



Institute for Balkan Studies
Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου του Αίμου

ANCIENT MACEDONIA

EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM



ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ

ΟΓΔΟΟ ΔΙΕΘΝΕΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟ

ANCIENT MACEDONIA
VIII

MACEDONIA
FROM THE DEATH OF PHILIP II
TO AUGUSTUS' RISE TO POWER

PAPERS READ
AT THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM
HELD IN THESSALONIKI, NOVEMBER 21-24, 2017

ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ

VIII

Η ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ

ΑΠΟ ΤΟΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β΄
ΕΩΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΟΔΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΟΥ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ

ΑΝΑΚΟΙΝΩΣΕΙΣ

ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΟΓΔΟΟ ΔΙΕΘΝΕΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟ,
ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ, 21-24 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 2017

Η' ΔΙΕΘΝΕΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ

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Πρόλογος

Το Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου του Αίμου (ΙΜΧΑ) ξεκίνησε το 1968, σε συνεργασία με το Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, τη Γενική Διεύθυνση Αρχαιοτήτων και Αναστηλώσεως και τα πανεπιστήμια Wisconsin και Columbia, τη διοργάνωση του Α' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για την αρχαία Μακεδονία.

Σκοπός του ΙΜΧΑ ήταν να μελετηθεί συστηματικά η ιστορία της αρχαίας Μακεδονίας, η οποία εξαιτίας αρκετών παραγόντων δεν είχε μελετηθεί ανάλογα με τη μεγάλη σημασία της. Έτσι, καθιερώθηκε η μόνιμη διεξαγωγή στη Θεσσαλονίκη μιας επιστημονικής συνάντησης με σημαντική διεθνή ακτινοβολία, η οποία μετεξελίχθηκε σε θεσμό πλήρως καταξιωμένο στην ευρύτερη ακαδημαϊκή και επιστημονική κοινότητα.

Η μεγάλη πρόοδος της ανασκαφικής δραστηριότητας στη Μακεδονία από τα μέσα της δεκαετίας του 1970 και τα εντυπωσιακά ευρήματα που ήρθαν στο φως στη Βεργίνα, στο Δίον, στην Πέλλα, στην Αιανή, στην Αμφίπολη και άλλους χώρους, συνετέλεσαν στην αύξηση του ενδιαφέροντος για την αρχαία Μακεδονία σε ολόκληρο τον κόσμο, στη μεγάλη διεύρυνση του κύκλου των ενδιαφερομένων (αρχαιολόγων και ιστορικών) να συμμετάσχουν στα Συμπόσια που διοργάνωσε το ΙΜΧΑ έως και το 2002 και στην τακτική συμμετοχή έγκριτων επιστημόνων.

Τα επόμενα Διεθνή Συμπόσια που διοργανώθηκαν, το Β' (1973), το Γ' (1977), το Δ' (1983), το Ε' (1989) και το ΣΤ' (1996) ασχολήθηκαν γενικά με την Αρχαία Μακεδονία. Το Ζ' (2002) είχε την πιο συγκεκριμένη θεματική «Η Μακεδονία από την Εποχή του Σιδήρου έως τον θάνατο του Φιλίππου Β'».

Το Η' Συμπόσιο διεξήχθη τον Νοέμβριο του 2017 και απετέλεσε υπό μία έννοια τη συνέχεια του προηγούμενου, όπως αποδεικνύεται και από τη θεματική του («Η Μακεδονία από τον θάνατο του Φιλίππου Β' έως την άνοδο του Αυγούστου στην εξουσία»). Πραγματοποιήθηκε σε συνεργασία με το Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του ΑΠΘ και το Διεθνές Πανεπιστήμιο της Ελλάδος. Δεκάδες συνάδελφοι από όλον τον κόσμο ανταποκρίθηκαν στην πρόσκληση της Επιστημονικής Επιτροπής που ήταν υπεύθυνη για την διεξαγωγή του. Οι εργασίες του Συμποσίου στέφθηκαν από επιτυχία και η επιστημονική κοινότητα αναμένει την παρούσα έκδοση των Πρακτικών του Συμποσίου, τα οποία θα αποτελέσουν βιβλίο αναφοράς για τους ειδικούς.

Η Οργανωτική Επιτροπή

Foreward

The Institute of Balkan Studies began in 1968, in collaboration with the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, the Department of Antiquities and Restoration, and the Universities of Wisconsin and Columbia, to organize the First International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia.

The purpose of the Institute of Balkan Studies was to systematically study the history of ancient Macedonia, a task not undertaken until then, despite its great importance. Thus, the permanent holding of a Symposium with international impact in Thessaloniki was established and evolved into an institution fully recognized in the wider academic and scientific community.

The great progress of the excavation activity in Macedonia since the mid-1970s and the impressive findings that came to light in Vergina, Dion, Pella, Aiani, Amphipolis and other places, contributed to the increase of interest in ancient Macedonia all over the world, to the expansion of the circle of both archaeologists and historians who were eager to participate in the Symposia organized by the Institute of Balkan Studies until 2002 and to the regular participation of renowned scholars.

