

A contribution to Cassander's bronze coinage

When Cassander, son of Antipater, seized the throne of Macedonia, he put an end to a period of political instability for his country¹. He initiated extensive building programs, he founded new cities² and issued his own coins. Only bronze coins bear his name, while his silver coinage continues with the names and types of Alexander the Great and Philip II for several economical and political reasons³.

While preparing the Cassander coin corpus, the author came across several interesting issues, referring to Cassander's mints, which were traditionally located by the research at Pella and Amphipolis. These cities must have minted at least a number of the bronzes. There are, though, some peculiarities, which indicate a different place of origin for some of Cassander's series. In this paper a proposition will be made in respect to the location of these other mints, after a necessary general overview on Cassander's bronzes.

As far as the bronze denominations are concerned, Martin Price's work on Alexander the Great in the British Museum was essential⁴. Weight and module of Cassander and Alexander bronzes are very much alike. As we have ascertained, this is due to the additional fact, that numerous Cassanders are overstruck on Alexanders. So, a coin of 5-8 grams weight and 18-21 mm diameter is termed a "unit". A "half-unit" weighs 3-5 grams and has a diameter of 16-19 mm. And a "quarter-unit" weighs about 2 grams with a flan measuring 13-14 mm. There are some "double units" as well, weighing over 8 grams with a diameter of 20-23 mm (Fig. I). A further interpretation of these units as parts of the bronze obol would require a metrological study *per se*, it is still problematic and will be discussed in our forthcoming Cassander coin corpus.

Cassander's first bronze issue bears the unbearded head of Heracles wearing lion scalp on the obverse and a seated lion on the reverse (no. 1). These coins were almost exclusively overstruck on Alexander the Great half-units bearing as types a diademed young male

head and a galloping horse (nos. 2-3). The inscription reads ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ without any indication of the royal title. From 305 on, Cassander follows the example of his rivals and assumes the royal title⁵. From that moment on, he is referred to as "βασιλεύς" Cassandros on every bronze he issued ever since. His so to say "regal" coinage consists of three main series with respect to types and units.

The first series is the one depicting an unbearded head of Heracles wearing lion scalp as an obverse. The unit of the series and Cassander's most common type bears a horseman on the reverse (no. 4). These coins are being struck until the end of Cassander's reign⁶ and cover some fifty percent of the Cassander bronzes. Part of the same series with the same obverse type is the half-unit with a reverse depicting a standing lion breaking a spear (no. 5). This issue is lighter than the older, seated-lion series, but remains statistically at the border of the half-unit denomination, since its module remains more or less the same (Fig. II). Furthermore, the preservation in this new series of the Heracles/lion type combination seems to underline the intention of the issuing authority

1. For the political situation before Cassander's seizure of control see Diod. Sic. XIX, 11.
2. Cf. Touratsoglou, I.: Die Baupolitik Kassanders, in: *Hoepfner W.- Brands G. (eds.) Basileia. Die Paläste der Hellenistischen Könige, Internationales Symposium in Berlin 16.12.-20.12.1992*, Mainz, 1996, p. 176-179 (generally for Cassander's policies concerning Macedonia). Stefanidou-Tiveriou, Th.: *Ανασκαφή Δίου 1, Η οχύρωση*, Thessalonike, 1998, p. 36; 216; 218. Mikrogiannakis, E.: *Το πολιτιστικό έργο του Κασσάνδρου*, in: *Ancient Macedonia II; 2nd International Symposium in Thessalonike 19.8.-24.8.1973*, Thessalonike, 1977, p. 226 ff.
3. Cf. Le Rider, G.: Les deux monnaies macédoniennes des années 323-294/290, *BCH*, 117, 1993, p. 494-500. Price, M.: *The Coinage in the name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus; a British Museum Catalogue*, I, Zurich/London, 1991, p. 86 f. Moore, N.: *The Lifetime and Posthumous Coinage of Alexander the Great from Pella*, diss. Princeton, 1984, p. 93 ff.
4. Price, M.: *op. cit.*, p. 31-32; 38-40.
5. Cf. N.G.L. Hammond's comment (Hammond, N.-Walbank, F.: *A History of Macedonia*, III, Oxford, 1998, p. 173 f.; p. 174 note 1.); Oikonomos, G.: *Νομίσματα που βασιλέως Κασσάνδρου*, *ADelt*, 4, 1918, p. 6.
6. For Gatzolis' proposal concerning a posthumous group, see note 9.

to regard the new, somewhat lighter issue, as a successor to the older, heavier one. Finally, the quarter-unit bears as a reverse type the weapons of Heracles, a club and a bow in its case (no. 6). All these motives are macedonian and occur in earlier royal coinages⁷. This group of coins with the head of Heracles as an obverse is traditionally attributed to the mint of Pella⁸ and will not be discussed further here⁹.

