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XII.

SAMOS AND SAMIAN COINS.

Σάμοι τὰ ἐς ἀθῆνας καὶ ἐπὶ νηυμαχίας εἰσι· τὸ πρῶτον ἀγνοοῦν.¹

INTRODUCTION.

SAMOS, the mightiest state in Greece in the days of Pericles, and a formidable rival of Athens even in those of Pericles, has scarcely of late years attracted among archaeologists attention proportional to its ancient renown, though politically it has won much fame. The Samians were the first of Greeks in the war of independence to take up arms, and among the last to lay them down; and have even conquered from the Porte the coveted right of home-rule, forming a distinct principality. But until quite lately there were no persons in the island who were interested in Hellenic antiquities, and successive French and German visitors have left us a record of inscriptions intercepted by them on the way from ancient sites to the lime-kiln or the modern wall, of which inscriptions succeeding travellers could find no trace. It is to be hoped that the spirit of veneration for ancient Greek remains, which sinks deeper year by year into the minds of modern Hellenes, will have by this time stayed the destruction, and that a local museum will be formed, and increase. In fact, much that was most remarkable in ancient Samos still remains above

¹ Pausan., vi. 2, 9.

ground. The walls of Astypalæa, the ancient citadel of Samos, may still be traced throughout their circuit, and at certain points are still entire. And of the three wonders of the city,² the mole of the harbour, the aqueduct of Eupalinus, and the notable temple of Hera, remains still exist, though in ruins. The canal of Eupalinus was discovered and partly excavated during a short stay in the island by M. Guérin.³ Still more recently, excavations have been made on the site of the Heræum by M. Girard,⁴ who has drawn up a ground plan of the temple, though as the capital of the column which was still *in situ* in the days of Tournefort and Pococke has disappeared, he could give no fresh information as to the style in which it was built, which seems, in spite of the statement of Vitruvius,⁵ to have been a kind of primitive Ionic, combining some of the peculiarities of Doric with those of Ionic style.

To the historian only two localities in the island are of great interest. The first is the walled capital, the only town of any size existing in ancient times in Samos, where was the citadel, Astypalæa, the temples of the gods, and the harbour, the chief source of Samian wealth. The other is the site of the Heræum, on the shore of the sea a few miles outside the city walls. Between city and temple, as at Ephesus and most other great Greek cities, stretched a road frequented by pomps and processions, and bordered by graves of the ancestors and celebrities of the city.

The island, as Strabo remarks, stands high out of the sea, and is a mark to sailors far off. To those who approach

² Hdt., iii. 60.

³ Guérin, *Patmos et Samos*, 1856, a work which contains the best general account of the island in its present state.

⁴ *Bull. de Corresp. Hell.*, 1881.

⁵ vii. *pref.*

nearer, its precipitous sides seem bare and forbidding; and the earlier modern travellers credited it with an evil climate. This, however, must be unjust, for at all times it has been celebrated for the production of wine and oil, and neither vine nor olive flourish except under clement skies. In fact the inland valleys are very fruitful, if not quite to the extent implied in the proverb of Menander,⁶ who wrote at a time when the Athenians were passionately attached to Samos, *φέρει καὶ ὀρνίθων γάλα*. Æschylus calls the island *λαιόφυτος*,⁷ and we are told that roses flowered there twice in the year. And of late years the ancient export of wine has been revived with every prospect of continuance and increase.

To those who study the coins of a Greek city some knowledge of its religious cults is a necessary preliminary. Coins contain more of religious antiquities than even of art or of history.

In later Greek times Cyprus was not more wholly given up to Aphrodite, or Delos to Apollo, than was Samos to Hera. The Heræum was one of the largest and richest temples of Greece, erected in very early Greek times, either by Rhæcus or by Rhæcus and Theodorus,⁸ and a monument of still immature Ionic style. There was in old times much dispute whether the cult of Hera were older at Samos or at Argos. The Argives maintained that the cult had been derived from their city by the Samians; but the latter, not to be outdone, pointed out the very spot, on the banks of their little stream, the Parthenius or Imbrasus, beneath a cluster of *agnus castus*, where the Queen of Olympus was born, deriving from the

⁶ Strabo, xiv. p. 438.

⁷ *Persæ*, 883.

⁸ Hdt., iii. 60; Pausan., viii. 14, 8; &c.

fact her local epithet of Parthenia. That the worship of Hera at Samos was very ancient we may well believe. That it was older than the Hellenic occupation of the island seems certain, in view of the extra-mural situation of the Heraeum, and considering the peculiar character of the Samian goddess, who is clearly very different from the Hera of Homer and of Argos, and closely akin to the great feminine deities of the Asiatic mainland.

The form in which Hera appears on Samian coins of Imperial times, a form of which we shall have hereafter to speak in detail, bears a close resemblance to the well-known shape of the Ephesian Artemis. And although we are unable, perhaps through loss of historical records, to trace at Samos as at Ephesus the existence of a college of priests and a hieratic organization, yet we can scarcely doubt of their existence, at least in early times. It seems, indeed, to have been almost arbitrary what deity of the Hellenic Pantheon was identified by the Greek settlers in this or that city of Asia with the Asiatic goddess whom they so frequently found in possession of the spot, and whom they felt obliged to make their own under some name or other. At Ephesus and Perga the Greeks gave to the local goddess the name of Artemis, at Aphrodisias that of Aphrodite, at Ilypapa probably that of Persephone. And indeed the prevailing type of goddess in Asia Minor resembled in some respect each of these Hellenic consins. Like Artemis, she was mistress of the moon, and rejoiced in wild and waste places; like Aphrodite, she was patroness of sexual desire; like Persephone, she ruled the springing of the crops, and represented the invigorating force of moisture in spring. That she should be called Hera at Samos is not strange. Like Hera, she was queenly and motherly; Hera also, like her, was the goddess of mar-

riages, and in some phases by no means unconnected with the moon.

Even in classical Greek times, when the Samian goddess was, alike by her island votaries and Greeks generally, regarded as the true Hera of the Greek Olympus, and when to her were transferred all the mythical stories of Homer and Hesiod and the mythographers, yet she still retained traces of Oriental origin, or at least a quite distinctive and peculiar character. She was emphatically the bride, the bride of Zeus, the patroness of marriages, of matrimony, and of child-birth. Her image was constantly covered with the nuptial veil, and her most frequent suppliants were virgins about to wed and wives who wished or expected to become mothers. Mystically she was connected with the life and growth of nature, and more especially with that moon which was the power of moisture, and which ruled the seasons of gestation.

But Hera, although the chief, was by no means the sole deity of the island. Next to her in importance stood, not as we might expect Zeus, but Apollo Pythius, whose veneration at Samos is mentioned in the Homeric hymn,⁹ as well as by Pausanias.¹⁰ Polyxates is said to have consecrated Rhenea to Apollo, and to have contemplated a magnificent festival in his honour. Artemis Καρποφόρος¹¹ was also venerated in the island, but this goddess was more potent in early than in later days. It was Samian settlers, as will be shown below, who founded in Crete a temple of Artemis Dictynna in the time of Polyxates. But later, Artemis, as was natural, tended more and more to become a faint reflex of the reigning deity.

⁹ *In Apollin.*, 41.

¹¹ *Heeych.*, s.v.

¹⁰ *ii.*, 31.

No Ionian city would be complete without a sanctuary of Poseidon. The Poseidion of Samos was situate on the cape of the same name,¹² and doubtless received full share of honour and of sacrifice from the people, Samos being one of the Ionian cities which sent representatives to the Temple of Poseidon, at the base of Mycale. Poseidon's son, Ancaeus, was celebrated in Samian legend. There were other cults in Samos, as to the foundation of which we have more precise information; that of Hermes *Καπιδόρης* was founded by Leogoras; that of Dionysus *Κεχηνός* by Elpis, on his return from Libya;¹³ that of Zeus Eleutherius by Mæandrius, when tidings of the death of the cruel Polycrates reached the island. Several shrines were due to the piety of the Athenian settlers in Samos. Such was the temple of Aphrodite in the Marsh, erected by the Athenian courtesans who accompanied the army of Pericles when he besieged Samos, and who wrested from his victorious captains part of the booty of war. Such was the temple of Demeter, and that of Athene, of which a memorial still survives in the inscription,¹⁴ *Ὅρος τεμένεος Ἀθηνῶν Ἀθηνῶν μεδεούσης*.

Of the literary and artistic glories of Samos I must not speak; of Rhæcus and Theodorus, the archaic workers in bronze; of Pythagoras, one of the greatest of the Greeks, driven from home by the tyranny of Polycrates to seek wisdom in east and west; of Mandrocles, who built the bridge of Darius over the Bosphorus; of Timanthes, the great painter; of Asius the poet, and Duris the historian. Of more importance is it, from our point of view, to record the voyage of Colæus, who is said to have passed,

first of Greek mariners, between the Pillars of Heracles, and brought back from the shores of the Atlantic such wealth that he could dedicate, at a cost of six talents, the tenth of his profit, a huge krater in the temple of Hera. From such hardy voyages as this sprang the wealth of the Samians, as well as from the manufacture of pottery, for which the soil of their island was peculiarly fitted, and which they exported largely down to Roman times. Thus, without possessing large territory or great resources in corn and cattle, the island became prosperous and great, and but for the sudden rise of Athens might have established on the shores of Asia a maritime empire not less extensive than that controlled by Pericles himself.

PERIOD I.—To B.C. 494.

In approaching the history of Samos it is well that I should at once state the limits within which the present article must be confined. To narrate in detail the course of Samian affairs would be a task which would far transcend the limits of this paper. And it would be in some respects a superfluous toil, as there already exists in German a laborious history of the island by Panofka.¹⁵ More accessible is the fairly complete account of Samian history in Lacroix's *Iles de la Grèce*;¹⁶ and an English reader may find all the more stirring episodes of Samian history narrated in Grote, and in Smith's *Dictionaries of Biography and Geography*. I shall therefore content myself with indicating in the slightest manner the main episodes of Samian history. Only under the

¹² Strabo, xiv. p. 637.

¹³ Below, under *Coin-types*.

¹⁴ *C. I. G.* No. 2246.

¹⁵ Berlin, 1822.

¹⁶ *L'Univers Pittoresque*.

following circumstances shall I speak of them in any detail: either when the discovery of inscriptions has of recent years thrown a fresh light on any of the events of which history is made up, or when the arrangement of coins in this way or that must depend on the manner in which history is read.

The best account of mythical Samian history is that given by Pausanias,¹⁷ on the testimony of Asius, the Samian poet, son of Amphiptolemus. This writer relates that Phœnix became, by Perimeda, daughter of Oeneus, father of Astypalaea and Europa, of whom the former bore to Poseidon Anceus, king of the Leleges. Anceus wedded Samia, daughter of Meander, and was father of Samos, eponymous hero of the island. These traditions, whether the invention of Asius or not, were certainly current in the island, for Anceus, son of Poseidon, figures prominently on late coins. It will, however, be scarcely worth our while to examine how many grains of truth the tale may hold, whether the introduction of the name of Phœnix really implies traditions of a Phœnician colony, and whether there was actually identity of race between the people of Samos and those of the Meander valley. The river Meander was a great local divinity, who frequently appears on Ionian coins, and Mandro—is a not unfrequently beginning of Samian names. In the same way I shall not attempt to decide whether the cultus of Poseidon was introduced into the island by the Ionian colonists, or existed earlier. Pausanias goes on to say that the primitive inhabitants were not expelled by the Ionian colony which came under the leadership of Procles, but rather received the new comers into fellow-

¹⁷ vii. 4.

ship, as well, we may add, as into the rank of the servants of Hera. In the next generation the Ionian settlers of Ephesus, under their leader Androclus, made war on the Samians and their king Leogoras, alleging as the pretext that they aided the Carians in their opposition to the Hellenic colonists. The Samians were expelled from their island: part went to dwell at Samothrace, part, with Leogoras himself, established Anea on the Ionian coast, whence returning after ten years they recovered their native island. Here, again, it may be doubted whether we are reading history: the flight to Anea and return thence seem too closely to resemble the exile and return of the oligarchic and democratic factions which so frequently recur in the annals of the island. Yet, on the other hand, there are indications of a close and original connection between Ephesus and Samos. As we shall hereafter see, several of the types of Imperial times are common to both cities, and Androclus was certainly venerated at Samos as one of her founders. The reality of the colonization of Samothrace will be discussed later: in its favour there are some arguments, though scarcely of a convincing character. But whether there was real connection between the Asiatic and the Thracian Samos or not, it seems unlikely that any value is to be attached to the tradition of a connection of the Asiatic island with Cephallenia, which is in Homer called Same.¹⁸ Iamblichus,¹⁹ for instance, says that Anceus founded the Cephallenian Same first, and afterwards, in consequence of an oracle, moved to Samos. But when we reflect that Samos probably means merely a lofty or conspicuous place, if connected with *cēma* (σῆμα), we may readily believe that

¹⁸ *Odyss.*, ix. 24, &c.
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¹⁹ *Vit. Pythag.*, i. 2.
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κατακράμεν ἥν κ' ἐθέλησθα—where the reference no doubt is to Hera's functions in child-birth. We have too an account, on the authority of Tertullian,²⁹ of a statue of Hera at Argos beneath the feet of which was a lion's skin.

When, however, we turn from the Argive Hera to those Asiatic lunar and maternal deities with which the Samian Hera was certainly connected, we find the lion as a very usual accompaniment. In the worship of Cybele in Phrygia and Atergatis at Hierapolis the lion played an important part. The representations of Cybele as seated on a lion, or between two lions, are too common to need more detailed mention, while for the association of the lion with the goddess of Hierapolis I need but refer the reader to the learned paper of M. Six in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1878. There could thus be nothing extraordinary in interpreting a lion or a lion's head at Samos as one of the symbols of Hera. But it is noteworthy that what we have on our coins is not a lion's head of the ordinary sort, but the skin of a lion's head, in short a lion's scalp. When this skin is represented in profile it takes the form of a lion's head with mouth wide open, probably because an actual scalp in profile would be unsightly, but in no certain coin of Samos have we either a lion's head facing, or a lion's head in profile with the mouth shut. This fact seems to me important. A lion's scalp would naturally belong to Heracles; but we do not hear of a special cult of Heracles at Samos. We find, indeed, on late coins of the Samian colony of Perinthus a figure of Heracles with the inscription Ἰώνων τὸν κτίστην; but these are scarcely sufficient as a ground for supposing Heracles to have been one of the chief deities at Samos.

²⁹ *De Corona*, 7.

An altogether different way of accounting for the lion's scalp has been adopted by some writers, as Lacroix.³⁰ There was current at Samos a story of one Elpis, a merchant, who visited the coast of Libya. Once when he had landed there he was surprised by a huge lion who gaped upon him in a fear-inspiring manner. The text of Pliny, who tells the story,³¹ is very corrupt, but it runs, so far as can be made out, that this gaping was the result of some accident to the lion's teeth, to remove which he mutely begged the aid of Elpis. This being granted, the lion in gratitude supplied the merchant with venison during his stay in Africa. On his return to Samos he erected a temple to Dionysus, on whom in his first terror he had called; and this temple was said to be of Dionysus Κεχηνῶς, the Gaper, from the gaping of the lion's jaws. The story is without a date, and probably an invention; we should even doubt whether it established the existence of a temple of Dionysus Κεχηνῶς at Samos, but for the parallel occurrence of an Apollo Κεχηνῶς at Elis.³² Certainly it seems not impossible that the symbol of the lion's scalp may be connected with this peculiar form of Dionysus, especially if at Samos, as in some parts of Asia Minor, Dionysus was regarded as a sun-god, in which case he would in the island take the place of Heracles and adopt his symbols. We must leave the question unsettled in the hope that the discovery of inscriptions may hereafter solve the difficulty.

As it is uncertain to which deity belongs the lion's scalp, so it must remain doubtful with which is connected the other Samian type, the bull. That the type is really a

³⁰ *Iles de la Grèce*, p. 240.

³¹ viii. 16.

³² Leake, s.v. Samos.

the three loftiest islands of the Levant, Cephallenia, Samos, and Samothrace, acquired their common early name independently. That they would soon, in consequence of identity of name, become woven in the webs of the same tradition can surprise no one who has studied the genesis of historical legend.

There is little in Samian history to demand attention between the time of Leogoras and that of Polyocrates. Curtius makes note of the fact that Ameinocles of Corinth built triremes for Samos before the time of the Lelantian Wars, but it may be doubted whether this proves much. It is clear that in the seventh century B.C. Samos was a great naval power, as it was able to carry on war against the Megarians, in Thrace, for the protection of its colonies, such as Perinthus and other cities on that coast. On land it was by no means so powerful, waging war on equal terms with the Prienians for the possession of certain districts on the mainland, the right to which was constantly in dispute between Samos and Priene down to Roman times.

The tyranny of Polyocrates brought Samos to its highest point of external prosperity. About B.C. 536²⁰ this unscrupulous and cruel man made himself sole master of the island. He defeated the Milesians and Lesbians, pillaged and conquered the neighbouring islands, and was a valued ally of Amasis, King of Egypt. But while formidable abroad he was still more so to his own subjects, a large body of whom, destined by him to death, escaped and implored the intervention of Sparta. The delightful narrative of Herodotus records the fortunes of the embassy, the result of which was a Spartan expedi-

²⁰ Grote, ch. xxxiii.

tion against Polyocrates. But the good fortune of the tyrant carried him safely through this danger. He is said to have bought off the invaders with a quantity of coins, supposed to be of gold, but really of lead gilt. As, however, Herodotus²¹ calls this story a *μυράδος λόγος*, it can scarcely be accepted as history. The Samian exiles sailed away, and Polyocrates flourished, until he met his death at the hands of Oretes, falling the victim of a device very similar to that which he is said to have practised on the Lacedaemonians.

Of the expeditions of Polyocrates one has left traces on the coins of Cyrene. At this period Arcesilaus III., King of the Cyrenaica, was expelled by his subjects because he would not keep the laws of Demonax of Mantinea.²² He fled to Samos, and there and in Rhodes levied an army, with which, returning, he recovered his throne. We can scarcely be mistaken in finding an allusion to this expedition in the coins²³ which bear on the one side the silhouette of Cyrene and the lion's head of Samos, and on the other side the eagle's head of Ialysus; the last-mentioned type probably indicating the presence in the Samian army of Rhodians from Ialysus. Although Herodotus does not mention the participation of Polyocrates in this expedition, yet clearly it could only take place with his consent.

