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Animal Figures & Coinage: The Greek Cities on the Chalcidic Peninsula



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ABSTRACT

Numismatics is one of the most important tools that an archaeologist or a historian can use in the challenging task of unraveling the past, especially when dealing with regions and areas that were intersections of several cultures and civilisations, such as the case of northern Greece. The importance of coinage derives from the fact that they were objects created by the political authorities. As C. M. Kraay noted, the genitive of the ethnic that was inscribed on the coins was not just informative, but it was a declaration of property, something that also applies to the illustrated iconography. Hence, by looking at a coin one can trace the messages that the authorities would like to impart to the inhabitants of their territory; these messages were undoubtedly correlated to the area's cultural and sociopolitical background and the leaders cared to use iconographic types with which people were accustomed to. Moreover, the coins would pass through the hands, not only of the local population, but also of the foreigners – travelers, merchants, craftsmen, soldiers – who in turn would share and spread the very same messages to their own lands.

The present paper examines the depiction of the animal figures on the coins of the city-states that southern Greeks founded on the Chalcidic peninsula, and it covers chronologically the late Archaic and Classical periods. During that time, the animal figures were generally the predominant iconographic type on coins, something that should come as no surprise in view of the fact that the animals played an important and pluralistic role in the agrarian societies of antiquity; they were indeed the backbone of people's livelihood and wealth. The animal figures on the coinage were related to the citizens' religious beliefs, their mythological and historical background, while they also projected significant aspects of the city's socioeconomic context, something that brings us one more step closer to a better understanding of the people and their societies. Of great interest is also the evaluation of the differences and similarities between the iconographic types on the coins of the colonies, and those on the coins of their mother-cities; some colonies copied the types of their hometown, others chose utterly different depictions, while in some cases we encounter a unique combination of local elements, with elements that the people had brought along from their place of origin.

PREFACE - ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My interest in the field of numismatics was triggered during my MA studies in the International Hellenic University in Thessaloniki, where I had the chance to attend the lectures of my supervisor Sophia Kremydi; thence, numismatics has become my main area of interest and, even though my experience in the field has just started developing, my two BA degrees, in History and Archaeology, supplied me with great knowledge that was very useful in the writing of the present paper. The topic of the essay was chosen for it gives the opportunity to investigate and analyse the obvious or hidden symbolism and meaning behind the depicted animal figures on the coinage of the Greek cities in the Chalcidice; the iconography is always a great source of information and allows for a glimpse into the societies of the ancient world. The current work focuses on the region of the Chalcidic peninsula because it was an area that attracted intensely the interest of the southern Greeks, who founded cities that grew strong and prosperous, something that is reflected on their rich numismatic production. I shall underline, however, that the topic is rather wide and one can proceed with a scrutiny of all possible aspects of symbolism behind the depicted animals; hence, considering the limited length of the essay, I tried to present as much information as possible on the subject, however, I gave emphasis to the elements that I considered most significant.

At this point, I shall warmly thank my supervisor, Sophia Kremydi, firstly because she was the person who inspired my interest in numismatics, and second for all the assistance and guidance that she provided during the writing of the current paper. Furthermore, I cordially thank the great team of Professors in the International Hellenic University in Thessaloniki for all their hard and enthusiastic work, while I would especially like to thank Dr. Nikolaos Akamatis for his great guidance throughout my MA studies. I also wish to warmly thank my fellow students and great friends for making this MA Course even more interesting and for all their amazing support. Last but not least, I would like to cordially thank my personal mentor, Andreas Petratos, for his precious guidance and assistance throughout my studies all these years, and also for always be the perfect example for me to follow.

Para Tomas

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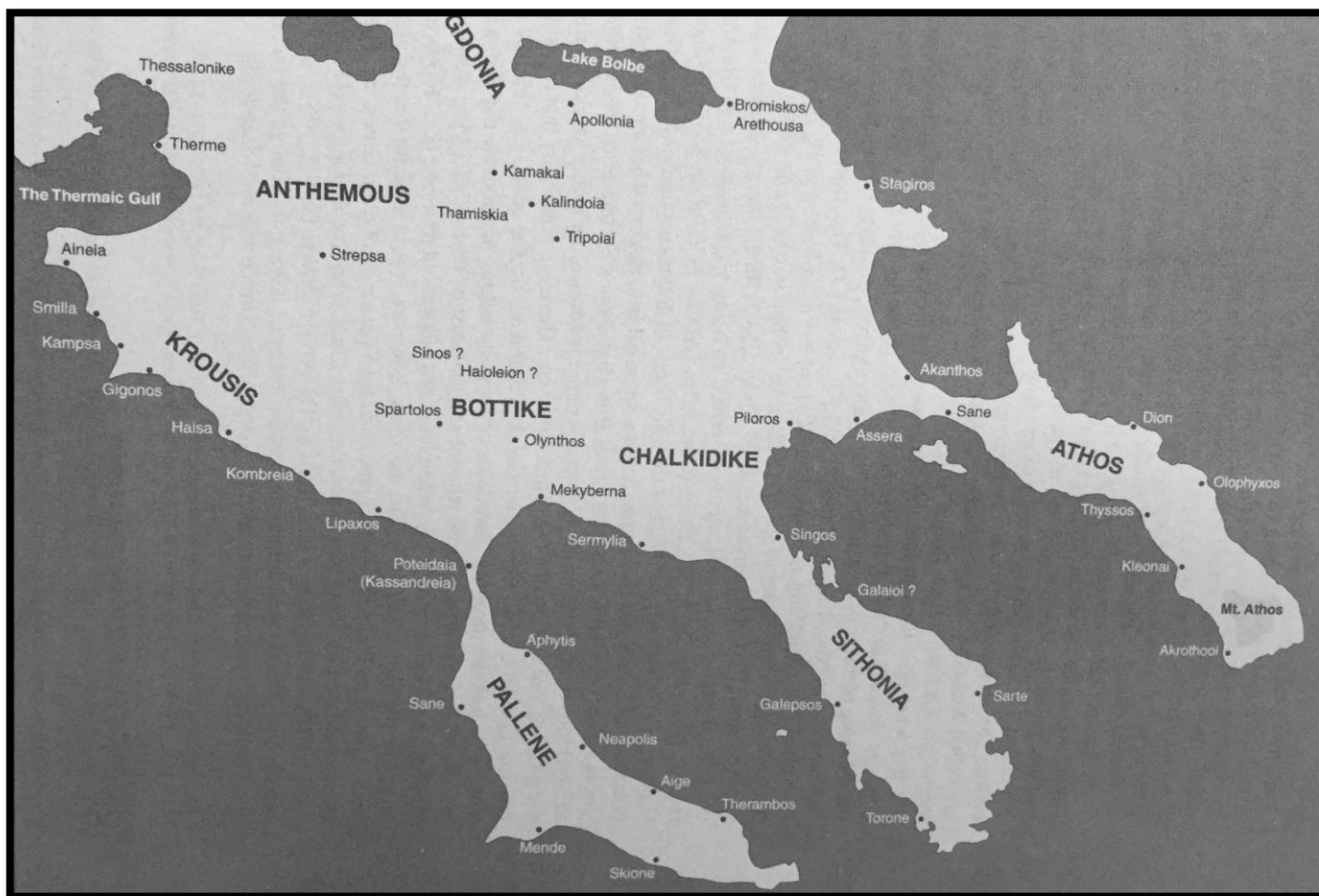
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Map of the Chalcidic Peninsula (Flensted-Jensen 1997, map)