Cassander's second series bears the helmeted head of Athena as an obverse and the weapons of Heracles as a reverse. It appears in two main denominations, the large one (no. 7) being heavier than the unit and the second (no. 8) being a half-unit. There is furthermore a third denomination, represented by a unique coin kept at the Athens Numismatic Museum (no. 9)¹⁰. Finally, there is a very small coin (smaller than any other Cassander bronze), with a partly off-flan head wearing an attic helmet on the obverse and a bow-in-case reverse with an inscription. It is kept at the ANS (no. 10) and, according to Newell's arrangement, was struck by Cassander. Due to a part of the inscription over the bow in case reading ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and some other features of the coin, we are inclined to accept Newell's view, although no final word can be spoken yet in respect to this matter¹¹.

The third series bears a chalkidic helmet obverse. Its large denomination has the reverse of a spearhead and is a half-unit (no. 11). There exist two further denominations: A quarter-unit with the same types (no. 12), and a smaller one with a club as a reverse (no. 13).

Finally, apart from the above-mentioned three series, there is a great issue of units equal to the horsemen bearing the laureate head of Apollo and a tripod (no. 14). These "Apollo/tripod" bronzes do not seem to belong to the general pattern of the series, which has the horseman type as its main unit. The "Apollo" issue does not share any combinations of control-marks with the "horsemen", as for example do the "standing lion" half-units. As a matter of fact, many monograms and most of the symbols differ. The common monograms and letters are among the commonest in general and the only common symbols between the two series are the star and the crescent¹².

Furthermore, the weight and module of the "Apollo" series imply, that these coins were meant to be units, like the "horsemen". Given the fact, that a) the "Apollo" bronzes comprise some 27 groups of control-mark combinations and b) were produced from at

least 240 obverse dies, they could only be struck parallel to the abundant "horsemen"¹³ in a different mint.

The "Apollo" series consists of two distinct groups according to the arrangement of the inscription. In one group it reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ, in the other ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ / ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. The inscription is always arranged on either side of the tripod and the letters are turned towards right (nos. 14-15-16). These groups bear different combinations of letters, symbols and monograms. There are nevertheless letter and monogram links between the groups¹⁴ and hands of die-cutters working for Apollo heads in both groups can be identified (nos. 14-15, 28-29). We can therefore be certain of the unity of the series and its production at one and the same mint. The question now would be where that mint should be located.

7. The forepart of a seated lion and the horseman are depicted on coins of Alexander I (cf. his tetrobols with these types as reverse and obverse respectively; Raymond, 1953, pl.V, 23-32. For a comment on the types see p. 46; 59f.). On coins of Philip II the horseman type is combined with the unbearded head of Heracles (cf. his didrachms and drachms Le Rider, G.: *Le monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe II frappé en Macédoine de 359 à 294*, Paris, 1977, p. 367). The standing lion breaking a spear appears on the staters of Amyntas III (cf. Westermarck, 1989, 307 pl.LXX 31) but the Cassander coin types are adopted from the Perdikkas III bronzes (cf. Westermarck, 1989, 308-309 pl. LXX 46-47). The type combination "head of Heracles/Bow and club" occurs for the first time on bronzes of Amyntas III (cf. Westermarck, 1989, 313, type 3; 309 n.56). Nearer to Cassander are nevertheless the bronzes of Alexander the Great (cf. Price, M.: *op.cit.*, pl. CXLVIII).
8. Newell, E.: *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, London, 1927, p. 99 (for horsemen and standing lions); Ehrhardt, C.: *The Coins of Cassander*, *JNFA*, 2, 1973, p. 27 (horsemen, both lion issues); Price, M.: *op.cit.*, p. 131.
9. In the current phase of our work we shall not attempt to discuss the complex matter of the attribution of this group, or part of it, to a certain mint. A proposal for the chronology and issuing mint of the Cassander "head of Heracles" coins will be presented, when their die study has been completed. Gatzolis, C.: *Δύο ελληνιστικοί «Θησαυροί» από την Μακεδονία. Το νόμισμα στο μακεδονικό χώρο. Β'επιστημονική συνάντηση, Θεσσαλονίκη 15.5-17.5 1998 (Οβολός 4)*, Thessalonike, 2000, p. 103-126 interprets a certain group of the horseman type as posthumous, issued by Antipatros Etesias, possibly at Pydna.
10. Published by Oikonomos (*op. cit.*, p. 28 no. 118 pl. I, 34).
11. The features we are referring to, are the following: a) The direction of the head, which is looking towards right. The head on the largest denomination looks to the left, so does it on the small, certified third denomination. On the second denomination, the half-unit, the Athena head looks to the right. One would therefore expect the same direction on a possible fourth denomination. b) The attic helmet of the head resembles the goddess' helmet on the Cassander group.
12. The common letters are Λ, Μ, Φ, Θ. The common monograms are **Ρ**, **Α**, **Κ**.
13. Comprising at least 34 groups of control-mark combinations (letters, symbols and monograms variably combined).
14. At least seven letters and monograms are common in the two groups. A linkage of control-mark combinations, however, has not yet been certified.

