

# UNITY VERSUS DIVERSITY IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD: ATTIC WEIGHT STANDARD VERSUS LOCAL STANDARDS

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**Summary:** This paper offers a full description of the *koinon hellenikon nomisma* of the Hellenistic period and of almost all other coinages of the same period. The *koinon hellenikon nomisma* was issued on the Attic standard, while all other coinages were struck with different standards: Milesian, Aeginetan and reduced Aeginetan, Corinthian, Corcyrean, Persian, Nesiotic, Chian, the standard of Rhodes, that of the cities of Apollonia and Dyrrachium in Illyria, and of the *kistophoroi*. The use of these different standards pointed to previous monetary backgrounds of the cities and *koina* in question. It aimed, as was the case during the Archaic and the Classical periods, mainly to create different monetary zones, thus revealing, through the local circulation of coinages struck on the same standard, a sort of regional unity. This was not the case of the many Attic weight standard coinages. Alexanders, Antigonid, Seleucid, Attalid and other royal coinages, as well as coinages of cities minted with civic types and on the Attic standard, could circulate all around the vast Hellenistic world. The choice of kings and cities to mint on this standard and hoard evidence reveal that this was in fact the *koinon hellenikon nomisma* of the period. Epigraphic evidence supports this view: Alexanders – and other Attic weight coinages – served various military needs such as the payment of *siteresia*, the repair of walls, the payment of ransom to free prisoners, travel funds for *theoroi* and ambassadors, money for public subscriptions (*epidoseis*), and funds for various religious and other obligations. These were the needs that the *koinon hellenikon nomisma* of the Platonic *Laws* (742a–e) was supposed to fulfil. Thus, the Attic standard coinages refer to unity, while all others to diversity.

In his *Laws*, written shortly before his death, Plato made the distinction between common Hellenic coinage (*koinon nomisma hellenikon*) and coined money which is legal tender among themselves (i.e. locally), but valueless elsewhere (*nomisma autois men entimon, tois de allois anthroipois*

*adokimon*).<sup>1</sup> Plato was relying on his own experience as both an Athenian citizen and a man of his times.<sup>2</sup> His contemporary Xenophon, another pupil of Socrates, in his *Poroi* of ca. 355 BCE also noted:

In most cities [foreign] merchants must seek a return cargo, since they use coinage which is not acceptable elsewhere. But at Athens, while it is possible to export a great amount of material which is needed elsewhere, if they do not wish to take on a return cargo, they can still make a good profit (*kalen emporian*) by taking away silver (*argyrion*); for wherever they sell it, they always get more than the original [investment].<sup>3</sup>

More than any other Greek city until that date, Athens experienced how important it was to have a coinage with a high commercial value such as its own to the point that this could claim the title of *nomisma koinon hellenikon*. What Plato and Xenophon described was numismatic reality, which became more apparent during the Hellenistic period. During this period, the *koinon nomisma hellenikon* was on the Attic standard, but was minted by many different issuing authorities. These coinages are mentioned with names deriving from their issuing authorities in epigraphic documents: *drachmai alexandreiai*, *stateres alexandreioi*, *drachmai demetrieioi/-ai* and *Antiocheiai*, *drachme antigonis*,<sup>4</sup> as well as with terms created by the Delian *hieropoioi*: *tetrachma philippeia*, *persika*, *ptolemaika* etc.<sup>5</sup> The New Style silver tetradrachms of Athens are mentioned as *stephanephora tetrachma* at Athens and Delos, and as *tetrachma attika* in financial documents from Delphi and Boeotia of the Late Hellenistic period.<sup>6</sup> During the

1 Pl. *Leg.* 742a-e.

2 Meadows 2009c.

3 Xen. *Vect.* 3.2 (trans. Melville Jones).

4 For alexanders, see Psoma 2019b. For all others, see Psoma 2019b: 184-85. For *Antiocheiai drachmai*, see Psoma 2009: 176.

5 Tréheux 1991.

6 The New Style silver tetradrachms of Athens are mentioned as *stephanephoron* (sc. *argyrion*) at Athens and Delos, as *stephanephora tetrachma* on Delos, and as *tetrachma attika* in financial documents from Delphi and Boeotia of the Late Hellenistic period. For Athens, see IG II<sup>2</sup> 1013 (*I.Eleusis* 237), late second century BCE; 1028, 100/99 BCE;

same period, there were also coinages on standards known from the previous periods, and also on local standards:<sup>7</sup> the *stater patrios* at Samos,<sup>8</sup> and the *epichorai drachmai* at Miletus,<sup>9</sup> Iasos,<sup>10</sup> Ithaca,<sup>11</sup> and Teos.<sup>12</sup> The aim of this article is to describe the *koinon nomisma hellenikon* of the Hellenistic period, a reference to unity, together with the other coinages of the same period, that refer to diversity. To do so, I will group the coinages by their weight standards, take under consideration the areas of their circulation, i.e. hoards, and their mention in epigraphic documents.<sup>13</sup>

1029, 94/3 BCE; 1030, post 94/3 BCE. For Delos see: *ID* 1415, 158/7 BCE; 1419, 156/5 BCE; 1421, 156/5 BCE; 1422, 156/5 BCE; 1428, post 166 BCE; 1429, 155/4 BCE; 1430, ca. 153/2 BCE; 1432, 153/2 BCE; 1433, 153/2 BCE; 1439, 146-140/39 BCE; 1442, 146/5-145/4 BCE; 1443, 145/4-142/1 BCE; 1449, post 166 BCE; 1450, 140/39 BCE; 1464, post 166 BCE; 1520, post 153/2 BCE. For Boeotia see: *IG* VII 2710, Acraephia, mid-second century BCE; *SEG* 3.369 a front. Ll. 28-30, Lebadea, second century BCE; *IG* VII 540, cf. *SEG* 25.501 and 31.496: 90-80 BCE, Tanagra, *Sarapieia*; *IG* VII 3078, 80-50 BCE, Lebadea, *Basileia*; Lebadea, *Basileia*: unpublished, second half of the first century BCE. In this document, we also find the *leukolleion argyron*, which was most probably also on the Attic standard. For the *leukolleion argyron*, see Assenmaker 2017. For the hoards from Boeotia, see Psoma 2007: 81-82 n. 24.

- 7 For the *argyron hemedapon* of Attic documents, see *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 378 b22: 406/5 BCE?
- 8 *IG* XII 6, 172 face A l. 8: ca. 250 BCE. For Barron (1966: 152), the *stater patrios* is the Alexander tetradrachm.
- 9 *IDidyma* 471 ll. 5-7, 161/0 BCE.
- 10 *Iasos* 78 ll. 3-4, Hellenistic.
- 11 *IMagnesia* 36 + p. 295 l. 20; cf. Rigsby 1996: no. 86, 214-15, third/second century BCE.
- 12 *SEG* 44.949 ll. 79, 91, 93, 101, 250-200 BCE. In the Ptolemaic kingdom the *epichorion argyron* refers to coinages brought by merchants to Egypt: *PZenon* 59021 col. I l. 12, 23/10/258 BCE. In most of the cases monetary units in a city's documents that are not accompanied by an adjective deriving from their issuing authority refer either to the city's coinage or to the coinage that was considered legal tender in the city: Psoma 2009: 174, 178; 2019b: 185 n. 101.
- 13 For weight standards during the Archaic and the Classical periods, see Psoma 2016. For weight standards of the Hellenistic period, see Mørkholm 1991: 7-11; Ashton 2011: 193-196, 200; Reger 2018; Meadows 2021a.

