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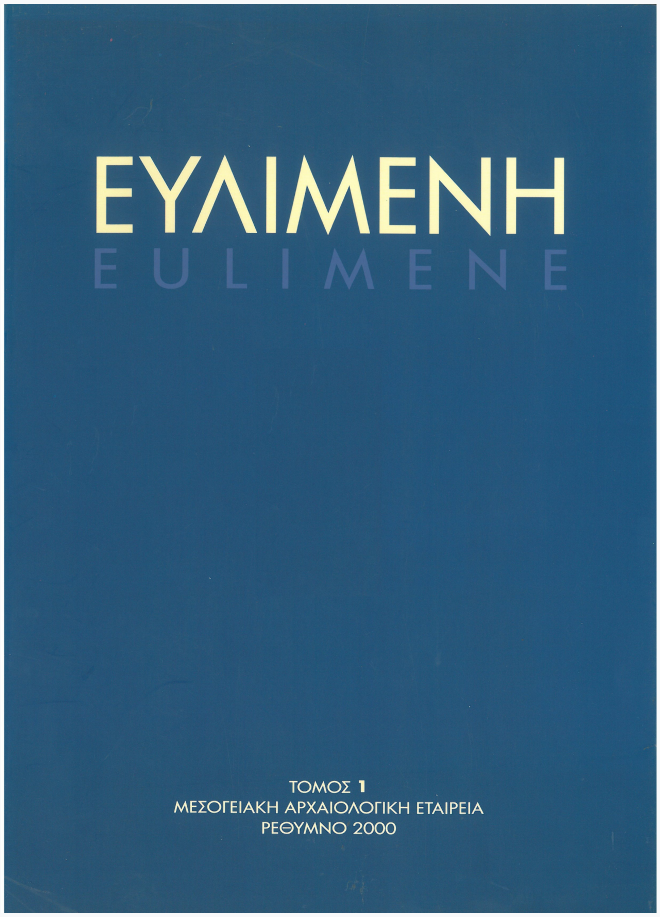

The price of power Drachms in the name of Alexnder in Greece (On the occasion of the Thessaly1993 confiscation)

Ioannis Touratsoglou

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ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Τόμος 1
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Ρέθυμνο 2000

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ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000)

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Περιλήψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti

Anagnostis Angelarakis, Aspects of demography and palaeopathology among the hellenistic Abderetes in Thrace, Greece, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 13-24

Η εργασία αυτή παρουσιάζει αποτελέσματα φυσικής ανθρωπολογικής έρευνας οστεολογικού υλικού των αρχαίων Αβδήρων, χρονολογούμενο στην Ελληνιστική εποχή.

Η καλή διατήρηση ενός σκελετικού δείγματος 48 ατόμων, αποτελούμενο από τα δύο γένη και από διαφορετικές ηλικίες, έδωσε τη δυνατότητα να πραγματοποιηθούν λεπτομερείς εργαστηριακές αναλύσεις σκελετικής βιολογίας, παλαιοπαθολογίας, και αρχαιομετρίας.

Τα επιστημονικά δεδομένα αυτής της έρευνας διαφωτίζουν πολλές πλευρές του δημογραφικού τομέα, του παλαιοπαθολογικού συνόλου, και των ιδιαιτεροτήτων των σκελετο-μυικών αναγλύφων μεταξύ ανδρών και γυναικών αυτής της εποχής στα Άβδηρα, δίνοντας έτσι την δυνατότητα να πραγματοποιηθούν ακριβέστερες διαχρονικές συγκρίσεις μεταξύ των πληθυσμών αυτού του χώρου από την Αρχαϊκή έως και τη ΜεταΒυζαντινή περίοδο.

Antonio Corso, Praxitelian Dionysi, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 25-53

Si percorre 1'evoluzione dell'interpretazione statuaria di Dioniso nel Santuario di Dioniso Eleutereo ad Atene, dallo xoanon arcaico del dio alla statua criselefantina di Alcamene, ai tipi Hope, alcamenico, e Sardanapalo, cefisodoteo. Questa tradizione figurativa, e 1'Ermete con Dioniso di Cefisodoto il Vecchio, stanno alla base della ridefinizione del dio operata da Prassitele. L'immagine di Dioniso accreditata nelle 'Baccanti' di Euripide ebbe pure un rilevante impatto nelle cultura figurativa tardoclassica. Alla bottega di Prassitele è riconducibile la base di monumento coregico, con Dioniso e due Vittorie, che si trova ad Atene, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, n. 1463. Il Dioniso di Prassitele ricordato da Plinio e descritto da Callistrato può esser riconosciuto, grazie alla descrizione di questi, nel tipo Sambon/Grimani. Il Dioniso d'Elide, pure di Prassitele, è raffigurato su monete di questa città e riconoscibile nel tipo Tauromorfo Vaticano/Albani. L'Ermete con Dioniso di Olimpia è forse un donario degli Elei del 343 A. C. ed è quasi certamente un'opera originale di Prassitele. Ai figli di Prassitele è ascrivibile il Dioniso WoburnAbbey/Castle Howard, rimeditazione del tipo Sambon/Grimani. Il tipo Richelieu/Prado pare dipendere da una variante protoellenistica del tipo Woburn Abbey/Castle Howard, il tipo Jacobsen sembra essere un adattamento dello stesso alla temperie barocca, il tipo Terme pare costituire una rimeditazione del medesimo in chiave Rococò. Il tipo Cirene offre una soluzione tardorepubblicana dello stesso schema compositivo, rispondente all'esigenza eclettica di valorizzare le soluzioni ritenute migliori di Prassitele, Policleto e Lisippo. Il tipo Borghese/Colonna sembra un adattamento del ritmo Woburn Abbey alla predilezione neoattica per ritmi frontali. Il

tipo Horti Lamiani/Holkham Hall pare un adattamento del tipo Woburn Abbey alla posizione di quinta architettonica destra di un ambiente. Il tipo Copenhagen/Valentini risponde al bisogno, tipico del classicismo romano, di dare movimento e vita alla creazione statuaria. Altri due Dionisi, che si trovano a Digione e a Cirene, sono variazioni del tipo Jacobsen. La documentazione raccolta dimostra che 1'immagine del dio elaborata nella corrente prassitelica divenne quella consueta nella cultura iconografica di età ellenistica e imperiale.

Angelos Chaniotis, Hellenistic Lasaia (Crete): a dependent polis of Gortyn. New epigraphic evidence from the Asklepieion near Lasaia, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 55-60

Ziegelstempel, die 1987 im Tal von Agia Kyriake bei Lasaia (Kaloi Limenes) gefunden wurden, nennen Zenas, Sohn des Apellonios. Dieser Mann war verantwortlich oder trug die Kosten für den Bau oder die Restaurierung eines dem Asklepios geweihten Bauwerkes (SEG XLII 804, spätes 2. Jh. v. Chr.). Er kann mit dem gortynischen Magistraten Zenas, Sohn des Apellonios, identifiziert werden, der in einer Inschrift aus dem Pythion von Gortyn genannt wird (I.Cret. IV 251, late 2nd cent. B.C.). Unabhängig davon, ob Zenas als gortynischer Beamter oder als Privatperson im Asklepieion bei Lasaia tätig war, deutet seine Tätigkeit darauf hin, daß dieses Heiligtum, genau wie das Asklepieion von Lebene, im Besitz der Gortynier war. Der neuer Fund unterstützt die Annahme, daß spätestens im späten 2. Jh. v. Chr. Lasaia eine abhängige Gemeinde von Gortyn war.

Εύα Γραμματικάκη - Νίκος Λίτινας, Μαγικός κατάδεσμος, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 61-69

Edition of a separation curse, inscribed in a soft stone (steatite). It was found in a robbed cist grave at the cite of the Venizelion Hospital (Knossos, North Cemetery). By the remaining evidence the grave can be dated from the last quarter of the first century B.C. to the third quarter of the first century A.D. Over this tomb and another cist grave, a large monument was erected. Evidence for cult of the dead in the monument, unique in this cemetary, may be connected with the curse.

This is the first inscribed separation curse in a steatite and the first separation curse found in Crete. The *defixiones* were thrown in graves of untimely persons or in chthonic sanctuaries. Precious or semi-precious gemstones were not used as *defixiones*, because of their cost and scarcity. However, steatite can be considered as a cheap and easy to find stone and in oue case probably its colour efected its certain use. Someone is asking from one or more deities to separate a man and a woman, Preimogenes and Daphne. The inscription can be dated in the end of the first century A.D.-beginning of the second century A.D. because of the characteristic forms of the letters of that period, the names mentioned (esp. Preimogenes) and the dating of the grave in the Roman period. Translation of the text: «(Magic letters). Separate Preimogenes, whom Artemeis bore, from Daphne, whom Daphne bore».

Nikos Metenidis, Zu den Denarbildern des CN. PLANCIUS, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 71-77

Plancius' coin portrays on the obverse a female head wearing causia (the Macedonian hat). This attribute has been quickly recognized and its Macedonian connection would have been registered by any average Roman. The goat on the reverse is a species familiar to Crete. It is often represented on Cretan coins like the bow and arrow, which are also similar to Cretan forms.

Cn. Plancius selected types for his coins which illustrate events connected with his military and political career. He first served in Crete under the proconsul Q. Metellus 68-66 B.C., then in 62 B.C. as military tribune in the army of C. Antonius, in which province he was quaestor under the propraetor L. Appuleius.

Before entering his curule aedile office was accused of electoral corruption, but being defended by Cicero was acquitted. The summation of his own military service on his coin types anticipates the answer to the question that was raised by the prosecution at his trial. «You ask» said Cicero, «what military service has he seen? He was a soldier in Crete…and he was a military tribune in Macedonia».

This complementary summation of the two different types can also be moved into the mythological sphere of the Onomastic: Karanos for the Deductio-Heros of the Macedonians which is also the name for the wild goat called Karano by the Cretans.

Manolis I. Stefanakis, Kydon the oikist or Zeus Cretagenes Kynotraphes? The problem of interpreting Cretan coin types, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 79-90

Η ερμηνεία των νομισματικών παραστάσεων είναι πολλές φορές δύσκολη και το φαινόμενο είναι ιδιαίτερα αισθητό στα κρητικά νομίσματα. Ανάμεσα στις άφθονες αφηγηματικές και μη παραστάσεις της κρητικής νομισματικής εικονογραφίας, για παράδειγμα, ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει το βρέφος που θηλάζεται από μια σκύλα στους ασημένιους στατήρες, δραχμές, τετρώβολα και τετράδραχμα της Κυδωνίας. Η παράσταση έχει πιθανότα επηρεαστεί από ρωμαϊκά πρότυπα και ως εκ τούτου δεν θεωρείται πρωιμότερη των αρχών του δευτέρου αι. π.Χ. Οι δύο σημαντικές ερμηνείες που έχουν προταθεί για το θηλαζόμενο βρέφος, ως Κύδων ο οικιστής ή ως Δίας κυνοτραφής, υποστηρίζονται από σωρεία επιχειρημάτων. Ανάλογη είναι η περίπτωση των ασημένιων στατήρων της Γόρτυνας του δευτέρου μισού του τετάρτου και του πρώτου μισού του τρίτου αι. π.Χ. όπου μια γυναικεία μορφή εικονίζεται καθισμένη στα κλαδιά ενός δέντρου σε διάφορες στιγμές. Η μορφή έχει ερμηνευτεί, μεταξύ άλλων, ως Βριτόμαρτυς και ως Ευρώπη.

Το πρόβλημα της ερμηνείας των παραπάνω παραστάσεων και εν γένει πολλών ακόμα αφηγηματικών σκηνών και μορφών στα κρητικά νομίσματα οφείλεται αφενός στην πληθώρα των μυθολογικών παραλλαγών που ξεπηδούν στα κλασσικά και ελληνιστικά χρόνια, ποιητική και γενικότερα καλλιτεχνική αδεία, και αφετέρου στην έλλειψη επιχωρίων πηγών για την κρητική μυθολογία. Οι υπάρχουσες πηγές βασίζονται σε εκδοχές των μύθων της κυρίως Ελλάδος οδηγώντας συχνά σε παρερμηνείες της Κρητικής νομισματικής εικονογραφίας. Ταυτόχρονα οι ελλαδίτικες επιρροές στην κρητική τέχνη, ή η από ελλαδίτικο χέρι εκτέλεση των νομισματικών σφραγίδων, περιπλέκουν ακόμα περισσότερο την κατάσταση καθώς η ιδιαιτερότητα της κρητικής

παράδοσης «μολύνεται» με ξένα στοιχεία, τα οποία απομακρύνουν ακόμα περισσότερο από την σωστή ερμηνεία των νομισματικών τύπων.