The combination of the laureate Apollo head on the obverse with the tripod on the reverse is in a way original for royal Macedonian coinage. Certainly, the laureate head of Apollo occurs as the obverse type on Philip II gold staters¹⁵, but the tripod has never been a main type on macedonian regal coins. It was on the other hand the basic reverse type of a city with a flourishing economy, the city of Philippi. Philippi was situated near extensive silver and gold deposits and has in the past been proposed as the mint of the coin group under discussion¹⁶.

Philippi has issued coins with a tripod sometimes very similar to the Cassander tripod (no. 17). This is not the rule, however. The actual problem with an attribution of Cassander's "Apollo" mint to Philippi is, that coins of the "Apollo" type are very rarely found in its area¹⁷. They seem to be circulating mainly in Thessaly and Central Macedonia¹⁸. Furthermore, the basic obverse type of Philippi is the head of Heracles and not of Apollo. It is therefore obvious, that the city under discussion is not a very attractive choice.

Another mint proposed in the past for Cassander's "Apollo" series is Amphipolis. The main facts speaking in favour of it are the following: First, the important Apollo cult of the city, as it has been depicted on amphipolitan civic coinage, its obverse type being usually an Apollo head. It is facing in $\frac{3}{4}$, but there are also bronzes bearing an Apollo head to the right (no. 18). Second, the race torch, the standard reverse type of amphipolitan coins, which afterwards seems to have become a symbol of its mint on coinages struck in the name of the Macedonian kings (as is widely assumed, although serious objections do exist)¹⁹, is a symbol on the "Apollo" series as well (no. 16). It should be stressed, however, that the torch is not among the most prominent symbols of the issue²⁰. Third, although the attribution to Amphipolis of one or the other series of Philip or Alexander silver has been in controversy, every side attributes there at least some part of these coinages before or during the reign of Cassander²¹. The existence of a royal mint in Amphipolis since perhaps Philip II²² and later on, until the end of Macedonian coin production, seems to reinforce the claim that Amphipolis was a producing center for bronzes. Newell didn't miss out on the opportunity to speak about common symbols and monograms occurring on the Apollo issue and the posthumous Alexanders, considered to be minted in Amphipolis during Cassander's reign²³. Anyway, since

the problem of the posthumous Alexanders has not yet been ultimately solved, we must remain sceptical towards such considerations.

Last, but not least a candidate mint, would be in my opinion Cassandreia, the king's own foundation in the site of Potidaea, with civic lands covering a vast area of the Chalkidic Peninsula²⁴. We know that Cassander made great efforts for the progress and the prosperity of the city²⁵, which must have sustained a great part of his propaganda. One of his main ambitions was to give Macedonia the attention Alexander had deprived it of. An inscription of the roman period (3rd century AD?) dedicated to Cassander, which was found on the wall of a tomb at Pella, beside other dedications referring to Alexander the Great and Heracles, leaves little doubt, that Cassander has left a reputation among the people of Macedonia connecting him with an era of prosperity²⁶. The best herald of such a policy would be a new prospering city bearing his name, especially if it was a royal mint. The types of the royal coinage minted there would refer to the cults of the region and the very important coinage of the Chalkidic League, used by the inhabitants for over a century. On this coinage we find the combination of the laureate Apollo head and the

15. Cf. Le Rider, G.: *Le monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe II frappé en Macédoine de 359 à 294*, Paris, 1977, 412f.; 414.

