**THE MACEDONIAN KINGDOM**

ALEXANDER I AND THE BISALTI

Triple staters, staters and half-staters: common iconography and date

ICONOGRAPHY

Royal hunting, influence from Sermylia and Potidaea

Alexander I, the hunter on his horse and the dog

Perdikkas II and Amyntas III, the hunter on his horse, the lion and the wild-boar

The wolf, a reference also to Argos,

The wild boar and Athen. (Hegesander) 1.18

The “Illyrian” helmet, another reference to Argos

The ancestor of the royal house, Herakles, young or older, and his arms

The other ancestor, Dionysos, on a small silver of Perdikkas III,

The eagle, a reference to Zeus : Archelaos, Amyntas III and Perdikkas III

The thunderbolt: Amyntas III and Perdikkas III

The head of Zeus: Philip II

The head of Apollo: Amyntas III and Philip II

A petasos wearing head of a young man and later a tainia wearing head of a young man

The goat, an influence from the area of Strymon and a reference to the kingdom’myth of foundation

A female head and a bull, an influence from the Chalcidic peninsula

**Weight standard(s): Milesian, a Chalcidic influence**

Alexander I

Staters (Rider/ square and at a later stage forepart of goat): 12.40-13.40 g

Sixths or heavy tetrobols (full weight: rider/ square and later lion): 2.20-2.30 g

Sixths or light tetrobolos (low weight: horse/ Argive helmet): 1.90-2.15 g

Twelves or trihemiobols (Forepart of horse/ square and later helmet; later series: horse and ivy leaf/ square): 0.90-1.05 g

Twenty fourths or obols (male head wearing petasos/ square): ca. 0.60 g

Forty eighths or hemiobols (spearhead and later horse’s head/ square): 0.25-0.30 g

Of later date are also small fractions for which a terminology deriving from the obol system was adopted:

Diobols (horse/ square or ΔΙΟΒ): 0.60-0.65 g

Trihemiobols (forepart of horse or head with petasos / TRIH or TRIE): 0.41-0.45 g

Hemiobols (head with petasos/ square): 0.25 g

Perdikkas II

Sixths or heavy tetrobols (full weight: rider/ square and later lion): 2.20-2.30 g

Sixths or light tetrobolos (low weight: horse/ Argive helmet): 1.90-2.15 g

Diobols (horse) 1 g

Trihemiobols (forepart of horse or / TRIH or TRIE): 0.41-0.45 g

Obols (horse/ forepart of lion, ΠΕΡ) 0.6 g

Tritetartemoria (forepart of horse/ forepart of boar, ΠΕΡ) 0.45 g

Hemiobols (horse’s head/ lion’s head, ΠΕ): 0.25 g

From Archelaos to Perdikkas III

Staters, Fifths or tetrobols, Diobols, Obols, Hemiobols

Bronze coins in three denominations and under Perdikkas III in four

CIRCULATION

Royal coins with two exceptions *CH* VIII 58 (Pella: 383 BC), Pydna (383 BC)

Triple staters and staters of Alexander I in hoards buried in the East: *IGCH* 1182, 1482, 1790; *CH* IX 437

Heavy tetrobols of Perdikkas II in the Chalcidic peninsula

Amyntas III in the Chalcidic peninsula, a hoard (*IGCH* 370) and bronze coins

Timber and Mines

Pangaion area under Alexander I and Philip II

Hdt. 5.17: Ἐπέμποντο δὲ οὗτοι παρὰ Ἀμύντην αἰτήσοντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ βασιλέϊ. Ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίην· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον ἐξ οὗ ὕστερον τούτων τάλαντον ἀργυρίου Ἀλε ξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἑκάστης ἐφοίτα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέταλλον Δύσωρον καλεόμενον ὄρος ὑπερβάντι εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίῃ.

Plut., *Cimon* 14.2-5: ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θασίους μὲν ἀποστάντας Ἀθηναίων κατα ναυμαχήσας, τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα ναῦς ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξεπολιόρκησε, καὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα τὰ πέραν Ἀθη ναίοις προσεκτήσατο, καὶ χώραν ἧς ἐπῆρχον Θάσιοι παρέλαβεν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ῥᾳδίως ἐπιβῆναι Μακεδονίας καὶ πολλὴν ἀποτεμέσθαι παρασχὸν ὡς ἐδόκει, μὴ θελήσας αἰ τίαν ἔσχε δώροις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου συμ πεπεῖσθαι, καὶ δίκην ἔφυγε τῶν ἐχθρῶν συστάντων ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν.

