

## THE COINAGE OF THE IONIAN REVOLT.

[PLATE VII.]

IN a paper published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*,<sup>1</sup> I tried to shew that the cities of Ionia which took part in the revolt against Persia in the years B.C. 500–494 issued an uniform coinage in electrum. So far as I am aware, this discovery has met with general acceptance. It may, however, in consequence of the place where it appeared, not have come fairly before most of those who are interested in Greek history and archaeology. I therefore propose here to state my view somewhat more in detail, and to trace certain corollaries which are as yet unpublished.

I need not go through the story of the Ionian Revolt, as narrated by Herodotus: it is fair to assume that every scholar is familiar with it. It may, however, be well here to mention the cities, the names of which occur in this section of the story of Herodotus, with the definite facts recorded of them, as the issues of coins would probably be civic issues. It was Miletus, under the guidance of Aristagoras, which began the revolt (v. 35). It spread rapidly to Mylasa and Termera in Caria, as well as to Mytilene and Cyme. The Ionian cities expelled their tyrants, and set up *στρατηγοί* in their place (v. 37). The Athenians and Eretrians, at the invitation of Aristagoras land at Ephesus, and burn Sardes (v. 101). The Ionians compel the people of Byzantium and the Hellespont, and the Carians, including the Caunians, to join them (v. 103). The Cyprians join them willingly (v. 104), but are reconquered (v. 115). Daurises the Persian reduces Dardanus, Abydus, Percote, Lampsacus, and Paesus in the Troad and Mysia (v. 117). He attacks the Carians unsuccessfully (v. 121). Hymeas the Persian reduces Cius and Gergithus and other places in the Troad (v. 122). The Persians take Clazomenae and Cyme (v. 123). Aristagoras departs in despair to Thrace, where he dies, leaving the government of Miletus to Pythagoras (v. 126). The Chians capture Histiaeus, but afterwards release him, and he goes to Lesbos, thence to Byzantium (vi. 5). The battle of Lade, in which Miletus has 80 ships, Chios 100, Samos 60, Priene 12, Myns 3, Teos 17, Erythrae 8, Phocaea 3, Lesbos 70. [Notably absent are Ephesus and Lebedus] (vi. 8).

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. 1908.

Flight of the Samians and Lesbians. Desperate resistance of the Chians : Persian victory (vi. 15). A band of Chian fugitives cut off by Ephesians (vi. 16). Taking of Miletus (vi. 19). Samians sail to Sicily (vi. 22) : their temples spared (vi. 25). Histiaeus gains possession of Chios (vi. 26). The Persians reduce Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, also the cities of the Hellespont, Chersonesus, Perinthus, Selymbria, and Byzantium. The people of Byzantium and Chalcedon escape to Mesembria. The people of Cyzicus had already submitted unattacked to the Persian satrap of Dascylium (vi. 33). Mardonius the Persian comes to Ionia : he puts down the tyrants, and establishes democracies (vi. 43). Artaphernes having already established a federal system among the cities, so that their disputes should be amicably settled, he measured out their territories, and arranged tribute on the basis of that which they had paid before the revolt : an arrangement which endured (vi. 42).

Such being the facts recorded by Herodotus, let us next see what is the extant numismatic evidence. There is a well-marked and homogeneous set of coins in electrum, evidently contemporary one with another, and struck on the coast of Asia Minor about B.C. 500. Some of them are of certain, or almost certain, attribution ; others are of quite uncertain mint. The reverse of all is uniform : an incuse square divided into four squares. The weight is also uniform : they are staters of the Milesian standard, weighing from 216 to 218 grains, grammes 13·98 to 14·09. The obverse types are as follows :—<sup>2</sup>

1. Sphinx seated to r. : in front, bunch of grapes (Pl. VII. 1).
2. Forepart of bull r., looking back (Pl. VII. 2).
3. Eagle to l. looking back, standing on hare (Pl. VII. 3).
4. Eagle to l. looking back ; in front a dolphin.
5. Forepart of winged boar to r. (Pl. VII. 4).
6. Forepart of winged horse to l. ; above, leaf-pattern (Pl. VII. 5).
7. Horse galloping to l. ; beneath, leaf (Pl. VII. 6).
8. Sow walking to r. (Pl. VII. 7).
9. Cock to r. ; above, palmette (Pl. VII. 10).