16. Ehrhardt, C.: *loc. cit.*

17. This has been certified after a research at the local Archaeological Ephorate.

18. Of 201 coins with certified provenances, 155 come from Thessaly. It has to be noted, however, that a considerable number of coins deriving from excavations in Macedonia remains yet to be published.

19. For an interpretation as a mint-mark see Price, M.: *op.cit.*, 86 (citing Newell); 131. Contra: Thompson, M.: *The Cavalla Hoard (IGCH 450)*, *ANSMN*, 26, 1981, p. 42; Le Rider, G.: *Les tétradrachmes macédoniens d'Alexandre*, in: Ashton, R.-Hurter, S. (eds.): *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price*, London, 1998, p. 245.

20. It is combined with two monograms, while other symbols and monograms are combined with three, or even four counterparts. Furthermore, "Apollo" bronzes with torch are not very common in genere.

21. Thompson, M.: *loc. cit.* See also next note.

22. Le Rider, G.: *vide supra*; Troxell, H.: *Studies in the Macedonian Coinage of Alexander the Great (ANS Numismatic Studies 21)*, New York, 1997, p. 19; Price, M.: *op.cit.*, p. 131; Newell, E.: *Reattribution of certain tetradrachms of Alexander the Great*, *AJN*, 45 no.3, 1911, p. 118.

23. Newell, E.: *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, London, 1927, p. 99.

24. Diod. Sic. XIX, 52, 2-3. Cf. also Touratsoglou, I.: *op.cit.*, p. 178 n. 9.

25. Diod. Sic. XIX, 52, 3.

26. Chrysostomou, P.: *Ανασκαφικές έρευνες στους τύμβους της Πέλλας κατά το 1994. Το αρχαιολογικό έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη*, 8, 1994, (Thessalonike, 1998), p. 56-57 (tomb Δ). Cf. Touratsoglou, I.: *op.cit.*, p. 176-178.

tripod on small silver fractions (no. 19) and on bronzes (no. 20)²⁷. It is probable that Cassander took over the types as they were. And if the chalkidic types were reminiscent of Macedonia's old enemies, one should not forget, that a) Philip II adopted the chalkidic motif of the Apollo head for his gold coinage²⁸, and b) Cassander used to make impressive moves, in order to acquire prestige by reversing the policies of his predecessors (and particularly Alexander the Great)²⁹. For example, he refounded Thebes³⁰ and he invited the exiled Olynthians to take part in the synoecism of Cassandrea³¹, actions which brought upon him serious accusations on behalf of his enemies³².

The other issue of Cassander bronzes under discussion, bearing the types of a chalkidic helmet and a spearhead, (no. 11) leads us to a less unstable ground. These coins form a series somewhat isolated from the bulk of Cassander's coinage. First of all, they completely lack control-marks. Apart from that, this series introduces a new combination of types. The obverse might be considered as a remake of the traditional helmet type of Amyntas II (no. 21), if we don't take into consideration Perdikkas II (no. 22) or the shield/helmet series of Alexander the Great (no. 27)³³. The spearhead of the reverse has been the obverse type of a small silver fraction struck by Alexander I in the 5th century BC and has not been used since as a main motif by the macedonian kings until the time of Cassander³⁴. The combination of helmet and spearhead gives these coins a warlike character, since the depicted weapons have nothing to do with the traditional weapons of Heracles, or even the macedonian shield, with its symbolic character and its purely defensive role in battle. The spearhead seems to refer to the "δορικήτος χώρα", the "spear-won land", one of the most important theoretical schemes regarding war and conquest in Hellenistic times³⁶. The spearhead appears on another coinage linked with Macedonia and Cassander in particular. On the obverse of the bronzes of Eupolemos³⁷ (nos. 23-24), a general of Cassander and possibly a dynast in Caria after the king's death³⁸, who issued coins in Caria, the episema of the three overlapping shields of the obverse is a spearhead. The reverse type of these coins, a sword in its sheath, is in accordance with the spirit of the Cassander series. Furthermore, both series have similar characteristics. There are a large and a small denomination. Module and weight of the small denomination (which is a quarter-unit) are similar. The quarter-unit in each series has identical types with the corresponding large

denomination. The large denomination is in both cases a half-unit, although the weight of the Eupolemos issue is somewhat lighter and complies with the later Cassander "helmets", the modules being similar³⁹. As we have already seen, the Cassander series has another, even smaller fraction depicting a helmet and a club (no. 13).

