Zeus Eleutherios — Zeus Kronos. Himera — Therma Nel IV Sec. A. C.

Zeus Eleutherios — Zeus Kronos. Himera — Therma in the Fourth Century B.C.*

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Segesta was the ill-fated star of the Hellenic *poleis* of Sicily, one of which it too aspired to become, and may indeed appear to have become, albeit with "provincial" characteristics. First it provoked the Athenian expedition of 415 B.C. against Syracuse, which resulted in a "Doric" triumph; then it contributed to awakening Carthage's imperialistic drive in 409 B.C., which produced the geopolitical upheaval of western and central Sicily. An "Elymian state" — an anachronistic invention — did not exist before nor did it emerge then. Rather, at the conclusion of the tragic years from 409 to 405 B.C., Syracuse once again became the great hegemonic city it had always been, even if with a poor monetary economy and under a frugal tyrant who, with an inferiority complex toward Athens, splendid for its culture, never ceased to renew his attempts at a Hellenic war against the barbarian.

The second of the Greek *poleis* ruined by the Carthaginian armies, after Selinunte, was Himera, the ancient Chalcidian colony by then Doricized, in whose territory to the west Therma held a notable strategic and demographic role. The survival of Himera, after the Carthaginian occupation in 409/8 B.C., is assured by explicit references in three historiographical sources, reported by Chr. Boehringer[1]: apart from the circumstance that in 408/7 B.C. the Syracusan Hermocrates is said to have encamped near the devastated city (Diod. 13, 75, 2), in the peace treaty concluded in 405 B.C. between Carthage and Dionysius I, naturally in the name of Syracuse now under his control, it was established that, like the Selinuntines and the Akragantinoi, the Himeraioi, the Geloi, and the Kamarinaioi should inhabit their respective cities, but without walls and subject to the payment of a tribute to Carthage (Diod. 13, 114, 1), calculated probably on the basis of the territory belonging to each. References to Himera, as a reconstituted city, return for 397 B.C. (Diod. 14, 47, 6) and for the following year, when the general Himilco concluded a treaty of *philia* with the Himeraioi and with the inhabitants of Kephaloidion (Diod. 14, 56, 2). Dionysius is said to have sent his brother Leptines to Himera and then to have seized it himself[2].

Other reports are recorded for the end of the fourth century B.C.: in 314 B.C. Agathocles is said to have recognized Carthaginian control over Himera, as over Herakleia and Selinunte[3].

*In memory of Dr. Athos Moretti, always open and generous with scholars.

[1]Chr. Boehringer, Himera im IV. Jahrh. v. Chr., Kraay – Mørkholm Essays, ed. by G. Le Rider e Altri, Louvain La Neuve 1989, 29–40.

[2]Cf. K. F. Stroheker, Dionysios I. Gestalt und Geschichte des Tyrannen von Syrakus, Wiesbaden 1958, 83; 130 f. The principal sources are Aen. Tact. 10, 21; Polyain. 5, 2, 10; Frontin. 3, 4, 3.

[3]Cf. Boehringer, op. cit. 30–31.

For comparison, as Boehringer has appropriately done, the sources relating to Therma should be presented. The Carthaginians in 407 B.C. "founded in Sicily near the Hot Springs a city, naming it Therma"[4]. In the vicinity of the thermal springs, at least since 480 B.C., Himeran colonists had been settled, as suggested by the final verses of Pindar's Olympian XII[5]. Pindar evokes Ergoteles, the Olympic victor of Cretan origin, conversing with his companions in the lands that had been granted to him by the city of Himera, of which he had become a citizen. The Carthaginians therefore in 407 B.C. will have merely established a garrison there, in order to keep Himera and its territory under control, after the conquest in 409 B.C.

Later, in 387–361 B.C., at Therma, under Carthaginian control, the Rhegine Karkinos is said to have found refuge (Diod. 19, 2, 2).

There is no reference in the sources to Himera and Therma for the years of Dion and Timoleon, which should be considered a single historical period (357/53–338 B.C.): this is embarrassing, because I will happen to attribute precisely to the years of Dion an issue of litra and dilitron from Himera and two other crossed issues from Himera and Therma to the period of Timoleon.

In 307 B.C. Agathocles had the Carthaginian mercenaries leave Therma, by prior agreement (Diod. 20, 56, 3), and then in 306 is said to have asked to be able to keep Therma and Kephaloidion with their respective territories under his control (Diod. 20, 77, 3).

These are the few sparse reports relating to Himera and Therma: the numismatic documentation relating to them will prove precious, especially that which can be placed in the fourth century B.C.

In years close to 409 B.C., rather than generically after 405 B.C.[6], some series of Himeran bronze coins should be placed: first of all a hemilitron, which presents on the obverse the crowned Head of the Nymph facing left, behind the nape the legend IME and before the profile six pellets, which return on the reverse, within a laurel wreath. It is fairly well documented in the excavations at Himera and in distant areas, e.g. at Morgantina[7]. In a variant the six pellets on the reverse are arranged in a rosette pattern within the wreath[8].

Decidedly rare is a series, characterized on the obverse by the frontal Head of the Nymph, of Cimonian inspiration, and on the reverse, in addition to the legend IME, by the figure of the shrimp (with six pellets), or of the shell (with four pellets), or of the sea triton (with three pellets)[9]: the last two values are connected by the obverse die. This latter issue constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for Cimon's frontal creation, which could be dated as early as 412 B.C.[10].

Worth noting is the restrike of a Himeran hemilitron (Nymph Head/six pellets within wreath) by the Syracusan mint with the types of the Arethusa Head/Octopus issue[11], perhaps datable around 410 B.C.

Comparing these last bronze issues of Himera with those of other Siceliot cities, one notes that the same uncial values (marked with four and six pellets) are typical also of Akragas and western

[4]Diod. 13, 79, 8: (i Cartaginesi) ἔκτισαν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς θερμοῖς ὕδασι πόλιν, ὀνομάσαντες Θέρμα.

[5]Pind. Olymp. XII 19: Ἐργότελες, θερμὰ Νυμφᾶν Λουτρὰ βαστάζεις ὁμιλέων παρ' οἰκείαις ἀρούραις.

[6]Boehringer, op. cit. 33 f.

[7]Ibid. 34.

[8]Ibid., Pl. VII 7–8. As for the tetradrachm (ibid. Pl. VII 9), which presents on the reverse on the tablet the letters MAI — a blunder by the die engraver, who wanted to inscribe the signature (EY)AI — I too believe it is datable just before the fall of the city, the last hurried product in silver coinage of Himera.

[9]Cf. my article, Dai mikra kermata di argento al chalkokratos kassiteros in Sicilia nel V sec. a.C., JNG 34, 1984, 19; Boehringer, op. cit. 33.

[10]Cf. my considerations regarding the silver hemilitron of the Sicha(ninoi), in JNG 1984, 30 f. Approval of the ethnic identification in Bull. épigr. 1997 no. 724.

[11]JNG 1984, 19 Pl. 2, 15; R: Calciati, Corpus Numm. Sic. (henceforth cited as CNS), II, Mortara 1986, 27, 5.

centers[12], while for Syracuse, Gela, Kamarina, Katane, and the Leontinoi only onkia and tetras are attested. At Syracuse the bronze issues of onkia and tetras, with the octopus type, possibly begun in 415/3 B.C. in a moment of extreme necessity[13], were followed by series without pellets, such as those characterized on the reverse by a Wheel with dolphins, or a Dolphin with shell, or an Incuse star[14], which prelude the "light" series with helmeted Head of Athena facing left, without wreath, with ethnic Συρα(κοσίων) on the obverse and on the reverse a Hippocampus (hereafter designated Hippocampus)[15].

It is highly probable that these four bronze issues of Syracuse had the value of hemilitron: within a few years Syracuse, unable to escape the negative effects of the unstoppable advance of the Carthaginian armies from 409 B.C. onward, will have had to double the nominal value of its bronze issues, while silver ones contracted, replaced by small gold coins[16]. It was now a full financial crisis, since gold coinage for fifth-century Greeks is not "politikon nomisma," but merchandise, suitable for compensating mercenaries and for hoarding.

The Hippocampus, in the series without a wreath on Athena's helmet on the obverse, which clusters around 6/7 g, which I too had defined as tetras, and which seems more correct to tariff as hemilitron, at a certain point underwent a small typological modification (the addition of the wreath, not always evident, on the helmet) and a slight increase in weight, clustering rather around 8 g[17]: consequently it was retariffed as litra. Indeed on specimens, behind Athena's helmet, one notes the letter lambda, Λ, probably to be resolved as λ(ίτρα), or a pellet, a mark of unity[18], which cannot mean onkia, if it is true that the Hippocampus was lowered to the value of onkia only following the application of the countermark ONKI[19].

Alongside this type of Hippocampus, whose value has been doubled, should be placed a rare issue, of about 25 g, with helmeted Head of Athena facing left and a dolphin behind the nape/Hippocampus facing left above three waves, whose interpretation remains obscure, even if it is placed in a "weight ratio of 1 to 4" with the Hippocampus[20]. It should therefore be a dilitron or a tetralitron, depending on the value of the Hippocampus (hemilitron or litra).

