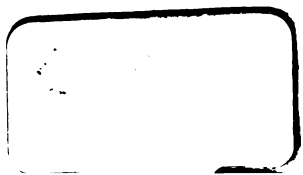




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ON THE  
CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE  
OF THE  
COINS OF EPHESUS.

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ON THE  
CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE  
OF THE  
COINS OF EPHEBUS.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN the following pages I propose to attempt for the most famous and splendid of the ancient cities of Asia, Ephesus, that which some years ago I did for the greatest Greek city of the west, Syracuse; viz., to arrange in chronological sequence the series of its coinage from the earliest times down to the epoch of the consolidation of the Roman Empire by Augustus.

The interest which the Ephesian coins have for us is historical and mythological. From an artistic standpoint they are, unlike those of Syracuse or of Elis, and chiefly on account of the general uniformity of type which prevails from first to last, of comparatively slight value.

For the archæologist, on the other hand, they may be made of very great use. Ere long it may be even possible to fix the dates of many of them within narrower limits than can now be attempted, and thus to reconstruct as it were the magisterial Fasti of Ephesus from the time when the name of the Eponymus first makes its appearance on the coinage down to the Imperial Period.

One of the most pregnant inquiries in the whole domain of ancient numismatics is that which concerns itself with the various names of magistrates which are so frequent on

the coins both in autonomous and Imperial times. It is one, moreover, which has been much neglected; so much so indeed that the compilers of sale catalogues often consider it quite needless to give the names which occur on coins to be sold, contenting themselves with such vague descriptions as "magistrate's name in field," "all various magistrates," &c. &c.

If I am able to bring home to the minds of some of these gentlemen the very great historical and archaeological interest which attaches itself to a complete series of the magistrates' names of any one city, my labours will not have been fruitless.

In the case of Ephesus it will be my endeavour to show who the magistrate was who places his name upon the money of the State, and what was the length of his term of office, and thus from the number of extant names on the money of each particular class to calculate the relative duration of the respective issues, and so to assign each to a particular historical period of greater or lesser length.

I must caution my readers, however, against supposing that I have been led to attribute any single class of coins to any given period simply *because* the number of magistrates' names happened to tally with the length of that period. I arranged the small collection in the British Museum *by style* in what seemed to me chronological order, under successive historical periods, before proceeding to compile the mass of magistrates' names comprised in the volumes of Mionnet and in other catalogues, and I may add that it was an agreeable surprise to me to find that in every single instance the total number of names which I was able to collect from all sources corresponded very closely with the number of years in the period to which I had already on other grounds assigned the coins.

My best thanks are due to M. Six and to Dr. Imhoof-Blumer; to the former for valuable lists of names which might otherwise have escaped my notice, and to the latter for descriptions of all the coins of Ephesus, many of them unpublished, in his fine collection. Prof. Dr. H. Brunn, of Munich; M. Chabouillet, of Paris; Dr. J. Friedländer, of Berlin, and Dr. F. Kenner, of Vienna, have also kindly allowed me to have casts of coins from the collections under their charge.

In the presence of such works as those of Guhl, Falkener, Curtius, and Wood, it would be superfluous to repeat all the details of a history which extends over more than a thousand years.

Nevertheless as one, though by no means the main object of the series of monographs of which this is the third,<sup>1</sup> is to popularise the science of numismatics, I have thought it well to unite to the strictly numismatic history enough of the general political and religious history of Ephesus as may interest those who have not made a special study of Greek coins.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Syracuse, 1874, by B. V. Head, and Elis, 1879, by Percy Gardner, being the two first.

<sup>2</sup> I have not thought it necessary to encumber my pages with more references than are absolutely unavoidable. Those who wish to refer to the original sources of our knowledge of Ephesian affairs should consult Guhl, "Ephesiaca," Berlin, 1848; Falkener, "Ephesus and the Temple of Diana," London, 1862; Curtius, E., "Ephesus," Berlin, 1874; Wood, "Discoveries at Ephesus," London, 1877; and for the general history of later times Droysen's "Geschichte des Hellenismus," Gotha, 1877, and Waddington's "Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques," part i., Paris, 1872, where all the requisite references will be found. In the historical portions of this paper I have made frequent use of the works of Guhl, Droysen, and especially Curtius, whose highly suggestive monograph is not easily accessible to English readers.

## PRE-HISTORIC AND LEGENDARY PERIOD.

"In Ionia," says Herodotus (ii. 106), "there are two representations of Sesostris, sculptured on rocks, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, and the other on that from Sardes to Smyrna; and in each case a man is engraved four cubits and a span high, holding a spear in the right hand and a bow in the left, the rest of his costume being similarly partly Egyptian and partly Ethiopic; and from the one shoulder to the other run sacred Egyptian characters engraved, of the following purport:—*I won this land with my own shoulders.* But who he is and whence he came is not stated there."

These remarkable figures, which Herodotus believed to represent the Egyptian king Sesostris, are still to be seen *in situ*, and have been lately identified by Mr. Sayce and other scholars as memorials, not of Sesostris, but of the great enemy of Sesostris, a king of the Kheta or Hittites.

One of them is engraved in Texier's "Asie Mineure" (ii. Pl. 132), and the inscription, which still remains on it, is written in Hittite, not in Egyptian hieroglyphs.

Other Hittite monuments have also been discovered at Ibreez in Lycaonia, and in Galatia, near the river Halys, as well as at Jerablus, the ancient Carchemish on the Euphrates, a capital of the Hittite Empire. It may, therefore, be considered as all but proved that at some remote period, before 1200 B.C., the Hittites were supreme from the Euphrates on the one side throughout Asia

Minor, as far as the shores of the Ægean on the other. The story of the war between Rameses II., the Sesostris of the Greeks (circ. 1400 B.C.), and the Hittites has been immortalised by the contemporary Egyptian poet Pentaur; and among the allies of the Hittites mentioned in this Egyptian text the names (as read by Egyptologists) of the people of Ilion, Pedasos, Dardanus, Mysia, and Lycia are conspicuous. The Hittite Empire was the earliest of the three great Oriental powers (Hittites, Lydians, and Persians) which succeeded each other in the interior of Asia Minor, and from contact and intercourse with them the mixed populations of the great river valleys and of the coast received the germs of their early art, religion, and letters.

The Hittite capital in hither Asia Minor was doubtless Sardes, then, as later, rich in gold; and to the governor or satrap of Sardes the inhabitants of the valleys of the Caïcus, the Hermus, the Caÿster, and the Mæander were then, as later, tributary.

The distinction between the great central table-land of Asia Minor and the low-lying valleys of the four great rivers which empty themselves into the Ægean Sea must be borne in mind if we would clearly comprehend the conflicting tendencies of Oriental and Western thought and civilisation in this border-land between the East and the West. "A line drawn from Constantinople straight through Asia Minor to the Lycian Sea," says Curtius (*Hist. Gr., Eng. Tr.* vol. i. p. 5), "roughly indicates the degree of longitude at which the masses of table-land suddenly break off, where the country is everywhere broken up into natural divisions, and in wide fertile river-courses opens towards the sea, which runs to meet them in numerous bays. Here is, as it were, the beginning of a

new world—of another country which resembles a border of a different material woven on to a garment.” This border-land, which, though attached to Asia, belongs by nature to European Greece, was from very early times the home of a mixed population, of which one element was the remnant of the Old Ionic stock, the main body of which had passed across the sea in still earlier ages into European Greece. Side by side with these people of Ionic race were Carians and Leleges, and here and there on projecting headland or in sheltered bay was an outlying station of Phœnician traders, from whom the nations received, together with a different system of weights from that which was used in the interior by the Hittites and their Lydian and Phrygian successors, different religious ideas and a different and more simple mode of writing, which appears to have been almost universally adopted except in Lycia, Caria, and other districts, where many of the older characters remained in use probably because the Phœnician alphabet furnished no equivalents.

One of these Phœnician stations was (as Curtius believes) in the bay at the mouth of the river Caÿster, and here in the rich alluvial plain they may have introduced the cultus of their protecting goddess of the sea and of trade, Astarte. But this point is doubtful. Thus much, however, is certain, that under a variety of names a Nature goddess was worshipped throughout the whole of hither Asia, and it is not at all improbable that this widely extended cult may have been due rather to Hittite than to Phœnician influence.

In the case of the Artemis of Ephesus, the Artemis of Perga, the Artemis Leucophryne of Magnesia, the Hera of Samos, and other primitive Asiatic deities, the types as



we know them from the coins are so remarkable that no one can fail to note their thoroughly Oriental character.

The Ephesian goddess is represented as a female figure, the body a mere trunk, with the feet placed close together. The resemblance to an Egyptian mummy is almost as striking as that of the sculptured Hittite king to Sesostris. On the chest of the goddess are numerous breasts, to show that she was regarded as the mother of all living creatures, the embodiment of the life-giving principle; below are various symbols, such as bees, flowers, fruit, &c., and heads of bulls and lions. From each of her outstretched arms hangs a long fillet with tassels at the extremities. On either side stands a stag, raising its head to the hands of the goddess for food. With these and many other symbols, among which the crescent moon may be mentioned, the priests who conducted her sacred rites sought to express the idea that their goddess was identical with Nature herself presiding over all that grows and lives upon the earth, in the air, and in the waters.

By what people, or precisely at what time, the first sanctuary of this goddess was erected on the Cayster we are unable to affirm. A hollow tree, for aught we know, may have contained the first rude wooden image of the goddess which men said had fallen from the skies. At a later stage, but still in very remote ages, an organized hierarchy of priests and priestesses was established in this spot. In their service were bands of women as well as of men, who dwelt around the sanctuary. The inviolability of the sacred territory for some distance around would naturally attract settlers, and thus a nucleus of trade was gradually formed under the protection of a sacerdotal establishment which, as time went on, attained a wider and wider reputation and predominance.

The constitution of this hierarchy was in all probability the same in this early period as in later times. At the head of the college of priests was the high priest, 'Εσθήν (the King Bee), called also by the Persian title Megabyzus ("God-given"). The priestesses bore the name of Melissæ, or Bees. This insect was, as we shall see, one of the most distinctive symbols of the Ephesian goddess, and may have represented the ideas of virginity, of organization, and of the pure nourishment of honey.

This vast sacerdotal beehive, and the village which grew up under its protection, maintained the most friendly relations with the surrounding peoples, until in the eleventh century B.C. an event occurred which powerfully influenced the whole future course of history in these regions. This was the great reflux of the Greeks from Europe back into Asia, commonly called the Ionic Migration.

The new colonists arrived in numerous bands, and proceeded to settle on all the most favoured spots on the western coast of Asia Minor, everywhere driving out the Asiatic inhabitants and uniting themselves with the old Ionian stock, which had never thoroughly amalgamated with the non-Greek population.

These new Ionian immigrants had attained in European Greece to a degree of civilisation far exceeding that of the old stock which had remained behind. With their arrival begins a new period in the history of Asia Minor, the period of the rule of the noble families, such as the Neleïdæ at Miletus and the Codridæ at Ephesus, the latter led by Androclus, one of the younger sons of Codrus, the last King of Athens, circ. B.C. 1044. They did not, however, effect a settlement at the mouth of the Cayster without a strenuous opposition on the part of the Carians and Leleges; and their contests with the armed virgins

who fought in defence of the temple of the goddess are among the most famous of the early Greek legends, always supposing that the combats of the Greeks and the Amazons had any historical basis whatever.

In order to understand the relative positions of the new Ionian settlers and the dwellers around the temple, it will be necessary to give in this place a slight sketch of the topography of Ephesus as it has been lately elucidated by the investigations of Mr. Wood during a prolonged stay of eleven years on this spot.

From its sources among the vine-clad slopes of Mount Tmolus, the river Cayster winds through broad and fertile plains for a distance of nearly a hundred miles, until it enters a narrow maritime plain shut off from the great central valley above by the projecting spurs of Pactyas and Gallesius.

In this plain, and a little to the south of the Cayster, rises an isolated fortified hill called Mount Solmissus, between the little streams once called Cenchrius and Selinus, tributaries of the Cayster.

In a grove between these little rivers, and protected by a fort on the hill Solmissus, stood the ancient sanctuary of the Ephesian goddess, and here, at the modern Turkish village of Ayasalouk, Mr. Wood discovered the remains of three successive temples of Artemis. Here on the level ground were clustered in the pre-Ionic age the dwellings of the mixed population which owed allegiance and paid their rents to the hierarchy of their tutelary goddess. Leaving the temple behind us, and proceeding westwards for the distance of about a mile, we approach the ruins of the Greek city of Ephesus itself. Climbing a hill of moderate elevation, which rises in the middle of the plain, and which Mr. Wood has identified as Mount Coresus, and looking towards the setting sun, we see at our feet

the ruins of the Great Theatre, the scene of the riot described in Acts xix. Beyond this was the oblong city port, connected by a long narrow canal with the Caÿster, which it joins about two miles below the city. At the junction of the canal and the river was a second and larger port, called Panormus, connected with the sea, still more than two miles farther on, by the stream of the Caÿster itself. Thus the city of Ephesus was at least four miles from the sea, and the Artemision more than five miles inland.

Skirting the south side of the city, and at right angles to Mount Coressus, was the lofty and serrated ridge of Mount Prion (the Saw, cf. the Spanish *sierra*), along the crest of which the ruins of the city wall may still be seen. "The summit of Mount Prion" (says Mr. Wood, p. 8) "commands a very beautiful and extensive view. The river Caÿster, winding like a white ribbon through the plain, forms in its course numerous small peninsulæ. The Selinusian lakes, the village and castle on the hill (Mount Solmissus) at Ayasalouk, the bay of Scala Nova (the ancient Neapolis), the mountainous island of Samos, and the still more mountainous coast beyond, the snow-capped Tmolus to the north, and the ruined city mapped out at the feet of the spectator: these, with countless other objects of interest, seen through the lustrous atmosphere of Asia Minor, make up a panorama of exquisite beauty. Although my sojourn there was extended over the greater part of eleven years, I never became weary of the scenery by which I was surrounded, for the mountains on which my eyes daily rested changed from hour to hour as the sun travelled on in its course, and the desolation of the place was fully compensated by its constant and never-ceasing loveliness."

When Androclus and his Athenians landed on the Ephesian territory it was on Mounts Prion and Coressus that they founded their new city, which thus faced the sea and turned its back, as it were, upon the older settlement, about a mile farther inland, where stood the temple of the strange Asiatic divinity with its college of emasculate priests and warlike women, an object of mingled aversion and awe to the manly yet credulous Ionians.

In the course of the next three centuries the growing repute of the sanctuary of the goddess, while it procured for the priesthood a steadily preponderating increase of wealth and influence, would seem to have reconciled the Greeks in a great measure to the worship of the outlandish divinity.

They recognised in some of her attributes much that was characteristic of their own Artemis. By this name, therefore, they called her, and as the Artemis of Ephesus she became known along all the coasts where the Greeks had effected settlement. The monarchy founded by Androclus changed in course of time to an aristocracy, and this in its turn yielded to a tyranny.

Meanwhile peaceful relations continued on the whole to be maintained between the Ionians of the coast and the dynasty called the Heraclidæ, who ruled in Lydia after the empire of the Hittites had fallen into decay. It is probable that the Heraclidæ were at first mere vassals of the Hittite monarchy, and that as the latter yielded little by little to the growing power of Assyria, so the kings of Lydia obtained a larger and still larger share of independence. After reigning about five hundred years, this dynasty became extinct on the murder of King Candaules by his wife, in concert with Gyges, one of his bodyguard, circ. B.C. 700.

## PERIOD I. B.C. 700—480.

Gyges, by descent a Carian, became the founder of the dynasty of the Mermnadæ, under whose rule Lydia entered upon a new and independent course of national life. The ties which had bound her to the East were finally severed, and henceforth the direction of her policy is towards the West. The endeavour of the new rulers of the country was to obtain possession of towns on the coast, and thus to create a naval power. The city of Abydos, on the Hellespont, was founded under the auspices of Gyges, and his next step was to secure, if possible, the dominion of the entire Ionian coast. In this project he met with considerable success, but did not live to see the realisation of his dreams. His successor, Ardys, B.C. 660—637, prosecuted the war against the Ionians with uninterrupted ardour, and would, perhaps, have succeeded in uniting the whole coast-line under the dominion of Sardes, had not the invasion of the Cimmerian hordes called off his forces to protect his own territory from the incursions of the barbarians.

The Cimmerians encamped in the valley of the Caÿster, and set fire to the temple of the Ephesian Artemis. The goddess, however, herself intervened, and averted the plunder of her treasures.

Sadyattes, the son of Ardys (B.C. 637—625), after the Cimmerian hordes had been at length finally expelled from Asia Minor, found himself at liberty again to turn

his attention to the West. He laid siege to Miletus, and year after year wasted her fertile lands, but he never succeeded in capturing the city. His son, Alyattes (B.C. 625—568), appears, at any rate in the case of Ephesus, to have sought to gain his ends by more gentle means, for he gave his daughter in marriage to a wealthy citizen of Ephesus named Melas, who probably held the supreme power in his native city. The offspring of this union was Pindarus, who was tyrant of Ephesus when his uncle Cræsus succeeded to the throne of Lydia B.C. 568.

Cræsus, relying, perhaps, upon the family ties which united him to the young ruler of Ephesus, no less than upon his own (now proverbial) wealth and good fortune, sent an embassy to his nephew to demand his submission; but Pindarus refused to yield, and Cræsus laid siege to Ephesus.

One of the towers of the city wall at last gave way, and Cræsus was about to enter the town as a conqueror, when it was discovered that Pindarus had had recourse to a strange expedient. He had attached the walls of the town by a long rope, (one mile in length,) to the sanctuary of the all-powerful goddess in the grove at the back of the city.

Cræsus, who as a Lydian revered the great Asiatic goddess even more than did the Ionian citizens of Ephesus, was thus disarmed. Ephesus had *ipso facto* placed herself under the protection of the deity, and by this artifice (if artifice it were) obtained favourable terms from the king. Pindarus, however, was expelled. Under the rule of Cræsus the influence of the goddess and of her priesthood was largely extended. The first great temple then in course of construction began to assume that gorgeous character which gained for its successor the title of one of

the wonders of the world. Crœsus himself dedicated most of the columns and some golden bulls. Nevertheless, the Athenian element in the population of Ephesus, settled on Mount Prion, looked with eyes anything but friendly upon the growing power and wealth of the Asiatic suburb under the shadow of the temple. The rising tide of Orientalism threatened to submerge the isolated Hellenic colony. Then it was that they turned for aid to their mother city (circ. B.C. 555), and Athens sent them Aristarchus, who stayed with them five years, and inspired new life and vigour into the constitution of the State.