It is obvious, that in the case of the "helmet" series, we have a complete system of bronze coinage, very closely related with another bronze series produced in SW Asia Minor. Given the fact, that the "helmets" are found exclusively in SW Asia Minor (and particularly

-
27. Robinson, D.-Clement, P: *Olynthus IX: The Chalcidic Mint*, Baltimore, 1938, p. 10; 14; 19 (hemiobols); 40; 61-2; 64; 66; 82 (diobols); 222-223 (AE). For the bronzes see also Psoma, S.: *Olynthe et les Chalcidiens de Thrace. Études de numismatique et d'histoire*, Stuttgart, 2001, 17 (general types); 54-67.
28. Le Rider, G.: *Le monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe II frappé en Macédoine de 359 à 294*, Paris, 1977, 412 f.; 414.
29. Cf. Mikrogiannakis, E.: *op.cit.*, p. 233; 236.
30. Diod. Sic. XIX, 54, 1-2.
31. Diod. Sic. XIX, 52, 2.
32. Diod. Sic. XIX, 61, 2. Dogma of Antigonos Monophthalmos at Tyre in 315.
33. Westermarck, 1989, 311 series 1 (Amyntas II), Raymond, 1953, 136-140 (nos. 131-175); 150 ff. (Perdikkas II); Liampi, K.: *Der makedonische Schild*, Bonn, 1998, p. 101-105 pl. 23, M6-M9, M12-M15; Ead.: Zur Chronologie der sogenannten „anonymen“ makedonischen Münzen des späten 4. Jhs. v. Chr., *JNG*, 36, 1986, p. 41-65. (Alexander III).
34. The coin is bearing the spearhead as an obverse and a shallow quadratum incusum divided in four equal parts as a reverse. Gaebler, 1935, 135 pl. XXVI, 18 lists the coin as an incertum, but a discovery of this fraction and another silver coin (head of horse/quadratum incusum divided in four equal parts) attributed by Raymond (Raymond, 1953, 97-99 pl. V, a) to Alexander I in tomb T81 in Nea Philadelphia / Thessalonike (which is dated in ca. 450 BC), establishes the attribution of the "spearhead" fraction to Alexander I. Cf. Misailidou-Despotidou, V.: *Από το νεκροταφείο της Νέας Φιλαδέλφειας, Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών - Athens Annals of Archaeology*, 23-28, 1990-1995, p. 68-70.
35. Liampi, K.: *Der makedonische Schild*, Bonn, 1998, p. 44-47 regarding the macedonian shield as a „sprechendes Wappen“ of the macedonian army and the Macedonians in *generis*.
36. Mehl, A.: *Δορικήτος χώρα*. Kritische Bemerkungen zum „Speererwerb“ in Politik und Völkerrecht der hellenistischen Epoche, *Ancient Society*, 11-12, 1980/81, p. 175.
37. Liampi, K.: v. s., p. 141 f. M93 pl. 29, M93.
38. Eupolemos regarded as an independent dynast by: Billows, R.: *Kings and Colonists. Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism*, Leiden/New York/Köln, 1995, p. 93-94. Kobes, J.: „Kleine Könige“. *Untersuchungen zu den Lokaldynasten im hellenistischen Kleinasien (323-188 v.Chr.)* (Pharos-Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike VIII), St. Katharinen, 1996, p. 126-128. Against the former opinion, Descat regards Eupolemos as a mere general and epimeletes of Cassander: Descat R.: La carrière d' Eupolemos, stratège macédonien en Asie Mineure, *REA*, 100, 1998, p. 167-190.
39. The sequence of the Cassander helmet series will be discussed in our forthcoming corpus of Cassander coins.

in Caria)⁴⁰, we are forced to conclude, that these coins were produced for Caria and specifically for the Macedonian troops stationed there. Cassander's ambitious expedition in Caria in 313/2 BC is well attested⁴¹. And it is known, that after the battle of Ipsos in 301 and the division of Antigonos' realm, Cassander obtained Caria and Cilicia in Asia Minor, where he established his brother Pleistarchos as a ruler subject to him⁴². Pleistarchos was expelled from Cilicia by Demetrios Poliorcetes in 299/8 B.C., but his rule in Caria lasted for several years, perhaps until 294, after Cassander's death⁴³. The helmet/spearhead series, deriving from at least 39 obverse and 71 reverse dies were minted in the name of his brother and king. One might possibly think, that they were minted in Macedonia and sent to Asia Minor, but there is reason to believe, that the coins were produced in Asia, as another group of Cassander coins helps us to determine.

