

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

CRETAN COINS.

THE following pages contain a description of several unpublished coins of Crete, and some remarks, chiefly on various types and attributions, which have suggested themselves to me whilst preparing the catalogue of the Cretan coins in the British Museum. Although there is still wanting a complete monograph on the subject, corresponding to those published by Mr. Head and Professor Gardner on various cities and districts of Hellas, the task of undertaking it would, at present, be somewhat unsatisfactory, and even premature; partly because only a comparatively small number of Cretan coins have been published by private collectors¹ and by the curators of public museums, and partly because our materials for the history of Crete, which, on the whole, are far from copious, might be, and ere long probably will be, considerably enlarged by excavations in the island. The great bulk of the information derivable from the literary sources has been collected in the three volumes of Hoeck's well-known *Kreta*,² a learned but ponderous work, of which, however,

¹ Among the numerous unpublished coins made known by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in his recent *Monnaies Grecques* (1888), comparatively few of Crete are included. We are glad, however, to have the assurance of the author that he has collected sufficient materials for a separate essay on the Cretan series.

² Göttingen, 1828.

there is now a readable summary in the *Précis de l'Histoire de Crète*, by MM. Bolanachi and Fazy.³ Bursian, in his *Geographie von Griechenland* (vol. ii. pp. 529—581), has given a very useful account of the various Cretan towns, and has incorporated much of the material which has accumulated since the time of Hoeck; and a good chapter on the Cretan State will be found in the last edition of Schömann's *Griechische Alterthümer*.⁴ The archæological contributions to our knowledge of Crete are not very numerous, for the good reason that no systematic excavations have ever been carried on in the island. Travellers like Pashley,⁵ and Spratt⁶ and Thénon⁷ have indeed rendered good service, especially in identifying the ancient sites; but if we except the numerous lentoid gems which have been found in Crete, the coins, and a few isolated antiquities published in various periodicals, not much important evidence can be said to be derived from the monumental sources. Not only archæologists generally, but numismatists in particular, would certainly have much to gain from a thorough exploration of the island. We should obtain, to begin with, a trustworthy record of the find-spot of all the coins that were brought to light; if a hoard of coins were unearthed we should have an accurate analysis of its contents; and as it would almost certainly

³ Paris, 1869, Pt. I. Pt. II. deals with the post-classical history of Crete, on which see also Perrot, *L'île de Crète*. Paris, 1867.

⁴ P. 295 ff. (Eng. trans., 1871): cp. also Hermann, *Lehrbuch der griech. Staatsalterthümer* (1875), §§ 21, 22.

⁵ Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, 2 vols., Cambridge and London, 1837.

⁶ Captain [now Admiral] Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, 2 vols. London, 1867.

⁷ Thénon in *Revue Archéologique*, N.S., vols. xiv.—xviii.

include a number of non-Cretan coins, such as those of Aegina, Cyrene, and Argos, we should be provided with additional data for determining the periods of the Cretan coins themselves. Further, from inscriptions we might hope to glean new details of Cretan history; and by inscriptions and statuettes and votive tablets a flood of light could hardly fail to be shed upon many of the obscurer places of Cretan religion and mythology. Crete was a land that teemed with curious myths—*Creta multis famigerata fabulis* the geographer Mela calls it, and the native coins are full of mythology and full of evidence as to the local cults of Cretan towns. At present, however, some of the most curious coin-types, like the *Πτολίαικος* of Aptera and the *Φελαγανός* of Phaestus, remain but little more than isolated curiosities, owing to our need of further monuments to explain and illustrate them. Of the remarkable art of Crete, now known chiefly from coins, and in them often seen under a barbarous form, we should also gladly welcome any fresh examples.

The incidents of Cretan history are of a somewhat uninteresting and even ignoble character. If we would seek the true glories of Crete we must turn to her legendary foretime, to the days of Minos and of Daedalus, to the days when Agamemnon, king of men, rejoiced before Troy as he saw the Cretans arming around the warlike Idomeneus: for they "all were skilled in warring, neither did disheartening dread keep back a man of them, nor did any one yielding to coward sloth avoid the evil contest." To the not unwholesome but almost too thorough-going scepticism of the historian Grote the legends of Minos and the rest remained mere legends; they were as curtains which might, indeed, conceal behind them figures of flesh and blood, but curtains which could not

by any possibility be withdrawn. The more brilliant and probably more discerning criticism of Curtius⁸ has asserted that there attaches to the Crete of Minos the notion of a marked historical epoch of civilisation. Minos himself may be looked upon as the first sea-king, the lord of the Isles of Hellas. It is true that the nebulous veil of myth will hardly enable us to recognise the outlines of historical personages, but yet it is not difficult to make out that the essence of the legends of Minos consists in the fact that "order and law, the foundation of states, and a variety of forms of divine worship originated in his island." Open to three continents at once—to Greece, to Africa, and to Asia, and especially to the civilising influences of Phrygia and Phœnicia, Crete gave birth to a civilisation which bore a Hellenic stamp, and which was formed "out of the confused minglings of different phases of nationality by a process of elimination and refinement." The recovery of the historic element in legend is obviously a difficult if not exactly an impossible task, but there can be little doubt that well-directed excavations might discover in Crete, as they have at Mycenæ, in Cyprus, and elsewhere, a clue to many dubious points in its early history, and even perhaps their solution. What, for instance, was the precise extent of that Phrygian and Phœnician influence in Crete which we now but dimly apprehend through the obscure indications of certain myths? What is the true significance of legends like those of Daedalus? Was Crete, as a recent German writer⁹ has emphatically maintained, really an important centre of primitive artistic energy? These, we say, are questions which it might be possible for archæo-

⁸ *History of Greece*, i. p. 71 f. (Eng. trans.).

⁹ Milchhoeffer, *Die Anfängen d. Kunst*.

logy to answer, and upon which even the acutest literary criticism cannot claim to have said the last word.

But it is not so much with the half-mythical past as with the historical present of ancient Crete that the numismatist is concerned. And, first, we must notice how largely the whole course of Cretan history was determined by the geographical conformation of the island itself. Broken up into valleys divided one from another by barriers of mountain, Crete seemed to present a physical obstacle to political union and centralisation. Though certain traits of character and forms of polity, though the worship of certain divinities, as of the goddess Britomartis, or Diktyнна, are found throughout the island, the history of Crete is principally the history of individual Cretan cities, each with its own government and isolated interests; each striking its own coins, and even using its own especial calendar. The history of these cities in earlier days is very imperfectly known to us: we know, however, that the streams of Cretan activity never mingled with the broad sea of Hellenic life. From the glorious contest with the Persians Crete stands aloof; she has neither part nor lot in the great Hellenic war of the fifth century.¹⁰ The Cretans have always their hands too full with their own internal struggles, and if they fight beyond the limits of their island it is in the character of mercenaries, embracing any cause for pay. Three of the Cretan cities, namely Cnossos, Gortyna, and Cydonia, seem to tower above the rest, but we find them now united, now disunited, just as it suits their temporary purpose. Of these and of the other cities we obtain more frequent glimpses as time advances. A number of inscriptions

¹⁰ See, however, Thuc., vii. 57.

belonging chiefly to the end of the third century B.C. record the treaties made between various communities of Crete—the alliance of Lato with Olus, of Hierapytna with Priansus, of Hierapytna with Lyttus, of Dreros, Cnossos, and Miletus against Lyttus;¹¹ and these inscriptions, together with the details given by Polybius, enable us to form some general notion of Cretan politics, and of the vehement strife of city with city. In B.C. 216 we find the Cretans, weary for a time of their internecine struggles, inviting Philip V. of Macedon to assume the general protection of the island; but no pressure from outside seems ever to have much affected the petty course of Cretan history, or to have forced the cities into a really permanent union. In the second and first centuries before our era the Cretans came into contact with the power of Rome, and in B.C. 67 the island, which had long been a stronghold of pirates, was finally reduced (not without some display of native bravery) by the Roman general Metellus.

The knowledge of these and other incidents in Cretan history does not, unfortunately, render us much assistance in arranging the Cretan coins; and it has further to be regretted that the evidence of style, usually so valuable to the numismatist, is here to a great extent unavailable on account of the peculiar character of Cretan art. The chronological sequence of the coins would, in fact, be far more uncertain than it is, were it not that the inhabitants of Crete had an especial fondness for using the coins of other Greek peoples as *flans* upon which to impress their own devices and legends. Dr. Friedlaender,¹² in one of the few articles as yet published upon the subject of Cretan

¹¹ See a list in Hicks, *Manual of Greek Inscriptions*, p. 295; cp. also *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, iii. (1879), p. 290 f.

¹² *Zeit. für Num.*, iv. p. 887 f.

coins, has called attention to some of these re-strikings : I have found others in the British Museum, and instances are probably very numerous, though it is not always possible to make out the original types of the re-struck specimens. Guided chiefly by indications of this kind we may perhaps approximately assign the extant coins of Crete to the four following periods:—I. *Circa* B.C. 480—481. II. B.C. 431—300. III. B.C. 300—200. IV. B.C. 200—67.

The first issue of money in most of the cities does not seem to have taken place much earlier than B.C. 431, the date assigned as the upward limit of our second period ; and in some places probably not earlier than B.C. 400. As might be expected, however, from what we know from other sources, the important cities of Cnossus and Gortyna have considerable issues before B.C. 431, though perhaps no Cretan coins can be assigned to a date much anterior to the Persian wars, or about B.C. 480. To judge from extant specimens Cydonia, the third great city of Crete, does not appear to have had a coinage of its own till the end of the fifth century B.C. : a remarkable archaic coin of Phaestus, which I publish for the first time (see p. 45), is, on the other hand, a somewhat unexpected piece of evidence as to the importance of this city in early times. The first coinages of one or two other cities, as Itanus, Praesus, and Rhaucus, seem also to fall within our first period, though in the later rather than in the earlier part of it. It is apparently to our second division (B.C. 431—300) that the great bulk of Cretan money belongs : the coins assignable to the succeeding period (B.C. 300—200) are not so numerous. Müller¹³ has attributed to one

¹³ L. Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, p. 227 f.

or two of the Cretan cities tetradrachms with Alexander's types, but the attribution of these particular specimens is far from certain, though it is not improbable that coins of this class may have circulated in the island; it would be interesting to have well-authenticated instances of such specimens having been found in Crete. I have not been able to connect the various treaty inscriptions of the third century with the coinages of the cities to which they relate, though of one remarkable alliance between Cnossus and Gortyna we have, as I shall presently suggest, an interesting numismatic memorial. Our fourth period is composed of a good many coins, none of which seem to be much earlier in style than B.C. 200, and some of which may be placed nearly as late as B.C. 67, the date of the reduction of the island by the Romans, when the autonomous coinage must have come to an end.¹⁴ The coinage of Crete under the Empire consists chiefly of the copper coins bearing the inscription **KOINON KPHTΩN**, and of certain coins in silver and copper struck under the earlier emperors, and bearing the names of different Cretan cities.

The strange and well-marked character of the art of Cretan coins was noted long ago by Eckhel; but it is Mr. Stuart Poole who must claim the credit of having been the first to call attention to such merits as it possesses, and especially to those realistic qualities which it often exhibits. The Cretan artist goes straight to nature for his inspiration: he excels, as Mr. Poole has pointed out, "in the portrayal of animal and vegetable subjects, and

¹⁴ The silver coins published in the *Zeit. f. Num.*, x. (1888), p. 119 f., and by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Gr.*, p. 210, must not, however, be forgotten.

delights in perspective and foreshortening.”¹⁵ Since this was written some further suggestive criticism on the subject has been advanced by Professor Gardner, in his important work on the *Types of Greek Coins*.¹⁶ One remark there made ought especially to be borne in mind when approaching Cretan coins from the artistic standpoint, namely, that the love of nature and the picturesque which strikes us in Cretan coin-designs is, to a great extent, the result of the *religious* conditions under which the Cretan artist worked. His task was to body forth and turn to shape bizarre and local myths—many of them associated (as Otto Jahn has shown) with a somewhat crude nature-worship. Those trees, for instance, which he so often introduces are not inserted primarily as ornamental accessories, but as integral parts of the type, to give an outward expression to a religious belief. He does not, for example on the coins of Gortyna, seat his Europa in a tree purely for the sake of artistic effect, but because the Gortynians venerated a sacred tree—that “*juxta fontem Platanus nunquam folia dimittens*” which was the witness of the loves of Zeus and Europa. But although to a great extent conditioned by the peculiar character of Cretan myths, the art of Crete, as displayed on its coins, has certainly originality and even charm. The Cretan coin-types are interesting, moreover, as exponents of certain qualities in a local school of Greek art of which otherwise we should know but little. It is, however, fairly open to question whether these very qualities of picturesqueness and uncompromising realism are those which we most

¹⁵ R. S. Poole, in *Num. Chron.*, 1864, p. 240; cp. *Encyclop. Britannica*, 8th ed., art. “Numismatics.”