The next International Symposia that were organized, namely the 2nd (1973), the 3rd (1977), the 4th (1983), the 5th (1989) and the 6th (1996), dealt with Ancient Macedonia in general. The 7th (2002) had a more specific thematic: "Macedonia from the Iron Age to the death of Philip II".

The 8th Symposium was held in November 2017 as a continuation of the previous one, as evidenced by its thematic ("Macedonia from the death of Philip II to Augustus' rise to power"). It was held in collaboration with the Department of History and Archeology of the School of Philosophy of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and the International Hellenic University. Dozens of colleagues from around the world responded to the invitation of the Scientific Committee responsible for conducting it. The work of the Symposium was successful and today we deliver the edited volume of its Proceedings to the scientific community.

The Organizing Committee

Macedonia and Histiaia: Political and economic relations

The “late” hemidrachms of Histiaia and their Macedonian “imitations”

During the last decades of the 3rd century BC the Macedonians struck two series of “autonomous” silver coins. These were the first “autonomous” Macedonian issues and must have been minted in the period between the creation of the Hellenic Symmachy by Doson in 224 BC and the defeat of Philip V at Kynoskephalai in 197 BC.¹ The first (series 1) bore the head of a nymph on the obverse and the stern of a battleship on the reverse,² whereas the second (series 2) had the same reverse type but a Macedonian shield on the obverse³ (figs. 1-2). In addition to sharing the same reverse type the two series bore the same mintmarks and followed the same weight standard. They were small silver coins that weighed c. 2.10-2.20 gms, but series 1 was considerably larger in output than series 2.⁴

The head of the nymph crowned with a wreath of grapes engraved on the obverse of the Macedonian coins of series 1 had never been used on Macedonian coinage. It was the standard type of the coinage of Histiaia, a reference to the poly-staphilos Histiaia of Homer.⁵ The type was introduced on the city’s first silver issues, the reduced drachms dated by Picard to just after the victory of Philip II at Chaironeia in 338 BC (fig. 3). The drachms were followed closely by octobols, tetrobols and rare obols, on which the type of a nymph seated on a prow was introduced for the reverse⁶ (figs. 4-5). All these silver issues, as well as many of the bronze ones, bore the head of the nymph on the obverse.⁷

1. These issues have been dated, following Gaebler, to the period of the Third Macedonian war. For a revision of this date see Kremydi, Sophia. 2018. “Autonomous” Coinages under the Late Antigonids (Μελετήματα 79). Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 377-385.
2. As on the coins of the Botteatai. *Ibid.*, 49-58, pls. 1-5.
3. *Ibid.*, 59-75, pls. 6-19.
4. 65 surviving and c. 80 estimated obverse dies for 220 specimens for series 1 in contrast to 18 surviving and c. 20 estimated obverse dies for 94 specimens for series 2. *Ibid.*, 185-186.
5. Hom., *Il. B.* 537.
6. Picard, Olivier. 1979. *Chalcis et la confédération eubéenne. Étude de numismatique et d’histoire (IVe – Ier siècle)*. Athènes: École française d’Athènes, 176-177 with earlier bibliography.
7. *Münzen von Euboia, Sammlung BCD*, Numismatik Lanz, München, Auktion 111, 25. November 2002, nos. 360, 363, 370-371, 373-376 (drachms); no. 361 (octobol); nos. 362, 364-369, 372, 377 (tetrobols); 368 (obol); 435-460 (nymph/bovine); 461-512 (nymph/forepart of bovine); 513-533 (nymph/head of bovine); 539-541 (nymph/grapes); 543 (nymph/ethnic); 543-544 (nymph/tripod). The bronzes were probably struck down to the 1st century BC.

The 4th century silver issues of H. were followed by a very abundant group of “late” hemidrachms.⁸ In spite of the fact that the dating of these coins has not yet been established with accuracy, it seems that they were struck at least since the second half of the 3rd century⁹ and are found in hoards concealed down to the middle (?) of the 2nd century, although they exceptionally survive in 1st century hoards.¹⁰ Several groups of different styles of these coins have survived, many of which show unskillful and careless engraving and their weights are also very irregular (figs. 6-8).¹¹ Whereas the early hemidrachms of Histiaia weighed c. 2.40-2.70 gms, the weights of the “late” issues were considerably lower. They varied from c. 2.50 gms to under 1.50 gms and from a sample of 109 coins that we have recorded we arrived at a median weight of 2.18 gms and a mode of 2.08 gms, weights identical to those of the Macedonian nymph/stern issues.¹² The Macedonian and Histiaian coins not only shared the same obverse type, a similar reverse type and the same weight standard, all new to Macedonian coinage, they also circulated together in hoards. In a number of hoards from Macedonia and Thessaly (appendix nos. 21, 24-28, 30), but also from Crete (no. 32), the “late” Histiaian issues are “mixed” with Macedonian coins of series 1; the similarity of the two currencies has been noted since the 19th century¹³ and it has more recently been suggested that five groups of “late” Histiaian issues were so similar in their technical details with the Macedonian coins that the two series must have been produced at the same mint.¹⁴

The coins of H., that were imitated by the Macedonians, diverge from most civic Hellenistic coinages, both because they were struck in very large numbers and because they had an unusually wide circulation.¹⁵ The appendix at the end of

8. Usually called tetrobols. See discussion in Kremydi, “Autonomous,” 239-241.

9. Picard, *Chalcis*, table after p. 350. *Münzen von Euböia, Sammlung BCD*, nos. 378-420. A dissertation on the coinage and history of Histiaia has been undertaken by Mrs. Vassia Psilakakou at the University of Athens under the supervision of Prof. S. Psoma and will hopefully shed more light on the dating of these issues.

