

LES ALEXANDRES
APRÈS ALEXANDRE
HISTOIRE D'UNE MONNAIE COMMUNE

Ouvrage édité par
Sophia Kremydi et Marie-Christine Marcellesi

ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 81

ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ / ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ
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ATHÈNES 2019

*À la mémoire
de Georges Le Rider
et de Martin Jessop Price*

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ALEXANDERS UNDER THE LATE ANTIGONIDS

SOPHIA KREMYDI

This paper is concerned with the late Alexanders struck in areas under the influence of the Antigonids, mostly the Peloponnese, as well as with a small contemporary group of issues attributed to Macedonia. Although the chronological definition ‘under the late Antigonids’ is rather vague, it usually refers to the period of Philip V and Perseus, to which one could add the short reign of Antigonus Doson (229-221 BC) that formed an important turning point in the relation of Macedonia with the Greek cities, especially after the foundation of the Hellenic League in 224 BC. The period that we intend to discuss in this paper, therefore, ranges between *c.* 229 and 168 BC, since no Alexanders were minted in Greece after Pydna. However, the inclusion in our discussion of the earlier third century Peloponnesian Alexanders was judged necessary since their interpretation helps in the understanding of the later issues.¹ A complete list of the hoards including the Alexanders discussed in this paper can be found in Table 1. For the dating of the hoards one should refer to the text below, as well as to the contribution of Stefanaki in this volume.

Peloponnesian Alexanders under Macedonian Control

The production of Alexanders outside the realm of the Macedonian kingdom was inaugurated immediately after the death of the conqueror. They were struck in Greek cities controlled by the rivaling *diadochi*, and the most prolific mint was Corinth. Ever since the time of Philip II, Corinth had been one of the strongholds of the Macedonians in the South. The Acrocorinth was constantly used as a military base by the *diadochi* and later by the *epigoni* in their rivalry for the throne. Such were the cases of Cassander, Demetrius Poliorcetes and, his son, Antigonus Gonatas. The first Alexanders of Corinth have been dated to *c.* 310-290 BC and should probably be attributed to Poliorcetes.² They were struck before he secured the throne of Macedonia and before he struck his personal coinage in the West. The constant presence of a Macedonian garrison on the Acrocorinth allowed control over the Peloponnese.³ Although they were never directly annexed to the Macedonian kingdom, a number of Peloponnesian cities were under the permanent influence of Macedonia and relied on its king for military protection. Pro-Macedonian governments were established in cities in the northeastern Peloponnese, such as Argos, Megalopolis, Sicyon, Epidauros and Troezen. This is the context in which the Peloponnesian Alexanders of the first half of the third century should be examined.

1. For these earlier issues see also GATZOLIS (in this volume).

2. TROXELL 1971, 44-50; PRICE 1991, 155-156; GATZOLIS (in this volume).

3. For the importance of Corinth for Macedonian policy see: DIXON 2014, 201-203. For the garrison forces and their relation with the cities see: CHANIOTIS 2005, 88-93.

4. For catalogue and discussion of this hoard see: TROXELL 1971, 41, 66-80.



Fig. 3.1. Tetradrachm of King Areus of Lacedaemon.



Fig. 3.2. Tetradrachm of Antigonus Gonatas.

The earliest hoards from the Peloponnese to contain local Alexanders date to *c.* 265-240 BC. These are the Peloponnese 1962⁴ and the Peloponnese 1970, probably two lots of the same find,⁵ as well as the Olympia 1922 hoard. Peloponnese 1962 is a small hoard of nine tetradrachms, eight late Alexanders attributed to uncertain Peloponnesian mints and one Alexander type tetradrachm in the name of the Lacedaemonian King Areus (fig. 3.1). Areus I ruled in Sparta from 309 to 265 BC and is known for leading an anti-Macedonian coalition against Antigonus Gonatas in 280 BC, for resisting the invasion of Pyrrhos in 272 BC and, finally, for his alliance with Ptolemy II during the Chremonidian war (268/7-261 BC). The Alexander type tetradrachms of Areus, with the king's name to the left and the royal title to the right, were modeled after the rare Alexanders of Antigonus Gonatas⁶ (fig. 3.2) and, therefore, date to the late 270's or early 260's BC,⁷ a dating which connects their issue to the Chremonidian war. The rest of the Peloponnesian Alexander tetradrachms in this hoard have been dated by Troxell to the period between 280 and 255 BC,⁸ a date also followed by Price.⁹ The two Peloponnesian lots, the second of which is poorly documented, belong to a find which consisted mainly of, roughly contemporary, local Alexanders, something quite unusual for Alexander hoards; the inevitable conclusion would be that its closing date cannot be much later than its issues and that its burial must have occurred before the coins entered circulation and mixed with other currency.¹⁰ The somewhat later Olympia 1922 hoard, on the other hand, is a mixed hoard containing mostly Peloponnesian, but also Macedonian and eastern Alexanders, together with civic coins, Lysimachi and Ptolemaic coins.¹¹

The 'uncertain Peloponnesian' issues that first appeared in local hoards of the second quarter of the third century continued to circulate in the region (figs. 3.3-3.4). They are found systematically, albeit in small numbers, in hoards from the Peloponnese dating to 220's or a little later, such

5. See the Peloponnese, Greece, 1960's hoard in: *CH* 7.71 and the Peloponnese 1970 hoard in PRICE 1991, 60.

6. Compare with *SNG Alpha Bank*, no. 982.

7. TROXELL 1971, 75-76. The dating of these Alexanders early in the reign of Gonatas is generally accepted. See: PANAGOPOULOU 2000, 71-74 with earlier bibliography who proposes their dating between 272 and 265 BC.

8. TROXELL 1971, 76-77.

9. PRICE 1991, 164 dates the uncertain Peloponnesian issues to *c.* 280-250 BC.

10. TROXELL 1971, 80 suggested a dating of *c.* 250-240 BC for the burial of the hoard, whereas PRICE 1991, 60 included it in his group dated to 265-240 BC.

11. NEWELL 1929 proposed a range between 250-225 BC for this find, favoring the decade 235-225 BC, a dating that was followed in *IGCH*. This was revised by TROXELL 1971, 86 who suggested *c.* 245 BC or a little later, a date also accepted by NICOLET, KROLL 1990, 28, no. 15. PRICE 1991, 60 included it in his group dated 265-240 BC but considered it later than the Peloponnese 1962 and 1970 hoards.



Fig. 3.3. Alexander tetradrachm, uncertain Peloponnesian mint.



Fig. 3.4. Alexander tetradrachm, uncertain Peloponnesian mint.

as the Sparta 1908, Megalopolis 1947, Corinth 1938, Geraki (Geronthrai) 1998 and the Patras 1850 hoards.¹² After the middle of the third century they started to move to the East where they continued to be encountered in hoards down to the end of the third century BC. They are present as sporadic finds in the Meydancikkale 1980 hoard from Cilicia,¹³ the Kirazli 1939 hoard from the Pontos,¹⁴ as well as the Syria 1960¹⁵ and the Gordion V 1961¹⁶ hoards from Syria. In these eastern finds the ‘uncertain Peloponnesian’ issues are not mixed with the later Peloponnesian Alexanders, which seems to imply that they moved from their place of issue before the striking of the latter.

Unlike the later Alexanders these mid third century issues do not bear civic mintmarks, a fact that makes their attribution more difficult. In her thorough study of the Peloponnesian Alexanders of this period Troxell has shown that they can be divided into two main groups (uncertain Peloponnesian I and II) that were struck at different mints.¹⁷ Hackens has proposed the mint of Argos for the first group¹⁸ and Troxell has suggested Megalopolis for the second.¹⁹ Argos and Megalopolis were the two main supporters of Macedonia in the Peloponnese during this period and were ruled by pro-Macedonian governments established by Antigonos Gonatas.²⁰ These attributions are possible, but not certain, and Martin Price has very prudently listed the issues as ‘uncertain Peloponnesian’ and has made no direct reference to Troxell’s hypothesis.