Thuc. 1.58.2: Perdikkas and the lake Bolbe

Archelaos hunting in the area of Bormiskos

Xen. *HG* 5.3.2: *autonomoi thrakes* and gold mines

Philip II

D.S. 16.8.6-7: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρελθὼν ἐπὶ πόλιν Κρηνίδας ταύτην μὲν ἐπαυξήσας οἰκητόρων πλήθει μετωνόμασε Φιλίππους, ἀφ᾽ἑαυτοῦ προσαγορεύσας, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν χρύσεια μέταλλα παντελῶς ὄντα λιτὰ καὶ ἄδοξα ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ηὔξησεν ὥστε δύνασθαι φέρειν αὐτῷ πρόσοδον πλεῖον ἢ ταλάντων χιλίων. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ταχὺ σωρεύσας πλοῦτον αἰεὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν χρημάτων εἰς ὑπεροχὴν μεγάλην ἤγαγε τὴν Μακεδονικὴν βασιλείαν· νόμισμα γὰρ χρυσοῦν κόψας τὸ προσαγορευθὲν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου Φιλίππειον μισθοφόρων τε δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συνεστήσατο καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλοὺς διὰ τούτου προετρέψατο προδότας γενέσθαι τῶν πατρίδων.

Timber – a royal monopoly

Alexander I

Hdt. 8.136: Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὅ τι δὴ λέγοντα ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια, μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε ἄγγελον ἐς Ἀθήνας Ἀλέ ξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν (Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀδελφεὴν Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγεγόνεε Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ἔχων [τὸ] οὔνομα τὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλέος τῆς Φρυγίης ἐδόθη Ἀλάβαστρα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι), ἅμα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξεινός τε εἴη <ἐκεῖ> καὶ εὐεργέτης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπεμπε.

Perdikkas II

Hermippos, *PCG* V (Berlin 1986) 592 frg. 63 l. 4-9: ἐκ μὲν Κυρήνης καυλὸν καὶ δέρμα βόειον· ἐκ δ᾽ Ἑλλησπόντου σκόμβρους καὶ πάντα ταρίχη· ἐκ δ᾽ αὖ Ἰταλίας χόνδρον καὶ πλευρὰ βόεια· καὶ παρὰ Σιτάλκου ψώραν Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ παρὰ Περδίκκου ψεύδη ναυσὶν πάνυ πολλαῖς.

See also *IG* I3 89

Archelaos

*IG* I3 117

Amyntas III

M. B. Hatzopoulos, Epigraphic Appendix no 1: late 390s and *IG* II2 102: Late 370s

**THE CHALCIDIC PENINSULA**

SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF CITIES – COLONIES OF ERETRIA, CHALKIS AND ANDROS

MEDITERRANEAN CLIMATE-OLDEST COLONIAL AREA CLOSE TO EUBOEA AND THE SOUTH

MINES

THE EARLIEST COINS

THREE PROMONTORIES: PALLENE, SITHONIA AND AKTE OR ATHOS

**WESTERN COAST**

Aineia

Dikaia

Poleis Krossidos (Tinde, Kithas, Smila Gigonos, Haisa)

Brea

Skapsa

Kithas

**PENINSULA OF PALLENE**

Potidaea

Aphytis

Skione

Aigai

Mende

Sane

Chytropolis

Aigai

Neapolis

BETWEEN

Mekyberna

Olynthos

Sermylia

Sinos

**PENINSULA OF SITHONIA**

Gale

Torone

Sarte

Singos

Piloros

Assera

Sane

PENINSULA OF ATHOS

Olophyxos

Dion

Thyssos

Kleonai

Eastern Coast, colonies of Andros

Akanthos

Stageira

Argilos

Inland

Stolos

Polichne

Spartolos

Miltoros

Othoros

Pleume

Kamakai

Tripoai

Kalindoia

Earliest coins: electron, staters and fractions on the Milesian standard by many mints including Sermylia, Torone, Potidaea (?) and Argilos