THE CHALCIDIC PENINSULA

1. THE GREEK COLONISATION

The geographical region of what we call today Macedonia used to be an area that from a very early period attracted the interest of various settlers. It was a region with rich and diverse geomorphology, with high mountain ranges and wide plateaus, large plains, numerous rivers and lakes, as well as a long coastline. The mountains were full of forests with abundant vegetation and a rather wide range of wild faunae such as bears, bison, deer, boars, lynxes, lions, as well as smaller animals. The large plains were very significant for the agriculture that was the leading economic activity in the region, while the rivers were not only boundaries but also means of communication between areas; they served as natural routes for trading goods and they were used for travel purposes too. Furthermore, both rivers and lakes were a great source of fish, whereas their alluvial deposits made the soil very fertile for the crops¹.

Under these favourable conditions, it is not surprising that the region attracted dwellers from as far back as the Palaeolithic Age. Over years, more and more tribes and peoples settled down in the mountainous areas, the plains and the coasts of northern Aegean, creating in this way a mosaic of diverse cultures and “ethnic” groups that coexisted for many years – certainly not always in a peaceful manner – until the Macedonian kingdom became the undisputed power, in the mid-4th century BC, and incorporated all independent cities and tribes of the region. Amongst the people that settled in the area were also southern Greeks, who had been trying to cope with problems such as overpopulation, lack of farmland and sociopolitical upheavals, which forced many people to abandon their lands and search for new homes, while at the same time they were in constant search of increasing their commercial activities²; the rich surroundings, along with the timber and mineral resources that were in great abundance in northern Greece, offered an appropriate environment for the Greeks to build new cities, which were founded mostly alongshore not by chance; maritime commerce played the most significant role in their economies and the colonies would provide new ports that would facilitate and expand the commercial routes. Furthermore, a littoral city was easier to access, allowing more vivid

¹ For the rich natural environment and resources of northern Greece see: Kremydi 2011, 159-161, Stefani 2015, 121-122.

² Bengtson 1991, 93-95.

communication with the mother-city, while we shall also take into consideration other factors, such as the familiarity with the coastal environment or the fact that settling in the hinterland could pose the threat of facing other fierce local tribes that might not be so acceptant of newcomers.

Northern Greece has aroused disagreements amongst the researchers, especially regarding its early history, something that was triggered primarily by the fact that the written sources are scanty, if not non-existent. One of the major arguments is related to the peninsula of Chalcidice and its wide colonisation by southern Greeks. First and foremost, it should be emphasised that the use of the name “Chalcidice” for the whole region was later, and in the period under consideration, the name referred to the central part of the peninsula – maybe including the prong of Sithonia – namely the area that was occupied by the Chalcidians³. Some scholars adopted E. Harrison’s argument who, based mainly on Herodotus’ phrase “το Χαλκιδικόν γένος”⁴, claimed that the inhabitants of the peninsula were an indigenous tribe whose name only coincidentally matched that of the Euboeans⁵. On the other hand, other researchers, such as D. W. Bradeen, claimed an indisputable connection between Chalcidice and the Euboic Chalcis⁶; Bradeen based his argument on the few, yet important, literary sources that strongly indicate such a connection. Strabo wrote that the cities of Euboea grew larger and stronger, and founded important colonies in Macedonia⁷, while in another fragment he mentioned that the Chalcidians from Euboea arrived in Sithonia where they conjoined thirty cities; he called the people of these cities, “the Chalcidians of Thrace” (*οι επί Θράκης Χαλκιδεῖς*)⁸. Aristotle, the renowned philosopher whose mother came from Chalcis, also gives us some information about the area; he wrote about Androdamus from Rhegium – a colony of Chalcis – who gave laws to the Chalcidians of Thrace⁹, while he also narrated the story about a Chalcidian from Thrace, who came to Euboea in order to assist the Chalcidians during their conflict with the Eretrians in the so-called Lelantine war¹⁰. Polybius, too, stated that the Chalcidians of Thrace were colonists from Chalcis¹¹, while in the tribute lists of the Athenian/Delian League the cities of Mende and Dicaea

³ Flensted-Jensen 2000, 125-131; Tsigarida 2011, 137.

⁴ Herodotus VII.185.2, VIII.127.

⁵ See: Harrison 1912, 93-103.

⁶ See: Bradeen 1952, 356-380.

⁷ Strabo, *Geography* X.I.8.

⁸ Strabo, *Geography* VII fr. 11.

⁹ Aristotle, *Politics* II.1274b.

¹⁰ Plutarch, *Amatorius* 17; also, for the Lelantine War see: Bradeen 1947, 223-241, Donlan 1970, 31-142.

¹¹ Polybius, IX.28.2.

were presented as Euboic colonies¹². Apart from these few literary sources, in favour of a connection between the Euboic Chalcis and the peninsula of Chalcidice are mainly pottery finds, which demonstrate a clear predominance of the Euboic population since their wares outnumbered the Attic ones. Furthermore, researchers found similarities in architecture and funerary practices¹³, while we could also take into consideration the linguistic similarities between the two regions¹⁴, as well as the fact that they used the same calendar¹⁵.