10. See appendix below.

11. *Münzen von Euböia, Sammlung BCD*, nos. 423-434.

12. Kremydi, “Autonomous,” 242, table 8.

13. Borrell, Henry P. 1839-1840. “Restitution to Histiaiotis, in Thessaly, of several Coins hitherto classed to Histiaea, in Euböia.” *The Numismatic Chronicle* 2: 232-237.

14. Wallace, William P. 1962. “The Meeting Point of the Histiaian and Macedonian Tetrobols.” *The Numismatic Chronicle* 2: 17-22.

15. For a first attempt to interpret the unusual circulation pattern of the coins of H. see: Robert, Louis. 1951. “La circulation des monnaies d’Histiee.” In *Études de numismatique grecque*, Paris: Collège de France, 179-216; Robert, Louis. 1960. “Circulation des monnaies d’Histiee.” In *Hellenica. Recueil d’épigraphie de numismatique et d’antiquités grecques* 11-12. Paris, 63-69. His interpretation was correctly contested by Marek, Christian. 1977. “Der Geldumlauf der Stadt Histiaia und seine Bedeutung für die Verteilung ihrer Proxeni.” *Talanta* 8-9: 72-79, who offered a first systematic discussion of the circulation of the coins of Histiaia in hoards (see pp. 76-77 for a catalogue of the hoards). For a discussion of the circulation of the coins of H. also see recently Gatzolis, Christos, and Selene E. Psoma. 2018. “Coinages issued to Serve Roman Interests and the Case of Histiaia.” In *Les communautés du*

this paper compiles all the known hoards containing silver coins of H. in a relative chronological order. Although the dates suggested for their concealment should be viewed with caution, the accumulated data allows some conclusions on the geographical distribution of the hoards and the changing circulation patterns.

From the six 4th century hoards containing coins of H. none comes from Euboia. They were concealed in the Peloponnese (nos. 1, 2, 6), Thessaly (no. 3), Epirus (no. 4) and Phoenicia (no. 5), and the number of coins of H. they included is very limited. For the 3rd century we have 14 hoards, out of which five from Euboia (nos. 8, 13, 14, 17, 18), six from central Greece, mostly Thessaly (nos. 10, 11, 16, 20), one from Macedonia (no. 21), one from the Peloponnese (no. 15) and, finally, one hoard from inland Thrace (no. 9). In both these groups the number of coins of H. is very limited. The majority of hoards (44) containing silver issues of H., however, have been dated to the 2nd century BC and offer a different picture. First, their geographical range is much wider. In addition to the known provenances from central Greece (nos. 40, 41), Thessaly (nos. 24, 29, 30, 34, 37, 47, 53, 54) and the Peloponnese (nos. 42, 43, 50, 51), the 2nd century hoards containing coins of H. spread to Macedonia (nos. 23, 25-28, 36, 48), western Greece, including Aitolia (nos. 31, 35, 39, 52, 55), the Thracian inland (nos. 48, 56-63) and Crete (nos. 32, 44, 66). We even have two hoards from Gaul (nos. 46, 56), the later (*IGCH* 2379) containing 30 coins, all of H. Furthermore, the number of specimens of H. in these finds is far more important than before. In the hoards from the Balkans the issues of H. are the only currency included, whereas in those from Thessaly and, sometimes, Macedonia, they form a very important part of the whole. The only 2nd century Euboian find with coins of H. comes from Oreos (no. 33), the city that minted them, and contains only one local coin out of 1,300 specimens. It is clear from the above that at some point that cannot, for the time being, be defined with accuracy, the function of this coinage changed. This change in the circulation pattern of the coins of H. seems to be connected to the change in the volume of their production, and the considerable drop in their weight. The circulation range of these “late” coins is unusually wide, even when compared to the coins of Chalkis and imitations that are difficult to date have also been found in hoards from Thrace.¹⁶

nord égéen au temps de l'hégémonie romaine. Entre ruptures et continuités, edited by Julien Fournier and Gabrielle G. Parissaki (Μελετήματα 77). Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 63-77, at pp. 72-73.

