REVUE BELGE
DE
NUMISMATIQUE
ET DE SIGILLOGRAPHIE
BELGISCH TIJDSSCHRIFT
VOOR NUMISMATIEK EN ZEGELKUNDE

PUBLIÉE
SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE
DE S. M. LE ROI
PAR LA
SOCIÉTÉ ROYALE
DE NUMISMATIQUE DE BELGIQUE
AVEC L'AIDE FINANCIÈRE DU
MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION NATIONALE
ET DE LA CULTURE FRANÇAISE
ET DU
MINISTERE VAN NATIONALE OPVOEDING
EN NEDERLANDSE CULTUUR

UITGEGEVEN
ONDER DE HOGE BESCHERMING
VAN Z. M. DE KONING
DOOR HET
KONINKLIJK BELGISCH
GENOOTSCHAP VOOR NUMISMATIEK
MET DE FINANCIËLE HULP VAN HET
MINISTERIE VAN NATIONALE OPVOEDING
EN NEDERLANDSE CULTUUR
EN HET
MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION NATIONALE
ET DE LA CULTURE FRANÇAISE

DIRECTEURS:

PAUL NASTER, TONY HACKENS,
MAURICE COLAERT, PATRICK MARCHETTI

CXXVII - 1981

BRUXELLES BRUSSEL
I propose here to reexamine the chronology of a famous fifth-century silver coin of Zancle-Messana in Sicily, to point out the problems with the prevailing dating, and to suggest a new, more satisfactory one. The object under consideration is the much discussed "numismatisches Rätsel" with the legend Δαυναλαίων, in Brussels (1). On the obverse is a bearded god striding right, with

(*) An earlier version of this paper was presented to the American Numismatic Society's 1981 Summer Seminar.

(1) P. NASTER, *La collection Lucien de Hirsch*, Brussels, 1959, p. 95 no. 446. He identified the god as Poseidon and dated the coin 461 B.C. My thanks to Jacqueline Lallemand of the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique for providing a cast for my study.

torso and right leg frontal, head, bent left leg, and genitals in profile. The cocked right arm brandishes a thunderbolt, the left arm extends out to the right. He is naked except for a small cloak over the shoulders. Despite all the attempts to make this god Poseidon, the use of Zeus's most ancient and important attribute, the thunderbolt (2), makes it idle to identify our figure as any other than the Thunderer himself. In the field below the left arm is an altar with volutes and palmettes. The whole composition rests on a double ground line. The surrounding border of large dots is off-flan except at the bottom and traces on top. On the reverse is a dolphin swimming, or rather leaping, left; below it is a shell with the fluting downward. Around these is the inscription DANKVAlON (= Zavnlaiov), clockwise from ten to three o'clock. The border of small dots is off flan except at the top. The coin is very worn, especially about the head of Zeus and the shell. Weight is 17.05 g., module 28.3 mm., die position ʌ.

This remarkable, unique piece purports to have been minted by people from Zancle (later called Messana, modern Messina) on the Sicilian side of the Straits of Messana, across from Rhegium. While it has not yet received a comprehensive study, the mint of Zancle-Messana has been treated in several surveys, and its interesting problems have prompted a number of special studies (3). There-
fore it is not necessary that I outline the history of the city and its coinage here. But I do wish to point out that, except for our piece which prevailing opinion places about 460 B.C., there is no good evidence, literary or numismatic, that Messana was called Zancle after the early 480s. At that time Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium (494-476), refounded and renamed the town (4). He wanted to emphasize the newness of his own foundation which ensured the coveted and lucrative control of the Straits. To have retained the old name and types was inconsistent with this purpose, and his sons had no reason to change their father's policy. The coinage confirms this. Major changes in type — from lion-head/calf-head (early 480s to 484 or 480), to « hares » (mule-car/hare, 484 or 480 to 461), to « hares » with Nike (461 to 396) — are perfectly comprehensible in the light of our historical information, and all these series bear the ethnic MESSENIUM, later Doric MESSANION. The Messenians did not change the name of their city, or even their coin types as the Rhegians did, when the Anaxilaidae fell in 461 — the name Messana remained on the « hares » until the arrival of the Carthaginians in 396 closed the mint. Furthermore, it is impossible that there was in Messana a remnant of « old » Zancleans and their descendants in the middle of the century, as is commonly supposed, if Thucydides (6, 4, 5-6) and Herodotus (6, 23) are to be trusted. Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, enslaved the Zancleans in 494/3 when he yielded Zancle to the Samians and other Ionians who had come west fleeing the wreck of the Ionian Revolt. And Anaxilas expelled the Samians, along with any Zancleans still by some chance living there, when he seized the city a few years later (5).