Unfortunately, the sources do not give specific dates on when all these colonies were founded; however, scholars suggested a date much earlier than the colonisation of the West in the 8th century BC¹⁶, at a time when colonisations were movements of tribes and not of city-states. During the 2nd Greek colonisation, the Chalcidic peninsula received new colonists from Chalcis and Eretria, which may be an indication of an earlier presence of their people in the region¹⁷. N. G. L. Hammond suggested that such an early presence could have created a group of people who adopted their name by a city in their land of origin, in this case Chalcis, and who were later distinguished from the formal colonies that were founded in the 8th century BC, despite their common descent¹⁸. That could explain why Herodotus used the phrase “*το Χαλκιδικόν γένος*” whereas in another fragment he referred to the colonies separately¹⁹. A. Snodgrass made another observation; the cities in Chalcidice were built very close to one another because the space there was rather limited. On the contrary, in the colonisation of the West the Euboeans, as well as other Greeks, followed a different pattern and they built their cities with a certain distance amongst them. The only exceptions to this pattern were Megara Hyblaea, the first colony of Megara which was located very close to Syracuse, and the cities of Pithekoussai and Kyme that were the first Euboic colonies and that were separated by just a strip of water. In the latter case, the short distance between the two cities lasted only for the period of their co-existence, and it is not clear whether the founders of Pithekoussai had originally planned a simultaneous occupation. Nevertheless, according to Snodgrass, these early settlements might have followed the colonisation patterns to which the Euboeans were accustomed back in

¹² ATL I, 266-267.

¹³ For evidence coming from pottery, architecture and funerary practices see: Snodgrass 2006, 144-151; Tiverios 2007, 6-15.

¹⁴ See: Hatzopolous 1988, 40-50.

¹⁵ See: Bradeen 1952, 364-366; Knoepfler 1989, 25-58.

¹⁶ See: Graham 1971, 47; Tiverios 2007, 7-9.

¹⁷ Tiverios 2007, 15.

¹⁸ Hammond 1995, 308-312.

¹⁹ Herodotus, VII.122; Tiverios 1989, 58.

Greece, namely founding cities close to each another²⁰. Finally, it is only logical to assume that the people from Euboea would first choose to colonise an area that was closer to them, and hence with less maritime risks than Sicily and Italy, which were miles away from their homeland. The Euboeans predominated in the colonisation of Chalcidice but certainly, they were not the only ones; as we shall see, Andrians, Corinthians and, perhaps, Achaeans also founded colonies in the region.

2. THE BEGINNING OF THE COIN PRODUCTION IN THE REGION

The independent cities of the Chalcidic peninsula met great prosperity and wealth during the 6th and 5th centuries BC, due to the fertile land, the rich reserves of timber and the abundant mineral resources, and this wealth was reflected on the coins that were issued as early as the last quarter of the 6th century BC. As C. M. Kraay pointed out, the first coinage, generally in Greece, served transaction purposes, namely taxes, imposts, mulcts, the payments of officials, soldiers or labourers, as well as the coverage of the expenses of public projects; therefore, the pluralistic growth and prosperity of the Greek world in the 6th century BC, led to the emergence of coin production that, in fact, spread rapidly from one city to another²¹ and eventually reached northern Greece too. Here, the initiation of mintage might have been imparted by Euboea or perhaps the citizens of Abdera, who had come from Teos²² – in the coast of Ionia – and who must have been well-acquainted with Croesus' issues, which are generally considered the first gold and silver coins struck²³; the Thasian trade may have also played an important role²⁴. Moreover, the abundance of mineral resources in the region most certainly facilitated the introduction of coinage²⁵, while another factor that had an impact on the initiation, but mostly on the increase of the mintage in northern Greece, was the subjugation of the area to the Persians – starting from 513 BC – an act that imposed peace amongst the various peoples, affecting in this way their economic development in a positive manner²⁶. In addition, the cities

²⁰ Snodgrass 2006, 154.

²¹ Kraay 1988, 443-445.

²² Herodotus, I.168.1.

²³ Kraay 1988, 432.

²⁴ Kraay 1976, 131-132.

²⁵ Howego 1990, 4.

²⁶ For the Persian presence in northern Greece see: Hammond – Griffith 1979, 55-69; Hammond 1980, 53-61.

needed coins because they had to pay tributes to the Persians²⁷, but because they also had to cover the huge expenses that were increased after 480 BC, due to the extended military preparations for Xerxes's expedition in southern Greece²⁸.

The weight standard followed by the Greek cities in Chalcidice was, in most cases, that of their mother-cities. Initially, the cities in Euboea followed the Euboic/Ionic standard, namely their staters (17.20 gr.) were divided into thirds, sixths, twelfths etc., while from the beginning of the 5th century BC their issues were adapted to the Attic system, hence along with the staters, they also issued didrachms, drachms, hemidrachms etc.²⁹ The Euboic colonies followed these changes and used the so-called "Euboic/Attic" weight standard³⁰; the latter was used by most of the cities on the peninsula but, at the same time, some made use of the so-called "Thracio-Macedonian" standard whose stater weighed 14.40 gr.³¹ One important characteristic of the monetary system in northern Greece was the extent use of bronze coins, which was initiated by the Chalcidic Federation in ca. 410 BC, followed by the Macedonian king Archelaus in 400 BC, while during the first half of the 4th century BC the minting of bronze coins was increased and they were used by a large number of cities in Macedonia and Thrace³². In general, the first bronze coins were struck by cities in the Black Sea, in Sicily and southern Italy during the 5th century BC, whereas it seems that the first Greek cities to mint bronze issues were the ones situated in the NE Peloponnese, which were influenced by their contacts with Magna Grecia; from the Peloponnese, and especially from Corinth that minted bronze coins in around 425-420 BC³³, the use of bronze spread to other mints in Greece, including Chalcidice³⁴.

²⁷ Kraay 1976, 131, 139.

²⁸ Tselekas 2000, 54.

²⁹ Kraay 1976, 89-91.

³⁰ Psoma 2000, 27.

³¹ See: Psoma 2000, 25-32. Also, for the various weight standards see: Kraay 1976, 329-330.