Ioannis Touratsoglou, The price of power: Drachms in the name of Alexander in Greece (On the occasion of the Thessaly/1993 confiscation), ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 91-118

Ο «θησαυρός» που κατεσχέθη από τις διωκτικές αρχές της Αττικής το 1993 και απαρτίζεται από τετράδραχμα Φιλίππου Β' (1 τεμ.), Αλεξάνδρου Γ' (3 τεμ.), Λυσιμάχου (1 τεμ.) και Αθηνών (2 τεμ.), δραχμές Αλεξάνδρου Γ' (37 τεμ.), Φιλίππου Γ' (6 τεμ.), Λυσιμάχου (2 τεμ.), Λαρίσης (3 τεμ.) και Φαρσάλου (1 τεμ.), ημίδραχμα Φαρσάλου (2 τεμ.), Οπουντίων Λοκρών (3 τεμ.) και Σικυώνος (1 τεμ.) καθώς και διώβολα Λαρίσης (1 τεμ.), αντιπαραβαλλόμενος προς άλλα «ευρήματα» της εποχής, επιβεβαιώνει ορισμένες παρατηρήσεις που είχαν διατυπωθεί κατά το παρελθόν σχετικά με την κυκλοφορία των νομισμάτων των μικρών, περιφερειακών νομισματοκοπείων στον αιώνα που ακολούθησε το θάνατο του Αλεξάνδρου και αποδεικνύει για ακόμη μια φορά τον τοπικό χαρακτήρα όχι μόνον των περισσοτέρων από αυτά, αλλά και άλλων με μεγαλύτερη παραγωγή. Επιπλέον, η μελέτη του νέου «θησαυρού» από το θεσσαλικό, όπως εικάζεται, χώρο, πιστοποιεί τη δύναμη, αλλά και το εμβόλιμο, ορισμένων, βασιλικών στην πλειονότητά τους νομισματοκοπιών (χωρίς να λησμονηθεί και η Αθήνα) με πανελλήνια εμβέλεια της παραγωγής τους.

Αφορμή και για μια γενικότερη επισκόπηση των νομισματικών πραγμάτων στην Ελλάδα κατά τους χρόνους των Διαδόχων και των αρχών που τα διείπαν, ο «θησαυρός» από τη Θεσσαλία, συμβάλλει στην κατάδειξη, κατά τρόπο παραστατικό, και του πρωταγωνιστικού ρόλου (ιδιαίτερα αυτού) των αλεξάνδρειων δραχμών ως κατεξοχήν μέσου άσκησης μιας δια πυρός και σιδήρου πολιτικής επικράτησης και επιβολής, κατά τον αιώνα των μισθοφόρων και των τυχοδιωκτών, των ριψοκίνδυνων ανταπαιτητών της εξουσίας —εστεμμένων και μη καπήλων του αλεξάνδρειου οράματος— και των ταλαιπωρημένων βετεράνων της ασιατικής εκστρατείας.

Σελήνη Ψωμά, Σκάψα και Κίθας. Η νομισματική μαρτυρία, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 119-126

Dans le présent article, l'auteur a essayé de montrer que la cité de Skapsa est celle qui frappa des monnaies d'argent (tétroboles et tritétartèmoria) au Ve siècle avec la légende Κα- et de monnaies de bronze au IVe siècle portant la légende Σκαψαί(ων). Etant donné que les lettres σκ- peuvent alterner avec la lettre κ en grec ancien, les cités de Kapsa et de Skapsa, comme celles de Kithas et de Skithai, sont identiques. Les types avec lesquels le monnayage d'argent et de bronze de la cité de Skapsa est frappé, reproduisent ceux des autres cités de la région. La cité de Skapsa peut être localisée en Chalcidique occidentale, au sud de Potidée. Il est certain qu'elle participa à la Ligue Chalcidienne à partir de 357 av. J.-C. Il faut localiser la cité de Kithas dans la région à l'ouest d'Olynthe et au nord de Sinos et de Potidée. Il s'agissait très probablement d'une cité de la Crouside. Le didrachme de Berlin et les tétroboles de poids attique à la tête de lion au droit que Gaebler et Flensted-Jensen ont attribués aux Skithai, ont été frappés par la cité de Scionè.

David Jordan, Ψήγματα κριτικής, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 127-131

Critical Trifles

1. α. At *PGM* XXXV 26 read τῷ φοροῦ‹ν›τι τὸ χαριτήσην (for χαριτήσιον)τοῦ<το>. β. In the left-hand column of 31-40 read [31]πά‹ν›τα τὰ π̣ν̣εύ/[32]ματα τῆς κοσμή/[33]σεος ‹καὶ?› εὐ̣κρα/[34]σίας· ἐπικαλοῦ/[35]μαι καὶ παρακαλῶ/[36]καὶ ἐξορκίζω/[37]ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μου ὑ/[38]πακούσητε κ̣(αὶ) ἀπαραβάτους χά/[39][ριν δῶτ]ε τῷ φοροῦτ̣ι τὸ/[40][χ]αριτ̣ί̣σην μ̣ο̣υ̣ τ̣ο̣ῦ̣το.

2. At *PGM O* 1.4 and 1.10 read not λαλήσεν (for λαλήσειν) but λαλῆσε{ν} (for λαλῆσαι {ν}).

3. Behind a puzzling phrase in *DTAud* 155-70 (Rome, IV-V A.D.) there probably stood the words: ὑμεῖς δέ, ἐφυδριάδες νύμφαι, ἀϊδώνιαι, ἔγχωροι κατοικοῦσαι

Nikos Litinas, A private letter of the VI A.D., ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 1 (2000), 133-140

Ο πάπυρος είναι τμήμα μιας ιδιωτικής επιστολής, που χρονολογείται στον έκτο αι. μ.Χ. Το κείμενο μας παρέχει μία ακόμη μαρτυρία για τη λέξη μετριότης (βλ. στ. 2 σημ.) και για τις *formulae valetudinis* τον έκτο αι. μ.Χ. (βλ. στ. 2 σημ.). Πρβλ. επίσης τη λέξη στιχαροκαρακ[άλλιον στον στ. 5, η οποία μαρτυρείται για δεύτερη φορά έως σήμερα στους ελληνικούς παπύρους (βλ. στ. 4 σημ.).

Μετάφραση κειμένου

† Τις επιστολές σου κάθε τόσο, τις οποίες η μετριότητά μου [… λαμβάνει …

Όσον αφορά την υγεία μου, είμαι καλά με τη βοήθεια του Θεού. Μην [… Θα ήθελα να γνωρίζεις γι' αυτό που μου έστειλες] ότι το έλαβα και το στιχαροκαρακάλλιον […

] πως αυτή τη στιγμή και [δεν] έχω ακόμη το δακτυλίδι […

[στείλε] μου [αμέσως;] ό,τι σου έγραψα […

† Απολλώ[…

Appendix

Τρόπος αναφοράς ενός αποστολέα στην προσωπική του υγεία και την ενημέρωση του παραλήπτη (ότι είναι δηλαδή καλά) στις ιδιωτικές επιστολές.

Μεταξύ δύο προσώπων (Α και Β) που αλληλογραφούσαν διακρίνουμε τους εξής λογότυπους:

Κατά την πτολεμαϊκή περίοδο ο αποστολέας απλά και μόνο πληροφορεί τον αποδέκτη.

Α: Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής:	γράφε δ' ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλῃ
Β: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής:	εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ τἄλλα σοι κατὰ γνώμην ἐστίν, εἴη ἂν ὡς ἡμεῖς θέλομεν· ὑγίαινον δὲ καὶ αὐτός
Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής:	γράφε δ' ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλῃ

Κατά τη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο κυρίως μέχρι τον δεύτερο αι. μ.Χ., αλλά και σπανιότερα κατά τον τρίτο αι. μ.Χ. απαντάται στους παπύρους μία φρασεολογία παρόμοια με αυτή της πτολεμαϊκής περιόδου, αλλά η χρήση της δεν είναι εκτεταμμένη.

A: Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου
B: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: Συνήθως δεν υπάρχει άμεση απάντηση: σπάνια απαντά η φράση του τύπου: πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὔχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν μετὰ τῶν σῶν πάντων κἀγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑγιαίνω
Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου

Από τα τέλη του τρίτου αι. μ.Χ. έως και τον πέμπτο αι. μ.Χ. ο αποστολέας δεν αναφέρει τίποτα απολύτως για την προσωπική του υγεία. Από το τέλος του πέμπτου αι. μ.Χ. και εξής η πρακτική αλλάζει. Η ευχή του αποστολέα να πληροφορηθεί για την υγεία του παραλήπτη επανεμφανίζεται στις ιδιωτικές επιστολές στο τέλος τους.

A: Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: δηλῶσέ μοι περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας
B: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: ὑγιαίνω σὺν Θεῷ
Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: δηλῶσέ μοι περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας
A: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: ἐδεξάμην τὰ περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας

THE PRICE OF POWER: DRACHMS IN THE NAME OF ALEXANDER IN GREECE* (ON THE THESSALY/1993 CONFISCATION)

The 1993 confiscation acquired by the Numismatic Museum thanks to the efforts of the Attica Security Police is a typical example of a hoard yielded by the soil of Thessaly with a concealment date in the second to third quarter of the 3rd c. BC.

The descriptive catalogue that follows is used as the basis for a general consideration of the behaviour of the various local mints in Greece in the third century BC and also for the investigation of the coinage of Alexander the Great during a period of major upheaval and realignment. Further, the publication of the new hoard is made the occasion of a general review of coinages in Greece during the period of the Diadochi.

The new find contains tetradrachms of Philip II (1 specimen), Alexander III (3), Lysimachos (1) and Athens (2), drachms of Alexander III (37), Philip III (6), Lysimachos (2), Larisa (3) and Pharsalos (1), hemidrachms of Pharsalos (2), the Opuntian Lokrians (3) and Sikyon (1) and a diobol of Larisa (1). Its composition is thus similar to the hoards IGCH 159 (Phayttos) and IGCH 168 (Larisa).

Abbreviations - Catalogue

Le Rider	G. Le Rider, *Le Monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe frappé en Macedoine de 359 à 294* (Paris 1977).
Price	M. J. Price, *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus: A British Museum Catalogue* (Zurich/London 1991).
Hersh	Ch. Hersh, Additions and Corrections to Martin J. Price's The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus', *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price* (London 1998), 135-144.
Thompson	M. Thompson, The Mints of Lysimachus, *Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson* (London 1968) 163-182.

<u>Philip II</u> (Tetradrachms) 1 Spec.

1. 1. Le Rider no. 314, pl. 35: Amphipolis IIb (342/41-329/28 BC)

<u>Alexander III</u> (Tetradrachms) 3 Spec.

2. 1. Price no. 501: Amphipolis (294-290 BC)

* Thanks are due to Dr. Eva Apostolou for her substantial help in registring the drachms of the hoards deposited in the Athens Numismatic Museum, and not only; to Mr Christos Gadzolis for putting the evidence from the study of the Potidaea hoards at our disposal; and finaly to the ANS scientific staff for providing us with useful information about hoard acquisitions containing drachms from the American Numismatic Society. Much appreciated and welcome was Professor' s J. Kroll contribution in brushing up the original English text.

3. 2. Price no. 2665: Sardis (319-315 BC)
4. 3. Price no. 3641: Babylon (325-323 BC)

Alexander III (Drachms) 37 Spec.