On the death of Polyocrates the Samians raised an altar to Zeus Eleutherius. But their liberty was of short duration; Maandrius almost immediately secured the tyranny of the island. He was driven out by Syloson, brother of Polyocrates, a friend of Darius Hystaspis, after

²¹ Hdt., iii. 56.

²² Hdt., iv. 162.

²³ Müller, *Nom. de l'anc. Afrique*, vol. i. p. 18.

a severe conflict, in which the best blood of Samos was freely shed.²⁴ Indeed, so many of the inhabitants fell in civil war that Syloson found it necessary to replenish the population with colonists from Lemnos and Byzantium, and even with liberated slaves. It is noteworthy that great internal convulsions of this kind in Greek cities seldom leave any mark on the coin. Tyrants, aristocracies, and democracies succeed each other; the people are almost destroyed by external or internal violence, and their numbers are replenished by immigration, but monetary types and weight remain unchanged. The reason is to be found in the nature of coin-types, which are in origin religious, so that a change in them would be resented as an impiety, and avoided as an omen of evil.

The son of Syloson, *Æaces*, was tyrant of Samos at the time of the Ionian Revolt. He was a friend of Darius, and the aristocracy of the island was favourable to the Persians. Not so the democracy, which was intensely Hellenic in tendency. Hence frequent conflicts and bitter animosity. Aristagoras of Miletus landed on the island to expel *Æaces* and set up popular government. But there were two feelings in the Samian fleet. At the battle of Lade the majority of the Samian vessels, having come to terms with *Æaces*, who was in the Persian fleet, turned traitors;²⁵ only eleven ships remained faithful to the Ionian cause, their captains refusing to obey the order to retreat, and taking bold share in the battle. The names of these eleven trierarchs were by the Samians inscribed on a monument set up in the market-place, and still standing there in the time of Herodotus. But the disaster

²⁴ Hdt., iii. 149.

²⁵ Hdt., vi. 18.

of Lade was of course followed by the restoration of *Æaces* at Samos. Those of the popular party who had most cause to dread his anger did not await his return, but sailed away to Rhegium, in South Italy.

THE PRINCIPAL SAMIAN COIN-TYPES.

In the majority of cases we are at no loss, even for an instant, to determine the meaning and reference of the types on early Greek coins. No one hesitates to say that the owl at Athens belongs to the cultus of Athene, and represents her authority, or that the tripod at Croton is the symbol of Apollo. But there are many exceptions to this general rule, and none more striking than that of the Samian coinage. For we cannot be by any means certain of the meaning of the most usual types of the island, or tell to what deity they properly belong.

To begin with the lion's scalp. In very rare instances the lion appears on monuments as the symbol of the Hellenic Hera.²⁶ Thus on an unpublished early vase at Girgenti, in the scene of the Judgment of Paris, Hera is accompanied by a lion, and in a later red-figured vase-painting representing the same scene,²⁷ the goddess carries a lion on her hand. This circumstance is supposed by Welcker to refer to the promises made to Paris by Hera of sovereignty in Asia, and there seems reason in this, though we must also observe the appositeness of the line of Homer²⁸ quoted by Preller, in which Hera is herself called a lion—*ἐπεὶ σε λέοντα γυναῖξιν Ζεὺς ἔθηκεν καὶ ἔδωκε*

²⁶ Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.*, iii. 35.

²⁷ Gerhard, *Ant. Bildw.*, pl. 33, where the whole subject is discussed with references.

²⁸ Il. xxi. 483.

bull and not a cow may be considered fairly certain, the thickness of the neck being a strong indication. The bull, however, never appears complete on Samian coins, but always his fore part only, with two legs bent as in swimming. Possibly he may stand for a river-god, as does the fore part of the man-headed bull at Gela, in Sicily. In this case his truncation would have a meaning, as we may see by comparing the coins of Pherae, where the fountain Hypereia issues as a half-horse from rocks, the remainder of the animal being hidden in the source. We have the type of a river-god recurring not unfrequently on Imperial coins of Samos, a river-god who may be sometimes Mæander, much venerated on the Ionian coast, but who is sometimes on Imperial coins termed Imbrasmus, the stream beside which Hera was said to have been born.

But it is also possible that the bull may belong to the cultus of Hera. I do not venture to pronounce for the soundness of the view that Hera *βοῶπις* was in early days represented with the head of a cow like the Egyptian Athor and Isis, but apart from that theory it can easily be shown that Hera was connected with oxen. The mountain by her Argive temple was called Eubœa. White cows were sacrificed to the goddess. And Io, who is in many ways her double, was consistently thought of by the Greeks as a heifer. A cow, however, is not a bull; and we ought perhaps to hesitate to say that the latter is a Heraic symbol. Indeed, the bull is more closely connected with Artemis than Hera. There was a temple of Artemis Tauropolos at Samos,³³ and the festivals held in honour of that goddess are not unknown in the history of the island. But in Samos, as in many parts of Asia,

³³ Stephanus Byzant., s.v. Ταυροπόλιον.

Hera and Artemis were not fully distinguished, both being alike called Chesia and Imbrasia, and both bearing many traces of oriental origin.

But with whatever name of Greek deities we connect lion and bull at Samos, there can be little doubt that the conjunction of the two here, as at Abdera in Thrace, Tarsus, Citium in Cyprus, and many other places, embodies one of the oldest ideas of oriental religion, the conflict of heat and of moisture, whence originate all life and growth.

Scarcely less usual than lion and bull on the coins of Samos is the forepart of a galley. Those used to the representations of Greek ships will, however, at once notice that the galley of Samos is of peculiar form. It has a long projecting beak which looks in profile like the snout of a boar. The end of it was no doubt sharpened to cut the waves and to split open hostile galleys, the top of it was vaulted like a duck's back to throw off heavy waves to right and left. No doubt all Greek galleys had a prow designed to act as a ram, but that at Samos is abnormally long, and the deck is very high and much protected; the whole vessel looks thoroughly sound and sea-going. The ancients tell us that Polycrates was the inventor of the Samian war-galley³⁴ (*Σάμανα*): that the people were proud of it is proved by the statement of Plutarch³⁵ that the Samians branded their Athenian captives with a galley, thus stamping them as state-property, while the Athenians on their part marked their captives with the Athenian owl. But it must be observed that from B.C. 490 onwards, the galley is a frequent type of the coins, which it could scarcely be unless some religious meaning

³⁴ Athenæus, 540 e.

³⁵ *Pericles*, 26.

attached to it. To what deity then was it sacred? One would naturally suppose that in an Ionian city it could scarcely be the symbol of any deity save Poseidon. And yet it seems more probable that at Samos sea-faring was under the patronage of Hera. To this opinion several circumstances point. A galley is frequently the reverse type of the coins, the obverse of which bears a head of Hera, and on some coins the peacock of Hera stands on the galley. It was in the temple of Hera that was stored the krater of Colaüs and other records of long voyages; also votive props themselves, as we may see from Pl. V., 1. In fact, Hera seems at Samos to have occupied the same position in regard to navigation as was occupied at Sidon by the similar Astarte.

The peacock appears on Samian coins as an adjunct or symbol on earlier, and as a type on later coins. As to the significance of this bird there is no doubt; peacocks were kept in the Heraeum at Samos, and native writers³⁶ declared that the bird was autochthonous to the island, and thence exported to other regions. In Argive legends we find in primitive times a connection between Hera and peacocks which shows early influence of Samos on the Argive cultus. Frequently on late Samian coins the sceptre, which belongs to Hera as queen of the Olympian circle, occurs in conjunction with the peacock; and on a late coin we find the figure of a peacock with the inscription HPHC (Period IX.), which clearly marks the bird as belonging to the goddess.

On quite the latest autonomous pieces occur two types taken from sculpture, the figures of Hera and of Anceus.

³⁶ Menodotus, in Athenæus, xiv. p. 655.

It cannot reasonably be doubted, as Overbeck has shown,³⁷ that the archaic simulacrum, veiled, and wearing a lofty calathos on the head, which appears on Samian coins, represents the figure of the goddess by Smilis, which succeeded in the temple the primitive *σάως* or block, and remained as cultus-image even to the days of Pausanias.³⁸ The figure may seem rude compared with our notion of what Smilis ought to have produced; but the evidence is too overwhelming to allow of doubt in the identification. After all, the date of Smilis is very doubtful; and even if he were contemporary with Rheucus and Theodorus, he may have been fettered in his design by some hieratic traditions. Overbeck well remarks that the series of coins from Hadrian to Valerian, which represent the statue full-face, are far more to be relied on as giving us an accurate copy of it, than the somewhat earlier series which represent it in profile. But the same writer is wrong in his statement that the objects hanging from the outspread hands of the statue are always wooden supports. They are quite certainly and clearly in many cases, if not all, woollen fillets hanging down and ending in a tassel; see Pl. V., 1—3, and compare the figure of the Ephesian Artemis in the *Chronicle* for 1880, Pl. IX. It is, however, possible that in the statue itself wooden copies of woollen fillets may have been used to support the hands, and that these were modified in the coin representations. It is evident from our coins, and seems implied in statements by Lactantius,³⁹ that the drapery of the goddess is not part of the image, but was placed on it, removed and renewed from time to time. It was

³⁷ *Kunstmyth.*, iii. p. 14.

³⁸ *vil.* 4, 5. ³⁹ *Inst.* i. 17.

arranged as was becoming to a bride, in accordance with the character locally given to Hera. At a late period the figure stands between peacocks, or is surmounted by sun and moon, in allusion to mystical eastern ideas.

The figure of Anceus can scarcely be distinguished from that of his father Poseidon. He stands naked, holding trident and patera or dolphin. No doubt here too we have a copy of a celebrated statue.

In describing the coins of Period I, we begin with those in electrum; our weights are given in Troy grains.

ELECTRUM OF SAMOS.

PHENICIAN STANDARD.

1. *Obv.*—Forepart of bull, r., looking back.

Rev.—Incuse square of four compartments.

(B.M.) El. Wt. 217.

(Found at Samos—Borrell, *Num. Chron.*, vii. Pl. I. 1. 72).

2. *Obv.*—Lion's head, facing.

Rev.—Incuse square.

Brandis, p. 401 {(Waddington.) El. Wt. 71.8.
{(Paris.) El. Wt. 72.7. Pl. I. 2.

3. *Obv.*—Lion's head, facing.

Rev.—Incuse oblong.

Brandis, p. 401 (Sestini.) El. Wt. 85.9.

4. *Obv.*—Lion's head, facing.

Rev.—Incuse square. (B.M.) El. Wt. 17.7. Pl. I. 8.

(Brought home by Mr. Newton in 1868.)

5. *Obv.*—Bull's head, r.

Rev.—Incuse square. (Whitall.) El. Wt. 8. Pl. I. 4.
(Found at Samos.)

It is unlikely that Samos, one of the richest and most commercial cities of Ionia, would remain without a coinage after the neighbouring cities had begun to mint. But unfortunately the numismatic types belonging to Samos

are very common in early times; the lion's head appearing on the coins of Lydia, Miletus, Cnidus, Mytilene, and many other cities, and the bull or bull's head on those of Lydia and Mytilene. It thus becomes a matter of impossibility to assign to Samos with certainty any electrum coins of the early period. The very early coin No. 5, and the stater No. 1, which belongs to a far later time,⁴⁰ have the best claim to be considered as Samian, as both were found on the island. The types of both are bovine. Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are thirds, sixths, and twelfths of the stater of Phœnician standard. Their type is also uniform, a lion's head facing, and their period is early. They may be with probability given to Samos, though Mytilene has almost as good a claim.

In his paper on electrum coins,⁴¹ Mr. Head conjecturally assigns to Samos several electrum coins which follow the Phœbic standard, and are of the earliest period of minting.

ELECTRUM, PERHAPS OF SAMOS.

EUROIO STANDARD.

6. *Obv.*—Lion's head, facing.

Rev.—Oblong and triangular incuses.

(B.M.) El. Wt. 138.5.

(Found at Priene; Head, *Num. Chron.*, 1875, p. 276, pl. ix. 4.)

7. *Obv.*—Lion's head, facing, very rude.

Rev.—Quadrilateral incuse square.

(Greenwell.) El. Wt. 125.6.

8. *Obv.*—Lion's head, facing (?).

Rev.—Incuse square.

(B.M.) El. Wt. 66.2.

(Found at Mytilene;—Borrell, *Num. Chron.*, 1875, pl. ix. 5.

⁴⁰ Perhaps that of Polycrates, B. M. *Guide*, p. 4.
⁴¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1875, p. 276.

9. *Obv.*—Head of lioness, l. (?).

Rev.—Incuse square. (B.M.) El. Wt. 67.6.
(Found at Allah Shehr, in Lydia;—Borrell.)

As an explanation of the supposed use of the Euboic standard in Samos, Mr. Head remarks that "the intimate connection existing between the people of Samos and those of Eubœa, as being the two greatest maritime powers in Greece, cannot fail to have brought about an interchange of commodities which would have rendered it a matter of commercial policy to institute a similar coinage in the two islands." Hence it is likely that the standard called Euboic was derived by Eubœa through Samos from Asia. This argument may carry some weight, but is not of course at all conclusive. I must add that the types of Nos. 8 and 9 are very obscure. I have searched the notes of Mr. Borrell, from whom the Museum purchased them, to ascertain where they were found; and have discovered that No. 8 was found at Mytilene, and 9 in Lydia, facts which are not indeed fatal to the Samian attribution, but certainly detract from its probability. Even No. 6, which was found on the mainland opposite Samos, was in a small hoard whereof the other pieces did not belong to Samos. Mr. Head's theory therefore remains a theory.

ELECTRUM, NOT OF SAMOS,

BUT SOMETIMES ATTRIBUTED TO THE ISLAND.

1. *Obv.*—Bull's head, l.

Rev.—Incuse square.

(Prok.-Osten, *Inedita*, 1854, pl. iv. 12.) El. Wt. 40.
(Allier de Hanteroche, pl. xvi. 9.)

Probably a Phocæan hecte, though the phoca does not

appear on the coin. Many of the Samian types appear on Phocæan hectæ; for instance, fore-part of bull swimming or looking back, lion's head, ram's head.

2. *Obv.*—Bull, r., looking, l.

Rev.—Incuse square. (Paris. Brandis, p. 401.) El. Wt. 10.1.

From its weight this coin would seem to be a Phocæan twenty-fourth. On inquiring for it at the Bibliothèque Nationale, I was told it could not be traced; probably therefore it is in some other Paris collection.

3. *Obv.*—Bull walking, r., with head lowered.

Rev.—Three incuses, with star-like ornament.
(Paris.) El. Wt. 216.

Published by M. Fr. Lenormant, *Monn. des Lagides*, pl. viii., 8; Brandis, p. 401. Almost certainly a coin of Lydia, the incuse being Lydian. Nor does the type of a *walking* bull belong properly to Samos.

There is a large and well-known class of hectæ of electrum of Phocaic standard, weighing about forty grains, which bear on one side an animal type in relief and on the other side another animal type incuse, together with a small incuse oblong. These, most numismatic writers have considered to be alliance coins, struck in concert by pairs of cities on the Asiatic coast. Brandis,⁴² in accord with earlier writers, gives the following varieties to alliances between Samos and other cities:—

Samos and Lesbos.

4. *Obv.*—Lion's head, or panther's head.

Rev.—Calf's head, incuse.

⁴² *Münzwesen*, pp. 260, 415.

But here again the evidence in favour of such attribution is very slight. Brandis does not describe the coins in detail, but some of them seem to belong to quite other series than that of Samos. The coin with the half-horse is found at Rhodes, and may belong to Lindus; that with the sphinx may be of Perga. The pieces with the type of half a winged boar and those with ram's head come, as we shall hereafter see, into the regular Samian series.

It appears, then, that there is no sufficient evidence to prove that Samos issued either electrum or silver coins in early times in alliance with neighbouring cities.

Leake⁴⁶ remarks that there are certain electrum coins of the class lately described, which bear as an adjunct to the obverse type a small peacock in the field, and that these are certainly to be given to Samos. Most numismatists are, however, now agreed that the creature called by Leake a peacock, is really a cock, in which case Dardanus is a more probable attribution than Samos. But it may be doubted whether either Samos or Dardanus can claim these coins, for we have already cited a specimen, No. 11, which bears the cock as adjunct, and yet is inscribed with the letters ΛE , and so must in all probability have been issued by a mint of the island of Lesbos. It is indeed not improbable that all electrum coins with an incuse type on the reverse are Lesbian; this peculiarity of fabric may have been the recognised *signa* of the Lesbian mint, just as the phoca in the field is the mint mark of Phocæa and the tunny of Oryzæus. This, however, is only a probable opinion, which must be hereafter either disproved or established by a more

⁴⁶ *Num. Hellen. Suppl.*, Asia, p. 91.

searching investigation. I am the more disposed to adopt it on learning that it is held by M. Six.

There is one other coin of this class which has been given, though without special reason, to Samos.

15. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas, r., in crested helmet.

Rev.—Lion's face, incuse. (B.M.) El. Wt. 88.

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer possesses a similar coin, weight 28.6, inscribed on the obverse ΛE , showing that this piece also is Lesbian.

SILVER OF PERIOD I

1. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—Incuse square. (B.M.) R. Wt. 30.1. El. 1.5.

2. *Obv.*—Head and neck of bull, r.

Rev.—Incuse square. (Whitall.) R. Wt. 89. Pl. I. 6.

3. *Obv.*—Forepart of bull, r.

Rev.—Incuse square.

(Pinder and Friedländer, *Beiträge*, p. 71, pl. i. 1.)

R. Wt. 25.

⁴⁷ Be-struck on an early coin of Cnidus, part of the Cnidian forepart of a lion still visible: found at Elmali, in Armenia.

4. *Obv.*—Bull's head, r.

Rev.—Incuse square. (Whitall.) R. Wt. 9.

Variety of *obv.* Bull's head, l. (Whitall.) Wt. 9. Pl. I. 7.