¹⁶ Pp. 160—167, and cp. Pl. IX.; see also p. 172.

desire for coin-reliefs. Now, on comparing the work of a Cretan coin engraver with that of a good Greek coin engraver who is not of Crete, what we are compelled, I think, to decide, is, that the designs of the Cretan artist are indeed excellent in themselves, but that the designs of the non-Cretan artist are not only excellent absolutely, but relatively, and peculiarly fitted for the purpose for which they are employed. The Cretans, in fact, seem to have lacked that sense of fitness, that habitual recollection of the material conditions under which they worked, which is one of the grand characteristics of the engravers of Greek coins, indeed of all Greek artists. In their love of natural objects pure and simple, they forgot that natural objects fastidiously selected and even conventionalized may, under some conditions, be more artistically satisfying than nature faithfully transcribed from field and wood; and thus, though the bull on the coins of Gortyna may be nearer nature than the bull on the coins of Thurium, the *θούπιος βόης* must be pronounced the finer coin-type. All the foregoing remarks of course apply only to the best designed and executed Cretan coins, for, as is well known, there are many specimens in the series which are altogether beneath criticism. Some of these latter are simply the products of barbarian workmen who cannot make visible even the distinction between the male and female head; while many others, though better executed, betray an undoubted substratum of barbarism. Inequalities in the technical workmanship of contemporaneously issued coins are common enough in almost any Greek city, but they are particularly striking in Crete, and there may, I think, be observed in most of the Cretan towns, especially in the period B.C. 431—300, three distinct styles of coin-engraving all evidently contemporary. First, we

have the coin of creditable design and execution supplied, as one is sometimes tempted to believe, by a non-Cretan artist as a model for the Cretan mints; next, there is the tolerably faithful though unskilled imitation of this prototype; while, finally, we have the rudest attempts at reproduction by an utterly barbarous hand. These differences may be well seen in the coins of Gortyna photographed in Plate I. The obverse of No. 1, both for grace of design and delicacy of execution, is worthy of all praise. The next specimen (No. 2) successfully reproduces the original motive, but the delicacy of execution is gone; the minute folds in the drapery, for example, are almost beyond the powers of the second artist. The third engraver, as a glance at the plate will show (Plate I. No. 3), is only competent to design for us a blurred figure of uncertain sex perched in a tree of laths. Sometimes, though not very frequently, the Cretans deliberately used the coins of other Greek cities as patterns from which to copy direct; in some cases with considerable success, as in the Hera of Cnossus suggested by the Hera of Argos; though in others with disastrous results, as in the coins of Chersonesus, which are imitated from the fine money of Stymphalus in Arcadia.

With these preliminary remarks I now proceed to a discussion of individual coins in various Cretan cities, confining myself, as far as possible, to points on which I have some new suggestion to offer, or which seem to call for further examination.

ALLARIA.

The tetradrachm in the British Museum (weight, 235·3 grains) with obverse Head of Pallas, and reverse Λ A

Herakles seated on rock (Head, *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. 43, 28) formerly given to Laconia, seems to be rightly assigned by Mr. Newton¹⁷ to Allaria. M. Bompois, in his *Étude . . des portraits attribués à Cléomène III.* (p. 32, note) has objected to Mr. Newton's attribution, chiefly on the ground that the coin reads not A Λ but Λ A. But the legend on some of the smaller silver coins of Allaria with obverse, Head of Pallas, and reverse, standing Herakles¹⁸ is also retrograde—NATΩIQAΛΛA; and I am informed that M. Bompois, on subsequently comparing the tetradrachm with the smaller coins in the British Museum, admitted the correctness of Mr. Newton's view.

APOLLONIA.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., wearing wreath.

Rev.—Tripod.

Æ. .9. Wt. 173·2 grs. Brit. Mus. Coll.

[Re-struck; square labyrinth visible on reverse.]

2. Similar types.

Æ. .8. Wt. 79·7 grs. Brit. Mus.

A comparison of these coins with the similar specimens described in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1865 (p. 163) enables us to give them with tolerable certainty to Apollonia. The work of the obverse is extremely rude, especially in the case of No. 2. The coins may be assigned to the fourth century B.C., as the larger piece has been re-struck on a coin of Cnossus, apparently on one of the specimens with obverse, female head r., and reverse, B1b, and square labyrinth (Brit. Mus.), which may belong to the period B.C. 431—350.

¹⁷ *Num. Chron.*, vii. p. 114.

¹⁸ Brit. Mus. Coll.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ.

1. *Obv.*—[Α]ΠΤΑΡΑΙΩΝ. Head of Artemis of Apteræ, wearing earring and stephane ornamented with floral pattern; hair rolled. In front of head, in small letters, artist's name ΠΥΘ[ΟΔΩΡΙΟΥ].

Rev.—ΠΤΟΛΙΟΙΚΟΣ. Warrior (Pteræ?) standing l., wearing cuirass, and holding in l. spear and shield ornamented with a star; his r. hand is raised to salute a sacred tree which stands before him.

Ac. 95. Wt. 174.0 grs. Brit. Mus.

[Compare Pl. I., No. 4, from Mionnet's cast.]

This coin is apparently from the same die as the coin in Mionnet, t. ii., p. 261, No. 27, which is here photographed as being the better specimen of the two. The goddess represented on the obverse might at first sight appear to be Aphrodite or even Hera, but she is in all probability a local form of Artemis, as an inscription, published in Lebas and Waddington,¹⁹ mentions τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἀπτεράς. The artist's signature in front of the head has been already read in diverse ways, but always erroneously.²⁰ A coin in a private collection, of which I have seen an electrotyp, reads with very fair distinctness, ΠΥΘΟΔΩ [ΡΟΥ], and the same inscription may even be made out on Mionnet's cast.²¹ The artist is, in fact, that Pythodoros who worked at the not far distant town Polyrrhenium, and whose work we know from coins in the British Museum (Pl. I. No. 7, and page 71), and from a specimen lately published by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer,²² on which he signs his name in full, ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡΙΟΥ. The

¹⁹ *Voyage Arch. (inscr.)*, t. ii., p. 267, No. 75.

²⁰ Cp. von Sallet, *Die Kunsterinschriften*, p. 51 and p. 52.

²¹ *Mionnet, t. ii.*, p. 261, No. 27; see also Pl. I., No. 4.

²² *Münzen Catalogue 1882*, p. 212, No. 28.

coins made by Pythodoros for Aptera and for Polyrrhenium present us with a female head identical in style. They are the productions of a die-engraver with a tendency to over-ornateness in his work, but who is not without technical skill. His style is not unlike that of Neuantos, the engraver of Cydonia. The curious type of the reverse has been explained, with much probability, as relating to Pteras, the founder of Aptera, who also built one of the early temples at Delphi.²³ It is commonly stated that he is here engaged in plucking a leaf from the sacred bay, a somewhat meaningless action. It is much more probable that he is portrayed in the act of adoring the tree, or the divinity of which the tree is symbolical. The upraised hand is the ordinary Greek gesture of adoration, as may be seen on almost any votive tablet representing a deity and suppliants. On an Imperial coin of Pergamon the Emperor Caracalla may be observed saluting in the same manner a tree round which is coiled the serpent representative of Asklepios.²⁴ The reverse inscription of the Aptera coin is commonly ΠΤΟΛΙΟΙΚΟΣ, though a specimen in the Hunter Collection is said to read ΠΤΟΛΙΟΣΤΟΥ,²⁵ and I have seen a copy of one reading ΠΤΟΛΙΟΙΤΟ[Σ]. Πτολίαικος is a word not known to occur elsewhere: it has been explained as an epithet equivalent to πολιοῦχος, or, better, to πόλεως οἰκίστης. A coin in the British Museum similar to the above, but with ΑΠΤΕΡΑΙΩΝ before the head of the obverse, is counter-marked with the caduceus; another similar specimen has the monogram Α on the reverse.

²³ Paus., x. 5.

²⁴ *Num. Chron.*, Third Series, vol. ii. Pl. III. Fig. 7.

²⁵ *Mion., Sup.* tom. iv. p. 304, note.

[ARSINOE.]

1. *Obv.*—Female head r. (Artemis ?) ; hair tied in bunch behind.

Rev.—ΑΡΣΙ. Helmeted male figure, naked, standing r. ; his r. hand placed upon a spear round which is coiled a serpent, his l. resting on shield.

Æ. 8. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 5] (*obv.*).

[The serpent is not noticed by Leake, *Num. Hell.*,
"Arsinoe Cretae."]

2. *Obv.*—Helmeted (male ?) head l.

Rev.—ΑΡΣΙ. Two dolphins swimming.

Æ. 4. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 9.]

Leake²⁶ speaks of specimens similar to these as being "certainly Cretan," though without stating his reasons. No. 2 has indeed a Cretan look, but not No. 1, and there is no evidence, I believe, of their having been found in Crete. The very existence of a Cretan town named Arsinoe seems doubtful. It depends upon a passage in Stephanus Byzantinus, who speaks of it, according to the common reading, as belonging to the territory of Lyttus (Ἀρσινόη Πόλις . . . ἐννάτη, Λύκτου). But the reading Λύκτου is extremely unsatisfactory, and Westermann and others substitute Λυκίας.²⁷ The attribution of these coins

²⁶ *Num. Hell.*, "Arsinoe Cretae."

²⁷ "Ἐννάτη, Λύκτου :—Non dubito quin librariorum imperitia monstrum illud lectionis in textum irrepserat. Λύκτος enim neque provinciae neque regionis nomen est, sed oppidi in Creta. Fortasse rescribendum est : ἐννάτη, Λυκίας. Nihil occurrit melius divinandum : nam infra sequetur : ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Λυκίας. Hac loquendi formula non usus fuisset Stephanus, nisi in praecedentibus alterius meminisset."—Berkelii *Annotationes* in Steph. Byz.

to a Cretan town, Arsinoe, must, therefore, be considered as uncertain.

AXUS.

The coins of this city have been made the subject of a short paper by Dr. Kenner in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*.²⁸ The form **ΑΞΙΩΝ**, which appears upon them, occurs in an inscription of Axus, published by Lebas and Waddington,²⁹ though **Ααξιων** also appears in the same text. The orthography of the name, as M. Waddington remarks, varies in the authors, but all the variations arise from the initial digamma of the word in the local dialect.³⁰ Two specimens in the British Museum of the copper coins of Kenner's Class III. (p. 19) are countermarked with a laureate head of Apollo with quiver at his shoulder; a Museum specimen of the copper coin with *obv.* head of Zeus, and *rev.* thunderbolt, is countermarked with a head of Zeus, or perhaps Poseidon, and another specimen with these types is countermarked with a youthful head, perhaps of Apollo.

CHERSONESUS.

Dr. von Sallet³¹ has already pointed out that one of the earlier silver coins of this place is a rude copy of a well-known coin of Stymphalus, in Arcadia. The British Museum has several barbarous Chersonesus imitations of the Stymphalian coin, on which the laurel wreath and elaborate earring of the Arcadian coin are preserved (*rev.*

²⁸ Vol. viii. pp. 15—20.

²⁹ *Voyage Arch. (inscr.)*, tom. iii. p. 81, No. 65.

³⁰ For other examples of the **Α** form of the digamma see Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Gesch. d. Griech. Alphabets*, 8rd ed., Taf. I. (Korkyra), Taf. II. (Bœotia, &c.).

³¹ *Zeit. für Num.*, ii. pp. 124, 125.

Inscription, Herakles with club). The head on the coin of Stympthalus is that of the Artemis Stymphalia : the people of Chersonesus probably called it Artemis Britomartis, a goddess of whom there was a sanctuary in their town.³² The Stympthalian head is more successfully copied on the coins of Chersonesus with the reverse type Apollo seated on omphalos, holding lyre and plectrum (see Pl. III. No. 12, *obv.* only). The coinage of the place probably came to an end about B.C. 220, for its copper money with *obv.* head of Pallas, and *rev.* XEP is exactly like that of Lyttus, which we have good reason to believe did not issue coins after that date (see p. 42). The copper coin described by Leake³³ with *obv.* eagle l., *rev.* XEP (in monogram) is also probably not later than B.C. 220. Specimens of these coins are in the British Museum.

CNOSSUS.

1. *Obv.*—Minotaur, head facing, running r.; he holds in r. round stone, his l. is raised.

Rev.—Cruciform labyrinth of maeander pattern, in centre of which ∴ (star); in each of its four angles is a deep incuse square in which is a pellet.

Æ. 8. Wt. 184·8 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 10.]

This coin probably belongs to the early part of the fifth century, and, to judge from its lumpy fabric, is anterior to the other Cnossian didrachms with similar types.³⁴ The legends of the Minotaur and labyrinth, like all the principal religious beliefs of Cnossus, are fully illustrated by the coinage of the place. The appearance

³² Strabo, x. p. 479.

