

BILDWERT

Nominalspezifische Kommunikationsstrategien
in der Münzprägung hellenistischer Herrscher

EUROS

Münstersche Beiträge zu Numismatik und Ikonographie

Herausgegeben von Achim Lichtenberger und Dieter Salzmann
im Auftrag der Forschungsstelle Antike Numismatik
am Institut für Klassische Archäologie
und Christliche Archäologie
der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster

Band 2

EUROS: Für Homer der Ostwind. Seine Brüder waren der Nordwind Boreas, der Südwind Notos und der Westwind Zephyros. Euros war ein unbequemer Geselle. Er galt als grimmig und düster, unangenehm feucht und drückend heiß. Als Eratosthenes die achtstrahlige Windrose schuf, blies Euros von Südosten, und dort, im Südosten des antiken Mittelmeerraums, in Kleinasien, wurde im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. die Münzprägung erfunden. Wir haben den sperrigen Namenspatron für diese Publikationsreihe gewählt, um Studien auf dem Gebiet der antiken Numismatik und Ikonographie voranzutreiben.

Das Logo der Reihe basiert auf der Darstellung des Gottes am Turm der Winde in Athen, das Muschelhorn ist ihm beigefügt.



BILDWERT

Nominalspezifische Kommunikationsstrategien
in der Münzprägung hellenistischer Herrscher

Kolloquium vom 17. – 18. Juni 2010 in Münster

Herausgegeben von

Achim Lichtenberger, Katharina Martin,
H.-Helge Nieswandt und Dieter Salzmann

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GEFÖRDERT VOM EXZELLENZCLUSTER ›RELIGION UND POLITIK
IN DEN KULTUREN DER VORMODERNE UND DER MODERNE‹
AUS MITTELN DER EXZELLENZINITIATIVE DES BUNDES UND DER LÄNDER



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VORWORT

Unter dem Titel ›BildWert. Nominalspezifische Kommunikationsstrategien in der Münzprägung hellenistischer Herrscher‹ präsentierten im Juni 2010 internationale Spezialisten und Nachwuchswissenschaftler aus den Fächern Numismatik, Klassische Archäologie und Alte Geschichte verschiedene Zugänge zu Fragen nach Wert und Funktionen von Geld, nach Möglichkeiten einer Identifizierung von Nutzern und Rezipienten sowie Überlegungen zum Phänomen einer Instrumentalisierung von Münzen als Kommunikationsmedium. Ausführlich wurden verschiedene methodische Ansätze thematisiert, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Auswertbarkeit diskutiert sowie gemeinsam Fragen nach (etwaigen) Zusammenhängen und Wechselwirkungen von ikonographischen, (geld-)wirtschaftlichen und kommunikationstheoretischen Aspekten in hellenistischer Zeit erörtert.

Dieser Workshop fand im Rahmen der Forschungen am Münsteraner Exzellenzcluster 212 ›Religion und Politik in den Kulturen der Vormoderne und Moderne‹ statt, dem unser Projekt ›Religion und Politik im ältesten Massenmedium der Menschheit. Königliche Münzbilder von der iberischen Halbinsel bis zum Hindukusch‹ von 2007 bis 2012 angehörte.

Unser Dank gilt an erster Stelle den Referentinnen und Referenten des Workshops sowie allen anderen, die sich an den anschließenden intensiven Diskussionen beteiligt haben. Ganz besonders danken wir den Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die ihren Beitrag weiter ausgearbeitet und für die vorliegende Publikation zur Verfügung gestellt haben.

Für seine bewährte Gastfreundschaft sei dem Liudgerhaus in Münster gedankt, dessen Räumlichkeiten wir für unsere Tagung nutzen konnten. Der Fritz Thyssen-Stiftung danken wir für die großzügige Finanzierung der Veranstaltung selbst. Der Exzellenzcluster gewährte die Übernahme der Publikationskosten für den vorliegenden Band, wofür wir ebenfalls herzlich danken.

Münster, im Herbst 2013

Achim Lichtenberger, Katharina Martin, H.-Helge Nieswandt und Dieter Salzmann

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PROGRAMM DES BILDWERT-WORKSHOPS



Donnerstag, 17.06.2010

Fürstenberghaus, Domplatz 20-22, Hörsaal F8

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 14:00 | Einführung
Achim Lichtenberger, Bochum, und
Dieter Salzmann, Münster |
| 14:15 | For whom royal Hellenistic coins were struck?
An enquiry about differences of metals and
denominations
François de Callataÿ, Brüssel |
| 15:00 | Hortfundanalysen: Spiegelt sich in getrennten
Edelmetall- und Bronzehorten eine nominal-
spezifische Wahrnehmung?
David Biedermann, Münster |
| 15:30 | Stiftungen hellenistischer Herrscher an Städte
und Heiligtümer: Gemünzte oder ungemünzte
Schenkungen?
Kai Michael Meyer, Münster |

**Liudgerhaus, Überwasserkirchplatz 3,
Tagungsraum S1**

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 16:30 | Pause |
| 17:00 | Die Stadt als Souverän – Städtische Tetrachmen
in der Levante
Marion Meyer, Wien |
| 18:00 | Abendessen |

Freitag, 18.06.2010

- | | |
|-------|---|
| 09:00 | The royal portrait on Ptolemaic tetradrachms
Catharine Lorber, Los Angeles |
| 09:45 | A queen's worth. Considerations about
the coinage of Hellenistic royal women and
the question of denomination
Katharina Martin, Münster |
| 10:30 | Pause |
| 11:00 | Seleucid divine attributes and coinage:
becoming divine on petty material
Panagiotis Iossif, Liège/Athen |
| 11:45 | Nicht nur im Auge des Betrachters –
Zu visuellen und haptischen Unterschieden
baktrischer Münzen als Ausdruck
unterschiedlicher Kommunikationsstrategien
Gunnar Dumke, Heidelberg |
| 12:30 | gemeinsames Mittagessen |
| 14:00 | Münzikonographie und Hellenisierung
in Bithynien, Pontos und Kappadokien
Christoph Michels, Aachen |
| 14:45 | Pause |
| 15:15 | Twin Peaks: the king and his foundations in
royal Hellenistic coins
Margherita Facella, Pisa/Münster |
| 16:00 | Elektron, Silber, Bronze: Kontinuität –
Diskontinuität der Bilder. Das Beispiel
Phokaia
Aylin Tanrıöver, Münster |
| 16:45 | Pause |
| | anschließend Abschlussdiskussion |
| 18:00 | Abendessen |



FOR WHOM WERE ROYAL HELLENISTIC COINS STRUCK? THE CHOICE OF METALS AND DENOMINATIONS*

François de Callatay

Why did Hellenistic rulers decide to strike gold instead of silver, or tetradrachms instead of drachms or bronzes? What were the motives which guided them in making such choices? Strangely enough, such basic questions have not, as yet, been properly studied. This paper is intended as a first, very general treatment of these questions.

To begin, it is fair to assume that the basic principles of monetary history apply equally to the Hellenistic monarchies. One principle is that (with extremely rare exceptions), from the very beginning of our evidence (several millennia BC) until the 19th c. AD, civic expenditures were driven by military initiatives. The Welfare State (»Wohlfahrtsstaat« in German, »L'État providence« in French) is a word coined in the 1930s for a reality which didn't emerge before the end of the 19th c. Before that date, kingdoms or States typically devoted more than half of their revenues to military costs, even in peacetime¹. The percentage often reaches two-thirds, and higher ratios are not uncommon². These military expenditures represented primarily payments to soldiers, but the maintenance of fleets and ramparts were also very expensive. This general pattern is naturally even more pronounced in wartime, when states would often have expenses well beyond their revenues. That Hellenistic royal coinages were primarily issued to meet military expenditures is a principle we have to constantly bear in mind, and which is best illustrated by the coinages of Mithridates Eupator, king of Pontus. His silver coins are conveniently dated by year and month, and therefore provide a unique opportunity to measure the rhythm of production. A detailed study shows that production was a) highly discontinuous, b) highly correlated with military expenditures, and c) mainly struck before campaigns (far less during and after, depending of the result of the war)³.

* I am most grateful to Rick Witschonke who, once again, assisted in smoothing the English text.