(4) For Anaxilas see H. Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, Munich, 1967, vol. 1, p. 155-157, vol. 2, p. 608-609. Other evidence adduced to prove that Messana was called Zancle is without value. Diodorus' tendency to speak of Zancle instead of Messana until after 461 (11, 48, 2; 66, 1; 76, 5) contradicts Thucydides (6, 4, 6), Herodotus (7, 164, 1), and the coinage. As to the so-called « alliance coinage », the DA on a coin of Croton is most likely a magistrate's mark, not an abbreviation for ΔΑΝΚΑΕ; KRAAY, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, p. 181; K. von Fritz, *Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy*, New York, 1940, p. 82-83; against Stauffenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 294, 349 n. 38; Vallet, *op. cit.*, p. 375-377; and E. L. MINAR, *Early Pythagorean Politics*, Baltimore, 1942, p. 37, 47, and 77.

(5) The Samians spared three hundred leading Zancleans whom Hippocrates had handed over for execution. Herodotus does not tell us what happened
Moreover, a large hoard of silver tetradschms buried in the middle of the fifth century and recently found in Sicily includes many Messana pieces from either side of 461. The striding Zeus issue, needless to say, is not represented (6). My own close study of hundreds of "hares" confirms the fact that the supposed minting of our Zeus left no impression whatsoever on the post 461 issues. And finally, Diodorus (11, 76, 5) makes Messana an exception to the cities which received back their ancient populations following the collapse of the Sicilian tyrannies. This precludes any restoration from outside of the "old" Zancleans, supposing any survived the upheavals of a generation before.

These facts make almost all prevailing explanations of the striding Zeus issue most unlikely. H. Gielow and J. Mertens have summarized and criticized these various theories (7). Others which have since appeared, and which I list above in my note 1, generally follow the "orthodox" dating and context — 461 when the tyrants were expelled and, in the subsequent confusion, the "old" Zanclean population briefly regained control of the city — and are equally improbable. Colin Kraay, however, following a possi-

to them. Since both groups were oligarchs it is not impossible that the Samians incorporated the three hundred Zancleans — compare Gelo's treatment of the Megarian oligarchs, once his enemies, whom he settled in his city Syracuse (Hist. 7, 156, 2-3). If this is correct, and it is highly speculative, they may have together returned to the East after Anaxilas expelled them; DUNBABIN, op. cit., p. 393-394; J. P. BARRON, The Silver Coins of Samos, London, 1966, p. 45; M. PRICE and N. WAGGONER, Archaic Greek Coinage: The Asyul Hoard, London, 1975, p. 27. References to a Zanclean survival in Sicily or Messana itself are too insecure to be trusted. There was a rumor that the only Olympic victors from Messene in Sicily or the Peloponnesus, Leontiscus and Symmachus, were descended from Zancleans (Paus. 6, 2, 10; cf. DUNBABIN, p. 394 with n. 1).

This, however, is suspect as a tradition hostile to Messenians and their accomplishments. Strabo's identification of Tauromenium as a ἄρθρα τῶν Ἠρώης Ζαγγακλαίων (6, 2, 3) seems more substantial; but Tauromenium was founded very long after the dispersal of the Zancleans, in 396. No satisfactory solution to this problem — emending the text or positing an earlier Tauromenion — has been found, and the reference must remain obscure; cf. K. ZIEGLER, s.v. Tauromenion, RE, 2nd ser., 9, 1934, cols. 28-29.

(6) This hoard, of at least 487 coins, contains 75 "hares" from before 461, 49 from after. Dr. Carmen Arnold-Biucchi is preparing it for publication. I am grateful to her for permitting me to work with her material.

bility first admitted by Sir Arthur Evans, suggested that the coin was struck by a Zanclean remnant outside the city, perhaps in 461 or later, to commemorate the fall of the tyrants who had expelled them (8). Kraay points to the example of the Sybarites, who maintained their identity through several upheavals: the evidence is ambiguous, but groups of Sybarite refugees may even have issued their own coinage, and they certainly influenced that of the cities which harbored them (9). It is difficult, nevertheless, to explain a Zanclean survival; and any commemorative function, and hence any necessary connection with events in 461, seems unlikely. Still, if our piece must be dated in the middle of the century Kraay's conjecture is perhaps the best explanation of it.