³³ *Num. Hell.*, "Chersonasus Cretæ," No. 1, *Suppl.*

³⁴ *E.g.*, Mion. ii. p. 265, No. 52.

of the labyrinth on this coin is important as showing, not, indeed, that it actually existed, but that the legends connected with it were current at an early period, though they are known to us through late writers.³⁵ The five dots in the centre of the labyrinth on the reverse of our coin are intended for a star; a star of the more usual form appears in the centre of the labyrinth on Cnossian coins of the fourth century, as does also a crescent.

2. *Obv.*—Minotaur (head towards l.) running r.; he holds in r. round stone, his l. hand is raised, and holds a stone (?); border of dots.

Rev.—Within a square frame of the maeander pattern, youthful male head r., with short hair bound by taenia. The whole in incuse square.

AR. 1.1. Wt. 174.7 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I. No. 11.]

The head on the reverse of this interesting coin seems to be that of a hero rather than of a god. The maeander pattern evidently represents the labyrinth, and I would suggest that the head which it encloses is that of Theseus. His short hair seems to be bound with a fillet, as the head of Theseus is on a cylix in the British Museum, which represents the hero attacking the Minotaur.³⁶ Against this attribution it may be urged that the head within the maeander pattern has not *necessarily* any connection with it, for on a Cnossian coin of later style we find the head of the goddess Demeter enclosed within it;³⁷ in this case

³⁵ Cp. R. S. Poole in *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. i. pp. 171, 172.

³⁶ Cecil Smith in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ii. p. 57 f. Pl. X.

³⁷ *Zeit. für Num.*, p. 232. The female head surrounded by the circular maeander pattern on the silver coin in Mion. ii. p. 266, No. 60, may perhaps be Ariadne, though Artemis Britomartis and even Persephone might put in a claim.

we might see in the head of our reverse, either that of Idomeneus or Meriones, whom we know to have been honoured with a cultus as heroes by the Cnossians ;³⁸ but Theseus seems, on the whole, the most suitable. A large series of silver coins of various types may be attributed to Cnossus for the end of the fifth and for the fourth century. The two principal classes consist (1) of the didrachms with *obv.* head of Persephone (some of good style), and *rev.* cruciform labyrinth, or *rev.* Bucranium in maeander frame ; (2) of the didrachms with *obv.* head of Hera, suggested by coins of Argos,³⁹ and *rev.* square labyrinth (cp. Head, *Guide*, Pl. 23, 39). All these coins are well known, and it is sufficient to observe upon the type of Persephone that early legends connected Demeter with Crete,⁴⁰ while Cnossus in particular disputed with Athens the glory of having been the first to possess the gifts of the Goddess of Corn. With regard to Hera, it was in the neighbourhood of Cnossus that her union with Zeus took place, an event which was afterwards commemorated by annual sacrifices, and by a mimetic representation of the marriage.⁴¹ These and other silver coins of the period are reinforced by a considerable number of copper coins of thick fabric and of rude style, of which the following are specimens :—

8. *Obv.*—Female head l. (Demeter ?), [countermarked with square labyrinth].

³⁸ Bursian, *Geographie*, ii. p. 560.

³⁹ The head is reproduced, not from the finer Hera coins of Argos and Elis, which are of B.C. 421, but from the later coins of Argos (*rev.* Diomede), which are evidently of the fourth century, about the time of Epaminondas.

⁴⁰ Cp. Lenormant, art. "Ceres" in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, p. 1029.

⁴¹ Cp. Pashley, *Travels*, i. p. 204 ; Bursian, *Geog.* ii. p. 558.

Rev.—Cruciform labyrinth of maeander pattern.

Æ. .8. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 14. *Obv.*]

4. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—Cruciform labyrinth of maeander pattern, in centre a star.

Æ. .6. Brit. Mus.

5. *Obv.*—Female head r. (Demeter or Artemis Britomartis), wearing necklace.

Rev.—**ΚΝΩ**. Bearded male head r. (Zeus?).

Æ. .55. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 12.]

Nos. 3 and 4 were acquired by the British Museum from Mr. Petrides, from whom several of its Cretan coins have been obtained. The fact of their having come through him in itself raises some presumption of their Cretan provenance. The Apollo of No. 4 is probably the Apollo Delphinios of the place.⁴²

The coins which follow I would assign to the end of the third century B.C.

6. *Obv.*—Bull advancing l., carrying Europa, with veil flying; beneath, two dolphins: border of rays.

Rev.—**ΚΝΩΣΙΩΝ**. Square labyrinth: between the **Κ** and **Ν** of the inscription, star; border of dots.

Æ. .7. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I. No. 18.]

7. Similar, but smaller.

Æ. .6. Brit. Mus.

It is curious that the significance of these not uncommon coins should have been overlooked; yet the union on the same coin of the distinctive types of Cnossus and Gor-

⁴² Cp. C. I. G., No. 2554.

tyna, namely the labyrinth and Europa⁴³ on the bull, can surely point only to some actual alliance between the two cities. Although such alliances were, as we know from inscriptions, not uncommon between cities of Crete, they have generally been but little noticed by ancient historians, and do not seem to have usually left their traces upon Cretan coinage. There was, however, concluded in the year 220 B.C. a very remarkable alliance between the powerful cities of Cnossus and Gortyna, which is recorded by Polybius.⁴⁴ The object of the allies was to bring the other cities of Crete under their supreme control, and in this, we are told, they actually succeeded, though the important town of Lyttus at first held out against them. That Cnossus should on this occasion give an additional emphasis to the alliance by admitting the coin-types of her great ally to a place on her own coinage is not at all unlikely, and an examination of the coins themselves will show, I think, that they may well be assigned on grounds of style to the end of the third century B.C.

Several of the flat tetradrachms of Cnossus having as their obverse-type the head of Zeus or Minos diademed (Pl. I. No. 15, *rev.* ΚΝΩΣΙΩΝ, square labyrinth, weight 257 grs.), are re-struck on money of the Seleucid kings; a specimen in the Vienna Cabinet is re-struck on a coin of Antiochus IX.⁴⁵ The Cnossian coins of this class, together with others in copper, with a bearded laureate head, and as reverse, an eagle, must have formed the chief part of the currency issued during the earlier part of the period B.C. 116—67. Some writers have called the bearded

⁴³ Not only the Europa but also the border of rays is distinctive of the money of Gortyna.

⁴⁴ iv. 58—55; cp. vii. 12, 9.

⁴⁵ *Zeit. für Num.*, iv. pp. 839, 840; *ib.* v. pp. 148, 149.

head on the obverse of the tetradrachms (Pl. I. No. 15) the head of Minos. They point out that it is bound, not with the laurel wreath commonly assumed by the Father of gods and men, but with a diadem, such as would be worn by the kingly Minos. That the Cnossians did represent their great legendary hero upon their coins we know with certainty, from the remarkable specimen at Berlin, bearing the inscription **MINΩΣ**, on which Minos is represented as a Zeus-like figure, seated, and holding a sceptre.⁴⁶ A coin of Cnossus, published by Mionnet,⁴⁷ having for obverse a female head, perhaps Ariadne, encircled by the labyrinth, shows as its reverse another seated figure of Zeus-like appearance, which might also be termed Minos, though there he holds a patera as well as a sceptre. On the head of these seated figures the diadem cannot be clearly made out, and it may be urged against the identification with Minos of the head on the Cnossian tetradrachms that the copper coins which belong to about the same period have a bearded head, which is bound with a laurel wreath, and which it is difficult to call anything but Zeus. The claim of Minos to this head is therefore somewhat doubtful. A similar question as to identity also arises in the case of the figure seated on the reverse of the silver coin given in Pl. I. No. 16.

8. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo l., laureate.

Rev.—**ΚΝΩΣΙ[ΩΝ]**. Beardless male figure, drapery over knees, his hair bound with diadem, seated l. on square labyrinth; he holds in outstretched r. winged Victory; his l. rests upon sceptre. In field l. monogram **ΡΑ** (beneath labyrinth, traces of inscription?).

⁴⁶ *Zeit. für Num.*, vi. p. 282 f.

⁴⁷ ii. p. 266, No. 60.

- Æ. Mionnet, vol. ii., "Cnossus," No. 70 (See Pl. I., No. 16, *rev.* only), photographed from Mionnet's cast; a somewhat similar specimen in the Brit. Mus. Weighs 75.2 grs.

The Victory and sceptre being common attributes of Zeus on coins might dispose us to see in the interesting figure of the reverse a representation of Zeus as a youth. Crete, as is well known, claimed the honour of having been the birthplace of the god. His worship was common in the island, and he was above all honoured at Cnossus.⁴⁸ His appearance on the coins of Cnossus is, therefore, to be expected. On the other hand, it may be said that the diadem, and, still more, the labyrinth which our figure has chosen for a seat, as Apollo does his omphalos, point with almost equal directness to the youthful Minos. And between these contending claims of Zeus and Minos, Διὸς μεγάλου βασιτεῖς, it is most difficult to decide.

After the conquest of Crete by Metellus, and probably before the battle of Actium, Cnossus became a Roman *colonia*. A good list of its colonial coins has been given by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in his *Monnaies Grecques* (pp. 213—214), to which I need only add the two following specimens in the British Museum, the attribution of which to Cnossus is extremely probable.

9. *Obv.*—C C plough r.; border of dots.

Rev.—C? square labyrinth.

Æ. Size .55.

10. *Obv.*—[Inscription?] Head of Augustus r.

Rev.—C C plough r.; border of dots.

Æ. .65.

⁴⁸ Hoeck, *Kreta*, i. p. 160 f.

No. 9 was obtained from Mr. Petrides : the inscription of its reverse is obscure ; the only letter visible may be a C. A comparison of No. 9 with No. 10 would lead us to suppose that No. 9 was issued under Augustus.

CYDONIA.

It is remarkable that there should be no archaic coins of this important city ; but no specimens at present known to us can be placed earlier than our second period (B.C. 431—300), to which, and to the period B.C. 200—67, most of the Cydonian money appears to belong.

1. *Obv.*—Female head r., wearing earring and necklace ; hair rolled, and wreathed with grapes and vine leaves ; behind, $\mu\rho$ (?) ; border of dots.

Rev.— $\text{KY}\Delta\Omega\text{N}$. Naked male figure (Cydon ?) standing l., stringing bow ; on l., dog r. looking up ; border of dots.

R. 1.05. Wt. 172.5 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 6, *obv.*]

The monogram behind the head is not very clear : it has been read by Mionnet $\mu\rho$, by Dr. Von Sallet $\mu\rho$, and the latter numismatist has suggested⁴⁹ that we have here an artist's signature. The difficulties in the way of accepting this suggestion are, first, that the Cretan coin-engravers, so far as we know, never sign in monogram ; and, secondly, that the head on this coin is almost identical in style with the head on the silver coins of Cydonia signed by the artist Neuantos.⁵⁰ We may, therefore, perhaps regard our monogram as that of a magistrate, and see in the obverse of our coin another example of

⁴⁹ *Zeit. f. Num.*, ii. p. 7.

⁵⁰ *Mion.*, ii. p. 271, No. 112.

the work of Neuantos. On the Cydonian coins of the period to which this specimen belongs we should naturally expect to find the effigy of Diktynna,⁵¹ a Cretan goddess worshipped at Cydonia. The coin-types of this time are, however, of a Dionysiac character. The female head on the coin before us (Pl. I., No. 6) seems to be that of a Maenad, for we do not know that Diktynna had such attributes as the grape and vine-leaf. On other Cydonian coins of good style there occurs a head of similar appearance wreathed with ivy which has been called Dionysos;⁵² but it should be noted that yet another Cydonian head⁵³ not dissimilar in character and wreathed with ivy, is certainly female, as it is adorned with an earring, so that perhaps we should see in all these heads a Maenad rather than Dionysos.

The earlier reverses of the Cydonian coins display a youthful hunter (sometimes accompanied by a dog), in the act of stringing his bow. Types of this class are common in Crete, and I shall endeavour to show farther on that it is generally a local form of Apollo who is thus represented. On the coins of Cydonia, however, the figure is perhaps the hero Cydon, who was doubtless venerated by the famous Cydonian bowmen as the first

⁵¹ Diktynna—worshipped in some parts of Crete as Britomartis—appears to have been a native Cretan goddess of hunters and fishermen who had also perhaps a lunar rôle. She was more or less completely assimilated to the Hellenic Artemis, and is represented on later coins of Cydonia quite in the character of that goddess. See Lenormant, *s.r.* Britomartis in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*; Hoeck, *Kreta*, ii. p. 158 ff.

⁵² Gardner, *Types*, Pl. IX. No. 22; p. 166.

