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γεγενῆσθαι. μνηύεται οὖν ἀπὸ μετοίκων τέ τιων καὶ ἀκολούθων περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἑρμῶν οὐδέν, ἄλλων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων περικοπαὶ τινες πρότερον ὑπὸ νεωτέρων μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ οἴνου γεγεννημέναι· τὸ μὲν ἑλληνικῆς καὶ ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχαιοφύλαξ ποιεῖται ἐν οἰκίαις ἐφ' ἧρρει ἐπιτηριάζοντες ἐπιτηριάζοντες. καὶ αὐτὰ ὑπολαμβάνοντες οἱ μάλιστα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ ἀχθόμενοι ἐμποδὸν ὄντι σφίσι μὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δήμου βεβαίως προεστάναι, καὶ νομίσαντες, εἰ αὐτὸν ἐξελάσειαν, πρῶτοι ἂν εἶναι, ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ ἐβόων· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν δήμον καταλύσει τὰ τε μυστικὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἑρμῶν περικοπή γένηται καὶ οὐδὲν εἴη αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐ μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπράχθη, ἐπιλέγοντες τεκμήρια τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐ δημοτικὴν παρανομίαν. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρό-  
ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ • ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ  
 ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΤΕΚΜΗΡΙΩΣΗΣ  
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**Τεκμήρια**  
ΣΥΜΒΟΛΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ • CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN WORLD • CONTRIBUTIONS A L'HISTOIRE DU MONDE GREC ET ROMAIN • BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER GRIECHISCHEN UND RÖMISCHEN WELT • CONTRIBUTI PER LA STORIA DEL MONDO GRECO E ROMANO  
 τι εἴργαστο, δίκην δοῦναι, εἰ δ' ἀπολυθείη, ἄρχειν. καὶ ἐπεμαρτύρητο μὴ ἀπόντος πέρι αὐτοῦ διαβολὴς ἀποδέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἀποκτείνειν, εἰ ἀδίκως καὶ ὅτι σωφρονέστερον εἴη μὴ μετὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, πρὶν διαγνώσι, πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτ' στρατεύματι. οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ δεδιότες τό τε στράτευμα μὴ εὖνον ἔχειν, ἦν ἤδη ἀγωνίζηται, ὅ τε δήμος μὴ μαλακίζηται θεραπεύων ὅτι δι' ἐκείνου οἱ τ' Ἀργεῖοι ξυνεστράτεον καὶ τῶν Μαντινέων τινές, ἀπέτρεπον καὶ ἀπέσπευδον, ἄλλους ῥήτορας ἐνιέντες οἱ ἔλεγον νῦν μὲν πλείν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν, ἐλθόντα δὲ κρίνεσθαι ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς, βουλόμενοι ἐκ μείζονος διαβολῆς, ἦν ἐμελλον ῥῶον αὐτοῦ ἀπόντος ποριεῖν, μετὰπεμπτον κομισθέντα αὐτὸν ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ ἔδοξε πλείν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.  
 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θέρους μεσοῦντος ἤδη ἡ ἀναγωγὴ ἐγγίγνεται

## Ionic Art and Script in Archaic Macedonia: Origin(s), Medium(s), Effect(s)

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ANGELOS BOUFALIS

## **Ionic Art and Script in Archaic Macedonia: Origin(s), Medium(s), Effect(s)**

Back in 1961,<sup>1</sup> Lilian H. Jeffery, relying almost exclusively on numismatic evidence, remarked that a number of different local scripts appear to have been in use in Northern Greece but “judging by the coins of Alexandros I, we may infer that it was the Ionic which, in the first half of the fifth century, became the official Macedonian alphabet”.<sup>2</sup> Insightful as ever, Jeffery was not disproven by later finds; indeed, the Ionic script predominates in the archaic epigraphic record of Macedonia. However, the origin of the script on the royal Macedonian coinage as well as the process through which it was adopted is unclear, while the use of an “official Macedonian alphabet” remains uncorroborated by other evidence, since only very few and very uncertain examples of public inscriptions are known from the Macedonian kingdom in the Archaic and Classical period.<sup>3</sup> As for private inscriptions, of which a

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1. This paper resulted from a research project on the “Local Scripts in Archaic Macedonia”, which was supported by the Center for Hellenic Studies of Harvard University through a joint CHS-AUTH Fellowship in Hellenic Studies in 2018/9. For a preliminary report on the results, see Boufalas 2019. I am also thankful to Prof. Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos, Prof. Jacques Y. Perreault, Dr. Trevor M. Van Damme, Dr. Christina Kokkinia, and especially Dr. Paschalis Paschidis and the anonymous reviewers, whose remarks on earlier versions of the paper have been most beneficial.

2. *LSAG* 363-373, esp. 364. The supplement to Jeffery’s catalogue by A.W. Johnston in 1990 (*LSAG*<sup>2</sup>) also lacks inscriptions of the Archaic and Classical period from Macedonia, save for no. 6 (see below).

3. Only two inscriptions that have been found in Macedonia (as defined below) can be identified as public and predate the late 4th cent. BCE: the, now lost, decree of the *Dikaiopolitai* (*I. Kato Maked.* II 585); and a fragment of a decree or treaty from Vergina (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2009 [SEG 59, 634]; *I. Kato Maked.* II 6). The latter is written in the Attic-Ionic script and dialect and, just like the former, it is most probably a copy that was issued by the other party, may that have been Athens or another Ionic city-state.

considerable number has been discovered since the publication of *LSAG*, the picture they provide is one of diversity of scripts, overall as well as among those specifically identified as Ionic.

Before proceeding further, I should define the terms “Macedonia” and “Ionic”. Macedonia was the land occupied by the *Makedones*, an *ethnos* ruled by a royal house, which gradually expanded its territory by conquest and also dominated over neighbouring inland autonomous *ethne* and coastal cities, either Greek colonies or Thracian settlements. In the period of interest to this paper, i.e. from the second half of the sixth century to ca. 400 BCE, the territory occupied and/or controlled by the Macedonians extended roughly between Pindos Mts to the west and Mts Kroussia, Vertiskos, and Kerdyllion to the east, and between Mt Varnous to the north and Mt Olympos to the south, the Chalkidike peninsula and the city-state of Methone at the northeasternmost part of Pieria excluded (**fig. 1**).<sup>4</sup> The control over this area, which eventually formed, with the later addition of the Strymon Valley, the so-called “Macedonia proper”, may have fluctuated considerably throughout this period, and especially the chronology of the advance of the eastern border remains unclear;<sup>5</sup> nevertheless, since influences may come not only from abroad but also from within, e.g. from the assimilation of conquered populations, I include in the catalogues below all material from this area, even if some may predate the actual Macedonian expansion to certain regions (e.g. no. 1).

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Cf. a treaty between Philip II and the Chalkidians, which postulates that: Χαλκιδέ[ας μ]ὲν ἀναθεῖν ἐς τοῖς [ρ]ὸν τῆ[ς] Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ, Φίλιππον δ’ ἐν Δίοις ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τ[οῦ] Ὀλυμπίου καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς μα[κ]ρ[ο]ν τε καὶ στήλης ἀντίγραφα θεῖναι (Hatzopoulos 1996, vol. II, no. 2, ll. 8-10), a clause referring to copies that were presumably issued by the Chalkidians for Philip to set up in Macedonia and Delphi.

4. See esp. Thuc. 2.99; see also Hatzopoulos 1995. On Methone, see Morris, Papadopoulos 2023.

5. There are conflicting opinions on when the Macedonians crossed the Axios River, some arguing for ca. 570 BCE, others for ca. 513-510 BCE, and others yet for after 479 BCE (see Hatzopoulos 2020, 11-33). In any case, in Alexander I’s reign, the Macedonian kingdom reached as far as Mt Dysoron, which has been identified with Kroussia Mts (Xydopoulos 2016 and 2021, 63-65) or even, based on a possible restoration of the place name in Hatzopoulos 1996, vol. II, no. 6, l. II.10, with Mt Menoikion east of the Strymon River (Faraguna 1998, 375-376; *BE* 2000, 436 [M.B. Hatzopoulos]; Hatzopoulos 2008).

The adjective “Ionic” denotes origin from, or affinity with the Ionians. The Ionians occupied cities across the Aegean, from East Greece (Ionia and adjacent islands) to the northern Cyclades Islands, to Attica and Euboia. There was no uniform script and dialect throughout; letterforms and dialectal features were often epichoric. Thus, the Ionic is conventionally distinguished into East Ionic, comprising the features specific to East Greece; Central Ionic, comprising those specific to the Cyclades; and West Ionic, comprising those specific to Euboia and Attica. The present paper follows this division, although the use of the adjective “Ionic” without specification is often inevitable, for there are common, not attributable characteristics throughout the spectrum of Ionic art and script.

The archaic epigraphic record of Northern Greece was reviewed in 1996 by Anna Panayotou, who presented a useful survey of the local scripts that appear in Macedonia, Amphipolis, and Chalkidike. Panayotou identified in most cases the East Ionic script, and, even though in some cases she wavers between Ionic/Cycladic, she determines that, overall, it was the East Ionic that prevailed in the regions around the Thermaic and the Strymonic Gulf, previously under Corinthian, Euboic, and Cycladic (mostly Parian) influence. An East Greek origin of the script in the Northern Aegean had also been suggested by Jeffery on account of the use of letters *ksi* and *omega* on Thracο-Macedonian coinage.<sup>6</sup>

Panayotou, who carefully speaks of *use* rather than *adoption*, ascribes the shift to the East Ionic script to “the Ionians’ cultural supremacy among the Greek-speaking subjects of the [Persian] Empire”.<sup>7</sup> To support her argument she points out the chronological coincidence between the Persian occupation of Thrace and the operation of the Thracο-Macedonian mints, along with Ionic influences on the style, iconography, and weight standard of the coins, as well as on contemporary “Macedonian” art, specifically sculpture.<sup>8</sup>

Thracο-Macedonian minting began before and ended well after the Persian occupation of Thrace (513-478 BCE). And yet, since it was intensified (as attested by the increased volume of production and the variety of types and denominations) during the Persian occupation, it has been assumed that the coins were intended as tribute to the Achaimenids.<sup>9</sup> However, an advance

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6. LSAG 364.

7. Panayotou 1996, 141; also 1994, 424-425.

8. Panayotou 1996, 139-141.

9. Kraay 1976a, 139; Picard 2000a, 304 and 2000b; Vasilev 2015, 26.

towards monetization of the economy along with intensification of international trade has also been noted in this period,<sup>10</sup> and the downdating of many issues to the second quarter of the fifth century BCE dissociates the minting of the Thraco-Macedonian coinage from the Persian Empire.<sup>11</sup> As for their late archaic style and iconography, these are heavily influenced by the Thasian mints and, moreover, the weight standard used by the Thracian *ethne* has been identified by Selene Psoma as a reduced version of the Aiginetan standard, which was employed by Paros, the *metropolis* of Thasos.<sup>12</sup>

The Ionic style of the earliest works of sculpture in Macedonia had been already pointed out and explained by invoking the chronological coincidence with the Persian domination over Northern Greece by Manolis Andronikos.<sup>13</sup> This assumption fitted well with the theory of “*pax persica*”, which supposedly facilitated trade within the Persian Empire as well as the movement of people and the dissemination of cultural elements, favouring especially the mercantile cities of Ionia.<sup>14</sup> But however compelling or convenient the chronological coincidence with the Persian military and political expansion over Europe may be, the causality is not evident and the reasons for the assumed Ionic cultural expansion remain obscure.<sup>15</sup> And yet, this view is maintained, even

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10. Howgego 1995, 96; Tselekas 2011, 170-171; Paunov 2015, 267; cf. Price 1987, 43-44, who finds the tribute theory an “unnecessary simplification”.

11. Wartenberg 2015, 357 and 2021, 49; Kallet, Kroll 2020, 9.

12. Psoma 2015, esp. 168-169 and 174-179; also Wartenberg 2015, 351-352.

13. Andronikos 1955, 97-98; Andronikos, Kottaridou 1988, 107; also Kottaridou 1992, 6-7.

14. Balcer 1972, who offers a conjectural historical narrative and argues that this period ended with the Ionian revolt. On the contrary, Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1984, 87-88), remarking that the Ionic influence on sculpture is stronger in the first half of the 5th cent. BCE, suggests that it was the Ionian revolt that occasioned the flight of artisans towards mainland Greece, whereupon the most achieved masters settled in Athens and the rest headed to the periphery. She considers specifically Samos and Rhodos as possible places of origin of the sculptors who worked in Macedonia (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, 81-83).

15. See, for instance, Perron 2010, 16-17, who finds trade inadequate to account for the extent to which Ionic art was diffused or the adoption of Ionic consumption habits. He suggests that these resulted from Ionian immigration, for which he puts forward a

though the strong Cycladic, especially Parian/Thasian, artistic affinities are widely acknowledged.<sup>16</sup> For instance, while acknowledging the Cycladic style of the sculptural elements of the few peripteral temples in Northern Greece, Barbara Schmidt-Dounas stresses the affinity with East Greek parallels on the grounds that the Cyclades lack such architecture. She therefore argues for “einem regen Austausch” between Ionia and Northern Greece, which she considers against the backdrop of the Persian Empire that supposedly facilitated the exchange of ideas and influences and allowed the development of an artistic *koine*.<sup>17</sup> Others too have suggested an “Ionic *koine*” in order to contextualize East Greek influences across the Northern Aegean in the late Archaic period. However, such accounts hardly include the Macedonian kingdom,<sup>18</sup> and the identification of East Greek features is often questionable.<sup>19</sup>

Obviously, the issue of the Ionic influence in Macedonia needs reconsideration. To this end and given the occasional manner with which the relevant pieces of evidence have been thus far considered, a full review seems appropriate. This will focus on the two classes of material that gave rise to the assumption that Macedonia in the late Archaic period was under East Greek influence in the first place, sculpture and inscriptions, but numismatic evidence

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number of possible motives and circumstances, again within the context of the Persian Empire (see n. 160, below).

