet, which has been already mentioned as perfectly distinct from that introduced into Latium; *e. g.*, the Achæan coins give iota, sigma, lambda, and rho, the forms  $\zeta$ ,  $\mathfrak{M}$ ,  $\mathfrak{A}$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}$ , which, with others, are very liable to confusion. The Latins write them thus: I, S, L, R, which are from more recent Greek forms; *e. g.* the unmistakable R on coins of Tarentum, as in the legend ΖΑΡΑΤ;<sup>2</sup> the L, as first letter of the word *λυκάβας*, the year, on numberless later Greek coins, on which this form of the lambda was used to distinguish it from the Greek letters of the more usual form, that were added to

<sup>1</sup> Grote: *Greece*, iii. 494.<sup>2</sup> Mommsen: *Op. Cit.*, i. 143.<sup>3</sup> Eckhel: *Op. Cit.*, i. 345.

express the date : thus, **Λ** means the first year. This distinction of the Achæan and the Latin Greek alphabet is a new confirmation of what was urged above : that Greek influence came to Latium chiefly through Sicily.

To take some instances from particular towns : it will be satisfactory to quote again from Colonel Leake on this part of the subject. He says,<sup>1</sup> "The temples and coins of Posidonia constitute one among many examples which prove how large a portion of the history of the great nations of antiquity is derived from monuments alone. . . . Even of the history of Greece there is hardly any history recorded in letters, except as connected with the history of Athens. While of Posidonia we scarcely know anything, except that in Roman times it was renowned for its roses ; its temples and its long series of coins attest that it rivalled the greatest of the cities of Magna Græcia in population, wealth, commerce, and the arts ; and that, under the name of Pæstum, it flourished to a later time than almost any of them." Instead, then, of the sort of renown that might attach to the "biferi rosaria Pæsti" of late days, Posidonia, by its coins, vindicates for itself a great and very ancient reputation. Its early coins are of very archaic workmanship, *e. g.* specimens in the plates of the *Hunterian Museum*,<sup>2</sup> plate 44, i. and iv. Some of these coins display that sure sign of antiquity : the same type sunken and in reversed direction on the reverse that appears in relief on the obverse, *e. g.*, a silver coin with legend on one side, ΠΟΛΟΣΔ (ΠΟΣΟΙΑ), and on the other, ΜΟΠ (retrograde writing of ΠΟΣ), with type on obverse, a slowly-stepping naked Poseidon with trident towards the right, and in relief ; and on the reverse, the same type turned to the left, and sunken. Coins of the most distant epochs relate the existence of alliances of various kinds between cities : but it is of course only those which relate to ancient times, when the thus connected cities were really independent communities, that can imply any mutual relation between them of a truly political nature. Of this kind, fortunately, there are several instances that concern the cities that are now being considered. Each of these coins, therefore, becomes a political document of the highest public authority, and opens up in each case abundantly suggestive materials of history. Eckhel<sup>3</sup> gives a coin thus described :  $\zeta \Lambda \Lambda$  ; Bos stans cum facie humanâ ] argent. [ ΟΤ idem bos respiciens. This proves an alliance of Posidonia and Laus. Millingen<sup>4</sup> quotes another coin of Posidonia, which by its legend,  $\Phi \zeta \zeta \Lambda$ , *i. e.*  $\phi \upsilon \varsigma$ , proves that Posidonia was allied also with Phistelia. There is another<sup>5</sup> thus described : ΠΑΜ ΔΟ, Bos

<sup>1</sup> *Numism. Hellen. Europ.*, 136.

<sup>2</sup> In Charles Coombe's *Nummorum . . . qui in museo Gul. Hunter asservantur descriptio*, &c., Londini, 1782.

<sup>3</sup> Eckhel : i. 154.

<sup>4</sup> *Considérations*, &c., p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> Eckhel : i. 177.

stans, respiciens ] arg. [ ☉ † ☉ Tripus, which is a monument of alliance between Pandosia and Croton. Another coin, still more remarkable than these for the forms of letters and style of work, is described in Eckhel, and is represented in Werlhof's book.<sup>a</sup> The obverse type is, "bos stans, respiciens, opere exstante, sinistrorsum versus;" the reverse type is, "idem bos incusus, dextrorsum." The obverse legend is, ΜΩΣΙΣΜ (*i. e.* retrograde writing for ΣΙΡΙΝΟΣ; the reverse legend is, ΠΥ+ΟΕΜ (*i. e.* the uncontracted form of the genitive, ΠΥΞΟΕΣ). This very ancient coin proves therefore that alliance existed in the remotest ages of the art of coinage between Siris and Pyxus or Buxentum. The types of Tarentum on a coin with the legend ΝΕΟΠ, show that Naples and Tarentum were politically related. As connected with Rome, and as illustrating this same kind of usefulness in ancient medals and coins, two instances may be added, though they belong to a much more recent age than the former. The first is a coin on which with her own types Naples puts the legend ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ, which refers to the year B.C. 331, when Naples, after suffering much from the attacks of the Campani, put herself under the authority and protectorate of Rome. The second bears on one side a laureate head of Jupiter, on the other, a group composed of a woman, with the name ΠΙΣΤΙΣ, who stands and crowns a sitting female figure, described as ΡΩΜΗ: the legend of the coin is ΔΟΚΡΩΝ. This refers to the gratitude of the Epizephyrian Locrians in being delivered by Rome, in B.C. 206, from the brutality of Plemmyrius. These instances, and of course the oldest in far the most valuable degree, show how much may be told by a coin when all testimony has perished, or is comparatively and by itself untrustworthy. The old coins that show that alliances existed between Siris and Pyxus, between Laus and Posidonia, &c., along with this bare fact, as it seems, imply much more. For in the first place this little group of treaties (and others' might be added) is an indubitable *locus standi*. The treaties are demonstrated, as Spanheim would say,<sup>b</sup> "publicarum velut tabularum fide;" and are, in the second place, numerous enough to serve as tracery into which what is known or inferred from the slight remains of tradition or history from other sources may be adjusted. Besides, it is obvious that the existence of a treaty must fairly be taken to imply a good deal more in the way of antecedent commercial connections or political sympathies.

Terina has not been mentioned. Coins prove that it was allied with Crotona, and Colonel Leake<sup>c</sup> observes of it, "Although the coins of Terina attest that it yielded to none of the cities of

<sup>a</sup> *Handbuch, &c.*, p. 35.

<sup>b</sup> Millingen: *Op. Cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>c</sup> See the word "Alliance" in the General Index to the *Numismata Hellenica* of Col. Leake.

<sup>d</sup> Diss. iii. § 4.

<sup>e</sup> *Numism. Hellen. Eur.* 151.

Magna Græcia in refinement, and in the arts which arise from opulence, we know nothing of it from history except that it flourished in the time of the Peloponnesian war (Thucydides i. 104), and that it was destroyed by Hannibal (Strabo, p. 256). The territory of the Terinæi was probably separated from that of the Nucrini (now Nocera) by the Savato. Their vicinity is strongly marked by the exact resemblance of two copper coins . . . . with the legend ΤΕΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ on the one, and ΝΟΚ-ΡΙΝΩΝ on the other. There are similar coins likewise of Rhegium, with the legend ΡΗΓΙΝΩΝ, which seems to indicate an alliance between these three places." Again, if Metapontum be considered, it is chiefly its rich series of silver coins that is the proof of its ancient and long continued prosperity. So far from there being anything like a contemporary written account of it, we merely learn from Pausanias that it had a Treasury at Delphi, and from Strabo that it sent thither a χρυσῶν θέρος, in allusion, like the wheat-ear (spica), on its coins, to its fertile soil. Besides these two brief and late notices, there is not, except its coins, any direct testimony to the greatness of the city, beyond some ruins of a Doric temple. There is another region which derives much light from coins: it is the spot that was successively occupied by Sybaris, about 700 to 500 B.C., then by Thurium, about 450 to 200 B.C., then by the Roman settlement of Copia, about the year 190 B.C. Of each of these, coins and little else remain. Of Sybaris and Metapontum Mommsen observes: "The height of prosperity which these States in a very short time attained is strikingly attested by the only surviving works of art of these Italian Achæans, their coins of chaste antequely beautiful workmanship—the earliest monuments of Italian art and writing which we possess, as it can be shown that they had already begun to be coined in 174 U.C. These coins show that the Achæans of the West not merely participated in the noble development of the plastic art, that was at this very time taking place in the mother land, but were perhaps even superior in technical skill. For while the silver pieces which were in use about that time in Greece proper, and among the Dorians in Italy, were thick, often stamped only on one side, and in general without inscription, the Italian Achæans with great and independent skill struck from two similar dies partly cut in relief, partly sunk, large thin silver coins always furnished with inscriptions, and displaying the advanced organization of a civilized state in the style of impression, by which they were carefully protected from the process of counterfeiting usual in that age, the plating of inferior metal with thin silver foil." This mode of arguing a certain degree of skill and civilization in the ancients from their still extant coins

v i. 142 (Translation).

displaying peculiarities obviously intended to protect them from being counterfeited, is such as might be applied by the inquiring Chinaman of the *Edinburgh Review* upon his first sight of a collection of English coins and bank notes. Yet these excellent coins of Sybaris and Metapontum are both of such antiquity that in them the writing of the legends from right to left still prevails. Thus, for a coin of Metapontum there is the specimen, *Minotaurus stans* ] [ *ATEM. spica*: and for Sybaris, "Neptune hurling a trident" arg. (V M over a slowly-stepping bull. There are coins with the inscription *ΣΥΒΑ*, and with a bull of obviously the same school of art as that on the earliest coins of Thurium: which show that after the mortal blow received in B.C. 510, Sybaris still lingered on till replaced by Thurium, and thus confirm the words of Strabo. The smallness of these later coins of Sybaris, in contrast with the splendid series of her early greatness, marks convincingly the decay into which she had fallen in these last days. Thurium breathed a new life. Her coins belong of course in the greatest measure to the period between 500 and 400 B.C., and they have been<sup>2</sup> asserted to be "among the finest specimens extant of the Numismatic art:" and this excellence must be allowed to imply a corresponding general level of civilization.

The Etruscans, though they maintained peaceful relations with Attica, were by no means so passive as the Latins under the influence of such Greeks as were nearer to them. In fact, the Greeks were expelled by them from Æthalia and Populonia; and though from about the middle of the sixth century B.C. gold and silver coins were issued on a Greek model by the Etruscans of Populonia, yet Mommsen<sup>1</sup> observes, that "the circumstance that these coins are modelled, not upon those of Magna Græcia, but rather upon those of Attica and Asia Minor, is perhaps an indication of the hostile attitude in which the Etruscans stood towards the Italian Greeks." This hostility to those Greeks, to whom they were nearest, only makes it appear more strongly how essential Greek art was to these Etruscans. For Greek art and skill were much the same in manner of design throughout the Greek world: and accordingly, while the Etruscans warred with the Italian Greeks, they must have felt that their being obliged to copy the money of Greeks was after all much like a homage to their enemies. It is interesting to add that it is chiefly through coins that Mommsen<sup>2</sup> decides that the *vexata quæstio* of the origin of Etruscan art must end in the assertion of an Attic source. The grotesqueness of Etruscan figures and groups must be no longer regarded as a sign of originality; it only points both to the rudeness of the Greek art that these "wild Tyrrhenians"

<sup>1</sup> Taylor Combe's *Catalogue Mus. Britann.*, iii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> i. 151 (Translation, as above).

<sup>3</sup> Leake: *Num. Hell. Eur.*, 153.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 494-5.



encountered and to the slightness of their own capacity for improvement. There are no remains dating certainly from the fifth century, B.C., in which this imitative Etruscan art can be studied except the silver coinage of Populonia; these clearly reveal that this school must be regarded, as Mommsen<sup>a</sup> says, not as the mother, but as the stunted daughter of the beautiful art of Greece.

Tarentum played a very distinguished part among the Western Greeks. Except Cumæ it was perhaps the most active of all these centres in Hellenizing Italy. Its coins, many of which are of gold, and of exceedingly beautiful workmanship, are more abundant than those of any other Italo-Grecian city. They thus remain to prove, in the most attractive and at the same time in the most significant manner, the extended commerce, the arts and wealth, of the southern emporium of Italy. The work of Charles Combe upon the Hunterian Museum alone describes one hundred and twenty-four Tarentine coins, and gives such representations<sup>b</sup> of several of them as suffice (in spite of the very poor style of the engravings) to give some notion of this beautiful series in its progressive stages of artistic execution, *e. g.* in the gradually improving treatment of that constant type, the child Taras riding on a dolphin. But it is not intended here to discuss the value of coins in the history of art. Colonel Leake<sup>c</sup> observes: "The great abundance and variety of the coins of Taras, particularly in silver, of which more than five hundred varieties are extant, as well as the elegance of their designs and executions, are in agreement with the historical testimony of Livy, who informs us (xxvii. 16) that when Tarentum was taken by the Romans they collected 'argenti vis ingens facti signatique, auri octoginta dua millia pondo, signa tabulæque prope ut Syracusarum ornamentis æquaverint.'" One of the most frequent types is that of a horseman: this may allude to the fame of the Tarentine cavalry as mercenaries, and indeed Colonel Leake regards some specimens as representing "probably the manner in which the Tarentine cavalry were armed, and that in which the Ephebi were exercised." Heraclea, a colony of Tarentum, has frequently been mentioned by Numismatists as an instance of coins showing a city to have been a brilliant focus of art and civilizing influences, although written history has scarcely mentioned its condition or its fortunes. With various obverses, for example, a female helmeted head with legend ἩΡΑΚΛΑ, the reverse gives the struggle between Hercules and the Nemean lion, in different attitudes.<sup>d</sup> So again in the case of Hyele, the artistic value of the coins is an historical picture of the prosperity

<sup>a</sup> *Op. Cit.*, i. 495.

<sup>c</sup> *Num. Hell. Eur.*, 145.

<sup>b</sup> *Mus. Hunt.*, 54, iii. to 55, xvii.

<sup>d</sup> *Mus. Hunt.*, 29, vi. to xxxi.

of the city. Three phases of excellence are traced by Millingen on its coins, the succession of perfection, mannerism, and decay. Even in the miserable engravings<sup>f</sup> of the *Hunterian Catalogue* this may be very plainly seen. The coin 61. xvi. gives an archaic head of Pallas, without helmet, and a lion treated in the most simple style: then improvement may be traced up to the really magnificent coin that is numbered 62. iii.; the Ionic form  $\text{VEAHTEON}$  has now been dropped: the obverse gives a beautiful profile head of Pallas, with helmet, the reverse an excellently treated struggle of a stag with a lion. After this may be traced the gradual decay of the town, till the art of the Velia of the last age of the republic sinks into the wretched brass coins, whose chief ornament is to be looked for in the globules that represented the Triens and the Quadrans.

These instances may perhaps be sufficient to show how useful Numismatic evidence has been in revealing the high state of civilization, of arts, commerce, and luxury, attained by the Greeks of Italy in the sixth century, and maintained on the whole till the third century, B.C. It has shown the civilizing activity of Greece displayed brilliantly in the case of cities which regular history would leave in obscurity: the whole basis of Italian culture is seen to be of Greek origin. Coins have shown how Greece ruled all Italy intellectually, and great part of it politically, and everywhere with magnificence, while young Rome still struggled with Veii; and, lastly, how Greece maintained her intellectual and artistic supremacy long after Rome had begun to darken the world with the shadow of brute force. It is not necessary to give instances in detail for Sicily also, because the results are of precisely similar nature. Their artistic value is so extremely great that they will be alluded to hereafter. The coinages of Selinus and Naxos illustrate and adorn the history of Sicily from 600 to 400 B.C., and the latter of these two centuries would derive additional splendour from the beautiful series of Eryx and Camarina: Himera and Thermæ (the later Himera) would carry on the glittering pictorial history to a still later period: the extraordinarily magnificent series of Syracuse would illuminate all these centuries, and would bring down the history of Sicily to the latest times of the Roman republic. As no royal coinage has yet been mentioned, one coin from Syracuse may be quoted as showing a new mode in which coins confirm or supplement obscure parts of history. It belongs to so late a period as the reign of Hiero II., and to an epoch, therefore, when it was the rule for kings to put their portraits and titles on their coins. With Hiero II. this was not the rule, but the exception. The coins of other rulers of Syracuse had borne their names together with

<sup>b</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>f</sup> *Mus. Hunt.*, 61, xvi. to 62, ix.

their title, or some sign of their sway. For instance, there are coins of Syracuse with the legend ἈΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ: there are others with the legend ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ. But Colonel Leake<sup>s</sup> argues that "as the title of βασιλεύς never occurs on the coins of Hieron II., except in the extremely rare silver pieces just mentioned, it would seem that these are the produce of a very limited coinage, that the title was never again employed on the money of Hieron, that the silver coinage of his long reign bore the republican types alone; his coinage tending to confirm that character of moderation and respect for the people, apparent if not real, for which History gives him credit."