Decisive for the chronology of the Hippocampus is the countermark with a small Head of

[12]Cf. my article, Dall'obolo alla litra e il problema del "Damareteion" in Travaux de Numismatique grecque offerts à Georges Le Rider, ed. par M. Amandry, S. Hurter, D. Bérend, London 1999, 239–255.

[13]Cf. Manganaro, Atti VI Conv. CISN, Naples 1977, Suppl. AIIN 25, 1979, 176; Boehringer, Die Münzprägungen von Syrakus unter Dionysios' Atti VIII Conv. CISN, Naples 1983 (1993), 81. Similarly Athens issued the first bronze coins, which provoked Aristophanes' protests, and gold ones (by melting down the Nikai) in 406 B.C. (cf. A. Giovannini, Athenian Currency in the Late Fifth and Early Fourth Cent. BC, in GRBS. 16, 1975, 189 f.).

[14]Cf. now J. Morcom, Syracusan Bronze Coinage in the Fifth and Early Fourth Cent. BC, Studies in Greek Numism. in memory of M.J. Price, ed. by R. Ashton and S. Hurter, London 1998, Pl. 62, 3–6; 8.

[15]A variant presents on the obverse, after the abbreviated ethnic, ΣΩΣΙΑ (Calciati, CNS II 83): R. Holloway's interpretation of an error for Συρα(κό)σια is unacceptable. I had proposed to find in it an epithet of Athena, whose Head is depicted alongside, as a synonym of Σώτειρα (cf. JNG 1984, 18).

[16]Cf. my article, Darici in Sicilia e le emissioni auree delle poleis siceliote e di Cartagine nel V–III sec. a.C., "L'or perse et l'histoire grecque", REA 91, 1989, 304 f.

[17]Cf. V. Cammarata, in VIII Conv. CISN, op. cit. 147 f.; Boehringer, ibid. 81; S. Garraffo, La monetazione dell'età dionigiana: contromarche e riconiazioni, 200 f., 211 f. (excellent work, which however should have been accompanied by clear illustrations, which the Calciati volumes, CNS, to which systematic reference is made, lack).

[18]Cf. Cammarata, op. cit., 147; and my article, JNG 1984, op. cit., 21 with n. 38, Pl. 3, 18–19. I would now exclude that Hippocampi exist marked, behind the helmet, with two (Martino) or three pellets (as I had written in 1977: cf. Garraffo, op. cit., 218 n. 101-2).

[19]Garraffo, op. cit., 201; 207; 212: after having documented the various countermarks and among them that with ONKI he adds that "these Hippocampi countermarked with ONKI document a litra of 70–80 g.".

[20]Cf. Antikenmuseum Basel + Sammlung Ludwig, Griech. Münzen, Basel 1988, 492; Garraffo, op. cit., 209 f., Pl. XV 5; III 29.

Apollo, facing left, preceded by the legend ΛΕΟΝ[21], on the meaning of which I have returned several times[22], reaffirming the principle of correspondence, even if not always detectable, on the typological level between countermark and a new issue[23]. Indeed the aforementioned countermark, which will have lowered the nominal value of the Hippocampus to that of onkia, immediately evokes in type and style the Head of Apollo, facing left, (there also exists the variant, facing right, subsequent) with the ethnic Λεον(τίνων) and the laurel leaf symbol on the obverse of the bronze onkia and tetras series of the Leontinoi, which on the reverse presents a tripod between two ears of barley and in the exergue one, or three pellets[24]. This series marks the resumption of activity of the Leontinoi mint, in connection with that of the Katanaioi, who at the same time issue an onkia and tetras series, characterized on the obverse by the horned Head of the river Amenanos facing left (with relative epiklesis), and on the reverse by the winged thunderbolt with three or one pellet[25]. For comparison, the case of Akragas bronze hemilitra should be noted, highlighted by Garraffo[26], countermarked with the winged thunderbolt type, surrounded by the ethnic Κατα-ναίων.

Well then, while the Leontinoi countermark Syracusan Hippocampi with the type of the small Head of Apollo, the Katanaioi countermark Akragantine hemilitra with the thunderbolt type, which characterizes the reverse of their bronze series. Moreover, between the two Chalcidian cities a *sympoliteia* had been realized, expressed by a silver hemidrachm, with Head of Apollo facing left and legend Λεον(τίνων) on the obverse and on the reverse the horned bull (symbol of the Amenanos) surmounted by the legend Καταναίων[27].

When were these issues coined by the Leontinoi and the Katanaioi? I had proposed[28] in the period of the Athenian expedition against Syracuse, in 415–413 B.C., which also marked a resumption of autonomy (even if for the Leontinoi Syracusan control had not ceased). It now seems more probable in 405–403 B.C.[29]: with the peace treaty between Carthage and Dionysius I, reported for 405 in summary terms by Diodorus Siculus (13, 114), the Leontinoi too, certainly like the Katanaioi, even if not mentioned, regained their autonomy, so it is natural that they opened their mint. If specimens of Syracusan Hippocampi were countermarked by the Leontinoi, they were in circulation, issued either shortly before or just after Dionysius came to power. Meanwhile the same, presumably hemilitra at first, doubled in value (with the addition of the wreath on the helmet), becoming litrai, while at the same time, one is led to think, the issue of a heavy denomination began, clustering around 35/30 g, characterized by analogous types, on the obverse by a Head of Athena with wreath on the helmet, on the reverse by a Starfish between two dolphins: in some series an A appears on the obverse behind the helmet or on the reverse a pellet between the tails or between the mouths of the two dolphins[30].

Anyone who wants to define this issue as a "heavy weight litra" — I believed the same, while

[21] Garraffo, op. cit., 201 no. 7, 208.

[22] Atti VI Conv. CISN, Naples 1977, 176; Atti VIII Conv., op. cit., 164; JNG 1984, 19.

[23] See also, Dall'obolo alla litra, op. cit., 240 f.

[24] Boehringer, Studies Price, op. cit., 51 with Pl. 13, 71 ff.

[25] Cf. my article, La monetazione di Katane dal V al I sec. a.C., in Catania antica, Atti Conv. della SISAC, Pisa 1996, 311 with Pl. VIII 72 ff.

[26] Garraffo, op. cit., 194 with Pl. XIV 10–11.

[27] Cf. La monetazione di Katane, op. cit., 311 Pl. VII 71.

[28] Atti VI Conv. CISN, op. cit., 176.

[29] Boehringer, Atti VI Conv. CISN, op. cit., 145; La monetazione di Katane, op. cit., 311.

[30] Cf. Cammarata, Atti VI Conv. CISN, op. cit., Pl. XLI 17–19; Boehringer, Atti VIII Conv. CISN, op. cit., 81 and Pl. III 32–33. The problems connected with the issues datable between Dionysius I and Timoleon are also discussed in Nov. Vismara, La donazione Athos Mozetti ... del Gabinetto numismatico di Locarno, Circ. Num. Ticinese 1996 (Koinón 5), 235 ff. and in N. K. Rutter, Greek Coinages of Southern Italy and Sicily, London 1997, 157 ff., 167–171.

already attributing it to Dionysius I[31] — must solve the problem posed by the undeniable and universally recognized[32] connection of the same with the Hippocampus: the two issues are associated, e.g. in a tomb at Syracuse[33], and together circulated, flooding not only the markets of the Syracusan epicracy, but also those of eastern and western Sicily[34]. Both underwent restriking in numerous mints, thus emerging for the first time[35]. Between the heavy issue with "Starfish" and the Hippocampus there exists a weight difference of one fifth: if the former, which clusters around 35/30 g, were a litra, the Hippocampus at 7/8 g should be a tetras, ponderally anomalous, given the now stabilized tendency of Syracusan bronze coinage, which had long since abandoned the onkia and tetras values (1.50/2.50 g). If the Hippocampus were a hemilitron, a standard value of Syracusan bronze coinage without marks, the Starfish should be at least a dilitron, which is documented as a weight standard. If instead the Hippocampus is a litra, as seemed probable to many scholars, corresponding to the heavy Starfish issue, the latter must be a "pentalitron," that is a drachma, as, accepting the intuition of V. Cammarata, was recognized first by Chr. Boehringer and by me[36]. The large pellet between the tails or mouths of the dolphins, which surround the Starfish on the reverse, indicates in all likelihood a unit value, which can only be the bronze drachma, imposed by Dionysius I.

The latter indeed "not having silver" induced the city assembly to decree that bronze coinage be accepted as silver, ἔχειν ὡς ἀργυροῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καττιτέρινον[37]. The νόμισμα καττιτέρου indicates the same monetary species designated χαλκόκρατος κασσίτερος in Polyaenus[38], that is bronze coinage, and not "literally a tin coin"[39], which never existed nor is documented.

This is the Starfish issue, with forced circulation, which together with the Hippocampus imposed itself as the only monetary reality, also because the reduction or interruption of silver issues had occurred: the decadrachms and gold values struck with dies of Cimon and Euainetos were episodic, destined primarily for military needs. In a city bent on saving, in order to sustain a war economy, like Syracuse at the end of the fifth century B.C., a heavy coin of 35/30 g in bronze would have constituted a "loss of wealth," if it had had only the value of a "litra."

Moreover, it is not enough to speak of "bronze monometallism," because in reality bronze-silver bimetallism will have been reconstituted, typical of the Greek monetary economy, which excluded gold coinage, which could be hoarded as merchandise, but did not generate commercial-economic exchanges in the fifth-fourth century B.C. Therefore gold coinage cannot have constituted the "pivot" of the Greek monetary system, which always rested on silver coinage, necessary to vitalize exchanges: when that issued by the Syracusan mint proved insufficient, silver coinage will have flowed back into the Syracusan area from other zones, from the Punic area and from the Corinthian.