The attribution of all of these coins to Samos is very doubtful. The type of No. 1, a lion's scalp with the jaws on both sides, looks Samian, though the type is also found in Lycia. But the weight does not follow the Samian standard. No. 3, on the other hand, might well be a hemidrachm, and No. 4 an obol of Samian weight.

The coins next to be described are certainly Samian, with the exception of No. 8, where again a doubt is suggested by the weight.

5. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.
Rev.—Bull's head, r., in incuse square.
 (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 188.3 Pl. I. 8.
 " " 200.2
 " " 201.2
6. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.
Rev.—AΞ. Bull's head, l., in incuse square.
 (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 183. Pl. I. 9.
7. *Obv.*—Forepart of bull, r.
Rev.—Lion's head, r., in incuse square.
 (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 101.2. Pl. I. 10.
8. *Obv.*—Head of bull, r.
Rev.—Lion's head, r., in incuse square.
 (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 12.5. Pl. I. 11.
9. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.
Rev.—Head of bull, l., in incuse square.
 (Imhoof.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 14.8.
10. Types as last.
 (Bunbury.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 9.
11. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.
Rev.—Head of bull, r., in incuse square.
 (Imhoof.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 15.8.
12. Types as last. (Imhoof.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 6.7. Pl. I. 12.

The following early silver coins are probably not of Samos, but are here added for fear their omission should be attributed to oversight:—

1. *Obv.*—Forepart of bull, r., swimming.
Rev.—Incuse square. (*Num. Chron.*, 1875, pl. ix. 6).
 (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 185.

2. *Obv.*—Lion's head, facing.
3. *Obv.*—Lion's head, with open mouth, r.
Rev.—Incuse square. (*Ibid.*, p. 277.)
 (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 63.1.
Rev.—Incuse oblong; with smaller incuse beside it.
 (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 80.8.
4. *Obv.*—Lion's head, facing.
Rev.—Incuse square, divided into four.
 (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 9.5 to 8.

The types of these coins are not absolutely Samian. No. 1 is not of Samian style, and the lion's scalp on Nos. 2 and 4 lacks the flanking jaws which regularly accompany the device at Samos. All follow the Attic or Euboic standard, and this seems a reason against assigning them to the island, but by no means a conclusive one. Mr. Head is inclined⁴⁶ to assign 1 and 2 to Samos, and remarks on the close connection which existed between Samos and Eubœa in early times as a reason why it is not unreasonable to expect the Euboic standard in Samos. No. 3 is in fabric closely like an electrum coin. Its attribution is quite doubtful. I have been unable to discover where 1, 2, 3 were found. Several specimens of 4 were brought home by Mr. Newton, which is in favour of their origin in Lesbos.

5. *Obv.*—Lion's head, facing.
Rev.—Two incuse oblongs. (De Luynes.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 9.

This coin is given to Samos by Brandis.⁴⁷ The incuse of its reverse, however, reminds us rather of Rhodes than of Samos, and the type would suit the town of Lindus in that island.

⁴⁶ *Num. Chron.* 1875, p. 277.

⁴⁷ P. 467.

6. *Obv.*—Foreparts of two bulls butting at one another.

Rev.—Forepart of bull, l., in incuse square.

(B.M.) R. Wt. 33·5.

Other specimens weigh from 33·8 to 28·2. One specimen has in the field of reverse $\vee \times$, and a second has $\times$. The coin with $\vee \times$ was attributed wrongly by Payne Knight⁴⁸ to Chytri, in Cyprus. Borrell, a far superior authority, gives these coins to Samos; but, perhaps, considering their weight and the fact that sometimes they are of base metal, Lesbos is a more probable attribution.

THE COLONIES OF SAMOS.

It is a fact, notable, though sometimes overlooked, that the permanence of coin types constituted a bond between Greek mother city and colony. The proof is as follows:—In the case of colonies founded before the mother city possessed a coinage, the colony, when it began to issue money, assumed new types, usually quite different from those of the metropolis, and for the most part belonging to a cultus local to the place where the colony was founded. In the case, on the other hand, of colonies founded by cities possessing an organized monetary system, it was usual for the colony to preserve alike the types and the monetary system of the metropolis. Thus types and weight of Corcyra, founded by Corinth about B.C. 700, are quite different from those of the metropolis, while Apollonia and Epidamnus, colonies of Corcyra founded at a later date, preserve a strictly Corcyrean character. The coins of Ephesus, founded by the Athenian Androclus in very early times, show no trace of Athenian influence; those

⁴⁸ P. 162, 1.

of Thurium, founded by Athenians in the time of Pericles, bear the head of Athene, and are of Attic weight. Instances might easily be indefinitely multiplied. This distinction holds also with coins of the Samian colonies, as we shall have shortly to show.

The earliest colonies of Samos of which mention is made are Samothrace and Anæa. The historical reality of the Samothracian colony might be disputed, especially as Strabo⁴⁹ says that the tradition of such a colony was invented by the Samians for the sake of the credit, *δόξης χάριν*. Antiphon is the authority for the story. Professor Conze, however, the best modern authority on Samothrace, thinks it probably true.⁵⁰ He suggests that if the people of Paros colonised Thasos—and this rests on good authority—a Samian occupation of the neighbouring Samothrace becomes not unlikely. Moreover, the oldest of the Samothracian temples lies outside the walls of the chief city in the north of the island, a fact which certainly seems to show that the city was built by supervening colonists from some Greek city or other, and Samos has the best claim. The coins of Samothrace bear types belonging to the cultus of Cybele, of Hermes, and of Pallas. The two former deities are local to the Thracian coast; Pallas probably shows Athenian influence. But all Samothracian coins are late, and on the principle above laid down we should not expect them to resemble the Samian, even if the island were occupied by Samian colonists.

Anæa was the chief town in the Samian Peræa, which extended along the Ionian shore between Mycale and the sea. In after-days this town was more than once occupied by a defeated and exiled Samian faction, notably

⁴⁹ P. 457.

⁵⁰ *Samothrace*, ii. 106.

by the aristocratic party, to whom most of the land on the continent probably belonged. The possession of Anea and the neighbouring lands was to the Samians a continual source of trouble and of war with Priene and Miletus. But though Anea and Samos were often bitterly hostile one to the other, Anea never struck coins; or at least we know of none which we can attribute to the town.

Two great Greek cities of Cilicia, Nagidus and Celen-deris, are said to have been colonies of Samos.⁵¹ From very early times these two cities kept up the issue of beautiful and well-executed coins, a sign alike of their wealth and of their different nationality from the races around them. The Cilicians were probably of Semitic race,⁵² and enjoyed a very ill reputation in antiquity. But Nagidus and Celen-deris may, on the testimony of their coins—for scarcely anything else is known about them—be classed as purely Greek cities, civilised and art-loving, and possessed, no doubt, of the civic institutions which were the distinguishing mark of Greek cities everywhere. That the coins should have nothing in common with those of Samos, as regards types and weight, would be not unnatural if their foundation was, as is probable, very early. But in Cilicia itself there was brought to M. Waddington⁵³ a very remarkable silver piece, which may have been struck either at Celenderis or Nagidus. M. Waddington thus describes it:—

Obv.—Édifice en maçonnerie régulière, avec trois créneaux, surmontés chacun de trois petites pointes; dans chaque intervalle, entre les créneaux, il y a une pointe semblable.

⁵¹ Pomponius Mela, i. 13.

⁵² Hdt., vii. 91; and Rawlinson's comments.

⁵³ *Voyage en Asie M^{re}*, Numismatique, p. 146, pl. x. No. 7.

Rev.—Partie antérieure d'un bœuf agenouillé à droite, dans un carré creux peu profond. Poids: gr. 11.065 (170.8 grains).

The weight of this coin is that usual on the Cilician coast; the bull on the reverse is closely like the bull on Samian coins; the tower or city on the obverse is a type which we find not unfrequently on coins of Phoenicia, and on the Cilician coins attributed by the Duc de Luynes to Abd-Sohar.⁵⁴ Thus everything points to its issue by a Samian colony in Cilicia. M. Waddington conjecturally gives Nagidus a preferential claim. If it belong to that city it is an exceptional piece interrupting the regular coinage, and probably issued on some occasion when the people of Nagidus had occasion to appeal for aid to their mother city, an occasion similar to that on which the people of Syracuse struck with the types of Corinth.⁵⁵

As early as the seventh century we have mention of Perinthus as a Samian colony, and as a cause of quarrel between the Samians and the Megarian founders of Byzantium. In penetrating the Propontis the Samians only followed the example of their Milesian rivals, and, in fact, acted on the general belief of the Greeks, that the road to national wealth lay there. Besides Perinthus they founded in the same district Bisanthe and Heraum-Teichos, and in fact occupied and held the coast for a considerable distance. But from some cause or other the Samian colonies of the Propontis did not prosper like Cyzicus and Byzantium. They have left us coins only of a period later than that of Alexander the Great. In such

⁵⁴ De Luynes, *Satrapies*, pl. iv. 2, 3, 4. The attribution is disputed. Cf. *B. M. Guide*, p. 40, No. 40.

⁵⁵ Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 28.

type is the head of the moon-goddess, whom we may reasonably call Dictynna. Why the Samians chose her rather than Hera for the honour of a temple we know not; it is, however, most probable that they found her already in possession of the site, and only religiously accepted her title to it. Stephanus of Byzantium says⁶³ that the Samians, probably those expelled from Cydonia, founded Dicæarchia in Campania, afterwards Puteoli; but this can scarcely be true, for not only have we the explicit statement of Herodotus that the Samians were not expelled, but reduced to slavery; but also we know, on good testimony,⁶⁴ that Dicæarchia was a Cumæan colony. It has been suggested by Mr. Millingen⁶⁵ that the lion's face, which is a frequent type on early coins of Gortyna in Crete, may have been adopted in consequence of the influence of Samian settlers in Crete. Of this, however, there is no proof, and the distance between Cydonia and Gortyna is considerable.

One Samian colony remains for mention which was founded in later times, and has, in accordance with our canon, left us an interesting numismatic record. When, after the suppression of the Ionian revolt in B.C. 494, the tyrant *Ææces* returned to Samos with Persian troops, the members of the democratic party, who had most to fear from his animosity, took sail and fled towards the West. They were invited by the Sicilian Greeks to settle at Calacte, but on their way, landing at the Italian Locri, they were persuaded by Anaxilaus, ruler of Rhegium, to accept his protection; and, in conjunction with him and his Messenian colonists of Rhegium, they made a piratical

⁶³ *s.v.* Πουρίολοι.

⁶⁵ *Sylloge*, p. 61.

⁶⁴ Strabo, 245, &c.

descent on the opposite Sicilian shore. They seized the Greek city of Zancle, slaying the men and seizing their houses with the women and children—no uncommon procedure in early Greek history. The Samians held Zancle for some time, until they were expelled by their former patron, Anaxilaus. There are difficulties in connection with this story of which I have already spoken in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.⁶⁶ But we find at the beginning of the fifth century both at Rhegium and at Zancle, of which the name was changed by Anaxilaus to Messana, coins of Sicilian weight which bear on one side the face of a lion and on the other the head of a calf, with the names of the respective cities; and these types are so closely similar to those usual in the Samian coinage, and so dissimilar from anything in use in Sicily and Magna Græcia, that we can scarcely hesitate to see in them traces of Samian influence. In Zancle we have a change of name and of monetary standard at the same time that the types change, indicating an entirely new departure at the city in consequence of the Samian conquest. In the circumstances it seems natural that into that city the conquerors should introduce coins nearly like those to which they were accustomed, only of the standard of weight now universal in Sicily. This reasoning, however, does not apply nearly so well to the introduction of Samian types at Rhegium, a city which the Samians did not conquer, but where they only dwelt for a time as guests, if indeed history is to be trusted.

It has been supposed of late that a fresh memorial of the Samian immigration is to be found in the coins described below (Pl. I., Nos. 17, 18), which bear on one

⁶⁶ 1876, p. 6.

side the scalp of a lion, on the other a ship's prow. N. Sambon has stated ⁶⁷ that some tetradrachms of this class were found near Messina, in Sicily, in a hoard, together with coins of Messenā and Rhegium of Samian types, four early coins of Acanthus, in Macedon, and some twenty archaic tetradrachms of Athens. In favour of their issue in Sicily is the weight (Attic); but the circumstance that the scalp rather than the head of a lion is depicted on them points rather to Samos than Messana. Whether, however, they issued from Asiatic or Sicilian mint, they may reasonably be given to the period about B.C. 490, and they would be likely coins for the Samian colonists to carry with them in their flight. Dr. von Sallet, by a hypothesis bold yet scarcely to be called rash, maintains that these coins were minted in Samos for the colonists on their departure. He further thinks that the composition of the hoard of coins above mentioned indicates the route taken by the emigrants, and that they probably called first at Acanthus and then at Athens on their way to Italy. I ought to add that Dr. Friedländer gives the coins to a later period.⁶⁸

PERIOD II.—B.C. 494—439.

Xerxes was succeeded as tyrant of Samos by Theomestor, whom Xerxes set over the island as a reward for the bravery which he displayed at the battle of Salamis. He was ruler at the time of the battle of Mycale, to which great feat of arms the Samians, according to Herodotus,⁶⁹

⁶⁷ See Von Sallet's remarks in *Zeitschr. f. Numism.*, iii. 135; and V. 103.

⁶⁸ *Zeitschr. f. Numism.*, iv. 17.

⁶⁹ ix. 90.

contributed not a little. The Greek fleet, under Leotychides, was stationed at Delos, when it was by Samian messengers persuaded to cross over to the Asiatic mainland and attack the Persian fleet there, an expedition crowned with the most splendid success. And this victory was the beginning of an era of prosperity to the Samians. Their shipping was famed in many seas, and so great was their warlike power that they alone, with the Chians and Lesbians, became free and equal members of the Athenian confederacy, paying no tribute, but only furnishing a naval force. But this independence led to their downfall. In opposition to the Prieniens, and even to the people of Miletus, who took the part of the Prieniens, the Samians grasped and retained territory on the mainland under Mount Mycale. The worsted Milesians applied to Athens for redress, and it is said that they found in their countrywoman, Aspasia, an effective pleader of their cause in the eyes of Pericles, then all-powerful at Athens. But apart from such influences there was quite enough in the position and pretensions of Samos to alarm the jealousy of the Athenian democracy.⁷⁰ In B.C. 439 an expedition of forty ships was dispatched to the island, which established there a democratic form of government and carried off several hostages. But the hostages escaped,⁷¹ and now an open revolt against Athens took place. Pericles had to sail with a force of sixty triremes, and undertake a formal siege of the chief city, Samos. After a long and doubtful conflict the Athenians were victorious; the Samians had to raze their fortifications, to give up their war-ships, to furnish hostages, and to pay the

⁷⁰ Grote, ch. xlvii.

⁷¹ Thucyd., i. 114, 115.

cost of the war. Thenceforward we find Samos a constant ally of Athens, sending a contingent to Sicily and sharing all the Athenian ventures.

PERIOD III.—B.C. 439—394.

The period which followed the Athenian conquest of Samos was for the island a stirring time. At once it drifted into the midst of the stream of Greek politics. At first the Samians were faithful allies of Athens, and even after the reverse at Syracuse, when Chios revolted, Samos remained staunch. In all the events which preceded the battles of Ægospotami and Arginussæ, the history of Samos is the history of Greece. After the crowning victory of Lysander, and the surrender to him of Athens, the Athenians begged to be allowed to retain the supremacy of Samos, but the Spartan general refused in a bitter apophthegm which became a proverb :

Ὅς αἰὶός αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχει Σάμον θέλει.

But so great was the affection of the Samians for the Athenian alliance, that they could only be driven to give it up by the pressure of force. Lysander had to proceed to the island and besiege the chief city. He took it, and allowed the inhabitants to march out with one garment apiece; after which he abolished the democracy and set up an oligarchy under Spartan control. The patricians thus restored to power set no limits to their adulation of their Laconian patron. They set up statues in his honour both in Samos and at Olympia, and even changed the name of the festival of their great goddess from *Herea* to *Lysandria*. Pausanias,⁷² in mentioning the Olympian

⁷² vi. 3, 16.

statue, speaks with contempt of the Samians for having set up statues, within a few years, first to Alcibiades, next to Lysander, and then to Conon; but Pausanias⁷³ with justice replies that the dedications, although all by Samians, were by no means by the same persons, but by the members of factions bitterly opposed one to the other. The history of Samos, like that of nearly all Greek cities, is a continuous record of faction-fights between aristocratic and democratic parties, and of the alternate victories of each. Thus, while the popular faction poured adulation on Alcibiades and Conon, the wealthy faction heaped honours on Lysander. If we forget facts like these in our reading of Greek history, we shall greatly misunderstand it. The settlement of the island by Lysander, however, did not long last; for Conon, after his great victory over the Lacedæmonians at Chidus, in B.C. 394, at once sailed to the island, expelled the Lacedæmonian garrison, and set up once more a democracy under Athenian protection.

COINS OF PERIODS II., III.

The coins which may be assigned to the two periods under discussion are numerous, and their classification offers considerable difficulty. We are, however, assisted by valuable landmarks, and the task is by no means hopeless. To the beginning of Period II. must belong, if it be Samian, or even if it was issued by Samian colonists in Sicily, the varieties of our Nos. 1 and 2, coins of which we have already spoken.

1. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—Forepart of galley, l., in circular incuse.
(B.M.) *AR.* Wt. 267·2. P. 1. 17.

⁷³ *Samos*, p. 73.

Other specimens:—

as above (*Zfz. f. Num.* iii., pl. ii. 6.) Wt. 268.
in field, **A** (Paris) Wt. 266.
in field, **B** (Wiczay); in Wiczay Catalogue given
to Phaselis.

2. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—Forepart of galley, l., in circular incuse.
(Imhoof.) *R.* Wt. 17. Pl. I. 18.

And at the end of Period III. must be placed the coins issued by Samos as a member of the Cnidian symmachy, which will be described under Period IV. The series of coins thus limited on both sides is also, as we shall find, naturally divided in the middle. I attribute to Period II. a series of lumpyish, carelessly struck pieces, with various symbols in the field.

3. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΟΝ**. Head and neck of bull, l.
(B.M.) *R.* Wt. 196.8. Pl. I. 18.

4. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—**ΣΑ**. Head and neck of bull, r.
(B.M.) *R.* Wt. 204.4. Pl. I. 14.

Varieties of *rev.*—Various symbols in field, such as—crested helmet, astragalus, peacock, wheel, eye, amphora, acrostichum (Inscr. *ΑΣ*) (all B.M.).

5. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—**ΣΑ**. Head and neck of bull, r., and forepart of galley. (B.M.) *R.* Wt. 199.4. Pl. I. 15.

Another. (Berlin.) Wt. 198. *Zeitschr. f. Num.* v. pl. ii. 6.

6. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—**ΣΑ**. Head and neck of bull, r.; behind, olive-spray. (B.M.) *R.* Wt. 202.7. Pl. I. 16.

At first this assignment of date may arouse a doubt, for these pieces are not marked by the presence of the incuse square, which we expect to find in Asiatic

coins of the fifth century. Their fabric is, however, almost exactly like that of the earliest coins of Athens, which also frequently are without the incuse, and is so rude and untrained as to point clearly to an early epoch. The symbols in the field may be compared with those which appear on the contemporary coins of Abdera,⁷⁴ in Thrace, of the early kings of Macedon, and in a few other series of early times. Their presence suggests, though it cannot be said to prove, that the monetary magistrates of Samos in the fifth century were men of importance. One or two of them, as the forepart of a galley and the peacock, make their appearance hereafter as types and not mere symbols. The usual inscription is **ΣΑ**, but in one case we have **ΣΑΜΙΟΝ**. This last word is not to be interpreted *Σαμίον*, for the **Ω** was in use in Ionic cities earlier than B.C. 500, but *Σάμιον* (*νόμισμα*?) ; and we find parallel forms in this period elsewhere, *Κάσιον* at Cos, and *Ἐφέσιον*⁷⁵ at Ephesus. The forms of the letters in the inscription we are discussing are almost exactly the same as those used in the inscription found at Olympia on the base of the statue of Euthymus,⁷⁶ which was dedicated about B.C. 470, and executed by Pythagoras of Rhegium, who is called in the inscription *Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος*. This coincidence tends to confirm my assignment of date.

This series of coins I conceive to have lasted down to the time of the Athenian conquest. No. 5 has an olive-branch in the field; and it is hardly rash to see in this adjunct the sign of Athenian conquest, the olive being the

⁷⁴ *Cat. Gr. Coins, Thrace, &c.*, pp. 65—8.

⁷⁵ *Coinage of Ephesus*, p. 20.

⁷⁶ *Arch. Zeitschr.*, xxxvi. p. 82; Roehl, *Inscr. Gr. Antiquiss.*, No. 888.

special symbol of Athene, and appearing regularly on the Athenian coins. Henceforth all Samian large silver coins bear this adjunct.

The Athenian conquest of Samos leaves its traces not only in the introduction of the olive-spray, but in the issue of coins of Attic weight, bearing usually the monogram $\mathcal{A}$ or the letter A, and a deep, strongly struck incuse square.

7. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.— Σ AMI. Forepart of bull, r.; behind, olive-spray; ornament round bull's neck; below $\mathcal{A}$; all in incuse square. (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 260.3. Pl. II. 1.

Variety; on *rev.* prow in place of monogram.

(Waddington.) Wt. 262.

8. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.— Σ AMI. Forepart of bull, r., all in incuse square. (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 64.3. Pl. II. 2.
(Waddington.) Wt. 64.

Varieties of *rev.* :—

below $\mathcal{A}$ and olive-spray. (Imhoof.) Wt. 65.6.

below olive-spray. (Imhoof.)

But these coins of Attic standard are at Samos so rare that their issue can have lasted but a short time. They are succeeded by a series of flatter and more carefully executed coins, with shallow incuse square, and symbols in field, all of which coins are marked with the olive-branch, probably the symbol of Athenian alliance or supremacy.

9. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.— Σ A. Forepart of bull, r.; behind, olive spray; all in incuse square. (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 202.2. Pl. II. 3.

This specimen is re-struck on a coin of Athens, part of which has been cut away to reduce the weight; on the reverse there are visible remains of the letters A $\odot$ and incuse square.

10. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—As last, ornament on bull's shoulder.

(B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 203.

11. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—As last, head of lioness in field.

(B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 203.5. Pl. II. 4.

12. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.— ϵ PIBATIO Σ . Forepart of bull, r.; behind, olive-spray. (Paris.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 195. Pl. II. 8.

This coin is twice-struck; above are traces of letters BATI retrograde.

13. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.— Σ A. Forepart of bull, r.; behind, olive-spray; below, Γ ; all in incuse square.

(B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 197.

Varieties :—Other letters appear in the place of Γ , E (Pl. II. 5), H, $\odot$, K, A, M (Pl. II. 6). (B.M.)

$\mathfrak{g}$ (Imhoof; cf. No. 1 above.)

Ξ (Six.)

I, N (Mion. Sup., vi. 407), Σ (Mionnet, *Ibid.* No. 135).

This Σ , however, may be M placed sideways. The reverse of the coins with letters Γ to $\odot$ is in an incuse square, and of the coins with letters K to Ξ in an incuse circle, and of later fabric. (See Pl. II. 5, 6.)

14. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—Head and neck of bull r., in circular incuse.

(B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 6.7. Pl. II. 7.

(B.M.) Wt. 7.5.

Several of these pieces require a brief discussion. No. 9 has already been published by Mr. Borrell,⁷⁷ who supposed it to combine the two legends Σ A and A $\odot$ EN, and to bear testimony to a monetary convention between Samos

⁷⁷ Num. Chron., vii. p. 74.

and Athens. M. Lenormant has gone farther,⁷⁸ misled by the careful Borrell, and interpreting the legends as **ΑΘΕΝΑΙΩΝ ΣΑΜΟΥ**, has wished to see in the coin a piece of money issued by the Athenian fleet when in revolt at Samos against the authority of Athens, at the time when it recalled Alcibiades and placed him at its head in B.C. 412. But these theories turn out to be based on the incorrect supposition that the inscription **ΑΘΕΝ** (rather **ΑΘ**), belongs to the later striking; whereas it really belongs to the earlier. The coin is in fact an ordinary Athenian tetradrachm from which a piece has been cut to reduce it to Samian weight, and which has then been re-struck with Samian types, the inscription and traces of the incuse square of the previous striking still remaining. As to the period when this re-striking took place we are entirely ignorant; throughout Period III. the relations between Athens and Samos were close, and even in the absence of close relations it could not be surprising that one of the widely circulated coins of Athens should be used at the mint of any city of the Levant as a blank.

No. 12, in the French collection, is a quite exceptional piece. That it does not belong to the period after B.C. 394 is proved by the fact that its weight is regulated by the Samian and not the Rhodian standard. The inscription **ΕΡΙΒΑΤΙΟΣ** would seem to be made up of *ἐπί* and a magistrate's name (*Bátis*) in the genitive. On contemporary coins of Abdera such forms are common, for instance, **ΕΡΙΝΕΣΤΙΟΣ**, **ΕΡΙΜΟΛΓΑΔΟΣ**, **ΕΡΙΦΙΤΤΑΛΟ**.⁷⁹ *Batis* then would be the eponymous Samian

⁷⁸ *La Monn. dans l'Antiq.*, ii. 60. I believe that M. Lenormant has given up this theory; which, however, I am obliged to mention, as otherwise his authority might give it currency.

⁷⁹ *Cat. Gr. Coins, Thrace*, pp. 67, 68.

magistrate of the year when the coin was issued; but his name is not mentioned by historians or in inscriptions. The set of coins under No. 13 form a regular series, each specimen having in the field one of the earlier letters of the Greek alphabet, from **B** to **Ξ**, or perhaps to **Σ**, this letter being hard to distinguish from **M**. It seems probable that they are the issues of successive years, from one to fourteen, **Ξ** being the fourteenth letter of the Ionian alphabet. They seem from their style to be the last coins issued before B.C. 394, in which case they will occupy the period B.C. 407—394. It should be observed that 407 was a glorious year in the Samian annals, as in it the Athenian fleet under command of Alcibiades sailed to Athens, there to establish a democratic government. The Samians may have reckoned that year as year 1, and dated their coins by it until the victory of Conon in 394; but this can scarcely be considered in itself probable, and the numismatic argument, being based on a series of conjectures, is not strong enough to rely on.

Hitherto I have spoken only of the staters of Periods II., III. The smaller coins differ entirely from them in type, and form an interesting series. We will take them *seriatim*.

Drachms.

15. *Obv.*—Forepart of winged boar, l.

Rev.—Lion's scalp, in incuse square.

(B.M.) $\mathcal{R}$. Wt. 55. Pl. II. 9.

Varieties:—obverse type, r.

(B.M.) 53. Pl. II. 10. Wts. 55—46.5 gr.

Hemi-drachms.

16. *Obv.*—Forepart of winged boar, r.

Rev.—Lion's head, r., in incuse square.

(B.M.) $\mathcal{R}$. Wt. 19.5.

Varieties:—*obr.* type, l. Wts. 21.8—19 grs.

17. *Obv.*—Forepart of winged boar, r.

Rev.—Lion's head, r.; above, olive-spray; all in incuse square. (B.M.) *AR.* Wt. 18.5. Pl. II. 12.
(B.M.) Wt. 19.2.

18. *Obv.*—Forepart of winged boar, r.

Rev.—ΣA. Lion's head, r., in incuse square. (B.M.) *AR.* Wt. 18.6. Pl. II. 13.

Varieties of *rev.*—Inscription ΣA. Wts. 19.5—18.4.

19. *Obv.*—Forepart of winged boar, r.

Rev.—AΣ. Lion's head, r., in circular incuse. (B.M.) *AR.* Wt. 19.6. Pl. II. 14.

Varieties of *rev.*—Inscription ΣA. Wts. 19.6—16.5.

20. *Obv.*—Forepart of winged boar, r.

Rev.—ΣA. Lion's head, r.; below, olive-spray; all in incuse square. (B.M.) *AR.* Wt. 19.5. Pl. II. 15.
(B.M.) Wt. 18.5.

That these pieces were minted at Samos is proved by the inscription ΣA and the olive-spray which occur on many of the smaller denomination. The olive-spray probably as a rule belongs to coins issued after B.C. 439, and the coins issued before that date are without it. But some coins without the olive-spray seen from their fabric to belong to the later time, so that we cannot draw a fixed line between the two periods.

The type of the half winged boar⁸⁰ has not before occurred in the Samian coinage. It is, on the other hand, usual in the coinage of Clazomenæ, whence many numismatists have supposed all this set of coins to be a memorial

⁸⁰ Not marine boar, as it is sometimes absurdly termed. The die-cutter wishing to represent both wings, has unfortunately made one of them look like a tail.

of a monetary alliance between Samos and Clazomenæ. But the existence of monetary alliances in early Greek days can only be admitted on strong evidence, and such is not in the present case forthcoming. On the contrary, the evidence seems to show that at this period of their history the Samians, for reasons unknown to us, chose to adopt a variety of types for their smaller coins, for every several denomination varied types, as we shall see, and adhered to this plan until at least B.C. 394. In our first and again in our fourth period, on the other hand, the small silver is of the same types as the large, or nearly so. To the subject of the weights of these various coins we shall presently return. The meaning of that oriental apparition, a winged boar, is almost as obscure as the cause of its sudden importation at this particular period from Clazomenæ. Elian⁸¹ has a story of a winged boar which devastated the territory of the Clazomenians. This monster was celebrated, and gave a name to a part of the territory of Clazomenæ. Leake⁸² adds:—"It would seem that to a mischievous wild sow of uncommon swiftness of foot poetry had added wings. Possibly the oracle was consulted and declared the sow to be an emissary of Apollo or some other deity, who was to be appeased by sacrifices. To adopt the monster as a monetary type was a natural consequence." All this is possible, but just now such explanations are out of fashion, nor does this interpretation account for the curious fact that only half of the monster appears on coins. It is more reasonable to consider the type as of solar origin and meaning. Apollo, as sun-god, was the chief deity of Clazomenæ, and a winged boar might well be his emblem, as the boar is in Lycia a

⁸¹ *Hist. Anim.*, 12, 38. ⁸² *Narr. Hell., Asiatic Greece*, p. 43.
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solar symbol, and especially the half of a winged boar, which is in form nearly circular. The story of Ælian may have arisen from the prevalence of the type more easily than the type would arise from the story.

Tetrobols.

21. *Obv.*—Forepart of bull, l.

Rev.—Forepart of bull, l., in incuse square.
(B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 32.6. Pl. II. 11.

Variety:—types, r., (B.M.) Wt. 35.6.

Here we have no inscription, and the olive-branch is absent. We cannot therefore be at all sure that these pieces belong to Samos. Indeed, Mytilene, in the island of Lesbos, has quite as good a claim to them in the present state of knowledge as Samos. I attribute preferably to Lesbos, the coins with forepart of a bull on one side, and on the other two foreparts of bulls butting one at the other. See above, Period I.

Diobols.

22. *Obv.*—Head of lioness, r.

Rev.—Head of ram, r., in incuse square.
(B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 17.2. Pl. II. 16.

Variety:—type of *obv.*, l. Wts. 20—18.7.

23. *Obv.*—Head of lioness, l.

Rev.—Head of ram, r. (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 13.5. Pl. II. 17.

Varieties:—Wts. 13.5—12.5.

24. *Obv.*—Head of lioness, l.

Rev.— ΣA . Head of ram, r.; below, olive-spray; all in incuse square. (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 13.2. Pl. II. 18.
(Munich.) Wt. 16.

Obols.

25. *Obv.*—Forepart of galley, r.

Rev.— ΣA . Amphora. (B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 9.2. Pl. II. 19.

Varieties:—Wts. 9.2—8.2.

26. *Obv.*—Forepart of galley, r.

Rev.— ΣA . Amphora, beside it olive-spray.
(B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. Wt. 11. Pl. II. 20.

Varieties:—Wts. 11—9.4.

Copper.

27. *Obv.*—Forepart of galley, r.

Rev.— ΣA . Amphora, all in olive-wreath.
(B.M.) $\mathcal{A}$. .8 inch. Pl. II. 21.

These diobols and obols are certainly Samian. Not only have we in many cases the inscription ΣA , and the olive-spray on pieces subsequent to the Athenian conquest, but the types also belong to Samos. We have already met the head of a lioness, a type which we can scarcely avoid connecting with Hera, as symbol on tetradrachms (No. 11, above); and the forepart of a galley both as symbol and type on tetradrachms. The ram's head is new. This may be taken from the coinage or the mythology of the Cephallenian Same, where it is prominent. We do not indeed know that there was any real ethnological or religious connection between the Cephallenian city and Samos, but even in the absence of closer bonds the mere identity of name might be quite sufficient to induce the Samians to borrow a well-known type from Cephallenia.

STANDARDS OF WEIGHT AT SAMOS.

As it is necessary to say something about the weights of the series of small coins just discussed, this seems the most suitable place for a brief exposition of Samian monetary standards for silver. As to the electrum we have already spoken.

Two or three times during early Samian history does the

Attic standard appear to have been for a short time adopted for silver coin. First of all, if Mr. Head's theory be accepted, at a very early period, for the earliest silver coins of Samos which have incuse reverses. Secondly, about B.C. 494, for the coins found in Sicily with a half galley as type, Per. II., 1, 2. The tetradrachm of this class weighs nearly 270 grains. Thirdly, at about the time of the Periclean conquest, B.C. 439, for a series of tetradrachms and smaller coins, above, Nos. 7, 8.

All other coins of Samos issued during the sixth and fifth centuries are struck on a system known as the Samian. On this standard the tetradrachm weighs up to 204 grains (13.20 grammes); reckoning from which the drachm should weigh 51 grains (3.30 grammes), the tetrobol 34 grains, the tribol or hemi-drachm $25\frac{1}{2}$ grains, the diobol 17 grains, and the obol $8\frac{1}{2}$ grains. The origin of the system is not clear, but it seems almost certain that it must be a variety of the Phœnician or Græco-Asiatic weight system. It is stated by Brandis⁸³ that this standard is peculiar to Samos, and to the cities of the Cyrenaica which adopted it from Samos in the course of the fifth century. This, however, seems to be an exaggeration. It is true that electrum and early silver staters of Phœnician weight usually weigh rather 230 or 220 than 200 grains. But at some Ionian cities we find a lighter standard. At Ephesus,⁸⁴ before B.C. 415, the heaviest of the drachms weigh but 54 grains, and a tetradrachm 205. It would thus appear that the standard of Samos is not so exceptional as is usually supposed.

The weights above given are the normal or standard

⁸³ *Gewichtswesen*, p. 124.

⁸⁴ Head, *Coinage of Ephesus*.

weights which ought to be attained by the various denominations of coin on the Samian system. But a glance at the list of coins will show how far they deviate from these normal weights:—

Drachm	normal, 51 gr.;	actual, 55.	—46.5 grs.
Tetrobol	" 34	" 35.6—32.6	"
Tribol	" $25\frac{1}{2}$	" 21.8—16.5	"
Diobol	" 17	" 17.2—12.5	"
Obol	" $8\frac{1}{2}$	" 11 — 8.2	"

This, however, is no isolated occurrence, nor need it make us doubt as to the assignment of denominations. In striking small change the Greeks were by no means careful to adjust it to an exact weight; those who took and gave it in the markets looked far less to weight than to type, it being of course well known to all which pieces were meant to pass as drachms, which as obols, and so forth. The large silver, minted for external trade, had to be adjusted to scale with accuracy; but the small silver which passed only locally was not under the same necessity. Even at Athens, where the mintage of the coins was unusually careful, we find considerable differences in the weights of small pieces of the same age and the same denomination.

PERIOD IV.—B.C. 394—365.

It would seem that at first the news of Conon's victory was received with rejoicing in Samos, and the democracy, re-established by his arms, hastened to set up a statue of the victor in the Temple of Hera. Next followed an alliance of anti-Laconian tendency with the cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, and Ephesus, an alliance the testimony to the existence of which is almost entirely numismatic,

and has been clearly set forth by M. Waddington.⁸⁵ It is generally known that the cities which joined this alliance issued didrachms which seem to follow the Persian monetary standard, bearing on one side the type of young Heracles strangling the serpents and the inscription ΣΥΝμαχικόν, and on the other side their own legend and type. The piece of this class issued from the Samian mint was the following:—

1. *Obv.*—ΣΥΝ. Young Heracles, r., strangling two serpents, round his chest, crepundia.