Another specimen of the coinage of Sicily may be mentioned as connected also with the Phœnicians. It is the extremely curious series of Panormus. Thucydides<sup>b</sup> writes that the Carthaginians seized Panormus about the time when the Greeks were settling on the east and the south of Sicily. It remained the chief Sicilian stronghold of Carthage down to the end of the first Punic war, and its coinage belongs to this period of Carthaginian rule. But the etymology of the name shows that those Phœnicians found Greek life before them at Panormus. This previous Hellenism accounts for there being found in these Panormitan coins a quite peculiar style "which," again to quote Colonel Leake,<sup>i</sup> "although Greek is peculiar to this city, having apparently been invented to indicate, together with the types, the dependency of Panormus upon the Carthaginians, who had not then adopted, if they ever did, the Greek invention of money as a circulating medium of commerce."

The first blow to the Greek civilization in Italy came from the invasion of the South by Samnite emigrants, such as the Lucani and Bruttii, about the year 450 B.C. The city of Vulturnum, whose inhabitants were a mixed Hellenized people, chiefly Etruscan, was seized by the Samnites in B.C. 424, and its name changed to Capua. The Samnites wrested Cumæ from the Greeks in B.C. 420, and soon other conquests followed. Besides the Greek Periplus, composed about B.C. 436, it is chiefly from coins that it is learnt that, even under Samnite rule, Cumæ, Laus, Posidonia, &c., continued essentially Greek cities. It is observed by Millingen,<sup>j</sup> that after the Lucanian occupation, the gradual corruption of the name of Posidonia may be traced on the coins. He gives in succession instances with the forms ΠΟΣΙΔΑΝΙΑ, ΠΑΙΣΤΑΝΟ, and ΠΑΙΣΤΟΝ, which last is of course the Roman Pæstum. It would almost seem as if these Samnites became more purely Hellenized in cities which had not been Greek before, or which no Greeks occupied in large numbers with them,

<sup>s</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. iii. p. 369.    <sup>b</sup> Book vi. 2.

<sup>i</sup> *Num. Hellen.*: Insular Greece, p. 66.

<sup>j</sup> *Considérations*, &c., p. 235.

than in such old Greek cities as Posidonia. It is remarked by Mommsen<sup>1</sup> that "Capua, Nola, Nuceria, and Teanum, although having a purely Samnite population, adopted Greek manners and a Greek civic constitution. . . The Samnite cities of Campania began to strike coins, some of them with Greek inscriptions. . . The old national writing, which they had brought with them from the north, was abandoned by the Lucanians and Bruttii, and exchanged for Greek; while in Campania the national alphabet, and perhaps also the language, developed itself under the influence of Greek philosophy." All this is demonstrated by the coins, and even the coins which have other than Greek legends are altogether Greek in design and execution. To quote from an author, who shows in the clearest manner the use of coins in illustrating the obscure history of this influence of the Greeks on the emigrant Samnites: Julius Friedländer<sup>1</sup> observes, "Die griechische Cultur der Colonien um Cumæ und Neapolis zeigt ihren Einfluss auf die Münzen der benachbarten Oskischen Städte darin, dass die griechische Typen nachgeahmt wurden, und dass theils die oskischen Aufschriften mit griechischen Buchstaben geschrieben sind, theils griechische und oskische Aufschrift auf Einer Münze steht." As an instance of the latter bilingual kind of coinage, one of Friedländer's plates<sup>m</sup> gives a coin with the name "*fistluis*" written from right to left, and also bearing the legend ΦΙΣΤΕΛΙΑ. The types are: on the obverse, an Egyptian-looking female face; on the reverse, a *spica* of wheat, a dolphin, and a mussel shell. The older coinage of Phistelia bears a single Oscan inscription, and this older Oscan is written from left to right. Thus the coin first quoted shows, firstly, by the Oscan being written from right to left, that it belongs not to the earlier ages of Phistelia; secondly, by its being bilingual, that at this more recent age Phistelia was occupied by a mixed population of Greeks and Oscans, and had become in great measure Hellenic, and thus invited Greek settlers; and thirdly, by its types, that it enjoyed advantages in agriculture and fisheries. Another<sup>n</sup> of its coins gives the single inscription "*fistel*" (written from right to left); the types are: on the obverse, a well executed helmeted head of Pallas in profile, with Owl and Olive-wreath; on the reverse, the forepart of a Man-faced Bull. This coin, though bilingual, shows increasing Greek influence. The form, "*fistel*," is an approach to the euphony of Phistelia; the types on the obverse are pure Athenian, and were commonly used at the now perfectly Grecian Nola; this would connect Phistelia with Southern Campania, a connection further proved by the fact that the half-bull is the constant type of the copper coins of Na-

<sup>1</sup> i. 363-4 (Trans.). <sup>1</sup> *Die Oskischen Münzen*: Julius Friedländer, Leipzig, 1850, p. 4.  
<sup>m</sup> *Taf.* v. 4. <sup>n</sup> Friedländer: *Taf.* v. 9.

ples. The improvement in art on this coin is an additional indication of a still more advanced Hellenization. A similar series of observations might be made as to the Greek influence at Teanum Sidicinum. The legends are Oscan; but the types are Greek forms of Hercules, Hermes, or Apollo on the obverse; and on the reverse, the Man-faced Bull, or, Victory with a Chariot, as at Syracuse; sometimes with the Pentagram, as ☆, which is seen on the coins of Pitane in Mysia, and of Nola, Nuceria, &c.; in Italy, it is the Pythagorean Symbol of Health.

To prove how the Lucani and Bruttii were Hellenized by those whom they conquered, it is sufficient to quote two specimen coins. The first is a brass coin, with the head of Mars on the obverse, and a swiftly-stepping Pallas on the reverse, with the legend ΛΟΥΚΑΝΟΜ. The second is a gold one: a filleted head of Neptune, with tripod behind it on the obverse; the legend of the reverse is ΒΡΕΤΤΙΩΝ; and its type is a curious group thus described by Eckhel,<sup>o</sup> "Mulier velata, hippocampo vecta, cujus caudæ insistens Cupido sagittam retrorsum emittit." The Lucani appear to have thought, as their Hellenization proceeded, that their name was not euphonious enough; for it is perhaps certain that to these Lucani belongs a somewhat later coinage, of which the following brass coin is a specimen: head of Hercules on obverse; the swiftly-moving Pallas on the reverse; but with legend ΛΥΚΙΑΝΩΝ. It may be added here that three groups of coins are found of evidently contemporaneous work, and of exactly similar design and style, but bearing respectively the names of the Brettii, the Lucani, and the Mamertini. This fact of course implies a close league of these three peoples.

No doubt the Romans, till about 250 B.C., found that the excellence and abundance of the silver coinages that issued from Greek or Grecized cities was sufficient for their needs. Their only original coinage was a ponderous issue of rudely-worked copper; and this rude coinage was shared by Rome with many other cities of Italy that were out of reach of the elegant refinements of Greece. Thus the only coinage that Rome ever had of her own was a massive ill-wrought copper series; for the improvements in the copper issue, and the silver and gold coins that were introduced at a later period, were of Greek origin and generally wrought in fact by Greek hands—at any rate, as long as was necessary for the instruction of Roman artificers in this work. Greece has left no such specimens of the earliest phase as may<sup>p</sup> be seen in still extant specimens of the heavy bars of stamped copper that served the purposes of trade in Latium, and which the Syracusans' λίτρα ἀργυρίου was intended to replace

<sup>o</sup> *Op. Cit.*, i. 166. Cf. Bruttian coin given in *Mus. Britann.*, iii. 23.

<sup>p</sup> Cf. coins 5 and 7 in Classe ii. Tav. iv. of the work of Marchi and Tessieri, *Dell' Æs grave del Museo Kircheriano*.

by a more commodious equivalent. In the earliest Roman money the passage from the *æs rude* to the *æs signatum* may be traced. Next follows the step of improvement that is taken when casting is relinquished and true coining begins. Again the gradual improvement in the shape of the coins may be traced in their copper series in the succession of oblong, oval, elliptical, and at length circular shapes. The oldest specimens of the *æs grave* are recognised by their having no inscription, and also by their excessive weight, which it is well known was in later times diminished. But it is maintained by Millingen<sup>q</sup> than these oldest coins in no case date earlier than B.C. 333; and, further than this, that even these were not struck at Rome, but were struck for the Romans by the towns which they had recently subdued and whose skill in art was superior to that of their conquerors. He adds that when Rome established a mint of her own, her coins then began to bear the types of the Janus and the Ship's Prow, while the earlier types had been determined by the practice customary in the cities whose mints had supplied Rome with the first coins. In this case, Rome can scarcely be said ever to have had any coinage of her own unaided designing: and as it is from the types and general appearance of the early coins themselves that Millingen derives the main support of his just quoted opinion, Rome appears from her own money convicted of being obliged to take advantage of foreign skill, even in the first beginnings. With the proviso, therefore, that the whole progress is due to Greek assistance, one may agree with the assertion of Marchi and Tessieri,<sup>r</sup> that the Italian coinage is the only series on which the art of coining can be traced fully in its gradual progress from crudeness to perfection.

As much of what has been said already shows how strong a hold Hellenism had taken of Italy before Rome was of much importance, it will be convenient to show here how coins at still later periods demonstrate the continued influence of the Greeks. Speaking of the time about 250 B.C., Mommsen says: "Rome, as head of the Romano-Italian confederacy, not only entered into the Hellenistic state-system, but also conformed to the Hellenic system of moneys and coins." An independent Greek currency continued even later than this to issue from Capua. This Hellenism, thus marked in Rome by its coins, as also by its institution of a Græcostasis, and by the names Philo, Philippus, &c., is proved by coins<sup>t</sup> to have civilized Apulia about this very time. The coins of Canusium, Arpi, Hyrium, Barium, &c., are shown by Eckhel<sup>u</sup> to be quite Greek at this epoch. Two instances will suffice. There are coins<sup>v</sup> of Hyrium with the legend  $\Upsilon$ PINAI,

<sup>q</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 210. <sup>r</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 3. <sup>s</sup> i. 465 (Trans.). <sup>t</sup> Mommsen: *Op. Cit.*, ii. 398.

<sup>u</sup> *Op. Cit.*, i. 140.

<sup>v</sup> *Mus. Hunt.*, 62, xvii. xviii.

sometimes written retrograde sometimes not: the types are a Pallas-head and man-faced Bull. Colonel Leake<sup>w</sup> quotes a coin of Arpi with legend ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ: the obverse bears a laureate head of Jupiter, looking to the left: in field to left ΔΑΞΟΥ: on the reverse a wild boar, running to the right: above it, the head of a lance. These coins are quite Greek in style as well as language. The latter probably refers to the second Punic War: for Daxus is doubtless the name of a magistrate, and the local form of the name Dasius. Colonel Leake therefore considers it as almost certain that this coin thus refers to that Argyrippian mentioned by Livy, xxiv. 45., as helping Hannibal. In reference to this same period Mommsen says, in another place,<sup>x</sup> "In Campania and in the land of the Bruttii, Sabellians and Hellenes became completely intermingled, not only in language and nationality, but also and especially in art: and the Campanian and Bruttian coins in particular stand so entirely in point of artistic treatment on a level with the contemporary coins of Greece that the inscription alone serves to distinguish the one from the other." To take a much later period, Mommsen,<sup>y</sup> in speaking of the times after Sulla, says, "The Italian revolution, which otherwise levelled all the non-Latin nationalities in the Peninsula, did not disturb the Greek cities of Tarentum, Rhegium, Neapolis, Locri. In like manner, Massilia, although now enclosed by Roman territory, remained a Greek city, and, in that very capacity, firmly connected with Rome. With the complete Latinizing of Italy, a complete Hellenizing went hand in hand." Of the continuance of Hellenism at these and other centres coins are in general the most authoritative of remaining testimonies, and must, in this and similar passages, have been continually present to the mind of Mommsen, whose high reputation among the inquirers into the Numismatics of ancient Italy makes his authority in these matters of conclusive weight.

A return must now be made to the mother countries of these Western Greeks of Italy and Sicily: the utility of coins for the illustration of Federalism in Peloponnesus, Northern Greece, and in Asia Minor has been abundantly shown in a recent work.<sup>z</sup> The earliest germs of Greek Federalism may be traced on coins. There are coins<sup>a</sup> which, by the legend ΦΩΚΕΩΝ, show the existence of some union or federation among the Phocians at an age which the coins themselves prove to be five or six centuries before Christ; or to take an early instance from Mr. Warren's Essay<sup>b</sup> on this subject, "The numerous Copper series of Oiniadai . . . attests considerable commercial consequence for this city during some period when Oiniadai was Acarnanian and not Ætolian." This

<sup>w</sup> *Num. Hell. Europ.*, p. 112.

<sup>x</sup> *Op. Cit.*, i. 493.

<sup>y</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 423

<sup>z</sup> *Essay on Greek Federal Coinage*, by the Hon. J. Leicester Warren, 1863.

<sup>a</sup> *Mus. Hunt*, 43, xx.

<sup>b</sup> P. 15.

is demonstrated by these coins<sup>c</sup> of Ceneadae acknowledging the supremacy of the Acarnanian league by the admission of the Monogram of that league along with the local legend. Again: the discovery of coins with the legend AMΦΙΚΤΙΟΝΩΝ, and of the class of fine Æginetan didrachma, is a proof that the Amphictyonic league was so far from being merely concerned with speech-making on religious topics, as to have had occasion for a fine coinage of its own issue. Of course it was to be expected that the types on this series would be of only religious import (they are in fact a veiled head of Demeter, and the Sacred Omphalos encircled by a snake); but this by no means implies that the activity of the Amphictyonic council was confined to the sphere of religion; for it will be seen, further on, that the signification of perhaps all types of Greek coins is most probably religious.

The nature of the coinage of a league is the most striking test of its character and energy. To quote Mr. Warren,<sup>d</sup> "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, 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 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. . . . In the more imperfect Federations the towns generally coined with no recognition of any authority beyond their city-walls."

About 370 B.C. Epaminondas incited a federalist feeling among the Arcadians as a protective measure against Sparta. This led to the foundation of Megalopolis, which makes quite an epoch in Numismatics. Speaking of this anti-Spartan league, the author just quoted very justly argues<sup>e</sup> that "the impulse given to Numismatic art by the foundation of Megalopolis, may be accepted as

<sup>c</sup> *Mus. Hunt.*, 40, xv. xvi. xvii.

<sup>d</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>e</sup> P. 33.



a fair index of the magnitude of this movement in other respects." Of these Greek leagues it is only the Achæan of which much is known on trustworthy authority in written history. Yet even in this case, what historians write is more strikingly presented on the coinage, and what they omit is by it in great measure supplemented. For instance, the vitality and power of the league is best learned from the names<sup>f</sup> of the forty-one towns, spread over a wide area of Greece, whose coins show them to have obeyed the federal authority as active members of this league. Upon this Mr. Warren remarks, "On looking over the list of towns coming 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 ΑΧΑΙΩΝ before their own name on the city coinage." The name of Alipheira recalls another instance of the usefulness of coins for this period, in relation to which little that is definite can be learnt from written history. It was Philopœmen's policy to discourage the aggregation of great power in individual cities of this league: cities like Megalopolis and Mantinea were therefore broken up into mutually independent townships. Coins of Alipheira and others of these townships remain<sup>g</sup> to prove that the federal authority was strong enough to accomplish this otherwise incredible policy; and their number shows how completely it was accomplished.

It is known<sup>h</sup> that the Ætolian league had its centre and place of assembly at Thermum; yet none of the federal coinage of Ætolia bears the name of Thermum: nor in fact do any of these coins, wherever they may have been minted, bear any other legend than ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ. The individuality of the confederate towns is quite lost in the centralization of authority: a very different picture from that presented by the coinage of the Achæan league. The coins of the Ætolian league therefore would lead to the inference that in that league everything was federal, nothing municipal. This agrees with or rather supports the slight notices of written history. With regard to the league of Lycia it may be observed that coins have already added fourteen cities to the list of six given by Strabo, and may probably add more by further discoveries. These coins show that besides the general league of all Lycia, it was usual for the cities to form small independent leagues amongst themselves: this may well explain the anarchy and dissensions that were fatal to this league. The liberty allowed to Lycia by Augustus appears in the federal coinage admitting his face as a type but without his name and without

<sup>f</sup> Mr. Warren: *Op. Cit.*, p. 33. <sup>g</sup> Id. *ibid.*, p. 54 <sup>h</sup> Mr. Warren: *Op. Cit.*, p. 49.

his title of *Ἀντοκράτωρ*. Claudius, on hearing of the anarchical state of the country under this league, reduced its liberty and made it acknowledge his imperial titles on the federal money.