Abbreviations follow the guidelines of the German Archeological Institute, see <<http://www.dainst.org/de/publikationsrichtlinien?ft=all>> (July 2012); some frequently cited titles are listed at the end of this article.

¹ See M. Körner, Les dépenses, in: R. Bonney (ed.), *Systèmes économiques et finances publiques* (Paris 1996) 399–428 and F. de Callatay, *Guerres et monnayages à l'époque hellénistique. Essai de mise en perspective suivi d'une annexe sur le monnayage de Mithridate Eupator*, in: J. Andreau – P. Briant – R. Descat (eds.),

Économie antique. La guerre dans les économies antiques, *Entretiens d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 5 (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges 2000) 337–364 (esp. 337–341).

² But the famous letter of Demetrios, in charge of the mint of Alexandria, to the *dioiketes* Apollonios suffices to remind us that royal coinages in precious metals was also struck for trade: see G. Le Rider, *Sur un passage du papyrus de Zénon 59021*, *BCH Suppl.* 33, 1999, 403–407.

³ For several examples of early payments recorded in ancient sources, see M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, *BEFAR* 169 (Paris 1949) 733 f.

A second principle, which extends from ancient Greece to Rome and beyond, derives from a lower degree of monetization and, to compare with the modern world, a lower level of inflation, which made it easier to keep a fixed relation between one kind of commodity or service and one kind of coin. It is remarkable that, with minor exceptions, the large gold denomination weighing c. 8g (such as the stater or the aureus) corresponded to a military wage for one month (as exemplified by the wage promised by Cyrus to the Ten-Thousands of Xenophon in 400 BC), while the smaller silver basic unit weighing c. 4g (the drachm or the denarius) is the military wage for one day (with the tetradrachm in between, perhaps for one week). In other words, the pattern of Hellenistic coinages says something about the modalities of how soldiers were paid, and this is a line of enquiry which has not been extensively investigated. Some issuing powers, such as the Romans, the Parthians and the Cappadocian kings, preferred to issue drachms, while most others favoured tetradrachms.

A third basic principle is that campaigning soldiers prefer to travel with high value coins in precious metals, while garrisoned soldiers may behave differently. In the *Truculentus*, the aptly-named Stratophanes (the one who looks as a soldier), back from Syria, tried to obtain the favours of the courtesan Phronesia, but was opposed by the local Ephesian Strabax. Stratophanes had just offered one silver talent in *philippeoi* (to be understood as gold staters of Alexander the Great), and then challenged Strabax, asking him to loose his money-belt (*solve zonam*) to show his offering. Strabax answered: »You are a foreigner! I live here. I don't go walking around with a money-belt« and he showed Stratophanes how he carried his money in a sack tied around his neck (*collo in crumina*) (Plaut. Truc. V.1.954). Soldiers' diaries of many periods are full of anecdotes about these belts filled with gold coins⁴. And, as during Napoleon's retreat from Moscow (1812), we are regularly informed about soldiers trying to reduce the weight they have to carry through seemingly unfavourable exchanges⁵.

It is important to keep this set of basic principles in mind when discussing the purpose of any specific coinage issue. The following enquiry into differences of metals and denominations will successively consider gold, silver and bronze, giving for each what I think is the broad picture, as well as discussing some interesting case-studies.

1. GOLD

Conclusions about gold coinages differ vastly depending on whether we are dealing with an abundant, regularly-struck coinage, or with isolated issues which, as a rule, are indicative of emergency situations, and not of general prosperity, as is sometimes wrongly presumed⁶. In fact, a clear majority of Hellenistic rulers never struck any gold coins. Notwithstanding several now-discredited claims to the

⁴ E. Blaze, *Souvenirs d'un officier de la Grande Armée. La vie militaire sous le Premier Empire* (Paris s. d.) 146 (»Pauvres malheureux! Ils prenaient tous ce dernier parti. J'en ai vu dont la ceinture avait un poids énorme, dont les habits étaient une cuirasse entre le drap et la doublure«).

⁵ J.-R. Coignet, *Les cahiers du capitaine Coignet* (new ed. by J. Mistler) (Paris 1968) 243 (»Mon cheval se couchait tant il était faible, je m'en aperçus et pris le sac et vais trouver mes vieux grognards dans leur bivouac et leur propose de me débarrasser de mes 700 francs: »Donnez-moi 20 francs d'or, je vais vous donner 25 francs. Tous s'en firent un plaisir et je fus débarrassé, je les

aurais laissés sur place; toute ma fortune se montait à 83 napoléons qui me sauvèrent la vie«). On the monetary aspects of the retreat from Moscow, see F. de Callatay, *Les problèmes d'argent lors de la campagne de Russie (1812) d'après le témoignage de combattants français*, *Revue belge d'Histoire militaire* 29/4, Dec. 1991, 251–270.

⁶ For gold issues at Miletus, see Ph. Kinns, *The Coinage of Miletus*, *NumChron* 146, 1986, 233–260 *pace* B. Deppert-Lippitz, *Die Münzprägung Milets vom vierten bis ersten Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, *Typos* 5 (Aarau 1984).

contrary⁷, entire Hellenistic kingdoms such as Pergamum, Bithynia, Cappadocia, Armenia and Parthia did not issue any gold coinage, while gold issues were scarce in Pontus and in the Seleucid Empire.

Was the minting of gold subject to certain taboos, as is sometimes suggested⁸? Was it a high royal privilege, as it is tempting to infer from medieval practices? Prestige is clearly a motivation in the case of the heaviest (169.2g) Greek gold coin ever recorded, a massive 20-stater piece struck in the name of Eucratides⁹, or the splendid ›Greek‹ staters of Flamininus, the victor over Philip V at the battle of Cynoscephale in 197 BC. We will probably never know if these coins were struck by Flamininus himself, in an appropriation of one of the most powerful symbols of the defeated enemy, or by thankful Greeks trying to curry favour with the new master. As with other small issues of gold coins, modern research has typically characterized these rare staters as donatives, denying them the status of real coins. From a quantitative point of view, this is hard to accept¹⁰. With 5 obverse dies for 10 known specimens, this gold coinage was struck on a grand scale: in the same range, for example, as all the staters struck by Mithridates Eupator (*i.e.* c. 12 obverses), for a total amount probably exceeding 100,000 coins or 300 talents¹¹. Prestige may have also been a motivation for Mithridates himself, whose gold coins were mainly struck at Pergamum, the old capital of the Attalids. And consider the staters issued by his son Pharnakes, king of Bosphorus, whose legend proudly proclaims him as the ›king of kings‹, while he is mainly remembered as a Roman client who was easily defeated by Caesar¹².

The most abundant Hellenistic gold coinages were the ones in the name and types of Philip II (c. 400 obverse dies) and Alexander the Great (c. 1,200), struck during their lifetime and in the first generation after them. Together, they required the engraving of c. 1,600 obverse dies for staters (which – even using the low average productivity of 10,000 coins per die – means 53,333 talents), an amount never approached by any other Hellenistic gold coinage, except the Ptolemies. The size of the Phillip II and Alexander gold issues dwarfs the lifetime issues of Lysimachus (c. 50 dies), Demetrius Poliorcetes (c. 35), the late posthumous Lysimachi of the West Pontic coast (c. 27 altogether for Istros, Callatis, Tomis and Byzantium), Mithridates Eupator (c. 12), Pyrrhus at Syracuse (c. 3 for the staters and c. 9 for the hemistaters), and Pharnakes II in the Bosphoran Kingdom (c. 3).

As demonstrated by this simple list, gold issues were vastly more abundant under Alexander the Great and the diadochs than in late Hellenistic times. Gold was not only struck in smaller numbers but, judging from the hoards, it also circulated on a much reduced scale from the second third of the 3rd c. BC onwards. This trend is illustrated by the last kings of Macedonia – Philip V and Perseus – who struck no gold issues, despite the demanding wars they were both involved in. The Ptolemies were the exceptions to the rule. A rough estimate for the sole reigns of Ptolemy III and IV gives the equivalent of c. 300 obverse dies for staters, and gold was still abundantly struck under Ptolemy V (204–180 BC) and VI (180–145 BC)¹³.

⁷ For the Parthians, see <www.parthia.com> (July 2012).

⁸ Ch. Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins* (London – New York 1995) 9.

