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# ὄβολός 7

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## ΤΟ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ ΣΤΟ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΚΟ ΧΩΡΟ

ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ  
ΤΗΣ Γ' ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΗΣ ΣΥΝΑΝΤΗΣΗΣ



## COINS IN THE THESSALIAN REGION

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE THIRD SCIENTIFIC MEETING

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# ὀβολός 7

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## ΤΟ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ ΣΤΟ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΚΟ ΧΩΡΟ

Νομισματοκοπεία, Κυκλοφορία, Εικονογραφία, Ιστορία  
Αρχαίοι - Βυζαντινοί - Νεώτεροι Χρόνοι

ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ  
ΤΗΣ Γ' ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΗΣ ΣΥΝΑΝΤΗΣΗΣ



## COINS IN THE THESSALIAN REGION

Mints, Circulation, Iconography, History  
Ancient, Byzantine, Modern

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE THIRD SCIENTIFIC MEETING

ΑΘΗΝΑ 2004

ΕΚΔΟΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΥ

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HOARD EVIDENCE FROM THESSALY  
IN THE SECOND AND FIRST CENTURIES BC:  
FROM A “MULTI-CURRENCY”  
TO A “DOUBLE-CURRENCY” SYSTEM

SOPHIA KREMYDI-SICILIANOU

**Thessaly from the Isthmos declaration to the incorporation in the Roman province of Achaia (196-27 BC)**

Since Thessaly's annexation by Philip II, the Macedonian king was always appointed *archon* of the Thessalian League. The Macedonians managed to maintain their supremacy and their role as *hegemones* of the Greeks throughout the third century, but towards 200 BC the equilibrium changed; the second war against Macedonia which was opened in 200, ended in a victory for the Roman army under the proconsul T. Quintius Flamininus in 197. The battle of Kynoskephalai and the subsequent abandonment of all Macedonian possessions in Greece marked a crucial turning point in the history of Greece, and of Thessaly in particular. A decree of the Senate in 196 demanded that Philip V deliver his possessions in Greece to the Romans, without garrisons, before the Isthmian Games to be held the same year<sup>1</sup>. There, all the people formerly subject to the Macedonians were declared free<sup>2</sup>.

Thessaly was thereafter “independent”, but the Magnetes and the Perrhaiboi were organised in their own federations and Dolopia was self-governing. Flamininus apparently took a personal interest in the reorganisation of Thessaly, when he visited the

1. Polybios 18, 44, 3.

2. Polybios 18, 46, 5: “The Senate of Rome and Titus Quintius the proconsul having overcome Philip and the Macedonians, leave the following peoples free, without garrisons and subject to no tribute and governed by their countries laws –the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Euboians, Phthiotic Achaeans, Magnesians, Thessalians, and Perrhaebians” (ed. Loeb, transl. W.A. Paton); repeated word for word by Livius 33, 32, 5. Phthiotic Achaia was nevertheless incorporated into Thessaly, except for Thebes which was given to the Aitolians, as was probably also Pharsalos: Polybios 18, 47, 7-8; Livius 33, 34, 7.

region in 194, before the Roman troops evacuated Greece<sup>3</sup>. The political aim of his intervention was to establish stability and social order under a pre-Roman oligarchy<sup>4</sup>. The *Koinon*<sup>5</sup> was reorganised under new laws. The head of the federal government was no longer the King of Macedon but an annually elected general (*strategos*)<sup>6</sup> from the ruling class, property qualifications were required for holding office and the legislative assembly was a *synedrion* of modest size<sup>7</sup>. It was sometime after this new organisation that the League resumed issuing its coinage.

The status of Thessaly had changed radically since 196, but the country did not avoid the civil strife that plagued most parts of Greece as a consequence of serious economic and social crises that challenged the Greek world from the end of the third century<sup>8</sup>. The re-establishment of Macedonian influence by Perseus in Greece and his appeal to the lower classes with anti-Roman feelings<sup>9</sup>, inevitably led to a new conflict with Rome<sup>10</sup>. In 172 Roman embassies were sent all over Greece and Asia Minor to win over the sympathy of the people and ensure their co-operation. In Thessaly, they were courteously received in a council held by the League at Larissa<sup>11</sup>. During the

3. Livius 39, 51, 4-6, is the main source.

4. Roman intervention in Thessaly is obvious from a letter of Flamininus to the *tagoi* and the city of Chyretiai: *Syll*<sup>3</sup>, 593. For comments and bibliography: R.K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, Baltimore 1969, 211-213 (hereafter: *Roman Documents*), and for discussion: J.-L. Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme*, BEFAR 271, Rome 1988, 112-117. Livius 34, 51, 5, justifies the decisions of Flamininus by insisting on the state of confusion in the region due to the king's "lawless and violent behaviour" and to "the restless character of the people, which from the earliest times down to the present day has never conducted a meeting or an assembly or a council without dissension and rioting" (ed. Loeb, transl. E. Sage).

5. *SIG*<sup>3</sup>, 674, ll. 49-54. For comments and bibliography: Sherk, *Roman Documents*, 49-53.

6. H. Kramolisch, *Demetrias II. Die Strategen des thessalischen Bundes vom Jahr 196 v. Chr. bis zum Ausgang der römischen Republik*, Bonn 1978.

7. On the Thessalian League and its institutions: J.A.O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States. Their Institutions and History*, Oxford 1968, 284-290. D.G. Martin, *Greek Leagues in the Later Second and First Cent. BC* (Diss., Princeton 1975), 12-61.

8. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 1967<sup>5</sup>, 603-632.

9. This was an argument used both by Eumenes before the Senate (Livius 42, 13, 8-9; Diodorus Siculus 29, 33) and by the Romans themselves in a document addressed to the Amphictyonic Council in 171: *SIG*<sup>3</sup>, 643, ll. 20-28. For discussion and bibliography: F. Lefèvre, *L'amphictionie pyléo-delphique : histoire et institutions*, BEFAR 298, Paris 1998, 125-126.

10. A. Giovannini, Les origines de la 3e guerre de Macédoine, *BCH* 93 (1969), 853-861.

11. Livius 42, 38, 6.

Third Macedonian War that followed, Thessaly was once again the chief theatre of operations between 171 and 169, when the Romans finally made their way into Macedonia. Moreover, the Thessalian cavalry took an active part in the War on the Roman side<sup>12</sup>.

We hear nothing of the Thessalians during the Achaian War, but the dissolution of the Perrhaibian League and its incorporation into Thessalian territory have been seen as a compensation for their support of the Romans<sup>13</sup>. The traditional view that the Thessalian League was dissolved after 146 and incorporated into the province of Macedonia<sup>14</sup>, and that its coinage subsequently came to an end has long since been abandoned<sup>15</sup>. The consequences of the Achaian War did not seem to affect the status of Thessaly established by Flamininus.

From the mid-second century until the Mithridatic wars there is very little about Thessaly in the sources<sup>16</sup>. Roman intervention is attested, however, by inscriptions which indicate that the Senate could have jurisdiction in disputes between Thessalian cities<sup>17</sup>, and furthermore that the council of the Thessalian League was prepared to supply Rome with all the region's surplus grain, when requested<sup>18</sup>.

After the settlement of 146, the wars between Greek states and Rome were over. Nevertheless, the country continued to be an important theatre of operations for the

12. Livius 42, 55, 10; 42, 58, 14; 42, 59, 4.

13. H. Kramolisch, Das Ende des perrhäbischen Bundes, in: B. Helly (ed.), *La Thessalie. Actes de la table-ronde, 21-24 juillet 1975, Lyon, Lyon-Paris 1979*, 201-219.

14. On the status of the Greek states after the Achaian War and the creation of the province of Macedonia: S. Accame, *Il dominio romano in Grecia dalla guerra acaica ad Augusto*, Rome 1972<sup>2</sup>, 2-15 (esp. p. 15). See the reservations of F.W. Walbank, *JRS* 37 (1947), 205-207. Also R. Bernhardt, Der Status des 146 v. Chr. untergeworfenen Teils Griechenlands, *Historia* 26 (1977), 62-73. D.W. Baranowski, Mainland Greece after 146 BC, *Klio* 70 (1988), 448-460 (esp. p. 456-459). Ferrary, *Philhellénisme* (op.cit., n. 4), 199-209. R. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire: The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62 BC*, Berkeley 1995, 72-82.

15. See below.

16. In 103 we hear of Thessalian soldiers, probably mercenaries, in the Roman army participating in the repression of a revolt of slaves in Sicily (Diodorus Siculus 36, 8, 1).

17. For a decision of the Senate dated to c. 140 concerning a disputed piece of land between two Thessalian cities, Melitaia and Narthacion: *SIG*<sup>3</sup>, 674, commented on in: Sherk, *Roman Documents*, 49-53.