It would be perhaps improper altogether to pass over the vast amount of multifarious information concerning the state of individual Greek cities under various despots in later times, that is given by their coins. A moment's examination of the *Conspectus Voluminis Quarti* of Eckhel's work shows that the local coins of this period give an abundance of facts, perhaps in general more curious than valuable, relating to the internal condition and customs of cities, and precisely of a kind little likely to be noticed by regular history. In Lydia, the Bagæi boast their *ΙΕΡΑΝ ΒΟΥΑΗΝ*: the people of Tralles honour the *ΙΕΡΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ*. The factions of Nicomedia are visible on a coin<sup>1</sup> that commemorates the reconciliation of its Senate and its Commons. The names of the local magistrates are frequently given: the ambitious titles of Theologian, High Priest, and Sacred Remembrancer (*ἱερομνήμων*), are thus connected with the local dignitaries of Pergamus, Eumenia and Byzantium. The coins of Smyrna and Tarsus express their devotion or their fear under the Empire by such titles as *CMYPNA ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗ* and *ΤΑΡΚΟC CEYHPIANH*. The high titles which the cities apply to themselves on their coins are of more value; for they give a picture which, however incomplete, is the best that can now be found, of the fragments of local liberties, and of their old customs, that cities enjoyed under the Roman or other rule. The coins of Tarsus, Apamea, and Alabanda proclaim that these cities could boast respectively of freedom, autonomy, and immunity from taxation (*ἀτέλεια*). Tyre displays on her coins her right of sanctuary and her commercial dignity (*ΑCΥΛΟC ΝΑΥΑΡΧΙC*). The worship of Diana enabled the coins of Ephesus to bear the coveted name of a Temple Guardian (*ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟC*). The worship of the Cabiri in a similar manner accounts for the title of Sacred on the coins of the Phœnician Tripolis. Tralles proclaims from her mint that her citizens are chiefs of Greece (*ΠΡΩΤΟΥC ΕΛΛΑΔΟC*), a claim challenged by a coin of Sardis with the extraordinary legend *ΑCΙΑC ΑΥΔΙΑC ΕΛΛΑΔΟC Α ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙC*. The A is equivalent to *πρῶτη*. By Asia the Roman province of that name must be understood. Eckhel inclines to understand the *ΕΛΛΑΔΟC* as referring to the floating Greek population that swarmed, for purposes of trade, over Asia Minor; and the title of this coin would therefore mean that this class of travelling merchants and others looked to Sardis as a sort of head quarters. There is something very miserable in the extravagant attachment to high titles that is displayed abundantly on the coinage of the degenerate Greeks of imperial times. One

<sup>1</sup> Spanheim: *Op. Cit.*, i. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Eckhel: iii. 115.

example more may end this list. A coin of Smyrna,<sup>k</sup> of an age later than Gallienus, bears the legend  $\text{CMTYPAIΩN IΠΩTΩN ACIAC Γ. NEΩKOPΩN TΩN CEBACTΩN, KAAAEI KAI MEΓEΘEI}$ , *i. e.* "a coin of the Smyrnæans, chiefs of Asia, by the beauty and magnitude (of their city), in their third neocorate of the august family." These Smyrnæans had long held religious rites in honour of Tiberius and Livia, and occasionally obtained the grant of the title of their special Temple-Guardians. They had had it for the second time in the reign of Gallienus, as another coin proves.

These will be perhaps sufficient specimens of this very large class. But what does the title autonomous, applied to Apamea, mean? Similar questions may well be asked in reference to other of the above titles. A long discussion in Eckhel<sup>l</sup> proves that no precise answer can be given. It seems, perhaps, that these titles, *αὐτονομία, αὐτοδικία, ἑλευθερία, &c.*, had more meaning as applying to the relations of Greeks amongst themselves than to their relations to Imperial Rome. When Apamea proclaims herself autonomous for instance, she is not pretending to any liberty in the presence of the Roman power, but merely means that none of her neighbours, as Antioch, may interfere with those laws and customs of Apamea, which the Romans have themselves not annihilated. When a town claims *αὐτοδικία*, it is meant that when causes are not such as must go before some Imperial tribunal, the town has tribunals of its own to determine them. The Greeks seem, from their coins, thus always to have kept up the old habit of jealousy between neighbouring cities, and comparatively with this feeling, to have entertained little or no dislike to the incubus of the Roman power, that crushed all alike. Coins, therefore, by showing the extent of these petty local jealousies, explain the quiet submission of so numerous a Greek or Grecized population to the long oppression of Rome. The Emperors treated this "umbram ac residuum libertatis nomen"<sup>m</sup> much as a strong feudal king might have treated the weakly urged expostulations of his victims. Trajan writes, quite in feudal phrase, that the finances of the Apamians must be inspected by Pliny, in spite of their representations of their autonomy, and that it is to be done "salvis quæ habent privilegiis." The title of metropolis has some little importance: it assists in grouping the cities: since Spanheim has shown that this claim enforced a considerable uniformity in religion, festivals, games, customs, and institutions, among the various daughter cities of the metropolis. In this manner, by observing the various titles claimed on coins, it becomes possible to reconstruct in imagination a very tolerable

<sup>k</sup> See Eckhel, ii. 559; Spanheim, i. 648.

<sup>l</sup> iv. 263, *seqq.*

<sup>m</sup> Plin.: *Ep.*, viii. 24.

<sup>n</sup> Plin.: *Ep.*, x. 56.

picture of what the Greek world was under imperial rule. One trait further, derivable from coins alone, is too characteristic to be left out. The coins of this time show continually reconciliations between neighbouring cities. Now Rome would not allow any actual rioting: these peacemakings refer to nothing more nor less than little quarrels about precedence and titles. When distant cities formed unions of this sort, it refers to that inveterate Greek habit, the fondness for foreign rites and festivals: *e.g.* the Cilician Ægæ puts on her coins the Tyrian Hercules, with all the marks that denoted him at Tyre, and thus enters into a sort of complimentary alliance with the Tyrians. The most distant cities of Hellenism acted in this way with regard to the worship of Diana of Ephesus. Several cities in one district sometimes united to issue a common currency. L. Müller<sup>o</sup> quotes an instance in which Dicæa, Cardia, Samothrace, &c., had this kind of league, in the time before Philip II. He says, "Le but en était de donner un cours plus répandu à la monnaie et d'économiser sur les frais du monnayage." But surely more than this may be inferred. These monetary leagues implied doubtless a general alliance. For instance, it is known that Thebes destroyed Tanagra, Orchomenus, Thespia, and Plataea, within a few years of one another: now coins show that these cities, which had such a community of fortunes, were, with other Bœotian cities, united in a monetary league. It may fairly then be argued that where a money league is proved by coins, a much more intimate relation (of which the convenience of currency was probably only a small part) must be assumed to have existed. These leagues, then, of more or less close alliance, being found to go on till a late period of the Empire, are one more illustration of the state of Greece from coins of a time, all the other monuments of which have little information upon the internal state of the subject provinces.

The last illustration of the necessity of numismatic evidence for the completion of the History of the Greeks will now be taken from a period whose story has been almost entirely discovered, so far as it is known at all, from the evidence of coins alone. One of the writers upon this period shows from coins how<sup>p</sup> "Alexander's Empire, though only of ten years' growth, was by no means transient. His colonies, and their institutions, manners, and language, had struck deep root, even in this short period, and we shall find that the impulse towards Hellenism had a lasting action in central Asia, the effects of which were felt for at least five hundred years after the decease of the conqueror."

<sup>o</sup> *Op. Cit.*, 40, 45. L. Müller quotes an Essay by M. Lenormant as showing how indispensable coins are in a similar way to illustrate the condition of the people under the Lagides.

<sup>p</sup> H. T. Prinsep, in his *Historical Results deducible from Recent Discoveries in Afghanistan*, p. 20. London, 1844.

Though the justice of posterity has attached the name of "Great" to Alexander, as closely as to Charlemagne, yet, after all, the written history of his career is in great measure contradictory, full of partisan misrepresentations, and in quantity very meagre for such a subject. The best extant proof of the extensive range of his conquests is to be found in his coinage. His types, the Head of Hercules with the lion-skin, and the sitting Jupiter, are found, accompanied by little emblems or legends expressive of various cities and regions. This kind of issue means that the local mintages of these cities acknowledged his supremacy. In this way the extant coins enabled L. Müller, by an easy classification, to present<sup>a</sup> a striking picture of the strong grasp that these conquests took upon the Eastern world. It is interesting to observe the supremacy of Alexander acknowledged in this way at Tyre and Sidon, at Joppa and Beyrout, at Askalon and Ashdod. And, conversely, the fact that no coins of Alexander are found with emblems of Athens, Sparta, Byzantium, or the members of the Bœotian league, proves with certainty that these peoples had not acknowledged the Macedonian supremacy. Even in the case of the subject cities, the coins make it possible to distinguish different degrees of servitude: *e. g.* the comparative freedom of Sicyon<sup>b</sup> as contrasted with the fate of the new cities in the East or the provinces long inured to Oriental despotism. But to consider only the far East: Prinsep observes,<sup>c</sup> "It is well remarked by Professor Lassen that Bactria and Asia, *i. e.* the countries lying on either side of the Hindoo Koosh, between the Oxus and Indus rivers, are on the high road of Asiatic conquest, and have been the battle-field of every tribe and nation that has risen to dominion in the East. The history of this tract; therefore, if we had it complete and continuous, would tell more of the history of the world, and of the great revolutions in language, religion, civilization, and government, that have been brought about by conquest, and by the admixture of races resulting from conquest, than that of any other country on the face of the earth." It is by means of coins, which both give information themselves, and, when bilingual with Greek, give much aid to the deciphering of the sepulchral inscriptions in the so-called topes, that any improvement in the knowledge of this long epoch has been or can be made. In 1738, partly from the few coins of this region that were then known in Europe, partly from fragmentary notices in late Greek writers, partly with the help of the Chinese scholarship that existed then in Paris, Bayer wrote a treatise upon the "Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriani." At that time the names (and little more than the names) of six kings were made out by incredibly difficult researches. From the coins much more than

<sup>a</sup> *Op. Cit.*, pp. 124-334.    <sup>b</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 67.    <sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 56-60.    <sup>d</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

mere names is at once inferred. The locality in which they are found most frequently is a guide to the seat of empire. An abundance of coins of one king generally implies a long reign. The different languages that are found along with Greek on the bilingual coins point to the various peoples and provinces subject to Greek sway. The types illustrate the variations or absolute changes of religion. Execution, type, and titles lead often to inferences of relations of the kings to one another, or to known dynasties of the West. The character of the workmanship, and the gradual appearance of more and more decidedly barbarian costumes and faces on the coins are an interesting record of Hellenism, cut off from the main life of Greece, long struggling, and at last succumbing to the preponderance of barbarism, without, as Prinsep<sup>a</sup> says, "exciting even a passing regret, or receiving the notice of a recording sentence from any historian or writer of the distant West." For instance, the plates<sup>v</sup> in Prinsep show how this Hellenism begins with coins of perfectly Greek style and language, under Euthydemus and the early kings. Then may be noticed a square coin with a king's head with a curious broad-brimmed helmet, and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on obverse, and the Dioscuri riding, surrounded by an Arian legend, on the reverse. Next may be noticed three coins: the earliest dating about the Christian era, gives a clumsy figured Tartar king, with the legend in strangely shaped Greek letters: ΟΟΝΜ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ; of the figures on the other side of this coin Prinsep<sup>w</sup> says, "The reverse has the Siva and Nandi Bull not mistakeable," with an Arian legend not yet made out with certainty. Thus the Hindoo religion appears before Hellenism is extinct. The other two coins, dating respectively about A.D. 100 and 200, have no other legends than Greek; namely, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ in one case, and ΡΑΟ ΝΑΝΑ ΡΑΟ ΚΕΝΟΡΑΝΟ in the other; but the Greek is so ill-shaped as scarcely to be legible. On the Kanerki coins the reverse sometimes continues the Siva and Nandi, but its more usual emblems show that this dynasty gave up the Hindoo religion, and adopted a Mithraic worship of sun and moon. In one instance the legend is pure Greek ΗΛΙΟΣ on the reverse. In other cases the legend is some mystical title of the sun and moon in Greek letters, as ΝΑΝΑΙΑ, ΜΑΟ, &c. The Rao Nana of A.D. 200 is represented with a nimbus and riding on an elephant, and this reverse gives Mithraic figures and legends. These will be enough perhaps to give a notion of the kind of use to which oriental coins have been put in illustration of history. Their order of succession in time is determined by obvious considerations of the following kind :

<sup>a</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 20.    <sup>v</sup> *Op. Cit.*, plates i. 1 and 9; ix. 10, 12, 13.    <sup>w</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 99.

those with pure Greek style and legends, and with types like those of the Seleucidæ, must obviously be earliest. Kings whose coins are all bilingual must come after kings whose coins are some bilingual, some unilingual: kings whose coins are of this latter class are evidently those who made conquests in countries for which Greek currency would not be intelligible: kings may fairly be grouped together, if other considerations do not forbid, when their titles are similar; thus connected dynasties of "saviour kings," of "victorious" and "unconquered" kings, and of "kings of kings," may be formed. Again, written history fixes, with sufficient certainty, the epochs of Parthian and Scythian invasion. Hence coins with Parthian and Scythian names and style are determined in date within certain limits. The gradual decay of pure Hellenism in art, language, and religion, assists these determinations.

On the whole, the result is an interesting picture of alternate successes of Greeks and barbarians. With ill omen, the history soon shows a scene of civil strife among the various Greek chiefs. Eucratidas at first ruling in a purely Grecized country, as his unilingual coins prove, conquers much territory about the Paropamisus, as is clear from some of his coins having Arian as well as Greek. He plunders Agathocles (whose coins with the "older form of Sanscrit," prove him to have ruled in Kabool) and is himself almost ruined by the Parthian Greek Mithridates I. Scythians under Maues and Azes are shown by coins to have conquered the enfeebled Greeks, about 130 and 120 B.C. Then, for fifty years, a Græco-Parthian revival, under Vonones, Spalirisus, &c., with bilingual Greek and Arian coins, occupies much of the territory once held by Eucratidas, till overthrown, about B.C. 50, by the Indian Vikramaditya and a barbarian, whose coins give the title of  $\text{C}\Omega\text{THP MEGAC}$  but no name. These invaders were soon themselves overthrown by the dynasty of Kadphises. After this came another short period, A.D. 40 to 100, of Græco-Parthian revival, under Undopherres, whose coins, by change of title and style from the preceding, show him to have been the founder of a new dynasty. This was the last time the Greek party had power: yet their language, and still later their alphabet, was used<sup>x</sup> by the long Kanerki dynasty that followed. In the days of Bayer it was maintained that no Greek princes reigned in this region later than about 100 B.C. But the coins that prove the rule of the Græco-Parthians in the latter part of the first century after the Christian era, show a much greater vitality in Hellenism. Besides, since it is known from coins that this Greek party reigned also about 60 B.C., it may be inferred

<sup>x</sup> See *Ariana Antiqua*, by H. H. Wilson (London, 1841), p. 377, cf. Prinsep *Op. Cit.*, p. 106.

that from 60 B.C. to 40 A.D., when they again came into power, the Greeks were, as Prinsep<sup>7</sup> says, "not extinguished, but holding out in various free cities and communities . . . abiding their time to reassert their independence, and that they found that time in the middle of the first century of our era . . . Their assumption of the lofty title of the Parthian king shows that their dominion must for the time have been extensive." The works of Lassen, Wilson, and Prinsep continue the history of Bactria and India from coins to a far later period, and with great detail. The coins in Professor Wilson's work reach down to A.D. 1200, and are full of information: *e. g.* they show in a way interesting since English experience in India, how the Mussulmen conquerors, in spite of the law and spirit of Islamism, long humoured the Hindoos so far as to continue Hindoo emblems on their coins. In short, the value of coins for the elucidation of history in the East, from B.C. 300 to A.D. 1200, may be expressed in the words of Professor Wilson,<sup>8</sup> "They fill up, in the most satisfactory manner, an extensive blank in the history of an important part of India, at an interesting period, and dissipate the clouds that have hung over the interval between the invasion of Alexander and that of Mohammed Ghori in regard to the provinces which were the scene of their respective aggressions. They give us, for fifteen centuries, a variety of important circumstances relating to the political and religious condition of the kingdom of Bactria, and of the contiguous regions of Persia and Hindostan, of which we have hitherto had but few and imperfect intimations, or which were heretofore<sup>a</sup> altogether unknown."

The usefulness of coins in illustration of history has probably been now sufficiently proved by the instance of Greece: little need be said of its use for Roman history. Yet Roman coins have a more direct bearing upon history than those of the Greeks. For the Greeks have nothing like the family coins of the Romans. Roman officials and magistrates received from the senate a vote of bullion destined for the services over which they respectively presided: they then were at liberty to have the bullion minted with whatever types they might choose, as best fitted to commemorate the glory of their house. Such was the origin of the Family Series of Coins, as they are called. Greece has no coinage affording so much scope as this for individual caprice, nor any therefore so fully illustrative of varieties of character, nor so frequently devoted to the memory of the exploits of private individuals. Again, Greece had nothing like the direct statement of public events that are given on the Roman Imperial Series, of which it has been said,<sup>b</sup> "The coins of the Romans were

<sup>7</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>a</sup> *E. g.* Wilson: *Op. Cit.*, p. 280, as to names known only from coins.

<sup>b</sup> *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*, p. 3. J. Y. Akerman.



in fact their Gazettes, which were published in the most distant provinces." Historical inferences may be made from Greek coins: individual historical facts were, as one may say, published at every mintage of the Roman currency. Some instances of the use of coins in correcting or supplying the History of Rome may now be given.