16. See, most recently, Tiverios 2017b; Damaskos 2019, 505 and 2020, 170-171.

17. Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 117-135, esp. 134, and 2007, 461-463.

18. Billot, Koželj (2006) locate this *koine* in Ionia, Aiolis, Northern Aegean (from eastern Thrace to Chalkidike) and the Black Sea, with only a couple of Ionic features in Macedonia, while Perron (2010), who speaks of an “ionicizing” *koine*, by “Macédoine (orientale)” refers to the Thracian and colonial area around the Strymonic Gulf.

19. See, for instance, Perron 2010, 18-26, esp. 24 n. 48, with selective comparisons of coin types of the Andrian colonies in Thrace and cities of Ionia, while similar iconography can be found in, e.g., Corinth (pegasos), Phokis (boar), Lydia (lion and bull). Perron (2010, 35-36) also refers to evidence for the East Ionic dialect in the region, but some of these may be erroneous; e.g., the inscription δῆμοσίη ε' on a strigil of the mid-5th cent. BCE from Akanthos (Vokotopoulou 1993, no. 9 [SEG 46, 709]; Panayotou 1996, no. 13; Stefani, Tsagaraki, Arvanitaki 2019, no. 128) employs both *epsilon* and *heta* for the sound /ε:/ from original \*ā, whereas in the East Ionic script both would be rendered by *heta*, and thus clearly indicates a Cycladic origin of the script and by implication of the dialect; see Buck 1955, 143, §185; LSAG 290-298.

and pottery will also be brought into the discussion further on. What I intend to show is that the available pieces of evidence do not support widespread East Greek influence in Macedonia in the late Archaic period, but rather the presence and activity of Ionians of a Cycladic background, coming from just beyond the eastern Macedonian border.

### **Ionic sculpture in Macedonia (sixth - fifth century BCE)**

The published or reported sculptures of Ionic art in Macedonia are the following:

- i. Ionic column marking Tomb I at Aiane, Elimeia, dated to 600-550 BCE, possibly supporting a sphinx;<sup>20</sup>
- ii. Heads of a *kore*, dated to ca. 510 BCE, and of a *kouros*, dated to ca. 500 BCE, made of local marble and exhibiting Attic and Central Greek influences, found at Aiane, Elimeia;<sup>21</sup>
- iii. *Kouros* of the late Archaic period from Europos, Amphaxitis or Bottia, in a style characteristic of a Cycladic workshop;<sup>22</sup>
- iv. Ionic capital from the “Stoic” Building at Aiane, Elimeia, dated to the late Archaic period, loosely emulating Ionic prototypes by substituting rectangles for eggs in the molding of the echinus;<sup>23</sup>

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20. Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 106; Kalaitzi 2016, 15.

21. Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2001, who identifies East Greek influences, but Stefanidou-Tiveriou (2011, 661) recognizes Attic style with Thessalian elements. Kalaitzi (2016, 15 nn. 46-47) also considers both of them as in probably Attic style, while Damaskos (2019, 508) identifies “clear Attic influence” on the *kore* and a close Boiotian affinity for the male figure (a bearded man rather than a *kouros*). For more, unpublished, fragments of *kouroi* of the 6th and early 5th cent. BCE from the cemetery of Aiane, see Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2008a, 63 and 62, fig. 86, 122-123 and 2008b, 20, 24, 26, but esp. 20: torso fragment, of local marble, 6th cent. BCE, associated with Attic and Cycladic *kouroi*.

22. Reported by Petsas (1969) as a “good provincial work in the tradition of island workshops, with conservative and peculiar characteristics. This hinders accurate dating”. See also Andronikos 1982, 93: end of 6th cent. BCE, Cycladic workshop; Savvopoulou 1988, 20; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2011, 661: possibly Naxian workshop; Damaskos 2020: ca. 500 BCE, made of Thasian marble by a Parian workshop, stylistically akin to the Parian and Thasian production.

23. Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2008a, 80, fig. 121; 2008b, 11 and fig. 6; 2011, 97; Ginouès 1993, 30 and 29, fig. 19: “d’un modèle ionique librement interprété”. There is no

- v. Marble sphinx of the late Archaic period from Archontiko, Bottia;<sup>24</sup>
- vi. Torso of a marble sphinx of the late Archaic period, part of a funerary monument, from the vicinity of Pentavrysos, Orestis;<sup>25</sup>
- vii. Marble architectural member with relief Ionic molding of the Archaic period in the Museum of Dion, Pieria;<sup>26</sup>
- viii. Architrave with relief Ionic molding of the Archaic period found among the *spolia* used to build the medieval episcopal fort at Pydna, Pieria;<sup>27</sup>
- ix. Remains of a marble peristyle temple of the Ionic order of the early fifth century BCE located in the area of Thessalonike, on the Thermaic Gulf;<sup>28</sup>
- x. Marble lion of the early fifth century BCE found in association with a tomb that had as a *sema* an “Ionic” palmette stele at Aiane, Elimeia;<sup>29</sup>

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indication that it comes from a temple, as suggested in Perron 2010, 19; it probably adorned a public building in the agora of the city.

24. Chrysostomou, Chrysostomou 2002, 476 n. 5, no. 1. Although nos. v and vi are not reported as Ionic works of sculpture, they are presumed to be so, since such funerary monuments are rare among the Dorians. In the Peloponnese, sphinxes in particular have only been found in small numbers in Corinthia and Argolis and are attributed to the proximity to Attica (Kokkorou-Alevras 2009).

25. Tsoungaris 2006, 687; Damaskos 2019, 509: late Archaic period or early severe style. See n. 24.

26. Reported in Schmidt-Dounas 2004, Appendix I, 136, no. f: unknown provenance, found probably in the excavations at Dion by G. Sotiriadis in the 1930s, possibly from a temple.

27. Marki 1990, 45-46, who reports it as coming from an Ionic temple; however, both the character of the building and the exact date and provenance of the block require further evidence to be determined, cf. nos. iv and ix.

28. The building was put together in the Roman era from pieces of three different temples of the Archaic period of unknown original location plus archaicizing supplements (Karadedos 2008). For an overview of the suggested original location(s), see Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2012, 275-276, and also Boehm 2018, 163-165, who argues that the temple may have been rebuilt but did not necessarily travelled from afar. I owe these last two references to an anonymous reviewer.

29. Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2008a, 58 and 59, fig. 80; 2008b, 24; 2011, 104; Kalaitzi 2016, 16: ca. 500 BCE.

- xi. Terracotta heads of ca. 480 BCE from Vergina, Emathia, in East Greek style;<sup>30</sup>
- xii. Tombstone of the mid-fifth century BCE from Dion, Pieria, with relief depicting a *kore*, local work drawing on the Island Ionic tradition;<sup>31</sup>
- xiii. Tombstone of ca. 440 BCE from the area of Thessalonike, on the Thermaic Gulf, with relief depicting a *kore*, local work in Cycladic style;<sup>32</sup>
- xiv. Tombstone of ca. 430 BCE from Oraiokastro, Mygdonia, depicting a standing young man, local work in Island Ionic style;<sup>33</sup>
- xv. Tombstone of ca. 430 BCE from Vergina, Emathia, with relief depicting a young man draped in a *himation*, wearing a *petasos*, and carrying a sword and a couple of spears, who holds a bird, work of a local master of Ionic background under Attic influence;<sup>34</sup>
- xvi. Tombstone of ca. 450-400 BCE from Pella (?), Bottia, in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, with relief depicting a warrior, local work exhibiting Island Ionic stylistic background but also Attic and Thessalian elements;<sup>35</sup>

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30. Andronikos et al. 1989, 193-195: more than 25 male and female heads of the early 5th cent. BCE; Kottaridou 1992, 1-3 and 6-7: more than 26 heads of ca. 480 BCE with pronounced East Ionic stylistic characteristics; Kottaridi 2011, 158: works of “local artistic production” with “influences from eastern Ionia.”

31. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1978, 42: mid- or third quarter of the 5th cent. BCE; Kalaitzi 2016, no. 23: mid-5th cent. BCE.

32. Despoini 1987; Despintis, Stefanidou-Tiveriou, Voutiras 1997, no. 10; Kalaitzi 2016, no. 125.

33. Despoini 1986: 430-420 BCE; Despintis, Stefanidou-Tiveriou, Voutiras 1997, no. 11: 350-325 BCE; Kalaitzi 2016, no. 126: “work of a local artist influenced by the art of the Aegean islands,” referring to Parian parallels; Voutiras 2019: late 5th cent. BCE, work of someone who apprenticed in Ionia (referring to a Samian parallel) and came to work in Macedonia (cf. nos. xvi and xviii).

34. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, no. 1: local work exhibiting Island Ionic influences, ca. 430-420 BCE; Kalaitzi 2016, no. 37: reminiscent of Parian sculptures. Also, note the characteristic Macedonian attire of the figure that indicates that the reliefs were not, at least not entirely, reproduced from Ionic templates.

35. Reinach 1882, no. 120; Kalaitzi 2016, no. 61: ca. 430 BCE; Voutiras 2019: late 5th cent. BCE, work of someone who apprenticed in Ionia (referring to a Samian parallel) and came to work in Macedonia (cf. nos. xiv and xviii).

- xvii. Tombstone of the late fifth century BCE from Pydna, Pieria, with relief depicting a warrior and a boy, in Island Ionic style;<sup>36</sup>
- xviii. Tombstone of the late fifth century BCE from Pydna, Pieria, with relief depicting a mother with infant, in Island Ionic style;<sup>37</sup>
- xix. Tombstone of the mid-fourth century BCE or earlier from Northern Pieria, with relief depicting a seated young hunter with hound, an East Greek theme executed in Island Ionic style.<sup>38</sup>

The views of scholars on artistic affinity often diverge, based largely on the parallels each one detects. Still, examples of East Greek influence are quantitatively limited. Out of the nineteen works of sculpture listed above, only five have been identified as affined to East Greek art, and indeed not definitively. Those under no. ii (**figs. 2-3**) were initially ascribed to East Greek art by the excavator but subsequently to Attic/Central Greek art by scholars specializing in sculpture; the style of those under no. xi (**fig. 4**) has been identified as of clearly East Greek style, but they remain without parallels; and nos. xiv, xvi, xviii are suggested to parallel East Greek works by a single scholar, while all others discern the Island Ionic style. Attic, Boiotian and Thessalian elements are discernible in several of the above listed works of sculpture (nos. ii, xv, xvi, xviii, xix), indicating that the Ionic influences may have reached Macedonia

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36. Bessios 2010, 119; Kalaitzi 2016, no. 25: ca. 430 BCE.

37. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1978, 41 and n. 49; Andronikos 1982, 97-99; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984, 95, no. 4: stylistically dependent on the art of the Cyclades and exhibiting common features with Thessalian sculpture; Kostoglou-Despini 1988, 183-186: ca. 400 BCE; Bessios 2010, 121; Kalaitzi 2016, no. 24: Island Ionic style; Voutiras 2019: 425-400 BCE, work of someone who apprenticed in Ionia (referring to a Samian parallel) and came to work in Macedonia (cf. nos. xiv and xvi).

38. Cormack 1975, 111, no. 2. See also Bakalakis 1969, 41-52: ca. 350-340 BCE; Felten 1993, 415; Zlotogorska 1997, no. 19; Konstantinidis 2007-2009, 293-294 and no. 30; Bessios 2010, 117; Kalaitzi 2016, no. 27 and pp. 29-30: ca. 400-350 BCE. Bakalakis (1969, 41 and 48-50) remarks the Ionic and Boiotian artistic background of the relief and associates it with the Boiotian and Thessalian reliefs in Island Ionic style that, according to Langlotz (1927, 140-146), form the Northern Greek School of sculpture. Kalaitzi (2016, 30), conversely, notes that the iconographic type was developed in the late 5th cent. BCE in Athens.

also through Attica and Central Greece.<sup>39</sup> Be that as it may, most prominent is the Island Ionic style (nos. xii, xiii, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix),<sup>40</sup> more specifically the Parian (nos. iii [fig. 5], xiv, xv),<sup>41</sup> and it is worthy of note that style and parallels point strongly towards Paros in the works of sculpture that have been found in the Euboic colonies in Chalkidike as well.<sup>42</sup>

The prominence of Paros in the sculpture of the late Archaic period must have been a corollary of the marble quarries on the island.<sup>43</sup> Thasos also had marble of good quality with which the Thasians supplied the Northern Aegean.<sup>44</sup> Both developed into prominent artistic centers, and besides the raw material, they may have been exporting finished products as well as artisans,<sup>45</sup> building a strong economy on a clientele that extended far and wide.<sup>46</sup>

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39. On the early influences from Attica, see Damaskos 2019, 506. On the Boiotian-Thessalian-Macedonian artistic continuum, see Bosnakis 2013, 201-224.

40. See also Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2011, 661-662, who discerns the Island Ionic style in Macedonian figured tombstones throughout the 5th cent. BCE.

41. The sphinxes, nos. v and vi (cf. no. i), could be also included; see Samaras 2012-2013, who classifies funerary ones under Attic and votive ones under Cycladic influence, suggesting Parian workshops as responsible for the latter.

42. Kalaitzi 2016, 21-27, esp. 26: 'Dikaia 157' (Parian) and 'Akanthos 165' (Thasian?). See, in addition, a Parian/Thasian late archaic *kouros* from Poteidaia (Moustaka 2019) and a 5th cent. BCE funerary relief in Parian style from Nea Kallikrateia (Despinis, Stefanidou-Tiveriou, Voutiras 1997, no. 9).