⁵³ Brit. Mus. Coll.

great bowman of their city.⁵⁴ To the infant suckled by a wolf—the reverse-type of other coins of Cydonia—may also be given the name of Cydon, though no legends of his infancy are related in the authors. According to Antoninus Liberalis,⁵⁵ Miletus, the son of Acacallis, was exposed, and suckled by a wolf, and it is not unlikely that a similar story may have been told by the Cydonians concerning their hero Cydon, who was (by Apollo or by Hermes) also a son of Acacallis. Prof. Gardner⁵⁶ considers that the animal represented on the coins is a female hound rather than a wolf, and it is quite possible that a hound may have been substituted for the wolf in the local Cydonian legend. The coins of which the reverse types are photographed in Plate II., Nos. 2, 4, belong to the interesting series of tetradrachms which exactly reproduce the types of the corresponding Athenian coins, though they present the name and badge of different Cretan cities. Coins of this class have been published by M. Beulé,⁵⁷ and by Mr. R. Stuart Poole,⁵⁸ and specimens of six Cretan cities are known, namely, Cnossus, Cydonia, Gortyna, Hierapytna, Polyrhenium and Priansus. The two writers just mentioned suggest that these specimens belong to the time when the Cretans were in alliance with Athens against Philip V., an alliance brought about by Cephisodorus⁵⁹ about B.C. 200. Mr. Barclay Head supposes that the Athenian types were adopted for commer-

⁵⁴ Paus., viii. 53, 2; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κυδωνία; Claudian, *Histris*, v. 46.

⁵⁵ Cap. 80.

⁵⁶ *Types*, p. 167.

⁵⁷ *Mon. d'Athènes*, pp. 90, 91.

⁵⁸ *Num. Chron.*, N.S. i. p. 174.

⁵⁹ Paus., i. 36, 5 and 6.

cial reasons,⁶⁰ a theory which is also hinted at by Beulé as an alternative. Some of the heads of Athene on the obverse of these pieces are of the ordinary style of the later Athenian tetradrachms (*e.g.*, at Cnossus, see B. V. Head, *Guide*, Pl. 56, 30), while others again are somewhat barbarous and show the hand of an unskilful Cretan workman (*e.g.*, at Polyrrhenium and Priansus; see "Num. Chron." (N.S.) i., Pl. VII., Figs. 2, 3.)

2. *Obv.*—ΑΙΘΩΝ (before the head). Helmeted head of Pallas r.; border of dots.

Rev.—ΚΥΔΩΝΙΑ. Owl on prostrate amphora; in field r., wolf or hound r., suckling infant; the whole in olive-wreath.

Æ. 1.1. Wt. 211.2 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 2, *rev.*]

3. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 2.

Rev.—ΚΥΔΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ. Owl on prostrate amphora, on which, B (?); in field r., naked male figure moving l. and hurling thunderbolt r. (round his l. arm chlamys ?); the whole in olive-wreath.

Æ. Pl. II., No. 4, *rev.* (from cast of Mion. II., p. 272, No. 122).

No. 2 is unpublished; No. 3 is described by Mionnet,⁶¹ and is engraved by him and by Beulé,⁶² though erroneously as regards the small figure on the reverse. In their engravings he appears moving to the left, holding a club in his upraised right hand, and he is described by Mionnet as Herakles. As our photograph (Pl. II. No. 4) will show,

⁶⁰ *Guide*, vi. B. 80; cp. F. Lenormant, *Monnaies et Médailles*, p. 145.

⁶¹ Tom. ii. p. 272, No. 122.

⁶² Mion., *Sup.* t. iv., pl. viii. 5; Beulé, *Les mon. d'Ath.*, p. 90.

the naked figure is probably Zeus hurling a thunderbolt towards the right. The appearance of this figure is remarkable because it does not correspond to any similar figure on the earlier coins of Cydonia. It is usual for these Creto-Athenian pieces to present as their subsidiary devices some object which is distinctive of the previous coinage of the towns. Thus Cnossus adopts the square labyrinth; Gortyna, a bull, and our first coin of Cydonia (No. 2) has the wolf or hound suckling Cydon, an incident often portrayed on the Cydonian coins. The Zeus on our No. 3 thus forms a curious exception to this rule; and it is not unlikely that Cydonian coins with the type of Zeus hurling a thunderbolt may one day be brought to light.⁶³

ELEUTHERNAE.

1. *Obv.*—Beardless male head r. (Apollo); round the head, fillet or wreath composed of dots.

Rev.—**NOIAPEOYEA**. Youthful male figure, naked, (Apollo) standing facing with head l.; he holds in r. bow, in upraised l. stone; framework of dots; the whole in incuse square.

Æ. 1·15. Wt. 173·9 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 6.]

M. Lenormant,⁶⁴ in commenting on another coin of Eleuthernae with a type of somewhat the same character as that of our reverse, has contended that we ought not to recognise in it a figure of the god Apollo but of a Cretan hunter. In his brief notice M. Lenormant did not under-

⁶³ The Creto-Athenian tetradrachm of Polyrrhenium (specimen in Brit. Mus.; cp. Mion., *Sup. t.* iv. p. 334, No. 241) has as its subsidiary device a small figure wearing a short chiton and shooting r., perhaps Artemis Diktynna. This also does not occur as a type on any of the known Polyrrhenian coins.

⁶⁴ *Rev. Num.* (1888), pp. 129—132.

take to bring together all the numismatic evidence bearing upon the point, and I therefore propose to do so now, stating beforehand that the weight of the evidence seems to be in favour of Apollo. The earliest of all the coins of Eleuthernæ (Pl. II., No. 5) transports us at once to the forest and shows us the divine huntress and hunter following their favourite pursuit; for hunting itself, as Xenophon⁶⁵ will have it, is the invention and delight of gods—'Απόλλωνος γὰρ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγραι καὶ κύνες. The female figure of the obverse shooting with her bow and attended by a hunting dog cannot fail to be recognised as the Artemis⁶⁶ of Crete—Diktyнна or Britomartis, and it is natural to suppose that the male personage who occupies the reverse is her brother Apollo. This latter figure, who is apparently beardless, seems to be clad only in a short hunting tunic. He is advancing rapidly in the pursuit of his prey, holding in his left hand a stone, in his right his bow; a dog runs on before him, and forest scenery is indicated by the presence of two trees.⁶⁷ A youthful figure holding stone and bow, though undraped, is a common coin-type at Eleuthernæ; it appears also on the silver

⁶⁵ *De Venat.*, i. 1.

⁶⁶ In an inscription found at Eleuthernæ we find a dedication to Artemis. See C. I. G. 2566.

⁶⁷ This remarkable coin, which is here photographed from an electrotpe, was originally offered to the authorities of the British Museum, but had to be declined for want of funds. It has since been secured for the French Collection, and has been published by M. Muret in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1883, i. p. 65. M. Lenormant (*Rev. Num.*, 1883, p. 180 f.) has drawn attention to the hunting-dress worn by the male figure, though I cannot make out on his head the "large bandeau" to which that writer also refers. M. Muret and M. Lenormant do not seem to have noticed the stone which the figure holds, but it is quite plain, and is an important attribute.

money of the neighbouring Rhithymna.⁶⁸ The bow which the figure holds would be suitable either to Apollo or to a hero hunter, but the round stone is at Eleuthernae distinctly an attribute of Apollo, for on later bronze coins of the place (see Pl. II., No. 3, *rev.*) we find an unmistakable Apollo seated on the omphalos, beside which is a lyre, holding in his outstretched right hand a round stone, his bow-case or quiver at his shoulder. The head of a laureate Apollo is also common on both silver and bronze coins of Eleuthernae, and the barbarous head on our No. 1 of this town (see Pl. II., No. 6) is doubtless intended for the same divinity. The obverse type of the coins of Rhithymna already referred to, is likewise the head of Apollo. This type of a youthful figure holding stone and bow can hardly be discussed without taking into account a similar type which appears on a silver coin of Tylissos⁶⁹ (see Pl. II., No. 8, *rev.*; *obv.*, Head of Hera), that of a youthful figure with long hair, naked, and holding in one hand a goat's head and in the other a bow. The analogy of the Eleuthernian coins would incline us to see in this figure a representation of Apollo as a hunter, and there are, in fact, some slight indications that it is Apollo who is intended. It will be observed that in the field of this coin there appears an arrow-head; now this object ought not to be regarded as a mere isolated symbol denoting a magistrate, but as having reference to the type itself, and especially to the goat's head, for on a silver coin of Praesus⁷⁰ we find as the type a half-goat, and in the field an arrow-head. On coins of Elyrus also and on those of Hyrtacina the type is a goat's head, beneath which is an

⁶⁸ Brit. Mus. Coll.

⁶⁹ Brit. Mus. Coll.

⁷⁰ Brit. Mus. Coll.

arrow-head. Further, that the goat and arrow-head are connected with Apollo seems probable, because on the obverse of the coins of Praesus is a head of that god, and on another coin of the same place (Brit. Mus. Coll.) we have a goat's head within a laurel wreath, the obverse being a head of Apollo. The Elyrus goat would also seem to be connected with Apollo, for Pausanias⁷¹ saw at Delphi a brazen goat dedicated by the people of Elyrus, and represented as suckling the infants Phylacis and Phylandros, who were children of Apollo by Acacallis. Pausanias adds that the god visited Acacallis in the city of Tarrha, where we know (from Stephanus Byzantinus) that an Apollo Tarrhaeus was worshipped.⁷²

All these indications would therefore lead us to infer that the types which we have been discussing relate to Apollo in the character of a hunter, and especially as a hunter of the famous wild goats of Crete, whose horns we are told were used by the Cydonian archers for their bows. Even at this day the goats of Crete, according to modern travellers, might tax the energies of a mighty hunter. "Upon the bleak crest of Ida," says Admiral Spratt,⁷³ "we sighted a group of Agrimia, a species of ibex, that had been browsing upon the scanty pasture (and) were standing motionless upon its pinnacle. . . They were too wary of any approach of man (and) were not to be taken even by a Highland deer-stalker and keen sportsman . . . but

⁷¹ x. 16.

⁷² The Cydonian type of a naked male figure stringing a bow has been referred to above (see p. 25). It may be added that a coin of Ceraitæ (Mion., ii. p. 264) has as reverse a spear-head and arrow-head side by side, the obverse being a barbarous head, probably either Artemis or Apollo.

⁷³ *Travels*, i. pp. 12, 13.

bounded away, as soon as we were perceived, over snow and steep, crag and precipice, until they had gained another commanding peak far out of reach of gun and rifle, and there again they watchfully grouped themselves, with their ponderous and sabre-shaped horns curved in relief against the western sky."


ELYRUS.

The goat's head and arrow-head which constitute the obverse type of the silver coins of Elyrus have just been referred to; the bee on the reverse is more difficult of explanation. Pashley tells us that in his travels in Crete he tasted some very fine honey at the site of the ancient Elyrus; but we do not know that the Elyrian bees were famous in antiquity, or that they were sacred to any particular divinity. It would be natural to regard the bee on the coins as the symbol of the Ephesian Artemis, but that goddess does not seem to have been honoured with worship by the Cretans, and only appears quite exceptionally upon their coinage.⁷⁴ The Artemis to whom the Britomartis or Diktyнна of Crete is akin is rather the virgin huntress of Hellas than the teeming mother of Asia. On the whole, it would seem that the divinity of whom the bee on Cretan coins is most likely to be symbolic is the god Zeus, for in the legend of his

⁷⁴ The Ephesian Artemis and the bee on the reverse of the Gortynian tetradrachm, probably issued after the conquest of the island by Metellus, may have been simply copied from gold coins of Ephesus (*Zeit. für Num.*, x., 1888, p. 119 f.), and can scarcely indicate that a cultus of that particular divinity existed even at Gortyna.

infancy bees play a part of some importance.⁷⁵ The bee occurs as a Cretan coin-type at Aptera (*Æ. obv.* head of Artemis of Aptera); at Praesus (*Æ. obv.* head of Persephone), and at Hyrtacina (*Æ. obv.* goat's head and arrow-head).

[ERYTHRAEA.]

1. *Obv.*— Bunch of grapes; border of dots.

Rev.—Naked male figure (Apollo?) standing, holding in r. stone, in l. bow.

Æ. '65. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 1.]

A coin similar to the present, but reading **E P**, is engraved in Combe's Catalogue of the Hunter Collection,⁷⁶ and is there assigned to Erythraea, in Crete, a place about which there is little known, except that Florus (iii. 7) mentions it along with Cydonia and Cnossus as submitting to Metellus. A coin with similar types, but bearing no inscription, is classed by Leake under Eleuthernae, to which the type of the reverse would be particularly appropriate. I believe that our British Museum coin would also be rightly attributed to Eleuthernae, and that the reading **E P** of the Hunter specimen is probably incorrect, for the second letter on our coin, though not quite distinct, is certainly a **Λ** rather than a **P**. Admiral Spratt, in his *Travels*,⁷⁷ speaks of a coin of Eleuthernae which has a bunch of grapes as a type, and in his mention of it he seems to imply that it was found in the neighbourhood of that town.

⁷⁵ Diod. Sic. v. 70; Antonin. Lib. *Metam.*, xix; Callim. *Hymn. in Jov.*, 47; Apollod., i. 1, § 3; cp. Meursius, *Creta*, p. 98 f.; Hoeck, *Kreta*, i. p. 177 f. and 186 f.