The old *Æs* Grave of Rome was similar to a coinage existing in many other parts of Italy, as Tuder, Iguvium, Asculum, and Hatria. These coins of Hatria are even heavier than the Roman: one of them<sup>c</sup> remains to prove an alliance between Hatria and Asculum. There is an *Æs* Grave<sup>d</sup> of Iguvium that illustrates the religion, the writing, and the rude art of this town: the legend is IKVVINI in Etruscan letters, from right to left: the types are a crescent, a radiant sun and stars. The obverse types of Hatria<sup>e</sup> are sometimes a goddess, sometimes the bearded Bacchus: the reverse bears a dog lying down, or a Pegasus, &c. The coins of this kind belonging to Rome that still remain, inasmuch as many<sup>f</sup> of them are of the values between twelve and two ounces, correct a curious mistake in Pliny (xxxiii. 13). He says that Rome, under the pressure of the first Punic War, reduced the As from twelve ounces at once to two: "ita quinque partes factæ lucris dissolutumque æs alienum." Eckhel might well insist<sup>g</sup> that, even without the contrary evidence from the coins themselves, such a social revolution as so great a debasement would imply is in itself enough to discredit Pliny.

The silver coinage minted for (though not by) the Romans is much more beautiful. For instance,<sup>h</sup> a beautiful silver coinage, bearing a *quadriga*, with horses in active motion and yet well executed, with legend ROMA, was minted for Rome, probably by the Greeks of Capua, about the year B.C. 317. A curious and historically illustrative explanation has been given of the appearance on the earlier silver coins of Rome of the type described as "caput muliebre galeatum alatum." The coinage of Tarentum often bore the Athenian emblems of the helmeted Pallas and the owl. Rome had recently conquered Tarentum, and as has been seen before, carried off thence a vast amount of coined silver: she then may well be supposed, says Dr. Cardwell,<sup>i</sup> to have combined the wings of the owl with the helmeted head, and thus produced a type for her own silver coinage, which was only just beginning, and had no prescriptive types of its own. The state of the Roman Republic, about 350 B.C. receives special illustration from its coinage. The slight incidental notices in authors as to routes

<sup>c</sup> Millingen: *Op. Cit.*, 222.

<sup>d</sup> Marchi and Tessien: *Op. Cit.*, class ii., Tavv. iii. iv.    <sup>e</sup> *Ibid.*, class iv. Tav. ii.

<sup>f</sup> E.g. the enormous decussis in Marchi and Tessien: *Op. Cit.*, Tav. i. i.

<sup>g</sup> *Op. Cit.*, v. 8.    <sup>h</sup> Humphrey's *Ancient Coins and Medals*, plate vi. London, 1850.

<sup>i</sup> Dr. Cardwell's *Lectures on the Coinage of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 155. Oxford, 1832.

of traffic and internal commerce are nearly always without dates: it is the peculiar advantage of coins that with the facts they often give exact dates, and always make a sufficiently approximate determination of it possible. In speaking of this period, of the fourth and fifth centuries, B.C., Mommsen<sup>1</sup> observes: "Respecting the internal intercourse of the Italians with each other, our written authorities are silent: coins alone furnish some information. . . . In transmarine commerce the relations we have previously described, between Sicily and Latium, Etruria and Attica, the Adriatic and Tarentum, continued to subsist during the epoch before us—or rather, strictly speaking, belonged to it. . . . The clearest evidence in this respect is of course that of the coins." Not, therefore, to pursue this instance further, a still more striking instance of the peculiar value of coins, namely in revealing the economic condition of a people, may be mentioned in Roman History of the last century of the Republic. This was the age when the oligarchy of capitalists was rising to a level with the oligarchy of politicians. The silver coinage, for three centuries after the war with Hannibal, retained its purity and its full weight. Gold was not admitted as a Roman coinage: but foreign gold coins and bullion gold were used, their value being determined by their weight, and by reference to a fixed standard of relation to silver: thus their most important medium of exchange was secure against adulteration and fraud. The lowest limits of value were reached in the issue of the *quadrans*, which is equivalent to half a farthing. Of this system Mommsen says,<sup>2</sup> "The economic relations of this epoch are clearly mirrored to us even now in the Roman monetary system. Its treatment shows throughout the sagacious merchant. . . . It was a monetary system, which, for the judicious principles on which it was based and for the iron rigour with which they were applied, stands alone in antiquity, and has been but rarely paralleled in modern times. Yet it, too, had its weak point." This was in the issue of the *denarius argenteus*, a copper coin plated with silver, which amounted in fact to a paper currency, or token money, but was, of course, a great opening to forgery, and did in fact cause great financial uneasiness. A more interesting observation, to be gathered from the coinage of this age, is found in the fact that though Rome succeeded in making her *denarius* the main currency of the West, this could not be accomplished in the Eastern part of her Empire. On this Mommsen observes,<sup>3</sup> "The Romanizing of the subject lands found one of its mightiest levers in the adoption of Roman money, and it was not through mere accident that what we have designated at this epoch as the field of the *denarius* became afterwards the Latin, while the field of the *drachma* became afterwards the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. Cit.*, i. 457-59.<sup>2</sup> *Op. Cit.*, iii. 412-13.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 415.

Greek division of the Empire. Still at the present day the former field substantially represents the aggregate of Romanic culture, whereas the latter has secured itself from European civilization."

The next group of instances is taken from the family coins of Rome. These were all minted between the years from about B.C. 100 to A.D. 54, but of course the types illustrate a far wider sphere of history, as they are in great measure taken from the old stories of the gens to which they belong. To mention one, chiefly as a good specimen of the workmanship of these coins, there is an early one,<sup>m</sup> of uncertain family, which in very good style represents the tale of the Dioscuri watering their horses by moonlight, after the battle at Lake Regillus. But as to the general importance of this class, an excellent summary is given by Eckhel,<sup>n</sup> and of course no better authority could be desired. He says, "In iis passim occurrere deorum dearumque non communium modo sed et domesticorum nomina et imagines, sacros ritus eorumque apparatus, vetera orbis decora, facta et instituta, res domi forisque præclarè gestas, insignia exterorum de majestate imperii judicia, leges a majoribus latas, magistratuum varios modos et tributos singulis honores, ludorum auctores et solennia, effigies illustrium in republica virorum, tum etiam nonnullorum regum exterorum; ædificia publica, sacra et profana, gentium Romanarum vera et incorrupta nomina, dignitates, adoptiones, varium linguæ veteris usum, et scribendi modum; denique in non paucis opus perelegans." If then the nature of the extant written materials of the history of Republican Rome be remembered, it is of no slight advantage that by these family coins, as another<sup>o</sup> writer observes, "the memory of events not yet recognised in written history is thus preserved, and in such a manner as to lead us to hope that we may, with the aid afforded by the coins, restore otherwise lost portions of the annals of the city." To take a few specimens: coins of the Gens<sup>p</sup> Æmilia represent sometimes Paulus Æmilius raising a trophy, with Perseus and his two children standing by as prisoners: sometimes M. Lepidus as *Tutor Regis* giving a crown to Ptolemy Epiphanes, with head of the personified Alexandria on the obverse: sometimes Aretas of Arabia, dismounting from a camel, with an olive branch, to beg for peace from the great Scaurus. On Claudian coins<sup>q</sup> M. Marcellus carries the *spolia opima* of Viridomarus to the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius. A necklace on Manlian coins commemorates the exploit of Torquatus. On coins of the Gens Tituria, the trai-

<sup>m</sup> Humphrey: *Op. Cit.*, plate vi. 9.

<sup>n</sup> *Op. Cit.*, v. 53.

<sup>o</sup> Mr. R. S. Poole, in the Article "Numismatics" of *Encyclop. Britann.*, vol. xvi. p. 385. Edinburgh, 1858.

<sup>p</sup> Plates of Riccio's *Le Monete delle Antiche Famiglie di Roma*.

<sup>q</sup> *Ibid.* And so for all family coins.

tress Tarpeia sinks under the shields of the Sabines of Tatius. The Scribonii display the curbstone (puteal) of the augur Navius restored by their antiquarian zeal. Porcian coins repeat the head of Cato, and cherish the right of appeal by the legend *Provoco*. The Julii and the Calpurnii, the Mamilii and the Junii boast on their coins their descent from Venus and from Numa, from Ulysses and from the Brutus of the days of Tarquin the Proud. The dictator Cæsar was the first to have his own portrait, during his lifetime, on the public money: the coins issued by the conspirator Brutus imitate this precedent of monarchy. The Triumvir Antony uses a "lion passant" quite as an armorial badge on his coins, just as Alcibiades<sup>r</sup> used an Eros with thunderbolt. It may perhaps be with some reference to this that Cicero writes to Atticus (x. 13.), "Tu Antonii Leones pertimescas cave." The strong lines of Virgil (*Æneid* viii. 685, seq.), against the oriental element in the party of Antony receive their best illustration from his later coins, in which he represents himself quite<sup>r</sup> orientalized, and with the emblems of Bacchus. Virgil's hero may be seen to be "pius Æneas" on Julian coins, where he carries Anchises and the wooden image of Pallas. Many of their family coins seem to bear types which amount to a pun upon names. Coins of Larisculus have for type the Phætonides in larices mutatas: Lucretius Trio uses the Septentriones as his emblem: Publicius Malleolus puts a mallet (malleus) over a victory on his coins: L. Furius Purpureo similarly displays the purple fish (murex). A more important usefulness, affording real light to the hurry of events that crowded the time between the death of Cæsar and the establishment of Augustus, is derived by Eckhel<sup>t</sup> from the coins of Brutus, Cassius, Sextus Pompeius, and the triumvirs Antony and Lepidus. For example, Sextus Pompeius commemorates his naval victory off Messana, in 38 B.C., by coins bearing on the obverse the Pharos of Messana, with a Roman galley beneath, and on the reverse a figure of Scylla moving a rudder. The coins of Brutus generally refer to liberty. He is known from Dio Cassius to have struck coins bearing a cap of liberty<sup>u</sup> between two daggers, with legend EID. MAR., the ides of March: but the specimens of this kind that are extant are thought<sup>r</sup> to be forgeries.

Some few examples must now be given of the light to be gained from coins for the obscure events of the history of imperial Rome. No one, in a difficult case, would give much weight probably to the unsupported testimony of writers like Trebellius and Eutropius, or Orosius and Victor. Lucian might

<sup>r</sup> Plutarch: *Alcib.*, p. 119; Spanheim: *Op. Cit.*, 433.

<sup>s</sup> Dr. Cardwell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 182. <sup>t</sup> *Op. Cit.*, vi. 19., seqq. <sup>u</sup> See Riccio, *Op. Cit.*

<sup>v</sup> *Encyclop. Britann.* (Numismatics), xvi. p. 385.

well deride the multitude of miserable writers who retailed at Rome the gossip that had travelled from the camp in Parthia. Perhaps no other epoch shows so well how much coins deserve the praise that has been given them<sup>w</sup> of being "the almost indestructible monuments of other races, other powers, other societies, other arts." Each mintage gave to the world a body of facts by a mode of publication which no afterthought could call back. A modern and an ancient instance of this durability of numismatic evidence are given by Mr. Akerman:<sup>x</sup> he observes that "on the restoration of the Bourbons the exposure of a picture or bust of the Emperor Napoleon was severely punished, while the coins with his name and effigy were circulating throughout France. . . . The senate could order the destruction of Caligula's statues and books, but they had no power to eradicate his coinage, and their attempts to do so were utterly abortive, as the cabinets of our collectors attest." Some obvious rules of caution in arguing from the coins of the imperial times are suggested by the constraint of despotic rule. The letters S. C., *Senatus Consulto*, show that the brass coinage was constitutionally supposed to be the free issue of the senate. But no one would expect to find on the coinage of the days of Nero any plain allusion to the discontent of the people, or the odiousness of their master. The year-and-a-half's anarchy under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, has left an incredibly abundant coinage: its usual legends are HONOS ET VIRTUS, SALUS GENERIS HUMANI, SECURITAS ET LIBERTAS! The jealousy of Domitian forbade the commemoration of the British victories of Agricola in the usual manner on the currency of the Empire. This latter instance may show how far the Emperors could control the choice of types and legends: but of course it would scarcely ever be proposed to argue the non-occurrence of events, that rested on other testimony, however slight, from the mere silence of the coins.

A moment's glance at the pages of Clinton's *Fasti Romani* for the period that followed the death of Domitian, shows how largely the story of the Empire is based on the evidence of coins, and displays the reasonableness of the conception of Cooke's *MEDALLIC History of Rome*. A few instances from the reigns of Nerva, and the next two or three Emperors, will perhaps be sufficient for this part of the subject. The peaceful reign of Nerva is fitly inaugurated by coins that have received (and perhaps need) no explanation from written sources of history. They bear on the reverse two right hands grasped together, a legionary eagle fixed in the prow of a ship, with the legend *CONCORDIA EXERCITUM*. Historians have in general said little about the chronic sufferings of the lowest classes of society. Coins reveal a miserable state of poverty,

<sup>w</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, civ. p. 161.

<sup>x</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 4.

by showing how much more frequently it was found necessary to relieve the rabble of Rome by largesses (the *Congiaria*) than would be in the least inferred from the few casual instances recorded in ancient authors. Nerva's two years' reign was sufficiently long to afford several occasions of this kind, as his coins commemorate. Nor was this pauperism merely that of the inevitable misery of great cities. It is traced on the coins of this period, the so-called happy age of the Roman Empire, as oppressing all Italy. A brass coin of Nerva, with the legend TUTELA ITALIÆ, represents the Father of his Country sitting on his curule throne, with his right hand extended to protect a boy and a girl, whose mother stands by. Similar coins of Trajan are found. The "puellæ alimentariæ Faustinianæ," supported by the charity of Antoninus, are also commemorated' in this way. No doubt oppressive and ill contrived taxation was a chief cause of this distress. A mode of taxation known only from coins of Nerva, with the title VEHICULATIO, is shown by the expressive types of the coins to have been a kind of right of purveyance: the Emperor remits it. Another illustration of the curious forms which fiscal oppression took, under the Empire, is seen on a brass coin of Nerva: it bears as type a palm tree, the emblem of Judæa, as on the famous "Judæa Capta" coins of Vespasian. Its legend is FISCI JUDAICI CALUMNIA SUBLATA, S. C. This must mean, when fully expressed, "on the abolition of the malicious charges of liability to the Jewish tax." The tax here referred to arose on Vespasian's subjugation of the Jews. Josephus [*Bell. Jud.* vii. 6.] says that at that time it was ordered that the didrachmum paid yearly by every Jew for the temple-service at Jerusalem, should be diverted to the private exchequer of the Emperor, to assist in the rebuilding of the capitol. Domitian continued and increased this tax upon Judaism, and found informers' ready to swell his extortions by false accusations of Judaizing practices. This coin of Nerva commemorates, therefore, some ordinance of that Emperor, otherwise unknown, but whose nature, as it amounted to a check upon such malicious informers, is sufficiently intelligible from this simple record. Eckhel\* further infers from this coin, "rem Judaicam magni fuisse hac ætate, et vel in ipsa Urbe, momenti; atque tanta atrocitate et promiscuè quidem per causam Judaismi in populum sævitum, ut, sublata tandem causa, dignum istud factum censeret senatus cujus memoria in ære perennaret." A senatorial brass of Hadrian may be mentioned here as showing, in a similar way, the usefulness of coins, and the oppressive burdens of the Empire. Spartianus relates that Hadrian had found it necessary to have four suspected senators put to death on his accession, and that on arriv-

\* Eckhel: vii. 40.

† Sueton.: Domitian, c. 12.

‡ vi. 405.

ing at Rome he wished to blot out the memory of this severity by the usual imperial methods: accordingly "infinitam pecuniam quæ fisco debebatur syngraphis incensis remisit." In this account the time and the amount of this remission are vague, and the authority of Spartianus is weak. With these defects the precision and authority of the coin remarkably contrast. The time is fixed by the titles TR. POT. ii.: the amount is given by the legend, RELIQUA . VETERA . HS . NOVIES . MILL . ABOLITA. The type represents a lictor, who stands with his fasces in his left hand and with his right puts a blazing torch to a pile of "syngraphæ." The coins of the Emperors afford continual revelations of this wretched state of the Empire; the comparative silence of the historians of the time may in fact be due to this almsgiving and remission of taxes having been an everyday occurrence in their day. Coins are, in consequence, the chief indication of this financial uneasiness.