The similarity of these coins one to another in fabric and art, in weight, and even in colour had long ago struck numismatists. In 1890 M. J. P. Six maintained that they were all issued from the mint of Chios.<sup>3</sup> M. Babelon<sup>4</sup> did not accept this view ; but he held that the coins, in view of their identical fabric, must have been issued either from a single mint, or by a group of closely allied cities.

As to their date the authorities differ rather widely. M. Six thinks of the end of the fifth century : M. Babelon gives them to une époque assez

<sup>2</sup> It does not seem necessary to give a detailed list of examples : such a list will be found in Babelon, *Traité*, ii. 1, pp. 191-8 ; Head, *Cat. Ionia*, pp. 7-8 ; Six, *Num. Chronicle*, 1890,

pp. 215-218.

<sup>3</sup> *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 215.

<sup>4</sup> *Traité des Monn. gr. et rom.* ii. 1, 198.

avancée dans le cinquième siècle ? These views seem to me impossible. The art, though fine, is distinctly archaic, and after B.C. 490 there were no issues of electrum staters in Asia, except at the privileged mints of Cyzicus, Phocaea, Lampsacus, and Mytilene.

Mr. Head's view of date is much nearer the mark. As early as 1887<sup>5</sup> he accepted for the coins of this class the date of the beginning of the fifth century B.C. In 1892 he observed<sup>6</sup> that they probably began to be struck before B.C. 500.

If we accept, as I think we must, the view that this group of coins was issued on the Ionian coast about B.C. 500 by a group of allied cities, that is tantamount to saying that they are the money of the Ionian Revolt. It is strange that numismatists should have missed so obvious a corollary. The staters are of fairly uniform weight and composition, containing some 30 per cent. of gold and 70 per cent. of silver.<sup>7</sup> They are thus, if we reckon the proportionate value of gold to silver as 13 to 1, equivalent to 78 grains (5·05 grammes) of gold, or 1012 grains (65·65 grammes) of silver.

It is well known that the early electrum coins of Asia differ in a marked degree in weight and in composition. The proportion of gold contained in them may be anything between one tenth and two thirds or more. How they can have exchanged against one another under these circumstances has long been a puzzle to numismatists. This fact makes it the more remarkable to find a series like the present more carefully regulated and more exact in value. Nothing could be more characteristic of a developed civilization and art. It is to be observed that their intrinsic value would be about 13 Persian silver shekels or 20 Milesian silver drachms. And as the daric was equivalent to 20 Persian shekels, these electrum coins would be of two thirds of the value of the daric and contain like it 20 of the local silver drachms. However, this whole matter is obscure: we have reason to think that the early electrum of Ionia often circulated at a valuation higher than its composition would warrant.

At a somewhat later time, as we learn from the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, a daric or a Cyzicene stater per month was the ordinary pay of a mercenary soldier. He tells us that when the Greek mercenaries of Cyrus learned that they were to march against the Great King, they demanded higher pay; and Cyrus promised them a daric and a half a month, in the place of a daric, which they had so far received.<sup>8</sup> Later these Greek soldiers were offered, by Timasion, a Cyzicene stater a month:<sup>9</sup> and Seuthes the Thracian made a similar offer.<sup>10</sup> This being the case, it seems not unreasonable to think that the coins which we are considering, of somewhat lower value than the daric and the Cyzicene, represent each a month's pay of a mercenary. No doubt

<sup>5</sup> *Num. Chron.* 1887, p. 281.

<sup>6</sup> *Br. Mus. Cat. Ionia*; Introduction, p.

gold.

<sup>8</sup> *Anab.* i. 3, 21.

xxv.

<sup>9</sup> v. 6, 23.

