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HISTORY
OF THE
COINAGE OF SYRACUSE.

INTRODUCTION.

It is with no small hesitation that I venture to publish the following remarks on the history of the coinage of Syracuse. So many celebrated numismatists and scholars have already written on this subject, that it may with some reason be objected that little, if anything, of importance remains to be said on the matter.

Nevertheless, after a long and careful study of the Syracusan series preserved in our national collection, I have been led to hope that in the following survey I shall be able to contribute something of interest to the student of Greek numismatics, more especially as regards the chronological sequence of the coins in question. It appears to me that a great drawback to the usefulness of many catalogues is the method which has been generally adopted of keeping the metals apart; for, when gold, silver, and copper are separately described, we lose sight of the minute links, such as monograms, symbols, &c., whereby I hope to be able to connect the issues in the different metals, and thus to fix the date of many coins which, for want of comparison with other pieces the date
of which is ascertained, have usually been massed together under the general heading of "Autonomous, of Syracuse." This applies more especially to the many varieties of copper coins struck during so long a period of Syracusan history.

I have, therefore, divided into periods the history of the city, and have assigned to each the coins of all metals which appear to hang together in groups whenever, from internal evidence or analogy, this course was possible. I believe that by the adoption of this plan, the date, often within a few years, may be fixed of the issue of very many coins which it would be otherwise impossible, judging simply from the style of their work, to attribute, except in a very general manner.

The above remarks on the separation of the metals apply with still greater force to the coins of the later tyrants, which are often described by themselves at the end of the autonomous series. It will at once be seen how important are these pieces which proclaim their own history, and tell us distinctly by whom they were issued. These are our landmarks. The plan which I here submit to the consideration of students is to take a general view of the chronology of Syracusan history—to draw, as it were, a map in outline, and then to fill it in, first of all by placing under their respective dates such coins as tell their own story, and then, proceeding by analogy of style, similarity of type and fabric, identity of monograms, single letters, symbols, and the like, to complete the picture by the attribution of all such coins as, taken by themselves, give us no clue to their exact place in the historical scheme.

It is surprising how few of the autonomous coins of Syracuse will not thus fall into their proper places, and
so the whole series will form a numismatic commentary upon the history of the city—a history which is a continual alternation between free popular democracies and tyrannical governments, succeeding one another at frequent intervals, from the time of the oligarchy of the Geomori, in the sixth century B.C., when the earliest coins were issued, down to the siege and capture of the city by Marcellus in B.C. 212, after which date Syracuse, with all Sicily, sank into the condition of a mere province of the great Roman Republic, and lost the privilege of striking money in its own name—at any rate in the precious metals; for, judging from the style of some of the copper, it seems to have been permitted to strike in that metal for some considerable time after its capture.

The coins of Syracuse, when thus arranged in chronological sequence, will provide us with a valuable means for arranging in a similar manner those of the other Greek cities of Sicily, and these, on the other hand, will be a sort of check on the accuracy of the arrangement of the Syracusan series, many of the Syracusan types having been adopted, on various occasions, by other cities in the island, which occasionally supply us with more precise chronological indications.

The coins of Alexander and Pyrrhos of Epirus, struck in Southern Italy and Sicily, will also afford us valuable data for the attribution of certain Syracusan types, which bear a marked resemblance to them in style. Alexander was in Italy between the years 332 and 326 B.C., and Pyrrhos in Sicily between 278 and 276. Both these monarchs struck coins which, on account of their style, are generally acknowledged to be the work of Italian and Sicilian Greeks. When, therefore, we find certain Syracusan types closely allied to the coins of these two kings,
we are justified in attributing the one set to the time of Alexander and the other to that of Pyrrhos.

No less apparent is the influence of Corinth on the Syracusan coinage during the time when the Corinthian Timoleon was occupied in the emancipation of Syracuse from the tyranny of the successors of Dionysios, and also of all the Greek cities of Sicily from their several tyrants, and from the Carthaginian dominion. Consequently, about this period we can trace in the coinage of some Sicilian towns a community of type and a similarity of style with that of Syracuse which mark them as belonging to this time of renewed prosperity and freedom, when the worship of Zeus Eleutherios, which had been first of all established at Syracuse in B.C. 466, on the restoration of democracy after the exile of Thrasybulos, seems, after the lapse of a century and more, again to have called forth the religious feelings of the people in gratitude for liberty and order regained after so long a period of tyranny and anarchy.

The history of the city of Syracuse may be divided into the following periods:

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<td>I. Oligarchy of the Geomori</td>
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Before classifying the coins under the foregoing headings, I carefully abstained from reading anything that had previously been written on the subject, in order that whatever my arrangement might be worth, it might at all events be independent work. Not until the classification was complete, and its own place assigned to each coin, according to the best of my judgment, did I consult the following works. I then discovered that, taking my classification as a whole, I was, generally speaking, in agreement with former workers, with a few important exceptions, notably as regards the first copper money issued by Syracuse, where I differ entirely from Brandis, and as to the relative values of gold and silver after the middle of the fourth century B.C., where I am sorry to disagree with so high an authority as Mommsen. Among the works which I have consulted, I may mention the following as the most important:

Grote, History of Greece.
De Luynes, Rev. Num. Française, 1843.
Leake, Trans. R. Soc. Lit., ser. ii. vol. iii. 1850.
Brunet de Presle, Établissements des Grecs en Sicile.
Sur les Médailles Siciliennes de Pyrrhus, Roi d’Épire, &c.
R. Rochette, Graveurs des Monnaies Grecques.
Salinas, Le Monete delle antiche Città di Sicilia, pl. I.—VIII.
" Di due Monete della Regina Filistide, Periodico di Numismatica e Sfragistica, i. p. 193 sqq.
I have, for the most part, confined my remarks to coins which I have seen with my own eyes, as, unless one is very sure of the fabric and style of a piece, it is hazardous to attribute from engravings, however good. Where a coin is not in the Museum collection, I have therefore noticed the fact.

I. OLIGARCHY OF THE GEOMORI, SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

The earliest coins of Syracuse are universally acknowledged to be tetradrachms and didrachms of Attic weight. The obverse of the former has a quadriga driven by a male charioteer; that of the latter a naked horseman riding upon one horse and leading a second. The reverses of these coins consist of an incuse square divided into four quarters, in the centre of which is a female head. These coins are also characterized by the absence of the Nike, who crowns sometimes the driver and sometimes the horses, on all the Syracusan tetradrachms of later date, down to the time of Agathokles. The form of the Σ is also peculiar (§), and does not again occur. The full inscription, which, however, is generally abbreviated, is §YRAQOΣION. There can be little doubt that these coins are antecedent to the tyranny of Gelon, and must therefore be attributed to the oligarchy of the Geomori, late in the sixth century B.C. (Pl. I. 1—2.)

II. GELON, B.C. 485—478.

The coins which follow next in order to those above described still preserve the Q in the inscription, but the
$\$ is replaced by the later form Σ or Ξ, the other letters remaining unchanged.

They evidently mark the commencement of a new era in Syracusan history; the incuse square is renounced, and Nike makes her first appearance, crowning on some specimens the horses and on others the driver of the victorious quadriga. The female head from the centre of the incuse square on the earlier coinage, now becomes the principal type of the obverse, and is surrounded by dolphins. Tetradrachms and didrachms occur, the reverse type of the latter is similar to the obverse of the previous coinage. (Pl. I. 3.)

It is recorded that Gelon, as a citizen of Gela, conquered in the chariot-race at Olympia in B.C. 488.\(^1\) He became master of Syracuse in 485, and it is highly probable that the introduction of this new type marks this epoch. The Nike evidently commemorates a victory in the games, and was probably placed by Gelon on his money both at Gela and Syracuse, in commemoration of his Olympic victory.\(^2\) The coins of the group with the Ω, now assigned to Gelon, are rare; but exhibit several varieties of type. The hair of the female head is generally indicated by dots, as on the coins of the Geomori.

If this arrangement be adopted, we observe that some time during the reign of Gelon the Ω must have been replaced by the Κ; the types also of both sides underwent various modifications. The hair of the head upon the obverse gets by degrees to be indicated by lines

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1 Donaldson's Pindar, p. xxiv.
2 Concerning the signification of Nike, and of the agonistic types which refer to chariot and horse-races, see R. S. Poole "On the use of the Coins of Kamarina in illustration of the fourth and fifth Olympian Odes of Pindar," in the Transactions R. Soc. Lit., vol. x. part iii. n.s.
instead of dots, and the ends are usually turned up under the diadem of beads. (Pl. I. 4—6.) Some of these pieces betray a certain carelessness of work, the letters of the inscription being often reversed and upside down. In addition to the tetradrachm and didrachm, the drachm, obol, and the silver litra make their first appearance. (Pl. I. 7—10.) The type of the drachm is similar to that of the didrachm, except that the horseman on the reverse does not lead a second horse. The obol and the litra have the same head upon the obverse, but the reverse of the former seems to be distinguished by the wheel type and that of the latter by the cuttle-fish. The two are not always to be distinguished by their weight, though the litrae are, as a rule, a few grains heavier than the obols. The normal weights are, for the obol, 11·2, and for the litra, 13·5 grains. In the year 480 Gelon gained his famous victory over the Carthaginians at Himera, and, by the intervention of his wife, Demarete, concluded a solemn peace with his vanquished foes, the conditions of which were so much more favourable than they had been led to expect, that in gratitude they presented to Demarete a hundred talents of gold, from the proceeds of which were struck, circ. B.C. 479, the celebrated Pentekontalitra, surnamed Demaretia. These pieces of 50 litrae or 10 Attic drachms are so well known that I need not here describe them minutely. The head upon the obverse is

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4 Pollux, ix. 85.

Diod., xi. 26:—καὶ στεφανωθέσα ἡπ' αὐτῶν ἐκατὸν τυλάντως χρυσίων, νόμισμα ἐξείκοψε τὸ κληθὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Δαμαρέτειον τούτο δὲιχὲν Ἀττικὰς δραχμὰς δέκα, ἐκλήθη δὲ παρὰ τούς Σικελίωτας ἀπὸ τῶν οσταθμῶν πεντεκονταλπτρον. See also De Luynes, Annali dell' Inst. Arch., 1830, p. 81.
COINAGE OF SYRACUSE.

crowned with olive instead of with the usual diadem of beads, and may be intended for Nike;\(^5\) it is also enclosed in a circle, as on some of the earlier tetradrachms with the \(Q\). In the exergue is a lion, possibly the symbol of Africa, in memory of the great victory over the Carthaginians, concerning which Diodoros\(^6\) remarks that the number of captives taken by Gelon was so great that it seemed as if all Libya had become his prisoner.\(^7\)

Besides the pentekontalitron or dekadrachm there are tetradrachms and obols of this coinage; the former bears a very close resemblance to the dekadrachm; the obol has the same olive-crowned head upon the obverse and the usual wheel upon the reverse. (Pl. I., 10 bis—12.)

These coins may be looked upon as the last of purely archaic style. Gelon died in B.C. 478, and was succeeded by his brother Hieron.

III. HIERON I., B.C. 478—467.

As the renown of Gelon sprang from his victory at Himera, so the chief glory of Hieron dates from his great sea-fight with the Etruscans near Cumæ, B.C. 474, in which he shattered the naval power of that nation, hitherto supreme upon the sea (θαλασσοκρατούντες).\(^8\) This mari-

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\(^5\) R. S. Poole, Coins of Kamarina, p. 10.

\(^6\) Diod., xi. 25. Ἐπήγετο γὰρ αἰχμαλώτων τουσοῦτο πλῆθος, ὡστε δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς νῆσου γεγονέναι τὴν Λιβύην ὄλην αἰχμαλώτον.

\(^7\) Holm, Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum, vol. i. 208.

\(^8\) Diod., li. 2. Although the Tyrrenians are not included in the famous list of Thalassocracies by Castor of Rhodes, it has, nevertheless, been placed beyond doubt both by Ottfried Müller and Lepsius, that, in the Pelasgic ages, they were the rulers of the sea. On this subject see also De Rouge (Rev. Arch., 1867, p. 92) who identifies as Tyrrenians the people called Turs'ia in Egyptian inscriptions, a word which exactly represents the ancient form of the Italic name of the Etruscans.
time victory is alluded to by Pindar (Pyth., i. 72), and
there is a helmet still in existence, now preserved in the
British Museum, which was dedicated from his Tyrren-
hian spoils by Hieron to Zeus at Olympia, where it was
found in 1817. It bears the following inscription:—

ΘΙΑΡΟΝΟΔΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΕΟΣ
ΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΕΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ
ΤΟΙΔΙΤΥΡΑΝΑΝΠΟΚΥΜΑΣ
i.e., 'Ερων δ' Δευμενόνς καὶ οἱ Ῥιακοῦντοι
τῷ Δαί Τυρρηνῶν ἀπὸ Κύμης.

The forms of the letters in this inscription correspond
with those on the coins of about this period.9

The coins which I would attribute to Hieron are a series
having in the exergue, instead of the lion, a sea-monster
or pistrix (Pl. II., 1—12), which I take to symbolize
the vanquished naval power of the Tuscaus, just as the
lion which appears on Gelon's coins after the battle of
Himera may symbolize the destruction of the African
dominion in Sicily.

It must not, however, be imagined that the attribution
of these coins to Hieron's time rests solely upon an inter-
pretation of a symbol, which may be thought by many to
be rather far-fetched and fanciful. Up to the year 479,
when the Demaretia were issued, the style of the art had
been purely archaic, the Demaretia themselves being only

Tursee, Turscer, &c. Cf. the Greek ethnic Τυραγνός, Τυρρηνός.
There seems even some reason to suppose that the "ships of
Tarshish" mentioned in Scripture were no other than Etruscan
merchants. The Hebrew word יִתְרֵץֶש (Tarshish) has
usually been identified with Tartessus in Spain; but De Rouge
(i.e., p. 94, note 2) says that it is, in his opinion, "en rapport
direct avec Turs'a, on sait qu'il figure parmi les nations qui se
partagent les iles de la mer, Gen. x. 4, 5.''

9 Engraved in Rev. Num., 1843, pl. i.
distinguished by a greater fineness of work. The series with the pistrix, or sea-monster, exhibits a marked advance upon the archaic style. For instance, the eye of the female head is represented, for the first time, in profile, and no longer with both corners visible as if seen from the front, a peculiarity of archaic art. (Cf. Pl. II, with Pl. I.) The hair also is waved and a greater variety is apparent in the mode of arranging it, the plain string of beads being often replaced by a fillet bound two or three times round the head. The horses of the quadriga, as on the earlier coins, are, with a single exception (Pl. II., 12, 13), always represented as walking and the charioteer is also always apparently male. The inscriptions are in general more carefully executed, being very seldom retrograde or inverted, as on the archaic, properly so called. The R, I imagine, towards the close of Hieron’s reign gives place to the P, although it often reappears on pieces which are certainly later in style.

There are drachms, litræ, and smaller divisions which attach themselves by their style to the Pistrix series, although no piece smaller than the didrachm bears that symbol. (Pl. II., 4, 5, 13.)

The reign of Hieron seems to be the link which connects the pieces of archaic art with those of the early fine style which is characteristic of the Democracy which follows.

IV. DEMOCRACY, B.C. 466—415; BEFORE THE ATHENIAN SIEGE.

The expulsion of Thrasybulos, the brother of Hieron, after one year’s tyranny, led to the establishment of a democracy, during which the city, and indeed all Sicily, attained to a very high degree of wealth and prosperity.
arising from the enjoyment of peace and free institutions, a condition which lasted until the time of the Athenian siege, B.C. 415—412.\(^\text{10}\)

I would attribute to this period five distinct types of the tetradrachm, all of which exhibit a decided advance upon the semi-archaic series with the pistrix. They may be distinguished, as follows, by the arrangement of the hair of the female head. Type 1 with the sphendone (Pl. III. 1); Type 2, with the saccos or bag, generally ornamented with the Mæander pattern (Pl. III. 2, 3); Type 3, with a cord wound four times round the back hair. (Pl. III. 4.) All these have the exergue plain and the quadriga driven by a male charioteer. Types 4 and 5, on the other hand, have a locust in the exergue, and the quadriga is driven, for the first time, by a charioteer apparently female (Pl. III. 5, 6); the hair on type 4 is in a jewelled net, on type 5, bound by a cord twisted round it. The horses on all these coins are walking.