18. For the famous inscription on grain-supply, now dated to the 130s: P. Garnsey - T. Gallant - D. Rathbone, Thessaly and the Grain Supply of Rome During the Second Century BC, *JRS* LXXIV (1984), 30-44 and *JRS* LXXV (1985), 25. K. Gallis, *ADelt* 31 (1976), Chronika, 176-178. *BullEp* 1987, no. 263 (Ph. Gauthier). F. Canali de Rossi, P. Clodio, Q. Cecilio Metello e il grano tessalo, *MGR* 19 (1995), 147-159 (dated to 57 BC). M. Sève, *AEphem* 1995, nos. 1377-1378 (rejects the lower date).

Roman army both during the war with Mithridates, and during the civil wars. Thessaly not only suffered the consequences of having continuous wars fought on its soil, but was also expected to provide supplies, money and soldiers for the Romans<sup>19</sup>.

Thus, after the Second Macedonian War Thessaly was separated from Macedonia and reorganised as a “free” state with a pre-Roman government. More than any other Greek state, during the second and first centuries, Thessaly remained a faithful ally of Rome providing grain, soldiers, military bases and even money on demand, and in return counted on the Romans for military protection and arbitration. The Thessalians managed never to turn the most powerful state in the Mediterranean against them, not even during the civil wars, when it was practically impossible to side always with the winning party. After the end of the civil wars and the establishment of the Principate by Augustus, the League was once again favoured by the Romans: its territory was extended by including that of the neighbouring Dolopians, Ainianes and Oitaioi, and the Princeps himself was named *strategos* of the League. After the reorganization of the provinces in 27 BC, Thessaly was incorporated into the province of Achaia<sup>20</sup>.

### The hoard evidence

The present study discusses the general pattern that derives from 25 hoards of silver coins found in Thessaly, as these have been published in *IGCH* and *CH* as well as in recent articles by D. Klose<sup>21</sup> and R. Ashton<sup>22</sup>. Their content is presented in Table

19. Thessaly, as well as Aitolia, is known to have provided money, troops and provisions for Sulla (Appianos, *Mith.* 30). This is further confirmed by a decree of the Aitolian League which honours an Aitolian soldier who participated in the army of Sulla against Mithridates: *IG IX*<sup>2</sup>, 1,1, n. 139. Furthermore, the region provided grain for Pompey against Caesar (Caesar, *BC* 3, 5), and for Octavian and Anthony against Brutus (Appianos, *BC* 4, 122). The Thessalian cavalry also fought on the side of Brutus at Philippi (Appianos, *BC* 4, 88).

20. The date of the incorporation of Thessaly into the province of Macedonia is fully discussed by: G.W. Bowersock, *Zur Geschichte des römischen Thessaliens*, *RM* 108 (1965), 282-298, who gathers all available epigraphic and literary evidence and tentatively proposes a date under Nero. F. Papazoglou (*ANRW II*. 7.1, 329-330), accepts the more conventional mid-second century date. See also: Fr. Burrell, *Münzprägung und Geschichte des thessalischen Bundes in der römischen Kaiserzeit bis auf Hadrian*, Saarbrücken 1993, 3-7.

21. D. Klose, *Zur Chronologie der thessalischen Koinonprägungen im 2. und 1. Jh. v. Chr. Ein weiterer Schatzfund aus Südthessalien*, in U. Peter (ed.), *Stephanos nomismatikos. Edith Schönert-Geiss zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin 1998, 333-350 (hereafter: *Zur Chronologie*).

22. R. Ashton, *The Halos 1996 Hoard*, *NC* 160 (2000), 106-109.

1 and a quantitative analysis of the mints represented in these hoards can be found in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 as well as in Graphs I and II.

Hoard evidence is crucial for establishing circulation patterns, but since hoards tend to be concealed and lost during warfare, and their burial dates often coincide with important battles or wars, the general pattern of their distribution is neither representative nor incidental. Most of the Thessalian hoards discussed in this paper were buried during the Third Macedonian War (171-168), the conflicts between Sulla and Mithridates on Thessalian soil (87/6), and the civil war between Caesar and Pompey (49/8). The circumstances of their burial probably also affect their content, since there is a greater chance that they would include currency used for military payments. Furthermore, since many of the hoards discussed here were recorded after dispersal on the market rather than preserved intact, their content cannot always be considered secure and their descriptions are sometimes incomplete or uncertain. Nevertheless, interesting conclusions can be reached by studying a considerable number of hoards from a limited geographical and chronological range.

#### A. Hoards of the period 197-168 BC

The first two hoards in Table 1 probably belong to the first decade of the second century and their contents differ substantially from the more homogeneous later hoards. "Thessaly 1963" is a small part of a larger hoard which was not fully recorded, and "Northern Greece 1981" is discussed below, in the content of the Thessalian coinage (p. 249-251).

The nine following hoards in Table 1 (nos. 3-11), that is over one third of the total number of Thessalian hoards of the second and first centuries, can be securely dated within the period c. 180 to c. 168. We can trace many common elements in their composition and most of them have been connected with the events of the Third Macedonian War, which would limit their dating to the years between 171 and 168. The main common element is the presence of very large numbers of Rhodian-type drachms and "tetrobols" of Histiaia, together with tetrobols in the name of the Macedonians in much more moderate numbers (Table 2.1 and Graph I). Almost 43% of the total number of coins in these hoards is Rhodian-type drachms, whereas the "tetrobols" of Histiaia represent nearly 32%. Added together, these figures amount to 75%, a very high percentage that requires explanation.

Richard Ashton's detailed research on the pseudo-Rhodian drachms found in Thessalian hoards has shown that, apart from a few genuine Rhodian drachms, most of the varieties present in these hoards were struck at mints in mainland Greece, Euboia and Samothrace, together with some quasi-official issues struck for use on

Table 1. Hoards of silver coins of the 2nd and 1st cent. BC from Thessaly

| HOARDS              | Philip II | Alexander III | Dem. Poliorketes | Antigonos Gonatas | Antigonos Doson | Philip V | Persus | Macedonia | Lysimachos | Thasos | Boiotian League | Thebai | Thespiai | Opountii Lokroi | Phokis | Chalkis | Histiala | Aitolian League | Athens | Aigina | (Pseudo)-Rhodes | Sikyon | Argos | Achaic League | Hellenistic Kings | Thessaly | Thessalian League | Magnetian League | Perrhaibian League | Roman Denarii | KREMYDI | PUBLISHED DATE | PUBLICATION |                     |                   |
|---------------------|-----------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|--------|-----------|------------|--------|-----------------|--------|----------|-----------------|--------|---------|----------|-----------------|--------|--------|-----------------|--------|-------|---------------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------|---------|----------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1 Thessaly 1963     |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        | +               |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               | +                 |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         | Early 2nd      | IGCH 220    |                     |                   |
| 2 N. Greece 1981    |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   | +        |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                | c. 190      | CH 7, 91            |                   |
| 3 Thessaly 1977     |           | +             | +                | +                 |                 |          |        | +         |            |        | +               |        | +        |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 | +      |       |               |                   | +        |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                | c. 175      | CH 6, 35=5, 42      |                   |
| 4 Thessaly 1938     |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        | +         |            |        | +               |        | +        |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 | +      |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                | Mid 2nd     | CH 4, 56            |                   |
| 5 Grammenon 1889    |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        | +         |            |        | +               |        | +        |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 | +      |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                | c. 180-70   | IGCH 228            |                   |
| 6 Larissa 1940      |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        | +               |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        | AE     |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                | 2nd cent.   | IGCH 304            |                   |
| 7 Larissa 1958      |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        | +               |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                | 2nd cent.   | IGCH 305            |                   |
| 8 Thessaly 1985/6   |           | +             |                  |                   |                 |          |        | +         |            |        | +               |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                | c. 170      | CH 8, 422, 423      |                   |
| 9 Halmyros 1980/4   |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        | +         |            |        | +               |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                | c. 170      | CH 8, 424*          |                   |
| 10 Halos 1996       |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        | +         |            |        | +               |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                | c. 170      | NC 2000; CH 9, 236  |                   |
| 11 Larissa 1968     | +         | +             |                  | +                 | +               | +        | +      | +         |            |        | +               |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 | +      |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                | c. 165      | IGCH 237; CH 9, 247 |                   |
| 12 Triikka 1961     |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                | c. 168      | IGCH 234            |                   |
| 13 Larissa 1948     |           | +             |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        | +               |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                |             | c. 175-65           | IGCH 239          |
| 14 Volos 1983       |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                |             | c. 170              | CH 8, 421         |
| 15 Larissa 1954     |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                |             | Late 2nd            | IGCH 313, 314     |
| 16 Larissa 1912     |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                |             | c. 175-150          | IGCH 247          |
| 17 Thessaly 1970    |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                |             | Mid 2nd             | CH 1, 83          |
| 18 Veiestino 1966   |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                |             | Late 2nd            | IGCH 315, CH 5, 4 |
| 19 Thessaly 1969    |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                |             | Early 1st           | Klose, CH 9, 323  |
| 20 Thessaly 1963    |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                |             | Early 1st           | Klose, CH 9, 321  |
| 21 Halmyros 1929    |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                |             | c. 90               | IGCH 289, 296     |
| 22 S. Thessaly 1983 |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                |             | 87/6                | Klose, CH 9, 320  |
| 23 Thessaly 1973    |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                |             | c. 50               | CH 3, 57          |
| 24 Thessaly 1964    |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                |             | c. 50               | Klose, CH 9, 322  |
| 25 Aidona 1955      |           |               |                  |                   |                 |          |        |           |            |        |                 |        |          |                 |        |         |          |                 |        |        |                 |        |       |               |                   |          |                   |                  |                    |               |         |                |             | c. 44               | IGCH 351          |