The group we are referring to is the "Athena/weapons" series (nos. 7-10). Its types occur combined for the first time on the gold quarter-staters of Alexander the Great (no. 25)⁴⁴. The "Athena" series shares a number of characteristics with the "helmet" group. First of all, the types are not less belligerent in character than the helmet/spearhead combination. Although they may not be proclaiming the right of Cassander over his spear-won land literally with a "symbole parlant", they nevertheless propagate the king's bellicosity and sustain his "aura of military success"⁴⁵, which is of vital importance for a Hellenistic king. Secondly, the "Athena" issues represent a full system of denominations. The issue is small in comparison to the rest of Cassander's emissions: the large denomination derives from at least 4 obverse dies, the small one from at least 12. Furthermore, the number of the surviving specimens doesn't allow us to draw any secure metrological conclusions⁴⁶. Nevertheless, the large unit must have been conceived as heavier than the common Cassander unit, as its module and a majority of weights over 8 grams imply. Furthermore, the existence in both series of denominations smaller than the quarter-unit, the smallest regal macedonian denomination at this time, could be connected with the use of these bronzes outside Macedonia. As far as the existence of control-marks is concerned, there is a unique combination of two letters and one monogram on the large denomination. The other denominations lack any control-marks.

The "Athena" series must have been produced at a time, when the need for money was urgent. That's why most of the coins are overstrikes (no. 26). The need for

speed in production lead to carelessness, so that we can be sure today that the coins used as flans for the half-unit were the so-called anonymous shield/helmet bronzes of Alexander III. In particular, the form of the crescents, the lack of ornamentation between them and some other typological features of the shield (i.e. the double circle around the episema, and sometimes the combination of dotted and linear border on the obverse), combined with the presence of the caduceus symbol on the reverse, reveal that these coins belonged to the series with the head of Heracles as an episema, which was struck in Asia Minor after Alexander's death (no. 27)⁴⁷. In addition, there is an almost complete absence of "Athena" bronzes in the material deriving from excavations on greek soil, with one exception of a small "Athena" found at Olynthos⁴⁸. This is a fact of minor importance, since many bronze coins have travelled from Asia to Macedonia, including Eupolemos' issues⁴⁹. We can therefore be absolutely certain in placing the mint of the "Athena/weapons" and consequently the "helmet/spearhead" series in Asia Minor.

The "Athena" series seem to belong to the same time frame as the "helmets". The speed of production however, its limited size and the use of circulating coins as flans imply that they were minted before the helmets, at a time when the Asian mint of Cassander was not as well organised, as it was, when it produced the high quality "helmet" series. One might even speculate with the possibility of these coins having been struck before the battle of Ipsos, during the campaign of 302-301 BC against Antigonos Monophthalmos. This would fit

40. Published provenances: IGCH 1290; Ashton, R.: *The Coins of the Macedonian Kings, Lysimachos and Eupolemos in the Museums of Fethiye and Afyon*, in: Burnett, A.-Wartenberg, U.-Witschonke, R. (eds.): *Coins of Macedonia and Rome: Essays in honour of Charles Hersh*, London, 1998, p. 31 f. nos. 284-292.

41. Diod. Sic. XIX, 68, 5-7. Cf. Descat, R.: op. cit., p. 175 ff.

42. Plut. Demetrios 31, 6 (for Cilicia). Delrieux, F.: *Le rôle militaire des monnaies au monogramme (ΩΧ) dans la Carie de Pleistarchos*, *RN*, 155, 2000, p. 42 f. with bibliography.

43. Billows, R.: op. cit., p. 93. Delrieux, F.: op. cit., p. 43 (giving a date around 290 for the end of Pleistarchos' dynastic rule).

44. Price, M.: op. cit., p. 29 f.; 106 f. pl. XVII, 165-169A.

45. Citing Austin, M.: *Hellenistic Kings, War, and the Economy*, *Classical Quarterly*, 36, 1986, p. 459.

46. The total number of Athena specimens does not exceed thirty.

47. Liampi, K.: v. s., p. 102, M9 pl. 23, M9 f-g. Ead.: *Zur Chronologie der sogenannten „anonymen“ makedonischen Münzen des späten 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, *JNG*, 36, 1986, p. 59-61 (Serie II, Gruppe 3).