The oft-told tale of the fall of Crœsus and of the incorporation of the Lydian monarchy and of the Greek cities of Asia into the great Persian Empire I need not here recapitulate. Suffice it to say that throughout the whole of this momentous period the prestige of the famous temple never dwindled, and that to the protection of the goddess the Ephesians were indebted for the exceptional mildness with which they were treated by the conquerors. At a time when all Ionia was ravaged and laid waste by the Persians, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was of all the Ionian temples the only one which was spared, and to Ephesus Xerxes sent his children under the care of Queen Artemisia of Caria, after his great defeat at Salamis B.C. 480.

Ephesus was, indeed, even a gainer by the calamities which befell her sister cities, for she now became after the fall of Miletus the one great mart of Asia through which the fabrics and products of the East found their way to Europe. And thus it was not long before the city, as well as the temple, began to perceive the advantages which accrued from the maintenance of a strict neutrality.

The temple continued, however, to be the centre of



attraction, and the importance of the fortified Greek city on Mount Prion continued to dwindle as the population and commerce of the town on the plain around the temple increased.

Having now brought the history of Ephesus from the earliest times down to the Persian wars, it is time to consider what are the coins which belong to the period which closes with the great defeats of Xerxes at Salamis and Plataeæ in Europe, and at Mycale, a few miles south of Ephesus, in Asia. These are not as numerous as we might have expected from the importance of Ephesus in early times. Of the electrum series, which may be assigned to the time before Cræsus, are the following specimens :—

## PERIOD I.—BEFORE B.C. 480.

1. <i>Trite</i> . El. 2. Wt. 71 grs. [Brit. Mus.] Pl. I. 1.	Bee in linear square.	Oblong incuse, divided into two squares tra- versed by lines.
2. <i>Trite</i> . El. 2. Wt. 70 grs. [Vienna.]	Similar.	Similar.
8. <i>Trite</i> . El. 2. Wt. 67·8 grs. [Brit. Mus.] Pl. I. 2.	Similar, but of bolder work.	Similar.

These three coins are of very pale electrum, and probably contain a very small proportion of gold.

4. <i>Hecte</i> . El. 1. Wt. 86 grs. [Brit. Mus.] Pl. I. 3.	Forepart of stag, left, head turned back. In field three pel- lets.	Incuse square traversed by many lines running in various directions.
5. <i>Hemihecton</i> . El. 1. Wt. 18·4 grs. [Paris.] Pl. I. 4.	Forepart of stag right, head turned back.	Incuse square.

How soon Ephesus began to strike electrum must remain a matter for conjecture. It may be presumed,

however, that when the city fell into the hands of Cræsus the Lydian gold money introduced by him superseded the ancient electrum, and that subsequently silver money only was coined at Ephesus while under the Lydian and Persian rule. The earliest silver coins of Ephesus are the following. These, on account of their style, must be all attributed to the latter end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

## SILVER.

6. <i>Drachm.</i> $\bar{A}$ . 2. Wt. 54 grs. [Musée Luynes.] Pl. I. 5.	Bee crawling to right.	Incuse square.
7. <i>Drachm.</i> $\bar{A}$ . 2. Wt. 53 grs. [Rev. Num. 1861, Pl. xviii. 7. Found at Myt-Rahineh.]	Bee crawling to right.	Incuse square divided diagonally into four parts.
8. <i>Drachm.</i> $\bar{A}$ . 2. Wt. 50·9 grs. [Brit. Mus.] Pl. I. 6.	Bee crawling to left.	Rough incuse square quartered.
9. <i>Hemidrachm.</i> $\bar{A}$ . 1. Wt. 22·5 grs. [Imhoof-Blumer.] Pl. I. 7.	Bee flying.	Incuse square quartered.
10. <i>Drachm.</i> $\bar{A}$ . 2. Wt. 51 grs. [Imhoof-Blumer.] Pl. I. 8.	Bee.	Rough incuse.
11. <i>Drachm.</i> $\bar{A}$ . 2. Wt. 52 grs. [Prokesch, Ined. 1854, p. 52.] Pl. I. 9.	Bee.	Irregular incuse.

The standard on which the above-described silver coins are struck is the Phœnician or Græco-Asiatic, of which the tetradrachm weighs about 224 grs., the didrachm 112 grs., and the drachm 56 grs. The electrum money of the same standard (Nos. 1—5) follows a different divisional system, thus:—

El. Stater . . . .	224 grs.
El. Trite . . . .	74 grs.
El. Hecte . . . .	87 grs.
El. Hemihecton . .	18 grs.

Somewhat later than the foregoing, but still belonging to the early part of the fifth century, is the following coin, which in fabric resembles those which precede it, although in type it approaches to the next coinage.

- |   |   |                             |
|---|---|-----------------------------|
| 12. <i>Drachm.</i> $\mathcal{A}$ . 2. Wt.<br>49·4 grs. [Brit. Mus.]<br>Pl. I. 10. | Bee; in field to left<br>of its head a volute<br>or scroll. | Incuse square<br>quartered. |
|---|---|-----------------------------|

## PERIOD II. CIRC. B.C. 480—415.

The next period of the history of Ephesus begins with the repulse of the Persians after the Battle of Mycale, and lasts till the collapse of the supremacy of Athens after the great disaster to the Athenian arms in Sicily.

The Persian wars had been very detrimental to the commercial prosperity of Ephesus, and the total separation of the coast-lands from the interior of Asia which might be expected to follow the victories of the Greeks would, it might have been feared, prove still more fatal to the trade of a city which depended so much upon her intimate connection, both commercial and religious, with Sardes, the residence of the Persian governor, and through Sardes with the far East.



Although, therefore, the other cities of Ionia, whose prosperity depended more upon their carrying trade by sea, and upon their commerce with all parts of the Mediterranean, gladly accepted the assistance of the confederate fleet, and although they paid their tribute to Athens without murmuring in consideration of the protection afforded by the Athenian cruisers to their ports and trading vessels against pirates, yet there can be no doubt that Ephesus paid her yearly tax of from 6 to 7½ talents (about £1440—£1800) a year very much against the will of a large and influential section of the population, among whom were all those who were attached to the temple and its services—the Asiatic party, as we may call it. The

long space of time which elapsed between the foundation (circ. 600 B.C.) and the conjectural time of the completion (circ. 460 B.C.) of the Artemision may be perhaps due to the subjection of the Asiatic to the Athenian party during the earlier half of the fifth century.

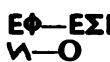
If the coinage of a city is to be taken as in any way proportionate to its commercial prosperity, we shall be inclined to assign to Ephesus by no means the first place among the trading cities of the coast of Asia Minor during this period. On the other hand it is probable that the chief of her trade continued to be carried on with the interior of Asia Minor in uncoined metal, and that the circulation of the municipal currency did not extend beyond the territory of the city and the markets of the neighbouring Ionian towns.

The coins of Period II. may be divided into two classes, (a) those of the first half, B.C. circ. 480—450, and (β) those of the second portion, B.C. circ. 450—415 :—

CLASS (a), circ. B.C. 480—450.

1. <i>Drachm.</i> $\mathcal{A}$ . $3\frac{1}{2}$ . Wt. 51·2 grs. [Brit. Mus.]	E—Φ. Bee with loop-shaped wings; in the field on either side a circular tendril or scroll,   ; the whole in dotted circle.	Incuse square, divided by a narrow line into four irregular quarters.
2. <i>Drachm.</i> $\mathcal{A}$ . $3\frac{1}{2}$ . Wt. 49·4 grs. [Brit. Mus.] Pl. I. 11.	Similar.	Similar.
3. <i>Hemidrachm.</i> $\mathcal{A}$ . 2. Wt. 28·5 grs. [Imhoof-Blumer.]	Similar.	Similar.
4. <i>Diobol.</i> $\mathcal{A}$ . $1\frac{1}{2}$ . Wt. 16·7 grs. [Brit. Mus.] Pl. I. 12.	Similar.	Similar.
5. <i>Diobol.</i> $\mathcal{A}$ . $1\frac{1}{2}$ . Wt. 16 grs. [Paris, Mionnet, n. 154.]	Similar.	Similar.

CLASS ( $\beta$ ), circ. B.C. 450—415.

6. <i>Tetradrachm</i> . $\mathcal{R}$ . $6\frac{1}{2}$ . Wt. 205 grs. [Brit. Mus.] PL I. 14.	 Bee; the whole in dotted circle.	Incuse square, quartered.
7. <i>Drachm</i> . $\mathcal{R}$ . $8\frac{1}{2}$ . Wt. 50 grs. [Imhoof-Blumer.] [Brit. Mus. 49 grs. and 47.7 grs. Mion. n. 152, 51 grs. and 48 grs.] PL I. 13.	Similar.	Similar.

The standard of the above coins is the same as that of the coins of Period I. In shape they are rather elongated or oval than round, and they are flatter than the archaic coins of Period I. In style also they are intermediate between the more archaic pieces and those which follow. The bees' wings, as will be seen by reference to the Plate I. 14, stand out boldly from the body of the insect, especially on the coins of Class  $\beta$ . The incuse square on the reverse is still somewhat irregularly divided by narrow bands.

### PERIOD III. B.C. 415—394.

The exact year when Ephesus broke away from the Athenian alliance we cannot ascertain. It is probable that Tissaphernes, the new satrap of Ionia, had succeeded, even before the Athenian defeat in Sicily, in reuniting Ephesus with Persia, not by open force, but by means of the powerful Asiatic party within the territory of Ephesus itself.

In B.C. 410 Thrasyllus, the Athenian admiral, made an attempt to recover the city, which had by this time become the headquarters of the Persian power on the Ionian coast; but as soon as Tissaphernes got wind of the intentions of Thrasyllus, he sent a detachment of cavalry to Ephesus, and by fanning the flames of religious enthusiasm and calling upon all the people to rally to the assistance of their goddess, he signally defeated Thrasyllus, and thus Ephesus remained in the hands of the Persians.

Shortly after this, circ. B.C. 407, the Spartan Lysander took up his quarters at Ephesus, as being the nearest point to Sardes, where the young prince Cyrus was shortly expected to arrive. "When Lysander came to Ephesus," says Plutarch (*Lysan.* III.), "he found that city well-inclined to the Lacedæmonians, but in a bad condition as to its internal policy, and in danger of falling into the barbarous manners of the Persians, because it was near Lydia and the king's lieutenants often visited it. Lysander therefore, having fixed his quarters there, ordered all his store-ships to be brought into their har-

bour, and built a dock for his galleys. By these means he filled their ports with merchandise, their market with business, and their houses and shops with money, so that from time and from his services Ephesus began to conceive hopes of that greatness and splendour in which she now flourishes."

In B.C. 406 Lysander was recalled to Sparta, and was superseded by the noble-minded Callicratidas, who, unfortunately for Greece, perished in the same year at the Battle of Arginusæ. On his death the Ionians held a meeting at Ephesus, at which it was decided to send an embassy to Sparta to ask that Lysander might be again sent out.

The Spartans consented, and accordingly in B.C. 405 Lysander was again welcomed by the Ephesians, and in the year following was honoured by them, after his victory over the Athenians at Aegospotami, with a statue in the Temple of Artemis.

Under Agesilaus, B.C. 396—394, the Greek party once more gained the upper hand at Ephesus, where the Spartan king, as Lysander had done before him, took up his quarters, and during his stay the coast-towns were exempt from all tribute to Persia.

The following are the coins which in my opinion belong to the period of about twenty-one years which elapsed between the time when Ephesus revolted from Athens, and the year B.C. 394, when, after the recall of Agesilaus to Europe, Conon expelled the Spartans, and when for the first time Ephesus obtained full and complete autonomy<sup>3</sup>—

<sup>3</sup> The gold coins which, if they were genuine, would have to be attributed to this period are the following:—

Stater, circ. 180 grs.	} <i>Obv.</i> —(Stater, ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ; the others, Ε—Φ.) Bee with curved wings.
Drachm „ 65 grs.	
Diobol. „ 22 grs.	
	<i>Rev.</i> —Incuse square quartered.



## Circ. B.C. 415—394.

1. <i>Tetradrachm</i> . $\mathcal{R}$ . 6. Wt. not stated [Mion. S. vi. n. 188.]	E— $\Phi$ . Bee.	Incuse square, quartered by two broad bands, on one of which <b>MENTΩP</b> .
2. <i>Didrachm</i> . $\mathcal{R}$ . 4. Wt. 117 grs. [Brit. Mus. 2 specimens.] Pl. I. 15.	E— $\Phi$ . Bee with curved wings; border of dots.	Similar. No magistrate's name.
3. <i>Didrachm</i> . $\mathcal{R}$ . 4. Wt. 116·2 grs. [Brit. Mus.] Pl. I. 17.	E— $\Phi$ . Bee with curved wings; beneath, <b>TI- MAPX</b> ; bor- der of dots.	Incuse square, quartered by narrow lines.
4. <i>Drachm</i> . $\mathcal{R}$ . 2½. Wt. 47·8 grs. [Brit. Mus.]	E— $\Phi$ . Bee with straight wings, of the form pre- valent after B.C. 387.	Incuse square, quartered by narrow bands.
5. <i>Drachm</i> . $\mathcal{R}$ . 2½. Wt. 42·7 grs. [Brit. Mus. Pl. I. 18. Mion. iii. n. 157, Cousinéry, Munich, Pl. I. 19.]	E— $\Phi$ . Bee with curved wings.	Incuse square, quartered by two broad bands, on one of which <b>TI- MEΣIANAE</b> .

Examples of these are in existence, struck from different dies. They were accepted as true by Borrell, but are now generally believed to be false. After a careful consideration of the question, I have convinced myself that they are one and all false. Mr. Whittall of Smyrna, however, informs me that forty years ago he possessed a specimen which was undoubtedly genuine. He believes all the specimens now known to be copies of this original, which has now disappeared.

Among other false coins of Ephesus are the following:—

- $\mathcal{R}$ . 1. Wt. 6·9 grs. Female head. *Rev.*—E— $\Phi$ . Incuse square divided diagonally.  
 $\mathcal{R}$ . 1. Wt. 2 grs. Male head laur. *Rev.*—Similar.  
 $\mathcal{R}$ . ¼. Wt. 1 gr. Similar. *Rev.*—Similar.

The last two were in the Prokesch-Osten Collection, and Dr. Friedländer informs me are from the same die. A specimen of the first was sold in the Merlin sale, 1864, No. 111. I cannot positively say that this one is false.

Circ. B.C. 415—394 (*continued*).*Drachms, Hemidrachms,  
etc.*

6. <i>Æ.</i> 2. [Mion. iii. n. 158, Cousinéry, Munich.] Pl. I. 20.	Similar.	Similar. ΔΙΟΔΩΡΙ- Δ[ΗΣ].
7. <i>Æ.</i> 2. Wt. 26 grs. [Mion. S. vi. n. 181.]	Similar.	Similar. ΚΟΡΥΛΑΣ.
8. <i>Æ.</i> 8. [Mion. S. vi. n. 182.]	Similar.	Similar. ΜΕΝΕΣ- ΘΕΥ[Σ].
9. <i>Æ.</i> 1½. Wt. 27 grs. [Coll. Waddington ; Brandis, p. 456.]	Similar.	Similar. ΜΕΝΕΣ- ΘΕΥ[Σ].
10. <i>Æ.</i> 1½. [Northwick, 1085, where the name is printed ΜΕ- ΝΕΣΟΣ.]	Similar.	Similar. ΜΕΝΕΣ- ΘΕΥ[Σ].
11. <i>Æ.</i> 1½. Wt. 22·2 grs. [Brit. Mus.]	Similar.	Similar. ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑ- ΤΗΣ.
12. <i>Æ.</i> 2. [Acad. des Sciences, Amsterdam ; re-struck.] Pl. I. 21.	Similar.	Similar. ΣΑΤΤΙΩΝ.
13. <i>Æ.</i> 3. Wt. 28·5 grs. [Brit. Mus. 2 specimens.] Pl. I. 16.	Similar.	Incuse square, quartered by narrow lines.
14. <i>Æ.</i> ¼. Wt. 2·4 grs. [Brit. Mus.]	E—Φ. Bee.	EΦ. Incuse square, within which ani- mal's (?) head.

#### PERIOD IV. B.C. 394—387.

Although the Persian tax-gatherer was no longer seen during the time of Agesilaus within fifty miles of the coast, yet the tyranny and the exactions of the Spartan oligarchies which had been set up by Lysander soon disgusted the Asiatic cities with the Lacedæmonian rule.

When, therefore, the Athenian Conon, in conjunction with the satrap Pharnabazus, gained his signal victory over the Lacedæmonian fleet off Cnidus in B.C. 394, he was everywhere welcomed as a deliverer as he sailed from town to town expelling the Spartan harmosts and proclaiming liberty and autonomy. The Rhodians had been the first, in B.C. 395, to expel the Lacedæmonian admiral from their port, and from Rhodes it was that Conon and Pharnabazus sailed on the day of the Battle of Cnidus.

Among the other towns which after this battle shook off the Spartan yoke, Ephesus and Samos are mentioned in history: we have accordingly no difficulty in assigning to this period the federal coinage issued by the cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Samos, and Ephesus, each with its own type on the reverse of the coin, while on the obverse is the infant Herakles strangling two serpents, and the inscription **ΣΥΝ**, which may stand for **ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ**. The identification of this monetary confederacy, known to be it remarked only from the coins, has been so ably worked out by M. Waddington (*Mélanges Num.* pt. ii., pp. 7—19) that we need not dwell upon it here. There

is, however, one circumstance which calls for special notice, and this is the standard of the new federal coinage. The weight of these pieces is about 177 grs., which is certainly too light for an Aeginetic stater, and very heavy for one of the Persic weight.