There are, as far as I am aware, no didrachms or drachms of this period.

The P is generally used during this period, but the older form R sometimes recurs: the Ω is not yet seen.

Before I proceed to the next period of Syracusan history, viz., that which succeeded the Athenian siege, B.C. 415—412, I must briefly consider the question as to which were the earliest copper coins, and whether they were first struck during the Democracy, 466—415, or later.

The ancient proportion in Sicily of copper to silver in value was 250:1, and the copper litra, which then weighed 3,375 grains (218 grammes), or half an Attic mina, was in value equal to 13.5 grains of silver (87 grammes), or \(\frac{1}{16}\) of

\(^{10}\) Diod., xi. 68, 72.
COINAGE OF SYRACUSE.

the stater or didrachm, which was, in consequence, called the δεκάλερτος στατήρ.\textsuperscript{11} A new coin, the silver litra, foreign to the Attic system and in value \(\frac{1}{2}\) of the drachm, or 12 ounces of copper, was issued in very early times probably to take the place of the obol, or \(\frac{1}{2}\) of the drachm, equal only to 10 ounces of copper, the duodecimal system of division into 12 ounces having been always applied to the litra of copper.

Some time during the reign of Dionysios the elder, 405—367, the weight of the copper litra was reduced to \(\frac{1}{2} = 675\) grains (43.73 grammes). This reduced litra is called by Aristotle "the old" (\(τὸ \ μὲν \ ἀρεσταίον\)),\textsuperscript{12} to distinguish it from the one in use during his own time (\(τὸ \ δὲ \ ὀστερον\)), when it had undergone a second reduction of \(\frac{1}{2} = 337.5\) grains (21.86 grammes).\textsuperscript{11} The silver litra—otherwise called the nummus, originally equal to one copper litra—was now, therefore, equal to ten; the two litræ being distinguished by the epithets silver and copper.\textsuperscript{13}

Brandis expresses his opinion that the value of copper in proportion to silver rose from 250 : 1 to 50 : 1, and afterwards to 25 : 1, on the several reductions of the litra. I can, however, find no evidence that such was the fact, and I therefore prefer to treat, as Mommsen does, the several reductions of the litra as so many bankruptcies or expedients adopted by the State to facilitate the payment of debts, the proportionate values of copper and silver probably remaining about the same from the time of the first issue of copper coins down to the time of Hieron II. It is worthy of remark that during the whole of this period—viz., until b.c. 269—the same

\textsuperscript{11} Pollux, iv. 175.  
\textsuperscript{12} Pollux, ix. 87.  
\textsuperscript{13} Mommsen, ed. Blacas, ch. ii. § 1.
relation between copper and silver existed at Rome as in Sicily—viz., 250: 1.\(^\text{14}\)

We now approach the question as to when copper was first coined at Syracuse, and whether it was issued of full weight according to its value in proportion to silver, or was only money of account with a fictitious value above its real one.

Brandis is of opinion that copper was coined in Sicily of full weight only so long as the original proportion of copper to silver as 250: 1 was maintained.\(^\text{15}\) Starting with this theory, he is obliged to make the heaviest copper coins of Syracuse the earliest in that metal. His classification is as follows:

Copper to silver as 250 : 1. Weight of litra, 3375 grains.

**Two-ounce piece (562 grs.)**:—

*Obv.*—Head of Pallas.

*Rev.*—Star between dolphins. Actual weight, 530-450 grs. (Pl. VII. 1.)

**One-ounce (281 grs.)**:—

*Obv.*—Head of Zeus Eleutherios.

*Rev.*—Free horse. Actual weight, 280 grs. (Pl. VII. 8.)

*Obv.*—Head of Zeus Eleutherios.

*Rev.*—Thunderbolt. Actual weight, 262-229 grs. (Pl. VII. 10.)

*with smaller divisions, which I need not here mention. Notwithstanding the weight of these pieces, I cannot bring myself to believe that they are as early as Brandis maintains. The coins with the head of Zeus, *Rev.* Thunderbolt, bear a strong resemblance to the silver of Alexander of Epirus, struck in Italy B.C. 332—326, and, I should*  


\(^{15}\) Brandis, p. 276—"Es kommt vor allem darauf an, zu bestimmen, in wie fern und wie lange das Kupfergeld Werthmünze war und blieb. Offenbar war dies in Syrakus und in ganz Sicilien so lange der Fall, als die ursprüngliche Werthung der beiden Metalle wie 250: 1 fest gehalten wurde."
say, cannot be very much earlier than his time. The head of Zeus Eleutherios, also, is far more appropriate to the Democracy restored by Timoleon, than to the tyranny of Dionysios the elder. As regards the large pieces with the head of Pallas, it is certainly possible that they may have been issued by Dionysios; but it seems to me that a type so thoroughly Corinthian in style, is far more likely to have been borrowed from the Corinthian staters which were struck at Syracuse at the time of the recolonisation by Timoleon. These two types, with others which I shall afterwards mention, would seem therefore to belong to the Democracy restored by Timoleon in B.C. 344. In this case, instead of being two-ounce and one-ounce pieces of full weight, they would be pieces of two litre and one litra of the second reduction. This, however, is doubtful, for very little can be inferred from the weights of copper coins, and it is probable that even these massive coins are in reality only money of account which approximate in appearance to pieces of full weight and value.

If, then, these are not the earliest copper coins of Syracuse, which are?

Mommsen, who differs entirely from Brandis on the subject of Syracusan copper coins (looking upon them simply as money of account), is inclined to accept, as the earliest, the pieces with the incuse square divided into four quarters, with a star in the centre. (Pl. V. 13.)

The style of these coins is, however, that of the fine period

16 Of course it is quite out of the question that the coins with ΣΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ could have been struck during the first democracy after the exile of Thrasybulos in B.C. 466, when this worship was first instituted at Syracuse. Their style, not to mention the occurrence of the Ω on the reverse, entirely precludes this supposition.

of art, and they bear a marked resemblance to Kimon's tetradrachms. The pieces which I believe to be the earliest copper, are a series having on the obverse a female head, with the hair gathered into a knot (korymbos) at the top of the head, and, on the reverse, the surface of which is slightly incuse, a cuttle-fish surrounded by the marks of value '; smaller divisions are known without these marks. (Pl. III. 7, 8.) These coins I take to be the trias, hexas (?) and ounce (?) of the earliest copper issue, of nominal, but not of real value, struck during the Democracy B.C. 466—412. The occurrence of the P precludes the possibility of their being earlier than this time. The head upon the obverse bears a strong resemblance to one of the pistrix-types of Hieron I. (Pl. II. 12.) The style is semi-archaic, or transitional, and they cannot possibly belong to the period to which Brandis classes them—viz., after the second reduction of the litra, which is more than a century later.18


Grote, in his history of Greece (ch. lxxxi.), says that the Syracusans, after the destruction of the Athenian besiegers, "elate with the plenitude of recent effort, and conscious that the late successful defence had been the joint work of all, were in a state of animated democratic impulse. On the proposition of an influential citizen named Diokles, a commission of ten was named, of which he was president, for the purpose of revising both the constitution and the legislature of the city."

Unfortunately, nothing is known of the details of the

18 Brandis, p. 590.
changes introduced by this Commission; but, that they were extensive there can be little doubt. It is not, therefore, improbable that a complete revision of the coinage may have taken place at this time, and certainly from the evidence afforded by the coins themselves, some such revision must be inferred.

One of the most important of these novelties seems to have been the institution for the first time of a coinage in gold, the first coins in this metal being small pieces. **Obv.** Head of Herakles in lion’s skin. **Rev.** Incuse square, divided into four parts, with a female head in the centre. Wt. circ. 18 grains. Supposing the proportionate value of coined gold to coined silver to have been 1 : 15, these pieces would correspond exactly in value to the silver tetradrachm. The half also exists. **Obv.** Head of Pallas. **Rev.** Incuse square, within which is a wheel. Weight, 9 grains = 1 didrachm. (Pl. III. 9, 11.)

To these must be added a small gold piece. **Obv. **ΣΥΠΑ. Head of Pallas. **Rev.** Gorgon-head. The weight of the British Museum specimen is 10·4 grains. This is probably a gold obol of Attic weight (11·25 grains), in which case it is equivalent to 12½ litæ, or 2½ drachms. (Pl. III. 10.)

With these earliest gold coins of Syracuse may be compared certain pieces of Gela, the authenticity of which has, however, been suspected by some, weighing 27 and 18 grains, which, if true—and the weights are in their


20 **Obv.—** Horseman, r., wearing "Phrygian" cap. **Rev.—** ΓΕΛΑΣ. Half bull, swimming, r.; above, grain of barley. Ν. '45; wt. 27 grs.

**Obv.—** ΣΩΣΙΠΟΛ. Female head, l. **Rev.—** ΓΕΛΑΣ. Half bull, swimming, l. Ν. '45; wt. 18 grs.
favour—clearly belong to the same system. Gela was destroyed in 405. Agrigentum also, which was destroyed in 406, issued gold coins which seem to be struck on the silver standard, as they correspond in weight to Attic diobols, and have the proper marks of value; the two specimens in the Museum weighing 20·4 and 19·5 grains.\(^{21}\)

The existence of gold at these two places, before their destruction by the Carthaginians, renders it highly improbable that Syracuse would be without a contemporary coinage in that metal. The date of its introduction at all three cities is probably about b.c. 412.

In the Syracusan silver, the following remarkable innovations were introduced after the departure of the Athenians.

The style of the obverse becomes highly ornate, and great variety is apparent in the arrangement of the hair of the goddess, while on the reverse the horses of the chariot are always in high action.

About this time the Ω begins to be seen on coins of Sicily. It is difficult to fix the exact date when it came into universal use,\(^{22}\) but, for convenience sake, we may be allowed to attribute such as have ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ to the Democracy b.c. 412—406, and those with ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ to the next period.

Particular attention seems to have been now devoted

\(^{21}\) Obv.—ΑΚΡ. Eagle devouring serpent; beneath, . .

Rev.—ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ. Crab. \(\nu. \cdot 4\); wt. 20·4 grs.

\(^{22}\) The Ω occurs on certain coins of Segesta struck before its destruction in b.c. 409, at Himera before b.c. 408, at Agrigentum before b.c. 406, on tetradrachms of fine style with the horses of the quadriga in high action. Also at Kamarina and Gela before b.c. 405. But its use seems to have been only exceptional before b.c. 406, after which it became general. This is but little anterior to the archonship of Eukleides, b.c. 404, when the Ionic forms were legally adopted at Athens.
to the coinage, and its beauty was regarded as an object of public interest. Hence the die-engravers were permitted for the first time to sign their work, and we frequently find that the two sides of the same coin are by different artists. Eumēnōs, Soson, and Phrygillos were the engravers employed principally upon the obverses of the coins which I would place before B.C. 406, and Eumenos, Evænetos, and Euth upon the reverses during the same years.

The charioteer, almost always male up to B.C. 415, is now often apparently female, and in some specimens is evidently the goddess Persephone herself, for she carries a flaming torch. (Pl. IV. 10 and V. 5.)

On one very beautiful reverse by Euth: the quadriga is driven by a male winged daemon. (Pl. III. 14.)

Drachms and half-drachms occur; the former signed by Eumenos. Obv. Female head, right; Rev. Leukaspis with shield and short sword (Pl. III. 15); the latter, Obv. Female head, left; hair in sphendone; Rev. Quadriga, &c., with a chariot wheel in the exergue; apparently the work of Evænetos. (Pl. III. 16.)

The drachm with the head of Pallas full-face, and Leukaspis on the reverse, and the hemi-drachm with similar obverse, and a quadriga on the reverse, are apparently by Eukleides, and somewhat later. These belong to the Dionysian period with Ω. (Pl. V. 6, 7.)

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23 A tetradrachm with the signature ΣΩΣΩΝ sold at the Sambon sale, is now in the cabinet of the late H. N. Davis, Esq. It bears a strong resemblance to that by Eumenos which is figured on Pl. III., No. 12.

24 R. S. Poole, Coins of Kamarina, p. 6.

25 Raoul Rochette. Graveurs des Monnaies Grecques, Pl. ii. 16.


VI. TIME OF DIONYSIOS AND HIS SUCCESSORS,  
B.C. 406—345.

To the tyranny of Dionysios must be classed the finest of all the Syracusan coins, both in gold and silver.

The relative value of gold, as compared with silver, still remains as high as $1 : 15$, if we may draw this conclusion from the weights of the gold coins which seem to belong to this period: these are 90 and 45 grains, respectively equal to 1350 and 675 grains, *i.e.* 100, and 50 litrae or 2 and 1 dekadrachms.  

These pieces are of very great beauty; the larger of the two has ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ, the last example of Ω for Ω. *Obv.* Head of Arethusa (?) left; *Rev.* Herakles and the lion. Probably by Kimon, as the British Museum specimen has the portion of a signature which has been read ΚΙ.  

The 50 litra piece, *Obv.* Young male head (Anapos ?); *Rev.* Free horse; has on both sides ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. The type is more appropriate to the Democracy than to the tyranny of Dionysios; possibly the dies were engraved shortly before his accession, but as it has the Ω it is not likely to be much earlier than B.C. 406. (Pl. IV. 2.)

The silver coins of the reigns of Dionysios and his successors are doubtless the most splendid specimens of the numismatic art which exist, for luxury of style and

28 A gold coin, *Obv.*, Head of Arethusa; *Rev.*, Herakles and the lion is engraved in the Annuaire de Numismatique, tome iii., 1868, Pl. iii., from the Gréau collection, having two globules, marks of value, on the obverse. These I take to represent two dekadrachms.

29 The specimen in the Paris cabinet has ΕΥ and is probably by Evænetos. We may therefore on this ground reasonably place these two coins in the second period, which their style alone would justify.
delicacy of work. They do not, however, exhibit that purity and simplicity which characterize the best art of Hellas and Ionia. The engravers' names which occur most frequently upon the obverses are Evænetos, Eukleides, Kimon, and Parme . . . The first two of these are often combined with reverses by Eumenos. Eukleides and Kimon excelled in the representation of the full-face. The head of Pallas by Eukleides (Pl. IV. 10), and that of Arethusa by Kimon (Pl. IV. 9), are now justly celebrated, especially the latter, while the former appears to have been so great a favourite at the time as to have been adopted for the drachms and half-drachms of this period, the reverses of which are, respectively, Leukaspis, and quadriga. (Pl. V. 6, 7.) The litræ bear more resemblance to the works of Kimon or Parme . . . (Pl. V. 9, 10.) There is also a drachm of peculiar style, the reverse of which is signed by Kimon. (Pl. V. 8.) The hemilitræ, or half-obols, which seem to fall into this period, have on the reverse a wheel, generally with two dolphins in the lower quarters, a type which is reproduced on the copper. (Pl. V. 11, 14.) There is also a quarter-litra, or trias, equal to three ounces of copper, wt. 2·8 grains, with a cuttle-fish on the reverse, as on the litræ, but surrounded by three globules to designate its value. (Pl. V. 12.) This small silver piece may have supplanted the copper triantes with marks of value described on p. 15. (Pl. III. 7.)

The dekadraehms of this period are numerous, but seem to be all the works of the two artists Evænetos and Kimon, although they are not all signed. (Pl. IV. 3, 6, 7.)

The reverses of the silver exhibit great variety of detail. Those by Eumenos and Evænetos may be known by their style. The work of the former is characterized by its stiffness, and by a certain roughness of execution (cf. Pl. III. 12); that of the latter by an almost gem-like minuteness of work, which approaches to hardness.\(^{31}\) (Pl. III. 13, Rev., and Pl. IV. 4, Rev.)

The pieces which seem to belong to the close of this period do not bear artists' signatures. The head upon some of them resembles that of Artemis on the electrum coin with \(\Sigma\Omega\text{T}E\text{IPA}\), described in the next section. (Cf. Pl. V. 5 with Pl. VI. 1.) It can hardly be Artemis, however, in this instance, as she has no quiver at her back, but is probably Arethusa. There is also a head of Persephone crowned with corn, and with hair falling over her shoulders, which is certainly rather late in style (Pl. V. 4); also a remarkable coin with \(\Sigma\text{YP}A\text{K}O\Sigma\text{I}N\), retrograde, and a female head, left, signed \(\text{IM}\); in the exergue of this piece is a bull devoured by a lion, the well-known type of Akanthos. (Pl. V. 3.) Whether the peculiarity in the style of this piece, so different from the other tetradrachms of Syracuse, is due to its being the work of a native of Greece proper or Asia Minor,\(^{32}\) or only to its being some ten or twenty years later, it is impossible to say.