5. 1. Price no. 564A: Pella? (285-275 BC)

6-7. 2-3. Price no. 862b: Unc. Greek or Macedonian Mint (310-275 BC)
8. 4. Price no. 862c: Unc. Greek or Macedonian Mint (310-275 BC)

9. 5. Price no. 1350: Lampsakos (328-323 BC)
10-12. 6-8. Price no. 1382: Lampsakos (310-301 BC)
13. 9. Price no. 1398: Lampsakos (310-301 BC)
14. 10. Price no. 1401: Lampsakos (310-301 BC)
15-16. 11-12. Price no. 1406: Lampsakos (310-301 BC)
17. 13. Price no. 1427: Lampsakos (310-301 BC)
18. 14. Price no. 1428: Lampsakos [mouse l.] (310-301 BC)
and no.1375: Lampsakos [Δ below throne] (323-317 BC)
19. 15. Price no. 1434: Lampsakos (310-301 BC)

20. 16. Price no. 1505: Abydos? (328-323 BC)
21. 17. Price no. 1528: Abydos? (310-301 BC)

22. 18. Price no. 1750: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)
23. 19. Price no. 1786: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)
24. 20. Price no. 1795: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)
25. 21. Price no. 1809: «Kolophon» (310-301 BC)
26. 22. Price no. 1812b: «Kolophon» (310-301 BC)
27. 23. Price no. 1813: «Kolophon» (310-301 BC)
28. 24. Price no. 1824: «Kolophon» (310-301 BC)
29-32. 25-28. Price no. 1825: «Kolophon» (310-301 BC)
33. 29. Price no. 1832: «Kolophon» (301-297 BC)

34. 30. Price no. 1965 (Hersh no. 113): Magnesia (319-305 BC)

35-36. 31-32. Price no. 2121: Miletos (323-319 BC)
37-38. 33-34. Price no. 2090: Miletos (325-323 BC)

39. 35. Price no. 2626: Sardis (323-319 BC)
40. 36. Price no. 2550: Sardis (334-323 BC)

41. 37. Price no. 2796: W. Asia Minor (323-280 BC)

Philip III (Drachms) 6 Spec.

42. 1. Price pl. CXXXVII, no. P42: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)
43-44. 2-3. Price pl. CXXXVII, no. P44: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)
45. 4. Price pl. CXXXVII, no. P46c: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)
46. 5. Price pl. CXXXVII, no. P47a: «Kolophon» (323-319 BC)

47. 6. Price pl. CXXXVIII, no. P56a: Magnesia (323-319 BC)

Lysimachos (Tetradrachms) 1 Spec.

48. 1. Thompson no. 45: Lampsakos (297/96-282/81 BC)

	Lysimachos (Drachms)	2 Spec.
49.	1. Thompson no. 120: Kolophon (301/00-300/99 BC)	
50.	2. Thompson *ca* no.129: Teos [ΠΡ Griffin] (299/98-297/96 BC)	
	Larissa (Drachms)	3 Spec.
51-53.	1-3. SNG, Cop. no. 120ff (395-344 BC)	
	Larissa (Diobols)	1 Spec.
54.	1. SNG, Cop. no. 132-133 (395-344 BC)	
	Pharsalos (Drachms)	1 Spec.
55.	1. SNG, Cop. no. 220-221 (440-344 BC)	
	Pharsalos (Hemidrachms)	2 Spec.
56-57.	1-2. SNG, Cop. no. 222-223 (440-344 BC)	
	Opuntii Locri (Hemidrachms)	3 Spec.
58-60.	1-3. SNG, Cop. no. 48 (369-338 BC)	
	Athens (Tetradrachms)	2 Spec.
61.	1. J. Bingen, Le trésor monétaire Thorikos 1969, Thorikos VI, 1969, 7ff groupe 2 (2nd quarter of the 4th c. BC-ca. 317 BC)	
62.	2. H. Nicolet- J. Kroll, AJN 2, 1990, 3-4, pl. 3, 21 (270-240 BC)	
	Sikyon (Hemidrachms)	1 Spec.
63.	1. SNG, Cop. no. 57ff (4th c. BC)	

Hoards containing drachms in the name of Alexander III were concealed in Greece from the first years after Alexander's death down to about the middle of the 2nd c. BC (though only in a very limited number of cases), when the majority of the silver issues of the cities and leagues ceased almost completely to circulate. The picture that emerges from these hoards is that coins of large value, which in most cases originated outside of Greece, are found only occasionally (tetradrachms of Philip II, Alexander III, Philip III, Demetrios Poliorketes, Lysimachos, Athens, the Seleukids, the Attalids and the Ptolemies), as were coins minted at the centres of the international carrying trade (didrachms and drachms of Rhodes, for example). Most regions of Central and Southern were served mainly by coins minted and circulated within the regions themselves, normally with small purchasing power and generally found only over a limited, local area.

Against this background, drachms in the name of Alexander III (the majority issued by eastern mints, like the drachms of Philip III that accompanied them) played a decisive role, for they are found with the same frequency, regardless of geographical distribution, both in mixed hoards containing tetradrachms of Alexander and in unmixed hoards consisting solely of drachms. Certain fluctuations may be noted, however, with regard to the interval during which they were in circulation in different areas:

They are found in hoards in Macedonia from 310-305 down to ca. 280 BC,[1] in Thessaly from 300 down to about the middle of the 3rd c. BC,2 and in Central Greece from 310 into the first quarter of the 3rd c. BC.[3] In the Peloponnese, drachms in the name of Alexander were concealed at irregular intervals with no obvious chronological groupings, from 300 BC to about the end of the 3rd c. BC, an exception being the hoard from the Peloponnese, for which we have no precise find spot (IGCH 246, concealment date: 175-150 BC), which is to some extent a collector's savings. It is only in Euboea that the interment of such coins may be assigned to a later date, and here only for the period from 260 BC to about the end of the 3rd c. BC.[4]

We thus have a situation where in Macedonia the drachms in the name of Alexander, a preeminently «Macedonian» coinage, remained in circulation for only a relatively short time after the date of issue though certainly longer than in Central Greece. In Thessaly, by contrast, the normal circulation of Alexander drachms continued with some fluctuations down to about 250 BC. In the Peloponnese, where Alexander

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[1] The late hoard from Vergi (IGCH 455, concealment date: 250-230 BC) is evidently a collector's – savings hoard and does not reflect the range of coins in circulation at the time of its interment.

[2] In the late hoard from Larisa (IGCH 239, concealment date: 175-165 BC) the Alexander drachm is clearly a «residual» element.

[3] The relatively late hoards from Thebes (IGCH 193, concealment date: 240-225 BC) and Abai (IGCH 195, concealment date: 225-200 BC) are certainly hoards that also contain coins from previous periods.

[4] According to Callataÿ, RBN 129, 1983, 58, «pour l'Asie Mineure, le trésor de Konya (IGCH, 1414), enfoui pense-t-on en 187 av. J.-C., est le dernier à contenir des drachmes d' Alexandre».

For the understanding of the behaviour of the Alexander drachms in Asia Minor, and in Asia generally, a synthetic work continues to be a desideratum. (A notable contribution, from this point of view, is that made by E. Özgen, A. Davesne, Le trésor de Oylum Höyügü, in: Trésors et circulation monétaire en Anatolie Antique, Paris 1994, 45-59, esp. 54ff.).

drachms are reported in hoards concealed down to the end of the 3rd c. BC, the hoards in which they occur devide into at least two chronologically distinct groups (300-280 BC and 250-215 BC). This circumstance is probably a reflection of political events that led, amongst other things, to concentration of hoarding.

With regard to the other coinages, Central Greece, Euboea, Thessaly and the Peloponnese are clearly areas in which coins issued by other, bordering or non-bordering areas were in circulation in addition to local issues (mainly of small denominations), whereas Macedonia was evidently self-sufficient in terms of its coinage (apart, of course, from the ubiquitous Athenian tetradrachms and tetradrachms of the Seleukids).

The mints whose output is characterised by a distinctly limited circulation includes those of Larisa and the Thessalian cities generally, of Phokis and of the Euboean League. In contrast, the mints of the Opuntian Lokrians, Sikyon, Histiaea and the Boeotian League were very active, their coins being accepted in areas frequently far removed from the places of issue:

A. With regard to the former group: coins issued by Larisa are found in hoards containing Alexander drachms only from Thessaly [Trikala: IGCH 117 (300 BC), «Thessaly»: IGCH 146 (280 BC), «Thessaly»: CH VIII, 278 (270 BC), Larisa: IGCH 168 (250-> BC), Phalanna: CH III, 43 (240 BC)]. They are completely absent from Macedonia, Thrace, Central Greece, Aetolia and the Aegean islands.[5]

Of the denominations in circulation, drachms form the largest proportion in the hoards.

B. With regard to the latter group, on the other hand, it may be noted that the issues of the Opuntian Lokrians are found in hoards from Thessaly [«Thessaly»: IGCH 146 (280 BC), «Thessaly»: CH VIII, 278 (270 BC), Phayttos: IGCH 159 (260-240 BC), Phalanna: CH III, 43 (240 BC), Larisa: IGCH 239 (175-165 BC)], Central Greece [Ayioi Theodoroi: IGCH 93 (285 BC), Abai in Phokis: IGCH 195 (225-200 BC)], Aetolia [Dokimion: IGCH 173 (250-225 BC)], Euboea [Eretria: IGCH 189 (250-200 BC), Eretria: IGCH 175 (245 BC), Chalkis: IGCH 205 (<-200 BC)] and the Peloponnese [Olympia: IGCH 176 (245 BC)], but are completely absent from Macedonia, Thrace and the Aegean islands.[6]

Of the denominations in circulation, triobols form the largest proportion in the hoards, followed by staters.

Issues of Sikyon are also found in hoards from Thessaly [Trikala: IGCH 117 (300 BC), «Thessaly»: IGCH 133 (300-> BC), Phayttos: IGCH 159 (260-240 BC), Phalanna: CH III, 43 (240 BC)], Central Greece [Ayioi Theodoroi: IGCH 93 (285 BC), Abai in Phokis: IGCH 195 (225-200 BC)] and the Peloponnese [Talanta: IGCH 132 (300-> BC), Olympia: IGCH 176 (245 BC), Patra: IGCH 186 (218 BC), «Peloponnese»: IGCH 246 (175-150 BC)]. They are completely absent from Macedonia, Thrace, Aetolia and the Aegean islands, including Euboea. The last-named island, however, is a special case from

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[5] For the coinage of Larisa, see F. Hermann, Die Silbermünzen von Larissa in Thessalien, ZfN 35, 1924-25, 1-69. C. Lorber, The Early Facing Head Drachms of Thessalian Larissa, Florilegium Numismaticum. Studia in Honorem U. Westermark Edita, Stockholm 1992, 259-282.

[6] For the coinage of the Opuntian Lokrians, see J. Morineau Humphris, A Hoard from Thessaly, CH III, 1977, 43. H. Nicolet, M. Oeconomides, La circulation monétaire dans le Péloponnèse et le trésor de Zakynthos (Zante) de 1904 (IGCH 245), QT 20, 1991, 175-179. U. Wartenberg, The Alexander-Eagle Hoard: Thessaly 1992, NC 157, 180-181.

many points of view: as an extension of the mainland opposite, so to speak, it participated not only in events being played out in the Aegean, but also in those in Central Greece and Attica-Boeotia.[7]

With regard to regal coinages, tetradrachms of Philip II, normally posthumous issues, are absent from finds dating after the death of Alexander in Macedonia and the Peloponnese, but were hoarded relatively late in the rest of Greece: in Thessaly down to 229 BC (from as early as 285 BC onwards) and in Euboea down to 235 BC (though from 250 BC onwards). In Central Greece, by contrast, they occur only at early dates, and were withdrawn from circulation at the beginning of the 3rd c. BC (310-300 BC).

Tetradrachms of Alexander III were concealed in Greece only after the king's death: in Macedonia and Thrace from 310-300 BC down to 270-250 BC, in Central Greece down to 300 BC, in Euboea from 260 BC down to 230 BC and in the Peloponnese from 295-280 down to 215 BC. (The presence of Alexander tetradrachms in both Macedonia and the Peloponnese, in mixed hoards with concealment dates of 230 BC and 175-150 BC respectively, involve savings hoards, not hoards of coins in regular circulation.[8]

Tetradrachms of Philip III occur in hoards in Macedonia from 280 BC down to 230 BC, in Central Greece in hoards no later than the first quarter of the 3rd c. BC and present roughly the same picture in Thessaly. In the Peloponnese, they occur regularly in finds from 280 BC down to 214 BC and continue down to 175-150 BC in savings hoards rather than hoards of coins in general circulation.

Tetradrachms of Demetrios Poliorketes appear in Macedonia in hoards with concealment dates in the period from 280-270 BC down to 250-230 BC, in Euboea from 260 BC to 245 BC and in Thessaly from 260 BC down to 245 BC. They are completely absent from Central Greece.

