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# FROM CYPRIOT KINGDOMS TO CRETAN CITY-STATES: MONETARY POLICIES AND PRACTICES\*

EVANGELINE MARKOU – VASSILIKI E. STEFANAKI

**Riassunto.** Le relazioni commerciali, gli scambi culturali e le influenze (scritture e linguaggi, culti, rituali, cerimonie di sepoltura, ecc.), dirette o indirette, tra Cipro e Creta nell'antichità sono stati oggetto di ricerche da parte di numerosi studiosi specialisti in storia, archeologia ed epigrafia. Obiettivo del contributo è l'analisi di queste due importanti isole al centro delle rotte commerciali del Mediterraneo orientale, esaminando elementi comuni nelle pratiche monetarie durante il periodo arcaico, classico e l'inizio dell'età ellenistica, comparando e discutendo le scelte dei tipi monetali, dei metalli e dei sistemi ponderali, le differenti pratiche, l'economia e le circostanze sociali, così come le loro interazioni con altri regni e città-Stato del mondo antico.

**Περίληψη.** Οι εμπορικές σχέσεις, οι πολιτισμικές ανταλλαγές και επιρροές (γραφές και γλώσσες, λατρείες, τελετουργίες, ταφικά έθιμα κτλ.), άμεσες ή έμμεσες, μεταξύ Κύπρου και Κρήτης στην αρχαιότητα αποτέλεσαν αντικείμενο έρευνας πολλών ειδικών στην ιστορία, την αρχαιολογία και την επιγραφική. Σκοπός της μελέτης είναι να εξετάσει τα δύο σημαντικά νησιά στο κέντρο των εμπορικών θαλάσσιων οδών στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο, να θέσει υπό συζήτηση κοινά στοιχεία στις νομισματικές τους πρακτικές κατά τους αρχαϊκούς, κλασικούς και πρώιμους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους, να προτείνει τη σύγκριση των παραστάσεων, των μετάλλων και των σταθμητικών κανόνων που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν για τις νομισματικές τους εκδόσεις, και να διερευνήσει τις πολιτικές, οικονομικές και κοινωνικές συνθήκες, καθώς και τη διάδρασή τους με άλλα βασίλεια και πόλεις-κράτη του αρχαίου κόσμου.

**Abstract.** The commercial relations, cultural exchanges and influences (scripts and languages, cults, rituals, burial customs *etc.*), direct or indirect, between Cyprus and Crete in Antiquity have been the object of research for many specialists on history, archaeology and epigraphy. The purpose of the present paper is to study these two important islands in the center of the commercial sea routes of the Eastern Mediterranean, examine certain common elements in their monetary practices during the Archaic, Classical and Early Hellenistic times, compare and discuss the choice of coin types, metals and weight standards, their different political, economic and social background, as well as their interactions with other kingdoms and city-states of the ancient world.

## 1. A SHORT INTRODUCTION ON THE PRE-MONETARY CUSTOMS IN CYPRUS AND CRETE

Before the earliest coinage, minted between the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, Cyprus and Crete used metal instruments as exchange units or units of value, including oxhide ingots, spits (*obeloi*), tripods, cauldrons and double-axes<sup>1</sup>.

Specialists continue to debate the attribution of some metrological or monetary significance on the copper oxhide ingots of the Late Bronze Age, widely distributed in the Mediterranean<sup>2</sup> and largely concentrated in Crete, Cyprus and Sardinia<sup>3</sup>. These standardized ingots have been interpreted either as 1) an early form of currency and instruments of monetary exchange<sup>4</sup> because many of them weigh ca. 29

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<sup>1</sup> For an interpretation of lead rings of the Bronze Age found in Cyprus as a means of exchange, see ΔΑΚΟΦΩΝΙΑ 1989, 118 with the bibliographical references. On rings in gold, silver and bronze as

pre-monetary instruments of exchange or as a storage of wealth, see *ibid.*; DESCAT 2001, 71-72, n. 9; LE RIDER 2001, 4-5; SCHAPS 2004, 42, 45, 87.

<sup>2</sup> More than 130 complete and fragmentary examples have been found in shipwrecks and in archaeological sites, see GALE-STOS-GALE 1986; KASSIANIDOU 2014, 307; 2013a.

<sup>3</sup> For Crete, see LIARD 2010b and KASSIANIDOU 2014, 309. For Cyprus, see MUHLY-KASSIANIDOU 2012, 129, 131-133.

<sup>4</sup> LIARD 2010a; 2010b; however see KROLL 2015, 5.

kg – the equivalent of a talent<sup>5</sup> – or 2) as a medium for the commerce and the transport of copper in the Mediterranean<sup>6</sup> and therefore as a unit of weight for transport and not as a standard of value<sup>7</sup>.

Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean exerted their influence on Crete during the Early Iron Age<sup>8</sup>. Rhodes and the Peloponnesian coast functioned as primary transit points in E-W trade, along a southern Aegean commercial route from Cyprus and the Levantine mainland to the western coast of Italy. In this period, feasting and sacrificial precious objects or utensils of great value related to wealth and high social status (e.g., bronze or iron spits (*obeloi*)<sup>9</sup>, tripods, cauldrons and double-axes), had also acquired secondary uses: as wealth objects for dedications to the gods in sanctuaries and to the deceased (mainly *obeloi*), and as units of value<sup>10</sup>. In Cretan *necropoleis* and sanctuaries, the presence of *obeloi* is attested from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>11</sup>, while the earliest examples of *obeloi* from Cypriot tombs are dated between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>12</sup>. Of particular interest is the *obelos* found in tomb 49 at Palaipaphos-Skales with the inscribed name “Opheltas” in Cypriot-Syllabic script<sup>13</sup>. The tradition of warrior tombs with spits and fire-dogs may have developed in Cyprus first, later extending to Crete, Euboea and Argos, as well as in Etruscan Italy in the late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC<sup>14</sup>.