During the reigns of Dionysios and his successors, the \(\Omega\) (with the single exception of the gold piece of 100

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\(^{31}\) The apparent commemoration of success at Olympia on these reverses, by Dionysios I., who sustained a defeat, has been justified in Mr. Poole's paper, "On the use of the Coins of Kamarina in illustration of the 4th and 5th Olympian Odes of Pindar," p. 11.

\(^{32}\) R. S. Poole (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iv. p. 246) says that it is unmistakably of Ionian work.
COINAGE OF SYRACUSE.

litrae) is never used for \( \Omega \); \( \Sigma Y P A K O S I O S \), occasionally found in place of \( \Sigma Y P A K O S I \Omega N \), being of course no exception to the rule.

The successors of Dionysios were: Dionysios II., 367—356; Dion, 356—353; Kallippos, 353—352; Hipparinos, 352—350. Interval, 350—344.

It is probable that nearly all the extant coins are to be attributed to the reigns of the two Dionysii and Dion. The nine years which follow the assassination of the latter were a continual scene of anarchy and disorder, during which it is not likely that much money was issued.

The copper, which from analogy of style and type, I would attribute to the Dionysian dynasty, are the following:—

1. Obv.—Head of Arethusa (?), hair in sphendone.
   Rev.—Incuse square, divided into four quarters, with a star in the centre. &E; 65. (Pl. V. 13.)
(Cf. the small gold coins described on p. 17.)

2. Obv.—Similar head.
   Rev.—\( \Sigma Y P A \). Wheel, in two quarters of which, dolphins. &E; 6. (Pl. V. 14.)
(Cf. the half-obols in silver, p. 21.)

3. Obv.—Similar.
   Rev.—Cuttle-fish or sepia. &E; 6—5. (Pl. V. 15.)
(Cf. litrae and trias in silver, p. 21.)

4. Obv.—Similar.
   Rev.—\( \Sigma Y P A \). Trident. &E; 45. (Pl. V. 16.)

These are, I believe, only money of account, but as they bear no marks of value, it is impossible to say what they may represent.
VII. TIME OF TIMOLEON AND THE RESTORED DEMOCRACY, B.C. 344—317.

The period which intervened between the death of Dion and the invitation sent to Corinth which resulted in the mission of Timoleon, was one of unexampled misery throughout Sicily. Plato, in one of his epistles, says that under the distraction and desolation which prevailed, even the Hellenic race and language were likely to perish in the island.33 Driven to despair, the Syracusans at length invoked the aid of their mother-city, Corinth, which favourably received their prayers, and chose Timoleon, a man of devoted patriotism, and animated with an intense love of liberty, and a hatred of tyrannical institutions, to conduct an expedition for the relief of Syracuse.

With a small force, but claiming the special protection of Demeter and Persephone, he sailed to Italy; the sacred trireme, on her voyage by night across the sea from Coreyna, being illumined by a blaze of light from heaven, while a burning torch on high ran along with the ship and guided the pilot to his destination.34

After some delay at Rhegium, Timoleon effected a landing in Sicily, at Tauromenium. His first great success was at Adranum, where, by the help of the god Adranos, he surprised and defeated the troops of Hiketas. He soon after succeeded in obtaining possession of Syracuse, together with the person of Dionysios, who, although not master of the rest of the city, still held Ortygia. Timoleon, after shipping Dionysios off to

33 Plato, Epistol. viii. p. 353 F.
34 Grote, Part ii. ch. 85; Plutarch, Timoleon, c. 8; Diod., xvi. 66.
Corinth, and after demolishing the stronghold of the tyrants in Ortygia, and erecting upon its site courts of justice, proceeded to recall all who had been exiled, and to invite new colonists to settle at Syracuse. The total number of immigrants to the city in its renovated freedom was not less than 60,000. Concerning the state of affairs at Syracuse at this time, Grote remarks:

"Nothing can be more mortifying than to find ourselves without information as to the manner in which Timoleon dealt with this large influx * * * The land of Syracuse is said to have been distributed, and the houses to have been sold for 1,000 talents—the large sum of £230,000. A right of preemption was allowed to the Syracusan exiles for repurchasing the houses formerly their own. As the houses were sold, and that too for a considerable price, so we may presume that the lands were sold also, and that the incoming settlers did not receive their lots gratuitously. But how they were sold, or how much of the territory was sold, we are left in ignorance. It is certain, however, that the effect of this new immigration was not only to renew the force and population of Syracuse, but also to furnish relief to the extreme poverty of the antecedent residents. A great deal of new money must thus have been brought in."

The democratical constitution and laws established by Diokles about seventy years before were again put into force, with modifications necessitated by the state of the times. We possess no details of these reforms; but we may be quite sure that such a redistribution of property as that above-mentioned would render necessary an extensive

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35 Plutarch, Timoleon, cap. 23.  
36 Talents of silver, not of gold, are to be understood.  
37 Grote, part ii. ch. 85.
issue of money of all sorts, and, probably, the adoption of some device to facilitate the payment of debts, and so relieve the extreme poverty of the inhabitants.

That a measure of this kind was resorted to, may be inferred from the large issue of electrum coins, which must be attributed to this period, both on account of their style, which is distinctly later than that of the gold of the fine period described above, and because it is difficult to conceive the possibility of a simultaneous issue of coins in pure gold and in electrum by the same city. The metal of which these coins are composed, if we may judge from the great differences in their colour, varies much; but the average is probably about four-fifths gold to one-fifth silver. Now it is probable that the ancient relation of gold to silver at Syracuse, as elsewhere, was much modified by the discovery of the gold-mines of Macedon by Philip in B.C. 356, which are said to have yielded as much as 1,000 talents a year, or more than £3,000,000. Such an influx of gold into Europe, where it had previously been very scarce, would naturally bring down the value of gold as compared with silver. When, some years later, a pure gold coinage was returned to in Syracuse, we find the Attic weight adopted for gold, and, as we shall see hereafter, a relation of 1:12. We may therefore reasonably suppose gold to have fallen to this rate in consequence of the discovery of the Macedonian gold-mines.

100 silver litrae, formerly represented by a gold piece of 90 grains, would, therefore, in Timoleon's time, be equal to 112.5 grains; and 50 litrae of silver, formerly 45 grains of gold, would now be 56.25 grains, and so on. I conceive, therefore, that the electrum coins issued at this time were accepted as gold, and that, containing as
they did about 20 per cent. of silver, a considerable saving was thus effected. The 100 litra piece, formerly 90 grains, would be raised to its new weight of 112.5 grains by the addition of silver, instead of gold. The actual weights of the specimens of this electrum coinage in the British Museum are somewhat various, some being slightly below and others slightly above their normal weight. This may be owing to the greater or less proportion of pure gold contained in the several pieces.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R Litre</th>
<th>R Grs.</th>
<th>N at 1:15</th>
<th>Actual wt. of $N$</th>
<th>$N$ at 1:12</th>
<th>Actual wt. of Electrum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>1350</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>112.5</td>
<td>106.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>44.7—44.9</td>
<td>56.25</td>
<td>58.4—53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>33.75</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>337.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>28.12</td>
<td>28.6—27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18.1—17.7</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12½</td>
<td>168.75</td>
<td>11.25</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>14.06</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>11.25</td>
<td>11—10.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note.—Gold coins of 27 and 22.5 grs. although they do not occur at Syracuse during the period when gold was 1:15, are found at Gela and Agrigentum.) (See pp. 17, 18.)

We have thus pieces in electrum which represent 100, 50, 30, 25, and 10 litrae of silver, of the following types:—

39 It has been only after much consideration that I have ventured to differ from so high an authority as Mommsen as to the value in silver of the various Syracusan pieces issued in electrum. He is of opinion that the proportionate value of gold to silver as 1:15 was always maintained at Syracuse (Ed. Blacas, vol. i. p. 132); and, passing over the fact, which he elsewhere admits (Ib., p. 286), that some of the coins of this city are composed of electrum, he treats them all as if they were of pure gold, apparently contemporary, and consequently worth in silver as follows:—

**Types.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heads of Apollo and Artemis Soteira</th>
<th>108 = 120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head of Arethusa; Rev. Herakles and lion</td>
<td>90 = 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of Apollo; Rev. Tripod</td>
<td>54 = 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. Rev. Lyre</td>
<td>28 = 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of Herakles; Rev. Incuse square, &amp;c.</td>
<td>18 = 20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
100 litrae. **Obv.**—Head of Apollo, left.  
**Rev.**—Head of Artemis with ΣΟΤΕΙΠΑ. El. '7; wt. 106-4. (Pl. VI. 1.)

50 litrae. **Obv.**—Head of Apollo.  
**Rev.**—Tripod. El. '6; wt. 58-4—53. (Pl. VI. 2, 3.)

30 litrae. **Obv.**—Head of Zeus Eleutherios.  
**Rev.**—Pegasos with * (marks of value = 3 Corinthian staters or dekalitron). El. '45; wt. 82-8. (Pl. VI. 4)

25 litrae. **Obv.**—Head of Apollo.  
**Rev.**—Lyre. El. '45; wt. 28-6—27-3. (Pl. VI. 5.)

10 litrae. **Obv.**—Female head, right.  
**Rev.**—Cuttle-fish. El. '3; wt. 11—10-8. (Pl. VI. 6.)

There is no coin in electrum which represents the tetradrachm, or 20 litre of silver; and it is probable that for some time after the recolonisation from Corinth, the tetradrachms ceased to be issued at Syracuse, their place being supplied by the Corinthian stater or dekalitron, which may be thus described: **Obv.** Head of Pallas, in plain Corinthian helmet, with neck-piece and no crest. **Rev.** ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, Pegasos. (Pl. VI. 7.) The staters of this type, as first introduced by Timoleon, may be distinguished from later issues of similar pieces (Pl. VIII. 5, 6; IX. 11, 12) by the following characteristics. First. The inscription is upon the obverse. Second. The head of Pallas is in a plain Corinthian helmet, without crest or griffin on the crown, with a flap to

The gold staters of Agathokles, wt. 90 grs., the gold didrachms of Pyrrhos, and the drachms of the same prince and of Hiketas and Hieron II., Mommsen looks upon as equivalent respectively to 100, 150, and 75 litrae, whereas if, as I believe, the value of gold fell (circ. 356 B.C.) from 1 : 15 to 1 : 12, they would only be equal to 80, 120, and 60 litrae.
cover the neck, and a covering to protect the ear. The goddess has no necklace. Third. The Pegasos on the reverse is in higher relief than on later pieces of the same type. His head is larger, the wings more tapering, and the back somewhat longer. There is no triquetra in the field. These coins resemble in style the money of Corinth itself more nearly than do the later issues. It will be found convenient to bear in mind these minute varieties when we attempt a chronological arrangement of the Corinthian staters struck at Syracuse.\(^{40}\)

The silver coins of the restored Democracy I believe, therefore, to be the following (Pl. VI. 7—16):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Litr.</th>
<th>Normal weight</th>
<th>Actual weight</th>
<th>Types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>Obs.—Head of Pallas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>40·5</td>
<td>36·3</td>
<td>Obs.—Female head, laur., left, with dolphins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>40·5</td>
<td>38·7</td>
<td>Obs.—Head of Kyane, left, lion's head in field behind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>20·25</td>
<td>19·6</td>
<td>Obs.—Same.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>20·25</td>
<td>19·8—17·2</td>
<td>Obs.—Head of Arethusa, with dolphins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>13·5</td>
<td>11·4—10</td>
<td>Obs.—Head of Kyane, left, lion's head in field behind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>33·75</td>
<td>31·3—28·9</td>
<td>Obs.—Head of Pallas, full-face.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23·3</td>
<td>Obs.—Janiform female head, laureate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(\frac{1}{4})</td>
<td>16·87</td>
<td>16·1</td>
<td>Obs.—Same.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prevalence of Pegasos as a type at this period is doubtless due to Corinthian influence. The head of Zeus Eleutheros and the free horse speak for themselves as symbols of freedom and democracy. The naked youth

\(^{40}\) With regard to the first issue of Corinthian staters at Syracuse in the time of Timoleon, see the excellent and convincing remarks of M. R. Roehette, Annali dell' Inst. Arch., 1829, p. 334-5.
upon the horse is an agonistic type, and may refer to the games established at Timoleon's obsequies in B.C. 337, when the following announcement was proclaimed:—"The Syracusan people solemnise, at the cost of 200 minae, the funeral of this man, the Corinthian Timoleon, son of Timodemos. They have passed a vote to honour him for all future time with festival matches, in music, horse and chariot races, and gymnastics, because, after having put down the despots, subdued the foreign enemy, and re-colonised the greatest among the ruined cities, he restored to the Sicilian Greeks their constitution and laws." (Grote, chap. lxxxv.)

Another important reform which I believe to have been introduced by Timoleon was the issue of copper coins of substantial weight, and with an intrinsic value in themselves, although probably representing a value greater than their weight would warrant us in supposing. The following are the copper types which I would give to this period:—

1. Obv.—ΣΥΠΑ. Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet bound with olive.
   Rev.—Star, the points of the rays connected by a sort of web. ΑΕ. 1'15 inches; wt. 530—490 grs. (Pl. VII. 1.)

2. Obv.—ΣΥΠΑ. Similar type.
   Rev.—Sea-horse, with loose rein. ΑΕ. 8 in.; wt. circ. 120 grs. (Pl. VII. 2.)

3. Obv.—Female head, left, hair in sphendone; behind, sprig of olive.
   Rev.—ΣΥΠΑ. Dolphin and scallop-shell. ΑΕ. 7, wt. circ. 50 grs. (Pl. VII. 7.)

4. Obv.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of hero (Archias?) in Corinthian helmet.
   Rev.—Pegasos and dolphin; beneath, Σ. ΑΕ. 1'05; wt. circ. 885 grs. (Pl. VII. 4.)
5. **Obv.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟ** . . . Head of Persephone, left.

   **Rev.—** Pegasos; beneath Σ. Α. 85; wt. 180—165 grs.

   (Pl. VII. 5.)

6. **Obv.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.** Head of Aphrodite, left, hair bound with crossed cord, and with loose tresses hanging behind.

   **Rev.—** Half-Pegasos, left; beneath, Σ. Α. 65; wt. 82-70 grs. (Pl. VII. 3.)

7. **Obv.—ΣΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ.** Head of Zeus Eleutherios, laureate, left.

   **Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.** Free horse, left. Α. 1; wt. 334—280 grs. (Pl. VII. 8.)

8. **Obv.—** Similar.

   **Rev.—** Trident between two dolphins. Α. 1; wt. 243 grs. (Pl. VII. 9.)

9. **Obv.—ΣΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ.** Head of Zeus Eleutherios, laureate, right, with neck bare behind.

   **Rev.—** Thunderbolt, with eagle or grain of barley in field. Α. 95; wt. 276—250 grs. (Pl. VII. 10.)

10. **Obv.—** Same head, left.

    **Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟ** . . . Thunderbolt. Α. 65; wt. 50 grs. (Pl. VII. 11.)

11. **Obv.—** Same, right.

    **Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.** Sepia. Α. 65; wt. 50 grs.

12. **Obv.—** Head of Anapos (?), full-face.

    **Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.** Half-Pegasos, right; beneath, ear of barley. Α. 65; wt. 48 grs. (Pl. VII. 6.)

13. **Obv.—** Head of Arethusa or Kyane, full face.

    **Rev.—** Sepia. Α. 55; wt. circ. 30 grs.


    **Rev.—** Pegasos. Α. 25; wt. 6 grs.

15. **Obv.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.** Head of Apollo, left, laureate, with various symbols, pilos, pentagram, club, grapes, bow in case, amphora, bucramium (?), lion's head, as on small silver (Pl. VI. 10—12), torch, cornucopiae, wreath, &c.
Rev.—Pegasos flying, left, with various letters, A, ΑΓ, 
Ε, ΙΠ, Ε, ΝΙ, Δ, ΣΩ, &c. Æ. '7; wt. circ. 75-59. (Pl. VII. 12.)