Tetradrachms of Lysimachos are found in hoards in Macedonia and Thrace with a burial date from 280 down to 230 BC, in Euboea from 260 to 245 BC and in the Peloponnese from 295 down to 220 BC. They too are absent from Central Greece.

Tetradrachms of the Ptolemies, which are absent from hoards in Macedonia for historical reasons, appear as a significant proportion in the Peloponnese, where they circulated from the period from 250 BC down to 215 BC —doubtless as a result of Egyptian interference in Greek affairs during the Chremonidean War and also of Ptolemy III's intervention in the events leading up to the confrontation at Selassia (222

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[7] For the coinage of Sikyon, see J.A.W. Warren, The autonomous bronze coinage of Sikyon, Part I, NC 1983, passim; eadem, Updating (and Downdating) the Autonomous Bronze Coinage of Sikyon, in: Studies in Greek Numismatics in memory of Martin Jessop Price, London 1998, 347-361.

[8] It is interesting to contrast the circulation and behaviour of Alexander tetradrachms found in those hoards from which drachms in the name of Alexander are absent, as are coins of small purchasing value in general. In Macedonia, Alexander tetradrachms appear between 323 BC and 280 BC almost without interruption, and occasionally from 250 BC to 180. In Thessaly from 335(?)-330 to 280-270 BC without interruption, and occasionally from 250 to 187. In Central Greece from 319 BC to 287 BC almost without interruption, and occasionally thereafter around 250 BC. In the Peloponnese from 330-325 BC to 280 BC without interruption, and occasionally from 250 BC to about 200 BC.

BC). Their presence is also attested (from 250/240 BC on) in Central Greece, Eretria, Thessaly and Aetolia, though in limited quantities.[9]

Tetradrachms of the Seleucids are contained in hoards mainly from Macedonia (280-230 BC), Euboea (260-230 BC), the Peloponnese (230-215 BC) and to a lesser extent Thessaly (c. 270 BC). They are absent from Central Greece and Aetolia.

Tetradrachms of the Attalids are found with Alexander drachms in hoards from Eretria, Thessaly and the Peloponnese (245-220 BC). They are absent from Macedonia, Central Greece and Aetolia.

The evidence of the hoards suggests that tetradrachms in the name of Alexander made their appearance earlier than anywhere else in Thessaly (335(?)-330 BC) and the Peloponnese (330-325 BC), followed by Macedonia (323 BC) and Central Greece (319 BC).

The explanation for this phenomenon is undoubtedly to be sought in a number of historical circumstances:

In accordance with the general practice in the Macedonian kingdom, neither the newly-married (*neogamoi*) Macedonians of the Asian army who were sent back for the winter to their homeland in 334 BC, with the intention of returning to Gordion the following year,[10] nor the aged and sick veterans (*apomachoi*) who, it was decided early in the summer of 329 should return from the Oxos to their birthplace,[11] appear to have received any financial remunaration from Alexander, apart, of course from the *siteresion*;[12]

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[9] For the circulation of Ptolemaic coins in Greece, see also Y. Touratsoglou, DISJECTA MEMBRA, Two new Hellenistic hoards from Greece, Bibliotheca of the Hellenic Numismatic Society 3, Athens 1995, 85-86.

[10] Arrian I 29.4 (καὶ οἱ νεόγαμοι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας σταλέντες εἰς Γόρδιον ἧκον καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἄλλη στρατιὰ καταλεχθεῖσα - Cf. A.B. Bosworth, Macedonian Manpower under Alexander the Great, Ancient Macedonia IV, 1986, 118. J. Seibert, Demographische und wirtschaftliche Probleme Makedoniens in der frühen Diadochenzeit, in: Studien zur Alte Geschichte (Festschrift S. Lauffer), III, Rome 1989, 843.

[11] Arrian III 29.5 (cf. also Arrian V 27.5): τῶν τε Μακεδόνων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ ἤδη ἀπολέμους ... ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπέστειλεν. Cf. A.B. Bosworth, Macedonian Manpower under Alexander the Great, Ancient Macedonia IV, 1986, 120-121, and R.D. Milns, Army Pay and the Military Budget of Alexander the Great, Zu Alexander d. Gr., Festchrift G. Wirth zum 60 Geburtstag am 9.12.86, Amsterdam 1987, 244. According to Curt., 7 5,27, who is probably confusing his sources at this point, the Macedonian infantry (about four hundred according to N.G.L. Hammond, JHS 119, 1989, 64) were sent back *monitosque ut liberos generarent*. To these, Alexander *dedit terna denarium* (drachms? tetradrachms?) *milia*. Cf. J. Seibert, Demographische und wirtschaftliche Probleme Makedoniens in der frühen Diadochenzeit, in: Studien zur Alten Geschichte (Festschrift S. Lauffer), III, Rome 1986, 840 and 843-44.

[12] This conclusion is supported by the late appearance of tetradrachms in hoards from Macedonia. R.D. Milns, Army Pay and the Military Budget of Alexander the Great, Zu Alexander d. Gr., Festchrift G. Wirth zum 60 Geburtstag am 9.12.86, Amsterdam 1987, 235, properly notes that «we have no positive evidence before the Indian campaign that specifically mentions *payment* being made to Macedonians». It was only decided in 325/24 BC to generalise the practice of making actual payments to soldiers by extending payment (*misthophora*) to the veterans. A question that needs to be investigated, however, is the reason behind the decision to mint drachms (especially these), in addition to the tetradrachms and staters that had already been in circulation for some time (being used mainly to pay the mercenaries), the production of which intensified at the new mints. See Y. Touratsoglou, Back to the Future; Alexander the Great's Silver and Gold in the Balkans: the Hoard Evidence, in: Coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh, London 1998, 71-101 for the fate of the silver and gold issues in the name of Alexander in hoards from the Balkans; and J.H.C. Williams, A. Burnett, Alexander the Great and the Coinages of Western Greece, in: Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price, London 1998, 379-393, for a similar investigation of Italy and Sicily.

despite this, the Greek allies, whether volunteers or not, were treated as mercenaries and many of them received special treatment in terms of their payment.

In southern Greece, tetradrachms (in all probability) will have accompanied the Greek mercenaries dismissed by Alexander after the torching of the palace at Persepolis in summer 330 BC, who were paid a bonus totalling 2,000 talents, in addition to their salary.[13] The early appearance of tetradrachms in hoards from Thessaly, indeed, is probably to be connected with the events at the river Oxus in 329 BC, when a number of Thessalian volunteers were sent home.[14]

The channelling of tetradrachms to the Peloponnese, too, especially in the west, north and central areas, is undoubtedly to be connected with the confrontation in 331/330 BC between Agis, assisted by the Eleans, Arcadians and Achaeans, and Antipater, who was supported by Alexander to the sum of at least 3,000 talents of silver.[15] Moreover, as early as 333 BC, in better financial condition than when he set out from Pella,[16] Alexander had sent «an officer with money … (probably tetradrachms) … to recruit mercenaries».[17] The Peloponnese was probably also the final destination of the

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[13] Arrian III 19.5-6 [see also Diodorus 17 74.3 (τούς τε ὀφειλομένους μισθούς), Curt. 6 2,15-17. Plutarch, Alexander 42,3]: τοὺς μὲν Θετταλοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ὀπίσω ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, τόν τε μισθὸν ἀποδοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐντελῆ τὸν ξυντεταγμένον καὶ δισχίλια παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τάλαντα ἐπιδούς. See also N.G.L. Hammond. Alexander's Veterans after his Death, GRBS 25, 1984, 53, and idem, The Macedonian State. The Origins, Institutions, and History, Oxford 1992², 212. Idem, Alexander the Great, King, Commander and Statesman, 1994³, 170. R.D. Milns, Army Pay and the Military Budget of Alexander the Great, Zu Alexander d. Gr., Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60. Geburtstag am 9.12.86, Amsterdam 1987, 240.

[14] Arrian III 29.5 (see also Arr. V 27,5): καὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς καταμείναντες, ἐπ᾽ οἴκου ἀπέστειλεν. Curt., 7 5,27 adds that Alexander gave *bina talenta equiti* (probably in tetradrachms). For these events, see Fr. L. Holt, Alexander the Great and Bactria, Leiden 1989, 49. According to Hammond (JHS 119, 1989, 64), the Thessalians sent home numbered about five hundred.

[15] Arr. III 16.10 (ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐς τρισχίλια). Cf. N.G.L. Hammond, Alexander the Great, King, Commander and Statesman 1994³, 159ff. W.L.T. Adams, Antipater and Cassander. Generalship on Restricted Resources in the Fourth Century, AW 10, nos. 3-4, 1984, 79ff. The sources fail to make it clear how far this sum will have been spent on the enlisting of mercenaries (and not for the pay of Macedonians), though it seems fairly certain that this was the case. Cf. also A.B. Bosworth, Alexander the Great and the Decline of Macedonia, JHS 106, 1986, 8.

[16] See F. Rebuffat, Alexandre le Grand et les problèmes financiers au début de son règne (été 336-printemps 335), RN 25, 1983, 43-52.

[17] See N.G.L. Hammond, Alexander the Great, King, Commander and Statesman 1994³, 157. Cf. also J. Seibert, Demographische und wirtschaftliche Probleme Makedoniens in der frühen Diadochenzeit, in: Studien zur Alten Geschichte (Festchrift S. Lauffer), III, Rome 1989, 839. The fact that there is no express record in the sources of any payment of sums of money prior to 333 BC is not sufficient in itself to call into question the correctness of Price's theory, which would lead to the complete acceptance of the view of Zervos, Troxell and Le Rider (cf. also F. de Callataÿ, RBN 128, 1982, 5-25) on the late beginning of Alexander's coinage (333 BC on). [The bibliography is assembled in G. Le Rider, Alexander in Asia Minor, in: Coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh, London 1998, 49-57.] The lack of any written testimony, however, does not argue in favour of Price. In any case, if the view advanced by H. Troxell, Alexander's Earliest Macedonian Silver, Mnemata: Papers in Memory of Nancy M. Waggoner, New York 1991, 49-61, is accepted, Alexander's decision to issue coins in his name in 333/332 BC —immediately after the capture of Tarsus— is probably rather to be associated with the need for liquid funds to enlist mercenaries, than to constitute the «means to affirm his authority and ambition» (G. Le Rider, Alexander in Asia Minor, in: Coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh, London 1998, 55). For it is known that «for his last years Alexander had not drawn any troops from Macedonia», and that «his needs were met not only by enlisting Balkan troops and Greek mercenaries but also by training and employing very great numbers of Asian troops in all branches of the army» (N.G.L. Hammond, Casualties and

tetradrachms remaining from the money stolen by Harpalos,[18] which were spent by the Athenian Leosthenes at Tainaron in 323 BC in order to enlist mercenaries against the Macedonians.[19] (Part of the original sum, as we know, had been made available in Athens for the creation of an anti-Macedonian front.)

Whether we are dealing with mixed hoards or unmixed hoards of tetradrachms, neither the tetradrachms struck during Alexander's lifetime, nor the early posthumous ones, occur in finds after the middle of the 3rd c. BC, at least as the result of normal, continuous circulation: in Central Greece they are found not later than the period 300-287 BC, in the Peloponnese not later than 295-280 BC, in Macedonia not later than 280-270 BC and in Thessaly not later than 270-250 BC. In contrast, their presence in hoards produced by the hoarding of precious metal, whether in the form of 'residual' elements or in later posthumous issues, is noted from 250 BC down to about 225 BC in Thessaly, or to the end of the 3rd c. BC in the Peloponnese. In Macedonia this period extends, though with gaps, from 270 BC to 200-180 BC. It is only in Central Greece that these late cases are confined to around 250 BC.[20]

The behaviour of the Alexander drachms as revealed by the hoards, both mixed and those containing only drachms, is also highly interesting.

In contrast with the tetradrachms, the drachms occur in hoards from the Greek peninsula at later dates, and even in the final decade of the century (310 BC in Macedonia and Central Greece, 300 BC in Thessaly and the Peloponnese).[21]

In the overwhelming majority of cases, these issues came from the newly founded mints at Sardis, Miletos, Lampsakos, Magnesia, «Kolophon», «Teos», Mylasa (?) and Abydos (?), which scholarship dates to the period after 325/4 BC,[22] and were intended

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reinforcements of citizen soldiers in Greece and Macedonia, JHS 109, 1989, 65). The choice of types of the Attic standard for these new gold and silver coins was undoubtedly dictated by the guidelines of his Greek-Asian policy, which was still in conception at this date.