But must it be dated in the middle of the century, when, according to all the information we have, Zancle-Messana was no longer called Zancle? This chronology proceeds from the style of the Zeus, which is "evidently much later than Anaxilas' change of name to Messana"; so it is "admittedly impossible" that the coin was struck before 493 (10). It appears to me that stylistic considerations, based on little more than casual comparison with other coins, have hitherto been a hindrance rather than a help to our understanding of the coin. I therefore propose a reconsideration.

The dating of this piece on the basis of style has varied from before 500 to after 435 (11). Most students of the problem, however, have had the impression that the middle of the fifth century would be about right. No doubt these scholars' familiarity with a wide range of Greek coin styles has engendered this impression. And yet there is no close parallel to our Zeus to be found among Greek coins, for reasons which will appear shortly. Mertens alone attempted to find stylistic parallels outside of the coins, and he turned to small bronzes where the development of the striding.

(10) Kraay, Archaic and Classical Greek Coins, p. 216; Evans, op. cit., p. 110.
god motif has been traced several times, most notably by C. I. Karouzos (12). Our Zeus is closest to the bronzes in Karouzos’ group VI, from about the second decade of the fifth century (13). Still with a definite forward thrust, and locked into the characteristically archaic composition of one vertical plane, it has not yet reached the kind of posed balance and naturalistic, three-dimensional stance seen, for example, in the Striding God of Artemisium, about 460 (14).

Comparison with red figure vase painting suggests a date even earlier than the bronzes. The stance of head and one leg in profile, torso and other leg frontal, began to appear in the work of the Pioneers in the later sixth century and soon opened out into the vigorous stride (15). Similar to the stance of our Zeus are a number of figures by the Cleophrades Painter, of the years around 500 (16). And nearest of all is a Heracles on a Panathenaic amphora by the


(13) KAROUZOS, p. 58-59. Compare the Perachora Heracles and Benaki Heraclies, with H. G. G. PAYNE’s comments, A Bronze Herakles in the Benaki Museum at Athens, in JHS, 54, 1934, p. 163-167, figs. 1-2, pl. 7. Mertens, on the other hand, places our Zeus after 480, pointing to characteristics of the severe style which I do not see.

(14) WUNSCH, op. cit., p. 77-111 with earlier literature.

(15) See, e.g., works of Euphronius (calyx-crater, Berlin 2180; BEAZLEY, ARV², p. 13-14, 1; ill. in J. BOARDMAN, Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period, London, 1975, fig. 24), Phintias (amphora, Louvre G 42; BEAZLEY, p. 23, 1; BOARDMAN, fig. 41), and Euthymides (amphorae, Munich 2307, 2309; BEAZLEY, p. 26, 1, p. 27, 4; BOARDMAN, figs. 33-34). The same stance appears in relief about the same time (cf. esp. the statue bases depicting playing youths from Athens: ills. in J. BOARDMAN, Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period, New York and Toronto, 1978, figs. 241-242), as well as in gems (J. BOARDMAN, Archaic Greek Gems, Evanston, 1968, nos. 215, 255, 259, 263).

(16) Amphora, Würzburg 507; BEAZLEY, p. 181, 1; BOARDMAN, Vases, fig. 129, 2; similarly calyx-crater, Louvre G 48; BEAZLEY, p. 185, 33; CVA France, 9, 1, 7; and calyx-crater, Tarquinia RC 4196; BEAZLEY, p. 185, 35; CVA Italy, 26, III, I, 15, 1.
Berlin Painter in his early period, ca. 500-480 (17). Like the striding Zeus, these have the wide-open stance, slightly bent left leg, and forward inclining, fully frontal torso; and the composition still fails to break out of the plane of the vase. From the 480s onward painters tended to favor in their striding figures a twist in the hips and torso to three-quarters or even full profile, and from the middle of the century two-dimensionality was increasingly abandoned for the vigorous, naturalistic figures of, for example, the Niobid Painter and later Aeson (18).