Of the above-mentioned coins, No. 1, which Brandis supposes to be a two-ounce piece of about B.C. 400, I prefer, in spite of its weight, to attribute to the time of Timoleon (see above, p. 14). The head of Pallas on this and the following coin is evidently borrowed from that upon many Corinthian staters, a proceeding which is more likely to have taken place under Timoleon than at any other period in Syracusan history. 41

No. 3 is a very difficult piece to attribute; it is certainly not later than Timoleon's time, though it may be somewhat earlier.

The Corinthian hero represented in No. 4 is doubtless the first founder of the colony, Archias, a type not inappropriate on the money of the recolonised city, the Pegasos on the reverse, together with the Σ and dolphin, are indicative of Corinth and Syracuse.

The head of Aphrodite in No. 6 is a thoroughly Corinthian type, and clearly belongs to the same period as the silver staters.

No. 7. The head of Zeus upon this coin is of finer work than that upon No. 9. It is probably some years earlier. Brandis looks upon it as an ounce of about B.C. 400. 42

No. 8. The trident and dolphin on the reverse of

41 G. Romano, in a paper which I have not been able to obtain, Mon. Scop. in Sic. della sped. di Agat. in Africa, attributes this series of copper, as well as the Corinthian staters, to the time of Dion., B.C. 356—358, on what grounds I do not know. He, however, agrees with me as to the date of the series with Zeus Eleutherios.—Annali dell’ Inst. Arch., 1864, p. 67.
42 Brandis, p. 277.
this coin much resemble a well-known type of Hieron II.; but the head of Zeus Eleutherios and the fabric of the piece compel us to place it as early as Timoleon’s Democracy.

No. 9. The head of Zeus Eleutherios on this coin bears a strong resemblance to that on a silver coin of Locri, with the reverse ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΛΟΚΡΩΝ, but this does not help us to fix the date. The great similarity of the reverse, however, to the silver of Alexander of Epirus, B.C. 332—326, renders it highly improbable that it is earlier than Timoleon, not to mention the allusion contained in the obverse type to the restoration of freedom. Brandis considers this coin as an ounce of the time of Dionysios the elder. I take it to be a litra of the second reduction, or possibly a hemilitron of the first, but considerably under weight. (See p. 14 above.)

Nos. 10 and 11 are evidently fractions of the previous specimen; if that is a hemilitron, these may be ounces.

Nos. 12 and 13. It is very doubtful whether these pieces do not belong to the period of Dionysios; the ear of corn, however, beneath the half-pegasos much resembles the one on the small silver mentioned above, and is seen again on the Corinthian staters of the time of Agathokles. The young male head upon No. 12 is perhaps intended to represent the river god Anapos, while the female head upon No. 13 may be that of the fountain nymph Kyane. These two divinities were worshipped by the Syracusans, the former under the likeness of a youth, the latter of a maiden.44

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No. 14. The cuttle-fish on this minute piece does not resemble the common Syracusan type. I doubt whether this coin is of Syracuse at all.

No. 15. The head of Apollo on this series strongly resembles the same head on the electrum coins, and the lion's head as a symbol is the same as that upon the silver pieces of 3, 1½, and 1 litre above described (p. 29). The style of these coins and the letters on the reverses, most of which occur again later, mark this series as probably the last of the Democracy restored by Timoleon. They may have been struck about 320—317.

**Coins re-struck over Syracusan Copper.**

b.c. 344—339.

The large copper of Syracuse (*Obv. Head of Pallas; Rev. Star between dolphins*) as issued by Timoleon, probably immediately after the abdication of Dionysios in b.c. 344, would appear to have rapidly spread over the whole island, and even beyond the limits of Sicily.45

They seem to have been used extensively both by Greek and Sikel cities, by the Campanian mercenaries of the Carthaginians as well as by the allies of Timoleon himself as *flans* on which to strike their respective types.46 The smaller Syracusan copper coins were also, though less commonly, used for a similar purpose. The following is a list of some of the pieces which I find to be generally re-struck over the large Syracusan copper. The evidence

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46 On the subject of these re-struck pieces see also the article by G. Romano, l. c.
COINAGE OF SYRACUSE.

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of such re-striking may not on every specimen be beyond question, but there can be little doubt that, as a rule, vestiges of the previous Syracusan types will, on a careful examination, be discoverable.

A DRANUM (?).

1. Obv.—Head of Apollo, laureate, left.

Rev.—Lyre of seven strings. Æ. 1·2.

The star and dolphins of Syracuse are quite visible upon this piece. It was probably re-struck at Adranum soon after the capture of that city by Timoleon, B.C. 344.

Uncertain.—ADRA NUM (?).

2. Obv.—Head of Sikelia (?), left, wreathed with myrtle (?), and wearing sphendone.

Rev.—Lyre, as on preceding. Æ. 1·2. (Pl. VIIa. 1.)

The head upon this coin is of great beauty, and looks like the work of an artist from Greece Proper, possibly of a Corinthian who came over with Timoleon; the style of the obverse being as foreign to Sicily as the fabric of the piece is Sicilian.

AGYRIUM.

3. Obv.—Traces of inscription, ΑΓΥ (?). Head of young Herakles in lion's skin, right.

Rev.—Fore-part of man-headed bull, standing, right. Æ. 1·2. (Pl. VIIa. 2.)

This coin is struck over a large copper piece of Syracuse, probably by Apolloniades of Agyrium, one of the last of the despots deposed by Timoleon, about 339 B.C. It may therefore have been issued any time between the years 344—339. The coins of Agyrium after its capture and recolonisation by Timoleon are similar to those of Syra-
cuse, and bear the types of Zeus Eleutherios and the thunderbolt.

**Centuripæ.**

4. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone, left, copied from the dekadraehms of Evænetos, but clearly of later style. (Compare tetradrachm of Agathokles, 1st period, p. 42).

*Rev.*—**ΚΕΝΤΟΠΙΠΙΝΩΝ.** Panther, left. *Æ.* 1-2. (Pl. VIIa. 3.)

This piece may have been re-struck by Nicodemos of Centuripæ, who was dethroned by Timoleon about the same time as Apolloniades of Agyrium.

**Taufomenium.**

5. *Obv.*—Bull butting, left; above, ΑΧ

*Rev.*—Star of sixteen rays. *Æ.* 1-2. (Pl. VIIa. 4.)

Re-struck by Andromachos of Tauromenium, who was throughout the faithful ally of Timoleon.

**Eryx.**

6. *Obv.*—**ΕΠΥΚΙΝΩΝ.** Head of Zeus (Eleutherios?), right.

*Rev.*—Aphrodite seated, right, holding dove. *Æ.* 1-2. (Pl. VIIa. 5.)

Re-struck over large copper of Syracuse, probably by Timoleon’s mercenaries, who invaded and occupied the Carthaginian territory in the extreme west of Sicily about 341. The types of Zeus Eleutherios would be

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47 Grote, part ii. ch. lxxxv. "The Carthaginians were the more disposed to try another invasion of Sicily, as Timoleon, anxious to relieve the Syracusans, sent his soldiers under the Corinthian Deinarchos to find pay and plunder for themselves in the Carthaginian possessions near the western corner of Sicily. This invasion, while it abundantly supplied the wants of the soldiers, encouraged Entella and several other towns to revolt from Carthage." From their style, the copper coins of
appropriate on a coin issued under Timoleon's authority. The reverse of this coin is semi-barbarous in style.

**Therme.**

7. *Obv.*—**ΝΩΙΑΨΕΜΙ.** Half-bull swimming, left.  
*Rev.*—Warrior with helmet, shield, and spear, charging, right. Æ. 1·2.

I believe this coin to have been re-struck in the same circumstances as the preceding. The inscription may be taken as a restoration of the earlier name of the city. Its being retrograde is perhaps an archaism, for we cannot suppose the piece to belong to the old city of Himera, which was destroyed as early as 408 B.C. If that were the case, all the heavy copper of Syracuse, on one of which this coin is re-struck, would have to be given to the period immediately following the Athenian siege, B.C. 412—406. This theory appears to me to be utterly untenable.

8. *Obv.*—**ΞΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ.** Head of Zeus Eleutherios, laureate, right.  
*Rev.*—**ΑΛΛΑΣΙΝΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΩΝ.** Torch between two ears of barley. Æ. 1·2 Engraved by Salinas. Not in B. M.

9. *Obv.*—**ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑ.** Head of Sikelia, right, hair rolled.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΩΝ.** Same as preceding. Æ. 1. Engraved by Salinas. Not in B. M.

10. *Obv.*—**ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑ.** Same head left, hair in sphendone.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΩΝ.** Same as preceding. Æ. 1.

11. *Obv.*—**ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ.** Head of Apollo, laureate, left.

Entella, Nacona, and Ætna, struck by Campanian mercenaries, with the legend **ΚΑΜΠΑΝΩΝ,** in addition to the name of the city, and Pegasos or a Free horse on the reverse (Carelli, Tab. ixiii. 11—13), would appear to have been issued about this period.
Rev.—ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ. Torch, &c. Α.Ε. 1-2. (Pl. VIIa. 7.)

12. Obv.—ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ. Head of Apollo, laureate, left.
Rev.—ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ. Thunderbolt and grapes; in field, Η. Α.Ε. '85. (Pl. VIIa. 8.)

The above-described interesting series of coins evidently belongs to the same period as those with the head of Zeus Eleutherios and the thunderbolt struck at Syracuse. This will be evident to any one who will compare the obverse of No. 8 and the reverse of No. 12 with No. 9 of the copper of Timoleon described above (p. 31). Moreover, on some of the pieces with ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ there are vestiges of the star and dolphins of Syracuse beneath the superimposed type. I would attribute the whole of the pieces of this class to the Sicilian allies of Timoleon assembled to resist the Carthaginian invasion. They may perhaps have been struck immediately after his great victory at the Krimesos, about B.C. 340, for the payment of the soldiers, when Timoleon, leaving most of his paid troops to carry on the war with the Carthaginians, conducted his Syracusan contingent home. It is not im-

48 Mr. Gardner has suggested to me that with the ΣΥΜ-
MAXΙΚΟΝ series may be compared the coins with the legend ΚΑΙΝΟΝ, Obv., griffin; Rev., free horse. This word has been generally accepted as an ethnic adjective or substantive formed from Καινα, a town mentioned only in the Antonine Itinerary. But it is clear from their style that these coins are contemporaneous with those of Syracuse with the same reverse type, and as at this period Ο was never used in place of Ω, it is needless to remark that ΚΑΙΝΟΝ cannot stand for ΚΑΙΝΩΝ, even if it be admitted that ΚΑΙΝΩΝ could stand for ΚΑΙΝΙΝΩΝ, the form which we should naturally expect. ΚΑΙΝΟΝ therefore, in all probability, simply means the “new” coinage issued at some one of the “ruined cities” when newly colonised by Timoleon.

49 Grote, l. c.
probable that Alaesa may have been the head-quarters of these forces. This would explain the legend of No. 8, *ΑΛΑΙΣΙΝΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ.*

Diodoros, in the following passage distinctly states that Sikel and Sicanian towns no less than the Greek cities of the island hastened to join Timoleon in his war with the Carthaginians:

"Τοῦ δὲ Τιμολέοντος αὐξαμένου τῇ τε δυνάμει καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν δόξῃ, αἱ μὲν Ἑλληνιδεῖς πόλεις, αἱ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπασαί, προβήμουσ ὑπετάγγεσαν τῷ Τιμολέοντι, διὰ τὸ πάσας τὰς αὐτονομίας ἀποδίδοναι, τῶν δὲ Σικελῶν καὶ Σικανῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίον τεταγμένων πολλαὶ διεπροσβεβεύοντο πόλεις, σπεύδουσαν παραληφθῆναι πρὸς τὴν συμμαχίαν." (Diod., xvi. 73.)

The heads of Zeus Eleutherios, Apollo, as original Leader of the Colonists, and of Sikelia herself, are all most appropriate on coins of an alliance formed by Timoleon; as are also the torch and ears of barley the symbols of Demeter and Persephone, under whose special protection Timoleon set out upon his holy mission. The head of Apollo with the epithet *ἈΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ* occurs also on the obviously contemporary coins of Tauromenium. As this city was from the first a steady ally of Timoleon, even before he had established his fame, its coins naturally connect this type of Apollo with Timoleon's recolonisation of Sicily.

13. *Obv.—ΤΥΡΡΗ.* Head of Ares (?) in crested helmet, right.

*Rev.—Pallas standing facing, with spear in right, and resting with left on shield. Ά. 1·2.* (Pl. VIIa. 6.)

It is uncertain in what town coins of the above type

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50 The reverse type of these pieces, viz., Torch between ears of barley, occurs also at Enna. Hence coins with this type, even when they do not bear the name of that city, are by some supposed to have been struck there.

51 Plutarch, Timoleon, c. 8. Diod., xvi. 66.
were issued: possibly at Ætna by the Campanian mercenaries called Tyrrhenians who had been planted there by the elder Dionysios, and who were besieged and exterminated by Timoleon, about B.C. 339. These people were doubtless in the pay of Carthage; their coins would appear to be always re-struck over those of Syracuse. 52

14. Uncertain. (Lipara (?).)

Obv.—Youthful head, laureate, right.

Rev.—Dolphin, right, beneath which three large waves. Æ. 1-2.

Re-struck over a Syracusan piece, at Lipara (?) or possibly by some maritime city on the east coast.

VIII. AGATHOKLES. B.C. 317—289.

Syracuse was not destined to enjoy, for any length of time, the freedom which she had regained by Timoleon's aid. The Democracy, we know not by what means, seems to have lapsed into an oligarchy, and the oligarchy in its turn to have given place to a Democracy. Shortly after this, Agathokles, who had been named General of the city, and had consequently a mercenary force at his back, by a sudden stroke, seized upon the reins of government, and, after butchering 4,000 of the principal citizens and banishing some 6,000 more, convened what he called an Assembly of the people, and got himself proclaimed Despot.

Between the years 317 and 310 Agathokles occupied himself in subduing the rest of Sicily, the result being that all the Greek cities in the island became tributary to

52 G. Romano, l. c., is of opinion that these pieces were struck at Thermæ by Tyrrhenians established there. He bases his conjecture on the resemblance of the Pallas on the reverse to that upon a coin of Thermæ engraved by him. Annali dell' Inst. Arch., 1864, Tav. d'agg. C., fig. 6.
him, although retaining their autonomy, excepting only Himera, Selinus, and Herakleia, which were under Carthage. Soon after this we find him at war with the Carthaginians in Sicily, when he was so hard pressed that he conceived the bold plan of carrying the war over into Africa, which he reached in safety, though pursued by the Punic fleet. This was in B.C. 310. For four years he prosecuted a successful war in the Carthaginian territory, and in 307 was so elate with prosperity that he assumed the title of Basileus. From 306 to the time of his death in 289 his reign was spent in the prosecution of useless and bloody campaigns in Sicily and Italy. Without this historical outline the following remarks on the coinage would not be intelligible: the first question to be settled is to what period to assign a series of gold coins of Attic weight, Obv. Head of Apollo, or young Herakles, laureate, left. Rev. Biga, driven by female charioteer, with the three-legged symbol of Sicily beneath the horses. (Pl. VIII. 1, 2.) The date of these coins once determined, the silver and copper which belong to the same class, and will be described below, necessarily fall into the same period.

Now, it is most unlikely that a coinage in pure gold could have been issued by the Democracy B.C. 344—317, as we have seen that an electrum coinage was in use during that period; besides which, the style of these coins shows an unmistakable resemblance to that of the gold of Hiketas who follows Agathokles, and none whatever to the electrum of the Democracy which precedes him. I would therefore attribute this series to the early

53 Kenner, "Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian," p. 14, would attribute these coins to the latter end of the Democracy before Agathokles. He consequently agrees with me in so far
years of the reign of Agathokles before his assumption of the regal title. It is recorded that he courted popularity among the masses by pillaging the wealthy, and lavishing presents and pay upon the poorer population and his mercenary troops. What therefore is more natural than that, after the example of Dionysios, he should have issued a coinage in gold, struck from the proceeds of his ill-gotten wealth, for the payment of his soldiers and the support of his despotic power? That his coins at first do not bear his name, is consistent with what we read of his first acts after seizing the supreme power, when he affected an anxiety to live as a simple citizen, and had the audacity to proclaim that the Syracusan people had, by his means, reconquered their full liberty. Besides, it must not be forgotten that it had not yet become the habit, in Sicily at any rate, for tyrants to place their own names upon the coinage. This last innovation was reserved for Agathokles in after years, in imitation, perhaps, of the kings of Macedon. I would accordingly propose to divide the reign of Agathokles into three periods:

1st.—B.C. 317—310, to which I would assign Attic gold drachms, tetrobols, and diobols, silver tetradrachms, staters (Corinthian), and drachms, and copper, all without his name and with ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. (Pl. VIII. 1—12.)