Crete<sup>23</sup>. A very large number of coins, around 2,000, of one single issue in the name of Hermias, was found in the “Larissa 1968” hoard, whereas more modest numbers of coins, together with a few original Rhodian issues, are present in other Thessalian hoards such as “Thessaly 1977”, “Grammenon 1889”, “Thessaly 1985/6”, “Halmyros 1980-84”, “Volos 1983” and “Halos 1996”, as can be seen in the Table 2.1. Their weights seem to range between 2.80 and 2.40 g, although the issue of Hermias goes down to 2.25 g<sup>24</sup>. Rhodian imitations circulated in significant numbers between the 170s and the early 160s in Thessaly, but also in Macedonia, Boiotia, Euboia, Epiros and Akarnania<sup>25</sup>, after which they seem to disappear. Their purpose has been thought to be the payment of mercenaries fighting in the Third Macedonian War and specifically the payment of Cretan mercenaries, who were already familiar with Rhodian coinage<sup>26</sup>.

The tetrobols of Histiaia are present in nearly all the hoards of this group in considerable numbers. In a most interesting catalogue of hoards containing coins of this mint, compiled by Chr. Marek, we can observe the following: During the fourth and third centuries coins of Histiaia, like all Euboian coins, circulated in modest num-

23. R. Ashton, A Series of Pseudo-Rhodian Drachms from Mainland Greece, *NC* 148 (1988), 21-32, pls. 4-6 (hereafter: Mainland Greece); idem, Clubs, Thunderbolts, Torches, Stars and Caducei: More Pseudo-Rhodian Drachms from Mainland Greece, *NC* 162 (2001), 59-78.

24. See the weight-table provided by Ashton in *NC* 148 (1988), 25, as well as the catalogues of coins in *NC* 157 (1997), 189-190; *NC* 148 (1988), 129-130; *RN* 1989, 42-44. The weights of the Hermias issues sometimes fall down to 2.25 g: M. Price, The Larissa 1968 Hoard (*IGCH* 237), in G. Le Rider *et al.* (eds.), *Kraay-Mørkholm Essays. Numismatic Studies in Memory of C. Kraay and O. Mørkholm*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1989, 241 (hereafter: Larissa 1968).

25. Pella (*CH* VII, 96), Yenikeui, near Amphipolis (*IGCH* 474), Macedonia 1983 (*CH* VIII, 419, *CH* IX, 238), Thebes 1965 (*IGCH* 233, *CH* IX, 243), Euboia, Oreos (*IGCH* 232, *CH* IX, 235), Metsovo, Epiros (*IGCH* 231, *CH* IX, 234), Rhouga, Akarnania (*CH* VIII, 425, *CH* IX, 239) published by R. Ashton and J. Warren in: *RBN* 193 (1997), 5-16.

26. Ashton, Mainland Greece, 29-32. Price, Larissa 1968, 240-241. For pseudo-Rhodian issues produced for payment of Cretans serving in the Roman army: R. Ashton, Pseudo-Rhodian Drachms from Eretria (Euboia), *RN* 1989, 41-48, pl. 4 at p. 47, and idem, The Pseudo-Rhodian Drachms of Kos, *NC* 158 (1998), 223-228, pl. 62 at p. 226. On pseudo-Rhodian issues see also: A. Bresson, La circulation monétaire rhodienne jusqu'en 166 av. J.-C., *DHA* 19, 1 (1993), 119-169. J.-N. Barrandon - A. Bresson, Imitations crétoises et monnaies rhodiennes. Analyse physique, *RN* 1997, 137-155. For a different interpretation of the pseudo-Rhodian coinage: E. Apostolou, Les drachmes rhodiennes et pseudo-rhodiennes de la fin du IIIe et du début du IIe s. av. J.-C., *RN* 1995, 7-19 a view discussed by A. Bresson, Drachmes rhodiennes et imitations : une politique économique de Rhodes ?, *REA* 98 (1996), 65-77. E. Apostolou, Rhodes hellénistique. Les trésors et la circulation monétaire, *Eylimene* 3 (2002), 117-175, lists all hoards containing Rhodian and Pseudo-Rhodian coins. For Thessalian hoards of the Late Hellenistic period see 148-149 (nos. 72-77) and 174 (no. 7). For their discussion see 157-160.

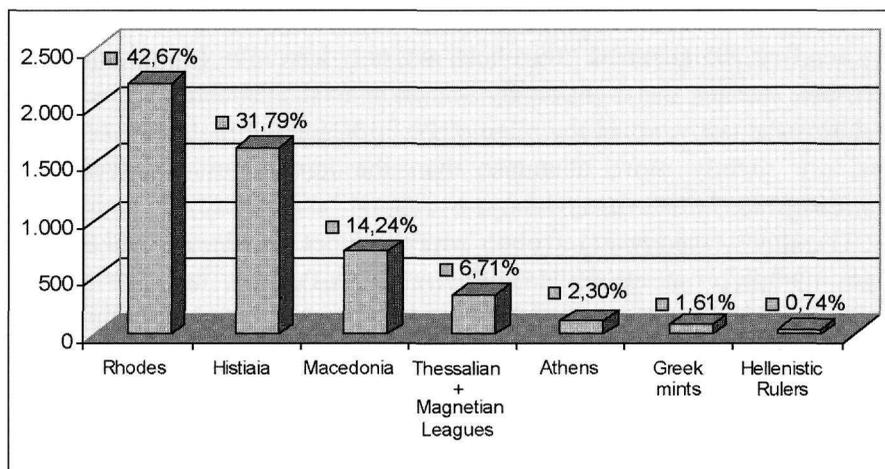
**Table 2.1. Contents of silver hoards from Thessaly dated before c. 146 BC (nos. 1-14)**

| Mints                             | Number of coins | Percentage  |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| (Pseudo)-Rhodes                   | 2,200           | 42,67 %     |
| Histiaia                          | 1,639           | 31,79 %     |
| Perseus                           | 630+            | 12,22 %     |
| Thessalian League                 | 335+            | 6,50 %      |
| Athens                            | 119             | 2,30 %      |
| Philip II-Philip V                | 55              | 1,16 %      |
| Macedonian League (tetrobols)     | 39+             | 0,75 %      |
| Central Greece*                   | 51              | 0,98 %      |
| Peloponnese**                     | 26+             | 0,50 %      |
| Seleucides                        | 22              | 0,42 %      |
| Magnetian League                  | 11+             | 0,21 %      |
| Lysimachos                        | 8               | 0,15 %      |
| Ptolemies                         | 7               | 0,13 %      |
| Macedonia 1st Region (Tauropolos) | 6               | 0,11 %      |
| Larissa-Pharsalos                 | 4               | > 0,1 %     |
| Pergamon                          | 2               | > 0,1 %     |
| Pharnaces                         | 1               | > 0,1 %     |
| Thasos                            | +               |             |
| <i>Total</i>                      | <i>5,155</i>    | <i>100%</i> |

\* Boiotia (23), Opountii Lokroi (12), Chalkis (8), Phokis (5), Aitolia (2?), Aigina (1).  
 \*\* Sikyon (23+), Argos (2), Achaian League (1).

bers mainly in Euboia, Central Greece and the Peloponnese, whereas during the first half of the second century there is a radical alteration of this picture. Tetrobols of Histiaia are found in very large quantities in hoards dating to c. 180-170 BC from Thessaly, Macedonia, but also from Epiros and sometimes from Crete<sup>27</sup>. This circulation pattern is completely different from that of the other Euboian coinages and points to a different function of this coinage during the said period. Furthermore, it definitely rules out the interpretation proposed by Louis Robert, who was the first to point out and try to explain the phenomenon, and who connected the vast production of the mint with the commercial importance of the city and specifically with the dis-

27. Chr. Marek, *Der Geldumlauf der Stadt Histiaia und seine Bedeutung für die Verteilung ihrer Proxenoï*, *Talanta* 8-9 (1977), 72-79. On imitations of Histiaian tetrobols in Thrace: T. Gerassimov, *Imitations thraces de tétrabolos de la ville d'Histiee de l'île d'Eubée*, *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique* 22 (1959), 335-336 (French Summary). For coins of Histiaia in hoards from Macedonia: Y. Touratsoglou, *The Coin Circulation in Ancient Macedonia*, Bibliotheca of the Hellenic Numismatic Society, Athens 1993, table 2a and p. 35 (hereafter: *Circulation*).