⁷⁶ Pl. xxvii. 4; cp. p. 141.

⁷⁷ ii. p. 97.

GORTYNA.

1. *Obv.*—**ΛΤΡΩ**. Bull reclining r., looking back.

Rev.— **ΔΤ** Within linear frame, lion's scalp; the whole in incuse square.

R. '65. Wt. 86.6 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 7.]

Gortyna has a considerable number of specimens belonging to our first period. The early coin, formerly in the Fox collection, with the legend Γορτύνης τὸ παῖμα, is well known and need not here be discussed (see below under "Phaestus," and Fox, *Engravings of unedited or rare Greek Coins*, Pt. I. pl. x., No. 109; *Revue Numismatique*, 1864, p. 103 f.) Another Gortynian coin of the Fox Collection⁷⁸ has types precisely like those of the British Museum specimen here described. General Fox does not state that this coin bears any inscription, but from the engraving given of it,⁷⁹ it may be inferred that it was inscribed, at any rate on the obverse. The reverse legend of our coin is very imperfect, the only letters which are tolerably clear being **ΔΤ**, but there are traces of an inscription on the right side of the coin, and the legend was probably continued on the left side also, the complete legend no doubt being [**ΛΤΡΩ**] **ΔΤ** [**ΜΩ** **ΛΤΡΩ**] that is, Γορτύνης τὸ παῖμα.

The familiar silver coins with Europa seated in the sacred plane-tree and with the bull for reverse (cp. Pl. I. Nos. 1—3) may be assigned with considerable certainty to our second period (B.C. 431—300). Some of them are re-struck on coins of Cnossus⁸⁰ with the Minotaur and

⁷⁸ Pt. I. No. 108.

⁷⁹ Pl. x. No. 108.

⁸⁰ *Zeit. fur Num.*, iv. p. 388; a specimen in Brit. Mus.

labyrinth types and a deep square depression in each corner; but the greater number on coins of Cyrene⁸¹ having as obverse type the bearded head of Zeus Ammon, and as reverse, the Silphium, which may be assigned to B.C. 400—322. The Europa types of Gortyna do not seem to need discussion here, especially as the representation of Europa in art has been made the subject of learned essays by Stephani and Otto Jahn, and a chapter is devoted to it in the *Kunstmythologie* of Overbeck.⁸² There is, however, one didrachm in the British Museum with Europa in the tree, which ought not to be left unnoticed. It is of the ordinary types, except that partly in the field of the coin and partly on the trunk of the tree are the letters **ΣΟΡ Μ Σ Τ**, which Dr. von Sallet, who has engraved the specimen in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (vol. vi. p. 263), reads, and it would seem quite correctly, as *τιορπος*. Dr. von Sallet proposes to connect this inscription with the Cretan mountain *Τίρπος*, though, as he admits that Mount Tityros was some distance from Gortyna, and that there is no direct mention of its being connected with Europa, his explanation cannot be regarded as altogether satisfactory. An ingenious suggestion has been made by Mr. R. Stuart Poole that the letters of this inscription are intended to represent some actual *graffiti* left by worshippers who visited the sacred Gortynian plane-tree. It is well known⁸³ that the Greek, no less than the Shakespearian, lovers delighted to carve on every tree the names of their Rosalinds; but against Mr. Poole's suggestion it may

⁸¹ *Zeit. für Num.* iv. 338; specimens in Brit. Mus.

⁸² Vol. ii. ("Zeus"); cp. Gardner, *Types*, pp. 164, 165.

⁸³ Bötticher, *Baumcultus*, p. 53.

fairly be urged that the Greeks would hardly have ventured to cut words or names upon a *sacred* tree, and it might also be objected that the inscription in question is not entirely confined to the tree (as a *graffito* would be), but partly appears in the field of the coin. The only Greek word of which Dr. von Sallet's reading *τιυροι* is suggestive is *Τίρυπος*, the Doric form of *Σάρυπος*; though, according to Strabo,⁸⁴ the *Τίρυποι* are to be distinguished among the Dionysian followers from the *Σάτυροι* and *Σειλήνοι*. Within the same period as the Europa didrachms would also fall the drachms and hemidrachms of Cretan style and weight which have generally been assigned to Euboea, but which Dr. Imhoof Blumer⁸⁵ has lately restored to Gortyna.

Most of the other coins of Gortyna belong to our last period (B.C. 200—67.) An interesting tetradrachm of light Attic weight, with *obv.*, diademed head of Zeus or Minos; *rev.*, Athene standing, holding Victory, has

⁸⁴ x. 466, 468, 470.

⁸⁵ *Monnaies Grecques*, 1883, pp. 215, 216, and p. 228. This classification is very satisfactory, as we thereby eliminate from the Euboean coinage specimens which are of Aeginetic weight and of Cretan work. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer still, however, leaves Euboea a didrachm of which the style is Cretan and the weight Aeginetic:—*Obv.*, Tête de femme, les cheveux relevés, à dr.; devant elle, EVB. (Ευβ); carré creux. *Rev.*, Taureau couché à g., retournant la tête. Cabinet de France. R. 28^m. Gr. 11,92 (Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Grec.*, p. 228, No. 70). In connection with this coin Prof. Percy Gardner has made a very acute suggestion, which he kindly allows me to communicate here. The inscription EVB (Ευβ) he reads EVR (Ευρ), which would thus be a legend explanatory of the female head—*Europa*. This reading would obviate the only remaining difficulty in the assignment of the coin to Crete. Moreover, on the reverse, there appear to be traces of *another* legend, which, if it were perfectly legible, would doubtless give the name of the issuers—probably the Gortynians, for whose coinage the types of Europa, and a reclining bull looking back, would be especially suitable.

been published by Mr. Head.⁸⁶ It has the inscription **ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ ΘΙΒΟΣ**, the second word being, perhaps, merely a magistrate's name, though it is not given as a proper name in the second edition of Pape's *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*.⁸⁷ The reverse type of this coin and the reverse of the corresponding specimens in copper, Athene standing holding serpent (*obv.* head of Zeus) are perhaps almost the only evidence of the existence of the worship of Athene at Gortyna. Her presence on these coins also gives a slight clue to the identification of a curious unpublished relief, evidently votive, which was found at Gortyna and is now in the British Museum. It represents a female figure trampling on a diminutive male personage; on her right is a serpent erect, and on her left a winged monster, probably a griffin. The female figure is now unfortunately headless, but the drapery and the serpent would suggest Athene as the goddess represented, while the male figure may be one of her giant foes reduced in physical size—according to a well-known convention of ancient art—on account of his comparative inferiority to the divine Athene. The types of the Gortynian coinage in the earlier periods refer almost exclusively to the myth of Europa and Zeus; in this last period, however, we can trace on the coins several other important divinities of the place. The bearded head bound with the diadem is more likely to be that of Zeus Hecatombaios⁸⁸ than of Minos, especially as on other coins of this time

⁸⁶ *Num. Chron.*, N.S., xiii. p. 116 f., and *Guide*, vi. B. 81, cp. *Mion.*, ii. p. 281, No. 185.

⁸⁷ *Θιβος* is also found on a smaller silver coin of the same period (*Mion.*, ii. p. 280, No. 179).

⁸⁸ *Hesych. s.v.* Ἑκατόμβαιος; cp. *Ptolem. Hephæst.*, *Nor. Hist.*, p. 80, ed. Roulez.

we find it wreathed with laurel (Mion. ii., p. 280, No. 177). On the bronze coins⁸⁹ we find also heads of Artemis, Hermes, and Apollo, in which we may see the Artemis Britomartis, the Hermes Hedas, and the Apollo Pythios of the place.⁹⁰ The name of the male figure seated on a rock and holding bow and arrows is doubtful (Pl. II., No. 9, *rev.*; *obv.* head of diademed Zeus r.; Brit. Mus. \mathcal{A} .); but perhaps it is the hunter Apollo rather than Herakles. The warrior with shield and spear who is seen on silver coins of the same class,⁹¹ it is also difficult to name, unless he be Gortys,⁹² the reputed founder of the place.

ITANUS.

1. *Obv.*—Bearded male figure r., with body ending in fish's tail, striking r. with an object (fish?) held in his r. hand, his l. raised.

Rev.—Within linear square, ornamented star; the whole in incuse square.

\mathcal{A} . .95. Wt. 180.5 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 10.]

2. *Obv.*—Bearded male figure r., with body ending in fish's tail, striking r. with trident, and holding in l. fish by its tail.

Rev.—Within linear square, star, with pellets between each ray; the whole in incuse square.

\mathcal{A} . 1.05. Wt. 174 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 11.]

3. *Obv.*—Similar figure striking r. with trident, his l. raised.

Rev.—Within linear square, ornamented star.

\mathcal{A} . .95. Wt. 177.9 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 12, *rev.*]

⁸⁹ Brit. Mus. Coll.

⁹⁰ References in Bursian, *Geog.*, ii. p. 565.

⁹¹ Mion., ii. p. 280, No. 188.

⁹² Paus., viii. 53, 2; an armed warrior occurs on imperial coins of Gortyna. See Mion., t. ii. p. 288, No. 202.

4. *Obv.*—Similar, but finer style.

Rev.—**ITA.** Two sea monsters facing one another ; the whole in circular incuse.

Æ. 1. Wt. 178·7 grs. Brit. Mus., see Head, *Guide*, Pl. 14, 86 ; P. Gardner, *Types*, Pl. IX., Fig. 1.

5. *Obv.*—Similar figure, with l. upraised and striking with trident held in r. at fish swimming downwards.

Rev.—**ITANION.** Two sea monsters facing one another.

Æ. 1·05. Wt. 175·7 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. II., No. 14.]

No. 1, which is of lumpy fabric, must belong to our first period ; Nos. 2—5 to the earlier part of our second. The figure on the obverse is perhaps Triton or Glaucus ; or possibly we have a Phœnician deity of the Dagon class.²³ The monsters on the reverses of Nos. 4 and 5 are doubtless connected with this divinity, and are akin to the sea monsters which appear, *e.g.* as symbols on coins of Poseidonia.²⁴ The other coins of Itanus belonging to our second period are tolerably numerous ; they have as obverse type the head of Pallas, and for the reverse an eagle or a star. The copper coin here described was obtained by the Museum from Mr. Petrides, and may be assigned to Itanus. It is perhaps not later than B.C. 300 :—

6. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—Star of eight rays within linear square.

Æ. ·45. Brit. Mus. Coll.

²³ Cp. *Rev. Num.*, 1845, p. 5 ff.

²⁴ *Cat. Gr. Coins in Brit. Mus.*, "Italy," Poseidonia.

LATUS.

1. *Obv.*—Female head l., with hair tied in bunch behind; border of dots.

Rev.—ΛΑΤΙΩΝ. Hermes walking r., holding caduceus, and wearing short chiton, petasus and talaria.

Æ. 55. Brit. Mus. Coll. [Pl. II., No. 18.]
(Cp. Mion., t. ii. p. 286.)

Dr. Imhoof-Blumer publishes in his *Monnaies Grecques*⁹⁵ another bronze coin of this place:—

Obv.—Tête d'Artemis, ceinte d'une stéphané, à g.

Rev.—Λ Α. Buste drapé de Hermès, coiffé de pétase ailé, dans un carré creux.

Æ. 10^m. Gr. 1,32.

The head on the obverses of these coins is perhaps intended for that of the goddess Eileithyia, of whom there was a temple at Latus (see C. I. G. No. 3058, and *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, iii. p. 293). In the record of an alliance between Latus and Olus we find the Latians swearing by Hermes among other deities (see C. I. G. No. 2554).

LYTTUS.

1. *Obv.*—Eagle flying r.

Rev.—ΛΥΤΤΙΩΝ. (ΛΥΤΤΙΩΝ.) Boar's head r., within square of dots; the whole in incuse square.

Æ. .95. Wt. 177·5 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 1.]

2. *Obv.*—Eagle standing r.

Rev.—ΛΥΤΤΙΩΝ (sic). Boar's head r., within linear square; the whole in incuse square.

Æ. .6. Wt. 89·4 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 8.]

⁹⁵ P. 217.

3. *Obv.*—Eagle flying l. ; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΥΤΤΙ. Boar's head l., within square of dots ;
 the whole in incuse square.

Æ. 1. Wt. 174·9 grs. Brit. Mus.

4. *Obv.*—Boar's head r. ; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΥΤΤΙΩΝ. Eagle standing r.

Æ. ·7. Wt. 54·8. Brit. Mus.

5. *Obv.*—Helmsted head of Athene r. ; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΥΤ. Prow of vessel r.

Æ. ·5. Brit. Mus.

6. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus r. laureate ; in field r., Ε ; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΥΤΤΙΩΝ. Eagle standing r. ; in field r.,
 boar's head ; between eagle's legs, Ε ; border of dots.

Æ. ·7. Brit. Mus.

7. *Obv.*—Boar's head r., within linear square ; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΥΤ. Eagle standing r. ; border of dots.