[18] Harpalos, Alexander's treasurer, made off to Greece (Athens) in 324 BC with 6,000 Greek mercenaries, taking with him 5,000 talents of silver (Diod. 17 108.6: φοβηθείς (Harpalos) τὴν τιμωρίαν, καὶ συσκευασάμενος ἀργυρίου μὲν τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια, μισθοφόρους δ' ἀθροίσας ἑξακισχιλίους, ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας). See also E. Badian, Harpalus, JHS 81, 1961, 16-43.

[19] Diod. 18 9.1-3.

[20] The interesting study by D. Kneopfler, ALEXANDREION NOMISMA. L'apparition et la disparition de l'argent d'Alexandre dans les inscriptions grecques. Quelques réflexions complémentaires, ΤΟΠΟΙ, Orient-Occident 7/1, 1977, 33-50, based on literary and epigraphical texts, mainly from Asia Minor, would have been more comprehensive if it had taken into account the findings from the investigation of coin hoards with drachms in the name of Alexander, both from the Orient and from the West.

[21] Drachms appear in hoards from Thrace and the land of the Getai from the beginning of the last twenty years of the 4th c. BC (the date assigned to the concealment of the Mahala find in IGCH is certainly too high).

[22] M. Thompson, Paying the Mercenaries, in: Studies in Honor of Leo Mildenberg, Wetteren 1984, 241-247 (These men were, of course, mercenaries not veterans). F. De Callataÿ, Réflexions sur les ateliers d'Asie Mineure d'Alexandre le Grand, Trésors et circulation monétaire en Anatolie antique, 1994, 19-35. Y. Touratsoglou, Back to the Future: Alexander the Great's Silver and Gold in the Balkans: the Hoard Evidence, in: Coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh, London 1998, 71-101. M.J. Price, The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus: A British Museum Catalogue, Zurich/London 1991, who was followed by F. De Callataÿ, Réflexions sur les ateliers d'Asie Mineure d'Alexandre le Grand, Trésors et circulation monétaire en Anatolie antique, 1994,27-28, Ch. Hersh, H. Troxell, A 1993 Hoard of Alexander Drachms from the Near East, AJN 5-6, 1993-4, 13-42. Ch. Hersh, Additions and Corrections to Martin J. Price's «The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip

primarily for the 10,000 Macedonian veterans discharged by Alexander at the end of summer 324 BC, after the revolt at Opis,[23] and for those who at the end of 321 BC accompanied Antipater, with Philip III and the royal court on their return journey to Macedonia.[24]

These drachms (and perhaps also a sum in tetradrachms) were presumably also intended for the 31,000 mercenaries from South Greece who, in the years following 323 BC, returned to their homes, leaving the newly founded cities of the Orient where they had been settled by the son of Philip II (about 23,000), or having been discharged by the local Macedonian satraps (8,000).[25]

Unlike the tetradrachms, the penetration of Macedonia and the rest of Greece by drachms issued in the name of Alexander tended to be somewhat later than their year of issue.[26]

Arrhidaeus», in: Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price, London 1998, 135-144, and G. le Rider, Alexander in Asia Minor, in: Coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh, London 1998, 49-57 (cf. also G. Le Rider, RSN 71, 1992, 214-225) was the first to adduce arguments calling into critical question some of the attributions to specific mints proposed by M. Thompson in The Alexandrine Mint of Mylasa, QT 10, 1981, 207-217, eadem, Alexander's Drachm Mints, I Sardis and Miletus, ANS Num. Studies 16 (1983) and eadem, II Lampsacus and Abydus, ANS Num. Studies 19 (1991), and proceeded to check a number of dates assigned, particularly to the inaugural issues. To avoid complications, the present study follows, for obvious reasons, the scheme adopted by Price, though in the formulation of the conclusions, the other proposals are taken into account.

[23] Arr. IV 18-19. VII 12,1-2 (καὶ οὗτοι αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο ἐς τοὺς μυρίους. τούτοις δὲ τήν τε μισθοφορὰν οὐ τοῦ ἐξήκοντος ἤδη χρόνου ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀπονόστησιν τὴν οἴκαδε ξυμβαίνοντος. ἐπέδωκεν δὲ καὶ τάλαντον ἑκάστῳ ὑπὲρ τὴν μισθοφοράν), Diod. 17 109,2 (Cf. N.G.L. Hammond, Alexander's Veterans after his Death, GRBS 25, 1984, 54-55. Idem, the Macedonian State. The Origins, Institutions and History, Oxford 1992², 225). One of the reasons for the revolt at Opis was probably the strong discontent of the Macedonians that they had not so far been taken into account in payments - in contrast, of course, with the Greek and barbarian mercenaries.

[24] Diod. 18 39,7: τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀναλαβὼν (Antipater) καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν προῆγεν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν, Cf. N.G.L. Hammond, Alexander's Veterans after his Death, GRBS 25, 1984, 59. Id. The Macedonian State. The Origins, Institutions and History, Oxford 1992², 255.

[25] Diod. 18 7,2 and 18 9,3. Cf. N.G.L. Hammond, Alexander's Veterans after his Death, GRBS 25, 1984, 53. Both N.G.L. Hammond, Alexander's Veterans after his Death, GRBS 25, 1984, 60 and A.B. Bosworth, Macedonian Manpower under Alexander the Great, Ancient Macedonia IV, 1986, 121 mention the 3,000 revolted Macedonians of Antigonos Monophthalmos, who succeed by violent methods in 321/320 or 320/319 in securing their dismissal and permission to return to Macedonia (see Polyain., 4, 6, 6).

[26] It is significant for the numismatic policy of Alexander that drachms were proceeded in hoards not only by tetradrachms, but also by staters. Wherever and whenever the sources refer to the payment of Macedonian veterans or mercenaries, it is normally noted, or may be inferred, that they were paid in silver coins. We do not know how far the various bonuses -normally for discharged soldiers- were paid in gold, or whether certain currency despatches were made only in gold coins. Whatever the case, gold issues in the name of Philip II, Alexander, and Philip III (mainly staters, through more rarely multiples or subdivisions of staters) are found in the Balkans and Greece preeminently in hoards from Macedonia and Thrace. The gold staters discovered in Macedonia come from Chalikdike (Kassandreia) and East Macedonia (Amphipolis, Philippoi) and fall into two groups of hoards - one with concealment dates in the interval from 325 BC to 323 BC (three hoards) and one from 315 BC to 275 BC (ten hoards), while in Thrace, hoards containing gold staters, which are undoubtedly more numerous than in Macedonia, come from the central and east areas of what is now Bulgaria (kingdom of the Odrysai) and from the east of modern Romania (Getai, Scyths). The Thracian staters fall into two groups, one with concealment dates in the period 325-320/319 BC (ten hoards) and the other in the period 315-275 BC (sixteen hoards). See Y. Touratsoglou, Back to the Future; Alexander the Great's Silver and Gold in the Balkans: The Hoard Evidence, in: Coins of Macedonia and

The characteristically late circulation of the drachms is mainly a reflection of the events of the last twenty five years of the century; it is also a factor of the pronounced mobility on the continent of Asia almost immediately after Alexander, as some of the Epigoni attempted to realise their personal ambitions, with movements of armies (mainly Macedonians, though also mercenaries) which went back and forth, movements that seem to have led to a tidal wave of money in the single direction of the Asia Minor coast. For the events themselves involved a convergence of interests in the direction of Asia.[27]

One result of this uncertain and fluid climate is the fact that for the period between the Lamian War and the battle of Krannon (322 BC) and the final domination of Antigonos Monophthalmos and his son Demetrios Poliorketes (302 BC) —a period of realignments of power in the Balkans, with Kassander, Lysimachos and Demetrios Poliorketes all taking turns as masters of the situation— the hoards from south and north Greece are rather few, the drachms they contain being confined to a limited number of issues from the early years of their circulation.

Then when the decisive battle at Ipsos in Phrygia (301 BC), stabilised the situation in the East, this had the effect of convating the Balkan peninsula, and particularly Greece, into a field of fierce military conflicts.

From as early as the first quarter of the 3rd. c. BC the Macedonian kingdom was torn asunder by fratricidal dynastic conflicts, and parcelled out between Pyrrhos and Lysimachos, the prey of foreign ambitions; while southern Greece became the victim of the plundering raids of the Gauls, who overran and sacked sanctuaries and entire regions and was converted into the scene of a bitter conflict between Pyrrhos and Gonatas, leading to the Chremonidean War (before the middle of the century), in which the Ptolemies were involved. From the successive changes of alliance during the reign of Doson and the birth of federal states with expansionist ambitions in Central Greece and the Peloponnese, down to the grandiose, ambitious policy of Philip V and its unforeseen consequences for the subsequent liberty of Greece, the south of Greece, in particular, was bathed in blood, armies were decimated, cities were sacked and populations carried off into slavery, with the land being continually turned into a theatre of rivalry between the Macedonian royal house on the one hand and the military alliances of the cities and political leagues, then coming into being as political bodies, on the other.[28]

One result of this intense conflict is that hoards containing drachms in the name of Alexander in southern and northern Greece are distinctly more numerous throughout

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Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh, London 1998, 71-101 and idem, Στην αναζήτηση του Ελληνιστικού χρυσού, in: «Μνείας Χάριν», Τόμος στη Μνήμη της Μ. Σιγανίδου, Thessaloniki 1998, 235-266).

[27] For example, the 6,000 Macedonians (part of the 10,000), transferred at Krateros's orders from Kilikia to European territory to reinforce Antipater in Thessaly before the battle of Krannon (322 BC), and later moved forwards to meet the Aetolians (322/21 BC) were ultimately obliged to return to Asia for further adventures (cf. N.G.L. Hammond, The Macedonian State, The Origins, Institutions and History, Oxford 1992², 248ff).

[28] Tarn's comment on the 3rd c. BC is indicative, W.W. Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas, Oxford 1913, 1ff.: «no part of Greek history should come home to us like the third century B.C. It is the only period that we can in the least compare with our own; indeed in some ways it is quite startlingly modern …The balance of power has become a reality and a preoccupation». On this period in general, see M.M. Austin, Hellenistic Kings, War and the Economy, CQ 36 (ii), 1986, 450-466.

the entire third century BC than those of the previous period and have distinctly larger numbers of coin specimens.[29]

This observation, taken together with what we have seen in the immediately preceding period, might possibly suggest that these Alexander drachms of the 3rd c. BC hoards —struck in the 4th c. BC— represent late imports of money from the Orient, primarily accompanying the mercenary bands that fought in Greece under the orders of the protagonists of the period, rather than already existing wealth in the hands of locals, even in the form of the remains of pay.

The benchmark, from the point of view of dating their movement and also the provenance of all or part of the corpus of each individual hoard, is provided by the drachms (albeit few) of later date from the mints of Erythrai (dated to 290-275 BC),[30] Miletos (dated to 295-275 BC),[31] Chios (dated to 290-275 BC),[32] and Magnesia (dated to 225-220 BC).[33] And, of course, by the equally few, but important, late drachms from the mints of «Pella» (dated to 285-275 BC)[34] and Macedonia/Central Greece (dated to 310-275 BC).[35]

With regard to the lowest date of their inclusion in hoards, drachms in the name of Alexander are found in Central Greece where, as the result of their regular, continuous circulation, they are found for a very short interval and also in Macedonia down to 270 BC, while in Thessaly and the Peloponnese they were concealed down to the middle of the 3rd c. BC. They are also found in later periods, as the result of thesaurisation, mainly in the Peloponnese (down to 215 BC).[36]

Study of the new hoard alongside others of the period confirms a number of theories advanced in the past on the circulation of the coins of the small, peripheral mints during the century that followed the death of Alexander and demonstrates once more the local character not only of most of these mints, but also of others with a greater output. It also attests to the power and the intrusive nature, of other mints, most of them

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[29] Le Rider (JS 1986, 27-28) arrives at a similar conclusion in connection with the presence of Alexander tetradrachms and drachms minted in 301-294 BC in hoards from Asia Minor with concealment dates in the decade 240-230 BC (cf. also G. Le Rider, Sur le frai de certaines monnaies anciennes et contemporaines, Mélanges de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne offerts à André Tuillier, Paris 1988, 77ff).