**Graph I. Contents of hoards from Thessaly dated before c. 146 BC (nos. 1-14)**

tribution pattern of its *proxenois*<sup>28</sup>. Although the coinage of Histiaia has not been studied in detail and its chronology has not been firmly established, it seems very probable that its function was similar to that of the Rhodian imitations, and that it too was produced to cover financial needs during the Third Macedonian War<sup>29</sup>. These very common second-century coins are usually considered as Attic tetrobols, but in fact they are considerably lighter. Published specimens show a range of weights between 2 and 2.4 g, the majority being between 2.1 and 2.3 g<sup>30</sup>.

Tetrobols in the name of the “Macedonians”, struck during the reigns of Philip V and Perseus<sup>31</sup>, are also found in hoards of the first decades of the second

28. L. Robert, La circulation des monnaies d’Histiée, in *Etudes de numismatique grecque*, Collège de France, Paris 1951, 179-216 and on the same subject, idem, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960), 63-69.

29. Ad. Giovannini, *Rome et la circulation monétaire en Grèce au 2e siècle av. Jésus-Christ*, Basel 1978, 34, has proposed that the coins of Histiaia were produced for the payments of the Roman army but this was opposed by P. Marchetti in his review: *RBN* 125 (1979), 191. On the same matter M. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic*, London 1985, 345, and recently R. Ashton, *More Pseudo-Rhodian Drachms from Central Greece*, *NC* 160 (2000), 103-105, who suggests that the mint of Histiaia also produced Rhodian imitations.

30. These figures derive from the material accumulated by W.P. Wallace, *The Meeting Point of the Histiaian and Macedonian Tetrobols*, *NC* II (1962), 17-22, as well as from the specimens published in the *BMC, Central Greece*, nos. 34-131 and *SNG Cop.*, 517-536. See also the remarks of O. Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*, Cambridge 1991, 164-165.

31. H. Gaebler, *Zur Münzprägung Makedoniens*, I, *ZNum* XXXVI (1926), 187-192 dated the begin-

century in Thessaly, together with the coins of Histiaia and imitations of Rhodes, but in far less significant numbers: in contrast to the over 2,000 pseudo-Rhodian drachms and the nearly 1,700 Histiaian “tetrobols” we only have 39+ Macedonian tetrobols. The tetrobols bearing the traditionally Macedonian shield/helmet types, which were struck during the last years of the reign of Philip V and the first years of the reign of Perseus, are slightly more abundant than the later ones: we find 18 in the “Grammenon 1889”, 2-3 in the “Halmyros 1980-84” and at least 1 in the “Volos 1983” hoards. The later Macedonian tetrobols with the types shield/prow and the ones with the types nymph/prow, all dated to the reign of Perseus, are also found in the “Grammenon 1889”, “Thessaly 1977” and “Halos 1966” hoards<sup>32</sup>. The earlier Macedonian tetrobols were originally struck on a reduced Attic standard of around 2.4-2.6 g, but this was further reduced during the reign of Perseus to c. 2.1-2.3 g<sup>33</sup>. Therefore, during the last years of the reign of Perseus the Macedonian tetrobols came to correspond with the lighter Histiaian coins.

Regal Macedonian coins do not form such an important and consistent part of the silver currency that circulated in Thessaly in the second century BC as we would perhaps expect. The only Macedonian coins to have been found in large quantities in our hoards are the 600, or so, tetradrachms of Perseus in the “Larissa 1968” hoard, most of which were on the reduced standard and therefore struck after c. 171, as well as the 100, or so, tetradrachms reported in the “Tricca” hoard which was probably later<sup>34</sup>. Issues of Philip V are limited to 15 tetradrachms, 5 didrachms and one drachm. Earlier issues, such as posthumous tetradrachms of Philip II, lifetime and posthumous tetradrachms of Alexander III, tetradrachms of Demetrios Poliorketes, Antigonos Gonatas and Doso, are found in small numbers in the “Larissa 1968”, and “Thessaly 1977” hoards, whereas very few drachms are found, mainly in the “Thessaly 1985/6”, “Thessaly 1977” and “Larissa 1958” hoards.

This picture is comparable with that of Macedonia in the first half of the second century, where coins of the two last Antigonids are particularly rare<sup>35</sup>. By the beginning of the second century BC regal Macedonian issues seem to disappear gradually

ning of these issues to 185 BC, whereas M. Price, *Coins of the Macedonians*, London 1974, 45 n. 77 considers that they were first minted after 196 BC.

32. For these issues and their similarities to the Histiaian coins: Wallace, *op.cit.* (n. 30), 17-22.

33. For the weights of the Macedonian tetrobols see the material accumulated by H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, Berlin 1906, vol. 3.1, 26-32, nos. 1-31.

34. M. Thompson, A Hoard from Thessaly, *ANSMN* 11 (1964), 77-80.

35. Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, 32-36.

from markets where they used to be dominant<sup>36</sup>. The confinement of Macedonia to her “original” boundaries after the Second Macedonian War and the large indemnities she was obliged to pay, inevitably led to a decrease of Macedonian currency in circulation. This could have been further diminished when, a few decades later, Perseus decided to reduce the Attic standard<sup>37</sup> and probably withdrew quantities of the earlier full-weight specimens to produce his new coins.

The so-called “Tauropolos” issues of Macedonia are also worth mentioning. Six coins of this very rare issue of the first Meris (ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ) were found in the “Larissa 1968” hoard, their traditional dating after 168 BC – which led Price to date the hoard to c.165<sup>38</sup> – has been seriously challenged. Olivier Picard<sup>39</sup> was the first to put forward the suggestion, supported both by Touratsoglou<sup>40</sup> and Hatzopoulos<sup>41</sup>, that this issue, and therefore the creation of the four administrative districts in Macedonia, was prior to the abolition of the monarchy in 168. This is a very interesting conclusion, with important historical consequences, which would permit us to date the hoard to the time of Pydna.

A number of coins deriving mainly from mints in Central Greece, but also a few from the Peloponnese, are found scattered in most of the hoards of the first three decades of the second century BC in Thessaly. This is not surprising, since it provides continuity with the circulation pattern of the third century, both in Thessaly and in Macedonia<sup>42</sup>, where coins of Central Greece are particularly common. Issues from Epiros and Akarnania, are completely absent from Thessalian hoards and only two Aitolian staters were found in the “Larissa 1968” hoard.

From mints in Central Greece Boiotia and Lokris are the most common, but we also find issues of the federal coinage of Phokis as well as a few from Chalkis in Euboia. Sikyon is the only Peloponnesian mint present in three different hoards, whereas only two coins of Argos and one of the Achaian League occur in the “Thessaly 1938” hoard. The majority of these coins are hemidrachms on the reduced Aiginetan standard, with the exception of a few Boiotian drachms on the same weight standard.

36. Crawford, *Coinage and Money* (n. 29), 123-124.

37. P.R. Franke, Zur Finanzpolitik des makedonischen Königs Perseus während des Krieges mit Rom 171-168 v. Chr., *JNG* 8 (1957), 31-49 and especially 43-46.

38. Price, *Larissa 1968*, 237-238.

39. O. Picard, Les Romains et les émissions aux types d'Alexandre, *AJN* 29 (1982), 246.

40. Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, 71.

41. M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings: A Historical and Epigraphic Study*, Μελετήματα 22, Athens 1996, 250-253.

42. Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, 32.

It is interesting to note that earlier issues of some of the above mints are present in our hoards. Although documentation is often sparse, and it is therefore not possible to date the coins precisely, fourth-century coins and in some rare cases even archaic coins seem to be still in circulation. Here we should add a few issues of Thessalian mints, such as Larissa and Pharsalos, which had ceased production towards the end of the fourth century BC<sup>43</sup> but coins from which were still, rarely and occasionally, found in the second<sup>44</sup>.