48. Robinson, D.-Clement, P.: op. cit., p. 330.

49. Apostolou, M.: *ADelt.* 48, B2 (Chron.), p. 377 no. 30 a fraction of Eupolemos found in Kypsele/Emathia (Macedonia) (Veroia Museum, N 455, no.30).

very much with the Athena head type, which was introduced by Alexander the Great⁵⁰, and was used now by Cassander, in order to propagate his legitimacy and his relation with Alexander, his wife's brother⁵¹, against a powerful enemy wanting to preserve Alexander's vast empire under his own rule.

Conclusion: In this paper a general overview of Cassander's bronze coinage has been presented and the attribution of some bronze series to certain mints and time periods has been discussed. It has been con-

cluded that the "Apollo/tripod" series was struck parallel to the "horseman" series at a different mint, and the city of Cassandreia has been proposed as the place of issue. Furthermore, the "helmet/spearhead" and the "Athena/weapons" series have been attributed to a mint in Asia Minor. The "helmets" were issued in Caria during the time of Pleistarchos (with the year 301 BC as terminus post quem). Finally, it has been suggested, that the "Athena/weapons" group was produced in Asia Minor before the "helmets", perhaps during Cassander's campaign of 302-1 BC.

Abbreviations of text and captions:

- Berlin Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Münzkabinett.
- Gaebler, 1935 Gaebler, H.: *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* III, 2, Berlin, 1935.
- Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des médailles.
- Raymond, 1953 Raymond, D.: *Macedonian Regal Coinage to 413 BC* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs 126), New York, 1953.
- SNG Alpha Bank *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Greece II, The Alpha Bank Collection, Macedonia I: Alexander I-Perseus*, Athens 2000 (by Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou).
- SNG Cop. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, 9, Macedonia 1: Acanthos-Uranopolis; Dynasts. Macedonia 2: Alexander I-Alexander III. Macedonia 3: Philip III-Philip VI; Macedonia under the Romans; Kings of Paonia*, Copenhagen, 1943 (by Niels Breitenstein).
- Westermark, 1989 Westermark, U.: Remarks on the regal macedonian coinage ca. 413-359 B.C., in: Le Rider, G.-Jenkins, K.-Waggoner, N. - Westermark, U. (eds.): *Kraay-Mørkholm Essays; Numismatic Studies in Memory of C. M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm*, Louvain-La-Neuve, 1989, p. 301-315.

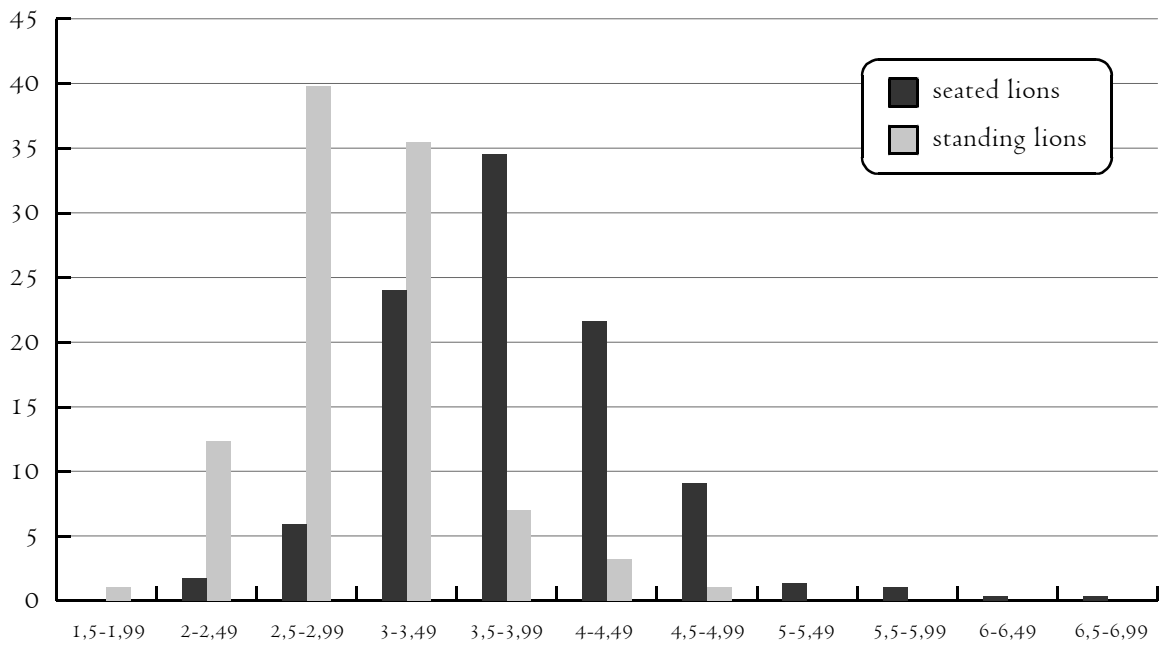
50. Price, M.: op. cit., p. 29.

