

We Band of Brothers: An Analysis of Seated Male Figures
on Coin Types issued in Magna Graecia c. 470–325 BCE

by

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ABSTRACT

Between c. 470 and 325 BCE the cities of Taras, Rhegion, Herakleia, Metapontion and Kroton in South Italy (Magna Graecia) issued staters depicting a seated male figure. This thesis addresses the identity of these figures and the regional significance of this iconographical cohesion during the issuing period. The first part of this thesis identifies these seated figures through an analysis of the symbolic intent of the secondary motifs that accompanied the respective figures, in conjunction with the contemporary context. The second part examines the regional significance of this shared iconography. Through the identification of shared motifs in conjunction with the seated figures that were issued across the region, it suggests that adoption of this seated figure type attests to a regional connectivity and competition between these *poleis* that is otherwise absent, or less evident, in the historical record.

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis. This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Bridget Louise McClean, 1 December 2021

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACGC	Kraay, C.M., 1976, <i>Archaic and Classical Greek Coins</i> , Methuen, London.
Aesch.	Aeschylus
<i>Lib.</i>	<i>Libation Bearers</i> , Weir Smyth, Herbert (trans.) 1926, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
Ant. Lib.	Antoninus Liberalis
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i> , Celoria, F. (trans.), 1992, Routledge, London and New York.
Apollod.	Apollodorus
<i>Bibl.</i>	<i>The Library, Volume II: Book 3.10-end. Epitome</i> , Frazer, J.G. (trans.), 1921, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
BAPD	Beazley Archive Pottery Database (http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery/default.htm)
BM	British Museum
BMC Greek (Sicily)	Poole, R. S., Gardner, P., and Head, B.V. 1876, <i>A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Sicily</i> , The Trustees of the British Museum, London
BNJ	<i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> , I. Worthington (ed.), 2009, Brill, Leiden.
Callim.	Callimachus
<i>Aet.</i>	‘Aetia’, in: <i>Aetia, Iambi, Hecale and Other Fragments. Hero and Leander</i> , Trypanis, C. A., Gelzer, T. and Whitman, C. H. (ed. trans.) 1973, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
<i>Fr.</i>	‘Fragments of Uncertain Location’, in: <i>Aetia, Iambi, Hecale and Other Fragments. Hero and Leander</i> , Trypanis, C. A., Gelzer, T. and Whitman, C. H. (ed. trans.) 1973, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
<i>Hymn 2</i>	‘Hymn to Apollo’, in: <i>Hymns and Epigrams. Lycophron. Aratus</i> , 1921, Mair, A. W. & Mair, G. R. (trans.) William Heinemann, London.
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Library of History</i> , Oldfather, C.H. (trans.), 1933, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Dion. Hal.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus
<i>Ant. Rom.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i> , Cary, E. (trans.). 1937, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Ancient Orators. Lysias</i> in: Critical Essays, Volume I: Ancient Orators. Lysias. Isocrates. Isaeus. Demosthenes. Thucydides. Usher, Stephen (trans.), 1974, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
Eur.	Euripides
<i>Fr.</i>	<i>Fragments: Aegeus-Meleager</i> , Collard, C. and Cropp, M. (ed., trans.) 2008, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
FGrH	Jacoby, F., 1923, <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Brill.
Hes.	Hesiod
<i>Op.</i>	<i>Opera et Dies</i> , in: Most, G.W. (ed., trans.), 2007, <i>Theogony, Works and Days. Testimonia</i> , Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
<i>Sh.</i>	<i>The Shield</i> , in: G.W. (ed., trans.), 2018, <i>The Shield. Catalogue of Women. Other Fragments</i> , Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogony</i> , in: Most, G.W. (ed., trans.), 2007, <i>Theogony, Works and Days. Testimonia</i> , Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
HGC 2	Hoover, O., 2011, <i>Handbook of Coins of Sicily (including Lipara), Civic, Royal, Siculo-Punic, and Romano-Sicilian Issues, Sixth to First Centuries BC</i> , Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster, PA.
Hdt.	Herodotus, <i>The Persian Wars, Volume I: Books 1-2</i> , Godley, A.D. (trans.), 1920, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
HH	Homeric Hymn
3	Anonymous, Homeric Hymn to Apollo, in: <i>The Homeric Hymns and Homerica</i> Evelyn-White H. G. (trans.) 1914, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, William Heinemann Ltd, London.

31	Anonymous, Homeric Hymn to Helios, in: <i>The Homeric Hymns and Homerica</i> Evelyn-White H. G. (trans.) 1914, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, William Heinemann Ltd, London.
HN	Head, B.V., 1911, <i>Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics</i> , second edition, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
HN 1887	Head, B.V., 1887, <i>Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics</i> , Clarendon Press, Oxford.
HN³	Rutter, N.K., 2001, <i>Historia Numorum Italy</i> , British Museum Press, London.
Hom.	Homer
<i>Od.</i>	<i>The Odyssey</i> , Murray, A.T. (trans.) 1919, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA., William Heinemann, London.
<i>Il.</i>	<i>The Iliad</i> , Murray, A.T. (trans.) 1924, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
Just.	Justinus
<i>Epit.</i>	<i>Epitome of the Philippic history of Pompeius Trogus</i> , J.C. Yardley, 1994, Scholars Press, Atlanta, GA.
LSJ	Liddell and Scott, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th edn., rev. H. Stuart Jones (1925–40); Suppl. by E. A. Barber and others (1968)
Ov.	Ovid.
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses, Volume I: Books 1-8</i> . Miller, F.J. (trans.), 1916, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
Paus.	Pausanias, <i>Description of Greece</i> , Jones, W. H. S. and Ormerod, H.A. (trans.), 1926, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
Plin.	Pliny
<i>NH</i>	<i>Natural History, Volume VIII: Books 28-32</i> , Jones, W. H. S. (trans.), 1963, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
Plut.	Plutarch

- De Alex.* ‘On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander’, in Babbitt, F. C. (trans.), 1936, *Plutarch. Moralia, Volume IV: Roman Questions. Greek Questions. Greek and Roman Parallel Stories. On the Fortune of the Romans. On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander. Were the Athenians More Famous in War or in Wisdom?*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Vit. Arist.* ‘Life of Aristides’, in Perrin, B. (trans.), 1914, *Plutarch. Lives, Volume II: Themistocles and Camillus. Aristides and Cato Major. Cimon and Lucullus*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Polyb.** Polybius, *The Histories*, Paton, W. R., Walbank, F. W. and Habicht, C. (trans.), 2010, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Schol. Dionys. Perieg.** Scholia to Dionysius Periegetes, in: *Dionysius Periegetes: graece et latine, cum vetustis commentariis et interpretationibus*, Bernhardt, G. (ed.), 1828, Weidmann, Leipzig.
- Schol. Pind. Ol.** Scholists on Pindar Odes in: *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina, Vol. I: Scholia in Olympionicas*, Drachmann, A. B. (ed.), Adolf M. Hakkert, Amsterdam.
- SEG 34** *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Volume XXXIV*, 1984, Pleket, H.W. and Stroud, R.S. (eds), J. C. Gieben, Amsterdam.
- SEG 36** *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Volume XXXVI*, 1986, Pleket, H.W. and Stroud, R.S. (eds), J. C. Gieben, Amsterdam.
- SNG ANS 5** Thompson, M. 1975, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The collection of the American Numismatic Society, pt. 5. Sicily III: Syracuse-Siceliotes*, The American Numismatic Society, New York.
- SNG AUS** Sheedy, K. A. 2008, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Australia, Volume I: The Gale Collection of South Italian Coins: I*, Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies, Macquarie University, Sydney.
- Soph.** Sophocles
- OT* *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Jebb, Richard (trans.), 1887, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Strab.** Strabo, *Geography, Volume III: Books 6-7*, Jones, H.L. (trans.), 1924, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Thuc.

Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Volume II: Books 3-4, Smith, C.F. (trans.) 1920, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Vlasto *TO*

Vlasto, M.P. 1922, 'ΤΑΡΑΣ ΟΙΚΙΣΤΗΣ: A Contribution to Tarentine Numismatics', *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 15., American Numismatic Society, New York.

A NOTE ON SPELLING

For ancient authors I have adhered to the Latin spellings (e.g., Thucydides instead of Thukydidēs). In the case of place names, I have adhered to the Greek version rather than the Romanised version (e.g., Khalkis, Herakleia rather than Chalkis, Heraclea). The only exception is the use of ‘Syracuse’, instead of Syrakousai. For Kroton, I have distinguished between the *polis* and the eponymous hero by using ‘Kroton’ when referring to the *polis* and ‘Croton’ for the eponym.

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INTRODUCTION

Between c. 470 and 325 BCE, a number of city-states in Southern Italy (Magna Graecia) issued coins that bore imagery that was previously unseen in their numismatic history, that of a seated male figure.¹ Iconography that featured on these coin types issued by Greek *poleis* in the region during the fifth and fourth centuries is generally viewed as expressing or relating to the civic identity of the issuing *polis*.² Further, it is held that the significance of this imagery would have been explicit to the audience.³ This relationship between the numismatic iconography and civic identity raises questions as to the motivations behind this iconographical cohesion between select city-states in Magna Graecia during the issuing period. There are no discernible formal economic links between these states in the historical record, other than that which emerged as a result of their geographic proximity, that could explain this iconographical unity.

This thesis identifies the seated individual from each city-state and more broadly examines the significance of the use of this particular style of seated figure iconography in Magna Graecia during the production period. It will be argued that the widespread production of a seated figure type increases our understanding of the issuing context by providing a more nuanced insight into the localised identity of the figure as well as the broader regional picture, attesting to both independent state identities and a concurrent sense of regional belonging.

This thesis focuses on the seated figure imagery where it occurs on staters – the principal denomination of a city-state – produced by Taras, Rhegion, Herakleia Lucania (Herakleia), Metapontion and Kroton.⁴ In antiquity, within the region, or at Taras at least, a stater could have also been called a *nomos*.⁵ During the issuing period, these relatively large denominations that are the focus of this thesis were minted to facilitate state payments.⁶ Hoard evidence indicates that coins issued by city-states in Magna Graecia had a limited circulation pattern and tended to remain within the region, suggesting that they were primarily minted for local use, rather than for external trade.⁷

¹ All dates are BCE unless stated otherwise.

² For numismatic iconography and civic identity, see Finley 1973, 166; Howgego 1995, 63 ff.; Thatcher 2011, 73; Martin 1995, 259 ff.; 1996, 281.

³ Brauer 1986, 16.

⁴ *HN*³ x; Horsnæs 2017, 40.

⁵ Pollux 4.79-80, Gardner 1881, 296–97; *ACGC* 164; Vlasto *TO* n. 3; *HN*³ 3.

⁶ Rowan 2013, 312.

⁷ Sutherland 1942, 8; *ACGC* 202; Kraay 1964, 77; *HN*³ 3–4; Papadopoulos 2002, 43.

Immigrants from mainland Greece began to establish permanent settlements on the South Italian coastline during the eighth and seventh centuries.⁸ These initial settlers originated from a variety of places, some from *metropoleis*, while others came from loosely defined regions such as ‘Boeotia’, ‘Rhodes’, or ‘Achaia’.⁹ The settlements that they established were independent communities. On occasion they maintained a connection with their respective places of origin, through shared religious, mythical and/or cultural traditions and/or language.¹⁰ Coinage was first minted by the Achaean settlements in the region’s south, around the second half of the sixth century and, from there, the practice spread north-west to settlements on the west coast.¹¹ Within the region, coinage did not initially undergo a developmental phase like, for example, that of mainland Greece, but instead, the *poleis* implemented a minting technique, and often also a weight standard, that was unique to the region during the incipient period.¹²

This particular technique, known today as ‘incuse’, featured an image on the obverse with a similar version of the obverse type replicated as a mirror image in *intaglio* on the reverse.¹³ Despite the shared adoption of the incuse technique, each settlement adopted individualised iconography. The incuse type gradually evolved into what is known today as ‘double relief’ coinage: issues that depicted full pictorial types with different designs on both the obverse and reverse, akin to that which was used elsewhere in the Greek world.¹⁴ The seated figure types which are examined in this thesis are examples of double relief coinage.

The weight standard which was exclusive to South Italy is known today as the ‘Italic-Achaean’ or ‘Achaean’, with a stater weighing between 7.8–8.1g and for the settlements that issued on the Achaean standard, the stater is the most commonly surviving denomination.¹⁵ Taras, Herakleia, Metapontion and Kroton issued seated figures on staters that adhered to the Achaean standard.¹⁶ At Rhegion the seated figure types were issued on the Euboic-Attic

⁸ Finley 1963, 38–9; Graham 1982, 83; Osborne 1996, 197–98; Rutter 1997, 1–2; Cerchiali et. al. 2004, 10. On the motivations for the establishment of Greek settlements overseas see: Boardman 1980, 162 cf. Finley 1963, 38; Coldstream 2004, 50; Cerchiali et. al. 2004, 14–17.

⁹ Malkin 1987, 2.

¹⁰ Finley 1976, 173–74; Graham 1964 10, 14; Malkin 1994a, 1; Rutter 1997, 2; Cerchiali et. al. 2004, 11; Owen 2005, 17; Greco 2006, 169. On the development of the *polis* see Snodgrass 1994; Lomas 2002, 173; Cerchiali et. al. 2004, 18; Lomas 2010, 175.

¹¹ ACGC 169; Rutter 2012, 128.

¹² ACGC 170; Boardman 1980, 198; Carradice and Price 1988, 41; Rutter 1997, 19.

¹³ Rutter 2012, 128; Sheedy et. al. 2015, 43. On the production of the incuse types see ACGC 163 ff.; Carradice and Price 1988, 41.

¹⁴ Carradice and Price 1988, 69; Horsnæs 2017, 39.

¹⁵ HN³ 3.

¹⁶ HN³ 93, 187.

standard; on this standard a stater (tetradrachm) weighed around 17.2g.¹⁷ The seated figure imagery also occurred on fractional issues produced by Rhegion and gold staters issued by Taras (c. 334–332).¹⁸ In these cases, analysis of these issues goes beyond the scope of this thesis as the iconography must be considered in its own league.

The seated figure type did not appear first at centres with the oldest established mints. The earliest emergence of the seated figure imagery occurred at the Spartan settlement at Taras from c. 470; Taras had first issued coinage between c. 510 and 500.¹⁹ From c. 450 a seated figure type was issued by Rhegion, a settlement founded by Chalkians and Messenians; Rhegion commenced coinage production in c. 510.²⁰ Following this, the type appeared on staters issued by Herakleia from c. 432, a date which places the minting of these types directly after Herakleia's foundation.²¹ At Metapontion, founded by the Achaeans, the type appeared from c. 430; Metapontion was among the first *poleis* in the region to issue coinage, with its earliest production period dated from c. 540–510.²² Last, from c. 425, the iconography appeared at Kroton, a settlement which was established by Achaeans and/or people from the wider Peloponnese; like Metapontion, Kroton was also one of the earliest city-states in Magna Graecia to produce coinage, with its initial production period dated to c. 530–500.²³ Within the region, Pandosia (second quarter of the fourth century), Terina (c. 440–425) and Locri (c. 350) also issued types depicting a seated figure.²⁴ Terina and Pandosia have been excluded from discussion as the location of both sites are uncertain.²⁵ Locri has been excluded on the basis that the type is commemorative: the accompanying inscription reads: ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΛΟΚΡΩΝ (Peace [of the] Locrians), this has been taken to refer directly to the figure depicted.²⁶

One of the difficulties encountered when dealing with numismatic evidence is dating the issues, as most coins have been discovered in hoards.²⁷ Hoard evidence can be problematic to date as few are found in controlled excavations and generally speaking, the hoard can only

¹⁷ *HN*³ 187. At Rhegion coinage was initially struck on the Euboic–Chalcidian standard prior to the change to the Euboic–Attic and conformed with contemporary Sicilian mints – see *HN*³ 187.

¹⁸ For examples of Rhegion's fractional types see Herzfelder 1957, no. 16, pl. II nos 12–22; pl. III nos 23–29; *HN*³ nos 2489, 2490. For the Tarentine gold stater, see *HN*³ no. 901; Fischer-Bossert 1999, V4/R4.

¹⁹ *HN*³ 93.

²⁰ *HN*³ 93, 187.

²¹ Work 1940, 11; *ACGC* 185; Van Keuren 1994, 22; *HN*³ 124.

²² *HN*³ 131.

²³ *HN*³ 167.

²⁴ See *HN*³ nos 2450, 2576, 2310.

²⁵ Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 285, 303.

²⁶ *ACGC* 197; Cornwell 2017 38, n. 108.

²⁷ Kraay, 1964, 76.

provide a *terminus ante quem* with the hoard contents being as old or older, as their date of burial.²⁸ The relative age of issues within the hoard is determined by analysing the degree of wear on the coins, working on the premise that the older the coin is, the greater the wear.²⁹ Therefore those with the least wear are viewed as the most recent issues and thus closest in age to the date of the burial. While this method establishes a relative sequence between issues within the hoard, it relies on the premise that coins were circulated continuously and does not account for situations where a coin has perhaps been previously hoarded, recovered and reintroduced into circulation. To overcome this issue, die studies are used.³⁰ In coupling the hoard evidence with knowledge of artistic development, numismatists can postulate a developmental sequence based on stylistic analysis.

I have accepted both the dating and the chronology of the seated figure series as put forward in the respective catalogues of the locality's coinage, or the source from where the types have been taken. The evidence for seated figure types issued by Taras, Rhegion, Herakleia and Metapontion has been derived from coin catalogues pertaining to the specific *polis* and/or the *Historia Numorum: Italy*.³¹ Kroton's issues are taken solely from the *Historia Numorum: Italy*, as no comprehensive study of Kroton's coinage during this period has been undertaken to date.³² Where I refer to types issued by a *polis* within Magna Graecia that is not a case study site, the types are also taken from the *Historia Numorum: Italy*. In instances where types are referred to that were issued by a *polis* located outside the region, the issue is taken from either the relevant volume of the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* or other catalogues focusing on the coins of that locality.

Detailed analysis of the seated figure types to identify the individuals depicted has been limited and the significance of these types on a regional level is yet to be addressed. In some cases, the identity of the seated figure has been addressed in isolation, for example, the identity of Rhegion's seated figure was the focus of articles by E. J. Seltman (1897; 1889) and J. P. Six (1898). Similarly, the Tarentine seated figure types are the focus of a study by M. P. Vlasto, *TAPAΣ OIKIETHΣ: A Contribution to Tarentine Numismatics* (1922).

²⁸ Kraay 1964, 76.

²⁹ On hoards and dating see *ACGC* xxiii – xxvi; Casey 1986, 61; Howgego 1995, 31.

³⁰ Howgego 1995, 31.

³¹ Taras (Fischer-Bossert 1999), Rhegion (Herzfelder 1957), Herakleia (Work 1940; Van Keuren 1994), Metapontion (Noe and Johnston 1984).

³² *HN*³ 167; Thatcher 2014, 64, n. 63.

The identity of the seated figures is also addressed in coin catalogues or handbooks pertaining to the region, or in the context of study of the coinage issued by the *polis*. For example, while the primary focus of Arthur Evans' monograph *The 'Horsemen' of Tarentum* (1889) was the classification of Tarentine coins depicting horsemen, Evans discusses the identity of the seated figure issued by Taras. More extended treatment of the figure from Taras is undertaken by Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert in his study *Chronologie der Didrachmenprägung von Tarent 510-280 v. Chr* (1999), a study which more broadly focuses on the typology and dating of the silver *nomoi* produced between 510 and 280. Hubert Herzfelder addresses the identity of the seated figure issued by Rhegion in the context of his die-study of the coinage issued by the *polis* in *Les Monnaies d'Argent de Rhegion Frappées entre 461 et le Milieu du IVe Siècle av. J.-C.* (1957). Regarding Herakleia's seated figure, Eunice Work (*Earlier staters of Herakleia Lucaniae*, 1940) and later Frances Van Keuren (*The Coinage of Herakleia Lucaniae*, 1994) address the figure's identity in a chronological context. At Metapontion, the seated individual who features on its stater is named in the monograph *The Coinage of Metapontum, Parts 1 and 2* (1984) by Sydney P. Noe and revised by Ann Johnson.

More broadly, identification of the figures from different *poleis* occurs within a larger study of the region's coinage. For example, Désiré Raoul-Rochette published a collection of his essays titled *Mémoires de numismatique et d'antiquité* (1840), in which the identity of the seated figure from Taras is addressed in the context of a wider discussion of Tarentine coinage and chronology. Alfred W. Hands' *Coins of Magna Graecia* (1909) broadly discusses the region's coinage, including that of the seated figure types. Colin Kraay's *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (1976) covers Greek coinage until the Hellenistic period. Kraay addresses the identity of the seated figures on coins issued by Taras, Rhegion, Herakleia and Kroton, but not that of Metapontion. Kraay's discussion of the type is restricted to the respective *polis*.³³ In R. Ross Holloway's study *Art and Coinage in Magna Graecia* (1978), Holloway examines the iconography of the seated figure types issued by the case study sites. However, Holloway's treatment of the types is done in the context of other types from the region and his primary focus is to examine how the region's coinage was an integral part of Greek art during the fifth and fourth centuries. More recently, *Historia Numorum: Italy* (2001), provides an overview of coinage issued by *poleis* within the region. Within this work, the seated figure types are briefly described in the chronological context of

³³ ACGC 175, 181, 186, 216.

the issuing settlement's coinage. Notably however, the scholarship mentioned above agrees that each of the figures was either locally exclusive or was depicted under a local iteration (e.g., a local version of Herakles) at each of the issuing *poleis*.

A common feature in past approaches to identifying the seated figures has been through citing the existence of similar features between a definitively identifiable seated figure that was produced by another locality. Consequently the "unknown" seated figure is identified as a local iteration of the same sort of "identifiable" figure, such as a local hero.³⁴ Similarly, a common practice has been to single out one or several secondary motifs and use these selected motifs to support a specific identity. This identity is then applied to all seated figures issued by the city, even in cases where all motifs are absent and/or have been replaced by a different motif.³⁵ In cases where the identification of the figures is widely agreed upon, due to the presence of motifs that are explicitly associated with specific individuals, this has led to the lack of a close analysis of some or all other motifs that feature in conjunction with the more securely identifiable figures.³⁶

There are several limitations to such studies. Firstly, there is the overreliance on selected motifs and/or the absence of a comprehensive analysis of all the secondary motifs in an identification of the seated individual. Secondly, with studies focusing on the types appearing within their local contexts, the widespread appearance of a seated figure in the numismatic iconography of Magna Graecia has not been examined as a regional phenomenon. This thesis addresses these shortcomings by taking a comprehensive approach as to how the seated individuals are identified, and through then analysing the significance of the production of a stylistically similar seated figure type on a regional level. The brevity, and in some cases, the methodological shortcomings of previous studies are addressed by re-evaluating the identity of the seated figures issued by each of the case study sites based on the premise that the seated figure was readily identifiable in antiquity to its local audience, notwithstanding the absence of secondary motifs. As such, one variant from each production series will be individually addressed. A variant is defined as one example within a production period of an archetypal issue, as within a production period many varying dies may have been used but the iconographical elements and overall composition remain virtually unchanged. Through employing this comprehensive and methodical approach, each secondary motif is then

³⁴ For example, Six 1898, 282.

³⁵ For example, Manfredini 1951–52, 5–6, 9; Panofka 1848, 4.

³⁶ For example, at Kroton where the altar motif is addressed (ACGC 181) but not the branch that appeared on the same type.

analysed with the aim of determining the extent to which it can be implemented to identify the seated figure. This re-evaluation means that the identification of the seated figure is then established independently from the other seated figure types issued in the region.

The body of evidence since these studies have been completed is unchanged, with no new hoard evidence revealing any previously unseen seated figure iconography. For descriptive purposes, the term ‘attribute’ is sometimes employed by numismatists to classify an object held by, or attached to, a figure whereas an ‘adjunct’ describes an object disconnected from the figure himself. Throughout this thesis, I will use the broader term ‘secondary motif’ or ‘motif’ to refer to objects depicted in conjunction with or used by the figure, as well as objects that feature on the accompanying type. This is done with the aim of approaching the identification of the seated figure from a new perspective, as the following discussion will take into equal consideration variations to all motifs and physical features of the seated figure across all production periods. This broad terminology removes any bias towards the significance of a motif based on where it is positioned in conjunction with the figure. Thus, in addition to the figure himself, the analysis also addresses detailed features of the figure such as the type of clothing he wears, the style of chair on which he is seated and the inclusion or exclusion of facial hair. These features also fall into the secondary motif category for discussion purposes. However, variations in the hairstyle and the absence or addition of facial hair are addressed more specifically as physical features, such as when the motifs are summarised in tabular form. Further, because they are compositional features, neither the posture of the figure (e.g., at Rhegion where he is often depicted with crossed legs) nor the direction that the figure is facing while seated is addressed in detail. The same is true regarding which side of the coin the figure features on. While it has sometimes been suggested that the obverse is the dominant side of the coin,³⁷ this cannot contribute to our understanding of the figure’s identity and therefore analysis into this feature goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

This thesis is divided into two parts. The first part presents the numismatic evidence, examining one variant of the seated figure type from each production period issued by each case study site. This is undertaken with the purpose of understanding their chronological placement and determining the presence of secondary motifs. From this, an analysis of the symbolic intent of each motif, and how these motifs interact with each other, establishes the

³⁷ Papadopoulos 2002, 30.

identity of the seated individual at each site. The second part examines the issuing context and historical minting traditions within the region prior to and during, the introduction of the seated figure type. This reveals that, aside from the newly founded Herakleia, the incuse technique had been used by, although was not limited to, this group of city-states which came to issue staters depicting a seated figure. An examination of the seated figure iconography on a regional level reveals shared motifs between *poleis*. Accordingly, this thesis analyses the extent to which this regional implementation of certain motifs relates to the issuing context and considers the broader regional significance of the types.

Identifying the use of these seated figure types as a regional phenomenon has implications for our understanding of the widespread use of this particular style of numismatic iconography. As a group, the class of figure that features seated on stater types is identifiable as an individual who is related to the mythic past of the issuing city-state. This aspect also provides insight into the wider significance of the type by attesting to new emphasis on the mythic heritage of the issuing *poleis*. The level of commonality between the seated figure types across Magna Graecia indicates that while they can be interpreted as expressing the settlement's civic identity, it is possible to identify this seated figure types as a common means by which different *poleis* elected to articulate this identity. The production of this seated figure type by multiple (but not every) *polis* within Magna Graecia, is therefore indicative that these types are evidence of an environment of regional connectivity that is otherwise absent, or less evident, in the historical record.

PART I – IDENTIFICATION OF THE SEATED FIGURES

This part identifies the seated figures at each of the five case study sites, which are addressed in accordance with the first production of the seated figure type: Taras, Rhegion, Herakleia, Metapontion and Kroton. The seated figure types were not always issued consecutively or in isolation. At Taras, Metapontion and Kroton, the seated figure appeared in conjunction with coins of the same denomination that bore a different type. Additionally, the seated figure types were not issued in iconographical isolation and were paired with a different type on the opposing side. While the types that accompanied the seated figure iconography, either in the obverse or reverse, are not the subject of this thesis, these accompanying types will also be broadly discussed to determine the extent to which they can be related to the identity of the figure and/or suggest an interaction between the obverse and reverse of the issues. With the exceptions of Herakleia and Metapontion, all case study sites issued the seated figure type over multiple periods of production. At Taras there were gaps in the production of the type, ranging from between approximately ten years (between series one and two) to five years (between series two and three and series six and seven).³⁸ However, despite the breaks in production there is no major alteration to the depiction of the seated figure from one series to the next. As such, it is accepted that the identity of the figure at his respective locality remained consistent.

The identity of the seated figure at each locality is established through an examination of the figure himself and the secondary motifs, in conjunction with the relevant ancient literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence. The case study sites are addressed chronologically with the settlements arranged in accordance with the first production of the type. The variant types are described chronologically within their issuing series. This method establishes the degree of iconographical alteration and/or consistency between series at each locality. In instances where there are minor variations of the same motif within the same series (such as a different die but consistent imagery from one issue to the next, or a motif in a different position from a previous example), the motif in question is described once.³⁹

³⁸ Cahn 1968, 72; Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group 8.

³⁹ For example, at Herakleia the club positioned at a different angle in the first and second types (Work 1940 no. 1 cf. 2). As no new motifs are introduced, this is a stylistic variation.

Selected issues produced by Rhegion and Kroton contained lettering. In these instances, the letters are acknowledged as marks of the issuing authority and as such, they are described *in situ* but do not form part of the detailed discussion as they are unrelated to the identity of the seated figure. The continuation of a motif from one series to the next (such as the bird on Tarentine coins in series seven and eight) is treated as purposeful and therefore noted in each series.

Analysis of the secondary motifs demonstrates that in some instances they can be interpreted as definitive indicators of a specific identity of the seated figure, while in other cases, the secondary motifs refer to the status of the individual or the geographic locality of the issuing *polis*. Other motifs are identifiable as common objects or dress styles which had a long period of use in antiquity and were not restricted to use by a specific class of individual. Further, analysis of the seated figure types issued in the region demonstrates that at some localities, and during some production periods, the figure was only depicted in conjunction with objects that were commonly used in antiquity by all classes of society, and not restricted to use by deities or those of high status. In these instances, it is accepted that for the local audience, the seated individual was nonetheless identifiable. This suggests that the local renown of the figure depicted facilitated his identification during the issuing period. As such, the contemporary significance of the figure is also considered in determining the identity of the seated individual.

1. TARAS

The settlement at Taras was situated on the best harbour of what is now known as the Gulf of Tarentum (Figure 1). Established by the Spartans in c. 706, the settlement intermittently issued *nomoi* depicting a seated figure between c. 470 and 415.⁴⁰ This figure has been assigned several identities, by different scholars. Raoul-Rochette and Luigi Sambon identify the individual as the *demos*.⁴¹ Alberto Manfredini identifies the figure as the god Dionysus.⁴² Pierre Willeumier identifies the figure as Phalanthos, a figure whom most ancient literary sources regard as the leader of a disenfranchised group of Spartans who were the initial Tarentine settlers.⁴³ Fischer-Bossert suggests that the figure on earlier issues is an anonymous Spartan who was involved in, or responsible for, the foundation of the settlement, but that later issues depict Phalanthos.⁴⁴ Alternatively, M. P. Vlasto identifies the figure on earlier types as Phalanthos but the figure on later fourth century types as Taras, the local hero and eponym of the *polis*.⁴⁵ Finally, scholars such as Kraay and George C. Brauer identify the seated figure solely as Taras.⁴⁶ In order to identify the seated figure the following section will examine the variations of the seated figure types in chronological order. The secondary motifs that occurred across the production period are summarised below in Table 1.

DESCRIPTION OF SERIES

During the first production period (c. 470 – 465) the seated figure type features on the obverse and one variant type exists.⁴⁷ The seated male is bearded with shoulder-length hair tied at the nape of his neck to hang down his back.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ Eusebius (Chronicon ad. A 706); Dunbabin 1948, 28–31; Graham 1982, 112–113; Malkin 1994b, 128; Nafissi 1999, 256; Fischer-Bossert 1999, 79; 96; 112; 119. Groups 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18. This thesis follows Fischer-Bossert's dating of the coins on both the start and end date (cf. Brauer 1983, 35; *HN*³ 94; Hall 2008, 415). A female head and hippocampus feature on the first interrupting group (Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group 7), with the second interrupting series depicting the female head alone (Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group 9), and thirdly by the horseman type (Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group nos 13, 16). Both the female head and hippocampus types appeared on earlier Tarentine issues – the hippocampus firstly between c. 500 and 480 (Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group nos. 2, 3) and then again between c. 470 and 465 in conjunction with female head type (Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group 5). The horseman type became the consistent Tarentine type with the conclusion of the seated figure series (*HN*³ 94).

⁴¹ Raoul-Rochette 1840, 220 ff.; Sambon 1863, 123. See also, Gardner 1893, 101; Evans 1889, 3 cf. 12; 32–3.

⁴² Manfredini 1951–52, 5–6, 9.

⁴³ Willeumier 1939, 518. On Phalanthos as the *oikist*, see Antiochus *FGrH* 555 F1 3; Diod. Sic., 8.21; Strab. 6.3.2; Paus. 10.10.6.

⁴⁴ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 422–23.

⁴⁵ Vlasto *TO* 7–8. On Taras as the eponym see Antiochus *FGrH* 555 F1 3; Paus. 10.10.6 cf. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 19.1.

⁴⁶ *ACGC* 175; Brauer 1986, 35. See also, Lacroix 1965, 97–99; *HN* 55; Garaffo 1995, 148–149.

⁴⁷ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 79, Group 6.

⁴⁸ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 104, V 53/R 68.

	Series 1 c. 470 –465	Series 2 c. 455	Series 3 c. 450	Series 4 c. 450 –440	Series 5 c. 445 –440	Series 6 c. 435	Series 7 c. 430– 425	Series 8 c. 425– 415
Motifs⁴⁹								
<i>diphros</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
distaff	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
ethnic⁵⁰	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>himation</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
staff		x*	x	x	x	x	x	
<i>kantharos</i>	x	x	x	x			x	
<i>klismos</i>			x				x	x
wreathed border			x					
<i>aryballos & strigil</i>							x	x
bird							x	x
<i>diphros okladias</i>		x						
trident			x					
dolphin				x				
altar							x	
rock								x
cat							x	
dog							x	
Physical features								
clean- shaven		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
short hair				x	x	x	x	x
long hair (tied/bun)	x	x	x	x				
bearded	x		x				x	

Table 1: Secondary motifs and physical features of the seated figure types issued by Taras c. 470–415

⁴⁹ Not all motifs are necessarily depicted on the same type, but the Table provides a summary of all the motifs that featured in each series. Motifs marked with an asterisk are tentatively identified on one or more examples from the series.

⁵⁰ ΤΑΡΑΣ (TARAS) or a variation on this. For a summary of variations to the ethnic, see *HN*³ 94, notably no. 843 cf. nos 844, 845.

He is shown seated on a *diphros* (a four-legged, backless stool),⁵¹ draped in a *himation* (a style of mantle),⁵² holding a distaff in his left hand (on which wool or flax was wound in preparation for spinning),⁵³ and a *kantharos* in his right (one of the main cup types used for drinking) (Figure 2).⁵⁴ During the second series (c. 455) the seated figure operated as the reverse type and the series contains two variants.⁵⁵ The figure in this series is always shown unbearded. The first variant depicts the figure sitting on a skin-draped *diphros*, wearing a *himation* and holding a distaff and *kantharos*. His hair is bound into a bun and positioned above the nape of his neck (Figure 3).⁵⁶ On the second variant, the figure is sitting on a *diphros okladias*, a style of chair similar to the *diphros* but with crossed legs.⁵⁷ The figure is holding what Fischer-Bossert identifies as either a staff, or a distaff in his right hand, while his left hand is resting on his knees (Figure 4).⁵⁸

During the third series (c. 450) the seated figure features on the reverse; this series contained three variants. A wreathed border also featured on some issues produced in this series.⁵⁹ On the first variant, the male figure is depicted bearded, seated on a *klismos* (a seat with a curved back and legs),⁶⁰ which is covered by an animal skin. The figure's hair is shown tied at the nape of his neck and his lower body draped in a *himation*. He is holding a staff in his left hand and a distaff in his right, all enclosed by a wreathed border (Figure 5).⁶¹ On the second variant the figure is now clean-shaven, his hair in a bun, seated on a *diphros* and with his lower body draped in a *himation*, also enclosed by a wreathed border (Figure 6).⁶² The third variant also depicts the male figure clean-shaven, this time with short hair and seated on a *diphros*, with his lower body draped in a *himation*. In his outstretched right hand, he is holding a *kantharos*, while in his left he is holding a trident (Figure 7).⁶³

⁵¹ Richter 1987, 373.

⁵² Lee 2015, 113.

⁵³ Melville-Jones s.v. distaff.

⁵⁴ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 104, V 53, R 68.

⁵⁵ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 79, Group 8. It is generally accepted that there must have been a gap of at least ten years between the issues produced with the seated figure appearing on the obverse (Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group 6), and those in which it appeared on the reverse (Cahn 1968, 72; Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group 8). In addition, between the end of the first series of seated figure types and the introduction of the second, a series of staters depicting the dolphin rider on the obverse and a hippocampus on the reverse were issued (Fischer-Bossert 1999, 79, Group 7).

⁵⁶ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 120, R 82.

⁵⁷ Richter 1987, 373.

⁵⁸ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 127, R 87.

⁵⁹ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 79, Group 10.

⁶⁰ Richter 1987, 373.

⁶¹ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 134 R 92.

⁶² Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 135, R 93.

⁶³ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 142 R 97.

The fourth series (c. 450–440), witnessed the highest output of the seated figure type.⁶⁴ Only five secondary motifs appear in conjunction with the seated figure: the *himation*, staff, dolphin, distaff and the *kantharos*. As there was an overlap of motifs, three variants are described for this series: on one issue, the male figure is depicted holding a staff in his left hand and a distaff in his right. He is sitting on a *diphros*, with his hair bound into a bun at the nape of his neck and with his lower body draped in a *himation* (Figure 8).⁶⁵ The second variant also shows the figure on a *diphros*, draped in a *himation* and holding a staff in his left hand. On this example, a small leaping dolphin appears above the figure's outstretched right hand (Figure 9).⁶⁶ The third variant depicts the figure on a *diphros*, draped in a *himation* and holding a staff in his right hand and a *kantharos* balancing on the open palm of his left hand (Figure 10).⁶⁷

During the fifth series (c. 445–440) the seated figure operated as either the obverse or reverse type.⁶⁸ No new secondary motifs were introduced during this production period and the seated figure always appears seated on a *diphros*, with his lower body draped in a *himation*, holding a distaff in his right hand and a staff in his left (Figure 11).⁶⁹

Throughout the sixth series (c. 435), the type functioned consistently as the reverse type.⁷⁰ Seated figure types produced during this period maintain the secondary motifs seen in previous series. The seated figure is depicted seated on a *diphros*, with his lower body draped in a *himation*, holding a distaff in his right hand and a staff in his left (Figure 12).⁷¹

During the seventh series (c. 430–425), seven variant seated figure types were issued.⁷² The first depicts a bearded male seated on a *diphros*, with his lower body draped in a *himation*, holding a distaff in his right hand and a staff in his left (Figure 13).⁷³ The second variant depicts the male clean-shaven, holding a *kantharos* in his outstretched right hand and a distaff in his left, with his lower body draped in a *himation* (Figure 14).⁷⁴ On the third variant, the

⁶⁴ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 96, Group 12.

⁶⁵ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 156, R 110.

⁶⁶ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 158, R 112.

⁶⁷ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 161, R 114.

⁶⁸ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 96, Group 14. Fischer-Bossert (1999) nos 199, 200 are seated figure obverse types and reverse no. 144 is a seated figure reverse type.

⁶⁹ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 199, V 98.

⁷⁰ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 112, Group 15.

⁷¹ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 204.

⁷² Fischer-Bossert 1999, 112; Group 17. It is possible that the seated figure reverse types were issued in conjunction with reverses depicting a horseman as these are dated to the same period (Fischer-Bossert 1999, 112, Group 16).

⁷³ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 241, R 180.

⁷⁴ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 243 R 182.

male figure is seated in front of an altar, holding out a *kantharos* in his right hand and in his left he is holding a distaff (Figure 15).⁷⁵ On the fourth variant, the figure is sitting on his *himation*, holding an *aryballos* and *strigil* in his left hand and a distaff in his right. The distaff is extended toward a cat, shown resting its front legs on the figure's knees and appearing to rear up in an effort to reach the distaff (Figure 16).⁷⁶ On the fifth variation, the male figure is seated on a *klismos*, holding a distaff in his left hand, while his right hand holds out a bird over the head of a cat which is resting its front paws on the figure's knees (Figure 17).⁷⁷ On the sixth example, the figure is sitting on a *klismos*, his lower body is draped in a *himation*, holding a distaff in his left hand. This time a dog is resting its front paws on the figure's knees (Figure 18).⁷⁸ The final variant from this series depicts the figure sitting on a *klismos* with his lower body draped in a *himation*, holding a bird in his right hand (Figure 19).⁷⁹

Throughout the eighth and final series (c. 425–415) the seated figure functions as the reverse type and four variant seated figure types were issued in this series.⁸⁰ The first example shows the figure clean-shaven, seated on a *diphros*, with his lower body draped in a *himation*. The figure is holding an *aryballos* and *strigil* in his left hand, with a distaff balanced on his outstretched right (Figure 20).⁸¹ On the second variant, the figure is also clean-shaven and nude, using the folded *himation* as a cushion for the *diphros*. A bird is perched on his extended left hand and his right arm is relaxed by his side, holding a distaff which is positioned under the *diphros* (Figure 21).⁸² The third variant depicts the figure in the same manner as the previous issue with one alteration: instead of the *diphros*, the figure is seated on a *klismos* (Figure 22).⁸³ On the final variant, the figure is seated on a rocky outcrop.⁸⁴ The seated figure is shown raising his right arm towards his chin, with his left hand on the rock.

⁷⁵ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 245, V 117.

⁷⁶ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 255, R 191. On the identification of the animal as a cat, see Fischer-Bossert 1999, 106, n. 10.

⁷⁷ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 261, R 195.

⁷⁸ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 264, R 198.

⁷⁹ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 265, R 199.

⁸⁰ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 119, Group 18.

⁸¹ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 269, R 202.

⁸² Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 270, R 203.

⁸³ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 272, R 205.