The only Thessalian hoard which can be dated with certainty before c. 168, and which contains Athenian coins, is the much debated “Larissa 1968” hoard, which included 19 tetradrachms of the so-called “transitional style”, identified by H. Nicolet with the issues «γλαυκοφόρα τῶν πρότερον κοπέντων τοῦ στεφανηφόρου» mentioned in an inscription from Delos<sup>45</sup>. On the evidence of this very hoard, she dates this coinage to the period between c. 190-c. 170, which is not consistent with the date of c. 185-80 proposed by Mørkholm for the beginning of the Athenian *stephanephora*<sup>46</sup>.

The first hoard from Thessaly to contain *stephanephora* is the “Tricca hoard”, published by M. Thompson who dated it to c. 168, following her own chronology of the Athenian coinage<sup>47</sup>. Apart from the *stephanephora*, it is said to have contained the tetradrachms of Perseus mentioned above, as well as tetradrachms of Philip V and early tetradrachms of Thasos. But on the revised chronology, the last recorded Athenian issue would date to c. 135, which coincides with military operations between the Roman Legions and the Skordiskoi, and is therefore appropriate as a burial date

43. For the coinage of Larissa: T.R. Martin, A Third-century Hoard from Thessaly at the ANS (IGCH 168), *ANSMN* 26 (1981), 51-77. Idem, The End of Thessalian Civic Coinage in Silver: Macedonian Policy or Economic Reality? in *INC Bern 1979*, Louvain-la-Neuve/Luxemburg 1982, 157-164.

44. A heavy proportion of earlier coins is also found in the second-century hoard from Agrinion: M. Thompson, *The Agrinion Hoard*, NNM 159, New York 1968 (hereafter: *Agrinion*).

45. H. Nicolet-Pierre, De l'ancien au nouveau style athénien : une continuité ?, in S. Scheers (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata, I. Numismatica Antiqua*, Leuven 1982, I, 105-112 and especially 111-112. L. Robert, *Etudes de numismatique grecque. III. Les drachmes du stéphanéphore à Athènes*, Paris 1951, 131-135.

46. The debate over the chronology of the “New Style” tetradrachms is long; the relevant bibliography is given by Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, 36 n. 12, and need not be repeated here. On new hoard evidence from Macedonia see Chr. Gatzolis, Θησαυρός αργυρών τετραδράχμων από τα Λεϊβηθρα Περγίας, 1995, AAA XXIII-XXVIII (1990-1995), 298-312 (in Greek with an English Summary). On the economic necessities which led to the production of this currency: O. Picard, Le contre-exemple du monnayage stéphanéphore d'Athènes, *RN* 2000, 79-85.

47. See n. 34.

for a second-century Athenian hoard. If we accept the integrity of the “Tricca” hoard<sup>48</sup>, we are inevitably led to the conclusion that the coins of the last Antigonids circulated down to the 130s. Numismatic evidence available so far, seems to support their circulation only down to the middle of the second century<sup>49</sup>, but coins of Perseus are mentioned as offerings in inscriptions from Delos down to the 140s, although this is no strong evidence for circulation<sup>50</sup>.

Concerning the dating and the context of the Thessalian hoards of the period c. 197-168 the following general conclusions can be drawn:

1. Nine out of eleven hoards of this period were concealed between 180 and 168 BC and most of them probably during the Third Macedonian War. This is not surprising, since this war was largely fought on Thessalian ground with the Thessalians taking an active part on the Roman side. But it is worth noting that hoards of the last years of the third century and the first two decades of the second century from Thessaly, are rare. Only two have been recorded, the first, “Thessaly 1963”, being a partial hoard whose dating is therefore uncertain<sup>51</sup>, whereas the second, “Northern Greece 1981”, cannot be certainly attested as Thessalian, but is included in the discussion because it contains Thessalian coins. These two hoards could be connected with the events of the Second Macedonian War or the war with Antiochos.

2. The hoards under discussion consist of accumulations of coins of various different mints: Quantitatively the Rhodian-type drachms and the “tetrobols” of Histiaia are the most important feature. These seem to circulate together with tetrobols in the name of the Macedonians and regal coins, mainly of the Antigonids. Posthumous issues of Philip II and Alexander the Great are rare and issues of Lysimachus, the Seleucids and the Ptolemies are only found occasionally. Various mints of Central Greece and a few of the Peloponnese are present in most hoards, and seem to have been a regular feature of coin circulation in Thessaly. Coins of Epiros and Akarnania are totally absent, and so are Roman coins. Last but not least, the coins of the

48. Chr. Boehringer, *Zur Chronologie mittelhellenistischer Münzserien 220-160 BC*, Berlin 1972, 112, n. 6, followed by Giovannini, *Rome et la circulation monétaire* (n. 29), 17, n. 50, have questioned the composition of the “Tricca” hoard.

49. Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, 32. Gatzolis, op.cit. (n. 46). Also *IGCH* 481A, originally published by Thompson in *ANSMN* 12 (1966), 57-63 but now dated to c. 150/49 BC.

50. *Inscriptions de Délos*, 1443 AI, l.148; Aab II, l.22; 1450A, ll.101 and 112. Also P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne*, BEFAR 111, Athènes 1987<sup>2</sup>, 166-168.

51. T. Hackens, A propos de la circulation monétaire dans le Péloponnèse au IIIe s. av. J.-C., in *Antidorum Peremans*, *Studia Hellenistica* 16, Louvain 1968, 77 n. 1.

Thessalian Koinon are present in only one hoard. From the point of view of their content therefore, these hoards show continuity with the circulation pattern of the third century, but are totally different from those of the next period.

3. Coins of large denominations are scarce and when they exist, they are tetradrachms on the Attic standard. Of these, only the reduced tetradrachms of Perseus are found in considerable numbers. The great bulk of coinage circulating during this period in Thessaly, as in the rest of Greece, consists of small denominations. A few Attic didrachms or drachms of Philip V can be found, but the majority are denominations that are usually identified as Attic tetrobols or Aiginetan hemidrachms. The coins of Histiaia usually weigh between 2.1 and 2.3 g, and therefore cannot be accepted as tetrobols, even on a “reduced” Attic standard. That these coins were not understood as coins of the Attic standard by their original users is further attested by the inscriptions of Delos where they are described as «ἰστιαϊκόν, εἰς ἄπικιοῦ λόγον δραχμᾶς χ»<sup>52</sup>. The Macedonian tetrobols of the time of Philip V can be considered as “reduced” Attic, but those of Perseus are even lighter and correspond with the Histiaian coins and with the “reduced” Aiginetan triobols from mints in Central Greece and the Peloponnese, which by the end of the third and the beginning of the second century BC very often include issues weighing between 2 and 2.4 g. The “light” Rhodian-type drachms, on the other hand, with weights usually ranging between 2.8 and 2.4 g, are considerably heavier and correspond better to the weight of the Attic tetrobol. We have no direct information on the rate at which the “reduced” Aiginetan triobols or the “reduced” Attic tetrobols were exchanged with the tetradrachms, but it is clear that this would not favour the large denominations. This could partly explain both the considerable rarity of tetradrachms of full Attic weight and their reduction by Perseus. Franke was definitely right when, already in 1957, he stressed that not only the necessities of war but also other financial considerations led the last Antigonid to change what had remained unchangeable since the time of Alexander, namely, the weight of the tetradrachm<sup>53</sup>.

52. *Inscriptions de Délos*, 1409 Aa II, ll.110-129; 1421 Aa I, ll.1-11; 1432 Bb I, Ba II; 1449 Ba I.

53. Franke, *Zur Finanzpolitik*, op.cit. (n. 37), 43-46, emphasises the disadvantage of the Attic weight standard in relation to the cistophoric standard in Asia Minor as well as to the standards of western Greece. His remarks concerning the victoriatus in Greece can now be considered out of date and the Epirot coins perhaps did not play such a decisive part in the need for reduction of the Macedonian coins, as Franke implies, since their circulation was very restricted. Coins of the reduced Aiginetan standard enjoyed a far wider circulation in Greece and in Macedonia in particular, and could have accounted for the reform in c. 171 BC.

B. The first appearance of Thessalian coins: “Northern Greece 1981”, “Larissa 1948” and “Volos 1983”

The first hoards to contain Thessalian issues are of “mixed” composition, and date to the first decades of the second century. In “Northern Greece 1981” drachms of the Apollo/Athena type are found together with tetradrachms of Antiochos III. The hoard has been dated to c. 190 and may be related to the events of the war with Antiochos. The description of its find spot does not point directly to a Thessalian origin, but even if it was not found on Thessalian soil, the hoard is important for the dating of the first issues of the League.