Rev.—ΣΑ. Lion's scalp. (B.M.) $\mathcal{R}$. Wt. 178.2. Pl. III. 1.
(Lord Ashburnham.) $\mathcal{R}$. Wt. 177.1.
(Waddington.) $\mathcal{R}$. Wt. 172.8.

A similar coin at Paris, weighing 263 grains, is, in the opinion of M. Waddington, of doubtful authenticity. It is re-struck on a tetradrachm of Athens, whether in ancient or modern times.

But Samos, as well as the other members of this league, Rhodes and Cnidus, was very unstable in the anti-Laconian sentiment, and within a few years again appears to be following the fortunes of Sparta, and giving shelter to her ships. And from this time dates the beginning of great calamities for the Samians. Handed over to Persian rule by the disgraceful peace of Antalcidas in B.C. 387, the island was considered fair game by the roving Athenian admirals Chabrias and Iphicrates, who landed and carried away much spoil. Timotheus, being dispatched at the instance of Isocrates with 8,000 men to detach Samos from Persia, made still more grievous ravages, and finally captured the capital itself. This completed the ruin of the

⁸⁵ *Rev. Numism.*, 1863, p. 223. Cf. *Head, Coinage of Ephesus*, p. 25.

Samians. The Athenian general occupied the whole island and treated it with all the severity which the ancients displayed towards conquered foes. The unfortunate inhabitants were made prisoners of war, collected, and in the end entirely expelled from their island, and their lands were divided among Athenian *cleruchi*.

The silver coins of this period are easily distinguished from those of an earlier time. The incuse of their reverse is shallower and their fabric later in style. They are minted on a different monetary standard, and they bear in the field the name of a magistrate in the nominative case. The copper pieces, however, are without magistrates' names.

2. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—ΣΑ. Forepart of bull, r., fillet round shoulder; behind, olive-spray, above, ΠΡΩ.
(B.M.) $\mathcal{R}$. Wt. 237.5. Pl. III. 2.

Other names of magistrates, &c.—

ΗΓΗΣΙΑΝΑΞ, ΗΓΗΣΙΑΝΑΞ (A), ΗΓΗΣΙ (B.M.)
ΛΗΣΙΑΝΑΞ (A), (Allier de Hauteroche, &c.). This coin seems to me, in the specimens I have seen, false; but perhaps an ancient forgery.

ΛΕΩΣ (A), ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ and bee. (Imhoof.)
—ΡΝΕΙΟΣ (Munich.)
ΑΡΙΣΤΗ (Whittall.)
ΛΟΧΙΤΗΣ and bee (Fox.)
ΠΡΩΤΗΣ (Bunbury.)
ΑΜΦΙ, ΗΠΙΟΣ, ΦΡΑΣΤΩΡ (Waddington.)
ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ (Paris.)

Weights 237.5 to 224.

3. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—As last. Above, ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΑΧΕΛΩΙΟ
(B.M.) $\mathcal{R}$. Wt. 233.4. Pl. III. 3.

Other names of magistrates:—

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ
ΑΝΤΙΑ (Imhoof.) Wt. 234.5.

That these tetradrachms are rightly assigned to the present period may be easily shown. The incuse square appears on some of them, not on others, and M. Waddington⁸⁶ has well shown that at the beginning of the fourth century the incuse square was disappearing from Asiatic coins. They follow a fresh standard—tetradrachm, 240 grains; drachm, 60 grains—a standard called Rhodian because in use at Rhodes from the foundation of the city in B.C. 408, and soon after that time usual in cities on the north and east shores of the Ægean. M. Waddington⁸⁷ states that his Samian tetradrachm, inscribed **ΗΡΙΟΣ**, was found in a hoard together with a tetradrachm of Cos, —type bearded head of Heracles, legend **ΚΩΙΟΝ ΓΕΡΣΙ**,—and a coin of Miletus with the inscription **ΕΚΑ**, which is reasonably supposed to have been struck by the Carian King Hecatomnus, or at all events to belong to his time, early in the fourth century. The pieces with patronymics as well as names of magistrates seem to be the latest of the class.

The only names which we can trace elsewhere are those of *Πυθαγόρης* and *Ἡγησιάνναξ*, which appear on contemporary coins of Ephesus, of the period B.C. 387 to 301. But it is scarcely to be supposed that the same men can have held office both in Ephesus and Samos. We must therefore regard the coincidence as probably fortuitous. It may perhaps excite surprise that patronymics like *Δημήτριος* *Ἀντία* and *Ἐπικράτης* *Ἀχελώιο* should appear on coins at so early a period. They are not usual until the next century. Yet the very termination of the form *Ἀχελώιο* shows its early date, since **O** for **OY** disappears in Asia Minor in the middle of the fourth century before our

⁸⁶ *Mél. de Numism.*, p. 15.

⁸⁷ *l.c.*

era, in the time of Pixodarus, King of Caria, whose name is written on coins sometimes *Πικωδάρο* and sometimes *Πικωδάρο*. That of Mausolus, at an earlier period, is always written *Μαυσώλλο*.

4. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—**ΣΑ**. Forepart of bull, r.; in front, olive-spray.
(Paris.) *Æ*. Wt. 56.

5. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—**ΣΑ**. Forepart of bull, r., fillet round shoulder; in field **ΗΓΗΣΙ**(*Α*); on flank of bull **Η**.
(B.M.) *Æ*. Wt. 59. Pl. III. 4.

Other names of magistrates: **ΑΜΦΙ** I. (Paris.) Wt. 59.4.

6. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—**ΣΑ**. Forepart of bull, r.; above **ΛΟΧ**.
(B.M.) *Æ*. Wt. 26. Pl. III. 5.

Other names of magistrates:—

ΑΡΙΣΤΗΙΔΑ(*Α*). (B.M.) Wt. 28.2.
ΛΕΡΤΙ[*ΝΗΣ*]. (Leake.)
ΗΓΗΣΙΑ, **ΗΓΗΣΙ**(*Α*). (Imhoof.)
ΛΟΧΙΤΗΣ, **ΑΡΤΙΡΟΥΣ**. (Waddington.)

7. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—**ΣΑ**. Forepart of galley within olive-wreath.
(Fox.) *Æ*. Wt. 32.5.

8. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—**ΣΑ**. Forepart of galley, r.
(B.M.) *Æ*. Wt. 16.2. Pl. III. 6.

Varieties: Wts. 16.2—14.5. In field of *rev.* **Δ**.
(Allier de Hauteroche, pl. xvi. 14.)

9. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, l.

Rev.—**ΣΑ**. Lion's scalp.
(De Luynes.) *Æ*. Wt. 12.6. Pl. III. 7.

10. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, r., wears stephane.

Rev.—ΣΑ. Lion's scalp. (B.M.) *Æ.* .6. Pl. III. 8.

11. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, l., wears stephane.

Rev.—Lion's scalp. (B.M.) *Æ.* .55. Pl. III. 9.

12. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, l., wears stephane.

Rev.—ΣΑ. Lion's scalp. (B.M.) *Æ.* .45. Pl. III. 10.

The last three are specimens of a large class of coins, of which some are inscribed, some uninscribed, and which have many varieties of head. All are of a good style of art. In almost all parts of Greece copper coinage begins early in the fourth century.

PERIOD V.—B.C. 365—322.

Until lately it remained doubtful what was the extent of the expulsion of the inhabitants of Samos and the re-peopling from Athens by the agency of Timotheus. Thus Grote⁸⁸ speaks of the re-peopling as doubtless only partial; and most writers suppose that it was rather a faction which was expelled than the population of Samos. But it may now be considered certain that this was not the case. The first batch of *cleruchi*, sent about B.C. 365, who seem to have amounted in number to two thousand, may have expelled a faction only, or may have occupied only the city, not the territory of Samos. But subsequent detachments were sent in B.C. 361 and 352, and in the end the Samians were entirely driven out. This is implied in the statements of ancient writers—for instance, in the account by Diodorus⁸⁹ of the restoration of the

Samians to their country by Perdiccas, after an exile of forty-three years—κατήγαγε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, περὶ τοῦ-
 ρας ἑτη τριῶν τριῶν τετρακαισέκοντα. It is also distinctly stated in a fragment of Craterus—Ἀττικοὶ γὰρ μεταπερσέβη-
 ρες εἰς Σάμον καὶ καταλύσαντες τοὺς ἑγχυρίους ἐξέσωσαν. It is implied in the language of Demades,⁹⁰ when he called Samos the sewer of Athens—ἀπόουε τῆς πόλεως. But it is still more conclusively implied in a long inscription from Samos, which reveals to us a complete Athenian organization of the island, with Archons and Treasurers, Prytanes and Proedri, and a system of recording the treasures of the Heraeum as rigorous as that in use at the Parthenon at home. From this same inscription we learn that all the Athenian tribes took part in the settlement of the island. In fact, from B.C. 365 to 322 Samos was an Athenian suburb and the outlet for the superfluous population of the city. Meantime the Samians were wandering in Asia, and trying, for a time in vain, to obtain recognition of their rights from the powerful enemies of Athens. Philip of Macedon did not disturb the Athenian possessors. But when Alexander,⁹¹ then at the height of his power, ordered Nicanor to proclaim at the Olympic festival of B.C. 324 a decree that all the exiles from Greek cities should be restored to their homes, the Athenians at once interpreted the intention of the King as referring to Samos, and received the decree with anger. The death of Alexander prevented him from taking steps to carry out his plan, and the outbreak of the Lamian War occupied his generals for a time too fully to leave them time to carry out their master's designs. But in B.C. 322 Perdiccas

⁸⁸ Ch. lxxix. (foot-note). See C. Curtius, *Inscription und Stud. zur Gesch. von Samos*, pp. 6—17.

⁸⁹ xviii. 18, 9.

⁹⁰ Sauppe, *Or. Att.*, ii. 315.

⁹¹ Diodorus, xviii. 8. Grote, ch. xcv.

took the matter in hand, restored the Samian exiles to their country, and cast out their Athenian supplanters, either partially or wholly.

Did Athenian colonies, when sent to occupy conquered lands, issue coins? This question has been more than once raised. Dr. U. Köhler has discussed it *à propos* of Lemnos, Imbros, and Salamis.⁹² His verdict is that the copper coins of those islands which have come down to us were issued, not by the Athenian colonists, but by tribute-paying Athenian subjects, native inhabitants who, after Athenian conquest, preserved the right of coinage as remains of their earlier autonomy. Mr. Head, in arranging the coins of Eubœa, finds that the coinage of each city comes to an abrupt termination on the Athenian conquest and planting of that city. The same appears to be the case at Ægina. The early coinage of the island in silver and copper with incuse reverse abruptly ceases at the time of the Athenian conquest in B.C. 431. The copper coins of Ægina which reappear at a much later time may have been issued by the old inhabitants restored to their homes by Lysander, or at some later period of defection from Athens.

It would, then, seem that when a country was planted by the Athenians, the new colony did not issue coins, but contented itself with using those of Athens. The mines of Laurium gave the Athenians a plentiful supply of silver, and it seems to have been part of their policy to spread their coins in all parts of the Levant. They are still found on all eastern shores of the Mediterranean in numbers.

Certainly an examination of the coins of Samos tends to give fresh support to this theory. We have no money

⁹² *Mittheil. d. Deut. A. I. in Athen.*, iv. 263.

which we can reasonably give to this island at the period of Athenian settlement. Between the coins which we give to Period IV. and those which we assign to Period VI. there is a distinct break in style. This is, at first sight, evident in regard to the silver, and a close examination will show that it also holds of the copper. We have already adduced reasons to show that the coins assigned to Period IV. are not, in any case, later than the middle of the fourth century; those to be described under Period VI. certainly cannot be earlier than the last quarter of that century.

PERIOD VI.—B.C. 322—205.

Of the restoration of the Samian exiles in B.C. 322 we possess an interesting record in a series of decrees⁹³ passed immediately on their return in honour of various wealthy and benevolent persons who had been kind to them during their banishment from Samos. These inscriptions show, in the first place, that the decree of Perdiccas did not remain a mere intention, but was carried out practically. This was not the case with a subsequent decree which affected Samos. In B.C. 319 King Philip III., or rather Polysperchon, the regent, in his name, issued an order restoring to the Athenians⁹⁴ all their possessions, among them the island of Samos; "since our father Philip left it in their hands," as the young king puts it. But in those days might was right. The Samians had already occupied city and land, and neither Polysperchon nor the Athenians were prepared at the moment to expel them. In the second place, the inscriptions show how

⁹³ Collected in the work of C. Curtius, already quoted.

⁹⁴ *Diod.*, xviii. 56, 7. *Cf.* *Droysen*, ii. 218.

wide and complete had been the dispersion of the unfortunate Samians. The persons to whom they accord citizenship, in return for favours shown them during their exile, are Gorgus and Minneo of Iasus, Demachus of Lycia, Diocles of Gela in Sicily, Cees and Leontiscus of Ephesus, and Metrodorus of Sidon. It thus seems that they were dispersed over all coasts, and had to find a home wherever charity or kinship would offer one. That the decrees belong to the period now under discussion is evident, partly from their subject-matter, and partly from their epigraphy, and finally, from a phrase in that in honour of Gorgus and Minneo. Gorgus was an officer of Alexander the Great, who is declared to have urged his master on all occasions to restore the Samians, and who, when the great decree of Alexander appeared, presented him with a crown on their behalf.

The period B.C. 322—205 was for the Samians one of autonomy with occasional dependence upon one or other of the principal Hellenistic kings. Thus we learn from Polybius⁵⁶ that Samos was a station of the fleet of Ptolemy Philopator and of his minister, Sosibius, and the island remained in Egyptian hands until the death of the King in B.C. 205, or 204, according to the manner of reckoning.

But to the people of the island perhaps the most important series of events which took place at this period was the great litigation with the people of Priene for the possession of certain territories on the mainland. These lands had always been a matter of contention between the two states, and had been the cause, in the middle of the fifth century, of the war with Miletus, and that with Athens, which ended in the expedition of Pericles. Ac-

⁵⁶ V. 35, 11.

ording to the explanation of M. Waddington⁵⁷ these territories consisted of four parts—Bainætus, Carium, Dryussa, and a fort, *φρούριον*. In our present period the respective claims to Bainætus were submitted to Lysimachus, who gave an award, which was engraved on the wall of a Samian temple.⁵⁸ It is still preserved, but unfortunately is much mutilated, and its tenor is not clear. Soon, however, we find the Samians claiming the other districts. This claim seems first to have been referred to Antiochus II. of Syria, and afterwards to the Rhodians. The Rhodians decided unhesitatingly in favour of Priene, and this decision seems to have been upheld in a further appeal to Ptolemy, King of Egypt. This must be either Ptolemy Euergetes or Philopator, kings who reigned from B.C. 247 to 205. If Philopator was the umpire the appeal was probably made before he became possessed of the island of Samos. But the Samians could not let the matter rest there. When Marius came over to regulate the affairs of Asia in B.C. 188 they found means to induce him to revise in their favour the Rhodian verdict. The Prienians, however, appealed to Rome, and the Senate upheld the Rhodian decision, on the sole ground that it was the verdict of judges agreed to by both disputants. After this we find traces in inscriptions of a commission of Romans, assisted by experts from both sides, who are occupied in tracing a boundary between Samian and Prienian lands. Inscriptions recording all these transactions were found in the temple of Athene at Priene, and are now in the British Museum.

The coins of our period at Samos are numerous. The

⁵⁶ Lebas and Waddington, vol. iii. p. 74. Cf. Hicks, *Greek Hist. Inscr.*, p. 261.

⁵⁷ *C. I. G.*, 2254.

silver pieces are didrachms of the Rhodian standard, which had by this time fallen considerably, so that they scarcely exceed in weight 100 grains. In style and fabric as well as weight, and in the character of their epigraphy, they closely resemble the contemporary Ephesian coins⁹⁸ of the period B.C. 258—202. Many names of magistrates occur on them; but it is a curious fact that we do not find the same name on silver and on copper coins, with two exceptions, Battus and Hermodicus. This Battus may probably be the same man who, shortly after the return of the Samians from exile, proposed a decree conferring the citizenship on Metrodorus of Sidon.⁹⁹ Another name which occurs on the copper coin is that of Theomnestus, and this magistrate may be the same Theomnestus who is mentioned as Prytanis of Samos in the inscription¹⁰⁰ which gives the Rhodian award.

1. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—ΣΑ. Forepart of bull, r.; in front, olive-spray; above ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣΚΟΣ.
(B.M.) *Æ.* Wt. 104. Pl. III. 11.

Other names of magistrates:—

ΕΡΙΓΕΝΗΣ, ΕΡΜΟΔΙΚΟΣ.	(B.M.)
ΒΑΤΤΟΣ, ΜΗΤΡΟΦΩΝ.	(Hunter.)
ΒΑΤΤΟΣ with Ω, ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ.	(Paris.)
ΑΛΕΞΗΣ, ΜΕΛΑΝ	(Waddington.)
Α]ΣΚΛΗΓΙΑΔΗ	(Whittall.)
ΝΑΝΙΣΚΟΣ. (Mion. <i>Sup.</i> , vi. 408.)	ΤΑΥΡΕΑΣ.
Wts. 104—97.	(Mion. iii. 281.)

Magistrate's name:—

ΑΙΓΥΡΤΟΣ. (Waddington.) *Æ.* Wt. 49·7.

2. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—ΣΑ. Forepart of bull, r.; above, ΑΣΚΛΗΓΙΑ in shallow incuse.
(Whittall.) *Æ.* Wt. 25. Pl. III. 12.

3. *Rev.*—ΣΑ. Forepart of bull, r.; above, ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ, behind trident; all in shallow incuse.
(Paris.) *Æ.* Wt. 24·4. Pl. III. 13.

Magistrate's name; ΒΑΤΤΟΣ. (Waddington.) Wt. 21·4.

4. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, r.

Rev.—Lion's scalp, below, ΓΑΡΙΣ.
(B.M.) *Æ.* ·75. Pl. III. 14.

5. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, l.