### What do we mean with the term weight standard?<sup>14</sup>

The system of weights with which a coinage is minted is called the weight standard. The weight of the largest normal denomination is used as the basis for calculation and the way this is divided determines the weight standard. The reasons an issuing authority (city, king, federal state, tribe, military alliance) chose a standard are mainly to facilitate transactions by reducing exchange costs and to serve military obligations. The choice of a weight standard as a result of political control, of a change of the gold/silver ratio or because – in the case of colonies – it was one of the mother city's *nomima* is also possible.<sup>15</sup> This last explanation cannot be adopted for the Hellenistic period. Although colonies continued to be founded, this was on the initiative not of cities but of Hellenistic kings.<sup>16</sup>

### The Milesian standard, stater of 14.4 g<sup>17</sup>

This was the oldest monetary standard and an old one in the Chalcidic peninsula,<sup>18</sup> and was adopted by Philip II of Macedonia.<sup>19</sup> After Alexander's death a posthumous silver coinage in the name and types of Philip II was issued between 323 and 294/290 BCE. This currency served mainly local needs within the frontiers of the Macedonian kingdom and traveled

14 Kraay 1976: 8: 'When coins are struck in metals which are intrinsically valuable, the value of each coin will be strictly related to the amount of metal it contains, and the more valuable the metal the more carefully will its weight be regulated'.

15 Psoma 2016: 106-7. For the change of the gold/silver ratio and the change of monetary standard see Ellis-Evans & Kagan 2022.

16 See Cohen 1995; 2006.

17 Mentioned as Ptolemaic in Mørkholm 1991: 9.

18 For the so-called Milesian standard, see Psoma 2016, 91-93 with previous bibliography. For the coinage of the Chalcidian League, see Psoma 2001. For the coinage of Amphipolis, see Lorber 1990 with the remarks of Wartenberg 1991 and Psoma 2001: 179-87. For the Milesian standard of both coinages see, Psoma 2015a: 171-72; 2016: 91-92.

19 For Philip II, see Le Rider 1977; 1996.

also to inland Thrace and Mainland Greece,<sup>20</sup> and ran parallel to rich series of Alexanders issued in two or three Macedonian mints.<sup>21</sup> The Milesian standard was adopted again during the last quarter of the third century BCE for two of the three denominations of the silver coinage of the *Botteatai* (3.60 and 1.80 g), that circulated locally.<sup>22</sup>

Ptolemy, later Ptolemy I, gradually reduced the weight of the silver tetradrachm on the Attic standard and changed also its basic types and legend. From ca. 295 BCE, he began issuing gold and silver coins on the Milesian standard with his own types and name.<sup>23</sup> With the adoption of this standard, Ptolemy I managed to turn the territories of his kingdom into a closed monetary zone, as hoards and numismatic circulation reveal. Alexanders and other currencies are absent from Egyptian hoards from the late fourth century BCE, but continued to arrive in Alexandria as is revealed by the letter of Demetrius to Apollonius.<sup>24</sup> What they served, we learn from the above-mentioned letter and maybe also the hoard of Meydancikkale among others.<sup>25</sup>

The cities of Byzantium and Calchedon turned to this standard between 260 and 220 BCE, when they decided to have their own monetary policy, i.e. impose the use of their currency on this standard in all transactions taking place within their territories and countermark all Attic

20 Le Rider 1993: 495-96.

21 For the Macedonian mints, see Price 1991: 85-150; Le Rider 1993: 494-500; Troxell 1997: 20-128; Gatzolis 2019. For hoards with Alexanders, see Tselekas 2019.

22 Kremydi 2018a: 233-35 (reduced local standard).

23 For Ptolemy's coinage as satrap of Egypt as well as of the reform of his coinage after ca. 305 BCE, see Le Rider & Callataÿ 2006: 36, 131-38. For the standard of the kings of Cyprus that issued their coinages between the death of Alexander III and 309 BCE, see Markou 2019: 162-163. For Alexanders minted in Egypt, Cyprus and Cyrene, see Markou 2019.

24 PZenon 59021 with the remarks of Caddel & Le Rider 1997: 32-33 and Burkhalter 2007: 39-44. In this documents Alexanders together with other coinages are mentioned as *epichoria nomismata* referring to currencies brought to Egypt by merchants and others. Cf. Bresson 2015. In the frontiers of the kingdom, one Alexander/Attic tetradrachm of 17.2 g was exchanged for one silver Ptolemaic stater of 14.3 g: Le Rider & Callataÿ 2006: 135.

25 For this hoard, see Davesne & Le Rider 1989.

silver coins entering their markets and territories.<sup>26</sup> Both cities also issued Lysimachi during this period,<sup>27</sup> and Alexanders.<sup>28</sup> One recalls that these two Megarian colonies and immediate neighbors followed similar numismatic habits from the early fourth century BCE.<sup>29</sup> The use of the Milesian standard (*Milesiai drachmai*) to calculate the weight of donations, mainly silver vessels, is to be found in the inventories of Miletus and in a decree of Myous honoring a citizen of Miletus.<sup>30</sup>

### The Aeginetan standard, stater of 12.3 g

The most popular standard in Mainland Greece from the Archaic period onwards stopped being used by Aegina already in the fourth century BCE,<sup>31</sup> but survived in a number of cities, mainly in the Peloponnese, Boeotia and Thessaly. This was the standard of the anonymous obols of Sparta,<sup>32</sup> and of the silver coins of the Boeotian League,<sup>33</sup> Phlius, Sicyon,

26 Ashton 2011: 195–96.

27 Marinescu 1996; 2000; 2004; 2014. See also Reger 2018: 119.

28 Wartenberg & Kagan 1999 for Price 1991: nos. 890–900, 927 (gold staters), and 901–946 (silver).

29 Schönert-Geiss 1970; Meadows 2011. Cf. Russell 2017: 126.

30 *IDidyma* 441 ll. 7–8, third-second century BC; 444 ll. 6–7 and 11–12, third century BCE; 446 l. 12, 225/4 BCE; 448 ll. 3, 7–8, third-second BC; 449 l. 10, third-second century BC; 451 ll. 3–4, 7–8, third century BCE; 452 l. 8–9, third-second century BC; 456 l. 3–4, third-second century BC; 457 ll. 14–15, third-second century BC; 463 l. 18–20, 178/7 BCE; 477 l. 6–7, 51–31 BCE; Hermann 1965: 90–96 no. 2a ll. 5–6, third-second century BCE; Myous (100 Milesian drachms each). For the *Milesiai drachmai*, see now Sosin 2001: 161–64, who shows that they refer to the Milesian standard.