43. On the Parian influence on the sculpture of other Cycladic islands, see Despinis 1967, and in that of other regions, including Attica, see Kostoglou-Despini 1979; specifically on Attica, see also McGowan 1997.

44. On the role of Thasos in the diffusion of Ionic sculpture in the Northern Aegean, see Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 135; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2008, esp. 342, and 2011, 661-662; Tiverios 2017b, 49; Moustaka 2019; Damaskos 2020, 170-171.

45. Thasian terracotta *simas* of the 4th cent. BCE, echoing a marble one of ca. 470 BCE, all with the anthemion in relief instead of painted as was the rule in the Cyclades, are ascribed by Billot and Koželj (2006, 37-38) to the East Greek artistic tradition; however, comparable sculptured architectural members in Ionia, Aiolis and elsewhere, are often made of insular, probably Parian, marble. This is also the case with the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (ca. 525 BCE). The Siphnians were so close to the Parians that they even used the Parian script (LSAG 296). On Parian sculptors working in western Asia Minor, see Savalli-Lestrade 2013; on itinerary sculptors, see Dimartino 2010.

46. Rutishauser 2012, 26 and 83-84, who points out that the Parians paid the highest

Unlike Ionia, Paros and the rest of the Cyclades were not under Persian domination until 491/0 BCE, when they were forced to submit to the Persian invading force.<sup>47</sup> The “*pax persica*” hypothesis could nevertheless stand, if re-adjusted to refer to the Ionians of Thrace, since the Cycladic colonies in Thrace had found themselves after 513 BCE into the Persian Empire, which reached militarily as far as the Strymon River, a Persian garrison being stationed at Eion,<sup>48</sup> and politically as far as Macedonia, both Amyntas I and Alexander I being rulers subordinate to the Achaimenids.<sup>49</sup> But this hypothesis is unnecessary, and the inappreciation of trade and cultural contact regardless of state borders –as had always been the case– seems unreasonable.

### **Ionic script in Macedonia (sixth - fifth century BCE)**

The published or reported inscriptions in Ionic script in Macedonia down to ca. 400 BCE, when it was adopted as a *koine* script,<sup>50</sup> are the following:<sup>51</sup>

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tribute among the Islanders in the Delian League. They were assessed for 16.2 talents in 450/49-447/6 BCE (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 263, col. IV, l. 24; 264, col. III, l. 23; 265, col. II, l. 54), increased to 18 talents by 441/0 BCE (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 271, col. I, l. 99), and in 425/4 BCE they were still assessed for the highest figure in the Cyclades, comparable only to those for the cities in Thrace (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 71, col. I, ll. 62-74 and col. III, ll. 151-160). Conversely, Kagan (2008, 107-108) argues that Parian coinage was actually minted on Thasos on behalf of the Parians (for the Thasian mines and the wealth accrued thence, see *Hdt.* 6.46), and Develin (1977, esp. 573-574), followed by many others, suggests that Thasos was the ultimate goal of Miltiades’ expedition against Paros in 489 BCE. Miltiades requested by the Athenian assembly a naval force of 70 ships without revealing the country against which he would sail, but asserting that it had “abundant gold”. He then sailed and laid siege to Paros, on the accusation of medism, and demanded 100 talents; otherwise he would sack the city (*Hdt.* 6.132-133). For critique on this suggestion, see Rutishauser 2012, 82-84.

47. *Aesch. Pers.* 879-888; *Hdt.* 6.48-49, 6.96, 6.99.1 (cf. 7.95.1, 8.46, 8.67.1, 8.112.2).

48. *Hdt.* 7.25, 7.107.1, 7.113.1.

49. *Hdt.* 5.17.1, 5.18.1, 8.136.1.

50. Officially adopted in Athens in 403/2 BCE (*FGrHist* 115 [Theopompos] F155; D’Angour 1999), it gradually replaced the Greek local scripts. Macedonia was apparently among the first to conform.

51. The dates in the catalogue may differ from those given by the editors (given in the footnotes). If so, the suggested date is based on the letterforms (according to *LSAG*). The identification of the script is based on any characteristic letterforms, which are indicated in the parentheses.

1. Kylix, 550-500 BCE, from the area of Thessalonike, on the Thermaic Gulf, with incised ligature  $\widehat{HP}$  vel  $\widehat{PH}$  in a possibly East Ionic script (H, P);<sup>52</sup>
2. Kantharos, end of sixth century BCE, from Aiane, Elimeia, inscribed  $\text{Καλιῶς ἐμὶ τῆς δολιῶ}$  in Ionic (Naxian?) dialect and script ( $\Delta$ , H,  $\rho$ ,  $\varsigma$ );<sup>53</sup> cf. no. 3;
3. Kantharos, end of sixth century BCE, from Archontiko, Bottia, inscribed  $\text{δόλος ἡ Καλιῶς}$  in Ionic (Naxian?) script ( $\Delta$ , H=aspiration,  $\rho$ ,  $\varsigma$ );<sup>54</sup> cf. no. 2;

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52. Ed. pr. Tiverios 1990, 72 (SEG 40, 558), who reads (ιε)ρή. See also Panayotou 1996, no. 12. On the tailless *rho*, see LSAG 289-290 (Ionic Islands, especially Andros), 325-326 (Ionia), 345-346 (Dodecanese and Karia). I am thankful to the anonymous reviewer who pointed out that this may be ‘abbreviated writing’ for  $\text{Hερ(-)}$  (see Wachter 1991, esp. 55-57) and, if so, not in East Ionic script.

53. Ed. pr. Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1993, 78-79 (SEG 43, 363A):  $\text{Κάλιος ἐμὶ τῆς Δολιῶ}$ , early 5th cent. BCE. See also Johnston 1994, 82, and 2017:  $\text{Καλ<λ>ιῶς ἐμὶ τῆς δολιῶ}$ ; Panayotou 1996, no. 29; Panayotou-Triantafyllopoulou 2007, 390-391 (SEG 58, 548); Chrysostomou 2009, 420-425 (SEG 59, 632):  $\text{καλιῶς ἐμὶ τῆς δολιῶ}$ , end of 6th cent. BCE; Kritzas 2017:  $\text{καλιῶς ἐμὶ τῆς Δολιῶ}$ ; *I. Ano Maked. Suppl.* Appendix no. 24. Text modified by the author, combining Chrysostomou and Johnston’s readings (“I belong to Kallio the cunning one”). Karamitrou-Mentessidi and Panayotou identified the script as East Ionic, but this is highly unlikely on account of the three-bar *sigma* (LSAG 325) and actually ruled out by the aspirated article in no. 3, the East Ionic dialect being psilotic. The dialect of the text also rules out the Thessalian (LSAG 96) and the Rhodian script (LSAG 345-346), even though the letterforms would support both. Kritzas (2017, n. 36) suggested the Attic script (LSAG 66-67), notwithstanding the *heta* and the inverted *lambda*. The “open” *heta* appears in Attic inscriptions by ca. 550 BCE, but to note the aspirate and it is only rarely used for the sound /ε:/ in graffiti by the early 5th cent. BCE at the earliest (Threatte 1980, 42-44; also Johnston 1994, 82 n. 7, and 1979, 208 [Type 1E], who points out that “open” *heta* and three-bar *sigma* are rarely combined), and the inverted *lambda* is occasionally used in both public and private inscriptions but no earlier than ca. 460 BCE (Threatte 1980, 41-42). Jeffery (LSAG 66) refers to IG I<sup>3</sup> 683, a dedication and sculptor’s signature by Archemos of Chios dated to ca. 510-500 BCE, as an early occurrence of the inverted *lambda* on stone in Attica; however, both the dedication and the sculptor’s signature are in Ionic, rather than Attic script (Raubitschek 1949, no. 3). We are left with the Naxian script (LSAG 288-289), which is considered as most probable also by Johnston (who, however, favours rather a “fluid, North Greek” script).

54. Ed. pr. Chrysostomou 2009:  $\text{δόλος ἡ καλιῶς}$  (SEG 59, 651). See also Johnston

4. Kylix, early fifth century BCE, from the Double Table at Anchialos, on the Thermaic Gulf, signed Βόρυς in a probably Ionic script (P, ξ, V);<sup>55</sup>
5. Cup, ca. 500-450 BCE, from the Double Table at Anchialos, on the Thermaic Gulf, signed Ἀργανθόνιος in a Central Ionic script (Λ=gamma, Ϝ=rho, ξ, no omega);<sup>56</sup>
6. Gold finger-ring, ca. 480-450 BCE, from Sindos, on the Thermaic Gulf, inscribed Δῶρον in a (Central?) Ionic script (Δ, P, Ω);<sup>57</sup>
7. Sherd from an askos, 480-425 BCE, from Pella, Bottia, with a partially preserved graffito on the interior wall featuring among other letters an “open” heta (H) as a vowel;<sup>58</sup>
8. Tombstone, mid-fifth century BCE, from Pella, Bottia, inscribed [Πυ- vel Ὅρ]θαγόρης | Ἀριστοκράτεος, | Ἀριστοβόλη in Ionic dialect and (Central?) Ionic script (H, Λ, P, ξ);<sup>59</sup>
9. Dedicatory base, ca. 450-400 BCE, from Dion, Pieria, inscribed [- - ]ῶν Πραξιδικαὶ καὶ [Ἐρ]μῆι Τύχωνι, in Doric dialect and (East?) Ionic script (Δ, Ξ, P, V, X=chi, Ω);<sup>60</sup>

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2017: δῶλος *ho Kal-<λ>ιῶς*; Kritzas 2017: Δολῶς *ho kalios*. Text modified by the author, combining Chrysostomou and Johnston’s readings (“[I am a] trap, the one of Kallio”). On the script, see n. 53.

55. Ed. pr. Gimatzidis 2010, no. 736. See also Tiverios 1997, 244 (SEG 46, 724).

56. Ed. pr. Gimatzidis 2010, no. 737. See also Tiverios 1991-1992, 218 (SEG 43, 453); 1993, 323; 2000, 78; 2017a, 419-420; Panayotou 1996, no. 36: “non-Ionic script”.

57. Ed. pr. Despoini 1985, no. 96: early second quarter of the 5th cent. BCE (in a burial of ca. 430 BCE). See also Despoini 1982, 20 (SEG 31, 649): ca. 480 BCE; LSAG<sup>2</sup> 479, no. F: ca. 450-440? BCE; Panayotou 1996, no. 35: ca. 475-440 BCE; Despoini 2016, no. 366: 480-470 BCE.

58. Ed. pr. Akamatis, Aamodt 2015, 31-32 and Appendix no. 22. No secure reading is allowed by what remains and it is thus impossible to determine whether the letter Ϝ stands for *lambda* or *gamma*; however, the use of *heta* as a vowel suggests an Ionic script (not the “old Attic alphabet” as reported in the ed. pr.). I am grateful to Dr. Nikos Akamatis for kindly providing photographs of the item.

59. Ed. pr. Lilimbaki-Akamati 1987-1988, no. 1 (SEG 38, 647): late 5th - early 4th cent. BCE (BE 1990, 464 [M.B. Hatzopoulos]: “alphabet ionien oriental archaïque,” 500-450 BCE, probably 500-475 BCE). See also Panayotou 1996, no. 34; *I. Kato Maked.* II 517: 500-475 BCE.

60. Ed. pr. Pingiatoglou 2011 (SEG 61, 490): late 5th - early 4th cent. BCE (BE 2013, 261 [M.B. Hatzopoulos]: 5th cent. BCE).

10. Tombstone, ca. 450-400 BCE, from Pydna, Pieria, inscribed Θεοτέλο`υς´ in Ionic script (Λ, Ξ, V);<sup>61</sup>
11. Tombstone, ca. 450-400 BCE, from the site of Krepeni at Mavrochori, Orestis, inscribed Ξενάρχῳ in Ionic script (Ξ, Ρ, +);<sup>62</sup>
12. Funerary base, 450-400 BCE, from Pella, Bottia, inscribed with an epigram that reads: Κεῖμαι τεῖ[δ]ε θανοῦ|σα, πατρὶ[ς] δέ μοί ἐστι Κόρινθος, Ἔνο-<δ>ίας πρόπολος, τῶνυμα Τιμ|αρέτη, in mixed Doric and Ionic dialect and (East?) Ionic script (Δ, Η, Ρ, Ξ, V);<sup>63</sup>
13. Skyphos, ca. 420 BCE, from Karaburnaki, on the Thermaic Gulf, signed Δάλιχος in Ionic script (Δ, Λ, Ξ, V, X);<sup>64</sup>
14. Tombstone, ca. 450-375 BCE, from Pydna, Pieria, inscribed Πανναῖος in Ionic script (Ξ);<sup>65</sup>
15. Tombstone, late fifth (or early fourth) century BCE, from Apollonia, Mygdonia, inscribed Σίμων Φοξίω in Ionic dialect and East Ionic script (Ξ, Ξ, Φ, Ω);<sup>66</sup>

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61. Ed. pr. Xydopoulos 2000, no. 2 (*SEG* 50, 624): late 5th - early 4th cent. BCE. See also Missaelidou-Despotidou 1997, no. 62 (*SEG* 47, 944: 184 CE, erratum): 4th - 3rd cent. BCE (*BE* 1998, 245 [M.B. Hatzopoulos]: 5th? cent. BCE); Bessios 2010, 181: end of 5th cent. BCE.

62. Ed. pr. Sverkos 2009 (*SEG* 59, 668): mid-5th cent. BCE or somewhat later. See also *I. Ano Maked. Suppl.* 47. The letterforms are not necessarily East Ionic, as stated by Sverkos (2009, 116) and *I. Ano Maked. Suppl.*; see *LSAG* 289-290 (Ionic islands, especially Andros), 325-326 (Ionia), 345-346 (Dodecanese and Karia).

63. Ed. pr. Lilimbaki 1977, 259-263 (*SEG* 27, 298 and 1291): 400-350 BCE. See also *I. Kato Maked.* II 544: 450-400 BCE. Text according to *I. Kato Maked.* II.