⁸⁴ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 116, no. 284 cf. Vlasto *TO* 198, no. 58. Vlasto (*TO* 198, no. 58) identified this outcrop as masonry work and suggested that it was possibly the wall of the Tarentine *palaestra*. It is not possible to substantiate Vlasto's suggestion.

The distaff is propped up against the rock (Figure 23).⁸⁵ Vlasto noted that the figure appears to be holding a *strigil* in his right hand.⁸⁶

Table 1 illustrates that across all series of production, the ethnic TAPAS (*sic* or a variation on this) occurred in conjunction with the seated figure.⁸⁷ This inscription that accompanies the figure must be recognised as the ethnic, not as a reference to the identity of the figure and will be discussed further below (see page 53).⁸⁸ Also apparent from Table 1 is that while variations to the secondary motifs occurred within a series, there were also consistencies in the secondary motifs across multiple production periods. For example, depictions of the figure holding a *kantharos* occurred in series one to four and is then absent until series seven. Also, examples of the figure on a *klismos* occur in series three and four and then again in series seven and eight. Table 1 also illustrates that there were consistencies of select secondary motifs, with the *diphros* style of chair, *himation* and distaff occurring in every series.

The physical appearance of the figure varies, both from one series to the next and within the same series. The hairstyle and the appearance of facial hair altered, sometimes within the same series, with no distinguishable pattern as to when the figure appears bearded or clean-shaven. For example, issues produced in series one (Figure 2), three (Figure 5) and seven (Figure 13) all include examples of a bearded figure, whereas the figure is clean-shaven in the remaining series. In addition, the figure is bearded and clean-shaven within the same series. In series three and series seven the figure is both bearded and clean-shaven (Figure 5 cf. 6; Figure 13 cf. 14).

In the Archaic and Classical periods, beards were associated with elders and thus denoted maturity and wisdom, while a clean-shaven appearance was associated with youth.⁸⁹ As such, the consistent clean-shaven appearance of the figure could imply that the figure was youthful and thus associated with the characteristic qualities of youth, whereas a consistent beard could signify that the figure was an individual of maturity and wisdom. While it could also suggest that the figure was two different people, both a change in identity and/or the

⁸⁵ Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 284, R216.

⁸⁶ Vlasto *TO* 198 cf. Fischer-Bossert 1999, 116.

⁸⁷ For a summary of variations to the ethnic, see *HN*³ 94, notably no. 843 cf. nos. 844, 845.

⁸⁸ Malkin 1987, 138.

⁸⁹ Walker 1991, 265.

depiction of two different individuals would require a more obvious variation from one figure to the next to enable differentiation between individuals.

The figure is also shown with changing hairstyles. In the first series his hair is shoulder length, while in series two it is shown styled into a bun (Figure 2 cf. 3). Examples from the third series show the figure again with a bun, but also with short hair (Figure 5 cf. 7). During the fourth series, the figure also appeared with his hair tied into a bun and cut short (Figure 8 cf. 9). This short cut style was then continued in the remaining series. As such, the variant depictions of the figure bearded and clean-shaven and with differing styles of hair suggests that these features were not an integral component of either his physical appearance or his identity. It also indicates that the physical appearance of the figure was not firmly established. Similarly, variations to the physical appearance of the figure cannot be taken to indicate that the seated figure was a different individual. Table 1 illustrates that the physical appearance of the figure became more consistent towards the end of production. The long hairstyle disappears after series four, replaced by a short-haired clean-shaven visage. After series four there are no further examples of a long-haired figure and only a singular series (series seven) that contained a bearded example. The variations to the physical appearance up until series five suggest that the physical appearance of the figure was, like the hairstyle, not firmly established until later in the production period, around the time of the fourth and fifth series, rather than that the figure was two different individuals.

Table 1 also shows how select motifs are restricted to a single series, as for example, the *diphros okladias* in series two and the dolphin in series four. Table 1 also indicates that while there are limited iconographical consistencies across the production period, some motifs remain with the figure throughout the production period. The distaff, *diphros* and *himation* are examples of this and could suggest that these motifs were locally acknowledged as objects that were of particular significance to the individual. Table 1 also highlights the reoccurrence of the *kantharos* motif which features consistently in series one to four and re-emerged in the seventh series. Similarly, the *klismos* first appears in series three and is then absent until series seven and eight.

Table 1 shows that the seventh and eighth series witnessed not only a reintroduction of the beard, *klismos* and *kantharos* but also a notable increase in previously unseen motifs. This distribution pattern suggests that while all secondary motifs were related to the figure, some specific motifs were employed to emphasise a particular aspect of his identity during a

particular period. This also explains the intermittent appearance of certain motifs and the introduction of manifold motifs in the last two series of production – by which point the local legend(s) surrounding the seated figure had evolved and expanded, resulting in an increase of motifs towards the end of the production period to reflect this.

IDENTIFYING THE SEATED FIGURE

The seated figure has been variously identified as the *demos*, Dionysus, Phalanthos, initially an anonymous Spartan who later was Phalanthos and Taras. An analysis of each identification indicates that the seated figure is best identified as either Taras or Phalanthos. An identification of the seated figure as the *demos* viewed the wreath border as a reference to the victory of democracy around c. 467; scholars who advocated this identity were working on the basis of an earlier chronology that placed the wreathed types slightly closer to this event, with the wreathed issues dated to c. 466.⁹⁰ In addition Sambon views the bird, the staff and *la coupe* (i.e. the *kantharos*) as symbols of freedom that also reference this event.⁹¹ Herbert A. Cahn, discussing the connection between the wreath and democracy, asserted: ‘I would like to know who invented the notion that an olive-wreath surrounding a coin-type must mean ‘establishment of democracy’ ...[it is]... one of the most persistent superstitions in numismatic literature.’⁹²

It was this tenuous connection between democracy and a wreathed border, coupled with the assertion that depictions of allegorical figures did not appear in a numismatic context prior to the fourth century, that led to the initial dismissal of the *demos* identification.⁹³ This dismissal was further supported by a revision in the dating of these wreathed Tarentine types. In 1960, Colin Kraay established these wreathed types cannot be dated earlier than 445, on the basis of a Corinthian stater depicting the head of Athena in conjunction with a *koppa* and a crescent moon, overstruck with a Tarentine wreathed border/seated figure type.⁹⁴ This date was revised by Fischer-Bossert, who dates the Tarentine wreathed border types to c. 450.⁹⁵ This revision by Fischer-Bossert was based on the overstruck issue analysed by Kraay sharing a die link with an Athena type that has been dated to c. 450.⁹⁶ This date for the Athena type was based on stylistic similarities between it and the Myron statue group, a group which is

⁹⁰ Evans 1889, 33; Vlasto *TO* 56.

⁹¹ Sambon 1863, 123.

⁹² Cahn 1968, 73, n. 4.

⁹³ Vlasto *TO*; Hands 1909, 20.

⁹⁴ Kraay 1960, 61. See also, Cahn 1968, 72.

⁹⁵ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 96.

⁹⁶ Schwabacher 1941, 60; Fischer-Bossert 1999, 93. See also, *ACGC* 82–3.

dated to c. 450.⁹⁷ Fischer-Bossert also notes that a die link on his no. 138 means that the wreathed types cannot be dated before c. 450 and also cites the absence of these wreathed types from the S Giovanni Ionico Hoard.⁹⁸ As this hoard has been dated by Kraay to just before c. 450, Fischer-Bossert contends that this forms the *terminus post quem* for the introduction of a wreathed types at Taras.⁹⁹ The types can thus be placed around the middle of the fifth century. In terms of the iconographical significance of the wreath, I would draw attention to the appearance of a wreathed border on one example of an isolated female head type in Fischer-Bossert's Group 9, a series that was issued in conjunction with the wreathed seated figure types (Figure 24).¹⁰⁰ There is no suggestion that this female is the *demos* and this concurrent use of the wreathed border suggests that the motif has a broader function that was not exclusive to the seated figure.¹⁰¹

The identification of the figure as Dionysus was based on the depiction of the figure in conjunction with the *kantharos*, the identification of the cat as a panther, and the animal skin on the *diphros* as belonging to a panther (Figure 5).¹⁰² While both the *kantharos* and panther/panther skin did have Dionysiac associations in antiquity, neither motif was exclusive to Dionysus.¹⁰³ The cult of Dionysus was widespread throughout Greece and the deity featured in a numismatic context on issues from various localities. On coinage Dionysus appears both clean-shaven (e.g., at Maroneia, Paros and Andros),¹⁰⁴ and bearded (e.g., Thasos, Thebes and Naxos).¹⁰⁵ In all examples, an identification of Dionysus on coinage is facilitated by the depiction of the deity in conjunction with one of his most distinctive motifs – the crown of ivy.¹⁰⁶ This crown is absent from the Tarentine types. In addition, Salapata notes that the *kantharos* is sometimes carried by the dolphin rider on Tarentine coins (Figure 25). This dolphin rider is not a figure who is identified as Dionysus, despite the appearance of the *kantharos*.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁷ Schwabacher 1941, 60.

⁹⁸ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 93.

⁹⁹ Kraay 1970, 47 ff.; Fischer-Bossert 1999, 93.

¹⁰⁰ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 130, R 89.

¹⁰¹ For a summary on the identities of the female head, see McClean 2017, 83.

¹⁰² Manfredini 1951-52, 5–6, 9.

¹⁰³ Brauer 1986 33 ff.; Rutter 2012, 133. The leopard frequently appears in conjunction with deities such as Artemis, see Budin 2015, 1. Humans were also depicted in conjunction with panthers on Athenian vases (Ashmead 1978, 38 ff.).

¹⁰⁴ Tsangari 2001, nos 169–71.

¹⁰⁵ Tsangari 2001, nos 172–4.

¹⁰⁶ Tsangari 2001, 83.

¹⁰⁷ Salapata 2014b, 154 n. 211; see *HN*³ 870.

Closer examination indicates that the feline on Tarentine coins does not possess any features that typically identify panthers in numismatic iconography. While the term “panther” is applied to various spotted feline creatures from the *Felidae* family, the “panther” associated with Dionysus is typically a cheetah or leopard.¹⁰⁸ Compared to domestic cats, cheetahs and leopards possess a more elongated nose, deep set eyes and mane atop their head, such as the leopard found on a triobol from Methymna in Lesbos (issued between c. 450/40 and c. 406/379) (Figure 26). In addition, their paws are larger in comparison to their body and their tail longer, like that exemplified on a *litra* from Kentoripai in Sicily (c. 339/8–330) (Figure 27). In addition to the large paws and lengthy tail, leopards possessed a spotted coat, evident on a Roman denarius (issued in 42) (Figure 28).¹⁰⁹ Fischer-Bossert notes that while the cat motif is often described as a panther, there are no grounds for this identification.¹¹⁰ As for the animal skin on the *diphros*, *diphroi* are sometimes described by Homer as having a fleece thrown upon them.¹¹¹ This could suggest that the animal skin on the *diphros* belonged to a sheep.¹¹² At the very least, Homer’s acknowledgment of fleece on *diphroi* suggests that the animal skin covering the *diphros* need not belong to a leopard or cheetah.¹¹³

Fischer-Bossert’s suggestion that the seated figure was initially an anonymous Spartan is based on the identification of the figure from Rhegion as their founding hero Iokastos (see case study 2) and the conclusion that the Tarentine seated figure must similarly be a founding hero.¹¹⁴ As this title is viewed as being more applicable to Phalanthos than to Taras, the point of contention is the idea of Phalanthos as the founding hero during the early period and that the seated position does not suit the character of Taras.¹¹⁵ Fischer-Bossert thus suggests that during the early series, the foundation myth had not yet developed to include Phalanthos and thus the founder title was attached to a Spartan whose name has not survived to us.¹¹⁶

However, Table 1 illustrates that the motifs across the production period remain consistent, for example, the *diphros*, the distaff, and the *himation*. As well as this, motifs from the early

¹⁰⁸ LSJ s.v. *πάνθηρ* 1298: the *Felidae* family includes the cheetah, puma, jaguar, leopard, lion, lynx, tiger, and domestic cat. On the identification of leopards and cheetahs in conjunction with Dionysus, see Miziur-Mozdzioch 2016, 362, n. 4; BAPD no. 5684.

¹⁰⁹ On the physical difference between leopards and domestic cats in an Attic funerary context, see Vermeule 1972, 58.

¹¹⁰ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 106, n. 10.

¹¹¹ For example, Hom. *Od.* 19.3; 21.4.

¹¹² Raoul-Rochette 215.

¹¹³ Fischer-Bossert (1999, no. 134) describes the skin as belonging to a predatory animal (‘raubtierfell’). On feline skins used as a cushion by other deities, see Williams 2013, 18.

¹¹⁴ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 422.

¹¹⁵ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 422–23.

¹¹⁶ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 423.

series, like the *kantharos*, reappeared in later series as did physical features such as the figure's bearded appearance. These features suggest that the identity of the figure remained consistent throughout.

There are two remaining candidates suggested by previous scholarship for the Tarentine seated figure: either that he is the eponymous hero Taras, or he is Phalanthos, leader of the initial settlers. Both figures were important individuals for the Tarentine *polis*. According to the ancient literary evidence, the initial group of Tarentine settlers were a disenfranchised group of Spartans, variously called 'Partheniai' or 'Epeunactae'.¹¹⁷ This disenfranchised sector of Spartan society became discontented with their social position and planned a revolt against the Spartans; Antiochus specifies that this revolt was planned to take place during the festival of Hyakinthos.¹¹⁸ All the ancient literary sources state that the revolt against the Spartans failed and as a result, the rebels ventured to establish a settlement of their own.¹¹⁹ Antiochus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and Pausanias all credited Phalanthos as being the leader of these initial settlers of Taras.¹²⁰ Both Antiochus of Syracuse and Pausanias recorded that the settlement was named after the hero Taras.¹²¹ In contrast, Servius recorded that the initial settlers named the *polis* after a name they found on a local tomb, thus making Taras the eponym.¹²²

There is evidence to suggest that both figures were recipients of their own hero cult at the *polis*.¹²³ Strabo and Justinus both mention that Phalanthos was exiled from Taras and died in Brentesion (mod. Brindisi), a town belonging to the indigenous Iapygians that was situated about seventy three kilometres to the east of Taras, on the Adriatic coast.¹²⁴ Strabo recorded that after his death, the Iapygians honoured him with a magnificent *ταφή* – which could

¹¹⁷ For example, see Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 F 216 ap. Strab., 6.3.3 cf. Diod. Sic. 8.21.

¹¹⁸ Antiochus *FGrH* 555 FI 3 ap. Strab. 6.3, 2-3, 278.

¹¹⁹ Antiochus, *BNJ* 555 F 13 ap. Strab. 6.3, 2-3, 278; Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 F 216 ap. Strab., 6.3.3; Diod. Sic. 8.21; Dion. Hal. 19.17, 1-2. There is some debate as to whether Phalanthos was a member of the disenfranchised group or a spy sent by the Spartans to infiltrate the group – see Hall 2008, 412, n. 116; Nafissi 1999, 256–57.

¹²⁰ Antiochus *FGrH* 555 FI 3 ap. Strab. 6.3, 2-3, 278; Diod. Sic., 8.21; Paus. 10.10.6. Malkin (1987, 221) notes that Servius (*Commentary on the Aeneid of Vergil*, 3. 551), a late source, attempts to settle the contradicting sources surrounding the *oikist* of Taras saying that the hero Taras founded the settlement and Phalanthos expanded the existing city.

¹²¹ Antiochus *FGrH* 555 FI 3 ap. Strab. 6.3, 2-3, 278; Paus. 10.10.6 cf. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 19.1. On the foundation of Taras, see also Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 F 216.

¹²² Servius *Commentary on the Aeneid of Vergil*, 3. 551: '... a quodam sepulchro, cui inscriptum erat Tarae nomen urbem conditam Tarentum dixerunt.'

¹²³ This could date to as early as the Hellenistic period. Terracotta figurines depicting a dolphin rider were found with a female dolphin rider at Satyrion (Torre Saturno) a site near Taras. Depending on who the dolphin rider figure is, these figurines could attest to a contemporary cult to the individual. While I am aware of Nafissi's (1995) article on the subject I have been unable to access this due to COVID-19 restrictions.

¹²⁴ Strab. 6.3.6; Just. *Epit.* 3. 4.

translate to either ‘burial’ or ‘funeral.’¹²⁵ According to Justinus, Phalanthos asked the Iapygians to scatter his ashes in the *agora* at Taras because the Delphic oracle signified to him that in doing this, they would gain the Tarentine territory.¹²⁶ The Iapygians scattered his ashes as requested; however the oracle had actually promised the reverse and it was the Tarentines who were to gain ‘perpetual possession of the city’ if Phalanthos’ ashes were scattered in the *agora*.¹²⁷ As a result, the Tarentines accorded Phalanthos *divinos honores* (divine honours).¹²⁸ Malkin notes that as Phalanthos’ ashes were said to have been scattered in the *agora*, it is unlikely that Phalanthos ever had a shrine.¹²⁹ However, Justinus’ account has led other scholars to suggest that there was a shrine to Phalanthos (as the *oikist*) in the *agora* at Taras.¹³⁰

There is some precedence within the Greek world for a cult to the *oikist*. Evidences suggests that upon the death of the *oikist*, he acquired hero status at the settlement he founded and was accorded a cult.¹³¹ The *agora* was typically the focal point of the *oikist* cult and possibly also where the *oikist* was entombed.¹³² According to ancient literary sources, worship of the *oikist* involved sacrifices, feasts, and games in their honour.¹³³ Homer and Hesiod describe dead heroes (such as an *oikist*) as *ἡμίθεος* (demigod), suggesting that there could have been a divine aspect to the local worship of Phalanthos.¹³⁴ However, while the material and archaeological evidence regarding the existence of an *oikist* cult to Phalanthos at Taras is too inadequate to draw any definitive conclusions, it does not dismiss the possible existence of an *oikist* cult to Phalanthos at Taras.¹³⁵ As such, Malkin contends that during the Archaic period it is probable there was a local cult of sorts to Phalanthos, but that the nature of this cult was probably more divine than heroic.¹³⁶

According to Aristotle and Pausanias, the hero Taras was a son of Poseidon.¹³⁷ Pausanias provided the additional detail that Taras’ mother was a local nymph.¹³⁸ According to Probus,

¹²⁵ Strab. 6.3.6; LSJ s.v. *ταφή*. See also, Malkin 1987, 217.

¹²⁶ Just. *Epit.* 3.4.

¹²⁷ Just. *Epit.* 3.4.

¹²⁸ Just. *Epit.* 3.4.

¹²⁹ Malkin 1994, 130.

¹³⁰ Kingsley 1979, 206 cf. Malkin 1987, 217–18, 122–131; Martalogu 2018, 57.

¹³¹ Larson 2007, 201; Lane 2009, 242.

¹³² Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1.149b: ‘οἱ γὰρ οἰκιστὰὶ ἐν μέσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐθάπτοντο ἐξ ἔθους.’ On tombs to the *oikist*, see Malkin 1987, 200; Hall 2008, 410–11; Shepherd 2015, 571.

¹³³ Hdt. 6.38.1; Thuc. 5.11.1; Callim. *Aet.* 11.43.74 ff.; Paus. 3.1.8; 10.4.10. See also, Dougherty 1993, 24–26.

¹³⁴ Hom. *Il.* 12.1; Hes. *Op.*, 160; LSJ s.v. *ἡμίθεος*. See also, *HH* 31 19.

¹³⁵ For a discussion see Malkin 1987, 190; Larson 2007, 201 ff.; Lane 2009, 283–4.

¹³⁶ Malkin 1994, 130.

¹³⁷ Aristotle= Julius Pollux 9.80 = Rose fr. 590; Paus. 10.10.8; On Poseidon’s sons, see Pease 1943, 77–82.

¹³⁸ Paus. 10.10.8. See also, Vlasto *TO* 6.

Taras' mother was the nymph Satyria, daughter of the Cretan King Minos.¹³⁹ Servius also credited Taras as being a descendent of Herakles.¹⁴⁰ Epigraphic and sculptural evidence also suggests that Taras acquired cult status in the city.¹⁴¹ In the area around the Roman baths (*Thermae Pentascinenses*) at Taras, two fragmentary statues were found, both dating to the first or second century CE.¹⁴² The first fragment consists of the feet of a figure and a serpent encircling an *omphalos*. The inscription on the base indicates it was a votive offering to Taras, reading: 'Dionysios (son) of Dionysios an Athenian and Kosmianos and Seleukos present an offering to the divine (god) Taras.'¹⁴³ The second statue fragment depicts a reptile with a fragmentary inscription to Taras.¹⁴⁴ This snake/*omphalos* iconography is typically associated with the Delphic Apollo, the deity associated with the establishment of settlements. On the basis of this connection, Christine Lane suggests that these statue bases are indicative of worship of the hero Taras as the founder of the settlement during the first or second century CE.¹⁴⁵ These fragmentary statues and accompanying inscriptions provide a *terminus ante quem* of the first or second century CE for Taras' cult status at the settlement. In addition, local traditions were important in the formation of a new religious system in the Roman colonies and *municipia*.¹⁴⁶ Because of this, the Romans chose to adopt the local gods of their defeated enemies, of which Taras was one from about 272.¹⁴⁷ This ritual of *evocatio* was practiced from as early as the fifth century and could suggest that the worship of the hero Taras had an earlier beginning.¹⁴⁸

In addition, Pausanias described a statue at Delphi which was dedicated by the Tarentines on occasion of their victory over a tribe of native Italic inhabitants, the Peuketians.¹⁴⁹ This statue is described as showing the body of the Peuketian leader, Opis, upon whom stood both Taras and Phalanthos.¹⁵⁰ According to Pausanias, near Phalanthos was a dolphin.¹⁵¹ This is a

¹³⁹ Probus ap. Virg. *Georg.* 2.197.

¹⁴⁰ Servius *Commentary on the Aeneid of Vergil*, 3. 551.

¹⁴¹ See also, Vlasto *TO* 6.

¹⁴² *SEG* 36 943a, 943b cf. *SEG* 34 nos. 1020, 1021. On the earlier emergence of a cult to Taras see Kingsley 1979, 201, 209–211.

¹⁴³ *SEG* 36 943a; the inscription reads: 'Διονύσιος Διονυσίου Ἀθηναῖος καὶ Κοσσιμανὸς[ς] καὶ Σέλευκος θεὸν θεῶν Τάραντι ἀνέθηκεν.'

¹⁴⁴ Lane 2009, 287; *SEG* 36 943b: 'Σύμφορος Κ[— {κ[αὶ —]} — — θεὸν θεῶ(?) Τάραντι [ἀνέθηκε—(?)]' ; *SEG* 34 no. 1021.

¹⁴⁵ Lane 2009, 287.

¹⁴⁶ Stek 2009, 18, 30, Orlin 2010, 33.

¹⁴⁷ Stek 2009, 18, 30, Orlin 2010, 33.

¹⁴⁸ Stek 2009, 18, 30, Orlin 2010, 33.

¹⁴⁹ Paus. 10.13.10.

¹⁵⁰ Paus. 10.13.10.

¹⁵¹ Paus. 10.13.10.

reference to a legend about Phalanthos, that he was shipwrecked in the Crisaean sea and carried ashore by a dolphin.¹⁵² The base of this monument has been identified through excavations at Delphi and is inscribed: ‘The Tarentines [dedicate] a tithe to Apollo [of booty] they took from the Peuketians.’¹⁵³ The existence of this monument, which is dated to c. 460, suggests that at the time of its dedication – approximately ten years after the initial production of the first seated figure type – Taras and Phalanthos were closely linked, yet separate individuals who were representatives for the whole of the Tarentine *polis* at Delphi.¹⁵⁴ The existence of the statue is reflective of not only the contemporary importance and renown of both Taras and Phalanthos but also suggests that this local renown (if not also panhellenic given the location of the statue) was established by the time of the statue’s construction.

Irad Malkin, explaining the appearance of the two figures together, suggests that Taras had two ‘national’ heroes, Phalanthos, who was probably perceived as their imported hero while Taras was considered their autochthonous hero.¹⁵⁵ Pierre Willeumier, Lippolis and Malkin have all suggested that the hero Taras’ connection with the site occurred relatively late in the settlement’s history and gradually became more prominent.¹⁵⁶ According to Malkin, it was not that Phalanthos’ role was subsequently diminished, but that of Taras grew, citing the depiction of Taras alongside Phalanthos in the statue described by Pausanias as the first known association between the settlement and the hero, following him lending his name to the newly established site.¹⁵⁷

Scholars suggest that at some point during the fifth century, the eponymous hero Taras surpassed the figure of Phalanthos in prominence.¹⁵⁸ Malkin further suggests that the catalyst for the rise of the hero Taras was the context following the defeat of Taras by the Italic tribes in c. 473 and the democratic revolution that occurred at the *polis* shortly after.¹⁵⁹ It is compelling that the increased association between the Tarentines and their eponymous hero occurred around the time that the Tarentines began depicting a seated figure on their coins.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵² Paus. 10.10.6.

¹⁵³ Kingsley 1979, 207; Malkin 1994, 138; Hall 2008, 415.

¹⁵⁴ Kingsley 1979, 207; Malkin 1994, 138; Hall 2008, 415.

¹⁵⁵ Malkin 1994b, 138.

¹⁵⁶ Willeumier 1939, 58; Lippolis 1982, 96–97; Malkin 1994, 138 cf. Corsano 1979. See also Bérard 1957, 170, n. 3.

¹⁵⁷ Malkin 1994b, 138.

¹⁵⁸ Willeumier 1939, 38; Malkin 1987, 221; Martalogu 2018, 58 cf. Corsano 1979.

¹⁵⁹ Malkin 1994, 138–9 cf. Willeumier 1939, 38. See also, Lippolis 1982, 96–97.

¹⁶⁰ Malkin 1987, 221.

The following section analyses the secondary motifs to establish the extent to which they can support an identification of the seated figure as either Taras or Phalanthos.

SECONDARY MOTIFS

The figure was shown seated on different styles of seat; Table 1 indicates that the seat style varied over the production period with no distinguishable pattern of distribution. The *diphros* style featured across all series and was the only chair style used during the first and second series (Figure 2, 3).¹⁶¹ A *diphros okladias* was used as a one-off style in series two and the *klismos* style was introduced in series three (Figure 4, 5).¹⁶² The rocky outcrop was used as a one-off seat type in the last series (Figure 23).¹⁶³

Both the *diphros* and the *klismos* were characteristically light chair types that were easily transportable, and commonly used in antiquity.¹⁶⁴ Both Vlasto and Gisela Richter contend that the *thronos* was a style of chair reserved in art for gods or the heroised dead and signified that the individual was someone of high status, privilege and power.¹⁶⁵ A chair type stylistically similar to the *diphros* appeared as a motif on rare fractional types issued by Taras after c. 432, sometimes accompanied by a lustral branch.¹⁶⁶ According to Vlasto, the use of the *diphros* by the seated figure in conjunction with the *diphros*/lustral branch on fractional types signifies the existence of a sacred *diphros* at Taras, used for important rituals.¹⁶⁷ Vlasto thus views the *diphros* at Taras as a chair type with chthonic associations.¹⁶⁸ However, this contention is weakened by the use of different chair styles by the seated figure both across the production period and within the same series.

Furthermore, neither the *diphros* nor the *klismos* were restricted to individuals of a certain status, such as a *thronos*. Writing during the late second and early third century CE, Athenaeus described the *thronos* as belonging to free people (i.e. of high birth), the *klismos* as a more elaborate chair style and the *diphros* as the poorest alternative of the three.¹⁶⁹ Yael Young has cited artistic examples where the *diphros* was used by individuals of high status (such as Dionysus), suggesting that this hierarchy put forward by Athenaeus cannot be rigidly

¹⁶¹ Fischer-Bossert 1999, Groups 6, 8.

¹⁶² Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group 8, 9.

¹⁶³ Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group 18.

¹⁶⁴ Pritchett and Pippin 1956, 216; Richter 1987, 373–4.

¹⁶⁵ Vlasto *TO* 41; Richter 1987, 371; Richter 1996, 13.

¹⁶⁶ Vlasto *TO* 221, n. 67. See also, Brauer 1986, 38.

¹⁶⁷ Vlasto *TO* 41.

¹⁶⁸ Vlasto *TO* 41.

¹⁶⁹ Athenaeus 5.192e–f.

supported.¹⁷⁰ Young also observed that in vase imagery, it was the *diphros* that was most frequently used in place of a *thronos*.¹⁷¹ The common use of the *diphros* suggests that it was used most frequently by the seated Tarentine figure because it was a familiar style that was used by all, even deities.

While the *diphros* was consistent across all series, the use of the *klismos* style in series three coincides approximately with the peak of the style's popularity, which occurred from around the end of the fifth until the beginning of the fourth century.¹⁷² This suggests that the inclusion of this chair style in conjunction with the seated figure at this period is reflective of its contemporary popularity. This style of chair appears again in series seven and could be indicative of an attempt to antiquate the image – suggesting that the seated individual has an old-fashioned connection to the *polis*.

The use of a rock as a seat in series eight is a deliberate differentiation from the use of a chair (Figure 23). Intrinsicly, the rock suggests that the figure was situated in a terrestrial setting. This motif can then be viewed as emphasising the connection between the seated figure and the physical landscape upon which he is seated.¹⁷³ In this way, a closer association is also indicated between the figure and the issuing *polis*. While the chair style upon which the figure is seated varied, the depiction of a figure in a seated position immediately signifies to the audience that he is an individual of a certain status and in a position of authority. While the rock implies a more direct link with the Tarentine territory, this seated position must be viewed as an aspect of the individual that was not impacted by the style of chair he used.

When clothed, the figure was depicted wearing a *himation* and when naked, he uses the *himation* as a cushion (for example, Figure 21). This style of garment was not associated with men of a specific class or with those who held a particular political or social position; it was initially used from the middle of the seventh century and men typically wore their *himatia* over their left shoulder, leaving their right arm free.¹⁷⁴ The Tarentine seated figure, however, is typically depicted with the garment wrapped around his waist, leaving him nude from the waist up. In Classical Greek art, male nudity could be used to indicate a figure of divine or heroic status; depictions of nude (or semi-nude) males are common in images of heroes,

¹⁷⁰ Young 2020, 106. See BAPD no. 380851.

¹⁷¹ Young 2020, 118.

¹⁷² Richter 1987, 374.

¹⁷³ On rocks signifying landscape see Root 1983, 106 cf. Fehl 1961.

¹⁷⁴ van Wees 1998, 347–352; Lee 2015, 113–16. Woman could have also worn a *himation*, see Lee 2015, 116.

athletes, or deities.¹⁷⁵ When depicted nude, the divine or heroic aspects of the figure certainly become apparent but as the seated figure usually appears partially nude, this could be intended to reference the figure's half-divine/half-heroic status. Helen is another half-divine half-mortal figure who occasionally appears half-clothed.¹⁷⁶ More broadly, this particular state of half-dress is comparable to the manner in which the male gods and figures who are perhaps the eponymous heroes are shown on the east frieze of the Parthenon.¹⁷⁷ Zeus appears in this same state of half-dress on an early fifth century terracotta statuette, seated next to Hera from the sanctuary of Hera at Foce del Sele (Poseidonia).¹⁷⁸ Thus, the seated Tarentine figure is someone of status and importance, not to be confused with a mortal in a position of power. This half-divine/half-hero status is appropriate to both Taras and Phalanthos as there is evidence that both were the recipient of a local cult, due to their respective statuses as hero and founder.

The distaff motif featured in every series of issue. As a tool which was utilised to prepare wool for spinning, typically the motif was associated with women and female identity in Greek art and literature.¹⁷⁹ Both Raoul-Rochette and Vlasto suggest that the distaff in conjunction with the Tarentine male figure could indicate that the figure is chthonic.¹⁸⁰ Chthonic figures were those associated with the earth (*chthon* = 'earth').¹⁸¹ This tenuous association between the distaff and the chthonian world is established by viewing that the wool on the distaff as a product of the soil (via the sheep that produced the wool).¹⁸² However, a more practical association between the Tarentine *polis* and wool is also acknowledged which explains the appearance of the tool in conjunction with the seated male figure.¹⁸³ Pliny the Elder named Taras in a list of settlements that produced the best kinds of wool.¹⁸⁴ Both Lacroix and Kraay suggest that the distaff motif could have related to a local legend in which the seated figure was the founder of the Tarentine textile industry.¹⁸⁵ Brauer also suggested that the motif could serve as a civic advertisement of the local textile

¹⁷⁵ Boardman 1985, 238-9; Osborne 1997, 524; Hurwitt 2007, 46, 53-5. For an overview see Lee 2015, 173-4.

¹⁷⁶ For example, BAPD nos 11291 (c. 425-375), 6546 (c. 400-300).

¹⁷⁷ Elderkin 1936, fig. 1. On the identity of these figures as eponymous heroes, see: Harrison 1979; Pemberton 1976, 114 ff.; Jenkins 1985, 121 ff.

¹⁷⁸ Giacco 2017, fig. 7.

¹⁷⁹ Keuls 1985, 243-245.

¹⁸⁰ Rochette 1840, 215; Vlasto *TO* 26. See also, Brauer 1986, 36.

¹⁸¹ Mikalson 2005, 92; Larson 2007, 193.

¹⁸² Raoul-Rochette 1840, 215; Vlasto *TO* 26. See also, Brauer 1986, 36.

¹⁸³ Vlasto *TO* 26.

¹⁸⁴ Plin. *NH* 29.9. See also, Carter 2003, 384.

¹⁸⁵ Lacroix 1965, 98-9; *ACGC* 175. See also, Cahn 1968, 72.

industry.¹⁸⁶ This idea that the distaff functions as a broad reference to the local Tarentine wool industry rather than a chthonic symbol is supported by the later use of the motif by the dolphin rider, which suggests an enduring connection between the locality and the motif (Figure 29). This association with local industry can be linked to both Taras and Phalanthos. Phalanthos as the *oikist* was, in one way, responsible for the contemporary existence of the industry. Taras on the other hand as the eponymous hero, possessed an intimate connection with the *polis* and thus its activities, including, but not limited to, local industry and economy.

The wreathed border is restricted to series three, which was issued around c. 450. There is a correlation between the use of the wreathed border by Taras and Rhegion (see case study 2) where in both cases, the wreathed types are independently assigned a start date of around c. 450.¹⁸⁷ Thus, there is a further connection between Taras and Rhegion beyond that of the seated figure type itself (which will be addressed in Part II). This suggests that the use of a wreathed border was appropriate to the individual they each depicted. As noted above, a wreathed female stater was issued in conjunction with the wreathed seated figure types. The shared use of the wreath motif on Tarentine staters issued in this period suggests that the wreath was not exclusive to either the seated figure or the female whose head it encircles. This in turn implies that there is a broader function to the use of the wreath motif at Taras.

Throughout the Greek world wreaths were synonymous with victory due to the tradition of awarding wreaths to the victors of the Pythian, Olympic, Nemean and Isthmian games.¹⁸⁸ Because of the association between these games and the wreath as a victory prize, by the fourth century these panhellenic games were grouped together as the ‘Stephanitic’ games, with *στεφανίτας* translating to ‘games in which the prize a crown.’¹⁸⁹ While the connection between the wreath and athletic victories could suggest that the appearance of the wreath on the coin type at Taras was reflective of a contemporary victory by an athlete from Taras, this is not reflected in the ancient evidence.¹⁹⁰ However, the wreath must still be viewed as a motif that carries victorious connotations. This motif then confers a triumphant sentiment and

¹⁸⁶ Brauer 1986, 35.

¹⁸⁷ Evans (1889, 32–3) working prior to Kraay’s revision to the date of the Tarentine wreathed type explains the appearance of the motif at both settlements by suggesting that the democracy at Rhegion was ‘...facilitated by the active sympathy of the Tarentines.’ On the Villabate hoard and a date of c. 450 for Rhegion, see Herzfelder 1957, 63 ff.; Arnold-Biucchi 1990, 18.

¹⁸⁸ Broneer 1962, 259.

¹⁸⁹ LSJ s.v. *στεφανίτας*. For an example of an early use of the term, see Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 3.7.1. See further, Remijsen 2011, 99, n. 3.

¹⁹⁰ Lippolis 2004, 41.

greater esteem to the seated figure himself. By extension, this esteem is transferred to the issuing *polis*, suggesting that this stature was significant to all Tarentines.

The *kantharos* is held by the figure in five out of the eight series of issue.¹⁹¹ Both Raoul-Rochette and Gardner suggested that this motif referred to the excellence of Tarentine wine, whereas Vlasto suggests that the *kantharos* signifies the heroic status of the figure.¹⁹² Other scholars such as Brauer have noted the chthonic associations of the *kantharos*.¹⁹³ Kraay suggests use of the motif indicates that the seated figure is pouring a libation to secure the prosperity of the city.¹⁹⁴

More broadly, according to Patton, in artistic depictions of libation scenes, the use of the *kantharos* is restricted to figures such as Herakles, or those who possess chthonian aspects.¹⁹⁵ While the seated figure cannot be Herakles, the *kantharos* could signify that the figure was chthonic; Jon D. Mikalson notes that offerings were made to such figures to appease them and avoid their wrath, in contrast to the worship of ouranic deities which could involve a request for beneficial acquisitions.¹⁹⁶

Some chthonian aspects can be more generally applied to the figures of Taras and Phalanthos; Larson notes that local hero worship generally centred around the tomb of the hero, or a place that the hero was acknowledged to have inhabited.¹⁹⁷ Because of this, hero figures were viewed as being below the earth, and related by proxy to the dead and underworld deities; heroes could have received offerings that had chthonian aspects.¹⁹⁸ In this way the symbolic function of the *kantharos* as chthonic emblem can be seen to apply to the hero Taras perhaps more so than Phalanthos – Malkin notes that as there was no tomb to Phalanthos, this absence of a tomb to the *oikist* ‘...may explain the lack of a proper hero cult of the chthonian type ...perhaps...[this is]...why Justin calls his cult *divinos honores*.’¹⁹⁹

¹⁹¹ The motif is absent from series five (c. 455–440; Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group 14), six (c. 435; Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group 15) and eight (c. 425–415; Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group 18).

¹⁹² Rochette 1840, 213, Gardner 1884, 101; Vlasto *TO* 26. *ACGC* 175. See also, Lacroix 1965, 98, 121; Brauer 1986, 35.

¹⁹³ Brauer 1986, 36.

¹⁹⁴ *ACGC* 175. See also Lacroix 1965, 98, 121; Brauer 1986, 35.

¹⁹⁵ Patton 2009, 37.

¹⁹⁶ Mikalson 2005, 92–3; Larson 2007, 193.

¹⁹⁷ Larson 2007, 196.

¹⁹⁸ Larson 2007, 196–97.

¹⁹⁹ Malkin 1987, 221.

However, as Vlasto notes, the use of the *kantharos* can also act as a broad indicator of the figure's heroic status.²⁰⁰ Jenifer Neils discusses the appearance of a male figure holding a *kantharos* on a grave *stèle*, suggesting that through the motif's connections to hero figures, the motif in a funerary context almost certainly signified to the audience that the grave belonged to a heroised male.²⁰¹ Similarly, according to Annie Verbanck-Piérard the *kantharos* in banquet iconography nearly always indicates that the holder of the vessel is either a hero or a god.²⁰² More specifically, Verbanck-Piérard cites an Attic relief of the Classical period from Rhamnous which depicts Herakles with a *kantharos*; according to Verbanck-Piérard the *kantharos* motif in this context is an indication of offerings which were made to Herakles in some of his sanctuaries.²⁰³ It is possible that the motif on the Tarentine type had the same function. This suggests that the figure represented is a heroic figure and the recipient of votive offerings, which could apply to either Taras or Phalanthos.

On one issue from the seventh series the seated figure is shown holding a *kantharos* towards an altar (Figure 15). Raoul-Rochette identifies this structure as a tomb, whilst Vlasto suggested it could be either a tomb or an altar.²⁰⁴ Fischer-Bossert observed that the structure is undoubtedly an altar on account of the pointed ash heap on top.²⁰⁵ In antiquity, altars were the focal point of religious life.²⁰⁶ In addition to being essential to sanctuaries, altars were a central feature of rituals.²⁰⁷ In this context the addition of the altar can be seen as referring to the figure's involvement in a religious activity, whereas the *kantharos* more explicitly defines the scene as a libation.²⁰⁸

The significance of this scene can be interpreted in two ways. It could suggest that the seated figure is undertaking an offering, or that the figure was the recipient of an offering. Offerings were given to figures such as gods, heroes (such as Taras), and/or the deceased *oikist* (such as Phalanthos).²⁰⁹ Libations were commonly poured onto altars and tombs, whereas offerings to chthonic figures were typically poured into pits, directly in to the earth.²¹⁰ While libations

²⁰⁰ Vlasto *TO* 26.

²⁰¹ Neils 2004, 32.

²⁰² Verbanck-Piérard 1992, 98.

²⁰³ Verbanck-Piérard 1992, 99–100.

²⁰⁴ Raoul-Rochette 1940, 233; Vlasto *TO* 136–7.

²⁰⁵ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 104, no. 245. See also, BAPD no. 7822, showing an ash pile on an altar, stylistically similar to the altar and ash pile on the Tarentine type.

²⁰⁶ Burkert 1982, 87–8.

²⁰⁷ Burkert 1982, 87–8.

²⁰⁸ Salapata 2014b, 133, n. 61. On the popularity of the flaming altar/libation vessel as a libation scene see: Burkert 1982, 71.

²⁰⁹ Burkert 1985, 70–3, 205; Mikalson 2005, 83–5.