The only other alternative is that it is a denomination of the new Rhodian standard, of which the tetradrachm weighed about 236 grs., the didrachm 118, and the drachm 59 grs. The alliance coins of Rhodes, Cnidus, Samos, and Ephesus would seem to be tridrachms of this standard now introduced from Rhodes into Ephesus, where it superseded the considerably lighter Græco-Asiatic standard hitherto in use there.

- |  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| 1. <i>Tridrachm</i> . <i>R.</i> 5. <i>Wt.</i><br>176·6 grs. [Brit.<br>Mus. and Hunter.]<br>PL II. 1. | <b>ΣYN.</b> Infant Hera-<br>kles strangling two<br>serpents. | <b>E—Φ.</b> Bee with curved<br>wings; beneath, ΠΕ;<br>border of dots. |
|--|--|---|

The custom of signing the coins was probably introduced while Lysander was in power at Ephesus, and shortly before the introduction of the Rhodian standard: those coins of Period III. which are without the name of a magistrate are therefore earlier than the signed money. About the same time an improvement was effected in the execution of the dies, the *flan* becomes thicker, and the circular form is more exactly maintained. On the alliance money with **ΣYN** a type for the first time appears on the reverse. These are all indications that the Ephesian mint was reorganized (perhaps about B.C. 406, when the Rhodian standard may have been first introduced), and placed under the superintendence of a responsible magistrate, who probably held office for the space of one year only, as will I think become sufficiently evident in the sequel.

In B.C. 390 the Lacedæmonians again seized Ephesus,

and in their hands it nominally remained until B.C. 387, when Antalcidas concluded with the Persians that disgraceful peace by which Sparta, to serve her own narrow interests, handed over the Greek cities of Asia, one and all, to the yoke of the foreigner. "There can be no doubt," says Curtius (*Hist. Gr.*, vol. iv. p. 274), "that these unfortunate cities were made to feel the yoke newly imposed upon them the more heavily because of the length of time during which they had been withdrawn from it. Citadels were now built in the towns and garrisons placed in them, while those cities which had ventured upon attempts at revolt were destroyed, and taxes were exacted to as large an amount as possible." By this miserable peace the name of Sparta stands for ever dishonoured in history. Even the philo-Laconian Plutarch (*Agēs. xxxvii.*) is obliged to confess that the foreign policy of the Lacedæmonians was such (and not on this occasion only) that "by placing a regard to the advantage of their country in the first rank of honour and virtue, they left themselves no criterion of justice but the aggrandisement of Sparta."

In addition to the alliance coinage, as above described, Ephesus would appear to have commenced in the year B.C. 394 or thereabouts the issue of that long series of tetradrachms of the Rhodian standard which lasted for no less than a whole century.

The earliest coins of this class are easily to be distinguished from the later by the shape of the bees' wings, which are of a curved form precisely as on the "alliance" money of 394—391. On all the later specimens the wings are straight. The letters upon these early specimens are also larger than those upon the rest of the series, and the sigma is of the open form (Σ).

## TETRADRACHMS. B.C. 394—387.

2. <i>R.</i> 6. Wt. 285·8 grs. Brit. Mus. ; also the Hague ?] Pl. II. 2.	E—Φ. Bee with curved wings ; border of dots.	Forepart of stag right, with head turned back ; be- hind, a palm-tree and ma- gistrate's name, ΑΡΙΣ- ΤΟΛΕΩΣ.
3. <i>R.</i> 6. Wt. 288 grs. [Brit. Mus.]	Similar.	Similar. ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ.
4. <i>R.</i> 5½. Wt. 282 grs. [Brit. Mus.] Pl. II. 3.	Similar.	Similar. ΙΓΓΙΝΟΣ.
5. <i>R.</i> 6. Wt. 216·8 grs. [Brit. Mus. ; broken coin.]	Similar.	Similar. . ΡΙΑΛΘΗΣ.

We have thus in all the names of five magistrates for the eight years B.C. 394—387, and it is possible that among the tetradrachms of the following period which I have not seen there may be one or two others to add to this list.

## PERIOD V. B.C. 387—295.

Of all the Greek cities of Asia which the Spartans at the Peace of Antalcidas gave up to Persia, Ephesus was perhaps the only one which had not very much cause to regret its change of masters. The kings of Persia had always favoured Ephesus, and we have no reason to suppose that even now, when all Ionia was completely in their power, they did not allow certain cities to retain their own laws and even tyrants, provided that the regular tribute was annually paid into the Persian treasury. The evidence of the coins is sufficient to prove that Ephesus at any rate remained in a flourishing condition, commercially, if not in other respects. One of the tyrants of Ephesus during this period, whose name has come down to us, was Prophytus. We also hear of a Heropythus who liberated Ephesus from her tyrants, and to whom the Ephesians in gratitude erected a monument. When Philip of Macedon also sent Attalus and Parmenio into Asia to endeavour to procure freedom for the Asiatic cities, the Ephesians set up a statue in his honour. They even rose in revolt against the Persians, probably about B.C. 338, and obtained their freedom, but they were not allowed to enjoy it for long. The Persian Autophradates advanced against it with an army, and succeeded by a stratagem in making himself master of the city (Polyæn. vii. 27. 2). After this there was again a Persian garrison at Ephesus, and the government was handed over to an

Oligarchy consisting of the members of a single family, at the head of which was Syrphax and his son Pelagon.

This was the state of affairs when Alexander gained his first victory over the Persians at the Granicus in B.C. 334. On the news of the battle the Greek party in Ephesus began once more to be stirred by hopes of an approaching Liberator, and the Oligarchs to tremble in their seats.

When, therefore, the vanquished Persian army appeared before the walls, the gates were joyfully thrown open to them by Syrphax and his party, who thus reinforced proceeded to wreak their vengeance upon their opponents. They broke open and desecrated the grave of Heropythus the Liberator, and they overthrew the statue of Philip which had been set up in the temple.

Meanwhile Alexander and his victorious troops were drawing nearer and nearer. Memnon, the general of the defeated Persians, withdrew his forces at the approach of the conqueror, and the people were left face to face with their oppressors. Then they rose *en masse*. Syrphax and his son took refuge in the temple, but were torn from the altars and stoned. The other leaders of the Oligarchical party sought safety in flight.

The next day Alexander himself arrived and put an end to the slaughter. He established in the place of the Oligarchy a Democracy, and assigned to the Temple of Artemis the taxes which had hitherto been exacted by the Persians. He also extended the right of asylum to the distance of one stadium from the steps of the temple; in order, perhaps, to obviate future disputes between the priests and the civic authorities. Thus Alexander, by a prudent intervention, put an end to all contentions within the community.

During Alexander's stay at Ephesus his portrait by the



great master Apelles was executed, a painting which was long one of the chief ornaments of the Artemision. Here also he busied himself with plans for the benefit of the various Ionic coast-towns, some of which were carried out, and in gratitude for these the Ionians ever considered King Alexander as their great Liberator, and long afterwards struck coins in his name and celebrated games called *Ἀλεξάνδρεια* in his honour.

This also was the time when the new and splendid Temple of Artemis was approaching its completion under the superintendence of Dinocrates, the most famous architect of his time. It was erected on the foundations of the old temple, which had been burnt to the ground on the day of the birth of the great Alexander.

The new Democracy seems to have degenerated into a tyranny even during the lifetime of Alexander, for we learn that shortly before Alexander's death, B.C. 324, Philoxenus, the Prefect of Ionia, placed a garrison in Ephesus, and required the three brothers, Anaxagoras, Codrus, and Diodorus, the sons of a certain Echeanax, to be given up to him because they had slain the tyrant Hegesias. This the Ephesians refused to do, whereupon he seized the brothers and confined them in the citadel of Sardes. Anaxagoras and Codrus escaped, but Diodorus was captured and taken to Babylon. Perdicas, however, after Alexander's death, sent him back to Ephesus to be tried according to the laws of his country, but his brothers, who had meanwhile returned home, set him free. (Polyæn. vi. 49.)

About this time also Clitus, in spite of the autonomy of the town, placed a garrison in Ephesus, but in B.C. 319 the democratical party delivered the city into the hands of Antigonus.

For seventeen years, B.C. 319—302, Ephesus enjoyed a

term of freedom under Antigonus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes. But when in B.C. 302 Lysimachus invaded the Asiatic dominions of Antigonus, and sent his general Prepelaus along the Ionian coast, Ephesus was surprised and captured by him, the ships in the harbour were burnt to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, and the democratic constitution was in all probability abolished.

On the news of Lysimachus's invasion of Asia, Antigonus, then at his new capital, Antigoneia, on the Orontes, sent immediately to summon his son Demetrius to sail for Asia Minor with all the forces he could collect. When the latter reached Ephesus, he compelled the garrison of Prepelaus to surrender, and at once restored the democratic constitution before proceeding against the other cities which had submitted to Lysimachus.

The year after this, B.C. 301, occurred the great defeat of Antigonus at Ipsus. The battle over, Demetrius fled to Ephesus with what remained of the vanquished army. Here, although he was greatly in want of funds, he refrained, contrary to all expectation, from laying hands on the treasures in the temple, and leaving the city in charge of Diodorus, one of the three brothers who, in Alexander's time, had slain the tyrant Hegesias, he set sail for Caria. During his absence Diodorus began to treat with Lysimachus for the surrender of the city; but Demetrius returned in time to save it for a few years longer from his rival Lysimachus, who did not succeed in making himself finally master of it until the year B.C. 295.

The preceding slight sketch of the history of Ephesus, from the Peace of Antalcidas to the end of the fourth century, is extracted chiefly from Droysen's "*Geschichte des Hellenismus*."

It remains now to be considered what are the coins

which are to be attributed to this period. We have seen that about B.C. 394 the issue of tetradrachms on the Rhodian standard commenced at Ephesus, the types being on the obverse a bee with *curved* wings as on the older Ephesian coins, and on the reverse the forepart of a stag and a palm-tree.

Within ten years after the first issue of these tetradrachms, and probably about the time of the Peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, a slight change of style was effected, by which the wings of the bee were straightened and made more symmetrical, the name of the magistrate on the reverse being also written in smaller and neater characters of more recent form.

The number of magistrates' names on the tetradrachms of this series which I have been able to collect from all sources is about eighty. Presuming the office to have been an annual one, it seems almost certain that this series must have terminated after the defeat of Antigonos and Demetrius at Ipsus in 301.

The following is a list of all the specimens of this coinage which have come under my notice :—

CLASS (a). TETRADRACHMS. B.C. 387—301.

E—Φ. Bee with straight wings ; border of dots. | Forepart of stag to right looking back ; behind, a palm-tree and magistrate's name, as follows :—

Æ. 6. Wt.	ΑΘΗΝΟΜΑΝ- ΔΡΟΣ	Cat. Allier, p. 88.
Æ. 6. Wt. 234·2 grs. [PL. II. 5.]	ΑΙΝΕΑΣ	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 6½. Wt. 233·6 grs.	ΑΛΚΙΓΓΟΣ	Brit. Mus. ; Imhoof- Blumer.
Æ. 6. Wt. 228·8 grs.	ΑΛΚΕΙΔΗΣ	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 6. Wt. 234 grs.	ΑΝΔΡΟΙΤ[ΑΣ]	Imhoof-Blumer.

f

Α. 6. Wt. 233·5 grs. [Pl. II. 4.]	ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΑΣ	Imhoof-Blumer. Cat. Gréau, n. 1750.
Α. 6. Wt. 224 grs.	ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ <sup>4</sup>	Mion. S. vi. n. 184.
Α. 6. Wt. 232 grs.	ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ	Imhoof-Blumer.
Α. 6. Wt. 232 grs.	ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΗΣ	Hunter, p. 135, n. 4; Mion. S. n. 185.
Α. 6. Wt. 234 grs.	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΗΜΟΣ	Brit. Mus.
Α. 6. Wt. 228·5 grs.	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΛΕΩΝ	Mion. iii. n. 160; Brandis, p. 456.
Α. 6. Wt. 232·7 grs.	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΛΟΧΟΣ	Leake, As. Gr. p. 55.
Α. 6. Wt. 229 grs.	ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ	Wigan.
Α. 6. Wt. 226 grs.	ΑΡΧΕΛΟΧΟΣ	Mion. iii. n. 161; Num. d'Anacharsis, pl. 58.
Α. 6½. Wt. 231·4 grs.	ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΣ	Brit. Mus.
Α. 6. Wt. 231 grs.	ΒΟΙΩΤΟΣ	Mion. iii. n. 163; S. vi. n. 187.
Α. 6. Wt. 237·8 grs.	ΓΟΡΓΩΓΑΣ	Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 188.
Α. 6. Wt. 227·8 grs.	ΔΑΝΑΟΣ	Brit. Mus.
Α. 5½. Wt. 231·2 grs.	ΔΗΜΑΓΟΡΗΣ <sup>5</sup>	Brit. Mus.
Α. 6. Wt.	ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 189; & Mus. Hederv. 9; Cat. Subhi Pasha, n. 796.
Α. 6. Wt.	ΔΙΟΤΙΜΟΣ	Sale at London, December, 1870, n. 31.
Α. 5½. Wt. 227 grs.	ΕΓΚΑΙΡΙΟΣ	Ivanoff sale, n. 276.
Α. 5½. Wt.	ΕΟΓΑΘΙΔΗΣ	Huber sale, n. 566.
Α. 6. Wt. 228·7 grs.	ΕΟΧΩΡΟΣ	Brit. Mus.
Α. 6. Wt. 229 grs.	ΕΠΙΓΟΝΟΣ	Imhoof-Blumer.
Α. 6. Wt. 233·5 grs.	ΕΥΚΤΙΤΟΣ	Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 191.
Α. 6. Wt. 232·7 grs.	ΙΗΝΗΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 201; Hunter, p. 135, n. 2; and Université de Leyden.
Α. 5½. Wt. 229·5 grs.	ΙΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ	Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. n. 202.
Α. 6. Wt.	ΙΩΒΙΤΑΣ	Mion. iii. n. 165; Münich (Cousinéry).

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps [M]ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ, q. v.

<sup>5</sup> A coin with this name was erroneously read ΔΗΜΑΡΩ-  
ΝΟΣ in the Hamilton sale catalogue, 1867, No. 49. It was  
purchased by the late H. N. Davis, Esq., and has now passed  
into the collection of the University of Aberdeen. I have seen  
the coin, and it reads ΔΗΜΑΓΟ...

Æ. 5½. Wt. 227 grs.	ΙΩΙΛΟΣ	Imhoof-Blumer; Univ. de Leyden.
Æ. 6. Wt.	ΗΓΕΚΛΗΣ	Mion. iii. n. 164; Munich (Cousinery).
Æ. 6. Wt. 228·6 grs.	ΗΓΕΛΟΧΟΣ	Brit. Mus.; Thomas sale, n. 2142.
Æ. 6. Wt. 217 grs.	ΗΓΗΣΙΑΝΑΣ	Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 6. Wt. 228 grs.	ΘΕΟ .....	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 6. Wt. 225·7 grs.	ΟΡΑΣΥΛΟΧΟΣ	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 5½. Wt. 224 grs.	ΟΡΑΣΥΜΗΔΗΣ	Ivanoff sale, n. 277.
Æ. 6. Wt.	ΙΓΝΩΤΗΣ	Mus. Lavy, i. n. 2,258.
Æ. 5½. Wt. 230·9 grs.	ΙΠΠΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 6. Wt. 232 grs.	ΚΑΡΝΩΥ	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 6. Wt. 231·2 grs.	ΚΑΥΣΤΡΙΟΣ	Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 6. Wt.	ΚΛΕΑΝΔΡΙΔΗΣ	The Hague.
Æ. 6½. Wt. 226·8 grs.	ΚΛΕΟΝΙΚΟΣ	Mion. S. n. 194; Pembroke, ii. t. x. 9; Huxtable sale, n. 169.
Æ. 6. Wt.	...ΚΛΕΣ.....?*	Mus. Lavy, i. n. 2,259.
Æ. 6. Wt.	ΚΛΥΤΙΟΣ	Cat. Subhi Pasha, n. 230.
Æ. 6. Wt.	ΚΟΜΗΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 195; Cat. Allier, pl. xiv. 14.
Æ. Wt.	ΛΥΚΙΣΚ—ΟΣ	Schottenstik, Vienna.
Æ. 6. Wt. 227 grs.	ΛΥΚΩΝ	Mion. iii. no. 166.
Æ. 6. Wt.	ΜΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗ[Σ] <sup>7</sup>	Mion. S. vi. n. 196.
Æ. 6. Wt.	ΜΕΓΑΚΛΗΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 197; the Hague.
Æ. 6. Wt. 229·5 grs.	ΜΕΛΑΓΓΡΙΔ[ΑΣ]	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 6. Wt. 235 grs.	ΜΕΝΕΣΙΓΓΟΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 198; Berlin.
Æ. 6. Wt. 231·5 grs.	ΜΕΝΙΓΓΟΣ	Northwick sale, n. 1,051.
Æ. 5½. Wt. 228 grs.	ΜΗΣΤΩΡ	Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 6. Wt. 229 grs.	ΜΗΤΡΑΣ	Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 5½. Wt. 232 grs.	ΜΗΗΣΑΡΧΟΣ	Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 6½. Wt.	ΜΗΗΣΙΦΙΛΟΣ	Huxtable sale, n. 168.
Æ. 6. Wt. 234·7 grs.	ΜΟΙΡΑΓΟΡΑ[Σ]	Mion. S. vi. n. 199; Hunter, p. 135, n. 6.

\* I conjecture that this name should be [ΤΙΗΛΕΣ[ΤΡΑΣ].

<sup>7</sup> This name is read by De Wilde ("Sel. Num." tab. vi. fig. 35, 1692, 4to) as ΜΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΩ. As this work is not reliable, I have suggested ΜΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ as a more probable reading, especially as this is a name which occurs in an Ephesian inscription of the period to which the coin belongs. (Wood's "Ephesus." Inscr. from City and Suburbs, No. 1.)