⁹ O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné* (Paris 1991) 202 no. 25 and pl. 16.

¹⁰ F. de Callatay, *More than it Would Seem: the Use of Coinage by the Romans in Late Hellenistic Asia Minor (133–63 BC)*, *AmJNum* 23, 2011, 55–86.

¹¹ For Mithridates, see *infra*. For the estimate of 300 talents: 10 obverses dies (as extrapolated by the simplified formula of Carter

1983) x 20 drachms (the value of each stater) x 10,000 (a moderate average productivity per obverse die) = 2 million drachms = 333 talents (666 talents if 20,000 coins per obverse die).

¹² For Pharnakes, see K. V. Golenko – P. J. Karyszkowski, *The Gold Coinage of King Pharnaces of the Bosphorus*, *NumChron* 7 (12), 1972, 25–38, pl. 2–3. The authors make a link between the grandiloquent legend of the staters with the death of Tigranes the Great of Armenia in 55 BC.

¹³ For the tetradrachms of Ptolemy V, see RQEMH, no. 315, p. 293 f. (O. Mørkholm, *The Portrait Coinage of Ptolemy V. The Main*

Of course, the Ptolemies had ready access to gold mines, while Alexander the Great, in addition to the mines of Mount Pangeus, had at his disposal the gigantic accumulation of precious metals he found in the Persian treasuries. In general, it is perhaps best to conclude that royal Hellenistic gold issues depended primarily upon the simple availability of the metal, which was never abundant in the Greek world, except for the period of roughly 332–270 BC. In many instances, we may speculate about a connection between rare gold issues and favourable opportunities for war booty (with sanctuaries as a particularly attractive target). This may explain the gold struck by Hicetas¹⁴ in Sicily; the Aetolian League coinage (staters and drachms, c. 239–210 BC)¹⁵; as well as some gold issues struck by the Seleucids (see *infra*), Mithridates Eupator¹⁶, and Asander, king of Bosphorus¹⁷.

But within this general pattern (availability and prestige), some cases prove to be particularly interesting, beginning with Alexander the Great himself. In a short article entitled »*Paying the mercenaries*«, Margaret Thompson proposed an attractive theory to explain the noticeable peak in the production of the coinage of Alexander for the immediate years before his death (325–324 BC), which corresponds to the time when Alexander, then in Mesopotamia, disbanded large numbers of soldiers (10,000 veterans at least were sent back home at Susa or Opis: Arr. an. 7.12.1 and Diod. 18.12.1)¹⁸. She noticed that the peak is mainly visible in the production of coastal mints located on the return route of these veterans or mercenaries. This may be seen at Side and Alexandria, but most noticeably at several mints in Asia Minor (Map 1): Lampsakos, Abydos, Kolophon, Magnesia, and Miletos. Moreover, she noted that Lampsakos and Abydos specialized in gold staters, while Kolophon, Magnesia, and Miletos focused on silver drachms. This is particularly appealing, since it fits very well with what the various groups of mercenaries may have wished to bring back home: gold staters for the Thracians, and silver drachms for the Thessalians and the Peloponnesians. The essence of the hypothesis – which makes it so appealing – is that mercenaries were not paid at Babylon (whose minting activity remained stable during these years), but rather in the last harbour city on their way home, a device which certainly hastened their return, and probably prevented much wandering, plundering, and assaults¹⁹.

Some parts of this proposal have been gently criticized by Georges Le Rider, who observes that, if the huge Macedonian production at Amphipolis in these years was intended to pay the arrears of 10,000 Macedonians veterans, the numismatic chronology does not fit exactly with the historical record, since the Macedonians veterans did not reach Macedonia until 322 BC²⁰. But the link between gold issues

Series, in: Greek Numismatics and Archaeology. Essays in Honor of M. Thompson [Wetteren 1979] 203–214, pls. 23–24).

¹⁴ T. V. Buttrey, The Morgantina Gold Hoard and the Coinage of Hicetas, *NumChron* 7 (13), 1973, 1–17, pl. 1–2 (the 6 obverse dies for hemistaters were used in a short period of time, probably in 279 BC).

¹⁵ See D. I. Tsangari, *Corpus des monnaies d'or, d'argent et de bronze de la confédération étolienne* (Athens 2007) 192–193 (c. 17 obverse dies for the staters [$n = 39 / o = 14$] and c. 3 ? for the drachms [$n = 4 / o = 2$]) and Tables 20–21. Two Aetolian staters circulated along with Seleucid and Ptolemaic staters in the Naupactus hoard (IGCH 174) (Tsangari *op. cit.* [note 15] 211).

¹⁶ Most staters of Mithridates Eupator were struck at Pergamum ($n = 33 / o = 5$) or Rhodes? ($n = 15 / o = 4$). See F. de Callatay, *L'histoire des guerres mithridatiques vue par les monnaies* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1997) 4–5.

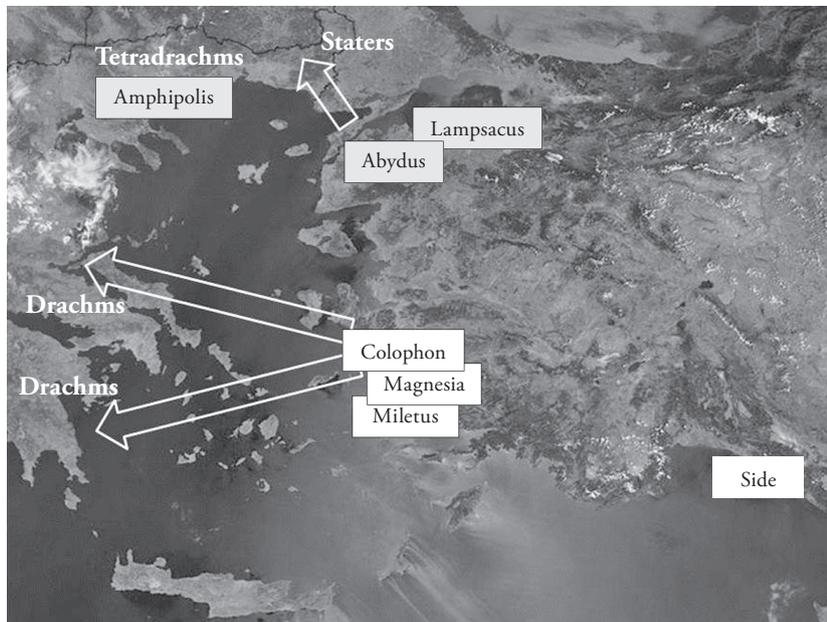
¹⁷ For Asander, see K. Nawotka, Asander of the Bosphorus: his Coinage and Chronology, *AmJNum* 3/4, 1991/92, 21–48, pl. 3–4. No silver issues are known for Pharnakes and Asander. The suggestion that silver disappeared from the market under the rule of Mithridates Eupator has nothing to recommend it (*pace* A. N. Zograph, *Ancient Coinage*, BAR Int. Ser. 3 (Oxford 1971) 302 and Nawotka *op. cit.* 26).

¹⁸ M. Thompson, *Paying the Mercenaries*, in: A. Houghton *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Leo Miltenberg*, Numismatics, Art History, Archaeology (Wetteren 1984) 241–247, pl. 38–39.

¹⁹ See also F. de Callatay, *Guerres et monnayages à l'époque hellénistique*, *Archéologia* 248, November 1999, 30–32.

²⁰ G. Le Rider, *Alexandre le Grand. Monnaie, finances et politique* (Paris 2003) 86–101. On this topic, see also H. A. Troxell, *Studies in the Macedonian Coinage of Alexander the Great*, Numismatic Studies 21 (New York 1997).

and the vast reservoir of mercenaries located in Thracia and beyond seems undeniable, especially since the same pattern may be observed for Lysimachus, whose main mint for staters was *Alexandria Troas* (Map 2)²¹.



Map 1. Specific monetary issues made in 325/4–324/3 BC by Alexander the Great for disbanded mercenaries



Map 2. Main mint of Lysimachus for his staters

²¹ M. Thompson, *The Mints of Lysimachus*, in: C. M. Kraay – G. K. Jenkins (eds.), *Essays in Greek Coinage presented to Stanley Robinson* (Oxford 1968) 163–182, pls. 16–22. See also F. de

Callatay, *Le monde hellénistique*, in: F. de Callatay – G. Depyrot – L. Villaronga, *L'argent monnayé d'Alexandre le Grand à Auguste* (Brussels 1993) 18–20.