16. Gerassimov, Theodor. 1959. “Imitations Thraces de tétrabolos de la ville d’Histiée de l’île d’Eubée.” *Bulletin de l’Institut Archéologique* 22: 335-336 (in Bulgarian with French summary); Sergeev, Andrei. 2012. *Barbarian coins on the territory between the Balkans and Central Asia. Catalogue of Andrei Sergeev’s collection at the State Historical Museum (Moscow)*, Moskow, 66; Talmatchi, Gabriel. 2003. “Ein Paar histiaeanische Münzen aus der Dobrudscha.” In *Symposium de numismatique organisé à l’occasion du 125e anniversaire de la proclamation de l’indépendance de la Roumanie, Chişinău, 24-26 Septembrie 2002*, edited by Eugen Nicolae, Bucureşti: Editure Enciclopedică, 33-35 notes four coins

The importance of the coins of H. is further underlined by the numerous references to this currency in the inventories of the treasury of Apollo at Delos. The *argyron histiaikon* or *histiaikon* is first mentioned amongst the coins held in the sacred treasury in 198 BC¹⁷ and remains the most frequent currency in the inventories until 140/39 BC.¹⁸ All evidence points to the direction that this was one of the most important “civic” silver coinages of mainland Greece in the Hellenistic period.¹⁹

The city of Histiaia and its political relations²⁰

Two questions arise from the above: First, why would a medium size city, such as H., strike such an abundant coinage, and second, why would Macedonia, the leading power in Hellenistic Greece, imitate their coins. A closer examination of the history of H. and its relation to Macedonia is necessary in order to shed some light to the questions raised above.

Histiaia had been under Athenian control, and from 375 BC was a member of the second Athenian League to which the city paid an annual contribution of five talents.²¹ Philip II conquered the city in 342 BC with the help of the local pro-Macedonian party, and established a friendly government under Philistides,²² only a year later H. was once again taken over by the Athenians and Philistides was killed.²³ In 341/40 BC the city became member of the independent Euboian League, but still retained close ties with Athens, and probably took part at the battle of Chaironeia on the Athenian side. Following the defeat of the Athenians and their allies, the Histiaians as all the Euboians, entered the Corinthian League under the leadership of Philip. After the death of Alexander the Great, the Histiaians re-

of Histiaia from the museum of Constanza, out of which no. 1 is probably an imitation (in Romanian with German summary).

17. *ID* 380, l. 100.

18. *ID* 421, 425, 439, 442, 443, 455, 461 that date before 166 BC and *ID* 1408, 1409, 1421, 1422, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1439, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1449, 1450 whose dates range between 166 and 140/39 BC. A recent study has shown that this was the most frequent coinage in the inventories of Delos: Chankowski, Veronique. 2011. “Monnayage et circulation monétaire à Délos aux époques classique et hellénistiques.” In *Nomisma. La circulation monétaire dans le monde grec antique. Actes du colloque international. Athènes, 14-17 avril 2010*, edited by Thomas Faucher, Marie-Christine Marcellesi, and Olivier Picard (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* Suppl. 53). Athènes: École française d’Athènes, 375-395.

19. They are not only found in hoards but they are very frequent as site finds, often the only silver coins together with the usual bronze specimens discovered in excavations.

20. For an outline of the city’s history and a collection of written sources see: Fritz Geyer in *Real-Encyclopädie*, Suppl. IV, 749-757, s.v. For the relations of H. and the Antigonids see: Giannakopoulos, Nikolaos. 2010. “Οι σχέσεις Ιστιαίας και Καρύστου με τους Αντιγονίδες.” In *Α’ Πανελλήνιο Ιστορικό Συνέδριο, 29-31 Μαΐου 2009, Πρακτικά*, edited by Fotini Toloudi. Θεσσαλονίκη: Ελληνική Ιστορική Εταιρεία, 21-41.

21. Aeschin., *In Ctes.* 94, 100ff.; *IG* II² 43, col. B, l. 18.

22. Dem. 9.33; 9.59; 18.71; 18.81.

23. Philoch., *FGrHist* 328 F 159.

fused to join the Athenians in their anti-Macedonian coalition. During the wars of the Diadochoi the city was unsuccessfully besieged by Cassander in 313 BC²⁴ and by 304 BC Euboeia, including H., was controlled by Demetrios Poliorketes and the Euboian League was reconstituted under his influence.²⁵

Picard has placed the early coinage of H. in the period between the battle of Chaironeia in 338 BC and the reconstitution of the Euboian League by Demetrios in 304 BC. In this first period of minting the city produced coins on two different weight standards. The Aiginetan standard and a local one, usually called “reduced” Attic, with a drachm of c. 3.50-3.60 gms. The Aiginetan standard had been used for the early issues of the Euboian League and would seem a natural choice for a city so close to Thessaly, where this standard was dominant. But what about the local drachms? Apparently, these were not issued only in Histiaia. A very abundant issue of drachms weighing c. 3.60 gms was produced at Chalkis²⁶ (fig. 9) and a smaller issue was minted in Karystos²⁷ (fig. 10). These issues are traditionally dated after the middle of the 4th century and Picard, in his study of the coinage of Chalkis, placed them after the battle of Chaironeia in 338 BC. By this time Philip II had established a new standard for the royal silver coins in Macedonia. Taking over the standard used by the Chalcidean League he had created the new royal silver coin of c. 14.40 gms that replaced the earlier lighter staters of c. 10 gms. It seems, therefore, that the “reduced” standard of the Euboian coins was very conveniently compatible with the new Macedonian coins since four Euboian drachms were equivalent to one Macedonian tetradrachm. To conclude from the above, H. inaugurated her coinage in the second half of the 4th century, after the Macedonians expanded their control over the island of Euboeia and, together with other Euboian cities, chose a weight standard that would facilitate exchanges with the Macedonians. A small issue of “reduced” drachms of the Euboian League has been dated to the period between 357 and 338 BC.²⁸ Philip first intervened in Euboeia in the 340’s, so even if this local denomination had existed before the Macedonian intervention, it was certainly promoted by Philip II.