<sup>7</sup> Six, *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 218: the variation is really from 40 to 20 per cent. of

<sup>10</sup> vii. 3, 10.

the sailors and soldiers of the Ionian fleet were in the main not mercenaries, but citizens. Yet the poorer would require pay.

The issue of an uniform coinage by a set of allied cities is in later Greece an ordinary phenomenon. There is the set of coins struck by Rhodes, Samos, Ephesus, and other cities of the Ionian coast after the victory of Conon at Cnidus, and the expulsion of Spartan governors in 394. In that case the type of reverse is the same, young Heracles strangling the snakes; and the inscription ΣΥΝ (*συνμαχία*) records the alliance. Later we have the coinage of the Achaean League, of the Lycian League, and other confederacies. The earliest issue of the kind took place among the Greek cities of Southern Italy about the middle of the sixth century: each of the cities retaining its own types, while the fabric of the incuse reverse (obverse type reversed) is identical in all, as is the monetary standard. Numismatists are agreed that the appearance of this uniform coinage proves some kind of alliance to have existed among the Greek cities; but the nature of it is doubtful. I think that those who suppose it to prove the existence of some sort of Pythagorean brotherhood throughout Magna Graecia go beyond the evidence; for we do not know that the influence of Pythagoras had much effect on polities. It is clear, however, that this Italian coinage might serve as a precedent to the Ionian cities. In the case of these latter we have more definite proof not merely of a confederation of cities, but even of a federal unity. For Herodotus represents the envoys sent by the Ionians to stir up a revolt in Cyprus as saying Ἡμέας ἀπέπεμψε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων: and this word *κοινόν* implies a close union.

The assignment of the coins above mentioned to particular cities involves some difficulty. No. 1 bears the ordinary type of Chios, the sphinx, and was almost certainly struck in that city. This coin is No. 334 in the list of M. Babelon.<sup>11</sup> When we compare it with other electrum staters of Chios we find that it is later than some of them and earlier than others; the earlier being of the same monetary standard. That is to say, it is a member of a continuous series of coins, and no exceptional piece. In this respect it differs, as we shall see, from the rest of the coins of the set; and it is at once suggested to us, that it is Chios which is the true originator of the whole coinage, other cities merely falling into line, and adopting the Chian standard. This completely accords with the position taken by the Chians among the allies: they furnished the largest contingent of the fleet, and were the last to fly at Lade. In the sixth century Chios was very

<sup>11</sup> *Traité*, ii. 1, p. 191. The coin is said to be at S. Petersburg, and is published by M. Six, *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 216, No. 2 bis. I owe a cast to the kindness of Dr. Imhoof. It is by mistake that I inserted in the plate which accompanies my paper in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* a somewhat more archaic coin of Chios. In fact some of the archaic

coins of that island have been usually connected with the series which we are now considering. It seems better to give them to the middle of the sixth century, and to suppose a break in time between them and the coin in our plate, which is of fully developed though somewhat unusual archaic style.

flourishing; and the works of the Chian sculptors Archermus and his sons had influence far and wide.

Indeed, some numismatists might even be disposed, in view of the great uniformity of the coins, to give them, as did M. Six, all to the mint of Chios; to hold that Chios became the banker of the League, and struck money for the various cities with their own types. This is possible, but improbable: it is far more likely that each city issued its own coins. To take the nearest parallel, we do not suppose that the early incuse coins of South Italy were issued at a single mint; but their fabric is even more notably uniform than is the case in Ionia.

No. 2 is almost certainly Samian. The half bull is the ordinary type of Samos in later times: the reversion of the head is according to the fashion of art at the time.

No. 3 is probably of Abydos, the type of which city is an eagle. No. 4 may also be of Abydos; but the eagle standing on a dolphin is the ordinary type of the Pontic city of Sinope, a colony of Miletus, which may have followed the fortunes of the parent city. Abydos joined the Ionian League but was soon reduced by Daurises.

No. 5 bears the type of Clazomenae, which city was also reconquered by the Persians before the battle of Lade.