²¹⁰ Burkert 1985, 70–3, 205; Scullion 1994, 76; Mikalson 2005, 83–5.

could have been part of a more extensive set of rituals, this type of offering typically signified a beginning or end (such as a departure or return).²¹¹ A reference to this departure or return in conjunction with the Tarentine seated figure will be discussed further in the second section of this thesis.²¹²

The *kantharos* motif would be appropriate to either Taras or Phalanthos. In instances where the *kantharos* features by itself, it could serve as an abbreviated reference to a libation and/or as an indicator of the figure's status, be that as a hero, an *oikist* or a chthonian figure. A more direct religious aspect is added to the iconography when the seated figure is shown holding the *kantharos* towards an altar. It is possible that the altar motif refers to an actual altar that existed at Taras and was dedicated to the seated figure. This would be suitable for both Taras as a hero and Phalanthos as the *oikist*. For Phalanthos in particular, this is significant as evidence suggests it is unlikely that he had a tomb in the *agora* as was customary for the *oikist*. Perhaps because of this, worship of him centred solely around his (or an) altar.

The dog motif appeared only in series seven (Figure 18). Dogs were kept as pets in antiquity and recognised as brave and loyal companions, as well as guardians of people and livestock.²¹³ Through an association with the goddess Hecate, dogs possessed chthonic associations – according to mythic tradition, Hecate was transformed into a dog and accompanied Hecate.²¹⁴ Further, the dog is described in ancient literary evidence as being a favourite animal of Hecate.²¹⁵ Dogs were also associated with departed heroes; Raoul-Rochette suggests that this association is due to dogs being a common symbol in funerary art, highlighting that during the funeral games of Patroclus in Book 24 of the *Iliad*, his nine dogs are sacrificed by Achilles to accompany Patroclus in death.²¹⁶ The appearance of the dog in conjunction with the seated figure could suggest that the figure was heroic and/or chthonic. It could also indicate that the figure was viewed as an individual who possessed characteristics that were associated with dogs. For example, in the same way that dogs guarded people and livestock, Taras and Phalanthos could have been regarded as the protectors and guardians of the Tarentine *polis*. This role as the loyal guard or protector of the *polis* is well suited to their

²¹¹ Gaifman 2018, 450.

²¹² See page 104 ff.

²¹³ Plato *Republic* 2.375a; Lazenby 1949, 245; Lonsdale 1979, 149–50,

²¹⁴ Eur. *Fr.* 968.

²¹⁵ Eur. *Fr.* 968.

²¹⁶ Hom. *Il.* 24.174–75; Raoul-Rochette 1840, 237, n. 1 cf. Vermeule 1979, 105–12. See also, Gardner 1884, 113, 135; Tonks 1907, 331–2; Preston-Day 1984, 27–8, n. 25.

respective roles as eponymous hero or *oikist*. The loyal nature of dogs could also have been applied to both Taras and Phalanthos and be reflective of their loyalty to the *polis*.

The staff, while tentatively identified in series two, definitively appeared from series three (c. 450) until series seven (c. 430–425) (Figures 5–8, 11, 12, 13).²¹⁷ Vlasto described this motif as a ‘royal staff’, and viewed it as symbolic of the monarchy that ruled Taras after the end of the sixth century, that the seated figure (who Vlasto identified as Taras) founded and organised.²¹⁸ Similarly, Brauer likened this motif to a staff of office – an indicator of the role of the individual within the *polis* – such as what Brauer termed the ‘eponymous ruler’.²¹⁹ Brauer also suggests that the staff motif is reminiscent of one that would have been used by shepherds, interpreting this as a reference to the flocks of sheep at Taras that were kept for their wool.²²⁰ There are considerable differences between the staff alluding to a shepherd and signifying a certain status. The staff motif cannot be definitively identified as belonging to either category. This motif is therefore better viewed as a broad signifier that the individual is in a position of authority. This would complement and reinforce this same message of power that is portrayed via his seated position. This symbolic intent of the motif is appropriate to both Taras and Phalanthos who were both viewed as locally important figures.

Arthur Evans drew attention to the affinity between the Tarentine seated figure types and Spartan sepulchral reliefs.²²¹ More broadly, the *kantharos*, dog and staff appeared as secondary motifs in conjunction with seated male figures on these Spartan sepulchral reliefs. Gina Salapata argues that these shared motifs, and other iconographical and typological similarities between these reliefs and the Tarentine seated figure type, suggest that this relief imagery influenced the Tarentine seated figure types.²²² These reliefs were found predominantly in Lakonia, Messenia, and around Sparta.²²³ In Lakonia, the terracotta relief plaques depicting seated figures date from as early as the sixth century and are thought to have been produced in or near Sparta.²²⁴ The stone reliefs are dated to an earlier period than the terracotta plaques and production of these reliefs lasted until Roman times.²²⁵ While the earlier examples often depict a man and woman sitting beside each other, at the beginning of

²¹⁷ See above, page 13, n. 58.

²¹⁸ Vlasto *TO*, 9.

²¹⁹ Brauer 1986, 35.

²²⁰ Brauer 1986, 35.

²²¹ Evans 1889, 19.

²²² Salapata 2014a, 155–56; 2014b, 222–28.

²²³ Brauer 1986, 36; Salapata 2014, 153 ff.

²²⁴ Salapata 1993, 189; 2014a, 1.

²²⁵ Salapata 1993, 189; 2014a, 1.

the fifth century both stone reliefs and terracotta plaques begin to feature a lone male figure.²²⁶ The image of a seated man holding a vessel, usually a *kantharos*, is the most common scene on Amyklaian plaques.²²⁷ For example, on one plaque a bearded male figure is depicted seated on a *klismos*, with a garment draped around his waist, his right arm outstretched, holding a *kantharos* towards a snake (Figure 30).²²⁸ Similarly, a terracotta plaque from Messene depicts a clean-shaven male figure seated on a *klismos*, holding a *kantharos* in his right hand and a staff in his left. A garment is draped around his waist and a snake is positioned above the *kantharos* (Figure 31). Finally, on a Laconian stone relief found near Sparta (c. 500–475), a male seated figure is shown holding out a *kantharos*, with a dog resting its paws on his knees (Figure 32). Salapata identifies the reliefs and plaques from this region as dedications to local heroes.²²⁹

The iconographical similarities between the reliefs and the coin types can be explained by way of the close relationship between the settlement and its mother-city, Sparta.²³⁰ Evidence of this close relationship is provided by Tarentine social, political and religious institutions which were based on, or similar to, those in Sparta.²³¹ Further, according to Massimo Nafissi, during the late fifth century Taras stressed its Laconian heritage.²³²

Utilising Salapata's assessment, and accepting that the seated figure type at Taras was derived from the reliefs, suggests that the Tarentines also appropriated the type or class of figure these plaques depicted, meaning that the seated Tarentine figure should also be identified as a hero.²³³ However, with consideration for how the Spartan sepulchral relief imagery was transmitted to a Tarentine numismatic context, it follows that the plaque imagery and the symbolic intent of these secondary motifs were both familiar to the Tarentine inhabitants and appropriate to the seated individual who was depicted seated on their coins. This is not to say that the coin types can be viewed as a copy of the reliefs because they were of Spartan origin. Nor does it indicate that this was a feature of their heritage that the Tarentines wanted to emphasise during this period by using these motifs. Rather, the similarities between the two

²²⁶ Pavlides 2011, 114.

²²⁷ Salapata 1993, 189; 2014a, 1.

²²⁸ Salapata 2014a, 2.

²²⁹ Salapata 2014b, 222–28; Salapata 2014a, 156. See also, Pavlides 2011, 170.

²³⁰ Wuilleumier 1939, 43–44; Salapata 2014b, 155.

²³¹ Graham 1964, 7; *ACGC* 174–5; Nafissi 1999, 246 ff.; Hall 2007, 12–14; 2013, 119; Salapata 2014b, 155.

²³² Nafissi 1999, 246.

²³³ Salapata 2014b, 222–28; Salapata 2014a, 156.

suggest that this style of seated figure iconography was easily recognisable or even a standardised manner by which to depict a certain type or class of figure.

In his discussion of the *thronos* in Archaic Greek iconography, Young contends that despite the style of chair, it was the seated position itself that conveyed the importance of the figure to the audience.²³⁴ This idea can be more broadly applied to seated figures that featured on types issued by other case study sites addressed in this thesis. Young's contention suggests that the seated individual on Tarentine coins was identifiable as a particular class of figure, not exclusively through the similarities he shares with the reliefs, but instead most predominantly, because he is depicted seated. Thus, the use of this imagery in a Tarentine numismatic context emphasises that he is locally important and, while this is hardly unexpected of figures who appear on coinage, the similarities between the Spartan sepulchral reliefs and the seated figure type suggest that he can specifically be identified as a hero. This supports both the Phalanthos and Taras identification; both were figures of local importance and while it was only Taras who is expressly referred to as a hero in the ancient literary sources, Justinus stated that Phalanthos received divine honours from the Tarentines, a feature which suggests that that he too was regarded as a hero.²³⁵

The *aryballos* and *strigil* appeared in both series seven (c. 430–425) and eight (c. 425–415) (Figures 16, 20). On one example, the *strigil* featured as a lone motif (Figure 23). These objects along with a sponge, were the basic equipment for most athletes.²³⁶ The *aryballos* on its own was an identifying feature of athletes in Archaic grave reliefs, as was the *strigil* in Classical sculpture.²³⁷ No record exists of a Tarentine victory at any games during the period which these motifs occurred in conjunction with the seated figure type.²³⁸ Vlasto suggests that these motifs appear in conjunction with the seated figure, whom he identifies as Taras, as a reference to the athletic games that were probably held locally in honour of the hero.²³⁹

However, the excavation of graves of the Tarentine elite has yielded evidence that provides insight into the use of the *strigil* and *aryballos* motifs in conjunction with the seated male figure on Tarentine types. At Taras, clear evidence of the existence of an upper class in a funerary context dates to as early as c. 580 as the objects which were deposited into graves of

²³⁴ Young 2020, 118.

²³⁵ Antiochos, *BNJ* 555 F 13; Paus. 10.10.6; Just. *Epit.* 3.4.

²³⁶ Kyle 2007, 202.

²³⁷ Osborne 1997, 510.

²³⁸ Lippolis 2004, 41. The commemoration of a contemporary Olympic victory is evident on the coinage of Rhegion (c. 480–462) (*HN*³ 187, no. 2472).

²³⁹ Vlasto *TO* 189.

the Tarentine elite from this point onwards were of high quality and quantity.²⁴⁰ The contents of these graves all related to the symposium and banqueting and included a wide variety of drinking vessels such as *kylikes*, *skyphoi*, *amphorae* and *hydriae*.²⁴¹ In the early fifth century, a slight shift occurred in the contents of the graves of the Tarentine elite. Instead of only items that related to the symposium and banqueting, objects referencing athletic activities, in particular *strigils* and *aryballoi* were added to the graves.²⁴² From the fifth century onwards, both objects relating to banqueting and athletics were the fundamental elements of male elite graves at Taras.²⁴³

Furthermore, *strigils* and *aryballoi* were also found in elite graves elsewhere in Magna Graecia. For example, Douwe Yntema noted that the grave goods of Metapontion were not dissimilar to that of Taras.²⁴⁴ According to Yntema, the *strigils* and *aryballoi* in the graves of the elite appeared as a reference to the gymnasium as a broader allusion to *paideia* – the idea of achieving perfection and excellence.²⁴⁵ As noted above, *strigils* and *aryballoi* could also be representative of athletic prowess in general. This prowess was also a major component of the Greek concept of *arete* (excellence), and *paideia* was the education through which *arete* could be achieved.²⁴⁶ According to Plutarch, *arete* was one of three distinguishing qualities of divinity.²⁴⁷ As *strigils* and *aryballoi* also featured in conjunction with the seated figure in a numismatic context, it suggests that as these motifs were synonymous with the elite, their inclusion on the coin type reference the status of the figure.

By including objects that were also closely associated with the deceased Tarentine (and regional) elite, these motifs imply that the individual is in some way connected with the elite. The nature of this connection could be that the Tarentine elite are regarded as being descended from the figure or that both belong to a superior sphere. Stephanus of Byzantium referred to the Tarentine ‘Phalanthiadae’, who are sometimes thought to be an aristocratic class, that claimed status and rights through their claim of descent from Phalanthos.²⁴⁸ While this could be seen to support an identification of the figure as Phalanthos, Hall argues that it

²⁴⁰ Yntema 2013, 130.

²⁴¹ Yntema 2013, 130.

²⁴² Yntema 2013, 130.

²⁴³ Yntema 2013, 130–31.

²⁴⁴ Yntema 2013, 131.

²⁴⁵ Yntema 2013, 137.

²⁴⁶ Paxson 1985, 67.

²⁴⁷ Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 6.2. The other qualities were that of incorruption and power.

²⁴⁸ Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. ‘Athenai’; Hall 2008, 416.

is more likely that all citizens of Taras could have been known by that name.²⁴⁹ Accepting Yntema's analysis that the objects reference both *paideia* and *arete*, the status of the seated figure is generally enhanced – he takes on these associations to become divine. A reference to divinity is appropriate to both Taras and Phalanthos, both of whom could have been the recipient of a local cult and/or regarded as having divine heritage.

The cat and bird motifs both appeared in series seven, and the bird continued to appear in series eight.²⁵⁰ The seated figure exhibits a familiar attitude towards the bird and cat: he is shown in series seven playfully interacting with the cat and holding the bird by its wings (Figures 16, 17, 19). The bird appeared in series eight where it is depicted in a position that is characteristic of tamed birds, perched on the figure's hand (Figures 21, 22). As with the dog motif, these interactions suggest that the figure was familiar with the animals he interacts with. One explanation is that the motif is reflective of the contemporary presence of the animal at Taras. While there is little evidence for cats as pets in the region until the Hellenistic period, on the basis that a cat occurs on the seated figure type, Donald W. Engles suggests that domesticated cats had come to South Italy by this period and possibly even arrived with the initial settlers.²⁵¹ Similarly, Serpell suggests that during this early period domestic cats in South Italy were kept out of curiosity.²⁵² The seated figure certainly appears entertained by the presence of the cat. The cat is shown interacting with either the bird or distaff motifs, illustrating a key behavioural trait of cats. Accepting Engles' argument that the cat arrived with the initial settlers, the motif could support an identification of the seated figure as Phalanthos, showing him in conjunction with the animal he introduced.

However, the cat also possessed other associations. While no Greek deity had a cat as their sacred animal, the goddess Artemis was often associated with cats through her association with mothers and childbirth, as cats were thought to be ideal mothers.²⁵³ According to Ovid, Antoninus Liberalis and Pseudo-Hyginus, when the gods fled to Egypt to escape from

²⁴⁹ Hall 2008, 417.

²⁵⁰ Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group 17. Others such as Otto (1965, 112) and Woodford (2011, 174–5) have identified both the dog and cat motif a panther.

²⁵¹ Lonsdale 1979, 150; Engles 2015, 55, 57. The cat motif on Rhegion's types are also cited by Engles. It has been suggested that a cat appears on a Laconian kylix (c. 550) known as the "Arkesilas cup" under the seat of a figure who is identified as the king of Cyrene (Engles 2015, 58, fig. 2.8), and a series of bronze cats from Samos (Engles 2015, 56). A tibula of a cat has also been found in the Pantanello Sanctuary (Metapontion) with a date of between the sixth and third century, see Gál 2010, 51, Table 3.5. While the date range is broad, it cannot rule out an earlier appearance of cats in the region.

²⁵² Serpell 1988, 186.

²⁵³ Diesel 2008, 85. On the worship of Artemis at Taras, see Fischer-Hansen 2009, 233–238.

Typhon, Artemis transformed herself into a cat.²⁵⁴ Cats could also have been associated with Hecate. According to Antoninus Leberalis, a Greek grammarian writing in the second or third century CE, Hera transformed Galinthius, a maidservant to Heracles' mother Alcmene, into a cat and sent her to the underworld to serve Hecate.²⁵⁵ Through this association with Hecate, the cat, like the dog, could have signified a chthonic aspect of the figure. It is interesting to note that there is a correlation between the positioning of the cat and dog motifs on the coin types which could suggest that there was a relationship between the symbolic intent of both motifs. As cats are not typically renowned as protective creatures, if the shared positioning is not indicative of how the animal functioned (i.e., as a protector or as a reference to their presence in the city), parallels can be drawn between the chthonic associations of both cats and dogs.

The bird motif could have also referred to the status of the figure. While Vlasto suggested that the bird was a dove referring to the hero cult of Taras, Brauer saw the dove as having chthonic associations.²⁵⁶ However, the specific species of bird cannot be definitively identified and, in this context, the bird must be addressed as a symbol rather than a species. As the bird on the Tarentine type is neither caged nor tethered, it could be that the bird was a tamed bird. While birds were kept as pets in antiquity, this was typically by women and children.²⁵⁷ Because of the tendency for birds to be associated with women and children, despite the familiarity between the bird and the seated male figure, it makes it unlikely that the bird is the figure's pet.

Birds appeared frequently on Classical Greek grave *stelai* and in this context they are thought to represent the soul of the deceased, a symbolic function that, according to Keeley Heuer, may have been transferred to Magna Graecia.²⁵⁸ In this way, the motif can be seen as possessing a divine aspect. More broadly, in antiquity birds were acknowledged as carriers of omens or messages from the gods.²⁵⁹ The close relationship between the seated figure and the bird could be similarly reflective of the relationship between the seated figure and the gods and/or divinity. As a hero, this connection is appropriate to Taras, but also to Phalanthos, if he was indeed the heroised *oikist*. As such, both Taras and Phalanthos belonged to a class of

²⁵⁴ Ant. Lib. *Met.* 28; Ov. *Met.* 5. 319 Pseudo-Hyginus, *Astronomica* 2. 28

²⁵⁵ Ant. Lib. *Met.* 28.

²⁵⁶ Brauer 1986, 36.

²⁵⁷ Lazenby 1949, 249.

²⁵⁸ Heuer 2011, 156–157 cf. Vlasto *TO* 179.

²⁵⁹ Lonsdale 1979, 152–3; Mynott 2018, 249–50.

figures who were viewed as inhabiting the sphere between gods and men.²⁶⁰ In this way, both figures are comparable to birds in that they occupy the intermediate sphere between the world of men and the realm of gods.

The seated figure is also depicted holding a trident in an example from series three (Figure 7). According to Vlasto, the trident in conjunction with the seated figure symbolises the seafaring prowess of the *polis*.²⁶¹ This idea is supported by the appearance of the trident motif on Tarentine coins where it is held by the dolphin rider from c. 380.²⁶² On a later example, the dolphin rider is using the trident to spear fish (Figure 33). This suggests that the trident motif could have had a more practical symbolism, as a reference to a method by which the Tarentine inhabitants caught fish (the trident is after all a fishing tool). However, this motif was also the most notable attribute of Poseidon.²⁶³ Accordingly, the appearance of the trident in conjunction with the seated figure suggests a connection between the deity and the seated individual.²⁶⁴ The close association between the motif and Poseidon could identify the figure as the hero Taras, as he was said to have been a son of Poseidon.²⁶⁵ However the motif could also refer to Phalanthos, as according to Pseudo-Acron's commentary on Horace's *Carmina*, he was also the son of Poseidon (Neptune).²⁶⁶ As Acron is thought to have lived in the third century CE, this could mean that the connection between Poseidon and Phalanthos advocated by Pseudo-Acron was a reflection of that era, which had a tendency to inflate the role of Phalanthos.²⁶⁷ This link between the seated figure and Poseidon is further emphasised by the depiction of the seated figure in conjunction with a small dolphin.

A small dolphin was depicted above the outstretched arm of the seated figure on an issue from series four (Figure 9).²⁶⁸ In antiquity, the Greeks recognised a strong relationship between dolphins and human beings.²⁶⁹ Furthermore, mention of the Tarentine settlement in the ancient literary record first appeared in the context of a story about a dolphin rider, which will be discussed below (see page 40 ff.).²⁷⁰ This suggests that the *polis* had a history of association with dolphin riders. Broadly speaking, a dolphin could symbolise Apollo, the

²⁶⁰ Ekroth 2007, 100.

²⁶¹ Vlasto *TO* 50.

²⁶² For example, *HN*³ no. 880.

²⁶³ Melville-Jones s.v. trident.

²⁶⁴ Melville-Jones s.v. trident.

²⁶⁵ See above, page 22, n. 137.

²⁶⁶ Pseudo-Acron, *Commentarii in Q. Horatium Flaccum*, 1.29.

²⁶⁷ See Martalogu 2017, 56-7.

²⁶⁸ Fischer-Bossert 1999, Group 12 nos 158, 159.

²⁶⁹ Plin. *NH* 9.7–10; Cyrino 2012, 113; Beaulieu 2016, 237.

²⁷⁰ Hdt. 1.24–5.

marine iteration of Aphrodite, or sea deities such as nymphs.²⁷¹ However, dolphins were most prominently an attribute of Poseidon, regarded as his companions and messengers.²⁷²

Numismatic depictions of Poseidon with a dolphin appearing above his arm in a manner that is strikingly similar to how this motif appears with the seated figure is also apparent on issues produced by Panormos in Sicily (c. 412/410–400),²⁷³ Priansus in Crete (c. 320–270) (Figure 34) and Tenos in the Cyclades (c. 260–240) (Figure 35). Poseidon is also shown with a dolphin above his outstretched arm on coins issued by the Boeotian League (c. 257) (Figure 36) and Skotussa in Thessaly (c. 220) (Figure 37). Later, Poseidon is depicted in the same manner on issues produced by Corinth under the Roman Emperors Antonius Pius (Figure 38) and Trajan (Figure 39). The geographically widespread and chronologically extended depictions of Poseidon with a dolphin above his outstretched arm suggests that this iconographical convention was well established. However, in these examples an identification of the figure as Poseidon is supported through the inclusion of his trident. He is also shown both wreathed and bearded. These features are absent from this Tarentine type where the seated figure is depicted with the small leaping dolphin. Thus, similar to the trident, the dolphin motif above the arm of the seated figure does not identify the seated figure as Poseidon, but rather indicates that the figure was an individual that was closely associated with the deity.

The dolphin motif could support an identification of Taras or Phalanthos. For the hero Taras, a connection can be made between the dolphin motif and his father Poseidon, thus referring to his divine parentage and emphasising his hero status. There is also a legend connecting Phalanthos with a dolphin. When Pausanias describes the statue at Delphi depicting Taras and Phalanthos, he states that a dolphin is depicted near Phalanthos because: ‘...before Phalanthos reached Italy, he suffered shipwreck in the Crisaean sea, and was brought ashore by a dolphin.’²⁷⁴ The imagery that accompanied the seated figure types depict a male figure who is shown riding a dolphin; this male figure is best identified as Phalanthos. In the case of the dolphin rider/seated figure types, Fischer-Bossert notes that it would be unusual to have the same figure depicted on the obverse and the reverse.²⁷⁵ This observation, coupled with the

²⁷¹ *HH* 3 493; Cyrino 2012, 113-15; Beaulieu 2016, 241.

²⁷² Paus. 10.36.8; Cyrino 2012, 113-15; Beaulieu 2016, 241.

²⁷³ *HGC* 2, no. 1040.

²⁷⁴ Paus. 10.13.4.

²⁷⁵ Fischer-Bossert 1999, 423.

compelling evidence suggesting that the dolphin rider was Phalanthos, supports the contention that the seated individual is best identified as the hero Taras.

ACCOMPANYING TYPE

The dolphin rider type featured on the reverse during the first series and on the obverse in the second, third and fourth series (for example see Figures 2, 3, 5). During the fifth series, the dolphin rider operated as both the obverse and reverse, reverting to the obverse in the sixth series. The type functioned as the obverse and reverse in series seven (Figures 14, 15) and during the final series the dolphin rider operated as the obverse type. The dolphin rider exhibited minor stylistic variations over the period when the seated figures were produced. The basic type depicts a man on a dolphin with his arm outstretched. Often a shell (normally a pecten shell) was depicted below the dolphin.²⁷⁶

This dolphin rider type first featured on Tarentine coins between c. 510 and 500 and remained in use across multiple denominations issued by Taras until c. 200. It is this iconography that is recognised by current scholars as the settlement's characteristic type.²⁷⁷ Like the seated figure, the dolphin rider is identified by modern scholars as either Phalanthos or Taras.²⁷⁸ It has also been suggested that the rider possessed a dual identity, changed identities or was initially Taras and later became Phalanthos.²⁷⁹ As the dolphin rider was depicted on earlier Tarentine issues and minor iconographical variation occurs, it follows that the identity of the dolphin rider was already locally established prior to his appearance in conjunction with the seated figure type.

Dolphin riders were not uncommon in ancient Greek art, literature and coinage and the dolphin rider type featured on issues produced by other city-states in Magna Graecia.²⁸⁰ As noted above, the earliest surviving literary reference to Taras occurs in the context of a story about a man riding a dolphin. According to Herodotus a renowned citharist, Arion of Methymna was travelling by ship from Taras to Corinth.²⁸¹ During this voyage Arion was robbed by the ship's sailors and forced to throw himself overboard.²⁸² Arion was rescued by a

²⁷⁶ Puglisi 2014, 76.

²⁷⁷ *ACGC* 175; Rutter 1983, 19; Fischer-Bossert 1999, 79; *HN*³ 106.

²⁷⁸ Aristotle ap. Julius Pollux 9.80 (Rose fr. 590); Gardner 1881, 296–97; Hall 2008, 416 cf. Lacroix 1954, 17–18; Cahn 1968, 68; Ravel 1977, 12; Malkin 1987, 219; Rutter 1997, 53; Fischer-Bossert 1999, 422.

²⁷⁹ Cahn 1968, 68; Brauer 1986, 33; Fischer-Bossert 1999, 423; Hall 2008, 416.

²⁸⁰ Ridgway 1970, 86 ff.; Fischer-Bossert 1999, 420; Hall 2014, 93. For numismatic examples, see *HN*³ nos 705 (Teate); 1185 (Paestum).

²⁸¹ *Hdt.* 1.24. 1–5. See also *Plin. NH* 9.8.

²⁸² *Hdt.* 1.24. 1–5. See also *Plin. NH* 9.8.

dolphin which carried him ashore at Tainaron (Peloponnese).²⁸³ From here Arion made his way to Corinth and made his story known.²⁸⁴ When the ship arrived in Corinth the sailors on board claimed to have left Arion at Taras, at which point Arion appeared and exposed their ploy.²⁸⁵ Herodotus says that Arion dedicated a small bronze statue of a man riding a dolphin at the Temple of Poseidon at Tainaron.²⁸⁶ While there is no indication that the dolphin rider on Tarentine coinage is Arion, the story suggests that there was an affinity between the settlement and dolphin riders.

Pausanias' account of the dolphin near Phalanthos in the statue at Delphi supports the idea that the dolphin rider who appears on Tarentine coins should be identified as Phalanthos.²⁸⁷ On the other hand, Aristotle refers to the coin type directly and identifies the dolphin rider as Taras stating that 'in the renowned *polis* called Taras they have a coin called a [*nomos* and] on [the coin] is Taras [son] of Poseidon sitting on board a dolphin.'²⁸⁸ Further, according to Probus, there was a statue of a man riding a dolphin at Taras; Probus identifies the dolphin rider as the hero Taras and states that it was Taras who was shipwrecked and carried ashore by a dolphin.²⁸⁹ Bonnie M. Kingsley suggests that Servius may have been describing this same monument when he mentions the tomb encountered by the initial settlers.²⁹⁰ However, she acknowledges that both Probus and Servius may not have encountered the original statue.²⁹¹ In line with this, Malkin points out that the account of Probus a late source (dated to the late first century CE) and Probus was simply interpreting an image which is not enough evidence to decide the dolphin rider's identity.²⁹² Probus could have simply confused Phalanthos for Taras.

Although Pausanias was also a late source, writing in the second century CE, archaeological evidence confirmed that the statue he describes linking Phalanthos to the dolphin dates to the fourth century.²⁹³ This makes the date of the statue (which also depicted the hero Taras) roughly contemporary with the writings of Aristotle. Accepting that Pausanias correctly

²⁸³ Hdt. 1.24. 1–5.

²⁸⁴ Hdt. 1.24.6–7.

²⁸⁵ Hdt. 1.24.7.

²⁸⁶ Hdt. 1.24.8.

²⁸⁷ Paus. 10.10.6.

²⁸⁸ Aristotle ap Julius Pollux 9.80 (Rose fr. 590): 'ἐν τῇ Ταραντίνων πολιτείᾳ καλεῖσθαι φήσι νόμισμα παρ αὐτοῖς νοῦμιον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐντετυπῶσθαι Τάραντα τὸν Ποσειδῶνος δελφίνι ἐποχοῦμενον.'

²⁸⁹ Probus ap. Virg. *Georg.* 2.197: 'cui us hodie quoque testimonium manet. Nam in municipio Tarentinorum hominis effigies in delphino sedens est.' See Malkin 1987, 220; Corsano 1979, 136.

²⁹⁰ Kingsley 1979, 206. See above, page 21, n. 122.

²⁹¹ Kingsley 1979, 206.

²⁹² Malkin 1987, 220.

²⁹³ See above, page 24, n. 154.

identified Taras and Phalanthos, it is possible that he was recording an earlier tradition of the dolphin rider as Phalanthos that has not otherwise survived in literary form. Thus, it is impossible to date Taras' association with the dolphin before Phalanthos' – both legends seem to have been established by the fourth century.

As a way of explaining the differing accounts of Aristotle and Pausanias, scholars have suggested that Aristotle made a wrong inference from coins, mistaking the ethnic as the name of the figure riding the dolphin.²⁹⁴ That the inscription is an ethnic is supported by its appearance on earlier types that, for example, depict a hippocampus (a marine creature with the head of a horse and body and tail of a fish) and on later diobols depicting Herakles fighting the Nemean Lion (Figures 40, 41).²⁹⁵ It is therefore not possible to rule out Phalanthos based on the accompanying inscription.²⁹⁶

Interestingly, Phalanthos was connected with another site in Magna Graecia that also issued dolphin rider types from around 215: Brentesion, the site to which Phalanthos is said to have been exiled and where he died (Figure 42).²⁹⁷ Malkin acknowledges that as the first use of this imagery at Brentesion occurred during the late third century, possibly after the establishment of a Roman colony at the site, Brentesion could have appropriated Taras' imagery in this context because of Tarentine influence.²⁹⁸ However, another possibility Malkin highlights is that the inhabitants of Brentesion could have been making a claim to Phalanthos by depicting him as the dolphin rider on their type.²⁹⁹ I would add that as the dolphin rider appeared on the first coinage minted by Brentesion, this feature could indicate that the inhabitants were drawing on their mythic traditions for the iconography of their initial output.³⁰⁰ Further, while it has been noted that certain Greek mints in Magna Graecia maintained their original iconography after becoming a *municipium*,³⁰¹ there is no precedent that I can identify for a *municipium* adopting Greek iconography because it was within a Greek sphere of influence. This use of the type by Brentesion therefore supports the identification of the dolphin rider on Tarentine coins as Phalanthos.

²⁹⁴ Cahn 1968, 68; Ravel 1977, 12; Malkin 1987, 219; Rutter 1997, 53.

²⁹⁵ For a discussion of the ethnic, see Malkin, 1987, 138.

²⁹⁶ Malkin, 1994, 138.

²⁹⁷ Strab. 6.3.6; Just. *Epit.* 3.4.

²⁹⁸ Malkin 1987, 217 n. 75.

²⁹⁹ Malkin 1987, 217 n. 75.

³⁰⁰ Hands 1912, 153.

³⁰¹ See Evans 1889, 9; Rutter 1997, 42–5; Burnett 1986, 67 ff.

While there are no motifs that directly identify the dolphin rider as Phalanthos, in this context it should be noted that there are no typical ‘*oikist*’ attributes in either art or coinage that would help to decisively prove that the dolphin rider is the *oikist*. However, one of the key features of Phalanthos, aside from the foundation of Taras, is that he was said to have been rescued by a dolphin. While the story itself is acknowledged by scholars as highly embellished, if not mythic, what better way for the Tarentines to heroise their founder and elevate him to a level above that of a mere Spartan than to credit him with a miraculous rescue.³⁰²

The long history of the dolphin rider type at Taras suggests that the imagery was inspired by an aspect of the mythic history of the *polis*. As noted above, Malkin acknowledges that it was likely that there was a cult to Phalanthos during the Archaic period, and that the association between Taras and their founder was established during the incipient phase of the *polis*.³⁰³ This would also account for the implementation of the type relatively early in the history of the *polis*. The Tarentines promoted another aspect of their Spartan heritage on their initial coinage (c. 530–510), depicting Apollo Hyakinthos, a deity who was imported from Sparta.³⁰⁴ This cult also had indirect links to Phalanthos as according to Antiochus it was during the festival of Hyakinthos that the disenfranchised Spartans (Partheniai/Epeunactae), with Phalanthos as their leader, were to revolt against the Spartans.³⁰⁵ In this context it would be appropriate for Phalanthos to be the dolphin rider that proceeded the Apollo Hyakinthos type – Phalanthos embodies the same Spartan origins but gives the iconography a more localised focus.

In addition, the iconographical coherence between Taras and Brentesion – two places that were directly associated with Phalanthos – gives Phalanthos a much greater claim to being the dolphin rider when compared to the role of the hero Taras.³⁰⁶ While it is not possible to definitively prove that the dolphin rider is Phalanthos, when taken as a whole the evidence is compelling enough to suggest that the rider is more likely to be Phalanthos. The identification of the dolphin rider on the accompanying type as Phalanthos has some implications for the

³⁰² On the mythic nature of Phalanthos, see Hall 2004, 400.

³⁰³ See above, page 22, n. 136; page 24, n. 157.

³⁰⁴ Dunbabin 1948, 91; Martalogu 2018, 25.

³⁰⁵ See above, page 21.

³⁰⁶ While further analysis goes beyond the scope of this thesis, I would note that many objects that featured in conjunction with the seated figure (such as the distaff, *kantharos* and trident), were transferred to the dolphin rider upon the conclusion of the seated figure series. This feature could suggest that the dolphin rider became Taras at a later point.

seated figure type as this coin type thus depicts both individuals who were involved in the foundation of Taras. This suggests that there was a relationship between the obverse and reverse iconography. Both emphasise the foundation of the city-state and are in this way reminiscent of the statue of Taras and Phalanthos at Delphi described by Pausanias.

CONCLUSION

Analysis indicates that there are two primary candidates for the identity of the seated figure on Tarentine coins – Taras or Phalanthos. Evidence suggests that both were locally venerated and acknowledged as figures who had intimate ties to the locality. The seated figure iconography at Taras is devoid of any unequivocal identifiers. The secondary motifs that feature in conjunction with the figure possess connotations that are appropriate to both Taras and Phalanthos. This suggests that the individual possessed a well-established local identity and as such, needed no overt introduction by way of a specific motif. As the period in which the seated figure types were first issued (c. 470) coincided with an association between the Tarentines and their autochthonous hero and eponym Taras, it suggests that given his contemporary rise to prominence, Taras is the figure that would have been most identifiable. This is further supported by contemporary introduction of the previously unseen seated figure type – it was a new iconographical approach for a new class of figure – their local hero.

When analysed as a group, the symbolic references of the secondary motifs, in conjunction with the issuing context, combine to support the identification of the seated figure as Taras. The symbolic function of the secondary motifs indicate that the seated individual possesses a strong link with the physical landscape and territories of the *polis* through the distaff and rock motifs as well as divine and heroic characteristics through motifs such as the *kantharos* and bird. Similarly, the variations to the figure's physical appearance suggests that, at least initially, the individual had no fixed physical appearance, supporting the idea that he was strictly mythic in origin. This, in conjunction with the trident and small leaping dolphin supports an identification of the seated figure as Taras, the son of Poseidon.

The local importance of the seated figure is not only stressed though the motifs that accompany him but also that he is shown in a pose of civic authority. In this way, the motifs provide a more nuanced understanding into the localised identity and function of this Tarentine hero. This idea that the seated figure represents a local hero is explored further in the following case studies.

2. RHEGION

The settlement of Rhegion was situated near the southern end of the Bruttian peninsula on the Straits of Messina (Figure 1). According to ancient literary sources, Rhegion was established by inhabitants from Khalkis (Euboea) and Messenians from the Peloponnese who were fleeing their homeland at the time of the first Messenian War.³⁰⁷ The involvement in the foundation of Rhegion by the Messenian refugees provides a date of c. 730 for establishment of the settlement.³⁰⁸ Rhegion began producing coinage around c. 510, and between c. 450 and 420, issued three uninterrupted series of tetradrachms depicting a seated figure.³⁰⁹

The first series was issued between c. 450–445; Herzfelder dated the initial production of the series to c. 461 however based on hoard evidence Kraay lowered the starting date to c. 450.

³¹⁰ Kraay's revised chronology is accepted by more recent scholarship.³¹¹ The second series dates from c. 445–435 and Herzfelder divides the third series into two production periods, with the first period dated to c. 435–425 and the second period from c. 425–420.³¹²

Throughout all production periods, the seated figure functions as the reverse type and is accompanied by a facing lion head obverse, a type which had appeared on coinage issued by the settlement between c. 494/3–480.³¹³

The seated male figure has been assigned several different identities. Joseph Eckhel in his coin catalogue described the figure as Zeus, but offers no explanation for this identification.³¹⁴ Percy Gardner suggests that the seated figure at Rhegion borrowed attributes from Zeus, such as his bearded appearance, holding a staff, and being seated in a stylised, throne-like position.³¹⁵ Gardner explains why elements would be borrowed from Zeus, as

³⁰⁷ On the foundation of Rhegion see: Thuc. 6.44; Antiochos *FGrH* 555, F9; Pseudo-Scymnus 311–312; Heraclides Lembus *On Constitutions* 55; Diod. Sic. 14.40.1.

³⁰⁸ Dunbabin 1948, 12–13; Vallet 1958, 66–80; Malkin 1987, 31 n. 18.

³⁰⁹ Kraay 1967, 141–50; *HN*³ 187–88 cf. Herzfelder 1957.

³¹⁰ See *HN*³ 188.

³¹¹ Kraay 1967, 141–50; *HN*³ 188.

³¹² Herzfelder 1957 cf. Kraay 1967, 141–50; *HN*³ 188.

³¹³ *HN*³ 187 no. 2469.

³¹⁴ While Eckhel gives no explanation as to his identification, Seltman (1897, 174) suggests that Eckhel's identification was based on Eckhel's assumption that the deity was depicted as "...in the exercise of his chief function towards men, viz. the deliverer, in which capacity he appears on well-known Sicilian coins of a later date." While it is also unclear what 'well known' Sicilian types Seltman is referring to, it is possible that he means the mid-late 4th century types issued by Syracuse depicting the head of Zeus *Eleutherios* (Freedom) as comparisons can be made between the two based on their bearded appearance. For an example of these issues see: *SNG ANS* 5, pl. 17, 477–88.

³¹⁵ Gardner 1888, 63.

Zeus was the civic deity of Messene, one of Rhegion's reported mother-cities.³¹⁶ Ultimately, Gardner, following the work of Raoul-Rochette, identified the seated figure as the *Demos* of Rhegion, associating the wreathed border surrounding the types as a symbol of victory, referring to the establishment of a democracy at the *polis*.³¹⁷ R. Ross Holloway also contemplated a link between the identity of the figure and accompanying lion head obverse to the contemporary political situation.³¹⁸ Holloway suggests that the seated figure could have been the seventh century Sicilian lawmaker, Charondas of Catane.³¹⁹ The legal code of Charondas was reportedly adopted by Rhegion prior to the tyranny and he is said to have taken refuge at the settlement after his exile from Catane.³²⁰ Holloway argues that Charondas would have had cause to be depicted on the coinage of Rhegion as with the end to the tyranny, it would have been appropriate to recollect the period before the tyranny, a time when the *polis* was governed by the laws of Charondas.³²¹ Francesco Carelli related the figure's identity to an account by Pausanias, who told of a custom in which the Messenians (Sicily) would send a chorus of thirty-five boys to a local festival at Rhegion.³²² According to Pausanias, on one occasion the ship sank in the crossing, killing all on board.³²³ Carelli suggested that the seated figure is the master of this particular choir but offers no justification for his identification.³²⁴ Theodor Panofka also based his identification of the figure on a passage in Pausanias, identifying the individual as Trophonius, a renowned builder, who with his brother is said to have completed the lower part of the first temple at Delphi and the treasury of Hyrieus.³²⁵ Pausanias described the grove of Trophonius at Lebadeia (Boeotia) which was situated on the Hercyna river:

... [Lebadeia] is ... separated from the grove of Trophonius by the river Hercyna. They say that ...Hercyna, when playing ...held a goose which ... she let loose. The bird flew into a hollow cave and hid under a stone...[Hercyna]... took the bird as it

³¹⁶ Gardner 1888, 63.

³¹⁷ Rochette 1840, 241 ff.; Gardner 1888, 63; Seltman 1897, 173–74.

³¹⁸ Holloway 1978, 43.

³¹⁹ Holloway 1978, 43. On the date of Charondas, see Dunbabin 1948, 75.

³²⁰ Holloway 1978, 43. On Charondas at Rhegion, see Aelian *Historical Miscellany*, 3.17; Hands 1909, 243.

³²¹ Holloway 1978, 43.

³²² Carelli 1850, 110; Paus. 5.25.2.

³²³ Paus. 5.25.2.

³²⁴ Carelli 1850, 110. Seltman (1897, 174, n. 5) suggested that Carelli's identification may have been proposed based on the type issued after 241 by Thermae Himerenses which depicted the figure of the Greek lyric poet Stesichorus. While Seltman does not provide example of Thermae Himerenses type, see BMC Greek (Sicily), 84 no. 9.