The important events of Trajan's reign are in great measure arranged in order and confirmed in fact solely by the remains of his currency. For instance, it is found very important to fix the date of his fifth consulship. The data for the discussion are: (1) an undoubtedly authentic inscription, in which Trajan appears with the titles TRIB . POT . VI . IMP . ii . COS . iii .; (2) a coin giving him the dignities of TR . POT . VI . IMP . iii . COS . iii . DES . V (3) on another coin he is DACICUS . COS . iii .; (4) coins with the inscriptions TR . P . vii . IMP . . iii . COS . iii . DES . V .; (5) it is agreed that the title Tr . Pot . vi . applies only to the year ending in September, A. D. 103; (6) all written authorities make his fifth consulship begin in January, 103. Now it is at once obvious that the coins numbered (4), by uniting Cos . iii . to Tr . Pot . vii ., lead to the inference that after September, 103, Trajan was still Cos . iii . but Des . v ., and that therefore his fifth consulship begins January, 104: these coins, therefore, contradict all the written authorities. The data in (1) (2) and (3), are no less certainly, though not so obviously, opposed to these historians. For if the fifth consulship be supposed to begin in January, 103, what will the first three data imply? The legends Tr . Pot . vi . Cos . iii . will then be only applicable together to the last three months of 102: the change from the Imp . ii . to Imp . iii . implies two decisive victories within those three months. The title Dacicus refers to these victories. Now this kind of title from a conquered people was not usually assumed till after a Triumphus over that people had been celebrated at Rome: Dion (Ixviii. 10) particularly affirms that this was the case in the present instance. If then we accept the written historians, we must suppose that within a period of three months Trajan had time to win two great victories, to settle matters in the East so as to be able to leave his army, to perform the doubtless not hurried journey from Dacia to Rome,

to have his "Triumphus de Dacis," and then issue the coins with the title Dacicus: "which is absurd," as Euclid says. It is allowed that he was Cos. iii. from January, 102: the coins numbered (4) keep up the same title to the end of 103. The campaign therefore falls within the year ending September, 103. Trajan might probably, therefore, not be at Rome in January, 103, the date at which he ought to have entered on his fifth consulship. This absence from Rome may have been the reason for his keeping up the title of Cos. iii. through 103 as well as 102: for Pliny (Panegy. 68) says Trajan disliked the notion of entering on a new consulship without being at Rome for the usual ceremony of inauguration. The result is that we must not reject the coins with the legend (4) as some have done in deference to the written histories, but vice versâ. Instances of this kind of usefulness in coins perpetually recur: they derive additional lustre from the obscurity of most of the writers whom they supplement or correct. The written authorities in the present case are given by Tillemont:<sup>b</sup> they are "Anonym. apud Cuspinianum, Idatius, S. Prosper, Victorius, Cassiodorus, and the Chronicle of Alexandria." Eckhel<sup>c</sup> may well end his discussion of this difficulty with the appeal, "Expendat lector plusne fiducia tribuendum sit concordibus ævi inferioris scriptoribus, an monumentis publicis coævis nullasque vices passis."

Another group of coins may now be considered. The first bears, with other titles, "Trajano . optimo . Aug . Ger . Dac." the reverse displays the Emperor, riding forth with soldiers, and its legend is "Profectio Aug." To the titles of this obverse a second coin adds "Imp. vii.," and a third adds "Imp. viii." A fourth begins the use of the title "Parthicus." Now the evidence of coins shows that the title "Optimus Augustus" began to be used in "Tr. Pot. xviii.," *i. e.* in September 114: for no coins with "Tr. Pot. xvii." use it: none with "Tr. Pot. xviii." are without it. Greek coins of Alexandria in Eckhel, and of Tyre in Clinton confirm this. Similar evidence shows that the title "Parthicus" began to be used in Tr. Pot. xix., *i. e.* after Sep., 115. This proves that two great victories, commemorated by the titles "Imp. vi." and "Imp. vii." but without "Parthicus" on the second and third coins, were gained in the year beginning Sep., 114. The departure of Trajan would happen late in the year 114: he might be in Antioch early in 115, and must have soon left Antioch, as he has to win two victories beyond the Euphrates before September. Now it is related by the writers of that age that an earthquake occurred at Antioch while Trajan was there; but they fix the earthquake at various years, from

<sup>b</sup> *Les Empereurs*, note xiii. sur l'Emp. Trajan.

<sup>c</sup> Eckhel: vi. 417.



111 to 115. Dio assigns the "profectio" to the end of 113, the war to 114 and 115: and yet brings Trajan back to Antioch in 115, in order to make him present at the earthquake, which he assigns to the beginning of that year. This, besides contradicting the coins, would make Trajan appear to choose Antioch as a basis of operations against Parthia. The settlement of Eastern thrones by Trajan, after these victories, needs and receives much illustration from his coins:<sup>d</sup> otherwise much would depend on the histories of Eusebius and Jornandes. The legends are "Armenia et Mesopotamia in Potestatem P. R. redactæ," "Parthia Capta," "Rex Parthis datus," "Regna adsignata," &c. Another of these coins represents the Emperor's conquest of the Armenian Parthamasiris; to whom the title "Rex Parthus" is attributed, probably because he was a Satrap of the Parthian Monarch, rather than an independent king. Earlier coins of Trajan had similarly commemorated "Arabiam adquisitam," "Dacia Capta," the death of Decebalus, the bridge made over the Danube, &c. The great architectural works of Trajan at Rome may be mentioned hereafter.

The instances given from the coinage of Trajan will be sufficient to show the way in which coins clear up chronology, and convey a definite record of conquests, and their results. Far more intricate entanglements of dates are illuminated by coins, in the pages of Eckhel. There is no epoch probably in Roman history so confused as the time of the Gordians, the year 238: yet so frequent under the Empire were the adoption of new types with new legends, and the issue of new coins, that this year presents, in Eckhel, a perfectly satisfactory sequence of events. After the instances already given, which are the same in kind, though far from being so elaborate, it would be tedious to discuss this complicated story. The jubilation of Eckhel<sup>e</sup> is natural enough: "En! rerum seriem ex invicto numorum testimonio . . . Historicorum quisquiliis et pinguem Minervam fastidivimus. Istud certum, optimè eam convenire cum eo ordine quem tenuit Herodianus, coævus scriptor . . . ex malis optimus."

The coins of Hadrian constitute almost a "Breviarium Imperii Romani." Eckhel gives fifty-three coins that illustrate the various provinces visited by this Emperor in his tour through the Roman world. His successor's reign is known only in very slight measure from any other source, compared with the evidence of his coins. For instance, one trait in the character of Antoninus Pius, a reverent love of the old Roman times, though it is not mentioned by any of the writers of the time, gave rise to a most beautiful series of coins, no doubt in great measure of Greek workmanship, in which the old traditions of Rome, or the older

<sup>d</sup> Eckhel: vi. 437, *seqq.*<sup>e</sup> Eckhel: vii. 215.<sup>f</sup> Gibbon: *Decline and Fall*, i. 144.

forms of religious mythology and worship, were imprinted. Eckhel gives a long list of these "numi Antonini antiquitatem Romanam restituentes." The subjects are, for instance, Æneas carrying Anchises, Æneas and the "inventa sub ilicibus sus," the city and round temple of Lavinium, Mars approaching Rhea, the she-wolf suckling the twins, Tarquinius Priscus astonished by the feat of Attus Navius, Horatius Cocles swimming from the broken bridge while soldiers look on, the god Æsculapius received at Rome, the three deities of the Capitol and their symbolical animals. A large number relate to the acts of Hercules: he is seen fighting Centaurs, one of whom carries off a woman, killing Cacus, establishing the sacrifice and the feast of Ζεύς εὐπείριος with which the old Roman priesthood of the Potitii and Pinarii was connected, as Virgil says (*Æn.* viii. 269, 270). It is obvious that some of these must form crowded groups: yet in general they are excellently managed, and illustrate at once the excellence of the art of the Antonine period, and that feeling of exhaustion and old age which led the best Romans of this time to look backwards rather than forwards. Decay soon becomes apparent. The victories of the year 165 are indeed more trustworthily announced in the titles of "IMP. iii." and "PARTHICUS MAXIMUS," on the coins of M. Aurelius, and in the coin that celebrates his conjoint triumph, in the next year, with Lucius Verus, than in the doubtful pages of written records. But the mere material of the coins shows the decay of Rome: by the time of Gallienus the so-called silver money is found to be four-fifths copper: the next reigns use for their silver currency a copper issue, slightly washed over with silver (*numi tincti*).

Enough, however, has perhaps been already said to show the wide usefulness of coins in the elucidation of history, properly so called; enough perhaps to justify the praise given to Greek coins by a writer<sup>s</sup> who says, "The study of Greek coins is the study of the most authentic history in the most exquisite productions of contemporary art," and given by Addison<sup>h</sup> to those of Rome, where he maintains, "It was indeed the best way in the world to perpetuate the memory of great actions, thus to coin out the life of an Emperor, and to put every great exploit into the mint. It was a kind of printing before the art was invented. . . . This, too, is an advantage medals have over books, that they tell their story much quicker, and sum up a whole volume in twenty or thirty reverses. . . . Every exploit has its date set to it. A series of an Emperor's coins is his life digested into annals. Historians seldom break their relation with a mixture of chronology, nor distribute the particulars of an Emperor's story into the several years of his reign; or, when they do it, they often differ in their

<sup>s</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, vol. civ. p. 164.

<sup>h</sup> *Works*, vol. v. p. 141.

several periods. Here, therefore, it is much safer to quote a medal than an author; for in this case you do not appeal to a Suetonius or a Lampridius, but to the Emperor himself, or to the whole body of a Roman senate. Besides that, a coin is in no danger of having its characters altered by copiers and transcribers." On this latter point, which requires some little modification, something will be said in the concluding part of this essay.

What may be called the literary value of numismatic evidence may now be briefly considered. The abstruser philological researches (into the alphabets and words of obscure dialects), which have in great measure based themselves on the testimony of coins, form so separate a specialty of scholarship that only a few very simple instances of the nature of the argument can be given here. From some of the old coins of Magna Græcia and Sicily that have been already quoted it is plain that questions of palæography (which Cynthio may think more curious than profitable) receive considerable light from numismatics. Old forms of letters are thus known. Early coins of Syracuse (Eckhel i. 242.) have the legend SVRAOOSION (sometimes written retrograde, sometimes not): early coins of Rhegium (Eckhel i. 178.) have the legend RECINO?. Colonel Leake<sup>1</sup> quotes a coin of Thebes, whose date he puts before 600 B.C. The reverse is a crucial-formed incusum, and in the compartments are read the four letters ⊕EBA, the local form of the city-name, as Aristophanes (Acharn. 860) shows. Ancient forms of other letters have been above seen on coins of Laus, Posidonia, Sybaris, &c. The boustrophedon style of writing is found on many coins, e. g. ENION. The legend ΛVAM on old coins of Caulonia may be added to this list.

The use of coins in the re-discovery of dead languages will be thought more important. Any one who from curiosity or opportunity has consulted a passage in a work of Gesenius,<sup>2</sup> where the best interpretation of the Punic lines in Plautus is to be found, may have noticed the great extent to which modern interpreters of Phœnician inscriptions must depend upon coins. The first step in this kind of research is to discover the hidden alphabet, and then obtain if possible some idea of the general meaning of the as yet uninterpreted sentences. This requires the help of bilingual legends: and bilingual coins are much more numerous than bilingual inscriptions. Moreover coins add further indications as to the locality of particular dialects, though every other memorial of their having been spoken there may have perished. There is a very strong instance of this in the book just mentioned

<sup>1</sup> *Num. Hellen.*, Supplement, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> *Scripturæ Linguaeque Phœnicæ Monumenta*, 1837, p. 366.

(p. 339): "ex Cilicia, præter numos, tum coloniarum Phœnicia-  
rum tum sermonis vestigia desunt." The dialect of Umbria<sup>k</sup>  
receives one of its chief illustrations from the money of Iguvium,  
Pitnum, and Tuder: as that of Etruria does from the coins of  
Populonia and Volaterræ. Aquilonia, Corfinium, Nuceria, Atella,  
Phistelia and Capua, &c. assist, by the same means, the interpre-  
tation of Oscan writing. It is curious to observe on the coins of  
Teanum the old ablative form, ending in d: the legend of its  
coins is written by Friedländer,<sup>l</sup> "teanud Sidikinud;" its later  
Latin coinage gives the ablative Tiano. The oldest Oscan, *i. e.*  
about B.C. 400, is found to have been written from left to right:  
for instance, on the previously mentioned early coins of Phistelia:  
then comes a period when that and this opposite system coexisted,  
as on coins of Uria: finally, the writing from right to left pre-  
vailed. The Oscans, who leagued against Rome in B.C. 90, issued  
a very interesting coinage. The share taken in the war by the  
Samnites is commemorated on a coin with the legend "Safinim"  
(Samnitium): leaders otherwise unknown are mentioned: Muti-  
lus and Silo are of course common. A coin which gives Mutilus  
the title Embratur represents his victories by a type in which the  
Wolf of Rome is gored by the Bull of Italy.<sup>m</sup> The fleet which  
Mithridates promised to send to the help of the confederates is  
the subject<sup>n</sup> of coins in which one man is grasping the hand of  
another as he lands from an armed ship. The truce which the  
league enjoyed after the death of Silo, and when its prospects  
seemed brightened by a chance of gaining the help of Marius, is  
the occasion<sup>o</sup> of a gold coinage of fine art, bearing an ivy-crowned  
Bacchante and a "Cista Mystica." The claims of the league to  
represent the rights of Italy against the usurpations of Rome are  
signified by their constant legend "Viteliü" (as Friedländer  
writes it), or its equivalent "Italia." Philological researches  
again illustrate history, in the narrower sense, by the numismatics  
of Spain. The legends and types of Spanish currency show most  
clearly how an early stream of Phœnician civilization spread  
northwards from Gades, and in the inland region met and inter-  
mingled with a culture of later and of Greek origin that had been  
spreading southwards from Emporiæ. The coins of Gades are  
Phœnician in types and legends: the coins of Emporiæ are pure  
Greek. The language called Celtiberian occupies the middle space,  
and cannot be read with certainty. There are too few bilingual  
coins for that purpose. But coins still are of most essential use.  
For instance, some names of cities appear on coins, written partly  
in known letters of Greek or Latin origin: if then, from any source,  
the whole name of the city is known, the force of the Celtiberian

<sup>k</sup> Ariodans Fabretti's *Glossarium Italicum* (1858-63). <sup>l</sup> *Op. Cit.*

<sup>m</sup> Friedländer: *Op. Cit.*, plate ix. 6. <sup>n</sup> *Ibid.*: *Op. Cit.*, p. 84. <sup>o</sup> *Ibid.*: p. 73.

letters of the legend becomes clear. For instance, the coin whose legend is  $\text{E} \triangleright \text{VSITANV}$  proves that  $\triangleright$  is the Celtiberian equivalent of  $B$ : for Ebusus, &c. are names known as connected with Spain. Coins may be made useful in another way. M. Saulcy<sup>p</sup> observes, "Après avoir épuisé les légendes bilingues accouplées, il nous reste encore une ressource; c'est l'étude des légendes latines et celtibériennes, qui sûrement sont équivalentes parcequ'elles se rencontrent sur des monnaies dont les types sont tellement identiques, qu'il est impossible de ne pas assigner les mêmes origines aux pièces qui les portent." For instance, two coins exactly similar except that where one reads "Bilbilis" in Latin, the other has a Celtiberian legend, may be regarded as constituting a bilingual coin; for it may be esteemed certain that the unknown legend is the Celtiberian equivalent of Bilbilis: at any rate, with other helps, it is always easy to see whether such an interpretation is right or wrong. The Arian language, which is found on coins of the Bactrian Greeks, could not be at all interpreted except by the aid of the bilingual coins.<sup>q</sup> Coins often recall the saying, that every philological fact is a history abridged. Those of Lycia and Side are interesting philological monuments of the union of Greek with a foreign civilization. The interpretation of the Lycian language would afford proof of the value of coins like that seen in the case of Spain: *e. g.* the Greek name of the town Myra being known, the two non-Greek letters on coins with legend  $\text{M} \wedge \text{P} \wedge$  become recognised as vowels, and their force approximately known. The coins of Side have legends written in an alphabet composed from Greek and Phœnician: and this must be why Arrian (l. 27.) reproaches the Sidetæ of Alexander the Great's time with the charge of having "forgotten their mother-tongue." But their coins show that in all other respects, except this of language, they remained pure Greeks: the style of their coinage is quite Greek. Its neighbour Aspendus puts "Pamphylian" words, written in a Greek alphabet, on its coins. The coins of Lycia have thrown some light on that traditional topic of professional philology, the origin of the Etruscans. Those who maintain their Asiatic origin will urge the words of Mr. Sharpe, "I have been much struck with the great resemblance between the Lycian and the Etruscan letters. If this resemblance were only found in those characters which both peoples have copied from the Greeks it would be of little moment; but it extends also to several characters which are not in the Greek alphabet. The letters on various coins attributed to Cilicia have a still greater identity with those of Etruria."

<sup>p</sup> *Essai de Classification des Monnaies Autonomes de l'Espagne*, p. 30.

<sup>q</sup> See a special dissertation in Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* on this language.

<sup>r</sup> See Fellows's *Discoveries in Lycia*, 1840, pp. 443, 456, *seqq.*

<sup>s</sup> Fellows: *Op. Cit.*, p. 442.