No. 6 is certainly of Lampsacus. It is of different standard from the other electrum coins of Lampsacus,<sup>12</sup> which are of Phocaean weight, and was evidently struck on a special occasion. M. Babelon observes that it 'permet d'affirmer que Lampsaque conclut, à un moment donné, avec Chios et sans doute, d'autres villes, un traité d'alliance monétaire.' It is strange that, having gone so far, M. Babelon should not have thought of the Ionian Revolt; doubtless he would have done so but for his opinion of the late date of the coins.

No. 7 may be of Cyme in Aeolis, the usual type of which city is in later times the forepart of a horse. Cyme and Lampsacus both joined the Ionian Revolt at first.

No. 8 is sometimes attributed to Methymna in Lesbos. This attribution is, however, very doubtful, as the early type of the city is a boar not a sow; and in relation to mythology the distinction of gender is important.

No. 9 is given, with more reason, to Dardanus. Dardanus was one of the cities reduced by Daurises. Pollux (ix. 84) states that the monetary type of Dardanus was the cock; and this statement is borne out by the coins of the city.

It thus appears that all the coins of the series which we are considering are attributed either with certainty, or at least with some degree of probability, to cities which joined the revolt. But it is noteworthy that several of these cities were reconquered by the Persians some time before the battle of Lade: the monetary convention then must have been formed quite early. And the notable phrase in which Herodotus speaks of the Ionians at the beginning of

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<sup>12</sup> Babelon, *Traité*, ii. 1. p. 187.

the revolt, as *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ιάνων*, suggests that there was formed from the first a regular federation; the alliance was not a mere collection of detached cities, but a deliberate attempt to create an Ionian nationality. It was in some senses an anticipation of the League of Delos. That no electrum coins have yet made their appearance which we can attribute to Miletus, Priene, Teos, or Mytilene may of course be merely an accident: we must be on the lookout for them.

Let us consider the place in monetary history of the coins of the League. In the seventh, or perhaps even in the eighth century B.C., the cities of Ionia and the Lydians began the issue of electrum coins, the earliest coins known to us; which circulated in abundance on the coast of Asia. Such coins were, however, probably not issued in Europe, where the earliest coins were of silver. In the middle of the sixth century King Croesus of Lydia made a deliberate attempt to substitute for the coinages of electrum a royal money of gold, the stater weighing about 126 grains (8·17 grammes). Whether Croesus made any attempt to close the Ionian mints of electrum we cannot be sure. But when Cyrus conquered Croesus, and the Persian rule came down to the sea, the Persian King deliberately adopted and continued the policy of Croesus in regard to gold coin. The Croesean gold stater was succeeded by the gold daric, of nearly the same weight, 130 grains, 8·42 grammes. Whatever may have been the action of Croesus, it is clear that the Persian kings claimed a monopoly in the issue of gold. The mints of Ionia were allowed to coin in silver, but the coinage in electrum was brought to an end. Among the extant money in electrum, there is none which we can satisfactorily assign to the period B.C. 550-500. Thus the revival of an electrum coinage was an act of rebellion in itself, a claim to be independent of Persia.

The Ionian coinage was in a manner continued after the suppression of the revolt. The well known and beautiful series of the electrum staters of Cyzicus begins just at the time when the Ionian coinage ceases, and goes on to the middle of the fourth century. The Cyzicene staters do not follow the Milesian standard, nor do they stand quite alone. Lampsacus, Mytilene, Phocaea all issue electrum staters or hectac on certain occasions. But the position of Cyzicus in coinage is unique. This may be to some extent explained by the fact that Cyzicus alone among the revolted cities came back to Persian rule without resistance and without punishment. Generally speaking, the Ionian cities were treated with clemency, an exception being made in the case of Miletus. Indeed the Persians treated them with far more leniency than they would have shewn to one another in case of capture, and the coinage of Cyzicus may be regarded as at first a general Ionian currency, and later as a coinage specially favoured and protected by Athens, especially for the commerce of the Euxine.<sup>13</sup> The King of Persia jealously guarded for himself the issue of gold coin: and the Athenians put down so far as they could the issue of silver money by the cities belonging to

<sup>13</sup> Demosthenes, *Against Phormio*, p. 914.

their Empire. But the electrum money of Cyzicus seems to have been tolerated both by Persia and Athens.