The next two hoards contain Thessalian issues in a different context: In “Volos 1983” drachms of the Apollo/Athena type, Thessalian hemidrachms and issues of the Magnetes, are found together with Rhodian or pseudo-Rhodian drachms, one drachm of Philip V and one Macedonian tetrobol. In “Larissa 1948” one stater of the Thessalian League and one drachm of the Magnetes are found with a drachm of Alexander as well as a number of drachms and hemidrachms from Central Greece and Euboea, including Histiaia. In these two hoards, therefore, the Thessalian issues are mixed with other coinages which are certainly attested in the region between c. 180 BC and 168, but which could very well have circulated down to the middle of the second century. The precise dating of these hoards would therefore depend on the chronology of the Thessalian coins.

It had been assumed that Thessaly resumed its coinage after the declaration of the “freedom” of the Greeks by Flamininus and the Senate, and the reorganisation of the League in 196. This, as we have seen, was a crucial turning-point in Thessalian history since, at that time, it was detached from Macedonian rule and given its “autonomy”. The beginning of the coinage of the Thessalian League, as well as that of the Magnetes and the Perrhaiboi, was placed by Head<sup>54</sup> in 196, a date which was followed in major museum publications, such as the British Museum Catalogue, and also by Rogers<sup>55</sup>. The Thessalian coinage was thought to have ended in 146, as a result of the dissolution of the Greek Leagues by the Romans after the Achaian War. This date for the end of the Thessalian coinage has long ago been abandoned<sup>56</sup> and

54. B. Head, *Historia Numorum*, London 1977 (reprint), 311.

55. BMC, *Thessaly to Aetolia*, xxxi-xxxii. E. Rogers, *The Copper Coinage of Thessaly*, London 1932, 18-19, accepts the date 196-146 BC for the Thessalian coinage, but considers the possibility that this was revived in 48-27 BC.

56. E.S.G. Robinson, *NC* 16 (1936), 179.

several hoards have been unearthed which clearly belong to the first century BC<sup>57</sup>.

The absence of Thessalian coins from a large number of hoards dating before 168 has led scholars to question the date of the beginning of the coinage, as originally proposed by Head, and to prefer a date after 168<sup>58</sup>. Both “Volos 1983” and “Larissa 1948” could date either before or after 168; on present evidence it is not possible to decide until a detailed study of this mint has been undertaken. But the evidence of “Northern Greece 1981”, if it is to be considered secure, proves the existence of Thessalian drachms early in the second century, and, together with the evidence of “Volos 1983”, seems to support Robinson’s observation that the Attic drachms could well be earlier than the staters<sup>59</sup> which, as we have seen, are most probably totally absent from the pre-168 hoards.

Although the evidence of hoards has largely contributed to dating coins, it is a criterion which should not be considered in isolation. The absence of coins from the content of hoards is not always an absolute proof of their non-existence. Epigraphic evidence is important for Thessalian coins, since they bear inscriptions mentioning one, two and sometimes even three names; a full study of this evidence combined with the study of the Thessalian prosopography, as known from inscriptions on stone, is essential for the dating of the Thessalian coins<sup>60</sup>. Furthermore, a large number of manumissions survive, where a tax of fifteen staters is mentioned. Since these staters can hardly be other than the Thessalian coins of the large denomination, their dating is crucial for the chronology of the Thessalian issues. Most of these inscriptions have been dated to after the middle of the second century and all, except perhaps one, to after 168<sup>61</sup>.

57. P.R. Franke, *Zur Chronologie der Strategen und der Münzprägung des Koinon der Thessaler*, *SM* 35 (1959), 61-67. B. Helly, *Le groupe des monnaies fédérales thessaliens avec Athéna « aux pompons »*, *RN* 1966, 7-29, and more recently: Klose, *Zur Chronologie*, 333-350.

58. Both Crawford, *Coinage and Money* (n. 29), 125, and M. Price, *Southern Greece*, BAR International Series 326, London 1987, 98, dated this coinage to after c. 168/7 BC.

59. Robinson, *op.cit.* (n. 56), 174-181 and especially p. 180 where he concludes: “It may even be that the detailed study suggested above would find that the series of Attic weight in general preceded the double victoriatas.”

60. H. Kramolisch in *Demetrias II* (n. 6), has excluded most of the numismatic evidence “...obwohl dort meist zwei Namen von Beamten des Bundes auftauchen, von denen einer offenbar jeweils der Strategie ist.” (p. 5). This interpretation has been questioned by B. Helly, *Les émissions monétaires de la confédération thessalienne (IIe-Ier s. av. J.-C.)*, in *Rythmes de la production monétaire de l’antiquité à nos jours*, Paris - Louvain-la-Neuve 1987, 39-53, who does not believe that the strategoi signed the coins as annual magistrates.

61. Manumission inscriptions mentioning staters can be found in *IG IX.2, passim*. A.S. McDevitt,

On present evidence therefore, it seems fair to assume that the Attic drachms of the Apollo/Athena type, and perhaps the bronze coinage which is not discussed in this paper, could have been struck shortly after 196, but both hoard and epigraphic evidence for the staters favour a later date. Whatever Thessalian coinage was struck during the first decades of the second century, circulated in relatively small numbers in “multi-currency” hoards mixed with other currencies of this period, as described above. Sometime later, probably after the middle of the second century, there seems to be a drastic change in the circulation pattern in Thessaly.

### C. Hoards of the period c. 146-27 BC

Hoards nos. 15-25 in Table 1 follow a radically different pattern than the earlier ones discussed above. The Macedonian or other royal Hellenistic coins and the hemidrachms and drachms of various mints in Central Greece and the Peloponnese, which had formed the main bulk of circulating currencies in the third and the first decades of the second century, as well as the Rhodian-type drachms and the abundant “tetrobols” of Histiaia, which were confined to the period c. 180-170, all disappear from circulation. Eight out of eleven hoards consist exclusively of local coins, one contains Athenian New Style tetradrachms, and two small hoards contain “mixed” issues, Thessalian and Athenian, or Thessalian and Roman *denarii*. Furthermore, no coins of the neighbouring Ainianes nor of the Oitaioi are found in Thessalian hoards. The coinages of these people, which were incorporated into the Thessalian League in Imperial times, circulated to the south in the second century, but according to present evidence, not in Thessaly proper<sup>62</sup>.

Athenian coinage was hoarded in Thessaly during periods of war. The last issues of “Halmyros 1929”, perhaps the largest hoard with this type of currency, can now be dated to c. 90<sup>63</sup>, whereas the Athenian issues of “South Thessaly 1983” are

*Inscriptions from Thessaly. Analytical Handlist and Bibliography*, Hildesheim - New York 1970, and in a catalogue of B. Helly, *Inscriptions de Thessalie : état du corpus, Actes du IXe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, Sofia 1987, 178-180 with recent material and revised datings. Prof. Bruno Helly has kindly informed me that he now believes all the manumission inscriptions should be dated after 168 BC.

62. Coins of the Oitaioi and the Ainianes are found in hoards dating to time of the Achaian War from Aitolia (*IGCH* 244, 266, 271) and the Peloponnese (*IGCH* 261, 270), as well as in the Caserta hoard from Calabria (*IGCH* 2053).

63. M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York 1961, 491-500 dated this

dated to 87/6<sup>64</sup>. Both can be connected with the War of Sulla against Mithridates, whereas the Athenian issues in “Tricca 1961” dated to c. 135 are contemporary with the military operations between the Roman Legions and the Skordiskoi, as seen above<sup>65</sup>.

Despite the close political ties between the Thessalians and the Romans, and the considerable presence of Romans in the region during the second and first centuries BC<sup>66</sup>, Roman coinage is very scarce in Thessalian hoards. All we have is four *denarii* in “Aidona 1955”, dated to the time of the civil wars<sup>67</sup>, which clearly indicates that as almost everywhere in Greece, Roman silver currency was not widely used before the second half of the first century BC<sup>68</sup>.

On present evidence it is not possible to date securely all the hoards containing local Thessalian coins, since they have not all been published in detail. Those studied by Klose<sup>69</sup> have been shown to belong either to the time of the War with Mithridates, in the early first century (“Thessaly 1969”, “Thessaly 1963” and “Southern Thessaly 1983”), or to the time of the civil wars in the second half of the same century (“Thessaly 1973”, “Thessaly 1964” and “Aidona 1955”). This abundance of material from the first century BC is interesting since it has been anticipated in other regions and seems to form a general pattern<sup>70</sup>. Nevertheless, the hoards “Larissa 1912”, “Thessaly 1970”, “Larissa 1954” (together with “Lamia 1956” which is probably part of it) and “Velestino 1966” have been given second-century dates in *IGCH* and *CH* which remain to be proven<sup>71</sup>.

hoard to 123/2 BC. On the Mørkholm chronology (*MN* 29 (1984), 32) it would date to 92/1 BC and according to Lewis (*NC* 2 (1962), 280-281) to c. 90 BC.