2nd.—B.C. 310—307, a gold stater of Attic weight with ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ, tetradrachms with ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ and

that they are circ. 317, and he apparently only puts them before that year because they do not bear the name of Agathokles, an objection which, in my opinion, will disappear when it is remembered that Agathokles struck no money in his own name before B.C. 306, the unique gold stater of Attic weight with ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ excepted; for the ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ on the tetradrachms is, as Kenner himself acknowledges, merely an epithet of Nike.
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ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ, also with ΚΟΡΑΣ and ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ, and copper with ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. (Pl. IX. 1—9.)

3rd. — B.C. 307—289, gold staters (weight 90 grs.) and copper with ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, the tetradrachms of the previous period being probably discontinued, and the Corinthian staters being reduced in weight from 185 to 108 grs. (Pl. IX. 10—13.)

PERIOD I. B.C. 317—310.

GOLD.

1. Obv.—Head of Apollo or young Herakles, laureate, left.
   Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Biga, right, driven by female charioteer; beneath, triquetra. Ν. '55; full wt., 67·5 grs. (Pl. VIII. 1.)

2. Obv.—Rev.—Same. Ν. '5; full wt., 45 grs. (Pl. VIII. 2.)

3. Obv.—Head of Persephone, left.
   Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Bull walking, left, with head lowered. Ν. '35; full wt. 22·5 grs. (Pl. VIII. 8.)

I think there can be little doubt that the relation of gold to silver at this period is 1:12, and that the drachm, tetrobol, and diobol in gold represent respectively 60, 40, and 20 litrae of silver—in other words, 3, 2, and 1 tetradrachms. This rate of 1:12 is very nearly identical with that which we find in Greece and Egypt about the same period (Brandis, p. 85, and 248—251). The type of these gold drachms seems to have been suggested by the famous Philippeia, struck in such large quantities, and by this time well known all over the Greek world. The triquetra is a symbol of Agathokles' dominion over the whole of Sicily.

SILVER.

1. Obv.—Head of Persephone, left, hair short and curly; beneath Ν羸, ΝΙ, ΦΙ, &c.
Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Quadriga, left, driven by female charioteer; above, triquetra; in exergue, Α. Α. 1 (tetradrachm). (Pl. VIII. 4.)

On these tetradrachms we notice the first occurrence of letters dotted at the extremities, a style of writing which did not become general at Syracuse until the time of Hiketas, after whose time it became also more prononcé.

2. Obv.—Head of Pallas in crested Corinthian helmet, right, with neck-piece, and ornamented at the top with griffin.

Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Pegasos, beneath which triquetra. Α. '85; full wt. 135 grs. (Pl. VIII. 5.)

3. Obv.—Same type; behind, trophy.

Rev.—Similar, but triquetra above, and sometimes ear of corn beneath. Α. '85; full wt. 135 grs. (Pl. VIII. 6.)

4. Obv.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Apollo or young Herakles, laureate, left.

Rev.—Triquetra, the feet wearing winged pedila, in the centre a Gorgon-head. Α. '65 full wt. 67·5 grs. (Pl. VIII. 7.)

COPPER.

1. Obv—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Apollo or young Herakles, laureate, left.

Rev.—Triquetra, as on the drachm. Α.Ε. '75. (Pl. VIII. 8.)

2. Obv.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Persephone, left; behind, star, barleycorn, scallop-shell, torch, &c.

Rev.—Bull, butting, left; above and below, dolphin, with letters ΑΙ, ΝΙ, ΝΚ, ΑΓ. Α.Ε. '9. (Pl. VIII. 9, 10.)

3. Obv.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Similar head.

Rev.—Same, with letter Φ. Α.Ε. 75.

4. Obv.—Same; behind, cornucopiae, bucranium, scallop (?), ear of barley, &c.

Rev.—Bull, butting, left, with letters ΑΓ, ΑΙ, Δ, Ε, ΝΙ, ΝΙ Ο, Π, ΣΑ, ΣΩ, and symbols, dolphin, trident, spear, &c. Α.Ε. '7. (Pl. VIII. 11, 12.)
The reverses of the gold drachms and silver tetradrachms of this period bear a close resemblance to one another in style, and they each have the triquetra, the symbol of Sicily. The obverse of the gold diobol is the same as that of the tetradrachm, its equivalent in value, and the bull (the symbol of the river Anapos?) upon the reverse recurs upon the copper. Many of the letters and monograms are common both to the tetradrachms and the copper of this period, and some, such as \( \text{AG, NI, and E} \), have already been seen on the last copper coinage of the Democracy before Agathokles, p. 31.

A cursory examination of the Corinthian staters struck in Sicily will be sufficient to convince the student of Greek numismatics that they must have been issued at different periods. I would propose to divide them into four distinct classes, of which the first two only maintain their full weight. The subsequent issues are degradations of the original Corinthian stater. The following is my classification of these pieces, each of which will be more minutely described in its proper place:

1st.—Staters of full weight (135 grs.) with \( \Sigma\nu\rho\alpha\kappa\omega\sigma\iota\nu\nu\) on the obverse. Helmet without crest or griffin (described above, p. 28). This was the stater as introduced by Timoleon and struck B.C. 344—317. (Pl. VI. 7.)

2nd.—Staters of full weight (135 grs.) with \( \Sigma\nu\rho\alpha\kappa\omega\sigma\iota\nu\nu\) on the reverse; helmet with crest and griffin, and triquetra on reverse. Of later style than the previous class, and issued during the early part of the reign of Agathokles, B.C. 317—310. (Pl. VIII. 5, 6.)

On the dates of the issue of some of the colonial staters of Corinth, see Kenner, Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian, p. 49, sqq. Also R. Rochette, Annali dell' Inst. Arch., 1829, p. 334, who supposes it to have continued for not less than a century after its first commencement on the occasion of the expedition of Timoleon.
3rd.—Pieces of the weight of eight litrae (108 grs.), tenths of the gold stater of 90 grs. (80 litrae) without any inscription. Helmet without crest or griffin; triquetra beneath or star above Pegasos. B.C. 306—289. (Pl. IX. 11, 12.)

4th.—Pieces of 90 grs. (standard of Pyrrhos) with the types of the earlier pieces, and inscription ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ. (Pl. XI. 2.) Coins of the same weight and type struck at Tauromenium with ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ.

I would attribute the series No. 2 to the early years of the reign of Agathokles, both on account of the triquetra, which seems to occur for the first time under his rule, and on account of the great resemblance of the head of Pallas on this class to the somewhat later gold coins of Agathokles with the same head. I would not, however, make them contemporary with the gold, as Agathokles seems during his later years to have coined all money either with his own name and title or without any inscription whatever. ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ never occurs after his adoption of the regal title. The stater of this period is characterized by the flatter and more ornate style of the work. The goddess wears a necklace, as on the gold piece of 90 grains: the Pegasos is more delicately treated, his head being smaller, back somewhat shorter, and action more elegant.

Period II. B.C. 310—307.

Obv.—Youthful head, right, wearing elephant's skin.

This unique gold piece, evidently struck after B.C. 310, is thought to allude to the victory gained by Agathokles.
over the Carthaginians in Africa (Diod., xxii. 11), in which he let fly a number of owls, the favourite birds of Athena, which perched upon the shields and helmets of the soldiers, and reassured their fainting spirits (Num. Zeitsch., iii. p. 43). The Attic weight of this coin, combined with the absence of the regal title, distinctly proves that he struck gold on that standard before the issue of his better-known pieces of 90 grains, which belong to the third period of his reign, and affords another argument in favour of my attribution of the gold Attic drachms, &c., to the first period, 317—310.

The types of this coin are similar to those of the contemporary tetradrachms of Alexander Aegos (2nd coinage), struck by Ptolemy I. Unlike the silver money of the same period, this piece has ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ in the genitive, while the word ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ on the silver is an adjective, probably in agreement with ΝΙΚΗ, expressed in the type. Hence we may infer that these gold pieces were issued under the sole authority of Agathokles, the city of Syracuse still retaining for itself the right of coinage in silver and copper, a privilege which, as regards silver, seems to have been of short duration, for the name of Syracuse, as we shall presently see, soon disappears from the tetradrachm, its place being supplied by that of the goddess (ΚΟΡΑΣ). The right of striking copper may have lasted until B.C. 307, when the commune of Syracuse seems to have been robbed of this last prerogative, the gold and copper issued after that date bearing the inscription ΑΓΑΘΟ-ΚΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ, and the Corinthian staters being struck without any inscription whatever; for Agathokles

53 Kenner, Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian, p. 15.
apparently never ventured to place his own name upon these pieces, the types of which were perhaps traditionally connected in the popular mind with the democratic institutions of Timoleon, by whom they were first introduced from Corinth.

**Silver.**

1. *Obv.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.* Head of Persephone, with flowing hair.
   *Rev.—ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ.* Nike erecting trophy; in field, triquetra. *AR.1; Attic tetradrachms of fine workmanship.* (Pl. IX. 1.)

2. *Obv.—ΚΟΡΑΣ.* Same type.
   *Rev.—ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ.* Same; in field, triquetra and *AV. AR.1; Attic tetradrachms of fine work.* (Pl. IX. 2)

3. *Obv.—ΚΟΡΑΣ.* {Same types. *AR.1; Attic tetradrachms of barbarous work.*
   *Rev.—ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ.*}

The tetradrachms with *ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ* may be divided into three classes\(^{56}\): 1st, with *ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ*, of good work, and issued by the city authorities, and before the right of coining silver was usurped by Agathokles. These are the last silver coins struck during his reign which bear the name of the city. 2nd, Tetradrachms, also of good work, but without *ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ*, though probably coined at Syracuse. 3rd, Tetradrachms with the same type, but of barbarous fabric, and very likely struck in Africa, where the same care could not be bestowed upon them as at Syracuse. The reverse type of all these pieces clearly alludes to the victorious campaign of Agathokles in Africa, which led to his adoption of the title Βασιλεύς. They are the last

\(^{56}\) Cf. Kenner, Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian, pp. 13–16.
pieces of the weight of the Attic tetradrachm (and some even of these were issued of light weight) which we meet with in the series of the coins of Syracuse, unless, indeed, we include the fine tetradrachm of Pyrrhos with the head of Zeus Dodonæos in the Syracusan series. From some cause or other, the weight system of the silver coinage underwent a complete change, though the litra was still maintained as the unit. The Corinthian staters of full Attic weight, noticed under the previous period, were discontinued, if not before, at any rate at the same time as the tetradrachms, the occurrence of \( \Sigma Y R A K O S I \Omega N \) upon them rendering it highly improbable that they are later than B.C. 310 or 308, all subsequent coins of this type being of much lighter weight, and without \( \Sigma Y R A K O S I \Omega N \), as we shall presently see.

On the tetradrachms with \( \Gamma A A O K L E I O S \) a new conception of the head of Persephone, viz., one with long, flowing hair, was introduced. This type is adhered to at Syracuse down to the close of the reign of Hieron II. The same monogram, \( N \) occurs on some of these tetradrachms as on those of the first period, 317—310, which are without \( \Gamma A A O K L E I O S \).

COPPER.

1. \textit{Obv.}—\( \Sigma Y R A K O S I \Omega N \). Head of Herakles (?) diadem, right; behind, bow, cornucopia, tripod, star, &c.
   \textit{Rev.}—Lion; above which, club; in exergue, arrow, torch, \( \Sigma T P \), &c. \( \AE \cdot 85—7 \). (Pl. IX. 3.)

2. \textit{Obv.}—\( \Sigma \Omega T E I P A \). Head of Artemis, right, with quiver.
   \textit{Rev.}—\( \Sigma Y R A K O S I \Omega N \). Thunderbolt. \( \AE \cdot 85 \). (Pl. IX. 4.)

3. \textit{Obv.}—Same head, left.
   \textit{Rev.}—Similar to preceding. \( \AE \cdot 6 \). (Pl. IX. 5.)
4. **Obr.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.** Head of Pallas, right, in crested Corinthian helmet, with griffin on crown and no neck-piece. She wears necklace; behind, trophy.

**Rev.—Pegasos flying, left; beneath, trident. Æ. ’85.** (Pl. IX. 7.)

5. **Obr.—Similar head.**

**Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.** Horseman, right, wearing “Phrygian” helmet, and with couched spear. Æ. ’8. (Pl. IX. 6.)

6. Similar; behind head, owl; beneath, horseman, Φ. Æ. ’65. (Pl. IX. 8.)

7. **Obr.—Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet, right.**

**Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.** Thunderbolt. Æ. ’55. (Pl. IX. 9.)

Of the above-described copper types it may be remarked that the lion on the reverse of No. 1 may symbolize the African victories of Agathokles. This type occurs also at Messana, before its capture by the Mamertines in B.C. 282. I cannot therefore agree with Torremuzza, who attributes a specimen with the letters ΣΟΣΙΣ in the exergue to Sostratos, or Sosistratos, who was tyrant at Syracuse and other Sicilian cities, about 278, just before the arrival of Pyrrhos.

The head of Artemis Soteira, on No. 2, is again seen with the name of Agathokles on the copper of the next period. The head of Pallas on Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7 recurs upon the gold staters of the next period. The horseman upon Nos. 5 and 6 bears a superficial resemblance to the well-known copper type of Hieron II.; but the superiority in the style of these pieces to that of Hieron’s coins, as well as the great similarity of the head of Pallas on the obverse to that of the gold staters of Agathokles are convincing proofs that they belong to the time of Agathokles.
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Period III., B.C. 307—289.

In B.C. 307 Agathokles assumed the title Βασιλεύς, in imitation perhaps of Antigonos, who had adopted the title "King of Asia" in the same year.

Gold.

1. Obv.—Head of Pallas in crested Corinthian helmet adorned with griffin, right. She wears necklace.

Rev.—ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ. Thunderbolt with letters Ρ, Φ, Ε, Χ, &c. Ν: ·65; wt. 90 grs. (Pl. IX. 10.)

Silver.

1. Obv.—Head of Pallas; in plain Corinthian helmet without crest or griffin. She wears necklace.

Rev.—Πεγασός, left; beneath, triquetra. Ρ. ·75; full wt. 108 grs. (Pl. IX. 11.)

2. Obv.—Similar; helmet without neck-piece; behind, owl.

Rev.—Same, but no triquetra; above, star. Ρ. ·8; full wt. 108 grs. (Pl. IX. 12.)

Copper.

1. Obv.—ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ. Bust of Artemis with quiver, right.

Rev.—ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ. Thunderbolt. ΑΕ. ·85—·75. (Pl. IX. 13.)

The obverse type of the gold stater was evidently borrowed from that of the Corinthian silver staters. The weight is no longer Attic, but that of the old Dionysian gold stater, 90 grains, and therefore (if, as I imagine, gold was at this period as 1:12) no longer equal to 100 litæ, but to 80; in other words, no longer equivalent to 5 tetradrachms, but to 4, or rather to 10 silver pieces of 8 litæ, as it is probable that no tetradrachms were struck during this period.

The 8 litæ pieces of silver may be distinguished from the
staters as introduced by Timoleon, and from those of the second issue in the early part of the reign of Agathokles, not only by their diminished size and weight, but in the following particulars. The helmet of the goddess, though plain and without crest, as on those of the earliest issue, has no covering for the ear, which is visible, and has an ear-ring. The neck-piece is sometimes wanting, as on the gold, and the goddess wears a necklace. The Pegasos on the reverse differs from that on the pieces of the previous issue in that both wings are generally visible. There is no inscription on the coins of this issue, whence we may infer that the right of coining them had been taken away from the city. The weight also is reduced from 135 grains to 108, so that they are exactly tenths of the gold piece (90 × 12 = 1080).

IX. DEMOCRACY, B.C. 289—287.

On the death of Agathokles republican institutions were returned to, but only for about two years, to which period I would attribute the following copper types, both of which bear a strong resemblance to the copper of Agathokles:

1. Obv.—ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ. Bust of Artemis, left.
   
   Rev.—ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΥ. Thunderbolt. ΑΕ. 8. (Pl. IX. 14.)