I have as yet spoken only of the electrum staters of the Ionian cities. These constituted the main issues, a fact which would fit in well with my conjecture that each stater represents a month's pay of a sailor or a marine. Fractions in electrum are published by M. Babelon<sup>14</sup> as belonging to this series: at Chios twelfths; at Cyme? twelfths and twenty-fourths with a horse's head for type; at Abydos, forty-eighths. In my opinion these coins are of earlier date; and do not belong. But I think we are able to identify certain silver coins as having been struck as fractions of the staters.

The most distinctive of these are certain coins of LAMPSACUS.

Forepart of winged horse = Incuse square.

Wt. 103–105 grains (6·67–6·80 grammes) (Pl. VII. 8).

19–20 " (1·28–1·29 " ) (Pl. VII. 11).

*Br. Mus. Cat. Mysia*, p. 78. Pl. XVIII, 4–6.

These coins are given in the catalogue to B.C. 500, and their fine careful archaic style well suits that period. But a noteworthy fact is that they follow the Milesian standard, of which they are didrachms, and probably diobols respectively, thus representing the tenth and the sixtieth (or fiftieth) of the electrum stater.

The Milesian standard of weight is usually confined to Southern Ionia, to Samos, Ephesus, Rhodes, etc. This standard is not used for other coins of Lampsacus, nor by other cities of the Propontis. There is only one period at which such coins were likely to be issued, and that is the time of the Ionian Revolt, when the Milesian standard was for a time accepted as national. Closely similar to these are coins of ERYTHRÆ. Didrachms, and tetrobols.

Horseman on horse cantering to r.= Incuse square.

Wt. 108–9 grains (7–7·06 grammes) (Pl. VII. 9).

36 " (2·33 " ) (Pl. VII. 12).

*Br. Mus. Cat. Ionia*, p. 118. Pl. XV. 1.

CLAZOMENAE. Didrachms, drachms, and diobols.

Forepart of winged boar flying to r.= Incuse square.

Wt. 104–108 grains (6·73–7 grammes) (Pl. VII. 14).

41–51 " (2·65–3·30 " ) (Pl. VII. 13).

15–18 " (9·71–1·16 " ) (Pl. VII. 15).

*Ibid.* p. 17. Pl. VI. 1–3.

These coins are in style and fabric identical with the above-cited coins of Lampsacus. The incuse of the reverse at first sight looks somewhat early. But the types are careful and highly finished. The editors of the British Museum catalogues give them to the time B.C. 500–480, and it can scarcely be doubted that this is right. The art is just like that of the Ionian staters. Erythrae after B.C. 490 goes over to the Persian monetary standard, Clazomenae either ceases to coin, or strikes small divisions of Attic weight.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Traité*, ii. 1, pp. 190–8.

<sup>15</sup> *Br. Mus. Cat. Ionia*, pp. 18, 119.

I have already observed that probably 20 silver drachms went to the stater of electrum.

A little searching brings to light other silver coins which seem to belong to the same time :—

MILETUS<sup>16</sup>—Tetrobols and diobols.

Lion to r.=Star in incuse.

Wt. 31–32 grains (2·0–2·07 grammes) (Pl. VII. 16).

Forepart of lion with head turned back = Star in incuse.

Wt. 16–19 grains (1·03–1·23 grammes) (Pl. VII. 18).

Mr. Head gives these coins to the period after B.C. 478. But the larger denomination corresponds in weight (roughly) with the coin of Erythrae: the smaller denomination with the coins of Clazomenae. And as Miletus was utterly destroyed in 494, and the surviving inhabitants carried away to the mouth of the Tigris, it is probable that the coinage then ceased, and indeed was not renewed until the break-up of Athenian domination at the end of the fifth century.<sup>17</sup> The coins of other cities, such as Ephesus, which ordinarily used the Milesian standard, are not easily dated with exactness.