Addison's Dialogues on Medals occupy one of the most interesting departments of this subject. Along with other useful observations, they show at length the use that may be made of the types on coins, as illustrations of otherwise obscure passages in classical authors, or as pictures of what their phrases are intended to describe. In spite of their title, these dialogues however relate only to Latin poets: they show sufficiently, nevertheless, the nature of the light that coins give to authors. It will not be necessary, therefore, to give more than one or two instances of a general kind. Colonel Leake describes the following coin of Agrigentum: ...ΚΡΑΓΑ... Two eagles holding a hare in their claws) Arg. (ΑΚΡΑΓΑ ...ON a crab over a Scylla. Money bearing these types must have been common enough at Syracuse when Æschylus stayed there at the court of Hiero I. It has been, therefore, very reasonably supposed that the passage in the Agamemnon, (verse 116, *seqq.*), about the two eagles, *βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν ἐρικύμονα φέρματι γένναν* may be drawn from the beautifully worked obverse of this coin. Colonel Leake regards the obverse of the same medal as the source of Virgil's picture of the mermaid Scylla (*Prima hominis facies et pulchro pectore virgo, &c.*) in the third Æneid. The crab on the coin would be an emblem of the "postrema immani corpore pistris." There are numerous instances of this kind, in which the poet describes his picture from the known model of works of art. The "trifidum fulmen," "dubiis Victoria pennis," "Dionæi Cæsaris astrum," and the "turilegος Arabas," &c. of the poets are phrases that conveyed a very definite meaning to the Romans of their day: they refer to conventional types on public money. A reverse of Vespasian celebrates the "Pax Romana" of his reign: it represents a figure of Peace such as is intended by the line "prætendens . . . ramum canentis olivæ:" she turns her back on a pillar surmounted by the statue of a warrior: this pillar represents the declaration of war, as Ovid says (*Fasti vi.*):—

"Est ibi non parvæ parva columna notæ,  
Hinc solet hasta manu, belli prænuncia, mitti," &c.

In front of her there burns a pile of arms, as Virgil's Evandrus boasts (*Æn. viii. 562.*), "scutorum incendi victor acervos." The designers of this model of Vespasian must have been guided by passages like these. The Zeus Olympius of Phidias may still be seen on coins. It is and was intended to be a magnificent rendering of three famous lines in the first Iliad (*528, seqq.*). This is the greatest among many instances in which passages of poets that have been the inspiration of artists, and descriptions of authors that relate to works of art that have long ago perished, receive essential illustration from the memory of those works being preserved on coins. Coins of Assorus and Himera represent

the very statues that Cicero describes as stolen thence by Verres. A statue<sup>1</sup> of Venus Victrix, famous in Antiquity, represented "Κυθέρεια . . ." "Ἄρεος ὀχμάζουσα θοὸν σάκος" (Apollon. Argon. i. 742): This may still be admired on the coinage of Philomelium. Several other instances of this kind will be given further on, when the value of coins for the history of art is mentioned. It is interesting to observe on a coin an exact parallel to the mode in which the Philistines (1 Samuel vi. 7.) sent back the ark: the coin is one of Sidon, and represents an image of Astarte conveyed in a wagon. The prophet Ezekiel (xxvii. 18.) says of Tyre, "Damascus was thy merchant . . . in the wine of Helbon and white wool." This is illustrated by coins of Damascus, which bear the types of "Aries stans," and "Bacchus inter duos palmites."<sup>2</sup> Another instance of this use of coins in illustrating authors relates to a passage in Xenophon, Hellen. vii. 5. 20. Amongst those who joined Epaminondas, Xenophon there adds, ἐπιγράφοντό δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὀπλίται ῥόκαλα ἔχοντες ὡς Θεβαῖοι ὄντες. This used to be unintelligibly translated, "And Arcadian hoplites also gave in their names and bore clubs as if they were Thebans." This would require ἀπεγράφοντο. Moreover it is not likely that Epaminondas had any troops armed in so primitive a fashion: lastly, the word ἔχοντες is to be left out, by the authority of the best MSS. With a very common meaning of ἐπιγράφεσθαι, the passage will then be translated "And Arcadian hoplites also adopted the emblem of the club upon their shields, as a sign of their joining the Theban party." Accordingly coins of Thebes are found bearing on the reverse the type of a "clypeus Bœoticus, insertâ clavâ." A difficulty in Homer is cleared up by Lycian coins. In the fifth book of the *Iliad*, Pandarus appears as a *Lycian*, a worshipper of Apollo *Lycegenes*, a son of *Lycaon*, and distinguished (as Lycians were) for his *archery*. Yet in the second book the tribe led by him has the name of Troes, and is brought from the foot of Ida. But coins reveal the existence of a *Lycian* people, called Troes, whose chief city was Tros (otherwise, Tlos). It is obvious that these *Lycian* Troes were the tribe of Pandarus. The passage in Homer, assigning them to the regions of Ida in the Troad, must have arisen from some confusion. In concluding these few instances of the literary value of coins, their assistance to lexicography may be mentioned. Spanheim gives at great length an account of the various animals, fabulous or real, and of the various plants and trees, of which the

<sup>1</sup> This and the two next examples are from Cavedoni's *Spicilegio Numismatico*, Modena, 1838, a work which gives perhaps an exhaustive *rapprochement* between the types of coins and passages in classical and sacred authors, and which would have supplied therefore abundant illustration.

<sup>2</sup> Spanheim, *Op. Cit.*, i. 528, gives a coin with the name of Agrippa, and with types referring apparently to the Feast of Pentecost. Cavedoni, p. 284, quotes a coin of Ælia Capitolina with the anti-Jewish emblem of a *Porcus Gradiens*.

figures are given on coins. They are in many cases accompanied by their names; and if the name be not given, still it is generally known from other sources. The figures, then, are a great guide in determining to what modern names the ancient titles most nearly correspond. A botanist can no doubt discover from the coins of Cyrene the class, order, and modern representative of the *silphium* of Herodotus. Of a similar use are coins, as Addison<sup>v</sup> says, from the fact that "it is here, too, that you see the figures of several instruments of music, mathematics, and mechanics. One might make an entire galley out of the plans that are to be met with on the reverses of several old coins. Nor are they only charged with things, but with several ancient customs, as sacrifices, triumphs, congiaries, allocutions, decursions, lectisterniums, and a thousand other antiquated names and ceremonies that we should not have had so just a notion of, were they not still preserved on coins." It is because passages otherwise important turn upon a proper understanding of such things that this use of coins deserves to be mentioned. Instances of coins<sup>v</sup> explaining phrases concerned with modes of dress might be added to the list.

The importance of numismatic evidence in relation to the Religions of antiquity is obviously very great. It has been very forcibly maintained that the types of coins invariably bear some reference to religion. When, indeed, it is observed that the city of Phocæa bears a seal (*φώκη*) on its coins, Selinus parsley (*σέλινον*), Ancona a bent arm (*ἀγκών*), &c., and that Demetrius I. puts a head of Demeter on his coins, and that Philip puts a chariot with galloping horses, it is natural to suppose that these, and other similar instances, prove that the types are often merely puns, or speaking emblems. But, on the other hand, the names are always added, which is against this explanation. Again, to take only two out of numberless instances: the emblems adopted by Plataea and Metapontum, the Bull and the Ear of Wheat, are acknowledged to refer to their local worship. When, then, it is found that the offerings at Delphi from Plataea and Metapontum were a brazen bull and a golden ear of wheat, and that Selinus (Plutarch, *Pyth. Orac.* 399) sent a golden parsley leaf; it becomes natural to conclude that the parsley leaf of Selinus had a religious reference similar to that of the gifts from Metapontum and Plataea. As to the case of Ancona, the bent arm is no sufficient description of the type: the hand holds a palm branch, which may very well refer to the Dioscuri, and most probably does so, inasmuch as the palm is surmounted by two stars, their most

<sup>v</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>w</sup> *E. g.*: Leake, *Num. Hellen. Europ.*, 16, gives from coins of Arcadia seven or eight different modes of Despœna's coiffure.



usual emblem. It must be supposed (to notice now the case of Demetrius) that the introduction of this new name among the Seleucidæ had some motive of a religious kind, and this may have very well related to Demeter: thus Demetrius I. by the type of Demeter's head commemorates some religious circumstance which gave rise to the choice of that name for him. His successors of the same name no longer use that type. As to Philip II., the victorious *biga* on his coins is no pun on his name, but commemorates his Olympian successes, which were regarded from a religious point of view. In the same way it is found that the coins of cities known from Pindar to have gained similar honours (*e.g.* Camarina) display beautiful *bigæ* and *quadrigæ* on their coins. Mr. Burgon observes: \* "There is no more reason for believing the Horse on the coins of Thessaly to be indicative of abundance of horses in Thessaly than for ascribing to Eleusis an abundance of sows, to Ephesus an abundance of stags, or to Athens an abundance of owls. But when we consider that the sow is an animal well known to have been peculiarly sacred to Ceres, the goddess of Eleusis, that the stag was the well-known symbol of the Diana of the Ephesians, and that the owl was the bird of the Athenian Minerva, not a doubt can be entertained as to the real motive of these types. If we do not so readily recognise a religious motive in the horse, it arises solely from our being less familiar with the objects of Thessalian worship." This view assumes that the significance of types must be of the same kind on all coinage of the Greeks; and when the general community of spirit among all Greeks, and their habit of seeking subjects from their works of art for their legends of gods and heroes, are considered, this assumption will be on the whole admitted. The importance of coins in discussing the religions of antiquity becomes therefore clear by every coin thus appearing as a religious document. In this point of view a cabinet of ancient coins is a pictorial Pantheon. Suppose the coins to be grouped according to the deities to which they refer, and the coins of each group to be arranged in chronological order: it is clear that in no way so well as by such a series could a complete picture be given of the various aspects in which the ancients regarded each divinity at different epochs. No written sources of information still extant from antiquity could supply a description of those divinities so exhaustive as such a cabinet of coins; still less could any other remains of ancient art do this. Coins are more numerous than statues and bas reliefs. Their smallness has preserved their types comparatively uninjured: they carry the signs of their date along with the figures themselves, and their authenticity is readily recognised.

\* Essay on "The Meaning of Types of Ancient Coins," in *Numismatic Chronicle*, September, 1836.

In these respects they have great advantages over other remains of ancient art. Still further, they show the locality where each divinity was worshipped. The plates in such a work as Guigniaut's recasting of *Creuzer's Symbolik* show at once in how great a degree all discussion of the religions of antiquity must be based on the evidence of coins. It is not merely meant that coins are numerous enough (as, for instance, those relating to Hercules) to represent before modern eyes every chief act and circumstance with which mythology and religion had connected each divinity. This they do; but much more: for in the course of time the influence of the poets and of the manners and traditions of the country led to the gradual formation in the minds of the people of one commonly received conception of each god. In the lapse of a generation or two this conception will have acquired a new form; and so on. The art of each epoch will be the material representative of the highest religious idealization<sup>1</sup> of the times. Coins therefore, either as copies (as was often the case) of the best works of art of their day, or as themselves original works, show not only the successive modes of artistic execution in figures of deities: in them and through them they show also the varying phases of religious feeling—so controlled, or rather so freely inspired was Art by Religion. The national conception of the deities was reproduced in its highest form by the artists of each age. "Therefore," as C. O. Müller writes, "the images of the gods, especially those which by frequent imitation had become canonical, are also monuments of the religious notions prevailing at the time when they arose." These images are always to be found, and in many cases only to be found, upon coins. Instances of this use of coins need scarcely be given, partly because it is clear of itself, partly because some coins illustrative of this will be mentioned afterwards for their artistic importance. It has been maintained that the idea of which Zeus is the personification is that of the Central Power of the Universe: Apollo is the enemy of disorder, and gives oracular laws to men. To take no more than these two instances, coins show these personifications of the assertion of power and of the establishment of order and perfection in very various styles of conception. Ageladas, one of the earliest of Greek artists, represented Zeus as bare vehement force, a standing figure with thunderbolt and eagle. Of this statue the only monuments extant are coins: *e. g.*, those of Cyzicus and Messene. Then the milder *Zeus Melichios* of Polykletus, is seen on some coins of Argos; and *Zeus Nukhphoros*, sitting in tranquil power, on coins of Olympia and Ilium. The Zeus of

<sup>1</sup> Plato: *Sophist*. 235, *seqq*; 266, *seqq*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Art and its Remains*, translated from the German by John Leitch, 1847, page 361.

Phidias is finally the confessed and obeyed Ruler and Father of the World: the coins that give this figure will be mentioned hereafter. With this Phidian conception of Zeus may be compared that preserved on a coin of Antoninus Pius, where Jupiter appears as the central point of the Universe, sitting, and holding the Thunderbolt, and surrounded by emblems of the Earth, the Sea, and the Zodiac. Apollo, as Slayer of the Python, with lyre and bow together, as God of Concord (*Φιλῆσιος*), as God of Harmony (citharædus, Musagetes), as God of Oracles (*Πύθιος*), is represented successively on the coins of Crotona, Thessalonica, Miletus, Delphi, and Chersonnesus in Crete; and in this succession may be seen a series of distinct conceptions in which order is first struggling with disorder, and gradually is secured by the quieter influences of harmony and law.

The coins of a region, when the series is sufficiently long, show its changes of worship. The coins of Lycia give three phases of the national religion. The earliest coins display Pan, Pegasus, the Lion-skin of Hercules, the Triquetra, &c. This was before Lycia fell under Persian domination: the legends are in the Lycian language. Inscriptions show that Persia introduced the worship of Ormuzd into Lycia. But the second epoch of Lycian currency shows that on the recovery of freedom Lycia threw off the Persian worship, and returned to the gods of Greece, though no longer to the early group. In this age the triquetra no longer appears on the coins. This reaches to the time of Alexander the Great. The third period is that of the Lycian league, marked by the worship of Apollo and the replacement of the Lycian by the Greek language (*ΛΥΚΙΩΝ*). This worship of Apollo was probably introduced to them by the Macedonians, who were specially devoted to that deity. The early currency of Rome proves the worship of Janus, Quirinus, and Mars Pater. Soon these deities give way to Hercules. Similarly the Oriental rites that attracted Commodus, Caracalla, and Julia Sœmias, are illustrated by coins that connect them with Anubis, Isis, and Serapis. Soon the coins of Constantine (Eckhel viii. 112) were to bear the *ΑΩ*. The stone Fetish of Elagabalus with its shrine may be seen on coins of Emesa. The Fetish of Aphrodite described by Tacitus (Hist. ii. 3) is the type of many coins of Cyprus.

Connected with this kind of emblem is the question of the oriental origin of the religions of Greece and Rome. Coins give the fullest answer. The mere scale and nomenclature of the money affords one indication: Mr. Grote observes,<sup>d</sup> "The Baby-

<sup>a</sup> Plate xxxvii. in Fellows: *Op. Cit.*

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the terms of the invocation used by P. Decius Mus, n.c. 340, Liv. viii. 9.

<sup>c</sup> Eckhel: vii. 118.

<sup>d</sup> *History of Greece*, 4th edition, ii. 429.

lonian talent, mina, and drachm are identical with the Æginæan; the word mina is of Asiatic origin, and it has now been rendered highly probable that the scale circulated by Pheidon was borrowed immediately from the Phœnicians, and by them originally from the Babylonians." The oldest gold staters of Samos, Lampsacus, Clazomenæ, Cyzicus,\* and Phocæa bear the types of unmistakeably oriental monsters: for instance, those of Samos display an animal that is partly lion, partly bull. A janiform union of male and female heads is an Eastern symbol of the union of the two powers of nature: this is found on old coins of Athens<sup>c</sup> and other regions. The "ακῶλοι Ἑρμαῖ, busts upon pillars without other limbs, are often given on coins, and are certainly oriental. There are several other similar figures besides those of Hermes. Now many of these have arms resting in stiff attitude, each on a separate staff of quite peculiar construction. It is very fairly argued, therefore, that these limbs, awkwardly held out by supports,<sup>f</sup> "indicate a later addition, and prove by this very addition of connecting parts (which did not form a part of the block or pillar, since they have need of partial support) that these were in fact parts foreign to the primitive conception of the idol." This construction is indeed so peculiar, that the various deities who on different coins present this singular appearance, may or rather must have been in origin identical; and of this kind of indication about the origin and relation of various rites coins supply many instances besides the present one. In the present case the figure of the Great Diana of Ephesus is a chief specimen of this mummy-shaped Egyptian idol. Juno of Samos, Diana Leucophrys of the Ionic Magnesia, Diana of Perga, and (it is curious to add) Diana<sup>g</sup> of the Aventine, all present this same figure with its peculiar additions to the original oriental form. In mentioning this in the case of Juno of Samos, Col. Leake says that the Greek name Heré is proved by a passage of Strabo (p. 329) to have been replaced at Dodona by the name Dione: with this the Latin Diana might be compared. He further remarks (though without mentioning Diana of the Aventine) that these goddesses must all be forms of the great Syrian Astarte, whose worship was introduced by the Phœnicians at Samos and Ephesus. It may be added that coins<sup>h</sup> of Mylasa in Lycia present the Zeus of Labranda in this peculiar shape, with the same singular supports of the arms. Xenophon gives the name of Egyptian to some of the Greek cities about the coast of Æolis. This is explained by the coins: those of Iasus give the head of Isis; those of Myndus display a plain piece of oriental symbolism, namely, a globe between horns and surmounted by two feathers

\* *Mus. Hunt.* 10, xxvi.    <sup>c</sup> *Lectures on Art*, by M. Raoul Rochette, p. 87.