S. Psoma, in a more recent article, rejected the idea of a common "Thracio-Macedonian" standard and proposed that, instead, three different standards were used in the region of Thrace and Macedonia: a) a reduced version of the Milesian standard (stater weight: 14.2 gr) that was used for the earliest issues of the cities on the Chalcidic peninsula and the coins of Alexander I, b) a reduced version of the Aeginitic standard (stater weight: 10 gr.) that was used by Paros, for which it was also adopted by the Parian colonies situated between the Strymon and Nestos rivers, while it was used by the Thracian tribes too, c) a reduced version of the Chian standard, adopted by Abdera, Dicaea and Maroneia. See: Psoma 2015, 167-184. The context and length of the current essay does not allow a scrutiny on the topic, and for the sake of convenience I will make use of the terms "Euboic/Attic" and "Thracio-Macedonian".

³² Gatzolis 2010, 14.

³³ Picard 2000, 17-20.

³⁴ Gatzolis 2010, 13-14.

POTIDAEA

1. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Potidaea was a city of great importance; it was a Corinthian colony founded around the period of Periander³⁵ who, towards the turn of the 7th century BC, became the most powerful ruler in Greece. During the hegemony of Periander, Corinth enjoyed a pluralistic prosperity and reached its highest political and economic growth. The very location of the city between the Aegean Sea and the Corinthian gulf was a great advantage, while the great innovation of the black-figure pottery that was initiated by Corinthian potters³⁶, boosted the commerce so much that the city became a leading commercial power in Greece during the Archaic period; the foundation of Corinthian colonies in very strategic locations, especially in the western parts of the Greek mainland, increased the city's growth even more³⁷.

Albeit not located in western Greece, Potidaea still lay in a very important location, on the narrowest part of the isthmus of Pallene from where it could control the entrance to the rest of the prong³⁸. The main reason for the foundation of the city probably was not related to commercial purposes, but to the need of Corinth for the Macedonian timber that was essential for the construction of its fleet³⁹. Unlike many of the Greek cities in the North, Potidaea's economy was not based on agriculture but on other activities, such as the exploitation of wood and mineral resources⁴⁰. The Corinthians kept close relations with their colony and during the 5th century BC they sent to Potidaea annual magistrates, the “*επιδημιουργοί*”⁴¹, however, this does not mean that the city was ruled by Corinth⁴². Potidaea supplied Xerxes with troops and ships during his expedition in Greece in 480 BC⁴³, although a year later the citizens joined an alliance with other cities in Pallene against the Persians, something that led to the siege of Potidaea by the

³⁵ Nicolaus Damascenus, a much later source, wrote that Potidaea was built by Evagoras, the son of Periander. See: Didot 1849, 393.

³⁶ Scheibler 2010, 107-109.

³⁷ For the city of ancient Corinth see: Κίτσοας 2013.

³⁸ Thucydides, I.56.2; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V.2.15.

³⁹ Vokotopoulou 2001, 749.

⁴⁰ Tiverios 2008, 65.

⁴¹ Thucydides, I.56.2.

⁴² Graham 1964, 136-137.

⁴³ Herodotus, VII.123.1.

general Artabazus⁴⁴; the fact that the city managed to withstand the Persian pressure and, furthermore, to send troops to the battle of Plataea to support the Greek forces⁴⁵, is a strong indication of the political and economic power that it enjoyed at the time.

After the Persian Wars, Potidaea became a member of the Athenian/Delian League and it is mentioned in the tribute lists from 446/445 BC⁴⁶ until 433/432 BC⁴⁷. However, the city must have been a member of the League since the very beginning; according to J. A. Alexander, the Potidaeans initially contributed ships to the treasury and only later they decided to pay their share with money, something that seems to have been convenient both for Potidaea as well as Athens⁴⁸. In 432 BC, Athens demanded that Potidaea should demolish part of its walls, give hostages and dismiss the annual magistrates that Corinth sent to them⁴⁹. After this harsh request, Potidaea joined an alliance with the Chalcidians and the Bottiaeans and revolted against the Athenians, something that resulted in the siege of the city that lasted for two whole years⁵⁰; in 430 BC, the Potidaeans suffered from severe famine, hence they surrendered to Athens, left their hometown and found shelter in other cities in the Chalcidice or elsewhere⁵¹. From Xenophon we learn that Potidaea later became a member of the Chalcidic Federation⁵², while in 356 BC Philip II (359 - 336 BC) ceded the city to the Olynthians and sold the Potidaeans as slaves⁵³; in 316 BC, king Cassander brought the remained citizens back to Potidaea and established a new town, Cassandreia⁵⁴.

⁴⁴ Herodotus, VIII. 126-129.

⁴⁵ Herodotus, IX.28.3. Also see: Alexander 1963, 34-41.

⁴⁶ IG I³ 266.III.7.

⁴⁷ IG I³ 279.II.70.

⁴⁸ Alexander 1963, 41-43.

⁴⁹ Thucydides, I.56.2.

⁵⁰ Thucydides, I.56-66.

⁵¹ Thucydides, II.70.

⁵² Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V.2.15.

⁵³ Diodorus Siculus, *Library*, XVI.8.3-5; Demosthenes 2.7, 6.20.

⁵⁴ Diodorus Siculus, *Library*, XIX.52.2. It is not that clear whether the town was destroyed by Philip II (359 - 336 BC) or not; from Demosthenes' words in 20.61, it appears that the city was not deserted after 356 BC.

2. ANIMAL FIGURES ON THE COINAGE OF POTIDAEA

The economic prosperity of Potidaea can be ascertained by the fact that the mintage started as early as the last quarter of the 6th century BC⁵⁵. The city used the “Euboic/Attic” weight standard and it struck silver tetradrachms, tridrachms, tetrobols and lower denominations, as well as bronze coins⁵⁶. A. J. Alexander divided the coinage of the city into three groups, with the first two groups covering the period from the mid-6th century BC until 432 BC, when silver coins were produced, whereas the third group covered the period between 432 BC and 356 BC and was represented by bronze issues⁵⁷. Even though Alexander’s very early dating is not generally accepted⁵⁸, and even though he himself underlined the risks of dividing the coinage into periods, the truth is that this division is rather helpful in putting the minting process into a historical context. During the 1st period (late 6th century – 479 BC) Potidaea struck large denominations, namely tetradrachms and tetrobols; these denominations continued also in the 2nd period (ca. 479 BC – 432 BC) although only up to the mid-5th century BC⁵⁹, while from then on only smaller denominations were struck, until 432 BC when the city was besieged by Athens and the silver coinage came to an end⁶⁰. As for the animal figures, it was the horse and Pegasus that made their appearance on the Potidaean issues. The horse was depicted on obverse of the tetradrachms (fig.1) and tetrobols (fig.2) ridden by god Poseidon, while the same depiction

⁵⁵ AMNG III (2), 105. J. A. Alexander and C. Seltman, taking into consideration the Tarentum Hoard, placed the beginning of the coinage in Potidaea at around 550 BC. J. Alexander divided the archaic coinage into two different groups (Group A & B) with the older coins to be dated from 550 BC to 510 BC. Such an early dating, however, was not accepted by M. Price and N. Waggoner, who argued that Alexander’s whole Group A numbered totally only nine coins, hence they suggested that the archaic series should be dated to 500-480 BC (See: Seltman 1933, 67; Alexander 1953, 203-206; Price – Waggoner 1975, 46. Also for the Tarentum Hoard, see: Babelon 1912, 1-40).