Stater (tetradrachm) ca. 14 g

Halves (didrachms) ca. 7 g

Fourths (drachm) ca. 3.5 g

Eights (hemidrachms/ triobols) ca. 1.7 g

Twelves (diobols) ca. 1.2 g

Sixteenths (trihemiobols) ca. 0.9 g

Twenty-fourths (obols) ca. 0.6 g

Adoption of the “Euboic-Attic or double Corinthian standard

Staters 17.2 g

Half-staters 8.6 g

Drachms (fourths) 4.3 g

Tetrobols (sixths) 2.8 g

Diobols (twelves) 1.4 g

Obols (twenty-fourths) 0.7 g

Tritemora (3/4 of an obol) 0.5 g

Hemiobols (forty-eighths) 0.35 g

Tetartemoria (ninety-sixths) 0.18 g

ICONOGRAPHY

Aineia, Aeneas

Dikaia, types of the mother city (Eretria)

Potidaea, Poseidon Hippios

Aphytis, eagles, Zeus Ammon, grapes

Mende, Tierkampf (lion and donkey), Dionysiac donkey

Skione, Tierkampf (lion and stag) and (reduced) Protesilaos

Sermylia, hunter and horse

Torone, Amphora

Akanthos, Tierkampf (lion and bull)

Stageira, Tierkampf (lion and boar)

Argilos, Pegasos

The impact of the arrival of tetrobols of full weight of Perdiccas II during the *Poteidaiatika*

Chalcideans, followed by Akanthos and later all other mints

Stater of 14.4 g

Tetrobols of 2.40 g

Diobols

Trihemiobols of reduced weight

Obols

Bronze coins in three denominations. A fourth denomination at Aphytis in the 350s

Most of these coinages ended ca. 348 BC or later.

Akanthos and metal resources? Its staters were overstruck by other cities of the peninsula

Exports of silver: paying the *phoros* to the Great king and later the Athenians or commercial activities?

The significance of the Chalcidean League: never surrendered to the Athenians, opposed the Peace of Nikias, made peace with Sparta after three years of war. Opposed Athenian expansion in the 360s. Main opponent of Philip II, who adopted weight standard and some types of the League’s coinage.

The introduction of bronze coinage in the 420s

From the Strymon River to the Nestos River

**ALEXANDER I and LOCAL TRIBES: Heavy fractions**

The Ichnaians, the Orrescians, the Laiaians, the Bislats, the Edonians, Mosses and Alexander I (for his heavy fractions) adopted the weight standard of the cities of the Thasian Peraia. For these cities see below.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Orrescians**  **(500-480 BC)** | **Ichnaians**  **(500-480 BC)** | **Bisalts**  **(480-440 BC)** | **Edonians**  **(480-460 BC)** | **Alexander I**  **(late 460s, 450s)** | **Mosses**  **(late 460s, 450s)** |
| Triple staters | 2 oxen and a man/ cross-form incuse square  28.30-28.20 | 2 oxen and a man/ wheel  28.30-28.20 | Horse with attendant  28.80-28.40 | Horse with attendant  29-28 g | Horse with attendant and later Rider  29.10-28.80 | - |
| *Hemistatera* | - | - | Horse with attendant  4.50-4.00 | - | Horse with attendant  4.15-3.96 | Horse with attendant  3.50-3.00 |

Berge, Thasos, Neapolis, Galepsos and Ennea Hodoi issued staters of ca. 10 g and fractions on the duodecimal system; in the inscriptions of Thasos we have the terms *stater, hekte, hemiekton* and its half to denote these fractions. Heavy silver coins of c. 29 g were never issued by these cities. Their staters were part of hoards buried in the East, while staters of Berge and Thasos also traveled to the North. There are also staters and *hemiekta* of uncertain attribution depicting a running Centaur. The *hemistatera* were part of the earliest series of these coinages while thirds were struck only by Thasos. Fractions were issued on the same standard by “**Eion**” (*hemistatera*, *hemiekta* and half-hemiekta), **Pergamos** (*hektai* and *hemiekta*), another issuing authority depicting a goat, (*hemiekta* and half-hemiekta) and **Tragilos** (half-hemiekta and 48ths).