31 Ashton 2011: 193.

32 Grunauer von Hoerschelmann 1978: 4–6; Ashton 2011: 191.

33 *BCD Boeotia* 2006: 14–36 nos. 1–147.

Argos, Epidauros, Kleitor, Mantinea, the Arcadian League, Larissa, Opuntian Locris,<sup>34</sup> and the second- and first-century BCE staters of the Thessalian League.<sup>35</sup> These coinages came to an end during the 3rd c. BCE,<sup>36</sup> while Elis continued to mint on a reduced version of this standard, which points to local circulation, down to the late 3rd c. BCE.<sup>37</sup> A local version of the Aeginetan standard was also the one adopted already during the Classical period by the cities of Crete, that kept on using it for their silver output down to the early first century BCE.<sup>38</sup> When they turned to the Attic standard, their tetradrachms are mentioned as *stateres Attikoi* in Cretan documents, which reveals the impact of terminology related to the Aeginetan standard.<sup>39</sup>

### **The reduced Aeginetan standard (*symmachikon B*), stater ca. 11 g**

A reduced Aeginetan standard results from the previous one and was adopted by most of the federal states of Mainland Greece, the Aetolians,<sup>40</sup> the Achaeans,<sup>41</sup> the Boeotians – the *Boiotion argyrion* of the *apologia* of the

34 For these cities, see *BCD* 2006 Peloponnesos: 50-52 nos. 132-43 (Phlius), 82-86 nos. 283-303 (Sicyon), 265-71 nos. 1074-1116 and 275-81 nos. 1140-46, 1160-82 (Argos), 292-96 nos. 1222-44 (Epidauros), 341-42 nos. 1429-34 (Cleitor), 352-54 nos. 1479-83 (Mantinea), 363-67 nos. 1519-41 (Arcadian League, late 4th and Hellenistic period); Thessaly 2012 (Larissa) 163 nos. 385.1-6; 2010 (Locris) 15-42 nos. 1-7, 11-77, 88-110. For the Locrians, see Morineau, Humphris & Delbridge 2014.

35 Kremydi-Sicilianou 2004; Kremydi 2021.

36 Kremydi 2019: 59 with n. 111.

37 *BCD* Olympia 2004: 74-79 nos. 225-66.

38 For Crete, see Stefanaki 2007-2008.

39 *IC* viii 13, Knossos, second century BCE. Cf. Chaniotis 1996: no. 50: post 145 BCE.

40 Tsangari 2007; 2011; Damigos 2016.

41 Lakakis 2017; 2018. For a description and the different groups of the coinage of the Achaean League from the middle of the fourth to the first century BCE, see Walker pp. 106-10 in *BCD* 2006 (Peloponnesos). Its bulk begins in the early second century BCE: see *ibid.* 107 and Kremydi 2019: 59.

hipparch Pompidas from Thebes<sup>42</sup> – the Euboeans,<sup>43</sup> the Macedonians under Philip V (series A and B),<sup>44</sup> and Histiaea (series B).<sup>45</sup> A number of mints (Haliartos in Boeotia, Larymna [?], Chalcis, Eretria, another Euboean city, Larissa in Thessaly, an uncertain mint in Macedonia and Samothrace) producing the so-called pseudo-Rhodian tetrobols/triobols with Medusa's head/rose, that I proposed to identify with the *symmachikon* of epigraphic documents of the second century BCE, also chose this standard.<sup>46</sup> The term *symmachikon* might refer either to the *Hellenike symmachia* or – and this is more plausible – to allies of the different parts (Romans and their opponents) during the Macedonian and the Antiochic Wars.

### The Corinthian standard, stater of 8.6 g

The standard of Corinth and some of her colonies survived at Corinth and a number of mints from Western Greece during the early Hellenistic period. Corcyra and Leucas continued to strike silver staters with Corinthian types and weight down to the early third century BCE,<sup>47</sup> while Corcyra continued also later, this time with drachms, as did Corinth down to 146 BCE.<sup>48</sup> These coins circulated together with Histiaean tetrobols in

42 IG VII 2426 l. 2, 170-150 BCE. For the coinage, see Grandjean 1995; BCD Boeotia 2006: 31-36 nos. 110-147.

43 BCD Euboea 2002: 9-12 nos. 17-33.

44 Kremydi 2018a: 236-37, 242. Its predecessor might be the early third century BCE Athenian silver coinage: Kroll 2013.

45 Kremydi 2018a: 237-41; 2018b: 243-45; 2021. V. Psilakakou is finishing her PhD thesis on the history and silver coinage of Histiaea.

46 For these coinages, see mainly Ashton 1987a, b; 1988a-c; 1989; 1992; 1995; 1997; 1998; 2000; 2001; 2002; 2004; 2012; Ashton & Warren 1997; Ashton & Reger 2006; Ashton & Meadows 2008. For the proposed identification with the *symmachikon argyrion*, the epigraphic evidence from Mainland Greece and previous bibliography, see Psoma 2019a: 112-16.

47 For Corcyra, see Psoma 2022a: 110-11. For Leucas see, Bonelou (*per litteras*).

48 Brice 2011.



Epirus, Thesprotia, Chaonia and Illyria.<sup>49</sup> Together with epigraphic evidence from Acarnania, Corcyra and Epidamnus, this presence in hoards shows that this currency monopolized monetary circulation in these areas.<sup>50</sup>

### The Corcyrean standard, stater of 11.6 g

The Corcyrean stater was the equivalent of four (4) Corinthian drachmas (2.9×4), or an Aeginetan weight stater of reduced weight (12.3 g; full weight). During the Hellenistic period, apart from Corcyra and the Acarnanian League, this was also the standard of the Epirotic League,<sup>51</sup> and had an impact on the monetary production of Apollonia and Dyrrachium. Dyrrachium adopted Corcyra's standard and types ca. 313 BCE, when Corcyra provided military help to the city that opposed Cassander.<sup>52</sup> King Monounios of Illyria and Apollonia followed.<sup>53</sup> Coinages issued with this standard all circulated locally, i.e. in Chaonia, Illyria and Corcyra.<sup>54</sup>

49 Gjongecaz-Vangjeli 2014: 161-69 no. 15, pls. 61-65, 70-177 no. 16, pls. 66-68; Psoma 2019a: 132-36. See also *IGCH* 247 and *CH* VIII 431.

50 For the epigraphic evidence, see *IG IX* 1<sup>2</sup> 3 l. 39 (*stater Korinthios*): treaty between Aetolians and Acarnanians (271/0 (?) BCE); *IG IX* 1<sup>2</sup> 4, 798 ll. 4-5, 7, 19, 41-42, 69, 101-2, 112 (*mnas argyriou Korinthiou*): foundation of Aristomenes and Psylla, Corcyra (late third-early second century BCE); *IG IX* 1<sup>2</sup> 4, 1196 ll. 32-33 (*drachmas Korinthiou argyriou*): decree of Corcyra recognizing the *asylia* of the sanctuary of Artemis *Leucophryene* (ca. 208 BCE); *IMagnesia* 46 + p. 295 l. 41-42 (*hemimnaion argyriou Korinthiou*): decree of Epidamnus for the *asylia* of the sanctuary of Artemis *Leucophryene* (ca. 208 BCE). See also *IG IV* 2 1 97 ll. 17-19 (*stateras Korinthios*) (3rd ca. BCE) and *IG IV* 2 1 118 + *SEG* 15.208 face B l. 38 (third century BCE) from Epidaurus.