Conspicuous contingents of Corinthian "pegasi" were drained into Sicily, especially as a counterpart for commercialized grain, from the Adriatic area, to which already Dionysius I had paid great attention: few in truth are the Sicilian hoards datable to the Dionysian years, in which alongside notable quotas of Syracusan decadrachms pegasi appear[40].

[31] Kokalos XIV–XV, 1968–69, 314.

[32] See also Morcom, op. cit., 290 f.

[33] Cf. Not. Scavi 1897, 500.

[34] A. Cutroni Tusa, La circolazione in Sicilia, Atti Conv. VIII CISN op. cit., 254–260.

[35] Garraffo, op. cit., 221 f. (see below n. 58).

[36] Atti VIII Conv. CISN, op. cit., 80 f.; Gnomon 1983, 757 f.

[37] Ps.-Aristot., oecon. 1349a 32–35: cf. JNG 1984, 21.

[38] Polyain. 4, 10, 2: cf. Gnomon 1983, 757 f.

[39] M. Caccamo Caltabiano, "Moneta" e "non moneta" ..., RIN 95, 1993, 115 with n. 10. Likewise Garraffo, op. cit., 214 f.

[40] IGCH 2119–20; 2123. See R. R. Holloway, Il problema dei pegasi in Sicilia, NAC, QT, 11, 1982, 129 f.; P.

This may be a contingent fact and depend on the daily needs to immediately spend the rare pegasi that arrived on the market and were involved in exchange, without the user being able to achieve their hoarding.

The arrival of pegasi in Sicily certainly increased with Dion — under whom, in my opinion, two issues of pegasi should be dated, one with the ethnic Συρακόσιον and the other with the ethnic Λεοντῖνον[41], in the neuter form that implies ἀργύριον / νόμισμα, as in the case of Συμμαχικόν (νόμισμα), which will be examined below.

Large contingents of pegasi became indispensable to finance Timoleon's expedition, which had to pay the mercenaries[42]. Pegasi will have arrived in Sicily from Thesprotia with the colonists attracted following the colonization proclamation spread by Timoleontic Syracuse[43].

The victory at the Crimisus over the Carthaginians and the elimination of the tyrants in the Siceliot cities by Timoleon[44] constituted the premise for the implementation of the colonial event, of exceptional importance for Sicily, which occurred with the necessary technical slowness, diffusion of the proclamation around 342 B.C. and realization in 338 B.C.[45]. Thus Sicily was able to overcome the crisis caused by the long Dionysian regime, which had devoted too many resources for too long to the war economy.

Dion, a Syracusan aristocrat, and Timoleon, a Corinthian democrat, different in cultural and political formation, found themselves operating, three lustra apart, in a geopolitical environment similar only in certain respects, since there was a different behavior by Carthage, which rather favored Dion, while actively interfering in the years of Timoleon.

Dion, having landed in August of 357/6 B.C. at Herakleia Minoa, found the collaboration of the Punic prostates Synalos[46], and thus with his handful increased by volunteers who flocked from Gela, Akragas, and Kamarina (Plut., v. Dionis., 26,4–27,1), he was able to rapidly reach Syracuse, where, received triumphantly, with a spectacular gesture he proclaimed "the Syracusans and the other Sikeliots free from the tyrant"[47].

The tyrannical regime of Dionysius II was now destined to collapse, especially after the defeat and death of Philistus, whose body was outraged (Plut., v. Dionis., 35). Dion succeeded in involving Symmachoi of Syracuse, obtaining their support: thus he was able to contain the opposition of the Syracusan people, who showed greater confidence in the democrat Herakleidas — a figure of prestige alongside Dion[48] — who later proposed a redistribution of land at Syracuse,

Anello, Kokalos XX, 1974, 184–200 and in Atti Conv. "La Dalmazia e l'altra sponda", Venice 1996 (Kokalos XLII, 1996, 403 f.).

[41] I refer to R. Cantilena, L'emissione dei "pegasi" nelle zecche siciliane, in La monetazione corinzia in Occidente, Atti IX Conv. CISN, Naples 1986 (1993), 61 ff., especially 66, even if the attribution to Dion is not shared. It remains highly likely that Dion promoted the issue of the first Siceliot pegasi around 356/5 B.C. in order to pay arrears to the mercenaries, already ready to revolt. Dion had to transfer with these to the city of the Leontinoi, where pegasi with the relative ethnic will have been minted (Diod. 16, 17, 3–4: important testimony).

[42] Diod. 16, 69, 4 (cited below at n. 83). A "diplomatic" lead with the types of the Corinthian pegasus, destined to seal some document, or a sack of pegasi, sent from Corinth to Syracuse, published in Sikelika. Studi di Antichità e di Epigrafia della Sicilia greca, Bibliot. QUCC, Urbino 1999, 71 with Figs. 168–9.

[43] See, Sikelika, op. cit., 11 f.

[44] Cf. M. Sordi, Timoleonte, Palermo 1961.

[45] I therefore exclude the two distinct colonizations reconstructed in M. Sordi, Il IV e III secolo da Dionigi I a Timoleonte (336 a.C.), in Storia della Sicilia, II, Naples 1979, 237 ff. Cf. also, La grecità assediata e le premesse per una colonizzazione panellenica in "Emigrazione e immigrazione nel mondo antico", ed. by M. Sordi, Milan 1994, 133 ff.

[46] Plut., v. Dionis 25, 12; Diod. 16, 9, 4 (the prostates called Paralos).

[47] Plut., v. Dionis 29, 1.

[48] In the first section of the list of thearodokoi of Epidaurus (IG IV 2, 95–96) are named for Syracuse Δίων

a revolutionary act, which Dion had annulled (Plut., v. Dionis., 48,6). Dion thought it opportune to withdraw with his mercenaries to the city of the Leontinoi, where an assembly of Symmachoi gathered and expressed solidarity with him (Plut. v. Dionis, 40).

However, the Syracusans, when they found themselves in difficulty due to the assault by the mercenaries of Dionysius II led by Nypsios, asked Dion for help, also sending representatives of the Symmachoi, one of whom was called Archonidas[49]. I believe that he represented Alaisa-Herbita, and was a descendant of the homonymous tyrant of Herbita, friend of Ducetius, probably the son of the homonymous figure who was honored in a decree by Athens in 385 B.C.[50].

Dion, having returned to Syracuse after having had Herakleidas eliminated (spring of 354 B.C.), for whom a splendid funeral was celebrated, fell victim to an attack in August of 354/3 B.C.

Dion's political action remained limited to the first success achieved with the triumphal entry into Syracuse and with the libertarian proclamation against the tyranny of Dionysius, which aroused the consent of the Symmachoi, in particular of the Leontinoi (whose city became Dion's seat) and, I believe, of the Alaisinoi, where Archonidas presumably operated. Aristotle in the Politics (5, 1312 a, 28 f.) grasped Dion's personality incisively, presenting him as a daredevil who had thrown himself into the adventure against Dionysius, aspiring only to set foot in Sicily, even at the cost of his life. On the other hand, the behavior of Carthage, distracted by internal problems, must have facilitated Dion, allowing the libertarian propaganda promoted by him, also, as I believe for certain, through the Syracusan coin issue with the short-haired Head of Zeus, to find acceptance in issues, which will be illustrated further on, of Greek cities located in the Punic epicracy, such as Alontion, Alaisa, and Himera.

Dion, however, ended up disappointing everyone, not daring to act accordingly when the fortress of Ortygia was handed over, nor did he come to conceive a colonization in Sicily[51], which implied a redistribution of lands, proposed in vain for Syracuse by Herakleidas.

Dark years followed, in which the city of the Leontinoi maintained an important role, controlled by Hiketas[52], who also with the support of the Carthaginian fleet, which had now returned to the scene on the island, tried to prevent Timoleon, who had sailed from Corinth, from reaching Sicily. But the Corinthian landed at Tauromenion and, having clashed with Hiketas' forces near Adranon,

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Ἱππαρίνου / Ἡρακλείδας Λυσιμάχου (cf. my article, Per una storia della chora Katanaia, in Catania antica, op. cit., 46 and also E. Culasso Gastaldi, La prossenia ateniese per Damoxenos . . . , Min. Epigr. Papir., II 1999, 2, 144.

[49]Plut., v. Dionis 42, 4: (i Siracusani) ἐκπέμπουσι . . . ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν συμμάχων Ἀρχωνίδην καὶ Τελεσίδην . . . ἧκον εἰς Λεοντίνους κτλ.

[50]IG I^3, 1, 228 p. 195 (cf. E. Culasso Gastaldi, Hespería 5, 1995, 145–162; Bull. ép. 1998, 155). The name Archonidas, fairly widespread in Sicily (F. Cordano, Kokalos XXXIII, 1987, 124; and better, Fraser-Matthews, LGPN III A, 78 s.v.) may have been transmitted from father to son in the "dynasty" of Herbita-Alaisa, a further example of a Greek patriarchal custom that would deserve more careful examination (cf. meanwhile M. Runes, Die Vererbung der Personennamen im Griechischen, Wiener St. 44–45, 1924–25, 170–178, recalled by J. B. Curbera, Onomastics and river-gods in Sicily, Philologus, 142, 1998, 54 n. 15). Naturally homonymies are embarrassing and can be explained in different ways (cf. e.g. Chr. Habicht, ZPE 103, 1994, 117–127 and also Bull. ép. 1995, 208–9; 1991, 225).