REDUCED AEGINETIC STANDARD

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Aegina | Parian colonies *et alii* |
| Staters | Staters |
| Drachms (Half-staters) | Hemistaters |
| Hemidrachms (triobols: fourths) and diobols (sixths) | *Hektai* |
| Obols (twelves) | *Hemiekta* |
| Hemiobols (twenty-fourths) | Half – hemiekta |
| *Tetartemoria* | Fourth-hemiekta |

***Parian colonies between the Strymon and the Nestos***

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Berge** | **Thasos** | **Neapolis** | **Galepsos** | **Ennea Hodoi** |
| Staters | Dancing couple  10.20-9.40 | Silenus and Maenad  c. 9.90-9.35 | Gorgoneion  9.90-9.50 | Running goat  9.50-9.10 | Cow and calf  8.20-7.80 |
| *Hemistatera* | Dancing couple  4.99-4.70 | Silenus and Maenad  3.9-3.6 | - | - | - |
| *Hektai* | - | - | - | - | - |
| *Hemiekta* | *Veretrum tenens* Satyr  1.29-0.90 | Silenus running  0.9-0.8 g | Gorgoneion  1.00-0.90 | Running goat  1.10-0.80 | - |
| Half-*hemiekta* | - | Two dolphins  0.5-0.4 g | - | - | - |
| 48ths | Satyrus’ head  0.10-0.30 | Dolphin  0.25-0.2 g | - | - | - |

The Greek cities of this area were followed by issuing authorities that seem to be local *ethne:* the Ichnaians, the Laiaians, the Orrescians and the Tyntenoi. These local *ethne* are rarely mentioned in the literary sources but appear to have had access to silver mines during the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC. They issued triple staters, as I have already mentioned, staters and fractions on the standard of the cities of the so-called Thasian Peraia.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Orrescii** | **Ichnaiai** | **Laiaians** | **Tyntenoi** |
| Staters | Horse and attendant/ incuse square and later square divided diagonally | Horse and attendant/ wheel |  | Horse and attendant/ incuse square |
|  | Maenad and Centaur/  Cross-form incuse square | Maenad and Centaur/ wheel | Maenad and Centaur/ Cross-form incuse square | - |
|  | Maenad and Centaur/ helmet  9.60-8.80 | Maenad and Centaur/wheel  9.30-9.20 | Maenad and Centaur/helmet  9.30-9.20 | -  c. 9 g |
| *Hemistatera* | Bull turning head r.  Cross-form incuse  4.80-4.10  Maenad and Centaur  c. 4 g | Bull turning head l., dolphin/ wheel  4.50-4.10 g | - | - |
| *Hemiekta* | Bull running/ cross-form incuse  1.10-0.80 | Bull turning head l., dolphin/ wheel  1.00-0.80 g | - | - |
| Halfemiekta | Forepart of bull/ cross form incuse  0.65-0.45 g | - | - | - |

There is also epigraphic evidence that supports this hypothesis of the Aeginetan standard: the second fragment of the so-called “la stele des braves” which dates from the mid-fourth century BC. The new fragment notes the amount for the *metoikoi* that were dead in war: seventeen staters and one half-stater. This amount is of special interest. The seventeen staters and a half are the equivalent of one *hemimnaion* (half-mina). They derive from the division of a mine (of 436.6 g) to 35 staters (of 12.4 g) or 70 drachms (of 6.2 g). It strongly reminds, as L. Fournier and P. Hamon stressed, the way amounts were calculated in Delphic inscriptions. This is the way Aeginetic accounting worked everywhere. Thus, the way amounts were calculated at Thasos around the mid fourth century BC was the Aeginetic. Although during this period the weight standard is not the Aeginetic but the Chian, this should not create a problem: “[S]tandards on which cities struck coins tended to vary over time, but local weight-standards, by which things – including money – were measured, tended to be more conservative and long-lived, with the result that many Greek cities struck coins on one (or multiple) standards and weighed things on another”.

A link between the coinage of the mother-city, Paros, and the coinages of the Thasian Peraia finds support in the hypothesis formulated by J. H. Kagan about the silver coinage of Paros on the Aeginetic standard. Paros down to 470 BC minted staters and no fractions. As Kagan noted, style and technical features point to the North. For Kagan, these were all issued in the Thasian Peraia with metal acquired locally. The Aeginetic stater was at 12.4 g and the difference with the local stater was more than 2 g. This difference of weight could be explained by the effort of the issuing authorities of this area to create a close monetary zone and, as the Achaean colonies of Southern Italy, impose their own coinages in an area with significant natural resources and with which trade presented great advantages for many commercial partners. The cities and the tribes of this same area had access to silver mines situated in this area, which was also rich in other commodities as timber, wine and slaves.