³²⁵ Panofka 1848, 4. On Trophonius see: *HH* 3, 295–7; Paus. 9. 37. 5–7; Seltman 1897, 179 ff.; Herzfelder 1957, 19; Holloway 1978, 43.

lay under the stone. The... [river then] ... flowed...from the place where ...[Hercyna]... took up the stone, and ...[was hence named] Hercyna. On the bank of the river there is a temple of Hercyna, in which is a maiden holding a goose in her arms. In the cave are the sources of the river and images standing, and serpents are coiled around their sceptres. One might conjecture the images to be of Asclepius and Health, but they might be Trophonius and Hercyna, because they think that serpents are just as much sacred to Trophonius as to Asclepius... The most famous things in the grove are a temple and image of Trophonius; the image, made by Praxiteles, is after the likeness of Asclepius.³²⁶

Panofka identified the bird under the seated figure's chair as a goose and argued that this, in conjunction with later fractional bronze denominations (*pentonkia*) that featured a seated figure with a snake and a tripod, linked the seated figure tetradrachm type with Pausanias' account of Trophonius' grove.³²⁷

The identification of the seated figure as Iokastos was first put forward by J.P. Six in 1898, who identified snakes in the garment that the figure wore and on the figure's seat.³²⁸ Six also cited the similarities between the figure at Rhegion and those on coins issued by Taras and Kroton which Six regarded as mythical founders.³²⁹ The snake is related to Iokastos through the second century account of Heraclides Lembus who recorded that Iokastos died after being bitten by a snake.³³⁰ According to Callimachus, Iokastos was a son of the wind god Aeolus and the Scholist on Dionysius Periegetes said that Iokastos built (*ἐκτίσσε*) Rhegion.³³¹ Diodorus Siculus said that as a son of Aeolus, Iokastos and his brothers '...received great approbation both because of the fame of their father and because of their own high achievements...[and Iokastos] held fast to Italy and was king of the coast as far as the regions about [Rhegion].'³³² An identification of the figure as Iokastos is accepted by modern scholars, such as Herzfelder, Kraay, and Rutter.³³³

³²⁶ Paus. 9.39.1–4

³²⁷ Panofka 1848, 3–4, 6. For an example, see *HN*³ 2551.

³²⁸ Six 1898 281–5.

³²⁹ Six 1898 281–5.

³³⁰ Heraclides Lembus *On Constitutions* fr. 55.

³³¹ Callim. fr. 618; Schol. Dionys. Perieg., 461: 'Εἰς δε τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ (Αἰόλου) Ἰόκαστος τὸ Ρήγιον ἐκτίσσε.' While Dionysius Periegetes is a late source, writing in the time of Hadrian, the scholiast could be recording an earlier tradition.

³³² Diod. Sic. 5.8.

³³³ Herzfelder 1957, *ACGC* 219; Rutter 1997, 135. See also, *HN* 109; Lacroix 1965, 45–6; Leschorn 1984, 37.

The snake has also been used to support an identification of the figure as either Asklepios, the god of medicine, or Aristaeus the healer, as both were associated with snakes.³³⁴ Head in the first edition of *Historia Numorum* (1887) viewed the figure as an individual who was closely associated with nature because he was depicted in conjunction with animals other than that of the snake.³³⁵ Thus, Head identified the figure as either Aristaeus, who was the patron of rural life and pursuits or Agreus, an appellation of either Pan or Aristaeus.³³⁶ In the second edition (1911) however, Head notes that while the snake motif could indicate that the figure was Asklepios, he ultimately agreed with Six that the Iokastos identification was the most likely.³³⁷ Furthermore, Guido Libertini suggested that the seated figure was two different individuals because he was depicted both clean-shaven and bearded. He identified the clean-shaven figure as Iokastos, and the bearded figure as Asklepios.³³⁸

The following section will address the variations to the seated figure types adhering to the dating of the series put forward by Kraay and grouping of the types in the series put forward by Herzfelder.³³⁹ The secondary motifs are summarised in Table 2 which illustrates that the figure was consistently depicted seated on a *diphros*, draped in a *himation* and holding a staff. In addition, the ethnic and the wreathed border were also present across all production periods. Table 2 also highlights how variant secondary motifs were only introduced in series three. Aside from the motifs that were present in series one and two (wreathed border, ethnic, *diphros*, *himation* and staff), no motifs occur in both part one and two of series three. Variations to the physical features of the seated figure also occurred. Table 2 shows that during series one and two, the figure is shown bearded, whereas in the first part of series three, he appears both bearded and clean-shaven. In the second part of series three he is only clean-shaven. However, the basic iconographical consistency of the seated figure throughout the production of the type suggests that the identity of the individual is consistent.

³³⁴ Drexler 1885, 311; Seltman 1897, 186; Hands 1909, 251; Holloway 1978, 43 *cf.* Six 1898, 283–84

³³⁵ *HN* 1887, 94.

³³⁶ *HN* 1887, 94.

³³⁷ *HN* 109.

³³⁸ Libertini 1919, 335–6.

³³⁹ Kraay's (1967, 141–50) revised chronology and Herzfelder's groupings are accepted by more recent scholarship, see *HN*³ 188.

	Series 1 c. 450–445	Series 2 c. 445– 435	Series 3: Part 1 c. 435–425	Series 3: Part 2 c. 425– 420
Motifs³⁴⁰				
wreathed border	X	X	X	X
ethnic	X	X	X	X
<i>diphros</i>	X	X	X	X
<i>himation</i>	X	X	X	X
staff	X	X	X	X
dog			X	
flower bud*			X	
bunch of grapes			X	
duck			X ³⁴¹	
cat			X	
vine tendril (as staff)			X	
patera			X	
swan*			X	
<i>kantharos</i>			X	
snake				X
vine branch (bearing grapes)				X
Physical features				
bearded	X	X	X	
clean-shaven			X	X

Table 2: Secondary motifs and physical features of the seated figure on types issued by Rhegion c. 450–420

³⁴⁰ Motifs marked with an asterisk are tentatively identified by Herzfelder. Note that not each motif was necessarily present on a single issue – Table 2 provides a summary of each series.

³⁴¹ While one example is definitively a duck (Herzfelder 1957, no. 45, R 39; Figure 44), another bird from this series is tentatively identified as a duck (Herzfelder 1957, no. 53; Figure 47).

DESCRIPTION OF SERIES

During the first (c. 450–445) and second series (c. 445–435) the seated male remained consistent: bearded, seated on a *diphros*, draped in a *himation* and holding a staff in his left hand (Figures 43, 44).³⁴² Alterations to the seated figure types issued during the first two series are minor and changes only affect the accompanying obverse or spelling of the ethnic.³⁴³ Herzfelder divided the third series into two periods of production and it is in this series that variant secondary motifs appeared.³⁴⁴ The first production period of series three (c. 435–425) contains nine variant examples.³⁴⁵ The basic appearance of the figure himself remains consistent with that of series one and two, showing the figure draped in a *himation*, seated on a *diphros* and holding a staff in either his left or right hand. One issue depicted the figure using a vine tendril as a staff.

The first variant depicted the figure with a dog seated under the *diphros* (Figure 45).³⁴⁶ On the second variant the object under the *diphros* has been assigned several identities (Figure 44). Seltman identified it either as a fir-cone or a half-open blossom of the herb silphium.³⁴⁷ Six identified it as a pomegranate and Herzfelder identified it as possibly a flower bud.³⁴⁸ As the motif lacks sufficient detail to afford it a definitive identification, it is best viewed as advocating a general link between the figure and the natural environment. The third variant depicted the figure in conjunction with a bunch of grapes, positioned in the left field (Figure 47).³⁴⁹ On the fourth variant a duck is depicted under the *diphros* (Figure 48).³⁵⁰ On the fifth variant, a cat is playing with a ball under the *diphros* (Figure 49).³⁵¹ On the sixth variant the seated figure is depicted clean-shaven (Figure 50).³⁵² The seventh variant shows the figure bearded, holding a vine tendril in his left hand, a *patera* in his right and a bird, tentatively identified by Herzfelder as a duck, is positioned under the *diphros* (Figure 51).³⁵³ On the

³⁴² Herzfelder 1957. Group 1, no. 1; Group 2, no. 30.

³⁴³ For example, see: *HN³* nos. 2477, 2483.

³⁴⁴ Herzfelder 1957, 25.

³⁴⁵ Herzfelder 1957, 25.

³⁴⁶ Herzfelder 1957, no. 41.

³⁴⁷ Seltman 1897, 187.

³⁴⁸ Six 1898, 284; Herzfelder 1957, no. 42.

³⁴⁹ Herzfelder 1957, no. 43.

³⁵⁰ Herzfelder 1957, nos. 45, 46 = R 39.

³⁵¹ Herzfelder 1957, no. 48, R 41. Seltman (1897, 185) and Hands (1909, 251) contend that the animal is better identified as a panther cub. Herzfelder's identification of the animal as a cat, will be accepted – as with the suggestion regarding the panther on the types of Taras, it is not possible to identify a panther cub on the types at Rhegion without any further identifying features – see Gardner 1884, 123; Tonks 1907, 332; Brauer 1983, 36.

³⁵² Herzfelder 1957, no. 52, R 43.

³⁵³ Herzfelder 1957, no. 53, R 44.

eighth variant the figure is holding a *patera* in his right hand, with a bird under the *diphros* (Figure 52).³⁵⁴ This bird was uncertainly identified by Herzfelder as a swan.³⁵⁵ The final variant of this series shows the figure holding a *kantharos* in his extended right hand. Behind the *diphros* is a bird, which Herzfelder tentatively identified as an eagle (Figure 53).³⁵⁶

During the second production period of the third series (c. 425–420), as with the first period, the seated figure is always shown seated on a *diphros*, holding a staff, surrounded by a wreathed border and accompanied by the ethnic.³⁵⁷ The second period of production contains only two variant types. On the first of these, the seated figure is clean-shaven and there is a coiled snake under the *diphros* (Figure 54).³⁵⁸ On the second, the figure is seated in front of a vine branch that is bearing a bunch of grapes (Figure 55).³⁵⁹

IDENTIFYING THE SEATED FIGURE

The seated figure has been identified as Zeus, the *demos*, Charondas, Trophonius, Asklepios and Iokastos. An analysis of these identifications indicates that the figure is best identified as Iokastos. Eckhel's identification of the figure as Zeus can be dismissed, as he cites no evidence to support this identification. While it is possible to acknowledge that the type from Rhegion shares the seated position with depictions of enthroned Zeus, these similarities are no more prominent at Rhegion than they are in the seated figure types issued by other city-states in the region, none of which has been identified as Zeus.

The *demos* identification can also be dismissed as Kraay's chronological revision removes the direct connection between the introduction of the seated figure type and the establishment of a democracy and, as such, undermines an identification of the seated figure as the *demos*. Further, as Vlasto noted in a discussion of the Tarentine types, depictions of allegorical figures (such as the *demos*) did not appear in a numismatic context prior to the fourth century.³⁶⁰ There is also no evidence to support an identification of the figure as Charondas. Carelli's suggestion that the seated figure is the choir master of the thirty-five boys who drowned must also be dismissed as there is no evidence to support this identity.

³⁵⁴ Herzfelder 1957, nos 54, 55, R 45.

³⁵⁵ Herzfelder 1957, nos 54, 55, R 45.

³⁵⁶ Herzfelder 1957, no. 56, R 46.

³⁵⁷ Herzfelder 1957, 34.

³⁵⁸ Herzfelder 1957, no. 59, R 49.

³⁵⁹ Herzfelder 1957, no. 61.

³⁶⁰ Vlasto *TO* 4–5

The identification of the figure as Trophonius relies on tenuous evidence. Firstly, that the bird under the chair is specifically a goose, secondly that the later type with the tripod and the snake is also Trophonius, and finally that both these features relate to the passage in Pausanias that describes a grove in central Greece. Different species of birds appeared in conjunction with the seated figure; for an identification of the figure as Trophonius we would expect a goose motif to be consistent and for only a goose to appear. As for the figure on latter types, Asklepios is an identification which is more widely advocated in recent scholarship.³⁶¹ Furthermore, since the grove itself is nowhere near Rhegion and there is no reason to suggest that Rhegion had any historic or contemporary connection with it, the Trophonius identification cannot be considered viable.

Libertini's identification of the bearded figure as Asklepios and the clean-shaven figure as Iokastos also cannot be supported. Georges Vallet noted that an alteration to identity of the figure based on a beard does not comply with other coinage of the era.³⁶² Further, Vallet observed it would only be through careful examination of the type that one would be able to distinguish between the two, very different individuals.³⁶³ An identification of the figure as two different individuals is further weakened by the variations to the bearded and clean-shaven appearance, sometimes within the same production series, a pattern which was also seen at Taras. The seated figure at Rhegion was not depicted beardless until the first part of the third series, from which point the clean-shaven and bearded figures began to appear in the same series (Figure 50 cf. 51). During the second part of the third series, the figure was always depicted clean-shaven. A complete change of identity from the first part of the third series to the second part of the same series is unlikely. Further, a change in identity would arguably also require an identifiable change to the basic imagery, especially as there is no break in the production of the type. This production pattern suggests that the identity of the seated figure remained consistent and was unaffected by the inclusion or absence of a beard.³⁶⁴

An identification of the figure as Asklepios is undermined by the limited expansion of the cult of Asklepios during the period in which the types were issued. As Holloway observes, the spread of the cult of Asklepios beyond Epidaurus (on the Argolid Peninsula) was a later

³⁶¹ For example, *HN*³ no. 2551.

³⁶² Vallet 1958, 92.

³⁶³ Vallet 1958, 92.

³⁶⁴ Herzfelder 1957, 34.

fifth century phenomenon.³⁶⁵ According to Holloway, this makes it highly unlikely that Asclepius would have been locally important enough to feature on Rhegion's coins during the production of the seated figure series.³⁶⁶ There is also the problem of a lack of attributes relating to Asklepios. Images of Asklepios have been described as having a limited typological range, with his primary identifying symbol being that of the snake-encircled staff.³⁶⁷ Both a snake and a staff appeared only in the third series and these motifs are separated from each other – the snake is positioned beneath the *diphros*, and the staff is held by the figure (Figure 54).

An identification of the figure as Iokastos seems likely. However, as noted, Six's identification of the seated figure as Iokastos is based on the identification of several snakes in conjunction with the figure and the similarities between Rhegion's seated figure and those issued by Taras and later issued by Kroton (see case study 5).³⁶⁸ Six also based his identification on the iconographical similarities between the seated figure on Rhegion's type and those mythic founders at Taras and Kroton, concluding that Rhegion's figure must be identified in the same manner.³⁶⁹

Six's identification of several snakes in conjunction with the seated figure has been rejected by both Seltman and Hands who conclude that the only definitive snake is that which appears under the chair of the figure.³⁷⁰ This observation is supported by more recent scholarship.³⁷¹ Six considers the motifs that occur under the chair of the figure as marks of magistrates.³⁷² However this cannot be considered viable as Herzfelder points out the general absence of this type of magistrate mark from coinage in the region during this period.³⁷³ As there are a variety of motifs that feature under the chair of the figure, Lacroix suggests that it is unwise to attempt to assign an exact symbolic intent, on account of their diversity, multitude, and the variety of possible interpretations.³⁷⁴ In opposition to this, both Seltman and Head highlighted that the interaction between the seated figure and secondary motifs indicates a relationship

³⁶⁵ Holloway 1978, 43.

³⁶⁶ Holloway 1978, 43.

³⁶⁷ Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, 20–3.

³⁶⁸ Six 1898, 282.

³⁶⁹ Six 1898, 282.

³⁷⁰ Seltman 1899; Hands 1909, 248; Herzfelder 1957, R. 49; *HN*³ 188.

³⁷¹ Herzfelder 1957, R 49; *HN*³ 188.

³⁷² Six 1898, 284. See also: Vallet 1958, 93, n. 2.

³⁷³ Herzfelder 1957, 36.

³⁷⁴ Lacroix 1965, 45.

between the symbols and the figure.³⁷⁵ This observation indicates that the symbolic intent of the secondary motifs are related to the identity and function of the seated individual.

However, this approach does not mean that Six's identification of the figure of Iokastos is incorrect. As such, the following section analyses the secondary motifs to determine the extent to which they can be seen to support an identification of the figure as Iokastos. As the majority of secondary motifs only feature in the third and final series, it follows that the identity of the figure would still have been apparent to the audience during the first two series. During series one and two, only the wreathed border, ethnic, *diphros*, *himation* and staff feature – all motifs which are also present in series three. This suggests that the secondary motifs which were introduced in series three are indicative of a greater articulation of the identity of the individual that was pre-established in the earlier series. Thus, by establishing the figure's identity through an analysis of motifs that occur in the last series of issue, this retrospectively identifies the figure on earlier types.

SECONDARY MOTIFS

The seated figure was consistently depicted seated on a *diphros*, half-dressed in a *himation* and holding a staff. An examination of these motifs in conjunction with the seated figure at Taras indicated that these items were commonly used in antiquity and not necessarily restricted to individuals who belonged to a specific social sector, or were of a particular status, such as a hero or deity. The *diphros* style of chair on which the figure is seated was commonly used in antiquity. As with the use of the *diphros* at Taras, it could be that the chair style was chosen for ease of recognition. Similarly, the *himation* at Rhegion is, like at Taras, styled in a manner that leaves the figure half-nude, suggesting that that the seated figure at Rhegion is an individual who is half-divine or heroic. Despite the commonality of the chair and clothing, that the figure at Rhegion is seated and holding a staff immediately gives the impression that the individual is in a position of power and authority.

The wreath motif also features consistently throughout all production periods, encircling both the seated figure and accompanying motifs. While the type of plant which the wreath was fashioned from could offer a more direct symbolic function, there is a debate among scholars regarding if the wreath is made of olive or laurel.³⁷⁶ Six acknowledged that if the wreath is

³⁷⁵ Seltman 1897, 179–80; *HN* 93.

³⁷⁶ For example, see Seltman 1897, 183; Six 1898, 284; Hands 1909, 250; Herzfelder 1957, 36–7 cf. *HN* 109, fig. 60; *HN*³ 188, no. 2477.

made of olive, it could suggest that Iokastos was credited with introducing olive cultivation to the locality, while Arthur Sambon regarded the olive wreath as a reference to the expansion of the olive oil trade.³⁷⁷ Head and Rutter identified the wreath as being made of laurel.³⁷⁸ This plant was most prominently associated with Apollo, who in turn was the deity viewed as the guide and protector of new settlements and their inhabitants.³⁷⁹

Through such a reference to Apollo, the motif could relate to the establishment of the site. On the foundation of Rhegion, Heraclides Lembus recorded that the initial settlers:

first settled near the grave of...[Iokastos]...And they received an oracle [to found a city in the place] where a female [should embrace] a male. And when they saw a vine embracing an oak, they perceived that this was the place.³⁸⁰

From this account, there is nothing to suggest that the settlers moved from their location near Iokastos' tomb on account of the oracle. Instead, the oracle seems to reinforce this place as the spot to establish Rhegion. As foundation oracles were synonymous with Apollo and the Delphic oracle, the inclusion of this wreath motif could be a reference to this account.³⁸¹ The pairing of Apollo's laurel with the seated Iokastos is then a seal of approval – implying that Iokastos and his posthumous role in the foundation of Rhegion was ordained by the deity himself.

However, there are no recognisable details that definitively identify the wreath as being of either olive or laurel, Six acknowledges that the wreath could just as easily be a generic reference to fertility.³⁸² Robinson more broadly suggests that the wreath (i.e. foliage) could imply that the figure had some inherent connection with vegetation.³⁸³ The 'flower bud' on Figure 46 also supports this association with the natural environment. The wreath in this context closely associates the seated individual with the natural locality and/or local prosperity. These aspects are appropriate to the figure of Iokastos.

As noted above with the wreath motif at Taras, this motif was also synonymous on a panhellenic level with victories, and more typically, athletic victories. The only victory by an inhabitant from Rhegion was that of the tyrant Anaxilas in c. 480 (which was commemorated

³⁷⁷ Six 1898, 284; Sambon 1915, 97.

³⁷⁸ *HN* 109, fig. 60; *HN*³ 188, no. 2477.

³⁷⁹ Coldstream 1985, 95–6; Détienné 1990, 303; Shachar 2000, 1; Lane 2009, 14.

³⁸⁰ Heraclides Lembus *On Constitutions* fr. 55

³⁸¹ Malkin 2003, 58.

³⁸² Six 1898, 284.

³⁸³ Robinson 1946, 16.

on their coinage prior to the introduction of the seated figure),³⁸⁴ meaning that it is unlikely that the wreath in conjunction with the seated figure symbolises a contemporary victory.³⁸⁵ While this link between the motif and a contemporary athletic victory cannot be supported, the wreath as a recognisable symbol of victory has further implications for the seated figure iconography. As it features across all periods of production, the association between the wreath and victory adds prestige and a sense of grandeur to the iconography. In addition to perhaps implying a connection with the natural locality, these victorious connotations are visually associated with the figure himself and, by extension, the issuing *polis*.

The vine tendril replaced the staff on one variant (Figure 51). This alteration must be acknowledged as a deliberate differentiation from the staff motif that typically featured. Herzfelder notes that a vine tendril is held by Zeus on a mid-fifth century tetradrachm from Aetna (Sicily).³⁸⁶ Head identified this Aetna type as *Zeus Aetnaeus* and viewed the tendril (or more specifically what he termed ‘vine-wood’), as a reference to the arable land of Aetna.³⁸⁷ Herzfelder noted the similarities between the *Zeus Aetnaeus* type and suggests that at Rhegion, the vine tendril was similarly representative of the agricultural lands of the *polis*.³⁸⁸ As the staff and seated position imply that the individual is in a position of authority, perhaps the use of the vine tendril as a staff signifies that the seated figure was presiding over the agricultural lands of the *polis*. Agriculture and economic prosperity were closely linked in antiquity.³⁸⁹ While the use of the staff and vine tendril do not directly identify Iokastos, they are both indicative of his local status and function and symbolise that Iokastos was viewed as a heroic overseer, guarding the arable lands of the locality and therefore ensuring the prosperity of the *polis*.

The bunch of grapes that features in this series was a common Dionysiac symbol; as Dionysus was the god of both wine and vegetation the motif has been interpreted by some scholars as an indication that the figure possessed Dionysiac characteristics (Figure 47).³⁹⁰ However, the grape bunch also appears as a secondary motif on an obverse type that was paired with a seated figure type (Figure 56).³⁹¹ This suggests that the figure did not

³⁸⁴ HN³ 187.

³⁸⁵ Lippolis 2004, 41.

³⁸⁶ Herzfelder 1957, 36–7.

³⁸⁷ Head 1883, 172.

³⁸⁸ Head 1883, 172; Herzfelder 1957, 36–7.

³⁸⁹ On agriculture and prosperity, see Garnsey 1999, 5 ff.

³⁹⁰ Seltman 1897, 187; Hands 1909, 251.

³⁹¹ Herzfelder 1957, no. 34.

necessarily possess Dionysiac associations as the bunch of grapes motif was not exclusive to the seated figure. As such, it is more likely that the grape bunch referred to the locality of Rhegion, possibly as a symbol of local agriculture, fertility and/or economic prosperity. The bunch of grapes then cannot contribute to directly identifying the seated individual. However, this does link the figure with the locality. Analysis suggests that the symbolic function of this group of motifs (vine and grapes) could reference either a relationship between the seated figure and foliage, or more broadly reference the issuing locality. Through this the association with foliage, the seated figure could have been associated with local agriculture and/or agricultural prosperity.

The seated figure was depicted with different species of birds in series three. These birds have been identified by Herzfelder as a duck (Figure 48), tentatively as a swan (Figure 52) and possibly an eagle (Figure 53).³⁹² On the other hand, Seltman, identified Herzfelder's swan and eagle as a waterbird and a raven respectively.³⁹³ According to Hands the seated figure was depicted in conjunction with a raven, a crane and a waterbird, however he does not give examples of specific issues.³⁹⁴ One explanation behind the different types of birds is that they relate to a local legend involving the figure. More broadly, the different species could have been reflective of the various species of bird that were common at the locality. In this way, the motifs could serve as a reference to the contemporary natural landscape, and to a local audience, situated the seated figure within the issuing locality. They could also have represented a local source of food, linking the motifs, and thus the figure, with abundance.

While each species of bird may have possessed a different symbolic function, a description of the types indicates that while the variant species appeared in the same series, there was never more than one bird per seated figure type. Therefore, I suggest that the purpose of the motif was not the species of bird, but the symbolic intent of the bird itself. The bird motif could have functioned as a reference to the *genus* as a whole. A bird also appeared in conjunction with the seated figure at Taras, where it was found that birds were viewed as animals who relayed messages from the gods and, as intermediaries between mortals and deities they occupied the same space as heroes.³⁹⁵ In this way, the bird motif at Rhegion could, as at Taras, indicate that the seated individual was a hero.

³⁹² Herzfelder 1957, duck = no. 45, swan (tentative) = no. 54, eagle (tentative), no. 56. Figure 51 (Herzfelder 1957, no. 53) is also tentatively identified as a duck.

³⁹³ Seltman 1897, 186.

³⁹⁴ Hands 1909, 251.

³⁹⁵ See above, page 37, n. 260.

The *patera* (also called a *phiale*) which was held by the figure was a vessel typically used in libations (Figures 51, 52).³⁹⁶ From an analysis of the *kantharos* motif on Tarentine types it is apparent that a libation could be performed using any vessel. However what makes the use of the *patera* at Rhegion distinct is that, according to Milette Gaifman, from at least the turn of the fifth century it was the *patera* that was most often used in this ritual.³⁹⁷ From this point, the *patera* is the vessel most closely associated with libations.³⁹⁸ Libations could have been undertaken on multiple occasions, such as when praying to the gods, at the symposium, before the start of a journey, when contracts were signed, as offerings for the dead, as well as in the context of a soldier departing for, or returning from, battle.³⁹⁹ In artistic depictions of libation scenes, both mortal figures and deities were depicted holding a *patera*. Gods featured either extending the *patera* or actively participating in the making of libations.⁴⁰⁰ For example, on a fragment of an Apulian red-figure calyx krater (c. 400–385), Apollo is depicted in his temple holding a *patera* as if to receive an offering (Figure 57).⁴⁰¹ Similarly, Zeus is shown on Side B of an Attic red-figure *skyphos* (c. 475–425) also libating with a *patera* (Figure 58). According to Walter Burkert, depictions of deities holding out a *patera* are indicative of the deity receiving a libation.⁴⁰² A similar symbolic reference may be applied to the depiction of the seated figure at Rhegion holding a *patera*, suggesting that, like a god or a hero, he was the local recipient of libations.

While no ancient literary evidence exists to suggest that Iokastos was worshipped locally, he may have been the recipient of a local cult. Ancient literary evidence credited Iokastos with building the city and recorded that the initial inhabitants initially settled next to his tomb (see above, page 55). This particular use of his tomb certainly creates parallels between Iokastos and other *oikist* figures, who were traditionally buried in the *agora* of the *polis* that they founded.⁴⁰³ As hero by birth, Iokastos to the inhabitants of Rhegion was the figure who possessed the traits most akin to that of a mythic *oikist*. As a part of the initial settlement, the hero functions as a posthumous *oikist*, while his entombment signifies his intimate and eternal connection with the territory. That his tomb is mentioned in their foundation myth alongside the Delphic oracle can be seen to emphasise not only the heroic, divine, and/or

³⁹⁶ Seltman 1897, 183–4; *HN*³ x; Patton 2009, 37.

³⁹⁷ Gaifman 2018, 450.

³⁹⁸ Gaifman 2018, 450.

³⁹⁹ Gaifman 2018, 450.

⁴⁰⁰ Gaifman 2018, 450.

⁴⁰¹ See also BAPD no. 5522 for an Attic example of Apollo libating.

⁴⁰² Burkert 1982, 41; Patton 2009, 29.

⁴⁰³ See above, page 22.

chthonic aspects to Iokastos' identity but also relate to the broader regional tradition of Apollo's involvement in the foundation of a Greek settlement. These aspects to the identity of Iokastos and his role in the foundation of Rhegion emphasises both Iokastos' status and Rhegion's connection to him. In this way, the *phiale* could be seen to support the existence of a local cult to Iokastos while concurrently signifying his local status. This suggests that he could have been regarded as a heroic guardian of the contemporary city-state.

The seated figure was also depicted holding a *kantharos* (Figure 53). The way the figure is holding the *kantharos* is comparable to how he holds the *patera* and more broadly, depictions of figures holding *kantharoi* in artistic depictions of symposia and libation scenes.⁴⁰⁴ While the *kantharos* could also be used in libations, the exact symbolic intention of this pose of the seated figure is unclear (he could be holding it away from him to either pour or receive a libation).⁴⁰⁵ As noted in a discussion of the *kantharos* motif at Taras, in artistic depictions, the *kantharos* was typically associated with Dionysus, but also appeared held by heroes, particularly Herakles, or figures who possess chthonian aspects.⁴⁰⁶ This suggests that the *kantharos* on Rhegion's coin type was intended to signify the same, indicating that the seated individual is a hero, that he possessed chthonian aspects and/or that he was a figure to whom libations were appropriate offerings. These associations of the motif support an identification of the figure as Iokastos.

These divine, heroic and chthonic associations of the seated figure are also emphasised through the dog and cat motifs (Figures 45, 49). In the absence of any evidence or myths that indicate dogs were of special significance to the inhabitants of Rhegion, the use of the dog motif can be viewed as symbolically similar to that for Tarentine coins. Analysis at Taras revealed that dogs were viewed as loyal and protective, and that they could have acquired chthonic associations, as well as a strong connection with departed heroes; it was suggested that these connotations were associated with the seated figure.⁴⁰⁷ This is also applicable to the dog at Rhegion, suggesting that as well as adopting the heroic and chthonic associations of the dog, the seated figure was locally acknowledged as the protector and guardian of the *polis* and its inhabitants.

⁴⁰⁴ For examples see BAPD nos 15823 (side A), 6279, 7484 (side B), 303272.

⁴⁰⁵ For the *kantharos* and libations, see Hoffmann 1989.

⁴⁰⁶ Neils 2004, 32; Patton 2009, 37.

⁴⁰⁷ See above, pages 31–32.

The cat on Rhegion's types was depicted playing with a ball (Figure 49). Here again we have a very distinctive cat motif, like that which appeared in conjunction with the figure at Taras. At both localities, the style of depiction encapsulates the playful nature of the animal. At Taras it was shown playing with the distaff or bird, while at Rhegion it has a ball. An analysis of the cat motif at Taras indicated that the cat could have assumed a chthonic aspect through an association with Hecate but could also have been a broad reference to the contemporary presence of cats at the settlement. Both aspects would be appropriate to the figure of Iokastos, either as a reference to his status as a hero and/or as a means to situate him within the *polis*.

Lastly, the coiled snake motif could be interpreted as a link between the numismatic iconography and ancient literary evidence regarding Iokastos at Rhegion, as Iokastos was said to have died after being bitten by a snake (Figure 54).⁴⁰⁸ While the snake is not depicted in the process of biting the figure, the snake's connection with Iokastos cannot be dismissed entirely. As a standalone motif, the snake was an attribute of dead or departed heroes.⁴⁰⁹ More broadly, there was a chthonic aspect to pictorial representations of snakes.⁴¹⁰ According to Emily Kearns, in antiquity the snake was the animal who possessed the most chthonic associations.⁴¹¹ These connotations would have been appropriate to the figure of Iokastos, symbolising both his death and divine heritage. In this way the snake, like the *kantharos*, could suggest that the figure was locally acknowledged as an individual of heroic status.⁴¹² The associations between the snake motif and chthonic/heroised figures, in conjunction with the literary evidence regarding the death of Iokastos, supports the idea that the figure is best identified as Iokastos.

ACCOMPANYING TYPE

All obverse types accompanying the seated figure series depicted the facing head of a lion, surrounded by a dotted border. Occasionally subsidiary symbols featured, such as the grape bunch (Figure 48).⁴¹³ This facing lion head type was first introduced on double relief staters issued by Rhegion between c. 494/3 and 480, with the first series issued when the *polis* was under the control of the tyrant, Anaxilas.⁴¹⁴ After a break in production of the type between c. 480 and 450, it was reintroduced after the fall of the tyranny at Rhegion – this time paired

⁴⁰⁸ Heraclides Lembus *On Constitutions* 55.

⁴⁰⁹ Gardner 1884, 113; Burkert 1985, 195; Nilsson 1955, 198–99.

⁴¹⁰ Larson 2007, 12, 22.

⁴¹¹ Kearns 1989, 111.

⁴¹² Lane 2009, 259.

⁴¹³ For a summary, see *HN*³ nos 2477, 2483, 2488, 2491.

⁴¹⁴ *HN*³ 187 no. 2469.

with the seated figure type. The lion head remained on issues produced by Rhegion after the conclusion of the seated figure series.⁴¹⁵

There is some evidence of Samian influence at Rhegion and the facing head of a lion types that Rhegion issued are stylistically similar to those issued by Samos. According to Herodotus, the Samians were persuaded by Anaxilas to take over the Sicilian settlement of Zancle, situated directly opposite Rhegion.⁴¹⁶ While the Samians are said to have inhabited Zancle for a number of years, Anaxilas then expelled them from the settlement and occupied the site himself, in conjunction with Messenians (from the Peloponnese). Anaxilas then began issuing coinage with shared designs between Zancle (which he renamed Messene) and Rhegion.

Gardner suggests that the lion head type refers to a local cult that was probably introduced at Rhegion by the Samians.⁴¹⁷ However, scholars such as Head, Robinson, Kraay, as well as Ian Carradice and Martin Price suggest that Rhegion's lion head type was influenced by types produced at Samos (Figure 59).⁴¹⁸ While it is possible to identify similarities between the types issued by Rhegion and Samos, the two are distinguishable. The lion head on issues from Samos is the mask of a lion – the bare skin of the dead animal.⁴¹⁹ The type at Rhegion is identified as the head of a lion, not simply the lion's skin.⁴²⁰ Lacroix stated that while it is not possible to rule out the possibility of Samians influence on this particular type from Rhegion, the design and intent of the respective issues are not identical.⁴²¹

As the lion head type was first introduced at Rhegion under Anaxilas, scholars such as Robinson and Vallet suggest that this type is a reference to a cult of Apollo.⁴²² Robinson draws attention to the change from the lion head type to the head of Apollo as well as the renaming of Rhegion to 'Phœbia' (c. 360), as evidence of Apollo's local importance and suggests that Apollo was Rhegion's patron deity.⁴²³ Robinson further suggests that as the lion head was a motif associated (albeit infrequently) with Apollo, if the lion head was the symbol of Apollo at Rhegion (like the deer was at nearby Kaulonia), the appearance of the type at

⁴¹⁵ See *HN*³ no. 2501.

⁴¹⁶ Hdt. 6.23.2–3.

⁴¹⁷ Gardner 1883, 38.

⁴¹⁸ *HN* 92; Robinson 1946, 15; *ACGC* 214; Carradice and Price 1998, 45.

⁴¹⁹ *ACGC* 214.

⁴²⁰ Dodd 1908, 68; Robinson 1946, 15; Vallet 1958, 345; *ACGC* 214.

⁴²¹ Lacroix 1965, 22.

⁴²² Robinson 1946, 16; Vallet 1958, 343 cf. Lacroix 1965, 21.

⁴²³ Strab. 6.1.6. cf. Plut. *De Alex.* 2.5; Robinson 1946, 16; *HN*³ no. 2501.

Rhegion can be seen as a reference to Apollo.⁴²⁴ As Apollo was recognised as the guide and guardian of new settlements, this reference to the deity suggests a possible interaction between the obverse and reverse – both of which can be seen as a reference to the foundation of the site. However, in the absence of further evidence, neither the association with Apollo nor that with Samos can be definitively proven. As such, Lacroix regards the type as possessing an apotropaic value.⁴²⁵

The lack of any definitive accompanying motifs implies that the lion head type possessed a broad local cultural significance, something which is supported by the use of the type under the tyranny, during its immediate aftermath, and beyond. While analysis has highlighted the possibility of an interaction between the obverse and the reverse, the extensive use of the lion head type by the *polis* would have facilitated a link between the seated figure type to both a local and regional audience.

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the seated figure types issued by Rhegion indicated that the individual is best identified as the hero Iokastos. This identification is determined by analysis of the subsidiary motifs that appear in conjunction with the figure and by the ancient literary evidence. The snake motif in the second part of series three provides compelling evidence for the figure as Iokastos, as a link between the iconography and the account of Heraclides Lembus and/or as a reference to the heroic/chthonic status of the individual.

Motifs other than that of the snake that appear in conjunction with the figure at Rhegion indicate that the seated figure is a hero, who possessed chthonic and divine qualities. In addition, the figure was depicted in conjunction with motifs (such as the vine tendril and grape bunch) that referenced the issuing locality, agricultural practices and/or economy, which suggested that the figure was directly connected with the locality. It was also suggested that the wreath as a prominent symbol of victory emphasised the local prestige of the figure, as well as that of the issuing *polis*. When the symbolic functions of the secondary motifs are taken together, they identify the seated figure as an individual who is a divine, heroic and chthonic figure with links to the *polis*, its territories, and by extension, its inhabitants. When taken in conjunction with the ancient literary evidence regarding the life,

⁴²⁴ Robinson 1946, 16.

⁴²⁵ Lacroix, 1965 21.

death and entombment of Iokastos at Rhegion the symbolic associations of the motifs make Iokastos the only viable candidate.

3. HERAKLEIA

The settlement of Herakleia was situated between the Siris (mod. Sinni) and the Acris rivers on the Gulf of Taranto (Figure 1).⁴²⁶ According to ancient literary evidence Herakleia was established in 433/2.⁴²⁷ Antiochus recorded that Herakleia was jointly founded by two rivals, Thurii and Taras, to end the war between them over the possession of the territory of Siris.⁴²⁸ However, Antiochus, Diodorus Siculus and Livy all state that Herakleia was considered a sub-settlement of Taras.⁴²⁹ Herakleia began to issue coins shortly after its foundation and it was during the first series that a seated figure featured as the reverse type.⁴³⁰ Modern scholars such as Work and Van Keuren both identify the seated figure as the settlement's eponym, the hero Herakles.⁴³¹

DESCRIPTION OF SERIES

The seated figure type at Herakleia was issued over one series, between c. 432–420.⁴³² The reverse type depicts a seated male figure, reclining on a rock which is covered by a lionskin, holding a vessel in his extended right hand (Figure 60). Work identifies this vessel as a cup or jug and Van Keuren more specifically identifies it as a *skyphos*.⁴³³ A shell is positioned on, and a club positioned beside, the rock on which the figure sits. To the left of the figure is the ethnic, ΗΡΑΚΛΙΩΝ.⁴³⁴ The obverse of Herakleia's initial stater types depicts the head of a female, facing right. Her hair is bound at the nape of her neck and there is a band of leaves in her hair. She is pictured against a snake-bordered *aegis*, which encircles the head.⁴³⁵

SECONDARY MOTIFS

The seated figure can be definitively identified as the hero Herakles through the depiction of the figure in conjunction with the club and lionskin motifs. Ancient literary sources provide evidence of the club and lionskin as widely recognised attributes of Herakles from the seventh century.⁴³⁶ According to Stephanus of Byzantium, Peisander, a seventh century epic

⁴²⁶ Strab. 6.1.14; Van Keuren 1994, 13–16, n. 12,13; Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 259 cf. Diod. Sic. 12.23.2; Antiochus *FGrH* 555 fr. 11.

⁴²⁷ Diod. Sic. 12.36.4.

⁴²⁸ Antiochus ap. Strab. 6.1.14. See also, *ACGC* 185; Van Keuren 1994, 14; *HN*³ 124.

⁴²⁹ Antiochus ap. Strab. 6.1.14; Diod. Sic. 12.36.4; Livy 8.24; *ACGC* 185.

⁴³⁰ Work 1940, 11 cf. 18; Van Keuren 1994, 22, Group A; *HN*³ 125.

⁴³¹ Work 1940, 18; Van Keuren 1994, 22. See also, *HN* 59–60; *ACGC* 186; *HN*³ 125.

⁴³² Work 1940, 11; Van Keuren 1994, 22, Group A; *HN*³ 125.

⁴³³ Work 1940, 11; Van Keuren 1994, no. 1.

⁴³⁴ Work 1940, 18, no. 1; Van Keuren 1994, no. 1.

⁴³⁵ Work 1940, 18, no. 1; Van Keuren 1994, no. 1.

⁴³⁶ Cohen 1994, 696; Albersmeier 2009, 179; Tsangari 2011, 127.

poet, was the first to pair Herakles with a club.⁴³⁷ The club was so closely associated with Herakles that he was recognised as the club bearer, even taking his club to Olympus upon his apotheosis.⁴³⁸ Writing in the sixth century, Stesichorus of Himera described Herakles with the club, lionskin and bow, providing evidence that this association between the hero and the club and lionskin motifs was common in South Italy from at least the sixth century.⁴³⁹ This association between the hero and these motifs continued, with the fifth century Boeotian poet Pindar who recorded that the hero's defeat of the Nemean Lion resulted in him acquiring the skin of the lion, which he subsequently wore.⁴⁴⁰

The hero was also depicted in conjunction with the lionskin and club in both artistic and numismatic depictions. For example, Herakles appears in conjunction with these motifs on an Attic stamnos (c. 480–470) (Figure 61) and a Lucanian pelike (c. 390) (Figure 62). The identification of Herakles in vase imagery is facilitated by identifying the scene and connecting the imagery with the ancient literary evidence regarding the hero – such as an episode from one of his labours or his apotheosis.