Α. 6. Wt.	ΝΙΚΗΡΑ[ΤΟΣ]	Mion. S. vi. n. 200.
Α. 6. Wt.	ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 203.
Α. 5½. Wt. 217 grs.	ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ	Imhoof-Blumer.
Α. 6. Wt. 225 grs.	ΟΛΥΜΠΙΧΟΣ	Mion. iii. n. 167.
Α. 7. Wt.	ΟΡΧΑΜΕΝΙΟΣ	Cat. de Palin. n. 224.
Α. 5½. Wt. 230 grs.	ΡΑΝΑΙ[ΤΙΟΣ]	Northwick sale, n. 1,052;
		Mion. S. vi. n. 204.
Α. 6. Wt. 230 grs.	ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΟΣ	Brandis, p. 455; Mion.
		iii. n. 168.
Α. 6. Wt. 230 grs.	ΠΕΛΑΓΩΝ <sup>1</sup>	Mion. iii. n. 169.
Α. 6. Wt. 230·7 grs.	ΠΕΡΙΣΤΡΑ[ΤΟΣ]	Brit. Mus.
Α. 5½. Wt. 229 grs.	ΠΟΛΥΔΑΜΑΣ	Imhoof-Blumer.
Α. 6. Wt. 231·2 grs.	ΠΟΛΥΚΛΗΣ	Brit. Mus.; Hunter, n.
		8; Mion. S. vi. n. 203.
Α. Wt.	ΠΟΛΥΞΗΝ...	Schottenstik, Vienna.
Α. 6. Wt. 229·5 grs.	[ΠΡ]ΥΤΑΝΙΣ	Hunter, n. 7.
Α. 6. Wt. 233·5 grs.	ΡΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 206;
		Hunter, n. 5.
Α. 6. Wt.	ΣΚΙΡΩΝ	The Hague.
Α. 6. Wt. 229 grs.	ΣΩΒΙΟΣ	Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi.
		n. 207.
Α. 6. Wt. 228 grs.	ΤΗΛΕΣΤΡΑΣ	Mion. iii. n. 170; Univ.
		de Leyden.
Α. 6. Wt. 234 grs.	ΦΑΝΑΓΟΡΗΣ	Mion. iii. n. 171; Cat.
		Behr. n. 563.
Α. 6. Wt. 234 grs.	ΦΕΡΑΙΟΣ	Mion. iii. n. 172; S. vi.
		pl. iii. 5; Thomas,
		2,141. <i>Obverse</i> <i>α. 6. 5.</i>
Α. 6. Wt. 235 grs.	ΦΙΛΙΤΗΣ	Friedländer, K. Münz-
		kab. 218.
Α. 6. Wt.	ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	Mion. iii. n. 162; Mu-
		nich, Cousinéry (read
		as ΑΙΛΟΣΤΡΑ-
		ΤΟΣ).
Α. 6. Wt.	ΦΥΡΤΑΣ	Copenhagen.
Α. 6. Wt.	ΧΑΙΡΙΤΗΣ	Mion. iii. n. 173; Eck-
		hel, Mus. Cæs.
Α. 5½. Wt. 232 grs.	ΧΙΜΑΡΟΣ	Coll. of M. Six; Ivanoff,
		n. 275.
Α. 5. Wt.	..... ΙΛΟΚΟΣ <sup>2</sup>	Cat. Allier, p. 83.
Α. 5. Wt.	..... ΙΣΤΟΣ	Cat. Allier, p. 83.

<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable that this magistrate is Pelagon the son of Syrphax, mentioned by Arrian, i. 17, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Probably either [ΑΡΙΣΤ]ΟΛΟΧΟΣ, [ΑΡΧ]ΕΛΟΧΟΣ, [ΗΓ]ΕΛΟΧΟΣ, or [ΘΡΑΣ]ΥΛΟΧΟΣ. The catalogue from which this and the following fragment are taken is not in all cases to be relied upon.

To this period, also, the following small silver coins, in the British Museum, probably belong :—

	Obverse.	Reverse.
Æ. 1. Wt. 14·2 grs. Pl. II. 6.	E—Φ. Bee.	EΦ. Two stags' heads face to face.
Æ. 1. Wt. 12·8 grs. Pl. II. 7.	Similar.	E—Φ. Forepart of stag to right, looking back.

CLASS (β). ATTIC OCTOBOLS. B.C. 301—295.

Identical in type with the above described tetradrachms, but entirely different in weight, are the following rare coins :—

Æ. 4. Wt. 81 grs. [Imhoof-Blumer.] Pl. II. 8.	E—Φ. Bee.	Forepart of stag to right, looking back; behind, a palm-tree and magis- trate's name, ΔΙΑΣ.
Æ. 4. Wt. 88 grs. [Hunter, p. 135—9; Mion. S. vi. n. 190.] Pl. II. 9.	Similar.	Similar. ΔΟΚΚΑΛΟΣ.
Æ. 4. Wt. 85·5 grs. [Imhoof-Blumer.] Pl. II. 10.	Similar.	Similar. ΕΚΑΤΟΚ- Λ[ΗΣ].
Æ. 4. Wt. 85·7 grs. [Whittall sale, n. 365.]	Similar.	Similar. ΥΛΑΚΟΣ.

The remarkable reduction in the weight of the silver money of Ephesus which is proved by the existence of these four coins probably took place in the year B.C. 301, after the battle of Ipsus. The four magistrates here enumerated may be therefore assigned to the period of six years between B.C. 301 and 295, in which year Lysimachus finally obtained possession of Ephesus.

The reason for the abandonment of the Rhodian standard at this time may have been an endeavour on the part of Ephesus to accommodate her coinage to the Attic standard lately introduced into Western Asia Minor by Lysimachus.

The new Ephesian coins of eighty-eight grains would therefore circulate as Attic octobols, or thirds of the

tetradrachms of Lysimachus, as issued after the battle of Ipsus at the neighbouring towns of Erythrae, Smyrna, Magnesia, &c.; while at the same time they would be equivalent to one and a half drachms of the Rhodian standard.<sup>10</sup>

CLASS (γ). COPPER COINAGE. Circ. B.C. 305—295.

The copper coinage of Ephesus begins towards the close of Period V., probably in the last decade of the fourth century. The first issue, as described below, may be attributed to the ten years between 305 and 295.

	Obverse.	Reverse.
Æ. 4. [Mion. iii. n. 232.]	E—Φ. Bee.	Stag kneeling left, looking back; in field above, astragalus and ANΔΡΟΦΟΡΒΟΣ. <sup>11</sup>
Æ. 4. [Brit. Mus.] Pl. II. 11.	Similar.	Similar, but ANTIALΚΙΔΑΣ.
Æ. 4. [Mion. iii. 233.] Pl. II. 13.	Similar.	Similar, but ΓΥΛΙΠΠΟΣ. <sup>12</sup>
Æ. 24. <sup>13</sup> [Mion. iii. n. 234.] Pl. II. 12.	Similar.	Similar, but ΕΚΑΤΟΚΛΗΣ.
Æ. 4. [Brit. Mus.]	Similar.	Similar, but ΙΠΡΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ.
Æ. 4. [Brit. Mus.]	Similar.	Similar, but ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ.
Æ. 4. [Imhoof-Blumer; Mion. iii. n. 231.]	Similar.	Similar, but ΧΙΜΑΡΟΣ.

<sup>10</sup> It is a curious fact that coins of this weight appear to have come into fashion about the year B.C. 300 in various parts of the Greek world; at Ephesus between 301 and 258; at Miletus about the same time; under Pyrrhus between 295 and 272; under Hiero of Syracuse after 275; at Tauromenium in Sicily after 275, and in Bruttium after about 280. There are also Aetolian coins of this weight and probably of the same period.

<sup>11</sup> A similar coin is described by Mionnet, Supplement vi. No. 282, where the magistrate's name is apparently misread ANΔΡΟΦΟΡΟΣ.

<sup>12</sup> Wrongly read by Mionnet as ΚΥΛΙΠΠΟΣ. The coin is now in the Munich collection.

<sup>13</sup> The size of this coin is wrongly given as 4 by Mionnet.



Of the above names no less than four occur also on the silver money of Period V., so that we have only three more names to add to the two lists of magistrates given above ( $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ ), making in all about eighty-seven names for a period of ninety-two years. It must be confessed that it is a very remarkable fact that so large a proportion as (allowing for deaths during office) about 90 per cent. of the names of the Ephesian Eponymi should have been preserved to the present time, and were this an isolated case we should be tempted to argue that it is improbable in the extreme that the list can be anything like complete, and that consequently the magistracy must have been renewed more than once a year. When, however, it is borne in mind that in no single instance, in all the periods into which I have divided the autonomous coinage of Ephesus, does the number of magistrates' names exceed what might be reasonably expected, while in every case it is approximate to the duration, in years, of the period to which the coins are on other grounds attributed, then, I say, it becomes manifest that a proportion so consistently maintained can be explained in one way only.

The magistrate whose name serves for a date is the annual Eponymus of Ephesus. One contingency only can upset this conclusion, viz., the discovery of say a dozen new names on the coinage of Period V., and of a proportionate number of new names in the other periods. And if as many as this remain still unknown, then indeed it may be inferred that we now know less than half the original number of names, which in that case may well have been 184 in the 92 years B.C. 387—295.

## PERIOD VI. B.C. 295—288.

In the year B.C. 295 Lysimachus succeeded in making himself master of Ephesus, which had until then remained in the hands of Demetrius. We are told that the low-lying parts of the town had suffered greatly from floods, and that Lysimachus in consequence caused a portion of it to be rebuilt on higher ground. He also changed the name of the city to that of his wife Arsinoë. The exact date of this change of name is uncertain; as, however, some of the coins of Lysimachus bear the name of Ephesus, it is probable that the name was not changed as early as B.C. 295. In the interval between B.C. 295 and the year when the name of the town was changed, the Ephesian democracy was superseded by a new form of government of a more oligarchical character, in consequence of the marked hostility of the democracy to the rule of Lysimachus. The new government consisted of a Senate chosen from among the richest citizens, called *ἐπικλητοί*. The municipalities of Colophon and Lebedus were also united with that of Ephesus, under the same or a similar constitution.

When Demetrius, after the loss of his Macedonian kingdom, passed over again into Asia, we hear of Ephesus as again belonging to him; for when he proceeded to Phrygia he left Aenetus as prefect of the city. This Aenetus was at first supported by Mandron, the chief of the pirates; but this man being shortly afterwards bribed by Lycus,

one of Lysimachus's generals, the city once more fell into the hands of Lysimachus [Frontinus, *Stratag.* iii. 3, 7].

The coins which in my opinion belong to the seven years B.C. 295—288 are the following:—

(a) ATTIC OCTOBOLS.

Head of Artemis diademed to right, shoulders draped.	ΕΦΕ. Bow and quiver: in field a bee and magistrate's name.
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Α. 4½. Wt. 88 grs.	ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ	Num. Chron. ii. p. 171 —176, Pl. n. 6.
Α. 4½. Wt. 85 grs. [Pl. III. 1.]	ΕΡΕΙΑΣ	Imhoof-Blumer; Choix, pl. iii. 117.
Α. 4½. Wt. 86 grs. [Pl. III. 2.]	ΕΧΕΑΝΑΞ	Brit. Mus.

The change of type on the silver money during this period is remarkable if considered in connection with the political events of the time, when the tie of dependency by which the city had been attached to the temple of the Asiatic goddess was severed by the sword of the Macedonian Lysimachus.<sup>14</sup>

Now, for the first time, the bee which had for so many ages maintained its place on the obverse of the coinage of Ephesus as the signet of the high priest (or King Bee, *ἑσσην*) gives way to a purely Hellenic type, the head of the Greek huntress goddess, whose bow and quiver occupies the whole field of the reverse; the bee being relegated to the copper coins, and on the silver to an inferior position, as a mere symbol or mint-mark.

With regard to the magistrate's name Echeanax, which has generally been accepted as referring to the Echeanax mentioned by Polyænus (vi. 49) as the father of the three brothers who slew the tyrant Hegesias in the reign of

<sup>14</sup> Newton, "Essays on Art and Archæology," p. 221.

Alexander the Great, it may be remarked that it is hardly probable that this man could have been still living at the time when these coins must have been struck. The Echeanax of the coin may very well, however, have been a grandson of the elder Echeanax.

The copper coins which I would attribute to this period are the following :—

(β) COPPER COINAGE.

E—Φ. Bee; border of dots. | Stag standing right; above, quiver, in front magistrate's name.

Æ. 4. [Pl. III. 3.]	ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡ[ΟΣ]	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 3½.	...ΕΡ...ΕΥ.....	Mion. iii. n. 224.
Æ. 4. [Pl. III. 4.]	[ΚΑΛ]ΛΙΜΕΝΗΣ	Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 8.	ΧΑΡΜΙΝΟΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 301.

In addition to the municipal coins, Lysimachus caused to be struck at the Ephesian Mint during this period gold staters and silver drachms on the Attic standard, as follows :—

(γ) ROYAL COINAGE OF LYSIMACHUS.

Ν. 4½. Wt. 135 grs. [Müller, 420.]	Head of Alexander.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΛΥΣΙ- ΜΑΧΟΥ. Pallas seated; in field E—Φ and bee.
Α. 4. Wt. 67 grs. [Müller, 421.]	Similar.	Similar.
Α. 4. Wt. 67 grs. [Müller, 422.]	Similar.	Similar, but with monogram $\Sigma$ on throne.
Α. 4. Wt. 67 grs. [Müller, 423.]	Similar.	Similar, but $\Sigma$ on throne.

## PERIOD VII. B.C. 288—280.

In B.C. 287 Lysimachus, after he had regained possession of Ephesus, bestowed it together with the rest of Ionia upon his son Agathocles. He also changed the name of the city to that of his wife Arsinoë, but probably before B.C. 287.

The government of Agathocles was very popular, and he appears to have deserved the affection of the Ephesians. When, therefore, some years afterwards, in B.C. 284, Lysimachus caused him to be murdered, and when his widow had fled to the court of Seleucus for protection, a strong party in Ephesus at once espoused the cause of the King of Syria.

This party, after the victory of Seleucus and the death of Lysimachus in 281, rose in arms against the opposite faction which adhered to Arsinoë, opened the gates to Seleucus, threw down the walls which Lysimachus had built, and would have slain the queen had she not succeeded in escaping alone and in disguise to the harbour, where she embarked and proceeded out to sea before her absence became known.

The coins of the time (it may be eight or nine years) during which Ephesus bore the name of Arsinoë are the following :—

### (a) ATTIC OCTOBOLS, ETC.

Head of Arsinoë to right, veiled ;    border of dots.	<b>ΑΡΣΙ.</b> Bow and quiver ; in the field, bee ; magistrate's name and monogram.
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Æ. 4½. Wt. 81 grs. [Pl. III. 5.]	ΓONEYΣ	and Σ	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 8. Wt. 42 grs. [Pl. III. 6.]	ΓONEYΣ	„ „	Munich.
Æ. 5. Wt. 76 grs. At. 4½. Wt. 86·8 grs. [Pl. III. 7.]	[ΗΓΗ]ΣΑΝΔΡ[ΟΣ] „ „		The Hague.
Æ. 2. Wt. 19 grs.	ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ and Σ		Berlin (Fox collection).
	No name ?		Berlin (Prokesch-Osten, Inedita, 1854, p. 52).

## (β) COPPER COINAGE.

Head of Arsinoë to right, veiled. | **AP—ΣΙ.** Stag kneeling left looking back ; in field above, astragalus and magistrate's name :—

Æ. 4.	[A]ΓΟΛΛΩ[N]////	Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 8. [Pl. III. 8.]	ΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΟΣ	Brit. Mus. (2 specimens).
Æ. 4.	[Τ]ΙΜΑΓΟΡΑΣ	Coll. Soutzo, Athens.
Æ. 4. [Pl. III. 9.]	ΦΙΛΟΦΡΩΝ	University of Aberdeen.
Æ. 4. (without ΑΡΣΙ).	////////ΑΓΗΡΟ//////// ? <sup>15</sup>	Berlin.

Head of Arsinoë to right, veiled. | **AP—ΣΙ.** Forepart of stag right, looking back ; in field left, astragalus and magistrate's name :—

Æ. 2.	[M]ΕΛΛΙΝΕΥΣ[	Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 2.	ΠΑΛΛΙ..... ? <sup>16</sup>	Brit. Mus.

Here we have as many as eight Eponymi at least, and perhaps nine, which certainly belong to the period during which Ephesus bore the name of Arsinoë.

The royal coinage of Lysimachus bearing the monogram of Arsinoë is as follows :—

<sup>15</sup> This is Dr. Friedlaender's reading. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has read it ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΣ. May it not be rather ΤΙΜ] ΑΓΟΡΑ[Σ ? The coin is very indistinct.

<sup>16</sup> Not improbably ΜΕΛΛΙ. The coin is in very poor condition.

## (γ) ROYAL COINAGE OF LYSIMACHUS.

<i>N. Stater.</i> Head of Alexander. [Müller, n. 429.]	<b>ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ.</b> Pallas seated; in field <b>Α</b> and bee; beneath throne, <b>Μ</b> .
<i>Α. Tetradrachm.</i> Similar. [Müller, n. 430.]	Similar. <b>Α</b> , bee, and <b>Μ</b> .
<i>Α. Drachm.</i> Similar. [Müller, n. 431.]	Similar. <b>Α</b> , bee, and <b>Μ</b> .
<i>Α. Tetradrachm.</i> Similar. [Müller, n. 432.]	Similar. <b>Α</b> , bee, and <b>ΜΕ</b> .
<i>Α. Tetradrachm.</i> Similar. [Müller, n. 433.]	Similar. <b>Α</b> , bee, and thunderbolt.
<i>Α. Tetradrachm.</i> Similar. [Müller, n. 434.]	Similar. <b>Α</b> (no bee) and <b>ΜΕ</b> .
<i>Α. Tetradrachm.</i> Similar. [Müller, n. 435, 436.]	Similar. <b>Α</b> (no bee) and <b>Α</b> .

To these may, perhaps, be added Nos. 424—428 of Müller, consisting of tetradrachms and drachms as above, with the bee, but without the mint-mark **Α**, and either without any monogram or with one of the following:—**Σ**, **Ϛ**, **ϛ**. The first of these three monograms is identical with that which appears on the coins of Ephesus-Arsinoë, together with the eponymous magistrates' name **ΓΟΝΕΥΣ**. The monograms **Μ**, **ΜΕ**, and **Α** may possibly be those of the magistrates **ΜΕΛΛΙΝΕΥΣ** and **ΠΑΛΛΙ** . . . . but this is not likely.