The ‘uncertain Peloponnesian’ Alexanders belong to the period between the gradual establishment of the power of Gonatas after the death of Lysimachus in 281 BC and the rising of power of the Achaean League in the 250’s. This was a time when Macedonian control in the Peloponnese

12. For the dating of the hoards as in Table 1 below, see: NICOLET-PIERRE, KROLL 1990, 31, no. 22 (Sparta 1908); TROXELL 1971, 58 and PRICE 1991, 61 (Megalopolis 1947); VAN DE VIN 1998 (Geraki 1998). For the Corinth 1938 and Patras 1850 hoards see below notes 37 and 38.

13. DAVESNE, LE RIDER 1989, nos. 485, 486 and 1925 are uncertain Peloponnesian issues that correspond to PRICE 1991, varieties 759, 763 and 768. For the burial of the hoard to *c.* 240-235 BC see: DAVESNE, LE RIDER 1989, 227-230.

14. LE RIDER, OLCAY 1987, nos. 54-55 correspond to PRICE 1991 nos. 759 and 773. The hoard has been dated by LE RIDER, OLCAY 1987, 29, to *c.* 220 BC, whereas PRICE 1991, 60 prefers 230 BC.

15. SEYRIG 1973, 23, no. 15 corresponds to PRICE 1991, no. 786. SEYRIG 1973 has dated the hoard to *c.* 200 or a little earlier.

16. The hoard is dated by COX 1966, 51 to *c.* 205 BC.

17. TROXELL 1971, 70-72.

18. HACKENS 1968, 76.

19. TROXELL 1971, 78-79.

20. For the policy of establishing garrisons and ‘tyrants’ in the Peloponnesian cities see: Polyb. 2, 41, 6; 9, 26, 6.

remained strong and stable. Antigonus Gonatas had struck a limited number of Alexanders in Macedonia, probably in the late 270's or early 260's BC²¹ and the Peloponnesian Alexanders were also produced during his reign, and most probably during the Chremonidian war (268/7-261 BC). However, the absence of issues from Corinth during this period is strange. Corinth was an important stronghold that had been often used by the Macedonians to issue currency when they needed it locally.

The contemporary minting of Alexanders in the name of Areus I, king of Sparta, shows that demand for this currency was so strong that even Sparta, notoriously reluctant with regard to adopting foreign practices, decided to produce them. For reasons of political prestige, however, it was the name of the king of Sparta that appeared on the coins rather than that of Alexander. From this could we conclude the contrary, and could we accept, as has been proposed by Troxell, that the 'true' Alexanders were issued by pro-Macedonian governments in the Peloponnese?²² And if this is so, were these issues struck by the city to buy military protection provided by the king, or were they subsidized by Antigonus? In other words who paid for the metal, the city or the king? Such questions cannot be answered by the numismatic evidence alone. Literary evidence from later periods, however, shows that the cities were often obliged to pay the royal army for its support. And this support had to be paid for in a commonly accepted international currency of an international standard.²³

Peloponnesian Alexanders under the Achaean League

By the middle of the third century Macedonian control in the Peloponnese was starting to decrease. In 253/2 BC Antigonus' faithful brother Krateros, who had held the post of governor at Corinth, was succeeded by his son Alexandros. With the support of the Ptolemies, Alexandros challenged the royal power, revolted against the king and established a personal regime. In the meantime, the Achaean League, which had originally included only a few cities in Achaia, had gradually grown and developed as a considerable regional power in the Peloponnese. The election of Aratus of Sicyon as *strategos* of the League in 251 BC resulted in the detachment of Sicyon from Macedonia and in the further expansion of the League. The capture of Corinth by Aratus and her incorporation into the League a few years later (in 243/42 BC) was a further loss and a serious blow to the defense system that had been built up by the Antigonids.²⁴

The gradual expansion of the Achaean League was tolerated by a somewhat mild Macedonian policy up to the moment when the Achaeans came into alliance with Aetolia. When the war between Aetolia and Macedonia broke out in 239/8 BC, Antigonus had already been succeeded by his son Demetrius II. The Aetolian tetradrachms (fig. 3.5) and the first issue of gold staters have been convincingly dated by Tsangari to the period of the Demetrian war (239-229 BC).²⁵ Both the

21. See above note 7.

22. TROXELL 1971, 78-80. The same interpretation was proposed by NOE 1962b, 39-41 for the later issues of Argos and Megalopolis.

23. For the sources see below *. For a different interpretation of the early posthumous Alexanders struck by cities in Asia Minor see MEADOWS (in this volume).

24. The point of view of Polybius on the relations between Macedonia and the Achaean League is discussed in WALBANK 1970, who gives references to all relevant Polybius' passages.

25. TSANGARI 2007, 250-253.

tetradrachms and the gold staters issued by the Aetolians, followed the Attic standard and imitated the Alexanders. The head of Heracles was introduced on the obverse of the tetradrachms, whereas the gold staters copied the crested head of Athena, both new types for the Aetolian coinage. However, variations of a local type and the legend ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ were chosen for the reverse. The reverse type depicted Aetolia armed and seated on a bulk of Gaulic and Macedonian shields on the tetradrachms and Aetolia Nicephoros seated on the same bulk of shields on the gold staters. These two similar types were probably free reproductions of the statue erected by the Aetolians at Delphi after their participation in the struggle against the Gauls in 279 BC. The statue is referred to by Pausanias and its base was discovered on the terrace of the temple of Apollo at Delphi.²⁶ During the war with the Macedonians, therefore, the Aetolians struck their own version of the Alexanders, in a similar way as Areus had done some years earlier.

A unique coin that has recently appeared in the market adds an interesting aspect to this discussion. It is an Alexander tetradrachm with a jawbone as a mintmark, which was at first described as an Alexander of an uncertain Aetolian mint (fig. 3.6).²⁷ Closer comparison with the Aetolian coinage, however, has shown that this issue not only bore identical mintmarks with the first tetradrachm issue of the League, but was actually struck from the same obverse die.²⁸ The inescapable conclusion would be that the Aetolians started striking Alexanders because of demand, but very soon, perhaps because of their war with Demetrius, replaced them with their own version of this international coinage. The obverse die continued to be used, but the reverse was replaced by a local type. This shifting seems to imply that, in Greece, the posthumous Alexanders were considered a Macedonian and not a neutral international coinage, as in the eastern areas of the Hellenistic world. Macedonia's enemies, such as Aetolia and Sparta, imitated them, but only after adding their own marks of identity to this very popular coinage.

During the Demetrian war (239/8-229 BC) Macedonia continued losing her influence and her possessions in the South. Megalopolis joined the Achaean League in 235 BC and Argos only remained loyal until 229 BC. With the support of Ptolemy III, who was financing Aratus, by 228 BC only Chalcis and Demetrias were left in the hands of the Macedonians. The withdrawal of Macedonia from the Peloponnese facilitated the new ambitions of the Spartans. Cleomenes III inaugurated an offensive policy against the Achaeans in order to re-establish Spartan domination



Fig. 3.5. Tetradrachm of the Aetolians.



Fig. 3.6. Alexander tetradrachm, Aetolian mint.