51 For Corcyra, see Psoma 2015b. For the Acarnanians, see Dany 1999. For the Epirotans, see Franke 1961.

52 Psoma 2022a: 107-10, 261-63 with previous bibliography and discussion. *Contra* Meta 2015: 158. Meta proposes much earlier dates for this series of the coinage of Dyrrachium.

53 See previous note.

54 Tsangari 2011; Gjongecaz-Vangjeli 2014.

### The Persian standard, *symmachikon* A

With a stater (double *siglos*) at 11 g, a drachm (*siglos*) at ca. 5.5 g, and hem-drachms of ca. 2.7 g this was the standard of the Great King, his satraps and administrators, as well as a number of cities. Under Alexander III, Balakros and satraps of Persian origin, such as Ariarathes and Stamenes, continued to strike silver coins on this standard.<sup>55</sup> Queen Amastris, the niece of Darius III, also adopted it for her own silver coinage and the coinage of Amastria.<sup>56</sup> During the Hellenistic period, this became the standard of cities of Asia Minor every time they felt the need to have their own silver currency and monetary policy.<sup>57</sup> During the last decades of the fourth century BCE, Byzantium, Calchedon, Kios, Perinthos, the Thracian Chersonese, and Parion issued coins of this standard. It was also the case of Ephesos between 320–300 BCE, and of Ephesos-Arsinoe ca. 290 BCE, followed by Alexandria Troas, Abydos, Mytilene, Methymna and Scepsis, ca. 300 BCE, Chios and Cyme in the 280s, (5.6 g equal to an Attic octobol), Miletus ca. 260 and in the late second century BCE, Magnesia ca. 210–200 BCE, and Iasos, Cnidus, Calymnus and Cos, 250–200 BCE.<sup>58</sup> Phaselis, Aspendos and Selge also coined on this standard during the first half of the third century BCE.<sup>59</sup> In a previously published paper, I proposed to identify the *symmachikon* coins of epigraphic documents of the late fourth century BCE from Delos, Miletus and Colophon with the silver output of mints of Asia Minor of this period.<sup>60</sup> The alliance to which the term refers might be the *symmachia* mentioned by Antigonus the One-Eyed and the

55 Le Rider 2003: 206–08 (Balakros), 273–79 (Stamenes); Hoover 2012: 296–97 nos. 790–91 (Ariarathes).

56 Wartenberg 2021 with previous bibliography.

57 Kinns 2006a; Ashton 2011: 195; Meadows 2021a: 37.

58 Meadows 2021a: 37–38: ca. 300 BCE: Alexandria Troas, Abydos, Mytilene and Methymna; 320–300 BCE: Ephesos; 290 BCE: Arsinoe (Ephesos); mid-third century BCE: Cyme, Magnesia on the Maeander, Miletus, Iasos and Cnidus.

59 Ashton 2011: 195; Meadows 2021a: 33.

60 Psoma 2019a: 107–12. For the epigraphic documents see: Maier 1960: no. 69 II ll. 151–54 (Colophon, 311–306 BCE); *IDidyma* 434–37 (Miletus, fourth century BCE); *IG XI* 2, 146 (Delos, 301 BCE).

Greek cities of Asia Minor after the declaration by him of the freedom of the Greeks.<sup>61</sup>

### The Nesiotic standard

This standard is mentioned in Anonymus Alexandrinus *De talento et denario* and was recently identified with the weight standard of the Cycladic islands during the Hellenistic period.<sup>62</sup> From the second half of the fourth century BCE, the weight of the drachma passed from 3.9 to 3.4 g at Paros and Naxos, while Tenos and Andros reduced the weight of their drachms to 3.6 g after 250 BCE. Naxos – the *kraterophoroi drachmai* of the Delian inventories – and Paros began to strike silver coins of 3.4 g ca. 200 BCE, that circulated locally. This was also the weight of the drachma at Euboea and Rhodes.<sup>63</sup>

### The Chian standard

With a stater of 15.3 g and fractions, the standard of Chios was compatible with the Persian standard, served the new gold/silver ratio of the late fifth century BCE, and became popular after being used for payments in a military context during the last years of the Decelean War and mainly during the campaigns of Agesilaus.<sup>64</sup> It survived at Cos down to the mid-third century BCE.<sup>65</sup> It is very plausible that from this standard derived the standard of the coinage of Rhodes.<sup>66</sup>

61 For literary and epigraphic evidence, see Psoma 2019a: 111-12.

62 Tully 2013.

63 Stefanaki 2010: 413-46.

64 For the Chian standard during the fourth century BCE, see Meadows 2011. For the new gold/silver ratio, see Kagan & Ellis-Evans (forthcoming). For the ΣΥΝ coinage, see Fabiani 1997; Müseler 2018: 60-65; and Psoma 2022.

65 Ashton 2011: 194.

66 See previous note.

### The standard of Rhodes

From 340 BCE, the coinage of Rhodes followed a local standard – a reduced version of the Chian – with 6.8 g for a didrachm (?). These were continuously issued also after the decision to mint silver coins of 2.8 g, the weight of the Attic tetrobol, ca. 225 BCE. Rhodian drachms went up to 3.05 g in the early second century BCE and are mentioned as *plinthophoroi* in the Delian inventories.<sup>67</sup> The aim of this change was to create a closed monetary zone in the aftermath of the Antiochic War. Rhodian currency is mentioned in documents from Caria during this period, and this reveals that, in this area, Rhodian coins played the role of a regional currency.<sup>68</sup> We need also to mention the *rhodion lepton argyrion* (13) in epigraphic documents (land leases) at Mylasa.<sup>69</sup> In this case, Rhodian imitations minted in a number of cities of Southwestern Asia Minor are meant.<sup>70</sup> The decision to strike imitations was most probably a reaction to the new Rhodian monetary policy of the *plinthophoroi*. The Lycian League, a federal organization, which fought against Rhodian dominion and was finally freed in 167 BCE, also adopted a *plinthos* for her silver coins.<sup>71</sup>

67 For these coins, see Apostolou 2016 with previous bibliography. For *plinthophoroi* in the Delian inventories, see Robert 1951: 166-76.

68 Reger 2018: 125. There is epigraphic evidence for Rhodian drachms: *Rhodiai drachmai* at Mylasa (3): *IMylasa* 307 ll. [7-8] (no date: a list of penalties); Telmessos: Segre 1938: 190-208 ll. 11 and 14 (181 BCE, letter of King Eumenes II to Artemidoros, the Attalid governor of the city). See also Ashton 1994. Old Rhodian drachmas in a decree of the *demos* of Miletus accepting the *isopoliteia* offered by Heraclea, and mentioning transport costs for recovered runaway slaves: *Milet* I 3, 150 ll. 97-98 (180-161 BCE: δραχμὰς Ῥοδίας παλαιὰς δεκαδύο). For an earlier example of *argyrion Rhodion* at Cnidus in the decree of *demos* honoring Cnidus for a loan (282 BCE), see *Milet* I 3, 138 III ll. 68, 87.