64. Klose, *Zur Chronologie*, 339-343 (catalogue of the hoard).

65. A new very large hoard of *stephanephora* from Thessaly was recently reported on the market, but I am unaware of the issues it contained.

66. B. Helly, *Les italiens en Thessalie au IIe et au Ier s. av. J.-C.*, in M. Cebéillac-Gervasoni (ed.), *Les « bourgeoisies » municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier s. av. J.-C.*, Colloques internationaux du CNRS, Paris - Naples 1983, 355-380.

67. Franke, *Zur Chronologie*, op.cit. (n. 57), 61-67, and Helly, *Le groupe des monnaies fédérales*, op.cit. (n. 57), 7-29.

68. Crawford, *Coinage and Money* (n. 29), 116-119. Giovannini, *Rome et la circulation monétaire* n. 29), 20.

69. Klose, *Zur Chronologie*, 336-337 and 344-345 (table).

70. For example Achaia: J. Warren, *More on the “New Landscape” in the Late Hellenistic Coinage of the Peloponnese*, in M. Amandry - S. Hurter (eds), *Travaux de numismatique grecque offerts à Georges Le Rider*, London 1999, 383-393.

71. *CH* 8, 455 reported a “hoard” of coins of the Thessalian League and the Magnetes from

The general picture that emerges for this period is the following. Sometime after the end of the Achaian War and the total submission to the Romans, at a date that cannot be determined precisely, and presumably after a “transitional” period, other silver currencies disappeared from circulation and payments within the territory of the Thessalian League were made in the local coinage, which hardly ever circulated outside Thessaly<sup>72</sup>. The only exceptions were the Athenian *stephanephora*, the only Greek currency of this time to penetrate foreign markets. The fact that although this coinage was imported in considerable quantities (Table 2.2; Graph II) it was rarely mixed with local issues shows that it probably served a different purpose.

The Thessalian pattern is very similar to that which is attested in neighbouring regions such as Macedonia and Euboia. Hoards dating to after the mid-second century BC, from Macedonia<sup>73</sup> and Euboia<sup>74</sup>, comprise exclusively local coins and *stephanephora*, to which we should add the considerable amount of *denarii* from Macedonia. This abundance can be easily explained, since Macedonia was a border province and the presence of the Roman army was necessary for the protection of its northern frontiers. Evidence from Aitolia is scarce, but a small hoard from Naupaktos, buried after 114/3 BC and containing one Athenian drachm and three *denarii*, seems to point in the same direction<sup>75</sup>.

The traditional view that all Greek silver coinages, except that of Athens, came to an end after the last decisive war with the Romans and the dissolution of the *Koina*, as reported in a much debated passage in Pausanias<sup>76</sup>, has been gradually reconsid-

“Aivaliotika”. Further research has shown that this “find” consisted of two coins, a bronze of the Magnetes and a stater (?) of the Thessalian League, which were found in a pit with pottery of the early third century BC: they can hardly be considered as a hoard and are therefore omitted from this study. See *ADelt* 40 (1985), Chronika, 185-186. This information was kindly provided by Mrs A. Intzessiloglou, whom I thank.

72. With the exception of one hemidrachm from Aitolia, see Thompson, *Agrinion*.

73. Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, 37. A recent find of *denarii* from western Macedonia, buried c. 44 BC has been published by P. Adam-Veleni, Νομισματικοί θησαυροί από τις Πέτρες Φλώρινας, in *Οβολός* 4 (2000), 133-153 (in Greek with an English Summary).

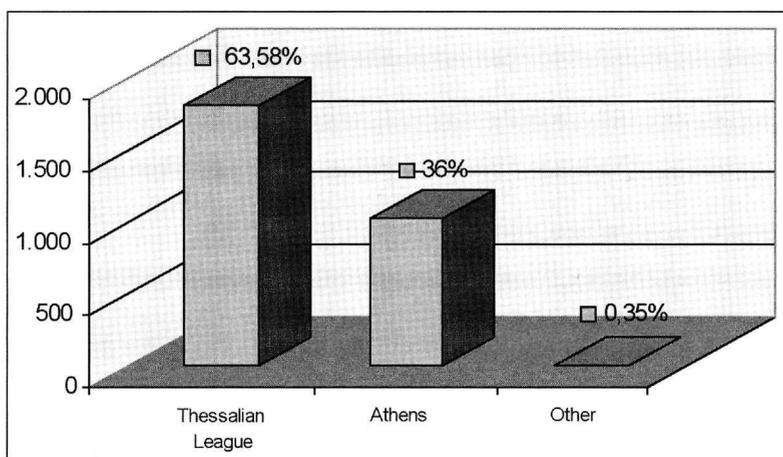
74. O. Picard, *Chalkis et la confédération eubéenne*, Paris 1979, 313-315. E. Tsourti, Ο «θησαυρός» Κάρυστος/1957 (*IGCH* 291). Συμβολή στην κυκλοφορία των αθηναϊκών τετραδράχμων νέας τεχνολογίας στην Εύβοια, in *Χαρακτήρ. Αφιέρωμα στη Μάντω Οικονομίδου*, Athens 1996, 287-296 (in Greek with an English Summary).

75. Ch. Papageorgiadou-Bani, Το εύρημα *IGCH* 317 και η νομισματική κυκλοφορία στην Αιτωλία το 2ο αι. π.Χ., in *Χαρακτήρ*, op.cit., 215-224 (in Greek with an English Summary).

76. Pausanias 7, 16, 9-10.

**Table 2.2. Contents of silver hoards from Thessaly dated after c. 146 BC (nos. 15-25)**

|                    | Number of coins | Percentage |
|--------------------|-----------------|------------|
| Thessalian League  | 1,809+          | 63,58%     |
| Athens             | 1,025+          | 36%        |
| Magnetian League   | 6               | 0,21%      |
| <i>Denarii</i>     | 4               | 0,14%      |
| Perrhaibian League | 1               | > 0,1%     |
| <i>Total</i>       | 2,845           | 100%       |

**Graph II. Contents of hoards from Thessaly dated before c. 146 BC (nos. 15-25)**

ered. This has already been established for Thessaly, but also for numerous other regions. A survey of Greek coinages of this period reveals that silver coinages were struck in Macedonia<sup>77</sup>, Maroneia and Thasos<sup>78</sup>, Chalkis<sup>79</sup>, as well as Dyrrachion, Apollonia<sup>80</sup>, Corcyra, and Leukas in Western Greece<sup>81</sup>. Not only the individual cities

77. R.A. Bauslaugh, *Silver Coinage with the Types of Aesillas the Quaestor*, NS 22, New York 2000.

78. There is still some controversy concerning the beginning of this coinage but it is unanimously accepted that it extended after c. 146 BC down to the first century BC. For bibliography see Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, 43 n. 31.

79. Picard, *Chalkis* (n. 74), 112-118 and 203.

80. O. Picard - S. Gjongecaj, Les drachmes d'Apollonia à la vache allaitant, *RN* 155 (2000), 137-160.

81. Price, *Southern Greece*, 98.

of the Peloponnese but also the Achaian League issued a silver coinage after a break in the second half of the second century, and perhaps more shall be proven to have done so in the future<sup>82</sup>. Nevertheless, the function of this Late Hellenistic coinage was substantially different from that of the previous periods. Down to the middle of the second century hoard evidence suggests that Greek silver circulated widely, together with currencies of different origins and different standards, far from its original place of issue, revealing an “open” economy and a broad pattern of exchange. After the final submission to the Romans, the circulation of Greek silver coinages was restricted to the area of their issue, the only “international” currency being that of Athens. Silver currency continued to be produced but in smaller quantities and for local needs, since it was hardly ever exported. The new circulation pattern of the Late Hellenistic period proved to be an intermediate stage, which led to the final abandonment of Greek silver issues and their replacement by the only silver currency of the Roman Empire, namely the *denarius*.

#### APPENDIX

##### **Comments on the weight standards of the coinage of the Thessalian League**

The metrology of the coins of the Thessalian League, and their comparison to standards used in the region before the reappearance of the local coins, merits some comment. Thessalian coinages of the fifth and fourth centuries BC had always followed the Aiginetan standard. These ceased to be produced towards the end of the fourth century and no coinage is attested for the region until the second century<sup>83</sup>.