# PERIOD VIII. B.C. 280—258.

During the next twenty years we know very little of the history of Ephesus. After the death of Seleucus, in B.C. 280, it seems to have enjoyed a brief term of autonomy, during which, perhaps, occurred the inroad of the Gauls, from which it is said to have suffered together with the greater part of Western Asia Minor. After this the city appears to have been subject to Antiochus I. down to the end of his reign in B.C. 261.

The coins which I would attribute to the reign of Antiochus I. are the following. In weight the silver money corresponds with that of Periods VI. and VII. :—

## (a) ATTIC OCTOBOLS.

Head of Artemis wearing stephane to right; at her shoulder bow and quiver; she wears an earring in the form of a winged Nike?	E—Φ. Forepart of stag right, head turned back; behind, a palm-tree; in field left, a bee and magistrate's name :—
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R. 4. Wt. 78·4 grs. [Pl. III. 10.]	[A]NTIΦΩΝ	Brit. Mus.
R. 4. Wt. 75·2 grs. [Pl. III. 11.]	[EO]ΕΛΘΩ[N]	Brit. Mus.

Head of Artemis wearing stephane to right; at her shoulder bow and quiver.	Forepart of stag right, head turned back.
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R. 2. Wt. 18 grs. (No name.)	University of Aberdeen.
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## (β) COPPER COINAGE.

E—Φ. Bee. | Stag kneeling left and looking back ; above, astragalus ; in front, magistrate's name :—

Æ. 2.	[ΑΛΚΙΠΡΟΣ	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 1½.	[Α]ΠΟΛΛΩΝ.....	Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 2½.	ΑΤΡΕΑΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 281.
Æ. 2½.	[Δ]ΗΜΟΦΩΝ	Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 8.	ΔΙΑΔ.....	Leake, Asia, p. 49. (The astragalus is here called <i>tettix</i> .)
Æ. 2½.	ΕΟΕΛΘΩΝ	Brit. Mus.
[Pl. III. 12.]		
Æ. 2½.	ΕΧΕΔΑΜ[ΟΣ]	Subhi Catalogue, 1874, n. 2,764.
Æ. 1.	ΚΟΡΥ[ΛΑΣ]	Leake, Asia, p. 49.
Æ. 2½.	ΜΕΓΑΛΗΤΩΡ	Mion. iii. n. 229.
Æ. 1½.	[ΣΩΣ]ΙΚΡΑΤ[ΗΣ]	Brit. Mus.
[Pl. III. 13.]		
Æ. 2½.	.....ΤΡΙΟΣ	Mion. iii. n. 228.

Female head left, laur. and turreted ; be- | Bee. Border  
hind, astragalus. | of dots.

Æ. 2.	ΗΓΕ ΛΟ ΧΟΣ	Imhoof-Blumer.
[Pl. III. 14.]		
Æ. 2.	ΟΙΩ ΝΟΣ	Imhoof-Blumer.
[Pl. III. 15.]		

These copper coins are connected with the silver of the same period by the name ΕΟΕΛΘΩΝ,<sup>17</sup> which occurs on both metals. It is satisfactory also to find the name of the magistrate ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ . . . . recorded as still in office both while the city bore the name of Arsinoë and afterwards. The date of the year of office of this magistrate may be therefore fixed as circ. B.C. 280—279.

Whether the following small bronze coin belongs to this period or not is doubtful :—

Female head left, turreted.	E—Φ. Bee.
Æ. 1½. (Good style of art.)	Brit. Mus.
[Pl. III. 16.]	

<sup>17</sup> This is the last occurrence on coins of the Ionic form ΕΟ for ΕΥ. See Curtius, G. Studien, Bd. v. p. 294.

It seems certain, however, that the copper coins with the feeding stag on the reverse and a quiver in the field belong to the period of Seleucid rule, as among the magistrates' names in this series there are two, **ΑΛΚΙΓΡΟΣ** and **ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ**, which occur also on the bronze coins above described, which cannot be separated from the silver.

**E—Φ.** Beo in | Stag feeding right; above, quiver; in ex-  
wreath. | ergue, magistrate's name:—

Æ. 8.	[ΑΛ]ΚΙΓΡΟΣ	Leake, Sup. Asia, p. 49.
Æ. 8.	ΑΓΗΝ[ΩΡ]	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 8.	ΕΥΡΟΛΟΣ	Leake, As. Gr. p. 55.
Æ. 8.	ΞΑΝΘΙ[ΓΡΟΣ?]	Subhi Catalogue, 1874, n. 2,769.
Æ. 8½.	ΣΟΛΩΝ	Brit. Mus.
[Pl. III. 17.]		
Æ. 4.	ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ	Mion. iii. no. 221.

The total number of names for this period of twenty-two years appears at present therefore to be eighteen.

## PERIOD IX. B.C. 258—202.

On the death of Antiochus Ephesus fell into the hands of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who appointed his bastard son Ptolemy, the half-brother of Euergetes, to be governor of the city B.C. 258.

This Ptolemy was foolish enough to imagine that he was sufficiently strong as tyrant of the chief city of Ionia to make himself independent of his father, for which purpose he allied himself with Timarchus, tyrant of Miletus, and these two appear to have declared Ephesus and Miletus independent both of Egypt and Syria. How long they were able to maintain this position we cannot say, but shortly afterwards the Thracian mercenaries in Ephesus, bribed (as Droysen supposes) by the King of Egypt, revolted against the young governor, who with his mistress Eirene fled for refuge to the Temple of Artemis, where they were both slaughtered, the altar of the goddess being sprinkled with the blood of Eirene.

After this episode Ephesus returned to her allegiance to the Egyptian monarch, who, some years afterwards, B.C. 248, presented it to his daughter Berenice as her dowry on the occasion of her marriage with Antiochus II. (Theos) of Syria.

The story of the revenge of Laodice, the former wife of Antiochus, and how she poisoned her husband, not in but near Ephesus, I need not here repeat in full, but it deserves mention, as it throws some light upon an obscure period

of Ephesian history. It seems that one Sophron, the Prefect of Ephesus (ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Εφέσου, Athenæus, xiii. p. 593) was one of the principal supporters of the party of the king's Egyptian bride Berenice, and that Laodice, after the murder of her husband, endeavoured to compass his death also, and would have accomplished her purpose had he not made his escape from the palace of Laodice to Ephesus. From this we gather that at this time, B.C. 247, Ephesus must have been still attached to Egypt. We may suppose, therefore, that on the death of Antiochus II. the city, which had fallen to him as Berenice's dowry, was again separated from Syria and reunited to Egypt.

From this time until the end of the century Ephesus remained in the possession of the kings of Egypt, Ptolemies III.—V., and probably enjoyed a considerable amount of independence.

Ptolemy III. (Euergetes) seems to have bestowed it upon his wife Berenice, as Lysimachus had previously upon Arsinoë, and Ptolemy II. upon his daughter Berenice. To the reign of Euergetes may, therefore, be assigned the following gold coin of Berenice II. struck at Ephesus:—

(a) GOLD COIN OF BERENICE.

Head of Berenice II. veiled, to right; border of dots.	<b>ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ.</b> Cornucopiæ with corn and fruit; in field left, a bee.
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N. 7. Wt. 427·9 grs. | Octadrachm of the Ptolemaic standard.

This *Queen* Berenice, the wife of Euergetes, who succeeded to the throne of Egypt in 246 B.C., must be carefully distinguished from the other Berenice mentioned above, the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus. .

The following is a list of the municipal coins of Ephesus

which belong to the period of the rule of the Ptolemies  
circ. B.C. 258—202.

(β) RHODIAN DIDRACHMS AND DRACHMS.

Bust of Artemis draped right,  
wearing stephane; no ear-  
ring; bow and quiver at  
her shoulders.

Ε—Φ. Forepart of stag right,  
head turned back; in field  
left, magistrate's name:—

Α. 4½. Wt. 102·3 grs.	ΑΘΗΝΟΓΟΛΙΤ[ΗΣ]	Recent find; <sup>18</sup> Mion. S. vi. n. 208.
Α. 4½. Wt. 99·5 grs.	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ[Σ]	Recent find; Cat. Allier, p. 84; Gré- au, 1,758.
Α. 4. Wt. 102 grs.	[Α]ΝΤΙΓΟΝΟ[Σ]	Recent find; Cat. Thorwaldsen, 1460 —61.
Α. 4½. Wt. 102·8 grs.	[ΑΡ]ΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤ[ΗΣ]	Recent find.
Α. 5. Wt. 101 grs.	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΩΝ	Imhoof-Blumer; Mi- onnet, S. vi. n. 209.
Α. 4. Wt. 87·2 grs.	ΑΡΙΣΤΡΑΤ[ΟΣ]	Recent find.
Α. 4½. Wt. 99·7 grs.	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ	Recent find; Cat. Santangelo, 11,809.
Α. 5½. Wt. 98·2 grs.	ΒΑΤΤΑΣ	Recent find.
Α. 3½. Wt. 50 grs.	„	Imhoof-Blumer.
[Pl. IV. 3.]		
Α. 6. Wt. 98·8 grs.	ΓΡΥΛΙΣ	Brit. Mus.; Coll. Six, 102 grs.
Α. 5. Wt. 100 grs.	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	Recent find.
Α. 4½. Wt. 101 grs.	ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ	Recent find; Mion. S. vi. n. 210.
Α. 4½. Wt. 101·4 grs.	ΔΙΑΙΤΟ[Σ]	Recent find.
Α. 4½. Wt. 101·5 grs.	ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ	Recent find.
Α. 5. Wt. 101·5 grs.	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ (C in field)	Recent find; Mion. S. vi. n. 211.
Α. 5. Wt.	ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ	The Hague; Mion. S. vi. n. 212.
Α. 5. Wt. 101·3 grs.	ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΣ	Cat. Thomas, n. 2,142.
Α. 5. Wt. 100 grs.	ΕΡΜΩΝ	Mion. S. vi. n. 215.
Α. 5. Wt. 100 grs.	ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ	Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 214.

<sup>18</sup> The greater part of this recent find of didrachms belongs  
at the present time to Mr. Lawson of Smyrna.

Æ. 5. Wt. 100 grs.	ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 192 (misspelt ΕΥΝΙ- ΧΟΣ).
Æ. 4½. Wt. 99·8 grs.	ΙΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ	Collection Six.
Æ. 5. Wt. 96 grs.	ΘΕΡΣΙΛΟΧΟΣ	Recent find.
Æ. 4½. Wt. 101 grs.	ΙΔΟΜΕΝΕΥΣ	Recent find; Mion. S. vi. n. 216.
Æ. 4½. Wt. 99·2 grs.	ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	Recent find; Mion. S. vi. n. 217.
Æ. 4½. Wt. 100·7 grs.	ΚΑΥΣΤΡΙ[ΟΣ]	Recent find.
Æ. 5. Wt. 100 grs.	ΛΙΜΝΑΙΟΣ	Recent find.
Æ. 5. Wt. 99·2 grs.	ΜΗΤΡΟΦΑΝΗΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 218.
Æ. 4½. Wt. 99·7 grs.	ΜΙΝΝΟΣ	Recent find; Mion. S. vi. n. 219.
Æ. 4½. Wt. 99 grs.	ΜΥΤΑΣ	Recent find; North- wick, 1,058.
Æ. 8. Wt. 50 grs. [Pl. IV. 4]	„	Munich.
Æ. 4½. Wt. 101 grs.	ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ	Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 220.
Æ. 4½. Wt. 100 grs.	ΝΙΚΙΑΣ	Recent find; Mion. S. vi. n. 221.
Æ. 8. Wt. 46 grs.	„	Coll. Six; Cat. Whit- tall, n. 448.
Æ. 5. Wt. 101 grs.	ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟΣ (E in field)	Mion. S. vi. n. 222.
Æ. 5. Wt. 99·4 grs. [Pl. IV. 1.]	ΓΑΡΡΑΣΙΟΣ	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 5. Wt. 101 grs.	ΠΡΩΤΙΩΝ	Recent find.
Æ. 5. Wt. 101 grs.	ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ	University of Aber- deen; Mion. S. vi. n. 223.
Æ. 4½. Wt. 101 grs.	ΣΚΟΠΑΔΗΣ	Recent find; cf. Mion. S. vi. n. 224.
Æ. 5. Wt. 101·8 grs. [Pl. IV. 2.]	ΣΩΣΙΣ	Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 225.
Æ. 5½. Wt. 100·5 grs.	ΤΕΛΕΣΙΑΣ	Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 226.
Æ. 5. Wt. 101·5 grs.	ΦΙΛΙΓΓΡΟΣ	Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 227.
Æ. 4½. Wt. 102·5 grs.	ΧΑΡΟΠΙΝΟ[Σ]	Recent find.
Æ. 8½. (?)	(?)	Mion. S. vi. n. 228.

## (γ) COPPER COINAGE.

Same type and symbol (bee) in field.

Æ. 3.	[ΔΙΟ]ΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ	Brit. Mus.
[Pl. IV. 5.]		
Æ. 2½	ΠΑΤ[ΩΝ]	Mion. S. vi. n. 280.
Æ. 3.	ΠΡΩΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 3	(?)	Brit. Mus.

We have here the names in all of forty-one annual Eponymi. Supposing, then, that this coinage commenced in B.C. 258, and allowing a margin of about a dozen names, we arrive at the close of the century for the termination of this series. That the above coinage is that of Ephesus under the Ptolemies is evident not only from the number of names, which corresponds sufficiently with the number of years during which Ephesus formed part of the dominions of the kings of Egypt, but also from the change of standard which took place at Ephesus apparently when the city fell into their hands.

The reason of this change of weight in the Ephesian coinage is not far to seek. The new coins are, in fact, on the Rhodian standard of this period, and its adoption by Ephesus is a proof that the markets of Egypt and of the Phœnician towns subject to Egypt, which the Rhodians had held almost exclusively in their own hands, were now thrown open to Ephesus also.

Thus Ephesus, which had for about fifty years issued little more than a local currency, was re-established as the second great commercial city of Greece, Rhodes being still the first. Ephesus became, indeed, so important a city during this period of her connection with Egypt that she was able to maintain herself in *quasi* independence for a considerable time against the advancing power of Antiochus the Great, who succeeded to the throne of

Syria in B.C. 222, in the same year that the weak and vicious Ptolemy Philopator mounted that of Egypt.

From this time forth the prosperity of Egypt began to decline in proportion as that of Syria increased, and when, in B.C. 205, Ptolemy Philopator died, and left his inheritance to a child of five years of age, we may well imagine that the Ephesians may have taken into serious consideration the advisability or even the possibility of maintaining much longer the isolated position in which they now found themselves (their town being the last post occupied by an Egyptian garrison in Asia Minor) in the face of the growing power on the one side of Antiochus, and on the other of Philip V. of Macedon.



PERIOD X. B.C. 202—133.

The dilemma in which the Ephesians were placed was solved for them by the appearance of Antiochus at their gates, who obtained possession of the city by the following stratagem :—



“ Antiochus warring against the Ephesians, ordered the Rhodians, who formed part of his army, to attack the harbour at night-time with great noise; and when all the people were hastening thither in disorder, leaving the other posts of defence unguarded, Antiochus attacked the city in the rear and took it ” (Frontinus, *Strat.* iii. 9, 10).

This was probably soon after his great victory over the Egyptian general Scopas, near Paneas, in B.C. 198, by which he got possession of Coele-Syria and Phœnicia; Aradus, the principal sea-port on these coasts, being apparently the only town which still remained in a state of independence, recognising no master but the deified Alexander, in whose name it continued to issue its money, consisting of dated tetradrachms and drachms of the type of Alexander's coinage (Müller, Class V.).

In the period shortly before the capture of Ephesus by Antiochus, when it had become evident that the Egyptian Empire was about to fall in pieces, Ephesus, like Aradus, appears to have asserted her independence by the issue of Attic tetradrachms and drachms (class  $\beta$ ) bearing the types of Alexander the Great (Müller, Class V., Nos. 1015—1017), the founder of her liberties.

These Ephesian Alexandrine tetradrachms of Müller,

Class V., may very probably have commenced about B.C. 202, the date of the beginning of a similar series at Aradus bearing dates in Greek characters, the previous coins of that city having been dated in Phoenician characters.

This apparent coincidence seems to indicate that Ephesus and Aradus, the two great commercial centres of the Phoenician and the Asiatic coasts respectively, may have found it to their mutual advantage about this time to conclude a monetary treaty, by which each city might secure a free circulation for her coins on the markets of the other; the tetradrachms of Alexander's types struck at Aradus being only distinguishable from those issued at Ephesus by the monogram  and the palm-tree in the place of  and the bee on those of Ephesus.

For the space of about seven years, B.C. 196?—189?, Ephesus formed part of the dominions of Antiochus the Great, during which time it was the chief seat of the war which he was then waging against the Romans. But after the great defeat of Antiochus at the Battle of Magnesia, in B.C. 190, Ephesus, on the conclusion of the peace B.C. 189, was presented by the victorious Romans with the rest of Ionia to their ally Eumenes, King of Pergamus.

To this period of about seven years (B.C. 196—189) probably belong ( $\gamma$ ) the Alexandrine tetradrachms of Müller, Class VI., Nos. 1018—1024, with the bee mint-mark and the following monograms:—

, O, ,  $\Delta$ I, 

and in one instance a cornucopiæ.

The transition in style from Class V. to Class VI. of Müller occurs on the dated money of Aradus about the year 198, whence it may be argued that a similar change

in the style of the Ephesian Alexandrine tetradrachms took place at the same time.

The following long series of Ephesian drachms of Attic weight, but with Ephesian and not Alexander's types, must also have commenced about the time when Ephesus was united to the dominions of Antiochus, or rather a few years earlier; and the adoption somewhat later by Aradus of identical types on her drachms (dated B.C. 170—147) is a striking proof that the commercial interests of these two cities continued to be the same.

The Ephesian coinage of these drachms covers the whole period between B.C. 202 and 133.

(a) ATTIC DRACHMS.

E—Φ. Bee; border of | Stag standing right before a palm-tree; in front, magistrate's name.