If we return now to the style of similar coin types, the reason for our inability to find stylistic parallels to our Zeus among other Greek coins becomes clear. And it also becomes apparent that the striding (and similar) figures on coins correspond in their development to such figures on vases. In vase painting the striding figure type in the later sixth century had a frontal torso set awkwardly on profile hips and legs, the whole composition, well known on both black and red figure, being two-dimensional. The type remained a favorite through the fifth century, although, as we have seen, a growing sense of space in art resulted in a twisting of limbs and head, and a rotation of hips and torso, out of the surface plane. Coinages which began before the end of the sixth century, some of

(17) Würzburg 500 ; BEAZLEY, p. 197, 8 ; BOARDMAN, fig. 145. Very similar is a cup by Onesimus, of about the same time: New York 12.231.2; BEAZLEY, p. 319-320, 6 ; BOARDMAN, fig. 231. The right foot of our Zeus was probably frontal, as it is on these vases, but it is worn or struck off flan, so we cannot be positive. That the foot might have been depicted obliquely is not necessarily a difficulty; cf. a cup by the Elpinicus Painter of just before 500: Munich, Antikensammlungen, inv. no. 8771; M. DUMM, Schale mit Theseus und Sinis, in Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, 3rd ser., 22, 1971, p. 7-22; BOARDMAN, fig. 115.

(18) The Brygos Painter (cups, London E 69, Cab. méd. 576; BEAZLEY, p. 369, 2, p. 371, 14 ; BOARDMAN, figs. 247, 255), Douris (cup, Munich 2646; BEAZLEY, p. 437, 128; BOARDMAN, fig. 296), Triptolemus Painter (Swiss private, BEAZLEY, p. 361, 7; BOARDMAN, fig. 304, 2), the Pan Painter (pelike, Athens 9683; BEAZLEY, p. 554, 82; BOARDMAN, fig. 336), et al. Niobid Painter: calyx-crater, Louvre C 341; BEAZLEY, p. 601, 22; ills. in P. E. ARIAS and M. HIRMER, A History of Greek Vase Painting, London, 1962, fig. 175, cf. figs 176-180. Aeson: squat lecythus, Naples RC 239; BEAZLEY, p. 1174-1175, 6; ARIAS-HIRMER, fig. 205. Similar is work of the Pronomus Painter: volute-crater, Naples 3240; BEAZLEY, p. 1336, 1; ARIAS-HIRMER, fig. 219.
which persisted through the fifth, show the same development (19). No coinages bearing the striding figure type originated in the first two decades of the fifth century except, if I am correct, the Zeus of Zancle. Hence no other type reflects, as it does, the work of Phintias, the Cleophrades Painter, the Berlin Painter, and others who were trying out the new stance. Afterwards, as I noted, this stance fell into abeyance, and the Olympian Zeus coins of Elis and the bronco-buster of Larissa, both from the 470s, and the Citium Heracles of about 460, follow the contemporary red figure style: frontal torso and profile hips or three-quarter torso and hips (20). The three-quarter figure was the first step toward three dimensionality, which became truly apparent in the third quarter of the century with the Heracles of Thebes and the warrior of Abdera (21). These are similar to figures of the contemporary Nio­ bid Painter.

A few other observations tell against the supposed late style of the coin. The zigzag, swallowtail pattern of the ends of the cloak seems very out of place in the severe style (22). Unfortunately the head is very worn, but clearly Zeus was bearded and almost certainly his hair was cut without long dangling braids. Gods do not wear

(19) Caulonia : KRAAY, Archaic and Classical Greek Coins, figs. 639-649 ; Poseidonia : figs. 650-661 ; Thasos : figs. 518-521 ; Taras : figs. 663-677 ; Chalcidice : fig. 468 ; Peparethus : fig. 402 ; the Derrones : fig. 488, cf. 481-486 and the Macedonian regal coins, figs. 493-495.

(20) Elis : KRAAY, fig. 325; for the dating see H. NICOLET-PIERRE, Remarques sur la chronologie relative des plus anciennes séries de statères éoliens, in RN, 6th ser., 17, 1975, p. 13-17; Larissa : F. HERMANN, Die Silbermünzen von Larissa in Thessalien, in ZfN, 35, 1925, pl. 3, 1-5, 16-23; Citium : KRAAY, figs. 1103-1104. Sybaris III, refounded in 453, issued a striding Poséidon coin conforming to the style of the contemporary coins of Poseidonia, which assisted in the reformation ; KRAAY, The Coinage of Sybaris after 510 B.C., in NC, 6th ser., 18, 1958, p. 18-20 with pl. 3, 9, p. 23-24 with pls. 4, 8-12.