Although the Seleucid kings never struck much gold coinage, what they did produce is worthy of examination (see the following Table 1):

Table 1: A summary of gold production by Seleucid kings

Mints	Sel I	Ant I	Ant II	Sel II	Ant Hie	Sel III	Ant III	Ant IV	Ant V	Dem I	Alex I	Ant VI	Alex II
Lampsacus					sta								
Alexandria Troas					sta								
Aegae			sta										
Myrina			sta										
Kyme			sta										
Phokaea			sta										
Sardes			sta										
Aspendus							sta / ½ sta						
Tarsus	sta		sta										
Antioch-on-the-Orontes	sta		sta	sta		octa	octa	sta	octa	octa / tri / 2 ½ sta / dis / sta / ½ sta	sta	sta	sta
Ptolemais (Ake)											sta		
Carrhae	sta												
Nisibis							octa / sta						
Babylon	sta												
Seleucia-on-the-Tigris	sta		sta	sta			octa / sta						
Susa ²²	sta	sta	sta	sta		sta							
Ecbatana	sta		sta	sta									
Ai Khanoum		sta	sta										

Most Seleucid mints never struck gold, and those which did invariably struck stater. Two anomalies deserve comment. First, octadrachms were issued, mainly at Antioch, by some rulers, starting with the ›Soter coinage‹ struck in 246–244 BC at or near Antioch, while the Ptolemaic army occupied Antioch itself (SC 2002, 640 – not on Table 1). At the beginning of his reign, c. 226–225 BC, Seleucus III also issued octadrachms at Antioch (SC 2002, 920)²³. As these large denominations are now of the highest rarity, and very spectacular, it is tempting to interpret them not as true coins, but rather as donatives, perhaps even ascension donatives²⁴. The same assumption has also been made for the more numerous

²² Also Double darics, Lion staters, 1/8 staters (Ba'al/lion).

²³ See G. Le Rider, *Antioche de Syrie sous les Séleucides* (Paris 1999) 74 and 80–84.

²⁴ SC 2002, 327: ›Its first emission included an exceptional coinage of gold octadrachms, whose dies were also used in the production

of tetradrachms. The early date suggests an ascension donative; but both of the two extant specimens came to light in a hoard from Gordium in Phrygia, implying that these outside gold pieces ultimately played a role in military finance, whatever their initial purpose«.

octadrachm issues of Antiochus III, which are referred to as ›celebratory issues‹²⁵. However, one may wonder if these heavy octadrachms were donatives, since they are regularly found in hoards along with other denominations (Gordion and Ma'aret En-Numan), and they were struck from the same dies as the tetradrachms. We may also speculate as to whether these octadrachms were perhaps intended to rival, either symbolically or even practically, the abundant large gold issues produced by the Ptolemies, especially since the first issue of Seleucid octadrachms (the so-called ›Soter issue‹) is thought to have been struck near Antioch while Antioch itself was controlled by the Ptolemaic army. It is remarkable too that the unique issue of octadrachms produced by the Greco-Bactrian ruler Euthydemus I (c. 230–190 BC) is probably contemporaneous with the expedition of Antiochus III, who fought against Euthydemus in 208–206 BC, and struck octadrachms at three mints, including Nisibis and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.

A second anomaly is the extraordinary variety of gold denominations issued by Demetrius I at Antioch-on-the-Orontes (SC 2008, 1629–1632). As pointed out by the authors of the second part of the *Comprehensive Catalogue*, the historical context perhaps provides a clue as to the reason for such an innovation, both in terms of denominations and of iconography: »Responding to the challenge of the usurper Alexander Balas, in 152/1 Antioch produced an emergency gold issue of octadrachms and staters with standard silver types, struck from tetradrachm and drachm dies, respectively. In the following year, Demetrius' last, Antioch issued an exceptional and spectacular gold series involving multiples and fractions of a stater. Oddly, the king's portrait was replaced by a seated Tyche on the obverse, while a *cornucopia* occupies the reverse. It seems likely that these were presentation pieces intended to buttress the loyalty of key officials and officers as the confrontation with Alexander drew near«²⁶. This political explanation, built on an iconographical argument is not unattractive. As with some Roman *donativa*, the variety of denominations would have been intended to reward people of different ranks.

2. SILVER

Silver was the metal most extensively utilized for coinage by Hellenistic rulers, since many of them issued little or no bronze coinage (as is the case at Pergamum, and in Bithynia²⁷, Pontus and Cappadocia). And, in general, Hellenistic rulers struck tetradrachms, a heavy silver coin whose value was equivalent to several days' wages for an unskilled worker or simple soldier. Indeed, many kings either never struck drachms, or struck them only on a small scale. Table 2 summarizes Hellenistic silver coinage:

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 355: »The western Seleucid capital was one of several mints that struck celebratory gold, in this case four issues of octadrachms. The earliest (cat. no. 1037) was probably part of an accession donative, a reasonable precaution after the attempted acclamation of Achaëus by the army in Asia Minor. A second (cat. no. 1038) contributed to the rich rewards following the Armenian

campaign. The final two octadrachm issues (cat. nos. 1039–1040) must reflect bonuses paid after the eastern campaign and (perhaps) the conquest of Coele Syria«.

²⁶ SC 2008, 152 (see also 166).

²⁷ For the Bithynian situation in particular see Christoph Michels' considerations, pp. 229–240.

Table 2: Silver denominations: an overview for Hellenistic rulers expressed in estimated numbers of obverse dies
(for details, see de Callatay 1993 and de Callatay 1997)

Hellenistic rulers or below	Tetradrachms	Didrachms	Drachms	Hemidrachms
Philip II (c. 359–315 BC) ²⁸	c. 530	c. 30	c. 20	c. 65
Alexander the Great (c. 332–290 BC)	c. 3,000	Few	c. 3,300	Few
Lifetime Lysimachus (c. 297–282 BC)	c. 450	None	c. 50	1 specimen ²⁹
Late Lysimachus of Byzantium (c. 120–72 BC)	c. 325	None	None	None
Seleucids (c. 300–225 BC)	c. 800	Very few	Few?	Few?

Macedonia	Tetradrachms	Didrachms	Drachms	Hemidrachms
Demetrios Poliorketes (c. 306–287 BC)	c. 170	None	Few ³⁰	None
Antigonos Gonatas (c. 277–239 BC)	c. 220	None	1?	None
Philip V (c. 221–179 BC)	Many	Many	Few	Few
Perseus (c. 179–168 BC)	c. 70	Very few	Very few	None
Philip VI Andriskos (c. 150–148 BC)	None	None	Very few	None
ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ (c. 167–149 BC)	c. 170	None	None	None
ΛΕΓ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ (c. 148–147 BC)	c. 7	None	None	None
Aesillas (c. 90–70 BC)	c. 100	None	Very few	None

Pontus ³¹	Tetradrachms	Didrachms	Drachms	Hemidrachms
Pontic kings before Mithridates Eupator (c. 220–123 BC)	c. 35	None	c. 8	None
Mithridates Eupator (c. 123–63 BC)	c. 190	None	c. 5	None

Bithynia ³²	Tetradrachms	Didrachms	Drachms	Hemidrachms
Nicomedes I (c. 279–255 BC)	Very few	None	Very few	None
Prusias I–II (c. 228–149 BC)	Hundreds	None	None	None
Nicomedes II–IV (149–75 BC)	c. 600?	None	None	None

²⁸ Fifths of tetradrachms were also issued in substantial numbers (obverse dies = c. 85?). See G. Le Rider, *Le monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe II frappé en Macédoine de 359 à 294* (Paris 1977) et RQEMH, 102 f.

²⁹ F. de Callatay – R. Kan, A New Silver Denomination of Lysimachus: a Unique Hemidrachm (from Mytilene?) with Athena Parthenos on the Reverse, in: *Kermatia filias. Timètikos tomos gia ton Ióannè Touratsoglou* (Athens 2009) 109–115.

³⁰ And chiefly in Asia Minor (and Tarsus). For Alexander the Great, see E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorketes* (London

1927) and RQEMH, 111.