Tripods, cauldrons and double-axes<sup>15</sup> are also used in the transactions as measurement or weight units of value, as the fragmentary Archaic (but also Hellenistic) Cretan laws attest<sup>16</sup>. Eustathius (*ad Od.* XIX, 574) mentions a double-axe (*pelekys*) weight denomination in the Spensithios decree, an Archaic Cretan inscription from Arkades (Ini)<sup>17</sup>, noting that in Crete the double-axe corresponds to a weight unit of 6-10 minas. The lexicographer Hesychius also attests that the weight of 10 minas was called *pelekys* at Paphos and that the *triobol* was known in Cyprus as “ἀγκυρα”<sup>18</sup>. Only a few inscriptions found in Cyprus mention amounts, the most notable of which being the bronze tablet of Idalion dated in the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, which presents in Cypriot syllabic script not only the word *pelekys*, known from Hesychius, but also other amounts in silver<sup>19</sup>.

Moreover, specialists’ opinions diverge on the pre-monetary role of fragments of precious metals (gold and silver) contained in certain “hoards” of *Hackgold-Hacksilber* of the Geometric period discovered in Greece, debating the existence of a bullion economy. The gold jewelry, dumps and bars in electrum, gold and silver found in a tomb in the necropolis of Khaniale Tekke near Knossos, which were buried between the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> c. and the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. have been interpreted as a goldsmith’s hoard or as stores of wealth to be saved or weighed out piecemeal for exchange<sup>20</sup>. Another parallel is perhaps offered by a late 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. BC tomb at Palaipaphos in Cyprus, which produced an unmatched amount of gold, silver and rock-crystal<sup>21</sup>.

## 2. MONETARY PERIOD: CYPRUS AND CRETE FROM THE ARCHAIC TO THE EARLY HELLENISTIC PERIODS

### 2.1 Historical background and economy of Crete and Cyprus

#### 2.1.1 Crete

Greek epic tradition identified Crete as a land of many cities, 100 in the *Iliad* (II, 649) and 90 in the *Odyssey* (XIX, 172-174). Even if these impressive numbers do not reflect reality, the fragmentation of

<sup>5</sup> VAN DRIESCHE 2009, 22-23.

<sup>6</sup> The miniscule or non-existent sources of copper in Crete attest that the Cretans must largely have procured this metal from various ore sources outside the island, principally the Cyclades, Lavrion and Cyprus (GALE-STOS-GALE 2007, 104-5; MUHLY-KASSIANIDOU 2012, 135-136). The chemical analyses of the copper oxide ingots coming to Crete between the LM IB and LM IIIC period have confirmed that many of them are consistent with a Cypriote provenance (KASSIANIDOU 2014, 310).

<sup>7</sup> SCHAPS 2004, 230-231; MUHLY 2009, 18-21; KASSIANIDOU 2009a, 58-59; MUHLY-KASSIANIDOU 2012, 129; KASSIANIDOU 2014, 307.

<sup>8</sup> ΚΑΡΑΓΙΩΡΓΗΣ 1999, 19.

<sup>9</sup> For iron mining and metallurgy in Crete, see MARKOE 1998. For Cyprus, see MUHLY-KASSIANIDOU 2012, 134-35.

<sup>10</sup> KROLL 2012, 34.

<sup>11</sup> ΛΙΟΛΙΟΥ 2014, 79-86.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 44-45, with the bibliographical references.

<sup>13</sup> KARAGEORGIS 1983, 75; MORPURGO DAVIES-OLIVIER 2012, 106 and OLIVIER 2013, 16-19.

<sup>14</sup> STRØM 1993, 42-43; ΛΙΟΛΙΟΥ 2014, 44-46.

<sup>15</sup> The gold, silver and bronze miniatures double-axes of the Minoan period, found in Arkalochori and Juktas in Crete, were also interpreted as «special purpose money» or «sacred coin» (for the bibliographical references, see LIARD 2010a, 8-9).

<sup>16</sup> STEFANAKI 2007-08, 59, fn. 110; NICOLET-PIERRE 2013.

<sup>17</sup> GAGARIN-PERLMAN 2016, 75, 181-96, No. Da1.

<sup>18</sup> NICOLET-PIERRE 2002, 96-97; MARKOU 2011a, 65-66.

<sup>19</sup> MASSON 1983, 235-44; PICARD 1994; NICOLET-PIERRE 2002, 96-97; MARTINELLI 2007, 70; PARISE 2008; GEORGIADOU 2010; KROLL 2012, 34.

<sup>20</sup> HUTCHINSON-BOARDMAN 1954, 219; BOARDMAN 1967; BALMUTH 1971, 4-5; FURTWÄGLER 1986, 156; DESCAT 2001, 72, fn. 9; NICOLET-PIERRE 2002, 88; KROLL 2003, 317, fn. 2; SEAFORD 2004, 93, fn. 31; KOTSONAS 2006; KROLL 2012, 36.

<sup>21</sup> HADJISAVVAS 2001, 88-90; KOTSONAS 2006, 161. On the Classical period hoard Vouni (in proximity of the kingdom Soloi), buried c. 380 (*JGCH* 1278) that included coins, jewelry, precious objects and ingots, see SCHWABACHER 1946, 25-46; SCHWABACHER 1947, 67-104; ZOURNATZI 2017, 159-178.

the island's landscape probably inspired the foundation of several urban centers, autonomous or not<sup>22</sup>. From 600-400 BC there is a gap in the literary and archaeological record of Crete, interpreted as a sign of isolation and of internal political, economic, artistic and demographic collapse. However, the Cretan neutrality during this period was the result of a network of political alliances<sup>23</sup>. Moreover, the distribution of the population began to develop in 5<sup>th</sup> c. for the benefit of the coastal sites, this movement accelerating after the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Recent studies of Cretan pottery production during the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries have traced its intra-island movement in local, regional and even island-wide networks<sup>24</sup>. From the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC and during the Hellenistic period, Crete, an important source of mercenaries already from the 5<sup>th</sup> c., also gained a key strategic position in the control of shipping in the southeastern Mediterranean where the field of political developments had shifted, because of the new geopolitical unity created by Alexander's conquests. Crete was forced to play a more prominent role during the Hellenistic era<sup>25</sup>.