⁵⁶ AMNG III (2), 103-105; SNG Ashmolean 2361-2369; SNG Copenhagen 312-315; SNG ANS 686-699.

⁵⁷ Alexander 1953, 201.

⁵⁸ See above n. 55; also, HN, 212; Forrer 1924, 35; Grose 1979, 23; Tsagari 2009 p.72.

⁵⁹ It has been suggested (Alexander 1953, 208-210) that the change in the denominations in Potidaea was due to the implementation of a monetary policy imposed by Athens, according to which, the cities under the Athenian dominion were obliged to cease the minting of silver coins, and if they continued to do so they could only mint smaller denominations of the Attic weight standard and only for local purposes; a series of inscriptions informs us about the aforementioned policy. The proposed dating of the inscription found in the island of Cos in 449 BC by M. Segre, led to the conclusion that this policy was implemented after 449 BC; however, a certain date for the Standards Decree has yet to be established. Thus, Alexander’s argument should not be taken for granted. (See: Segre 1938, 170-176; Robinson 1949, 324-340; ATL II, 61-68; Figueira 1998, especially p.319-465; also: Hatzopoulos 2015, 251-257).

⁶⁰ Alexander 1953, 210.

appeared also on the diobols where sometimes we encounter just the forepart of the horse (fig.3); the hemiobols bore a sole marching horse⁶¹ (fig.4). The Pegasus appeared on the obverse of the tridrachms ridden by Bellerophon⁶² (fig.5), while the bronze issues also bore the same animal, this time depicted on the reverse and without Bellerophon⁶³.

Potidaea	Tetradrachm	Tridrachm	Tetrobol	Diobol	Hemiobol	Bronze coins
<i>Horse</i>	+		+	+	+	
<i>Pegasus</i>		+				+

3. COMMENTARY

Even though Potidaea kept close relations with Corinth⁶⁴ the numismatic evidence demonstrates that, for the largest period, it chose different types than those of its mother-city. On the obverse of the tetradrachms as well as the tetrobols, until ca. 430 BC, the depicted animal was the horse, marching to the left or right and ridden by Poseidon who is holding his trident, that is to say, Poseidon Hippios⁶⁵. God Poseidon, the Lord of the sea and water springs as well as earthquakes and natural disasters, was generally worshipped in areas prone to earthquakes and areas that lay next to the sea; thus, it was only logical that his cult was widespread in the northern shores of the Aegean, especially in the region of Chalcidice⁶⁶. The strong presence of the Ionians in these parts of Greece also played a major role regarding Poseidon's worship, for he was their main deity, the one to ensure safe naval journeys towards their colonies, but also the one who would protect them from the catastrophic consequences of the earthquakes⁶⁷. The very name of the city derived directly from Poseidon, who was generally considered the mythical ancestor and founder of several cities, including Potidaea⁶⁸. However, Poseidon's cult had a long tradition in the Peloponnese too, where plates of Linear B from Pylos referred to him as the god who

⁶¹ AMNG III (2), 103-105; SNG Ashmolean 2369; SNG Copenhagen 312-315; SNG ANS 686-698; Tsagari 2009, n.66-68.

⁶² Tsagari 2009, n.69 & Kraay 1976, pl.14 n.249.

⁶³ AMNG III (2), pl.XX.29.

⁶⁴ Alexander 1963, 20-23.

⁶⁵ AMNG III (2), 103-105; SNG Ashmolean 2361-2362; SNG Copenhagen 312-313; SNG ANS 686-695.

⁶⁶ For Poseidon and his cult see: Burkert 1985, 136-139; Farnell 2010c,1-55.

⁶⁷ Tiverios 2008, 43.

⁶⁸ Valavanis 2004, 275; Larson 2007, 57-58.

enjoyed the richest sacrifices amongst all others⁶⁹; in fact, before the prevalence of Zeus that happened in the Archaic period, he was a very mighty god⁷⁰. Poseidon also had deep roots in Corinth where the evidence shows old cult activities at the Isthmus⁷¹, the site where later, in 582 BC, the citizens founded the Panhellenic games of *Isthmia* that were celebrated every two years honouring the god – and the local hero Melikertes/Palaemon – and included wrestling, running, equestrian games, a rowing contest that was unique amongst the other Panhellenic games, as well as music, poetry and painting contests⁷².

Hence, the Potidaeans were well-acquainted with the cult of Poseidon whom they chose to honour in many ways, including the dedication of a temple and a statue built outside the city⁷³; the image of Poseidon on his horse found on the tetradrachms and tetrobols was most probably a representation of that statue⁷⁴. The cult of Poseidon Hippios was spread in many areas in Greece and it was associated with another characteristic of his, namely being the tamer of horses⁷⁵. On pottery we find many depictions of him riding a horse or driving a chariot⁷⁶, while in Corinth some votive clay plaques were found – dedications of potters – with similar iconography; in one of these plaques, the similarity of the depicted Poseidon Hippios with the coins of Potidaea is striking⁷⁷ (fig.6). Therefore, it is rather obvious that the cult of Poseidon Hippios passed from Corinth to Potidaea and that the citizens considered it an important part of their identity. The sole marching horse depicted on the hemiobols was undoubtedly also related to Poseidon, while on one of the tetradrachms, a dolphin is depicted below the horse⁷⁸, something that is a clear allusion to the nature of the god as the regnant of the seas and the protector of all marine life; in fact, a dolphin often accompanied Poseidon on pottery depictions⁷⁹.

The issues with Poseidon were minted until ca. 432 BC. At that period, Athens raised the tribute payments and Potidaea was obliged to pay six instead of fifteen talents, something that, in

⁶⁹ Simon 1996, 74.