Information on the status of Histiaia, and Euboeia in general, during the first half of the 3rd century is rather scarce, due to the lack of sources. We know, however that the Demetria, understood as festivals in honour of King Demetrios, were held in the city after 294 BC,²⁹ thus showing close political ties with the Antigonid

24. Diod. 19.75.7-8; 77.4-5. For discussion see: Giannakopoulos, “Οι σχέσεις Ιστιαίας και Καρύστου,” 22-23.

25. Plut., *Demetr.* 23 mentions the control of Attica, Thessaly and Boiotia by Demetrios before he controlled Macedonia.

26. Picard, *Chalkis*, 16-46. *Münzen von Euboeia, Sammlung BCD*, nos. 118 ff.

27. *Münzen von Euboeia, Sammlung BCD*, nos. 552-564.

28. *Ibid.*, nos. 15-16.

29. The decree on the regulation of the Dionysiac artists (*IG XII 9, 207*) refers to the Euboian League and the contests in honor of King Demetrios were held in the four Euboian cities.

kingdom. We also know that Histiaia sent its own *hieromnemes* to Delphi from c. 266/265 down to 255 BC, thus indicating that the civic institutions continued to function and the city remained independent despite Macedonian control.³⁰ In 250 BC Alexandros, son of Krateros and nephew of Gonatas, that had been appointed in charge of the Antigonid possessions in southern Greece, founded an independent kingdom in Euboia and held the island under his personal control until his death in 244 BC. After the revolt and the subsequent death of Alexandros, political and military control of the Antigonids over Euboia became stronger. The celebration of festivals in honor of King Antigonos in Histiaia, the Antigoneia, is mentioned in an inscription dating to 230-220 BC.³¹ The same inscription testifies the function of the city's institutions.

Antigonid control over Histiaia was challenged twice during the wars with the Romans. In 208/7 BC, during the First Macedonian war, the city was betrayed by its commander and head of the Macedonian garrison, who surrendered to the joint forces of Attalos and Sulpicius Galba and left the city to be sacked and plundered.³² Philip soon regained control³³ and, not long after, the loyal citizens that had preferred exile to cooperation with the Romans returned and were put in charge of its administration.³⁴ In the autumn of 199 BC the allied fleets of Attalos and the Romans attacked Histiaia once more, in an effort to lay a hand on Macedonia's major naval base at Chalkis and control Euboia.³⁵ Although the Macedonian garrison had, in the meantime, been reinforced, and the population resisted strongly, the city was nevertheless captured, only to be regained by Philip shortly after.³⁶ Macedonian control over H. was permanently lost following the terms of the treaty of 196 BC; according to the Senate's decision, Oreos was amongst the cities of Greece that was given over to the Romans,³⁷ after an unsuccessful attempt to set it under the influence of Eumenes.³⁸ From now on Oreos served as a naval base for the Romans, as can be clearly seen from the military events of the Third Macedonian war.³⁹

Histiaia or Oreos, as the city is mentioned in literary sources, was an important port that held a strategic position for the Macedonians. It controlled a passage from Thessaly to southern Greece through Euboia, since the pass of Thermopylai

30. For bibliography and discussion see Gatzolis and Psoma, "Coinages issued," 76.

31. *IG XI 4*, 1055, l. 21-23.

32. The detailed description is preserved in Livy 6.7.7.4 and 28.5.18. See also references in Polyb. 11.5.8; Cass. Dio 57.58; Zonar. 9.2.4.

33. Livy 28.8.3.

34. Livy 28.8.13. See the discussion by Giannakopoulos, "Οι σχέσεις Ιστιαίας και Καρύστου," 29-30.

35. Livy 31.46; Paus. 7.7.9.

36. Polyb. 18.45.5.

37. Polyb. 18.44 for the general conditions imposed by the Senate; Polyb. 18.45.5 for direct reference to Oreos.

38. Livy 33.34.10.

39. Plut., *Aem.* 9; Livy 44.13.30.

was very often held by the hostile Aitolians⁴⁰ and it also controlled the naval passage to the Euboic and Pagasetic gulfs, thus protecting the two most important naval bases of the Macedonians, Demetrias and Chalkis. In Livy's account of the First Macedonian war the city is described as possessing a strong fortification of two citadels, one in the heart of the city connected by a subterranean passage to the sea that terminated at a five story tower, and a second one overlooking the sea,⁴¹ surrounded by walls running down to the sea and protecting its harbour. This was a remarkable defensive work that shows a large planning and building programme on a scale similar to the fortifications of Chalkis carried out, to a large extent, by the Macedonians.⁴² It is clear that, at least during the second half of the 3rd century, Histiaia was under tight political and military control of the Antigonids.