[30] Megara IGCH 137 (concealment date 295-280 BC), Larisa IGCH 168 (concealment date 250-> BC) and Sophikon IGCH 179 (concealment date 230-220 BC) hoards.

[31] Epidauros IGCH 158 (concealment date 280-> BC), Pondolivado Kilkis IGCH 445 (concealment date 280 BC), Vergi IGCH 455 (concealment date 250-230 BC) and Sophikon IGCH 179 (concealment date 230-220 BC) hoards.

[32] Vergi IGCH 455 (concealment date 250-230 BC), Eretria IGCH 175 (concealment date 245 BC), Sophikon IGCH 179 (concealment date 230-220 BC) and Corinth IGCH 187 (concealment date 220-215 BC) hoards.

[33] Corinth IGCH 187 (concealment date 220-215 BC) hoard.

[34] Thessaly 1993 (concealment date 260-240 BC) hoard.

[35] Megara IGCH 137 (concealment date 295-280 BC), Pondolivado IGCH 445 (concealment date 270 BC), Eretria CH VIII, 281 (concealment date 260 BC), Thessaly 1993 (concealment date 260-240 BC), Nea Epidauros CH VIII, 298 (concealment date 250 BC), Larisa IGCH 168 (concealment date 250-> BC), Sophikon IGCH 179 (concealment date 230-220 BC) and Corinth IGCH 187 (concealment date 220-215 BC) hoards.

[36] In Thrace and the land of the Getai, the lowest concealment date for Alexander drachms falls in the years 280-270 BC, regardless of whether the hoards are mixed or not.

royal (though we should not forget Athens), whose output covered the whole of Greece. Above all, however, it indicates the leading role played by drachms in the name of Alexander, preeminently as a means of exercising a policy of domination by fire and the sword, in the third century before Christ —the century of mercenaries and fortune—seekers, of the conflicting aspirations of reckless thrones and of weary veterans of the campaign in Asia.[37]

This investigation, in other words, confirms and, by adding new evidence and recent contributions, broadens some of the original conclusions regarding circulation of money in Boeotia and the Peloponnese during the Hellenistic period arrived at in his pioneering, synthesising articles of the 1960s[38] by my prematurely departed friend Tony: the philhellene Tony Hackens, the flying Belgian of the five continents.

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[37] G. Le Rider's comment (JS 1986, 27) on the circulation of Alexander drachms in Asia Minor (au IIIe siècle, en Asie Mineure et dans l'Orient séleucide, lorsque les transactions comportaient un paiement en drachmes, celles-ci étaient dans leur très grande majorité des monnaies aux types d'Alexandre) is not completely confirmed for Greece, with regard either to the number of hoards, or with the number of coins of this category they contain. For in Greece at this period, not a few hoards also contain issues of the cities (see Y. Touratsoglou, Back to the Future; Alexander the Great's Silver and gold in the Balkans: the Hoard Evidence, in: coins of Macedonia and Rome. Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh, London 1998, 71-101. Cf. also Fr. de Callataÿ, Un trésor de drachmes aux types d' Alexandre le Grand conservé au Cabinet des Médailles à Bruxelles, RBN 129, 1983, 23-60).

[38] T. Hackens, Á propos de la circulation monètaire dans le Péloponnèse au IIIe s. av. J.C., Antidorum W. Peremans sexagenario ab alumnis oblatum, Louvain 1968, 69-95. Idem, La circulation monétaire dans la Beotie hellénistique: trésors de Thèbes 1935 et 1965, BCH 93, 1969, 701-729.

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Ioannis Touratsoglou
Numismatic Museum
Athens

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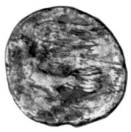


Mid October 1998+9 January 1999

Catalogue of hoards (mixed and unmixed) from Macedonia and Mainland and Insular Greece containing drachms in the name of Alexander the Great, distributed by burial date and according to mint

Burial date	4drachms +drachms	drachms	MINTS																							
			MILETOS	MAGNESIA	LAMPSAKOS	ABYDOS (?)	«Kolophon»	SARDIS	EPHESOS	ERYTHRAI	PRIENE	MYLASA (?)	«TEOS»	CHIOS	W. Asia Minor	SIDE	SALAMIS	CITIUM	ARADOS	«Babylon»	«PELLA»	Amphipolis	UNC.MAC./ C. GREECE	?	Philip III	Lysima-chos
310-305	Drama (?) IGCH 414		(1)					(1)																(1)	--	--
310-300	Megara IGCH 94																							(17)	--	--
305-297		Nikissiani ST CH VIII,217						(1) Pr.2542 (334-323)																	--	--
300		Aphytis IGCH 431													(50)										+	--
300	Trikala IGCH 117		(1) Pr.2088 (325-323)																						--	--
300 ->		Talanta IGCH 132																						(1)	--	Koloph. L27 (301-297)
300 ->		Thessaly IGCH 133	(1)																						--	--
295-280		Megara IGCH 137	(2) Pr.2124 (323-319) Pr.2138 (300-295)	(9) Pr.1931 (325-323) Pr.1946 (323-319) Pr.1950 Pr.1965 Pr.1966 Pr.1973 Pr.1978 Pr.1989 (319-305) Pr.1995 (305-297)	(8) Pr.1375 (323-317) Pr.1383 Pr.1385 Pr.1398 Pr.1416 Pr.1418 (310-301) Pr.1423 Pr.1427 (301-296)	(2) Pr.1506 (328-323) Pr.1545 (310-301)	(8) Pr.1786 (319-310) Pr.1817 Pr.1827 Pr.1828 Pr.1830 (310-301) Pr.1834 Pr.1836 Pr.1837 (301-297)	(6) Pr.2553 Pr.2565 Pr.2577 (334-323) Pr.2600 (323-319) Pr.2685 Pr.2687 (319-315)	(1) Pr.1877 (300)	(2) Pr.1894A (290-275)		(1) Pr.2479 (310-300)			(2) Pr.2780 Pr.2782? (323-280)					(1) Pr.3693 (323-317)			(4) Pr.862 Pr.862A Pr.864 (310-275)	(6)	Magn. P55 (Hersh 36) P61 (323-319) «Koloph.» P43 P45 (323-319) Sardis P76 P106 (323-319) Abydos P21 (323-317)	Lamps. L11 (301-296) Magn. L33 (305-297) Lysim. L1 (299/8-297/6)
295-280	Asea IGCH 138			(2) Pr.1934 (325-323) Pr.1973 (319-305)	(2) Pr.1356 (328-323) Pr.1362? (323-317)	(2) Pr.1527 ?Pr.1545 (310-301)	(1) Pr.1823 (310-301)	(3) Pr.2553 (334-323) Pr.2637 (323-319)																	«Koloph.» P46-48 (323-319)	--
<- 290	Nevrokop (Nicopolis ad Nestum) IGCH 829 [Archeologia 1,1988(Sofia)]				(1) Pr.1362 (323-317)		(3) Pr.1750 Pr. 1759 (323-319) Pr.1813 (310-301)										(1) Pr.3140 (332-323)								--	--
285	Haghioi Theodoroi IGCH 93 (AJN 2, 1990,6)				(1) Pr. 1382 (310-301)		(2) Pr. 1759 (323-319) Pr. 1789-94 (319-310)																		--	--

<- 281	Poteidaia CH VIII,260		(1) Pr..2088? (325-323)				(10) Pr. 1751 Pr. 1759 (323-319) Pr. 1798 Pr. 1808 Pr. 1825 (310-301) Pr. 1832 Pr. 1840a (301-297)	(6) Pr. 2553 Pr. 2567 Pr. 2568? (334-323) Pr. 2626? Pr. 2629 (323-319)				(1) Pr.2478 (310-300)												(1)	Sardis P102 (323-319)	--
280		Amphipolis CH VIII,270			(1) Pr. 1372 (323-317)	(1) Pr. 1505 (328-323)	(2) Pr. 1773 (319-310) Pr. 1838 (301-297	(1) Pr. 2547 (334-323)																	--	--
280	Thessaly IGCH 146																						(7)	--	--
280 ->	Epidauros IGCH 158 (AJN 2, 1990,6)		(3) Pr.2088 (325-323) Pr.2127 (323-319) Pr.2148 (295-275)	(3) Pr.1936 (323-319) Pr.1955? Pr.1970? (319-305)	(3) Pr.1404 Pr.1417 (310-301)	(4) Pr.1501? (328-323) Pr.1538? (310-301) Pr.1578 (310-297)	(5) Pr.1798 Pr.1810 Pr.1813 (310-301) Pr.1842 (301-297)																(3)	--	--
280 /279	Furka MNJ 1994,39-47		(1) Pr.2124 (323-319)		(1) Pr.1413 (310-301)		(1) Pr.1803 (310-301)																(4)	--	--
280-270		Siphnos IGCH 91 (AJN 2, 1990,6)	(1) Pr.2090 (325-323)																					--	--
280-270	Kavala IGCH 450		(15) Pr.2088 Pr.2089 Pr.2090 (325-323) Pr.2100 Pr.2121 Pr.2130 Pr.2138 (323-319)		(49) Pr.1347 Pr.1356 Pr.1362 Pr.1365 (328-323) Pr.1375 Pr.1379 Pr.1380 (323-317) Pr.1382 Pr.1389 Pr.1398 Pr.1401 Pr.1404 Pr.1406 Pr.1411 Pr.1413 Pr.1417 Pr.1419 Pr.1422 Pr.1423 Pr.1427 (310-301)			(27) Pr.2550 Pr.2553 Pr.2563 Pr.2577 Pr.2580 Pr.2582 (334-323) Pr. P94 Pr. P96 Pr. P97 Pr.102 Pr. P106 Pr.2600 Pr.2617 Pr. 2626 Pr. 2629 Pr.2639 Pr.2641 Pr. 2682 (323-319)				(?) Pr. 2476-80 (310-300) Pr. 2493 (300-280)			(+?)			(1) Pr.3109 (325-320)				(1) Pr.497 (315-294)			Side P122-23 (323-317) Susa P209 (320-316) W.A.M. P113 (323-280)	Lysim. L2 (299-296)
270	Pontolivado IGCH 445 (AJN 2, 1990,8)		(2) Pr.2121 (323-319) Pr.2151 (295-275)	(1) Pr.1980? (319-305)	(5) Pr.1352 Pr.1356 (328-323) Pr.1362 (323-317) Pr.1398 Pr.1406 (310-301)	(1) Pr.1506 (328-323)	(4) Pr.1759 (323-319) Pr.1779 (319-310) Pr.1799 Pr.1811? (310-301)	(3) Pr.2550 Pr.2571? (334-323) Pr.2630 (323-319)															(1) Pr.862 (310-275)	(1)	«Koloph.» P43 (323-319) Magn. P56 (323-319)	--
270	Thessaly CH VIII, 278																						(73)	+	+
260		Pherai IGCH 141 (AJN 2, 1990,8)		(2) Pr.1970 (319-305) Pr. 1995 (319-297)		(1) Pr.1545 (310-301)																			--	--
260	Eretria CH VIII, 281		(2) Pr.2100 (323-319) Pr.2138? (300-295)	(1)	(3) Pr.1356? (328-323) Pr.1387 Pr.1417 (310-301)	(1) Pr.1560 (310-301)	(2) Pr.1750 (323-319) Pr.1817 (310-301)	(1) Pr.2553 (334-323)					(1) Pr.2264 (323-319)										(1) Pr.862 (310-275)	(6)	'Koloph.» P 47 (323-319)	--