³¹ See de Callatay 1997 and F. de Callatay, *The First Royal Coinages of Pontus (from Mithradates III to Mithradates V)*, in: J. Munk Høtje (éd.), *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, *Black Sea Studies* 9 (Aarhus 2009) 63–94.

³² See F. de Callatay, *Productions et circulations monétaires dans le Pont, la Paphlagonie et la Bithynie: deux horizons différents (V^e–I^{er} s. av. J.-C.)*, in: Th. Faucher – M.-Ch. Marcellesi – O. Picard (eds.), *Nomisma. Circulation monétaire en Grèce ancienne*, *BCH Suppl.* 53 (Athens 2011) 455–482.

Pergamum ³³	Tetradrachms	Didrachms	Drachms	Hemidrachms
Philetairus (c. 282–263 BC)	c. 35	None	None	None
Eumenes I (c. 263–241 BC)	c. 95	None	None	None
Attalus I (c. 241–197 BC)	c. 50	None	None	None
Eumenes II (c. 197–160 BC)	c. 60	None	None	None

Cappadocia ³⁴	Tetradrachms	Didrachms	Drachms	Hemidrachms
Ariarathes IV (c. 220–163 BC)	c. 1	None	None	None
Ariarathes V (c. 163–130 BC)	Few	None	Many	None
Orophernes (158–157 BC)	c. 1	None	None	None
Ariarathes VI (c. 130–116 BC)	None	None	c. 50	None
Ariarathes VII (c. 116–101 BC)	c. 1	None	c. 80	None
Ariarathes VIII (c. 101–100 BC)	None	None	c. 45	None
Ariarathes IX (c. 101–85 BC)	c. 3	None	c. 85	None

Parthia	Tetradrachms	Didrachms	Drachms	Hemidrachms
Arsakes I (c. 247–211 BC)	None	None	Many	None
Arsakes II (c. 211–185 BC)	None	None	Many	None
Mithradates I (c. 171–138 BC)	Few	None	Many	None
Phraates II (c. 138–127 BC)	Few	None	Many	None
Artabanos I (c. 127–123 BC)	Few	None	Many	None
Mithradates II (c. 123–88 BC)	Many	None	Many	None

As has been noted, the many mints of Alexander the Great were organized into a differentiated pattern where staters were mainly struck in the Hellespont (Lampsakos and Abydos), and drachms in Ionia, a pattern which fits very well with the mercenary hypothesis. Tetradrachms were produced everywhere, but by far the most important quantities were produced in Macedonia at the great mint of Amphipolis, and also at Babylon: in other words at the two centers – the old and the new – of Macedonian power. Hemidrachms, a rare denomination, came chiefly from Phoenicia, a phenomenon we are at a loss to explain³⁵.

Similarly, no one has thus far ventured to explain why Cappadocian and Parthian kings were the only ones to favour drachms over tetradrachms. Without any supporting literary evidence, it would be risky to conclude that Cappadocian and Parthian rulers paid their troops on a daily basis, while most other rulers did it differently.

A more detailed study of royal Cappadocian coinages points to another explanation: tetradrachms with royal Cappadocian types were struck by kings who might well have utilized mercenaries, while

³³ See F. de Callatay, *The Coinages of the Attalids and their Neighbours: A Quantified Overview*, in: P. Thonemann (ed.), *Attalid Asia Minor. Money, International Relations, and the State* (Oxford 2013) 207–244.

³⁴ For Orophernes, see H. Salvesen, *The Tetradrachm of Orophernes*,

Nomismatika Khronika 21, 2002, 8–11.

³⁵ P. C. Schindel, *Contribution à la numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand: localisation des ateliers frappant des hémidrachmes et suggestion pour une meilleure définition des critères d'atelier*, *BCercleNum* 20/1, Jan. – March 1983, 1–5.

drachms were more typical for legitimate kings³⁶. Table 3 summarizes the volume of issues, giving for each ruler and silver denomination the number of obverse dies (o) as well as the number of specimens (n):

Cappadocian tetradrachms were never issued in large quantities. Among those who struck this denomination, we have two usurpers who, more than others, might have wished to be protected by a force of mercenaries: Orophernes,

who grew up in Asia and was supported by the Seleucid Demetrius, and Ariarathes IX, the son of Mithridates Eupator. In contrast, legitimate kings such as Ariarathes VI and VIII, as well as Ariobarzanes (called Philoromaios), struck only drachms. The other tetradrachm issues are more difficult to interpret: the unique tetradrachm of Ariarathes VII, as well as two tetradrachms of Ariarathes IV, issued at the Seleucid mint of Soli, have a clear Seleucid appearance, while the rare tetradrachms of Ariarathes V are dated to the years 134/3 BC, and are likely to have been prompted by some military action related to the Donation of Attalus.

It has recently been demonstrated that vast quantities of Seleucid tetradrachms in the name of Antiochus VII were in fact produced at Cappadocian mints⁴³. The bulk of these issues, which started under Ariarathes VI, may be connected with specific conflicts, especially with some episodes of the Mithridatic wars. The suggestion that »the intended recipients were (at least in part) mercenaries from the south«⁴⁴ is indeed likely. Conversely, the Roman soldiers of Pompey the Great, when wintering in Cappadocia, seem to have been paid in Cappadocian drachms, a denomination they were more familiar with⁴⁵.

Table 3: Royal Cappadocian issues
(Callatay 1990 and Callatay 1997, p. 180–214)³⁷

Kings	Tetradrachms (o/n)	Drachms (o/n)
Ariarathes IV (c. 220–163 BC) ³⁸	2/3	None
Ariarathes V (c. 163–130 BC) ³⁹	2/5	?/244+
Orophernes (158–157 BC) ⁴⁰	2/9	None
Ariarathes VI (c. 130–116 BC) ⁴¹	None	42/193
Ariarathes VII (c. 116–101 BC) ⁴²	1/1	67/230
Ariarathes VIII (c. 101–100 BC)	None	39/173
Ariarathes IX (c. 101–85 BC)	3/47	63/203
Ariobarzanes I (c. 95–79 BC)	None	67/120

³⁶ F. de Callatay, Les tétradrachmes des rois de Cappadoce, BNumParis 45/9, Nov. 1990, 891–895.

³⁷ As strongly argued at length elsewhere (de Callatay 1997), identifications and chronologies proposed by Otto Mørkholm are highly preferable to those advocated by Bono Simonetta. The recent attempt of the son Alberto to support his father fails to propose new perspective and is unconvincing: A. M. Simonetta, The Coinage of the Cappadocian Kings: A Revision and a Catalogue of the Simonetta Collection, Parthica 9 (Pisa – Roma 2007).

³⁸ See A. Houghton, The Royal Seleucid Mint of Soli, NumChron 149, 1989, 26, nos. 63–64 and pl. 9. A tetradrachm of another type, possibly struck at the beginning of his reign, has been published by M. Arslan, A Unique Tetradrachm of Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, from a Hoard Found at Kotyora (Ordu), in: B. Kluge – B. Weisser (eds.), Proceedings of the 12th International Numismatic Congress, Berlin 1997 (Berlin 2000) 230–232.

³⁹ Simonetta 1977, 23 (3 tetradrachms) and O. Mørkholm, The

Classification of Cappadocian Kings, NumChron 7 (9), 1969, 26 (244 drachms for the sole year 33 [ΓΑ]) and de Callatay 1990, 893 note 6 (6 tetradrachms) and 7. Add the unique variety sold by LHS Numismatik, sale 95, 25 October 2005, no. 703.

⁴⁰ See Salvesen *op. cit.* (note 34) 8–11. At least 6 tetradrachms of Orophernes were found in Priene in 1870 beneath the pedestal of the cult statue of Athena Polias (IGCH 1323).

⁴¹ O. Mørkholm, The Coinages of Ariarathes VI and Ariarathes VII of Cappadocia, SchwNumRu 57, 1978, 144–163, pls. 40–44.

⁴² For the unique tetradrachm, see Leu (Zurich), sale 20, 25–26 April 1978, no. 154 and M&M, sale 30, 28 May 2009, no. 1077; for the drachms, see Mørkholm *op. cit.* (note 41).

