

## EULIMENE

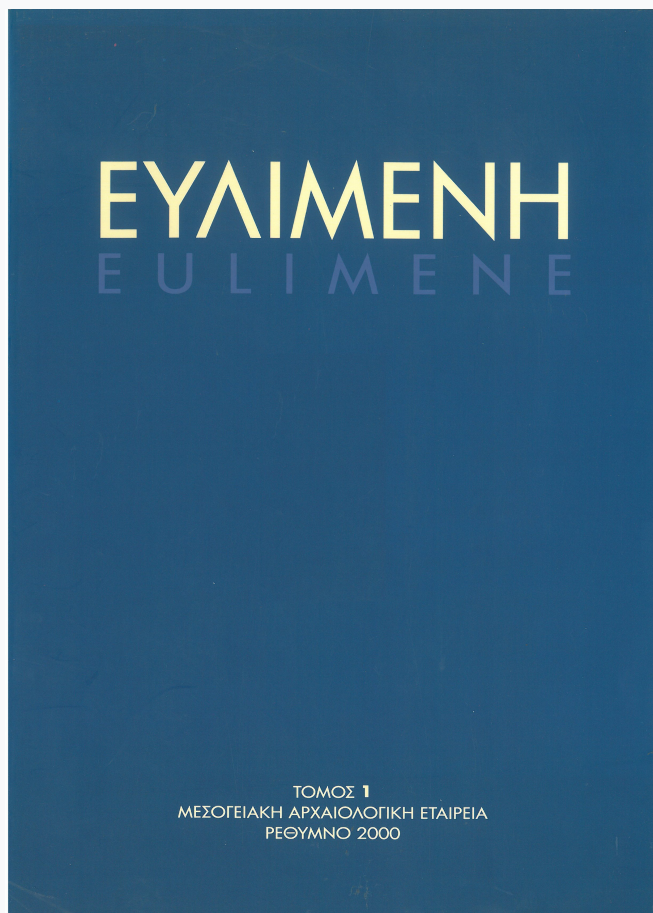
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Vol 1 (2000)

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EULIMENE 1 (2000)

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

*Ioannis Touratsoglou*

doi: [10.12681/eul.32692](https://doi.org/10.12681/eul.32692)

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# ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

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

Τόμος 1  
Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία  
Ρέθυμνο 2000

**ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ**

ΜΕΣΟΓΕΙΑΚΗ

ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ

Π. Μανουσάκη 5 - Β. Χάλη 8

GR 741 00 - Ρέθυμνο

**PUBLISHER**

MEDITERRANEAN

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

P. Manousaki 5 - V. Chali 8

GR 741 00 - Rethymno

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Mediterranean Archaeological Society and the Editors wish to thank the  
Municipalities of Rethymnon and Arkadi for their sponsorship.

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ISSN: 1108-5800

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**Περιεχόμενα**  
**EYAIMENH 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, *EYΛIMENH* 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 ιδιοτήτων των σκελετο-μυικών αναγλύφων μεταξύ ανδρών και γυναικών αυτής της εποχής στα Αβδηρα, 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, *EYΛIMENH* 1 (2000), 25-53

Si percorre l'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 l'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 nella 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 l'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, *EYAIMENH* 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, *EYAIMENH* 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 site 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 cemetery, 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 our case probably its colour effected 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, EYAIMENH 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 proprætor 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, EYAIMENH 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 πιθανότατα 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 αδειά, 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), *EΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 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 νομισματοκοπειών στον αιώνα που ακολούθησε το θάνατο του Αλεξάνδρου και αποδεικνύει για ακόμη μια φορά τον τοπικό χαρακτήρα όχι μόνον των περισσότερων 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, *EΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 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 tritétartémoria) au V<sup>e</sup> siècle avec la légende ΚΑ- et de monnaies de bronze au IV<sup>e</sup> 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 Crousidae. 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, *EYLIMENH* 1 (2000), 127-131