Due to the military orientation of communities in Dorian Crete and the conservative sociopolitical system in force at least until the Early Hellenistic period, the economy of the Cretan cities was mainly based on land ownership, farming and animal husbandry, on mercenary pay, as well as on trading with booty (captured persons, slaves and luxury items) coming from the mercenaries and the pirates<sup>26</sup>, and also from their internal and continuous wars. Wars and the territorial rivalries between the Cretan cities for political, socio-economic and ideological reasons, often involving foreign powers, were constants in the history of Crete. However, the economic advantages of the island's location (harbor, customs and transshipment fees)<sup>27</sup>, as well as the existence of an intra-island maritime trade and probably a little intensive off-island trade of its own products (wine, olive, *etc.*) mainly through transit and mostly in the Hellenistic period, should not be ignored, as recent scholarship has shown<sup>28</sup>. Besides the Ptolemaic protectorate in Itanos and the involvement of Hellenistic powers, mainly because of the territorial conflicts but also for political, economic and military reasons, the cities of the island were always independent and autonomous until the Roman conquest in 69-67 BC.

### 2.1.2 Cyprus

Cyprus, on the other hand, with a landscape of large territories, is organised in autonomous kingdoms, each one ruled by its own king, whose number changed during the Archaic, Classical and Early Hellenistic periods because of internal episodes. The Cypriot kingdoms that were in the center of the island during the Assyrian period such as Idalion, Tamassos, Ledra and Chytroi, were absorbed by other kingdoms (e.g., Kition and Salamis) that had direct access to the sea<sup>29</sup>. In the Classical period, only the coastal kingdoms survived, issuing their own coinage and serving as leaders in the events to come.

Contrary to Crete, Cyprus was marked by a swift succession of foreign overlords: Assyrians (ca. 707-612 BC), possibly Egyptians (ca. 570-526/5 BC), Persians (ca. 526/5-333/2 BC) and Macedonians (333/2-323/2 BC)<sup>30</sup>. Because of these occupations, Cyprus is active in several international episodes of the Archaic and Classical periods.

At this point one must stress that the local kings appear to be active, not only in the organisation of their kingdoms but also in securing good terms with the foreign overlords, in order to secure their autonomy. This internal autonomy of the kings and kingdoms is apparent in several moments of the history of the island throughout the 5<sup>th</sup> down to the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, as shown through the preservation of the royal title of the local kings (on inscriptions and mainly on their coinage)<sup>31</sup>. The literary and epigraphic testimonies attest several revolts of the local Cypriot kings against the Persians and against each other for economic and commercial reasons connected to the exploitation of copper ore but also to the enlargement of geographic boundaries. In the Early Hellenistic period, Cyprus contributed both army and naval units

<sup>22</sup> COUTSINAS 2013, 25-38.

<sup>23</sup> XANIOTIS 1987, 182-186; VIVIERS 1995; PERLMAN 2005, 318-319; ERICKSON 2005.

<sup>24</sup> For the limited archaeological evidence on Cretan exports and imports during the late Archaic and Classical periods, see HADJISAVVAS-CHANIOTIS 2012, 164-165; GAGARIN-PERLMAN 2016, 114 and 116, with bibliographical references.

<sup>25</sup> XANIOTIS 1987, 234-46; KREUTER 1992.

<sup>26</sup> CHANIOTIS 2005; HADJISAVVAS-CHANIOTIS 2012, 163-169.

<sup>27</sup> VIVIERS 1999.

<sup>28</sup> CHANIOTIS 2005; HADJISAVVAS-CHANIOTIS 2012, 166-169; GAGARIN-PERLMAN 2016, 116-117. For a detailed discussion, see STEFANAKI *forth*.

<sup>29</sup> IACOVOU 2002; KARAGEORGIS-COLDSTREAM 2012, 7-10.

<sup>30</sup> STYLIANOU 2000.

<sup>31</sup> MAIER 1985.

to Alexander's campaigns until his death in 322 when the kings were divided in supporting Alexander's various successors through to the demolition of the kingdoms and kingship by Ptolemy I in 306 BC<sup>32</sup>.

Unlike Crete, in Cyprus agriculture was not the centerpiece of the economic system. The ancient authors mention the production of wine, oil, cereals, textiles and perfumes<sup>33</sup> as well as the exploitation of wood (linked to copper-smelting and ship-production)<sup>34</sup> on the island. But Cyprus was best known for the production and management of the copper: from the extraction of the metal to the export and trade, copper was a key element for the economy of the island<sup>35</sup>. Cypriot copper was used as a medium for exchange with silver – as attested by the letters exchanged between the king of Egypt and the king of Alashiya (Cyprus)<sup>36</sup> – and probably gold. These metals were used in earlier periods for the manufacture of jewelry, vessels and artifacts and, after the introduction of the coinage, also for the minting of the local Cypriote coinage in silver and gold, since those two metals are not found in the island.

## 2.2 The coinage of Crete and Cyprus: metals, weight standards, iconography and circulation

### 2.2.1 Crete: Metals, weight standards and circulation

From the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. until the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC the Cretan inscriptions concerning public fees and fines mention units of value<sup>37</sup>. The terms ἀργυρος (uncoined silver) and ἀργύριον (coined silver) also appear in this period, as the Cretan epigraphic sources attest<sup>38</sup>. However we do not know if these value standards refer to weight denominations (units) in silver<sup>39</sup> or to money coined in silver. Moreover, it is not certain that the term *argurion* refers always to coined silver<sup>40</sup>. However, the units of value in the above Cretan inscriptions could correspond in weight units of uncoined silver, attesting the existence of an intermediary phase between the use of utensils as weight units of value and the use of coins. For other specialists<sup>41</sup>, it is probable that these standards of value correspondent to coins. These coins, used by the Cretan cities before their local issues, are probably foreign coins, in particular Aeginetan ones<sup>42</sup>, which circulated in the island from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the first Cretan coins of Gortyn, Phaistos, Knossos and Lyttos used the Aeginetan coins as flans, mostly those of the old series, issued in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>44</sup>.