Æ. ·5. Brit. Mus.

8. *Obv.*—Female head r.

Rev.—Eagle standing l.

Æ. ·45. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 4.]

The attribution to Lyttus of the two early coins with *obv.* boar's head, and *rev.* incuse square, in *Das Königliche Münzkabinet* (Nos. 12, 13), cannot be regarded as certain. Nos. 1—3 in our list may be given to our second period (B.C. 431—300), though it may be doubted whether the upward limit ought not to be placed somewhat higher, especially for No. 2, which has not only the early forms Α, Σ, Θ, but is of lumpy fabric, and shows a standing,

not a flying eagle. No. 3 comes in, of course, later on in this period, Λ, Υ, Ι, taking the place of Π, V, and Σ. Nos. 4—8 belong to a still later time, and may be assigned to a period B.C. 300—220. In the last-named year the Cnossians surprised Lyttus and utterly destroyed it, so that the citizens abandoned it and took refuge at Lampa. Some writers consider that the city was soon rebuilt, and it was certainly existing at the time of the Roman conquest (B.C. 67), and at a later date. None of the Lyttian coins necessarily belong to a time later than B.C. 220, and it would seem that after the complete destruction of their city in that year the Lyttians issued no further currency.

Of the two constant types of Lyttus, the boar's head and the eagle, it is difficult to explain the former; the eagle has evidently reference to Zeus, for according to the *Theogony* of Hesiod (477) it was in a cave of Mount Ægæon, near Lyttus, that Rhea gave birth to Zeus, and there are other traces of the presence of this god at Lyttus.⁹⁶

OLUS.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Britomartis l., wearing earring and necklace; hair tied in bunch behind, bound with tænia, above which is a laurel wreath; at her shoulder, quiver; ? drapery on neck.

Rev.—οΛONTION. Zeus seated l. on throne wearing himation over lower limbs; in his outstretched r. he holds eagle; his l. rests on sceptre; border of dots.


Æ. 1. Wt. 164.1 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 2.]

⁹⁶ Adm. Spratt (*Travels*, i. 97) mentions there having been found on the site of Lyttus the lower half of a colossal statue "of Jupiter, known by an eagle sculptured behind the feet of the figure." Zeus is mentioned in the fragment of an inscription recording an alliance between Lyttus and Olus, published in the *Hermes*, iv. 266 ff.

A similar coin is described by Mionnet,⁹⁷ and there is a specimen in the Hunter Collection.⁹⁸ The head is evidently that of Britomartis, who had a temple in the city, and of whom there was a wooden image attributed to Daedalus.⁹⁹ The curious style of the obverse might seem to claim for the specimen a place among the characteristic Cretan coins of our second period (B.C. 431—300), but the reverse¹⁰⁰ shows at once that it is posterior to Alexander, and it is safer to assign it to a period B.C. 300—200, within which would also fall three other coins which have been made known by previous writers.

(a) A silver coin, now at Berlin, published by Dr. J. Friedlaender (*Berl. Blätt.* iii. p. 11):—

Obv.—Head of Artemis l., wearing a band adorned with laurel leaves; behind her neck, quiver.

Rev.— in a wreath.

Wt. 2·2 grammes.

(β) A silver coin published by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in his *Monnaies Grecques* (p. 218), which he attributes to Olus on account of the head of the obverse, which he says is identical in style with that of the didrachms of Olus.

Obv.—Head of Artemis laureate, and wearing “bandeau,” earrings and necklace; at her shoulder, quiver; neck draped.

Rev.—Star in concave field.

Æ. 19^m. Gr. 0,78.

⁹⁷ T. ii. p. 289, No. 248.

⁹⁸ Combe's Catalogue, pl. xl. 18.

⁹⁹ Paus., x. 40, 8.

¹⁰⁰ The people of Olus had a temple of Zeus Tallæus. See *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, iii. p. 298.

(γ) A small bronze coin given in Mionnet, ii. p. 289, No. 244 :—

Obv.—Head of “Diana” r.

Rev.—**ΟΛΟΝΤΙ**. Jupiter Aëtrophorus seated l., spear (*haste*) in left hand.

Æ. 2.

To this period also we ought probably to attribute the following bronze coins in the British Museum :—

2. *Obv.*—Head of Britomartis r., hair tied in bunch behind; border of dots.

Rev.—**ΟΛΑΝ** beneath, dolphin r.; the whole in incuse square.

Æ. 45. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 5.]

3. *Obv.*—Head r. (? Britomartis); border of dots.

Rev.—**Α** beneath, dolphin l.; border of dots.

Æ. 4. Brit. Mus.

A specimen in the Berlin Museum, similar to No. 2, has been published by Dr. Friedlaender,¹⁰¹ and, according to him, it reads **ΟΛΓ**; the last letter is not very clear on the British Museum example, but I believe it to be meant for **N**, i.e. **ΟΛΟΝ**[**ΤΙΩΝ**], and Leake also gives a similar specimen reading **N** and not **Γ** (*Num. Hell.*, “Islands,” *Suppl.* p. 166, “Olus”). The dolphin may be a symbol of Apollo Delphinios, the existence of whose worship at Olus is perhaps to be inferred from the fact that one of the months was locally named *Δελφίνιος* (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iii. p. 304; cp. p. 308).

¹⁰¹ *Zeit. für Num.*, vi. 11.

PHAESTUS.

The town of Phaestus has a considerable series of silver coins belonging for the most part to our second period. It is one of the Cretan localities mentioned in Homer, and as the remarkable unpublished coin about to be described seems to indicate, it must have been a place of importance in early times.

1. *Obr.*—Europa seated on bull, which advances l.; her r. stretched out to bull's head, her l. resting on its back.

Rev.—Α Ψ Δ Α Δ Ο Τ Η Ο > Τ Μ Δ Α [Δ] [*Φαιστίων τὸ παῖμα*] in four lines around linear frame in which is lion's head facing; the whole in incuse square.

Æ. .85. Wt. 183.2 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 6.]

This coin was acquired by the British Museum in 1882 from M. Lambros. It was sold as a coin of Gortyna, and indeed it bears a very close resemblance to the famous coin of the Fox Collection reading Γορτύνης τὸ παῖμα (see above, p. 34), only that on the latter coin the bull is moving towards the right. The inscription is not very easily read, but after a close examination of it I have been able to decipher the legend, *Φαιστίων τὸ παῖμα*, and to assign the coin to Phaestus. The most important letter in this inscription is the character which is the equivalent of π and φ. On the Fox coin of Gortyna the form Δ occurs, and this, though at first supposed to be equivalent to Σ, is certainly, as M. Lenormant¹⁰² has suggested, Π—*παῖμα*, not *σαῖμα*. On our coin the first letter is, unfortunately, almost entirely obliterated: the initial letter of the third word (*παῖμα*) seems to have a horizontal bar, thus Θ; but

¹⁰² *Rev. Num.*, 1864, p. 103 f.

this may be accidental, and the letter is perhaps simply D , as the form D is equivalent to Π in an archaic lapidary inscription of Gortyna,¹⁰³ and on later coins of Phaestus itself. Of the other letters on our coin, A , Z (= I), M (= Σ), O (nearly \diamond), N (= N) M (obscure = M) are found also on the archaic Gortynian coin. The Gortynian lapidary inscription has A for our A and Z for Z . What precise political or religious relations are pointed to by the adoption both by Gortyna and Phaestus of coins with exactly similar types it is difficult to say. The type of Europa is of course the natural emblem of Gortyna, but the lion's head, though it occurs on several early coins of that city, has, so far as can be ascertained, no such close connection with the religious myths of the place. It is just possible that the lion's head may be really the property of the Phaestians, to whom, as a symbol of their divinity Herakles, it would be appropriate.

This is, of course, the only archaic coin of Phaestus at present known. At the head of the coins of the second period, B.C. 431—300, may stand the following:—

2. *Obv.*—... ZTMZAD [$\phi\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$...]. Europa wearing chiton and mantle over lower limbs, seated (on rocks?) towards l., welcoming with her upraised r. hand bull which is advancing; border of dots.

Rev.—Youthful male figure, wearing mantle over lower limbs, seated l.; his r. hand slightly raised, and holding [? caduceus]; behind him, uncertain object.

R. 1·2. Wt. 172·6 grs. [Pl. III., No. 9.]

This coin was lately purchased from M. Lambros by my friend Dr. Hermann Weber, its present owner, who is so

¹⁰³ Thénon in *Rev. Arch.*, vol. viii. N.S., p. 444; Bréal, *Rev. Arch.*, vol. xxxvi. N.S., p. 846 f.

good as to allow me to publish it here. Though of much interest it is not absolutely new to numismatists, as a similar specimen is engraved (not very satisfactorily) in Streber's *Numismata ex Museo Regis Bavaricæ*.¹⁰⁴ Streber's coin¹⁰⁵ is apparently re-struck on an early coin of Cnossus with the Minotaur and labyrinth types, as in the engraving of the reverse there are visible two square indentations, such as appear on Cnossian coins with those types. On grounds of style, and especially after a comparison with the coins of Gortyna, we should be led to date our specimen about B.C. 430. The design of the obverse is certainly pleasing, though the execution, especially of the male and female figures, is very poor and touched with barbarism. I am inclined to think that this coin was copied from a specimen produced by a superior artist of the same city, whose power of execution, especially his skill in producing rich and delicate folds of drapery, were far above those of his humbler imitator, and this coin probably stands to its prototype in the same relation as the coin of Gortyna (Pl. I. No. 1) does to its prototype in Pl. I. No. 2. That the female figure is Europa and the bull Zeus there can be little doubt, and this type taken together with the obverse type of the archaic coin of Phaestus (No. 1) shows that the Europa myth was not unfamiliar to the Phaestians, though it leaves no trace on their later coinage. The first letter of the retrograde inscription is given by Streber as Θ , but on the present specimen it seems to be Δ , though it is not quite clear. The reverse of the coin is, unfortunately, in very poor condition, and Streber's engraving is very slight, and

¹⁰⁴ Pl. ii. 5 ; p. 161 f.

¹⁰⁵ Cp. Overbeck, *Kunstmithologie*, vol. ii. p. 462.

probably taken from a bad specimen. He describes the figure as "Mercurius ad sin. sellæ insidens . . . dextera caduceum oblongum tenet; in dorso petasus dependet." Of the caduceus and petasus, the attributes by which this figure is identified as Hermes, there are the very faintest traces on Dr. Weber's coin, and apparently only slight traces on the Bavarian coin, so that the name of the youthful figure must remain uncertain: the analogy of the *Ἑλχωνος* type at Phaestus might lead us to suggest the youthful Zeus as the deity represented. Sestini described the figure on Streber's coin as sitting "in sella rustica cum dorsali." He appears on our coins rather to be seated on a rock, with which the curious object behind has no connection. On other coins of this period the divinity most frequently represented is Herakles. We do not learn from other sources that he was especially honoured with worship at Phaestus, though the eponymous hero Phaestus was said to be a grandson of the hero.¹⁰⁶ First in order are the coins with the inscription *ΝΟΧΙΤΜΙΑ*, having for obverse the standing figure of Herakles holding club and bow, and for the reverse a bull with its legs tied.¹⁰⁷ A specimen in the British Museum is re-struck on one of the coins of Cnossus with the four square depressions and Minotaur and labyrinth types. The other coins, with Herakles standing or seated, need not be minutely described. The fine coin with Herakles and the hydra, photographed by Mr. Head, *Guide*, Pl. 14, 38, is, as usual in Crete, followed by several inferior copies, of which there are specimens in the British Museum. Of the remarkable

¹⁰⁶ Paus., ii. 6, 7; cp. Steph. Byz., s.v. *φαιστός*.

¹⁰⁷ One specimen in the Brit. Mus., weight 180 grains, has *rev.* large bucranium.

coin inscribed on the obverse **ΓΕΛΛΑΝΟΣ**, and showing a youthful figure holding a cock, there are two specimens in the British Museum. (Head, *Guide*, Pl. 14, 37). One with reverse **ΦΑΙΣΤ** (retrograde) and bull walking l., is re-struck on a coin of Cyrene with the head of the bearded Ammon; reverse, silphium: the other specimen has as its reverse **ΦΑΙΣΤ** and the bull butting r. within an olive-wreath. Overbeck in his *Kunstmythologie*¹⁰⁸ accepts the identification of the figure of the obverse with the youthful Zeus of Crete. This identification rests on a passage in Hesychius, in which the word Γελλανος (probably intended for Γελλανος) is explained as 'Ο Ζεὺς παρὰ Κρησίν.¹⁰⁹ The British Museum specimen of the didrachm with the winged Talos has been published by Mr. Head in his *Guide* (Pl. 23, 40). The last letter of the obverse inscription is not quite perfect; it should be read **ΤΑΛΩΝ** not **ΤΑΛΩΣ**, as there given.¹¹⁰

There are several smaller denominations of silver coins belonging to this period:—the drachms referred to by Kenner,¹¹¹ with obverse, youthful male head **ΦΑΙΣ** (? Herakles or Talos); and reverse, bull's head, or bull's head in olive wreath. The British Museum has a specimen of this class, as well as two pieces with somewhat similar types, of which the heads are barbarous. The Museum also possesses the following:—

¹⁰⁸ Vol. ii. "Zeus," p. 197.