26. Paus. 10, 18, 7. See: TSANGARI 2007, 201 for bibliography.

27. Lanz 146 (May 2009) no. 114.

28. WALKER 2009; Nomos 3 (May 2011) no. 79.

in the region (Cleomenic war 227-222 BC). He threatened Megalopolis in 227 BC and by 225 BC had taken over Argos, Corinth, Hermione, Troezen and Epidaurus from Aratus and was even threatening Sicyon. The new members of the Achaean League that had been traditionally pro-Macedonian were not hostile to the idea of a Macedonian intervention. With the approval of the League, in 227/6 BC, an embassy from Megalopolis had already been sent to Pella to describe the dangers they were facing.²⁹ By 225/4 BC Ptolemy III was supporting Cleomenes openly and Aratus had no other choice but to turn to Macedonia for help. In the spring of 224 BC Antigonos Doson arrived in the Peloponnese with an army. This was an unexpected opportunity to restore his position and reconquer Corinth. Very little is actually known regarding the Hellenic League that was created by Doson, probably in 224 BC, but it certainly inaugurated a new period of Macedonia's relations with the Greek states.³⁰

Hoard evidence has shown that Alexanders were minted in the region during this period. Unlike the earlier 'uncertain issues' these new issues bear civic mint marks, which have allowed the secure identification of the mints of Megalopolis, Argos, Sicyon and Corinth. The issues of Megalopolis (fig. 3.7) were the first of these late Peloponnesian Alexanders, since they were found alone in the earliest hoards. The Sophicon 1893 hoard, discovered in the gulf of Epidaurus in the late 19th century, was a large mixed hoard with many Athenian tetradrachms. It also contained one late Alexander tetradrachm of the mint of Megalopolis, easily identified through the monogram ME and the syrinx, a coin of Ptolemy III dated to 245/4 BC, issues of Seleucus II (246-226/5 BC), as well as an Aetolian tetradrachm. A precise dating of the hoard is difficult and the dates 230-220 BC or 225-220 BC have been proposed for this find.³¹ The absence of issues of Seleucus III (225-223 BC), however, present in the Corinth 1938 hoard, indicates that it could be earlier than the latter. The evidence of the recent 'Seleucus III' 2002 hoard offers new evidence for the dating of the Megalopolitan issues. It was buried in Asia Minor in 225/4 BC and contained a mint state example of one of its latest issues.³² This would indicate that the issues of Megalopolis would have started to be produced somewhat earlier than 225 BC, as is usually considered.³³ The Megalopolis 1947, a relatively small hoard with mainly local Alexanders that included an issue of Arsinoe II dated to 229 BC, is the



Fig. 3.7. Alexander tetradrachm, Megalopolis mint.

29. Polyb. 2, 48, 2-8.

30. For the Hellenic League of Antigonos Doson see: SCHERBERICH 2009.

31. The hoard was first presented in SVORONOS 1899 and a more detailed catalogue was provided after the cleaning of the coins in SVORONOS 1907. In *IGCH* the hoard was dated by Newell to 230-220 BC and this was accepted by NICOLET-PIERRE, KROLL 1990, 31, no. 23. PRICE 1991, 61 argued for a dating in the late 220's and TSANGARI 2007, 214-215 dated it to *c.* 220 BC. The hoard also contained a Lacedaemonian tetradrachm with the head of Athena / seated Herakles, whose dating by GRUNAUER VON HOERSCHELMAN 1978, 26-30 and 125-126 between 207/6 and 197 BC, needs to be revised.

32. For a coin of the variety PRICE 1991, no. 752 in this hoard see: MEADOWS, LORBER 2010, 123, note 8. For a listing of the Seleucid contents of this hoard see: *SC II* 2, 142-150.

33. PRICE 1991, 223.

first hoard to contain a specimen from the second Alexander mint, that of Sicyon (fig. 3.8). It was buried during the very turbulent period of the Cleomenic war, during which Megalopolis suffered greatly. Megalopolis was sieged and captured by Cleomenes in 223 BC and this could have been the reason for the burial of the hoard, as Troxell has accepted.³⁴ But Megalopolis had suffered numerous threats and attacks during this war and the hoard could have also been buried earlier.

Hoard evidence on the whole does not support the suggestion that the issues of Megalopolis were struck on Macedonian demand, as suggested by Troxell. Dason intervened in 224 BC and the issues of Megalopolis had been issued earlier. The city that had already struck Alexanders during the Chremonidian war, returned to the striking of this international currency under similar circumstances. As a member of the Achaean League it now added mintmarks that would identify its issues, contributions to a common cause. This is exactly the same practice as that of the later hemidrachms of the League.

In addition to the Alexanders of Megalopolis and Sicyon that have been encountered in the hoards mentioned above, late Alexanders from various other mints in Greece made their appearance in the Corinth 1938 and the Patras 1850 hoards. Corinth 1938 is a mixed hoard containing different denominations (amongst which many drachms) and various issuing authorities (Athenian, Alexanders, Aetolian, Seleucid, Ptolemaic, Rhodian, Ephesian). Its latest issues include a coin of Seleucus III (226/5-223 BC), a late Alexander from Clazomenae dated by Price to *c.* 225 BC,³⁵ and a late Alexander drachm from Magnesia dated somewhat vaguely to 225-200 BC.³⁶ The proposed burial date of 220-215 BC seems reasonable for the hoard.³⁷ Relevant to our discussion are the Alexanders of Megalopolis (fig. 3.7), Argos (figs. 3.9-3.10) and Corinth (fig. 3.11), as well as one uncertain Macedonian Alexander that shall be discussed below. Patras 1850 is a tetradrachm hoard in which the local Alexanders are the dominant currency, a find that reflects the latest phase of this coinage in the Peloponnese. It includes 98 early and late posthumous Alexanders,



Fig. 3.8. Alexander tetradrachm, Sicyon mint.



Fig. 3.9. Alexander tetradrachm, Argos mint.



Fig. 3.10. Alexander tetradrachm, Argos mint.

34. TROXELL 1971, 58.

35. PRICE 1991, no. 1743.

36. PRICE 1991, no. 2045.

37. As first proposed by NOE 1962a and accepted by NICOLET-PIERRE, KROLL 1990, 32, no. 24. TSANGARI 2007, 212-214 dated it to 220 BC.

deriving mainly from mints in Macedonia and the Peloponnese, together with four uncertain Alexanders from Caria that probably arrived in Greece after the Carian expedition of Dason or Philip V. Its late Alexanders are from Sicyon, Corinth, Argos, and from two more mints for which identifications to Hermione and Ambracia have been proposed.³⁸

These later hoards, that have been buried around 220 BC or a little later, belong to a different historical context. By 220 BC Philip V had succeeded his uncle at a very young age. Due to Dason's successful policy, the only allies of the Aetolians' remaining in the Peloponnese were Messene and Elis. But when Messene flirted with joining the Achaean League, the Aetolians intervened and the Messenians applied for help. At the very year of Philip's accession to the throne, war was declared between Aetolia and the Hellenic League, a war described in our sources as *Συμμαχικός πόλεμος*. It lasted for three years (220-217 BC) and provided the circumstances for the burial of the Corinth 1938 and the Patras 1850 hoards. Campaigns and plundering were carried out in Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, the Peloponnese, and even in Macedonia when the Aetolians plundered Dion. During this war Philip strengthened his position in the West and also, for the first time, employed a fleet of *lemboi* in the Ionian sea.

This is the context in which Price attributed one of the unidentified Alexanders in the Patras hoard to Ambracia (fig. 3.12). The pillar-like object, which appears as a symbol on this very rare Alexander variety,³⁹ has been identified as an obelisk and has been linked by Price to the coin type of Ambracia. Obelisks, however, are usually pointed⁴⁰ and the symbol on our coin seems to have some sort of a 'cover' at the top. It actually recalls an enigmatic type on coins of Argos, which was usually described as a quiver, which it is certainly not, and is now accepted as perhaps a 'columnar pump or a drinking fountain', as was initially proposed by Head.⁴¹ Regardless of its precise identification, it certainly depicts a monument of the city.

The Aetolians had taken over Ambracia from the Epirotes and still held it during the Social war. During his campaigns in the region in 219 BC, Philip V, together with the Epirotes, laid siege to Ambracos, a fortified port on the north coast of the Ambracian gulf, from where the Epirotes intended to later recapture Ambracia. The siege was successful, the fort was captured and



Fig. 3.11. Alexander tetradrachm, Corinth mint.