Æ. 3½. Wt. 59 grs.	ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ	Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 282.
Æ. 4. Wt. 63 grs. [Pl. IV. 9.]	ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΣ	Brit. Mus.; Mion. iii. n. 174.
Æ. 4. Wt.	ΑΙΣΧΡΙΩΝ	In the possession of a dealer.
Æ. 4½. Wt. 64 grs. [Pl. IV. 6.]	ΑΙΧΜΟΚΛ[ΗΣ]	Brit. Mus.; Hunter, p. 185, n. 16.
Æ. 4. Wt.	ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΟΣ	Huber sale, n. 568.
Æ. 4. Wt. 61 grs.	ΑΝΤΙΜΗΔ[ΗΣ]	Mion. iii. n. 175.
Æ. 4. Wt. 62·8 grs.	ΑΝΤΙΦΙΛΟΣ	Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 281.
Æ. 4. Wt. 64 grs.	ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ	Mion. iii. n. 176.
Æ. 4. Wt.	ΑΠΟΛΛΑΣ	Whittall sale, 1867, n. 866.
Æ. 3½. Wt. 65 grs.	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗ[Σ]	Wigan; Hunter, n. 12.
Æ. 4. Wt.	ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 284.
Æ. 3½. Wt.	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΩ[N]	Subhi Pasha, n. 282.
Æ. 4. Wt.	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔ[ΩΡΟΣ]	Mion. S. vi. n. 285.
Æ. 4. Wt. 64 grs.	ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ	Coll. Six; Univ. de Leyden.
Æ. 4. Wt.	ΑΣΤΡΟΠΙΔ[ΗΣ]	Mion. S. vi. n. 256.
Æ. 4. Wt.	ΑΥΤΟΜΕΔΩ[N]	Huber sale, n. 567.

Æ. 4. Wt. 65 grs.	<b>ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΣ</b> <sup>19</sup>	Hunter, n. 15; Mion. S. vi. n. 286.
Æ. 4. Wt.	<b>ΒΙΑΝΩΡ</b>	Mion. iii. n. 178.
Æ. 4. Wt. 61·2 grs.	<b>ΔΑΝΑΟΣ</b>	Mion. S. vi. n. 287; Hunter, n. 10.
Æ. 4½. Wt.	<b>ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ</b>	Huber sale, n. 567.
Æ. 4. Wt. 68·5 grs.	<b>ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ</b>	Leake, add., p. 49; Brit. Mus.
Æ. 4. Wt.	<b>ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ</b>	Mion. iii. n. 181.
Æ. 4. Wt. 60 grs.	<b>ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΔΗ[Σ]</b>	Mion. iii. n. 180.
Æ. 4½. Wt. 62 grs.	<b>ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡ[ΟΣ]</b>	Mion. iii. n. 182.
Æ. 4. Wt.	<b>ΔΡΟΠΙΔΗΣ</b>	Mion. iii. n. 183.
Æ. 4. Wt. 58·5 grs.	<b>ΕΥΚΛΗΣ</b>	Hunter, p. 136, n. 17.
Æ. 4. Wt.	<b>ΕΥΚΡΙΤΟ[Σ]</b>	Mion. S. vi. n. 239.
Æ. 4. Wt. 64·4 grs.	<b>ΕΥΝΟΥΣ</b>	Brit. Mus.
[Pl. IV. 7.]		
Æ. 4. Wt. 62·6 grs.	<b>ΕΥΠΟΛΙΣ</b>	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 4. Wt. 64 grs.	<b>ΙΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ</b>	Mion. iii. n. 190; Imhoof-Blumer.
[Pl. IV. 8.]		
Æ. 4. Wt. 60·6 grs.	<b>ΙΩΗΣ</b>	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 4. Wt. 61 grs.	<b>ΙΩΠΥΡΟΣ</b>	Mion. S. vi. n. 241.
Æ. 4. Wt.	<b>[Η]ΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗ[Σ]</b>	Cat. Camille, Rome, 1863, n. 166.
Æ. 4. Wt. 58·5 grs.	<b>ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ</b>	Mion. S. vi. n. 242.
Æ. 4. Wt.	<b>ΘΡΑΣΕΑΣ</b>	Mion. S. vi. n. 240.
Æ. 4. Wt. 58·5 grs.	<b>ΚΑΛΛΙΞΕΝΗ[Σ]</b>	Mion. iii. n. 184.
Æ. 4. Wt.	<b>ΚΑΛΛ[ΙΣ]ΘΕΝΗΣ</b>	Mion. S. vi. n. 244.
Æ. 4. Wt.	<b>ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤ[ΟΣ]</b>	Mion. S. vi. n. 243.
Æ. 4. Wt.	<b>ΚΥΡΡΑΛΙΑΣ</b>	Mion. iii. n. 185.
Æ. 4. Wt.	<b>ΛΑΜΠΡΙΑΣ</b>	Mion. S. vi. n. 245.
Æ. 4. Wt. 61·7 grs.	<b>ΛΙΧΑΣ</b>	Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 246.
Æ. 4. Wt.	<b>ΜΑΤΙΛΛΑΣ</b>	Mion. S. vi. n. 247.
Æ. 8½. Wt. 60 grs.	<b>[ΜΕ]ΛΑΝΚΟΜΑΣ</b> <sup>20</sup>	University of Aberdeen.
Æ. 4. Wt.	<b>ΜΗΝΟΦΑ[ΝΗΣ]</b>	Mion. iii. n. 187.
Æ. 4. Wt.	<b>ΜΗΤΡΑΣ</b>	Cat. Subhi Pasha, n. 282.

<sup>19</sup> Concerning this magistrate's name, see below, p. 84.

<sup>20</sup> This is probably the same man as the Melancomas of Ephesus, who is mentioned by Polybius (viii. 17—21) as taking part in the conspiracy to liberate Achæus from the citadel of Sardes, B.C. 214. The coin bearing this name is probably, therefore, one of the earliest of the series.

Æ. 4. Wt. 64·4 grs.	ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ	Leake, p. 55; Mion. S. vi. n. 249.
Æ. 4. Wt. 55 grs.	ΜΟΙΡΑΓΕΝΗΣ	Mion. iii. n. 186 and 189.
Æ. 4. Wt. 63·5 grs.	ΜΟΛΠΟΣ	Hunter, p. 185, n. 14; Mion. S. vi. 250.
Æ. 3½. Wt. 64 grs.	ΝΙΚΟΛΟΧΟΣ	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 4. Wt.	[Π]ΑΡΜΕΝΙΣΚ[ΟΣ]	Cat. Rollin et Feuarden, 5,094.
Æ. 4. Wt.	ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 251.
Æ. 4. Wt.	ΠΛΑΤΩΝ	Cat. Gréau, n. 1,751; Subhi, 281.
Æ. 4. Wt.	ΡΟΔΙΩΝ	Cat. Gréau, n. 1,752.
Æ. 4. Wt. 62 grs.	ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ	Hunter, p. 185, n. 11; Mion. S. vi. 248 and 252.
Æ. 4. Wt. 60 grs.	ΣΩΣΙΣ	Mion. iii. n. 191.
Æ. 3. Wt.	ΣΩΤΑΣ	Cat. de Palin, n. 224.
Æ. 4. Wt. 62 grs.	ΤΑΥΡΕΑ[Σ]	Mion. iii. n. 192.
Æ. 4. Wt. 61 grs.	ΤΙΜΑΝΘΗ[Σ]	Mion. S. vi. n. 258.
Æ. 4½. Wt. 64·3 grs.	ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝ	Pembroke Cat. n. 907; Mion. S. vi. 255.
Æ. 4. Wt. 52 grs.	[ΦΙΛ]ΩΤΑΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 257.
Æ. 4. Wt. 61·5 grs.	ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΥΣ	Brit. Mus.; Mion. S. vi. n. 254.

COPPER.

Ε—Φ.	Bee in wreath of laurel.	Stag standing in front of palm-tree; in ex. magistrate's name. In front sometimes a monogram.
Æ. 4.	ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 302.
Æ. 4.	ΑΙΝΗΑΣ	Imhoof-Blumer.
Æ. 4.	ΑΠΟΜΩΝ[ΙΔΗΣ] & Σ	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 4.	ΑΡΚΑΣ & Σ	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 4.	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ & Α	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 4.	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ Δ—Α	Brit. Mus.
[Pl. IV. 10.]	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ & ΑΓ	Mion. iii. n. 219.
Æ. 4.	ΕΡΜΙΑΣ	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 4.	ΙΩΠΥΡΟΣ & Ε	Brit. Mus.
Æ. 4.	ΜΙΝΗΑΣ	Mion. S. vi. n. 303.

In the above list of copper coins it is more than probable that ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ, ΑΙΝΗΑΣ, and ΜΙΝΗΑΣ are one and the same name; the latter form a mis-reading of Sestini, from whom Mionnet takes it. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, and ΪΠΠΥΡΟΣ occur also on the silver money. There remain, therefore, only three names to be added to the long list on the drachms, making a total of about sixty-four names for a period of sixty-nine years.

In addition to the preceding silver and copper money, here attributed to the period between B.C. 202 and 133, we must not omit to mention the royal money of the kings of Pergamus, in whose dominions Ephesus was included after the peace of B.C. 189.

The following tetradrachms appear to have been struck at Ephesus between B.C. 189 and 159, in the reign of Eumenes II. :—

(δ) PHILETERIAN TETRADRACHMS.

Head of Philetaerus. His diadem twined round laurel wreath.

ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ Pallas seated left, holding wreath; her left arm resting on buckler, across her shoulder a lance, behind her a bow, in front Bee, and following monograms :—

Bee, ΔΙ	Mion. S. v. n. 1182.
Bee, Λ	Mion. S. v. n. 1183.
Bee, Thunderbolt.	Mion. S. v. n. 1184.
Bee, Α	Mion. S. v. n. 1185.
Bee, ⚡	Mion. S. v. n. 1186.
Bee, ΜΕ	Brit. Mus.
Bee, Ρ	Brit. Mus.

Of the above monograms two, viz.  $\Delta I$  and  $\text{A}\epsilon$ , are identical with two of those which occur on the Alexandrine tetradrachms of Class VI. struck at Ephesus (*v. supra*, p. 56). This shows that the same officials signed both kinds of money, and that, consequently, if the Alexandrine and the Philetaerian tetradrachms are not contemporary, they must be nearly so. The coinage with the types of Alexander was probably replaced in the year B.C. 189, when Ephesus was presented by the Romans to Eumenes, by the tetradrachms bearing the portrait of Philetaerus, the founder of the dynasty of the Attalids.

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Under one of the kings of this dynasty the famous cistophori made their first appearance as the principal circulating medium of Western Asia Minor.

It is probable that the fall of Rhodes, B.C. 167, and the sudden collapse during the next few years, circ. 167—160, of the Rhodian commerce (*v. Herzberg, Geschichte Griechenlands*, i. 206), may have suggested to Eumenes II. the endeavour to supply the place of the Rhodian currency in Asia Minor by the issue of a new coinage on the Rhodian standard at all the chief cities in his dominions; a sort of Pan-Asiatic coinage, which, like the contemporary money of the Achæan League in Peloponnesus, should be uniform in type, the local mint-marks and magistrates' symbols being in every case mere subordinate adjuncts. In this undertaking the King of Pergamus was, we may believe, supported by the Romans, who were at this precise time engaged in a strenuous endeavour to suppress in every direction the Rhodian trade by the erection of Delos into a free port under Athenian administration, as well as by the

reopening (B.C. 158) of the Macedonian silver mines and the encouragement of the issue in vast quantities of the regional tetradrachms of Macedonia Prima, Secunda, &c.

Whether the Roman capitalists of Asia took any direct part in this financial scheme for the creation of a uniform Asiatic currency cannot, however, be proved.

It seems, nevertheless, to be almost certain, judging from the number of varieties known, that the coinage of the cistophori commenced about B.C. 159, perhaps on the occasion of the accession of Attalus II.

The whole question of this coinage has been so thoroughly investigated by Pinder ("Ueber die Cistophoren," 1856) that I need not dwell upon it here, further than to give a list of all the specimens with which I am acquainted, struck at Ephesus. Among them will be found several varieties not known to Pinder.

(ε) UNDATED CISTOPHORI OF EPHEBUS. B.C. 159—188.

*Tetradrachm.*

Cista mystica with half-open lid, from which a serpent issues; the whole in wreath of ivy.	Two coiled serpents with heads erect, between them a bow-case.
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*Didrachm and Drachm.*

Club and lion's skin of Herakles; the whole within wreath, sometimes of ivy or vine, sometimes of laurel.	Bunch of grapes, placed upon a vine-leaf.
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WEIGHT.	IN FIELD, LEFT.	IN CENTRE.	IN FIELD, RIGHT.
1. 4 dr.	Head of Helios.		EΦE. Pinder 15; Vienna.
2. "	EΦE		Nike with wreath. P. 16; Dumerman.
3. "	"		Forepart of stag r. P. 17; Mion. S. vi. 259, 271.
4. "	"		Quiver. P. 18; Mion. iii. n. 193.
5. " 182 grs.	"		Statue of Ephesian Artemis. P. 19; Brit. Mus.
6. " 195·5 grs.	" [Pl. IV. 11.]		B and head of Ephesian Artemis wearing lofty head-dress. P. 20; Mion. iii. n. 194.
7. " 193·7 grs.	" Star		Branch of laurel filleted. P. 21; Brit. Mus.
8. "	" Bee		Cista, with serpent. P. 22.
9. dr.	" "		" " " P. 56; Berlin.
10. 4 dr.	" A	Bee.	Double Cornucopias, above which K. P. 23; Mion. iii. n. 196.
11. "	" K	Stag.	Bust of Greek Artemis. Ivanoff sale, n. 126.
12. " 193·9 grs.	" "		Bust of Greek Artemis. Brit. Mus.; Mion. iii. n. 195.
13. " 188 grs.	"		Artemis slaying stag. Brit. Mus.
14. " 187·5 grs.	"		Bow and quiver. Brit. Mus.
15. 2 dr. 91·5 grs.	Bow and quiver. [Pl. IV. 12.]		EΦE. Brit. Mus.
16. " 91·2 grs.	" (?)		" ? Brit. Mus.
17. dr.	EΦE		A. Pinder, 57; Berlin; Fox collection.
18. dr. 47·3 grs.	EΦ [Pl. IV. 13.]		Bee in wreath. Brit. Mus.

Supposing the above-described fifteen or more varieties to bear the symbols of annual magistrates, like the dated coins which follow, they may very probably be the coinage of the twenty-five years between B.C. 159 and 133.

During the period, therefore, of sixty-nine years between circ. B.C. 202 and 133, the following classes of coins were issued at the Ephesian Mint:—

- (a) Attic drachms and 'copper. *Obv.* Bee. *Rev.* Stag and palm-tree, with the names of the Eponymi, issued during the entire period (cf. the contemporary dated money of Aradus). See p. 57.

- (β) Tetradrachms with the types of Alexander, Class V. of Müller, issued between circ. 202 and 196 (cf. also Alexandrine money of Aradus). See p. 55.
- (γ) Tetradrachms with the types of Alexander, Class VI. of Müller, issued between circ. B.C. 196 and 189 (cf. also Alexandrine money of Aradus). See p. 56.
- (δ) Tetradrachms with the types of Philetaerus, issued between B.C. 189 and 159. See p. 60.
- (ε) Cistophori (undated) tetradrachms, didrachms, and drachms of Rhodian weight, issued between B.C. 159 and 133. See p. 62.

# PERIOD XI. B.C. 133—67.

In B.C. 133 the Roman people succeeded to the inheritance of Attalus III. of Pergamus, and Western Asia Minor became a Roman province.

Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, by an Ephesian hetaira, nevertheless made a hard struggle to obtain for himself his father's kingdom, which he claimed as his lawful inheritance.

Among the towns which refused to recognise Aristonicus was Ephesus, which remained throughout faithful to the Roman cause.

From the year B.C. 133 onwards the cistophori of Ephesus bear dates referring to the era of the constitution of the province (24 Sept. 134). They are also to be distinguished from the earlier cistophori by the adjunct symbol, a long flaming torch in the field to the right of the serpents on the reverse.

The following is a list of the cistophori struck between B.C. 133 and 67 :—

## (a) DATED CISTOPHORI. B.C. 133—67.

DATE, B.C.	WEIGHT.	IN FIELD, LEFT.	IN CENTRE.	IN FIELD, RIGHT.	
133	4 dr.	EΦE A	Bee	Long torch	Pinder, 25; Mion. S. vi. 260.
„	2 dr.	Torch	„	EΦE A	Cat. Pericles Exeunetes, n. 215.
132	4 dr.	EΦE B	„	Long torch	P. 26; Mion. S. vi. n. 261 and 272.

DATE, B.C.	WEIGHT.	IN FIELD, LEFT.	IN CENTER.	IN FIELD, RIGHT.	
131	4 dr.	EΦE Γ	Bee	Long torch	Pinder, 27.
"	"	" "	Nothing	"	Brit. Mus.
130	"	" "	Δ	"	P. 28; Vienna.
129	4 dr.	" "	E	"	University, Aberdeen; Hüber, n. 568.
127	194 grs. 4 dr.	" Z	Ephes. Artemis	"	Brit. Mus.
126	193 grs. 4 dr.	" H	Stag	"	P. 29.
126	"	" Θ	Ephes. Artemis	"	Ivanoff, n. 129; Bun- bury.
124	"	" I	Star	"	Ivanoff, n. 128.
121	"	" ΙΓ	?	"	P. 30; Berlin (Pro- kesch-Osten).
118	"	" Ιϵ	Cornucopiae	"	P. 31.
117	"	" ΙΖ	Bunch of grapes	"	Whittall, n. 368.
113	"	" KAΦ	Hat of Dioscurus, with star above	"	P. 32; Vatican.
"	2 dr.	[EΦ]E		Hat of Dio- scurus with star above.	P. 55; Vienna.
112	4 dr.	EΦE BK	Lyre	Long torch	Whittall, n. 368.
100	"	" ΑΔ	Tripod	"	P. 33; Brit. Mus.; Mion. iii. n. 197.
94	"	" M	Candelabrum	"	Brit. Mus. [Pl. V. 1.]
91	"	" MΓ	Headdress of Isis	"	P. 34.
90	"	" MΔ	Tripod ? or fulmen ? ?	"	P. 35; Mion. iii. n. 198.
89	"	" ME	Staff of Asklepios	"	P. 36; Mion. iii. n. 199.
88	"	" Mϵ	Headdress of Isis	"	P. 37; Mion. S. vi. n. 262.
87	"	" MZ	Trident	"	Brit. Mus., weight 193.8 grs.
86	"	" MH	Head of Isis	"	P. 38; Mion. iii. n. 200.
85	"	" MΘ	Nike with wreath	"	P. 40; Brit. Mus., 195.2 grs.
83	"	" NA	Hermes with caduceus	"	P. 41; Brit. Mus.
82	"	" NB	Headdress of Isis	"	P. 42; Brit. Mus., 193 grs.
81	"	" NΓ	Quiver	"	P. 43; Brit. Mus., 196.2 grs.
80	"	" NΔ	Two cornucopiae	"	Subbi Catalogue, 1874, n. 2761.
79	"	" NE	Greek Artemis	"	Whittall, 369; North- wick, 1055.
77	"	" NZ	Priapus	"	P. 44; Mion. S. vi. 266.