CHIOS. Tetrobols.

It may have been on this occasion that Chios issued the series of silver coins having on the obverse a sphinx and an amphora, and on the reverse an incuse square quartered, which have the weight of 36–40 grains (2·33–2·60 grammes) (Pl. VII. 19). *Br. Mus. Cat. Ionia* p. 329. Pl. XXXII. 5. For the other coins of these types, belonging to the middle of the fifth century are of a much heavier standard, 50–56 grains (3·24–3·62 grammes).

Such are the coins of electrum and of silver which I have up to the present been able to connect with the Ionian Revolt. The search may perhaps be carried further. In any case the establishment of fixed dates for coins at so many cities must needs help us considerably in the arrangement of the monetary issues of those cities in chronological order. Fixed dates are the first necessity of the historically minded numismatist.

A certain amount of objective light is thrown back on the character of the Revolt. Herodotus, carried on by his dramatic genius, is naturally disposed to exaggerate the part taken in the history of the Revolt by interesting personalities. Nothing could be more impersonal than the coins. They bear no names of leaders, nor even of cities: they belong primarily to the *κοινὸν τῶν Ἰωνῶν*; and they suggest that had the revolt succeeded, other things than coins would have been held in common by the cities, perhaps even a powerful state might have arisen. Indeed we have in Herodotus a hint that, though the attempt failed, it yet had some result in counter-acting the excessive autonomy of the cities of Ionia. He records with surprise the leniency of the Persian victors, who, in place of selling the people as slaves, delivered them from their tyrants, established something

<sup>16</sup> *Br. Mus. Cat. Ionia*, pp. 185–6. Pl. xxi. 4–3.

<sup>17</sup> Several of these coins of Miletus occur in

a find of coins in Egypt, of which few are later than about B.C. 500. *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 4.

like a federal arrangement among them,<sup>18</sup> and put upon them no heavier tribute than they had borne before the revolt. It may be that this leniency was a piece of Persian policy, in view of the contemplated invasion of Hellas. If so, it was very successful; for a great part of the fleet of Xerxes at Salamis consisted of Ionian ships; and some of them were zealous in the Persian service. Xerxes is said to have treated the accusation of treason brought by the Phoenicians against the Ionians as a vile calumny. It is quite in accord with this that an international or inter-civic coinage in electrum by Cyzicus was allowed by the Satrap of Dascylium. If at most cities of the Ionian coast silver coinage is rare in the fifth century, the fault lies not in Persian oppression, but in the jealousy of the Athenians, who wherever they were able stopped native issues of coins to the profit of their own silver *owls*, abundant materials for which were furnished by Thrace and Laurium.

Thucydides<sup>19</sup> tells us that it was at the special and earnest request of the Ionians that the Athenians, setting aside the hegemony of Pausanias, founded the Delian League, which may thus in a sense be considered the outcome of the Ionian Revolt, just as the coinage of the Cyzicene staters may be regarded as the outcome of the money of the revolt. That the Ionian cities so readily transferred their loyalty, first to Persia, and then to Athens, may be explained by the fact that in each of the cities there was a Medizing party and an Atticizing party, which gained power in turn accordingly as the star of Persia or of Athens was in the ascendant. But after the crushing defeat of Lade, the hope of founding an Ionian commonwealth was extinct. Perhaps we may regard the alliance proved by coins to have existed between Rhodes, Ephesus, Samos, Cnidus, Iasus, and other cities after the victory of Conon at Cnidus in 394 B.C. as a short-lived attempt to galvanize the corpse.

The Ionian Revolt seems to have left some trace of its influence on the coinage of Cyprus. Evelthon, king of Salamis in that island, had a long reign of some thirty-five years from B.C. 560 to 525. He issued an extensive coinage, in the early part of his reign with flat reverse, in the later part of his reign with a type on the reverse:—

*Obv.* Ram lying down: the name of the king in Cypriote characters.