Fig. 3.12. Alexander tetradrachm, Ambracia mint.

38. The hoard was first published by VAUX 1853-54 and has been dated to c. 218 BC by TROXELL 1971, 86-88 and to c. 220-218 by TSANGARI 2007, 215-216.

39. PRICE 1991, no. 664. One specimen from the hoard is actually in the Numismatic Museum in Athens, while a second one is in the ANS (inv. no. 1944.100.29612).

40. *BMC Thessaly to Aetolia*, pl. 18, 1-2.

41. LHS 2006, nos. 1123-26.

the Aetolian garrison expelled⁴²; but the city remained in the hands of the Aetolians until *c.* 207 BC. So if the issues were actually of Ambracia they would either have been struck by the Aetolians, which is quite improbable, or else they would have been struck decisively later. Given, therefore, the ambiguity of the symbol and the problem of the dating, we should probably add a question mark to the attribution of Alexanders to Ambracia. Although their style seems very different, they may have been just another issue of Argos.

A bigger question mark should apply to another uncertain issue from the Patras hoard, attributed to Hermione by Troxell (fig. 3.13).⁴³ This small issue bears a corn-wreath and the monogram HP on the reverse and shows a strong stylistic resemblance to Alexanders of the neighboring Argos. A corn wreath is constantly found on the coins of Hermione surrounding the ethnic but this is a very common type, also found on the coins of Methana, for example.⁴⁴ Furthermore, on coins of Hermione the ethnic is always indicated as EP in separate letters, or in the form of a monogram, and never as HP , as it is on the Alexanders. These are the reasons that led Grandjean, in her study of the coinage of Hermione, to reject the attribution to this city.⁴⁵ The attribution of this undoubtedly Peloponnesian issue therefore, remains uncertain.



Fig. 3.13. Alexander tetradrachm, 'Hermione' mint.

The existing hoard evidence places the late Alexanders discussed so far in a period between *c.* 230 and *c.* 215 BC. The concealment of our two groups of hoards, during the Cleomenic and the Civic wars respectively, is certain. The absence of issues of Argos, Corinth, Hermione and Ambracia in the hoards buried *c.* 225 BC or earlier, provided it is not accidental, implies that they were issued after that date and before *c.* 220-215 BC when the next group of hoards is to be dated. This means that the coins would have been minted very soon before their burial.

Alexanders after Cynoscephalae

Certain Alexanders not included in the hoards so-far discussed, and which have been considered to have come from Greece, were found in deposits from the eastern Mediterranean. The Bayiada 1949 hoard from northern Phoenicia⁴⁶ and the Pamphylia 1977 hoard,⁴⁷ both buried after the defeat of Antiochus III by the Romans and the treaty of Apameia in 188 BC, contained Alexanders of a clear Peloponnesian style bearing the initials ME or MEΣ and a tripod, like the civic coins of Messene (fig. 3.14). The accompanying letters are very similar to those on the League hemidrachms struck by Messene, so their identification is secure.⁴⁸ Their low weights and larger flans, which

42. Polyb. 4, 61, 1; 4, 63, 4.

43. TROXELL 1971, 56-57. PRICE 1991, no. 741.

44. LHS 2006, no. 1330.

45. GRANDJEAN 1990, 55. She is followed by Walker in LHS 2006, 305. See also STEFANAKI (in this volume).

46. For the dating of the hoard: SEYRIG 1973, 48-49 (180-175 BC); *IGCH* 1541 (*c.* 188 BC); PRICE 1991 (after 190 BC).

47. Dated to 180-175 BC by PRICE 1991, 62-63.

recall the Alexanders of Aspendos and Phaselis, struck at the very end of the third or the beginning of the second century, corroborate their early 2nd century dating.⁴⁹ This very limited issue of Messene, therefore, was struck later than the other Peloponnesian Alexanders, and since Messene entered the Achaean League in 191 BC, its Alexanders have been dated to *c.* 190 BC.

A second group of Alexanders, which appear in later hoards, bear the harpa or the wolf-forepart symbols accompanied by the monogram \AA (fig. 3.15).⁵⁰ These coins bear common mintmarks with the League hemidrachms of Argos and can be attributed to this mint. They are found, together with the ‘earlier’ Argive issues in the Mektepini 1956 hoard, buried in Phrygia in the first decade of the second century,⁵¹ as well as in the later Latakia hoard from Syria, buried *c.* 170-165

BC,⁵² but not in the earlier hoards from the Peloponnese. Troxell has dated these issues to the early second century and has suggested that their presence in the East could be linked to the participation of Achaean troops in the war between Antiochus III and Rome on the side of the Romans. Polybius (21, 3b), followed by Livy (37, 20-21; 37, 39, 9), state that in 191-190 BC the Achaeans concluded an alliance with Eumenes and sent a small force of 1000 foot and 100 horse to Asia. This has been considered as an appropriate occasion for the new member of the League, Messene, to produce her share of the expenses. But a second period of issue for Argos, during the early second century, is less certain. The Price 734 variety with the harpa, dated to the early second century BC, shares a common obverse die with the Price 730 variety with the club that has been dated to the 220’s.⁵³ Furthermore, the Mektepini 1956 hoard, for which a dating to 196/5 BC has been recently proposed,⁵⁴ contains these ‘late’ issues together with coins of the ‘earlier’ group of Argos.⁵⁵ The absence of Price’s varieties 734-740 from the third century hoards from the Peloponnese is not enough to prove their issue in the second century BC.



Fig. 3.14. Alexander tetradrachm, Messene mint.



Fig. 3.15. Alexander tetradrachm, Argos mint.

48. As first proposed by TROXELL 1971, 65 and accepted by PRICE 1991, 163-164.

49. GRANDJEAN 2003, 123-126.

50. PRICE 1991, nos. 734-740.

51. Dated by OLCAY, SEYRIG 1965 to *c.* 190 BC, a date lowered by MEADOWS 2009b, 66-68 to 196/5 BC.

52. Dated to *c.* 169 BC in *IGCH* and to 170 BC by PRICE 1991, 63. For a catalogue of the hoard see: SEYRIG 1973, 49-56.

53. In the catalogue published by NOE 1962b, 38-39, the two varieties are shown to be die linked and Noe describes this as “a brief coinage of marked homogeneity of style”.

54. See note 51.

55. Peloponnesian issues in this hoard include four coins dated to the period *c.* 225-215 BC: Two from Sicyon (PRICE 1991, nos. 715 and 725), one uncertain (PRICE 1991, no. 780) and one from Argos (PRICE 1991, no. 727). It also contains two coins of Argos dated by Price to *c.* 190 BC (PRICE 1991, nos. 736 and 738).

It should be underlined that Attic weight tetradrachms (Alexanders, Athenian, Seleucid) had been the dominant currency in the Peloponnese until the end of the third century BC, often accompanied by large numbers of earlier drachms. The withdrawal of Macedonia from the South after the defeat of Philip V during the second Macedonian war at Cynoscephalae (197 BC), was followed by a radical change in the circulation pattern in the Peloponnese. The circulation of Attic weight currency was seriously reduced and tetradrachms and drachms were replaced by silver coins of small value and on a different standard, the Aeginetan hemidrachms.⁵⁶ In this context it is natural to suppose that the production of Attic tetradrachms in the Peloponnese during the second century BC would have been marginal.