There is another link to the Aeginetic standard. As Kagan has shown, the weight of the triple staters minted by Abdera, Alexander I and some tribes, was the equivalent of five Aeginetic drachmas, while the introduction of coinage at Abdera occurred at the date of the adoption of the Aeginetic standard by Abdera’s metropolis, Teos.

The different tribes stopped minting coins during the first half of the 5th century. It was also the case of all cities of the area with the exception of Thasos. Thasos reduced the weight of its stater to 8.6, the weight of the Attic stater. Neapolis kept issuing small fractions. Change in the early 4th century at Thasos: the stater is at 15 g, Chian std. Neapolis continues with small fractions and bronze coins. Introduction of bronze also by Thasos, Berge, Oisyme and Galepsos. Berge issued drachms with the legend *Bergaiou* (sc. *nomismatos* vel *drachme*)

**Between the Nestos and the Hebros rivers**

**Elektron by Dikaia and Maroneia on the Milesian standard**

**Silver on the Reduced Aeginetic of the cities of the Thasian Peraia**

Abdera issued triple staters and smaller fractions

Dikaia, staters and double staters

Maroneia, staters and fractions

The wine of Ismaros in Archilochos, Stryme

Sherds with inscriptions on the Parian-Thasian alphabet, that were excavated in the sanctuary of Apollo at Zone.

Abdera and Dikaia in hoards buried in Egypt and the Levant

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Abdera** | **Dikaia by Abdera** | **Maroneia** |
| **Triple staters** | 31.00-29.00 | - | - |
| **Double staters** | - | Herakles’head/ incuse square  19.32-18.36 | - |
| **Staters** | - | Same types  9.95-9.65 | 9.6-9.5 |
| **Drachms** | - | Same types  2.10-1.86 | 2.35-2.12 |
| **Hemidrachms** | 1.80 | - | 1.11 |
| **Obols** | 0.65 | 0.55-0.46 | 0.65 |
| **Hemiobols** | 0.35-0.30 | 0.30-0.26 | - |

Abdera: heaviest silver coins of the earliest series and could also be considered as the double of the city’s stater (so-called tetradrachm) of 14.90 g.

Dikaia and Maroneia on a standard with the heaviest coin at 7.4 g, the weight of the half-staters of Abdera, its half, fourth and fractions. Dikaia-by-Abdera abandoned minting big fractions, while Maroneia continued. Maroneia followed Abdera and adjusted the weight of its silver staters and fractions to its neighbor and rival, whose standard was originally a little bit heavier than Maroneia’s.

***Abdera, Dikaia by Abdera and Maroneia***

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Abdera** | **Dikaia by Abdera** | **Maroneia** |
| **Staters (Tetradrachms)** | 14.90 | - | - |
| **Hemistaters (Didrachms)** | 7.40 | 7.40-6.96 | 7.40 |
| **(Fourths) Drachms** | 3.70 | 3.70-3.45 | 3.60-3.00 |
| **Hemidrachms** | 1.85 | 1.90-1.50 | 1.26-0.94 |
| **Trihemiobols** |  | 0.95-0.85 |  |

With a weight of 14.90 g I believe that the standard adopted by Abdera for the staters and all other fractions, and by Maroneia and Dikaia for their new series with reverse types was not the Chian standard as Roebuck proposed, but a reduced version of the Chian standard with 15.4 g for the stater. The links between Aegean Thrace and Ionia are well known; the cities of Aegean Thrace were colonies of significant Ionian cities. Maroneia was a colony of Chios, the richest and the most powerful city of Ionia in the late 6th century BC, while Abdera was founded by Chios’ closest neighbors, Klazomenai and Teos. Dikaia and Samothrace may be linked to Samos. Chios was a very significant center for trade and famous for its rich agricultural production and the big number of slaves. Abdera’s legendary wealth was most probably connected with the control of silver mines and slave trade. The adoption of the silver standard of Chios by the city of Abdera may be explained by trade links between these two cities that are also revealed by archaeological evidence: Chian pottery is of great significance at Abdera.

**ICONOGRAPHY**

Abdera griffon as Teos the metropolis, Apollo and Dionysos

Dikaia Herakles, Dikaia and Dikaios, roaster

Maroneia horse, wild horses in the area down to the 1940s, types related to wine and Dionysos from the second half of the fifth century BC

Orthagoreia, a Macedonian foundation at the site of future Maroneia