2. Obv.—ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΥ. Head of Zeus Eleutherios, left, hair in curls.
   
   Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Thunderbolt. ΑΕ. 8. (Pl. IX. 15.)

The last type must not be confused with the somewhat similar one of Timoleon's time (see above, Timoleon, copper, No. 9). (Pl. VII. 10.) The resemblance is a
superficial one, both style and fabric being of the Agathoklean period.

X. HIKETAS, B.C. 287—278.

Very little time elapsed before Hiketas, who was in command of the Syracusan army, established himself in the supreme power. Not much is known of the events of his tyranny, which lasted nine years, probably from B.C. 287—278.

The only coins which bear his name are the gold pieces of 60 litrae; full weight, 67.5 grains.

*Obv.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Persephone, left, crowned with corn, hair short and curly; behind, various symbols, bee, poppy-head, long torch, cornucopiae, &c., with occasionally letters, ΟΕ, &c.

*Rev.*—ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ. Biga, right, driven by winged Nike, naked to waist; above horses, various symbols, a large circle with one side thick, a star or a thunderbolt; beneath horses, Θ, Σ, or ear of corn. Ν. 65: full wt. 67.5 grs. (Pl. X. 1, 2.)

The style of these coins forms a link between the first gold of Agathokles without his name (Pl. VIII. 1), and those of Hieron II. (Pl. XI. 1.)

The silver which I would give to the time of Hiketas do not, like the gold, bear his name; but the similarity of the reverse type, and the occurrence of some of the same symbols, such as the unusual one of a bee or fly, constitute evidence sufficient to justify us in classing them to the same period. The Attic tetradrachm was discontinued after the death of Agathokles, the silver coins of Hiketas being pieces of 15 litrae, or tridrachms, full weight 202.5 grains. The type of Persephone, first

57 The peculiar weight of these pieces was first remarked by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, Berl. Blatt., v. 58. Mommsen does not seem to have noticed it.
introduced in the silver of Agathokles, viz., that with the long hair, is preserved.

Four of these 15 litræ pieces would be equivalent to one gold drachm.

Obr.—Head of Persephone, left, with long hair, crowned with corn; behind, bee, amphora, Χ, &c.

Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Quadriga, left, driven by winged Nike; above horses, star. Ρ. 1; wt. 201—191 grs. (Pl. X. 8, 4.)

The copper coins which I would attribute to the time of Hiketas are of two distinct types: (A) Head of Persephone; Rev. Biga. (B) Head of Zeus Hellenios; Rev. Eagle.

A.

Obr.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Persephone, generally accompanied by symbols, ear of corn, torch, or poppy-head.

Rev.—Biga driven by female charioteer (wingless Nike ?); above, generally star, sometimes thunderbolt, less frequently with no symbol. In the exergue the following letters and monograms occur, Α, Α, Ε, ΕΧ, Κ, Π, ΠΟΥ, ΝΧ, Σ, ΣΩ; and often, in addition to these and generally smaller, the letters Ν and Τ in the field. ΑΕ. ε9—ε8. (Pl. X. 5, 6.)

These coins resemble on the obverse the silver of the same period, and belong to the early part of the reign of Hiketas before about B.C. 282, as will appear in the discussion of the next type.

B.

Obr.—ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΥ. Head of Zeus Hellenios, beardless and laureate; behind, symbols, bucra-nium, trophy or club.

Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Eagle on thunderbolt; in field, often Α and star, together or singly, and on one specimen Ε. ΑΕ. ε9—ε8. (Pl. X. 7, 8.)
As this was the type adopted by the Mamertines after their seizure of Messana in B.C. 282, and as it is not found at Messana previously to that date, we are justified in supposing this copper series of Syracuse to be a contemporar coinage, and to have been issued between about B.C. 282 and 278. Coins of this type are often struck over pieces of type A (Head of Persephone; Rev. Biga), a clear proof that it is a subsequent issue. The copper of Agathokles (Obv. Head of Soteira; Rev. Thunderbolt) are also often used as flans on which to strike coins of this type.

XI. PYRRHOS, B.C. 278—276.

Hiketas was expelled from his sovereignty at Syracuse by Thynion, who installed himself in the island of Ortygia, while Sostratos was master of the rest of the city. These two, weary of mutual contention, sent a deputation to Pyrrhos of Epirus, then in Italy. (Diod., xxii.)

The Syracusans were at this time hard pressed by the Carthaginians, and their last hope was in Pyrrhos, who had married Lanassa, a daughter of their old tyrant, Agathokles. The entry of Pyrrhos into Sicily was opposed by the Mamertines, who allied themselves with Carthage; but he was favoured by Tyndarion, tyrant of Tauromenium, at which place he effected a landing in safety. Thence he proceeded to Syracuse, the reins of government having been given up to him by Thynion and Sostratos, B.C. 278.

From this time until 276 he waged a successful war against the Carthaginians, and united under his sway nearly all the Greek cities of the island. Nevertheless, his rule in Sicily was not of long duration; and when he left again for Italy, his Sicilian kingdom was already
crumbling beneath his feet. We possess, however, in his coins a record of his brief reign in the island; and though it is difficult to say positively which of the gold, silver, and copper bearing his name were struck in Sicily, which in Italy, and which in Greece itself, we can point out coins in each of these metals which are indubitably of Sicilian work. Among these the most striking are the silver and copper bearing the head of Persephone with flowing hair, evidently copied from the silver coins of the time of Hiketas. On the reverse is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ and Athena Alkis, a Macedonian type, which first occurs on the coins of Alexander Ægos, struck by Ptolemy I. about thirty years previously, and is afterwards often reproduced on the money of Antigonus Gonatas, b.c. 277—239, and Philip V., 220—179. Leake, who, in common with other numismatists of his time, attributes the tetradrachms of Alexander Ægos to Alexander II. of Epirus, the son of Pyrrhos, is of opinion that Pyrrhos adopted this type, after the victory which he gained, b.c. 274, over Antigonus Gonatas at a pass in Upper Macedonia, which gave him possession of Macedonia and all Thessaly, on which occasion he dedicated the shields of the Gallic mercenaries of Antigonus who were slain or taken, in the temple of Athena Itonis. This Athena Itonis was the principal deity of Thessaly. Now as these coins of Pyrrhos are of Sicilian work, and struck b.c. 278—276 (Mommsen, ed. Blacas, p. 284), it is clear that the dedication above mentioned cannot have been the origin of this coin type, and it is no less clear that it must be sought for thirty years before this in connection with the coins of Alexander Ægos struck by

Ptolemy in Egypt. This figure of Pallas is not therefore likely to be the Thessalian Itonis, but the Macedonian Athena Alkis, venerated in the royal city of Pella, the capital of Macedon, and the birth-place of Alexander the Great (Livy, xlii. 51), and consequently adopted as a symbol of sovereignty over Macedon; first, on the coins struck for the young prince, Alexander Ægos, the son and rightful heir of Alexander the Great, and afterwards by Pyrrhos, Antigonos, and Philip V. A similar type recurs on the coins of Thessaly in genere at a later period; but even here it is not clear that it is a representation of the Thessalian goddess, as we do not find it previously to the incorporation of that province with Macedon.

But to return to Syracuse. It is not necessary for my present purpose to determine which coins of Pyrrhos were struck in Sicily; but rather to fix the date, by means of his coins, of certain Syracusan pieces which do not bear his name, but which appear to have been struck under his rule. These are the following:

1. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone with flowing hair, left; behind, torch.
   *Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Nike in biga, right. *N.* full wt. 67·5 grs. (Pl. X. 9.)

2. *Obv.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Same head; behind, ear of barley.
   *Rev.*—Torch in oak wreath. *Æ* ·1. (Pl. X. 10.)

3. *Obv.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Herakles in lion's skin, left.
   *Rev.*—Pallas Promachos; in field, wreath, thunderbolt, trident or owl. *Æ* ·9—·85.

4. Similar, but with inscription on the reverse. *Æ* ·9—·85. (Pl. X. 11.)

The first of these pieces I attribute to the period of the rule of Pyrrhos solely on account of its type, which is
similar to that of the gold of Hieron II., and might be taken for a coin of that monarch were it not that his gold coins always bear his name. This coin may therefore have been struck shortly before the accession of Hieron. Of the two copper types, the first may with safety be attributed to the time of Pyrrhos, on account of the oak-wreath on the reverse which encircles the torch of Persephone—the symbols respectively of the principal deities of Epirus and Syracuse.

With respect to the second copper type, Obv. Head of Herakles; Rev. Pallas Promachos (Athena Alkis), both types are so manifestly Macedonian, that it is evident that the piece must have been struck during the reign of Pyrrhos. The head of Herakles is probably borrowed from the well-known coinage of Alexander the Great, although it may contain a more direct allusion to the games and sacrifices celebrated by Pyrrhos in honour of Herakles after his capture of the city of Eryx, shortly after his arrival in Sicily.\textsuperscript{61} The reverse type is similar to the silver of Pyrrhos above described (p. 56). A specimen of this type in the British Museum is re-struck over a coin of Agathokles with his name.

It is probable that the money of Pyrrhos with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ was intended for circulation throughout his dominions in Italy, as well as in Sicily; for his silver above described, although struck in Sicily, weigh about 90 grains, and are consequently not multiples of the silver litra of 13.5 grains, but foreign to the Sicilian system. Mommsen's hypothesis to account for this is that they were struck upon the old gold standard of Dionysios and Agathokles, the adoption of which

\textsuperscript{61} Plutarch, Pyrr., xxii.; Diod., xxii. 10, 3.
for the silver currency he explains by supposing the unit of account or copper litra to have been reduced to \(\frac{1}{2}\)th of its former value.\(^{62}\)

In the time of Agathokles the nummus or silver litra of 13.5 grains was equal to 10 litrae of account or pounds of copper (see p. 13). The gold piece of Agathokles of 90 grains would, therefore, if we accept the proportionate value of 1 : 12, have been equal to 80 silver litrae or 800 pounds of copper.\(^{63}\)

Now, supposing the pound of copper to have been reduced in the time of Pyrrhos to \(\frac{1}{6}\)th of its former value, a silver piece of 90 grains which would formerly have been equal to 6.6 silver litrae, or 66\(\frac{2}{3}\) pounds of copper, would now represent 400 pounds of copper, or exactly half what I suppose the gold of Agathokles of the same weight to have been originally worth; so that two of these silver pieces of Pyrrhos weighing 90 grains could now be legally offered in payment of a debt of one gold stater of 90 grains contracted before this reduction in the unit of account, while twelve would be necessary to pay a debt of the same amount contracted after the reduction.

Again, the gold drachm, formerly equal to 600 pounds of copper, would now be worth 3,600, or nine silver pieces of 90 grains.\(^{63}\)

But, whether we accept or not Mommsen’s arguments

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\(^{63}\) Mommsen adopts the old rate of 1 : 15, according to which the gold stater of Agathokles of 90 grs. would have been equal to 100 \(\text{A}.\) litrae or 1,000 \(\text{A}.\) litrae, and, after the reduction, to 6,000; while the gold drachm would be equal to 4,500, or 11\(\frac{1}{4}\) silver pieces of 90 grs. This fraction seems to me improbable, and another argument in favour of the proportion of gold to silver as 1 : 12.
in favour of a temporary reduction at Syracuse of the litra of account to a sixth of its former value, the proportionate values of gold and silver as 1 : 12 were probably not affected, so that in either case nine silver coins of Pyrrhos of 90 grains would go to one gold drachm of 67.5 grains, while three would exchange for a silver tetradrachm.

These pieces may, therefore, for convenience sake be called oktobols. Coins of the same weight were also struck at Tauromenium with the type of the Corinthian stater; at Syracuse by Hieron II., also with the Corinthian types (Pi. XI. 2); and by the Bruttii. There are also pieces of Agrigentum which, perhaps, belong to the same system (Mommsen, ed. Blacas, p. 284), but it seems to have taken no root in Sicily, for Hieron soon returned to the silver litra of 13.5 as the basis of the silver currency. Among the Bruttii, however, the copper litra seems never to have recovered its ancient value, but rather to have undergone further reduction, as the successive diminutions in the weight of the silver coins demonstrate. (Mommsen, ed. Blacas, p. 133.)

XII. HIERON II., B.C. 275—216.

The departure of Pyrrhos, in B.C. 275, left the Syracusans, for a short time, without a leader, until Hieron, a young Syracusan officer who had served under Pyrrhos, was elected general of the army.

He soon obtained great power in the councils of the Republic, and after his victory over the Mamertines, in B.C. 270, the title βασιλεύς was conferred upon him.

His long reign, B.C. 275—216, is, on the whole, one of

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64 Torremuzza, Pl. lxxxvii. 4.
peace and great prosperity, which affords but few materials for history. His government was remarkably mild and equitable, and we read \(^{65}\) that both he and his son Gelon avoided all display of royal power. Hence it has been suggested that the heads on the coins bearing the names of Hieron and Gelon may be traditional portraits of Gelon I., from whom Hieron claimed descent; \(^{66}\) but this cannot be proved.

The following are the coins of Hieron.

**Gold.**

*Obv.*—Head of Persephone with flowing hair; behind, ear of corn, cornucopia, filleted palm, poppy, wing, torch, sea-horse, crescent, wreath, bucranium, star, altar.

*Rev.*—\(\text{IΕΡΩΝΟΣ}\). Biga, right, driven by female charioteer (sometimes by winged Nike); generally with letters in field \(\text{A, A, AΦ, Ε, ΚΙ.}\ \text{Ν.·65}\); full wt. 67·5 grs. (Pl. XI. 1.)

This series probably extends over a large number of years, as, notwithstanding the uniformity of type, various differences are noticeable in the style.

**Class A.—Silver, with \(\text{ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ}\).**

*Obv.*—Head of Pallas, left, in crested Corinthian helmet; behind, wing.

*Rev.*—\(\text{ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ}\). Pegasos flying; beneath, sometimes, \(\text{Γ. } \text{Δ.·8};\) wt. 86 grs. (Pl. XI. 2.)

These coins seem to belong to the early years of Hieron's reign only, as they are so scarce as to render it very improbable that they were issued during many years.

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\(^{65}\) Livy, xxiv. 5. Polyb., vii. 8.

\(^{66}\) Leake, Trans. R. Soc. Lit., series ii. vol. iii. p. 370.
The weight, also, which is that of the coins of Pyrrhos, confirms this hypothesis. The types adopted are those of the Corinthian staters of the time of Timoleon and Agathokles, now no longer struck at Syracuse. There are pieces of Tauromenium, probably issued at the same time, which belong to the same system, weighing about 90 grains, and with the same old Corinthian types.

Class B.—Silver, with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ and portrait.

**Obv.**—Beardless male head, diademed, left; behind, ear of corn, star, &c.; beneath, sometimes Φ.

**Rev.**—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ. Quadriga, right, driven by winged Nike; in field above, sometimes star, and beneath, letters E or Κ. Ρ. 1·35; full wt. 432 grs. (Pl. XI. 8.)

This is a piece of 32 silver litrae, and belongs to the silver standard, based upon the litra as a unit, a system which, as Mommsen infers from the weight of the coins of Pyrrhos, and of the first silver of Hieron, must have been for a time abandoned at Syracuse.

The above are the only silver coins which bear the name of Hieron. Now the piece of 90 grains evidently belongs to the first years only of his reign, and the fine medallion described above is too large a piece to be the ordinary silver money of the state, and it may be compared rather with the dekadraechm of an earlier period; where, then, are the silver coins which must have been issued in large quantities during the half-century of prosperity under Hieron II.?

In my opinion, they are those with the names of Gelon

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and Philistis; the former was the son of Hieron, and died before his father; the latter, who bore the title ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ, but is not mentioned by name in history, was probably his wife, the daughter of a wealthy citizen named Leptines.

Class C.—Silver, with ГΕΛΩΝΟΣ and Portrait.

1. Obv.—Beardless male head, wearing diadem; behind, sometimes a strung bow.

Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ГΕΛΩΝΟΣ. Biga, right, driven by Nike; in field, generally ΒΑ with other letters, ΑΦ, Ε, Κ, ΜΙ; sometimes Α or Σ without BA. ΑΡ. '85; wt. 108 grs. (8 litræ). (Pl. XI. 4.)