Critical Trifles

1. α. At *PGM* XXXV 26 read τῷ φοροῦντι τὸ χαριτήσιν (for χαριτήσιον) τοῦ <το>. β. In the left-hand column of 31-40 read <sup>31</sup>πά<ν>τα τὰ π'ν'εύ/<sup>32</sup>ματα τῆς κοσμή/<sup>33</sup>σεος <καί?> εὐκρα/<sup>34</sup>σίας· ἐπικαλοῦ/<sup>35</sup>μαι καὶ παρακαλῶ/<sup>36</sup>καὶ ἐξορκίζω/<sup>37</sup>ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μου ὑ/<sup>38</sup>πακούσητε κ(αὶ) ἀπαραβάτους χά/<sup>39</sup>[ριν δῶτ]ε τῷ φοροῦτι τὸ/<sup>40</sup>[χ]αριτήσιν μου τοῦτο.

2. At *PGM* O 1.4 and 1.10 read not λαλήσεν (for λαλήσειν) but λαλήσε(ν) (for λαλήσαι (ν)).

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

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

Ο πάπυρος εἶναι τμήμα μιας ιδιωτικής επιστολής, που χρονολογείται στον ἕκτο αι. μ.Χ. Το κείμενο μας παρέχει μία ἀκόμη μαρτυρία για τη λέξη μετριότης (βλ. στ. 2 σημ.) και για τις *formulae valetudinis* τον ἕκτο αι. μ.Χ. (βλ. στ. 2 σημ.). Πρβλ. επίσης τη λέξη στιχαροκαρκαλάλιον στον στ. 5, η οποία μαρτυρεῖται για δεύτερη φορά ἕως σήμερα στους ελληνικούς παπύρους (βλ. στ. 4 σημ.).

Μετάφραση κειμένου

† Τις επιστολές σου κάθε τόσο, τις οποίες η μετριότητά μου [... λαμβάνει ... Ὅσον αφορά την υγεία μου, εἶμαι καλά με τη βοήθεια του Θεοῦ. Μην [... Θα ἤθελα να γνωρίζεις γι' αυτό που μου ἔστειλες] ὅτι το ἔλαβα και το στιχαροκαρκαλάλιον [... ] πως αυτή τη στιγμή και [δεν] ἔχω ἀκόμη το δακτυλίδι [... [στείλε] μου [αμέσως;] ὅ,τι σου ἔγραψα [... † Απολλώ[...]

Appendix

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

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

Κατά την πτολεμαϊκή περίοδο ο αποστολέας ἀπλά και μόνο πληροφορεῖ τον ἀποδέκτη.

A: Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε δ' ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλη

B: Λογότυπος ἀνοίγματος επιστολής: εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ τᾶλλα σοι κατὰ γνώμην ἐστίν, εἴη ἂν ὡς ἡμεῖς θέλομεν· ὑγίαινον δὲ καὶ αὐτός

Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε δ' ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλη

Κατά τη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο κυρίως μέχρι τον δεύτερο αι. μ.Χ., ἀλλά και σπανιότερα κατὰ τον τρίτο αι. μ.Χ. ἀπαντάται στους παπύρους μία φρασεολογία παρόμοια με αυτή της πτολεμαϊκής περιόδου, ἀλλά η χρήση της δεν εἶναι ἐκτεταμένη.

A: Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε περί τῆς υἰείας σου

B: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: Συνήθως δεν υπάρχει άμεση απάντηση: σπάνια απαντά η φράση του τύπου: πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε υἰγαίνειν μετὰ τῶν σῶν πάντων κάγῶ γὰρ αὐτὸς υἰγαίνω

Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: γράφε περί τῆς υἰείας 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: δηλώσέ μοι περί τῆς σῆς υἰείας