⁷⁰ Larson 2007, 57.

⁷¹ Gebhard 1993, 154-177; see also: Larson 2007, 59-60.

⁷² For the Isthmian games see: Valavanis 2004, 281-303.

⁷³ Herodotus, VIII.129.3.

⁷⁴ Alexander 1953, 203.

⁷⁵ Homer, *Hymn to Poseidon* 22.5; Farnell 2010c, 14. For the cult of Poseidon Hippios see: Larson 2007, 64-65; Farnell 2010c, 14-25.

⁷⁶ For example: LIMC VII (2), pl.162, 182; Walters 1929, pl.62.4a; Simon 1996, fig.77-78, 80, 82.

⁷⁷ Simon 1996, fig.73.

⁷⁸ SNG Ashmolean 2361.

⁷⁹ For example: Boardman 1998, fig.451.

combination with Pericles' demands for the city to send away the Corinthian higher officials and demolish its northern walls, resulted in the revolt of Potidaea and the subsequent Athenian siege of the city. It was exactly during that period that the relations between Corinth and Potidaea were tightened up more, since the Corinthians would not abandon the Potidaeans to their fate⁸⁰. The city's new ties and alliance with Corinth and the rest of Peloponnesians are reflected on the new iconographic types; for the first time we encounter the flying horse Pegasus ridden by Bellerophon on Potidaean tridrachms, an animal figure that was depicted on the Corinthian issues from the very beginning of their monetary production, however, without Bellerophon⁸¹. Pegasus was the son of Poseidon⁸² hence the new type, despite having been adopted by Corinth, was closely linked to the tradition of the city. As for Bellerophon, he was the one who tamed Pegasus with Athena's help and together they accomplished various tasks, while he was closely related to Corinth since, according to the legend, the hero was born there⁸³. As C. M. Kraay wrote, the Potidaeans adjusted the new type to the city's own taste; instead of Poseidon on a horse, they depicted Bellerophon on Pegasus. Kraay also suggested that the new coins were struck in order to pay the forces sent by Corinth to assist Potidaea during the Athenian siege⁸⁴.

The aforementioned tridrachms must have been the last silver coins that were issued in Potidaea. A. J. Alexander placed the initiation of the bronze coinage at the beginning of the Athenian siege. In 429 BC, the Athenians occupied Potidaea allowing, however, the citizens to abandon the city, who then searched for a shelter in other allied cities in Chalcidice, especially in Olynthus. According to Thucydides, they were allowed to take some amount of money with them⁸⁵ and the high number of bronze coins from Potidaea that were found in Olynthus, made Alexander support that the 3rd period of Potidaean coinage started exactly at the time when the Athenians imposed their blockade to the city⁸⁶. The bronze issues bore on the reverse the depiction of Pegasus, only this time without Bellerophon. With the capture of the city by Philip II (359 - 336 BC), in 356 BC, and its incorporation in the Macedonian kingdom the civic coinage of Potidaea came to an end.

⁸⁰ See: Errington 1990, 15-20; Bengtson 1991, 199-201.

⁸¹ For the Corinthian coinage see: Kraay 1976, 78-88.

⁸² Simon 1996, 78.

⁸³ See: Graves 2011, 252-256; also, Buxton 2005, 160-161; Tsagari 2011, 192-194.

⁸⁴ Kraay 1976, 85.

⁸⁵ Thucydides, II.70.

⁸⁶ Alexander 1953, 215-217.

1. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Dicaea was an Eretrian colony⁸⁷ with its precise location, however, not yet identified with certainty. Pliny mentioned the city after Therme⁸⁸, while in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* it was listed between Aenea and Potidaea⁸⁹. Taking these sources into consideration, the city should be placed somewhere between Aenea and Potidaea, but after Therme and certainly not south of Aenea, because Herodotus did not mention its name in the list of the cities from which Xerxes' navy passed collecting forces⁹⁰. Hence, it is possible that the city was located east of Aenea, more specifically, between Aenea and Therme⁹¹. I. Vokotopoulou enumerated some sites as potential candidates for Dicaea in the plain of Anthemus, as the *toumbes* of Trilophon, Neon Rysion, Hagia Paraskevi, and also the *toumba* of Gona at the airport of Thessaloniki; however, she believed that it was highly unlikely for the seafarers Eretrians to have chosen a place inland and not on the coastal area⁹². Hagia Paraskevi was also proposed by E. Voutiras and K. Sismanidis after the discovery in the area of an inscribed stele that bore the ethnic *Δικαιοπολίται*. Voutiras and Sismanidis, however, underlined the difficulty that this site would induce regarding the access to the sea, and they speculated that in this case the maritime commerce must have been undertaken through a port located in the mouth of Anthemous river or even through the port of the neighbouring city of Aenea, with which Dicaea had tight economic relations⁹³. Even though the historical information is scarce, we do know that the city belonged to the Athenian/Delian League where it is mentioned as a member from 454/453 BC⁹⁴ until 429/428 BC⁹⁵.

⁸⁷ See above p.9 n.12.

⁸⁸ Pliny, *Natural History*, IV.36.

⁸⁹ IG IV²,1.94.10-12.

⁹⁰ Herodotus, VII.123.

⁹¹ ATL I, 483. Also see: Tiverios 2008, 24-26.

⁹² Vokotopoulou 2001,745-746.

⁹³ Voutiras – Sismanidis 2007, 253-256.

⁹⁴ IG I³ 259.IV.19-20.

⁹⁵ IG I³ 282.II.55-56.

2. ANIMAL FIGURES ON THE COINAGE OF DICAEA

Dicaea started minting coins at the end of the 6th century BC following the “Euboic/Attic” standard, and it struck silver tetradrachms, tetrobols and some smaller fractions, as well as bronze issues⁹⁶. Three animal figures made their appearance on the coinage of Dicaea: the ox, the rooster and the cuttlefish. On the obverse of the tetradrachms, an ox was depicted with its head reverted and its rear foot lifted, scratching itself with its hoof and having a swallow sitting on top of its rump, while the reverse bore a cuttlefish⁹⁷ (fig.7). The tetrobols bore the same obverse type, with or without the bird sitting on the back of the cow⁹⁸, and some later issues bore just the head of a bull on the reverse⁹⁹ (fig.8); the lower denominations depicted an ox on the obverse, standing or just the forepart¹⁰⁰, and a cuttlefish on the reverse. Finally, Dicaea also minted tetrobols and smaller fractions with a rooster depicted on the obverse and a cuttlefish or a scallop shell on the reverse¹⁰¹ (fig.9). The bronze issues, minted in the first half of the 4th century BC, bore on the reverse either a standing bull or the forepart of a poking bull to the right¹⁰² (fig.10).