Rev.—Lion's scalp, below ΠΕΛΥΣΙΟΣ.
(B.M.) *Æ.* ·6. Pl. III. 15.

6. *Obv.*—Head of Hera facing.

Rev.—Lion's scalp, below ΣΙΜΟΣ.
(B.M.) *Æ.* ·4. Pl. III. 16.

Other names of magistrates on coins of the same class as the last three:—

ΜΙΚΙΩΝ, ΒΑΤΤΟΣ, Θ]ΕΟΚΛΗ.	(B.M.)
ΦΙΑΤΗΣ, ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤ, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑ.	(Imhoof.)
ΑΡΣ, ΣΤΡΑΤΩ.	(Thomas, p. 277.)
ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΣ.	(Mion., iii. p. 282.)
ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ, ΕΝΝΑΙΟΣ, ΧΑΡΗΜ	(Waddington.)

7. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, r.

Rev.—ΣΑ. Forepart of galley, l.; below, ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝ
(Imhoof.) *Æ.* ·5.

Other names of magistrates:— ? ΤΙ]ΜΟΚΛΗΣ. (Imhoof.)

8. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, r. or l.

Rev.—ΣΑ. Forepart of galley, r.; below, ΘΕΟΔΩΡ[ΟΣ.
(Imhoof.) *Æ.* ·5. Pl. III. 17.

⁹⁸ Head, *Coinage of Ephesus*, p. 51.

⁹⁹ *C. I. G.*, 2256.

¹⁰⁰ Lebas and Waddington, No. 189. The name wrongly read as Theodorus in *C. I. G.*, 2905, E.

Other names :—

ΒΙΛΑΑΣ, ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡ[ΣΩΤΑΣ,
ΑΛΥΓΗΤΟΣ. (Waddington.)
ΙΕΡΩΝ. (B.M.)
ΕΡΜΟ (Berlin.)

9. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, facing.

Rev.—ΣΑ. Forepart of galley, l.; below, ΓΑΓΡΩΝ.
(Imhoof.) Æ. 55. Pl. III. 18.

Other names of magistrates :—

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜ[ΘΕΟΜΝΗ[ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ,
ΣΙΜΟΣ, ΤΙΜΟΚΡΙ (Imhoof.)
ΒΑΤΤΟΣ, ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ? (Mion., iii. p. 282.)
ΚΑΥΣΙΟΣ. (Leake, p. 38.)
ΘΕΟΚΛΗΣ. (Paris.)
ΚΛΕΙΤΟΦΩΝ. (Waddington.)
ΕΚΑΤ (Berlin.)

10. *Obv.*—Round buckler.

Rev.—ΓΑΡΙΣ. Lion's scalp.
(Imhoof.) Æ. 6. Pl. III. 19.

PERIOD VII.—B.C. 205—129.

On the death of Ptolemy Philopator in B.C. 205, Philip V. of Macedon and Antiochus of Syria formed a plan for dividing his possessions, in pursuance of which Philip seized on Samos. After the victory of Flamininus and the Romans over Macedon, this island, like the other Greek States which had been held in unwilling subjection by the Macedonian king, became free. But either this freedom was very incomplete, or else freedom was not to the taste of the Samians, for when the Rhodian Pausimachus was defeated by Antiochus III. of Syria, Samos quitted the Roman alliance and joined the Syrian king.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Appian, *Syr.*, 25.

After the battle of Magnesia in B.C. 190, which is one of the great landmarks of the history of Asia Minor, the whole of Ionia was made over by the Romans to their ally Eumenes, King of Pergamon. We should conjecture that the following years were peaceful and prosperous for the Samians. Samos, however, was so unfortunate as to become one of the possessions of Aristonicus. When Attalus bequeathed his possessions to the Romans in B.C. 133, this young man, who was of the regal stock of Pergamon, broke into open revolt, and, supported by an army of mercenaries, captured several cities, and for some time defied the power of Rome. Samos did not join him voluntarily, but of force. On the defeat and execution of Aristonicus in B.C. 129, the island was added by the Romans to the province of Asia, and lost its freedom.

The Samian silver coins which can be assigned to this period fall into two classes. First we have pieces of fairly good execution, of which the specimen in the British Museum weighs 69.7 grains (4.51 grammes).

1. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—ΣΑΜΙΩΝ. Forepart of bull, r.; in front, olive-spray; below, trident and forepart of galley.
(B.M.) Æ. Wt. 69.7. Pl. IV. 2.

With this goes the following :—

2. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—ΣΑΜΙΩΝ. Forepart of bull, r.; in front, olive-spray; behind, trident. (Imhoof.) Æ. Wt. 14.

No. 1 is either an Attic drachm, like the contemporary coins of Ephesus¹⁰² and Aradus of B.C. 202—133, in

¹⁰² Head, *Coinage of Ephesus*, p. 57.

which case it would be minted rather above the standard weight, or else a drachm of the debased Persian standard which was still in use at Miletus. Probably contemporary, or nearly so, was the issue at Samos of coins bearing the types of Alexander the Great, and of the weight of Attic tetradrachms (of Müller's Class VI.) with the mint-mark of Samos, the well-known prow, in the field.

3. *Obv.*—Head of young Heracles, r., in lion's skin.

Rev.—**ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ**. Zeus Aëtophorus seated, l.; in field, l., prow of ship, l., and the letter B. (B.M.) *Æ*. Wt. 259.8. Pl. IV. 1.

Whether the Pergamene kings ever used Samos as one of the mints of their regal money is doubtful. I have not found any of these coins with Samian symbols in the field. Later on in the period we have coins of a different standard and very inferior style, the head of the lion being of a *dor-mocker* character. The metal is also debased.

4. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Forepart of bull, r.; below, ear of corn, crater, and peacock. (B.M.) *Æ*. Wt. 46.4. Pl. IV. 3.

Other symbols on *reverse*:—

Ear of corn and crater. (B.M.)
 " " and *π* (B.M.) Pl. IV. 4.
 " " " bunch of grapes. (B.M.)
 " " pedum. (B.M.)
 " " trident. (Leake.)
 " crater, star, and *Δ*. (Paris.)
 " trident and prow. (Paris.)
 Weights 46.5 to 48.

5. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, r., wearing stephane.

Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Forepart of galley, l.; to r., *π*; above, trident. (Whitall.) *Æ*. Wt. 26.

6. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Forepart of galley, l.; on it, peacock; above, trident. (B.M.) *Æ*. Wt. 22.7. Pl. IV. 5.

7. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, r., wearing stephane.

Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Forepart of galley, r. (Paris.) *Æ*. Wt. 9.8. Pl. IV. 6.

The standard of these pieces is clearly the same as was in use for the Cistophoric coins, at this period extensively circulating in Asia. Mr. Head conjectures (Coinage of Ephesus, p. 61) the Cistophori to have been first issued under Eumenes II. of Pergamon about B.C. 160, and there can be little doubt that he is approximately right. The issue of Cistophori took place in the chief cities of the Pergamene dominions, but not, so far as we know, at Samos. As an island Samos would be less closely dependent on the rulers of Pergamon, and retain at least some show of autonomy; it need not, therefore, surprise us to find that in her case the autonomous types persist, the weight of the coins only being altered to suit that of the pieces current on the mainland. No. 4 is a Cistophoric drachm, Nos. 5 and 6 hemidrachms, No. 7 perhaps an obol, but more probably a trihemibol, the fourth of a drachm.

The copper of our period is determined by its style; the head of Hera which it bears nearly resembling that on the silver coins already described. Like the silver it bears no names of magistrates.

8. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, r., wearing stephane.

Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Lion's scalp. (B.M.) *Æ*. 6. Pl. IV. 7.

9. Another.

(B.M.) *Æ*. 45. Pl. IV. 8.

10. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, facing.

Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Forepart of galley, r. (B.M.) *Æ*. 5. Pl. IV. 9.

11. *Obv.*—Forepart of galley, l.

Rev.—ΣΑΜΙΩΝ. Forepart of galley, r.
(B.M.) *Æ.* .85. Pl. IV. 10.

12. *Obv.*—Forepart of galley, r.

Rev.—ΣΑΜΙΩΝ. Forepart of galley, l.; below, trident.
(B.M.) *Æ.* .4.

Variety of reverse: on galley, peacock. (B.M.)

13. *Obv.*—Lion's scalp.

Rev.—ΣΑΜΙΩΝ. Forepart of bull, r.; below, monogram.
(Imhoof) *Æ.* .8. Pl. IV. 11.

PERIOD VIII.—B.C. 129—20.

During the whole of this time, with one brief interval, Samos was a part of the Roman province of Asia. The interval occurred in the time of Mithradates the Great, King of Pontus. He gained possession of all Ionia, and of Samos also; and for accepting his liberation the people of Samos probably paid dearly, like the other cities of Asia, which were sternly punished by the victorious Sulla. But apart from Roman punishment the Samians at this time suffered severely enough. The island was captured by pirates,¹⁰⁸ at that time very strong on the Cilician coast, and the temple of Hera despoiled and destroyed. What had escaped the pirates became the prey of Verres, who robbed the island mercilessly. Q. Cicero, when Proconsul in B.C. 61—58, did what he could to revive the prosperity of the place, not only by dispensing even-handed justice, but by favouring commerce and aiding the city to pay its debts.

There are certainly no silver coins of Samos of the

¹⁰⁸ Appian, *Bell. Mithr.* lxiii.

period, and apparently no copper. It is, however, possible that some of the money described under the next head may have been issued at this time, for the provincial coinage of Asia was of silver; and it is not unlikely that the various cities may have been allowed, as so usually in Imperial times, to issue their own civic copper.

PERIOD IX.—IMPERIAL TIMES.

Augustus having occasion in B.C. 21 and 20 to spend the winter at Samos, restored freedom to the state, a freedom which lasted, at least in name, till the time of Vespasian, A.D. 70.¹⁰⁴ But it does not seem that the freedom was very real, as we possess coins with the imperial effigy from the time of Augustus downwards, by the side of the autonomous coins, which is not the case at Athens, Tennesus, and other cities which enjoyed more solid privileges. It is asserted by Ross that Samos received a Roman colony in the time of Vespasian. The authority for this statement is an inscription, which this writer publishes,¹⁰⁵ containing a list of Samian *νεωτοί* of Roman times. This document is remarkably confused; the list does not follow the regular order of time, but the *νεωτοί* of various years are jotted down in it apparently without sequence or method. These years are usually reckoned from the battle of Actium, which is termed the victory of Caesar or of Augustus. Dating from this era the magistrates are of years 7, 18, 29, 30,

¹⁰⁴ Eusebius, *Chron.*, under OI. CXC. and CCXII.

¹⁰⁵ *Inscr. Ined.* No. 191.

41, 42, 44, and 103. There is, however, intercalated in smaller characters a list of *νεοπολῖαι* of the fourth year of the colony, **Λ. Δ. ΤΗC ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑC**. Supposing the year thus indicated to follow close on those already set down, the last of which (103) corresponds to A.D. 72, it would look as if there were a Roman colony established in Samos about the beginning of the reign of Vespasian, when, as already stated, the freedom of Samos was taken away. But there is not in history or in numismatics a particle of evidence to confirm this isolated inscription. The coins of the cities which become Roman colonies are inscribed in the Latin character, and are always of a different appearance from those of cities which remain Greek. We can scarcely consider that the inscription of Ross is strong enough evidence to overthrow that which stands on the other side. After A.D. 70 Samos became a Roman province.

We begin our list of the coins of Samos of Roman times with the earliest, which may, as already stated, belong to the eighth period:—

1. *Obv.*—Forepart of bull, r.

Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Forepart of galley, r.
(B.M.) Æ. .55. Pl. IV. 12.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, r., wearing stephane.

Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Peacock, r.; behind, Δ.
(B.M.) Æ. .65. Pl. IV. 13.

The following seem from the style of their reverses, which are closely like those of the coins of Augustus and his immediate successors, to belong to the early Imperial period:—

3. *Obv.*—Head of Hera, r.

Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Peacock, r., standing on caduceus, sceptre over shoulder; in field, Δ Δ.
(B.M.) Æ. .75. Pl. IV. 14.

Varieties: in field, Δ Δ, Ε Ε, Δ, &c. (B.M.)

4. *Obv.*—**ΗΡΗ**. Hera Samia, r.

Rev.—Peacock, r. (Imhoof.) Æ. .6.

5. *Obv.*—**ΗΡΗC**. Peacock, r.; in front, plant.

Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Ancæus, standing l., clad in chlamys, holds trident. (B.M.) Æ. .55. Pl. IV. 15.

Variety of *obv.*—**ΗΡΗC**. Peacock, l. (B.M.)

6. *Obv.*—**ΑΝΚΑΙΟC** (*sic*). Ancæus, l., holds trident.

Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Peacock, r., sceptre over shoulder.
(B.M.) Æ. .65. Pl. IV. 16.

7. *Obv.*—As last, inscription obscure.

Rev.—**ΑC XII**. Two prows of galleys.
(B.M.) Æ. .6. Wt. 48.5. Pl. IV. 17.

8. *Obv.*—Forepart of galley, l.

Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Hera Samia, r.
(B.M.) Æ. .7. Pl. IV. 18.

Variety of *obv.*—Forepart of galley, r. (B.M.)

The inscription on No. 7 **ΑC XII** is remarkable. We may compare the **XII** on a Syracusan coin, which also has a Greek legend. We should naturally interpret it as meaning twelve asses or assaria. But there is no precedent for an assarion of so light weight. The single assarion of Chios, even at a far later period, weighs more than the present coin. And the Roman *as* of this time is even heavier. Nor can the inscription well stand for one-twelfth of an *as*, the Roman *uncia*, for this

would give an as of the excessive weight of 582 grains. Perhaps the true reading of the inscription may be **XPI** or **XH**, but we must wait for other specimens before deciding.

The following pieces must be given, in view of style and epigraphy, to a still later period, that of the family of Severus and their successors. It is by no means rare to find cities thus issuing autonomous coins in the Imperial period, and contemporaneously with other pieces bearing the heads of Emperors.

9. *Obv.*—Forepart of galley, r., in wreath.

Rev.—**CAMIΩN**. Nymph, r., holding vessel.
(B.M.) Æ. 55. Pl. IV. 19.

This type recurs in the Imperial series, when it is discussed. See below, No. 17.

10. *Obv.*—Forepart of galley, r.

Rev.—**CAMIΩN**. Bearded Term facing.
- (B.M.) Æ. 55. Pl. IV. 20.

The scale of these coins is so small that we cannot determine whether the Term is of Dionysiac character or not.

IMPERIAL COINS.

The Imperial coins of Samos stretch in a continuous series from Augustus to Gallienus. Many of them are interesting as illustrating local myths. We will disregard, in discussing them, exact order of date, and arrange them in groups as may be convenient. Those which recur in several different reigns in precisely similar form may be presumed to be copies of statues in the Heræum or else-

where in Samos. We are thus offered a considerable field of archaeological research, into which, however, we can scarcely enter, for the limits of our space compel us to dismiss the Imperial coins more rapidly than we could wish. Our first group is connected with the Hera of Samos and her worship. As to the figure of the goddess herself we have already spoken:¹⁰⁶ the only important innovation which marks her form in Imperial times is that she sometimes grasps in each hand a patera, which is in Asia and Libya a well-known symbol of dominion, and of the receipt rather than the offering of worship. Zeus at Cyrene, Pallas at Side, and many other great city-deities carry a patera in their hand on coins of various periods.

1. **CAMIΩN**. Hera Samia, r., in front of her. prow of galley. Tiberius. (Imhoof.) Pl. V. 1.

2. **CAMIΩN**. Hera Samia, l. Domitian. (Paris.) Pl. V. 2.

3. **ΣAMIΩN**. Hera Samia, r. Caius. (Wigan.) Pl. V. 3.

(A common type until the time of the Antonines.)

4. **CAMIΩN**. Hera Samia, facing, beside her, Nemesis veiled. Gallienus. (B.M.) Pl. V. 4. Commodus, &c.

5. **CAMIΩN**. Nemesis, veiled; a wheel at her feet. Etruscilla, Valerian.

6. **ΣA[MIΩN]**. Peacock, r.; behind it, sceptre. Augustus. (B.M.) Pl. V. 5. Agrippina, jun.

7. **ΣAMIΩN**. Two peacocks facing each other. Domitian. (Mionnet, *Suppl.*)

¹⁰⁶ Above, under *Principal Types*.

8. **ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Tyche or Fortune of Samos, 1, turreted; holds in one hand figure of Hera Samia, in the other, cornucopiae.
Trajan Decius. (B.M.) Pl. V. 6. Gallienus.
9. **ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Hera Samia, facing.
Commodus, Caracalla, and later.
10. **ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Hera Samia, facing, in tetrastyle temple.
Domitian. (B.M.) Pl. V. 7. Caracalla.
11. **ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Hera Samia, facing, between peacocks.
Caracalla, Macrinus.
12. **ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Two naked children seated face to face, playing with astragali, between them Hera Samia, Valerian the Younger. (B.M.) Pl. V. 8. Caracalla.
13. **ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Forepart of galley, *Σαμαίνα*.
Domitian. (B.M.)
14. **ΣΑΜΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΙΩΝΙΑΣ**. Nemesis and Hera Samia, facing.
Gallienus. (B.M.) Pl. V. 9.