Unfortunately, not much evidence survives on the financial relations between Histiaia and Macedonia; there is evidence that the allied or subject cities to the Macedonians, very often had the obligation to contribute financially to their "protectors" and they also undertook the cost of maintaining the garrisons.⁴³ The clause in the declaration of Flamininus at the Isthmos in 196 BC, mentioning that from now on, the Euboian cities are to remain without garrisons and tribute⁴⁴ has been considered as an indication that, under Macedonian rule, a tribute was demanded. Some evidence exists for a tribute imposed by Poliorketes in Eretria⁴⁵ but, otherwise, direct evidence is lacking. There is a passage in Athenaeus mentioning that a certain King Antigonos had imposed a tax for the use of the mineral springs at Aidipsos, a settlement situated within the territory of Histiaia.⁴⁶ This shows the king participating in the exploitation of the natural resources of the city and is clearly a form of financial contribution of the city to the royal treasury.

The function of the coinage of Histiaia

It is in this historical context that the "late" hemidrachms of H. should be examined. They form a large coinage, struck in a small silver denomination of reduced weight that circulated widely and was mentioned in the inventories of Delos as one of the most common currencies of the late Hellenistic period. The most plausible explanation for the volume of this coinage, was that it was produced, not only to

40. Livy 28.7 (Aitolians holding Thermopylai). Polyb. 2.52.7: Dosoñ crosses Euboia from H. on his way to Corinth. Polyb. 4.67.7: Philip V crosses Euboia from H. on his way to Corinth.

41. Livy 28.6.

42. Picard, *Chalcis*, 252-256.

43. See, for example, Plut., *Demetr.* 39 for Demetrios extracting money from Thebes, after having placed garrisons in the city.

44. Polyb. 18.46.5 "ἀφρορητήτους" and "ἀφορολογήτους".

45. Knoepfler, Denis. 1991. *La vie de Ménédème d'Érétrie de Diogène Laërce. Contribution à l'histoire et à la critique du texte des Vies des Philosophes*. Basel: Fr. Reinhardt Verlag, 301, note 207.

46. *FGrHist* 81 F 65 (Athenaeus, III, 73 c-d).

serve the needs of the city's expenses, but also to finance the military, or other, operations of the city's "protectors", the Antigonids. These small silver denominations had become very common in the coinages of the Greek cities and Leagues during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC and had been also used for military expenses such as mercenary payments.⁴⁷ Such small silver coins, had not been produced at the Macedonian mints that, from the 3rd century, struck royal tetradrachms and bronzes. The coins of the allied city of H. could have been used for payments by the Macedonians. The wide circulation of these coins corroborates this interpretation, mercenaries travelled a lot, and the coins of H. found in Gaul and Crete could be understood by the hiring of Gallic and Cretan mercenaries.

The use of the "civic" coinage of H. for the needs of the Macedonian state not only explains the large volume and wide circulation range of this coinage, but also provides a reasonable explanation for the Macedonian "imitations". The iconography and denomination of the Histiaian hemidrachms had become so common and familiar to its recipients that the Macedonians, departing from their own traditions, had to produce a currency with the same value and similar appearance to that of H., when the "civic" coinage was not sufficient or available. Series 1 is probably the first series of "autonomous" Macedonian issues and shows that part of the financial burden undertaken by the allies was, at some point, met by the Macedonians themselves.

Over the last years many studies have been devoted to the use of local coinages to finance Rome's military operations against the Thracian tribes and Mithridates. The abundant late Hellenistic coinages of Thasos and Maroneia, the tetradrachms of the First Macedonian District but even coinages of smaller volume, such as the tetradrachms of the Ainianes or those of Leukas have been convincingly connected with Roman operations.⁴⁸ The new interpretation of the coinage of H. suggests that this practice was not a Roman invention but one that had been already applied by the Antigonids.⁴⁹

Could we go further back? Could one examine the 4th century issues of Chalkis under a similar aspect? The Euboian League had fought against Philip in Chaironeia but after his victory the Euboians negotiated their participation in the Corinthian League under Macedonian leadership. The Euboian League was dissolved,

47. Grandjean, Catherine. 1995. "Les comptes de Pompidas (IG VII 2426). Drachmes d'argent symmachique et drachmes de bronze." *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 119: 1-26 at pp. 15-26.

48. A lot has been written on the subject over the last years. Important publications include: Picard, Olivier. 2010. "Rome et la Grèce à la basse période hellénistique. Monnaies et imperialisme." *Journal des Savants*, Juillet-Décembre: 163-192; De Callatay, François. 2011. "More than it would seem: The Use of Coinage by the Romans in Late Hellenistic Asia Minor." *American Journal of Numismatics* 23: 55-86; Gatzolis and Psoma, "Coinages issued," with earlier bibliography.