[51]Further proof of the non-genuineness also of Epistles VII and VIII attributed to Plato (rather confected by an Academic, who wanted to present a Plato "engaged" on the level of real politics, addressing advice to the Dioneans, a model for those who, after frequenting the Academy, returned home to attempt political realizations, even of a tyrannical type: a practice that justifies the accusations directed at the Academy by Democharis in 307/6 B.C.) are the references to a colonization project of Dion (Epist. VII 336 a; d., Epist. VIII 357 b): Dion is reviewed through Timoleon! Cf. also D. P. Orsi, La lotta politica a Siracusa alla metà del IV secolo a. C., Le trattative fra Dione e Dionisio II, Bari 1994, 53 f., on the accusations made against Dion.

[52]In IG IV 2, 96, 66 f. one reads Λεοντίνοις | Ἱκέτας | Νικάνορος. Hiketas may have promoted the issue of silver pegasi in the name of the Leontinoi and of Syracuse (see above n. 41); with little likelihood the bronze issues with the short-haired Head of Zeus Eleutherios, which are illustrated below.

emerged victorious[53].

In 344 B.C. Dionysius II decided to abandon the struggle and retired to Corinth. Timoleon had to face the clash with Carthage, to this end re-establishing relations of symmachia with various cities in the name of Syracuse, and in particular with Katane controlled by the Campanian Mamercus, whose son Kipos hosted the theoroi of Epidaurus[54], with the city of the Leontinoi tied to Hiketas, and even with Entella. The symmachia is to be understood not as a stable political organ[55], which may have formed in the fifth century B.C. to frame the Siceliot cities controlled by Syracuse, whatever their form of government, but simply as the instrument to regulate the relations that were being established between Syracuse and individual cities.

With the political situation that matured under Timoleon have been connected the bronze coin issues, characterized on the obverse by the Head of Zeus Eleutherios (as the epiklesis declares), which will be illustrated in detail further on, that is the one from Syracuse with short-haired Head of Zeus ("youthful Zeus") facing right (Thunderbolt on the reverse) (Fig. 2), the other, also from Syracuse, with flowing-haired Head of Zeus ("mature Zeus") facing left (Horse on the reverse) (Fig. 19) and the series (Fig. 1) restruck on "Dionysian" coins, with Head of "youthful Zeus" on the obverse, and legend Συμμαχικόν on the reverse[56].

However, before accepting the prevailing Timoleontic chronology for these issues, it seems necessary to me to reconsider the problem thoroughly.

Fundamental is the Syracusan issue (Fig. 2), never restruck (perhaps with some exception!), which clusters around 14 g, which presents on the obverse the beautiful Head of "youthful Zeus" with the legend Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος, and on the reverse a winged Thunderbolt in a vertical position, with a symbol on the right (eaglet or vertical barley grain) or without, and all around the ethnic Συρακοσίων.

It was certainly inspired for the obverse by a silver issue of Elis (ca. 365 B.C.)[57], but it is not possible to draw chronological conclusions from this. Without doubt the Head of Zeus Eleutherios on the obverse of the aforementioned issues wants to celebrate the liberation of the city of Syracuse from the tyranny of Dionysius, if it is true that the cult of the same God was instituted already in 466 B.C. for the end of the tyranny of the Deinomenids.'

From this Syracusan issue depend issues, slightly lighter, not restruck, struck in mints prepared for the occasion by individual cities, from Agyrion, Aitna, Alontion, and the Leontinoi[58].

I present first the issue with the ethnic Ἀγυριναίων, counterclockwise (with the symbol of the eaglet on the right) or clockwise (without symbol) around the thunderbolt (Figs. 13–14); that with the ethnic Αἰτναίων, clockwise and without symbol (Fig. 15); one with the symbol of the barley

[53]Sordi, Timoleonte, op. cit. 32 ff.; 14 f., for the Carthaginian expedition of 345/4 B.C. in support of Hiketas.

[54]Again in IG IV 2, 96, 71 f. one reads, correcting the second line Κατάναι (ras.) | Κῖπος Μάρκου (cf. Catania antica, op. cit., 46). Culasso Gastaldi, La prossenia ateniese, op. cit., 145 reports the erroneous name Alkippos.

[55]Cf. Sordi, Timoleonte, op. cit., 57 f. and again, Id., Dione e la symmachia siciliana, Kokalos 13, 1967, 147 f.; contra, H. Berve, Dion, Abh. Ak. Wiss. Lit. Mainz, 1956/10, 108 f. See also L. De Blois, Dionysios II, Dion and Timoleon, Mededel. nederland. Inst. Rome, 40, 1978, 113 f.; A. Fuks, Redistribution of land and houses in Syracuse in 356 B C, Class. Quart. 18, 1968, 207 f.

[56]Sordi, Timoleonte, op. cit., 57; S. Garraffo, Zeus Eleutherios-Zeus Olympios. Note di numismatica siracusana del IV sec. a.C., AIIN 23–24, 1975, 9–50, with rich illustration, and now L. Karlsson, The Symbols of Freedom and Democracy on the Bronze Coinage of Timoleon, in Ancient Sicily, ed. by T. Fischer-Hansen, Acta Hyperborea 6, 1995, 149–169 (I owe knowledge of this to Prof. S. Garraffo).

[57]Cf. C. M. Kraay, ACGC, London 1976, 106, with Pl. 18, 334–336, reproduced in Figs. 10–12. Cf. Garraffo, AIIN 1975, op. cit., 25 ff. and also R. Holloway, Syracusan Coinage between Dion and Timoleon, NAC, QT, 20, 1991, 59 n. 7.

[58]Garraffo, La monetazione dell'età dionigiana, op. cit., 221 ff.; Cammarata, op. cit., Pl. nos. 67–71, but already Garraffo, AIIN 1975, 10 ff.

grain and the ethnic Ἀλοντίνων (Fig. 16); one[59] with the same symbol and the ethnic Λεοντίνων (Fig. 17).[60] Only that with the ethnic Ἀλαισίνων (Fig. 9) is restruck on a Hippocampus and presents the Head of Zeus facing left.

The face of the Zeus of the Leontinoi issue (Fig. 17) is distinguished by the features and the mustache elongated downward.

If in the series of cities that have minted coins with the Head of "youthful Zeus," Gela, Akragas, and Kamarina do not appear, from which volunteers flocked to reinforce Dion after he landed at Herakleia (Plut., v. Dionis 26,4 f.), this does not exclude the reference of the "libertarian" issues just presented to Dion[61].

Parallel to these "libertarian" issues there occurred restrikes on Dionysian specimens of coins with the name of Agyrion (Head of Herakles facing right, Ἀγυριναῖον / Bull standing facing right) and of Alaisa (of the Symmachikon type)[62].

To the same Syracusan prototype the Head of "youthful Zeus" of the issue restruck on a Syracusan drachma refers, characterized on the reverse by the "Demetrian parasemon" (lit torch between two upright ears of wheat) surrounded by the legend Συμμαχικόν (Figs. 1–1a–1b).

This legend implies νόμισμα[63]: the neuter form returns in Συρακόσιον and in Λεοντῖνον of the pegasi already mentioned, in the legend Καινόν on bronze coins widespread especially in the Akragantine area and in Ἀγυριναῖον on the restruck coins of Agyrion, just mentioned.

This would therefore be a "federal coinage," destined for cities linked to Alaisa, the hegemonic center if it signs an issue, which will be presented further on, Ἀλαισίνων Συμμαχικόν, and to Syracuse, from whose issue with the Head of "youthful Zeus" is derived the analogous Head of the issues of Agyrion, Aitna, Alontion, the Leontinoi, and the Alaisinoi already illustrated.

This "federal coinage" attests a kind of "Hegemonic League," comparable to the Second Attic League[64]? In any case it is an issue of libertarian propaganda, which may have been received in cities placed in the Punic epicracy, such as Alontion, Alaisa, and Himera (silver coin with Head of Kronos, which will be illustrated further on), only thanks to Carthage's disengagement, and this may have occurred rather in the years of Dion.

Of the Symmachikon issue "die trials" are known, impressed on lead material, like the one (Fig. 3) that I saw and made a cast of at Gangi, which is said to have been found at M. Alburchia (in which Herbita should be identified). A die with the Head of "youthful Zeus" is common to a "die trial" of the Symmachikon and to a Syracusan issue[65].

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[59] Cammarata, op. cit., Pl. no. 67. Gratuitous are the doubts in Chr. Boehringer, Zur Münzgesch. von Leontinoi in klass. Zeit, Studies Price, op. cit., 52 n. 76.

[60] Cammarata, op. cit. Pl. no. 62; Calciati, CNS, III.

[61] Cf. Holloway, Syracusan Coinage, NAC QT 1991, op. cit., 58. In any case, in dies of Gela and Akragas (see, Garraffo, AIIN 1975, op. cit., 13–14) only an imitation of the Head of Zeus Eleutherios type is found.

[62] See Calciati, CNS III 120, 4 (Agyrion); 145 (Aitna).