(21) Thebes : KRAAY, Archaic and Classical Greek Coinage, fig. 353; cf. fig. 352 and the Heracles in archaizing style, fig. 351 ; Abdera : fig. 534.

(22) This characteristically archaic drapery is particularly noteworthy in sculpture, where it can be observed on very many korai. Somewhat similar are the earliest coins of Poseidonia (KRAAY, fig. 650). For the same treatment in vase painting, cf., e.g., a cup by the Euphides Painter, Castle Ashby ; BEAZLEY, p. 91, 50 ; CVA, Great Britain, 15, 34, 56, 1. And in gems, e.g., a scarab depicting Hermes with an almost identical cloak, Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen, vol. 2, Berlin, by E. ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL, Munich, 1969, p. 46 and pl. 21, no. 75.
their hair shorter until about 480 or a little later on the coins (23). But the Berlin Painter gave Zeus a shorter cut on his Ganymede bell crater somewhat earlier (24). And Heracles went without flowing hair and braids from late in the sixth century, although this may be due to his athletic aspects (25). The altar is likewise not out of place in the archaic period, rich in palmettes and volutes. Compare especially a sixth century altar from the Temple of Athena in Syracuse (26). The altar is not closely connected with Zeus, in contrast to later coins of Leontini, Himera, or Selinus, where the god sacrifices over it (27). Nevertheless, it must have some cult significance, unless it is merely a device to fill an empty space — another archaic characteristic.

The fabric of our specimen is not necessarily later than the beginning of the fifth century. A thicker flan, as compared to the very thin ones of Caulonia, Poseidonia, and many other cities, is characteristic of the sixth-century coins of Syracuse, for example. Naxos and Acragas had fully developed types on both sides by 500, and Himera a border of dots around its cock (28). The coins of Syracuse and Naxos both had the ethnic in the genitive written out in full by the end of the sixth century.

The dolphin and shell were the prime symbols of Zancle's earliest coinage. This fact, as well as the archaic style of the lettering, is too hastily passed over by those who would date the coin late. The absence of the harbor, however, which had become closely identified with the dolphin, is curious no matter when the coin is dated (29). The explanation may simply be that the expanded name (the dolphin-in-harbor issues wrote out only ΔΑΝΔΗΚ or

(23) E.g., Aetna (KRAAY, fig. 837), Caulonia (fig. 643), Poseidonia (fig. 652).
(24) Louvre G 175; BEAZLEY, p. 206, 124; ill. in AIHAS-HIRMER, fig. 156.
(25) Andocides Painter (amphora, London B 193 ; BEAZLEY, p. 4, 8 ; BOARDMAN, Vases, fig. 10), Euphronius (calyx-crater, Louvre G 103 ; BEAZLEY, p. 14, 2 ; BOARDMAN, fig. 23), Phintias (amphora, Tarquinia RC 6843 ; BEAZLEY, p. 23, 2 ; BOARDMAN, fig. 40), Paseas (plate, Boston 01.8025 ; BEAZLEY, p. 163, 6 ; BOARDMAN, fig. 16), et al.
(28) KRAAY-HIRMER, figs. 1-3, 64, 72-74, 168.
ΔΑΝΚΕ) crowded out the harbor. These early Zancle issues also had a dotted border.

The generally conservative character of Greek coinage is well-known; ancient types and styles — most notably at Athens — persisted long into the classical period. But general rules do not govern specific instances. I think it possible, given the characteristics I have just discussed, that the Striding God of Zancle-Messana was conceived and executed as early as the beginning of the fifth century. Comparison with vase painting is a viable method of determining chronology, as a study of the striding figure motif shows; such analyses should be made more often and not as casually as has been the case with our coin in the past (30). In our case, comparison with vase painting suggests a dating in the first two decades of the century. It is worth recalling that the Straits of Messana were the bottle-neck through which passed the Athenian pottery trade on its way to the rich markets of Etruria, and that Ionians, including artists and craftsmen, had been coming to the West ever since the Persian menace arose in the middle of the sixth century (31).