The island's poleis began minting coins from the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. Kydonia was the first polis to mint coins, beginning with pseudo-Aeginetan ones, mainly triobols and fractions (Fig. 1) on a reduced Aeginetan standard, followed by Gortyn and Phaistos from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> c. with the issues of the well known staters of the same types (Europa on bull/Lion's scalp) carrying the legend ΓΟΡΤΥΝΟΣ or ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΙΜΑ (Fig. 2) and ΦΑΙΣΤΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΙΜΑ, and a little later, Knossos and Lyttos (Fig. 3). The reasons for minting and how these first local coins were used remain unknown. However, aside from their role as products of a state authority, in the procedure of establishing the civic identity of the Cretan communities and the institutional changes on politics, economy and society on the island, the probable reasons of their issue are the development of the intra-Cretan relations and military alliances. After 360 BC the important number of overstrikes on Cretan coins by Gortyn and Phaistos attest to the spread of minting activity in other cities of the island during the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC<sup>45</sup>.

In the Early Hellenistic period, an expansion or generalization of the Cretan coin production occurs between 330/20 and 280/70 BC, which corresponds to the period between Alexander's death and the strengthening of the Hellenistic kingdoms with the fights between Alexander's successors. This was a golden age for the mercenaries and it is probably related with local expenditures for war expenses caused

<sup>32</sup> JACOBY 1980, 22-23, § 20: «ἀφ' οὗ [N]ικοκρέων ἐτελεύτησεν καὶ Πτολεμαῖος κυριεῦει τῆς νήσου, ἔτη ΔΔΔΔΠΙΙ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Σι[μωνί]δου».

<sup>33</sup> STR. XIV.6.5; AND., *On his Return*, 20-21; GERNET 1909; REYES 1994, 26; RAPTOU 1999, 151-154.

<sup>34</sup> STR. XIV.6.5.

<sup>35</sup> KASSIANIDOU 2013b, 71.

<sup>36</sup> *Id.* 2009b, 48.

<sup>37</sup> STEFANAKI 2007/08, 59, fn. 112.

<sup>38</sup> PERLMAN 2002, 203, n. 84; POLOSA 2005, 132, n. 19; GAGARIN-PERLMAN 2016, 108.

<sup>39</sup> DESCAT 2001, 74-75.

<sup>40</sup> DE CALLATAÏ 2008.

<sup>41</sup> STEFANAKIS 1999, 249-50; PERLMAN 2004, 105; MELVILLE-JONES 2007, 56, No. 47; BRESSON 2008, 54 and GAGARIN-PERLMAN 2016, 108.

<sup>42</sup> LE RIDER 1966, 168-169; STEFANAKIS 1999, 250; *contra* POLOSA 2005, 135-36. See also KRAAY 1976, 50 and PERLMAN 2002, 203.

<sup>43</sup> See the Matala Hoard, *IGCH* 1.

<sup>44</sup> LE RIDER 1966, 52 and 181; POLOSA 2005, 138-39.

<sup>45</sup> LE RIDER 1966, 173-174, 194-98; STEFANAKIS 1999; STEFANAKI 2007/08, 48-50; SHEEDY 2012, 118-21.



by political conflicts that led to extensive civil warfare on the island, as attest the ‘hoards’ buried in 280/70 BC particularly in south-central Crete<sup>46</sup>.

Silver was the main metal used by Cretan cities for their coinages between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Gold coinage was extremely rare in Cretan minting history<sup>47</sup>, and bronze had been introduced in the island in the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC when it acquired an important role in the internal transactions during the Hellenistic period<sup>48</sup>, as also attested by the famous inscription of Gortyn, which enforces and regulates its use in the city<sup>49</sup>.

From the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, the Cretan cities follow a common weight standard, which is referred to as “Cretan” in the epigraphic sources of the Hellenistic period<sup>50</sup>. Between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. this local monetary system is adapted on a reduced Aeginetan one and presents certain weight fluctuations depending on the variations of the Aeginetan standard and on the availability of silver. This system was very profitable for the Cretan cities, because they economized in precious metal, as also shown by the extensive overstriking and countermarking of both foreign and local coins from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. until the first third of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. This sometimes profited from the exchange of foreign currencies, their coinage being overvalued. By reducing the weight of their coinage, the Cretan cities prevented their underweight silver coins from leaving the island thereby proving that their coinage was not intended to circulate abroad<sup>51</sup>. Therefore, foreign coins, mainly international, were used for external as well as internal payments, as the circulation of the Aeginetan coins from the 6<sup>th</sup> until the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. can attest, and also the selective overstrikes and the absence of countermarks on these, which are considered as legal tender in the island, as well as their imitations by Kydonia, produced until the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC<sup>52</sup>.

Due to the absence and the insufficiency of native silver sources<sup>53</sup>, the precious metal probably arrived on the island mainly through Cretan mercenary activity in military operations of the Hellenistic kingdoms or cities, as evidenced by the significant circulation of foreign currencies that are used as flans and hoarded by the Cretan cities. Four “hoards” buried in Crete between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC contain only Cretan and Aeginetan coins<sup>54</sup>. However, the “hoards” buried between the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. and the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, mainly between 280 et 260 BC, include Cretan coins issued a little before 330 until 280/70 BC, as well as foreign coins from Mainland Greece, the Peloponnese, West Asia Minor, Cilicia, Northern Syria and Cyrenaica, most of them issued between the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. and the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC. The circulation of the above coins is also proven by the Cretan overstrikes after 330/20 BC<sup>55</sup>. This widespread use of foreign coins, introduced mainly from repatriated mercenaries, foreign military troops and garrisons, but also from piracy and trade, remained a feature of circulating currency in Crete.