¹⁰⁹ On this type cp. Overbeck, *loc. cit.*; R. P. Secchi, *Sul Giove Γελλανος in the Proceed. of Accademia arch. di Roma*, 1840; Welcker, *Griech. Götterl.*, ii. p. 244, f.; Stephani in *Compte-rendu*, St. Pétersbourg, 1866, p. 127; Friedländer, *Annali*, xviii. p. 154; *Rev. Num.*, 1842, p. 82; 1844, p. 818.

¹¹⁰ Cp. *Das Königliche Münzkabinett* (Berlin, 1877), No. 163.

¹¹¹ *Die Münzsam. d. Stift. S. Flor.*, pp. 104, 105.

8. *Obv.*—ΦΑΙΣ (retrograde). Youthful male head l., with hair short (? Herakles or Talos); border of dots.

Rev.—Bucranium; border of dots.

Æ. .55. Wt. 48.1 grs. [Pl. III., No. 7.]

4. *Obv.*—Youthful male head r. (? Herakles or Talos); border of dots.

Rev.—Bucranium; border of dots.

Æ. .65. Wt. 46.9 grs.

The head on this coin is somewhat barbarous; it is re-struck, possibly on a coin of Ægina.

5. *Obv.*—Youthful male head r. (? Herakles or Talos).

Rev.—Bucranium.

Æ. .6. Wt. 40.4 grs. [Pl. III., No. 8.]

6. Another specimen, with types similar to No. 5, shows marks of re-striking. Wt. 43.7 grs.

7. *Obv.*—Youthful male head l. (barbarous work—Herakles or Talos?).

Rev.—Bucranium within circular depression.

Æ. .4. Wt. 12.8 grs.

8. *Obv.*—Youthful male head r. (barbarous work—Herakles or Talos?).

Rev.—Similar to No. 7.

Æ. Wt. 12.7 grs.

Nos. 4—7, though uninscribed, may be fairly attributed to Phaestus; 7 and 8 were acquired from Mr. Petrides. Last in the series of Phaestus must be placed the bronze coins representing Talos hurling a stone and on the reverse a dog (see Pl. III. No. 11). These types have been neatly explained in a paper by Baron de Witte.¹¹²

¹¹² *Rev. Num.* 1840, p. 188, ff.

On the obverse he sees the winged Talos, guardian of Crete, whose function it was to periodically perambulate the island; on the reverse, the golden dog made—like the Man of Brass himself—by Hephaistos and set as a protector to the infant Zeus in Crete and afterwards to the Temple of Zeus.¹¹³ Talos, as we have seen, appears on coins of Phaestus as Talon, and is provided with wings, a detail not mentioned by the mythographers. On the copper specimens he is represented rushing forward, hurling a stone, perhaps to oppose the landing of the Argonauts or some other strangers who are nearing the shore. According to another account, the Man of Brass was accustomed to heat himself red hot and then to lock his victims in his fiery embrace, but of this unpleasant method of procedure the coins afford no illustration.

The bronze pieces of Phaestus seem to belong to the third century, for as they have the lunated form of Σ, (ΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝ), they can hardly be earlier than B.C. 300. We know that Phaestus was destroyed by the Gortynians, though the exact date of its destruction is not recorded. To judge from the numismatic evidence, it may have taken place towards the end of the third century B.C.

PHALASARNA.

A didrachm of this town in the British Museum with *obv.*, head of Artemis Diktyнна; *rev.*, ΦΑ, trident, is countermarked with an object which appears to be intended for a pomegranate. A similar countermark occurs on a didrachm of Cnossus in the British Museum (*obv.* head of Demeter, r.; *rev.* labyrinth of mæander pattern, in

¹¹³ According to Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.*, viii. 80, a certain Cretan temple of Diktyнна was guarded by dogs.

centre of which, star; in each angle, crescent), assignable to the period B.C. 431—350; on a didrachm of Gortyna with Europa in the tree¹¹⁴ (B.C. 431—300), and on a didrachm of Eleuthernæ, belonging to the same period, of which there is a specimen among Mionnet's casts (cp. ii. p. 276, No. 146). This countermark may therefore indicate, as a date for the Phalasarna didrachms, our period B.C. 431—300, a date probable also on grounds of style. Dr. Friedlaender¹¹⁵ states that three of the smaller coins of Phalasarna, in the Berlin Museum, are re-struck on coins of Argos, but he does not distinctly indicate to what period of the Argive coinage the latter pieces belong.

POLYRHENIUM.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Artemis Diktynna l., wearing earring and necklace; hair rolled; before the head in small letters ΠΥΘΟΔ[ΩΡΟΥ].

Rev.—Filleted bucranium, facing; border of dots.

R. .65. Wt. 41.9 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 7.]

2. *Obv.*—Similar to No. 1; before the head in small letters [ΠΥΘΟ]ΔΩΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Similar to No. 1.

R. .65. Wt. 37.1 grs. Brit. Mus.

3. *Obv.*—Head of Artemis Diktynna l., with hair in *sakkos*, wearing earring and necklace.

Rev.—Similar to No. 1.

R. .65. Wt. 39.2 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. I., No. 8, *obv.*]

These three coins show traces of having been re-struck, though on what specimens it is perhaps impossible to discern.

¹¹⁴ *Annuaire de la Soc. franç. de Num.*, iii. p. 31.

¹¹⁵ *Zeit. für Num.*, iv. p. 339.

Of the artist Pythodoros who worked also at Aptera we have already spoken (p. 13). It is not improbable that No. 3 is also by him, though it is unsigned. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer mentions (*Mon. Gr.* p. 218, Nos. 36, 37) a specimen at Stuttgart, similar to No. 1, but reading $\Gamma\Omega\Lambda$, a legend which serves to identify the uninscribed coins of Polyrrhenium. Nos. 1—3, I would assign to the period B.C. 400—330, making the succeeding period of the Polyrrhenian coinage B.C. 330—280, of which the principal coins would be (in silver) those with the Zeus and bucranium and spear and bucranium types (cp. *Zeit. f. Num.*, iv. p. 338), and the copper pieces with devices of a kindred nature. The following bronze coin, obtained by the British Museum from Mr. Petrides, may possibly fall within the same period, on account of its reverse type :—

4. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas r., wearing crested helmet.

Rev.— $\Gamma\Omega\Lambda\Upsilon\Phi\eta\text{NI}$. Filleted bucranium, facing.

Æ. 65. Brit. Mus.

(Cp. a coin in *Rev. Num.*, 1848, p. 480.)

At the head of a third period, B.C. 220—67, I would place the remarkable specimen photographed in Pl. III., No. 10 (*obv.* only), which has been already published by Mr. Head (*Guide*, Pl. 32, 26; cp. *Mion.* ii., p. 293, No. 280) and Prof. Gardner (*Types*, Pl. XII., p. 204), having for its reverse type a female figure seated and holding out a winged Victory, and for its obverse a male head, beardless, but with whisker, and at the shoulder bow and quiver. This effigy is considered, both by Mr. Gardner and Mr. Head, to be an Apollo, though, as the former points out, it is obviously the head of some human personage in the character of that god, for we cannot certainly admit a *barbatus Apollo*. Mr. Gardner is rather inclined to think

that the personage here represented is Perseus, King of Macedon, though our coin does not bear a very striking likeness either to Perseus or to Philip V. of Macedon, another possible claimant. I should myself venture to prefer Philip, especially as we know that about B.C. 220 he had relations with the people of Polyrrhenium. In that year the Polyrrhenians united themselves with other Cretan cities to succour Lyttus, which was then attacked by Cnossus. Lyttus was destroyed, but the Polyrrhenians and their allies continued the war against Cnossus, Gortyna, Cydonia, Aptera, and Eleuthernæ. The Cnossian party was aided by Ætolian auxiliaries, and the Polyrrhenians consequently turned for aid to Philip of Macedon, the enemy of the Ætolians. A reinforcement was despatched, and the Polyrrhenian league was victorious.¹¹⁶ To our assigning the silver coin to this period its style and weight (light Attic, not Æginetan) would present no obstacles, and though Mr. Head in his *Guide* has included the coin in his Fourth Period (B.C. 336—280), he is now inclined, as he informs me, to allow a later date for it. The god is no doubt rightly called Apollo—the hunter Apollo—who must also be the god represented on the smaller silver coins of the same place and period, specimens of which show as their reverse a youthful male figure wearing a chlamys, advancing to the left, and holding in his left hand a bow, and for the obverse a head of Artemis, with bow and quiver at her shoulder. Probably the seated figure holding a Victory, which forms the reverse of the tetradrachm, is also Artemis (Diktynna), who, according to Strabo,¹¹⁷ had a temple at Polyrrhenium.

¹¹⁶ Cp. Thénon in *Rev. Arch.*, xv. (N.S.) p. 426.

¹¹⁷ x. 479.

PRAESUS.

Obv.—Gorgoneion.

Rev.—Within linear compartment, youthful male figure, wearing chlamys which flies behind, kneeling r., and shooting with bow; the whole in incuse square.

Æ. 95. Wt. 182·5 grs. Brit. Mus. [Pl. III., No. 18.]

This remarkable unpublished coin was purchased by the trustees of the British Museum, in 1876, from Mr. A. J. Lawson. I do not know if there is any distinct record of its having been found in Crete, but in the same purchase there were included two other coins, undoubtedly of Crete, and it was bought at the time as a coin of Praesus. Its weight (Æginetan) would be suitable for Crete, and its reverse type is strikingly like that of undoubted coins of Praesus. The Gorgon head is very curious, and is, so far as I am aware, found nowhere else in the coinage of Crete. The earliest coins previously known of Praesus are inscribed, and have for obverse a youthful male figure shooting, and for reverse, a bird. These types have been called by Dr. Kenner a local hero and a dove; by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, Herakles and a Stymphalian bird. That the figure is Herakles is not improbable, especially as that god appears on another coin of Praesus holding his bow and club.¹¹⁸ There seems to be no special reason for calling the bird on the reverse a Stymphalian bird; I should rather see in it an eagle—the representative of that Zeus Diktaios who had a temple in the territory of Praesus,¹¹⁹ and who appears in his own person on later

¹¹⁸ Imhoof-Blumer, *Mon. Grec.*, p. 219. The hunter Apollo might also perhaps put in a claim for the obverse.

¹¹⁹ Cp. Bursian, *Geog.*, ii. 576.

coins of the place, enthroned, and holding sceptre and eagle.

Praesus was destroyed by the Hierapytnians, but the exact date of its destruction is not known. Its silver coins do not seem to be much later than B.C. 300, though there is a bronze piece with obverse, head of Apollo, and reverse, thunderbolt, which may be later. According to Mionnet, it has **C** for **Σ**, but the form of this letter on the British Museum specimen is unfortunately uncertain.

PRIANSUS.

The obverse type of the didrachms with a female figure seated under a palm-tree caressing a serpent has been discussed by Prof. Gardner in his *Types of Greek Coins* (p. 162). He decides, as M. Lenormant¹²⁰ has also done independently, that the figure is less likely to be Hygieia than the goddess Persephone (mother of the Cretan Zagreus), visited by Zeus under the form of a serpent. It may be added that on one of these didrachms in the British Museum the female figure certainly wears a wreath, which would be a small additional argument in favour of her being Persephone (cp. Mion., *Sup.* t. iv., pl. xi., 2.)

THALASSA.

A Cretan town Thalassa is not mentioned in Bursian's *Geographie*, but in a well-known passage of the *Acts of the Apostles*, describing the journeys of St. Paul, the Vulgate¹²¹ has the words "Venimus in locum quendam qui vocatur

¹²⁰ *Gazette Archéol.*, 1879, p. 24; cp. a gem in Overbeck (*Griech. Kunstmythologie*, Bd. 3, Gemmentafel iv. 9), called by him Demeter, *ib.* p. 507.

¹²¹ *Act. Apost.*, 27, 8.

Boni Portus cui juxta erat civitas Thalassa." The reading of Codex A in the corresponding passage is Πόλις Ἀλασσα, and of the Sinaïticus, Λασσαία. Have we then any coins of this Thalassa, Alassa, or Lassaea? Leake¹²² distinctly says that "coins of Thalassa are not uncommon in that part of Crete," i.e. on the southern coast, near St. Paul's Fair Havens. He cites, however, only three specimens (in copper), two of which bear no indication of their mint place, the other being:—

Obv.—ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC. Head of Domitian r.

Rev.—ΕΠΙ ΝΕΟΚΥΔΟΥ ΘΑ. Jupiter seated l.; holding in r. two ears of corn; l. resting upon hasta.

Æ.