51. Diod. Sic. XIX, 52, 1.

Figure I. Comparative table of Cassander issues. The weight and diameter figures are average ones and they represent the vast majority of the specimens. The numbers in brackets are minimum and maximum diameters.

2AE		Athena large 20-23 mm 8+ gr	
AE	Horseman 18-21 mm (16-22) most 5,0-7,5 gr Apollo 18-20 mm (15-22) most 5,0-7,5 gr		
½ AE	Lion seated 17-18 mm (16-19) 3,0-5,0 gr (most ca. 4 gr) (over Alexander III head/horse) Lion standing 15-17 mm most 2,6-3,5	Athena small 17-18 mm (16,5-18,5) ca. 4gr?	Helmet 17-18 mm (17-20) 3,5-4,5 gr
¼ AE	Heracles/Weapons 13-14 mm 1,4-1,6 gr		Helmet small 13-14 mm (12,5-15) 1,4-1,96 gr
		Athena 10,5 mm 1,19 gr. unicum	Helmet/club 12,5-14 mm 1,1-1,5 gr
		Athena (incertum) 8,5 mm 0,61 gr	

Figure II: Comparative frequency table of weights for the two "lion" series



Photos:

1. Cassander, AE. 2,73 gr. 17 mm. Paris, fds. gén. 1286
2. Cassander, AE. 3,62 gr. 18 mm. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Leake collection
3. Alexander III, AE. 4,96 gr. 16,5 mm. SNG Alpha Bank, 752
4. Cassander, AE. 6,34 gr. 18 mm. Private collection
5. Cassander, AE. 2,73 gr. 17,5 mm. Athens, Numismatic Museum, 1906/7 ΛΘ' 12
6. Cassander, AE. 1,39 gr. 13 mm. Berlin, ex Imhoof-Blumer (1900)
7. Cassander, AE. 8,44 gr. 23 mm. Berlin, ex Imhoof-Blumer (1900)
8. Cassander, AE. 3,88 gr. 17,5 mm. Berlin, ex Imhoof-Blumer (1900)
9. Cassander, AE. 1,19 gr. 10,5 mm. Athens, Numismatic Museum, 1601γ
10. Cassander, AE. 0,61 gr. 8,5 mm. New York, American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.13724
11. Cassander, AE. 4,32 gr. 18 mm. New York, American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.13718
12. Cassander, AE. 1,96 gr. 14,5 mm. New York, American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.13721
13. Cassander, AE. 1,26 gr. 12,5 mm. New York, American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.13723
14. Cassander, AE. 5,54 gr. 19 mm. Paris, fds. gén. 1258
15. Cassander, AE. 6,04 gr. 17 mm. London, British Museum, 1852, 2, 22, 46
16. Cassander, AE. 6,87 gr. 18 mm. London, British Museum, Richard Payne Knight 4 p.85
17. Philippi, AE. No weight given. 17 mm. Gaebler, 1935, Pl. XX, 8
18. Amphipolis, AE. No weight given. 16 mm. Gaebler, 1935, Pl. VIII, 17
19. Chalkidic league, AR diobol. 1,14 gr. 11,5 mm. SNG Cop., 244
20. Chalkidic league, AE. 2,41 gr. 12 mm. SNG Cop., 247
21. Amyntas II, AE. 2,05 gr. 12 mm. Westermark, 1989, Pl. LXIX, 21
22. Perdikkas II, AR tetrobol. 2,03 gr. 15 mm. Raymond, Pl. XI 137a
23. Eupolemos, AE. 4,23 gr. 17 mm. SNG Cop. 1168
24. Eupolemos, AE. 1,60 gr. 14 mm. SNG Cop. 1169
25. Alexander III, AU 1/4 stater. 2,14 gr. 12 mm. SNG Cop. 653
26. Cassander, AE. 2,97 gr. 19 mm. London, British Museum, 1974, 1, 2, 7
27. Alexander III, AE. 4,14 gr. 16,5 mm. SNG Cop. 1134
28. Cassander, AE. 6,35 gr. 18 mm. Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe, 56403
29. Cassander, AE. 5,69 gr. 17 mm. London, British Museum, 1911, 7, 4, 138