Despite of the circulation of silver coins from Cilicia and Northern Syria, Cypriote coins rarely circulated in Crete. Only one example survives of a stater of Evagoras I, king of Salamine between 411-374 BC, found in the dispersed hoard of Phaistos, 1953/*IGCH* 152, buried between 280-270 BC. This coin arrived probably after ca. 330 BC via Southern Asia Minor in the hands of a Cretan mercenary<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> STEFANAKIS 1997, 127-128.

<sup>47</sup> See *ibid.*, 126, fn. 119 (gold pseudo-aeginetan obols of Kydonia, which are not clear whether they were products of the Kydonian mint or simply made for grave use); SVORONOS 1890, 198-199, Nos. 11-15, pl. XVIII. 14-18; STEFANAKIS 2002, 178-179; STEFANAKIS-TRAEGER 2005, 386 and 388 (gold obols and hemiobols of Hyrtakina and Lissos in Western Crete); *CNG*, Triton XIX, 5 Janvier 2016, lot 2042 (gortynian gold half-stater issued in 270/60 or after); SVORONOS 1890, 172, No. 113, pl. XV. 21 (gortynian staters issued during her alliance with Knossos in the Lyttian war, 221-219 BC).

<sup>48</sup> For the introduction of bronze coinage in Crete, see STEFANAKI 2009; CARRIER-STEFANAKI 2017.

<sup>49</sup> *ICr* IV, Gortyne, 162.

<sup>50</sup> STEFANAKI 2007/08, 60.

<sup>51</sup> The Cretan coins were rarely exported outside the island, and then only in Hellenistic times. The inventories of the Delian temple of Apollo in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC mention Cretan staters. Cretan coins of Hellenistic period, mostly of bronze, were also found during the excavations in the Athenian Agora, Artemision of Delos, Corinth, Nemea,

Kythera, Antikythera, Kos and Cyprus (see STEFANAKIS 1999, 248-49; STEFANAKI *forth.*). For Cretan bronze coins of Hellenistic period found in Cyprus, see NIKOLAOU 1990, 71, No. 557.

<sup>52</sup> STEFANAKI 2007/08, 67-71.

<sup>53</sup> MARKOE 1998, 238; STEFANAKIS 1999, 247-248; GALE-STOS-GALE 2007, 104-105.

<sup>54</sup> *IGCH* 1, 54, 104 and Knossos, Palace of Minos, 1923/4 (see STEFANAKIS 1999, 259, fn. 48). On an unpublished “hoard” with Athenian tetradrachms of the Classical period found in Lyttos, see K. Sidiropoulos in this volume.

<sup>55</sup> LE RIDER 1966, 127-128, 181-189.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 187; DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS 1990. However, in the Hellenistic period, when Cyprus became part of the Ptolemaic kingdom, excavation coins, individual finds and hoards, such as the unpublished hoard of Phalaggari, Phaistos, 1987 (*CH* VIII 565 = X 108) buried in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC attest the circulation of silver and bronze Ptolemaic coins from the mints of Cyprus in Crete, due to the very close political, military, commercial and cultural relationships between Crete and the Ptolemies (see STEFANAKIS 2000; CAVAGNA 2015, 188-194).

### 2.2.2 Crete: Coin types and legends

In Crete, there was a pronounced interest in types depicting figures such as deities (Zeus, Apollon, Artemis, Demeter, Athena, Dionysos, Hermes) (Figs. 4-5), heroes (Heracles), city-founders (Ptoioikos in Aptera, Kydon in Kydonia) (Fig. 6) and creatures from the mythic past of the island and of each community (Fig. 7)<sup>57</sup>. The most known and famous mythological representations are those associated with the mythical king Minos (the Minotaur and the labyrinth on the coins of Knossos and the bronze giant Talos on the coins of Phaistos) (Figs. 8-10), with Zeus, the deity *par excellence* of the island (Europa riding on bull or sitting on tree with eagle on the coins of Gortyn, Phaistos, Sybrita) (Figs. 2, 11-12) and his *therotrophia* (bee, cow, dog, goat, boar)<sup>58</sup> (Fig. 13) and with the labours of Heracles (the nine-headed Lernaean Hydra, the Augean stables, the apples of the Hesperides, the Cretan bull, the cattle of the monster Geryon on the coins of Phaistos, the Stymphalian birds on the coins of Praisos) (Figs. 14-15)<sup>59</sup>. However, the head (bearded or not) of Heracles in lion's skin appears rarely on the Cretan coinage<sup>60</sup>.

An interesting phenomenon on Cretan coinage is the frequent use of common types, illustrating either monetary alliances between cities for political, economic or military reasons, such as in the case of Gortyn, Phaistos and Sybrita in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, or common cult practices. The sharing of dies also occurs in the Hellenistic period, a fact likely related to the activity of itinerant artists-engravers<sup>61</sup>.

The inscriptions on coins prior to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC are distinctly Cretan with the use of local alphabets, which are abandoned from 330 BC in favor of the Ionic one. The appearance of names of mint officials dates from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>62</sup>, and that of signatures of engravers from the end of this century<sup>63</sup>. Moreover, the inscriptions on the Cretan coins of the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. BC refer frequently on the mythological figure depicted (for example, Πτολίοικος in Aptera, Κύδων in Kydonia, Μίνως in Knossos, Τάλων and Βέλχανος in Phaistos).

### 2.2.3 Cyprus: Metals, weight standards and circulation

The minting of coins exclusively by the kings of the various kingdoms in Cyprus dates to the late 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The Cypriot coinages of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC were exclusively made of silver. In the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC bronze coins were minted by the majority of the city-kingdoms<sup>64</sup>, while gold coins were more or less systematically issued by several kings of the island mostly to cover specific needs especially in periods of war and to complement the silver issues and to facilitate payments<sup>65</sup>.