[63] For the expression ἀργυρίου συμμαχικοῦ, cf. L. Robert, Monnaies dans les inscript. grecques, RN 1962, 8 (OMS II, Amsterdam 1969, 1034) with n. 3, in which J. M. Cook, JHS 1961, 66–72 is recalled for the silver coin issues of Asia Minor with the legend Συν(μαχικόν). See also Bull. ép. 1961, no. 637; 1972, no. 318.

[64] Thus M. Sordi, Kokalos 1967, op. cit., 151, in which Diod. 16, 73, 2 is cited, from which only a normal constitution of alliance by city results, σπεύδουσαι παραληφθῆναι πρὸς τὴν συμμαχίαν.

[65] Cf. S. Naselli, L'inesplorato Monte Albura o Albuchia, Castelbuono 1953. My photograph presented already in Cammarata, Da Dionisio a Timoleonte. Problemi di numismatica antica, Modica 1984, Pl. nos. 72–74 together with the specimen from the Virzì Collection (Fig. 4). A "die trial" is said to have been found at Syracuse on the Temeros hill (Not. Scavi 1879, 160: I believe it is no longer to be found in the Museum). For this kind of document, cf. H. Cahn, Lead Trial Pieces, in B. Brett, Greek Coins 1950 to 1963, Mus. Fine Arts, Boston 1964, Pl. IX 98, V 58; A. Casariego-G. Cores-Fr. Pliego, Catalogo de plomos monetiformas de la Hispania antiqua, Madrid 1987, 92 Pl. 18, 4 (tetradrachm of Athens). For the common die cf. Cammarata, Ennarotary 2, 1988, Pl. A 6–7 (Karlsson,

Part of the Symmachikon series are restrikes of the litra-hippocampus with Head of "youthful Zeus" on the obverse and on the reverse the Thunderbolt surrounded by the legend Συμμαχικόν[66].

With the same series should be connected the issue restruck on a "drachma," with the short-haired Head of Zeus facing right, preceded by the very clear ethnic of the Petrinoi (Fig. 18), which allows definitively correcting the previous attribution to Eryx, suggested rather by the type of the reverse, Aphrodite seated facing right, with bird on her left arm.

The phenomenon of the restriking of "drachma" and litra-hippocampus is complex, having involved at least thirteen centers of central-eastern Sicily (Agyrion, Aitna, Adranon, Alaisa with the Symmachikon series, Henna, Herbessos, Kentoripai, Mytistratos, Petra, Sergetion, Tauromenion, Sileraioi, and Thyrrenoi) and also Issa (Adriatic), Kroton (Italic), and unidentifiable centers (truncated legends)[67].

Restriking implies a reduction of the nominal value of the currency involved.

The issues in the name of Mytistratos point in this direction, systematically restruck on "drachmas" (impressing on the obverse a pilleated Head and on the reverse the beginning of the ethnic MY between six pellets, within an olive wreath) and on Hippocampi (applying on the obverse a pilleated Head and on the reverse the figure of a trilobate flower, with a pellet in the center, and between the rays the letters MYT)[68]. The Dionysian drachma was relaunched in circulation with the value of hemilitron and the Hippocampus with that of onkia, repeating the phenomenon of devaluation expressed by the countermark ONKI examined above.

It is very likely that, even though the restruck issues of the centers listed above bear no value mark, the nominal values were the same as those of the Mytistratos issues, that is hemilitron if a drachma was restruck, onkia if a Hippocampus.

Of particular interest is a specimen of drachma (34.21 g), restruck by Mytistratos[69], revealing itself to have been previously restruck with the types of the Symmachikon.

From this it could be concluded that the aforementioned restrikes and above all that of Mytistratos are subsequent to the Symmachikon restrikes (with the Head of Zeus type?).

The Symmachikon series may have been minted at Alaisa, indeed, if the identification proposed above is acceptable, promoted by Archonidas, one of the Symmachoi sent to Dion, who had withdrawn to the city of the Leontinoi: the issue restruck on a "drachma" with short-haired Head of Zeus on the obverse and on the reverse the "Demetrian parasemon" surrounded by the legend Ἀλαισίνων Συμμαχικόν[70], already mentioned, seems significant to me.

Part of the Symmachikon series, and may constitute a second subsequent group, are two other issues, which are not characterized on the obverse by the Head of Zeus Eleutherios, always restruck on "drachma," with the "Demetrian parasemon" and the relative legend on the reverse, of which one (Fig. 5) presents on the obverse the Head facing right of the Personification Σικελία, the other (Fig. 6) the Head of Apollo facing left with the legend Ἀρχαγέτας[71].

Another issue (Fig. 7), restruck on a Hippocampus, presents on the reverse the Thunderbolt with a grape cluster on the left and on the right the legend Συμμαχικόν, on the obverse the crowned

op. cit., 158).

[66] Cammarata, Da Dionisio a Timoleonte, op. cit., Pl. no. 77.

[67] Garraffo, La monetazione, op. cit. 221 f. For the restrikes with ΑΤΛΑ, cf. W. Fischer-Bossert, in Arch. Anz., 1992, 39–60.

[68] Calciati, CNS III 294; 337.

[69] Antikenmuseum Basel, op. cit, no. 380.

[70] Calciati, CNS II 448, 16; Garraffo, op. cit., 222.

[71] Cf. respectively, P. Naster, La Coll. L. De Hirsch, Brussels 1959, nos. 315–317; Cammarata, op. cit., Pl. no. 83; Antikenmuseum Basel, op. cit., no. 273.

Head of Apollo facing left.[72]: similar to it is a rare issue (Fig. 8), not restruck, of 3.50 g, with Head of Apollo facing left and legend Ἀρχαγέτας on the obverse, and on the reverse a winged Thunderbolt between a grape cluster on the right and on the left in large characters the letter H, presumably the initial of Ἡ(μίλιτρον), surrounded by Συμμαχικόν[73].

The same "Demetrian parasemon" and the same legend Συμμαχικόν on the reverse characterize a non-restruck issue[74], which presents on the obverse a female Head facing left, preceded by a legend, which has been read, despite the gaps, Σικελία, but which seems to need to be corrected to Πελωριάς, as V. Cammarata communicated to me[75]. In that case the issue should be ascribed to Messana and could connect with that with the Head of Poseidon, on the type of Zeus Eleutherios.

It is very probable that the celebration of Apollo Archagetas, later taken up on bronze issues of Tauromenion[76], is connected with the colonization promoted by Timoleon.

To Timoleon should certainly be attributed the bronze issue, which clusters around 18 g, characterized, as already mentioned, on the obverse by a majestic Head of Zeus Eleutherios (as defined by the legend), with flowing beard and hair, bound by a wreath, facing left, and on the reverse by a Horse leaping left, surrounded by the ethnic Συρακοσίων (Fig. 19). The model of the obverse is found on silver didrachms of the Arcadian League (Fig. 20), dated to 364 B.C.[77].

This is a "civic" issue, if it is true that the Horse constituted the "parasemon" of the Syracusans and not a "symbol of democracy"[78]. It may have been minted to celebrate the institution of the official cult of Zeus Olympios at Syracuse, with the annual eponymous priesthood of the amphipolos, which the Diodorean tradition places in 343/2 B.C.[79], that is after Dionysius II had retired to Corinth.

From the type of the flowing-haired Head of Zeus depends the die of the Head of Poseidon of the Messanioi issue, just mentioned, presumably to be connected with the liberation of the same from the tyranny of Hippon, eliminated by Timoleon[80].

Decisive for the attribution to Timoleon of the bronze issue with the flowing-haired Head of Zeus — the Zeus Olympios with official cult at Syracuse — seemed to me the gold issue, of 2.15/2.13 g, known in two variants. One (Fig. 21) is characterized on the obverse by the Head of Zeus, facing left (as on the aforementioned bronze issue), crowned, with flowing hair and beard, surrounded by the epiklesis Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος, on the reverse by the figure of the pegasus facing left, with the

[72] Calciati, CNS II, 448, 15; Cammarata, op. cit., Pl. no. 84.

[73] Cammarata, op. cit. Pl. no. 85.

[74] Antikenmuseum Basel no. 274, 12.50 g, defined as hemilitron.

[75] See REA, 1989, op. cit., 310 n. 62.

[76] Naster, op. cit., nos. 777–778; Antikenmuseum Basel, no. 544; S. N. Consolo Langher, Andromaco e Tauromenion ..., in Siracusa e la Sicilia greca tra età arcaica ed alto ellenismo, Messina 1996, 556 f. The Apollo Archagetas is the one of Delphi and not of Delos, even though in 364 B.C. the Leontinoi and the Tauromenitai "from Sicily" dedicated silver phialai to the Delian (I D, I 104, 92 f.; 116 f.) [cf. my article, Le Tavole finanziarie di Tauromenion, in Comptes et Invent. dans la cité grecque, Actes en l'honneur de J. Tréheux par D. Knoepfler, Neuchâtel 1986/1988, 170 n. 40].

[77] Kraay, ACGC, no. 319: see also Garraffo, AIIN 1975, 28 ff.