The latest Alexanders that fall within the geographical range of this paper have been securely attributed to Samothrace.⁵⁷ A specimen, possibly present in the Ma'aret en Nu'man 1979 hoard buried in Syria in the 160s,⁵⁸ belongs to an issue struck from a large flan that bore a caduceus, a ram head, a monogram and the inscription ΘΕΩΝΔΗΣ under the arm of Zeus.⁵⁹ The caduceus, the ram head and the name of Theondes also appear on civic bronzes of Samothrace⁶⁰ and a certain Theondes signed pseudo-Rhodian drachms that have been attributed to this mint.⁶¹ Theondes is referred to by Livy as the chief magistrate at Samothrace under Perseus,⁶² an island that had been under the suzerainty of the Macedonian king⁶³ and to which he fled after his defeat at Pydna.⁶⁴ A very similar coin bearing the name ΑΡΙΦΑΝΤΟΥ (fig. 3.16), a variety not found in Price, has recently appeared in the market⁶⁵ and should be attributed to the same mint. It seems very probable that the Alexanders of Samothrace were minted during the third Macedonian war in support of Perseus.



Fig. 3.16. Alexander tetradrachm, Samothrace mint.

The Macedonian issues

To these, mainly Peloponnesian, Alexanders that were struck during the late Hellenistic period one should add a group of five issues for which Seyrig has proposed a Macedonian origin on the ground of the very close resemblance of the head of Heracles with that on the bronze coins of Philip V.⁶⁶

56. HACKENS 1968; GRANDJEAN 2000, 323-324; RIZAKIS, TOURATSOGLOU 2008, 79-80.

57. PRICE 1991, 153-154.

58. The hoard was published by MATTINGLY 1993 and dated to c. 162 BC.

59. PRICE 1991, no. 663.

60. For bronzes of Samothrace head of Athena / ram's head and the caduceus symbol see: *SNG Cop*, nos. 1003-06. For bronzes bearing the name of Theondes see: FORRER 1924, no. 2495.

61. A series of pseudo-Rhodian drachms bearing a caduceus on a ram's head and a number of magistrates' names, amongst which Theondes, have been attributed by ASHTON 1988b to Samothrace. In a later publication ASHTON 2002, 73-77, assigned the very large Ἰόργος – torch' and Ἰόργος – caduceus' issues to the same mint, an attribution that would make Samothrace the largest mint of Rhodian imitations.

62. Livy 45, 5-6.

63. Polyb. 29, 8, 7; Livy 44, 25, 10-11.

64. Livy 44, 45, 14-15.

65. Gemini 7 (January 2011), no. 264. The name of this magistrate is not encountered on the pseudo-Rhodian issues published in ASHTON 1988b and 2002.

66. SEYRIG 1963a.

This attribution has been accepted by Price, who has added another three issues to this group.⁶⁷ One counts four different symbols (tripod, club, chelys and prow) for only eight issues combined with two letters and two monograms. The use of such varied mintmarks during this period does not point towards civic issues and enforces the attribution to Macedonia. The tripod and the club are found on coins of Philip V and the Macedonians. The proposal of Seyrig, on the other hand, that the letter B should be considered as a reference to the Botteatae, who struck a coinage in their name in Macedonia under the late Antigonids, should be viewed with some caution, especially after the addition of another issue with the letter Γ to the same group.⁶⁸

Until recently, the earliest known context for these Alexanders was the Propontis/1950 hoard on the southern Thracian coast, a find that consisted of *c.* 200 Alexander tetradrachms, most of them from Pamphylian mints. This hoard also contained five specimens of the tripod and B variety (PRICE 1991, no. 633), all from the same obverse die, two of the club and B variety (PRICE 1991, no. 636) from two different obverse dies together with one Sicyonian tetradrachm of the period *c.* 225-215 BC (PRICE 1991, no. 713). The dating of this hoard has been disputed, especially because of the presence of a cistophoric countermark. In her publication of the find Waggoner proposed a date of 180-170 BC for the hoard, whereas Price accepted the lowest date of *c.* 170 BC for its concealment.⁶⁹ One specimen of the tripod and B variety was also encountered in the contemporary Oreos 1909 hoard, securely dated to the time of the third Macedonian war. It was the only Alexander in a large hoard of mainly Rhodian imitations and Antigonid issues.⁷⁰ The context and find spot support the Macedonian attribution of this issue. These late Macedonian Alexanders are further encountered in the Latakia 1759⁷¹ and the Ma'aret en Nu'man 1980⁷² hoards, both buried in Syria in the decade 170-160 BC. No such coins were found in hoards from Macedonia where the Antigonid coinage was clearly privileged and Alexanders were rare.⁷³ Their absence from earlier hoards, their similarity with the late bronzes of Philip V, as well as the link with the coinage of the Botteatae that has traditionally been dated to *c.* 187-168 BC,⁷⁴ have led to a dating of these issues in the 180's BC.

There is, however, a piece of evidence that should be looked into more carefully. The important Corinth 1938 hoard, part of which was published by Noe, was a mixed find containing Athenian, Seleucid, Ptolemaic and civic issues together with ninety Alexander drachms and twenty tetradrachms.⁷⁵ A date between 220 and 215 BC for its concealment has been



Fig. 3.17. Alexander tetradrachm, Macedonian mint.

67. PRICE 1991, 150-151, nos. 633-641.

68. PRICE 1991, no. 638.

69. WAGGONER 1979. PRICE 1991, 63. MATTINGLY 2002, 464-465, has lowered the dating of the hoard to *c.* 166 BC.

70. The full publication of the hoard (*IGCH* 232) in SVORONOS 1902.

71. SEYRIG 1973, no. 86.

72. MATTINGLY 1993, no. 183 (PRICE 1991, no. 634).

73. See the contribution of STEFANAKI (in this volume).

74. GAEBLER 1895 and 1906.

75. NOE 1962a. The hoard was discovered by workers near Corinth and its content, although perhaps not complete, is however secure.

secured.⁷⁶ The Alexander tetradrachms published by Noe include twelve tetradrachms of the fourth, or early third century, two uncertain Peloponnesian specimens of the mid third century, and six late posthumous coins.⁷⁷ The latter come from the mints of Corinth, Megalopolis, Argos, Clazomenae and, finally, one tetradrachm (NOE 1962a, no. 144) is described as coming from an uncertain Macedonian mint with a tripod and a B under the throne. Now the only known issue of Alexanders with a tripod and a B under the throne is the Price 633 variety.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, the coin is not illustrated in Noe's plates and the specimen could not be located amongst the coins in the trays of the hoard that are held at the Numismatic Museum of Athens. Although one should keep a certain reservation since we have not located the coin yet and no photo is available, if Noe's description is correct this coin would belong to the group of late Macedonian Alexanders discussed above that have been attributed to Pella. Their presence in the Corinth 1938 hoard would oblige us to date these issues in the 220's, together with the bulk of the late Peloponnesian Alexanders. In this case they would represent issues struck by the Macedonian state during the Cleomenic or the Civic war.

Iconography and mintmarks

The Alexanders struck in over one hundred mints around the Hellenistic world bore identical obverse and reverse types. However, in some rare cases, minor iconographic variations were introduced, which had a regional significance or sent a specific message. The most notable variation is that introduced by Seleucus I, who replaced the eagle with a Nike crowning Zeus on the reverse of his Alexander



Fig. 3.18. Alexander tetradrachm, Corinth mint.

tetradrachms after his victory over Antigonus at Ipsus.⁷⁹ At about the same time a minor change was introduced on the Peloponnesian Alexanders, with the addition of two Nikai on the throne-back of Zeus on the reverse. This iconographic variation first appeared at the mint of Corinth, in the middle of a series of issues dated between *c.* 310-290 BC (fig. 3.18),⁸⁰ and was then repeated on some of the 'uncertain Alexander' issues of the period 280-250 BC, as well as on all the late issues of Corinth (fig. 3.11) and Sicyon.⁸¹ The type did not spread to the other mints that were active in the late period, but at the second century issue of Messene, two eagles decorate the throne-back of Zeus.⁸² It is obvious that these Peloponnesian Alexanders reproduced a particular figure of Zeus, probably from a statue erected in the sanctuaries in, or around, Corinth. This iconographic evidence could be an argument for the attribution of the uncertain mid third century issues to the mint of Corinth.