<sup>g</sup> See Mommsen: *Op. Cit.*, i. 188. Leake: *Num. Hellen.* *As.* 78.

<sup>h</sup> *Fellows's Discoveries in Lycia*, p. 286.

on the reverse—the head of Jupiter is the type of the obverse: the money of Pitane is adorned by the mysterious pentagram and the head of Jupiter Ammon. The Phœnicians are known to have occupied Thasos in a remote age: the coins of Thasos continue to demonstrate the permanence of this oriental influence by the emblems of the special Hercules of Tyre and of the oriental bearded Bacchus. The later coins of Thasos bear the types of the Grecian Bacchus, the origin of whose rites among the satyrs and fauns of Mount Pangæus is traced on the coins of Lete in Macedonia. This Grecian Bacchus may well have spread his own rites from Lete to Thasos. Another trace of orientalism is to be found in the worship of the Cabiri. Coins of Imbros, Thessalonica,<sup>1</sup> Smyrna, Hephæstia in Lemnos, and Tripolis in Phœnicia, show these localities to have been seats of this worship. It has been argued from the volcanic nature of these regions, that this worship was intended to appease the tumultuous powers of nature: the Cabiri would in this way have to be regarded as something like the old Chthonian deities of Greece, as the elemental forces of creation. Their accompanying symbol on the coins is a hammer, which might well be taken to support this view of their nature. A passage in Herodotus (iii. 39) asserts a relationship between Hephæstus, the Cabiri, and some Phœnician deities called Παραικοί: he says they were all pigmy figures. The Cabiri on coins certainly are so. The hammer given to them on coins has led learned commentators to discover a Hebrew word (patisch) meaning hammer, and resembling the form παραικοί. The best<sup>2</sup> authorities seem to make Cabirus itself a Phœnician word. Coins in another way have weight in this discussion: those who deny these pigmy gods to be of Pelasgian origin appeal to the coins; for the localities which they connect with this worship are by no means peculiarly Pelasgian.

At a late period the Macedonians in the East adopted oriental star worship in great measure, as the coins imply. Col. Leake quotes a coin of the Syrian Antioch on which appears 'Aries' looking back at a star. 'Scorpio' is the type of some coins of Commagene. 'Leo' looking back at a star is that of some coins of Miletus. Some of the coins of Augustus issued in the East bear the figure of 'Capricornus.'

As coins show the original identity of various strange forms of Diana, so they in other ways assist in grouping and systematizing the kindred rites of various deities. From coins, with the help of some few passages in writers, M. de Luynes<sup>1</sup> has endeavoured to connect various triads of deities mentioned in Greek mythology with the phenomena of lunar astronomy. The three

<sup>1</sup> Guignaut's *Creuzer (Symbolik)*, ii. 1083.

<sup>2</sup> *Num. Brit.* v. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Mover's *Die Phönizier*, i. 652.

<sup>4</sup> "Études Numismatiques sur quelques Types relatifs au culte d'Hécate."

Graces, the three Gorgons, the three Furies, the three Parcae, the group of Artemis, Persephone, and Pallas constitute various modes of regarding the one 'triple Hecate,' who is the union of them all. The lunar reference of *τριτόμηνης*, a title of Pallas, is obvious. Her title, *γλαυκῶπις*, is interpreted by Plutarch as descriptive of the appearance of the moon towards dawn. On many early coins of Athens' the helmeted head of Pallas is accompanied by crescent moons. The mintage of Populonia,<sup>u</sup> in Etruria, united a crescent and a star to the head of Pallas. Money of Cilicia,<sup>v</sup> with the Pallas type on the obverse, gives on the reverse Zeus Hades, the God of the hidden Sun, with an ear of corn. Pallas is thus made out to be the goddess of the waning moon. The lunar character of Artemis connects her with the new and growing moon. Her title, *Ειλειθνια*, refers to the superstitions concerning the influence of the moon upon birth. The testimony of coins in this matter is abundant; for example, the many coins of Asia Minor which represent Artemis bearing a torch and with a moon above her head. As for the lunar character of Persephone, M. de Luynes gives good reasons to believe that by the myth of Hades, a god from below, carrying off Persephone, it was intended to explain the eclipse of the moon by the intervention of the sun. The sun after his setting in the shades below is yet regarded as able from thence to eclipse the moon. The same theory of the lunar eclipse is to be seen in the story that Perseus, aided by the helmet of Hades, decapitated the Gorgon Medusa. Only a small part of the argument by which these details are supported can be given here. The hideous Gorgo face (the protruded tongue of which is, says M. de Luynes, the natural effect of decapitation), is found on coins of all parts of the Greek world, as Populonia, Athens, Scotussa, Abydos, Rhodes, &c. It must therefore be of great religious importance. The coins of Rhodes have sometimes the sun as their type: sometimes this Gorgo. On the coins of Ægæ, in Cilicia, the Gorgo is surrounded by the zodiac. On other monuments the serpents round the Gorgo head are exactly twenty-eight in number. M. de Luynes quotes an Orphic authority as maintaining *Γοργόνιον τὴν σελήνην διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πρόσωπον*. It is well known that Plutarch wrote a treatise on the face that is seen in the moon's disc. Thus, during an eclipse of the moon, the ancients may be supposed to have terrified themselves by the imagination of "une tête formidable se promenant dans l'atmosphère." There is another frequent type of coins which the same author explains. This is the Triquetra. A coin of Alexander the Great, attributed by Eckhel to the mint of Tarsus,<sup>x</sup> bears as local emblems, in addition to the emblems of that king, the triquetra and

<sup>u</sup> *Mus. Hunt.* 8, vi.-ix.; 10, xx, xxii, xxiii, xiv.

<sup>v</sup> De Luynes, *Op. Cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>v</sup> De Luynes: *ibid.*

<sup>x</sup> De Luynes: *Op. Cit.*, p. 53.    \* *Ibid.* p. 85.

Perseus with the helmet of Hades. Another coin of Tarsus<sup>7</sup> bears a triquetra composed of three lunar crescents. A coin of Athens is quoted<sup>8</sup> as bearing on the obverse the head of Pallas, on the reverse the triquetra. On coins of the Gens Clodia the axis-space of the triquetra is occupied by the Gorgo head. Thus M. de Luynes reasonably connects this hitherto unexplained type, the Triquetra, with the groups of lunar deities, and regards it in fact as the symbol of the one 'triple Hecate'<sup>9</sup> who is the *résumé* of them all. A passage in Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* iii. 11) is referred to as connecting not only the triad of Artemis Persephone and Pallas with the lunar mythology, but also other triads of Greek religion, as the three Μοῖραι. But enough has now been said to illustrate the value of coins in elucidating and systematizing modern knowledge of ancient religions.

The usefulness of coins, so far as they assist the formation of a picture of ancient civilization, remains now to be considered lastly in relation to Art. Coins of late date frequently give copies of old works of art. The Greeks under the Roman Empire consoled their servitude by proudly displaying on their local currency copies of the handiwork of those great men, whose fame made the courtly poet of Augustus concede to Greece the pre-eminence in artistic genius, while he reserved for Rome the coarser dominion of force. Every considerable Greek city had some noble work of this kind: a statue of its deity, its hero, or its founder; a bust of some great citizen; some fine bridge or temple, either noteworthy in themselves, or as monuments of past efforts of art. Coins with types of this kind are often the sole extant monument of some great work of a Scopas or Praxiteles. For the earliest ages all other traces of the "fine arts" have perished. M. Raoul-Rochette<sup>b</sup> speaking of the early coins of Ægina, Lete, Cnidos, Syracuse, and Magna Græcia, says, "They are the most authentic monuments which remain of the first period of the art, and the only ones from which we can determine and follow its progress by an almost uninterrupted series of cotemporary parallels and successive gradations." The coinage of Abydos can be traced through seven centuries: that of Chios would probably be enough to give specimens of every epoch of Greek Art; nor are these at all singular instances. Besides such coins no ancient source remains to afford sufficient means of comparing different schools and ages of art. On this matter it has been remarked, "Not alone do coins display the various styles of art prevalent at different ages, but in doing so, they supply us with abundant means for promoting the advancement of art among ourselves. If the study of many schools be

<sup>7</sup> De Luynes: *Op. Cit.*, p. 99.     <sup>8</sup> *Id. ibid.*: p. 85.

<sup>9</sup> See this Hecate on coins of Mastaura.

<sup>b</sup> *Lectures on Ancient Art*, p. 117. London: 1854.

at all times of advantage, it is specially so when there is little originality in the world." Modern sculptors may perhaps learn something from the magnificent *alto relievo* profiles on Greek coins. It is well known that Rubens and other modern painters have attached the highest value in this respect to the study of ancient coins.

The usefulness of coins for the history of Art is increased by the fact that they almost always carry with them sure indications of the age and place to which they belong. This is no slight advantage: the origin and date of such a work as the Laocoon group may remain unknown.

The extent of this usefulness of coins is so great that a mere list of some of the more prominent specimens is all that can be here given. It is remarked by Eckhel<sup>c</sup> that parts of Greece the most obscure and the most remote shared fully in the practice of the highest art. The character of Thrace is redeemed by the excellence of the face of Hermes on the coins of Ænus.<sup>d</sup> Those of Tyras show the flower of Grecian art in the distant regions of the modern Odessa. In the earliest coins<sup>e</sup> either disproportion or extravagant posture is the main fault. The former applies to the rude early coinage of Phaselis, Rhaucus, &c., the latter to such efforts as the marvellous goat on early coins of Ægæ, to the lion's face of Rhegium, to the rough attempt at the representation of a struggle of a lion and a bull on the money of Acanthus, and to the earlier coins of Magna Græcia, as the Neptune of Posidonia, and the bull of Sybaris. This first period may be extended to 450 B.C. Its latter portion will contain many excellent coins. Those of Crotona, that represent either Apollo shooting the Python, or Bellerophon on Pegasus killing the Chimæra; those of Thasos and Naxos, with beautiful heads of Bacchus; the gold pieces of Clazomenæ, that give the Apollo face and the swan; and the silver tetradrachma<sup>f</sup> of the first Alexander of Macedon, are beautiful specimens of the old style, of which coins are the only monument.<sup>g</sup> Of the works of the sculptors of this age, coins alone preserve some memorial.<sup>h</sup> Coins of Samos under the Roman Empire represent a statue of Juno attributed to the legendary Smilis. The colossal standing figure of the naked Delian Apollo, a work of Tectæus and Angelion, may be seen on coins<sup>i</sup> of Athens, the Apollo Philesius of Canachus on those of Miletus, the young Zeus of Ageladas on coins<sup>j</sup> of Ægium and elsewhere: the terrible Zeus Ithomates of the same sculptor is preserved on coins already

<sup>c</sup> *Op. Cit.*: cxxxix.

<sup>d</sup> Eckhel: ii. 22.

<sup>e</sup> Humphrey: *Op. Cit.*, plates 1, 10.

<sup>f</sup> Humphrey: plates 1, 12, 13.

<sup>g</sup> *Mus. Britt.*, vii. 9; *Mus. Hunt.*, 2, xiv.

<sup>h</sup> On this use of coins cf. Raoul-Rochette's "Conjectures Archéologiques," &c., in Tome xv. of the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*. 1842. From this *mémoire* many of the following instances are taken.

<sup>i</sup> Guigniaut: No. 285.

<sup>j</sup> Guigniaut: cli. 581.



mentioned. Coins cannot of course give every detail of the originals: they give the general posture of the figures looked at as a whole. But this general view is probably more important an aid to the reconstruction in imagination of the originals themselves than any amount of written details could give. Passages in Pliny or Pausanias enable readers to recognise on coins the copies of lost works of art; but without the coins they would not leave the least hope of obtaining an accurate notion of the general characteristics of their style. Pythagoras of Paros was of this first school. His group of the three<sup>k</sup> Graces clothed is given on coins alone: on those of the Carian Aphrodisias there is, says M. Raoul-Rochette, "une imitation d'assez grande proportion et d'une exécution assez soignée pour que nous puissions nous faire une idée suffisamment exacte de la composition de ce groupe, de l'arrangement des figures, et du mode d'ajustement qui leur était propre." The beautiful coins of Catana, especially those<sup>l</sup> of the 'pii fratres' carrying their parents, and the earlier coins of Thurium, are further specimens of this period. The type of these coins of Thurium is a bull walking slowly with head depressed, and is described by Col. Leake as being in "an intermediate state of art between the bull with reverted head on the earliest coins of Sybaris, and the butting bull of the Thurii. Probably when Sybaris flourished, Greek art had not yet attained the ability to represent strong action, a degree of skill indeed scarcely acquired in perfection before the age of Pericles." This quality of early art may be seen on the famous silver 'Damaretia'<sup>m</sup> coins of Gelo I. of Syracuse. These coins are limited to the time between 480 and 478 B. C. They bear a *triga* in very slow motion. The constant repetition of the chariot and horses on Syracusan coins affords an excellent test of the varying powers of art. For, to take a later period (450—400 B. C.), the magnificent coins of Syracuse with the artists' names, Evænetus, Eumenus, Eucleidas,<sup>n</sup> and, somewhat later, Kimon,<sup>o</sup> display the perfection of art in the highly-wrought Head of Persephone, and the union of fire and grace in the horses. It would be impossible to convey any adequate notion of these magnificent coins by words. Some persons have thought they could never have been intended for mere money; but Col. Leake<sup>p</sup> has no doubt of it, because of "the

<sup>k</sup> Guignaut: 410, 411.

<sup>l</sup> Torre-muzza: pl. xxiii. 16.

<sup>m</sup> Humphrey, plate 2, *Mus. Hunt.*, 52, x. <sup>n</sup> *Mus. Hunt.*, 53, iii.; 53, v.; 52, xiv.

<sup>o</sup> See his beautiful coin, Humphrey, plate 3.

<sup>p</sup> *Transactions of Royal Society of Literature*, vol. iii. p. 359. It is convenient to add in this note some instances of grouping on coins. Sestus under Caracalla gives on its coins the exploit of Leander; Lampsacus gives the Nereids with the armour of Achilles; Laodiceia (see Mionnet, 701) gives Cybele enthroned with her lions; Samos under Commodus represents Apollo pursuing Hercules, who runs off with the tripod; the Gens Plautia gives Aurora leading the horses of the Sun. See other instances in Werlhof: *Op. Cit.*, in the cases of Proserpine, Perseus, and Europa, p. 61, *seqq.* A group

exact agreement of them all with the monetary scale of Syracuse." The beauty of the coinage of Hyele has been already mentioned: it is a monument of this second period. To this also the coins of Eryx and Camarina<sup>1</sup> belong. The statue of Apollo mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 15), as an ornament of Metapontum, may be seen on coins<sup>2</sup> of that city, and proves to be, says M. Raoul-Rochette, a worthy example of the art of the days of Herodotus. The great artists of this epoch were Phidias, Myron, and Polycletus: of their works, the copies on coins are the best memorial. The figure of the Olympian Zeus of Phidias is the constant type of the numerous tetradrachma<sup>3</sup> of Alexander the Great. It is found on coins of the Seleucidæ, and was by them expressly designed (Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 3) as a copy of the work of Phidias. The head of this Zeus or of the Parthenon Athené of Phidias are frequently given on coins: *e. g.* the latter on beautiful coins of Arcadia. Myron's group of Pallas and Marsyas disputing about the double flute is preserved on coins of Athens. The Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος and the Argive Juno of Polycletus are to be seen on the money of Argos: his gamblers [ἀσπραγαλιζοῦντες] on that of Ephesus. The next period B. C. 400—350, is illustrated by the fine didrachma of Tarentum (in which the armed and galloping horseman, or Taras on the dolphin are given), by the perfection which the Bull of Thurium had now reached, and by the Peloponnesian coinage. It is observed by Mr. Warren<sup>4</sup> that "the foundation of Megalopolis must have given an immense impulse to Numismatic art throughout Peloponnesus. The Arcadian didrachms struck there within a few years of its foundation show an immense progress, at least in execution, when contrasted with the earlier Arcadian 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 Peloponnesus, both in the beauty of their execution and the violent treatment (and for the most part mythological symbolism) of the subjects represented . . . . The typical specimen of the class is the fine Æginetan-Scale didrachm of Stymphalos, giving us the head of Artemis laurel-wreathed on one side, a naked Herakles in the very act of striking with his club, treated in highly exaggerated action on the other." The contemporaneous didrachmum of Pheneus displays Hermes carrying off the child Arcas in a similarly melodramatic style. The great sculptors of this age were Leochares, Praxiteles, Scopas, and Lysippus: their style, again, can hardly be said to be known

of Eros and Psyche, assigned to Scopas (Raoul-Rochette, *Op. Cit., Conjectures, &c.*, p. 283,) is to be seen on coins of Serdica, "reproduit avec une fidélité qui prouve la haute célébrité du modèle."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Torre-muzza*, pl. xix. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Guignaut: pl. lxx. ccliii.; *Num. Britt.*: vii.