With numismatic evidence, such as the depiction of Herakles as a seated figure issued by Herakleia, there is no elaborated narrative scene. Rather, he is identifiable as Herakles only through the inclusion of the club and lionskin motifs. Coinage issued by a variety of localities depicted a figure with the club and lionskin motifs, including at Stymphalos in the Peloponnese (Figure 63), and Thessaly (Figure 64). While the manner in which Herakles was depicted on coinage varied (for example on the issue from Thessaly, he is depicted standing), and other motifs associated with the hero (such as the bow) could be present, the close association between Herakles and the club and lionskin motifs is compelling enough in a numismatic context to confirm the identity of the figure as Herakles. These artistic, numismatic, and literary examples demonstrate that the lionskin and club clearly identify the seated figure on the types from Herakleia as Herakles.

Herakles was also depicted on the type from Herakleia holding a *skyphos*. While A.S. Murray names the *skyphos* as the drinking cup of Herakles, an association which would further support an identification of the figure as the hero, closer analysis indicates that the *skyphos* was not necessarily restricted to use by the hero.⁴⁴¹ The vessel was commonly used in

⁴³⁷ Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. 'Pisander'.

⁴³⁸ Boardman 1975, 62.

⁴³⁹ Athenaeus 12.512e– 13a.

⁴⁴⁰ Pindar *Isthmian Ode* 6.47. See also Diod. Sic. 4.11.3.

⁴⁴¹ Murray 1882, 241, n. 3.

antiquity and was not restricted to use by a specific social sector, individual or class of figure. As a result, the skyphos is named by A. D. Trendall in his list of standard vase shapes for general use in antiquity.⁴⁴² Thus, the *skyphos* whilst not traditionally associated with Herakles, due to the commonality of the object in antiquity there is no reason why Herakles should not appear with a *skyphos*.

Rutter draws attention to the similarities between Herakleia's seated figure type and the more securely identifiable Herakles as the *oikist* on a stater issued by Kroton (see case study 5).⁴⁴³ As Herakles was Herakleia's eponym, Rutter notes that in line with the Herakles/*oikist* type from Kroton, it is tempting to view Herakleia's type as an indication that Herakles was locally regarded as an *oikist* figure, with the *skyphos* probably signifying that Herakles is libating.⁴⁴⁴ In addition, there are also stylistic similarities between the *skyphos* at Herakleia and the style in which the drinking vessel appears in conjunction with the seated figures at Taras (for example, Figures 2, 7) and Rhegion (for example, Figures 52, 53). In this context, the *skyphos* can be regarded as having a similar function to the *kantharos* and *patera* at Taras and Rhegion. That is, it signifies the local veneration of Herakles, his status as a hero and/or in reference to a local legend surrounding the hero, including that he was their *oikist* or (like Taras at Taras and Iokastos at Rhegion) recognised as a figure who was involved in their foundation.⁴⁴⁵

The rock on which the hero sits and the shell which appears on the rock were also not typical attributes of Herakles. However, as naturally occurring objects, these motifs can be seen to function as references to the geographic location of the *polis*. As a natural feature, the rock emphasises this connection by indicating that Herakles is reclining in a terrestrial setting. The positioning of the shell motif, both on the periphery and on the rock, is an iconographical feature which could suggest its relationship with the seated Herakles was not necessarily a direct one. One explanation for this placing of this motif is that it is a reference to Taras, one of Herakleia's founding cities. The shell motif at Herakleia is similar to the shell which sometimes appeared on the characteristic Tarentine type, the dolphin rider (for example, see Figure 15). However, an alternative interpretation is that the shell, like the rock, refers to the settlement's geographical location, making this depiction of Herakles specific to the locality.

⁴⁴² Trendall 1989, 10.

⁴⁴³ Rutter 1997, 43.

⁴⁴⁴ Rutter 1997, 43.

⁴⁴⁵ On libations to heroes, see Burkert 1985, 70–1. On worship of Herakles, see Stafford 2012, 175 ff.

If we accept the rock and shell motifs as being in their natural setting, then the rock on which the hero sits was located near the ocean, as it is only here that the rock and shell would naturally occur in conjunction. In this way, the rock and shell motifs together function as a reference to the geographic locality, specifically the coast of the Gulf. While there were many Greek coastal settlements in Magna Graecia, to the audience these motifs would have made the iconography, and thus the seated Herakles, locally explicit. In this way, the iconography combines to symbolise that Herakles is seated within the territories of the issuing settlement that bore his name.

ACCOMPANYING TYPE

The female head which occupied the obverse was tentatively identified by Gardner as belonging to either Victory (Nike) or Athena (Figure 60).⁴⁴⁶ However, more recently scholars such as Kraay and Rutter identify the head as belonging to Athena, on account of the *aegis* motif in the background that encircles the head.⁴⁴⁷ After c. 420 Herakleia issued types which depict a much more ‘conventional’ looking Athena, shown wearing either an Attic or Corinthian helmet. This type was initially paired with a type depicting Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion (Figure 65).⁴⁴⁸ This Athena type has drawn comparisons between it and those issued by one of their founders, Thurii – during its incipient phase, Thurii was an Athenian settlement of which Athena was the patron deity.⁴⁴⁹ While it is unusual for Athena to appear without a helmet, unhelmeted depictions of the deity are not unknown.⁴⁵⁰ For example, Athena appears unhelmeted in the Pheidian statue known as the ‘Athena Lemnia’ as well as on a rare Athenian hemidrachm (c. 520–490) (Figure 66).⁴⁵¹

Aside from symbolising Athena’s divine power,⁴⁵² according to John Melville-Jones the *aegis* more broadly functioned as a garment of protection as the object had the ability to ward off enemies.⁴⁵³ This is in contrast to Athena’s other common objects, the shield and helmet, both of which characterise her role as a warrior, and the owl as a symbol of wisdom.⁴⁵⁴ However, the *aegis* was not restricted to use by Athena and was also used by Zeus and

⁴⁴⁶ Gardner, 1893, 123.

⁴⁴⁷ *ACGC* 186; *HN*³ no. 1362.

⁴⁴⁸ *ACGC* 186; Rutter 2012, 132; *HN*³ 125. On the interpretation of this iconography as a reference to the struggle of Hellenism over the Italian and Carthaginian barbarians, see *ACGC* 193.

⁴⁴⁹ *HN* 60. On the relationship between Thurii and Athens in the late fifth century, see Thuc. 7.33.5–6.

⁴⁵⁰ Tsangari 2011, 59.

⁴⁵¹ Palagia 1987, fig. 1; See also BAPD no. 2264.

⁴⁵² Deacy 2008, 7.

⁴⁵³ Melville-Jones *s.v.* Aegis.

⁴⁵⁴ Deacy 2008, 7.

Apollo. In Book 15 of the *Iliad* we are told that it was Zeus to whom the *aegis* belonged, given it by Hephaistos to ‘...strike terror into the hearts of men.’⁴⁵⁵ Again, in Book 15, we are told of Apollo actually bearing the *aegis* and also in Book 24 Apollo uses the *aegis* to cover Hector’s body, to protect it.⁴⁵⁶ Lastly, while it may be an inscriptional error, it is worth noting that on side A of a sixth century black-figure amphora a male and female figure are depicted in a quadriga, the female figure is wearing the *aegis* (Figure 67).⁴⁵⁷ Both figures are named by the painter, the male as Poseidon (*Ποσειδῶνος*) and the female is identifiable not from the iconographic evidence of the *aegis* but the inscription: *Ἀφροδίτης* (Aphrodite).⁴⁵⁸ However, this depiction of Aphrodite in conjunction with the *aegis* is singular and as such may signify that the inscription is incorrect.⁴⁵⁹ These literary examples of the *aegis* being used by Apollo, its association with Zeus and possible use by Aphrodite have implications for our understanding of the motif on Herakleia’s coin type. As the female on the coin type is neither wearing nor bearing the *aegis*, this could indicate that the symbolic intent of the motif is to imply that she is guarded by it, not that she possesses it.

The symbolic reference of the band of leaves which features in the hair of the female would arguably vary depending on the type of vegetation, which cannot be definitively defined. Garlands or bands of a similar style also typically adorn the head of Apollo in examples from places like Rhegion (Figure 68) and Naxos (Figure 69). Furthermore, isolated heads frequently occurred on types issued by settlements in Magna Graecia and these heads similarly tended to have a band of sorts in their hair – examples include types issued by Terina (Figure 70), Metapontion (Figure 71), and Neapolis (Figure 72). Of unhelmeted depictions of Athena, John H. Kroll observes that Athena ‘... often wore a decorative hairband beneath her helmet.’⁴⁶⁰ In light of this, the wreathed headband could reflect this convention and support an identification of the female as Athena.

Despite the female appearing unhelmeted, the close association between Athena and the *aegis* suggests that the female head probably belonged to Athena. However, in accepting the Athena identification, I suggest the iconography emphasises a different aspect to Athena than that of the later, more conventional, helmeted types. In this context, the later helmeted types can be seen to contain more martial connotations as her appearance emphasises the warrior

⁴⁵⁵ Hom. *Il.* 15.281.

⁴⁵⁶ Hom. *Il.* 15.307-10; 24.18-21.

⁴⁵⁷ BM no. 1856,0512.16.

⁴⁵⁸ Mylonopoulos 2010, 194–5.

⁴⁵⁹ Mylonopoulos 2010, 194–5.

⁴⁶⁰ Kroll 1982, 71.

aspect of this deity. Comparatively, the *aegis* types can be seen to emphasise a defensive aspect via the symbolic intent of the *aegis*.

Identifying the female as Athena has some implications for the seated Herakles as the two figures were linked in mythology. Both Homer and Hesiod record that Athena aided Herakles and more broadly, Athena was viewed as the protectress of heroes.⁴⁶¹ This relationship between Herakles and Athena could suggest that there is an interaction between the obverse and reverse in that both reference the broader mythic traditions concerning the two.

CONCLUSION

The seated figure at Herakleia is identifiable as the eponymous hero Herakles, from the presence of the club and lion skin motifs. While the *skyphos* was a common item which was not typically associated with the hero, the stylised depiction of the hero in conjunction with the vessel suggests that it could refer to Herakles' status as a hero. The *skyphos* then can be seen to signify that the figure was the recipient of votive offerings and/or was of a local status that made him worthy of this style of veneration. Together, the shell and rock motifs reference the coastal location of the settlement, linking Herakles directly within the territory of the *polis*. That this seated Herakles type appeared on the first coinage of the *polis* implies an ancient connection with the hero and the deliberate use of the motifs that link him with the physical locality, suggesting that the hero visited, if not founded, the settlement of Herakleia.

The accompanying female head type is best identified as Athena. Accepting that the depiction of Athena was a reference to Thurii could suggest a relationship between the obverse and reverse iconography as both types can be seen to combine aspects of the myth-history of Herakleia. The seated Herakles links the *polis* with the broader mythic traditions of his journey in the region whereas the head of Athena can be seen to refer to an aspect of the historical foundation through the link between the deity and Thurii. A link was also identified between the figures themselves with Athena as the protectress of heroes and who had also helped Herakles during several of his labours.

⁴⁶¹ Hes. Sh. 443; Hom. *Il.* 8.362–3, 367–8; Deacy 2008, 72–3.

4. METAPONTION

Metapontion was situated on the coast of Basilicata, bounded to the north by the Bradano River and to the south by the mouth of the Casuentus (modern Basento) (Figure 1).

Archaeological evidence indicates that Metapontion was founded around c. 630.⁴⁶² Strabo wrote that the settlement was initially founded by the Pylians returning from Troy under Nestor, adding that this initial settlement was later destroyed by the Samnites.⁴⁶³ According to Antiochus, after the site was destroyed, Sybaris sent certain Achaeans to re-settle Metapontion.⁴⁶⁴ The new settlers were said to have been chosen because of their hatred of the Tarentines and to stop the territorial expansion of Taras through their occupation of Metapontion – which is located about forty–eight kilometres to the west of Taras.⁴⁶⁵ Coin production first occurred at Metapontion around c. 550; a seated figure featured on the obverse of a stater produced between c. 430 and 400.⁴⁶⁶ The seated figure type was issued in conjunction with what was to become a long series of stater issues that bore the heads of deities on the obverse.⁴⁶⁷ One variant exists and the seated individual is identified in modern scholarship as the god Apollo.⁴⁶⁸ Analysis confirms the identity of the seated figure as Apollo through an analysis of the secondary motifs, ancient literary and archaeological evidence.

DESCRIPTION OF SERIES

The type in question depicts a male figure seated on a *diphros* and wearing a *chlamys* (a short cloak, worn only by men) (Figure 73).⁴⁶⁹ The figure is holding a lyre, a laurel tree is depicted in the right field and above the tree is a four-pointed star; all encircled by a dotted border.⁴⁷⁰ The reverse type shows an ear of grain with an insect in the left field. To the left of the grain is the ethnic META (Figure 74).⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶² Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 279 – 80; Lane 2009, 197.

⁴⁶³ Strab. 6.1.15.

⁴⁶⁴ Antiochus ap. Strabo, 6.1.15.

⁴⁶⁵ Antiochus ap. Strabo, 6.1.15; Cerchiai et. al. 2002, 130.

⁴⁶⁶ Noe and Johnson 1984, 49; *HN*³ 131–2. This type shares a reverse die with a stater issue featuring the head of Herakles (Noe and Johnson 1984, nos. 428, 430; *HN*³ no. 1505). In addition to the head of Herakles, the seated figure type at Metapontion was also issued in conjunction with staters showing the head of a female, identified sometimes as Kore (Noe and Johnson 1984, no. 433) or Demeter (*HN*³ no. 1057) and types showing the head of Apollo *Karneios* (Noe and Johnson 1984, no. 334; *HN*³ no. 1058). On other identifications of the Apollo *Karneios* type see: Noe and Johnson 1984, 58.

⁴⁶⁷ Kraay 1960, 81.

⁴⁶⁸ Hands 1909, 75; Noe and Johnston 1984, 57; no. 431; Rutter 1997, 51; *HN*³ 133.

⁴⁶⁹ Noe and Johnston 1984, 57; no. 431; Lee 2015, 116, 223.

⁴⁷⁰ Noe and Johnston 1984, 57; no. 431.

⁴⁷¹ Noe and Johnston 1984, no. 431; On the tree as a laurel see also Hands 1909, 75.

SECONDARY MOTIFS

An examination of the lyre, laurel, *diphros*, *chlamys* and star motifs in conjunction with the seated figure at Metapontion all point to an identification of the seated figure as Apollo. The lyre and laurel are primary symbols of the deity and identify the seated figure as Apollo. According to the *Homeric Hymn*, Apollo declared the bow and lyre his personal possessions: ‘...Apollo spoke out: The lyre and the curved bow shall ever be dear to me...’.⁴⁷² The lyre is one attribute used to identify Apollo in artistic depictions, and an example of the motif in conjunction with the deity appears on a Lucanian red-figure volute krater (c. 415–400) in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Figure 75).⁴⁷³ Other figures such as Orpheus also featured in vase painting holding a lyre, as is seen on a colossal Apulian krater (c. 350) (Figure 76). In this instance, Orpheus is distinguishable from Apollo (not only because the vase painter has named him as Orpheus) as his decorative costume and distinctive headgear are typical of Orpheus.⁴⁷⁴ When depicted with the lyre motif, Apollo is sometimes assigned the epithet *Citharoedus*, in reference to his role as the god of music and poetry.⁴⁷⁵ However, in the instance of the seated figure type, the lyre was not the only motif to feature. The laurel tree (also known as a bay tree) also featured and was considered sacred to Apollo.⁴⁷⁶ Hence, through their direct association with Apollo, the lyre and laurel identify Metapontion's seated figure as Apollo.

The *diphros* was a style of chair also found at Taras and Rhegion. At these localities, it was suggested that the chair style was implemented because it was recognisable and common. This commonality of the chair style would not have excluded Apollo from using it. The *chlamys* worn by the seated Apollo was commonly worn by men and fastened at the shoulder or neck.⁴⁷⁷ The short style of the mantle meant that it was typically used by travellers.⁴⁷⁸ The use of this style of garment could suggest that the motif had something to do with the local veneration of the deity – maybe signifying that Apollo had travelled to Metapontion.

The four-pointed star that features above the seated figure has gone unnoticed or been neglected by modern scholars – absent from both discussion of the type and coin catalogues

⁴⁷² *HH* 3, 131–32. See also: Callim. *Hymn* 2, 19.

⁴⁷³ Solomon 1994, 37.

⁴⁷⁴ On the appearance of Orpheus, see Bowra 1952, 121.

⁴⁷⁵ Bassi 1989, 224.

⁴⁷⁶ Ovid., *Met.*, I 452; Birge 1994, 11; de Carvalho et. al. 2011, 425.

⁴⁷⁷ Lee 2015, 116, 223.

⁴⁷⁸ Garland 2009, 139.

in which the type appears.⁴⁷⁹ The star motif in conjunction with Apollo indicates that the coin type depicts the deity outdoors, perhaps relating to a particular legend surrounding the deity at Metapontion. It could also possibly refer to a particular event. In this sense then it is comparable to the small crescent moon that appeared on Athenian tetradrachms shortly after the Battle of Salamis, a feature which Kraay suggests was probably a reference to the battle being fought during a waning moon.⁴⁸⁰ It could also be a reference to a prominent local star, that was easily identifiable and familiar to the local audience. In this way when taking the *chlamys* and star together, they suggest that Apollo is depicted under a local iteration, and it is these motifs that signify this to the audience. An identification of the figure as Apollo is secured by the depiction of the figure in conjunction with the lyre and laurel tree. The other motifs, the *diphros*, *chlamys* and star, provide a more nuanced understanding of the local function of the deity and serve to link this particular depiction of the god with the issuing locality.

Ancient literary and archaeological evidence indicates that Apollo was an important local deity. Strabo recorded that the Metapontines were renowned for a golden sheaf of grain that they dedicated to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.⁴⁸¹ Archaeological evidence attests to at least two and possibly three cults of Apollo at Metapontion. It is accepted that the god was locally venerated under the epithets *Lykeios* (wolf) and *Karneios* (ram).⁴⁸² The third possible cult of Apollo at Metapontion is the cult of Apollo *Archegetes* (divine leader).⁴⁸³ Evidence cited to support the existence of this cult is the discovery of stone anchors in votive contexts at Metapontion as these were appropriate offerings to this iteration of the deity.⁴⁸⁴

An identification of the wolf iteration of the deity would arguably require the inclusion of lupine elements in conjunction with the seated figure. Apollo *Karneios* features on later types issued by the settlement, identifiable as the ram iteration of the deity by the inclusion of ram horns (Figure 77).⁴⁸⁵ The absence of features connecting the seated figure with either Apollo *Lykeios* or *Karneios* suggests that the seated Apollo could be the deity under the iteration *Archegetes*.

⁴⁷⁹ Noe and Johnson 1984, no. 431; *HN*³ no. 1504.

⁴⁸⁰ Kraay 1956, 56–7 cf. Robinson 1945, 487.

⁴⁸¹ Strabo 6.1.15; Cerchiai et. al. 2002, 130.

⁴⁸² Graf 2008, 94; Lane 2009, 198, 210 ff.

⁴⁸³ Shachar 2000, 2. See also, Malkin 1986, 962; Malkin 2011, 129.

⁴⁸⁴ Adamesteanu 1974, 28; Shachar 2000, 2, 16; Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 281 cf. Lane (2009, 52) who states that the anchors were dedicated to Apollo *Lykeios*.

⁴⁸⁵ *SNG AUS* 1, 554.

However, I suggest that the seated figure type could also have been copied from or inspired by a local cult statue of Apollo. Ancient literary evidence indicates that there was a statue and altar to Apollo at Metapontion. Herodotus records the erection of two statues at Metapontion.⁴⁸⁶ The first depicted an individual by the name of Aristeas and the other was a cult statue of Apollo:

.. Aristeas...so the Metapontines say, appeared in their country and bade them set up an altar to Apollo, and ... beside it a statue of Aristeas...the Metapontines ... sent to Delphi to ask the god what this apparition of a man was...the Pythia bid them obey the apparition...Now there stands [in Metapontion] a statue with the name of Aristeas beside the ...cult statue of Apollo, a grove of bay-trees surrounds it; the image is set in the market-place.⁴⁸⁷

Archaeological excavation has identified statue bases, but not the statues themselves, in the area to the north-east of Metapontion's *agora*.⁴⁸⁸ One base is located near an altar and the other is positioned to the south of the altar, with a stele in front.⁴⁸⁹ Antonio De Siena and Daniela Giacometti contend that these bases held the statues of Apollo and Aristeas mentioned by Herodotus.⁴⁹⁰ These statue bases and altar are assigned a construction date of just before c. 450, placing their construction around 20 years before the emergence of the seated figure type.⁴⁹¹ Nigel Nicholson suggests that Herodotus heard this story about Aristeas shortly following his move to Thurii, which he did in the decade or so after Thurii's foundation in 444/3.⁴⁹² Nicholson argues that the story regarding the statues in the *agora* of Metapontion was undoubtedly in circulation prior to 430,⁴⁹³ which is around the date that the seated figure type was initially produced by Metapontion.

The base that held the statue of Apollo is identified as that located nearest to the altar.⁴⁹⁴ Excavation of the area has also uncovered fragments of bronze laurel leaves near the altar.⁴⁹⁵ The discovery of a pit in front of the altar has led to the suggestion by scholars that there

⁴⁸⁶ Hdt. 4.15.2; 4.15.4.

⁴⁸⁷ Hdt. 4.14–15.

⁴⁸⁸ Lane 2009, 205–208.

⁴⁸⁹ De Siena 1998, 156; Nicholson 2009, 300.

⁴⁹⁰ De Siena 1998, 156–58; Giacometti 2005, 43.

⁴⁹¹ Nicholson 2009, 300.

⁴⁹² Nicholson 2009, 299.

⁴⁹³ Nicholson 2009, 299.

⁴⁹⁴ De Siena 1998, 156–8; Giannelli 2005, 43.

⁴⁹⁵ Mertens 1985, 665.

was a bronze laurel tree in front of this altar.⁴⁹⁶ This would be appropriate as laurel trees and laurel groves were a common feature at shrines to Apollo.⁴⁹⁷ It has been suggested by Head and Lacroix that the statue of Apollo noted by Herodotus appears on earlier Metapontine issues dated to c. 450, where Apollo is seen holding a laurel branch and a bow, standing next to an altar.⁴⁹⁸ A. D. Goodly's translation of the passage by Herodotus suggests that the statue of Apollo is 'situated' (*ἰδρυται*) in the *agora*, Goodly's translation of the word *ἰδρυται* as 'situated' may also be translated as 'seated'.⁴⁹⁹ This expansion of the translation of *ἰδρυται* in conjunction with the seated position of Apollo next to a laurel tree on the coin type suggests that the type was derived or copied from, the statue of Apollo described by Herodotus. Although Herodotus does not specify if the statue of Apollo was the deity under a particular iteration, the seated Apollo on the coin type suggests that the statue Herodotus describes is Apollo under the local iteration of *Archegetes*.

Under the *Archegetes* iteration, Apollo was associated with the protection and guidance of settlers and new settlements. According to Callimachus, it was Apollo who guided the settlers and 'delighted' in their foundations.⁵⁰⁰ There are no specific secondary motifs associated with this iteration of Apollo. Anchors were offered to Apollo *Archegetes* at Metapontion to reflect the deity's maritime aspects and the navigational role the god played as a guide of settlers.⁵⁰¹ While anchors are absent from the seated figure type, the *Archegetes* iteration is supported by the four-pointed star and *chlamys* motifs – the star could have been used for navigation purposes and the *chlamys* was the attire of travellers. As noted above, both these motifs could have been a feature of the localised iteration of Apollo.

The *chlamys* motif could have a more locally explicit reference if the statue of Apollo *Archegetes* was depicted wearing a *chlamys* or if a *chlamys* was dedicated to him. The dedication of garments to gods was a regular and well-documented practice in Archaic and Classical Greece.⁵⁰² The best known examples of this is the *peplos* made every year and dedicated to Athena *Polias* in Athens, and also the statue of Hera at Elis where a new robe was made and dedicated every four years.⁵⁰³ This practice also occurred at Olympia (Hera)

⁴⁹⁶ De Siena 1998, 157–58; Lane 2009, 205; Nicholson 2009, 299.

⁴⁹⁷ Hdt. 4.14–15; Birge 1994, 19.

⁴⁹⁸ *HN* 76; Lacroix, 1965, 156; *HN*³ no. 1496. See also, Lane 2009, 207.

⁴⁹⁹ Hdt. 4.15.4.; LSJ s.v. *ἰδρυται* 820.

⁵⁰⁰ Callim. *Hymn* 2, 55–57

⁵⁰¹ Lane 2009, 51.

⁵⁰² Gleba 2008, 77.

⁵⁰³ Paus. 5.16.2.

and Amyklai (Apollo).⁵⁰⁴ The widespread practice of this type of offering suggests that there may be a more explicit local significance to the use of the *chlamys* by the seated Apollo at Metapontion. The seated Apollo is further associated with the issuing *polis* through the use of the ear of grain as the accompanying type.

ACCOMPANYING TYPE

The ear of grain which featured on the reverse is variously identified by modern scholars as either barley, wheat, or corn.⁵⁰⁵ Prior to the introduction of the seated figure type, the ear of grain had appeared on Metapontion's coinage since its inception in c. 540 and is recognised today as the settlement's characteristic type.⁵⁰⁶ Thatcher suggests that the type could refer to the golden harvest that Strabo says the Pylians who were said to have founded Metapontion dedicated at Delphi.⁵⁰⁷ However, the type is more broadly regarded as a reference to the rich agricultural lands that Metapontion was renowned for in antiquity.⁵⁰⁸

The species of insect that features in conjunction with the ear of grain has been identified as either a grasshopper or a locust.⁵⁰⁹ While the seated figure was accompanied by a sheaf of grain and an insect, more broadly, the secondary motifs that featured in conjunction with the grain sheaf varied. N. K. Rutter observed that these secondary motifs in conjunction with the grain sheaf often related to grain crops.⁵¹⁰ More specifically, Alfred W. Hands suggested that the grasshopper, as a natural blight of crops, appeared as a reference to the detrimental impact on agriculture that these creatures could have.⁵¹¹ In this way, the depiction of the insect in conjunction with the type could refer to a local contemporary concern or a recent event, such as a plague that impacted the local crops or simply as a more general reminder of the natural threat to agriculture. While the accompanying reverse does not contribute towards identifying the seated figure as a local iteration of Apollo, the extended use of the grain type at Metapontion would have created a recognisable visual link between the seated figure type and the issuing *polis*.

⁵⁰⁴ Gleba 2008, 77, n. 19. See also, Neils 2009.

⁵⁰⁵ Evans 1918, 152; Head 1965, 11, no. 8; Noe and Johnson 1985, 8; *HN*³ 131.

⁵⁰⁶ Evans 1918, 152; Noe and Johnson 1985, 29; *HN*³ 131.

⁵⁰⁷ Thatcher 2011, 68.

⁵⁰⁸ Strab. 6.1.15; Millingen 1841, 22; Hands 1909, 60; Head 1965, 11; Cerchiali et. al. 2002, 130; Papadopoulos 2012, 279.

⁵⁰⁹ Hands 1909, 63; Holloway 1978, 51; Noe and Johnson 1985, 79, no. 431; *HN*³ no. 1504.

⁵¹⁰ *HN*³ 131.

⁵¹¹ Hands 1909, 63.

CONCLUSION

The identification of the seated figure at Metapontion as Apollo is established through an analysis of the secondary motifs that featured on the type and ancient literary and archaeological evidence. Analysis of the lyre and laurel subsidiary motifs identified the seated figure as Apollo. The four-pointed star and *chlamys* either supported the identification of the *Archegetes* iteration and/or reflected locally specific aspects of the cult or statue. It was suggested that the star could have been a reference to either the night sky as a navigational tool or a particular prominent local star whereas the *chlamys* was the attire of travellers and/or something that adorned the local statue. The seated figure coin type in conjunction with the archaeological and ancient literary evidence attest to a statue of Apollo in front of a laurel tree, suggesting that the statue Herodotus describes could be Apollo under the iteration of *Archegetes*. The ear of grain accompanying type was the characteristic type of the *polis*. The longevity of the association between Metapontion and the ear of grain iconography makes the link between the seated Apollo and the *polis* explicit.

5. KROTON

Located on Italy's south coast, Kroton was founded during the late eighth century around 709–708, making it one of the earliest Greek settlements in Magna Graecia (Figure 1).⁵¹² According to ancient literary tradition, Kroton was founded by people who originated in Achaia, a region of the Peloponnese.⁵¹³ Several ancient literary sources attest to the role of the Delphic oracle in the foundation of Kroton, with the most detailed accounts provided by Antiochus and Diodorus Siculus.⁵¹⁴ According to Antiochus of Syracuse, the Delphic oracle ordered the Achaeans to found Kroton and they were led by a man named Myscellos.⁵¹⁵ Diodorus Siculus recorded a similar narrative in which Myscellos went from Rhye to the oracle at Delphi to enquire about having children; the oracle commanded that before he was to have children he must first found Kroton.⁵¹⁶

While the ancient literary evidence attests that it was Myscellos who consulted the Delphic oracle, as well as Myscellos, the title of founder at Kroton could have applied to the eponymous Croton, or the hero Herakles. Heraclides Lembus recorded simply that Croton founded Kroton.⁵¹⁷ Similarly, the scholiast on Theocritus's *Idylls* recorded that the eponymous Croton founded the settlement.⁵¹⁸ However, Croton is more frequently named as the eponym of the settlement.⁵¹⁹ According to Diodorus Siculus, Herakles was passing through South Italy with Geryon's cattle and accidentally killed a man by the name of Croton.⁵²⁰ In remorse, Herakles accorded Croton a magnificent funeral and erected a tomb. Herakles foretold that a famous city would arise at the site of Croton's burial and should bear the name of the deceased.⁵²¹ Similarly, Iamblichus recorded that Herakles was driving the cattle of Geryon through Italy and, mistaking Croton for an enemy, slew him.⁵²² Herakles instructed that a city be built over Croton's grave and that the settlement be named after Croton, to immortalise the man he had accidentally killed.⁵²³ Ovid recorded that Herakles

⁵¹² Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.59.3; Strab. 5.2.4; *HN*³ 167.

⁵¹³ Strab. 6.1.12; Hdt. 8.47; Pseudo-Scymnus 328; Cerchiai et. al. 104; *HN*³ 170–71 cf. Paus. 3.3.1 who recorded that they were of Spartan origin. On Pausanias' account see Dunbabin 1968, 27; Malkin 1994, 62–4.

⁵¹⁴ Antiochus *BNJ* 555, fr. 10 ap. Strab. 6.1.12, 262; Diod. Sic. 8.17. On Myscellos as the founder, see also Hippys of Rhegion, *BNJ* 554, fr. 1; Pseudo-Scymnus, *Periodos to Nicomedes*, 323–325; Dion. Hal., *Rom. Antiq.* 2.59; Strab. 6.2.4; Ov. *Met.* 15.12–59.

⁵¹⁵ Antiochus *BNJ* 555, fr. 10 ap. Strab. 6.1.12, 262

⁵¹⁶ Diod. Sic. 8.17.

⁵¹⁷ Heraclides Lembus *On Constitutions* 68.

⁵¹⁸ Scholiast on Theocritus *Idylls* 4.32.

⁵¹⁹ Diod. Sic. 2.35–4.58, 4.24; Ov. *Met.* 15, 12–59 cf. Dion. Hal., *Rom. Antiq.* 17.1.

⁵²⁰ Diod. Sic. 2.35–4.58, 4.24.

⁵²¹ Diod. Sic. 2.35–4.58, 4.24.

⁵²² Iamblichus *Life of Pythagoras*, 9.50.

⁵²³ Iamblichus *Life of Pythagoras*, 9.50.

came to Myscellos in a dream, instructing him to venture to the site of Croton's tomb.⁵²⁴ When he arrived, Myscellos established a settlement and named it after the man buried there.⁵²⁵

Kroton was also one of the first settlements in the region to issue coinage with its first output of issues dated to c. 530.⁵²⁶ Between c. 425 and 325 a seated figure featured on stater types issued by Kroton. The seated male is identified by modern scholars as Herakles.⁵²⁷ Across both series, the figure is consistently depicted naked, reclining on a rock, clean-shaven and with a short hairstyle. The figure is also depicted in conjunction with several secondary motifs, summarised below in Table 3 which illustrates that across both series, the ethnic, bow, club and lionskin are the only consistent secondary motifs.

DESCRIPTION OF SERIES

The seated figure type was issued across two series of production, paired with a total of three different accompanying types. During the first series (c. 425–350) the seated figure featured on the obverse; one seated figure die was used, paired with two different reverse types.⁵²⁸ The type depicts a male figure seated on a rock which is covered by a lion skin. He is depicted holding a branch in his extended right hand, and a club in his left. To the left of the figure is a flaming altar. A bow and a quiver appear in the right field and in the exergue, two fish face each other. The inscription to the right of the figure reads 'OIKIMTAM' (ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ), 'founder'. On the reverse, is a tripod with a grain in the right field and in the exergue is the letter E and the ethnic QPOT (KROT[ON]) (Figure 78).⁵²⁹ The second reverse type of the first series also depicts a tripod, to the right of which is a coiled snake. To the left of the tripod is a male figure, smaller than the tripod, holding a bow and arrow and aiming the arrow at the snake on the right. In the exergue is the ethnic 'KPOTON' (KROTON) (Figure 79).⁵³⁰

⁵²⁴ Ov. *Met.* 15.12–59. On Ovid's version see Berman 2017, 42 ff.

⁵²⁵ Ov. *Met.* 15.12–59.

⁵²⁶ *ACGC* 167, n. 3; Rutter 2012, 128

⁵²⁷ Raoul-Rochette 1840, 36; Gardner 1893, 149; Hands 1909, 168; *HN* 97; *ACGC* 181; Morgan and Hall 1996, 207; Malkin 1998, 131; *HN*³ 170.

⁵²⁸ The first seated figure series at Kroton was produced in parallel with stater types depicting an eagle on the obverse and tripod reverse (*HN*³ nos 2141–2152, 2170–2176).

⁵²⁹ *HN*³ no. 2139.

⁵³⁰ *HN*³ nos 2139–40.

	Series 1 c. 425–350	Series 2 c. 400–325
ethnic	X	X
bow	X	X
club	X	X
lionskin	X	X
altar	X	
branch	X	
fish	X	
quiver	X	
OIKISTAS (inscription)	X	
bucranium		X
cup		X
tripod		X

Table 3: Secondary motifs appearing in conjunction with the seated figure on types issued by Kroton c. 425–325

During the second series (c. 400–325) the seated figure type appeared on the reverse type and three variant examples were issued.⁵³¹ The first example depicts a male figure seated on a rock covered by lionskin, holding a cup in his outstretched right hand. In the field above, a bow and club are crossed (Figure 80).⁵³² The second example also depicts the figure seated on a rock covered by a lionskin, holding a cup, however he is now depicted seated in front of a tripod, towards which he extends the cup; above the figure is the club and lionskin again and the letter Δ (Figure 81).⁵³³ The final variant depicts the seated figure on a rock covered by lionskin, holding a cup in his outstretched right hand and a crossed bow and club are in the field above. In this example a bucranium is depicted below the figure (Figure 82).⁵³⁴ The accompanying obverse type during the second series is consistent and depicts the facing head of a female (Figure 83). The female is depicted wearing a necklace and *polos* (high crown), which is decorated with a central palmette flanked by two griffins.⁵³⁵

⁵³¹ *HN*³ no. 171. As with the first series, the second series of seated figure stater types was produced in conjunction with staters bearing different iconography. The accompanying staters depicted a laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and the infant Herakles strangling snakes on the reverse (*HN*³ no. 2157).

⁵³² *HN*³ no. 2160.

⁵³³ *HN*³ no. 2161.

⁵³⁴ *HN*³ no. 2163

⁵³⁵ *HN*³ no. 2163.

Phyllis Lehmann specifically identified the seated figure type as depicting a statuary prototype that served as the inspiration for the Augustan statue known as the Herakles Altemps.⁵³⁶ Lehmann's argument regarding the coin type being copied from a statue was based on her assessment of one type from the second series of issue (shown in Figure 80).⁵³⁷ She asserted that because the type possessed qualities, similar to that of the statue known as the Herakles Epitrapezios, the type was copied from a statuary prototype.⁵³⁸

Although it is reasonable to think that numismatic iconography was influenced by contemporary artistic trends, not only was Lehmann comparing Kroton's types with a hypothetical original, the stylistic evolution of the preceding types (in the first series) are not considered.⁵³⁹ As Otto J. Brendel notes in a review of Lehmann's monograph, it is not necessary to assume that the seated Herakles on Kroton's type was derived from a statue when it could just as readily have been inspired by another art medium;⁵⁴⁰ I would add that the iconography could also have emerged independently. Also, an analysis of the secondary motifs across the two production series indicates that alterations, although relatively minor, are present, a feature which would be implausible if the coin type was a direct copy of a statue. As such the idea that the type depicts a statue cannot be convincingly supported.

Lilian Jeffrey also believed that the seated figure type at Kroton was derived from a statue. She contends that as it would be difficult to imagine a revival of the archaic script, and accordingly that the ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ inscription was copied from the base of the original statue.⁵⁴¹ However, Attilio Stazio argues that the archaised letter form is intended to indicate that the event depicted occurred early in the settlement's history.⁵⁴² Stazio's explanation is more likely, as there is no evidence to support the idea that the inscription was copied from a statue. This is supported by the appearance of the ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ inscription on issues produced by Kroton in the first half of the third century.⁵⁴³ These issues depicted a walking Herakles holding a club. The use of the ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ inscription on Krotoniate coinage in conjunction with both a seated and standing Herakles suggests that these images were not copied from a

⁵³⁶ Lehmann 1946, 40.

⁵³⁷ *HN*³ no. 2160.

⁵³⁸ Lehmann 1946, 40.

⁵³⁹ Johnson 1949, 63.

⁵⁴⁰ Brendel 1949, 226.

⁵⁴¹ Jeffrey 1961, 257.

⁵⁴² Stazio 1984, 385.

⁵⁴³ *HN*³ nos 2198–2200. These issues are thought to be drachms, but the denomination is unclear.

statue but instead that the ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ inscription reflects the local legend regarding Herakles' involvement in the foundation of Kroton.

SECONDARY MOTIFS

The club, bow and lionskin motifs which featured across both series of issues were objects which were closely associated with the hero Herakles. These motifs, as was seen at Herakleia, identify the seated figure as the hero.⁵⁴⁴ In the first series, Herakles is depicted in conjunction with a flaming altar (Figure 78). As the altar is not a typical attribute of Herakles, Kraay has suggested that this motif could refer to an offering that was performed by Herakles at the time of the settlement's foundation, in exchange for the wellbeing of the site.⁵⁴⁵ While altars were essential for religious events, the inclusion of the motif in this context is a deliberate symbolic reference, indicating that the hero is depicted in a votive context, perhaps establishing Kroton's first altar. According to Burkert, the establishment of the first altar at a site was traditionally attributed in local myth to one of three figures, either Herakles, a hero, or a ruler.⁵⁴⁶ Both Lacroix and Kraay note that there is no evidence to indicate the intended recipient of the ritual, however the branch which Herakles extended towards the altar arguably offers some insight.⁵⁴⁷

The branch was not typically associated with the hero however, ancient literary evidence attests that branches could also be used in votive contexts. According to both Aeschylus and Sophocles, a branch was specifically carried by individuals asking for peace or a pardon.⁵⁴⁸ According to Raoul-Rochette this ritual was undertaken to purify a person or a *polis* and took place either upon the founding of a settlement or on the anniversary of its establishment, as well as on occasion of some misfortune such as the city being affected by a plague.⁵⁴⁹ In this context the branch was known as a 'suppliant branch' and placed upon either the altar or shrine of the god(s) whose protection or help was sought by those looking to be acquitted of a misdeed or to purge the city of a blight.⁵⁵⁰ Raoul-Rochette interprets this type as depicting

⁵⁴⁴ Pindar *Isthmian Ode* 6.46 ff. See also Diod. Sic. 4.11.3; Athenaeus 12.512e–13a; Tsangari 2011, 127. Although references to Herakles as Kroton's founder do not survive in the ancient literary record before the first century, the identification of Herakles as Kroton's seated figure assigns the Herakles-founder legend at Kroton a *terminus ante quem* of c. 425.

⁵⁴⁵ ACGC 181

⁵⁴⁶ Burkert 1982, 87.

⁵⁴⁷ Lacroix 1965, 76 ff.; Kraay = ACGC 181; Burkert 1982, 87 ff.; Pedley 2005, 29.

⁵⁴⁸ Aesch. *Lib.* 1021; Soph. *OT* 14. See also, Pârvulescu 2005, 898–99.

⁵⁴⁹ Raoul-Rochette 1840, 37.

⁵⁵⁰ Burkert 1982, 43–4; 897–98.