64. Ed. pr. Ignatiadou et al. 2011, 340-341 (*SEG* 58, 642): ca. 450-425 BCE. See also Descamps-Lequime 2011, no. 49 (E. Kefalidou): 350-325 BCE (erratum?).

65. Ed. pr. Xydopoulos 2000, no. 1 (*SEG* 50, 622): Παννω[- -]αῖος, 5th cent. BCE. See also Missaelidou-Despotidou 1997, no. 57: Πάνν|αιος, 4th cent. BCE (*BE* 1998, 245 [M.B. Hatzopoulos]: probably 5th cent. BCE; *SEG* 47, 944: 5th - 4th cent. BCE); Tsantsanoglou 2001, 153-155: Πὰν Ν|αῖος, Xydopoulos' statement that the inscription is inscribed "in letters of the epichoric alphabet of the 5th c. B.C." is unfounded.

66. Ed. pr. Juhel, Nigdelis 2015, no. 18: Φοξίω, 4th? cent. BCE. The suggested date takes into account the ceding of land around Bolbe Lake in Mygdonia by Perdikkas II to the Chalkidians in 434/3-433/2 BCE (Thuc. 1.58.2); cf. the reference to Ἀπολλωνίαν τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν by the 3rd cent. BCE historian Hegesander (*FHG* IV 420, fr. 40).

16. Funerary table, ca. 400 BCE, from Dion, Pieria, inscribed Ἄριστοτίμα : Σώσοῦ in Doric dialect and East Ionic script (Ρ, ξ, Ω);<sup>67</sup>
17. Tombstone, ca. 400 BCE, from Pella, Bottia, inscribed Δέξιος Ἡρακλεώτης in East Ionic script (Δ, Η, Λ, Ξ, Ρ, ξ, Ω);<sup>68</sup>
18. Tombstone, ca. 400 BCE, from Pella, Bottia, inscribed Ζωβίας in Doric or Attic dialect and East Ionic script (ξ, Ω);<sup>69</sup>
19. Tombstone, 425-375 BCE, from Dion, Pieria, inscribed Θεότιμος | Παρμέων|ος in East Ionic script (Ρ, ξ, Ω);<sup>70</sup>
20. Block from a funerary (?) monument, late fifth - early fourth century BCE, from Vergina, Emathia, inscribed with an epigram that reads: Ἐνθάδε [Κ]αλλυ[- - ] | ναῶν εὐστύλων [- - ] | εὐδοκίμο[υ] πατρ[ός - - ] | τέχνη, in Attic-Ionic dialect and East Ionic script (Δ, Η, Λ, ξ, χ, Ω);<sup>71</sup>
21. Tombstone, late fifth - early fourth century BCE, from Pella, Bottia, with a relief in Attic style and iconography, inscribed Ξάν<θ>ος | Δημητρίου καὶ Ἀμαδίκας υἱός in (East?) Ionic script (Δ, Η, Ξ, Ρ, Σ);<sup>72</sup>

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67. Ed. pr. Bakalakis 1967, 347-348: 350-300 BCE (*SEG* 25, 705: early 4th or perhaps 5th cent. BCE).

68. Ed. pr. Lilimbaki 1977, 263-264 (*SEG* 27, 299): 400-350 BCE. See also *I. Kato Maked.* II 476: late 5th - early 4th cent. BCE.

69. Ed. pr. *I. Kato Maked.* II 489: late 5th - early 4th cent. BCE. See also Akamatis 1995-2000, 261 and 2001, 485 (*SEG* 49, 754). All editors read Ζωβία, but part of the final *sigma* is visible (autopsy). The possibility of Euboic or Attic dialect was pointed out by an anonymous reviewer. Euboic is doubtful (cf. *IG* XII 9, 367: Ζωβίη, 4th? cent. BCE) but Attic is indeed possible (for retention of -*ā* after -*ι* in Attic, see Buck 1955, 21, §8), although a single Ζωβία attested in Athens before the Hellenistic period is a metic (Dem. 25.56-58). Down to the 4th cent. BCE, this name, a feminine one, and its masculine equivalent Ζώβιος seem to be epichoric of Ionia and Euboea (*LGPN*).

70. Pantermalis 1983, 251-254 (*SEG* 33, 511b): 400-350 BCE; Martis 1984 (*non vidit*; *SEG* 35, 735): 5th cent. BCE.

71. Ed. pr. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1996 (*SEG* 46, 830): 403/2-399 BCE. See also *I. Kato Maked.* II 54: late 5th cent. BCE. Text according to *I. Kato Maked.* II.

72. Ed. pr. Akamatis 1987 (*SEG* 36, 627): Ξάνθος, end of 5th cent. BCE, parallels Attic reliefs of the latter half of the 5th cent. BCE which exhibit Island Ionic influence. See also *CAT* 693: late 5th - early 4th cent. BCE; Felten 1993, 413-414 (especially on the relief); Zlotogorska 1997, no. 70: late 5th - early 4th cent. BCE; Konstantinidis 2007-2009, 259-261 and no. 2: late 5th cent. BCE, probably 410-400 BCE; *I. Kato Maked.* II 514: Ξάνθος, late 5th - early 4th cent. BCE; Kalaitzi 2016, no. 62: Ξάν<θ>ος.

22. Funerary (?) base, early fourth century BCE, from Lebet Table (Polichne), Mygdonia, inscribed Κωμαῖδ in East Ionic script (Ω);<sup>73</sup>
23. Tombstone, early fourth century BCE, from Pella, Bottia, inscribed [Ξ]ε-  
ναρίστη | Βουλα[.<sup>3-4</sup>.] in Ionic dialect and script (Λ, Ρ, Ξ);<sup>74</sup>
24. Tombstone, 400-350 BCE, from Pella, Bottia, inscribed Εὐγένεια, Ξένωνος  
| Θυγάτηρ in East Ionic script (Γ, Η, Ξ, Ρ, Ξ, Ω);<sup>75</sup>
25. Tombstone, Classical period, from Aiane, Elimeia, inscribed Κλῆταγόρη  
in Ionic dialect and script (Γ, Η, Λ, Ρ);<sup>76</sup>

Among the inscriptions that may be regarded with certainty as locally inscribed, i.e. those on stone, and certainly predate the end of the fifth century BCE (while none predates the middle of the century), none can be positively identified as written in East Ionic script. Taking inscriptions on portable objects into account, among those that certainly predate the mid-fifth century BCE, only one is possibly written in East Ionic script (no. 1) –two, if the indeterminate Ionic script of no. 4 is counted–, being considerably outnumbered by those in a likely Central Ionic script (nos. 2 and 3, 5, 6). One more inscription in East (?) Ionic script may be added down to the late fifth century BCE (no. 7) and far more reaching down to ca. 400 BCE (nos. 9, 12) or later (nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25). By then, however, East Ionic letter(form)s are not uncommon, being regularly employed in private inscriptions in Attica and Sicily already by ca. 450 BCE,<sup>77</sup> while several inscriptions among nos. 14-25

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73. Ed. pr. Lioutas, Mandaki, Iliopoulou 2005, 303 (SEG 53, 629): late Classical - early Hellenistic period (BE 2005, 348 [M.B. Hatzopoulos]: 5th cent. BCE). See also Vouvousis, Nigdelis 2015: 4th cent. BCE, probably 400-350 BCE; IG X 2.1s, 1660 (P. Nigdelis): early 4th cent. BCE.

74. Ed. pr. Chrysostomou 1998, 365-366, no. 1 (SEG 48, 820): [Ξ]εναρίστ[η] (top of a vertical bar at left; [Ξ]εναρίστη, LGPN IV; confirmed by autopsy by the author) Βουλα[-γόρεος?] (Βουλα[- -], SEG 48), end of 5th - early 4th cent. BCE. See also *I. Kato Maked.* II 515: [Ξ]εναρίστ[.] ([η vel α]) Βουλα[-γόρδ vel -γόρα], 450 - early 4th cent. BCE.

75. Ed. pr. *I. Kato Maked.* II 485: late 5th - early 4th cent. BCE. See also Akamatis 2001, 485 (SEG 49, 755): end of 5th cent. - 350 BCE.

76. Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2013a, 72 (SEG 60, 631) and 2013b, 146; *I. Ano Maked. Suppl.* 18: 4th? cent. BCE.

77. On Attica, see Lang 1976, 3-4 and 24-25; D'Angour 1999, 110. On Sicily, see Brugnone 1995.

may postdate the adoption of the Milesian script (see n. 50). Overall, no clear East Ionic character is detectable in the relevant epigraphic evidence certainly predating ca. 400 BCE, while in several cases a Central Ionic character may be plausibly argued.

All inscriptions in Ionic script dating down to the mid-fifth century BCE are found exclusively on portable objects. Most of these, except no. 6, which is of indeterminable dialect, and no. 4, which may be exhibiting local Macedonian phonetics applied on a West Ionic personal name,<sup>78</sup> are most likely to be the work of Ionian scribes. Besides the script, the dialect of no. 2 (consequently also of no. 3) (figs. 6-7), probably of no. 7 (figs. 8a-b), and possibly of no. 1, is also Ionic, while no. 5 (fig. 9) features a probably East Greek name.<sup>79</sup> The use of Ionic script and probably of the Ionic dialect on no. 7, the graffito on which was applied undoubtedly after it was broken and therefore certainly locally, is especially interesting. The presence of foreigners, especially Ionians, in Macedonia is historically,<sup>80</sup> but also epigraphically attested. Such pieces of evidence

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78. *LGPN* I-II: Φόρυς, Athens and Eretria; *LGPN* I-IIIa: Φορύσκοκ, Athens, Eretria, and Orchomenos. On the voicing (and deaspiration) of the aspirate stop /p<sup>h</sup>/ or fricative /f/ (or deaspiration of the Indo-European /b<sup>h</sup>/ according to earlier theories; for an overview, see Hatzopoulos 2018), as exhibited by the grapheme Β instead of Φ in texts in the Macedonian dialect and also attested in antiquity (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 292e; Hdn. 3.1 [p. 281 Lentz]), see Méndez Dosuna 2012, 134-137 and 2014, 394-396; Hatzopoulos 2018. Cf. another graffito in the local dialect on a skyphos from the Double Table at Anchialos, on the Thermaic Gulf, signed Ἰᾶνος (Tiverios 1997, 246 [SEG 46, 724]: 5th cent. BCE; Gimatzidis 2010, no. 735: late 6th cent. - 450 BCE), genitive of the personal name Ἰάν, which is most likely the Doric form of Ἰων. Such a given name is intriguing; however, the script may not be identified as Ionic on the use of the four-bar *sigma* alone.

79. It recalls Ἀργανθών(η) or Ἀργανθών(ε)ιον, a mountain in Bithynia, northwest Asia Minor (*Suppl. Hell.* 675A and 725 [also a river?]; Ap. Rhod. 1.1178; Nicander *apud* Ant. Lib. *Met.* 26.2; Strabo 12.4.3; Steph. Byz. s.v.), supposedly named after Ἀργανθώνη, Rhesus' Bithynian wife (*FGrHist* 697 [Asclepiades of Myrlea] F2), and it is also attested as the name given by the Phokaians to a legendary 6th cent. BCE king of Tartessos, with whom they had developed trade ties (Anakreon *apud* Strabo 3.2.14; Hdt. 1.163).

80. A resident Greek population is mentioned in Thuc. 4.124.1: Περδίκκας... ἐκράτει Μακεδόνων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων Ἑλλήνων ὀπλίτας (424/3 BCE). Probably included are, among others, the Histiaians, who following the subjugation of Euboea

for resident Ionians in Macedonia are no. 8 and, albeit late, no. 15, the tombstone of a most probably Chalkidian among those who settled in Mygdonia in 434/3–433/2 BCE on invitation by Perdikkas II (see n. 66), and no. 22, whether funerary or dedicatory. Κωμαῖος is an epichoric Ionic personal name connected to the cult of Apollo κωμαῖος or ἐπικώμιος, attested at Erythrai, Kolophon, Naukratis, and Thurii, as well as Thasos and Philippi.<sup>81</sup>

No. 8 (**fig. 10**) features characteristic Ionic personal names rendered in the Ionic dialect and in Ionic letterforms.<sup>82</sup> The script has been identified as East Ionic;<sup>83</sup> however, the tailed *rho* is extremely rare in Ionia,<sup>84</sup> while it appears

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by the Athenians in 446 BCE, migrated to Macedonia (Strabo 10.1.3 = *FGrHist* 115 [Theopompos] F387).

81. In addition to the references in Vouvoulis, Nigdelis 2015, see *I. Erythrae* 207, l. 13: Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ ἐπικωμίῳ; Robert's (1934, 29) restoration [Κω]μαιῶνος (month) in an inscription of Kolophon (Macridy-Bey, Picard 1915, 36, l. 2: [Λη]γαῖωνος), confirmed by another inscription from the city (Meritt 1935, no. I, l. 1); Theophr. fr. 97.3 (Wimmer 1866): οἱ δὲ Θουριακοὶ... κελεύουσι γὰρ ἔάν τις τὴν οἰκίαν πρήηται θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἐπικωμαίου. Thurii was founded in 446/5–444/3 BCE by Athenian settlers who claimed the former territory of the Achaian colony Sybaris, which was destroyed in 510 BCE by the Krotoniatai (Strabo 6.1.13) and had previously absorbed the territory of Siris, a colony of Kolophon (Ath. 12.25). At Philippi the cult is epigraphically attested in the latter half of the 4th cent. BCE, but probably goes back to the pre-Macedonian era, when the settlement was part of the Thasian Peraia or even earlier (see n. 155, on Kolophonians in Thrace).