[78] T. Ritti, Sigle ed emblemi sui decreti onorari greci, Mem. Acc. Lincei, Rome 1969, 265. The gold issue, with Head of Anapos minted under Dionysius I, presents on the reverse the Horse, which is the parasemon of Syracuse and certainly not a symbol of democracy (thus repeats Karlsson, op. cit., 159 f., who also attributes the Kainon issue to Syracuse). Significant is the marble relief, found on the Acropolis of Athens, on which (Fig. 34) a standing Horse appears below the inscription, of 373/2 B.C., in honor of the Syracusan Alketas, son of Leptines (Syll.^{3} 154: already cited by T. Ritti).

[79] Diod. 16, 70, 6 (cf. my article, Iscrizioni rupestri di Sicilia, in Rupes Loquentes, ed. by L. Gasperini, Rome 1989/1992, 456–471). Cf. also Garraffo, AIIN 1975, op. cit.

[80] Naster, op. cit., no. 473. See also Plut. v. Timol. 34,4.

siglum *AP* under the neck and three pellets under the belly, and all around the ethnic Συρακοσίων.

The other (Fig. 22) presents on the obverse the Head, facing however to the right, of Zeus, with a symbol on the left, without epiklesis, replaced by the ethnic, while on the reverse appears the pegasus, facing right, under which instead of the three pellets are two letters ΣΩ, perhaps to be resolved as (χρυσὸς) σῶ(ς) "sound gold"[81].

Undoubtedly these gold issues were destined for payment — as the siglum ἀρ(ιστεῖον) suggests[82] — of soldiers (mercenaries) engaged by Timoleon for the war against Carthage, around 340 B.C.: these, whose reverse is characterized by the figure of the pegasus, were issued to supplement the stocks of silver pegasi, at the ratio of 1:12 (precisely three pegasi, totaling ca. AR 25.80 g: AU 2.13 g). In the years of Timoleon, to whom the Corinthians already in 344/3 B.C. sent χρήματα, that is contingents of pegasi[83], the quantity of these was never enough.

The gold issues, emergency currency, cannot have followed the victory of the Crimisus, datable to 339 B.C., but must have preceded it[84].

The two restruck issues of the Symmachikon, which in my opinion constitute the second group, that with the Head of Sikelia and the other with the Head of Apollo Archagetas (Figs. 5–6), from a stylistic point of view prove to be different from those with the Head of "youthful Zeus." As much as has been highlighted regarding the issue with the Head of "youthful Zeus" compared to the other with the Head of "mature Zeus," so that the two issues cannot be considered contemporary[85]. It should also be noted that in the second group of the Symmachikon the Head on the obverse appears constantly turned to the left (Figs. 6–8), just like the Head of "mature Zeus" (Fig. 19).

It makes no sense to ascribe only to Timoleon both issues with the Head of Zeus Eleutherios, as well as all the Symmachikon series, leaving the period of Dion devoid of monetary initiatives, which represented the "break" with the Dionysian regime and certainly resorted to libertarian propaganda motives, involving various cities of Symmachoi in his action.

Karlsson too[86] referred both issues with the Head of Zeus to Timoleon, as intended to celebrate the liberation of Greek cities from Carthaginian domination and the expulsion of tyrants from them, recalling Diod. 16,82,4. Having expelled the tyrant Apolloniades from Agyrion, to the population of this city, which minted coins with the Head of Zeus Eleutherios (Figs. 13–14) and restruck "drachmas" with civic types (Head of Herakles/Bull standing), Timoleon is said to have imposed that they merge into Syracusan citizenship (Diod. 16,82,4), as also happened to the Leontinoi, who, with Hiketas eliminated by Timoleon, were declared Syracusans (Diod. 16,82,7): what sense could issues celebrating freedom, with the Head of "youthful Zeus," have had in the years of Timoleon in cities which precisely with Timoleon ended up losing their political identity? And why was the Head of "mature Zeus," which is the Zeus Olympios, depicted on the other issue, which is certainly Timoleontic, as I believe I have demonstrated, not adopted as a prototype?

[81] Cf. REA, 1989, op. cit., 309 f.

[82] Cf. my article Dall'obolo alla litra, op. cit., 239 n. 2. Insufficient is what one reads in W. K. Pritchett, The Greek State at War, II, 1974, 276 f. In the case of the siglum API to the left of the Apolline tripod on the reverse of the silver "4 litrai" of Tauromenion, on whose obverse appears the Head of Apollo (Antikenmuseum Basel, no. 545), the aristeion should rather be referred to Pythian contests instituted in the city (cf. I G XIV 434).

[83] Cf. Diod. 16, 69, 4 (cf. above at n. 42): Κορίνθιοι δέκα ναῦς πληρώσαντες χρήματά τε πορίσαντες ἐξαπέστειλαν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσσας.

[84] In my opinion Garraffo, NAC, QT, 16, 1987, 119 f. did not adequately consider that a gold issue from Syracuse in the mid-fourth century B.C. could not have been intended for anything other than the stipend of mercenaries, in competition with Carthage, which operated exclusively in Sicily.

[85] Cf. Karlsson, op. cit.: "The stylistic treatments of the two Syracusan heads of Zeus Eleutherios are so different from each other that they cannot possibly be contemporary."

[86] Karlsson, op. cit., 154 f.

The Head of "youthful Zeus" must have constituted the type of propaganda coinage promoted by the "liberator" Dion: decisive in this regard seemed to me the issue with "youthful" Zeus in the name of the Leontinoi, to whose city Dion transferred with his mercenaries in 356 B.C., remaining the base of the Dioneans. Then the issue of pegasi with the legend Λεοντῖνον may have been minted by Dion, while the other of bronze with the legend Λεοντίνων (Fig. 17) will have been earlier. I would exclude that these issues can be ascribed to Hiketas, especially the bronze one, connected with the other similar ones of Agyrion, Adranon, Alontion, and Alaisa, if it is true that Hiketas cannot have extended his influence as far as Alaisa, where the Symmachikon series was issued.

Proof of the long persistence in circulation of the Dionysian "drachmas" is constituted by the restrikes in the name of Herbessos: for two of the four issues specimens of "drachma" are involved, from the issue with short-haired Head of Zeus/Thunderbolt, from that with flowing-haired Head of Zeus/Horse, and from that with Head of Archias/Pegasus[87]. Obviously in a peripheral area, like M. di Marzo, in which Herbessos should be identified, the "drachma" still circulated in the years of Timoleon.

The problem of the nominal value of the two new issues with the Head of Zeus still remains. The only support seems to me to be offered by the coin illustrated above (Fig. 8), of 3.50 g, not restruck, of the Symmachikon series, datable under Timoleon, on whose reverse to the left of the thunderbolt is marked an H, which I believed could constitute the initial of Ἡμίλιτρον. A hemilitron — such is the tariff of the Dionysian drachma, when it was restruck by Mytistratos, presenting six pellets in a wreath — of 3.50 g implies a litra of about 7 g, that is of the weight corresponding to a Hippocampus, retariffed in correlation with the drachma. Therefore a coin of about 14 g, like the Syracusan issue with the short-haired Head of Zeus, to which similar issues of Agyrion, Aitna, Alontion, the Leontinoi, and Alaisa refer, should be a double litra, that is a dilitron (the term δίλιτρος is documented as a weight standard)[88]. The issue with flowing-haired Zeus, Timoleontic, of about 18 g, should have a nominal value, in line with the weight, of two and a half litrai, that is correspond to a hemidrachmon (if the drachma is a pentalitron). I also note that the figure of the Triskeles on the reverse of the issue with flowing-haired Zeus, of about 7 g, presents a pellet at the center[89], which may suggest for it a unit value, that is of litra.

Cammarata has reached analogous metrological solutions[90], insisting on the persistence of the value of the bronze "drachma," followed by D. Bérend[91].

Conversely Garraffo, convinced that the so-called bronze drachma was nothing but a "heavy weight" litra, has affirmed the persistence of the Dionysian standard under Timoleon (Dion being eliminated from the horizon): no change or evolution on the metrological level[92]. However, one must consider that for the regime of Dionysius I a litra of 35/30 g would have represented an inexplicable loss of wealth in the context.

In my judgment, the metrological system inaugurated by Dionysius with the "drachma" and the litra-hippocampus, devalued through restriking, re-emerged in the two series with Zeus Eleutherios, in reduced values, that is as dilitron in the issues with short-haired Head of Zeus, around 14 g, in

[87] Cf. Sikelika, op. cit., 13; Cammarata, Le monete simmachiche e la loro datazione in relazione alle monete di Erbesso, Ennarotary 2, 1988, 31–37.

[88] Dall'obolo alla litra, op. cit. 240, n. 10.

[89] SNG ANS 5, Sic. III 544 (Hemidrachm?), 6.77 g; Cammarata, op. cit., Pl. no. 92.

[90] Da Dionisio a Timoleonte, op. cit.

[91] Cf. SNG ANS 5, 470 ff.; 533 (Zeus/Horse: drachma!). Cf. also Rutter, op. cit. 167 f., 171, who excludes any coinage for Dion.

[92] Atti VIII Conv. CISN, op. cit., 238.

the Dionean period, and as hemidrachmon in the heavier issues, in that with flowing-haired Head of Zeus around 18 g and in that with Head of Archias/Pegasus, which clusters around 20 g, in the period of Timoleon.

Afterwards, with Agathocles and down to Hieron, one returned, for bronze issues, to a low litra standard with submultiples.