⁴³ C. C. Lorber – A. Houghton, Cappadocian Tetradrachms in the Name of Antiochus VII, NumChron 166, 2006, 49–96, pls. 15–26.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁴⁵ de Callatay 1990 and de Callatay 1997, 211–214.

Furthermore, while drachms of Ariarathes IX, the son of Mithridates Eupator installed by force on the Cappadocian throne, display the usual Cappadocian type of the standing Nike, his tetradrachms aggressively adopt the Pontic type of Pegasus, as well as the eight-rayed star and crescent symbols. Thus, it seems that iconography sends a clear message: the beneficiaries of the drachm issues were Cappadocian, while those of the tetradrachms were Pontic.

Again, in examining the chronology, it is remarkable that the only issue of drachms ever struck by Mithridates Eupator is dated to the year 96/5 BC, at a time when the king of Pontus may have become involved in Cappadocian affairs. The coincidence is so strong here that it encourages us to postulate some Pontic intervention in Cappadocia, even if the literary record is not explicit on that point⁴⁶.

Because the coins of this period record both the year and month of issue, the period of the Mithridatic wars provides a unique opportunity to examine the purposes for which the coinage was struck. Although not directly connected with the theme of this conference, it should be noted that the construction of a large fleet by Eupator at the winter 89/8 BC (App. Mithr. XII.4.22) certainly required a large expenditure, but this was not paid in fresh coins, since coin production was very meager in this period (no production for December 89 and January 88 BC, and the die used in November 89 BC was still in use in February 88 BC – see de Callataÿ 1997, p. 39–43 and 282–287). An additional example of military action without the striking of coins is provided by the so-called ›second Mithridatic war‹, in reality an aggression by the Roman general Murena. Mithridates, who was initially defeated, had no time to recruit troops, and indeed there is almost nothing in the numismatic record to connect with this conflict (de Callataÿ 1997, p. 44 f.).

Also of prime interest for our topic is the silver coinage of Tigranes the Great, king of Armenia and son-in-law and ally of Eupator. After spending his youth in captivity, Tigranes became king in 95 BC and immediately embarked upon several military campaigns, ultimately driving the late Seleucid king Antiochus X Eusebes from Antioch. It seems that the capture of Antioch occurred in 83 BC, since we know that Tigranes appointed Magadates as satrap of this area, and that this Magadates had been in office for 14 years in 69 BC, when he was ousted by Lucullus. Therefore, since tetradrachms of Tigranes displayed on the reverse the famous Tyche of Antioch, it can be safely assumed that these tetradrachms were not issued before 83 BC. The reason why Tigranes started to strike silver tetradrachms only then – and not before, despite his many military actions – is easy to find. It is likely that the Greek mercenaries he had with him at Tigranocerta in 69 BC were the mercenaries employed by the late Seleucids, which he found 14 years before at Antioch and incorporated into his army, and they expected their pay in Greek-style tetradrachms⁴⁷. Conversely, after his defeat by Lucullus in 69 BC and the settlement of the peace, Tigranes, now retired in Artaxata, still struck silver coins, but mainly drachms instead of tetradrachms⁴⁸. Again, the absence of Greek mercenaries as well as the influence of the nearby Parthian kingdom offers a simple explanation for this phenomenon.

⁴⁶ de Callataÿ 1997, 37. 205 (›Comme, de tous les royaumes avoisinants, la Cappadoce est le seul qui avait pris l'habitude de frapper des drachmes, on imagine assez bien un lien entre cette frappe inhabituelle et la Cappadoce‹), 274 (›Dans ce contexte, l'émission exceptionnelle de drachmes [3 coins de droit pour 11 ex.] pourrait être liée à une activité en Cappadoce, dont les rois ont toujours

privilegié cette dénomination‹).

⁴⁷ See App. Mithr. XII.12.86 and de Callataÿ, 1997, 231 f. 364 f.

⁴⁸ See A. Moushegian – G. Depeyrot, Hellenistic and Roman Armenian Coinage (1st c. BC – 1st c. AD), *Moneta* 15 (Wetteren 1999) 38–40 (claiming that drachms are now intentionally struck with the same alloy as Roman *denarii*) and 212–218.

Thus, at a very general level, it looks as if rulers who gave priority to tetradrachms were those who employed large groups of Greek mercenaries (including Thracians). That is certainly the case for the three biggest monarchies: the Seleucids, the Ptolemies and the Antigonids, but also for the kings of Pergamum and Bithynia and for Mithridates Eupator. Conversely, drachms were struck by the Cappadocians, the Parthians ... and the Romans. There is no evidence for Greek mercenaries in the Cappadocian army. The Parthians, whose army chiefly involved local nobility and levies, employed mercenaries to be sure, but not large groups of Greek ones⁴⁹. As for the Republican Roman army, it is the classic example of a civic army, and of a society with a high incidence of military enlistment.

For those interested in the silver fractions, Seleucid coinages, with their many mints and rulers, provide an ideal opportunity to delve into an analysis of denominations below the drachm. Tables 4 (up to Antiochus V) and 5 (from Demetrius I to Antiochus IX) give a summary of the different denominations issued by identified mints (only) in the *Seleucid Catalogues* (SC 2002 and SC 2008):

This conspectus of the early reigns demonstrates that the Seleucids never struck fractions North of Taurus. From Lysimacheia to Tarsus, they mainly issued tetradrachms, sometimes with corresponding issues of drachms, although generally on a small scale. The mints for which we do have silver coins of at least three denominations have been indicated in bold characters. They are found primarily at the beginning of the sequence (mainly under Seleucus I), and located in the East, from Mesopotamia to Bactria (with no less than 6 silver denominations for Ecbatana). This is remarkable in itself since these are precisely the areas where there was no monetary tradition before the coming of the Greeks. We may also note that Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers extended the multi-denomination phenomenon in the far East for more than a century, from Seleucus I to Antimachus (c. 175–165 BC), with three denominations as a rule: tetradrachms, drachms, and hemidrachms (or obols). No less remarkable is the fact that obols and their fractions and multiples nearly disappeared after Seleucus I. For those who subscribe to the idea of the steadily growing monetization of the Hellenistic world, this provides a cautionary counter-example.

Because they are bilingual, Indo-Greek coinages offer another line of enquiry. Silver and nickel issues of Agathocles were only inscribed in Greek, while his bronzes were bilingual, supporting the idea of a restricted use of the precious metal issues⁵⁰.

Table 5 (from Demetrius to Antiochus IX) shows how the number of struck silver denominations rarely exceeded two, with Antioch as the only stable exception. At Antioch, the classical tetralogy is: tetradrachms, drachms, hemidrachms, and diobols. This nearly continuous pattern of including small denominations is likely to be connected with the more evolved division of labour typical of great cities, and thus with urbanization. Antiochus IV was responsible for many monetary innovations. Under his reign (from his first Egyptian campaign in 169 BC), the mint of Antioch started to strike small silver denominations with his radiate portrait, as well as a set of four bronze denominations with Egyptiani-

⁴⁹ J. Wolski, Le rôle et l'importance des mercenaires dans l'état parthe, *IrAnt* 5/2, 1965, 107–113.

⁵⁰ See, for example, O. Boppearachchi, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*. The Collection of the American Numismatic Society. Part

9. Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins (New York 1998) nos. 230–261; for the bilingual coinage see also Gunnar Dumke's article in this volume, pp. 89–91. 98–102.