<sup>3</sup> *Mus. Hunt.*, 37, xxi.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. Cit.*: p. 33.

except from coins. The carrying off of Ganymede by the eagle is copied on the coins of Dardanus and Ilium from the work of Leochares. The coins of Antoninus Pius, of Cnidos<sup>u</sup> under Caracallâ, and of Argos preserve the outlines of the *καράγουσα* of Praxiteles, his Aphrodite characterised by *τὸ ὑγρὸν* and his group of Leto and Chloris. His Apollo Sauroctone may be seen on a fine *aureus* of Antoninus Pius. Coins of Nagidos<sup>v</sup> preserve the style of an earlier and severer Aphrodite: that of Praxiteles is the goddess of a laxer generation. Amongst the works of Scopas that would otherwise be unknown, the coins of Alexandria Troas preserve his Apollo Smintheus, those of Serdica his group of Ortygia carrying the infants Apollo and Diana. The Farnese Hercules of Lysippus has often been copied by sculptors: it is preserved, perhaps more faithfully, on coins, as for instance, those of Corinth and Crotona. The great Greek schools of sculptors scarcely lasted beyond the age of Alexander the Great. The magnificent coins of later royal series<sup>w</sup> are the best monuments of the state of the arts for the last three centuries before the Christian era: it is for this epoch that the fact that each coin carries its date with it becomes of peculiar importance in assisting the history of art. The coins of Poliorcetes and Pyrrhus are very beautiful, and are the only well attested artistic works of that age. Of similar importance are the long portrait series of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, and the Syracusan gold pieces from Agathocles to Gelo II. The 'tituli faciesque minutæ' of these kings may not be very interesting; but the degree of individuality that can be given to countenance in such a series is perhaps a very good test of art; and the reverses moreover afforded further scope for it, as for instance, the eagle of the Ptolemies or the Phidian Zeus of the Seleucidæ. The coinage of the Achæan league, as being that of a definite limited epoch, is like the portrait series, peculiarly important for the history of art.

As connected with the portrait-coinage may be mentioned, the faces of Homer, Solon, and other such celebrities that are found on coins. These were copies of busts and statues. Mitylene boasts on her coins in this way, that Alcæus, Pittacus, Sappho, Theophanes and Sextus Empiricus were her citizens: the head of Herodotus adorns the coins of Halicarnassus. These faces of the great men of antiquity were nearly always taken from some special bust of each which had acquired the greatest reputation. For instance, there was an accepted model of this kind for Pericles, Themistocles, and Homer; and of the many coins that give faces or busts of these personages, nearly all present

<sup>u</sup> Guigniaut: *Planches*, c. 300.

<sup>v</sup> *Num. Britt.*: x. 16.

<sup>w</sup> See the *Iconographie Grecque et Romaine*, of MM. Visconti and Mongez, composed almost entirely of pictures from coins.

the same features. This continued down to a late period of the Roman Empire. Moreover, the distinguishing marks of the portrait of each illustrious person as given on coins serve a further purpose. When for instance, coins with the name and a (so to speak) canonical bust of Homer have shown how the ancients represented him, it becomes easy to determine with considerable certainty whether such and such a bust that may be extant without name is a Homer or not. The *Iconographie Grecque et Romaine*, alluded to in the note at the foot of this page, gives of course many such instances. For example: a coin of Amastris of the age of Antoninus Pius gives a bust of Homer with certain peculiarities of form: a bust of the same form is extant but without name: this, then, is a bust of Homer. The portrait coins of known historical personages have the further interest of giving an opportunity of comparing the characters assigned to them by historians with the significance of their features themselves. For M. Visconti observes,\* "Les portraits conservés par la numismatique (ayant été exécutés par ordre de l'autorité publique et par des artistes contemporains des princes qu'il représentent) portent un grand caractère d'authenticité." The execrations of a nation may upon a tyrant's death destroy all other memorials of him except his coins. The Phrenologist will doubtless see on them a proof of the tyrant's guilt and of the benefactor's virtue. He will assent to the view† that "our belief in the truth of history is confirmed by the qualities we can perceive in their portraits. The strength and energy of Alexander, the brilliant genius of Mithridates, the philosophic calmness of Antoninus, the obstinate ferocity of Nero, and the brutality of Caracalla are as plain on the coins as in the pages of history." Indeed, the varying portraits of Nero on coins that represent him at different ages have been thought to display with clearness the stages of his growth in depravity.

The best specimens of Græco-Roman art are to be found in the imperial portraits. Augustus and his successors had made Rome the centre of Greek art: all skill was drained off to Rome. The heads of Claudius and Nero,‡ for instance, on coins of Rome are excellent, while on local coins of Greek cities they are miserable. This contrast may indeed be observed on the coins with heads of Pompey. Coins§ distinguish with precision the delicacy of Augustus from the blunt honesty of Agrippa. Of all these, the finest perhaps are the *dupondii* that represent Livia in the characters of Salus, Justitia or Pietas, the *aurei* and *denarii* on which Antonia appears as Ceres or Proserpine, and lastly, the

\* *Iconographie Grecque*, p. 14. Plates 39-57 are, with quite insignificant exceptions, composed entirely of coins.

† Article "Numismatics," by Mr. R. S. Poole, in *Encyclop. Britt.*, Edinburgh, 1858.

‡ Humphrey: pl. viii. § Vid. the denary of Cossus in Riccio, *Op. Cit.*, Tav. xvi. 16.

portrait coins of the elder Agrippina, the two Faustinas, and Antoninus Pius.

A favourite sphere of Roman numismatic art was that of allegorical figures, as of SPES, FIDES, CONCORDIA, PIETAS, ABUNDANTIA, &c. It is of these that Addison<sup>b</sup> remarks, "In devices of this nature, one sees a pretty poetical invention, and may often find as much thought on the reverse of a medal as in a canto of Spenser." He adds that this was probably the reason why Caraccio, Raphael, Rubens, and others made such a study of coins. To take some obvious instances: coins continually represent the good or ill fortune of the State by a ship visited at sea by prosperous or unfriendly gales; on an importation of corn during a dearth, the coins of Titus bear a ship decked with flowers, and a Matron who holds a cornucopiæ and a pair of scales.

Art under the Roman Emperors had only a spasmodic kind of existence: for instance, there was a short revival under Commodus, as his medallions show, and under Antoninus Pius in the series of subjects already mentioned as taken from the old traditions of Rome. The Emperor fixed the subject: art could only display itself in the execution; and the Emperors early displayed a taste for magnitude rather than beauty. Now without the aid of coins no adequate idea could be had of the state of architecture and kindred arts under the Empire. Many of the great buildings of the Emperors are known more from coins than from the ruins that remain of them. Such means as local excavations and the doubtful interpretation of passages in Vitruvius and other authors have enabled a modern architect<sup>c</sup> to trace the ground-plan, indeed, of the mass of buildings constituting the Forum, Library, Basilica and Temple, with the sites of the *columna cochlis*, and equestrian statue of Trajan. But to get a representation of the frontage itself of the Forum and Basilica, he is obliged to have recourse to coins. So again, coins mentioned by Eckhel give the equestrian statue that adorned these precincts. Even the art that displayed itself on such merely 'occasional and fugitive' subjects as the construction of Pyres made to be burnt is still exposed to criticism on coins. It would be endless to recount the number of such architectural structures as city gates, bridges, and arches which have so long perished, but have left their memorial on coins. To quote the author of *Architectura Numismatica*: he says, that on coins "there are groups of temples which are shown with their surrounding courts, *propyla*, and other accompaniments. The circus (with its attendant dependencies of the *spina*, temple or *pulvinare*,

<sup>b</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>c</sup> *Architectura Numismatica*, by T. L. Donaldson. An interesting detail of the topography of Athens is elucidated by coins that give the Acropolis with its statues and the Grotto of Pan.

arches, quadrigæ, and occasionally the chariot races) forms a conspicuous assemblage. The Coliseum (with its portico and *meta sudans*, and the interior arrangements) crowded with spectators, and the Ports of Ostia (with the moles, temple, warehouses, Pharos, crowded vessels at full sail, and the recumbent statue in the foreground) form admirable combinations."

The historian of art is guided by coins to the last. Müller says of the age of Constantine, "The turgidity and luxuriance of art passed over more and more into tameness and poverty. On coins, which are our most certain guides, the heads are contracted in order that more of the figure and accessories may be introduced; but at the end of the third century the busts lose all relief, the design becomes inaccurate and schoolboylike; the whole representation flat, characterless, and so destitute of individuality that even the different persons are only distinguishable by the legends, and that utterly lifeless style makes its appearance, in which the Byzantine coins are executed."

The importance of coins, as the sole remaining representatives of several of the most famous works of art, may be further estimated from the fact that even in Vespasian's time Tacitus<sup>d</sup> speaks of Sabinus defending the Capitol by "statuas undique revulsas, decora majorum, vice muri." At length Constantine appointed a "centurio nitentium rerum" to save the remnants of art. But these remnants were even then but slight. It had long been usual to break off the head of an old statue in order to replace it by a portrait-head of some favourite of the palace. The days of the Vandals and the Goths were still to come, and Christian zeal long delighted in the destruction of the finest ornaments of the pagan Pantheon.

In conclusion, something must be said concerning the apparently weaker side of the argument from Numismatic evidence. Dr. Cardwell<sup>e</sup> gives a sufficiently alarming vigour to the indictment. He enumerates "the great but capricious variety of coins; the perplexed and inconsistent accounts of them received from ancient authors; the anachronisms introduced upon them by the vanity or the policy of those who minted them; the extreme difficulty in many cases of deciphering them; the mistakes committed by the ancient *monetarii*; the practice of stamping coins with a new die without effacing the old impression; and, lastly, the great extent to which the ancients carried the crime of forgery." The first charge relates to such curious facts as the disproportionate abundance of coins of obscure regions or towns, such as Parium<sup>f</sup> in Mysia. But surely this is in many aspects an advantage. There is little need of coins to tell of the existence, the arts, the

<sup>d</sup> *Hist.* : iii. 71.

<sup>f</sup> *Tac.* : *Hist.* ii. 82.

<sup>e</sup> Cardwell : *Op. Cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>e</sup> Cardwell : *Op. Cit.*, p. 32.

commerce and the greatness of Athens or Syracuse; it is precisely in illuminating the darker corners of history that coins are most strikingly useful. The obscurities of ancient authors, again, are surely no hindrance to one's arguing independently from the coins themselves, and by them clearing up the perplexity. As for the chronological errors asserted to be found upon coins, a skilled Numismatist is never misled by them. For instance, the mistake on the coins that seem to give a reign of more than thirty years to Alexander the Great is only apparent, as has been already seen: other cases of this kind are similarly explained. The charges of illegibility, and of old coins being restamped with new dies upon the old types, amount merely to an assertion that it is conceivable that Numismatic evidence might have been much more satisfactory than it is. But no one will either deny this or admit that these phenomena need be sources of error. A coin whose legend and types are entirely or almost destroyed, or if perfect, are unintelligible, if it tells no truth, still need not be made to tell lies. Eckhel's criticism of the valueless interpretations of the strange type of the coins of Caulonia may serve to deter those who would rashly imitate the zeal of Sir Walter Scott's Monk-barns in the matter of *A(gricola) D(icavit) L(ibens) L(ubens)*. Bar-cochba stamps Hebrew types and legends upon coins, which by some remaining letters are seen to have been formerly coins issued by Trajan; but to what error can this give rise? As for the errors of the *monetarii*, Dr. Cardwell<sup>h</sup> quotes a coin of Carausius with legend ORIVNA AVG, and a coin of Titus with legend ÆRES AVGVSTI. The zeal of Dr. Stukeley sees in Oriuna the wife of Carausius, and his gallantry connects the name with a Welsh word signifying a fair complexion. A learned Frenchman sees in Æres an old form of Æs. But the success which attends a less flighty investigation of these cases shows that such strange legends need not necessarily lead to error, or even remain of uncertain meaning. ORIVNA is thus<sup>i</sup> seen to be a slip of the *monetarius* for FORTVNA, as Fortuna Aug. is the continual legend of the coins of Carausius. Æres appears as a combination of the beginning of Æquitas, and the end of Ceres, the engraver of the die adding by mistake the ending *res* to Æ from its resemblance to CE, instead of completing the word ÆQUITAS: the coins of Titus constantly bear either of these legends. Similarly the skill of forgers, whether ancient or modern, though it can change<sup>j</sup> "a worthless Aurelius" into "an invaluable Pertinax" has been met by equal and greater skill on the part of professed Numismatists. The rude skill of the antiquary of Addison's Philander who "would lick an old coin, among other trials, to distinguish the age of it by its taste," is far exceeded by his

<sup>h</sup> *Op. Cit.*: pp. 39, 42.<sup>i</sup> Cardwell: *Op. Cit.*<sup>j</sup> Cardwell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 58.

modern successors, though he could find "as much difference between the relish of ancient and modern brass, as between an apple and a turnip." Thus the only solid part of the charge against Numismatic evidence amounts to merely this, that in many cases the discovery of the true significance of a coin requires patient skill. This will readily be allowed; and it may be added that one sufficient safeguard in such investigation is in the fact that the discovery of the true meaning is generally of a nature to be its own justification. Every one feels, for example, that Stukeley's vision of the fair Oriuna must be given up in favour of the less romantic theory of the mistake of that word for Fortuna.

Two slight points may be mentioned, in which the testimony of ancient coins is free from the deceptive character of modern coinage. Addison observes,<sup>k</sup> "You never find anything like satire or raillery on old coins. Those of a modern make are often charged with irony and satire. Our kings no sooner fall out, but their mints make war one upon another, and their malice appears on their medals." The Roman family *denarii* were closely copied by the Italians in their league of B.C. 90: some have said this was in mockery of Rome: an explanation which Friedländer,<sup>l</sup> regarding it as altogether improbable *a priori*, replaces by the obvious consideration that the leaguers had neither leisure nor perhaps skill to devise new types, nor were indeed likely to seek to substitute a new and strange currency for the style to which their country was accustomed. The second point is that the ancients on their coins represent themselves as they appeared in ordinary life. "The Roman," says Addison,<sup>m</sup> "would have thought it ridiculous to have drawn an Emperor of Rome in a Grecian cloak or a Phrygian mitre; on the contrary, our modern medals are full of *togas* and *tunicas*, *trabeas* and *paludamentums*, with a multitude of the like antiquated garments that have not been in fashion these thousand years. You see very often a king of England or France dressed up like a Julius Cæsar . . . Nothing is more usual than to see allusions to Roman customs and ceremonies on the medals of our own nation. Nay, very often they carry the figure of a heathen god. If posterity takes its notions of us from our medals, they must fancy one of our kings paid a great devotion to Minerva, that another was a professed worshipper of Apollo, or at best, that our whole religion was a mixture of Paganism and Christianity."

The whole matter, then, may be summed up in the words of the already quoted *Edinburgh Reviewer*. "It must be remembered, too, that these metallic monuments are more safely to be depended upon than the written documents which constitute what is received

<sup>k</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>l</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>m</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 114.



as history in the ordinary acceptation of the term. No other historical document is so little liable to the suspicion of having been tampered with. None is so safe from the effects of the caprice or the ignorance of individuals: none so free from the mystification so often caused by the inaccuracy of a careless transcriber."

And so farewell to Cynthio's "critics in rust."

THE END.



## APPENDIX.

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The following Notes have reached the printer since the Essay has been going through the press, consequently too late to be inserted in their proper places (and for the same reason several corrections of modes of expression, &c., were necessarily omitted) :—

Page 21, line 12 from bottom, after "technical."—On the difference between the art of Greece and that of Magna Græcia as seen on coins, cf. the article on "Numismatics" by Mr. R. S. Poole, in the *Encyclop. Britann.*, Edinburgh, 1858, vol. xvi. p. 357.

Page 56, line 22, after "freely."—Cf. Lessing, *Laokoon*, § ix. p. 81, Leipzig, 1854.

Page 56, line 2 from bottom, after "Argos."—Cf. coins of Amastris, *Num. Britt.*, ix. 9, 10.

Page 56, bottom line, after "Olympia."—*Num. Britt.*, vi. 24.

Page 57, line 11, after "Miletus."—Cf. Guigniaut, No. 285.



## ERRATA.

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- Page 10, line 5, *for exerted, read exercised.*  
Page 22, lines 13 and 14, *for words of, read account in.*  
Page 23, line 15 from bottom, *for dua millia pondo, read tria pondo.*  
Page 38, line 3 from bottom, *for Greece, read Greek coins.*  
Page 39, notes <sup>d</sup> and <sup>t</sup>, *for Tessien, read Tessieri.*  
Page 42, line 20, *for their, read these.*  
Page 48, head-line, *for Legends, read Traditions.*  
Page 52, line 18, *for obverse, read reverse.*  
Page 59, line 25, *for discover, read remark upon.*





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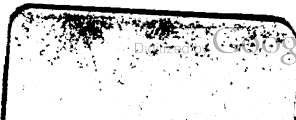


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