69 *IMylasa* 203 l. 9-10 (second-first century BCE: restored); *IMylasa* 205 l. [18] (second-first century BCE: restored); *IMylasa* 207 ll. 12 and 18 (second-first century BCE); *IMylasa* 212 ll. 4-5, 10 and 14 (second-first century BCE); *IMylasa* 202 l. [1] (second-first century BCE); *IMylasa* 210 l. [12] (second-first century BCE); *IMylasa* 224 l. [4] (second-first century BCE); *IMylasa* 816 face B l. 6 (second century BCE); *IMylasa* 822 l. 10-11 (second century BCE); *IMylasa* 828 l. 4 (second century BCE).

70 Ashton & Reger 2006. Cf. Reger 2018: 125 n. 33 for their dates.

71 Troxell 1982; Ashton 2005.

### The standard of Dyrrachium and Apollonia

Some decades after the end of their series on the Corinthian standard and Corcyrean types, Dyrrachium and Apollonia struck abundant series of drachms with the same types and the weight of the *victoriatu*s or of a slightly reduced Milesian weight drachma (3.4 g) down to the mid-first century BCE.<sup>72</sup> These circulated widely in Thrace and seem to have served the needs of the Roman army.<sup>73</sup> Both cities, together with Corcyra, were among the earliest allies of the Romans east of the Adriatic Sea.

### The *kistophoroi* (*stateres*)

With a weight of 12.2 g the *kistophoroi stateres* were issued by a number of cities of the Attalid kingdom after 167 BCE, with types referring to Pergamene cults.<sup>74</sup> This was neither royal nor civic, but rather a coordinated coinage.<sup>75</sup> The inauguration of this coinage is considered a royal initiative with the aim, not to create a closed monetary zone, but to finance Attalid policy after the Galatian war (168-165 BCE).<sup>76</sup> This standard became popular after the creation of the province of Asia.<sup>77</sup>

72 Meta 2015.

73 See previous note.

74 For *kistophoroi* (*scil. stateres*) in epigraphic documents from Asia Minor, see Psoma 2009, 172-76; 2013.

75 Kaye 2022: 131.

76 Meadows 2013: 198-202; Kaye 2022: 187: "The Attalids looked for a way to reconstitute and reinforce imperial space". For cistophoric countermarks (bow-in-case and mint initials) applied to Attic-weight Alexanders and tetradrachms of Side, as well as Alexanders of Perge, Aspendos and Phaselis, see Bresson 2018; Thonemann 2021.

77 See Ashton 2013: 251-55: Byzantium, Alabanda, Stratonikaia, Euromos, Cibyra, Alinda, late second century BCE. For Magnesia on the Maeander, ca. 88-85 BCE, see Kinns 2006b.

## The Attic standard

### *Alexanders*

It was in Cilicia, where huge numbers of Athenian tetradrachms arrived during the fourth century BCE<sup>78</sup> and in the aftermath of the battle of Issos, that Alexander III began to strike his gold and silver coinage on the Attic standard (333/2 BCE).<sup>79</sup> The Attic standard for the gold coinage was a common point with his father's monetary policy.<sup>80</sup> What was an innovation was the adoption of the Attic standard for his silver coinage with young Heracles' head on the obverse and Zeus on throne on the reverse.<sup>81</sup> Alexanders were minted in approximately 130 mints in Macedonia, Mainland Greece, Thrace, Asia Minor, Phoenicia, the East and Egypt.<sup>82</sup> The earliest production comes from Cilicia, Phoenicia and Macedonia,<sup>83</sup> while considerable numbers began to be minted towards the end of Alexander's reign. Alexanders are mainly a posthumous coinage, that consists of tetradrachms and drachms in the fourth century and mainly tetradrachms from the beginning of the third. It was issued by different issuing authorities, kings, federal states and Greek cities: royal, independent and dependent.<sup>84</sup> Alexanders have different stories to tell in different parts of the Hellenistic world. They were state currency in Macedonia down to the late 290s and under Antigonos Gonatas, and also in Seleucid Syria under Seleucus I,<sup>85</sup> and Seleucid Asia Minor during the third century BCE,<sup>86</sup> as well as Egypt down to 312 BCE. Pro-Macedonian cities of the Peloponnese minted this currency down to ca. 250 BCE and

78 Psoma 2015c.

79 For the date of the beginning of this coinage, see Gatzolis 2019 based on Troxell 1997: 87-89; Le Rider 2003: 9-28. Cf. Price 1991: 27-28. For the debate, see Le Rider 2003: 20-26 with previous bibliography.

80 For gold alexanders, see Callataj 2019. The gold coins disappeared after a generation, were concentrated in the Balkans and the Old Kingdom and seem to have no impact on economic growth.

81 For the beginning of Alexander's silver coinage on the Attic standard, see Le Rider 2003: 9-28 with previous bibliography. For Philip II, see Le Rider 1977; 1996.

82 See the list of mints in Price 1991: 5-6.

83 For Phoenicia, see Duyrat 2019. For Macedonia, see Gatzolis 2019.

84 Price 1991; various contributions in Kremydi & Marcellesi 2019.

85 Hoover 2019.

86 Meadows 2021a.

later during the Cleomonic and the Social Wars (Megalopolis, Corinth, Sicyon and Argos). Alexanders were also minted by the Aetolians with the jawbone as mintmark.<sup>87</sup> They stopped being minted in Ptolemaic Egypt and Ptolemaic territories before the late fourth century BCE, were replaced by Lysimachi in the cities of Asia Minor between 297 and 281 BCE, continued to be minted by Susa until 222 BCE, by Laodicea by the Sea until the 240s, by Arados between the 240s and 168/7 BCE, by cities of Asia Minor down to the mid-second century BCE, and by Odessos and Mesambria until almost the mid-first century BCE.<sup>88</sup>

Alexanders predominated in hoards down to 223 BCE, and remained important afterwards: 261 hoards of Alexanders were buried from the late fourth century BCE to the first century BCE.<sup>89</sup> From the late fourth century BCE to the Early Imperial period Alexanders are mentioned more than 300 times in epigraphic documents from Mainland Greece, the Aegean Islands, Crete and Asia Minor.<sup>90</sup> They served to pay for *siteresia*, repairs of walls and ransoms to free prisoners.<sup>91</sup> But, they were also given to *theoroi* and ambassadors for *poreion/xenion*, and are also mentioned in international treaties.<sup>92</sup> These are the “missions necessary for the state” of Plato (*Leg.* 742a-e), and for these, the states needed the *koinon hellenikon*

87 Kremydi 2019: 47 with bibliography.

88 Mesambria: Price 1991: 1039-82, 175-125 BCE; 1083-1131: 125-65 BCE. Odessos: Price 1991: 1177-1210, 125-70 BCE. See also Paunov 2021: 149-53.