49. Also see Kremydi, "Autonomous," 225-230. This is also the view taken by Gatzolis and Psoma, "Coinages issued," 72-77.

the federal coinage came to an end and Chalkis and Histiaia inaugurated their civic issues on the same standard used by Philip for his own tetradrachms. Chalkis was chosen by Philip as the naval base of the Corinthian League; an extensive fortification program was put forward for the protection of the city, the port and the control of Euboia and, furthermore, a garrison was installed.⁵⁰ Thus Chalkis developed, together with Corinth, as one of the most important Macedonian strongholds in the south. It is very tempting to connect the large output of the coinage of Chalkis during the second half of the 4th century, with the transformation of the Euripe's straights into a Macedonian fortress and the extensive construction works that took place in the city. It would be the city's contribution to the defence works undertaken by the Macedonians. The "late" group of the Histiaian hemidrachms, struck in large quantities, replaced the earlier issues of Chalkis that now continued in much smaller numbers. The burden of financing Macedonian operations and politics seems to have changed hands.

50. In 333 BC, during the war with the Persians, Chalkis is mentioned by Arrian, II.2.4 as the base for the Greek fleet.

APPENDIX
Hoard with silver coins of Histiaia

The following appendix includes published hoards containing silver coins of Histiaia in chronological order. The dates given are those of *IGCH* or *CH*. When we suggest a different dating the reference is given abbreviated in parenthesis from the publications:

Picard, Olivier. 1979. *Chalcis et la confederation eubéenne. Étude de numismatique et d'histoire (IVe – Ier siècle)*. Athènes: École française d'Athènes; Kremydi, Sophia. 2018. "Autonomous" Coinages under the Late Antigonids (Μελετήματα 79). Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 272-273, table 11.

	Hoard		Coins	Histiaia	Date
1	<i>IGCH</i> 69	Peloponnese/1954	25	2 early	c. 350-325
2	<i>IGCH</i> 76	Kyparissia, Messenia/1892-1893	35	1	c. 327
3	<i>IGCH</i> 93	Lamia/1901-1902	112	2drs, 3 early	c. 310-300
4	<i>IGCH</i> 120	Dyrmish, Albania/1960	72	9	c. 300
5	<i>IGCH</i> 1521	Saida (Sidon), Phoenicia/ before 1954	23+	1	c. 300
6	<i>IGCH</i> 129	Peloponnese/c. 1935	478+	4	c. 310-290
7	<i>CH</i> 8.254	Itea, central Greece/1983?	1500+	6	c. 290-270
8	<i>IGCH</i> 156	Eretria/1935	260	1 dr	c. 275-250
9	<i>IGCH</i> 860	Gâbino, Kjustendil, Bulgaria/1914	22	1	c. 275-265
10	<i>CH</i> 6.24	Thessaly/1979	562	7	c. 270
11	<i>IGCH</i> 159	Phyattus, near Tricca/1956	61 AR, 4 AE	2	c. 264 (260-240)
12	<i>IGCH</i> 166	Central Greece/before 1954		1 early	c. 250
13	<i>IGCH</i> 188	Euboia/1900	21	1dr, 3	c. 240-230 (Picard, 149-152)
14	<i>IGCH</i> 175	Eretria/1937	572+	1+	c. 235
15	<i>IGCH</i> 182	Therianos, Achaia/1930	55	2	c. 230-220, (Picard, 145-146)
16	<i>CH</i> 2.72 = 3.43	Thessaly/1974	37+	1 dr	c. 229-228
17	<i>IGCH</i> 226	Koskina, Euboia/1923	c. 130	1	3rd c. (Picard, 166, note 6)

	Hoard		Coins	Histiaia	Date
18	<i>IGCH</i> 205	Chalkis (or Boiotia), bef. 1958	222	5drs	late 3rd c.
19	<i>CH</i> 8.436	Uncertain findspot/before 1980	many	many	late 3rd c., (Kremydi, no. 3)
20	<i>CH</i> 6.35 = 5.42	SW Thessaly/1977	450+	400	late 3rd c., (Kremydi, no. 4)
21	Wallace coll.	Thessaloniki/c. 1954	27	26	late 3rd c., (Kremydi, no. 5)
22	<i>IGCH</i> 218	Athens/1947	8	8	early 2nd c.
23	<i>IGCH</i> 471	Gephyra, near Thessalonike/1967	38	31	c. 200-150
24	<i>IGCH</i> 228	Grammenon, Thessaly/1889	130	35	c. 196-179, (Kremydi, no. 12)
25	<i>IGCH</i> 474	Yenikeui, near Amphipolis/1899	13	3	c. 196-179, (Kremydi, no. 11)
26	<i>IGCH</i> 475	Macedonia/1827	200+	100+	c. 196-179, (Kremydi, no. 1)
27	<i>IGCH</i> 476	Northern Greece/before 1840	3000+	c. 2000	c. 196-179, (Kremydi, no. 2)
28	<i>CH</i> 8.420 = 7.96, 6.36	Pella, Macedonia/1976	307	4	c. 196-179, (Kremydi, no. 9)
29	<i>CH</i> 8.424	Almyros region, Thessaly/ 1980/84	60+	5-10	c. 196-179, (Kremydi, no. 10)
30	<i>CH</i> 9.236	Halos/1996	53	4	c. 196-179, (Kremydi, no. 8)
31	<i>CH</i> 10.112	Kallion, Aitolia/1978	8, 2AE	3	c. 191
32	<i>IGCH</i> 254	Kanea, Crete/1922	1154+	160	c. 180-170, (Kremydi, no. 7)
33	<i>IGCH</i> 232	Oreos, Euboa/1902	1300	6	c. 179-168 (Kremydi, no. 15)
34	<i>IGCH</i> 239	Larissa/1948	52	28	c. 175-165
35	<i>IGCH</i> 248	Preveza?, Epirus/1933-34	c. 600	75	c. 175-150
36	<i>CH</i> 8.418	Grad, Delcovo, FYROM/ before 1972	500+	500+	c. 175-150
37	<i>CH</i> 8.422 (+423?)	Thessaly 1985/86	55+, 9+	34+	c. 170 (Possibly c. 196-179)
38	<i>CH</i> 9.240	Uncertain findspot/1998?	143	few	c. 170