The Thessalians resumed their coinage sometime after the declaration of their “independence” at the Isthmos, by producing coins in the name of the League. Their first issues were very probably the Attic drachms of the Apollo/Athena type. Thessalian mints had never before adopted the Attic standard, but this was the “international” Greek standard and was widely used in Thessaly during the third century. This is attested both by the content of relevant hoards, where coins on this standard

82. The debate on the chronology of the coins of the Achaian League has recently been summarised by J. Warren, *The Achaian League Silver Coinage Controversy Resolved: A Summary*, *NC* 159 (1999), 99-109.

83. This has been proven at least for the important mint of Larissa: Martin, *A Third-century Hoard*, *op.cit.* (n. 43), 51-77. *Idem*, *The Chronology of the Fourth-century BC Facing-head Silver Coinage of Larissa*, *ANSMN* 28 (1983), 1-34.

are the majority, and by inscriptions. The *ἐπεχείριον* paid by the city of Gonnoi to the *θεωροὶ* from Leucophryne at the end of the third century is mentioned to have been 20 *δραχμαὶ Δημήτρειοι*, and *δραχμαὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειοι* are also mentioned in another inscription of Gonnoi of the same period<sup>84</sup>. The Attic standard therefore, although not traditionally used in Thessaly, was a natural option for a second-century coinage and was followed by most mints in mainland Greece during this period. Attic-weight drachms could be exchanged with the Athenian and other Attic tetradrachms, which circulated down to the middle of the century, as well as with the *denarii*, since they were equivalent coins. The domination of this standard is further underlined by the famous Amphictyonic decree, where there is mention that one Attic tetradrachm should be exchanged with four silver drachms<sup>85</sup>.

Sometime later, possibly after 168, a new denomination on a different standard was introduced by the Thessalian League, namely the stater weighing about 6 g. Their original identification as double victoriatas has been challenged and they are now regarded as following the “traditional” Aiginetan standard<sup>86</sup>. Six g is very close to the original weight of an Aiginetan drachm, which had nevertheless been reduced during the third and second centuries to about 5 g with hemidrachms that often weighed less than 2.5 g. The Thessalians seem to have ignored this reduction and to have adopted the standard in its original form, as it had been applied in Thessaly a century and a half earlier. This traditional standard had no parallel in the second-century coinages but permitted direct exchange between Thessalian denominations; for example, a stater could be easily exchanged for one Attic drachm of about 4 g and one hemidrachm of about 2 g, or for three hemidrachms.

The fact that the Thessalian coins of the large denomination were called staters by their original users is shown beyond doubt by the numerous manumission inscriptions where the tax paid to the state was consistently expressed as “fifteen staters”, at least until c. 27 BC. The possibility that the staters mentioned in the inscriptions were merely a *monnaie de compte*, equivalent to two Thessalian drachms on the Aiginetan standard, is precluded by later evidence. In inscriptions after c. 27 BC the fee of 15 staters

84. B. Helly, *Gonnoi II. Les inscriptions*, Amsterdam 1973, nos. 93A and 111.

85. *SEG XXVIII*, 491. M. Price, *Southern Greece*, 96-97 offered an interesting interpretation of this enigmatic phrase: the Attic tetradrachm should be exchanged with four silver and not bronze drachms, unless an *agio* was paid for the transaction. On bronze drachms in Boiotia: C. Grandjean, *Les comptes de Pompidas (IG VII 2426)*. *Drachmes d'argent symmachique et drachmes de bronze*, *BCH* 119 (1995), 1-21.

86. Franke, *Zur Chronologie*, 67. B. Helly, *Deux attestations du Victoriat dans les listes d'affranchissement de Thessalie*, in: *INC, Bern 1979*, Louvain-la-Neuve/Luxembourg 1982, 165-166.

was equivalent to  $22\frac{1}{2}$  *denarii* according to the *diorthôma* of Augustus<sup>87</sup>, in other words the stater was considered as equivalent to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *denarius*. We cannot suppose that  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *denarius* was equal to 2 Aiginetan drachms of c. 6 g each, since the *denarius* was equivalent to the Attic drachm of about 4.2 g. The staters mentioned in Thessalian inscriptions therefore, are the Thessalian coins of the largest denomination.

The reason for producing these coins would have been to provide a currency which could be used for payments within the boundaries of the state, and which did not need to be international. For such purposes the League chose the traditional local standard which underlined its autonomy and independence, a move probably made after the final defeat of Macedonia and the further expansion of the Thessalian territory. Furthermore, the traditional Aiginetan standard was used by the authorities of the city of Delphi to express manumission fees in the second and first centuries BC<sup>88</sup>, although this was not the dominant currency of its day. Manumission tax in Thessaly was paid on precisely the same standard, at a period when the Thessalians had restored their influence in the Council of the Delphic Amphictyony, after the end of the Aitolian domination. In this sense their decision to adopt the Aiginetan standard seems to have been political, and was further emphasized by the choice of the type of Zeus Eleutherios on the obverse of these coins<sup>89</sup>.

The use of two standards by Greek states was very common, for example the light and heavy tetrobols of Perdiccas II<sup>90</sup>, the simultaneous striking of “Philips” and “Alexanders”<sup>91</sup>, the Attic tetradrachms and Corcyrean staters in Aitolia<sup>92</sup>, the Attic tetradrachms and Aiginetan obols in Sparta<sup>93</sup>, not to mention the striking of “Alexander” tetradrachms by numerous cities or Leagues which retained the local

87. B. Helly, *Le diorthôma d'Auguste fixant la conversion des statères thessaliens en deniers. Une situation de « passage à la monnaie unique »*, *Topoi* 7/1 (1997), 63-91 with bibliography.

88. J. Bousquet, *Les unités monétaires dans les comptes de Delphes*, *BCH* 110 (1986), 273-283=*Etudes sur les comptes de Delphes*, Paris 1988, 189-199. See also D. Mulliez, *Le denier dans les actes d'affranchissement delphiques*, *Topoi* 7/1 (1997), 93-102.

89. Decrees of the Thessalian League were set up in the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios in Larissa, *IG IX*, 2, 507, ll. 32-34; 508 l. 48. Franke, *Zur Chronologie*, 63 and n. 5, proposes the identification with Zeus of Dodona because of the oak wreath on some of the coins. For the use of both the oak wreath and the laurel wreath see: S.W. Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins*, Chicago 1979, 2, 225-243. In our view the identification with Zeus Eleutherios is more plausible.

90. D. Raymond, *Macedonian Regal Coinage to 413 BC*, NNM 126, New York 1953.

91. G. Le Rider, *Les deux monnaies macédoniennes des années 323-294/290*, *BCH* 117 (1993), 491-500.

92. Mørkholm, *Hellenistic Coinage*, nos. 514-518.

93. *Op.cit.*, nos. 503-505.

standard for their “civic” issues<sup>94</sup>. In all these cases the heavier coins, usually on the Attic standard, were used for export or military financing, whereas coins on the lighter standards served for local transactions.

In Thessaly this practice was reversed: the international standard was adopted for the smaller denominations, namely the drachms and hemidrachms, whereas the staters followed the local standard. This could be partly explained by the order in which they were minted, the drachms probably being earlier, but in any case the absence of tetradrachms is unusual. Attic drachms had become quite rare in the second century BC and were even rarer in the first. The abundant coinage of Athens consisted mainly of tetradrachms, as did the less important coinages of Macedonia, Thasos, and Maroneia, as well as those of numerous cities in Crete and the Aegean islands. The coins of Leukas, Thyreion and the Ainianes are usually understood as reduced Attic didrachms. But these denominations were never adopted in Thessaly. Furthermore, numismatic evidence does not indicate that the drachms were exported, since the only silver Thessalian coin recorded from outside the territory of the region was, as far as I am aware, a hemidrachm from the Agrinion hoard in Aitolia<sup>95</sup>. On the other hand, the Attic drachm was a coin whose use had been established in Thessaly during the third century BC, and which could be directly exchanged with the tetradrachm. Furthermore, it was a denomination which would facilitate transactions with the Romans, since it was the Greek equivalent of the *denarius*. The pre-Roman attitude of the leading class in Thessaly is well attested and this affiliation resulted in an important settlement of Roman population in Thessaly, especially after the second half of the second century<sup>96</sup>. To all these people, whether troops who passed through the region or small farmers who actually settled there, the Attic drachm would be easy to recognise and use.

94. For the case of the Achaian League, amongst many others: C. Grandjean, *Guerre et monnaie en Grèce ancienne ; le cas du Koinon achaien*, in *La guerre dans les économies antique. Entretiens d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges 2000, 5, 315-336, esp. 324-338.

95. Thompson, *Agrinion*. Also see above p. 249 on the “Northern Greece 1981” hoard.

96. Helly, *Les italiens en Thessalie*, op.cit. (n. 66), 355-380.