89 Tselekas 2019. Of these, 26 were buried in Macedonia, 23 in Thessaly, 13 in Central Greece and the Cycladic islands, 23 in the Peloponnese, 43 in Thrace, 51 in Asia Minor, 7 in Cyprus, 29 in the Levant, 21 in the East, 12 in Egypt and 13 are of unknown provenance either in the Levant or Asia Minor. For the circulation patterns of Alexanders, see Stefanaki 2019.

90 Psoma 2019b: Athens, the Argolid and the Megarid, Boeotia, Delphi, Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace, the Aegean islands and Crete, Corcyra, cities of Ionia, Mysia and Caria, and the Kaikos valley in Lydia. They are absent from Thessaly, Western Greece and inland Thrace. This might be related to the fact that these did not enter the civic life, either because this was linked to another standard, e.g. to the Corinthian in Western Greece, or because there were no cities with institutions, and so-well organized cults (inland Thrace). Another reason might be related to the absence of a certain group of inscriptions, i.e. inventories of a significant sanctuary, as in Thessaly, where it occurs once.

91 Psoma 2019b: 179-80.

92 Psoma 2019b: 178-79.

*nomisma*. Inscriptions reveal other uses for this exceptional coinage: in inventories as dedications, in public subscriptions (*epidoseis*), to calculate the weight of silver vessels and gold crowns, prices of houses, land, statues, *stelai*, victims, *aparche*, priesthoods and other religious obligations, fines, manumissions, donations, ‘foundations’ and loans.<sup>93</sup> Ambitious building programs, such as the reconstruction of Rhodes, as well as trade networks need also to be kept in mind.

The Attic standard was also adopted by most of the Hellenistic dynasties.<sup>94</sup> King Areus and Sparta adopted it for their sporadic silver issues, while the Aetolian and Acarnanian Leagues chose also this standard for some exceptional issues. From the second century BCE, this was also the standard of civic coinages in Phoenicia, Asia Minor, Mainland Greece and the Aegean Islands.<sup>95</sup> The gold staters with the types and name of T. C. Flamininus (T. QVINCTI) were also on this standard,<sup>96</sup> as well as the fractions of the Thessalian league.<sup>97</sup> From 164/3 BCE dates also the inauguration of the so-called New Style Athenian coinage,<sup>98</sup> and of later date are the coinages of Thasos and Maroneia in Thrace, as well as of the Ainianes and the Magnetes.<sup>99</sup> On this standard were also issued the coinages in the name of the Macedonian *merides*, of Aesillas, the LEG(ATIO) MAKEΔONΩN and finally the coinage of Lucius Licinius Lucullus in the historical context of the First Mithridatic War.<sup>100</sup>

We have thus the following list of issuing authorities using the Attic standard:

- 93 Psoma 2019b: 173-83.
- 94 Mørkholm 1991: 83-84, 128-32, 173-77, 179-80, 181-83. For the Ptolemies before the late fourth century BCE, see Le Rider & Callataÿ 2006: 36, 131-38.
- 95 For a survey of these coinages, see Le Rider 2001; Psoma 2013; Delrieux 2019; Kaye 2022: 142-46.
- 96 Mørkholm 1991: 136-37.
- 97 Klose 1998; Kremydi-Sicilianou 2004.
- 98 For a corpus of this coinage, see Thompson 1961. For its dates, see Lewis 1962.
- 99 For the Ainianes, see Callataÿ 2004. For the Magnetes, see *BCD Thessaly* 2012: 179-81 nos. 407, 408, 410, 412, 414.1-3.
- 100 For Aesillas, see Callataÿ 2020 with previous bibliography. For the tetradrachms *Leg(atio) MAKEΔONΩN*, see Burnett 1985 with previous bibliography. For the coinage of Lucullus, see Assenmaker 2017.



***Macedonia and Mainland Greece***The Antigonids<sup>101</sup>Areus, Cleomenes III and Nabis of Sparta<sup>102</sup>Pyrrhus of Epirus<sup>103</sup>The Aetolian and Acarnanian leagues for some exceptional issues (the Aetolians: gold staters and drachms, silver tetradrachms; the Acarnanians: gold staters, drachms and hemidrachms, and silver tetradrachms)<sup>104</sup>The Thessalian league for its fractions<sup>105</sup>The Boeotian League, ca. 287 BCE<sup>106</sup>Messene, 183/2 BCE<sup>107</sup>The Macedonian *merides*<sup>108</sup>Aesillas<sup>109</sup>*Leg(atio) Μακεδόνων*<sup>110</sup>Lucius Licinius Lucullus<sup>111</sup>The Ainianes and the Magnetes<sup>112</sup>Eretria, Chalcis and Leucas in Mainland Greece, Thasos and Maroneia in Thrace<sup>113</sup>

- 101 For the Antigonids, see Burrer 2009; Panagopoulou 2017; 2020; and Gatzolis 2019.
- 102 Grunauer von Hoerschelmann 1978: 1-4 (Areus), 7-16 (Cleomenes III), 26-30 (Nabis). See also Ashton 2011: 191.
- 103 Fischer-Bossert 2011: 152; Rutter 2011: 138.
- 104 For the Aetolians, see Tsangari 2007; 2011; Damigos 2016. For the Acarnanians, see Dany 1999. Cf. Kremydi 2019: 47.
- 105 See *supra* n. 97.
- 106 *BCD* Boeotia 2006: 25 no. 81.
- 107 Grandjean 2003: 130. Cf. *ibid.* 123-30 (Alexanders of Messene).
- 108 Kremydi 2007; 2009; 2021: 86-88; Prokopov 2012.
- 109 See *supra* n. 100.
- 110 See *supra* n. 100.
- 111 See *supra* n. 100.
- 112 See *supra* n. 99.
- 113 For Eretria and Chalcis, see Mørkholm 1991: 171. For Leucas, see Callataj 2015a. For Maroneia and Thasos, see Psoma in Psoma, Karadima & Terzopoulou 2008: 177-82 (Maroneia and Thasos); Picard 2008 (Thasos). For the late second and the first century BCE, see Psoma 2011: 147-49. For the coinages of Maroneia and Thasos, see *infra* n. 151.