The written sources do not preserve information on the names of the coins in use; information can be partly retrieved from the inscribed royal monetary lead weights and their correspondence to a specific number of coins<sup>66</sup>.

In Cyprus the local royal coinages of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC are minted in the local weight standard based on the *siglos* of ca. 11 g and their division in thirds, sixths, twelfths, *etc.* down to ninety-sixths<sup>67</sup>. In the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, in parallel with the local weight standard that is preserved in several kingdoms, a second weight standard is adopted by many of the local kings, the so-called “Chian-Rhodian” (reduced Chian weight standard), based on the drachm of ca. 3,5 g, as one observes in neighboring areas of the eastern Mediterranean, such as the Hecatomnid mints and in other areas in Asia Minor<sup>68</sup>. Both systems are in use in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, while gold coins are minted in Salamis and Kition, but also in Paphos, Marion, Soloi and in an unidentified Cypriot mint, which in the past was considered to be Marion<sup>69</sup>. They follow the weight of the daric of ca. 8,44 g and are divided in fractions depending on the weight standard used for the silver issues<sup>70</sup>.

The lack of silver on the island is visible in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. based on the hoard evidence composed mainly from fractions, through the complementary issuing of gold coins and the manipulation in weight and purity of gold coins by specific rulers in specific times<sup>71</sup>. Another testimony for the lack of silver is the overstriking

<sup>57</sup> ΤΑΣΟΥΛΑΣ 1994.

<sup>58</sup> ΣΤΕΦΑΝΑΚΗΣ 2014, 606-614.

<sup>59</sup> ΤΑΣΟΥΛΑΣ 1994, 85-94.

<sup>60</sup> We have only one example of a bronze coin of Hierapytna minted in the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., see ΣΤΕΦΑΝΑΚΙ 2001, 141, No. 1.

<sup>61</sup> *Ead.* 2007/08, 70-71, fn. 181-82; ΣΤΕΦΑΝΑΚΗ-ΣΤΡΑΤΙΚΗ 2007/08, 86-87.

<sup>62</sup> LE RIDER 1966, 217-218.

<sup>63</sup> ΣΤΕΦΑΝΑΚΗΣ 2002.

<sup>64</sup> DESTROOPER 2008.

<sup>65</sup> ΜΑΡΚΟΥ 2011a, 310-311.

<sup>66</sup> *Ead.* 2011b, 280.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 281.

<sup>68</sup> See MEADOWS 2011 and ΣΤΕΦΑΝΑΚΗ 2012, 65-66.

<sup>69</sup> ΜΑΡΚΟΥ 2011a, 99-131 (catalogue of the gold coins organised by dies). For the unidentified mint see also *Ead.* 2006.

<sup>70</sup> *Ead.* 2011a, 202-209; 2013a, 129.

<sup>71</sup> *Ead.* 2011a, 311; 2011c, 409-410.

of local (from neighboring kings) and foreign (mostly coins from Athens and Aegina) coins, a common practice in Cyprus as early as the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC<sup>72</sup>.

The earliest coin “hoard” that was discovered abroad including Cypriote coins was the Apadana Foundation deposit in Persepolis, buried in the late 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, which included several issues from various mints of the island<sup>73</sup>. In Cyprus, the earliest “hoard”, recently discovered during excavations in Nicosia, was buried at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC and included 36 silver Cypriote *sigloi* of an unidentified mint (Fig. 16)<sup>74</sup>.

The circulation of the Cypriot coinages outside Cyprus is concentrated mainly in Phoenicia, Egypt, Cilicia, Pamphylia and Asia Minor, although coins of the Classical period were found as far away as Afghanistan<sup>75</sup>, traveling in the hands of mercenaries. In Cyprus several ‘hoards’ discovered reveal an almost exclusive composition of local issues produced in the various kingdoms by various kings. The discovery of four important “hoards” covering the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC<sup>76</sup> provide unique information on the dating and succession of the local kings, but also reveal the quasi-absence of foreign coins which corroborates that they were transformed into local coinage<sup>77</sup>. The shortage of silver is also visible on the “hoards” of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC mainly composed by smaller fractions contrary to the ones dated in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

#### 2.2.4 Cyprus: Coin types and legends

The coinages of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC mainly represent animals (lion, eagle, bull, ram) or imaginary creatures (sphinx), flowers (lotus) (Fig. 17) and symbols (*ankh*) (Fig. 18)<sup>78</sup>. Notary exceptions are the coinages of the kings of Marion of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC: those of Sasma depicting Phrixos and the ram (Fig. 19) and the coinages of his successors, Stasioikos I and Timocharis that represent Europe and the bull (Fig. 20)<sup>79</sup>. It appears that Cyprus was part of the route of Europa and the transformed Zeus, in their direction from Phoenicia to Crete, as their depiction on provincial coins of Tyr and Sidon also attest<sup>80</sup>. The Heracle’s head and the hero’s figure, standing or seated, are commonly depicted on the Cypriot coinages of several kings and in various metals<sup>81</sup>. In Kition Heracles is assimilated to the Phoenician god *Milqart* (Fig. 21) but he is represented with the insignia of the Greek Heracles, the club, the arrow and the lion skin<sup>82</sup>. Heracles labors are depicted in only one issue of a king Ari (-) of an unidentified Cypriot kingdom of the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Fig. 22): on these *sigloi*, he is represented on the obverse fighting with the Nemean lion<sup>83</sup>.

The coinages of the kings of Cyprus of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC include in their iconography the presence of Greek gods, such as Aphrodite and Athena (Fig. 23), Zeus, Apollo and Artemis (Fig. 24), assimilated to the local cults as is the case of Aphrodite, the “Kypris”, the “Wanassa”<sup>84</sup>, who is depicted with variable headdresses and jewelry in various local issues<sup>85</sup>. Cypriote coins that probably arrived in Crete after c. 330 BC influenced the Cretan coinage<sup>86</sup>. More precisely we can observe similarities between Heracles or Heracles-*Milqart* on the coins of the kings of Lapethos and of the kings Kition and Heracles on the coins of Phaistos; Heracles seated on a rock on the coins of Evagoras I (Fig. 25) and Velchanos seated on a tree on the coins of Phaistos<sup>87</sup>.