260		Eretria CH VIII, 282			(1) Pr. 1406 (310-301)	(2) Pr. 1528? Pr.1545 (310-301)	(6) Pr.1769 (323-319) Pr.1786 (319-310) Pr.1797 Pr.1817 Pr.1823 Pr.1825 (310-301)																	(1)	Sardis P99 (323-319)	--
260-240	Thessaly 1993		(4) Pr. 2090 (325-323) Pr.2121 (323-319)	(1) Pr. 1965 (319-305)	(11) Pr. 1350 (328-323) Pr.1382 Pr.1398 Pr.1401 Pr.1406 Pr.1427 Pr.1428 +1375 Pr.1434 (310-301)	(2) Pr. 1505 (328-323) Pr. 1528 (310-301)	(12) Pr.1750 Pr.1786 Pr.1795 (323-319) Pr.1809 Pr.1812b Pr.1813 Pr.1824 Pr.1825 (310-301) Pr.1832 (301-297)	(2) Pr.2550 (334-323) Pr.2626 (323-319)							(1) Pr.2796 (323-280)						(1) Pr.564A (285-275)		(3) Pr.862b Pr.862c (310-275)		--	--
260-240	Phayttos IGCH 159		(3) Pr.2090 (325-323)	(2) Pr.1959 Pr.1982 (319-305)	(7) Pr.!379 (323-317) Pr.!387 Pr.!382 Pr.!406 Pr.!412 Pr.!417 Pr.!418 (310-301)	(2) Pr.1502 (328-323) Pr.1515 (323-317)	(4) Pr.1750 Pr.1768 (323-319) Pr.1794 (319-310) Pr.1813 (310-301)	(4) Pr.2553 Pr.2564 (334-323) Pr.2617 Pr.2639 (323-319)							(4)										Lamps. P15? (323-317)	--?
250	Nea Epidauros CH VIII,298		(1) Pr. 2138 (300-295)	(1) Pr. 1978 (319-305)	(1) Pr. 1398 (323-317)	(4) Pr. 1527f Pr.1536f Pr.1560 (310-301)	(2) Pr.1829 (310-301) Pr.1833 (301-297)	(10?)				(1) Pr.2479 (310-300)								(1) Pr.3693 (323-317)			(1) Pr.862 (310-275)	(150)	+	+
250 ->	Euboea IGCH 167																							(9)	--	--
250 ->	Larissa IGCH 168 (+IGCH 141)		(7) Pr.2090 (325-323) Pr.2127 (323-319) Pr.2138 (300-295) Pr.2148 Pr.2151? (300-295)		(55) Pr.1354 Pr.1356 (328-323) Pr.1364 Pr.1372-76 Pr.1379-80 (323-317) Pr.1382 Pr.1387 Pr.1389 Pr.1398 Pr.1401 Pr.1406 Pr.1413 Pr.1421 Pr.1427-28 (310-301)	(35) Pr.1502 Pr.1505 (328-323) Pr.1527 Pr.1528 Pr.1531 Pr.1534 Pr.1538 Pr.1539 Pr.1540 Pr.1548 Pr.1551 Pr.1554 Pr.1560 (310-301) Pr.1577-78 (310-297)		(14) Pr.2550 Pr.2565 Pr.2571 (334-323) Pr.2600 Pr.2617 Pr.2630 Pr.2639 (323-319) Pr.2687 (319-315)		(1) Pr.1889 (290-275)		(3) Pr.2477 (310-300) Pr..2484 (300-280)			(16)	(1) Pr.2968 (323-317)								(7) Pr.862 Pr.862A (310-275)	(6)	Lamps. P15 (323-317) Abydos P18 (323-317) Sardis P68 P72 P76 P82 P99 P101 (323-319)	Lamps. Pr.1441 (301-296) Sestos L5 (ca. 305) Lysim. L2 (299-296)

250-230	Vergi IGCH 455		(16) Pr.2088 Pr.2090 (325-323) Pr.2138 (300-295) Pr.2151 (295-275)	(15) Pr.1936-7 Pr.1946 (323-319) Pr.1957? Pr.1959 Pr.1960 Pr.1962? Pr.1968? Pr.1970 Pr.1980 Pr.1993 (319-305)	(32) Pr.1372 Pr.1375 Pr.1380 (323-317) Pr.1382 Pr.1385 Pr.1387 Pr.1389 Pr.1406 Pr.1408 Pr.1411A Pr.1417 (310-301)	(18) Pr.1501 Pr.1502 (328-323) Pr.1515 (323-310) Pr.1527 Pr.1528 Pr.1538 Pr.1551 Pr.1554 (310-301)	(54) Pr.1752 Pr.1759 Pr.1762? Pr.1768 Pr.1769 (323-319) Pr.1774 Pr.1785? Pr.1786 Pr.1789 Pr.1792 Pr.1794 (319-310) Pr.1797 Pr.1798 Pr.1800 Pr.1801 Pr.1804 Pr.1808-13 Pr.1817 Pr.1823 Pr.1825-27 (310-301) Pr.1832 Pr.1842 (301-297)	(9) Pr.2553 Pr.2559 Pr.2563? (334-323) Pr.2626 Pr.2629? Pr.2637 Pr.2638 (323-319) Pr.2682 (319-315)				(4) Pr.2477 Pr..2479A Pr.2480 (310-300) Pr..2481? (300-280)	(7) Pr.2264 Pr.2268 Pr.2274 (323-319) Pr.2279 Pr.2290 Pr.2292 Pr.2302 (310-301)	(2) Pr.2317 (290-275) Pr.2763 (<-275)	(5) Pr.2700 Pr.2754 Pr..2775? Pr.2781 Pr..2794? (323-280)				(1) Pr.3333 (328-320)	(1) Pr.3690? (323-317)				(22)	«Koloph.» Pr.44 Pr.94 Pr.99 (323-319)	Lysim. L1 (299/8- 297/6)
250-225	Dokimion IGCH 173							(1) Pr.2580 (334-323)																	--	Lamps. L11 (301-296)
250-200		Eretria IGCH 189							(1) Pr.1878 (300)																--	--
245	Olympia IGCH 176 (AJN 2, 1990,9)				(1) Pr.1382 (310-301)		(2) Pr.1783 (319-310) Pr.1833 (301-297)	(1) Pr.2600? (323-319)					(1) Pr.2281 (310-301)												--	--
245		Eretria IGCH 175 (AJN 2,1990,9)		(2) Pr. 1967 Pr.1980 (319-305)	(1) Pr.1417 (310-301)	(2) Pr.1506 (328-323) Pr.1575 (310-297)	(1) Pr.1823 (310-301)					(1) Pr.2476- 2480? (310-300)		(1) Pr.2325 (290-275)											--	+
240		Phalanna CH III, 43 (AJN 2,1990,9)		(1) Pr.1989 (305-297)		(1) Pr. 1527 (310-301)																		(1)	--	--?
240-225		Thebes IGCH 193 (AJN 2,1990,12)		(2) Pr.1985 Pr.2000 (305-297)	(1) Pr.1406 (310-301)		(2) Pr.1770 (323-319) Pr.1811-12 (310-301)	(1) Pr.2602A (323-319)				(1) Pr.2479 (310-300)												(1)	--	«Koloph.» Pr. 1840 (301-297)
230	Karystos IGCH 177			(1) Pr.1955f (319-305)	(1) Pr. 1362 (323-317)		(1) Pr.1770 (323-319)								(7)									(2)	--	--
230-220		Euboea IGCH 178																						(1)	--	--

230-220	Sophikon IGCH 179		(53) Pr.2088 Pr.2090 (325-323) Pr.2100 Pr.2121 Pr.2128 (323-319) Pr.2137 Pr.2138 Pr.2144 (300-295) Pr.2148 Pr..2151 (295-275)	(33) Pr.1922 Pr.1927 (325-323) Pr.1936 Pr.1936f Pr.1945 (323-319) Pr.1950f? Pr.1955 Pr.1956 Pr.1959 Pr.1959A (=Hersh42) Pr.1970 Pr.1973 Pr.1978 Pr.1979 Pr.1980 Pr.1981 Pr.1982 (319-305) Pr.1985 Pr.1991 Pr.1993 Pr.1995 Pr.1996 (305-297)	(97) Pr.1355 Pr.1356 (328-323) Pr.1362 Pr.1363 Pr.1369f Pr.1372 Pr.1373 Pr.1375 Pr.1379 Pr.1379A Pr.1380 (323-317) Pr.1381f Pr.1382 Pr.1385 Pr.1387 Pr.1389-90 Pr.1391 Pr.1393 Pr.1396 Pr.1406 Pr.1413 Pr.1417 Pr.1418 Pr.1422f? Pr.1423 Pr.1424 Pr.1427 (310-301) Pr.1438/1443 (301-296)	(52) Pr.1501 Pr.1503 Pr.1506 Pr.1508 Pr.1510 (328-323) Pr.1511-13 Pr.1514-15 (323-317) Pr.1527 Pr.1528 Pr.1531 Pr.1534 Pr.1538 Pr.1541 Pr.1541A Pr.1551 Pr.1554 Pr.1560 Pr.1565 Pr.1575 (310-301) Pr.1575 Pr.1577 Pr.1584 Hersh 21? (310-297)	(101) Pr.1750f Pr.1751 Pr.1752 Pr.1753 Pr.1759 Pr.1768 Pr.1769 Pr.1770 (323-319) Pr.1773 Pr.1774f Pr.1776 Pr.1777 Pr.1778 Pr.1781 Pr.1781/83 Pr.1783 Pr.1786 Pr.1787? Pr.1792 Pr.1793 Pr.1794 Pr.1795 (319-310) Pr. 1797 Pr.1798f Pr.1801 Pr.1805 Pr.1808 Pr.1808-10 Pr.1811-12 Pr.1812 Pr.1819 Pr.1822Af Pr.1823 Pr.1823-26 Pr.1824 Pr.1825 Pr.1825/26 Pr.1827 Pr.1828 Pr.1829 (310-301) Pr.1832f Pr.1832-34 Pr.1833 Pr.1840 Pr.1840-43 Pr.1842 (301-297)	(41) Pr.2575? (334) Pr.2542 Pr.2550 Pr.2553 Pr.2558 Pr.2559 Pr.2563-4? Pr.2565 Pr.2571 Pr.2576 Pr.2580? (334-323) Pr.2586 Pr.2587 Pr.2589? Pr.2595? Pr.2597 Pr.2602 Pr.2602A Pr.2626 Pr.2629 Pr.2632? Pr.2638 (323-319) Pr.2672 Pr.2682 Pr.2687 (319-315)	(1) Pr.1877 (300)	(1) Pr.1893f (290-275)	(1) Pr.2238 (280-275)	(13) Pr.2476f Pr.2477 Pr.2477-78 Pr.2479 Pr.2480 (310-300) Pr.2484f Pr.2485-88 Pr.2493? (300-280)	(16) Pr.2260? Pr.2262 Pr.2264 Pr.2274 (323-319) Pr.2284? Pr.2290 Pr.2299 Pr.2307 (310-301)	(4) Pr.2322 Pr.2326 (290-275)	(5) Pr.2766Pr. 2768 Pr.2778 Pr.2781/8 3 Pr.2782-3 (323-280)	(4) Pr.2968 (323-317)	(1) Pr.3156 (323-315)		((5) Pr.3310 (328-320) cfPr.3342 Pr.3345A Pr.3360 (311-300)	(3) Pr.3604 (325-305) Pr.3693 (323-317)			(5) Pr.862 (310-275)	(223)	Magn. P56 P57 (323-319) «Koloph.» P43 P44 P46f P48 P49 (323-319) Abydos P20 P26 (323-317) Lamps. P15 P17 (323-317) Side P122 P125 (323-317) Sardis P79f P94 P99 (323-319) W.A.M. P112 (323-280) Babylon P181 (323-317) Ekbat.? P222 (323-317)	Lamps. L11 (301-296) Sestos L6 (305) «Koloph.» L25A L.27 (301-297)
225-200		Avai IGCH 195		(1) Pr.1919A (Hersh) (325-323) Pr.1959A (Hersh) (319-305)	(1) Pr.1382 (310-301)		(1) Pr.1801 (310-301)																		Side P123 (323-317)	--