Athens with the so-called New Style coinage present in 132 hoards.<sup>114</sup>

***In Asia Minor and the East***

Queen Amastris for her gold coinage<sup>115</sup>

Lysimachus<sup>116</sup>

The Seleucids<sup>117</sup>

The Attalids down to 167 BCE<sup>118</sup>

The kings of Bithynia, Cappadocia and the Pontus<sup>119</sup>

114 See *supra* n. 98. For the hoards, see Kremydi & Psoma forthcoming.

115 Wartenberg 2021.

116 For Lysimachus, see Thompson 1968; Marinescu 1996; 2000; 2004; 2014; Petac 2010; 2011; and Petac & Vilcu 2012.

117 For the Seleucids, see Houghton & Lorber 2002; Houghton, Lorber & Hoover 2008.

118 Meadows 2013: 154-70, 173-75.

119 See *supra* n. 94.

Cities with their own types: Cyzicus,<sup>120</sup> Mytilene,<sup>121</sup> Alexandria Troas, Aigai,<sup>122</sup> Cyme,<sup>123</sup> Myrina,<sup>124</sup> Tenedos,<sup>125</sup> Magnesia on the Maeander,<sup>126</sup> Heraclea on Mount Latmos,<sup>127</sup> Smyrna,<sup>128</sup> Lebedos,<sup>129</sup> Miletus,<sup>130</sup> Clazomenai,<sup>131</sup> Colophon,<sup>132</sup> Ephesos (drachms), Alabanda<sup>133</sup> (*ante* 150-145 BCE), Cos,<sup>134</sup> Cnidus,<sup>135</sup> Myndos, Antiochea in Caria,<sup>136</sup> Side,<sup>137</sup> Arados (drachms)<sup>138</sup> and Rhodes (first century BCE).<sup>139</sup>  
The Dionysiac Artists of Teos<sup>140</sup>

120 Before 160 BCE; Le Rider 2001: 42. Cf. von Fritze 1914: gr. VI: 180-145 BCE.

121 Mattingly 1993: 69-86.

122 Amandry 1989.

123 Oakley 1982: 1-37, pl. 1 to 14; van Bremen 2008.

124 Sacks 1985: 1-43, pl. 1-22.

125 Callataÿ 1998.

126 Jones 1979: 63-107, pl. 20 to 26; Kinns 1989: 137-48, pl. 39-40.

127 Lavva 1993: 391-414; Kinns 1998: 175-95.

128 Milne 1914: 273-98; 1927: 1-107.

129 Amandry 1989; Meadows & Houghton 2010: 147.

130 Deppert-Lippitz 1984: 105-9, 185-86: 175-160 BCE; Le Rider 2001: 42: ca. 160 BCE. For Miletus, see also Kinns 1998: 175-95; Marcellesi 2004; and Kinns 2021.

131 The initials Κλαζο(μενίων) of the ethnic under the exergual line on the second known specimen bearing the legend Διὸς Σωτήρος Ἐπιφανοῦς from the Tartous, Syria, 1987 hoard (*CH* VIII 471) buried ca. 120 BCE, identified the issuing authority of that enigmatic tetradrachm whose attribution to Smyrna seemed secure. For the date of this coinage, see Meadows 2009b: 253-54: between 170-151 BCE (Clazomenae) and 162-151 (Temnos).

132 Le Rider 2001: 43.

133 Meadows & Houghton 2010: 203: 150-145 BCE. For Alabanda, see also Callataÿ 2013 based on Meadows 2008.

134 Ingvaldsen 2001: 86-94. Cf. Ashton 1998: 223-28.

135 Le Rider 2001: 42: ca. 160 BCE.

136 Le Rider 2001: 43.

137 Meadows 2009a.

138 Duyrat 2005.

139 Ashton 2011: 194.

140 Lorber & Hoover 2003; Psoma 2007 with previous bibliography.

Coinages in the names of gods:<sup>141</sup> Athena Nikephoros,<sup>142</sup> Athena Ilias,<sup>143</sup> Artemis of Perge,<sup>144</sup> the Megaloi Theoi of Syros or Syria<sup>145</sup>  
The kings of Bactria<sup>146</sup>

Different zones of circulation for each one of these coinages on the Attic standard can be traced with the help of hoards and were explained on the basis of the historical background of the relevant periods. What needs to be retained is their presence in large numbers in hoards and the extremely large number of hoards that include Attic weight currency. Both reveal that this was the currency *par excellence* during the Hellenistic period and that this circulated almost everywhere.

From all the evidence cited above, two main groups of coinages emerge:

- (a) Coinages that were minted with the aim of circulating within the frontiers of their issuing authority.
- (b) Coinages that circulated outside the frontiers of their issuing authorities.

#### *Ad (a)*

To the first group belong coinages that were inaugurated with the aim of creating a closed monetary zone, among which those of the Ptolemies, of the cities of Elis, Rhodes, Byzantium and Calchedon (260–220 BCE), of the

141 For these coinages, see Psoma 2008a, cf. Nollé 2014.

142 For the tetradrachms of Athena Nikephoros, the *terminus ante quem* of 160 is provided by the presence of two specimens in the Sitichoro, Thessaly hoard (IGCH 237) of ca. 165 BCE (Price 1989: 239–40) and of one specimen in the Maaret-en-Nouman hoard (CH IX [2002] 511; Mattingly [1993]: 83). A date in 181 BCE was proposed by O. Mørkholm (1984: 187–92) while M.J. Price (1989: 239) connected this coinage with the war of the 160s against the Galatians.

143 For the beginning of the series in the name of Athena Ilias, see Mattingly 1990: 71 n. 15; Meadows 1998: 44 n. 27. See also Knoepfler 2010; Ellis Evans 2016: 127–30. Cf. Pillot 2020.

144 For this coinage, see Psoma 2008a: 235; Meadows 2021a: 36–37.

145 For an attribution to Syros, see Nicolet-Pierre & Amandry 1992: 295–306. See also the doubts of Meadows & Houghton 2010: 183 (after 143 BCE). Cf. Psoma 2013: 268 n. 18.

146 Glenn 2020.

Thessalian League in the second century BCE, and the coinages on the Persian standard issued by a number of cities of Asia Minor during the third century BCE.<sup>147</sup> In this way, different circulation zones were created. Among these, Egypt was the most successful and lasted from the late fourth century to the late first century BCE. Although the cistophoric coinage introduced by Eumenes II was not conceived with the aim to create a closed monetary system, it did not travel to Syria.<sup>148</sup>

*Ad (b)*

The second group can be divided in two sub-groups.

1. To the first sub-group belong the coinages of some cities that circulated and were part of hoards buried outside the frontiers of their issuing authority: the Persian weight half *sigloi* of Parion and the Thracian Chersonese (2.5 g), the pseudo-Rhodian silver coins, the triobols of Histiaea on the reduced Aeginetan standard and the silver drachms of Apollonia and Dyrrachium on a local standard deriving maybe from the *victoriatus*.<sup>149</sup> The silver hemidrachms of Parion and what we call the Thracian Chersonese all moved to inland Thrace and were part of a very significant number of hoards – more than 41 – buried in this area.<sup>150</sup> The coinages of Dyrrachium and Apollonia began to be minted in the late third century BCE and their distribution in the Balkans and inland Thrace were explained

147 Meadows 2021a: 34. See also *supra* nn. 57-59.

148 Meadows 2013: 194-204.

149 For Apollonia, see Gjongecaj & Picard 2007. For Dyrrachium (Epidamnus), see Meta 2015.

150 Psoma 2011. For Parion, see IGCH 474, 742, 752, 754, 755, 758, 759, 760, 762, 764, CH 9.21. For the Thracian Chersonese, see IGCH 392, 393, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 743, 744, 745, 746, 748, 749, 750, 751, 753, 757, 761, CH 8.110, 109, 136, 170, 171. Sometime these hemidrachms were hoarded together with coins of Philip II and Alexander III. See Psoma 2011: 145-46. One wonders if these moved to Thrace together with troops sent by Antigonos to provide help to Greek cities on the western coast of the Black Sea against Lysimachus in 313/2 BCE: Diod. Sic. 19.73.