DATE, B.C.	WEIGHT.	IN FIELD, LEFT.	IN CENTRE.	IN FIELD, RIGHT.		
71	4 dr.	EΦE	ΣΓ	Two cornucopiæ, between which ear of corn	Long torch	Pinder, 45.
"	"	"	"	Two cornucopiæ, between, palm	"	P. 46; Vienna.
70	"	"	ΣΔ	Crater with cover	"	Brit. Mus., 192 grs.
69	"	"	ΣE	Two cornucopiæ, between which ear of corn sur- mounted by headdress of Isis	"	P. 49; Mion. S. vi. n. 267.
"	"	"	"	Head of Medusa	"	Brit. Mus., 182 grs.
68	"	"	Σϵ	Two cornucopiæ, between which ear of corn surmounted by headdress of Isis	"	Cf. P. 50; Brit. Mus., 183·4 grs.
"	"	"	"	Two cornucopiæ, between, palm	"	P. 51; Brit. Mus. 187 grs.
67	"	"	ΣΖ	Two cornucopiæ, between, ear of corn without headdress of Isis	"	P. 53; Mion. iii. n. 202.
"	"	"	"	Two cornucopiæ, between, palm	"	P. 54; Brit. Mus., 189 grs.

Ephesus was now the chief city of the Roman province of Asia, and the usual residence of the Roman governor. Now for the first time did Asia taste the full blessings of the much-lauded Roman rule. "Not only," says Momm-  
sen (Hist. Rom. bk. iv. chap. i.) "was free scope allowed with criminal indulgence to the unscrupulous greed of the Roman merchant in the provincial administration, but even the commercial rivals who were disagreeable to him were cleared away by the armies of the State, and the most glorious cities of neighbouring lands were sacrificed, not to the barbarous lust of power, but to the far more horrible barbarism of speculation."

The Roman rule of the provinces consisted, in two words, of systematized plunder in the cities and of man-

hunting and slave-driving in the country districts. No species of property was safe from confiscation. "Every stalk of corn grew for the Roman *decumanus*, and every child of free parents seemed born for the Roman slave-drivers" (Mommsen, *l. c.* chap. viii.).

Can we wonder, then, that when the formidable Mithradates appeared, B.C. 88, in Western Asia Minor, and that when he appealed to the national sympathies of the people, the whole country rose as one man against Rome, proclaiming Mithradates as "the delivering god." The hour of vengeance was come at last, and from Ephesus Mithradates sent forth orders to all the cities dependent on him to put to death on one and the same day every Roman within their districts. It is said that eighty thousand, according to Appian, or, according to Plutarch, one hundred and fifty thousand Romans were thus massacred in Asia Minor. The people of Ephesus did not even spare those who fled to the altar of their goddess for protection.

From B.C. 87—84 Ephesus, although nominally for part of the time belonging to Mithradates, was *de facto* a free city, and to this interval must be attributed the gold money bearing on the reverse the figure of the Ephesian Artemis, by the issue of which Ephesus proclaimed to the world her complete independence and autonomy, the coinage of gold being then considered everywhere as a symbol and prerogative of supreme power.

We are surprised, nevertheless, to remark that the issue of the cistophori, dated according to the era of the Roman province of Asia, is not interrupted by the revolt from Rome, but continues in one almost unbroken series down to the year B.C. 67, after which a change takes place, the name of the Roman Proconsul appearing after

that date upon the coinage. The following are the gold coins which belong to the period of the Revolt, B.C. 87—84:—

GOLD COINAGE OF THE TIME OF MITHRADATES. B.C. 87—84.

1. <i>N.</i> 4. Wt. 181 grs. (Mion. iii. n. 151, Paris.) [Pl. V. 2.]	Bust draped of Artemis wearing stephane, right; bow and quiver at shoulder.	EΦ—E—ΣI—ΩN. Statue of Ephesian Artemis, a fillet hanging from each hand; in field, left, stag, right, bee.
2. <i>N.</i> 4. Wt. 182 grs. (Waddington collection, also Friedländer, K. Münzkab, 219.) [Pl. V. 3.]	Similar.	E—Φ. Similar.
3. <i>N.</i> 4. Wt. 183 grs. (Dupré, 289.) [Pl. V. 4.]	Similar.	E—Φ. Similar type, but in field, left, tripod, right, B.
4. <i>N.</i> 5. Wt. 127 grs. (Friedländer, l.c. n. 220.) [Pl. V. 5.]	Similar.	E—Φ. Similar type; in field right, small figure of Artemis huntress.
5. <i>N.</i> 4. Wt. 182 grs. (Berlin, Prok.-Osten.) [Pl. V. 6.]	Similar.	E—Φ. Similar type in field left, stag right.
6. <i>N.</i> 5. Wt. 182 grs. (Imhoof-Blumer.)	Similar.	E—Φ. Similar type. No symbols.
7. <i>N.</i> 3. Wt. 84.8 grs. (Thomas sale, 2,182.) 549 gr.	Similar.	No inscription. Similar type; in field right, stag, left, bee.

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Of the above-described gold coins, the last differs from those which precede both in weight and in the fact that it does not bear the name of the *Ephesian people*.

Hence Mommsen (*Mon. Rom.*, ed. Blacas, vol. ii. p. 444) supposes that it may have been issued by Sulla when he came to Ephesus in B.C. 84, and explains its unusual weight as being  $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the Roman pound, and exactly the half of the ordinary aurei bearing the name of Sulla (Mommsen, *l. c.* p. 440, sqq.), which may or may not have been issued at Ephesus, but which seem to

have been certainly intended to circulate in the Eastern Provinces.

During Sulla's stay in Ephesus it is said that he punished no one with death, but was satisfied with imposing a heavy fine upon the city. After his departure Lucullus remained behind as Proquæstor to exact the fines imposed by Sulla. In B.C. 74 he was elected Consul, and subsequently he was appointed to the command in Asia against Mithradates. The government of Lucullus, according to Plutarch, was extremely popular, for he appears to have relieved the people from many of the burdens under which they had so long been groaning—the Roman tax-farmer and usurer. Lucullus was in his turn superseded by Pompeius in B.C. 66, who, in virtue of the Gabinian and Manilian laws, obtained unlimited power in Asia, together with the rights of a Proconsul.



## PERIOD XII. B.C. 67—48.

Between B.C. 67 and 58 no coins of Ephesus are known, and when they recommence in the latter year a change is noticeable in the reverse. A symbol is generally substituted for the bow-case between the serpents, and henceforth the cistophori bear the name of the Proconsul of Asia in the Roman character, and that of a civic magistrate in Greek letters.

This modification in the coinage took place, there can be no doubt, on the occasion of the reorganization of the Asiatic provinces begun by Lucullus and completed by Pompeius after the death of Mithradates in B.C. 63.

In this reorganization the policy of the Romans was to conciliate the urban communities as being no less the centres of Western civilisation and commerce than bulwarks against the flood of Oriental barbarism.

An indication, perhaps, of this policy of wise consideration for ancient civic rights, combined, however, be it observed, with a more distinct assertion of Roman supremacy, may be seen on the Proconsular cistophori of Ephesus, B.C. 58—48, on which, for the first time since the constitution of the Province of Asia, in B.C. 133, the name of the responsible magistrate in Greek characters reappears.

Of this class the following specimens are known :—

## PROCONSULAR CISTOPHORI. B.C. 58—48.

*T. Ampius, T. F. Balbus.*

B.C. 58. **ΕΦΕ ΟΣ.**<sup>21</sup> [Brit.  
Mus. 185.8 grs.]  
[Pl. V. 7.]

B.C. 58—57. **ΕΦΕ ΟΖ.** [Pin-  
der, 177.]

B.C. 58—57. **ΕΦΕ ΟΖ.** [Pin-  
der, 178.]

B.C. 58—57. **ΕΦΕ ΟΖ.** [Brit.  
Mus., 191 grs.; Pinder, 179.]  
[Pl. V. 8.]

**T. AMPI. T. F. PRO  
COS.** Between serpents,  
tripod, on which a statue of  
the Ephesian Artemis; in  
field right, long torch, and  
beneath, **ΤΙΜΟCΤΡΑ-  
ΤΟC ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΥ.**

**T. AMPI. T. F. PRO  
COS.** Between serpents,  
Apollo standing on tripod;  
in field right, long torch, and  
beneath, **ΓΛΥΚΩΝΤΙΔ..  
ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗC.**

Same, but beneath, **ΔΙΟΝΥ-  
CΙΟC** ..... **ΥΙ.....**

Same, but beneath **ΕΡΜΙΑC  
ΚΑΙΥCΤΡΙ[ΟΥ].**

*C. Fabius, M. F. [Hadrianus].*

B.C. 57. **ΕΦΕ ΟΖ.** [Brit.  
Mus., 189.5 grs.; Pinder,  
175.]

**C. FABI. M. F. PRO  
COS.** Between serpents  
and standing upon bow-case  
a figure of the Greek Ar-  
temis, carrying bow, arrow,  
and quiver; in field left,  
long torch; beneath **ΚΝΩ-  
ΣΟC.**

The name of the Proconsul who succeeded C. Fabius is  
not known.

*C. Claudius, Ap. F. Pulcher.*

B.C. 55—54 (?). **ΕΦΕ Π (?)**.  
[Berlin; Fox collection.]

**C. PVLCHRI. AP. F.  
PRO COS.** Between ser-  
pents usual bow-case; in  
field right, long torch; be-  
neath, **ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗC.**

<sup>21</sup> The date on this hitherto unpublished cistophorus proves that T. Ampius succeeded Q. Cicero as Proconsul of Asia in B.C. 58, and that C. Fabius did not succeed to the Proconsulship till B.C. 57. The accepted order is thus reversed. See Waddington, "Fastes des Prov. Asiatiques," p. 58.

Q. Minutius Thermus, B.C. 51, the next Proconsul whose name we know, has left us no coins.

From B.C. 50—49 the province of Asia was left without a Proconsul in consequence of the breaking out of the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompeius. During this year L. Antonius remained as Quæstor in Asia, and by his authority were issued in all likelihood the anonymous cistophori, only signed with the letter Q for Quæstor, and with the monogram **QA**.

*L. Antonius, M. F. Proquæstor.*

<p>B.C. 50—49. [Brit. Mus., 188 grs.; Pinder, 202.] [Pl. V. 9.]</p>	<p>In field left, <b>Q</b>, above bow-case <b>QA</b>; in field right, long torch.</p>
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*C. Fannius, Prætor.*

<p>B.C. 48. <b>ΕΦΕ ΠΣ</b>. [Brit. Mus., 179·7 and 181·2 grs.; 2 specimens.]</p>	<p><b>C. FAN. PONT. PR.</b> In field left, figure of Greek Artemis (?); in centre, tetra-style temple, surmounted by armed (?) figure; in field right, long torch; beneath, <b>ΑΡΧΙΔΗΜΟC</b>.</p>
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*Date and name of Proconsul wanting.*

<p><b>ΕΦΕ</b>. [Mion. iii. n. 204.]</p>	<p>..... <b>PRO COS.</b> Between serpents, bow-case; in field right, long torch; beneath, <b>ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΣ</b>.</p>
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It is worthy of remark that the symbol between the serpents cannot belong, as Pinder supposes, to the Proconsul. This is proved by the coin of B.C. 58, which has a tripod surmounted by the Ephesian Artemis, while that of the following year, B.C. 57, although bearing the name

of the same Proconsul, has a tripod surmounted by Apollo. Neither can it refer to the civic magistrate whose name stands in the exergue of the coins of B.C. 57, for in this one year the name of this official is changed as many as four times.

The symbol in question may perfectly well, however, stand in the place of the name of another but an *annual* magistrate.

From the occurrence of as many as four names on the coins of the year B.C. 58—57 which differ from all other names on the autonomous coins of Ephesus, inasmuch as they are provided with a patronymic, it may be inferred that during the Proconsulship of T. Ampius the duty of superintending the coinage was temporarily transferred to a magistrate of inferior rank, whose term of office was probably quarterly.

With the Proconsulship of C. Fabius the ancient order of things appears to have been restored, the Eponymous annual magistrate once more signing the coinage without a patronymic.

### PERIOD XIII. B.C. 48—27.

The coinage of the Proconsular cistophori at Ephesus ceased during the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompeius, B.C. 48, and does not appear to have been resumed. After his victory at Pharsalia, Cæsar visited Ephesus, and introduced many excellent reforms into the constitution of the province, among which not the least beneficial was the abolition of the system of farming the revenues. A few years afterwards the Ephesians embraced the cause of Brutus and Cassius (B.C. 44), but when Antonius arrived at Ephesus in B.C. 41 he fined them heavily for having chosen the wrong side in the struggle for supremacy. The cistophori of Antonius, though probably struck at Ephesus, bear no mint-marks, and in any case belong rather to the series of the Imperial coins than to that of the autonomous.

There remain, therefore, to be described only the copper coins which belong to the period of the latest cistophori, or of the intervening time between the first civil war and the accession of Augustus.

Of these the following are the principal varieties :—

#### COPPER COINAGE. CIRC. B.C. 48—27.

Æ. 6. Bust of Artemis right, draped and wearing stephane; at her shoulder bow and quiver. [Brit. Mus.]	E—Φ. Forepart of stag right, looking back; behind, long torch; in field, Α; beneath, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ.
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Æ. 5½. Similar. [Imhoof-Blumer.]

Æ. 5½. Similar. [Mion. iii. n. 210.]

Æ. 5½. Similar. [Brit. Mus.] [Pl. V. 10.]

Æ. 5½. Similar. [Brit. Mus.]

Æ. 4½. Bust of Artemis right, draped, wearing stephane; at her shoulder bow and quiver. [Brit. Mus.] [Pl. V. 11.]

Æ. 4½. E—Φ. Head of Artemis right, wearing stephane; the whole in wreath of laurel leaves and berries. [Mion. iii. 209.]

Æ. 4. Bee in wreath of laurel. [Mion. iii. n. 216.]

Æ. 2½. Similar. [Mion. S. vi. n. 286.]

Æ. 2½. Similar. [Mion. S. vi. n. 287.]

Æ. 2½. Similar. [Imhoof-Blumer.]

Æ. 2½. Similar. [Sestini, Mus. Hederv. ii. p. 163.]

Æ. 2½. E—Φ. Similar. [Subhi Catalogue, 1874, n. 2,767.]

Æ. 3. E—Φ. Similar. [Imhoof-Blumer.]

Æ. 2. E—Φ. Bee. [Subhi Catalogue, 1874, n. 2,766.]

Æ. 2. E—Φ. Bee. [Mion. S. vi. n. 283.]

Similar, but in field Θ; beneath, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ.

Similar, but in field ME, and beneath, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ.

Similar; no letter in field; beneath, ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ.

Similar; in field Θ; beneath, ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ.

E—Φ. Long torch between two stags face to face; above, ΔΗΜΗ ΤΡΙΟΣ; in field, ΚΩ ΚΟΣ; in ex. ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΣ.

Stag standing right; in field above, ΦΙΛΩΝ.

Stag standing right; in its mouth a fillet; behind, a torch; in ex. ΙΑΣΩΝ.

Similar.

Similar, but in field Π and Π; in ex. ΜΕΝΑΝ[ΔΡΟΣ].

Similar; behind stag, torch; in front, ear of corn; in ex. ΑΙΝΗΑΣ.

E—Φ. Stag standing, head turned back; behind it a torch; across field in three lines, ΔΙΟ ΝΥ ΣΙΑΔΑΣ.

Stag standing right, head turned back; behind it a torch; magistrate's name, ΠΥΘΩΝ.

Stag standing right, head turned back; behind it a long torch; in field left,

Τ, right, Α.

Stag standing right; in field, ..... ΤΙΩΣ.

Forepart of stag right, head turned back; in the field a torch and ... ΤΟΥΚΡΑ.

Æ. 5. E—Φ. Bee in wreath of laurel. [Mion. S. vi. n. 304.]

Æ. 6. E—Φ. Artemis huntress, with bow and quiver, advancing to right, dog running beside her; border of dots. [Brit. Mus.]  
[Pl. V. 12.]

Æ. 8. E—ΦE. Cock right, with palm on wing; above ΓΡΑ. [Cf. Mion. S. v. 552, 370, Dardannus.]

Æ. 2½. ANTIOXΟΣ. Crescent and star. [Sestini, Mus. Hederv. ii. Pl. 19, 3.]

Stag standing right; in field two monograms; above, in two lines, ΚΟΥΣΙΝΙΟΣ.

Cock right, with palm-branch on which a wreath, across left wing; in ex. ΙΑΣΩΝ; the whole in wreath of laurel-leaves and berries.

Stag standing right; in field,  
Λ? APX?  
ΛΥΣ?

ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ. Stag standing right; beneath in field, ΤΟ Μ Γ; above stag, ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΣ.

The last-described coin may be compared with Mion. Sup. vi. No. 310 of Augustus, reading APXIEPEOC ANT[IO]XOY.

The name of a high-priest, ΚΟΥΣΙΝΙΟΣ, likewise occurs on early Imperial coins; cf. with the coin bearing this name described above, coins of Augustus and Livia, and of Claudius and Agrippina, &c. &c. Mion. Sup. vi. Nos. 319, 327, and 329. These instances show that it is impossible to draw an exact line between the coins of Ephesus struck before the accession of Augustus and those issued after that date.