The coin legends on the Cypriot coinages provide information on the royal name and the royal title of the issuing authority. The silver coinages of the kings of Cyprus bear inscriptions either in Cypriot-syllabic script, the local script of the island used for the writing of the Greek language<sup>88</sup>, in the still un-deciphered Eteocypriot language, or in Phoenician. From the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC the Greek alphabet either is used exclusively or in parallel with the local Cypriot-syllabic script on the coin legends. At the early Hellenistic period the Cypriot syllabic script is used as a mean of political propaganda by the Hellenistic kings,

<sup>72</sup> DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS 1996; 2013.

<sup>73</sup> *IGCH* 1789; KRAAY 1976, 305.

<sup>74</sup> PILIDES-DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS 2008; PILIDES 2015.

<sup>75</sup> DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS 2000; MARKOU 2011c (with complete list of important hoards and relative references).

<sup>76</sup> Larnaca (*IGCH* 1272) near Kition; Dali (*IGCH* 1275 and *IGCH* 1276) near Idalion; Meniko (*IGCH* 1279) near Tamassos; Vouni (*IGCH* 1278) near Soloi.

<sup>77</sup> MARKOU 2011c, 402-412.

<sup>78</sup> DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS 1995; MARKOU 2015a; 2015b, 102-104, 111-129.

<sup>79</sup> LACROIX 1974; MAPKOY 2015, 158-167.

<sup>80</sup> MAPKOY 2015, 165-167.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 154-158.

<sup>82</sup> YON 1986, 289-195.

<sup>83</sup> MAPKOY 2015, 156.

<sup>84</sup> KARAGEORGHIS 2005; 2010.

<sup>85</sup> MARKOU 2007, 412-419.

<sup>86</sup> LE RIDER 1966, 187; DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS 1990, 259.

<sup>87</sup> The cult of Velchanos is also attested in a Cypriot syllabic inscription with the name *Βελχάνιο(ς)*, found in Athienou, site of the ancient city of Golgoi and on a terracotta relief from the nekropolis of Marion with a young man sitting on a tree (see VERBRUGGEN 1981, 144; DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS 1990, 255, fn. 17; CAPDEVILLE 1995, 253-57).

<sup>88</sup> MASSON 1983; EGETMEYER 2010; STEELE 2012.

as shown by the coinage minted by Menelaos, the brother of Ptolemy I as king of Salamis from 309-306 BC (Fig. 26)<sup>89</sup>.

During the Hellenistic period, great changes take place in Cyprus since the island constitutes the “dreamland” in the fights of the successors of Alexander for the control of the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin. After a brief period of instability that characterises the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, Cyprus was finally in 295/4 BC part of Ptolemy’s possessions and the mints of the island were used to produce a Ptolemaic coinage<sup>90</sup>. After 309 BC the local kings are no longer active as kings – most of them are not even alive – the kingship is no longer the political *status quo* of the island, since the areas have administrative limits, they are ruled by a “strategos” and the issuing of coins is produced by the Ptolemies and is limited to three mints: one in Nea Paphos that constitutes the administrative capital of the island, one in Salamis and another one in Kition<sup>91</sup>.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS

Dissimilarities (and some similarities) can be discerned in the monetary policies and practices of Crete and Cyprus during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, triggered by their different politico-economic and social histories<sup>92</sup>, as well as by their different geographical locations, natural resources, economic orientations, networks and relations with other kingdoms and city-states of the Mediterranean world.

The similarities can be summarised in the following points:

- a) the extensive overstriking and/or countermarking of local and foreign silver coins in Cyprus and in Crete due to the non-availability of natural ores of silver and gold in those islands speaks to the need of economising in precious metal and in specific periods the imminent production of coinage intended to cover specific needs;
- b) the purposes of minting in both Crete and Cyprus mainly related to military needs. In Cyprus, the gold staters could cover important payments such as those of mercenaries, as they represent important amounts of money, while the smaller fractions do propose direct exchange ratios with the silver issues;
- c) the mythological and imaginary creatures as well as the rich repertoire of mythological scenes is depicted on the coinage of both islands. The coinages of Crete represent on several occasions the mythological past of its cities as well as the creatures related to it, while in Cyprus the coinages represent a limited number of myths inspired by the expedition of the Argonauts, the myth of Europa and the Labours of Heracles. From the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC until the demolition of the kingdoms and kingship in 306, however, the local kings chose to represent Aphrodite, Athena, Zeus, Apollo and Artemis, in most cases assimilated with the local gods.

The differences in the monetary practices of Cyprus and Crete are several:

- a) The weight standard of the two islands presents differences. In the case of Crete, the local stater is adapted on the Aeginetan weight standard – predominantly during this period between the coinages which circulated in the island – in order to facilitate internal transactions and to benefit sometimes from the exchange due to reduced weight of the Cretan coins. In the case of Cyprus the heaviest coin is a *siglos* of ca. 11 g. Although the weight standard of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. presents local elements not only in the weight of the heavier unit but also in the division of this units either in halves or in thirds, it is conceived to be in easy exchange with the Persian standard. During the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC the local weight standard is preserved by some kingdoms while others adopt the “Chian-Rhodian” weight standard for the silver issues; it allows Cyprus to be part of a wider area of exchange in the East, as it becomes a tendency in several neighboring areas as well. The gold coinage minted in the island of Cyprus follows the Persic standard which is explained by coin circulation purposes because it facilitates internal and external transactions;
- b) the choices of metals used for their coinages: gold, silver and bronze in Cyprus; mainly silver and bronze in Crete;

<sup>89</sup> MARKOU 2013b.