82. Composite personal names with the adjective ἄριστος were common in Macedonia (see, e.g., nos. 16, 23), as much as elsewhere (*LGPN*); however, both personal names possibly restored in l. 1, [Πυ- vel Ὀρ]θαγόρης, point rather strongly to Ionia or Thasos. In the 6th – 5th cent. BCE, Πυθαγόρης is attested exclusively in Ionia, in colonies of Ionian cities, and in Thasos; Ορθαγόρης only in Thasos (*LGPN* I). Cf. an unlocated town Orthagoria in Aegean Thrace (Loukopoulou 2004, no. 648).

83. *BE* 1990, 464 (M.B. Hatzopoulos); Panayotou 1996, 138; see also Panayotou 1990, 218 and 221.

84. Apart from Kroisos' dedication at Ephesos, of the mid-6th? cent. BCE (*LSAG* 325), it is only sporadically attested in graffiti on pottery at East Greek colonies; e.g., Alexandrescu 2005, 417–418, no. G7: East Greek cup, Histria (Milesian colony), before 530 BCE (context); Belousov, Eliseeva 2019, no. 31: sherd, Phanagoria (colony of Teos), end of 6th cent. BCE; see further n. 88.

more frequently in the scripts of the Ionic Cyclades.<sup>85</sup> Similarly, the script on no. 6 (**fig. 11**) has been identified as East Ionic on account of the *omega*,<sup>86</sup> an East Greek invention,<sup>87</sup> despite being accompanied by a tailed *rho*. These two letterforms are rarely combined in the East Ionic local scripts,<sup>88</sup> as well as in those of the areas outside Ionia that had adopted *omega* earlier than the end of the fifth century BCE,<sup>89</sup> except the Parian (in which, however, *omega* stands in for /o/, not /o:/ as in no. 6).<sup>90</sup> The combination occurs in one Parian, one Siphnian, and several Thasian inscriptions of the first half of the fifth century BCE,<sup>91</sup> but also in a single inscription on stone of ca. 475 BCE from Abdera (see n. 88), a Teian colony on the Nestos River estuary opposite the island of Thasos, and in the legend on some coins issued in the first half of the fifth

85. LSAG 289-290.

86. Panayotou 1994 and 1996; just “Ionic” in Despoini 1985 and 2016.

87. LSAG 37.

88. To the best of my knowledge, they feature together in a single inscription on stone from Abdera (*I. Thrake Aeg.* no. E1: late in the first quarter of the 5th cent. BCE; see also Thonemann 2020, 2, who remarks that “tailed rho is not found on the late sixth- and fifth-century BC coinage of Abdera” and “would cautiously date the text ca. 480-450 BC, with a preference for earlier in the period,” with n. 1, in which he suggests “possible Athenian influence”) and in a graffito on an East Greek dinos of the first half of the 6th cent. BCE found at Histria (Alexandrescu 2005, 418-420, G9: [ὁ δαίμα μ’ ἀνέ-θηκε]εν τῷ Φόρ[κω], 575-550 BCE; the reading is doubtful, cf. Dimitriu 1966, 53 and 121, no. 765: [- - -]ϛ Τ Ο Φ ϛ Κ [- - -], 590-580? BCE, and Johnston 1979, 209, no. 5, who also reads the second to last letter as tailed *rho* and dates the graffito to ca. 560 BCE.

89. LSAG 345 (Dodecanese and Halikarnassos) and 289 (Cyclades); in Troizen (LSAG 174: eastern Argolid) they both occur sporadically but never in the same inscription.

90. On the reversal of *omikron* and *omega* for the sounds /o:/ and /o/, respectively, in the Parian/Thasian local script, see LSAG 294-296 and 300-303.

91. Paros: *IG XII 5*, 1027 (500-480 BCE). Siphnos: *IG XII 5*, 483 (ca. 500 BCE). Thasos: Duchêne 1992, no. 1 (550-525 BCE); *IG XII Suppl.* 412: ca. 500 BCE), no. 2 (550-525 BCE); *IG XII 8*, 683: ca. 500-490 BCE), no. 3 (*IG XII 8*, 395: 6th cent. BCE), no. 5 (*IG XII 8*, 398: after 500 BCE), no. 6 (ca. 500 BCE), no. 7 (500-450 BCE), no. 9 (ca. 500 BCE; *IG XII 8*, 390: 479/8-412/1 BCE), no. 14 (ca. 490-480? BCE), no. 15 (500-450 BCE), no. 19 (*IG XII Suppl.* 420: ca. 470 BCE); Trippé 2016 (475-430 BCE). Also in the Thasian Peraia at Amphipolis (stone reused) (Lazaridis 1976: 525-490 BCE) and Galepsos (Stefani, Tsagaraki, Arvanitaki 2019, no. 363: late 6th - early 5th cent. BCE). See also Pouilloux 1954, 445.

century BCE by the Orrheskioi, a Thracian tribe inhabiting some part of the Mt Pangaion region.

The identification of the script on the coinage of the Orrheskioi is quite problematic. Both *omikron* and *omega* are used to note the sounds /o/ and /o:/ and both *epsilon* and *heta* to note the sound /ε:/, combined with either tailed or tailless *rho* and four-bar *sigma*, while *omega* and *heta* are even combined with three-bar *sigma*.<sup>92</sup> These on the whole apparently random combinations do not seem to fit in any chronological succession and do not permit identification with any one archaic Greek local script. A few issues obviously follow the Parian script, interchanging  $\circ$  and  $\omega$  for the long and the short /o(:)/ sound, but the rest – unless they correspond to thus far undocumented Ionic local scripts that were employed in roughly contemporary issues – appear to be a blend of most probably Central, rather than East Ionic, scripts, since in none of the inscriptions does the employment of  $\circ$  and  $\omega$  fully conform to the latter. A similar alternation, sometimes even mixing, of scripts and dialects also occurs on the coinage of the Edones, another Thracian tribe inhabiting the hinterland of the Thasian Peraia,<sup>93</sup> and on that of Mosses,<sup>94</sup> an otherwise unattested ruler. Perhaps the coins of the Orrheskioi constitute evidence of adaptation of the Greek (Ionic) alphabet. The Orrheskioi seem uncertain about the correspondence between their vowel system and the Greek letters, but since the main confusion concerns  $\circ$  and  $\omega$ , leaning rather towards their reversal as in Parian, it may be deduced that the script was transmitted to them mainly through contact with the Thasians. This is corroborated by the fact that the “centaur and mainad” type Orrheskian coins are remarkably similar to the “silen and mainad” type Thasian coins.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, the Orrheskian coins of this particular type feature exclusively and consistently the Parian/Thasian script.

92. Babelon 1907, nos. 1461-1466 (Group A), esp. no. 1461:  $\text{OPPH}\kappa\text{KIOMI}$ , no. 1462:  $\text{OPPE}\kappa\text{KIOMI}$ , no. 1463:  $\text{OPPE}\kappa\text{KION}$  ←, and nos. 1469-1474 (Group C), esp. no. 1469:  $\text{ORRH}\kappa\text{KIOMI}$  ←, nos. 1471-1472:  $\text{ORRH}\kappa\text{KIOMI}$  ←, no. 1474:  $\text{ORRH}\kappa\text{KIOMI}$  ←; cf. nos. 1467-1468 (Group B):  $\text{ORRH}\kappa\text{KIOMI}$ . See also Head 1911, 195; Gaebler 1935, 89-92; Tzamalīs 2012, 189-198.

93. Babelon 1907, 1049-1058; Head 1911, 201; Gaebler 1935, 144; Slavova 2008. See also Tzamalīs 2012, 411-415, on the close iconographic similarity between early Getas' coins and those of the Orrheskioi.

94. Babelon 1907, nos. 1482-1485:  $\text{MO}\Sigma\Sigma\text{E}\Omega$ , except no. 1483:  $\text{M}\Omega\Sigma\Sigma\text{E}\Omega$ .

95. Picard (2006, 276) suggested furthermore that the stamps were made by the

While the coinage of the Orrheskioi shows that the Thracian regions just east of Macedonia were exposed mostly to the Ionic script of Paros/Thasos, no. 6, a portable object with too short a text to judge from and from a settlement east of the Axios River,<sup>96</sup> is insufficient towards revealing the origin of the Ionic script in Macedonia. But no. 8 and the other likely Central Ionic inscriptions (nos. 2, 3, 5), while also taking into account the possibility that any one of the indeterminate Ionic inscriptions may be in a Central, rather than –as has been too readily assumed– East Ionic script, make it at least equally possible to conjecture a Cycladic, rather than East Greek origin for the Ionic script in Macedonia, through the mediation of the Cycladic colonies in Thrace and perhaps the Thracian tribes.

### The coinage of Alexander I

As mentioned in the introduction, both the adoption of a script as official in the Macedonian kingdom and its identification as East Ionic on the basis of the inscribed coins in the name of Alexander I (r. 498-454 BCE) are disputable. What I intend to show in this section is that this otherwise Thracian, rather than distinctively Macedonian, coinage should not be considered as representative of Macedonia in specific, and that the script employed may originate from a Cycladic rather than East Greek source.

The royal Macedonian coins form only a small minority within the Thracio-Macedonian coinage, as the silver coins minted in the period ca. 530-460 BCE by the Greek cities and Thracian tribes between the Axios and Nestos rivers are collectively referred to. The coins formerly attributed to Aigai, the capital of the Macedonian kingdom, are now considered to have been minted in the region of Mt Pangaion,<sup>97</sup> while the cities of Ichnai on the Axios and Lete in

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same engraver. Babelon (1907, 1063-1064) had attributed the common types to a common cult of Dionysos.

96. Whether or not the Macedonian kingdom had expanded beyond the Axios by 480 BCE is still being debated; see n. 5.

97. Babelon 1907, 1095-1104; Head 1911, 198-199; Gaebler 1935, 18-20. These coins feature two inscriptions: ΔΕ, supposedly to be expanded as the earlier name of the settlement, i.e. Ἐδ(εσσα) (more likely Δε(ρρων-); Svoronos 1919, 5 and 35); and ΛΑ, possibly abbreviating the king's name, i.e. Ἀλ(έξανδρος), sinistroke (Babelon 1907, nos. 1524 and 1544-1545; cf. no. 1528: Α, no. 1531: ΑΛΕ; Head 1911, 218), but also possibly

Mygdonia issued their own coins as independent states, only later being annexed to the Macedonian kingdom, or because their population was displaced by the Macedonians and migrated to the Strymon Valley.<sup>98</sup>

The coins that are attributed with certainty to Macedonia are those issued in the name of Alexander I. The king's name features on the reverse employing characteristic Ionic letterforms, such as equilateral inverted *lambda*, *ksi*, and tailless *rho*,<sup>99</sup> datable not impossibly to the late sixth, but most probably

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abbreviating the ethnic Laiaioi (Svoronos 1919, 22-23 and 35) or that of Galepsos (Psoma 2015, 170), a city of the Thasian Peraia. See also Picard 1995; Lorber 2000.

98. Psoma (2006) has argued against the attribution of a “satyr and nymph / incuse square” type coinage to Lete, suggesting alternatively a city in the Mt Pangaion region. This may of course be true for the uninscribed issues and/or those carrying dubious inscriptions (see Svoronos 1919, 76; Tzamalīs 2012, 478 n. 216); however, there is at least one coin, of the “centaur and mainad / helmet” type, that is clearly inscribed ΛΕΤΑΙΟΝ (see Babelon 1907, no. 1583; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85905349?rk=150215;2>; and also Svoronos 1919, 36 and 39, no. 6; Tzamalīs 2012, 166-171; a reading *Getaion*, genitive adjective of Getas, the Edonian king, is rejected on account of the types, Getas employing the “man driving cattle / wheel” type). Subsequently, Psoma and Zannis (2011, 38-44; see also Wartenberg 2015, 365) suggested that the Ichnaians had been ousted by the Macedonians and their coinage was actually minted in the Strymon Valley. It could be similarly argued that the Letaioi had been displaced and migrated to the east. However, Ichnai, Lete, Getas, king of the Edonians, who also occupied part of Mygdonia before they were displaced by the Macedonians (Thuc. 2.99.4), and the Bisaltai form a geographic continuum from Axios to Strymon and need not be squeezed into the Strymon Valley to justify contact with Thasos and its Peraia. Moreover, judging from the transfer of wealth in grave-goods from the cemeteries around the Thermaic Gulf to that of Vergina (Aigai), the Macedonian expansion beyond the Axios must date after 479 BCE (Hatzopoulos 2020, 25-33; see also 16-17, on the possibility of initially loose control of the regions around the Axios by the Macedonians), and, indeed, both the Ἰχναίων and Λεταίων coinage is dated before 480 BCE (Psoma 2015).

99. Babelon 1907, 1077-1096, esp. nos. 1517-1518, 1520, 1537: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ; Head 1911, 218-220; Gaebler 1935, 148-153. On a single reverse die of Alexander I's early octadrachms (Babelon 1907, no. 1517; Raymond 1953, no. 1) a tailed *rho* is discernible but the letters are too crudely cut to be certain.

to the second quarter of the fifth century BCE.<sup>100</sup> Initially they were broadly dated to the period 480-454 BCE on the assumption that Alexander expanded his kingdom eastwards following the Persian retreat.<sup>101</sup> The study of hoards, especially those found at Asyut, Egypt, and Elmalı, Turkey, helped scholars to refine this dating. Colin Kraay's assessment of the Asyut Hoard narrowed the dating down to ca. 475-460 BCE and Jonathan Kagan's assessment of the Elmalı (the so-called Decadrachm) Hoard to the late 460s BCE.<sup>102</sup> Kagan's dating is significant, because it allows Alexander's coinage to succeed that of the Bisaltai, a Thracian tribe inhabiting the western Strymon valley. Therefore, Kagan suggested that Alexander minted his coins only after he took control from the Bisaltai of a silver mine in the Strymon Valley.<sup>103</sup>

It was Barclay Head who first remarked that Alexander "adopted [...] the Bisaltian coinage, placing upon it his own name".<sup>104</sup> Indeed, the coins issued in Alexander's name are not essentially different in weight standard, style, and iconography from other Thracio-Macedonian coins of the period, especially

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100. See LSAG 289-290 and 325-326.