Herakles presiding over a purification ritual for the *polis*.⁵⁵¹ However the branch/altar motif combination could also signify that it is Herakles himself who is asking for peace or pardon. This could explain the archaising lettering of the OIKISTAS inscription, which as noted, Stazio suggested indicates that event occurred early in the settlement's history, specifically upon the settlement's foundation.⁵⁵² Accordingly, Herakles depicted in conjunction with the branch and altar could indicate that he is in the process of undertaking a ritual, asking for forgiveness in the aftermath of killing Croton.⁵⁵³

Fish appear in the exergue of issues produced in the first series (Figure 78). Fish were not typically associated with the hero. Their appearance in the exergue and that they are arranged facing each other suggests that they refer to the Krotoniate territory, signifying that the hero was situated in Kroton itself. The formal arrangement of the motifs is almost heraldic in appearance. If fish were a primary local food source and/or important part of the local economy the motifs in this context could have been viewed as a sort of city symbol – emphasising the connection between the hero and the settlement. As the settlement's founder Herakles is depicted as the figure who is responsible for the abundance and prosperity of the settlement that he established. The motifs could also be a more direct reference to the locality itself as Kroton was situated near the coast and both Diodorus Siculus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus recorded that a river flowed nearby.⁵⁵⁴ These fish could therefore signify the presence of water.⁵⁵⁵ Both Kraay and Stazio suggest that the motifs indicate that Herakles is depicted at Kroton, either on the banks of the nearby river or near the sea.⁵⁵⁶

This idea that the hero is shown at Kroton itself is further emphasised by the rock which Herakles uses as a seat. As was the case of the motif at Taras and Herakleia, it signifies that the figure is in a terrestrial setting and more specifically, that of the issuing locality. In this way, both the fish and the rock symbolically combine in reference to the local landscape. The presence of the rock and fish in conjunction with the hero emphasises that Herakles is depicted within the *polis* of Kroton itself.

That the OIKISTAS inscription was absent during the second series could suggest that Herakles' role as the founder was not an aspect that was emphasised throughout the second

⁵⁵¹ Raoul-Rochette 1840, 37–38.

⁵⁵² Stazio 1984, 385.

⁵⁵³ Gardner 1893, 119. On the foundation of settlements following a murder see Dougherty 1998, 178 ff.

⁵⁵⁴ Diod. Sic. 8.17; Dion. Hal. 17.1.

⁵⁵⁵ Payne-Knight and Wilder 1818, 111.

⁵⁵⁶ ACGC 181; Stazio 1984, 385.

series. Table 3 highlights that the basic imagery and identifying motifs in the second series is the same as that of the first, meaning that aside from the absence of the inscription, there is nothing to suggest that the local perception of Herakles as founder altered in the second series.⁵⁵⁷ While the absence of the ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ inscription could call into question whether or not Herakles is depicted as the ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ on issues where the inscription is not present, one explanation for the inscription's absence is that by the time of the second series, the idea of Herakles as the settlement's founder was well established and widely known which removed the need for the accompanying label. Another possibility is that if we accept Stazio's argument regarding the archaising letter form, that it signified an event that took place early in the settlement's history, the removal of the ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ inscription from later types (i.e., types that did not depict Herakles at an altar with a branch), could also be seen as a deliberate method employed to remove a direct date from the iconography, making the subsequent types timeless, rather than something that occurred upon foundation.

Variants issued in the second series also show Herakles holding what has been simply identified as a cup (Figures 80–82). While the exact shape of the vessel is unclear, as it is small in size with a round body and no definitive rim, it could be a *skyphos*, as found on the seated figure types from Herakleia. The use of the *skyphos* motif in conjunction with the hero at Herakleia indicated that while this style of vessel was not exclusive to Herakles, the cup motif at Kroton (like at Herakleia, see pages 65–66) may signify a libation.

The second variant in the second series may offer further insight into the symbolic function of the cup motif at the locality. On this example, Herakles is also holding a cup towards a tripod (Figure 81). The appearance of the tripod, a renowned symbol of the Delphic Apollo, could indicate some connection here between Herakles and the deity.⁵⁵⁸ Herakles was connected to the Delphic tripod through the legend recorded most prominently by Apollodorus in which the hero was seeking purification from Delphi and was refused an audience with the Pythia.⁵⁵⁹ According to Apollodorus, Herakles grew angry and attempted to carry off the Delphic tripod; Apollo stepped in to prevent the theft, fighting Herakles for possession of the tripod until Zeus intervened and separated the two.⁵⁶⁰ This scene features

⁵⁵⁷ As noted above (pages 80–1), the ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ inscription also appears on denominations issued in the first half of the third century that depict a walking Herakles holding a club (*HN*³ nos 2198–2200). The use of the ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ inscription in this context can be taken as an indication that Herakles was acknowledged as having a role in the foundation of the settlement during the time that these issues were produced.

⁵⁵⁸ On the tripod and the Delphic Apollo see Gorini 1975, 148; Gale 1995, 9.

⁵⁵⁹ Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.6

⁵⁶⁰ Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.6

on the east pediment of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi; the pediment itself dates to the sixth century indicating that this Herakles/tripod/Apollo myth was well established and prominent.⁵⁶¹

While the myth links the hero and the motif, there is nothing more on the coin type to indicate that this is Herakles. It is interesting to note that from a compositional standpoint the tripod appears in place of the altar from the first series (Figure 78 cf. 81). If we view the tripod as a reference to Apollo and the cup to a libation, this depiction of the tripod in conjunction with the cup motif could suggest that Apollo was the recipient of the libation. While no record survives of Herakles at Kroton making an offering to Apollo, it is possible that there was a local legend regarding such an offering – perhaps undertaken upon the foundation of the *polis*. As Herakles is probably depicted as Kroton's founder in both series (despite the absence of the ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ inscription in series two), an offering to Apollo would be appropriate in this context, as the deity was worshipped locally and was also closely associated with the wellbeing of overseas settlements and their inhabitants.⁵⁶² In addition, as was noted (see above, page 77), the Delphic oracle is said to have played a prominent part in the foundation of the *polis*.

On the final variant from this series, a bucranium is depicted below the figure (Figure 82). While not typically associated with Herakles, the appearance of a bull head could be thought of as a reference to the cattle of Geryon. However, the bucranium represents the skull of an ox and had ritualistic connotations.⁵⁶³ These connotations reinforce the idea that the iconography possesses votive undertones. According to John Melville-Jones, the bucranium is usually found as a decorative feature on buildings or monuments with a religious function and is taken to signify the sacrifice of oxen in religious ceremonies.⁵⁶⁴ The use of the bucranium in a numismatic context, and that it is positioned on the type below Herakles as if on the ground as opposed to its usual positioning on monuments, can be interpreted as suggesting that Herakles is shown in a sacrificial context. While the bucranium was not an attribute of Herakles, the appearance of the motif can be seen to reinforce the religious dimension of the seated figure type that is present on earlier examples, through the altar, branch and cup motifs.

⁵⁶¹ Whitley 2001, 72.

⁵⁶² On the local worship of Apollo see: Iamblichus *Life of Pythagoras*, 261.

⁵⁶³ Melville-Jones 1986, 43.

⁵⁶⁴ Melville-Jones 1986, 43.

In this way, the secondary motifs can then be seen to communicate a message which refers to the foundation of the city-state with a ritualistic and votive emphasis. The seated figure imagery when taken as a whole, both promotes Herakles as founder, while concurrently acknowledging the role played by the oracle at Delphi, and by extension Apollo, who was regarded as the deity who protected and sanctioned the *polis*. A direct reference to the Delphic Apollo is more explicitly conveyed through the imagery of the tripod type which was initially paired with the seated figure series at Kroton.

ACCOMPANYING TYPE

As noted above, during the first series of production the seated figure type at Kroton was paired with two different reverse types. The first of these was the tripod, which had appeared extensively in Kroton's numismatic iconography and is acknowledged today as the characteristic type of the *polis*.⁵⁶⁵ The tripod has been interpreted in several ways. For example, scholars such as Head suggest that the imagery could have been a reference to Kroton's Olympic victories.⁵⁶⁶ John Papadopoulos suggests that it could relate to the local economy, emphasising Kroton's access to metal resources as well as the Homeric ancestry of the *polis*.⁵⁶⁷ More commonly, as the tripod had a long-held association with Apollo and more directly, with the oracle at Delphi, modern scholarship considers the use of the tripod type at Kroton as a reference to the Delphic oracle.⁵⁶⁸ Accordingly, the use of the tripod in conjunction with the seated Herakles can be seen to attest to the continued emphasis on the role of the oracle in the establishment of Kroton, which is reflected in literary versions of their foundation story.⁵⁶⁹ Pairing the tripod type with the seated Herakles not only emphasises the joint role of Apollo and Herakles in the city's foundation, but also created a recognisable association between the newly introduced seated figure type and the issuing *polis* because of the long use of the tripod on coins issued by Kroton.

A connection with Delphi is more directly indicated by the second reverse type adopted in the first series that depicts a tripod and a figure holding a bow and arrow, aiming the arrow at a coiled snake on the right (Figure 79).⁵⁷⁰ Ancient literary evidence records how Apollo slew a

⁵⁶⁵ Lane 2009, 176.

⁵⁶⁶ *HN* 99. See also, Gorini 1975, 77-8; Papadopoulos 2002, 32-3; Thatcher 2011, 66.

⁵⁶⁷ Papadopoulos 2002, 33-34, 39.

⁵⁶⁸ Lacroix 1965, 138; Gorini 1975, 148; *ACGC* 167; Giangiulio 1989, 81; Attianese 1992, 17; Rutter 1997, 29; 2012, 130. Malkin 1981, 19 Gale 1995, 8-9; Papadopoulos 2002, 32-3.

⁵⁶⁹ *ACGC* 310; Gorini 1975, 148; Rutter 1997, 29; Papadopoulos 2002, 32-3.

⁵⁷⁰ Rutter 2012, 132.

serpent with a bow and arrow and gained control of site of Delphi.⁵⁷¹ The oldest of these sources the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, composed around the seventh century, recorded that ‘nearby [Delphi] is the fair-flowing spring where ...[Apollo]... shot the serpent from his mighty bow...’.⁵⁷²

Kroton’s reverse type that shows the snake about to be shot by a figure with a bow and arrow is regarded by scholars as referring to this legend regarding Apollo and the serpent.⁵⁷³ This interpretation suggests that there was an interaction between the iconography of the obverse and reverse. While Kraay and Rutter suggest that the obverse and reverse both relate to the foundation of Kroton, Olga Palagia observes that while seated Herakles references the foundation of Kroton, the Apollo/Python reverse narrates the foundation of Delphi.⁵⁷⁴ Because of this connection between Herakles as the founder of Kroton and the involvement of the Delphic oracle in the establishment of the settlement, Mark R. Thatcher observes that the accompanying tripod type can be seen to suggest an interaction between the obverse and reverse imagery with an emphasis on the historic and mythic foundation of the *polis*, implying that the two versions became conflated.⁵⁷⁵

The accompanying type in the second series featured on the obverse and was consistently the facing head of a female wearing a *polos* (Figure 83). This head has been identified as belonging to a specific iteration of Hera – Hera *Lakinia*, as it was under this epithet that the goddess was worshipped at Kroton.⁵⁷⁶ The epithet was taken from the name of the promontory on which a sanctuary to her was situated, the Lacinio promontory (mod. Cape Colonna).⁵⁷⁷ An early sixth century cult building has been discovered at a site situated about twelve kilometres south of Kroton on the Lacinio promontory.⁵⁷⁸ Dedications found within this cult building predate the building itself – suggesting that the cult of Hera at Kroton dates to the early stages of the *polis*.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷¹ For example, see *HH* 3, 300; Apollod. *Bibl.*, 1. 22; Callim. *Hymn* 2, 97 ff.

⁵⁷² *HH* 3, 300 ff.

⁵⁷³ Gardner 1893, 120; *ACGC* 181, *HN*³ 170; Rutter 2012, 132.

⁵⁷⁴ *ACGC* 181; Rutter 2012, 132 cf. Palagia 1990, 63. See also, Lacroix 1965, 158–61 who interprets this type as evidence of a local cult to Pythian Apollo.

⁵⁷⁵ Thatcher 2011, 66.

⁵⁷⁶ Hands 1909, 168; Gale 1995, 11; *HN*³ 171.

⁵⁷⁷ Thatcher 2011, 101.

⁵⁷⁸ Attianese 1992, 127; Morgan and Hall 1996, 206, 229, n. 238; Cerchiali et al. 2002, 109–110; Hall 2002, 62.

⁵⁷⁹ Attianese 1992, 127; Morgan and Hall 1996, 206, 229, n. 238; Cerchiali et al. 2002, 109–110; Hall 2002, 62.

By the fifth century, the Krotoniate sanctuary of Hera *Lakinia* had developed into one that was pan-Italiote.⁵⁸⁰ During the fourth century, the Temple of Hera *Lakinia* was constructed on the site of this early sixth century shrine.⁵⁸¹ While there is some debate, this temple is viewed by most scholars as having been the treasury and headquarters of what is today called the ‘Italiote League’, indicating that Kroton was the leader of the League.⁵⁸² The Italiote League was an alliance between a number of Greek city-states in the region and was founded between c. 430 and 420.⁵⁸³

As this facing female head type was adopted by other settlements in the region, some scholars interpret the iconography as representing membership of the League.⁵⁸⁴ However, the type was not unanimously adopted by all the *poleis* in the region who were members of the League. Furthermore, the existence of similar types outside the region suggests that the adoption of the isolated female head type cannot be considered a broad symbol of League membership. League membership is supplied by ancient literary evidence that records the names of the settlements who fought against the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius I: Kaulonia, Kroton, Elea, Herakleia, Hipponion, Metapontion, Neapolis, Pandosia, Rhegion, Thurii and Taras.⁵⁸⁵ Of these *poleis*, the facing female head type appeared on types issued by Neapolis from c. 420 (Figure 85), Pandosia around c. 375–350 (Figure 86), and Thurii from c. 400–350.⁵⁸⁶ At these localities it is possible that the facing female head type predates the production of the type at Kroton, undermining the idea that the imagery represented League membership.

The type also appeared on issues produced by other South Italian centres where there is no evidence to suggest that they were members of the League, including at the Oscan communities in Campania, Hyrietes and Fenserni (c. 395–390) and Phistella from (c. 325).⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁰ Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 267.

⁵⁸¹ Strab. 6.11.3; Livy 24.3; *HN* 94; Cerchiai et al. 2002, 109.

⁵⁸² Cf. Polyb. 2.39, who states that the initial meeting place was at a Temple of Zeus *Homorios* that the initial member states jointly founded. However as, no such temple has been identified scholars such as Lomas (1993, 31) and Papadopoulos (2002, 25) name the Temple of Hera at Kroton as the headquarters and treasury, while Funk (2013, 128) agrees that it is the most likely location. Giovanna de Sensi Sestito (1984) suggests a compromise, suggesting that the Temple of Zeus *Homorios* was within the Temple of Hera.

⁵⁸³ Polyb. 2.39.5–7; Strab. 8.7.1; Cerchiai et. al. 2002, 106; Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 267; Funke 2008, 391; Wonder 2012, 129, 133; Fronda 2015, 390–1.

⁵⁸⁴ Stazio 1983, 390–94; Lomas 1993, 31.

⁵⁸⁵ Fronda 2015, 395–96 cf. Lomas 1993, 31. On the membership of Pandosia, see Hands 1909, 188.

⁵⁸⁶ *HN*³ 148; *HN*³ nos 553, 2450; Rutter 1980, no. 538. Neapolis used a recut die of the Hyrians to issue their facing head type (Rutter 1980, 170).

⁵⁸⁷ *HN*³ nos 538, 540, 611. Fenserni and Hyrietes were separate communities who implemented the same die for this facing head type according to Rutter (1980, 60). Rutter (1980, 60–5) also identified shared dies between the types issued by Thurii, Fenserni and Hyrites/Hyrinoi.

Further, the type was also implemented outside Magna Graecia, appearing on types issued by Olbia in Sardinia between c. 400-350 (Figure 86) and Tarsos in Asia Minor (mod. Turkey).⁵⁸⁸ Hence, within Magna Graecia, while the facing female head type cannot be considered a broad symbol of League membership it does not necessarily dismiss the idea that within the region the use of the type represents involvement in the League.

Hera is the most likely candidate for the female whose head appears on Kroton's coins. Motifs and symbols associated with Hera are minimal; among Hera's typical attributes are a peacock, a sceptre, a veil and a headdress (such as a *polos*).⁵⁸⁹ Excluding the peacock, all motifs could have been used by any woman under certain circumstances, regardless of whether they were a mortal or a deity.⁵⁹⁰ Further, Hera did not always appear with these attributes.⁵⁹¹ However, in the instance of Kroton's facing head type the *polos* indicates that the female is Hera. While this style of high crown was also worn by other goddesses such as Artemis, according to Stephanie Budin the motif is broadly indicative of divinity in Greek iconography.⁵⁹² Burkert notes that it was this style of crown that Hera was shown wearing in cult images and the *polos* could be intended as a specific reference to the cult worship of Hera *Lakinia*.⁵⁹³ Thus, this motif suggests that the female head belongs to a locally specific iteration of Hera.

This *Lakinia* iteration was locally exclusive but also widely known due to the prominence of the sanctuary. The long history of worship of Hera at the site and contemporary prominence of Hera and her temple at this locality means that she would have been easily identifiable as the female on the coin. This is supported by the fourth century construction date of the monumental temple, which is roughly contemporary with the first appearance of the facing female head type at Kroton (c. 400–325), making Hera the most viable identification based on the issuing context as well as the *polos* secondary motif.

In addition, ancient literary evidence attests to a connection between the sanctuary of Hera *Lakinia* and the foundation of the settlement at Kroton, suggesting that there is an interaction between the obverse and reverse imagery.⁵⁹⁴ According to Servius, it was Herakles who also

⁵⁸⁸ SNG BMC IX Black Sea nos. 390–93; Stazio 1983, 389; Fronda 2015, 395.

⁵⁸⁹ Mastrocinque 2016, 215.

⁵⁹⁰ Women other than Hera wearing veil = BAPD nos 12741, 7326 (side B), 9603; holding sceptre = BAPD nos 6252 (side A); 12286 (side B), 9045; wearing diadem = BAPD no. 230421.

⁵⁹¹ For example, BAPD nos 705, 1574.

⁵⁹² Burkert 1985, 131; Budin 2015, 21.

⁵⁹³ Burkert 1985, 131.

⁵⁹⁴ Hands 1909, 169; Bremmer 1994, 29; Cerchiai et al. 2002, 109.

established Kroton's sanctuary to Hera.⁵⁹⁵ While the literary evidence is not contemporary with the coin type, it is possible that Servius is recording an earlier tradition. As such there is no reason to dismiss the idea that the sanctuary to Hera *Lakinia* was involved in one version of the settlement's foundation myth. Thatcher observes that in Servius' version, Herakles did not found Kroton nor mentions the *polis*, but instead foretold its foundation.⁵⁹⁶ According to Thatcher, the absence of any mention of the *polis* '... makes the sanctuary actually precede the city, and the city's existence is made to depend on that of the sanctuary.'⁵⁹⁷ In this way, the female head type could be seen to support an identification of the seated figure as Herakles, as it attests to an interaction between the obverse and reverse types. The reverse shows the seated Herakles depicted as the founder of Kroton while the obverse is representative of the local sanctuary of Hera that Herakles is also said to have founded. Further, Thatcher suggests that the worship of Hera under the epithet *Lakinia*, a name derived from the physical land of the territory, meant that the cult was closely linked to the land and thus reinforced the legitimacy of the Krotoniate territory.⁵⁹⁸ In this way, the Hera *Lakinia* type can be seen to possess the same references to the land and the foundation of the *polis* that is emphasised in the seated Herakles type.

In this way the iconography encapsulates and advertises the very active role of Herakles at Kroton, with one side showing him as the founder and on the other the head of Hera, a reference to the temple and sanctuary. This iconography suggests that the Krotoniate focus here is on very specific aspects of their civic identity – the head of Hera as a reference to the most prominent and renowned local temple and the seated Herakles is a reference to the mythic foundation of the *polis*.

CONCLUSION

The bow, club and lionskin are key identifying motifs of Herakles. These motifs identify the seated figure at Kroton as Herakles. The accompanying OIKISTAS inscription references the ancient literary traditions surrounding Herakles as the founder of the *polis*. It has been suggested that the type on which this inscription occurs signifies that the event depicted occurred upon the foundation of the settlement. On the types issued by Kroton, it was found

⁵⁹⁵ Servius *Commentary on the Aeneid of Vergil*, 3.552: 'Iunonis Lacinae templum, secundum quosdam a rege conditore dictum, secundum alios a latrone Lacinio, quem illic Hercules occidit, et loco expiato Iunoni templum constituit.'

⁵⁹⁶ Thatcher 2011, 99.

⁵⁹⁷ Thatcher 2011, 99.

⁵⁹⁸ Thatcher 2011, 101.

that additional motifs also featured in conjunction with Herakles that were not typically associated with the hero. The rock and fish motifs provide a more nuanced understanding of the local connection to the hero, emphasising link between the figure and the physical locality. Other motifs, like the altar and cup suggest that the hero is engaging in a type of votive ritual. These motifs that have votive connotations indicate that it is possible that Herakles was the local recipient of offerings, or was deemed worthy of such offerings, both of which are appropriate to his status as a hero and his role as *oikist*.

It is also possible that Herakles is making an offering to Apollo, who is referenced by the tripod. The tripod, a well-established symbol of the Delphic oracle also featured as the accompanying type in the first series. Pairing the seated Herakles with the tripod created a visual connection between Kroton's newly introduced seated Herakles type and the issuing locality as it was their characteristic numismatic type. This pairing is also indicative of a preoccupation with the establishment of the *polis*. The literary traditions surrounding the foundation of Kroton involved both Herakles and Delphi and the Herakles/tripod iconography displays both legends. The second accompanying type from the first series more explicitly conveys this 'foundation theme' in that it illustrates the foundation myth of Delphi, thus complementing the foundation story of Kroton involving Herakles.

The second series of seated figure types was paired with a type depicting a facing female head. Analysis of this type suggests that the female is best identified as Hera under the epithet *Lakinia*. The appearance of this Hera *Lakinia* type coincided approximately with the building of the Temple of Hera *Lakinia* on the Lacinio promontory. Servius' account connects Herakles with the foundation of Hera's sanctuary at Kroton, which suggests a continuation of the iconographical focus on foundations that was expressed through the Delphic tripod type. Both accompanying types issued by Kroton in conjunction with the seated Herakles type can be seen as indicators of the *polis*' preoccupation with its mythic foundation and by extension, the *polis* and its surrounding territory.

PART II – THE SEATED FIGURE TYPES IN CONTEXT

Part I established the identity of the seated figure types issued by Taras, Rhegion, Herakleia, Metapontion and Kroton between c. 470 and 325. It approached the question of the identity of each figure from a local perspective, recognising that the individual was identifiable to the inhabitants of the issuing locality. The secondary motifs that featured in conjunction with the male figures were accepted to have possessed a deliberate symbolic function. Variations to the physical appearance of the seated figure and the introduction of secondary motifs were examined chronologically, establishing the evolution of the iconography. It was found that at each of the case study sites, the limited variation in the depiction of their respective seated figures indicated that the identity of the individual was consistent throughout all series of production. As opposed to relying on the appearance of a singular or selected secondary motifs, all motifs that appeared in conjunction with the seated figures were analysed according to their symbolic function and the degree which this function could be utilised to support an identification of the individual depicted.

Analysis indicated that at Taras and Rhegion, while no singular motif definitively identified the seated figures, the symbolic intent of the secondary motifs as a collective, as well as the issuing context, indicated that the figures are best identified as the eponym Taras and local hero Iokastos, respectively. The types issued by both Herakleia and Kroton featured the seated Herakles, in both instances the hero was identifiable from his characteristic attributes. Metapontion's figure was also identifiable through the laurel and lyre motifs, signifying that the seated figure is Apollo. It was suggested that the figure is probably more explicitly identifiable as Apollo under the iteration of *Archegetes* and that the type was possibly inspired by, or copied from, a local cult statue of the deity.

The accompanying type at each of the issuing sites was also examined to determine the extent to which the accompanying iconography related to the seated figure. At Taras, Rhegion, Metapontion and in their first series of issue, Kroton, the seated figure type was paired with the city's characteristic type. Herakleia is an exception as the *polis* was newly founded and their characteristic type only came to be produced at a later date. At Taras, the accompanying dolphin rider was best identified as Phalanthos, leader of the initial settlers. This identification has some implications for the seated figure type as both individuals were important figures involved in the foundation of Taras, suggesting that there was a relationship between the iconography, with an emphasis on foundation and reminiscent of the statue of

the two at Delphi described by Pausanias. At Rhegion, there is some evidence that the lion head type was derived from Samos. As Samian involvement in the foundation of Rhegion is present in some ancient literary accounts, this could indicate that both obverse and reverse types are referencing the foundation of the settlement. At Herakleia, it was argued that the female head is best identified as an iteration of Athena. The adoption of the goddess as an accompanying type could have been similarly drawing on the foundation of the *polis*, reflective of the involvement of Thuri. At Metapontion, the ear of grain accompanying type was the characteristic type. The longevity of the association between the *polis* and the ear of grain type, while not directly related to the seated Apollo type, made the link between the seated figure and the settlement explicit. Kroton's first series of seated Herakles types were accompanied by their characteristic tripod type and a variation that depicted Apollo and Python. The implementation of this iconography supported the identification of Herakles as the founder while also linking the seated figure imagery with the settlement. The second series of seated figure types at Kroton was paired with the head of a female, best identified as Hera *Lakinia*, and coincided approximately with the building of the Temple of Hera *Lakinia* on the Lacinio promontory. Both accompanying types issued by Kroton in conjunction with the seated Herakles type can be seen as indicators of the *polis*' preoccupation with foundation – of both the physical *polis* and of its religious institutions.

While the specifics of the seated figure iconography highlight the locally exclusive nature of the individual to his issuing *polis*, certain features – such as the heroic and/or divine status of the individual depicted, and the secondary motifs employed to convey this status – were shared between the issuing *poleis*. These shared features and the implications of this will be explored in the following section. Through a comparative study of the regional similarities between the seated figure types issued in Magna Graecia, this section aims to determine why the types emerged at these localities during this period and how this use of a stylistically similar type can tell us more about the relationships between the issuing city-states.

Firstly, this section examines the issuing context of the period during which the type emerged and the prior similarities in minting technique and typology that was shared by city-states in Magna Graecia. Secondly, it examines the similarities between the seated figure types and undertakes a comparative study between the introduction of the seated figure type, shared motifs within the region and the issuing context to determine if the emergence of the type and use of motifs can be explained by a common experience or event. Finally, it addresses the regional significance of the iconography. It will be found that, while the evidence is limited

and there is no single incident that explains the emergence of stylistic similarities, there is evidence of a wider historical and socio-political context that could have given rise to these similarities. Finally, a discussion of the significance of the types on a regional level suggests that the issuing of this particular type attests to a new level of interaction between this group of city-states.

THE ISSUING CONTEXT

The political events of the fifth and fourth centuries are key factors in our understanding of the appearance of the seated figure type. However, not only is there a lack of surviving written sources regarding the regional situation in South Italy during this period, but the surviving accounts are also somewhat problematic. Firstly, the ancient literary sources that deal with Magna Graecia principally survive in the form of fragments or brief comments as opposed to an extended narrative. For example, while Diodorus discusses the region as part of his wider history of the Greeks, these accounts are disjointed. Secondly, not only is the quantity of surviving material limited, but it is also largely non-contemporary; most ancient authors who write about Magna Graecia did so long after the events which they described. Finally, scholars recognise that on occasion, the ancient authors altered or omitted information in support of their own explanations and in relation to their own literary perspective.⁵⁹⁹ Nevertheless, enough evidence survives to gain some insight into the period during which these types were produced, and analysis illustrates similar developments in the history of the case study sites. While gaps in our knowledge of the historical context makes contextualising the information problematic, Table 4 charts the production periods of each series at each *polis* against a timeline of known historical events within the region that relate to one or more of the issuing *poleis*, as well as more general regional developments.

At the end of the sixth century the aristocratic-oligarchic regimes in Magna Graecia were plunged into crisis. Peter Funke observes that the city-states were subject to internal instability and that external pressures also arose.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁹ Thatcher 2011, 33.

⁶⁰⁰ Lomas 1993, 30; Funke 2008, 167.

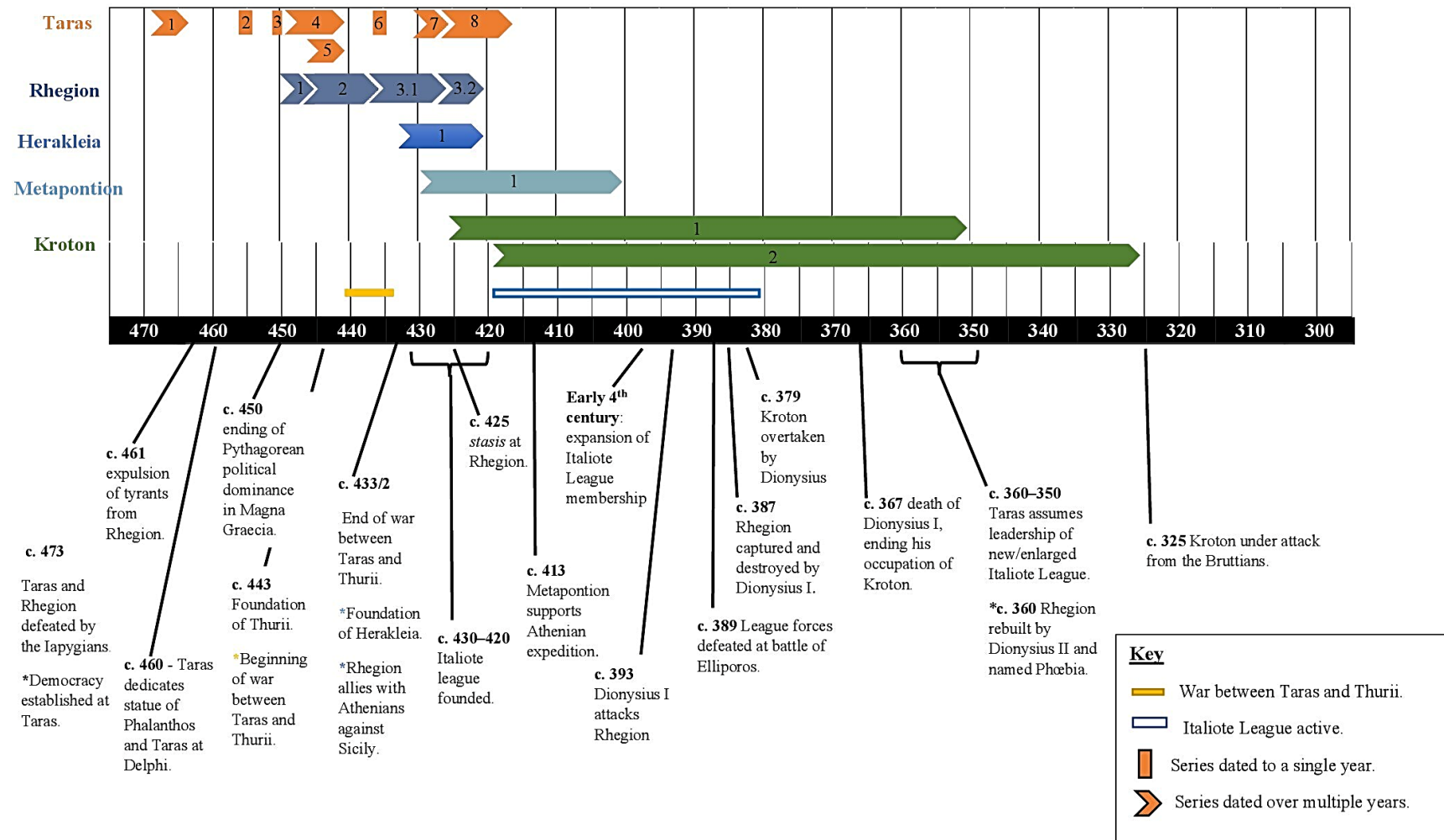


Table 4: Production series and period (numbered) of the seated figure type at each *polis* in conjunction with a timeline of events c. 473–325

Characteristic of the fifth century were internal disputes and rivalries between neighbouring Greek settlements and mounting pressure from the indigenous inhabitants.⁶⁰¹ Brauer describes the relationship between the South Italian Greek settlements at the beginning of the fifth century ‘...like spiders trapped in a bottle...eating one another.’⁶⁰² The disunity among the Greek settlements of the region at the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century is highlighted by the destruction of the settlement at Siris by an alliance of its Greek neighbours, Rhegion, Metapontion and Sybaris, around 550–530 and later, around 510, the destruction of Sybaris by Kroton.⁶⁰³

During the fifth century, conflicts between the Greek settlements and the indigenous tribes increased. These indigenous tribes unified themselves in strong alliances and thus presented greater potential for aggression.⁶⁰⁴ From c. 494, Rhegion was ruled by the tyrant Anaxilas.⁶⁰⁵ Following his death in c. 476, the role was taken over by his sons under the regency of a freed slave (Micythos), who ruled Rhegion and Messana until c. 467.⁶⁰⁶ Around c. 473, the combined forces of Taras and Rhegium were defeated by the indigenous Iapygians.⁶⁰⁷ In the wake of this defeat, which was described by Herodotus as ‘a great slaughter of Greeks’, the ruling Tarentine elite were ousted and a democracy was established.⁶⁰⁸ According to Diodorus, after this defeat both parties divided and fled back to their respective cities, pursued by the Iapygians.⁶⁰⁹ The Iapygians which were following the retreating Rhegion army, pursued them all the way back to Rhegion itself and managed to break into the city and occupy it.⁶¹⁰ Diodorus also recorded that the sons of Anaxilas were expelled from Rhegion in c. 461 and following their expulsion, according to Justinus, Rhegion suffered internal strife.⁶¹¹ In the aftermath of the tyranny, it is probable that the Rhegion adopted an oligarchic constitution. Diodorus recorded that with the expulsion of the tyrants the *polis* was ‘... restored ... to the original citizens.’⁶¹² Before Anaxilas’ takeover, ancient literary evidence

⁶⁰¹ Lomas 1993, 31; Funke 2008, 168.

⁶⁰² Brauer 1986, 14.

⁶⁰³ See Diod. Sic. 12.9–11; Lomas 1993, 30.

⁶⁰⁴ Funke 2008, 168.

⁶⁰⁵ Diod. Sic. 11.73.3; Diod. 11.48.2; Hands 1909, 243; *HN*³ 187.

⁶⁰⁶ Diod. Sic. 11.73.3; Diod. 11.48.2; Hands 1909, 243; *HN*³ 187.

⁶⁰⁷ Diod. Sic. 11.52; Hall 2013, 118 cf. Robinson 2011, 115, n. 153. On the date of 473, see Brauer 1986, 27 n. 5.

⁶⁰⁸ Hdt. 7.170.3. See also, Aristotle *Politics* 1320b 9–16; Cerchiai et. al. 2002, 146. On the nature of Tarentine democracy see Robinson, 2011, 116–118.

⁶⁰⁹ Diod. Sic. 11.52.

⁶¹⁰ Diod. Sic. 11.52. Diodorus fails to mention how long the city was occupied for.

⁶¹¹ Diod. Sic. 11.76.5; Justinus *Epit.* 4.2–4.3.1–3 cf. Hands 1909 243; *HN*³ 187; Vallet 1958, 376.

⁶¹² Diod. Sic. 11.76.5–6.

indicates that Rhegion was governed by 1000 citizens, who were selected to govern on the basis of their wealth.⁶¹³ Eric W. Robinson argues that, based on Diodorus' account of the period following the expulsion of the tyrants, an oligarchy was probably reinstated.⁶¹⁴

Taras was intermittently at war with the indigenous inhabitants during the fifth century and won a number of victories. The Tarentines dedicated statues at Delphi commemorating their victories over the indigenous Messapians, and later the Peuketians with the statue of Phalanthos and Taras in c. 460.⁶¹⁵ As noted, this statue of Taras and Phalanthos was dedicated around the time that Taras first began issuing types depicting a seated figure (see above, page 24).

A factor which contributed to regional unrest during the fifth century was Pythagoreanism, a philosophy based on the doctrine of the philosopher and mathematician Pythagoras.⁶¹⁶

Pythagoras immigrated to Kroton around 530 and established the Pythagorean brotherhood, a group which came to exercise a political influence in many south Italian *poleis* during the sixth and fifth centuries.⁶¹⁷ This movement came to play a central role in the internal conflicts in Greek settlements across the region as many of the known instances of *stasis* originated because of disagreements between pro and anti-Pythagorean parties.⁶¹⁸ Strong Pythagorean traditions developed at Kroton, Metapontion, Rhegion and later Taras. At these localities, where attempts were made by the ruling elites to govern according to Pythagorean doctrine, Pythagoreanism became a sort of cult for the social elites rather than the wider community.⁶¹⁹ The political dominance of the Pythagoreans in Magna Graecia came to an end in the mid-fifth century with violent uprisings against the brotherhood.⁶²⁰ Polybius recorded that these uprisings were followed by a period of civil unrest and political turmoil across the region during which leading citizens were killed.⁶²¹

According to Polybius and Strabo, in the aftermath of the collapse of the Pythagorean brotherhood and *stasis* that followed, the communities affected called on representatives from

⁶¹³ Aristotle *Politics* 1316a; Heraclides Lembus *On Constitutions* 55; Strab. 257. See also, Dunbabin 1948, 75.

⁶¹⁴ Robinson 2011, 112.

⁶¹⁵ Dunbabin 1968, 149; Lomas 1993, 30–1.

⁶¹⁶ Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 257.

⁶¹⁷ Iamblichus *Life of Pythagoras* 129; Cicero *De Re Publica*, 2.15.28; Minar 1979, 7–8; Funke 2008, 167.

⁶¹⁸ Lomas 1993, 102; Funke 2008, 167.

⁶¹⁹ Dunbabin 1948, 367; Lomas 1993, 30; Lomas 2018, 156.

⁶²⁰ Polyb. 2.39.1–3; Iamblichus *Life of Pythagoras* 249; Strab. 8.7.1; Justinus *Epit.*, 20.4; see also: Wonder 2012, 131; Lomas 1993, 30.

⁶²¹ Polyb. 2.39.1–3; cf. Iamblichus *Life of Pythagoras* 249; Wonder 2012, 129, 133.

mainland Greece to end the crisis.⁶²² The Italiotes chose the help of the Achaeans, from whom they borrowed the laws and customs of the Achaean League in the creation of their own Italiote alliance, established between c. 430 and 420 and known as the Italiote League.⁶²³ Kroton, Kaulonia and Sybaris were the first member states; the League held regular meetings and had a central treasury, both of which were probably in the Temple of Hera *Lakinia*.⁶²⁴

Diodorus however, places the formation of the League in c. 393 in response to the growing threat of the Syracusan tyrant Dionysius I.⁶²⁵ The difference in the accounts of Diodorus, Polybius and Strabo has given rise to a disagreement among scholars as to why this alliance was initially formed as no account survives of its internal workings.⁶²⁶ According to Wonder, the Leagues described by Polybius and Diodorus are separate alliances, whereas Michael P. Fronda argues that one developed into the other.⁶²⁷ From either conjecture, the formation of the League can be placed shortly after the collapse of Pythagoreanism. Fronda observes that the implication of the formation of the League was that it brought member settlements closer together and represents a move towards federalism and political unity within the region.⁶²⁸

Athenian interest in the region was also increasing by the mid-fifth century in 444/3 with Athens' role in the establishment of Thurii, which soon became one of the more dominant city-states in the region.⁶²⁹ According to Kraay, Thurii's rise plausibly caused the interruption or decline in coinage issued by Kroton and Metapontion.⁶³⁰ Almost immediately after its foundation, Thurii entered into a war with Taras over the possession of the territory of Siris.⁶³¹ According to Kraay, this war between Taras and Thurii had an impact on the political authority of Metapontion which was situated in the region between the warring *poleis*.⁶³² The foundation of Herakleia by Taras and Thurii in 433/2 brought an end to this conflict, Metapontion was no longer under the influence of Thurii and coin production at Metapontion resumed sometime around c. 430.⁶³³

⁶²² Polyb. 2.39.1–7; Strab. 8.7.1. See also, Wonder 2012, 131.

⁶²³ Polyb. 2.39.5–7; Strab. 8.7.1.

⁶²⁴ Polyb. 2.39.5–6; Lomas 1993, 32; Walbank 2000, 23–4; Cerchiali et. al. 2002, 106; Funke 2008, 168, 391; Rosenstein, 2012, 39; Wonder 2012, 129, 132–33; Fronda 2015, 390–1, 395, n. 38.

⁶²⁵ Diod. Sic. 14.9.

⁶²⁶ Lomas 1993, 32; Cerchiali et. al. 2002, 106; Funke 2008, 168 cf. Wonder 2012, 129.

⁶²⁷ Wonder 2012; Fronda 2015.

⁶²⁸ Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 257; Funke 2008, 168.

⁶²⁹ Diod. Sic. 11, 90, 3; *ACGC* 173; Kraay 1958, 25; Brauer 1986, 29–30; Cerchiali et. al. 2002, 130.

⁶³⁰ Kraay 1960, 80; *ACGC* 184; *HN*³ 4.

⁶³¹ Fischer-Hansen et. al. 305; Brauer 1986, 29–30.

⁶³² Kraay 1960, 80–81.

⁶³³ Kraay 1960, 81.

In c. 425 according to Thucydides, another *stasis* occurred at Rhegion.⁶³⁴ While the internal outcome of the *stasis* is unknown, according to Thucydides' account Locri, a longstanding enemy of the *polis*, took advantage of the internal crisis and attacked the settlement.⁶³⁵ In c. 413 Thucydides notes that Metapontion was persuaded to support the Athenian expedition against Syracuse because of internal unrest (*στασιωτικός*) in Metapontion.⁶³⁶ However, the exact nature of this unrest is unknown.