76. The hoard was dated by NOE 1962a, 36-37 to *c.* 215 BC. NICOLET-PIERRE, KROLL 1990, 32 have accepted a dating of 220-215 BC, whereas TSANGARI 2007, 212-214, has dated it to 220 BC.

77. To these one should add the tetradrachms of the two lots published by VAROUCHEA-CHRISTODOULOPOULOU 1960, 487-488 that belong to the same find. The whole is described in IGCH 187.

78. The reference given for this coin by NOE 1962a, 12 is Müller 146. MÜLLER 1855, 137-138, describes variety 146 with a tripod, but no B; this, in fact, is an early posthumous Macedonian issue that corresponds to PRICE 1991, no. 115. The variation with the tripod and the B was not known to Müller.

79. See HOOVER (in this volume).

80. PRICE 1991, nos. 675-676, 686-688, 691-696.

81. PRICE 1991, nos. 757-760, 762A, 776-777 (*c.* 280-*c.* 250 BC), 779, 781-784 (*c.* 225-*c.* 200 BC).

82. PRICE 1991, no. 756.

Another interesting element in the late posthumous Alexander coinage is their mintmarks. Issues struck after the middle of the third century, and especially those struck in Greece during the period of the Cleomonic and the Social war, bear mintmarks that clearly refer to the city that issued them. The very characteristic ‘boy dancing with a fillet’ or the ‘feeding or flying dove’ on the Sicyonian coinage,⁸³ the ‘syrinx’, attribute of Pan, on the Arcadian coinage⁸⁴ or the dolphin on the coins of Carystus⁸⁵ are found as symbols on the Alexanders of Sicyon, Megalopolis and Carystus respectively. The cases of Ambracia and Samothrace are similar and have been discussed above.⁸⁶ The Alexanders attributed to Argos show greater diversity and bear three different symbols, the wolf-head, the harpa or the club, all encountered on the civic issues of the city,⁸⁷ and the case of Corinth is similar. The trident on the Alexanders attributed to this city may be linked to the trident on the civic coins,⁸⁸ but parallels for the figure of the armed Athena are harder to find.⁸⁹ The symbols on the late Alexanders are often accompanied by the initials of the ethnic, such as ME for Megalopolis, MEΣ for Messene, ΠE for Pellene, or KA for Carystus. The mintmarks of the late Alexanders, therefore, deliberately identified the city that issued the coins. The purpose of identifying the issuing authority supports the interpretation of these issues as financial contributions and finds an exact parallel in the later hemidrachms of the Achaean League.⁹⁰

It should, however, be noted that the use of civic mint marks was much less consistent in the late Alexanders struck in Greece, than in those struck in other regions of the Hellenistic world. All of the mints of western Asia Minor that produced Alexanders during the late period bore civic mint marks and, in the great majority of the cases, they were applied with extreme consistency, since the same symbol or letters were used throughout all the issues of a mint.⁹¹ The only mint that did not bear civic mintmarks in Asia Minor was Pergamum, the royal mint of the Attalids.⁹² Consistent civic mintmarks were also the rule in southern Asia Minor,⁹³ Phoenicia⁹⁴ and in the Black Sea region.⁹⁵ The mints in Greece followed this rule less vigorously.

83. LHS 2006, nos. 317-319.

84. LHS 2006, nos. 1517-18, 1521, 1530-39 are issues of the Arcadian League with a syrinx, whereas LHS 2006, nos. 1552-67.

85. Lanz 2002, nos. 596-598.

86. See above p. 18 and 21.

87. The club and the harpa are found, amongst others symbols, on the civic and League issues of Argos, whereas the wolf-forepart is a very characteristic type of the city: LHS 2006, nos. 1003-1183.

88. Lanz 2001, nos. 207-300.

89. At least not in the form of the full figured Athena. The helmeted head of a goddess is a standard type for the Corinthian obverses.

90. TROXELL 1971, 61, first proposed that the Peloponnesian Alexanders were, in fact, “an early form of the Achaean League money”.

91. Parium, Alexandria Troas (common mint marks with Hierax as at Lampsacus), Assos, Tenedos, Cyme, Myrina, Temnos, Methymna, Clazomenae, Colophon, Erythrae, Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Miletus, Phocaea, Priene, Smyrne, Teos (on an issue dated after Apameia the ethnic is omitted – PRICE 1991, no. 2314) Chios, Samos, Alabanda, Antioch, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Mylasa, Cos, Rhodes. Only at Ephesus and Mytilene are the mintmarks a little less consistent.

92. For the Alexanders of Pergamum see MARCELLESI 2012, 94-96, who underlines that the Pergamene Alexanders share common mint marks with the royal Philetairoi and concludes, *op. cit.*, 94, note 29 “ces Alexandres doivent vraisemblablement être considérés comme des frappes royales et non civiques”.

93. Phaselis, Aspendos, Perge (dates on the city era), Sillyum, Side, Sagalassus, Termessus, Nagidus.

94. Laodicea striking royal issues of Seleucus and perhaps also Alexanders, Arados, Carne, Gabala, Marathus, Simyra.

95. Cabyle, Dionysopolis, Mesembria, Sinope, or Heraclea, all of the mints in the Black Sea with the only exception of Callatis.

The output of the mints

Early and late Alexanders struck in mainland Greece and Macedonia show an enormous difference in their output. Existing die studies, as well as the presence of Alexanders in hoards, confirm this statement very lucidly. Troxell has studied the early issues of the main Macedonian mint, usually identified as Amphipolis.⁹⁶ She has based her study on the coins held at the ANS and on Newell's important cast collection. From a total of nearly 3000 tetradrachms she has identified 879 different obverse dies and estimated a total of 1075. Issues A-F are the lifetime Alexanders (*c.* 332-323 BC) that include a total of 458 identified and 561 estimated obverse dies. Issues G-L are the early posthumous Alexanders (323-310 BC) for which 420 identified and 568 estimated obverse dies have been counted. This produces a number of 91/112 obverse dies per year for the lifetime issues and 32/43 obverse dies per year for the early posthumous ones. It should be noted that these numbers account only for the production of the tetradrachms and not for their contemporary gold staters and silver fractions.⁹⁷ We also know that the early issues of Amphipolis formed an important element in the hoards buried during the late fourth and early third centuries BC.⁹⁸ In the great Demanhur hoard alone, these issues formed over 30% of the total currency included.⁹⁹

The picture is drastically different for the late posthumous Alexanders struck in Greece. Troxell has identified fifteen obverse and thirty-two reverse dies for the 'uncertain Peloponnesian' Alexanders struck in the period between *c.* 280 and 250 BC.¹⁰⁰ Noe has counted six obverse and fourteen reverse dies for the late issues of Argos, as well as four obverse and nine reverse dies for those of Megalopolis.¹⁰¹ Finally, only one obverse die is known for the second century issue of Messene.¹⁰² The issues of Argos, Megalopolis and Messene must have been produced in a short period¹⁰³ and the same is also probable with regard to the 'uncertain Peloponnesian' issues. No die studies have been realized for the late tetradrachms attributed to Sicyon, Carystus, Corinth, Pelene, Samothrace, Ambracia (?), Hermione (?), nor for the late Macedonian Alexanders. Nevertheless, the limited number of varieties for these mints in the catalogue of Price, and their extremely meagre presence in hoards, is a strong indication that the production of these mints was also very limited. The Aetolian Alexanders and those of King Areus of Sparta, present a similar picture. In her corpus of the Aetolian coinage Tsangari has gathered 80 tetradrachms produced from 9 obverse and 45 reverse dies.¹⁰⁴ The tetradrachms of Areus must have been scarcer: only four specimens are known deriving from four obverse and three reverse dies.¹⁰⁵

96. TROXELL 1997.

97. For quantification of the early Alexander issues see: CALLATAÏ 1989, written before Troxell's study.

98. See TSELEKAS (in this volume).

99. NEWELL 1923, 69-70; CALLATAÏ 1989, 82.

100. TROXELL 1971, 68-69, obverse dies A4-A18, reverse dies P2-P34.

101. NOE 1962b. The material included in the catalogue is not complete.

102. GRANDJEAN 2003, 109-110.

103. For the two periods of issue at Argos suggested by Price see above p. 45 and 48.

104. TSANGARI 2007, 75-81.

105. TROXELL 1971, 67 and GRUNAUER VON HOERSCHELMAN 1978, 112, both include the same three tetradrachms (in Paris, Berlin and New York) in their catalogue. One more specimen of this rare issue from a different pair of dies has recently appeared in the market: Nomos 1 (6 May 2009), lot 77.