<sup>90</sup> WILL 1979, 90.

<sup>91</sup> DAVESNE 1994; 2005; OLIVIER 2015.

<sup>92</sup> HADJISAVVAS-CHANIOTIS 2012.

- c) the later introduction of the bronze coinage in Crete at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c., while in Cyprus the bronze coinage is introduced at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC;
- d) the use of common types and dies between Cretan cities, contrary to Cypriot city-kingdoms, where different types are related to different dynasties in different kingdoms;
- e) the circulation of their coinages: Cretan coins did not circulate abroad and therefore the Cretan cities used international coins for their external and probably internal transactions; the Cypriot silver coins traveled during the Archaic and Classical periods towards the East and are found in several 'hoards' in Cilicia, Egypt, Phoenicia and others. The gold Cypriot staters also seemed to travel to the East—most probably in the hands of mercenaries—as the limited hoard testimonies including gold coins found in Egypt and Phoenicia attest, but we do not have any information on the gold fractions, as none have been found in a secure context;
- f) the circulation of foreign coins in the Cypriot and Cretan territory is also interesting to observe: a limited circulation of foreign coins in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. and 4<sup>th</sup> c. appeared in Crete, mainly Aeginetan as well as an extensive circulation of foreign coins mostly from the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC; in the case of Cyprus, the circulation of foreign coins during the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC is almost nonexistent -the foreign coins represent less than 1% of the total in the important coin "hoards" of this period. Nevertheless, foreign coins did arrive in the island: they were either overstrikes or were melted to produce new coinage because of the shortage of silver.

Although both Crete and Cyprus are islands similar in size and have been much discussed for their roles as crossroads of populations, ideas, natural resources as well as products of commerce, they do not really share similarities. Different polities, different economies, different coinages - weight standards, metals, areas of circulation - prove their different paths from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period.

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Fig. 1. Kydonia (5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. BC), pseudo-Aeginetan triobol, 2,81 g.; *Traeger Coll.* No. 213.



Fig. 2. Gortyn (ca. 450 BC), stater, 11,74 g.; *Traeger Coll.* No. 61.



Fig. 3. Lyttos (420-380 BC), stater, 11,70 g.; *Traeger Coll.* No. 258.



Fig. 4. Hierapytna (300-280/70 BC), stater, 10,89 g.; London, British Museum, inv. No. IV, B, E, 22.



Fig. 5. Sybrita (330/20-280/70 BC), stater, 11,10 g.; *Traeger Coll.* No. 372.



Fig. 6. Kydonia (280/70 BC), stater, 8,45 g.; *Traeger Coll.* No. 218.



Fig. 7. Itanos (380-320 BC), stater, 11,60 g.; Hess-Leu 7.04.1960, No. 194.



Fig. 8. Knossos (420-380 BC), triobol, 2,94 g.; *Traeger Coll.* No. 158.



Fig. 9. Knossos (330-300 BC), stater, 10,79 g.; *Traeger Coll.* No. 160.



Fig. 10. Phaistos (360/50-330 BC), stater, 10,95 g.; *Traeger Coll.* No. 291.



Fig. 11. Gortyn (360/50-322 BC), stater, 11,65 g.;  
*Traeger Coll.* No. 66.



Fig. 12. Gortyn (300-280/70 BC), stater, 11,09 g.;  
*Traeger Coll.* No. 80.



Fig. 13. Hierapytna (340/30-300 BC), stater; 11,54 g.;  
Berlin, Münzkabinett, inv. No. 470/1891.



Fig. 14. Phaistos (322-300 BC), stater, 9,88 g.;  
*Traeger Coll.* No. 300.



Fig. 15. Phaistos (330-322 BC), stater, 11,82 g.;  
*Traeger Coll.* No. 295.



Fig. 16. King Phi (-), Unidentified Cypriot mint (end of  
6<sup>th</sup>-beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC), silver *siglos*, 9,86 g.; Nicosia,  
Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, from the excavations  
of D. Pilides at Nikokreontos and Hadjopoullou str.,  
Nicosia, inv. No 2006/143.28.



Fig. 17. King Sa (-), Idalion (c. 470-450 BC), silver 1/3 *siglos*,  
3,55 g.; New York, American Numismatic Society, inv. No.  
1977.158.587.



Fig. 18. Evelthon's Successors, Salamis (first half of 5<sup>th</sup>  
c. BC), silver 1/3 *siglos*, 3,22 g., New York, American  
Numismatic Society, inv. No. 1951.116.203.



Fig. 19. King Sasmias, Marion (before the middle of 5<sup>th</sup> c.  
BC), silver *siglos*, 10,98 g.; New York, American Numismatic  
Society, inv. No. 1951.116.120.



Fig. 20. King Stasioikos I, Marion (c. 450-400 BC), silver  
*siglos*, 10,78 g.; New York, American Numismatic Society,  
inv. No. 1977.158.589.



Fig. 21. King Ozibaal (c. 449-425 BC), Kition, silver *siglos*, 10,98 g.; New York, American Numismatic Society, inv. No. 1977.158.579.



Fig. 22. King Ari (-), Unidentified Cypriot mint (first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC), silver didrachm, 6,29 g.; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. No. Fox 1973.



Fig. 23. King Evagoras II, Salamis (c. 361-351 BC), gold 1/12 stater, 0,68 g.; New York, American Numismatic Society, inv. No. 1951.116.281.



Fig. 24. King Pnytagoras, Salamis (c. 351-332 BC), silver drachm, 2,26 g.; New York, American Numismatic Society, inv. No. 1944.100.58094.



Fig. 25. King Evagoras I, Salamis (c. 411-374 BC), silver 1/3 *siglos*, 3,21 g.; New York, American Numismatic Society, inv. No. 1951.116.281.



Fig. 26. King Menelaos, Salamis (c. 310/9-306 BC), gold 1/3 stater, 2,77 g.; New York, American Numismatic Society, inv. No. 1944.100.58099.