Table 4: A summary of silver production by Seleucid kings (from Seleucus I to Antiochus V)
 (T = Tetradrachms; Di = Didrachms; D = Drachms, H = Hemidrachms; DiO = Diobols; O = Obols and HO = Hemiobols)

Mints	Sel I	Ant I	Ant II	Sel II	Ant Hie	Sel III	Ant III	Sel IV	Ant IV	Ant V
Lysimacheia			T		T		T			
Parium					T					
Lampsacus			T		T					
Abydus			T		T					
Alexandria Troas			T, D		T					
Ilium			T		T					
Scepsis			T		T					
Pergamum	T, D	T								
Aegae			T		T					
Myrina			T							
Kyme			T							
Phokaea					T					
Smyrna		T								
Sardes	D	T	T	T, D	T		T			
Magnesia-on-the-Maeander		T, D	T, D							
Bargylia			T, D							
Seleucia-on-the-Calycadnus							T	T	T	
Soli							T, D	T, D	T, D	
Tarsus	T	T	T, D	T		T	T, D		T, D	T
Antioch-on-the-Orontes	T, H, O	T	T	T, D		T	T, D	T, D	T, D, H, DiO	T, D
Seleucia in Pieria	T, D									
Laodicea	T, D	T, D	T							
Aradus						T				
Gabala						T				
Carne						T				
Marathus						T				
Simyra						T				
Ptolemais (Ake)								T	T	T
Carrhae	T, D, H									
Nisibis				T, O			T			
Babylon	T, Di, 1/5, 1/30									
Gerrha							T			
Seleucia-on-the-Tigris	T, D, H, O	T, D	T	T, D		T	T	T	T	
Antioch in Persis								T	T	
Susa	T, D, H, DiO, O	T	T	T		T	T	T	T	
Ecbatana	T, Di, D, H, O, HO	T, D	T	T, D, DiO		T	T, D	T	T, D	
Ai Khanoum	T, D, H, O	T, D, H	D, H							

Table 5: A summary of silver production by Seleucid kings (from Demetrius I to Antiochus IX)

Mints	Dem I (1st)	Alex I	Dem II (1st)	Ant VI	Tryphon	Ant VII	Dem II (2nd)	Alex II	Ant VIII	Ant IX	Sel VI	Ant IX
Seleucia on the Calycadnus		T	T, D			T			T	T	T	
Elaeusa											T	
Soli	T	T	T, D	T, D		T						
Tarsus	T, D	T	D			T, D	T, D	T, D	T	T, D	T	
Mallus	T		T, D	T		T, D	T, D		T	T		
Mopsus			T							T		
Antioch-on-the-Orontes	T, D, H	T, D, H, DiO	T, D, H, DiO	T, D, H, DiO	T, D	T, D	T, D	T, D, H, DiO	T, D, H			
Apamea				T, D, H								
Seleucia in Pieria		T	T, D				H					
Damascus						T, D	T, D	T, D	T	T, D		
Tripolis										T		
Byblus				T	T, D							
Berytus		T	T									
Sidon		T	T, Di, D			T, Di	T		T	T		
Tyre		T	T, Di, D			T, Di, D	T, Di, D					
Ptolemais (Ake)	T			T	T	T, Di	T, Di	T, Di	T, Di	T		
Samaria										T		
Ascalon				T	Di	D	T		T, Di	T, Di		
Seleucia-on-the-Tigris	T	T, D	T, D			T, D						
Antioch in Persis	T											
Susa	T	T	T									
Ecbatana	T, D	T, D										

zing style and heavy modules. However, with a few exceptions⁵¹, small silver denominations were not struck in vast quantities; but we cannot generalize from this simple fact about the state of monetization without considering the bronze issues as well.

⁵¹ The exceptions are mainly Demetrius I and Alexander I at Antioch (see SC 2008, p. xxi).

3. BRONZE

Bronze coins were certainly the most convenient currency for daily transactions. Conversely, it would seem illogical to pay large amounts, such as a monthly salary, in bronzes. Nonetheless, as we will see, there are many cases where soldiers were indeed paid in bronzes. Although there are exceptions, it is reasonable to postulate a general link between large royal bronzes issues and the existence of garrisons.

In fact, several massive Hellenistic royal bronze issues have been linked with Hellenistic garrisons. One of the most impressive examples is provided by Athens itself, where huge numbers of bronzes of Antigonos Gonatas were recovered. Table 6 combines different tables published by Kenneth Lönnqvist⁵². It gives the number of Macedonian bronze coins recovered on the Agora and at the Asklepeion, as well as a rough yearly average:

Table 6: Royal Macedonian bronzes found in Athens
(adapted from Lönnqvist 1997)

	Agora	Asklepeion	Total	%	Yearly average
Philip II, Alexander III, Philip III (359–317)	22	34	56	18.7	1.3
Cassander – Demetrius Poliorcetes (c. 319–288 BC)	18	16	34	11.3	1.1
Antigonos Gonatas (277–239 BC)	173	29	202	67.3	5.2
Philip V and Perseus (221–168 BC)	5	3	8	2.7	0.1
Total (359–168 BC)	218	82	300	100.0	1.3

Other concentrations of Macedonian bronzes of Antigonos Gonatas have been found in Boetia and Euboea⁵³. And Selene Psoma has recently provided an up-to-date overview of all the Macedonian bronzes found in different areas of mainland Greece, relating them to the many garrisons established there during the 3rd c. BC⁵⁴.

Ptolemaic bronzes too have been found in significant numbers in military camps in Attica, especially at Koroni⁵⁵. This strongly argues against the theory that these Ptolemaic bronzes arrived in Greece as donatives⁵⁶. And the bronze issue with the bust of Ptolemy III Euergetes on the obverse and an eagle

⁵² On this, see – with caution – Lönnqvist 1997, 119–145.

⁵³ O. Picard, Chalcis et la confédération eubéenne. Etude de numismatique et d'histoire (IV^e–I^{er} siècle), BEFAR 234 (Paris 1979) 180 f.

⁵⁴ Psoma 2009a, 12–25.

⁵⁵ K. Chryssanthaki, Les monnaies lagides en Egée, in: F. Duyrat – O. Picard (eds.), L'exception égyptienne? Production et échanges monétaires en Égypte hellénistique et romaine (Cairo 2005) 159–175 with references to past literature, including E. Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou, Les témoignages numismatiques sur la guerre chrémonidienne (265–262 av. J.-C.), in: Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica, Roma 11–16 settembre 1961, II

(Rome 1965) 225 f.; J. R. McCredie, Fortified Military Camps in Attica, *Hesperia* Suppl. 11 (Baltimore 1966) 9 f. 13–15, 30 f. 47 f. 99 and 109 (c. 30 Ptolemaic bronzes, substantially more than the 5–6 Athenian and other coins). On Koroni, see J. R. McCredie in: E. Vanderpool, Koroni: a Ptolemaic Camp on the East Coast of Attica, *Hesperia* 31/1, 1962, 26–61 pl. 12–23, J. H. Kroll, Numismatic Appendix, in: V. R. Grace, Revisions in Early Hellenistic Chronology, *AM* 89, 1974, 201–203.

⁵⁶ See Chryssanthaki *op. cit.* (note 55) 168 f. *Pace* A. Furtwängler, Zur Geldpolitik Philipps II. und der Antigoniden, *Ancient Macedonia* 5/1 (Thessaloniki 1993) 459–469. See Psoma 2009a, 26 f.

on a thunderbolt on the reverse were almost certainly intended to pay troops, rather than as donatives. These bronzes have been found in large numbers in the Peloponnesus, especially at Corinth (more than 160), including a small hoard of 34 Ptolemaic bronzes found in official excavations and supposed to have been buried in 146 BC by a mercenary⁵⁷. As proposed by Tony Hackens, this issue would have been struck in Alexandria specifically to be exported to the Peloponnesus in order to support the Spartan king Cleomenes III⁵⁸. These bronzes of Ptolemy III, which were never countermarked, seem to have been accepted and mixed with the local circulation.

At Kabyle (near Jambol, modern Bulgaria), hundreds of Seleucid bronzes of Antiochus II (261–246 BC), all struck at Sardes, have been found in official excavations⁵⁹. Most of these bronzes (c. 75%) were countermarked with the local type of Artemis Phosphoros, and it is likely that they long remained in use in the local circulation. Again, it seems reasonable to connect this massive import of bronze coinage with a military expedition, and the short existence of a Seleucid garrison. At Seuthopolis (near Plovdiv, modern Bulgaria), a substantial number of Macedonian bronzes were recovered which are no doubt related to the presence of Macedonian troops, and possibly garrisons. This would explain the presence of so many bronzes of Philip II, as well as of Cassander⁶⁰.

Moreover, many of these royal Hellenistic bronze issues display a clear military iconography (spear-head, Macedonian helmet or shield)⁶¹. Commenting on this phenomenon, Psoma concludes: »What is significant is the development during the early Hellenistic period shortly after Alexander's death of a military numismatic iconography that had its roots in Sicily and was systematically developed under the last Temenids. This seems not to be a mere coincidence: these bronzes were precisely used for the daily allowances of soldiers, the well known *sitarchia* of the written sources«⁶².