The above types, though numerous, do not contain much that is peculiar or distinctive. No. 1 proves that prows of successful ships were dedicated in the Heræum. The Nemesis of No. 4 is very different from the austere goddess of Greek poetry who rules over the very gods; and even the Nemesis-Aphrodite of the Athenians, whose statue stood at Rhamnus. She should, perhaps, rather be termed Adrasteia, Adrasteia being a deity who was much worshipped in Mysia and Phrygia, and closely connected with the worship of Cybele. At Smyrna we find on the coins two Nemeses, who are closely connected with the worship of Mater Sipylen, the local form of Cybele, and sometimes appear in a chariot drawn by griffins. They are doubtless Asiatic goddesses remoulded and made symbolical by Greek artistic fancy. The Nemesis of

Samos is of similar character. The only attribute really belonging to the Greek Nemesis which accompanies her figure is the wheel which sometimes appears at her feet (see No. 5), and which may be of solar origin, though in later times turned to moral account. She is closely veiled, and looks indeed almost like Hera herself. Probably she, like the Samian Artemis Parthenia, is really representative of the same deity as the Samian Hera, a shadow or double of the great local goddess. No. 12 is a type which recurs at Ephesus under Geta, the only variety being that there the goddess in the background is, as is natural, Artemis Ephesia in place of Hera. The meaning of it is not easy to discern. We might perhaps be inclined to see in it only a copy of some noted groups of *Ἀστραγαλίζοντες* preserved in the temples of Ephesus and of Samos, such groups as that by Polycleitus of which Pliny speaks in terms of very high praise.¹⁰⁷ I should almost be inclined, however, to attribute to it a religious meaning. We know that in certain temples of antiquity oracles by throw of dice were usual,¹⁰⁸ especially in the temple of Athene Sciras in Attica, and it is no uncommon thing to find on vases pictures of warriors casting astragali sometimes for an omen of their fate, in the presence of a deity, sometimes in mere gambling.¹⁰⁹ There is a difference no doubt whether the astragali used as dice are thrown by warriors with a serious purpose, or by children, and the religious purpose seems in the latter case more problematic; it is, however, possible that children may have been

¹⁰⁷ *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 55.

¹⁰⁸ So Schol. Pind., *Pyth.* iv. 337, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀστρογάλοι κείνται, οἷς διαμαντεύονται βάλλοντες.

¹⁰⁹ Instances collected by Welcker, *Alte Denkm.*, iii. 1.

employed, as more innocent than adults, in throwing lots for oracles. The Tyche of Samos who appears on No. 8 bearing a simulacrum of Hera is doubtless from a statue. Following the example of the people of Antioch, who had a statue of their city made by Eutychides, the cities of Asia had themselves embodied by sculptors in female forms who each held an appropriate object in her hand, either the deity of the city or a temple or a symbol. These allegorical figures play the same part in late Greek art that the deities of cities themselves play in earlier art, on votive monuments, for instance, and at the head of honorary decrees. The Tyche of Samos is of a very ordinary type, and when she appears, as in No. 32 below, without the simulacrum in her hand, does not differ from the ordinary Roman Fortuna.

The inscription of No. 14 is noteworthy. Honorary titles such as *πρώτη*, *μεγίστη* and *μητρόπολις* were eagerly claimed by the Greek cities of Asia Minor, who quarrelled among themselves for the exclusive use of them, though they were mere names, the shadow of an ass, as Dio Chrysostom calls them. The particular title *πρώτη Ἰωνίας* was specially claimed by three cities, Pergamon, Ephesus, and Smyrna, and appears on the late Imperial coins of all those cities. Not only did these three cities dispute the precedence among themselves, but even referred the weighty question to Rome; and among the inscriptions brought from Ephesus by Mr. Wood¹¹⁰ is a very amusing Imperial rescript on the subject. It is by Antoninus Pius, and is a model of tact and sense. Evidently the Ephesians had complained to him that the Smyrnæans

¹¹⁰ Inser. from Odeum, No. 2, in Appendix to Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus*.

did not address them by their proper title; the Emperor expresses his conviction that the omission was purely accidental and would not be repeated. The claim of Samos to the title was later and less strong than that of the three great cities already mentioned. It seems only to have been made in the reigns of Gordian III., Trajan Decius, and Gallienus, in the first of which reigns we may suppose either that Samos increased in prosperity, or, what is more probable, that her rivals on the mainland were beginning to suffer from Gothic incursions.

The following coins of Perinthus must be here cited:

ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ. Hera Samia, r., on prow.
Nero. (B.M.) Pl. V. 14.

ΗΡΑ ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ. Hera Samia, l. Octavia.
(Fox, *Uned. or rare Greek coins*, suppl. plate, No. 7.)

The former of these coins may be, as Overbeck¹¹¹ suggests, an aphidryma or copy of a statue on a sculptured prow preserved at Perinthus. Or the prow may be merely symbolical, to show that the goddess came to Perinthus by sea with Samian colonists. The testimony of the second is valuable and unequivocal, showing that the Perinthians not only adopted the Hera of Samos, but considered her as their own.

We must mention here an error which has arisen from a misreading of Patin. It is stated by Eckhel and Mionnet that there is on a coin a Samian goddess called ΜΗΝΗ. The coin is said by Patin¹¹² to read thus:—

¹¹¹ *Kunstmythol.*, iii. 15.

¹¹² *Mon. Imp. Rom. Num.*, p. 58.

- Obv.*—ΘΕΟΝ ΚΥΝΑΗΤΟΝ. Male head. (Augustus.)
Rev.—ΜΗΝΗ ΚΑΜΙΩΝ. Head, r., wearing turreted crown. (Livia.)

This, however, is a mere misreading of a common coin of Pergamon:—

- Obv.*—ΘΕΟΝ ΚΥΝΑΗΤΟΝ. Head of the Senate.
Rev.—ΘΕΑΝ ΡΩ ΜΗΝ. Head of Roma. Æ. 75.

the letters ΕΑΝΡΩ being read as ΚΑΜΙΩ, and the point at the end of ΜΗΝ taken for another letter.

Next in interest to the types having reference to Hera come those representing Pythagoras, who is stated by Isocrates, Pliny, and other writers to have been born in Samos, and is said by Strabo¹¹³ to have quitted the island when Polycrates became its tyrant.

15. ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ ΚΑΜΙΩΝ. Pythagoras seated, l., touches with wand globe on top of column; in his other hand sceptre.
 Trajan Decius. (B.M.) Pl. V. 10. Julia Mamæa.
 16. ΚΑΜΙΩΝ. Pythagoras standing, l., touches with wand globe on top of column.
 Commodus. (Brera.) Pl. V. 11.

The globe which Pythagoras touches is rather celestial than terrestrial; Atlas is often represented as bearing such a globe, with the constellations figured upon it. That Pythagoras was looked on in later times as an astronomer is not surprising; he is said to have learned the science of astronomy from the Chaldeans and to have made great discoveries.¹¹⁴ Globes were favourite instruments of the astronomers of Alexandria; Archimedes in particular is

¹¹³ P. 638.

¹¹⁴ Pliny, ii. 8.

said to have made some of extremely ingenious construction. Perhaps too the die-cutter may have known something of the tenets of Pythagoras; the Pythagoreans regarded the universe as a sphere, and made measure the essence of things. It may be doubted whether on our coin the sage is measuring or delivering a discourse illustrated by globes.

17. ΚΑΜΙΩΝ. Nymph, r., holds in both hands a basin or shell.
 Trajan Decius. (Paris.) Pl. V. 12. Etruscilla.

This figure is described by Mionnet as Venus holding a mirror; but he is clearly wrong. It seems copied from some statue, as it recurs both on autonomous and Imperial coins, and in various scales. Which among the local nymphs it may represent is uncertain; perhaps it may be Samia, daughter of Mæander, and so a river-nymph, whom Ancæus wedded.

18. ΚΑΜΙΩΝ. Hunter, r., spearing wild boar.
 Caracalla. (B.M.) Pl. VI. 1. Mamæa.

In other specimens a dog accompanies the hunter.

19. ΚΑΜΙΩΝ. Warrior, r., wearing helmet, slaying a figure clad as an Amazon; behind him tree.
 Gallienus. (Paris.) Pl. VI. 2.

20. ΚΑΜΙΩΝ. Male figure running, r., holding shield, his foot on a prow.
 Julia Mamæa. (B.M.) Pl. VI. 8. Alexander Severus, &c.

These three types seem to refer to the stories of the Ionian colonization. The hunter on No. 18 is not, as we might at first fancy, Meleager. We find an identical type at Ephesus, which shows that the hero depicted is the colonizer alike of Samos and Ephesus, Androclus, a

youngest son of Codrus, who led the Athenian colonists to the two places. He is said in the legend to have been directed where to build Ephesus by an oracle which bade him found a city where he met a boar; and a boar met him and was slain by him on the ridge where Ephesus afterwards stood. A frequent type of the coins of Ephesus is a boar pierced by a spear, and a coin of Antinous in the British Museum has the following reverse:—**ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ** **ΑΝΔΡΟΚΛΑΟC**, Androclus walking r., a spear over his shoulder and in his hand the head of a boar; a tree behind him. Mionnet also mentions an Ephesian coin which bears the name of Androclus, and the figure of the hero attacking a boar:—a type which proves to demonstration that our attribution is correct.

No. 19 may record another exploit of Androclus. The figure which is being slain on this coin may be either male or female. The dress is that of the Amazons, and if the figure be female we may note that the Ionian shore was the home of the legend of the Amazons, and Androclus may, like Hercules, and Theseus, and Achilles, have been represented in legend as fighting against them. If the figure, however, be male, it may stand for a Carian chief; for the Carians and Leleges offered stout opposition to the Athenian settlers. The Amazonian dress, which would ill suit a Greek warrior, would very probably be transferred from the Amazons to their rivals and successors, the Carians; and this interpretation is strongly confirmed by the next coin, which shows us an armed figure running to his ship, who seems certainly not to be an Amazon, although dressed in a thoroughly Amazonian chiton leaving one shoulder bare; but the shield is circular, not lunar, and the breast clearly male. Our hero on No. 20 seems to be flying in terror from some enemy, and escaping from him into a

ship. He is probably one of the Carian chiefs expelled from the district by the Greeks. The Carians were great in ships; like the Amazons themselves, for on the coins of Smyrna which have as type an Amazon there is often a ship in the background.

21. **CAMION**. Female figure clad in short chiton, advancing, l., holds wreath and palm.
Gordian III. (B.M.) Pl. VI. 6. Commodus, Caracalla, &c.

This figure has been variously described by numismatists as Artemis, an athlete, &c. But it is clearly female, and as clearly connected with some athletic victory. I conjecture it to be Hecrea, the impersonation of the chief games of the island, who naturally wears a girl-up chiton like Artemis, and holds in her hands the rewards of the victors. Similarly Olympia appears on coins of Elis, Actia on those of Nicopolis, &c., and one might cite many instances in sculpture. The attitude of the figure is rather that of one who gives than of one who receives a wreath; so that we cannot suppose it to stand for a victorious female athlete, even if such there were at Samos, which we may well doubt, in spite of the existence of races of girls at the Hecrea in Olympia.

22. **CAMION**. River-god reclining, l., holds reed and cornucopie.
Alexander Severus. (B.M.) Pl. VI. 18. Hadrian, Commodus, &c.

We might have supposed the river here represented to be Meander, father of Samia, but for the following:—

23. **IMBACOC CAMION**. River-god reclining, l.
(Waddington.) Trajan.

The Imbrusius is scarcely a river, rather a torrent; but it was made famous by the birth of Hera on its banks.

24. **CAMION.** Naked male figure, r., hurling stone at serpent.
Gallienus. (Paris.) Pl. VI. 6. Gordian III.

This scene probably represents the slaying of the serpent by Cadmus at Thebes. Cadmus was brother of Europa, whom he is said to have sought before his journey to Thebes at Thera and Rhodes, and other islands of the Ægean; his myth may well therefore have found a home in Samos. We have a representation of the same scene on late coins of Tyre; only there Cadmus wears a chlamys. On the present coin he is naked; but the art of the piece is so wretched that this need not surprise us.

25. **CAMION.** Heracles facing, holds in r. club, in l. bow and arrow, lion's skin on shoulder.
Philip the Elder. (B.M.) Pl. VI. 13. Gallienus.

This type, being identical on the coins of Philip and Gallienus, is probably taken from a statue. In that case it must probably be a copy of the colossal statue of Heracles erected by Myron at Samos, and placed on the same base with figures of Zeus and Athene.¹¹⁵ This statue was removed to Rome by Mark Antony, but restored to the island by Augustus. Our coin is so rude that it is hard to say whether we can trace in it anything of Myronic style, though there is something of archaism in the pose; it is also noteworthy that the head of Heracles is distinctly bearded.

26. **CAMION.** Heracles and Apollo contending for the tripod.
Commodus. (Paris.) Pl. VI. 10. Macrinus.

¹¹⁵ Strabo, p. 637.

There are few Heracleian types at Samos; but that the hero was much honoured in the island, and even regarded as *oecist*, is shown by the following piece of Perinthus:—

Obv.—ΙΩΝΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΕΤΗΝ. Head of Heracles, r.,
laur.

Rev.—ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΔΙΕ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. Club.
(B.M.) Pl. V. 13.

We next reach several mythological types which do not embody local legends, and therefore do not imperatively require comment.

27. **CAMION.** Poseidon and Zeus, both facing.
Commodus. (Paris.) Pl. VI. 7.

28. **CAMION.** Hygieia, Asclepius, and Atys.
Trajan Decius. (Paris.) Pl. VI. 12.

The substitution of Atys for Telesphorus is noteworthy. It may, however, be a mere mistake of the die-cutter.

29. **CAMION.** Goat, r. Trajan Decius.

This animal belongs no doubt to the cult of Hermes.

30. **CAMION.** Ares and Aphrodite facing one another.
Philip the Elder. (Paris.)

The worship of Ares may have been acquired in Thrace, or introduced by the Byzantine settlers imported by Syloson.

31. **CAMION.** Apollo holding arrow and bow.
Caracalla. (Vaillant.)

32. **CAMION.** Fortuna, l. (The Τύχη of the island.)
Elagabalus, Gordian III., &c.

93. **ΛΑΜΙΩΝ**. Two female figures, facing the spectator; one raises her hand; the other holds on her arm a child who wears modius, and carries cornucopia. Trajan Decius. (B.M.) Pl. VI. 9.

This type recurs under Valerian, and there are several varieties of it. On the coin in our plate both the female figures are closely veiled, on one in the French Collection neither is veiled, but she to the left wears a stephane. On a coin of Valerian in the French Collection, she who holds the child appears to hold a rudder, and is so described by Mionnet (No. 296); but this is doubtful. No better explanation suggests itself than that the infant is Harpocrates, and the figure carrying him Isis; the resemblance, however, of her drapery to that of Nemesis is striking. The remaining figure is doubtful; it may perhaps be Hera.

Most of the remaining types refer to the exploits of Emperors. These I will pass by, with the exception of a few.

94. **ΛΑΜΙΩΝ**. Male figure facing in military dress, laureate, holds patera and sceptre; behind him, galley.
Philip the Elder. (Paris.) Pl. VI. 4.

95. **ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΙΩΝΙΑΣ ΛΑΜΙΩΝ**. Male figure, l., on horseback; in front of him Sarapis extending his r. arm, and holding sceptre in l. hand.
Trajan Decius. (Paris.)

The male figure of No. 34 seems to be the Emperor Philip, or his son; and the ship in the background may show that he landed at Samos, perhaps to pay his respects to the great goddess. The figure on horseback of the next coin is the Emperor Decius; but Sarapis who greets him is not a local Samian deity.

96. **ΛΑΜΙΩΝ**. Male figure clad in toga, advancing l.; holds in r. hand staff or roll.
Philip the Younger. (Paris.) Pl. VI. 8. Trajan Decius.

This type seems unexplained. The figure is that of a youth with bare head. Had it occurred on coins of young Philip only, we should have supposed it to represent him, perhaps as a visitor to the island; but the subsequent recurrence under Decius seems to forbid such interpretation, unless we can suppose that an old reverse die was carelessly used.

The last coin we shall cite records a monetary alliance between Samos and Alexandria.

97. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ**. Head of Gordian III., laur.
Rev.—**ΛΑΜΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ**. Isis, standing, holding in her two hands a spread sail. (Paris.)

MONETARY MAGISTRATES.

The following is a list of magistrates' names on Samian coins, with statement of the period to which they belong, and the metal in which they strike. The names **ΑΡΤΙΓΟΥΣ**, **ΚΑΥΣΙΟΣ**, **ΠΕΛΥΣΙΟΣ**, and **ΠΑΓΡΩΝ** are not in Pape's Dictionary, new edition.

A.	Period.	B.	Period.
ΑΡΙΣΤΗΙΔΑΣ	IV. $\mathcal{A}$.	ΒΑΤΙΣ ?	III. $\mathcal{A}$.
ΑΡΤΙΓΟΥΣ .	"	ΒΑΤΤΟΣ .	V. $\mathcal{A}$. $\mathcal{E}$.
ΑΜΦΙ .	"		
ΑΛΕΞΗΣ	V. $\mathcal{A}$.		
ΑΙΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ .	"	Δ .	
ΑΙΓΥΓΤΟΣ .	V. $\mathcal{E}$.		
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ .	"	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	IV. $\mathcal{A}$.
ΑΡΣ	"	ΑΝΤΙΑ .	
ΑΛΥΓΗΤΟΣ .	"		

E.	Period.	N.	Period.
ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΑΧΕΛΩΙΟ.	IV. A.	ΝΑΝΙΣΚΟΣ.	V. A.
ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ.	V. A.	Γ.	
ΕΡΜΟΔΙΚΟΣ.	V. A. A.	ΡΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ.	IV. A.
ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ.	V. A.	ΠΡΩΤΗΣ.	"
ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΣ.	"	ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ.	V. A.
Η.		ΠΑΡΙΣ.	V. A.
ΗΓΗΣΙΑΝΑΣ.	IV. A.	ΠΕΛΥΣΙΟΣ.	"
ΗΓΡΙΟΣ.	"	ΠΑΓΡΩΝ.	"
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ.	V. A.	Σ.	
Θ.		ΣΙΜΟΣ.	V. A.
ΘΕΟΚΛΗΣ.	V. A.	ΣΤΡΑΤΩ[N].	"
ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤ[ΟΣ].	"	ΣΩΤΑΣ.	"
ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ.	"		
Ι.		Τ.	
ΙΕΡΩΝ.	V. A.	ΤΑΥΡΕΑΣ.	V. A.
Κ.		ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ.	V. A.
ΚΑΙΡΝΕΙΟΣ.	IV. A.	ΤΙΜΟΚΡΙ[ΤΟΣ].	"
ΚΑΥΣΙΟΣ.	V. A.		
ΚΛΕΙΤΟΦΩΝ.	"	Φ.	
Λ.		ΦΡΑΣΤΩΡ.	IV. A.
ΛΗΣΙΑΝΑΣ ?	IV. A.	ΦΙΑΤΗΣ.	V. A.
ΛΕΩΣ.	"	ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝ[ΟΣ].	"
ΛΟΧΙΤΗΣ.	"	ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ.	"
ΛΕΡΤΙ[ΝΗΣ].	"		
ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣΚΟΣ.	V. A.	Χ.	
Μ.		ΧΑΡΗΜ[	V. A.
ΜΗΤΡΟΦΩΝ.	V. A.	Incerti.	
ΜΕΛΑΝ[	"		
ΜΙΚΙΩΝ.	V. A.	]ΕΝΝΑΙΟΣ.	V. A.
ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡ[ΟΣ].	"	... ΒΙΛΑΑΣ.	"

This list must be admitted to be very disappointing. Not only is the total number of magistrates' names, fifty-six, very small compared with the number which can be found on coins of other states of Asia Minor, notably

Ephesus, but even of the names which we have, not much can be made.