B: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: υἰγαίνω cὺν Θεῷ

Λογότυπος κλεισίματος επιστολής: δηλώσέ μοι περί τῆς σῆς υἰείας

A: Λογότυπος ανοίγματος επιστολής: ἔδεξάμην τὰ περί τῆς σῆς υἰείας



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

- |    |  |         |
|----|--|---------|
|    | <b><u>Philip II</u></b> (Tetradrachms)                         | 1 Spec. |
| 1. | 1. Le Rider no. 314, pl. 35: Amphipolis IIb (342/41-329/28 BC) |         |
|    | <b><u>Alexander III</u></b> (Tetradrachms)                     | 3 Spec. |
| 2. | 1. Price no. 501: Amphipolis (294-290 BC)                      |         |

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\* Thanks are due to Dr. Eva Apostolou for her substantial help in registering 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 finally 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 [IIP 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 (2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> 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 (4<sup>th</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> in Thessaly from 300 down to about the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC,<sup>2</sup> and in Central Greece from 310 into the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC.<sup>3</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC.<sup>4</sup>

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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<sup>1</sup> 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.

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

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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 Höyüğü*, 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 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, the hoards in which they occur divide 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup>

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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<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

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

<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

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,<sup>10</sup> 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,<sup>11</sup> appear to have received any financial remuneration from Alexander, apart, of course from the *siteresion*;<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> Arrian I 29.4 (καὶ οἱ νεόγαμοι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας σταλέντες εἰς Γόρδιον ἦγον 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.

<sup>11</sup> Arrian III 29.5 (cf. also Arrian V 27.5): τῶν τε Μακεδόνων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ ἤδη ἀπολέμους ... ἐπὶ 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., Festschrift 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.

<sup>12</sup> 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., Festschrift 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, as early as 333 BC, in better financial condition than when he set out from Pella,<sup>16</sup> Alexander had sent «an officer with money ... (probably tetradrachms) ... to recruit mercenaries».<sup>17</sup> The Peloponnese was probably also the final destination of the

<sup>13</sup> Arrian III 19.5-6 [see also Diodorus 17 74.3 (τούς τε όφειλομένους μισθούς), Curt. 6 2,15-17. Plutarch, Alexander 42,3]: τούς μὲν Θετταλοὺς ἰππέας καὶ τούς ξυμμάχους όπίσω 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 1992<sup>2</sup>, 212. Idem, Alexander the Great, King, Commander and Statesman, 1994<sup>3</sup>, 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.

<sup>14</sup> Arrian III 29.5 (see also Arr. V 27,5): καὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν τούς ἐθελοντάς 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.

<sup>15</sup> Arr. III 16.10 (ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑς τρισχίλια). Cf. N.G.L. Hammond, Alexander the Great, King, Commander and Statesman 1994<sup>3</sup>, 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.

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

<sup>17</sup> See N.G.L. Hammond, Alexander the Great, King, Commander and Statesman 1994<sup>3</sup>, 157. Cf. also J. Seibert, Demographische und wirtschaftliche Probleme Makedoniens in der frühen Diadochenzeit, in: Studien zur Alten Geschichte (Festschrift 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,<sup>18</sup> which were spent by the Athenian Leosthenes at Tainaron in 323 BC in order to enlist mercenaries against the Macedonians.<sup>19</sup> (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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup>

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).<sup>21</sup>

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,<sup>22</sup> and were intended

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.

<sup>18</sup> 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' ἄθροίσας ἑξακισχίλιους, ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας). See also E. Badian, Harpalus, JHS 81, 1961, 16-43.

<sup>19</sup> Diod. 18 9.1-3.

<sup>20</sup> 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, TOΠΟΙ, 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.

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

<sup>22</sup> M. Thompson, Paying the Mercenaries, in: Studies in Honor of Leo Miltenberg, 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 Arrhidaios: 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,<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup>

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).<sup>25</sup>

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.<sup>26</sup>

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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 Abydos*, *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.