*Rev.* Ankh, or crux ansata, with various letters and lesser devices.

Mr. Hill, however, in his admirable catalogue of coins of Cyprus,<sup>20</sup> adopts and enforces the view before advocated by M. Six<sup>21</sup> that many of the coins which bear the name of Evelthon were really minted by his successors. And in view of their style and fabric, this view seems to me almost beyond doubt. Among the coins which bear the name of Evelthon, and the crux ansata as reverse type, some have within the circle of the crux ansata the Cypriote sign which stands for ΚΥ; and of these some date from the time of Evelthon,

<sup>18</sup> Hdt. vi. 42. συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὸν  
“Ιωνας ἡνάγκασε ποιέσθαι, ἵνα δωστίδικοι εἶν,  
καὶ μὴ ἄλληλους φέροιέν τε καὶ ἔχοιεν.

<sup>19</sup> i. 95.

<sup>20</sup> Br. Mus. Cat. Cyprus, p. lxxxviii.

<sup>21</sup> Revue Numism. 1883, p. 265.

some are of the later class (Pl. VII. 17).<sup>22</sup> ΚΥ, as Deecke observed, probably stands for *Kυπρίων*, and we may regard it as marking the money as belonging to the whole island, not to Salamis alone. When ΚΥ appears on the coins struck by Evelthon himself, it may signify that he was, under the king of Egypt, the ruler of the whole island.<sup>23</sup> So, when it appears on the later money, it would seem to belong to a time when all the island was united for some purpose. Precisely such an union was produced when the Ionian emissaries visited Cyprus, to stir it to revolt. The king of Salamis, Gorgus, held out for the Persian King, and was deposed; but his brother Onesilus succeeded in uniting against the Persians all the cities of Cyprus except Amathus. Thus when we find on the coins of the successors of Evelthon the sign ΚΥ, while we agree with Mr. Hill in assigning them to the very beginning of the sixth century, we may be disposed to regard them as belonging not to the reign of Gorgus, but to the time of the usurpation of Onesilus and his anti-Persian campaign. Onesilus was soon defeated and slain, but the leader of an army is always likely to issue coins for the expenses of a campaign.

With the death of Onesilus the Cyprian attempt at independence came to an end. But the idea was from time to time revived. When we find the signs ΒΑ and ΚΥ on the fifth-century coins of a certain Evanthes,<sup>24</sup> a king of Salamis unmentioned by the historians, and known only from coins, we may suspect that these letters stand for *βασιλέως Κυπρίων*, and that this unknown ruler also struck a blow for Cyprian independence. An alternative view is, however, suggested by Mr. Hill. Evanthes may have been the Phoenician adventurer, who according to Isocrates worked his way into power at Salamis, expelling the Greek king (name not mentioned), barbarizing the whole island, and bringing it into subjection to the Great King.<sup>25</sup> Evanthes sounds like a Greek name; but it may be only a Greek version of a Semitic name, just as Simeon became in Greek Simon and Joshua Jason. Between these possibilities we can scarcely decide. Later, in the fourth century, the great Evagoras maintained his independence with success.

It is extremely satisfactory to find that our study of the coins of the time of the Ionian Revolt does not usually suggest for those coins dates other than those accepted in the best numismatic works, and especially those laid down by the authors of the British Museum Catalogues. It seems that our dating of Greek coins has reached a high degree of accuracy; and we may now even in some cases use the numismatic dates for supplementing or correcting the statements of ancient historians.

P. GARDNER.

<sup>22</sup> *Cat. Cyprus*, pp. 48-50.

may perhaps be ΧΥ.

<sup>23</sup> So Babelon, *Traité*, p. 586.

<sup>25</sup> Isocrates, *Eragoras*, 22-24. Cf. Hill, *Cat.*

<sup>24</sup> *Cat. Cyprus*, p. xvii. The ΚΥ, however,

*Cyprus*, p. xvii.



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