101. Babelon 1907, 1072-1073; Head 1911, 200; Raymond 1953, 85-86. Philip II, in the 4th cent. BCE, claimed that Alexander I expanded his dominion as far as the Strymon "ὄθεν καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Μήδων ἀπαρχὴν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἀνέστησεν εἰς Δελφοῦς" (Dem. 12.20-21), suggesting that this happened concurrently or right after the Persian retreat; however, this is doubtful (Cole 1977, 25-26; Mari 2002, 37-39; Sprawski 2010, 139-140; Vasilev 2015, 207-209; Xydopoulos 2016, 256-259; I am thankful to Dr P. Paschidis for suggesting additional references).

102. Kraay 1977, 190-193; Kagan 1987, 24-25. See also Heinrichs, Müller 2008, 285 and 295-299; Wartenberg 2015, 353 and 360.

103. Probably the one referred to in Hdt. 5.17.2. Heinrichs (2020) rejects the *argumentum ex silentio* that since no coins of Alexander are included in the Elmalı hoard, his issues cannot predate its closure and speculatively dates the Macedonian occupation of Bisaltia already by 475 BCE. Cf. Tzamalīs 2011, 75, and Picard 2021, 207-208, who hypothesize that particular coin types were associated with particular mines or mining districts, which were exploited by more than one *ethne*, possibly concurrently, while Kosmidou (2011 and 2013, 23; followed by Mari 2014, 87) suggests co-operative mining between Alexander and the Bisaltai. On a general account of the mining district(s), see Zannis 2014, 184-221.

104. Head 1911, 200.

those of the Bisaltai, whose coinage, if uninscribed, is indistinguishable from that of Alexander.<sup>105</sup> The coins of the Bisaltai feature the legend βισαλικόν in two different Ionic scripts, one of which is the Parian/Thasian.<sup>106</sup> Their chronological relation is unclear. Jeffery regarded the issues that feature the Parian/Thasian script as earlier;<sup>107</sup> however, the possibility of the two being contemporary should not be excluded. In any case, 465-463 BCE, when the Thasians revolted against the Athenians, were defeated, and lost their Thracian Peraia,<sup>108</sup> must be a *terminus ante quem* for the use of the Parian/Thasian script by the Thracian mints. As regards the issues inscribed in indeterminate Ionic script, unless two different local scripts are represented, chronological succession seems obvious: ΒΙΞΑΓΤΙΚΟΝ is more archaic than ΒΙΞΑΛΤΙΚΟΝ. The latter letterforms are closer to those on Alexander's coins (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ). Indeed, a particular Bisaltian issue, dated on the basis of its inclusion in hoards to ca. 465 BCE and considered as representing the latest production of the Bisaltai,<sup>109</sup> features the evolved letterforms in a legend on the reverse, around

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105. The issues of the “cavalier walking by his mare” type that bear no legend were formerly attributed to Alexander I (Babelon 1907, 1073; Head 1911, 200). However, since Brackmann (2015) detected two matching reverse dies between uninscribed and Bisaltian coins, it is established that at least part of the uninscribed issues are Bisaltian. I owe this reference to an anonymous reviewer. See also Picard 2006, 272, who argues that Alexander's octadrachms and tetradrachms of this type reprise the theme of Bisaltian coins of equal weight and that apparently the same engraver/workshop was employed; on the weight standard, see Wartenberg 2015, 352.

106. Babelon 1907, 1071-1078, esp. no. 1489: ΒΙΞΑΓΤΙΚΟΝ, no. 1490: ΒΙΞΑΛΤΙΚΟΝ, and nos. 1491-1495: ΚΙΞΑΓΤΙΚΟΝ, with minor variations; Head 1911, 199-200; Gaebler 1935, 48-50; Tzamalīs 2012, 82-102. An inscription of ca. 470-460 BCE from the Bisaltian city Berge is also written in the Parian/Thasian script (Bonias 2000 [SEG 50, 575]).

107. LSAG 364; also Tzamalīs 2012, 388-392, based on hoard datings.

108. The Thasians revolted against the Athenians “διενεχθέντας περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας Θράκη ἐμπορίων καὶ τοῦ μετάλλου ἃ ἐνέμοντο” (Thuc. 1.100-101; cf. Ps.-Skylax 67.1: εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν Θράκη πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες αἶδε· Ἀμφίπολις, Φάγρης, Γαληψός, Οἰσύμη καὶ ἄλλα ἐμπόρια Θασίων). The Athenians sailed to Thasos, defeated them in a naval battle as well as on land, and laid a siege on the city. On the third year (463 BCE) the Thasians yielded and surrendered their Peraia to the Athenians.

109. Kraay, Moorey 1981, 2-3.

the incuse square,<sup>110</sup> and depicts the torso of the dismantled rider in profile.<sup>111</sup> These features are atypical for Bisaltian coinage, but standard for Alexander's as well as Mosses' (figs. 12a-c). Most probably a contemporary of Alexander, Mosses issued coins on the same weight standard (i.e. Raymond Series 3) and with types similar to those of the Bisaltai and Alexander (see n. 94). In fact, there is a die link between Mosses' and the aforementioned Bisaltian octobols, dating his coinage also to ca. 465-460 BCE.<sup>112</sup>

Apparently, the royal Macedonian coinage was not designed anew. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that Alexander chose a particular script for the legend on the coins in his name. It is rather more plausible that, after taking control of the Bisaltian mine, he ordered the change of the legend in order to specify the new issuing authority, but otherwise the continuation of coin production as before, with no change of the weight standard, the types,<sup>113</sup> or the script employed. Whence the Bisaltai borrowed the non-Parian/Thasian Ionic script that they employ on their coinage is a matter to which I wish to dedicate the rest of this section.

The use of Ionic scripts was the rule for the majority of the Thraco-Macedonian coinage,<sup>114</sup> but apart from the Parian/Thasian and the Euboic it is difficult to determine the exact provenance of the other Ionic script(s). The most characteristic among the Ionic letterforms, *omega*, is not that helpful. The Derrones, the Tynteni, and the Letaioi, ignore *omega*, while others, such

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110. Specimens of this issue include one octadrachm (Kraay 1976b, no. 2244: [BIΣA]ΛTIK[O]N; Kraay, Moorey 1981, no. 2: ca. 465 BCE) and four or five octobols: three catalogued by Gaebler (1931, nos. 1a-c = 1935, 208, nos. 9a-c), who considers them to be forgeries; one spotted in the antiquities market (<https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=3179&lot=96>; see also Tzamalīs 2012, 114, §2.2.4.1, no. 3); and a fifth (?) catalogued by Peykov (2011, A3120; *non vidi*).

111. As pointed out by Tzamalīs 2012, 381.

112. Raymond 1953, 115; Kraay 1977, 190. I am thankful to the anonymous reviewer who pointed this out.

113. *Contra* Greenwalt 1997, who interprets the adoption of Thracian types by the Macedonians as an indication of cultural identity, and Kosmidou, Picard, and Tzamalīs (see n. 103).

114. See Babelon 1907, 1032-1076 and 1103-1126; Head 1911, 194-202; Gaebler 1935, 48-50, 55-57, 63-72, 80-92, 144-148.

as the Orrheskioi, the Ichnaioi, Mosses, and Getas, king of the Edones, use both *omikron* and *omega* for /o:/, but no chronological succession can be determined from style and iconography, and issues employing different scripts could even be contemporary, perhaps targeting at different markets. So, since it is impossible to determine the provenance of the script by the inscriptions alone, it may be useful to consider the prospective destination of the coins.

These mostly heavy-weight silver coins were destined to be exported, rather than serve local retail trade.<sup>115</sup> It may, therefore, be assumed that the legend was not addressed to, and consequently not intended to be legible by the local population. The inscriptions on Thracio-Macedonian coins, as must have been the case for all coins, aimed chiefly at indicating and/or advertising the issuing authority and certifying the weight of the bullion (perhaps also indicating the standard that was employed).<sup>116</sup> Therefore, I find the hypothesis arguable that they may have conformed to the local script of the chief “buyer”, probably some Greek city that handled the exports or served as trade hub in the area.<sup>117</sup> Thus may be explained the contemporary employment of, or shift from the Parian/Thasian to another Ionic script on the coinage of the Bisaltai, as well as the similar phenomenon on the coinage of the Ichnaioians, who displayed their civic name using both “red” (Υ) and “blue” (+) *chi* on

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115. This is supported by the excellent degree of preservation of the Thracio-Macedonian coins that have been found in hoards, in contrast to those of the cities of Chalkidike, which had been evidently circulating prior to their hoarding as their wear clearly indicates (Liampi 1993, 797 and n. 8). *Contra* Heinrichs (2017) and de Callataÿ (2021), who argue that the primary purpose of minting was to facilitate the payment to mercenaries. On the predominance of large denominations (octadrachms, tetradrachms, staters), see Psoma 2015, 173. Alexander issued small denominations as well, down to half-obols, but in a different standard, presumably for regional trade (Psoma 2016, 92). Small denominations (e.g. diobols) by the Thracian *ethne* appear to have been limited in number and restricted in circulation (Psoma 2015, 176-177).

116. Kroll 2008; Wartenberg 2015, 356.

117. A similar phenomenon was the adoption of iconographic types from neighbouring states that dominated over a trade area, which Psoma and Zannis (2011, 33) explain as a way for less potent issuing authorities to make their coinage easily exchangeable in that trade area.

different issues, which were also minted in different weight standards.<sup>118</sup> It is reasonable, then, that this presumed “buyer” should be sought among those cities that used the Ionic script and minted in the same weight standard as the Bisaltai, i.e. Raymond Series 3. The only city that fits this description is Argilos.

Argilos is one of the four Andrian colonies in Thrace, along with Stagira, Akanthos, and Sane, which was short-lived. Akanthos and Stagira employed the Euboic standard.<sup>119</sup> On the contrary, Argilos, the northernmost of the four, which was situated on the Bisaltian coast and provided an outlet or gateway for commodities brought from and to the Thracian hinterland,<sup>120</sup> issued coins in the period from ca. 520-515 to the mid-fifth century BCE in the so-called “Thracio-Macedonian” standard,<sup>121</sup> at first in a reduction of Raymond Series 3,<sup>122</sup> and later, remarkably, in the same standard (Raymond Series 2) as the late tetradrachms/staters of Alexander I.<sup>123</sup>

There may be an actual reason for the co-ordination of the Argilian mint with those of the Bisaltai and Alexander. As a member of the Delian League, Argilos was expected in 454/3 BCE to contribute 10½ talents according to *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 259 (col. IV, l. 22), which records a quota of Χ<sup>Π</sup> (=1,050 dr.). This was considered

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118. Babelon 1907, 1103-1108, nos. 1551 and 1553-1554, respectively; Head 1911, 199; Gaebler 1935, 63-66. According to Jeffery (*LSAG* 364), they went most probably from the “red”, likely “taken from some Euboic source in Chalkidike”, to the Ionic or Corinthian “blue” *chi*. Color terminology follows Kirchoff 1877. For the choice of weight standard, see Psoma 2016.

119. Akanthos: Babelon 1907, 1165-1186; Head 1911, 204-205; Gaebler 1935, 23-29. Stagira: Gaebler 1935, 110-111. It is perhaps noteworthy that Sane, Akanthos, and Stagira, but not Argilos, are reported to have been colonized by Andrians and Chalkidians venturing together (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 298a-b; Dion. Hal. *Ad Ammaeum* 1.5).

120. Hdt. 7.115.1; Bonias, Perreault 2009, 14-15; Perreault, Bonias 2012, 266-270.

121. On the “Thracio-Macedonian” standard, which actually corresponds to three different weight standards, see Psoma 2015.

122. Lorber 2008, 10; see also Psoma 2015, 171-172, who identifies it as a reduced Milesian standard. According to Liampi (2005, 166-169 and 241-242), Argilos minted also in the Euboic standard. This was accepted by Psoma (2016, 104), but van Alfen (2021, 147) and Fischer-Bossert (2007, 182) reject Liampi’s attribution to Argilos of a particular uninscribed issue on which her argument is based.

123. Lorber 2008, 11; Psoma 2015, 174.



pure speculation. The figure on the stone was accepted as correct by Russell Meiggs, who assumed that Argilos had taken over part of the Bisaltian territory, subsequently occupied by the Athenian settlers at Brea,<sup>134</sup> whom he identified as the 1,000 Athenian settlers sent by Perikles in 451 BCE “to live among the Bisaltai” (Βισάλταις συνοικήσοντας),<sup>135</sup> explaining thus the reduction to 1 talent in 446/5 BCE.<sup>136</sup> The figure was also accepted as correct by N.G.L. Hammond, who assumed that the Athenians allowed the Argilians to export the bullion produced from Bisaltian mines, until they took control of these themselves sometime between 453-446 BCE (probably in 451 BCE), hence the reduction of the tribute,<sup>137</sup> as well as by Katerini Liampi, who, having attributed to Argilos a significant number of uninscribed coins, argues that the city appears to have been financially capable to pay a sum as large as 10½ talents.<sup>138</sup>

Sums of this class are not uncommon in the quota list of 454/3 BCE, and later reassessments vary in the percentage by which they reduce the tribute.<sup>139</sup>

134. See *IG I<sup>3</sup> 46* (ca. 445 BCE). On the date, which has been revised as late as 426/5 BCE, see Mari 2014, 95-96 n. 137. See also Psóma 2009 (citing previous scholarship), on the location of Brea, suggested first by David Asheri to be on the western coast of Chalkidike, not in the Strymon Valley.