2. Obv.—Same type.

Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ГΕΛΩΝΟΣ. Eagle on thunderbolt with closed wings; in field, ΒΑ with other letters, Ε, Κ, or Φ. ΑΡ. '65; wt. 54 grs. (4 litræ). (Pl. XI. 5.)

These pieces of 8 and 4 litræ are not uncommon, and, as I think, constitute the ordinary small silver currency of Hieron’s reign. The head upon the obverse may be a traditional portrait of Gelon I., or it may be intended as a portrait of the son of Hieron. The reverse inscription, with the first word in the nominative case, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ГΕΛΩΝΟΣ, is worthy of remark, and on this peculiarity Leake bases his conjecture that they were struck after the death of Hieronymos, “when the party who had opposed him may have been so much the more anxious to show their respect for the memory of Gelon, as they were in the act of destroying all the family of Hieron II.” 68

This appears to me to be altogether a gratuitous hypo-

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68 Transactions R. S. L., series ii. vol. iii.
Moreover, the coins are both too numerous and differ in style too much among themselves to be the issue of so short a period as intervened between the assassination of Hieronymos and the capture of the city by the Romans. They are evidently contemporary with the Philistis series. Mommsen, however, agrees with Leake, and attributes not only these coins of Gelon and Philistis, but also the large medallions of Hieron with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ, to the reign of Hieronymos. He does not admit a single silver coin which is not either of Attic weight or of the standard introduced by Pyrrhos (90 grains), to be anterior to the death of Hieron in B.C. 216, about which time he says that the new multiples of the litræ—viz., the pieces of 2, 4, 6, 8, 12, 16, 24, and 32 litræ—were first introduced. Consequently, he assigns to the reign of Hieronymos and after, not only the coins which bear the name of Hieronymos himself, but also all those with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΔΟΣ, as well as all the autonomous silver which are not of Attic weight, including, I suppose, the pieces of 15 litræ which I have above attributed to the time of Hiketas. Many of these coins are by no means rare, and it follows that to the long reign of Hieron (fifty years) he would assign only the rare piece of 90 grains, while to the short reign of Hieronymos (one year), and the few years which follow, he would give all the numerous series above mentioned. This theory is, in my opinion, unsupported by adequate evidence.

8. Obv.—Bust of Hieron or Gelon, left, diademed.
   ΣΥΡΑ
   Rev.— XII  AR. 8 (litra).
   ΚΟΣΙΟΙ

Ed. Blacas, p. 113.
This remarkable coin, which is, I believe, perfectly genuine, is very similar to the one engraved in Castelli

ΣΥΡΑ
ΧΙΙ

(Tab. 97), with the existence of which

ΚΟΣΙΩΙ
ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ

Mommsen and others have doubted. I discovered it some time ago lying unnoticed in the cabinet of the late H. N. Davis, Esq. The XII on the reverse is doubly valuable, in the first place as proving that the Roman numerals began to be used at Syracuse as early as the latter part of the reign of Hieron, and that they were not introduced for the first time after the capture of the city by the Romans, as Mommsen supposes; and in the second place as showing that the copper litra had undergone a third reduction since the second recorded by Aristotle as τὸ υποτέρων, the silver litra being now equivalent to twelve copper litrae instead of to ten, as formerly (see p. 13). This reduction, which probably took place during the reign of Hieron, was doubtless only the commencement of a still further reduction of which we possess evidence in the numerals ΧΙΙΙ on the silver litra of a somewhat later period, which latter mark of value has been interpreted by Mommsen as signifying 13½ copper litrae. I shall recur to this final reduction later on, when I come to describe the coins of the Democracy after the death of Hieronymos.

Class D.—Silver, with Name and Portrait of Philistis.

1. Obv.—Head of Philistis, veiled.

Rev.—ΔΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΔΟΣ. Quadriga driven by Nike. Ρ. 1; pieces of 18 and 16 litrae, full weights, respectively, 243 and 216 grs. (Pl. XI. 6—9.)
Symbols, &c., behind head on obverse, ear of barley, filleted palm, cornucopia and Σ, wreath and Σ, large leaf, vase, palm, torch, star, thyrsos, spear-head, wreath.

Letters, &c., on reverse, Φ, ΣΜ, Α, Κ, Ε, star and Κ; ΚΙ and ear of corn; crescent, ΚΙ, and ear of corn; Σ, crescent and Α; ΜΙ.

The horses of the quadriga are sometimes galloping and sometimes walking.

2. Obv.—Same type; behind, palm, star, or leaf.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΔΟΣ. Biga driven by Nike, with letters Ε, Κ, or ΜΙ. AR. 8; full wt. 67.5 gms. (5 litrae). (Pl. XI. 10.)

In my opinion the above-described coins are the ordinary silver currency of Hieron, issued, probably, throughout a long series of years during the middle and latter part of his reign, the varieties being far too numerous to be the issue of a single year, as Mommsen would have it. The multiples of the litra which occur are 18 (?), 16, and 5. The piece of 18 litrae is perhaps rather a very light tetradrachm, than a piece of so unusual a weight as 18 litrae. The veiled head may be compared with the head on the coins bearing the name of Phthia on the copper of Pyrrhos, and with that of Arsinoë on the contemporary Egyptian coinage.

It is consistent with what we know of Hieron's habitual modesty (Livy, l. c.) that he did not place his own head upon his coins, either of gold or silver (if we except the large piece of 32 litrae, which may perhaps be regarded in the light rather of a medal than a coin), but preferred rather to perpetuate the memory of his wife, the daughter of a private citizen, and on that account probably less obnoxious to the democratic party in the state, and of his son, who bore the illustrious name of Gelon.70

70 Since the above has been written I find that M. Salinas is of my opinion with regard to the Philistis series. In the Periodico di Numismatica e Sfragistica, i. p. 197, sqq., he combats Mommsen's theory.
CLASS E.—GOLD AND SILVER, WITH ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ.

To the reign of Hieron I would also attribute the series of gold and silver coins with ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ engraved by Salinas (Mon. dell. ant. Citt. della Sicilia, Pl. i.). The gold piece is of the usual weight of the gold of Hieron, and the silver are pieces of 8 (Pl. XI. 11), 4, and 2 litræ.

Raoul Rochette attributes them to the time of Pyrrhos; but his arguments in favour of this opinion are far from convincing. The style of these pieces is contemporary with the Philistis series, and when we take into consideration their weight, which is not that of the coins of Pyrrhos or even of the early years of Hieron, there can be no longer a doubt that they belong to the reign of the latter. Alessi thinks that they were struck on the occasion of the peace concluded between Hieron and the Romans, in B.C. 263. This is far more probable than R. Rochette's theory. I would, however, prefer to attribute them to a later period, chiefly on account of the weight-system which they follow. They may have been struck after the conclusion of the first Punic War, B.C. 241, when the whole island of Sicily became a Roman province, with the exception of the dominions of Hieron, which consisted of nearly the whole of the east coast of the island, with the towns of Acræ, Leontini, Megara, Eloris, Neæte, and Tauromenium. This is the district for which I suppose them to have been issued, and for which the general term ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ would be more appropriate as well as, perhaps, more popular than

73 Diodoros, xxiii. 4.
**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.** The letters Σ in monogram, which occur upon all the coins of this series, may possibly stand for Σ(υρακοσίων).

**Copper of Hieron.**

The following are the copper coins which belong to Hieron's reign:

(a) with Portrait.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Hieron or Gelon I., laureate, left.
   *Rev.*——ΛΕΠΩΝΟΣ. Armed horseman, galloping, right. ΑΕ. 1. (Pl. XII. 1.)

2. *Obv.*—Same head, but diademed.
   *Rev.*——ΛΕΠΩΝΟΣ. Nike in biga, right. ΑΕ. 1'4. (Pl. XII. 3.)

3. *Obv.*—Same.
   *Rev.*——ΛΕΠΩΝΟΣ. Armed horseman, galloping, right. ΑΕ. 1. (Pl. XII. 2.)

The symbols and letters which I have noticed on the preceding three types are the following:

Type 1.—Macedonian helmet, rhyton, ending in fore-part of horse, jawbone of Kalydonian boar, owl flying, bee, pedum, plough, trophy (?), capricorn, wing, satyr, Boeotian shield; with letters on reverse, Α, Ρ, Ν, Ο, Τ, Φ.

Type 2.—On reverse, N, or Σ.

Type 3.—Cornucopiae, thunderbolt, dolphin, altar, poppy-head; with letters on reverse, Α, Ρ, Ε, Σ, Λ, ΛΥ, ΜΙ, Ν, ΝΚ, ΝΚ, ΣΩ, ΤΙ, Φ.

(β) without Portrait.

4. *Obv.*—Head of Poseidon, wearing tænia, left.
   *Rev.*——ΛΕΠΩΝΟΣ. Trident between dolphins. ΑΕ. '85—7. (Pl. XII. 4.)

5. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone, left, crowned with corn.
   *Rev.*——ΛΕΠΩΝΟΣ. Pegasos; beneath, Σ. ΑΕ. '9. (Pl. XII. 5.)
6. **Obv.**—Female head, left, hair in sphendone.  
**Rev.**—ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ. Pegasos. ΑΣ. 6. (Pl. XII. 8.)

7. **Obv.**—Head of Persephone, left, crowned with corn.  
**Rev.**—ΙΕ (in exergue); bull, butting, left, above which club. ΑΕ. 75—65. (Pl. XII. 6.)

8. **Obv.**—Head of Apollo, left, laureate.  
**Rev.**—ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ. Free horse, right. ΑΕ. 65. (Pl. XII. 7.)

**Symbols and Letters.**

Type 4.—Α, Α, ΑΙ, ΔΑ, Ι, Τ, Μ, Ν, Ο, Σ, ΛΥ, ΟΦ, ΣΩ, ΦΩ.

Type 5.—Σ.

Type 6.—Poppy-head.

Type 7.—Grapes, poppy-head, kantharos. Α, Α, Α, Δ, ΔΙ, ΘΕ, Ι, Η, ΙΑ, ΛΥ, Μ, Ν, Ο, Σ, Τ, ΤΙ.

Type 8.—Lyre, ΛΥ.

As type 7 is the only one which does not bear the name of Hieron in full, it is the only one whose attribution is open to question. Both sides closely resemble the series which I have given (Pl. VIII. 9—12) to the time of Agathokles; but it will be seen that nearly all the letters and monograms on this, which may be called the ΙΕ series, are common to the other types of Hieron. It would, nevertheless, be difficult to distinguish some of these coins from those of the time of Agathokles were it not for the constant occurrence of the ΙΕ (evidently a contracted form of ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ) and the club above the bull.

**XIII. HIERONYMOS, B.C. 216—215.**

Hieron was succeeded by his grandson, Hieronymos, in B.C. 216. He reigned but one year, during which he broke with the Romans and formed an alliance with Carthage. The following are the coins which were struck during his short tyranny.
HISTORY OF THE

GOLD.
Obv.—Head of Persephone, left, wearing corn-wreath.
Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ. Winged thunderbolt, above which ΚΙ. Α. 5; full wt. 83.75. (Pl. XII. 9.)

SILVER.
Obv.—Head of Hieronymos, diademed, left; behind, cornucopiae.
Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ. Winged thunderbolt; above ΑΦ or ΜΙ. Α. 1.2; full wt. 324 grs. (piece of 24 litrae). (Pl. XII. 10.)

Obv.—Same types, with letters ΑΦ, ΚΙ, ΜΙ, ΣΩ, ΦΙ. Α. .9; wt. 135 grs. (dekalitron or didrachm). (Pl. XII. 11.)
Rev.—Same, with ΚΙ. Α. .7; wt. 67.5 grs. (pentalitron or attic drachm). (Pl. XII. 12.)

COPPER.
Obv.—Head of Hieronymos, diademed, left.
Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ. Winged thunderbolt, with letters ΑΝ, Τ, Φ. Α. .85. (Pl. XII. 13.)

The silver coins of Hieronymos are pieces of 24, 10 and 5 litrae. The magistrate's initials, which occur are those with which we are already familiar on the money of the previous reign.

XIV. DEMOCRACY, B.C. 215—212.

Hieronymos was assassinated in B.C. 215, and immediately afterwards a republic was once more proclaimed; and so great was the hatred which the tyrannical rule of Hieronymos had excited during the short period of one year that the people, fearing a restoration, put to death all the members of his family. They, nevertheless, did
not return to the policy of Hieron, but were persuaded to resist the Romans, who, consequently, laid siege to their city in B.C. 214. This is not the place to recount the story of the celebrated siege and capture of the city by Marcellus. Syracuse fell in B.C. 212, and two years afterwards the whole of Sicily was a province of the Roman Republic. The following are the coins which I would assign to this period:

**Gold.**

1. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas.
   
   *Rev.*—\( \Sigma \Upsilon \Pi 
\alpha \kappa \rho \alpha 
\kappa 
\omicron \zeta \iota 
\omicron \nu \). Artemis (huntress) with bow and arrow, quiver, and dog; in field, \( \Sigma \Omega \).\(^{74}\)
   
   \( \text{A}. \cdot 5 \); full wt. 45 grs. = 40 litrae. (Pl. XIII. 1.)

**Silver.**

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus, laureate, left.
   
   *Rev.*—\( \Sigma \Upsilon \Pi 
\alpha \kappa \rho \alpha 
\kappa 
\omicron \zeta \iota 
\omicron \nu \). Nike in quadriga, right; beneath, \( \Upsilon \Lambda \), \( \Sigma \Lambda \). \( \text{A}. \) 1; full wt. 216 grs. = 16 litrae. (Pl. XIII. 2.)

2. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas, left; behind, sometimes, \( \Lambda \).
   
   *Rev.*—\( \Sigma \Upsilon \Pi 
\alpha \kappa \rho \alpha 
\kappa 
\omicron \zeta \iota 
\omicron \nu \). Artemis, as on the gold, with \( \Sigma \Omega \), \( \Upsilon \Lambda \), \( \Sigma \Lambda \), or \( \chi \alpha \rho \pi \). \( \text{A}. \cdot 95 \); full wt. 162 grs. = 12 litrae. (Pl. XIII. 3.)

3. *Obv.*—Same as preceding.
   
   *Rev.*—\( \Sigma \Upsilon \Pi 
\alpha \kappa \rho \alpha 
\kappa 
\omicron \zeta \iota 
\omicron \nu \). Winged thunderbolt; beneath, \( \Xi \Lambda \), \( \Sigma \Omega \), \( \Upsilon \Lambda \) \( \Sigma \) or \( \Upsilon \Lambda \) \( \Sigma \) \( \Lambda \). \( \text{A}. \cdot 85 \); full wt. 108 grs. = 8 litrae. (Pl. XIII. 4.)

\(^{74}\) With respect to the initials \( \Sigma \Omega \) see Raoul Rochette, Graveurs des Monnaies Grecques, p. 29, who is of opinion that they stand for \( \Sigma \omega \alpha \iota \), a very common name among the Greeks of Sicily, and one which occurs several times in history about the time of Hieronymos. Brunet de Presle, p. 356, *note 1*, suggests that the Sosis mentioned with a certain contempt by the Syracusans in their harangue before the Senate (Livy, xxvi. 30) as a *faber ararius* who betrayed the city to Marcellus, may perhaps be the engraver of the coins with \( \Sigma \Omega \). For my part I prefer to take \( \Sigma \Omega \) rather as the name of a magistrate than that of an engraver.
4. Obv.—Head of Persephone, with short curly hair and corn-wreath; behind, owl.

Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Nike in quadriga, right, with letters Α and Ι. Ρ. 85; full wt. 108 grs. = 8 litrae. (Pl. XIII. 5.)

5. Obv.—Head of bearded Herakles, in lion’s skin, left.

Rev.—Similar to preceding, with letters ΞΑ. Ρ. 8; full wt. 81 grs. = 6 litrae. (Pl. XIII. 6.)

6. Obv.—Head of Apollo, left, laureate.

Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Nike carrying trophy and palm; in field, ΧΑΡ. Ρ. 75; full wt. 54 grs. = 4 litrae. (Pl. XIII. 7.)

The specimen of this type in the British Museum is re-struck over a piece of 4 litrae of Gelon, described above, p. 63. (Pl. XII. 12.)