Stylistically, then, it is not unreasonable to date this coin as early as the 490s. The name Zancle gives us a terminus ante quem of 494/3, when the Samians expelled the Zancleans and began to issue their anonymous coinage; and now that our limitations are opened up we can search for an historical context more satisfying than that until now received.

The 490s in Sicily were the decade of Hippocrates of Gela (32). He and his successor Gelo profoundly influenced the development of Sicilian coinage, as H. Chantraine showed in his important study on Leontinine coinage (33). The expansion of the Gelan tyrants put an end to the coinage of Naxos but gave birth to those of Gela,


(31) VALLET, op. cit., p. 139-210, esp. 146-150, 158-159, 188-198; DUNBABIN, op. cit., p. 289.

(32) On the tyrants of Gela see BERVE, op. cit., 1, 137-147; 2, 597-603; STAUFFENBERG, op. cit., p. 157-207; DUNBABIN, p. 376-434.

Leontini, and Camarina (34). Although Chantraine's dating of the introduction of coinage at Leontini, which he attributed to Hippocrates' influence, may be as much as fifteen years too high, his expectation that conquest would have its effect on a city's coinage is sound (35). It certainly did at Himera, where, when Thero of Acragas conquered the city about 483, the Acragantine crab suddenly appeared opposite the Himera cock on Himera's coins. Likewise the experience of Zancle when the Samians and then Anaxilas seized it. Under the pressure of domestic troubles the coinage of Syracuse was interrupted for some years, and when it resumed under Gelo it had changed significantly. These are only a few examples of the many of this kind (36).

Hippocrates succeeded his brother Cleander about 498/7 and soon began to expand energetically in eastern Sicily (37). According to Herodotus (7, 154, 2) he besieged «Callipolis and Naxos, Zancle and Leontini, Syracuse and many of the barbarians ». Of these, Syracuse alone escaped enslavement. Zancle was one of the cities which Hippocrates conquered, and he set up Scythes as a «sub-tyrant» to administer the town, as he did Aenesidemus at Leontini (38). Chantraine could not believe, and it does seem highly unlikely, that the mint of this important commercial town should have ceased to operate (39). He assumed, then, that the early dolphin types, begun a generation before, continued without change under Scythes, and adduced this as evidence for some measure of independence from Hippocrates on Scythes' part.

Such independence seems very unlikely in view of the sequel: upon losing Zancle Scythes called on Hippocrates for aid and was


(35) Pending the appearance of C. Boehringer's monograph on the mint of Leontini, see Kraay, op. cit., p. 211-212.


(38) Berve, op. cit., 1, 139, 142 ; 2, 598 ; Stauffenberg, op. cit., p. 163-164, 333 n. 15 ; Dunbabin, p. 383-384.

promptly punished for his failure \(^{(40)}\). But whether or not Scythes was independent from Hippocrates, we should look for the impact of conquest upon the coinage of Zancle, as it appears so clearly on other Sicilian coinages including those of Zancle-Messana itself in subsequent years. The production of coinage in this trading town was too profitable and essential to suspend, so if a change was made it would have been in type and perhaps weight standard or unit. I suggest that the Striding God issue in fact represents a change in Zancle’s coinage consequent upon Hippocrates’ conquest. It is what we should expect, and when once we look for it, it is obvious. If this coin was minted about 495 there is an historical context at hand to explain it. There is no longer any need to invent one.

Hippocrates probably did not reach Zancle until some years after his accession in 498/7, and he lost the town to the Samians in 494/3. Scythes therefore ruled only a short time, perhaps two years or less. This helps to explain the scarcity of the Zeus issue. Conquest enforced to some extent a break with tradition: a new type was added (but the old retained on the reverse as at Himera), and the standard revised or changed. We should perhaps see in the continuation of Zancle’s coinage, albeit changed, evidence for Hippocrates’ financial policy rather than for a special political position of Zancle vis-à-vis Hippocrates. Hippocrates no doubt found his ambitious projects, the upkeep of his large non-citizen army, and the construction of a new fleet very expensive \(^{(41)}\). Part of the cost was met by the expedient of selling conquered populations into slavery and confiscating their property, as we know he did at Zancle. In addition, partial control of the Straits meant a lucrative income and Hippocrates would not have crippled Zancle’s commercial importance by closing its mint. The new coin, moreover, was potentially more useful than the old ones —

\(^{(40)}\) Hdt. 6, 23. STAUFFENBERG, p. 171, also argued, on the basis of a supposed continuity of Zancle’s coinage under Scythes, for a «Sonderstellung» of Zancle in Hippocrates’ realm. The downdating of Leontini coinage (see above, n. 35) and the revised dating of our piece, if I am correct, may have some bearing on Stauffenberg’s theory and on the very hypothetical question of the relations between tyrant and city (STAUFFENBERG, p. 333-335 n. 28).