135. Plut. *Per.* 11.5.

136. Meiggs 1972, 159; also Isaac 1986, 53-54.

137. Hammond, Griffith 1979, 117-118. Hammond suggests that the 1,000 Athenians were sent to settle at Berge, a city of the Bisaltai (Strabo 7 fr. 36). However, the insignificant increase of the tribute expected to be paid by the Bergaioi, from 2,880 dr. in 452/1 BCE to 3,240 dr. in 447/6 BCE (reduced to 3,120 dr. after the foundation of Amphipolis; see *ATL* III, 62-63), does not support the assumption of control of the Bisaltian mines by these Athenians in Berge; but amounting to about half a talent and making its appearance in 452/1 BCE, this figure agrees with a reduction from 1½ to 1 talent in the tribute of Argilos, as suggested by the editors of *ATL*.

138. Liampi 1994, 28; however, see n. 122 (above) for objections to the attribution of these coins to Argilos.

139. See, e.g., *IG I<sup>3</sup> 259*, col. I, l. 22: [Ἐφέσιο]ι : [ἩΗ][Ἡ] (later reduced to [Ἡ]); col. I, l. 23: [Ἀΐνιοι] : ΧΗΗ (later reduced to Χ); col. II, l. 15: Το[ροναῖοι] : Χ]ΗΗ (later reduced to [Ἡ]); col. II, l. 16: Κα[ρύσσιοι] : ΧΗΗ (later reduced to [Ἡ]); col. III, l. 7: Βυζάντιοι : Χ[Ἡ] (later increased); col. III, l. 8: [Κ]αμυρῆς : [Ἡ][Ἡ][Ἡ][Ἡ] (later reduced to [Ἡ]); col. III, l. 15: Μενδαῖοι : [Ἡ][Ἡ][Ἡ] (later fluctuates); col. III, l. 16: Σελυμ[β]ρ[ιανοί] : [Ἡ][Ἡ][Ἡ][Ἡ] (later reduced to [Ἡ]).

Argilos' reduction is by far the greatest, but the presumed circumstances –the Bisaltian mine(s) changing hands or the city losing the export rights– surely can justify the difference. There may have been a very productive silver mine in Bisaltia originally controlled by the Argilians and after the Persian retreat by the Bisaltai,<sup>140</sup> who in 465-463 BCE lost it to Alexander I of Macedonia, who then (ca. 460-454 BCE)<sup>141</sup> lost it either to the Argilians or back to the Bisaltai.<sup>142</sup> If the mine returned to the Bisaltai, they may have resumed exporting their coins through the port of Argilos, until the Athenians took over in ca. 451-446/5 BCE (if not as late as 437 BCE),<sup>143</sup> or perhaps it was the Thasians that took over, since they were assessed for 30 talents in 446/5 BCE,<sup>144</sup> when the tribute

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140. See Fischer-Bossert 2007, 182-183, who remarks that Bisaltian coinage “only appears when the stater coinage of Argilos has almost dried up, that is, after the find from Asyut”, i.e. ca. 475 BCE. Cf. Liampi 2005, 81, on Argilos minting only small fractions after the Persian Wars. Xydopoulos (2021, 66-69) associates this recession in coin production with a destruction layer of 475-465 BCE (dated to the end of the first quarter of the 5th cent. BCE in Bonias, Perreault 2021, 19), which he suggests was the result of a Thracian counter-attack on Argilos following the debacle of an Athenian colonizing expedition in the Thracian hinterland in 465/4 BCE (Hdt. 9.75; Thuc. 1.100.3, 4.102.2; Diod. Sic. 12.68.2; Paus. 1.29.4). However, Liampi, who determines that the recession lasted to the mid-5th cent. BCE, suggests that the archaeological record may be misleading, since the payment of a high tribute to the Delian League would have removed the large denominations from the site.

141. No large denomination has been attributed to Perdikkas II, indicating that the Bisaltian mine was no more under Macedonian control in his reign (Psôma 1999, 276). If not earlier, the mine may have been lost due to the disorder that followed the amotion of Philip, Perdikkas' brother, who ruled the eastern territories of the Macedonian kingdom (see Roisman 2010, 146).

142. The restoration of Bisaltian control over the mine has been suggested by Tzamalīs 2012, 494.

143. See Picard 2012, 56, who remarks the dominance of the Athenian owls in hoards in the Persian Empire by ca. 460 BCE, displacing the Thraco-Macedonian coins; cf. Wartenberg 2015, 360: “By the 450s B.C., many of the Thracian mines must have been under firm Athenian ownership, which would explain why only the wealthier members of the Delian League now minted their own coins.”

144. In *IG I<sup>3</sup> 266* (446/5 BCE), col. III, l. 8, the quota of 3,000 dr. is fully restored according to the subsequent lists of the third assessment (first preserved appearance

of the Argilians was reduced to 1 talent. It is, of course, not impossible that sometime in ca. 460-440 BCE the mine ran dry. If, in fact, this was all about a particular mine, namely the one mentioned by Herodotos (5.17.2),<sup>145</sup> who reports that Alexander I collected from it a talent of silver daily, then a sum of 10½ talents is not unreasonable. Perhaps this mine was also the reason for Kimon's prosecution upon his return to Athens in 463 BCE, after having crushed the Thasian revolt and taken over their Thracian Peraia, on the charge of not seizing the opportunity to advance on Macedonian territory.<sup>146</sup> But even if the Argilians had no direct control over any of the Bisaltian mines, it is highly probable that they were involved in the trade of the bullion in ca. 475-450 BCE. This would explain the employment of the "Thraco-Macedonian" weight standard by the Argilians as well as the employment of the local script of the Argilians by the Bisaltai, if this is indeed the case.

The local script of Argilos is not well documented. Presumably it followed that of its *metropolis*, Andros, on which unfortunately our knowledge is gravely incomplete.<sup>147</sup> Besides a few portable inscribed objects, found mostly in the

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in *IG I<sup>3</sup> 268* [444/3 BCE], col. III, l. 15: XXX Θάσιοι). The editors of *ATL III*, on p. 259, interpret the increase from three to 30 talents "as evidence that Thasos regained at least part of her former territories" at the Thasian Peraia.

145. Suggested locations for this mine are on the Kroussia Mts (Xydopoulos 2016; Vaxevanopoulos et al. 2022, 18-19; and Neeft 2020, 13-14, whose suggestion of Kato Theodoraki, Palatiano, is rather unlikely, since it is a gold mine) or on Mt Menoikion, east of the Strymon (Faraguna 1998, 375-376; *BE* 2000, 436 [M.B. Hatzopoulos]; cf. Picard 2006, 270).

146. Plut. *Cim.* 14.2.

147. The published archaic epigraphic material from Andros includes only a few inscriptions on portable objects (Petrocheilos 2010, nos. 197-203; Stefani, Tsagaraki, Arvanitaki 2019, nos. 44-45). Whilst Papadopoulos 2017, nos. 6b.i.1 (= Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2007, 67) and 6b.i.2 remain unpublished, the earliest published inscriptions on stone date to the late 5th cent. BCE and do not feature any characteristic letterforms (Petrocheilos 2010, nos. 89-98 and 137-139). Skiadas' (2012, 294-296) contention that the Andrians used the Naxian script is not supported by the graffiti he publishes. Note that Jeffery's (*LSAG* 298) remark on a possibly Andrian inscription that "the traces of the Naxian vowel-system are plain" does not imply conformity to the Naxian script. See also Boufalis, Oikonomaki, Tzifopoulos 2021, 81-82.

lower city at the commercial district by the coast and being representative of commercial vessel types,<sup>148</sup> Argilos has produced a terracotta *perirrharterion* of the late Archaic period with an incised, pre-firing, inscription on the rim, declaring that the manufacturer or dedicator was an Argilian.<sup>149</sup> On the basis of this inscription, it may be assumed that the Argilians used the inverted *lambda* (ϛ) and the tailless *rho* (Ϟ). The latter is confirmed by coins featuring the legend Ἀρκι(λίων) with Ϟ,<sup>150</sup> although they are so late (ca. 460-455 BCE) as to postdate the period that the late archaic tailed *rho* was in fashion.

Taking into account the chronological difference, which allows for the evolution of ϛ to Λ towards the mid-fifth century BCE (as indeed happens on the Bisaltian coinage), the possibility that the Argilians controlled for some time the Bisaltian mine(s) and/or handled the export of the bullion, and the compatibility between the weight standards employed by the Argilians and the Bisaltai and Alexander I, Argilos may be considered as the most likely source of the Ionic script on the Bisaltian and subsequently on Alexander's coinage.<sup>151</sup>

### Conclusion

A review of the works of Ionic sculpture in Macedonia has showed that stylistic affinity, insofar as it can be determined, is closer to the Cycladic, rather than to East Greek art. Although in a few cases the Ionic style may have been transmitted through Attica, Boiotia, and Thessaly, it seems that it was primarily introduced into Macedonia by artists originating from the Cycladic

148. Boufalas, Oikonomaki, Tzifopoulos 2021, nos. 1, 3-4, 7-8.

149. Bonias, Perreault 1998, 183 (SEG 48, 735); Liampi 2005, 62 and 71; Stefani, Tsagaraki, Arvanitaki 2019, no. 210; Boufalas, Oikonomaki, Tzifopoulos 2021, no. 5: [ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθεκ- vel ἐποίησ?]εν Ἀρκίλιο[ς?], late 6th - early 5th cent. BCE.

150. Bonias, Perreault 1997, 672; Liampi 2005, 189-192, nos. 128-130: silver issues, ca. 460-455 BCE. Liampi's identification of the script on the *perirrharterion* and the coins as Parian/Thasian is doubtful.

151. See also Brixhe, Panayotou 1988, 248, who suggest that the Ionic *ksi* in the legend on Alexander's coinage could have been borrowed from an Andrian colony in Chalkidike, which Panayotou (1996, n. 41) identifies as Akanthos, although she renounces this earlier suggestion in favor of an East Greek origin. Letter *ksi* is indeed attested in an Andrian inscription of the early 5th cent. BCE (according to Jeffery, LSAG 298, but see also Boufalas, Oikonomaki, Tzifopoulos 2021, 82, for different opinions) and on a 5th-cent. BCE tombstone for a Naxian found on Andros (IG XII Suppl. 279).

colonies in the western Chalkidike and Thrace, chiefly among them Thasos.<sup>152</sup> Similarly, the inscriptions that have been found in Macedonia and predate the end of the fifth century BCE also exhibit, at least traces of, Cycladic, rather than East Greek script(s). The Milesian script may have been employed in private inscriptions in ca. 450 - early fourth century BCE, but this is anything but irregular for that period. This may also apply to the script employed for the legend on Alexander I's coinage, which features letterforms that could be East (Milesian) or simply evolved Ionic, and either would be a corollary of its date (late 460s BCE). Be that as it may, the indeterminate Ionic script on Alexander's coinage did not come necessarily from an East Greek source, and if considered along with other aspects of the coins, namely weight standard,<sup>153</sup> style, and iconography, it was obviously modeled on the latest issues of the Bisaltai.

East Greeks are indeed attested in the Strymonic Gulf, but sporadically and only as individuals,<sup>154</sup> while the cities of Ionia had no foothold in the region.<sup>155</sup>

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152. Already Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2008, esp. 342, who attributes the emergence of sculpture in Macedonia to the contacts with the colonies in Chalkidike, the Strymonic Gulf, and on Thasos.

153. Note that, according to Psoma and Wartenberg (see n. 12), Alexander, Argilos, several *ethne* in the Thasian Peraia (Ichnaians, Orrheskians, Laiaians, Bisaltai, Edonians), Thasos and its colonies, and Abdera minted at least their heaviest coins in a reduced Aiginetan standard. Intriguingly, the Aiginetan standard was employed by Paros, the *metropolis* of Thasos. As an anonymous reviewer suggested, this may indicate the Cycladic origin of the weight standard employed, beside the script.

154. See Perron 2010; also Malamidou 2008, 191-193 (*SEG* 58, 556: late 6th - early 5th cent. BCE) and 2021, 319, for the tombstone of a Samian, associated with a group of tombs of 500-450 BCE in the eastern cemetery of Argilos.

155. The brief establishment of the Milesian tyrant Histiaios at Myrkinos in Edonis (Hdt. 5.23-24) does not imply a Milesian colony and when Ionian rebels under the Milesian Aristagoras fled there later, they were slaughtered by the Thracians who occupied the settlement (Hdt. 5.124, 5.126; Thuc. 4.102). Moreover, the fact that Thasos was in 494/3 BCE besieged by Histiaios and in 491 BCE slandered to Dareios by (probably) the Abderitans (Hdt. 6.46) betrays a persistent East Greek effort (Abdera was by then a colony of Teos) to gain access to the Strymon region –in other words, that they had not. Also, when in the 7th cent. BCE the Lydians occupied Ionia and the Kolophonians fled their city and joined “other Ionians” in mining and working the gold of the Strymon-Pangaion region (*Suda* s.v. Χρυσὸς Κολοφώνιος: [...] καὶ τάχα ἴσως οἱ ἐκπεσόντες

The Thracian littoral was divided in a quite straightforward manner between the Ionians: Euboians founded colonies in the western Chalkidike, Andrians in the eastern Chalkidike and up to the Strymon River, Parians established themselves between Strymon and Nestos Rivers, and East Greeks colonized the rest of the coastal country up to the Ebro River.<sup>156</sup> Colonies were, of course, attractive to migrants and thus the population may have not been so neatly divided by origin. It has been suggested on the basis of material culture, specifically pottery, that a mixed population occupied the cities on the Strymonic Gulf in the sixth century BCE.<sup>157</sup> Moreover, expansion of the residential area of the coastal cities and emergence of new inland towns has been noted in the latter half of the century.<sup>158</sup> Jacques Perreault and Zissis Bonias, on account of changes in pottery shapes and decoration along the Thracian coast, conjecture an influx of East Greek settlers who in the mid-sixth century BCE were escaping Persian occupied Ionia.<sup>159</sup> Similarly, Martin Perron argues that within the period of strong Ionic influence in the Northern Aegean, which he dates to 546/5-476 BCE, i.e. from the beginning of the Persian occupation of Ionia to the capture of the Persian stronghold at Eion at the mouth of the Strymon by the Athenians, a number of Ionians migrated to the Northern Aegean as political exiles, traders and artisans, and military and administrative personnel in the service of the Great King and his subordinate commanders.<sup>160</sup> He thus suggests that the ongoing East Greek influence in the Cycladic colonies in Thrace through their *metropoleis*, where East Greek art was predominantly influential already in the early Archaic period, was amplified in the later sixth century BCE by the arrival of East Greek migrants in Thrace.<sup>161</sup>

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τῆς οἰκείας Λυδῶν τὰ περὶ Θράκην καὶ Στρυμόνα χρύσεια κατέσχον μέταλλα σὺν τισιν Ἴώνων καὶ ἐσπούδασαν περὶ τὸν χρυσόν), nothing suggests that these “other Ionians” were specifically East Greeks.