7. Obv.—Head of Persephone, left, wearing corn-wreath; behind, torch.

Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Zeus standing, front, and looking right; he rests on spear; in field, left, flying eagle and ΧΑΡ. Ρ. 95; full wt. 135 grs. = 10 litrae. (Pl. XIII. 8.)

8. Obv.—Head of Apollo, left, laureate.

Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ. Female figure with inflated veil, holding a half-unrolled scroll and a filleted branch. In field, Α, Κ, or Φ. Ρ. 55; full wt. 83·75 = 2½ litrae. (Pl. XIII. 9.)

9. Obv.—Head of Artemis, right, with quiver over shoulder.

Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ. Owl facing, with letters Α, Κ, or Φ. Ρ. 45; full wt. 16·87 = 1½ litrae. (Pl. XIII. 10.)

10. Obv.—Head of Pallas, left.

Rev.—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ : XIII, with letters, Α Φ or Κ. Ρ. 35; full wt. 13·5 = 1 litra. (Pl. XIII. 11.)

The prevalence of the head of Pallas as an obverse type during these few years of democracy, may be a reminiscence of the Corinthian stater, first introduced by
Timoleon, after the expulsion of the Dionysian family. No coins with this type had been seen at Syracuse for more than half a century, when Hieron struck the last degraded imitation of the earlier Corinthian stater. The Democracy after Hieronymos would appear, therefore, to have reintroduced this type, so long popular at Syracuse, and to have struck pieces with the head of Pallas in gold of 40 litrae, and in silver of 12, 8, and 1 litrae, respectively.

The reverses of the gold and of type 2 of the silver probably represent some celebrated statue of Artemis Soteira, while the obverse of No. 9 shows us the head of the same statue. The reverse of No. 7 has been proved by G. Abeken (Annali dell' Instituto, 1839, p. 62) to represent the statue of Jupiter Imperator, mentioned by Cicero (in Verr., iv. 58) in the following passage:—

"Hoc tertium, quod erat Syracusis, quod M. Marcellus armatus et victor viderat, quod religioni concesserat, quod cives atque incolæ Syracusani colere, advenæ non solum visere, verum etiam venerari solebant, id Verres ex templo Jovis sustulit."

With regard to the \( \text{XIII} \) on the reverse of No. 10, see Mommsen (ed. Blacas, p. 116), who proves that it is to be understood as \( 13\frac{1}{2} \) copper litrae. This mark of value in the Roman character indicates a further depreciation in the value of the copper litra, and, consequently, of the copper talent, which was originally equal to 120 silver litrae or nummi; after the first reduction to 24; after the second to 12; after the third to 10; and, as is proved by this little coin, ultimately to 9 only. The following table shows the several reductions in the weight of the copper litra, together with the equivalents in copper of the silver litra, the weight of which was always the same, viz., 13.5 grains:—
Æ. lit.  Å. lit.  Å. lit.  Æ. lit.

1 Æ. litra, originally 3875 grs.  \(120 = 120 \cdot 1 = 1\)

" after the first reduction, time of Dionysios, 675 grs. .  \(120 = 24 \cdot 1 = 5\)

" after the second reduction, circ. b.c. 350, 337.5 grs. .  \(120 = 12 \cdot 1 = 10\)

" after the third reduction, during reign of Hieron, 281.2 grs. . .  \(120 = 10 \cdot 1 = 12\) \((\text{XII})\)

" after the fourth reduction, circ. b.c. 215, 253.1 grs. .  \(120 = 9 \cdot 1 = 13\frac{1}{3}\) \((\text{XIII})\)

It is needless to repeat that these successive reductions of the litra of account do not of necessity involve a corresponding rise in the value of copper, considered as a metal, in comparison with silver (see p. 13). Nor is it even clear that the weight of the copper currency was reduced, although the silver coins were legally rendered of greater value, in respect to the unit of account.

The issue of copper during the three years between the death of Hieronymos and the capture of the city does not appear to have been extensive. The following are the pieces which I would assign to this period:—

1. Obv.—Head of Poseidon.
   Rev.—\(ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ\). Trident, between two dolphins; beneath, \(Α \Gamma, O \Phi.\) Æ. ·8. (Pl. XIII. 12.)

2. Obv.—Same.
   Rev.—\(ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ\). Same. Æ. ·55.

3. Obv.—Head of Apollo, laureate.
   Rev.—\(ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ\). The Dioscuri; beneath horses, \(ΑΓ, OΦ, \text{or } Φ.\) Æ. ·85. (Pl. XIII. 13.)

4. Obv.—Head of Apollo, laureate.
   Rev.—\(ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ\). Tripod. Æ. ·5. (Pl. XIII. 14.)
COINAGE OF SYRACUSE.

5. **Obv.**—Female head diademed, right.

**Rev.**—Same as preceding. Æ. 5.

The first two of these pieces follow the type of Hieron II. They are generally of inferior work, and as they bear the name of the city in the place of that of Hieron, it is reasonable to suppose that they are subsequent to his reign.

Nos. 3, 4, and 5 seem, from their rude style of work, to belong to the same time. The magistrate's initials, which occur upon these copper coins, are the same as those which we have noticed before on the coins of Hieron and Hieronymos.

XV. SYRACUSE UNDER THE ROMANS.

Syracuse, judging from the style of the copper coins described below, must have been allowed by her conquerors to strike copper in her own name for some considerable time after her capture. Many of the types also of the following coins are very late, especially those which are derived from the worship of Isis, which can hardly be supposed to have been established at Syracuse for more than a century after the capture, if so early. Some of the types which follow are perhaps earlier than these; but I find it impossible to speak with any degree of certainty with regard to these rude coins. They are the last vestiges of Syracusan autonomy.

1. **Obv.**—Head of Zeus, right, laureate.

**Rev.**—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ

Simulacrum of Isis (?) in triumphal quadriga, holding torch. Æ. 1.

(Pl. XIV. 1.)

2. **Obv.**—Head of Zeus, right, laureate.

**Rev.**—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. City of Syracuse standing left, turreted, holding rudder and sceptre.

Æ. 85. (Pl. XIV. 2.)
3. **Obv.**—Head of Zeus, left, laureate.
   **Rev.** — ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (in exergue). Nike, with whip, in fast biga; above, crescent or star. ΑΕ. 9–8. (Pl. XIV. 3.)

4. **Obv.**—Head of Zeus, right, laureate.
   **Rev.** — ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Eagle on thunderbolt. ΑΕ. 8.

5. **Obv.**—Head of Pallas.
   **Rev.** — ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Nike sacrificing bull. ΑΕ. 8. (Pl. XIV. 4.)

6. **Obv.**—Head of Serapis, wearing taenia and lotus flower.
   **Rev.** — ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Isis standing, left, with lotus-flower head-dress, holding sistrum and leaning on sceptre. ΑΕ. 75. (Pl. XIV. 5.)

7. **Obv.**—Head of Isis, with long hair bound with wreath and surmounted by lotus flower.
   **Rev.** — ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head-dress of Isis, consisting of cow's horns surmounted by globe and plumes, behind which are two ears of barley. ΑΕ. 7. (Pl. XIV. 7.)

8. **Obv.**—Head of Persephone, right.
   **Rev.** — ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Demeter, standing, left, veiled, holding torch and sceptre. ΑΕ. 75. (Pl. XIV. 6.)

9. **Obv.**—Head of Persephone.
   **Rev.** — κοσί ΩΝ. within wreath of barley. ΑΕ. 6. (Pl. XIV. 9.)

10. **Obv.**—Head of Demeter, veiled, right.
    **Rev.** — ΣΥΡΑΚ ΩΣΙ ΩΝ. Two torches crossed. ΑΕ. 65. (Pl. XIV. 8.)

11. **Obv.**—Head of Apollo, left, laureate.
    **Rev.** — ΣΥΡ ΑΚΟ ΩΝ. Torch. ΑΕ. 6. (Pl. XIV. 10.)

12. **Obv.**—Head of Zeus (?), laureate, right.
    **Rev.** — ΣΥΡΑ ΚΟΣΙ. Tripod. ΑΕ. 4.

13. **Obv.**—Head of Apollo, right, laureate.
COINAGE OF SYRACUSE.

14. **Obv.**—Head of Demeter (?), veiled.
   **Rev.**—**ΣΥΡΑ ΚΟ ΣΙΩΝ** (sic). Quiver with strap, bow and arrow crossed. Æ. '6.

15. **Obv.**—Bust of Helios, radiate, right, with bow and quiver over shoulder.
   **Rev.**—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟ ΣΙΩΝ** Naked male figure, of Egyptian style, wearing modius, and holding branch and wreath (?). Æ. '75. (Pl. XIV. 11.)

16. **Obv.**—Head of Janus.
   **Rev.**—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟ ΣΙΩΝ**. Object resembling a quiver, with a circular radiate top and two fillets attached to rings on each side. Æ. '6. (Pl. XIV. 18.)

17. **Obv.**—Head of Asklepios.
   **Rev.**—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟ ΣΙΩΝ**. Serpent entwined round a staff. Æ. '5.

**CONCLUSION.**

I have now traced, during the long course of three hundred years, the numismatic history of the most wealthy and populous of the cities of ancient Greece; a city which has left us an unbroken series of coins unrivalled for their artistic beauty by those of any other State, ancient or modern, although it must be confessed that in boldness, as well as in chastity of style, they are surpassed by individual specimens from Hellas and even from Macedon, notably by the splendid tetradrachm of Amphipolis with the head of Apollo, by some of the coins of Aenus in Thrace, and of Clazomenæ in Ionia. Nevertheless, as a continuous series, the coins of Syracuse offer to the art student a far greater variety of type and detail illustrative of the progress of Greek art, from its infancy to its decline and ultimate extinction, than those of any other Hellenic city. In the foregoing pages I have for
the most part confined myself to the consideration of the chronological sequence of the pieces of this magnificent series, leaving it to others more competent than I am, to amplify and elaborate the work,—to the art critic the task of determining the relative artistic merit of style and type, and to the student of mythology that of recording, and even sometimes of unravelling, the myths handed down to us in these beautiful though minute monuments of ancient metal-work. The artist may compare the styles of Eumenes and Soson, of Kimon and Evænetos, while the mythologist may decide whether the head represented is that of Arethusa, of Artemis Potamia, or of Kyane, the nymph of the fountain when Hades bore off the goddess Persephone into the realms of the underworld; or he may seek an explanation of the myth of Leukaspis.

To these and all who have neither the leisure nor the opportunity of consulting the coins themselves, I am glad to be able to offer a series of plates, which afford accurate and faithful reproductions of the monuments in their present condition, not adorned by the fancy and not misrepresented, as is so often the case, by the ignorance of the modern engraver.

In conclusion, I have to record my best thanks for the valuable assistance which I have received throughout the compilation of the foregoing catalogue from my friends and colleagues, Mr. R. Stuart Poole and Mr. Percy Gardner, without whose constant encouragement I should hardly have ventured to court the criticism of Numismatists by the publication of the above remarks; more especially after I became aware that on more than one important question, my opinion was at variance with the generally accepted judgment of some of the first Numismatists in Europe.

Barclay V. Head.
APPENDIX.

(a) Table of the normal weights of Syracusan gold and electrum coins, in English grains and French grammes, together with their equivalent values in silver grains, grammes, and litrae.

### PERIOD I.—PROPORTIONATE VALUE OF \( N \) : \( R \) AS 1 : 15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>( N ) Grains</th>
<th>( N ) Grms</th>
<th>( R ) Grains</th>
<th>( R ) Grms</th>
<th>( R ) Litre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.C. 413—406.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>17.49</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy.</td>
<td>11.25</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>168.7</td>
<td>10.93</td>
<td>12(\frac{1}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>8.74</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| B.C. 406—345.  | 90             | 5.83        | 1350          | 87.47       | 100         |
| Dionysian Dynasty. | 45             | 2.91        | 675           | 43.73       | 50          |

### PERIOD II.—PROPORTIONATE VALUE OF \( N \) : \( R \) AS 1 : 12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>( N ) Grains</th>
<th>( N ) Grms</th>
<th>( R ) Grains</th>
<th>( R ) Grms</th>
<th>( R ) Litre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.C. 344—317.</td>
<td>112.5</td>
<td>7.28</td>
<td>1350</td>
<td>87.47</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy restored by Timoleon.</td>
<td>56.25</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>43.73</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33.75</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>26.24</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28.12</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>337.5</td>
<td>21.86</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.25</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>8.74</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| B.C. 317—310.  | 67.5           | 4.37        | 810           | 52.48       | 60          |
| Agathokles.    | 45             | 2.91        | 540           | 34.98       | 40          |
|                | 22.5           | 1.45        | 270           | 17.49       | 20          |

| B.C. 310—307.  | 135            | 8.74        | 1620          | 104.97      | 120         |
| Agathokles.    |                |             |               |             |             |

| B.C. 307—289.  | 90             | 5.83        | 1080          | 69.98       | 80          |
| Agathokles.    |                |             |               |             |             |

| B.C. 287—216.  | 67.5           | 4.37        | 810           | 52.48       | 60          |
| Hiketas, Hieron II., &c. } | 33.75 | 2.18 | 405 | 26.24 | 30 |

| B.C. 216—215.  | 33.75          | 2.18        | 405           | 26.24       | 30          |
| Hieronymos.    |                |             |               |             |             |

| B.C. 215—212.  | 45             | 2.91        | 540           | 34.98       | 40          |
| Democracy.     |                |             |               |             |             |

N.B.—The weights of the electrum coins are printed in darker type.
Table of the normal weights of the principal Syracusan silver coins in English grains and French grammes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>Grains</th>
<th>Grmms.</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b.c. Sixth century—480.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geomori and Gelon.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>17.49</td>
<td>20 litr. = Tetradrachm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>8.74</td>
<td>10 &quot; &quot; = Didrachm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>5 &quot; &quot; = Drachm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1 &quot; &quot; = Dekonkion = Obol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.25</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>Dekonkion = Obol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c. 480—345.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hieron I. to Dionysios II.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>675</td>
<td>43.73</td>
<td>50 litr. = Dekadrachm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>17.49</td>
<td>20 &quot; &quot; = Tetradrachm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>5 &quot; &quot; = Drachm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.75</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>2 &quot; &quot; = Hemidrachm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1 &quot; &quot; = Pentonkion = Hemibol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.25</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>Dekonkion = Obol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.62</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>Pentonkion = Hemibol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>Tetras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>Trias</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c. 344—317.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timoleon and Democracy.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>8.74</td>
<td>10 litr. = Corinthian stratr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>3 &quot; &quot; = Hemidrachm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.75</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>2 &quot; &quot; = Hemidrachm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>1 &quot; &quot; = Trihemiobol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.25</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>1 1/4 &quot; = Trihemiobol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.87</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>1 1/4 &quot; = Trihemiobol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1 &quot; &quot; = Trihemiobol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c. 317—310.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agathokles.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>17.49</td>
<td>20 litr. = Tetradrachm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>8.74</td>
<td>10 &quot; &quot; = Corinthian stratr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>5 &quot; &quot; = Drachm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c. 310—307.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agathokles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>17.49</td>
<td>20 litr. = Tetradrachm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c. 307—289.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agathokles.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>6.99</td>
<td>8 litr. = Cor. stratr. reduced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c. 287—278.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiketas.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202.5</td>
<td>13.11</td>
<td>16 litr. = Tridrachm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c. 275—263(?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hieron II.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>5.83</td>
<td>32 litr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>432</td>
<td>27.97</td>
<td>32 litr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324</td>
<td>20.98</td>
<td>24 &quot; &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>243</td>
<td>15.74</td>
<td>18 &quot; &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>13.99</td>
<td>16 &quot; &quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>10.49</td>
<td>12 &quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>8.74</td>
<td>10 &quot; &quot; = Didr. or stratr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>6.99</td>
<td>8 &quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>5.24</td>
<td>6 &quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>5 &quot; &quot; = Drachm</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>4 &quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>33.75</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>2 1/4 &quot; = Hemidrachm</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.87</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>1 1/4 &quot; = Trihemiobol</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1 &quot; &quot;</td>
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Syracuse.
Geomori - Gelon I. VIth Cent. - B.C. 480.
SYRACUSE.

Hieron 1. B.C. 479 - 466.
SYRACUSE

Democracy, B.C. 466-406.
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COINS RESTRUCK OVER ΑΕ OF SYRACUSE.
B.C. 345-339.
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SYRACUSE

SYRACUSE

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