\(^{(41)}\) BERVE, 1, 138; DUNBABIN, p. 404-405. It would have been greatly to Hippocrates’ advantage to coin his own money. Jenkins, however, (in Gela) does not think that Hippocrates opened the mint of Gela (p. 7), but later (p. 21, 35) is not so sure.
Euboeic drachms of 5.7 g. — because with a weight of just over 17 g. it was equal to a Euboeic stater, an Attic tetradrachm, or two Corinthian staters. Our coin may be a stater like those Anaxilas issued shortly afterwards rather than a tetradrachm, but the Attic standard was used elsewhere in the realm of the Gelan tyrants, although at this time with units no larger than didrachms. In the absence of smaller denominations we cannot be sure about the standard (42).

The reason for the type of the thundering Zeus has been one of the most discussed aspects of our problem. The only viable explanation which remains, now that a mid-century context no longer seems correct, is Lacroix's. He points out that Zeus was an important divinity at Chalcis, and when the colonists left Euboea for Zancle they took this cult with them (43). But it hardly requires a notice of a cult practiced by ancestors long before and far away to know that the chief of the gods was an important divinity anywhere, in the Greek world. As a coin minted by a new tyrant, however, one intent on establishing his legitimacy and winning the favor of his subjects, our Zeus acquires new meaning. For tyrants, the Peisistratidae had already shown the value of patronizing religion to get a good name before gods and subjects, and Anaxilas, too, with his lions, calves, and hares, fostered local cults by symbolizing them on his coins (44). Hippocrates certainly knew the value of this kind of policy. When marching on Syracuse he found priests taking dedications from the Olympieum where he

(42) Anaxilas' staters : Robinson, op. cit., p. 14. The litrae or obols of 0.65 g. which Evans (op. cit., p. 111-113, pl. 8, 6) first associated with our Zeus cannot resolve the problem of standard. Another specimen of this small coin with inscription DAN is at the American Numismatic Society (SNG, ANS, IV, 2, 327), and a duplicate of Evans' piece was advertised in Münzen und Medaillen 8, 8-10 Dec. 1949, no. 763.

(43) Monnaies et Colonisation, p. 25; so also Schwabacher, Olympischer Blitzschwinger, p. 14 n. 33.

CLAYTON M. LEHMANN

was encamped. He rebuked them as temple-robbers and did not touch the objects himself (45). He also enriched the Gelan treasury at Olympia (46). Zeus was the greatest of the gods, and mightiest in his aspect of thunderer. That Hippocrates or Scythes should put Zeus on his coins is not strange when we remember the wealth and fame of the courts of the Sicilian tyrants, their rich offerings, and their infatuation with the Olympic games: Zeus the thunderer is very much at home in Pindar's odes for the Sicilian tyrants (47).

The obscurity of the mid fifth century has understandably tempted scholars to exercise their ingenuity, while providing a fertile field for the task. A great deal of attention has been focused on the Striding God of Zancle-Messana, which seems to provide a tantalizing piece of evidence for a history otherwise lost, but that is because the style has been misunderstood, I think, and hence misdated (48). Comparison with vase painting—a valuable tool and our surest chronological guide, which I apply to our coin for the first time—points to the beginning of the fifth century, long before scholars in the past have been willing to date it. And now our Zeus appears as one more piece of evidence for the impact of Hippocrates' remarkable expansion throughout eastern Sicily. Perhaps, as well, it reflects the tyrant's use of religious ideology to secure his conquest. And it reminds us of the economic demands Hippocrates' military must have made upon his resources and his efforts to meet these demands. The Zeus of Zancle-Messana now tells a different story indeed from what it seemed to tell before, but one which is part of a known history, and not a history invented to explain it.

(45) Diod. 10, 28, 1-2.
(46) BERVE, 1, 138.