The evidence of the hoards also points to a limited production of these late issues, as can be seen in Table 1, below. All mints, with that of Carystus being the only exception, are present in these finds, but their numbers are very limited. The only hoards found to contain a relatively large number of late Peloponnesian Alexanders is the Peloponnese 1962, 1970 hoard and, to a lesser extent, the Olympia 1922 hoard. Both contain the mid third century issues that were probably produced in larger numbers than those of the 225-200 BC period. Out of the later finds, for example, the Corinth 1938 hoard contained only 6 Peloponnesian issues out of 144 Alexanders (mostly drachms), whereas the Patras 1850 hoard contained 13 out of 98. As one would expect, in hoards from more distant regions the analogy is even more meagre.

There is still a lot to be done in order to obtain an accurate estimation of the quantity of Alexanders that were struck in Greece under the late Antigonids, but the general picture is that these were small issues that had been produced during short periods of time and at irregular intervals. On the present state of evidence one could guess that we shouldn't be able to count more than fifty or sixty dies for a period of a century. This equals the production of one important Phoenician mint during the same period, namely Arados.¹⁰⁶ Other examples for which we have data we may compare are Chios, Pergamum and Rhodes. Seventy-seven obverse tetradrachm and twenty obverse drachm dies have been identified for Chios for the period between 280 and 160 BC.¹⁰⁷ For the Alexanders of Pergamum Kleiner has counted nineteen obverse and forty eight reverse dies, for the period between 220-190 BC,¹⁰⁸ whereas the production of Rhodes was considerably larger: thirty five obverse and one hundred and forty two reverse dies,¹⁰⁹ for a period of *c.* ten years, between *c.* 201-190 BC. The production of the late posthumous Alexanders struck by the cities in mainland Greece therefore, was considerably smaller than in that of the eastern mints.

Summary and conclusions

We have discussed the Alexanders issued in areas of Antigonid influence during the third and second centuries BC. The fall of the monarchy, after the success of Aemilius Paulus at Pydna in 168 BC, gave the final stroke to the use of this common currency, whose production had faded anyway by the end of the 3rd century BC. After Pydna, the international Alexanders were replaced by the Athenian New Style tetradrachms, the *stephanephora*, that appeared in hoards after the middle of the second century BC.

The production of Alexanders discussed in this paper fall into four periods of issue, each of which bears different characteristics: a) The period between *c.* 280-250 BC, a period of intense Macedonian control of the Peloponnese. The attribution of these issues to specific mints is uncertain

106. The Alexanders of Arados are dated so we have: 7 dies for the period 246/5-241/0 BC, 7 dies for 217/6-216/5 BC, 16 dies for 202/1-191/0 BC and 4 for the period 186/5-184/3 BC, a total of 50 obverse dies: DUYRAT 2003, 37-38. At Arados we may note a radical decrease of the production of Alexanders after Apameia, just as in Greece after Cynoscephalae.

107. BAUSLAUGH 1979.

108. KLEINER 1971, dated these coins to *c.* 201-190 BC and considered them parallel to the issues of Rhodes. However PRICE 1991, 222-223 preferred *c.* 215-200, whereas MARCELLESI 2012, 96 proposed a wider time span between *c.* 220-190 BC.

109. KLEINER 1971.

since the coins do not bear civic mintmarks. These coins circulated locally but spread to the East after the end of the third century BC. b) The years between *c.* 230 and 215 BC, a period marked by successive wars, namely the Cleomenic (229/8-222 BC) and the Civic war (220-217 BC), that took place mostly in the Peloponnese. During this period the production of Alexanders spread to a number of mints in the Peloponnese (Corinth, Sicyon, Argos, Megalopolis and Pellene), but also to Euboea (Carystus) and, perhaps also Acarnania (Ambracia). These Alexanders are easier to attribute, since they bear civic mintmarks that deliberately identify the issuing authority. c) The first two decades of the second century, during which the production of Alexanders had seriously diminished. The only mint that certainly struck Alexanders in these years was Messene, a city that joined the Achaean League in 191 BC. d) the period of the third Macedonian war (172-168 BC), during which we may securely identify only one mint at Samothrace, a sacred island held by Perseus. It is clear from the above that the production of Alexanders in Greece had seriously diminished after the end of the third century and the withdrawal of Macedonia from her possessions in the South. As for the Macedonian Alexanders, these are usually dated to the end of the reign of Philip V (*c.* 180 BC), but new hoard evidence, as well as historical probability, oblige us to put a question mark to this dating. The Macedonian Alexanders could very well also belong to the period of the Cleomenic and Social wars, like the majority of the issues under discussion. The Alexanders struck in Greece, therefore, were struck during most of the third century, unlike, for example, Asia Minor, where Alexanders between 280 and 225 BC are hard to identify.

Production of silver coinage in the Peloponnese during the third century BC consisted of the civic issues of the cities, small denominations struck on the Aeginetan standard, of the hemidrachms of the Achaean League and finally of the Alexanders.¹¹⁰ The dating of the civic issues of the Peloponnesian cities is not very clear, although not much seems to have been struck after the middle of the third century BC.¹¹¹ The first, very limited, group of the Achaean League hemidrachms without symbols and monograms, were probably introduced around the middle of the third century BC,¹¹² whereas the main bulk of the League coinage, bearing civic monograms and symbols, began in the first decades of the second century BC. During the last decades of the second century, therefore, when the late Alexanders were issued, not much other silver coinage was minted by the Peloponnesian cities and, in this sense, the Alexanders filled a gap.

The choice of striking a currency that would be accepted widely in the Hellenistic world shows that this coinage was not issued to make payments to locals.¹¹³ And in a period of intense military activity, payments to mercenaries seem to be the most plausible explanation. However other types of payments cannot be excluded for this coinage, such as the financing of construction works within the cities for which craftsmen were hired from abroad.¹¹⁴ This interpretation is especially attractive for the isolated late issues of Messene, since systematic excavations of the site have shown

110. See the short overview in GRANDJEAN 2000, 324-328.

111. The last issues of Argos have been dated to the 260's/250's BC: LHS 2006, 265-271, those of Megalopolis to *c.* 275 BC: LHS 2006, 361-365 and those of Sicyon to *c.* 270: LHS 2006, 56-86.

112. See the discussion of Walker in LHS 2006, 107-110.

113. Metal analysis has shown that the Peloponnesian Alexanders were struck by homogenous metal with a very high percentage of silver, adequate for meeting the demands of the international market: GRANDJEAN 2000, 325.