in the historical context of Roman military operations.<sup>151</sup> A military explanation can also be proposed for the coinage of pro-Macedonian Histiaea, which constitutes 58.12% of the non-Attic weight coinage mentioned in the Delian inventories,<sup>152</sup> and is present in many hoards in Mainland Greece, Macedonia and Thrace.<sup>153</sup> If the identification of the pseudo-Rhodian coins with the *symmachikon* of epigraphic documents from the second century BCE is correct, their wide distribution in Mainland Greece can also be explained in a similar way.<sup>154</sup>

2. To the second sub-group belong the coinages on the Attic standard, and those on the reduced Aeginetan and Corinthian standards. The reduced Aeginetan standard was adopted by the most significant Leagues of Mainland Greece and the Peloponnese, and silver coins on this standard were part of hoards buried in the Peloponnese, Central Greece and Euboea.<sup>155</sup> The standard of Corinth and its reduced version, the so-called Corcyrean standard, were popular in what we call Western Greece, which is the main area where these circulated.<sup>156</sup> The international character of the Attic standard of all royal currencies (with the exception of the Ptolemies after 312 BCE and the Attalids after 167),<sup>157</sup> and also of Athens after 164,<sup>158</sup> and a number of cities in Mainland Greece, Thrace and Asia Minor during the second BCE explains their wide circulation and

151 Meta 2015 with previous bibliography; Gatzolis & Psoma 2018. This is the explanation that was proposed for the coinages on the Attic standard of Thasos and Maroneia, minted during the Late Hellenistic period, and present in large numbers of hoards from inland Thrace: see *supra* n. 113.

152 Chankowski 2011: 382.

153 Gatzolis & Psoma 2018; Kremydi 2018a: 238-43; 2018b: 243-45; 2021. For hoards with Histiaean silver coins, see Kremydi 2018a: 255-57. See also *supra* n. 45.

154 Psoma 2019a: 124-25.

155 For the coinages of the Leagues, see Psoma & Tsangari 2003; Tsangari 2011.

156 See previous note.

157 Unlike Alexanders, all other royal currencies are rarely mentioned in epigraphic documents. See *supra* n. 4.

158 See *supra* n. 6.

presence in hoards far away from the frontiers of their issuing authorities.<sup>159</sup>

To conclude. Coinages, weight standards as well as hoards and circulation patterns of all the coinages mentioned above reveal the co-existence of two distinct worlds, as far as currency is concerned, during the Hellenistic period: a world of diversity and a world of unity. The different weight standards and coinages of the previous periods, often in reduced versions, continued after the last decades of the 4th c. BCE and down to Actium to form different, smaller or larger, zones of circulation. To these were added new coinages on the traditional standards (the coinages of the cities of Asia Minor on the Persian standard), on their reduced versions (the coinages of the Leagues of Mainland Greece and Histiaea) or on new standards deriving from the contacts with Rome (the coinages of Apollonia and Dyrrachium). The use of distinct standards by cities and *koina* in this and other areas refers to a sort of regional unity, which was also apparent during previous periods. Parallel to these runs the Attic standard and its coinages minted by kings, cities and federal states. The world of this Attic standard covers – with the exception of the Ptolemaic territories – the Hellenistic *oikoumene*. From these coinages, Alexanders – a posthumous coinage *par excellence* – were the most important one, the *koinon hellenikon nomisma* of the Hellenistic period, and a clear reference to the unity of a world created by Alexander III. This was the coinage that served military purposes more than any other currency of this period. If the Seleucids are behind most of posthumous Alexanders of Asia Minor, Thrace, Phoenicia and Syria, the other posthumous coinage, the Lysimachi served a Pro-Ptolemaic, anti-Seleucid and at the very end anti-Roman policy.<sup>160</sup> Weight standards and coinages served the interests of all the mighty of this Hellenistic world from its beginning to its end.

159 Meadows 2019: 73.

160 The gold Lysimachi of Mesambria, Odessos, Tomis and Callatis date after the end of the Monopoly War (253-250/47 BCE) and the beginning of the Third Syrian War (246/5 BCE). See Petac & Vilcu 2012: Tomis; Petac & Vilcu 2013: Odessos; Petac 2011: Mesambria. Cf. Callataÿ 1995 [1997]. Histria minted gold staters of Lysimachus towards the end of the third century BCE in a similar context: Petac 2010. See also

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Alexandres après Alexandre* = S. Kremydi & M.-Chr. Marcellesi (eds.) *Les Alexandres après Alexandre: histoire d'une monnaie commune, Actes du colloque international, Athènes 24-25 mai 2014*. MELETHMATA 81. Athens 2019.
- Attalid Asia Minor* = P. Thonemann (ed.) *Attalid Asia Minor: Money, International Relations and the State*. Oxford 2013.
- CH = *Coin Hoards*. The Royal Numismatic Society. London 2002.
- IGCH = M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm & C.M. Kraay. (eds), *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. New York 1973.
- ID = F. Durrbach *et al.* *Inscriptions de Délos*. 7 vols. Paris 1926-1972.
- IDidyma = A. Rehm, *Didyma II: Die Inschriften*. Berlin 1958.
- IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*.
- Iiasos = W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos*. 2 vols. IK 28. Bonn 1985.
- IK = *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*.
- I.Eleusis = K. Clinton, *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*. 2 vols. in 3 parts. Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας 236 & 259. Athens 2005-2008.
- I.Magnesia = O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin 1900.
- IMilet I 3 = G. Kawerau *et al.* *Das Delphinion in Milet*. Berlin 1914.
- IMylasa = W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*. Vol. I, *Inschriften der Stadt*. Vol. II, *Inschriften aus der Umgebung der Stadt*. IK 34-35. Bonn 1987-1988.
- KME = G. Le Rider (ed.) *Kraay-Mørkholm Essays. Numismatic Studies in Memory of C.M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm*. Louvain-la-Neuve 1989.
- Nomisma = Th. Faucher *et al.* (eds.) *Nomisma. La circulation monétaire dans le monde grec antique*. BCH Suppl. 53, 2011.

Marinescu 2004. Callatis issued gold staters – *chrysoi* – under Mithridates VI of Pontus with the types of Lysimachus. It was also the case of Histria and Tomis. For these mints of Lysimachus, see Price 1991: 173-74. For the gold Lysimachi of Histria, Callatis and Tomis, see also Callataÿ 1997: 139 (Histria), 139-40 (Callatis) and 141 (Tomis). For Tomis, see also Iliescu 1998; 2000. These coinages served to pay mercenaries from these cities who joined the Mithridatic army: Callataÿ 1997: 150 with n. 51. In the case of Tenedos, posthumous Lysimachi of the late third and the second century BCE have been interpreted as Attalid or Rhodian – and in some cases both – fleet currency: Meadows 2021b: 136-40.



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