## SUMMARY.

Before concluding, and with the view of throwing some light upon the question of the duration of the magistracy entrusted with the care of the coinage at Ephesus, it will be useful to set down in a tabular form the results at which I have arrived :—

		Years.	Names.
Period I. B.C. 700—480.	From the earliest times to the Persian Wars.		
Period II. B.C. 480—415.	Athenian Supremacy.	65	
Period III. B.C. 415—394.	Persian and Spartan Supremacies.		
	Tissaphernes—Lysander 407 } 11 yrs.	21	8
	Agésilæus . . . . . 396 }		
Period IV. B.C. 394—387.	Democracy. Conon and Pharnabazus.		
	Alliance with Rhodes, Samos, and Cnidus.	7	5
Period V. B.C. 387—295.	387—334. Generally a tyranny.		
	334—295. Democracy instituted by Alexander.	92	87
Period VI. B.C. 295—288.	Oligarchy. Lysimachus.	7 (?)	7
Period VII. B.C. 288—280.	Oligarchy. Name changed to Arsinoë.	8 (?)	8(?)
Period VIII. B.C. 280—258.	Under the Seleucids.	22	18
Period IX. B.C. 258—202.	Under the Ptolemies.	56	41
Period X. B.C. 202—133.	B.C. 202—196. Autonomous ?		
	B.C. 196—189. Under Antiochus III. }	69	64
	B.C. 189—133. Under the Attalids. }		
B.C. 133.	Asia as a Roman Province.		
	Total		238

It thus appears that during the period of 274 years which elapsed between the arrival of Lysander at Ephesus in B.C. 407 and the constitution of the Roman



province of Asia in B.C. 133 we have 238 magistrates' names.

The question next naturally arises, was or was not the office of moneyer an annual one?

If annual it follows that our lists are nearly complete, and that not more than about forty names remain to be discovered.

If, on the other hand, this magistracy was renewed once every six months or oftener, we must continue to expect that a great many more names will be discovered than we now know of. In any case, as the number of names in each period is proportionate to its length, the chronological sequence of the coinage would remain unaffected, and this after all is the main point at issue.

It seems to me that the question of the duration of the term of office of the magistrate who signs these coins can only be settled by comparing with the coins of Ephesus the dated coinage of some other city of equal commercial importance during an extended term of years, in order to ascertain what proportion of the entire coinage is likely to have been preserved to our times. If we take the dated cistophori of Ephesus itself between B.C. 133 and 67, we find that out of 66 dates only 32 have come down to us on the coins, and during the 10 years B.C. 58—48, 5 dates only have reached us. But it must be borne in mind that the cistophori were issued at many mints in Asia Minor, and possibly in a kind of rotation.

On the other hand, in the case of Aradus, a city of which the coinage is better adapted than that of any other for a comparison with the money of Ephesus, I find that between B.C. 170 and 142, a period of 28 years, as many as 22 dated coins are known to me, 20 in the British Museum alone; and again in the next period,

B.C. 186—108, in a space of 29 years there are 25 coins bearing different dates, of which 21 are in the British Museum; and in the coinage of the same city, between B.C. 98 and 60, a period of 38 years, there are coins of 28 different years in the British Museum alone, without counting those in other cabinets.

If, then, we compare with the table of Ephesian coins the following table of the coinage of Aradus, I think that on the whole it must be confessed that the balance of evidence is strongly in favour of the theory that our Ephesian lists are also nearly complete and that the term of office of the magistrate whose name appears on the autonomous coinage of Ephesus was an *annual* one.

## ARADUS.

	Years.	Dates on Coins.
B.C. 170—142	28	22
B.C. 186—108	29	25
B.C. 98— 60	38	28

## CONCLUSION.

Assuming, therefore, as I think I am warranted in doing, that the names on the coins of autonomous Ephesus are those of annual magistrates, it remains to be seen whether it is possible to determine what was the exact title of the magistrate in question.

C. Curtius (*Hermes*, iv. p. 225) supposes with Guhl the magistrate's name on these coins to have been that of the first Archon; but is there any trustworthy documentary evidence for the office of Archons at Ephesus at all? for the inscription cited by Guhl and Curtius (*l.c.*), viz. Boeckh C. I. G. 2953<sup>b</sup>, has been lately restored by M. Homolle (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, Tom. ii. p. 333) to the treasury of the temple of Apollo at Delos. It has therefore really nothing whatever to do with Ephesus.

On the other hand, F. Lenormant (*La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, iii. p. 129) is inclined to infer from the occurrence of the name **ΚΟΥΣΙΝΙΟΣ** on late autonomous copper coins, and from the recurrence of the same name on early Imperial coins followed by the title **ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ**, that it was the high-priest of Artemis, the Megabyzus, whose name appears on all the previous autonomous coins of the city. But here again I would remark that in the first place there is no evidence that the Cusinius of the time of Augustus and Claudius is the same person as the Cusinius of the autonomous coin, and in the second place, granting this to be the case, that it seems in the highest degree

improbable that the Megabyzi were changed annually, as from the number of extant names on the coins they must have been if M. Lenormant's hypothesis is to be accepted.<sup>22</sup>

My own opinion is that the magistrate who places his name on the currency in autonomous times is the first Prytanis, the regular Eponymus for state documents at Ephesus.<sup>23</sup> Aristotle (Polit. vi. 5) informs us that the duties of these magistrates (*καλοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις*) consisted "in the general care of all such public sacrifices as the law does not commit to the priests, but which concern the honour of that god who is the protector of the city. The necessary cares, therefore, about these things are, as I may say summarily, concerning religion, war, taxes, expenditures, markets, the city, the harbours, and the highways, and further still, concerning things pertaining to courts of justice, the enrolment of contracts, executions, imprisonments, inquests, calling the magistrates to account for their conduct, and lastly concerning those who are to give their advice in public affairs."

Prytaneis such as these described by Aristotle must not be confounded with the Prytaneis of the Athenian constitution, who were indeed not magistrates at all properly so called.

The duties of the first Prytanis at Ephesus may have

<sup>22</sup> It does not seem clear that the title *ἀρχιερεὺς* was applied solely or even primarily to the Megabyzus in Imperial times. Cusinius may very probably have been *ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν*.

<sup>23</sup> The Prytanis appears to have been the Eponymus at other towns also; cf., for example, the Cistophori of Pergamus, and Imperial coins of Cyme in Æolis (Mion. iii. p. 10, Sup. vi. p. 16), of Stratonicea in Caria (M. iii. p. 379, Sup. vi. p. 538), of Attuda in Phrygia (M. S. vii. p. 519), and of Synnada in Phrygia (M. iv. p. 369, S. vii. p. 623).

been analogous to those of the Archon Eponymus at Athens.

Now I believe that I can bring forward sufficient positive evidence to prove it to have been at any rate the general rule at Ephesus for the first Prytanis to place his name upon the coinage of the State.

In the important Ephesian legal document published in Wood's "Ephesus" (Inscriptions from the city and suburbs, No. 1) there occur the names of four Prytaneis who are mentioned as the Eponymi of four successive years. These are—

- (i.) ΔΗΜΑΓΟΡΑΣ.
- (ii.) ΜΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ.
- (iii.) ΑΠΟΛΛΑΣ.
- (iv.) ΔΑΝΑΟΣ.

Mr. Hicks informs me that he has been led to assign the inscription in question and the complications it deals with to the disorders which probably followed the edict of Alexander for the recall of the exiles, *i.e.*, B.C. 324—319.

Turning now to my list of names for Period V., B.C. 387—301, I there find the names—

ΔΗΜΑΓΟΡΗΣ,  
ΜΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ,  
ΔΑΝΑΟΣ,

but no ΑΠΟΛΛΑΣ. Sooner or later the coins struck "in the year of Apollas" will probably be discovered.

The next strong point in favour of my theory is the following:—In an inscription of Ephesus published by Le Bas and Waddington, No. 136, and there attributed, on account of the forms of the letters and the verbose style of the document, to the first century B.C., mention

is made of a certain Badromios as the eponymous Prytanis of Ephesus, "*ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις τοῖς μετὰ Βαδρόμιον Πρύτανιν.*"

Now Badromios as the name of a man is entirely unknown, save and except only on a coin of Ephesus struck according to my arrangement in Period X. between B.C. 202 and 133. Can any one doubt for a moment that the **ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΣ** of the coin is the same man as the Prytanis of that name mentioned in the contemporary inscription?

Finally, there is one more coincidence in names which, not less striking than the preceding, is of much value as a piece of additional and cumulative evidence. Josephus (Ant. Jud. xiv. 10, 25), or the Hellenistic Jew who has made additions to Book xiv. in his name, in that portion of his narrative in which he pauses to enumerate the decrees of various Asiatic cities in favour of Hyrcanus II. (B.C. 47—40) who had petitioned through his ambassadors that the Jews residing in the several cities might be exempted from military service, cites a decree of the Ephesians, dated B.C. 43, when M. Junius Brutus was Proconsul,<sup>24</sup> which begins with the words *Ἐπὶ Πρυτανέως Μηνοφίλου*.

Here again, on referring to my list of coins struck after B.C. 48, we find a copper coin with the magistrate's name **ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ**, who was therefore Prytanis in B.C. 43—42.<sup>25</sup>

We have thus in all the names of no less than five

<sup>24</sup> The MSS. of this passage give the reading *Μάρκῳ Ἰουλίῳ Πομπηίῳ υἱῷ Βρούτου*. The correct reading has been restored by Bergmann ("Philologus," 1847, p. 687) to *Μάρκῳ Ἰουνίῳ Μάρκου υἱῷ Βρούτῳ*.

<sup>25</sup> The name of Artemon, the Prytanis of Ephesus, who preceded Menophilus, has also been recorded by Josephus (xiv. 10, 11, 12). He must have held office in B.C. 48, but no coins are at present known bearing his name. See Waddington, "Fastes des Prov. Asiatiques," p. 72.

eponymous *πρυτάνεις* of Ephesus mentioned in inscriptions of different periods, which occur also on coins of the very same periods to which the inscriptions belong.

The several points, therefore, which I have striven in the previous pages to establish, and not, I trust, altogether without success, are—

1st. The approximate *chronological sequence* of the coinage of Ephesus from the earliest times to the establishment of the Empire.

2nd. That the magistrate whose name appears regularly on the coinage is an *annual magistrate*.

3rd. That this annual magistrate was the *first Prytanis*, who at Ephesus was the President of the Committee of Prytaneis entrusted with the execution of the decrees of the Boule and Demos, and who is thus proved to have been, at any rate from the year B.C. 407 down to the age of Augustus, the *Eponymus* of the city.

# ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE EPONYMOUS PRYTANEIS OF EPHESUS,

With their approximate dates.

[N.B.—The names to which an asterisk is prefixed are not to be found in Pape's "Wörterbuch, d. Gr. Eigennamen," 3rd edition, 1870.]

A.		B.C.	
	B.C.		
'Αγῆνωρ . . . .	280—258	'Απόλλας . . . .	202—133
'Αθηναγόρας . . . .	202—133	'Απολλόδωρος . . . .	295—288
'Αθήναιος . . . .	295—288	'Απολλωνίδης . . . .	288—280
*'Αθηνόμανδρος . . . .	387—301	'Απολλων(ίδης) . . . .	280—258
*'Αθηνοπολίτης . . . .	258—202	'Απολλωνίδης . . . .	202—133
Αἰγύπτιος . . . .	202—133	'Αρισταγόρας . . . .	387—301
Αἰνέας . . . . .	387—301	'Αρισταγόρης . . . .	387—301
Αἰνείας . . . . .	202—133	'Αρισταίος . . . . .	288—280
*Αἰνῆας . . . . .	202—133	'Αριστέας . . . . .	202—133
*Αἰνῆας . . . . .	48—27	'Αριστόδημος . . . .	387—301
Αἰσχρίων . . . . .	202—133	'Αριστοκράτης . . . .	258—202
Αἰχμοκλῆς . . . . .	202—133	'Αριστολέων . . . . .	387—301
'Αλέξανδρος . . . .	258—202	'Αριστόλεως . . . . .	394—387
'Αλκείδης . . . . .	387—301	'Αριστόλοχος . . . .	387—301
*'Αλκιππος . . . . .	387—301	'Αριστοφῶν . . . . .	258—202
*'Αλκιππος . . . . .	280—258	'Αριστοφῶν . . . . .	202—133
'Ανδροίτας . . . . .	387—301	'Αρίστρατος . . . . .	258—202
'Ανδρόμαχος . . . .	202—133	'Αρκάς . . . . .	202—133
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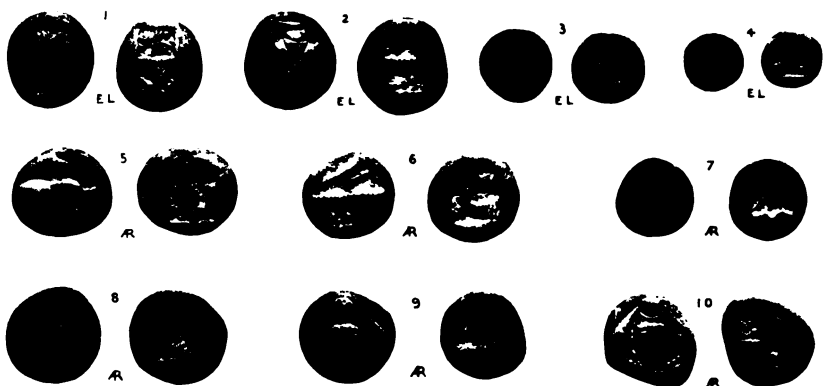
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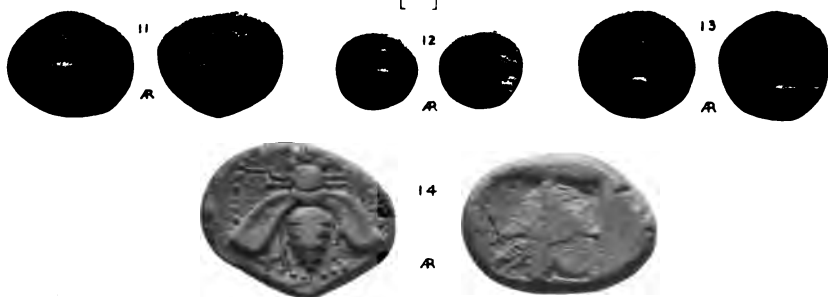




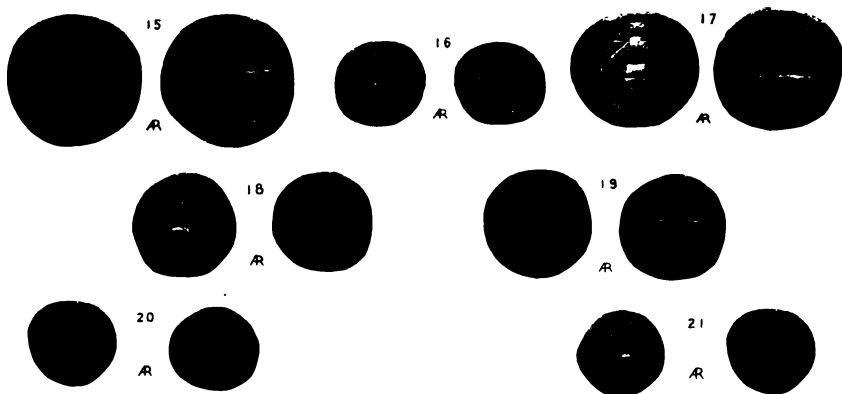
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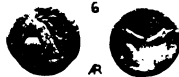
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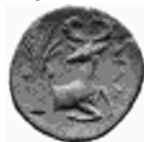


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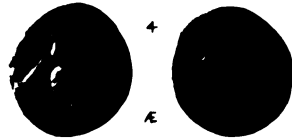
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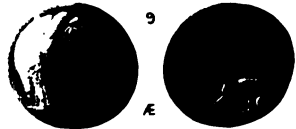
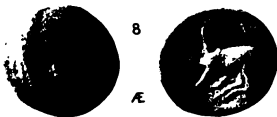




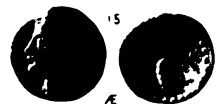
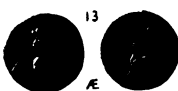
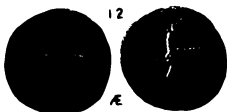
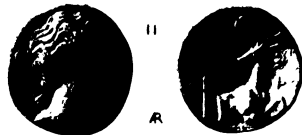
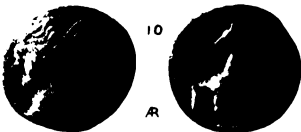
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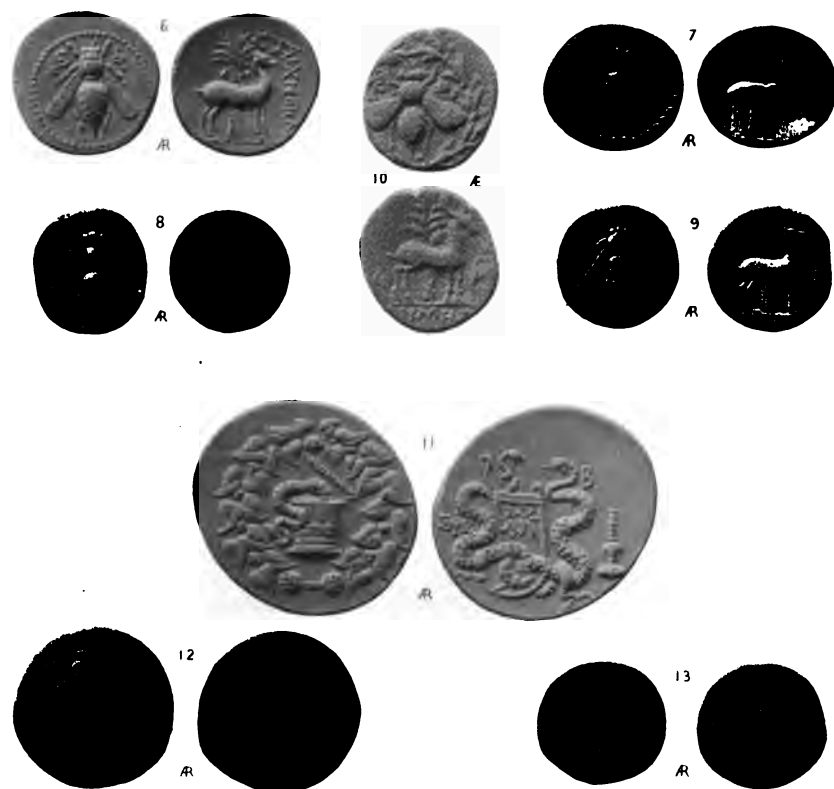




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