From the late fifth century, new political pressures developed both from the rise of new Greek states and increasing pressure from the local Italic tribes.⁶³⁷ Further regional disruption was caused by the increasing influence in South Italy of the tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius I.⁶³⁸ At the beginning of the fourth century, the Italiote League was either enlarged or re-founded, in response to the rise of Dionysius I and the local Italic tribes.⁶³⁹ In addition to Kroton, Kaulonia and Sybaris, the League now included Thurii, Hipponion, Elea/Velia, and probably Rhegion, Metapontion and Neapolis.⁶⁴⁰ The League managed to defend Rhegion against an attack from Dionysius in c. 393.⁶⁴¹ By the 390s the native Lucanians were also becoming a major threat to the South Italian city-states.⁶⁴² After c. 393, Dionysius allied with the Lucanians and was victorious against the combined forces of the League at the battle of Elliporos (c. 389).⁶⁴³

The increasing influence of Syracuse under Dionysius I culminated in the capture of several Greek *poleis* in South Italy including Kaulonia, Rhegion and Kroton.⁶⁴⁴ More specifically, Rhegion was destroyed by Dionysius I in c. 387 but was restored in c. 360 by Dionysius II, under the name Phœbia.⁶⁴⁵ Kroton was captured in c. 379, where Dionysius' victory was followed by a twelve-year period of dependency on the tyrant, lasting until his death in

⁶³⁴ Thuc. 4.1.3; Berger 1992, 30.

⁶³⁵ Thuc. 4.1.3; Berger 1992, 30.

⁶³⁶ Thuc. 7.33.4–5; 7.57.11.

⁶³⁷ *ACGC* 179; Carradice and Price 1988, 71, *HN*³ 4.

⁶³⁸ *ACGC* 179; Carradice and Price 1988, 71, *HN*³ 4.

⁶³⁹ Diod. Sic. 14.91.1; Cerchiai et. al. 2002, 106; Wonder, 2012, 149–150.

⁶⁴⁰ On the membership of Thurii, see Diod. Sic. 14.101.1; Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 305. On Hipponion and Velia, see Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 255 cf. Wonder 2012, 144; On Rhegion, see Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 255 cf. Diod 14.100.1. On Metapontion, see Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 280; Wonder 2012, 144, n. 79; Fronda 2015, 395. On Neapolis, see Lomas 1993, 46; Purcell 1994, 387.

⁶⁴¹ Fronda 2015, 396.

⁶⁴² Wonder 2012, 129.

⁶⁴³ Diod. Sic. 14.95–96, 14.100; Wonder 2012, 130; Fronda 2015, 396.

⁶⁴⁴ See Purcell 1994, 387.

⁶⁴⁵ Strab. 6.1.6; Diod. Sic. 14.44, 107–8; Caven 1990, 145–46; Lomas 1993, 35; Talbert, 1997, 160; Wonder, 2012, 150; cf. Caven (1990, 196) who places the fall of Kroton between c. 378 and 377.

367.⁶⁴⁶ At both Rhegion and Kroton, Dionysius' interference inevitably created economic disruption and loss of manpower.⁶⁴⁷

According to Polybius, the League was ended by the interference of Dionysius I of Syracuse; at any rate with the fall of Kroton, hostilities between Dionysius and the League concluded.⁶⁴⁸ Scholars such as Kathryn Lomas and John W. Wonder place the breakup of the League in the period shortly after the defeat of Kroton.⁶⁴⁹ Shortly after this, the League was revived under the leadership of Taras (which was led by the Pythagorean Archytas) which was possibly now the largest and wealthiest settlement in Magna Graecia.⁶⁵⁰ However, until Taras' assumption of leadership, its membership status within the League is unclear.⁶⁵¹ When Taras took over as head of the League, the treasury was transferred to Herakleia, probably during the 360s.⁶⁵² According to Fronda, the relocation of the League's headquarters to Herakleia gave Taras further control of the League; while the objective of the League was to protect member *poleis*, realistically the League served to further the hegemonic aspirations of the Tarentines.⁶⁵³

As early as the first half of the fourth century, membership of the League was expanded again to probably include every, or nearly every, Greek *polis* in the region.⁶⁵⁴ Members of the Italiote League headed by Taras were now further united by a new problem: the southward migration of the Oscan peoples the Bruttians, Lucanians and Messapians.⁶⁵⁵ During the mid-320s, Kroton was under attack from the Bruttians and appealed to the Syracusans, who sent an army to their aid and defeated the Bruttians.⁶⁵⁶ Around this time, Kroton issued what would be the final production of the seated figure types in Magna Graecia.

Table 4 shows that while the type had an extended history of use within the region, the duration of production varied at each *polis*. Table 4 illustrates that the Tarentine settlement

⁶⁴⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20.7; Caven 1990, 189; Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 268.

⁶⁴⁷ Lomas 1993, 35.

⁶⁴⁸ Polyb. 2.39.7; Robinson 2011, 107; Wonder 2012, 147.

⁶⁴⁹ Lomas 1993, 33; Wonder 2012, 146–47.

⁶⁵⁰ Lomas 1993, 35. On the dating of Archytas' leadership of Taras see: Brauer 1986, 46; Purcell 1994, 388; Fronda 2015, 396.

⁶⁵¹ On the relationship between Dionysius and Taras during this period see: Brauer 1986, 43–59; Talbert 1997, 160; Cerchiai et. al. 2002, 146; Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 255.

⁶⁵² Cerchiai et. al. 2002, 106; Fischer-Hansen et. al. 2004, 255; *HN*³ 124; Fronda 2015, 396 cf. Purcell 1994, 388. On the implications of this see Cornell 1995, 363; Fronda 2015, 401.

⁶⁵³ Fronda 2015, 401. See also, Cornell 1995, 363.

⁶⁵⁴ Fronda 2015, 396.

⁶⁵⁵ Talbert 1997, 160. See also, Wonder 2012, 147; Rosenstein 2012, 39.

⁶⁵⁶ Diod. Sic. 19.3.3; *HN*³ 167; Meister 1984, 385–7; Talbert 1997, 161; Cerchiai et. al. 2002, 106.

was by far the earliest issuer of the type. Viewing Taras as the type's *raison d'être* across the region raises questions. While it is possible to suggest that with the introduction of the seated figure type the Tarentines incited some sort of regional trend, the historical minting technique undermines this to a degree; while Taras also issued incuse coinage, they were not the first settlement to do so. This means that there was no historical tradition of Taras setting some sort of regional iconographical and/or stylistic numismatic archetype that other city-states then followed. While it should be noted that the Tarentine position had changed significantly since the time of the incuse issues, by the time Taras assumed command of the Italiote League, the association that ultimately united settlements in the region, it was one of the region's most powerful city-states. However, Taras' influential position in the political sphere of the region post-dates its earliest seated figure issues and evidence indicated that its involvement in the League, was marginal at best in the League's early phase. Furthermore, it was Kroton, the last case study site to issue the seated figure type, that initially led the League. In this way, Kroton is arguably a more likely candidate if we are looking for a *polis* that would have been in a position to establish some sort of iconographical trend that other member states then followed. However, the widespread use of the incuse and seated figure types can be seen as attesting to an interconnectivity between coinage and iconography within Magna Graecia.

It is also important to note that while the chronology referred to is based on the most widely accepted conventional dating of these issues, Table 4 highlights that there seems to be a critical time from c. 440–420. This short but intensive period of overlap in which the seated figure type was widely adopted is not only the apex of regional iconographical interconnectivity but also seems to have been a 'make or break' period for the iconography: it was during this period that settlements such as Kroton and Metapontion first adopted the type while others such as Rhegion, Herakleia and shortly after, Taras stopped using the type. It should be noted that it is perhaps unwise to place too much emphasis on the extensive timeframe of Kroton's seated figure issues in the absence of a detailed study. With further research, the production dates for the seated figure series at Kroton as they stand today may well be revised; on the evidence collected in this thesis, which views Kroton's seated figure types in the wider context of the region, suggests that there is a possibility that the seated figure types from Kroton will be down dated, consolidating the production of the type at the *polis* into a period that better aligns with the region as a whole.

MINTING TECHNIQUE

In addition to the shared use of the seated figure iconography, the settlements with a minting history prior to the production of the seated figure type (Taras, Rhegion, Metapontion and Kroton) possessed a historical tradition of a shared minting technique while maintaining localised designs. Coinage was first struck in Magna Graecia around the second half of the sixth century, issued initially by Sybaris and Metapontion and subsequently followed by Kroton, Kaulonia and Poseidonia.⁶⁵⁷ These *poleis* adopted a numismatic technique and weight standard that, with the single exception of a small series of incuse issues produced by the Sicilian settlement at Zancle, was unique to South Italy.⁶⁵⁸ This technique, known today as ‘incuse’, featured an image on the obverse with a similar version of the obverse iconography replicated, nearly always to a simpler degree, intaglio on the reverse.⁶⁵⁹ When Taras began issuing coins around 520, it too implemented the incuse technique.⁶⁶⁰ Incuse issues were also produced by Rhegion for its first coinage which commenced around 510.⁶⁶¹ By the time of Herakleia’s foundation, incuse coinage had gradually been replaced with the double relief issues and thus Herakleia’s coinage is all double relief.

While there are no ancient accounts of coin production methods, modern scholars agree that the incuse type was not easily manufactured and the reasons behind the implementation of such a sophisticated technique are still subject to debate.⁶⁶² This minting of the incuse types was a complex process that required careful alignment of the dies and was vastly different from the contemporary coinage of mainland Greece, which was uniface.⁶⁶³ The South Italian incuse technique is regarded by scholars as having evolved largely independently from external influences, making it regionally exclusive rather than an imported technique.⁶⁶⁴

This existence of very specific shared technical features is one of the most striking features of early South Italian coinage.⁶⁶⁵ The production of the incuse type by city-states of non-

⁶⁵⁷ Sheedy et. al. 2021, 256.

⁶⁵⁸ *ACGC* 164–65; Boardman 1980, 198; Carradice and Price 1988, 41; Rutter 1997, 19; Rutter 2012, 128.

⁶⁵⁹ Rutter 2012, 128; Sheedy et. al. 2015, 43; Sheedy, et. al. 2021, 257.

⁶⁶⁰ *HN*³ 93.

⁶⁶¹ *HN*³ 187.

⁶⁶² Rutter 2012, 128–29. For explanations behind the incuse type see: *HN* li–lii; Sutherland 1948, 19; Seltman 1949; *ACGC* 163–64; Wallace 1987, 392; Stazio 1998, 377.

⁶⁶³ *ACGC* 163; Carradice and Price 1988, 41. For example, at Ionia there was variation of both technique and standard, while in Sicily, apart from weight standard, the early coinages had few common attributes (*ACGC* 162–63).

⁶⁶⁴ *HN* iii; *ACGC* 162; Carradice and Price 1988, 41.

⁶⁶⁵ *ACGC* 162.

Achaean heritage like Taras and Rhegion, the latter is considered more a part of the Sicilian economic sphere, suggests that use of the technique was not dictated by a common heritage or economic factors, but was instead a regional phenomenon.⁶⁶⁶ While adhering to this shared minting technique, city-states adopted numismatic designs that were locally exclusive.⁶⁶⁷ The widespread adaptation of the incuse technique establishes the premise of numismatic iconography being an arena in which South Italian Greek settlements were affiliated. It is in this numismatic context of shared iconography and approaches that the seated figures must be viewed.

Like the incuse types, the seated figure types produced in Magna Graecia also shared secondary motifs and stylistic similarities, while each *polis* depicted a figure who was unique to the locality. The discussion above regarding the issuing context highlights that the *poleis* were impacted by similar factors, both during and prior to, the production of the seated figure type. Between c. 470 and 325, shared concerns that the issuing city-states faced were the threat from the Italic tribes and the rise of Syracuse, as well as the threat from neighbouring Greek *poleis*. As a collective, the issuing *poleis* also suffered internally through crises such as a change in style of governance or *stasis*. In several city-states, *stasis* was triggered by the breakup of the Pythagorean brotherhood. In what can be viewed as a tumultuous period in Southern Italy, the following section examines the relationship between the production of the type and the contemporary issuing context, and the degree to which the two can be related.

REGIONAL STYLISTIC SIMILARITIES

The existence of stylistic similarities on a regional level provides additional insight into the regional adoption of a seated figure on stater types between c. 470 and 325. These shared stylistic features and motifs attest to the existence of a unifying method to convey civic identity between the issuing *poleis*. This also suggests that, on some level, the issuing *poleis* were able to identify with the seated individuals on types issued by their neighbours. Table 5 summarises the shared motifs and physical features of the seated figure types issued in the region. Table 5 illustrates that the clean-shaven appearance is the only physical feature shared by the seated figure types in the region. However, the most obvious similarity between the types is that it is a previously unseen, distinctive image of a seated male figure.

⁶⁶⁶ ACGC 204.

⁶⁶⁷ Rutter 2012, 129.

Motif/ Physical feature	Taras (Fischer-Bossert nos)	Rhegion (Herzfelder nos)	Herakleia (Van Keuren nos)	Metapontion (Noe/Johnson nos)	Kroton (HN ³ nos)
clean-shaven	266	52	1	431	2139
vessel (<i>kantharos</i> /cup/skyphos/ <i>patera</i>)	245	56	1	-	2160
<i>diphros</i>	177	41	-	431	-
rock seat	216	-	1	-	2139
altar	245	-	-	-	2139
bearded	105	41	-	-	-
bird	266	56	-	-	-
cat	263	48	-	-	-
dog	263	41	-	-	-
<i>himation</i>	104	1	-	-	-
staff	250	41	-	-	-
wreathed border	138	41	-	-	-
lionskin	-	-	1	-	2139
club	-	-	1	-	2139

Table 5: Shared secondary motifs and physical features of the seated figure types issued in Magna Graecia c. 470–325

By portraying the individual in this steadfast and stationary positioning, the imagery signifies that the figure is an individual of status and authority while also implying that he is immovable from his issuing locality.

In this way, the regional use of this seated position creates an enduring connection between the figure and his issuing *polis*. By visually anchoring the seated figure to his place of issue, it implies that the issuing *polis* and its surrounding territories are guarded by this high status, powerful figure, who features so resolutely on their coinage. This aspect of symbolic intent which is emphasised by the seated figure types is comparable to the wingless statue of Nike at Athens. Pausanias explained that the Athenians removed the wings of Nike so that she (and hence victory), would always remain at Athens.⁶⁶⁸

The widespread adoption of this seated figure schema across South Italy suggests that even if the identity of figure himself was not immediately discernible to a non-local Greek audience, due to his local exclusivity (like Taras at Taras), his status and authority were recognisable on a regional level – conveyed through the basic imagery of the seated figure type. Table 5 illustrates that the depiction of the figure holding some style of drinking vessel was employed by every *polis* except Metapontion – the *kantharos* at Taras and Rhegion, the *skyphos* at Herakleia and the “cup” at Kroton. Rhegion’s Iokastos also appears holding a *patera*. In all examples where the seated figure is depicted holding a vessel, they exhibit the same gesture with the figure shown extending the vessel away from themselves.

More broadly, examples of this style of figure/vessel composition are found throughout the Greek world, across a range of artistic mediums. This depiction of a figure holding a vessel away from themselves is echoed in vase imagery, commonly in scenes identified as depicting a symposium or a libation. For example, on an Apulian column krater, a warrior uses a *kantharos* to pour a libation onto an altar (Figure 87). In instances where the figure is identifiable as a deity in the process of making a libation, this scene is viewed by scholars such as Patton as indicative that the gods are libating to themselves, reflective of their worship.⁶⁶⁹ For example, on an Athenian red figure lekythos from Gela (c. 500 – 450) Hera is depicted in a style that is comparable to the seated figure issues in the region, in that she is seated, holding a sceptre (staff) and accompanied by a bird, and holding a *patera* in her right

⁶⁶⁸ Paus. 3.15.7

⁶⁶⁹ On the frequent depiction of gods making libations, see Patton 2009, 40.

hand (Figure 88).⁶⁷⁰ On the inside of an Athenian red figure cup (c. 475–425) Dionysus is libating with a *kantharos* (Figure 89) and on an Athenian squat lekythos, Nike is shown seated and libating (Figure 90). I would also note that in cases where a libating figure is not identifiable as a deity, these are also classed as libation scenes – for example on an Athenian red figure stemless cup (c. 450–400) the libating figure is simply identified as a ‘youth’ (Figure 91). This suggests that the basic imagery of an individual holding out a vessel signifies a libation.

In these examples, an identification of the type of scene is facilitated by a complete pictorial scene, such as other figures or features that definitively determine the type of scene depicted (such as an altar). However, more simplified imagery exists that is also indicative of the subject making a libation. Examples of this include Hermes, shown on an Athenian red figure cup found at Vulci in Etruria (c. 525–475) (Figure 92) and Apollo seated on an Athenian white ground kylix (c. 490–460) (Figure 93); both figures are simply holding a tilted vessel, accompanied only by their respective identifying attributes.⁶⁷¹

This broader artistic trend suggests that the figure/vessel composition that is found on the seated figure types issued in Magna Graecia can thus be seen as part of a wider phenomenon, recognisable across different artistic contexts. A discussion of the use of the motif at Taras, Rhegion, Herakleia and Kroton suggested that the type of vessel used may have possessed a localised meaning, such as a reference to the heroic status, chthonic associations, or local worship of the seated individual. There is evidence for the local worship of the hero Taras at Taras and the god Apollo at Metapontion. While no evidence exists for the cult of Herakles at Herakleia or Kroton, Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that in the region worship of Herakles was so widely found, ‘...both in cities and along highways...[that]...one could scarcely find any place in Italy in which the god is not honoured.’⁶⁷²

Further, drinking vessels were a very common find in elite burial contexts; that such vessels also occurred on seated figure types during the fifth century suggests that the drinking vessel motif was regionally indicative of the local status of the figure.⁶⁷³ Identifying this pattern of use across other artforms and in conjunction with a myriad of figures, suggests that the symbolic intent of the iconography on the South Italian seated figure types and its connection

⁶⁷⁰ BAPD no. 204109.

⁶⁷¹ See also BAPD no. 214411 that shows Poseidon libating.

⁶⁷² Dion. Hal. 1.40.6.

⁶⁷³ On drinking vessels specifically at Taras and Metapontion see, Yntema 2013, 130–31.

with ritual and status was communicated in a manner that was locally significant and widely recognisable, both within the region and the wider Greek world.

In addition to this, the shared use of the motif warrants consideration in conjunction with the issuing context. Part I suggested that the appearance of a vessel in conjunction with the seated figure was best viewed as a symbol of libations and this symbolism could broadly indicate the status of the figure. Libations were typically undertaken to signify a beginning or end. Applying these connotations surrounding the ritual to use of the vessel by the seated figure, it becomes apparent that in some instances, the use of the motif could have been reflective of the issuing context.

As noted above, the *kantharos* motif at Taras has been interpreted as a reference to an offering undertaken to secure the prosperity of the *polis*.⁶⁷⁴ Considering the motif in light of the issuing context, a libation would have been an appropriate offering on occasion of the end of the old political regime and subsequent introduction of a democracy. This aligns with the hero Taras – it was this event that propelled the hero to this position of ‘local celebrity’ as the face of this new era. While the loss of the Tarentine elite caused initial instability, accepting this link between the motif and the political context could suggest the appearance of a libating Taras could indicate that by this point the *polis* had recovered and achieved internal stability: the internal chaos that prompted Taras’ rise to prominence could now be viewed as something to celebrate. Table 1 shows that the *kantharos* motif was reintroduced at Taras in series seven. The issuing context may also be behind this reintroduction: Table 4 shows that it was during Taras’ series seven that Herakleia, Metapontion and Kroton first issued staters depicting a seated figure. In this context, the reintroduction of the motif by Taras can be seen as a means by which the Tarentines emphasised Taras’ status amidst this regional increase in uptake of the seated figure iconography, now in competition with the appearance of the recognisable hero Herakles (with his comparatively meagre *skyphos*) at Herakleia and Kroton.

A similar pattern in the use of the motif is seen at Rhegion, where the *kantharos* and *phiale* were restricted to the first production period of series three dated to c. 435–425 (Table 2). Table 4 shows that it was also during this period that Herakleia, Metapontion and Kroton also introduced a seated figure type which could suggest that *kantharos* and *phiale* actively

⁶⁷⁴ See above, page 29, n. 195.

emphasised the status of Iokastos at Rhegion in response to the implementation of the seated figure type by other *poleis* in the region, but could the restricted period of use at Rhegion also reflect a local concern over a contemporary event? Table 4 shows that Rhegion's reference to a libation could be related to either the beginning of their allegiance with the Athenians or the *stasis* of c. 425.⁶⁷⁵ Whilst the cause of the *stasis* is unknown, according to Thucydides, the Locrians took advantage of the internal crisis and attacked the settlement.⁶⁷⁶ Perhaps the ritual connotations and heroic status of the figure are emphasised at this point to reflect the beginning of an alliance or the resolution to the internal crisis and the external threat.

At Herakleia, the *skyphos* features in conjunction with Herakles on the first staters issued by the newly founded settlement. In this context it would seem appropriate that the *skyphos* signifying that Herakles is undertaking a libation upon the establishment of the *polis* and in this way can be viewed as relating to the contemporary context.

The cup motif at Kroton occurred in the second series (c. 400–325). Table 4 shows that the appearance of the motif spanned quite an active period in the history of the *polis* – membership of the Kroton-led Italiote League was rapidly increasing, and for a twelve-year period from c. 379, the city was overtaken by Dionysius I. In this context, a libation would have been appropriate on occasion of the expansion of the League as well as the end of the occupation of the *polis* by Dionysius. Possible explanations for the production of the seated Herakles type both pre and post Dionysius' rule is that the rule itself did not have a direct impact upon the seated figure iconography or that the iconography possessed aspects that Dionysius I wanted to capitalise on. More broadly, it is possible that the *kantharos*, like has been suggested for the use of the motif at Taras, refers to an offering made upon the establishment of the city-state. Despite the presence of Dionysius, the motif is a reminder of the permanence of the *polis*.

Table 5 illustrates that seated figures of Taras (Taras), Iokastos (Rhegion) and Apollo (Metapontion) were all depicted seated on a *diphros*, meaning that it was used by every figure aside from Herakles (Herakleia and Kroton). Part I found that the *diphros* was a common style of chair and as such could not offer any direct insight into the identity of the figure. However, the widespread use of the chair style indicates that this independent assessment of the *diphros* must be reconsidered; by viewing the types as a regional phenomenon, the shared

⁶⁷⁵ Thuc. 4.1.3; Berger 1992, 30.

⁶⁷⁶ Thuc. 4.1.3; Berger 1992, 30.

use of the *diphros* suggests it was a regional feature. In this context the *diphros* can be seen to contribute to the broader recognition of the status of the figure, rather than something that was dictated directly by the socio-political context.

Table 5 highlights that another shared feature was the use of the rock as a seat by the hero Taras at Taras (c. 425–415) and Herakles at both Herakleia (c. 432–420) and Kroton (c. 425–325). As a visual element that situates the figure in a natural setting, the motif more specifically ties the figure to the geographic locality of his issuing *polis*. At the same time, the use of the motif could also imply some sort of autochthonous connection between the figure and his issuing locality. The use of the rock on a regional level suggests that this motif contributed towards a regional recognition of the local role of the figure while concurrently serving as a broader reference to the territory of the issuing *polis*. This latter feature is certainly discernible when the figure is seated on a type of chair but the use of the rock as a seat brings this association to the forefront in a more explicit manner.

In addition, it is possible that this was also a response to the issuing context. Herakles at both Herakleia and Kroton is always seated on a rock, suggesting that this connection with the physical locality was a salient aspect of his local identity. At Taras, the eponymous hero implements the use of this seat type in their eighth and final series (c. 425–415). Table 5 shows that the particular seat type in this series at Taras overlapped with the introduction of Kroton and Metapontion's seated Herakles types. This pattern could indicate that Taras adopted the use of the rock to better align its eponymous hero with the easily identifiable Herakles, who had only recently made his appearance in the region, using a rock seat. In this way the rock seat at Taras can be seen as a response to the regional iconographical context, emphasising its eponymous hero in a way that is visually comparable to the Herakles at Herakleia and Kroton.

Similarly, Table 5 shows that both Taras (Taras) and Herakles (Kroton) are depicted seated in front of an altar (Figure 15, 78). Analysis of the use of this motif at both localities suggested that the symbolic intent of the motif was to situate the figures in a ritual context. It also highlighted that the motif could have also referred to a local legend in which the figure was acknowledged as having undertaken a votive ritual. The altar featured in conjunction with the seated figures of Taras and Herakles around the same period: at Taras in series seven (c. 430–425) and at Kroton in series one (c. 425–350). This chronological cohesion emphasises that the use of the altar in conjunction with the figure was a broader method by which to integrate

the respective figures into a ritual setting. Thus, it would have not only signified his status but communicated this broader link with religion and ritual to a wider audience while concurrently implying the existence of a local legend surrounding the figure.

Table 5 illustrates that similarities are particularly apparent between Taras and Rhegion, which warrants a more direct comparison between the two city-states. The shared motifs and physical features of the seated figures from Taras and Rhegion are summarised below in Table 6. Because of the shared motifs between the two sites, Salapata suggests that the inhabitants of Rhegion took iconographical inspiration from the seated figure types produced by Taras, explaining this by way of their close relationship.⁶⁷⁷ As noted earlier, Taras and Rhegion were unified in a military alliance, opposing the native Iapygians in c. 473 and Aelian recorded a similar testament to the good will between the two localities. According to Aelian, the Athenians were laying siege to Taras and the Tarentines were on the point of surrender due to a famine impacting their ability to hold out under siege.⁶⁷⁸ Aelian explains that ‘...the inhabitants of Rhegi[on] voted to fast [for] one day in every ten and to give the food [they would have consumed] for that day to the Tarentines. [As a result] ...the Athenians departed and [Taras] was saved.’⁶⁷⁹ This incident is thought to have occurred during the Athenian expedition to Sicily in c. 415–413.⁶⁸⁰

	Taras (Fischer-Bossert nos)	Rhegion (Herzfelder nos)
Motifs		
<i>himation</i>	104	1
wreath border	138	41
staff	250	41
cat	263	48
dog	263	41
bird	266	56
Physical Features		
bearded	105	41
figure with legs crossed	271	52

Table 6: The shared secondary motifs and physical features exclusive to the seated figure types issued by Taras and Rhegion c. 470–420

⁶⁷⁷ Salapata 2014, 155.

⁶⁷⁸ Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, 5.20.

⁶⁷⁹ Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, 5.20.

⁶⁸⁰ Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, 5.20, n. 23.

While there was evidently a close relationship between Taras and Rhegion, the occurrence of shared motifs on their respective seated figure types is not necessarily explained by the relationship between the *poleis*. One explanation is that as Taras and Rhegion issued more series of seated figure types when compared to Herakleia, Metapontion and Kroton, this may have incited greater variation over time. A more practical consideration is that as Taras and Rhegion both depicted their local heroes as seated figures, both localities were adopting shared motifs to convey the identity of locally exclusive heroes.

While analysis found that the *himation* held no specific symbolic significance in terms of the figure's identity, the shared use of the garment by the seated figures at Taras and Rhegion further unites both individuals. Rather than being influenced by the issuing socio-political context, parallels can also be drawn between how the respective figures were depicted wearing the *himation* – draped around their lower body, making them nude from the waist up. This half nude appearance is broadly indicative of their heroic/divine status but the way in which the figure is wearing the *himation* contributes to this idea of the figure having an almost nonchalant attitude to the authority position that is implied by his seated position, while also suggesting that the figure has confidence and effortless control of this position of authority. Similarly, these ideas can also be found in a variation to the figure's positioning – both appeared on occasion with crossed legs (Figure 48).⁶⁸¹ This variation also contributes to this overall impression that the seated Taras and Iokastos are in positions of serene power.

Table 5 illustrates that Taras and Rhegion were the only two localities that depicted their figure bearded and clean-shaven and this fluidity in the figure's appearance occurred prominently during the early production periods. Part I indicated that this variation sometimes occurred in the same series – at Taras in series three and seven and Rhegion in the first part of series three, he appeared both bearded and clean-shaven (Figure 5 cf. 6; 13 cf. 14; 50 cf. 51). In the first and second series at Taras, stylistic variations to the figure's hairstyle also occurred (see Table 1). As both Taras and Iokastos were locally exclusive mythic figures these variations to their initial appearance can be interpreted as reflecting that during this incipient phase, neither figure had a well-established or conventional appearance. It is evident that their physical appearance (and hairstyle in the case of Taras), became increasingly fixed at both localities overtime.

⁶⁸¹ For Taras, see Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 271.

The wreathed border was introduced at both *poleis* around the middle of the fifth century. Part I suggests that it is best viewed as associating the *polis* and figure with prestige or a communal civic triumph. At Taras, the motif only occurs in one series while at Rhegion, it features across all series of production, even when the seated figure featured on fractional denominations. When recognising the space constraints of these smaller issues produced by Rhegion, this could have, for convenience's sake, prompted the omission of the wreath; the consistent use of the wreathed border at Rhegion suggests that the motif was a salient feature of the imagery, integral to Iokastos.

Table 4 may provide some insight into the use of the wreath at Taras and Rhegion as it highlights that the motif first appeared at both centres around the period that saw the regional collapse of Pythagoreanism. After all, as noted above, members of the Pythagorean brotherhood were elite. Because of this would not the downfall of Pythagoreanism been something that the seated Taras – the autochthonous hero who had been made popular by the introduction of the democracy – would have seen as a victory? We know that Pythagoreanism was revived or restored at Taras at some point following this collapse in the mid-fourth century, at least towards the end of the fourth century, Taras' *strategos* was a renowned Pythagorean, Archytas.⁶⁸² With the limited period of use at Taras, perhaps the wreath was employed only during the period in which the *polis* was directly impacted by this collapse? In this context, the restricted use of the wreath motif by Taras in conjunction with their eponym could be reflective of a limited period in which Taras viewed the Pythagorean collapse as a victorious event.

Rhegion's use of the motif across all production periods draws some interesting parallels; while Part I suggested that one function of the motif was to associate the figure with the natural environment, the correlation between the use of the motif and the issuing context offers a more direct interpretation. The seated figure types first appeared at Rhegion following a period of regional political turmoil caused by the collapse of Pythagoreanism. A similar context was seen at Taras where their seated figure first appeared in c. 470, following the death of the local elite. It was in this annihilation of their upper class, that the eponymous hero Taras was catapulted to local celebrity. Could the collapse of the Pythagorean brotherhood have been the catalyst for Iokastos? While Rhegion had been governed by an oligarchy since the expulsion of the tyrants, as noted above, Diodorus recorded that with the

⁶⁸² On the dating of Archytas' leadership of Taras see: Brauer 1986, 46; Purcell 1994, 388; Fronda 2015, 396.

fall of the tyranny, the exiled citizens returned and the *polis* was restored to the original citizens (i.e., members of the elite).⁶⁸³ This could suggest that while the governing system changed, there was no overhaul of the upper class because the old system and the old governors returned. With the regional collapse of Pythagoreanism, a doctrine that attracted members of the aristocracy, perhaps this overhaul of the elite occurred at Rhegion at this point and subsequently facilitated the rise of Iokastos. If this is the case, it would not only tally with the rise of the Tarentine hero, but also explain the repetitious use of the wreath across all series and denominations that bore a seated figure at Rhegion: it symbolised an aspect of his local identity, specifically that event which allowed his rise to prominence.

The bird motif was also a shared feature. Viewed as creatures that transcend the dimension separating gods and men, the motif referred to the heroic/divine status of the figure by implying that the seated figure also belonged to this transitional domain. More broadly, bird motifs also appear frequently as a type of shield device in vase imagery (Figure 94).⁶⁸⁴ A long-necked bird also features under the chair of Zeus on an Athenian back figure amphora (c. 575–525) (Figure 95). This example is of particular note because of the compositional similarities that it shares with birds on the seated figure type at Rhegion (for example Figure 52). Another example, on an Apulian bell krater that depicts Herakles and a seated Athena, under Athena's seat is some sort of strange looking bird that is most definitely not Athena's owl (Figure 96). This particular bird has no artistic or mythological parallels.⁶⁸⁵ The use of the bird as a shield device and in conjunction with Zeus and Athena, could indicate that there are broader symbolic connotations to the use of a bird in a numismatic context, aside from (or in addition to) the association between bird motifs signifying divinity. While an identification of the variant species would offer a more nuanced insight into their symbolic function, perhaps the use of the motif broadly signified that the figure was linked with the issuing locality.

Table 6 shows that the cat and dog motifs were also found on the seated figure types issued by both localities. It is interesting to note that the position of the motifs in conjunction with the figure is the same at each locality, but different from each other: at Taras the cat and dog are interacting with the figure, while at Rhegion, both animals sit under the chair of the figure. While this is more generally reflective of the position of motifs at the respective

⁶⁸³ Diod. Sic. 11.76.5–6.

⁶⁸⁴ See also, BAPD no. 203842 (inside).

⁶⁸⁵ Robinson 2015, 89.

localities, the correlation between the positioning of the cat and dog in conjunction with the figure could suggest that the symbolic intent of the cat was similar, if not identical to that of the dog. In line with this it was found that both the cat and the dog both could have possessed chthonic associations.

A further example of the use of the same motif at Taras and Rhegion is the use of the staff. It has been suggested that the motif alludes to the status of the seated individual. It is interesting to note that while the use of the staff motif was confined to the heroes Taras and Iokastos, on one example Herakles at Kroton holds his club in a comparable manner, a feature which could be indicative of a similar emphasis on status conveyed at Kroton (Figure 78 cf. Figures 7, 51). While the staff features across all production periods at Rhegion, the use of the motif at Taras is restricted to the period from c. 450–425 (Table 1). Table 4 shows that the introduction of the staff at Taras loosely coincides with, and is roughly limited to, the period in which Taras is at war with Thurii. As the Tarentine figure is first equipped with the staff motif near the beginning of the conflict, it seems pertinent that in the face of war, the Tarentines added an additional symbol of authority to their seated eponymous hero. In this way the symbolic function of the staff can be seen as reinforcing the status of the figure as an individual of authority and power, a message which is relevant to the contemporary context of war and more broadly implies that the Tarentines themselves are stoic in the face of aggression.

An analysis of the shared motifs between Taras and Rhegion indicates that they were adopting shared symbols to advocate a similar identity. This idea is supported by viewing the types on a regional level. The greatest variation in secondary motifs occurred at Taras in series seven (see Table 1) and at Rhegion only from series three (see Table 2). Table 4 illustrates that at Taras, the dramatic increase of new motifs and the reintroduction of motifs that had been unseen for decades that occurred in the seventh series, coincided with the first production of seated figure types at Herakleia, Metapontion, and Kroton. The situation is similar at Rhegion where their seated Iokastos is only depicted in conjunction with variant secondary motifs from series three. This iconographical pattern suggests that the status and identity of their respective heroes are emphasised in response to the wider regional adoption of this particular seated figure stater imagery across Magna Graecia.

Taras and Iokastos appeared with motifs that stressed their local exclusivity but in a pose that made them recognisable to a wider audience. In contrast, both Herakles (Herakleia and

Kroton) and Apollo (Metapontion) were depicted in conjunction with motifs and physical features that made them recognisable across the wider Greek world, while concurrently promoting their status within the region by depicting them as seated figures.

According to Jennifer Larson, Herakles, who was depicted seated on types issued by Herakleia and Kroton, was broadly recognised as a protector, and he guarded both ‘...his worshipers and their homes from all dangers material and metaphysical, including disease and misfortunes caused by malevolent spirits.’⁶⁸⁶ Pindar described Herakles as a hero-god and Stephanus of Byzantium recorded that as many as twenty-three cities were named after the hero throughout the Greek world.⁶⁸⁷ According to mythic tradition, Herakles was the first hero who travelled to Magna Graecia with the cattle of Geryon.⁶⁸⁸ Larson contends that on account of this, Herakles became akin to a ‘patron saint’ to the Greek settlers in South Italy.⁶⁸⁹ Diodorus’ detailed account of the hero’s journey through Italy and Sicily places him at eleven different locations across the region over the course of his travels: Rome, Campi Phlegraei, Lake Avernus, Poseidonia, on the border of Locri and Rhegion, Himera, Eryx, Syracuse, Leontini, Agyrium and Kroton.⁶⁹⁰ As such, it was not uncommon for Greek settlements in the West to refer to Herakles in their foundation myths due to his travels through the region.⁶⁹¹ Table 7 summarises the shared motifs of Herakles at Herakleia and Kroton.

Motif/Physical feature	Herakleia (Van Keuren nos)	Kroton (HN³ nos)
club	1	2139
lionskin	1	2139
clean-shaven	1	2139

Table 7: The shared secondary motifs and features of the seated figure types exclusive to Herakleia and Kroton c. 432–325

⁶⁸⁶ Larson 2016, 341.

⁶⁸⁷ Pindar *Nemean Odes* 3.22; Stephanus of Byzantium 303–4. On settlements named after Herakles, see Fischer-Hansen et.al. 2004.

⁶⁸⁸ Hes. *Theog.* 287–95, 979–83.

⁶⁸⁹ Larson 2016, 341–2. See also, Leigh 2000, 125 ff.

⁶⁹⁰ Diod. Sic. 4.21–4. See also Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.10.

⁶⁹¹ See Stafford 2012, 156 ff.

Table 7 illustrates that at both localities, the shared motifs are predominantly those that identify the figure as Herakles – the club and lionskin being primary attributes of the hero. Of the shared physical features, while Herakles was not necessarily always clean-shaven in antiquity, at both Herakleia and Kroton more explicit physical similarities occur.⁶⁹²

Interestingly, comparisons between Herakleia and Kroton reveal that both the physical appearance and pose of the hero possess only minor iconographical alterations from each other (Figure 97). Figure 97 illustrates that this is particularly apparent from the positioning of his right leg, rendering of the muscles in his chest, arms, and legs and from the style of his hair. This latter aspect is particularly evident in Figure 97 examples A and C where it is evident that attempts have been made by the die engraver to imply his curly hair by way of small dots or spikes.

Table 7 also highlights the shared use at Herakleia and Kroton of two key features that were not typical attributes of Herakles in mythology: the rock as a seat and a drinking vessel – the *skyphos* at Herakleia and the cup at Kroton. At both localities it was suggested that the rock as a seat type had a more localised function by implying that the hero was connected with and/or situated within the issuing locality while the vessel signified his status. It could also be said that the shared use of the rock by the hero at Herakleia and Kroton more broadly situates the hero in the countryside, a feature which concurrently suits the mythic exploits of the hero, as a reflection of his adventurous character but was not directly tied to any mythic traditions surrounding the hero. While not part of these mythical traditions, depictions of Herakles seated/reclining on a rock, sometimes with a drinking vessel, are dated as early as the sixth century.⁶⁹³ For example, the hero is shown reclining on a gypsum plaster relief dated to c. 323–CE 256 where he even appears to be holding a vessel – perhaps here we are seeing the *skyphos* or cup again (Figure 98). Another example is the late second century South Italian terracotta relief that shows a bearded Herakles seated and reclining (Figure 99). The imagery is similar again to the statue of Herakles sitting on a rock known as the Herakles Epitrapezios and while this particular example is dated to the Roman Imperial period, it is believed to be a copy of a fourth century bronze sculpture by Lysippos (Figure 100).⁶⁹⁴ On these examples, the club and lionskin motifs and position of the hero parallel those that are found on the coin type.

⁶⁹² For example, Herakles appears bearded on the coinage of Metapontion, as for example, on *HN*³ no. 1621.

⁶⁹³ Albersmeier 2009, 213.

⁶⁹⁴ BM no. 1881,0701.1.

This style of depiction has been identified as showing Herakles in a position of rest, after or between his labours.⁶⁹⁵ Applying this analysis to the seated figure iconography from Herakleia and Kroton suggests that both localities are engaging with traditions surrounding the hero within the region, adhering to not only a pre-established idea of what the hero Herakles looked like but more specifically, what he looked like while at rest. This engagement with pre-established ideas about the hero's appearance meant that the imagery both engaged with the mythic traditions surrounding Herakles in the region and was also recognisable across the panhellenic world.

This style of depiction conjures up a very specific set of circumstances, automatically implying a connection between the issuing *poleis* and the heroic era of Herakles. In the wider context of South Italy, considering the role of the hero in the locality, while Kroton felt the need to explicitly name Herakles as its *oikist*, there is a strong indication that Herakleia did not need to make such a specific declaration – the specific portrayal of Herakles that they implemented communicated this Herakles/*oikist* message well enough, especially given that Herakleia had him as its eponym. Not only this, but looking beyond the seated Herakles type, Taras, Rhegion and Metapontion all depicted seated figures that were linked with the foundation of the *polis* – suggesting that the link between seated figures and foundation/mythic heritage was widely established. In this context, it suggests that Herakleia and Kroton simply engaged with this seated figure phenomenon using an iconography that was on a panhellenic level, symbolically indicative that 'Herakles was here'. This idea is reinforced by the localised emphasis the respective *poleis* depicted in conjunction with the seated Herakles, such as the shell at Herakleia and fish at Kroton which directly related the hero with the place of issue. These details highlight that while the overall imagery resonated with a regional audience, there was still this element of local exclusivity to the iconography, an indication that the depiction of Herakles as its seated figure was locally driven and dynamic.

Table 4 illustrates that the local context surrounding the introduction of the type at Herakleia is unknown. However, broadly speaking Herakleia's adoption of the seated figure format on its initial staters attests to the utility of the seated figure schema as a civic image that was readily recognisable. In the context of the regional instability which had recently prompted the foundation of the Italiote League, the use of the seated imagery by the newly founded

⁶⁹⁵ Murray 1882, 241.

polis elevates Herakleia to a mythic level, implying that its mythic heritage was equal to that of its neighbouring *poleis*.