156. See also Kotsonas 2020, 306-311, esp. 309.

157. Malamidou 2008, 190 and 2009; Bonias, Perreault 2009, 15; Perreault, Bonias 2010; Perron 2010, 22-24; Mari 2014, 82.

158. Bonias, Perreault 2009, 15-16; Perron 2010, 30-31, who ascribes the latter to the hellenization of Thracians.

159. Perreault, Bonias 2012, 265.

160. Perron 2010, esp. 27-29 and 2012, 145-147.

161. Perron 2010, 30 and 2013, 139.

Even if there was a considerable resident East Greek population in the Andrian and Parian colonies, there is no evidence that it replaced or superseded the Cycladic character of these settlements, though it may have infused its artistic production with East Greek elements. However, instead of seeking to identify particular artistic productions with particular migrant populations or artisans, it is worth considering other possible explanations. A pottery workshop of the late Archaic period that was excavated at Phari, Thasos, had been producing a great range of pottery shapes, from traditional Cycladic to imitations of Attic and East Greek, to adaptations of Thracian ones.<sup>162</sup> This find highlights the ability of artisans of any origin to adapt their production to contemporary trends in pottery consumption.<sup>163</sup> Indeed, the local “ionicizing” pottery production of both East and Central Ionic colonies in Thrace comprises vessels that are often characterized by Perron as “imitations”, rather than straightforwardly Ionic.<sup>164</sup> The same applies to the coroplastic production of Northern Greece in the late Archaic period. Although the style of the figurines is unequivocally identified as East Greek,<sup>165</sup> they may have been mass reproduced in local workshops from imported prototypes.<sup>166</sup>

But even if a certain “ionicization” of the Cycladic colonies in Thrace in the late Archaic period is accepted, there is no evidence that Macedonia experienced it as well. It has been shown that works of sculpture positively identified as East Ionic are almost lacking and that East Ionic inscriptions before

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162. Perreault, Peristeri, Blondé 2012.

163. I owe this point to Prof. J. Perreault. See, moreover, Manakidou 2018, 191, on Corinthian pottery traded through Thasos.

164. Perron 2010 and 2012. See also Saripanidi 2010, who remarks that there is no clear Ionic origin for the influence on the local ionicizing pottery of Macedonia and Chalkidike.

165. Andronikos, Kottaridou 1988, 105: six female busts, found at Vergina, ca. 480 BCE, made in a clearly East Ionic style; Perron 2010, 25 n. 52; Tiverios 2017b, 50-51.

166. See Huysecom-Haxhi 2009, 607-620, who also claims that the East Greek features of the terracotta figurines made in the Thasian workshops in the late Archaic period are due to the employment of immigrant artisans, who fled Asia Minor in the mid- and late 6th cent. BCE; however, besides this conjectural account, she documents extensive overmolding of imported figurines by the Thasian workshops already by ca. 580 BCE, leading in the late Archaic period to a continued local production in this style, without completely abandoning the Parian tradition.

the second half of the fifth century BCE are very few, only possibly identified as such, and inscribed on portable objects found in settlements on the coastal area east of the Axios. It has been shown, moreover, that the coinage of Alexander I does not support the theory of the introduction and official adoption of the East Ionic script in the Macedonian kingdom. There are several archaic inscriptions in the Ionic script in Macedonia, but most of them are apparently written by speakers of the Ionic dialect, and in most cases these Ionians appear to be of Central, rather than East Ionic origin, just like the artistic influences on the works of sculpture throughout Macedonia.

Even though there is no inscribed relief stele or matching inscribed base and sculpture to substantiate the above assessment, the geographic distribution of inscriptions with Ionic letterforms largely coincides with that of works of sculpture in Ionic style (**fig. 1**). Unless it is simply due to their concentration in large settlements, it seems that the diffusion of the Ionic script went hand-in-hand with the diffusion of Ionic art. This recalls the diffusion of the Corinthian script in Macedonia on Corinthian works of metallurgy.<sup>167</sup> Therefore, instead of *use* or *adoption*, we should perhaps consider the *consumption* of the Corinthian and Ionic scripts as part and parcel of the consumption of Corinthian and Ionic art. It has been rightly argued that the Corinthian script and art in Macedonia springs out from Poteidaia, not directly from Corinth.<sup>168</sup> By the same principle, determinative for the diffusion of Ionic script and art must have been the artistic production and trade activity of the Ionian colonies in Thrace, and judging from the predominance of Cycladic features, the Cycladic ones in particular. To sum up, the Ionic art and script in Macedonia are far more likely to have spread from the Cycladic colonies in Thrace, not their *metropoleis* in the Cyclades and certainly not sailing through the Aegean and into the Thermaic Gulf directly from Ionia.

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167. See Panayotou 1996, 132.

168. Panayotou 1996, 132; cf. Manakidou 2018, 196-197, esp. n. 35. See also Billot, Koželj 2006, 38-39, on Corinthian architectural members at Aphytos, Polychrono, and Torone in Chalkidike, and at Karaburnaki, on the Thermaic Gulf, essentially in the vicinity of Poteidaia, which they unjustifiably regard as imported from Corinth.

### Summary

It is widely assumed that Macedonia in the late Archaic period was under East Greek influence. This view was formed decades ago, based on scant evidence, but has since been established through repetition and persists despite the growing number of reported and published finds that indicate otherwise. In this paper I intend to challenge this *opinio communis* and to reframe the issue of Ionic influence in archaic Macedonia within the wider Northern Aegean context. To this end, the relevant pieces of evidence are reviewed, focusing on works of sculpture in the Ionic style and inscriptions in Ionic script, but also examining the coinage in the name of Alexander I. In short, it is demonstrated that the available pieces of evidence do not support widespread East Greek influence in Macedonia in the late Archaic period and it is argued that it was rather through the Cycladic colonies in the Strymonic Gulf that Ionic art reached Macedonia; that mostly Ionians from these colonies were responsible for the inscriptions in Ionic script in Macedonia; and that it was possibly a Central, not East, Ionic script that was employed on Alexander I's coinage.

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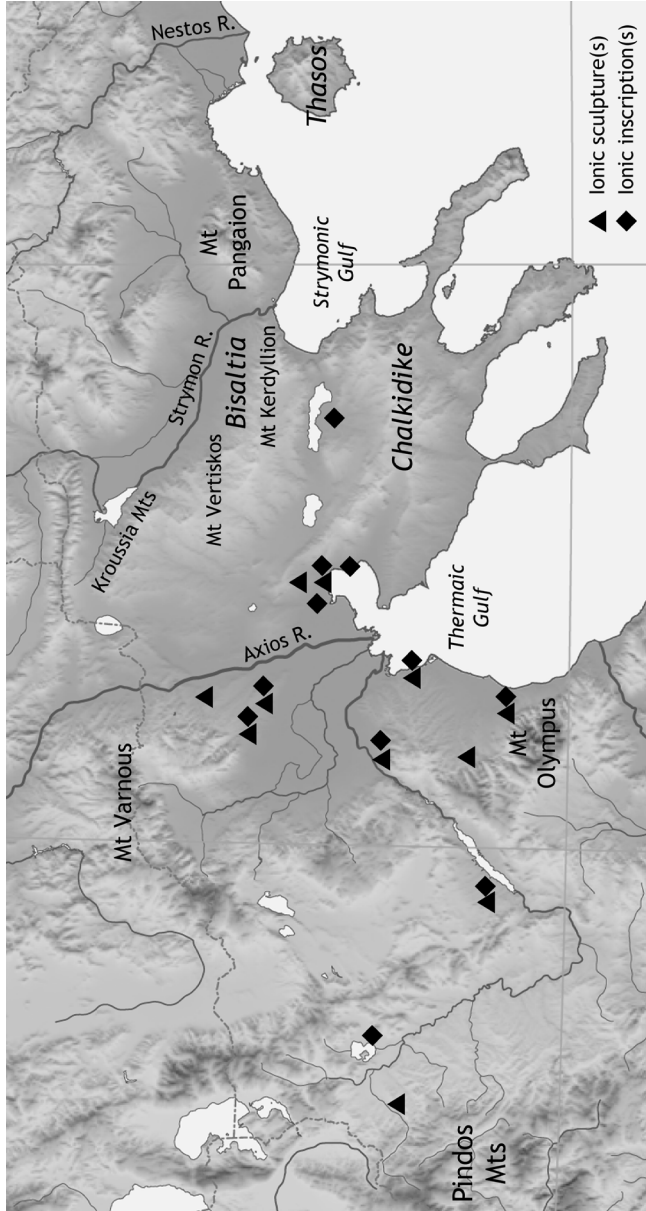
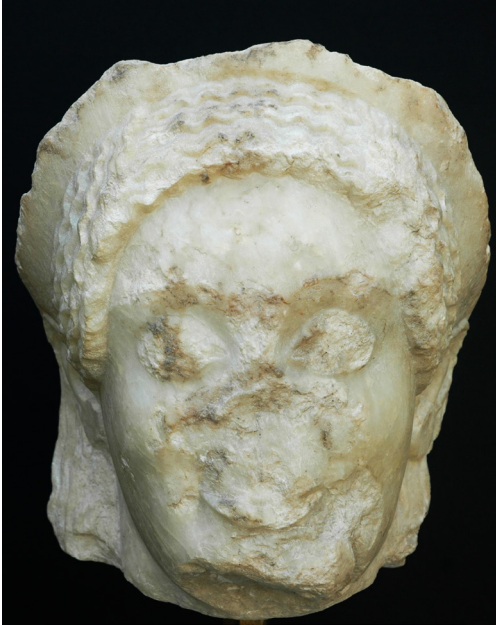


Fig. 1. Map of Northern Greece with places mentioned in the text and the distribution of works of sculpture in Ionic style and inscriptions in Ionic script in Macedonia down to ca. 400 BCE.  
(Base map in the public domain, Wikimedia Commons; cropped and annotated by the author)



Figs. 2-3. Catalogue no. ii.  
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Fig. 4. Catalogue no. xi.

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Fig. 5. Catalogue no. iii.  
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Fig. 6. Catalogue no. 2.

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Fig. 7. Catalogue no. 3.

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Α Ε Ι Θ ρ Η Ν

Figs. 8a-b. Catalogue no. 7.

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Fig. 9. Catalogue no. 5.  
(© Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Ephorate of Antiquities of Thessaloniki Region; photograph by the author)

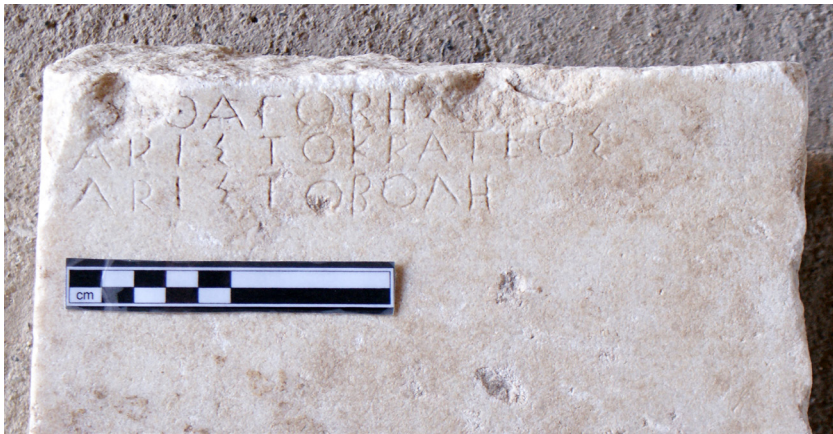


Fig. 10. Catalogue no. 8.  
("The copyright to the depicted monument belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture (Law 3028/2002). The monument is under the jurisdiction of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Pella, Hellenic Ministry of Culture | Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development"; photograph by the author)



Fig. 11. Catalogue no. 6.  
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Figs. 12a-c. (a) Silver drachm of the latest Bisaltian issue, ca. 475-465 BCE, (b) Mosses' silver octadrachm, ca. 475-465 BCE, and (c) Alexander I's silver octadrachm, ca. 465-460 BCE.

([a] Classical Numismatic Group, LLC, Auction 111 (May 29, 2019), Lot 96, <https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=3179&lot=96>; [b] Numismatica Ars Classica AG, Auction 52 (October 7, 2009), Lot 110, [https://www.icollector.com/Greek-coins-Kings-of-the-Bisaltae-Mosses-Octodrachm\\_i8604239](https://www.icollector.com/Greek-coins-Kings-of-the-Bisaltae-Mosses-Octodrachm_i8604239); repatriated from Zurich, Switzerland, in 2015; now in the Numismatic Museum, Athens, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture; [c] © Bibliothèque nationale de France, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41836254j>)