	Hoard		Coins	Histiaia	Date
39	CH 8.431	Vonitsa, Akarnania/1993	148+	58	c. 168
40	IGCH 233	Thebes/1965	16, 42AE	2	c. 168
41	CH 9.244 = 10.118	Thebes/1997	8AR, AE, jewelry	1	c. 168-146
42	IGCH 243	Peloponnese ?/before 1940	105	5	c. 146, (Picard, 326)
43	IGCH 262	Diakofto, Achaia/1965	3000+	6	c. 146
44	IGCH 253	Crete/before 1914	17+	11	mid 2nd c.
45	CH 8.409	Drama, Macedonia/1976	1, 3AE	1	187-168 (after 168)
46	IGCH 2374	Tourdan, near Lyon/1890	244	1	mid 2nd c.
47	CH 4.56	Thessaly/1938	162+	133	mid 2nd c.
48	CH 10.126	Drenovo, Prilep, (anc. Stoboi) FYROM/1991-92	30+	30+	mid 2nd c.
49	CH 10.127	Bosilegrad, Vranje, Serbia/1998	200+	200+	mid 2nd c. (burial hoard)
50	IGCH 267	Achaia?/before 1940	48	2	c. 150-140
51	IGCH 270	Olympia/1939	c. 850	Dr	c. 145-140
52	IGCH 271	Agrinion, Aitolia/1959	1348	6 drs	c. 145-135 (?)
53	IGCH 304	Larissa/1940	385, 2AE	377	2nd c.
54	IGCH 305	Larissa/1958	c. 600	c. 600	2nd c.
55	IGCH 309	Khouliarades, near Dodona/before 1969	18	18	2nd c.
56	IGCH 2379	Nice, anc. Nikaia/1881	30	30	2nd c.
57	IGCH 942	Sumen, Bulgaria/1958	116	116	2nd c.
58	IGCH 943	Razgrad, Bulgaria/1956	many	all	2nd c.
59	IGCH 944	Blatnica, E. of Pazarzik, Bulgaria/1943	51	43	2nd c.
60	IGCH 945	Jakoruda, W. of Plovdiv, Bulgaria/1942	206	206	2nd c.
61	IGCH 946	Kjustendil, Bulgaria/1956	10	10	2nd c.
62	IGCH 947	Guesevo, Bulgaria/1907	163	163	2nd c.
63	IGCH 948	Nevrokop, Bulgaria/1931	160	160	2nd c.
64	CH 9.223	Sapareva Bania, Bulgaria/1979	54	54	2nd c.
65	CH 3.56	Greece/1970-77	8+	all	2nd c.
66	IGCH 330	Axos, Crete/1961	54+, 44+AE	1	early 1st c.
67	CH 8.517	N. of Larissa/1985	1260+	500+	c. 75



Fig. 1. Macedonians, hemidrachm, Series 1. 2.34 gms, 14 mm. London, *BMC* 29



Fig. 2. Macedonians, hemidrachm, Series 2. 2.19 gms, 15 mm. ANS 1944.100.14155.



Fig. 3. Hestiaia, reduced drachm, 3.75 gms, 16 mm. *Münzen von Euboia, Sammlung BCD*, no. 360.



Fig. 4. Hestiaia, octobol, 5.55 gms, 20 mm. *Münzen von Euboia, Sammlung BCD*, no. 361.



Fig. 5. Hestiaia, early tetrobol, 2.58 gms, 14 mm. *Münzen von Euboia, Sammlung BCD*, no. 367.



Fig. 6. Histiaia, "late" tetrobol, 2.12 gms, 16 mm. *Münzen von Euboia, Sammlung BCD*, no. 387.



Fig. 7. Histiaia, "late" tetrobol, 2.38 gms, 14 mm. *Münzen von Euboia, Sammlung BCD*, no. 389.



Fig. 8. Histiaia, "late" tetrobol, 2.08 gms, 14 mm. *Münzen von Euboia, Sammlung BCD*, no. 408.



Fig. 9. Chalkis, reduced drachm, 3.65 gms, 17 mm. *Münzen von Euboia, Sammlung BCD*, no. 118.



Fig. 10. Karystos, reduced drachm, 3.65 gms, 15 mm. *Münzen von Euboia, Sammlung BCD*, no. 552.

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