220-215	Korinthos IGCH 187 (AJN 2,1990,12)		(2) Pr.2090 (325-323) Pr.2138 (300-295)	(12) Pr.1945 (323-319) Pr.1959 Pr.1965 Pr.1967 Pr.1970? (319-305) Pr.1985 Pr.1996 (305-297) Pr..2045 (225-200)	(8) Pr.1352ff (328-323) Pr.1362 Pr.1372 Pr.1380 (328-317) Pr.1383? Pr.1385 Pr.1387 Pr.1417 (310--301)	(12) Pr.1527-28 Pr.1534 Pr.1538-39 Pr.1541 Pr.1547? Pr.1551 Pr.1560 (310--301)	(25) Pr.1750 Pr.1759 Pr.1762 Pr.1769 Pr.1768ff Pr.1770 (323--319) Pr.1774 Pr.1781? Pr.1792 (319--310) Pr.1800 Pr.1811-13 Pr.1817 Pr.1823 Pr.1826 (310--301) Pr.1836 Pr.1840 Pr.1842-43 (301-297)	(5) Pr.2553 Pr.2563ff Pr.2576 (334-323) Pr.2637 (323-319)				(3) Pr..2476ff (310--300) Pr..2484ff (300-280)	(1) Pr.2274 (323-319)	(4) Pr.2316 Pr.2317 Pr.2322 Pr.2325 (290-- 275)		(1) Pr..2974? (323-317)					(1) Pr.3604 (325-323)			(2) Pr.862 (310-275)	(8)	Lamps. P15 (323-317) Sardis P68 P104 (323-319)	Lamps. L10 (301-296) Koloph. L23 (301-297)
218	Patrai IGCH 186																							(4)	--	--
<- 200		Chalkis IGCH 205													(14)										+	+
175-165		Larissa IGCH 239			(1)																				--	--
175-150	Peloponnesos IGCH 246					(1) Pr.1517? (323-317)	(1) Pr.1797? (310-317)																	(2)	Magn. P51 (323-319)	--
			MILETOS	MAGNESIA	LAMPSAKOS	ABYDOS (?)	«Kolophon»	SARDIS	EPHESOS	ERYTHRAI	PRIENE	MYLASA (?)	«TEOS»	CHIOS	W. Asia Minor	SIDE	SALAMIS	CITIUM	ARADOS	«Babylon»	«PELLA»	Amphipolis	UNC.MAC./ C. GREECE	?	Philip III	Lysima-chos

Analytical Catalogue of Alexander III drachm Hoards from Ancient Macedonia, Mainland and Insular Greece in chronological order of deposition (310-150 BC)
(References to IGCH; otherwise stated)

Deposition date	Hoards/Reference	Philip II	Alexander III	Philip III	Poliorketes	Gonatas	Lysimachos	Athens	Boeotia	Locris+Op.Locr.	Sicyon	Rhodes	Chalcis	Aegina	Histiaea	Phocis	Arcadia	Elis	Ach. League	Tegea	Aenians	Argos	Megara	Patraos	Seleucids	Ptolemies
	Macedonia																									
310-305	Drama(?)(414)	AV	AV 4dr dr																							
305-297	Nikissiani [ΣΤ] (CH VIII, 217)		dr																							
290****	Nevrokop(829) [<-300]		4dr dr					4dr																		
300	Aphytis(431)		dr	dr																						
<-281	Potidaia (CH VIII, 260)		4dr dr	dr	dr		dr																			
280-270	Kavala(450)		4dr dr	dr	4dr dr							2dr													dr	
280	Pontolivado(445)		4dr dr	4dr dr	4dr			4dr																		
280/279	Furka (MNJ 1994,39-47)		4dr dr		4dr		4dr	4dr																	4dr	
250-230	Vergi(455)		4dr dr	4dr dr	4dr	4dr	4dr dr	4dr																	4dr	
	Central Greece																									
310-300	Megara(94)	4dr 2dr 4ob	4dr 2dr dr																				2dr	4dr		
295-280	Megara(137)		dr	dr			4dr													dr						
285*	Hagii Theodori [Lamia](93) [310-300]	4dr	4dr dr	4dr				4dr	st 3ob	3ob	st				dr 4ob											
240-225 ***	Thebes(193) [225-200]		dr				dr	4dr dr 5ob				2dr														4dr
225-200	Avai(195)		dr	dr					dr 3ob	st 3ob	dr 3ob		dr	st dr		3ob	3ob	st	3ob		3ob	dr				

* AJN 2,1990, 6
*** AJN 2, 1990, 12
**** Archeologia 1, 1988 (Sofia)

Deposition date	Hoards/Reference	Philip II	Alexander III	Philip III	Lysimachos	Poliorcetes	Gonatas	Athens	Boeotia	Locris+Op.Locr.	Sicyon	Rhodes	Chalcis	Aegina	Eub. League	Histiaea	Larissa	Phocis	Carystus	Elis	Thessalian League	Phalanna	Lamia	Magnetes	Tegea	Oetaei	Pharsalos	Siphnos	Paros	Seleucids	Attalids	Ptolemies
	Aegean Islands																															
280*	Siphnos(91) [<- 300]		dr					4dr dr 3ob				2dr 3ob																st 4ob				
260	Eretria (CH VIII, 281)		4dr dr	dr	dr			4dr							dr															4dr		
260	Eretria (CH VIII, 282)		dr	dr	4dr dr	4dr		4dr							dr															4dr		
250 ->	Euboea(167)		4dr dr					4dr							dr				2dr dr													
250-200	Eretria(189)	4dr	dr		4dr	4dr			2dr dr 3ob	3ob		2dr						3ob														4dr
245**	Eretria(175) [235]	4dr	dr		4dr dr	4dr dr 3ob	4dr	4dr	st dr 3ob	st 3ob		2dr	dr		4dr 2dr dr	4obl		3ob	dr										4dr	4dr	4dr	4dr
230	Karystos(177)		4dr dr					4dr							4dr dr				2dr dr	st										4dr dr		
230-220	Euboea(?)(178)		dr										dr 3ob																			
<-200	Chalkis(205)		dr	dr	dr	3ob			3ob	3ob		dr 3ob	dr 3ob		dr	dr		3ob	dr													
	Thessaly																															
300	Trikkala(117)		4dr dr					4dr	st		st			st			dr				2 vict dr											
300 ->	Thessaly(133)		dr						3ob		3ob		3ob										dr									
280	Thessaly(146)	AV	4dr dr		AV	AV		4dr	st	st							dr								Hdr							
270	Thessaly (CH VIII, 278)	4dr	4dr dr	4dr dr	4dr dr	4dr		4dr		Hdr		Hdr					dr ob					dr		Hdr						4dr		
260*	Pherai(141) [290-275]		dr		4dr			4dr																								
260-240	Thessaly/1993	4dr	4dr dr	dr	4dr dr			4dr		3ob	3ob						dr 2ob										dr Hdr					
260-240	Phayttos(159)		4dr dr	dr				4dr	st	Hdr	st					4obl							Hdr			Hdr				4dr dr		
250->	Larissa(168)		4dr dr	dr	4dr dr	4dr	4dr	4dr									dr														4dr	
240**	Phalanna (CH III, 43) [229]	4dr	dr		4dr			4dr	st	st	st	2dr			dr	dr	dr					dr										4dr
175-165	Larissa(239)		dr						dr 3ob	3ob			dr	3ob		4ob		3ob			2 vict			dr								

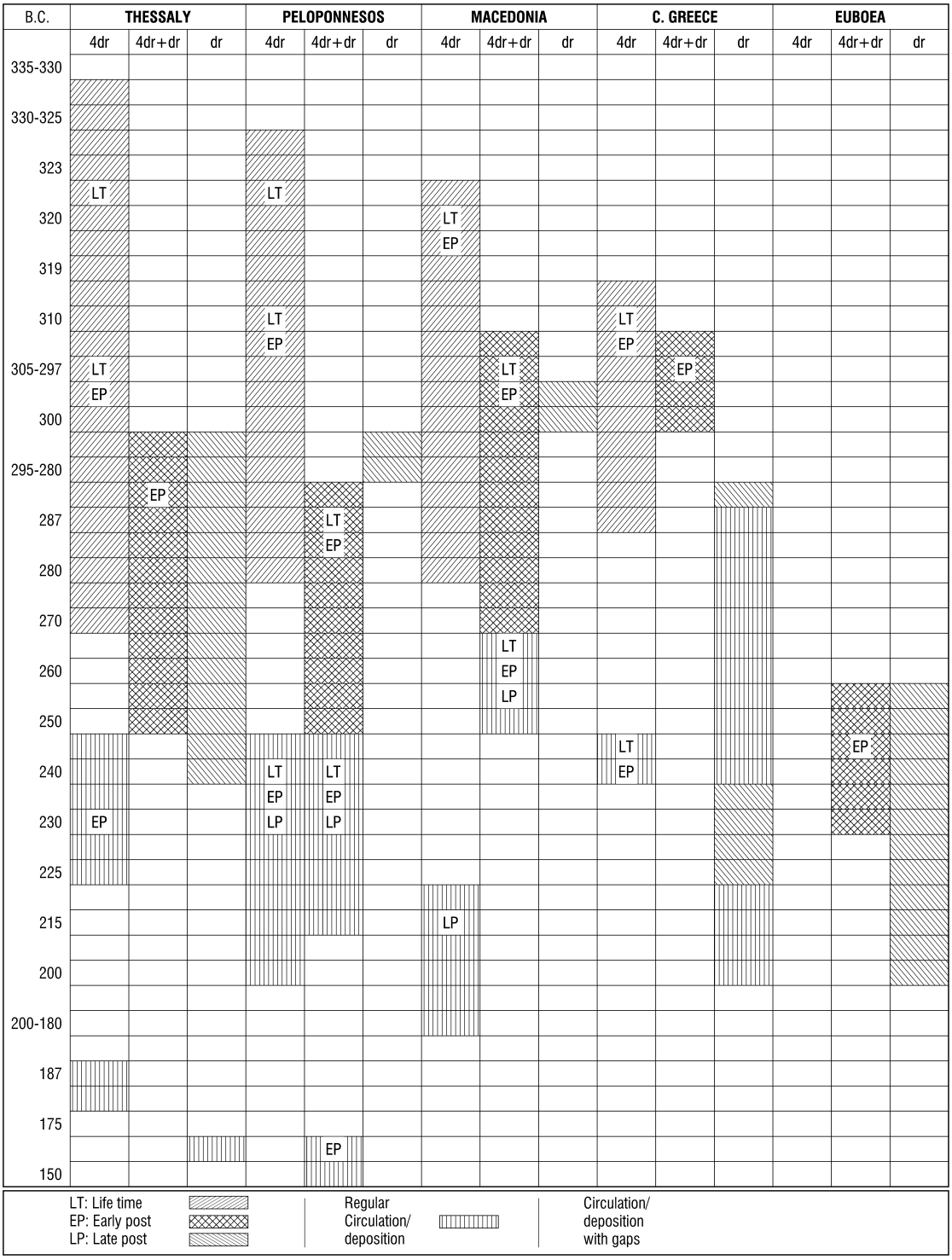
* AJN 2, 1990, 6 ** AJN 2, 1990, 9

Deposition date	Hoards/Reference	Philip II	Alexander III	Philip III	Lysimachos	Poliorcetes	Gonatas	Athens	Boeotia	Locris + Op.Locr.	Sicyon	Rhodes	Chalcis	Aegina	Aetolia	Arcadia	Elis	Epidauros	Ach. League	Hermione	Sparta	Ephesos	Korinthos + col.	Seleucids	Attalids	Ptolemies
	Peloponnese																									
300 ->	Talanta(132)		dr		dr			4dr	dr		3ob			dr												
295-280	Asea(138)		4dr dr	dr	4dr			4dr																		
280->*	Epidauros(158) [250-240]		4dr dr	4dr	4dr	4dr		4dr										3ob								
250	Nea Epidauros (CH VIII, 298)		4dr dr	dr	dr	4dr dr		4dr										dr Hdr						dr		4dr dr
245**	Olympia(176) [237]		4dr dr	4dr	4dr			4dr	st dr 3ob	st	st		dr	st dr			st dr 3ob									4dr
230-220	Sophikon(179)		4dr dr	4dr dr	4dr dr	dr 3ob	dr	4dr	4dr			2dr			4dr						4dr			4dr dr	4dr	4dr
220-215 ***	Korinthos(187) [215]		4dr dr	4dr dr	dr		dr	4dr dr				2dr			4dr							4dr		4dr		4dr
218	Patrai(186)		4dr dr	4dr				4dr			4dr				4dr									4dr		
175-150	Peloponnese(246)		4dr dr	4dr dr							dr 3ob ob					3ob			3ob				3ob			
	Aetolia																									
250-225	Dokimion(173)		4dr dr		dr				dr	3ob	st. dr. 3ob		dr	st dr 3ob	3ob	3ob				3ob						4dr

* AJN 2, 1990, 6
** AJN 2, 1990, 9
*** AJN 2, 1990, 12

Hdr: hemidrachm
dr : drachm
2dr: didrachm
4dr: tetradrachm

ob : obol
2ob: diobol
3ob: triobol
4ob: tetrobol
5ob: pentobol

2vict: double victoriate
st : stater

Distribution by burial date and provenance of hoards from Greece containing Tetradrachms, Tetradrachms and Drachms; and Drachms in the name of Alexander the Great.