Here, the link is not with a garrison, but with *sitarchia*. We know that pay for soldiers consisted of two parts: the *misthos*, which was the true salary of the mercenaries (hence their name of *misthos*-bearers, *mistophoroi*), and the *trophe*, which is the allocation in kind or in cash for their daily expenditures (essentially their food allocation). A logical assumption would be that royal Hellenistic bronze issues mainly served to pay the *trophe*, also called *sitarchia*, *siteresion* or *sitonion*⁶³. The contemporaneous appearance at the end of the 4th c. of written evidence about *sitarchia* on one hand, and the numismatic record of military bronze issues on the other, is certainly remarkable, and it is tempting to connect them, concluding that these bronzes were not intended to pay the *misthos*, but restricted to the *sitarchia* only.

A third hypothesis regarding the purpose of royal bronze issues is that they were used to pay locally levied troops, while silver was employed for mercenaries.

⁵⁷ M. Thompson, A Ptolemaic Bronze Hoard from Corinth, *Hesperia* 20, 1951, 355–367.

⁵⁸ T. Hackens, À propos de la circulation monétaire dans le Péloponnèse au II^e s. av. J.-C., *Studia Hellenistica* 16 (Antidorum W. Peremans Sexagenario ab Alumnis Oblatum) (Leuven 1968) 69–95.

⁵⁹ See D. Draganov, Cabyle in the Mid-Third Century BC According to Numismatic Data, in: D. Draganov (ed.), *Settlement Life in Ancient Thrace. IIIrd International Symposium »Cabyle«* (Jambol 1994) 277–282 and *The Countermarks of Cabyle*, *Klio* 73/1, 1991,

220–225. See also SC 2002, 173.

⁶⁰ Psoma 2009a, 12–15.

⁶¹ For the helmet on Greek coins, see now D. Castrizio, *L'elmo quale insegna del potere*, *Semata e Signa* 3 (Reggio Calabria 2007).

⁶² Psoma, 2009a, 34.

⁶³ On this see recently Psoma 2009a, 3–38. Other relevant evidence may be found in de Callatay, 1997, 397–407 with references to past literature, especially M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, *BEFAR* 169 (Paris 1949–1950) 724–733.

Table 7: Different possible specific purposes of royal bronze coins

Bronze issues	Silver issues
Garrisons	Campaigning troops
Sitarchia	Misthos
Local levies	Mercenaries

The question is clearly difficult, and will require much further study. In any given situation, one or another of our hypotheses may apply. Two examples will illustrate the point: Bithynian kings behave differently regarding their bronze issues. The two Prusias struck an abundant coinage of bronzes⁶⁴, while virtually no bronzes are known for their successors, Nicomedes II, III and IV⁶⁵. We know that the Prusias often fought outside Bithynia, especially against the Attalids, while the same is not true for the later Nicomedes. From this, it is tempting to infer that bronzes issued by the Prusias may have been used to pay the sitarchia of campaigning troops. But, in the neighbouring kingdom of Pontus, we are confronted with a very dissimilar situation. Several campaigning rulers struck no bronze, but Mithridates Eupator issued a huge coinage of pseudo-civic bronzes, all in the name of Pontic cities, or fortresses which – as Taulara – were not cities. In this case, the garrison hypothesis fits better with the evidence.

With the example of Timotheos in mind, Psoma makes another important methodological point: »one cannot infer that a person who struck a bronze coinage for his troops was an independent ruler at the time. Eupolemos, Agathokles, Skostokos and Adaios were not local dynasts who claimed sovereignty by issuing bronze coinages. They simply struck bronzes to meet certain military expenditures. Once more, coinage functions for purely financial purposes without losing its main feature: it is *dokimon* in a certain area (military camp) because it derives from an issuing authority (military leader) that guarantees its nominal value in that area«⁶⁶. To this we may possibly add the silver issues of Skostokos and Mostis, who both struck Lysimachi.

Psoma's analysis is sound, but it does not resolve the question of whether the rulers who struck only bronze were forbidden to strike in precious metals by a higher authority: bronze coinage thus as an expression of second rank power. Examples of this phenomenon include the first Cappadocian kings (Ariarathes I, Ariaramnes, Ariarathes III)⁶⁷, the first kings of Armenia, Sophene (including probably Abdissares »from Adiabene«)⁶⁸, and Commagene, including Antiochos IV. All these rulers reigned under the sovereignty of more powerful kings.

Returning to Thracia, the conspectus built by Ulrike Peter for the dynasts' coinages struck from the 4th to the 3rd c. demonstrates how many dynasts struck bronzes in their names, but without any silver issues⁶⁹:

⁶⁴ We are unable to determine to which Prusias – I or II – these bronzes should be attributed. For these bronzes (with different approach) see Christoph Michels' contribution in this volume, pp. 232–239.

⁶⁵ See W. H. Waddington – E. Babelon – Th. Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, I 2 (Paris 1908) 233.

⁶⁶ Psoma 2009a, 34–35. For Eupolemos, Agathokles, Skostokos and Adaios, see Psoma 2009b, 309–320; R. Ashton, *The Coins of the Macedonian Kings, Lysimachos and Eupolemos in the Museums of Fethiye and Afyon*, in: A. Burnett *et al.* (eds.), *Coins of Mace-*

donia and Rome: Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh (London 1998) 19–48, W. Fischer-Bossert, *Die Lysimacheier des Skostokos*, *RBelgNum* 151, 2005, 49–74 and M. Manov, *A New Type of Coin of Adaeus?*, in: *Problems of the Coinage in Thrace* (Sofia 1999) 27 f. For Thibron, who issued bronze coins in Cyrenaica with the same purpose, see L. Robert, *Monnaie de Thibron*, *Hel-lenica* 10, 1955, 167–171.

⁶⁷ Simonetta 1977, 15–21 (with caution for the attribution).

⁶⁸ F. de Callataj, *Abdissarès l'Adiabénien*, *Irak* 58, 1996, 135–142.

⁶⁹ Peter 1997.

Table 8: Coinages of the Thracian dynasts (4th–3rd c. BC)
(Peter 1997)

Rulers	Silver	Bronze
Bergaios (beginning 4 th c.)	Trite	1.2g
Hebryzelmis (c. 390/387–383)	-	6.3g, 3.8g, 1.5g
Kotys I (c. 384/3–359)	0.9g	15.5g, 6.7g, 2.2g, 0.9g
Kersobleptes (c. 359–342/1)	-	1.9g
Amadokos II (c. 359–351)	-	20.6g, 14.1g, 10.7g
Teres III (c. 350/347–341)	-	17.1g
Ketriporis (c. 357/6–352)	-	4.3g, 1.0g
Spokes (c. 360)	-	2.4g
Philemon (c. 340)	-	1.1g
Seuthes III (c. 330–295)	-	5.0g, 3.2g, 2.5g, 1.5g
Spartokos (first quarter of the 3 rd c.)	-	5.2g
Rhoigos (1 st half of 3 rd c.)	-	7.7g
Skostokos (2 nd third of 3 rd c.)	T (Lysi)	6.5g, 1.4g
Adaïos (2 nd or 3 rd quarters of 3 rd c.)	-	8.5g, 6.1g, 5.5g, 3.3g
Orsoaltios (3 rd c.)	T (Alex)	-
Kersibaulos (3 rd c.)	T (Alex)	-

The meaning of such a list remains problematic, especially considering the rarity of most of these bronze issues (with the exception of Seuthes III). Hellenistic Thracia is an area noted for the circulation of precious metals, monetized or not. Had these dynasts wished to affirm their personal power by issuing a silver coinage, it is unlikely that they would have met much opposition. The existence of so many rare bronze issues does not fit well with any of the three hypotheses of Table 7.

CONCLUSION

Clearly, Hellenistic rulers made metal and denominational choices in producing their coinages. Some were straightforward, such as the need to obtain gold in order to strike gold coins. Other decisions are quite sophisticated, such as paying disbanded mercenaries in the currency they prefer, as far back on their return journey as possible. Rather than rules, which would imply more consistency than we find in the numismatic evidence, I would argue that some tendencies emerge. But, again, this is a surprisingly neglected field, with potentially important historical implications, and deserves a much more detailed treatment.

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