At this point I believe an Himeran silver issue can be inserted[93], characterized on the obverse by a Head facing right, on the type of the short-haired Zeus Eleutherios, preceded by the legend ΚΡΟΝΟΣ, which runs from top to bottom clockwise, within a beaded border, and on the reverse by a winged thunderbolt, between a pointed barley grain on the left, and on the right an eaglet seizing a snake, with its tail coiled down to under the bird's talons, surrounded by the ethnic clockwise, beginning on the left, Ἱμεραίων (Fig. 23).

It is known in two values, a heavier one, which seems to oscillate between dilitron and hemidrachmon (as Boehringer believes), and a smaller one, rather a litra (hemiobol for Boehringer). Of the first, of which a specimen of 1.23 g was published by Chr. Boehringer[94], I now present (Fig. 24) the specimen of 1.32 g, of which years ago the photograph was sent to me by the generous collector, and which seems to be from the same die as that in Fig. 23.

Of the litra (hemiobol), on whose reverse appears the Thunderbolt between two ears of barley, I present (Fig. 25) the specimen of 0.87 g from the Münzkabinett in Berlin, photographed from the cast courteously sent to me by Dr. Schultz, but published some time ago[95], and two others in a private collection, one eroded (Fig. 26) of 0.565 g and one broken (Fig. 27), of 0.472 g.

On the basis of the close affinity of the short-haired Head on the obverse with the short-haired Head of Zeus Eleutherios of the Syracusan bronze issue, attributed to Timoleon by Boehringer, the same[96] placed the two Himeran issues after the battle of the Crimisus, dated to 342/1 B.C.

If the considerations I have developed regarding the placement of the Syracusan series with the short-haired Head of Zeus in the period of Dion are accepted, the aforementioned Himeran issues also fall within it.

I believe I notice a certain affinity in the treatment of the hair and beard and in the cut of the drooping mustache between the Head of Kronos (Fig. 25) and that of the Zeus of the "Dionean" Leontinoi issue (Fig. 17).

The epiklesis Κρόνος of the aforementioned Himeran issues merits a comment.

Diodorus (3,61,3) states: "to my times many high places in Sicily are called Kronia." Indeed in the Termini area rises a Monte Kronion, near which the Syracusan troops clashed during the third Punic-Syracusan war with those of Himilco. The latter had encamped περὶ τὸ Κρόνιον, in a mountainous area, in which in a fortlet, as I believe, and not in a supposed city Kronia[97], Carthaginian mercenaries were stationed, inclined to open the gates to him, as in fact happened, when a fire deliberately set did not allow the commanders of Dionysius I to notice the action and prevent it[98].

[93] Boehringer, Himera, op. cit., 33 f.

[94] Ibidem, Pl. VIII 14. Boehringer mentions another specimen of 1.84 g; one in Cammarata, op. cit., Pl. no. 148 without weight; another appeared in Bank Leu, Zürich, Aukt. 65, 1996, 75, 1.97 g (re-presented in A. Campana, Corpus Numm. Ant. Italiae, Kronia, "Panorama Numism." 1998, 221–24, whence derives the photo in Fig. 23).

[95] Cf. E. Gabrici, Topografia dell'antica Himera e di Terme, RIN 7, 1894, 73 no. 116 Pl. 6, 16; Boehringer, Himera, op. cit., Pl. VIII 13–13 a.

[96] Boehringer, op. cit., 36.

[97] Cf. E. Manni, Geografia fisica e politica della Sicilia antica, Rome 1981, 162–3 and also BTCGI, V 467 f. s.v. Kronia (G. Bejor).

[98] Polyain. 5, 10, 5: cf. E. A. Freeman, History of Sicily IV, Oxford 1894, 198 n. 4.

Again περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Κρόνιον Leptines in 375 B.C. is said to have fallen in battle, which led Dionysius I to decide to conclude peace with Carthage[99].

Monte Kronion should be identified with M. San Calogero, in the area of Termini Imerese (and not at Sciacca) and indeed the supposed city Kronia has been connected with it, which appears linked with the Palikoi and the Leontinoi in a mythical tradition, also found in a fragmentary papyrus[100].

The name Κρονία is read before the Head, facing right, crowned with ears of grain and with an ivy leaf behind the nape, of a Nymph on the obverse of a bronze coin (Fig. 28), which on the reverse bears the image of a winged thunderbolt between two small discs, thus evoking the cult of Zeus, who is obviously the Kronos. The coin was attributed to Katane by G. Cavallaro[101], who had to reconsider[102] as soon as C. Citro, following the discovery of two specimens of the same — with others in bronze of Panormos (also two small silver ZIZ, one with the ethnic Panormos), Himera, Therma, Kephaloidion, and Solous — proposed to identify the city Kronia at Pizzo Cannita[103].

The aforementioned coin cannot be dated before 408 B.C. (Cavallaro), but falls within the mid-fourth century B.C.[104], and the legend Κρονία does not represent a toponym, but rather the name of the Nymph, depicted with agrarian attributes, to be connected with the cult of Zeus Kronos, as for example Olympia with Zeus Olympios, or Aitne with Zeus Aitnaios[105].

The matrix of the cult of Kronos is to be found at Olympia, where it was officiated by priests called *basilai* on Mount Kronion, which rises to the north of the river Alpheios[106]. The cult may have reached Himera from Olympia when the Doricization of the ancient Chalcidian polis intensified in the fifth century B.C., and probably through colonists originating from Arcadia, who will have also imported the cult of Zeus Lykaios, documented by a dedication incised on a silver ingot, found at Himera in the last century[107]. Attested for example in Athens (Kronia Festivals) and in calendars of Ionia, the cult of Zeus Kronos was assimilated in the Roman era with that of the Latin Saturnus[108]. Following E. Ciaceri, E. Manni for Sicily wanted to project it into the pre-Greek era and, referring to mythical notations of Diodorus (3, 61, 3) and speculating on the meaning of the sickle, to which the toponyms Zankle and Drepanon refer, concluded that the

[99]Diod. 15, 16–17: Diodorus concentrates the events of the Third Punic War in 383 B.C., when it began, to conclude in 375 B.C. (cf. Sordi, in Storia di Sicilia, II 223 f.; Stroheker, op. cit. 20; 134; 232 n. 30).

[100]Commenting on the latter (one reads [K]ρόνιον ἐν Λεοντίνοις) M. Treu, Kokalos XIV–XV, 1968–69, 428 f. recalled the fragment of Charax of Pergamon, FGrHist 103 F 32: Κρόνον ... καὶ πόλιν κτίσαι ... τὴν τότε μὲν λεγομένην Κρονίαν, νῦν δὲ Ἱερὰν πόλιν, ὡς Ἰσίγονος περὶ Παλικῶν θεῶν ... καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν τῇ Αἴτνῃ. This Kronia must have risen in the Sikel area, between Palike and Aitna.

[101]AMIIN VIII, 1934, 62–67.

[102]Italia Numismatica III/9, 1952, 74.

[103]Topografia, Storia e Archeologia di Pizzo Cannita. La Kronia di Polieno, Atti Acc. Palermo XIII, 1952–53, 285–292. See also V. Giustolisi, Kokalos XVI, 1970, 144–165; C. A. Di Stefano, ibid., 188–98; Chr. Boehringer, Atti VI Conv. CIN, op. cit., 164; A. Campana, Kronia, op. cit., 221 f.

[104]Boehringer, op. cit., 164; Calciati, CNS I 125.

[105]Cf. M. Mertens Horn, Una nuova antefissa a testa femminile da Akrai e alcune considerazioni sulle Ninfe di Sicilia, Boll. Arte 66, 1991, 22 f.; my article, Homonoia dei Kimissaioi, Eunomia dei Geloi e la Ninfa (termitana) Sardò, Spudasmata 69, Festschrift E. Olshausen, herausg. v. U. Fellmeth-H.Sonnabend, Hildesheim 1998, 137–140.

[106]Paus. 6, 20, 1; Diod. 15, 77: cf. RE XI 2, 1922, 1976 f.

[107]IG XIV 507: Διὸς Λυκ(αίου). Τρυγόν (cf. ASNP 20, 1990, 425–7). For comparison I recall the Paestum inscription Τᾶς Θεδ ἐμὶ ἰαρόν incised on a silver ingot (A. M. Ardovino, RIN 95, 1993, 287–293). For the cult of Zeus Lykaios, cf. M. Jost, Sanctuaires ruraux et urbains, in "Le Sanctuaire grec", Entret. Ant. Class. 37, Geneva 1990, 227 f.

[108]L. Robert, REA 79, 1966, 746 (OMS VI, 1989, 564); Bull. ép. 1967, 248; A. Graf, Nordionische Kulte, Rome 1985, 93 f. At Miletus in the imperial age an altar dedicated to Zeus Kronion: Bull. ép. 1997, 112.

Greek Kronos had been superimposed on an "indigenous god"[109]. A further example of the vain search for an "indigenous" religiosity, as a premise to the Greek one in Sicily, against which I have attempted to protest.

The two silver issues of Himera with the epiklesis Kronos, referable to the Dionean era, should not be separated from a silver litra, characterized on the obverse by the Head, covered with the lion skin, of Herakles facing right, preceded by the ethnic Ἱμεραίων within a beaded border, and on the reverse by the so-called Palladion, with a three-pointed helmet, shield in the left hand and spear (not visible in the photo) in the right[110]. I present a specimen (Fig. 29), of 0.609 g.