Coins similar to these were attributed to Thalassa, first by Sestini and then by Dr. Kenner.¹²³ Sestini (cp. Mionnet, *Sup.* t. iv., p. 345) also gives a coin reading *Θαλασσην*. It is doubtful, however, whether this latter reading is to be trusted, and from the evidence of a specimen in the British Museum similar to Leake's just described, I also doubt the reading ΘΑ. The inscription in large letters on the reverse of the Museum specimen is ΕΠΙ ΝΕΟΚΥΔΟΥ ΘΑ, but at the back of the seat of "Jupiter" is a small P (probably overlooked by Leake and others) placed thus, ϐ, there being no room for it with the rest of the legend, so that the full inscription is probably not ΘΑ, but ΘΑΡ. The attribution of these

¹²² *Num. Hell.*, s.v. "Thalassa."

¹²³ *Die Münzsaml. d. St. S^t. Flor.*, p. 101, f. Kenner, I may point out, is wrong in saying that Steph. Byz. mentions "Thalassa" as a Cretan town.

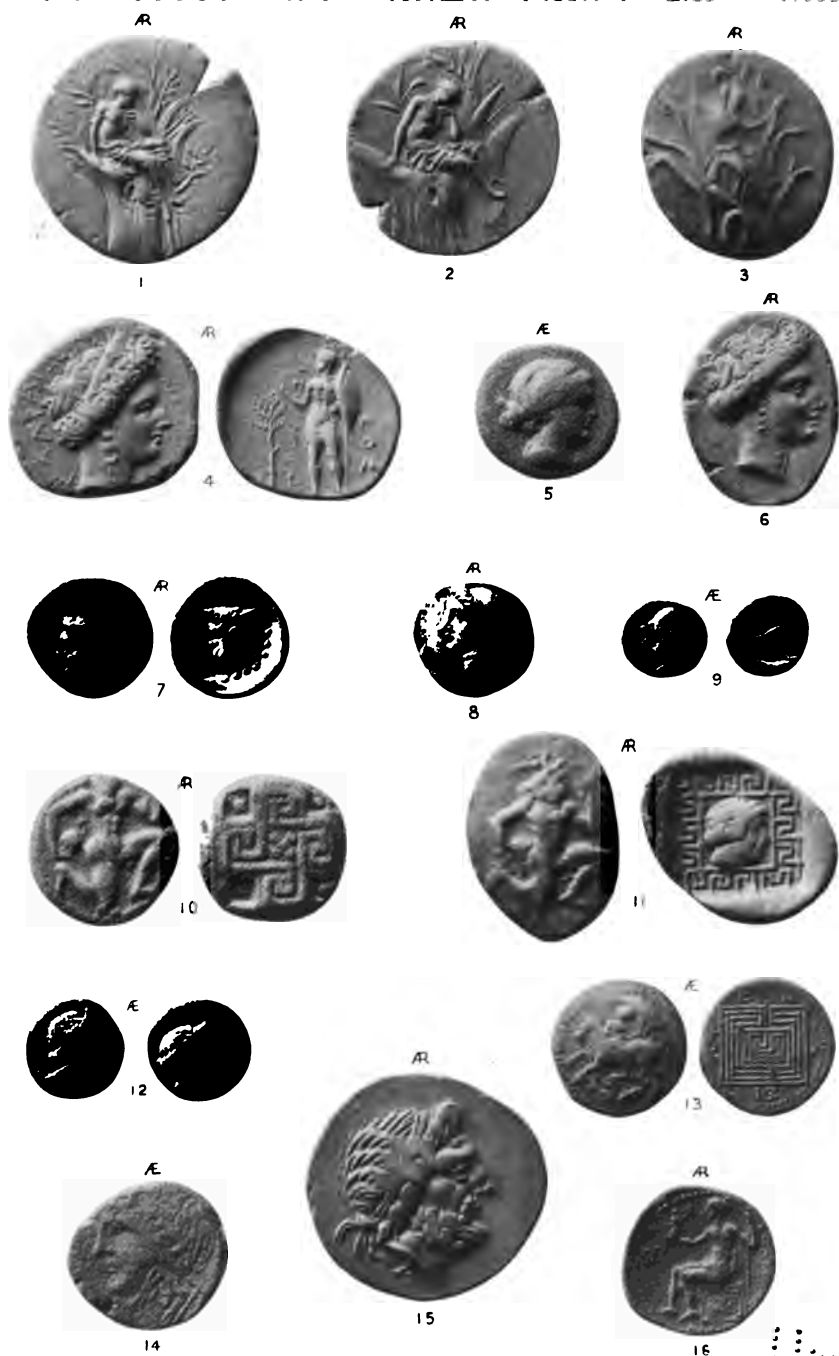
coins to a Cretan town, *Thalassa*, must therefore be considered as extremely uncertain.

IMPERIAL COINS.

The Imperial coins which bear the names of Greek cities, or which are inscribed **KOINON KPHTON**, present no difficulties. The class of small bronze coins having for reverse an altar, a tripod, or a basket between two torches, was assigned to the *Koinon* of Crete by Leake on account of their bearing the letters **ΚΚ**. This attribution is doubtless correct: a specimen in the British Museum with the basket and torches was obtained from Mr. Petrides.

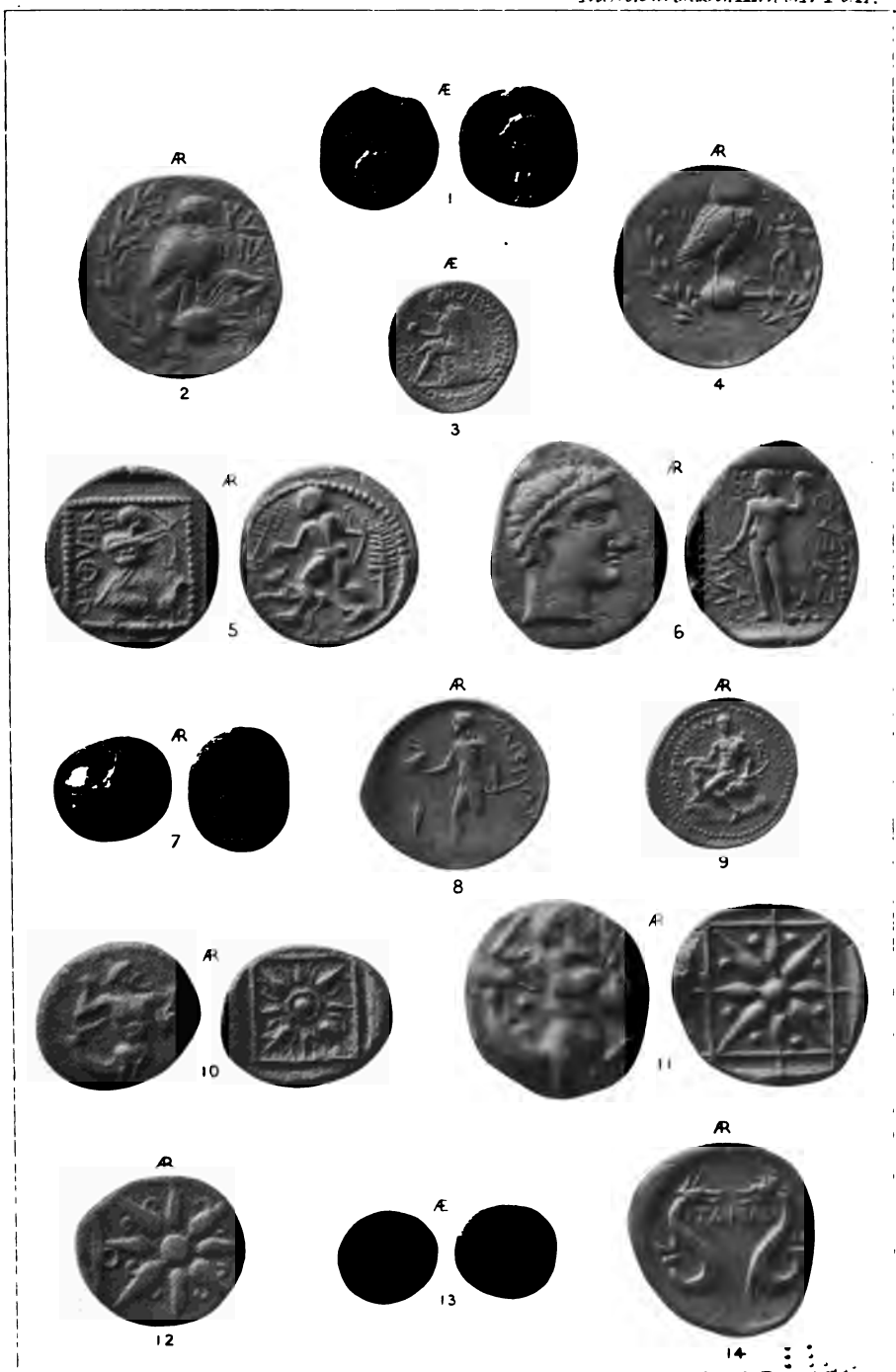
Several other Imperial coins, both in silver and copper, with the heads of the earlier Emperors, have been assigned to the Cretan *Koinon* or to *Thalassa* (cp. *Mion.*, *Sup.* t. iv. p. 13. II and vol. vi.: Leake, *Sup.* "Islands," p. 130.) but as they do not bear any inscription indicative of the locality where they were issued, their attribution is consequently doubtful, at any rate until any trustworthy evidence be brought forward of their having been

WARWICK WROTH.



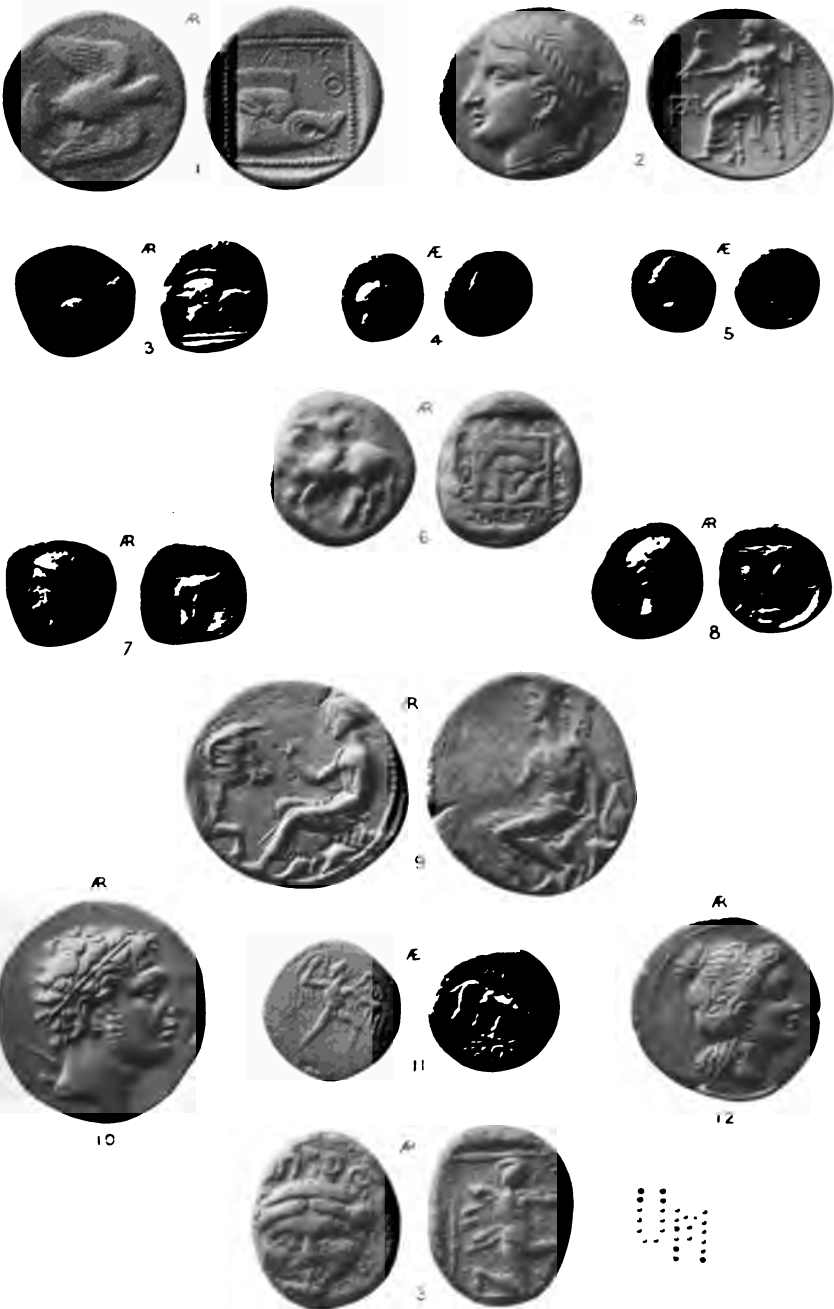
CRETAN COINS.





CRETAN COINS.





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