114. For construction projects in the Peloponnesian cities and for the possible use of Alexanders for their financing see: RIZAKIS, TOURATSOGLU 2008, 77-78, 80.

that a large construction project was put forward at Messene between 214 and 190 BC.¹¹⁵ Once put into circulation the Alexanders were used for various financial activities, as can be established from the written sources.¹¹⁶

The cities, therefore, used the ‘common currency’ to meet various expenses, mainly of a military nature, that could not be paid in a local currency. We know that the Peloponnesian cities contributed their *eisphorai* to the Achaean League so that the army could be organised at a regional level under the direction of the *strategos*. Several passages in Polybius illustrate this practice very vividly: in 219 BC “the peoples of Dyme, Pharae and Tritaea, despairing of help from the strategus, came to an agreement with each other to refuse to pay their contribution to the Achaean league and to collect a private mercenary force of three hundred foot and fifty horse with which to secure the safety of their lands”;¹¹⁷ two years later, in 217 BC, “Aratus found the mercenary forces of the Achaeans disaffected and the cities not at all disposed to tax themselves for the purpose of maintaining them...”.¹¹⁸ One of the obvious aims of the Achaean League, therefore, was to maintain a common army under the leadership of the elected *strategos*, an army that was financed by the contributions of the member cities.

But literary sources also reveal that the Achaean cities, as a federal institution, on various occasions also financed the Macedonian army. In his biography of Aratus, Plutarch mentions that during the Cleomenic war the Achaeans were compelled to provide supplies and payment for the Macedonian troops.¹¹⁹ Similar evidence exists for the period of the Civic war. When describing the events taking place in spring 218 BC, when Philip was in the Peloponnese fighting against the Aetolians, Polybius writes (5, 1, 6): “King Philip, being in want of corn and money for his army, summoned the Achaeans through their magistrates to a Common Assembly” and after he had managed to obtain the consent of Aratus (or at least that’s the way Polybius puts it) he adds (5, 1, 11-12): “the Achaeans passed vote to pay him at once fifty talents for his campaign, to provide three months pay for his troops and ten thousand medimni of corn, and for the future, as long as he remained in the Peloponnese fighting in alliance with them he was to receive seventeen talents per month from the League”. A systematic financing of Philip by the Achaeans is clearly mentioned. It seems very difficult to dissociate this information from the Peloponnesian Alexanders, as Troxell has already proposed. The Achaeans were paying the king by gathering the cities’ contributions. But this did not occur only, as Troxell tentatively suggested, in order to pay Macedonia. And proof for this is brought forward by recent hoard evidence which has shown that the issues of Megalopolis were definitely struck before 224/3 BC when Doson became involved in the war. The Achaeans had an army of their own to maintain (Polybius 5, 91, 4) and their army also relied heavily on mercenary forces. The mercenaries of the Achaeans had no reason to demand other payment than those of the king.

115. RIZAKIS, TOURATSOGLU 2008, 78 (with references).

116. PSOMA (in this volume).

117. Polyb. 4, 60, 4-5 (Loeb edition, translation W.R. Paton).

118. Polyb. 5, 91, 4 (Loeb edition, translation W.R. Paton).

119. Plut. *Arat.* 45.

TABLE 1. Hoards Containing Alexanders Struck under the Late Antigonids

Hoard	References	Burial Date	Coins	Alexanders	Late Alexanders from Greece and Macedonia
Peloponnese 1962, 1970	<i>IGCH</i> 172; <i>CH</i> 6.28; <i>CH</i> 7.71	c. 265-240	46+	43	Uncertain Peloponnese (39)
Olympia 1922	<i>IGCH</i> 176	c. 245	82	20	Uncertain Peloponnese (9)
Meydancikkale 1980	<i>CH</i> 7.80; 8.308	c. 240-235	5216	2554	Uncertain Peloponnese (3)
Sparta 1908	<i>IGCH</i> 181	c. 230-220	86	15	Uncertain Peloponnese (1)
Kirazli 1939	<i>IGCH</i> 1369; 8.324	c. 230-220	835	746	Uncertain Peloponnese (2)
Sophicon 1893	<i>IGCH</i> 179; <i>CH</i> 7.81; 8.316	c. 230-220	945	719	Megalopolis (1)
Megalopolis 1947	<i>IGCH</i> 180	c. 225-220	40	21	Uncertain Peloponnese (1), Megalopolis (3), Sicyon (3)
'Seleucus III' 2002	<i>CH</i> 10.272	225/4	6500	?	Megalopolis (1) ¹²⁰
Geraki 1998	<i>CH</i> 9.201	220's	53	24	Uncertain Peloponnese (1)
Corinth 1938	<i>IGCH</i> 187	c. 220-215	382	24	Uncertain Peloponnese (2), Corinth (1) Megalopolis (1), Argos (1), Pella (1)
Patras 1850	<i>IGCH</i> 186	c. 220-215	125+	98	Uncertain Peloponnese (3), Sicyon (2), Corinth (4), Argos (2), 'Hermione' (1), Ambracia (1)
Syria 1960	<i>IGCH</i> 1533 SEYRIG 1973	c. 210-200	18	5	Uncertain Peloponnese (1),
Gordion V 1961	<i>IGCH</i> 1405	c. 205	100	36	Uncertain Peloponnese ¹²¹ (1)
S. Asia Minor 2002, 'Achaeus hoard'	<i>CH</i> 10.277	c. 203	87	49	Corinth (3), Megalopolis (1), Sicyon (1)
Mektepini 1956	<i>IGCH</i> 1410	c. 200-188	752+	490	Sicyon (2), Argos (3), Samothrace (1) ¹²²
Asia Minor central 1924	<i>IGCH</i> 1412	195-185	16+	16+	Argos (1)
Syria 1971	<i>CH</i> 10.289	c. 195/4	90	40	Megalopolis (1)
Ayaz-In 1953	<i>IGCH</i> 1413	200-185	170+	93	Megalopolis (1) ¹²³
Baiyada 1949	<i>IGCH</i> 1541	c. 188-170	11+	11+	Messene (1)

120. The Megalopolis coin is not listed in *CH* 10.272 but see MEADOWS, LORBER 2010, 123, n. 5.

121. This coin is not in COX 1966, but is included as part of the hoard in the catalogue of PRICE 1991, no. 781.

122. The coin is listed as uncertain in OLCAY, SEYRIG 1965, no. 714. PRICE 1991, no. 662, has tentatively proposed the mint of Samothrace because of the caduceus symbol.

123. In *IGCH* there is also mention of a late tetradrachm of Sicyon. In fact this (SEYRIG 1973, 83, no. 166) is actually an early Alexander of Corinth that corresponds to PRICE 1991, no. 691.

TABLE 1 (cont.)

Hoard	References	Burial Date	Coins	Alexanders	Late Alexanders from Greece and Macedonia
Pamphylia or Cilicia 2000	<i>CH</i> 10.292	187/6	800	509	Megalopolis (1); Sicyon (2); Argos (2); Uncertain Peloponnese (2)
Pamphylia 1977	<i>CH</i> 5.43; 6.34; 10.294	180-175	500+	120+	Messene (1) ¹²⁴ , Sicyon (1)
Propontis 1950	<i>IGCH</i> 888; <i>CH</i> 7.93	180-160	c. 200	c. 200	Sicyon (1), Pella (9)
Oreos 1902	<i>IGCH</i> 232; <i>CH</i> 9.235	c. 171-169	c. 1300	1	Pella (1)
Latakia 1759	<i>IGCH</i> 1544	c. 170-165	c. 92	48	Argos (1), Pella (1) ¹²⁵
Ma'aret en Nu' Man 1980	<i>CH</i> 6.37; 7.98; 8.433; 9.511	162	536	119	Pella (1), Argos (1), Samothrace (1)

124. The identification of the two coins is from PRICE 1991. In *CH* 10.294 the mint is erroneously mentioned as Megalopolis but the reference: PRICE 1991, no. 756 is actually a coin of Messene.

125. A coin of Sicyon is also mentioned in *IGCH*, but in the detailed publication of SEYRIG 1973, 49-56 there is no Sicyonian issue only a coin with a cornucopia that is attributed to Corinth (no. 86). This is possibly an early Macedonian issue corresponding to PRICE 1991, no. 108.

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