In the first place it is most extraordinary that only in two instances, those of Battus and of Hermodicus (ΕΡΜΟ on copper), do we find names common to silver and copper money. As it is most unlikely that different magistrates issued the coins in different metals, this seems to show how imperfect is our list.

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of a Samian Demiurgus in Roman times,¹²⁰ Theocles of an Archon at Samos at the period of Athenian possession,¹²¹ while Leontiscus and Metrodorus are citizens of Ephesus and Sidon, who were benefactors of Samians during the exile.¹²² It is quite likely that Samians in their gratitude named their children after these friends, and the children may have become monetary magistrates; but this is a mere conjecture. So, too, when we find the name of Molpus, son of Pythagores, in an inscription of the end of the fourth century,¹²³ it is easy to suppose him a son of the Pythagores who struck money in the period before B.C. 365. But on so slight foundations as these we cannot attempt to build.

The eponymous magistrate of Samos was, in Roman times at least, the Demiurgus.¹²⁴ We hear frequently of Prytanes, and on one occasion the board of Prytanes seems to have consisted of five members;¹²⁵ but of course we cannot say that it did so always. It is suggested by the analogy of the Ephesian coinage that the monetary magistrate at Samos was probably one of the board of Prytanes. This was indeed the usual custom in Ionian cities, and can be shown to have prevailed elsewhere also, as at Coreyra. This probability is to some extent confirmed by the fact just cited, that Theomnestus was one of the Prytanes, and did issue coin. Of course little could be made of a detached instance like this, in the absence of inherent probabilities; but as it precisely confirms the view we had most reason to accept, it may be allowed as an additional reason for maintaining that view.

PERCY GARDNER.

¹²⁰ Lebas, No. 202.

¹²² Curtius, Nos. 10, 12.

¹²⁴ Lebas, No. 202.

¹²¹ Curtius, No. 6.

¹²³ Curtius, No. 8.

¹²⁵ Lebas, No. 189.

XIII.

POSTSCRIPT TO THE PAPER ON THE DATES FOUND ON HINDU KABUL COINS.

SINCE the above paper was in print I have had the advantage of conversing with Professors Oldenberg and Jacóbi, and find that they both attach more value than has been allowed in my argument, to the astronomical evidence cited by General Cunningham. Professor Jacóbi has himself recalculated the tables which General Cunningham received from Pandit Bápú Déva Shástri, and considers them to be correct. He, however, pointed out to me that, according to these tables, the year 190 A.D. will suit the dates given by General Cunningham quite as well as 167 A.D., which General Cunningham has adopted as the commencement of the Gupta era.

On examining this point more closely, I find that, as a matter of fact, the year 190 suits far better, agreeing exactly with three out of the five dates given, and in the other two the differences can be corrected by supposing a slight and very probable error.

General Cunningham's argument is founded on the employment in certain cases of dates in the Gupta era, *together* with dates also in the Vrihaspati or Jovian cycle, in which the years are named after the twelve months of the Hindu year, but the name of one of the months is dropped every eighty-sixth year in order to make the *cycle* years

younger son of Codrus, who led the Athenian colonists to the two places. He is said in the legend to have been directed where to build Ephesus by an oracle which bade him found a city where he met a bear; and a bear met him and was slain by him on the ridge where Ephesus afterwards stood. A frequent type of the coins of Ephesus is a bear pierced by a spear, and a coin of Antinous in the British Museum has the following reverse:—**ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ** **ΑΝΔΡΟΚΛΟΥC**, Androclus walking r., a spear over his shoulder and in his hand the head of a bear; a tree behind him. Mionnet also mentions an Ephesian coin which bears the name of Androclus, and the figure of the hero attacking a bear:—a type which proves to demonstration that our attribution is correct.

No. 19 may record another exploit of Androclus. The figure which is being slain on this coin may be either male or female. The dress is that of the Amazons, and if the figure be female we may note that the Ionian shore was the home of the legend of the Amazons, and Androclus may, like Heracles, and Theseus, and Achilles, have been represented in legend as fighting against them. If the figure, however, be male, it may stand for a Carian chief; for the Carians and Leleges offered stout opposition to the Athenian settlers. The Amazonian dress, which would ill suit a Greek warrior, would very probably be transferred from the Amazons to their rivals and successors, the Carians; and this interpretation is strongly confirmed by the next coin, which shows us an armed figure running to his ship, who seems certainly not to be an Amazon, although dressed in a thoroughly Amazonian chiton leaving one shoulder bare; but the shield is circular, not lunar, and the breast clearly male. Our hero on No. 20 seems to be flying in terror from some enemy, and escaping from him into a

ship. He is probably one of the Carian chiefs expelled from the district by the Greeks. The Carians were great in ships; like the Amazons themselves, for on the coins of Smyrna which have as type an Amazon there is often a ship in the background.

21. **CAMION**. Female figure clad in short chiton, advancing, l., holds wreath and palm.
Gordian III. (B.M.) Pl. VI. 5. Commodus, Caracalla, &c.

This figure has been variously described by numismatists as Artemis, an athlete, &c. But it is clearly female, and as clearly connected with some athletic victory. I conjecture it to be Herea, the impersonation of the chief games of the island, who naturally wears a girl-up chiton like Artemis, and holds in her hands the rewards of the victors. Similarly Olympia appears on coins of Elis, Actia on those of Nicopolis, &c., and one might cite many instances in sculpture. The attitude of the figure is rather that of one who gives than of one who receives a wreath; so that we cannot suppose it to stand for a victorious female athlete, even if such there were at Samos, which we may well doubt, in spite of the existence of races of girls at the *Herea* in Olympia.

22. **CAMION**. River-god reclining, l., holds reed and cornucopia.
Alexander Severus. (B.M.) Pl. VI. 13. Hadrian, Commodus, &c.

We might have supposed the river here represented to be Meander, father of Samia, but for the following:—

23. **ΙΜΒΡΑCOC CAMION**. River-god reclining, l.
(Waddington.) Trifolium.

The Imbrusus is scarcely a river, rather a torrent; but it was made famous by the birth of Hera on its banks.

younger son of Codrus, who led the Athenian colonists to the two places. He is said in the legend to have been directed where to build Ephesus by an oracle which bade him found a city where he met a boar; and a boar met him and was slain by him on the ridge where Ephesus afterwards stood. A frequent type of the coins of Ephesus is a boar pierced by a spear, and a coin of Antinous in the British Museum has the following reverse:—**ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΟΚΛΟC**, Androclus walking r., a spear over his shoulder and in his hand the head of a boar; a tree behind him. Mionnet also mentions an Ephesian coin which bears the name of Androclus, and the figure of the hero attacking a boar:—a type which proves to demonstration that our attribution is correct.

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Alexander Severus. (B.M.) Pl. VI. 13. Hadrian, Commodus, &c.

We might have supposed the river here represented to be Mæander, father of Samia, but for the following:—

23. **IMBPACOC CAMION**. River-god reclining, l.
(Waddington.) Trajan.

The Imbrasmus is scarcely a river, rather a torrent; but it was made famous by the birth of Hera on its banks.

24. **CAMION.** Naked male figure, r., hurling stone at serpent.
Gallienus. (Paris.) Pl. VI. 6. Gordian III.

This scene probably represents the slaying of the serpent by Cadmus at Thebes. Cadmus was brother of Europa, whom he is said to have sought before his journey to Thebes at Thera and Rhodes, and other islands of the Ægean; his myth may well therefore have found a home in Samos. We have a representation of the same scene on late coins of Tyre; only there Cadmus wears a chlamys. On the present coin he is naked; but the art of the piece is so wretched that this need not surprise us.

25. **CAMION.** Heracles facing, holds in r. club, in l. bow and arrow, lion's skin on shoulder.
Philip the Elder. (B.M.) Pl. VI. 13. Gallienus.

This type, being identical on the coins of Philip and Gallienus, is probably taken from a statue. In that case it must probably be a copy of the colossal statue of Heracles erected by Myron at Samos, and placed on the same base with figures of Zeus and Athene.¹¹⁵ This statue was removed to Rome by Mark Antony, but restored to the island by Augustus. Our coin is so rude that it is hard to say whether we can trace in it anything of Myronic style, though there is something of archaism in the pose; it is also noteworthy that the head of Heracles is distinctly bearded.

26. **CAMION.** Heracles and Apollo contending for the tripod.
Commodus. (Paris.) Pl. VI. 10. Macrinus.

¹¹⁵ Strabo, p. 637.

There are few Heracleian types at Samos; but that the hero was much honoured in the island, and even regarded as *oecist*, is shown by the following piece of Perinthus:—

Obv.—ΙΩΝΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΕΤΗΝ. Head of Heracles, r.,
laur.

Rev.—ΠΕΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΔΙΕ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. Club.
(B.M.) Pl. V. 13.

We next reach several mythological types which do not embody local legends, and therefore do not imperatively require comment.

27. **CAMION.** Poseidon and Zeus, both facing.
Commodus. (Paris.) Pl. VI. 7.

28. **CAMION.** Hygieia, Asclepius, and Atys.
Trajan Decius. (Paris.) Pl. VI. 12.

The substitution of Atys for Telesphorus is noteworthy. It may, however, be a mere mistake of the die-cutter.

29. **CAMION.** Goat, r. Trajan Decius.

This animal belongs no doubt to the cult of Hermes.

30. **CAMION.** Ares and Aphrodite facing one another.
Philip the Elder. (Paris.)

The worship of Ares may have been acquired in Thrace, or introduced by the Byzantine settlers imported by Syloson.

31. **CAMION.** Apollo holding arrow and bow.
Caracalla. (Vaillant.)

32. **CAMION.** Fortuna, l. (The Τίχη of the island.)
Elagabalus, Gordian III., &c.

33. **ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Two female figures, facing the spectator; one raises her hand; the other holds on her arm a child who wears modius, and carries cornucopiae. Trajan Decius. (B.M.) Pl. VI. 9.

This type recurs under Valerian, and there are several varieties of it. On the coin in our plate both the female figures are closely veiled, on one in the French Collection neither is veiled, but she to the left wears a stephane. On a coin of Valerian in the French Collection, she who holds the child appears to hold a rudder, and is so described by Mionnet (No. 296); but this is doubtful. No better explanation suggests itself than that the infant is Harpocrates, and the figure carrying him Isis; the resemblance, however, of her drapery to that of Nemesis is striking. The remaining figure is doubtful; it may perhaps be Hera.

Most of the remaining types refer to the exploits of Emperors. These I will pass by, with the exception of a few.

34. **ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Male figure facing in military dress, laureate, holds patera and sceptre; behind him, galley. Philip the Elder. (Paris.) Pl. VI. 4.
35. **ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΙΩΝΙΑΣ ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Male figure, l., on horseback; in front of him Sarapis extending his r. arm, and holding sceptre in l. hand. Trajan Decius. (Paris.)

The male figure of No. 34 seems to be the Emperor Philip, or his son; and the ship in the background may show that he landed at Samos, perhaps to pay his respects to the great goddess. The figure on horseback of the next coin is the Emperor Decius; but Sarapis who greets him is not a local Samian deity.

36. **ΣΑΜΙΩΝ**. Male figure clad in toga, advancing l.; holds in r. hand staff or roll. Philip the Younger. (Paris.) Pl. VI. 8. Trajan Decius.

This type seems unexplained. The figure is that of a youth with bare head. Had it occurred on coins of young Philip only, we should have supposed it to represent him, perhaps as a visitor to the island; but the subsequent recurrence under Decius seems to forbid such interpretation, unless we can suppose that an old reverse die was carelessly used.

The last coin we shall cite records a monetary alliance between Samos and Alexandria.

37. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ**. Head of Gordian III., laur.
Rev.—**ΣΑΜΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ**. Isis, standing, holding in her two hands a spread sail. (Paris.)

MONETARY MAGISTRATES.

The following is a list of magistrates' names on Samian coins, with statement of the period to which they belong, and the metal in which they strike. The names **ΑΡΤΙΓΟΥΣ**, **ΚΑΥΣΙΟΣ**, **ΓΕΛΥΣΙΟΣ**, and **ΓΑΓΡΩΝ** are not in Pape's Dictionary, new edition.

A.	Period.	B.	Period.
ΑΡΙΣΤΗΙΔΑ[Σ.	IV. Α.	ΒΑΤΙΣ. ?	III. Α.
ΑΡΤΙΓΟΥΣ.	"	ΒΑΤΤΟΣ.	V. Α. Α.
ΑΜΦΙ.	"		
ΑΛΕΞΗΣ	V. Α.		
Α]ΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗ[Σ.	"	Δ.	
ΑΙΓΥΡΤΟΣ.	V. Α.		
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑ[ΧΟΣ.	"	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	IV. Α.
ΑΡΣ[	"	ΑΝΤΙΑ.	
ΑΛΥΓΗΤΟΣ.	"		

E.	Period.	N.	Period.
ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ	IV. A.	ΝΑΝΙΣΚΟΣ.	V. A.
ΑΧΕΛΩΙΟ.			
ΕΠΙΓΕΝΗΣ.	V. A.	Γ.	
ΕΡΜΟΔΙΚΟΣ.	V. A. A.	ΡΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ.	IV. A.
ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ.	V. A.	ΠΡΩΤΗΣ.	V. "
ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΣ.	"	ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ.	V. A.
		ΠΑΡΙΣ.	V. A.
Η.		ΠΕΛΥΣΙΟΣ.	"
ΗΓΗΣΙΑΝΑΞ.	IV. A.	ΠΑΓΡΩΝ.	"
ΗΓΙΟΣ.	"		
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ.	V. A.	Σ.	
Θ.			
ΘΕΟΚΛΗΣ.	V. A.	ΣΙΜΟΣ.	V. A.
ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤ[ΟΣ.	"	ΣΤΡΑΤΩ[N.	"
ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ.	"	ΣΩΤΑΣ.	"
Ι.		Τ.	
ΙΕΡΩΝ.	V. A.	ΤΑΥΡΕΑΣ.	V. A.
Κ.		ΤΙ[ΜΟΚΛΗΣ.	V. A.
ΚΑ[ΡΝΕΙΟΣ.	IV. A.	ΤΙΜΟΚΡΙ[ΤΟΣ.	"
ΚΑΥΣΙΟΣ.	V. A.		
ΚΛΕΙΤΟΦΩΝ.	"	Φ.	
Λ.		ΦΡΑΣΤΩΡ.	IV. A.
ΛΗΣΙΑΝΑΞ. ?	IV. A.	ΦΙΛΤΗΣ.	V. A.
ΛΕΩΣ.	"	ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝ[ΟΣ.	"
ΛΟΧΙΤΗΣ.	"	ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ.	"
ΛΕΡΤΙ[ΝΗΣ.	"		
ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣΚΟΣ.	V. A.	Χ.	
Μ.		ΧΑΡΗΜ[	V. A.
ΜΗΤΡΟΦΩΝ.	V. A.	<i>Incerti.</i>	
ΜΕΛΑΝ[	"		
ΜΙΚΙΩΝ.	V. A.	]ΕΝΝΑΙΟΣ.	V. A.
ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡ[ΟΣ.	"	... ΒΙΛΛΑΣ.	"

This list must be admitted to be very disappointing. Not only is the total number of magistrates' names, fifty-six, very small compared with the number which can be found on coins of other states of Asia Minor, notably

Ephesus, but even of the names which we have, not much can be made.

In the first place it is most extraordinary that only in two instances, those of Battus and of Hermodicus (**ΕΡΜΟ** on copper), do we find names common to silver and copper money. As it is most unlikely that different magistrates issued the coins in different metals, this seems to show how imperfect is our list.

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II



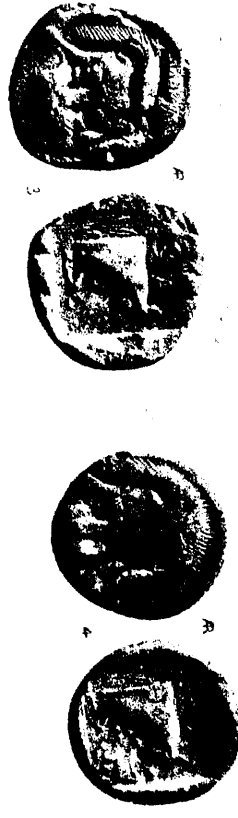
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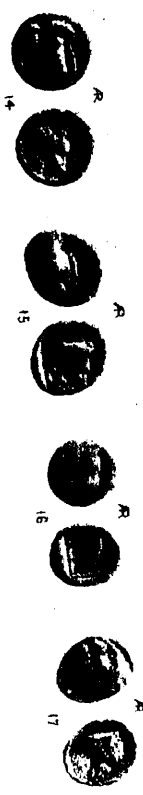
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[III]

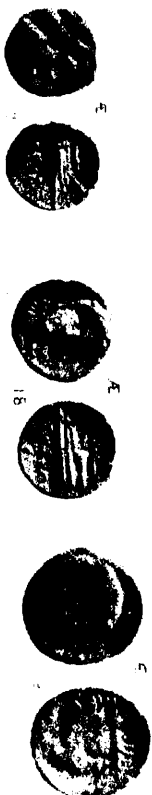
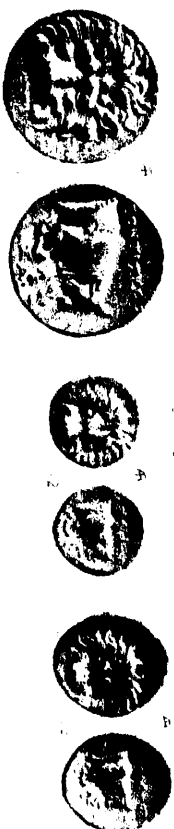


[II or III]





VI



VII



IX







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12

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