⁹⁶ AMNG III (2), 57-59.

⁹⁷ AMNG III (2), pl.XIII.24,27; also, Price – Waggoner 1975, 55.

⁹⁸ AMNG III (2), pl.XIII.16-17; SNG Ashmolean 2254; SNG Copenhagen 156; SNG ANS 241-242.

⁹⁹ Tsagari 2009, n.64.

¹⁰⁰ AMNG III (2), pl. XIII.25-26.

¹⁰¹ AMNG III (2), pl. XIII.19-20; SNG Ashmolean 2255; SNG ANS 243.

¹⁰² AMNG III (2), pl. XIII.22-23. The bull as a reverse type appears also on the silver and bronze coins of Aenea, which are dated from 424 BC until the reign of Philip II (359-336 BC). The animal was depicted standing, sometimes with its head reverted (See: AMNG III (2), 21-22; Robinson – Clement 1938, 268-270; SNG Ashmolean 2237; SNG Copenhagen 35; SNG ANS 74-75). The bull in this case could either be related to Athena, whose head appears on the obverse of some issues, since the goddess was known as the inventor of the plough, or it could be related to a myth, according to which Aeneas – the mythical founder – was led by a cow to the place where the city was meant to be built. (See: Maurus Servius Honoratus, *Commentary on the Aeneid of Vergil*, IV.402. Also, Stanley 1993, 13; Tsagari 2011, 215). However, Aenea’s location, on the southern shore of cape Mega Emvolon/Karaburnu, was not far from Dicaea. As mentioned above, the two cities seem to have had close economic relations as they were always mentioned together in the Athenian tribute lists; in fact, in one case, Dicaea’s payment included also Aenea’s share. (See: Voutiras – Sismanidis 2007, 254-255. For Aenea’s location: Vokotopoulou 1990, 13, Vokotopoulou 2001, 746). Thus, the bull on the coins of Aenea may have been influenced by Dicaea’s coins.

Dicaea	Tetradrachm	Tetrobol	Trihemiobol	Hemiobol	Bronze coins
<i>Ox/Bull</i>	+	+	+	+	+
<i>Swallow (on the ox)</i>	+	+			
<i>Cuttlefish</i>	+	+	+	+	
<i>Rooster</i>		+	+		

3. COMMENTARY

Dicaea is one of the cities that clearly projected its Euboic origins by adopting the iconographic types from Eretria, but also from the city of Carystus. The type of the ox and the cuttlefish derived directly from Eretria, which struck coins with the exact same depictions towards the end of the 6th century BC¹⁰³. The coins from Dicaea are distinguished from those of their mother-city, because the Eretrians used to inscribe the letter *E* on the obverse or reverse¹⁰⁴ (fig.11), while the ones from Dicaea had letters that pointed to the city, like the letters \perp ¹⁰⁵ (fig.7); as for the tetradrachms without the letter *E*, which instead bore a strange symbol, these have also been attributed to Dicaea¹⁰⁶. On a general note, the ox was related to fertility, especially in the early agricultural societies. The very name of Euboea (*Εὐβόια*, *Ev + βοις*, meaning the land of fine cattle¹⁰⁷) might have been the reason behind the choice of the Eretrians to depict an ox on their coins. It has also been suggested that the depiction of oxen, which was a rather frequent iconographic type, was just a resonance of the old habit of making transactions using cattle¹⁰⁸. Furthermore, the ox on the Eretrian issues has been related to the worship of Artemis Amarynthia, whose sanctuary was located near Eretria and became a religious centre for southern and central Euboea¹⁰⁹. Finally, the cow could also be associated with the myth of Io, the priestess of Hera, who attracted the erotic interest of Zeus and because of that was

¹⁰³ HN, 360-363; Seltman 1933, 83,84; Wallace 1962 38-42; Price – Waggoner 1975, 53-55; Kraay 1976, 91-92; Tsourti 1999, 15.

¹⁰⁴ Wallace 1962, 38-39; Price – Waggoner 1975, 54-55.

¹⁰⁵ AMNG III (2), pl. XIII.27.

¹⁰⁶ AMNG III (2), pl. XIII.24; Jenkins 1955, 136; Price – Waggoner 1975, 54-55.

¹⁰⁷ Pape 1898, 502.

¹⁰⁸ Seltman 1933, 84; see also, Kroll 2012, 33-34.

¹⁰⁹ Babelon 1907, 680-681; HN, 361;

transformed into a cow, either by Zeus in order to protect her from Hera's rage¹¹⁰, or by Hera herself as a punishment¹¹¹. Io's ordeal, however, did not stop there; the furious goddess sent a gadfly to sting Io and chase her all around the world. Albeit the myth usually brings Io finally in Egypt, where she gives birth to her son Epaphus¹¹², Strabo instead wrote that she gave birth in a cave located on a beach in the east coastal area of Euboea, which was named Boos (*Boός*); based on Strabo's narration, the island took its name from this cave¹¹³. If we follow this tradition, then there might also be an explanation for the bird that is sitting on the animal's rump; J. A. Blanchet suggested that the bird was the transformed Zeus who guided Hermes to the place where Hera had tethered Io¹¹⁴. However, the depiction of a bird sitting on an animal's rump was quite old and it was found in Eastern iconography too¹¹⁵, while it seems that most of the times the scene was inspired by images coming from nature¹¹⁶.

As for the cuttlefish on the reverse of the tetradrachms, tetrobols as well as on lower denominations, it seems that it was a well-known civic badge of Eretria¹¹⁷; Plutarch quoted Themistocles' phrase who mocked the Eretrians by comparing them with cuttlefish: "*what argument can ye make about war, who, like the cuttlefish, have a long pouch in the place where your heart ought to be?*"¹¹⁸. The use of the civic badge was generally a guarantee for the purity of the metal and weight¹¹⁹. Furthermore, as B. V. Head suggested, the cuttlefish was a marine symbol and hence it could be associated with Poseidon¹²⁰. Strabo informs us about two places in Euboea where the worship of Poseidon was established; the first was a city named Aegae, on the west side of the island, where there was a sanctuary dedicated to Poseidon Aegeus¹²¹, and the second was the city of Geraestos where there was a temple¹²². Apart from the ox and the cuttlefish, however, Dicaea struck tetrobols and smaller fractions with a rooster depicted on the obverse, a type that was

¹¹⁰ Apollodorus, *Library* II.1.3.