This mythic connection, advertised on coinage as a feature of Herakleia's civic identity, emphasises its autonomy from their founding cities of Taras and Thurii and therefore can be seen as a way of asserting a territorial position. In aligning themselves with Herakles, arguably the most renowned panhellenic hero, who also had very personal ties with South Italy, the symbolic intent of the overall iconography implies that the newly founded *polis* was establishing its past and future position by adopting imagery that resonated on a regional scale firstly via a famous hero and secondly depicting him as a seated figure – giving the impression that Herakleia had a long mythic past and effectively, in the context of their recent foundation, making it appear as though they had been there all along.

At Kroton, Table 4 shows that, as at Taras and Rhegion, the first production period of the seated figure types followed a *stasis*, which had been caused by the ousting of the Pythagoreans around the time that the Italiote League was formed. At the beginning of the second series Kroton headed the newly enlarged League and by the end of this series it had been defeated and overtaken by the Syracusan tyrant Dionysius I. In this context it seems that the continuation of the imagery is most revealing of the relationship between the type and the issuing context: attesting to the utility of the type. The continued emphasis on their mythic past via the panhellenic figure of Herakles is a reminder of the permanence of the *polis*, entwining their civic identity with one of the most recognisable and enduring figures of Greek mythology, their founder Herakles.

The adherence to pre-established depictions of panhellenic figures that is apparent with Herakles at Herakleia and Kroton is also discernible in the depiction of Apollo at Metapontion. At Metapontion, the god is depicted in his conventional youthful fashion accompanied by his key motifs, the lyre and laurel tree. This image of a seated Apollo playing a lyre is commonly found in vase imagery. For example, on an Athenian red-figure neck amphora found in South Italy (Nola), Apollo is seated holding a lyre (Figure 101). Another example also found in the region (Spina) is an Athenian red-figure oinochoe, showing a seated Apollo with a lyre (Figure 102).⁶⁹⁶ In this way, even if the type was derived from a local statue this particular style of depiction in conjunction with the lyre motif would

⁶⁹⁶ For further examples, see BAPD nos 2097, 13378, 43703, 206340, 206925.

have incurred wide recognition. This recognition on a regional level was not just from the seated positioning but also through the adherence to an image of Apollo that was panhellenic. Table 5 shows that the type was issued by Metapontion following the conclusion of the war between Taras and Thurii.

Both the *Archegetes* identification and/or an identification of the seated Apollo as being derived from a local cult statue can be viewed as a response to the issuing context. By electing to depict a prominent local as well as panhellenic deity, a deity who was viewed as the guard and guide of overseas settlements, Metapontion was emphasising its territorial claim following a period that had prevented it from issuing coinage and thus limited this form of civic expression. More specifically, by viewing the *Archegetes* iteration as a reference to the foundation of the settlement and the cult statue as a representation of the local religious culture, these identifications express very specific aspects of Metapontion's civic identity in a way that is pertinent to the aftermath of the war between Taras and Thurii.

Having established that the seated figure iconography adopted a regional significance based on the seated positioning and shared motifs, a more nuanced understanding of the individual's local significance is conveyed by those motifs which are locally exclusive but similar in terms of symbolic intent. Jennifer Neils observed that recognition of the individual deities on the Parthenon frieze depended in part, on the inclusion of subsidiary symbols and consequent knowledge of the relationship between these motifs and the figure.⁶⁹⁷ This is something that is echoed in the South Italian seated figure types, with Part I highlighting that identification of the seated figure was, to an extent, dependent on local knowledge of the individual and thus, recognition of the local significance and function of the motifs that accompanied him.

Certain motifs can be seen to emphasise the local significance of the figure via reference to an aspect of the issuing locality. A common theme is a focus on an aspect of local industry and/or economy and by extension, prosperity, and abundance. This is most clearly expressed by the hero Taras at Taras with the distaff motif appearing as a reference to the local textile industry (for example, Figure 2). At Rhegion, the motifs frequently referenced the natural environment, such as the vine tendril (Figure 31), and the grape bunch (Figures 27, 35) making these symbolic references comparable to the Tarentine distaff. Similarly, analysis of

⁶⁹⁷ Neils 1999, 6–7.

the fish motifs on Kroton's types suggested that they could also have referred to a local food source and/or economic aspect of the city-state. In this regard, these motifs symbolically localise the respective figures by linking him with the broader *polis*. This same intent is also found in examples where motifs connect the figure to an aspect of the geographic locality. For example, the shell operated as a secondary symbol on issues of Herakleia (Figure 36), referring to the coastal locality of the *polis*. At Metapontion, the star and *chlamys* localised the iconography and declared that this Apollo was the Apollo of Metapontion. In this way, Metapontion's type can concurrently be seen to engage with the regional seated figure movement but, like the depiction of Herakles at Herakleia and Kroton, interacts with a much broader visual tradition. Similarly, at Kroton, the use of the rock seat and appearance of fish in the exergue can also be seen as a reference to the geographic location of the *polis* as Kroton was situated near the modern Esaro river and on the shores of the Ionian Sea (Figure 38).⁶⁹⁸

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TYPES

The iconographical similarities between the seated figure types across the region attest to a coherency and connectivity between the issuing city-states. In some instances, the issuing context can be seen to have had an impact on the imagery but was undertaken in a way that concurrently emphasised the status of the figure. In other instances, the adoption of a shared motif occurred at different localities in similar periods, suggesting that the alterations to the iconography was actively responding to and engaging with regional trends. In this way, the shared features of the seated figure types are evidence of a system of iconographical coherence and connectivity between these *poleis* that is otherwise absent from the literary and archaeological record between c. 470 and 325.

It is apparent that the iconographical details of these types across Magna Graecia highlight that on both a local and a regional level the seated figure arrived 'fully equipped' – ready to relay his significance and identity to anyone who encountered him. This aspect to the imagery is exemplified by the existence of motifs that were shared across the region in contrast with those motifs that were exclusively local. In addition, the seated figure's place of issue was often secured or facilitated through the pairing of the figure with the characteristic type of his issuing *polis*.

⁶⁹⁸ Cerchiali et. al. 2002, 107.

The question remains as to why the type was adopted by this group of city-states during this period – why it was this particular figure who featured and why at this particular time? It was found that while the socio-political context left traces on the iconography of the types themselves, the widespread use of the seated figure imagery cannot be directly ascribed to any singular local or regional event. The shared use of the incuse type by the older established *poleis* may provide the answer. One theory for the adoption of this shared technique is that it had an economic function, designed to keep coins circulating within the region.⁶⁹⁹ That is, the different city-states adopted a minting technique that resulted in their coins having the same appearance as those of neighbouring *poleis* in order to facilitate trade.

The seated figure type was not issued by all major mints in the area, nor by all those localities that issued incuse types (e.g. Kaulonia and Poseidonia). This in itself discounts an economic motive as a primary factor in adopting the seated figure type. This is also supported by the pattern of regional production outlined in Table 4 which suggests that there was only a short-lived period of overlap between the production periods of each locality – from about c. 440–420. Secondly, if trade between neighbouring *poleis* is to be considered a primary factor behind the introduction and use of the type within the region, we would arguably expect to see a much more succinct beginning and end to the use of the type. Contrary to this, Table 4 illustrates for example, that there was approximately a forty-five-year difference between the start of Taras' seated figure series and the start of the seated figure type at Kroton. However, the shared adoption of the incuse type highlights the existing background of shared approaches surrounding the use of similar iconography among the city-states in the region.

The questions over what exactly triggered the emergence of the type in the region can be partially explained by the level of commonality that is apparent between depictions of seated figures across Magna Graecia. This commonality is evident not just by use of shared motifs but also shared stylistics such as how the figure is positioned and what he looks like. The implications of this are that the type takes on a regional significance, generated firstly by an understanding of the seated figure imagery through the depiction of the figures with easily identifiable motifs and secondly through the use of the iconography by multiple *poleis*.

The similarities between Herakleia and Kroton's depiction of Herakles engaged with both the broader panhellenic ideas of what Herakles looked like as well as the mythic traditions

⁶⁹⁹ HN³ 4.

surrounding the hero in the region. Similarly, Metapontion's Apollo was also seen to conform to this idea of how Apollo was depicted in vase imagery. These features add a new dimension to the use of the type across the region. With Taras and Rhegion sticking with what could be viewed as 'traditional' figures, in that both Taras and Iokastos are solely local figures, the way in which they are depicted implies that they too are intended to be recognisable to a regional audience. The identification of these shared features on a regional level suggests that the seated figure type within the region was a recognisable iconographical package that combined widely shared motifs with local civic identifiers.

This connection between the figure and his issuing locality is something that was also communicated to an external audience through the pairing of the seated figure with the characteristic type of the issuing settlements. At Taras, Rhegion, Metapontion and Kroton, the initial output (if not the entire series of production) of seated figure types, was accompanied by the dolphin rider at Taras, the lion head at Rhegion, the ear of grain at Metapontion and the tripod type at Kroton. The only exception is Herakleia, where the seated figure series was the new settlement's first series of coinage. As such, it had no prior minting history and therefore were yet to develop their characteristic type.

The production of a seated figure type by Herakleia is a key factor in understanding the use of the type within the region during this period. This is because Herakleia was the only *polis* that had no prior history of coin production. Analysis of Herakleia's iconography indicates that secondary motifs imply that the hero Herakles was at the site of the city during or prior to, the foundation of the *polis*. In this context, its use of a seated figure type on its initial staters gives the impression that the *polis* was using the imagery to integrate itself into both the South Italian context, by joining this group of *poleis* that similarly issued seated figure types, but also into an even more ancient and exclusive club of those who possessed a grand mythic heritage. They are in effect, inventing and then emphasising a heritage that no one in the contemporary context could believe, given the recent foundation of the *polis*.

This emphasis on a local mythic heritage is also echoed across the region via their seated figure types. At Taras, the type first occurred at a period when there was a revival of interest in its Spartan heritage, but its seated figure was identifiable as the local eponymous hero Taras. Similar to Herakles at Herakleia, the Tarentine type can be seen to be an example of manufactured mythology in that it emphasises an aspect of their mythic heritage that was locally exclusive. The initial production of the Tarentine seated figure type occurred in the

aftermath of an internal crisis, triggered by the death of their elite citizens. This suggests that this interest in local mythic heritage was a result of a need to validate their territorial standing. In this way, the seated figure of Taras on Tarentine coinage has the same function as Herakles at Herakleia, where an emphasis was placed on their eponymous hero Herakles in the context of their recent foundation.

Likewise, at Rhegion, the depiction of Iokastos as a seated figure occurred at a time following an internal crisis that was created following the expulsion of the tyrants. The adoption of the type is a clear iconographical adherence to their South Italian neighbours and yet with a weight standard that conformed with Sicily. This dual feature of their coinage provides an interesting insight into the mindset of Rhegion during the period; it is also a further demonstration that the seated figure iconography represents a revival of interest in the mythic history of these issuing *poleis*. By engaging with this seated figure phenomenon Rhegion was actively engaging and promoting itself, its mythic heritage and contemporary standing in a manner that would have been significant to its South Italian neighbours.

In terms of powerful individuals depicted as seated figures, it was Metapontion which took it to the next level with the depiction of the god Apollo, perhaps under the iteration *Archegetes*. Not only was Apollo an important local deity, but he was also easily recognisable and regarded as the ‘patron’ of overseas settlements. The connection that Apollo references at Metapontion is therefore one that dates back to the very foundation of the *polis*, adding an element to the imagery which was particularly pertinent to other Greek settlements in the region. The production of this seated Apollo type occurred following a period when coin production at Metapontion had been interrupted by the war between Taras and Thurii. That Metapontion’s first series following this break in production depicted the seated figure of Apollo not only refers to their mythic heritage, but also functions as a resolute declaration of their place in the region.

Kroton’s initial seated figure types with the archaising OIKISTAS inscription also alluded to its local mythic heritage. While the motifs identify the figure as Herakles, rather than their ‘historical’ founder Myscellos, the inscription indicates that the type illustrates the hero at the time of or shortly after the foundation of the site. While Kroton was the last city-state in the region to adopt the iconography, it did so using a panhellenic figure and an individual who was of particular importance to the Greek *poleis* in the region. The depiction of the hero, in such a stylised manner accompanied by motifs that linked him personally with the city of

Kroton, conveys a localised message that is actively engaging with both local and regional traditions.

Across the region, many of the secondary motifs that featured in conjunction with these seated figures provide insight into their identities while concurrently displaying a strong connection with the geographic location of the *polis* and products of the local territory. This overall focus on territorial possession exhibits a primary concern of the Western Greeks, both historically and in relation to the issuing context. Rutter has highlighted that certain Sicilian coinage emphasises local topography and pride in locality to express civic identity.⁷⁰⁰ These same themes are apparent in Magna Graecia where this emphasis on location and territory is expressed and emphasised through the stylised depiction of seated mythic figures involved in some aspect of the foundation of the issuing *polis*. According to Harold Isaacs: ‘The physical element in basic group identity has to do ... with place, the land, the soil to which the group is attached, literally, historically, mythically.’⁷⁰¹ In the South Italian context, the shared stylistics of the seated figure types suggest that this local identity is closely coupled with a broader sense of regional belonging, highlighting a connectivity between the issuing city-states that is less evident in the historical record.

⁷⁰⁰ Rutter 2000, 83–4.

⁷⁰¹ Isaacs 1975, 44 in Rutter 2000, n. 16.

CONCLUSION

Part I established the identity of the seated figures on stater types issued by Taras, Rhegion, Herakleia, Metapontion, and Kroton. Identification of these figures involved not only an analysis of the figure himself, but also an examination of the secondary motifs that occurred in conjunction with the figure. In addition, it adopted the premise that contemporary identification of the seated individual would not have relied solely on the secondary motifs that accompanied the respective figures. Rather, his renown within the issuing locality dictated that he did not necessarily require any overt identifiers to declare his identity to the audience.

By combining the symbolic function of these motifs with consideration of the contemporary context and overall consistency of motifs, this thesis built upon previous scholarship regarding the identification of the seated figures at each of the issuing localities. Through an analysis of each secondary motif that appeared in conjunction with the respective figure from each case study site, it was found that these motifs revealed the status and function of the seated individual.

This comprehensive and independent approach demonstrated that the seated figures could be identified as the eponymous hero Taras on Tarentine types, the local hero Iokastos on Rhegion's tetradrachms, the hero Herakles on issues from Herakleia, the god Apollo at Metapontion, either under the epithet *Archegetes* and/or a copy of the local cult statue, and Herakles as the *oikist* at Kroton. These conclusions surrounding the identity of the seated male figures at each locality indicates that current scholarly consensus surrounding their respective identities is not entirely incorrect. However, this analysis distinguishes itself from previous works by offering a more nuanced understanding of the identity and local significance of the seated figures at their respective places of issue. All figures depicted on these issues were individuals who belonged to the incipient phase and/or heroic past of the city-state. This, as a further unifying aspect to the iconography, highlight how these identifications reveal a regional preoccupation with mythic history and foundation between c. 470 and 325.

Part II addressed the seated figure types with consideration for the issuing context to determine whether there was a relationship between the context and the iconography. While it was found that no singular internal or external event explains the emergence of the type in the region, viewing the types as a regional phenomenon revealed additional similarities between

the types. It was found that motifs that were comparable, either in terms of appearance or symbolic intent, and were implemented throughout the region in conjunction with the seated figures. It was also found that these motifs were employed by different localities during production periods within a similar chronological context. This observation provides evidence of interconnectivity between these issuing *poleis* and suggests that the deployment of a common iconographical scheme that the seated figure types attest to was not just driven by geographic proximity.

While the sharing of numismatic technique and style was not an unseen occurrence in Magna Graecia, with Taras, Rhegion, Metapontion and Kroton issuing incuse coins, the iconographical similarities between the seated male figure types are evidence of a shared means by which city-states elected to communicate their individual sense of identity within Magna Graecia. This sense of identity was not derived from that of their founding cities, but was their own, developed and perpetuated in a South Italian context. In this way, the production of these types can be seen to signal the pinnacle of the self-defined sense of civic identity of the issuing localities – expressed on both a local and a regional level.

On a local level, the individual city-states depicted a mythical figure with an individualised link to the issuing *polis* and its territories. At all city-states this link was related to the establishment of the *polis*. By depicting a mythic figure, a local hero or an eponym, an *oikist* or a founder-deity, these issuing *poleis* are reminding the audience that their city and their lands are mythologically decreed. Through these figures the city-states evoke their protection and thus, their *polis*, its lands and its institutions are not only validated but elevated to a status beyond that of a *polis* that possessed just a ‘historical’ past and origin.

On a regional level the individual city states engage with panhellenic traditions. While both Taras and Rhegion depicted locally exclusive heroes, they employed motifs that were widely recognisable signifiers of heroic figures, such as the *kantharos* and the dog. As for Herakles at Herakleia and Kroton, and Apollo at Metapontion, these depictions employed motifs that were characteristic of these mythical figures. These motifs and the particulars of the seated position ensured that other city-states would recognise the figure depicted and his role in the *polis*.

Future research on the significance of these seated figure types should involve an analysis of the staters that were issued in conjunction with these seated figure types at Taras, Metapontion and Kroton. A consideration of this iconography could offer further insight into

the contemporary context and add to our understanding of regional identity. Perhaps there is some relationship between these concurrent types from Taras, Metapontion and Kroton and the iconography of other major mints in the region, like Poseidonia, a *polis* that did not issue seated figure types but had issued incuse types.

Additionally, an analysis of the types issued by Pandosia and Terina could be undertaken once archaeological excavation reveals more about the exact location and culture of both localities. A study of types issued by these *poleis* coupled with those addressed in this thesis would no doubt add significantly to our understanding of the seated figure types as a regional phenomenon.

Beyond Magna Graecia, a seated figure appeared between c. 420 and 413 on tetradrachms produced by Zancle/Messana.⁷⁰² These types depict a male figure, identified as Pan seated on a rock. This type is similar to the depiction of Herakles at both Herakleia and Kroton, as well as the seated Pan who also featured on types from Pandosia. Chronologically the production of the type by Zancle/Messana occurs in the timeframe of that key ‘make or break’ period, a period that was identified in South Italy which seemed to trigger either the uptake or abandonment of the seated figure type by the South Italian *poleis*. An analysis into the use of the type at Zancle/Messana would therefore increase our understanding of the wider significance of this style of seated figure iconography.

It is telling that the seated figure types issued by Taras, Rhegion, Herakleia, Metapontion and Kroton, share iconographical features and yet they are staunchly localised, individualised figures. While these types hail a newly defined sense of local identity and regional belonging, they also articulate the potential for a greater degree of regional unity that the Italiote League could never quite accomplish. This potential came to an end just over 100 years after the final production of the seated figure type, by which point all issuing *poleis* had been overpowered by the rise of Rome.

⁷⁰² HN 106, fig. 59 cf. Caccamo Caltabiano 1993, 508.1.

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FIGURES

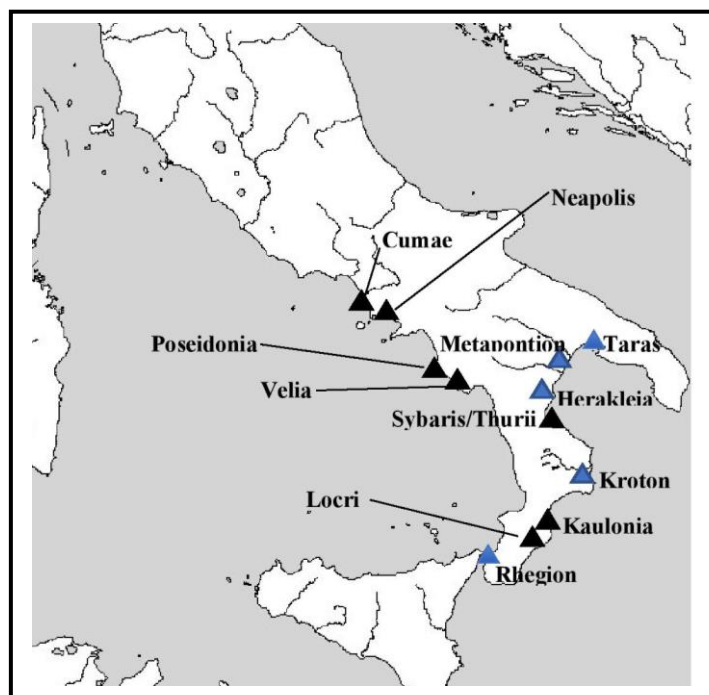


Figure 1: Map showing the major mints of Magna Graecia in the fifth and fourth centuries. Poleis that issued seated figure types are marked in blue.



Figure 2: Stater from Taras c. 470–465
(Baldwin's Auctions Ltd., M&M Numismatics Ltd.,
The New York Sale III, 7 December 2000, lot no.
67, Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 104b, V53, R 68)



Figure 3: Stater from Taras c. 455
(Classical Numismatic Group, Triton V, 15 January
2002, lot no. 1030; Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 120a
V 64, R 82)



Figure 4: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 455
(Fischer-Bossert 1999, pl.7, no. 127, R87)



Figure 5: Stater from Taras c. 450
(Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XX, 10
January 2017, lot no. 5; Fischer-Bossert 1999, 134b
V 70/R 92)



Figure 6: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 450
(Fischer-Bossert 1999, pl. 8, no. 135, R93)



Figure 7: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 450
(Fischer-Bossert 1999, pl. 8, no. 142, R97)



Figure 8: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 450–440
(Fischer-Bossert 1999, pl. 9, no. 156, R 110)



Figure 9: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 450–440
(Fischer-Bossert 1999, pl. 9, no. 158, R 112)



Figure 10: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 450–440
(Fischer-Bossert 1999, pl. 9, no. 161, R114)



Figure 11: Obverse of a Tarentine stater c. 445–440
(Fischer-Bossert 1999, pl. 12, no. 200, V 98)



Figure 12: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 435
(Fischer-Bossert 1999, pl. 12, no. 204, R 145)



Figure 13: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 430–425
(Fischer-Bossert 1999, pl. 14, no. 241, R 180)



Figure 14: Stater from Taras c. 430–425
(Classical Numismatic Group, Triton V, 15 January 2002, lot no. 1036; Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 243o, V 116, R 182)



Figure 15: Stater from Taras c. 430–425
(Classical Numismatic Group, Triton V, 15 January 2002, lot 1037; Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 245f, V 117, R 184)



Figure 16: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 430–425
(Fischer-Bossert 1999, pl. 15, no. 255, R 191)



Figure 17: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 430–425
(Fischer-Bossert 1999, pl. 15, no. 261, R 195)



Figure 18: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 430–425
(Fischer-Bossert 1999, pl. 15, no. 264, R 198)



Figure 19: Reverse of a stater from Taras c. 430–425
(Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XXI, 9 January 2018, lot no. 306; Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 265 R 199)



Figure 20: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 425–415
(Fischer-Bossert 1999, pl. 15, no. 269, R 202)



Figure 21: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 425–415
(Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XIII, 5 January 2010, lot no. 14; Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 270a, R 203)



Figure 22: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 425–415
(Roma Numismatics Ltd, E-Sale 12, 1 November 2014, lot no. 43; Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 272b, R 205)



Figure 23: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 425–415
(Naville Numismatics Ltd., Auction 33, 16 July 2017, lot no. 5; Fischer-Bossert 1999, no. 284, R 216)



Figure 24: Reverse of a Tarentine stater (c. 450) depicting a wreathed female head (McClellan 2017, fig. 9)



Figure 25: Reverse of a Tarentine stater (c. 380–345) showing the dolphin rider holding a *kantharos* (Heidelberger Münzhandlung Herbert Grün e.K., Auction 79, 10 November 2020, lot no. 1023)



Figure 26: Reverse of a triobol from Methymna, Lesbos (c. 450/40–406/379) (Leu Numismatik AG, Auction 5, 27 October 2019, lot no. 117)



Figure 27: Reverse of a litra from Kentoripai, Sicily (c. 339/8–330) (Bertolami Fine Arts, ACR Auctions, E-Auction 73, 14 September 2019, lot no. 273)



Figure 28: Reverse of a Roman denarius issued in 42 (Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 326, 7 October 2019, lot no. 1154)



Figure 29: Reverse of a stater from Taras (c. 325–280) showing the dolphin rider carrying a distaff (Leu Numismatik AG, Web Auction 17, 14 August 2021, lot no. 56)



Figure 30: Terracotta plaque from Amyklai depicting a seated figure, holding a *kantharos* above a snake.
(Salapata 2014, Fig. 1)



Figure 31: Terracotta plaque from Messene showing a seated figure holding a kantharos and a staff, with a snake above the kantharos
(Salapata 2014a, Fig. 9)

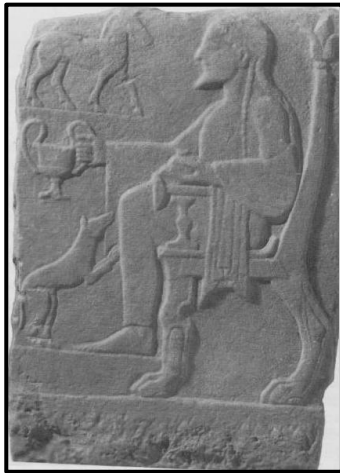


Figure 32: Laconian stone relief found near Sparta (c. 500–475).
(Pavlidis 2011, fig. 22)



Figure 33: Reverse of a Tarentine stater 340–335 depicting the dolphin rider with a trident
(Leu Numismatik AG (1992–2005), Auction 86, 5 May 2003, lot no. 205)



Figure 34: Reverse of a Stater from Priansus (Crete) showing Poseidon standing holding a trident in the crook of his left arm and a small leaping dolphin above his outstretched right arm
c. 330–300
(Svoronos 3, pl. xxviii, 22)



Figure 35: Reverse of a tetradrachm from Tenos (Cyclades) c. 260–240
(Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 116, 1 October 2019, lot no. 158)



Figure 36: Reverse of a Drachm issued by the Boeotian League c. 257 showing Poseidon with a small dolphin above his outstretched arm and holding a trident.

(Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 448, 1 July 2019, lot no. 72)



Figure 37: Reverse of a Hemidrachm from Skotussa, Thessaly c. 220
(VAuctions, Pegasi Auction 40, 28 May 2019, lot no. 109)



Figure 38: Reverse of a Corinthian bronze (98–117 CE) depicting Poseidon seated with a dolphin above his outstretched right arm and holding a staff with his left

(Naville Numismatics Ltd., Auction 35, 29 October 2017, lot no. 213)



Figure 39: Reverse of a Corinthian Bronze (138–161 CE) depicting Poseidon seated with a dolphin above his outstretched right arm and holding a staff in his left

(Naville Numismatics Ltd., Auction 47, 3 March 2019, lot no. 121)



Figure 40: Reverse of a Tarentine stater c. 500–490 showing a hippocampus and the ethnic TAPAS (retrograde)

(Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 82, 20 May 2015, lot no. 3; HNI no. 827)



Figure 41: Reverse of a Tarentine diobol depicting Herakles fighting the Nemean Lion (c. 380–325), to the left is the ethnic TAPΑΣ
(Leu Numismatik AG, Web Auction 14, 12 December 2020, lot no. 4).



Figure 42: Reverse of a bronze Uncia from Brentesion depicting a dolphin rider (c. 215) (Classical Numismatic Group, Triton V, 15 January 2002, lot no. 50)



Figure 43: Tetradrachm from Rhegion c. 450–445 (Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 48, 21 October 2008, lot 19, Herzfelder 1957, no. 1)



Figure 44: Tetradrachm reverse type from Rhegion c. 445–435 (Herzfelder 1957, pl. III, no. 30, R 26)



Figure 45: Tetradrachm from Rhegion c. 435–425 (Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 168, 12 March 2010, lot 7109; Herzfelder (1957) 41a, R 35)



Figure 46: Tetradrachm reverse from Rhegion c. 435–425 (Herzfelder 1957, pl. V, no. 42, R 36)



Figure 47: Tetradrachm from Rhegion c. 435–425 (Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 244, 6 March 2017, lot 47; Herzfelder 1957, no. 43).



Figure 48: Tetradrachm from Rhegion c. 435–425 (Baldwin's Auctions Ltd, Dmitry Markov Coins & Medals, M&M Numismatics Ltd, The New York Sale XXVII, 4 January 2012, lot 104; Herzfelder 1957, no. 45, R 39).



Figure 49: Tetradrachm reverse type from Rhegion c. 435–425 (Herzfelder 1957, pl. V, no. 48, R 41).



Figure 50: Tetradrachm from Rhegion c. 435–425
(Roma Numismatics Ltd, Auction XII, 29 September 2016, lot 52; Herzfelder 1957, no. 52).



Figure 51: Tetradrachm reverse type from Rhegion c. 435–425
(Herzfelder 1957, pl. VI, no. 53, R 44).



Figure 52: Tetradrachm from Rhegion c. 435–425
(Leu Numismatik AG (1992-2005), Auction 83, 6 May 2002, lot 43; Herzfelder 1957, no. 55, D 32, R 45).



Figure 53: Tetradrachm from Rhegion c. 435–425
(Classical Numismatic Group, Triton V, 15 January 2002, lot 1141; Herzfelder 1957, no. 56, D 32, R 46).



Figure 54: Tetradrachm reverse type from Rhegion c. 435–425
(Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Auction 409, 25 April 2013, lot 23; Herzfelder 1957, no. 59 R 49).



Figure 55: Reverse of a tetradrachm from Rhegion c. 425–420
(Classical Numismatic Group, Mail Bid Sale 79, 17 September 2008, lot no. 39; Herzfelder 1957, no. 61).



Figure 56: Obverse of a tetradrachm from Rhegion (c.445–443) showing lion head with a grape bunch
(Numismatica Genevensis SA, Auction 5, 3 December 2008, lot no. 23; Herzfelder 1957 no. 34).

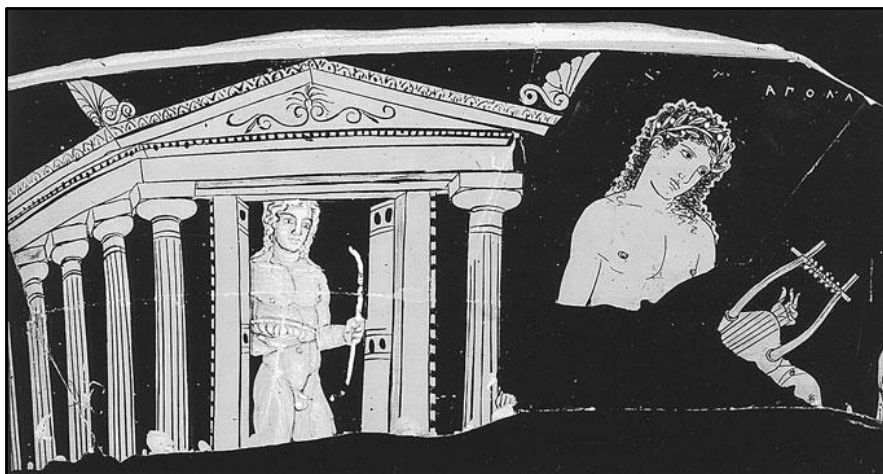


Figure 57: Fragment of an Apulian red-figure calyx krater c. 400–385 (Patton 2009, Figure 55).



Figure 58: Side B of an Attic red-figure skyphos (c. 475–425) showing Zeus holding a *phiale* (Beazley 1963, 972, 973.6)



Figure 59: Obverse lion head type from Samos (c. 450) (Hauck & Aufhäuser, Auction 19, 21 March 2006, lot no. 150)



Figure 60: Stater from Herakleia (c. 432–420). (Numismatica Genevensis SA, Auction 7, November 27, 2012, lot no. 8; Van Keuren 1994, no. 1)

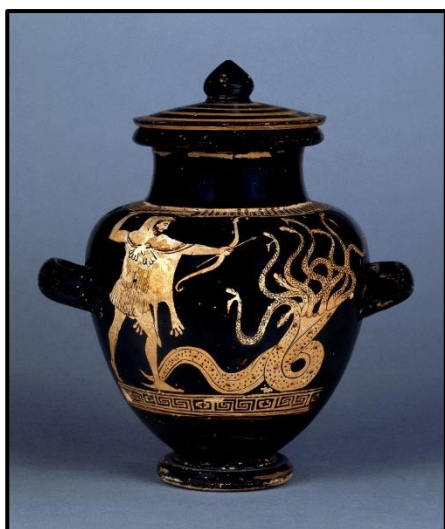


Figure 61: Attic stamnos (c. 480–470) showing Herakles with his club raised above his head, carrying his bow and wearing the lionskin (BM no. 1929,0513.1)



Figure 62: Lucanian Pelike (c. 390) showing Herakles holding his club, wearing the lionskin and using his bow to carry the Kerkopes (J. Paul Getty Museum no. 81.AE.189)



Figure 63: Reverse stater type from Stymphalos (c. 350) depicting Herakles (Boston MFA no. 10.248)



Figure 64: Obol reverse type from Thessaly depicting Herakles (late fifth–early fourth century) (Nomos AG, Auction 4: BCD Collection of Thessaly, 10 May 2011, lot no. 1274)



Figure 65: Stater from Herakleia depicting a helmeted Athena on the obverse and Herakles wrestling the Nemean lion on the reverse (c. 420–415) (Numismatic Group, Triton V, 15 January 2002, lot no. 1083)



Figure 66: Reverse of an Athenian hemidrachm (c. 520–490) (Harlan J. Berk, Ltd., Buy or Bid Sale 198, 7 July 2016, lot no. 87)



Figure 67: Detail from an Attic black-figured neck amphora showing Aphrodite wearing the *aegis*. (BM no. 363409001)



Figure 68: Tetradrachm reverse from Rhegion showing the laurate head of Apollo (c. 415/10–387)

(Stack's, Stack & Kroisos Collections, 14 January 2008, lot no. 2053; *HN³* no. 2496)



Figure 69: Obverse of a didrachm from Naxos (c. 410–402) showing the laurate head of Apollo.

(Nomos AG, Auction 3, 10 May 2011, lot no. 23)



Figure 70: Obverse of a stater from Terina (c. 445–425)

(Roma Numismatics Ltd, Auction XIX, 26 March 2020, lot no. 238; *HN³* no. 2576)



Figure 71: Obverse of a stater from Metapontion (c. 430–400)

(Roma Numismatics Ltd, Auction XIX, 26 March 2020, lot no. 201; *HN³* 1507)



Figure 72: Obverse of a didrachm from Neapolis (c. 420–400)

(Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 51, 5 March 2009, lot no. 483, *HN³* no. 552)



Figure 73: Obverse of a stater from Metapontion depicting a seated figure (c. 430–400)

(Holloway 1978, 122; Noe/Johnson 1984, pl. 32-33, no. 431)



Figure 74: Reverse of the stater from Metapontion depicting a seated figure (c. 430–400)
(Noe/Johnson 1984 pl. 32-33, no. 431)

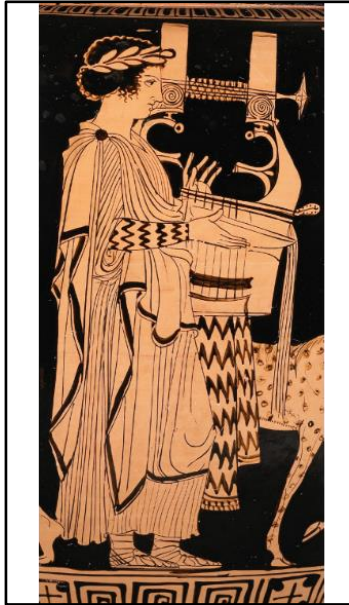


Figure 75: Detail from a Lucanian red-figure volute krater showing Apollo with a lyre (c. 415–400)
(The J. Paul Getty Museum no. 85.AE.101)

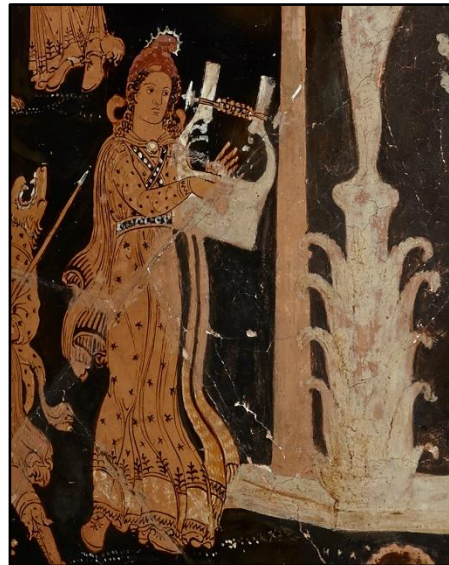


Figure 76: Orpheus with a lyre on a Colossal Apulian Krater (c. 350)
(National Archaeological Museum of Naples no. 81666)



Figure 77: Obverse of a stater from Metapontion depicting Apollo Karneios (c. 430–400)
(Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 111, 29 May 2019, lot no. 27)



Figure 78: Stater from Kroton (c. 425–350)
(Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 146, 6 March 2006, lot no. 45)



Figure 79: Reverse of a stater from Kroton (c. 425–350)
(Classical Numismatists Group, Triton V, lot 1131, 15 January 2002)



Figure 80: Stater from Kroton c. 400–325
(Bertolami Fine Arts, ACR Auctions, Auction 24, 22 June 2016, lot no. 124)



Figure 81: Reverse type from Kroton (c. 400–325)
(Roma Numismatics, E-Sale 46, 2 June 2018, lot no. 54)



Figure 82: Reverse type from Kroton (c. 400–325)
(Coins & Medals Germany GmbH, Auction 48, 24 May 2019, lot no. 1014)



Figure 83: Obverse type from Kroton (c. 400–325)
(Leu Numismatik AG, Auction 6, 23 October 2020, lot no. 45)



Figure 84: Obverse of a didrachm from Neapolis (c. 420–375)
(Stack's Bowers Galleries (& Ponterio), January 2015 NYINC Auction, 9 January 2015, lot no. 6)



Figure 85: Obverse of a stater from Pandosia (c. 375–350)
(Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 4275; <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/4275>)



Figure 86: Obverse of AE Aes Grave from Olbia (c. 400–350)
(Stack's Bowers Galleries (& Ponterio), August 2015 ANA Auction, 12 August 2015, lot no. 30074)



Figure 87: Apulian column krater showing a warrior libating with *kantharos* (circled).
(BAPD no. 9006755)

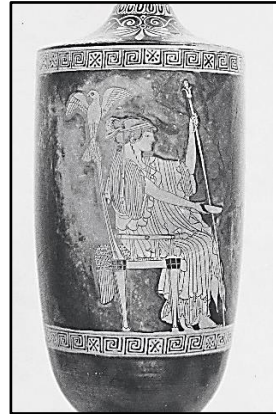


Figure 88: Athenian lekythos from Gela (c. 500–475) depicting a seated Hera holding a *phiale*
(LIMC ID: 15141;
<http://ark.dasch.swiss/ark:/72163/080e-747a31392b367-1>)



Figure 89: Inside of an Athenian red figure cup (c. 475–425) showing Dionysus libating with a *kantharos*.
(BAPD 211332)



Figure 90: Athenian squat lekythos (450–400) showing Nike libating
(BAPD no. 3293)



Figure 91: Inside of an Athenian red figure stemless cup (c. 450–400) showing a youth libating
(BAPD no. 12714)



Figure 92: Detail of an Athenian red figure cup found at Vulci (c. 525–475) showing Hermes libating
(BAPD no. 200953)



Figure 93: Athenian white ground kylix showing a seated Apollo libating (c. 490–460) (BAPD no. 5522)



Figure 94: Athenian black figure amphora (c. 550–500) showing a bird motif as a shield device (BAPD 12968)



Figure 95: Athenian black figure amphora (c. 575–525) showing the birth of Athena; a bird is under the chair of Zeus (BAPD no. 9032035)



Figure 96: Detail of an Apulian bell-krater showing a bird under a seated Athena (Robinson 2015, pl. 2:2)



A



B



C

Figure 97: Types from Herakleia (A) and Kroton Series one (B) and Kroton Series two (C) depicting Herakles

(Numismatica Genevensis SA, Auction 7, November 27, 2012, lot no. 8; Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 146, 6 March 2006, lot no. 45; Coins & Medals Germany GmbH, Auction 48, 24 May 2019, lot no. 1014)



Figure 98: Gypsum relief of Herakles reclining
c. 323–CE 256
(Yale University Art Gallery, no. 1935.49)

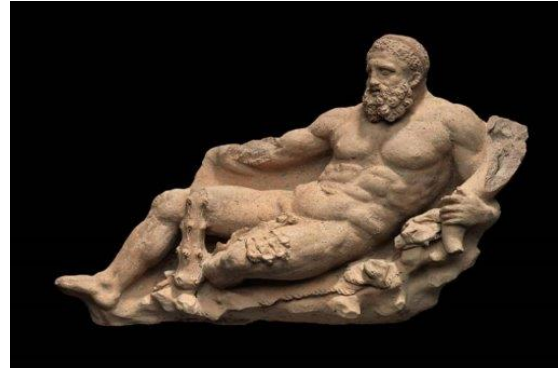


Figure 99: Late second century South Italian
terracotta relief of Herakles reclining
(Museum of Fine Arts, Boston no. 01.7967)



Figure 100: Roman copy of a fourth century
statue of Herakles sitting on a rock
(British Museum, no. 1881,0701.1)



Figure 101: Detail of an Athenian red-figure
neck amphora (c. 475–425) found at Nola
showing Apollo seated, playing a lyre
(BAPD no. 212276)



Figure 102: Detail of an Athenian red-figure oinochoe (c. 450–400) found at Spina showing a
seated Apollo playing a lyre
(BAPD no. 215982)