<sup>23</sup> Arr. IV 18-19. VII 12,1-2 (καὶ οὗτοι αὐτῶ ἐγένοντο ἐς τοὺς μυρίους. τούτοις δὲ τὴν τε μισθοφορὰν οὐ τοῦ ἐξήκοντος ἤδη χρόνου ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀπονόστησιν τὴν οἴκαδε ξυμβαίνοντος. ἐπέδωκεν δὲ καὶ τάλαντον ἐκάστῳ ὑπὲρ τὴν μισθοφορὰν), *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 1992<sup>2</sup>, 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.

<sup>24</sup> *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 1992<sup>2</sup>, 255.

<sup>25</sup> *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).

<sup>26</sup> 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 (Kassandria) 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 Odrysi) 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.<sup>27</sup>

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 3<sup>rd</sup>. 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 Dison 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.<sup>28</sup>

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 Χάρην», Τόμος στη Μνήμη της Μ. Σιγαλίδου, Thessaloniki 1998, 235-266).

<sup>27</sup> 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 1992<sup>2</sup>, 248ff).

<sup>28</sup> Tarn's comment on the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

This observation, taken together with what we have seen in the immediately preceding period, might possibly suggest that these Alexander drachms of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC hoards —struck in the 4<sup>th</sup> 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),<sup>30</sup> Miletos (dated to 295-275 BC),<sup>31</sup> Chios (dated to 290-275 BC),<sup>32</sup> and Magnesia (dated to 225-220 BC).<sup>33</sup> And, of course, by the equally few, but important, late drachms from the mints of «Pella» (dated to 285-275 BC)<sup>34</sup> and Macedonia/Central Greece (dated to 310-275 BC).<sup>35</sup>

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 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC. They are also found in later periods, as the result of thesaurisation, mainly in the Peloponnese (down to 215 BC).<sup>36</sup>

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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<sup>29</sup> 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).

<sup>30</sup> 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.

<sup>31</sup> 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.

<sup>32</sup> 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.

<sup>33</sup> Corinth IGCH 187 (concealment date 220-215 BC) hoard.

<sup>34</sup> Thessaly 1993 (concealment date 260-240 BC) hoard.

<sup>35</sup> 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.

<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> by my prematurely departed friend Tony: the philhellene Tony Hackens, the flying Belgian of the five continents.

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<sup>37</sup> 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).

<sup>38</sup> T. Hackens, *À propos de la circulation monétaire 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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**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	Aradia	Elis	Ach. League	Tegae	Aenians	Argos	Megara	Patras	Selucids	Ptolemies				
<b>Macedonia</b>																														
310-305	Drama(?) (414)	AV	AV																											
			4dr																											
			dr																											
305-297	Nikissiani [ΣΤ] (CH VIII, 217)		dr																											
290****	Nevrokop (829) [ <lt; 300]<="" td=""> <td></td> <td>4dr</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>4dr</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </lt;>		4dr					4dr																						
			dr																											
300	Aphytis (431)		dr	dr																										
<-281	Pollidaia (CH VIII, 260)		4dr	dr	dr		dr																							
280-270	Kavala (450)		4dr	dr	dr	dr	dr					2dr													dr					
280	Pontolivado (445)		4dr	4dr	4dr	4dr	4dr																							
280/279	Furka (MNJ 1994, 39-47)		4dr	dr	4dr	4dr	4dr																		4dr					
250-230	Vergi (455)		4dr	4dr	4dr	4dr	4dr	4dr																	4dr					
			dr	dr	dr	dr	dr	dr																	4dr					
<b>Central Greece</b>																														
310-300	Megara (94)	4dr	4dr																				2dr	4dr						
			2dr																											
			4ob	dr																										
295-280	Megara (137)		dr	dr			4dr																							
285*	Hagii Theodori [Lamia] (93) [310-300]	4dr	4dr	4dr				4dr	st	3ob	st				dr	4ob														
240-225	Thebes (193) [225-200]		dr					4dr				2dr																		
***								dr	5ob																					
225-200	Avai (195)		dr	dr					dr	st	dr		dr	st			3ob	3ob	st	3ob										
									3ob	3ob	3ob																			

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



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