For comparison I recall the litra issued by Therma, a city complementary to Himera, but autonomous, on whose obverse, within a beaded border, appears the Head of Hera facing right, with a diadem decorated with palmettes and with flowing hair, preceded by the ethnic Θερμιτᾶν, and behind the nape the siglum *AP* (ἀριστεῖον) — as on the specimen of 0.72 g (Fig. 30), published by D. Bérend[111] — or the symbol of the flower, as on the specimen (Fig. 31) of 0.593 g, already published[112], and perhaps on two others not centered, one (Fig. 32) of 0.64 g and the other (Fig. 33) of 0.53 g. On the reverse a Herakles, seated facing left, holds a club in his right hand and rests his left hand on a stool, to which the lion skin is attached, behind stands the bow. The Head of the goddess evokes that of Argive Hera on coins of Argos[113]. As a model for the Herakles on the reverse, the seated Pan has been indicated, before which appears the siglum *AR* (Fig. 20) on the reverse of an Arcadian issue[114].

In truth this litra of the Thermitai should be interpreted in comparison with that of the Himeraioi with the Head of Herakles, illustrated above: the religious figurations correspond to each other, in that the Head of Herakles on the obverse of the Himeran litra corresponds to the seated Herakles on the reverse of the Thermitan litra, just as the Head of Hera on the obverse of the latter corresponds to the Palladion, which, although it may allude to the cult of Athena[115], is also connected with Hera, as results from coins of Argos[116].

A later bronze issue of Therma presents on the obverse the Head of Herakles, on the reverse that of Hera[117], an indication that these are two civic cults.

A close stylistic connection between the litra of Therma and the "Heraklean" one of Himera can be perceived in a simple comparison of the profiles of the two Heads on the obverse (Figs. 29 and 32): one would think of the same die engraver.

However, Boehringer[118] proposed for the Himeran litra under examination a dating to the beginning of the fourth century B.C., before the battle of Kronion (375 B.C.), separating it from that of Therma.

I take the liberty of disagreeing, both because a Himeran silver litra issue before 375 B.C. would

[109]Kokalos XXX–XXXI, 1984–85, 169 ff. Along the same lines, L. Antonelli, La falce di Crono, Kokalos 1996, 315–325.

[110]Boehringer, Himera, op. cit., 35 with Pl. VIII 11; Gabrici, Topografia ... dell'ant. Himera, op. cit., 73 no. 117, Pl. VI 15; Num. Fine Arts, Aukt. X, 1981, 74 0.64 g (presented as unpublished).

[111]Studies Leo Mildenberg, 1984, 18, Pl. 2,25.

[112]Dall'obolo alla litra, op. cit. 239, n. 1 and Pl. 22, 1.

[113]L. Lacroix, Les reproductions des statues sur les monnaies grecques, Liège 1949, 113; 115 pl. VIII 1; BMC Pelop., Pl. XXVII 9–12.

[114]Cf. Bérend, op. cit., 18.

[115]Attested at Himera also by an inscription (L. Dubois, IGDS, Rome 1989, 11 f. no. 8.)

[116]BMC Pelop., Pl. XXVII 12–13; 15. Cf. LIMC II 1, 965 f., no. 76; no. 79. See also Lacroix, op. cit., 124; Pl. IX 6.

[117]Calciati, CNS I 119.

[118]Himera, op. cit. 36.

be singular and isolated, and by virtue of the typological and religious correlations noted above. The siglum *AP* behind the nape of the Head of Hera on the Therma litra (Fig. 30), resolvable as ἀρ(ιστεῖον), seems to suggest that the issue constituted a "bonus" for soldiers, perhaps also mercenaries of Argive origin[119], enlisted to fight under the command of Timoleon against the Carthaginians, for the battle that occurred at the Crimisus in 339 B.C. The other Thermitan litra issue, with the symbol of the flower behind the nape of Hera (Fig. 31), may be subsequent.

In conclusion, the two correlated litrai of Therma and Himera should be dated to the period of Timoleon. The Himeran ones with the Head of Kronos to the years of Dion, who unleashed a wind of freedom in the Greek and Hellenized poleis, promoting the issues with the type of the short-haired Head of Zeus Eleutherios, a model also for the two small silver Himeran issues illustrated above.

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Summary

After a quick review, following Chr. Boehringer, of the sources relating to Himera and Therma from 409 B.C. and an examination of the last bronze series of Himera, an overview of the bronze issues of Syracuse is presented, with particular attention to the pair constituted by the heavy denomination (Athena Head/Starfish between two dolphins) and the submultiple (R/Hippocampus), to conclude that the first cannot be a "heavy litra" (at 35/30 g!), but must represent a multiple, that is a pentalitron ("drachma"). Thus Dionysius I obtained a financial profit, while such a heavy litra would have constituted a loss of wealth, inconceivable for the economy of a city engaged in continuous wars and therefore bent on saving. Of the two issues with the Head of Zeus Eleutherios, the lighter one (with short-haired Zeus) is attributed to Dion (the "liberator" from tyranny), imitated contemporaneously in coins of various cities, even at Alontion and Alaisa situated in the Punic epicracy (possible only during the years of Dion, when Carthage lowered its guard) and taken up on the obverse of restruck series with the legend Symmachikon (probably struck at Alaisa). The other, with the long-haired Head of Z.E. — type of Zeus Olympios — is attributed to Timoleon (issued to celebrate the institution in 343/2 B.C. of the amphipolia), to whom belong the two gold issues with the similar Head of Zeus, destined, to supplement stocks of pegasi, for the payment of mercenaries, in view of the battle at the Crimisus in 339 B.C. The two bronze issues with Zeus should be considered dilitron the first, hemidrachmon the second: to consider them litra, as is claimed for the heavy "Dionysian" bronze, would mean admitting a loss of wealth, inexplicable.

The two small silver issues of Himera with the Head of (Zeus) Kronos, similar to that of the Zeus Eleutherios ascribed to Dion, are attributed to the latter. Two other silver litra issues, one from Himera with the Head of Herakles and the other from Therma with the Head of Hera, to be interpreted in comparison with each other, would belong to the years of Timoleon.

[119] List of mercenaries of Argive origin in Egypt, in M. Launey, Recherches sur les armées hellenistiques I, Paris 1949, 109 ff.; II, Paris, 1950, 1117–8.





1. Moneta di bronzo, Testa di Zeus Eleutherios, a capelli corti/„Parasemon demetriaco", M(useo) Berlino, s(enza) p(eso) – a. Idem, Br. Mus. (Num. Chron. 1936, Pl. XII 2) – b. Idem, Coll. Pennisi di Floristella, Acireale (ora al Mus. Siracusa). – 2. Moneta di bronzo, Testa di Zeus Eleutherios, a capelli corti, con epiklesis/Fulmine alato, aquilotto a d., Etnico, C(oll.) P(rivata). – 3. „Prova di conio", già a Gangi (cfr. V. Cammarata, Da Dionisio a Timoleonte. Problemi di numismatica della Sicilia antica, Modica 1984, Tav. nr. 72 a). – 4. Idem (d nr. 81.

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6. Ibidem, Tav. nr. 83. – 7. C.P. (cfr. Cammarata, cit., Tav. nr. 84). – 8. C.P. (cfr. Cammarata, cit., Tav. nr. 85). – 9. C.P. (cfr. Cammarata, cit., Tav. nr. 62). – 10–11–12. C.M. Kraay, ACGC, Tav. 18, 334–336. – 13. Moneta di br. di Agyrion, C.P. – 14. Idem. C.P. – 15. Moneta di br. di Aitna, C.P. – 16. Moneta di br. di Alontion (Cammarata, cit., Tav. nr. 70). – 17. Moneta di br. dei Leontinoi, C.P.

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18. Moneta di br. riconiata dei Petrinoi (cfr. Cammarata, cit., Tav. nr. 116). – 19. Moneta di br. di Siracusa(Zeus Eleutherios a capelli spioventi, a s./Cavallo saltante a s.), C. P. – 20. Moneta di argento, da Kraay, cit., Tav. 17, 319. – 21. Moneta di oro di Siracusa, Mus. Wien, gr. 2,13. – 22. Id., Antikenmuseum Basel, nr. 497, gr. 2, 12. – 23. Moneta di arg. di Himera, con Testa di Zeus Kronos al D/ : Bank Leu, Zürich, Aukt. 65, 1996, 75 gr. 1,97 (A. Campana, Kronia). – 24. Idem, C. P. (italo-svizzera), gr. 1,32 (2:1). – 25. Idem, Mus. Berlino, gr. 0,87. (2:1). – 26. Idem, C. P., gr. 0,565 (2:1). – 27. Idem, Moneta dimezzata, C. P., gr. 0,472.

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28. Moneta di br. a legenda KPONIA, C. P. – 29. Moneta di arg. di Himera, C. P., gr. 0,609 (2:1). – 30. Moneta di arg. di Therma, gr. 0,72 (D. Bérend, in Studies L. Mildenberg, Tav. 2, 25). – 31. Moneta di arg. di Therma, C. P., gr. 0,593 (2:1). – 32. Idem, C. P., gr. 0,64 (2:1). – 33. Idem, C. P., gr. 0,53 (2:1).

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34. Rilievo di marmo, Mus. dell'Acropoli, Atene, con l'iscriz. Syll.^{3} 154.

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