¹¹¹ Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods* III.

¹¹² Apollodorus, *Library* II.1.3.

¹¹³ Strabo, *Geography* X.I.3.

¹¹⁴ Blancher 1895, 167.

¹¹⁵ Elderkin 1926, 470; Boardman 1968, 125.

¹¹⁶ See further down p.29.

¹¹⁷ HN, 362; Seltman 1933, 84;

¹¹⁸ Plutarch, *Themistocles* XI.5.

¹¹⁹ Sutherland 1940, 66.

¹²⁰ Head 1884, lviii.

¹²¹ Strabo, *Geography* IX.II.13.

¹²² Strabo, *Geography* X.

copied, not from Eretria, but from the coinage of Carystus¹²³. It seems that the rooster was the civic badge of the latter city, a reference, maybe, to its very name (*κήρυξ* – *κάρυξ* from the verb *καρύσσω*) or it could have just been a solar emblem, a symbol of the forthcoming dawn¹²⁴. The fact that Dicaea used a type that derived from Carystus could be an indication of the presence of Carystians in the colony¹²⁵.

Eretria chose to depict on its coinage images that represented the rich husbandry of the island that provided self-sufficiency to its inhabitants, images that generally referred to the bucolic and peaceful daily interaction with nature, but also, what it seems to have been, the well-known emblem of their city. Dicaea that had a flourishing economy, certainly based primarily on agriculture, adopted the exact same types for its coins, using even the civic badges of Eretria and Carystus, something that can be considered an indication of their will to maintain and promote their Euboic “identity” and, at the same time, of their close relations and ties with their mother-city.

¹²³ HN, 356-367; Seltman 1933, 84; Kraay 1976, 92.

¹²⁴ Tsourti 1999, 16.

¹²⁵ Kraay 1976, 134.

1. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Mende was located on the west side of the peninsula of Pallene, approximately four kilometres east of the cape of Poseidi and 1.5 kilometres south-east of Kalandra¹²⁶, and it was founded by Eretrian colonists¹²⁷. The precise date of its foundation is not known but according to the excavator of the city, I. Vokotopoulou, it was definitely at a time long before the 8th century BC; the Submycenaean and Protogeometric pottery found at the site, which had close similarities with the contemporaneous one from Lefkanti, and the architectural remains at the sanctuary of Poseidon, point to a permanent settlement from as early as the 12th century BC. The ancient city stood on a flat area on top of a hill that bears traces of fortification walls, with an elevated point southeast of the city that was most probably the acropolis, which is known by the name *Vigla*; on the coastal side, there was a place that Thucydides referred to as the *Proasteion*¹²⁸, where excavations revealed several public buildings related to commercial activities. Finally, the sanctuary of Poseidon stood on the southern shore of the Poseidi promontory, which lies four kilometres west of Mende¹²⁹. The name of the city seems to have derived from the name of a wild species of spearmint that grows in the area even until nowadays, which the Eretrians used to call *minthe* (*μίνθη*), a yet another proof for the Eretrian origin of the colony since there was a place in Eretria called Minthous. However, the Mendaeans adopted the Macedonian pronunciation and the very first name of the city was *Minde* (*Μίνδη*), something that is also attested on the first coins¹³⁰, while from the 5th century BC onwards the name was changed to *Mende* (*Μένδη*)¹³¹.

Herodotus wrote that Mende provided ships to Xerxes's navy¹³², while after the Persian's retreat the city became a member of the Athenian/Delian League where it is recorded from 454/453 BC¹³³ until 415/414 BC¹³⁴, and it seems that their tribute was rather high reaching even

¹²⁶ Vokotopoulou 2001, 751.

¹²⁷ Thucydides, IV.123.

¹²⁸ Thucydides, IV.130.

¹²⁹ For the archaeological evidence see: Vokotopoulou 1988, 280-282; Vokotopoulou 1993, 399-410; Vokotopoulou 1994, 303-318; Vokotopoulou 1995, 443-450; Vokotopoulou 1997, 401-412; Vokotopoulou 2001, 752-755.

¹³⁰ AMNG III (2), 72-75.

¹³¹ Oikonomou 1924, 28-30; Vokotopoulou 2001, 751-752.

¹³² Herodotus, VII.123.

¹³³ IG I³ 259.III.15.

¹³⁴ IG I³ 290.III.10.

the 15 talents¹³⁵. Mende remained loyal to Athens, even during the Peloponnesian War, with the exception of a brief collaboration with other northern Greek cities, in 423 BC, which was led by the Spartan general Brasidas; it was not long after the aforementioned incident that Mende returned to the Athenian side¹³⁶. As it seems, the city did not join the Chalcidic Federation, as the Mendaeans were listed as enemies of the Chalcidians in the treaty between the latter and Amyntas III (393-370 BC)¹³⁷, while from Aristoteles we learn that at some point in the 4th century BC, Mende and Olynthus were in fact at war¹³⁸.

During the Archaic and Classical periods Mende became a very important city, something that can be deduced from the wide circulation of its coinage, from Egypt and Mesopotamia to Italy, and from the foundation of two colonies, Neapoli and Eion, in the Pangaeon district. The economy of the city was strong, which justifies the high tributes, and it was based both on agricultural and commercial activities. Mende was particularly famous for its wine that was praised by Demosthenes¹³⁹ and Athenaios¹⁴⁰, something that had a decisive effect on the commerce and the subsequent wealth of the city¹⁴¹. The intense commercial activities provided sufficient amounts of silver for the city to issue coins from the last quarter of the 6th century BC. Apart from some very early issues¹⁴², it seems that the main series started in ca.520 BC¹⁴³, and included tetradrachms, tetrobols, drachms¹⁴⁴, as well as lower denominations, following initially the “Euboic/Attic” weight standard and later, towards the beginning on the 4th century BC, the “Thraco-Macedonian”¹⁴⁵.

¹³⁵ Vokotopoulou 2001, 752.

¹³⁶ Thucydides, IV.123-130.

¹³⁷ Rhodes – Osborne 2003, n.12.

¹³⁸ Aristotle, *Oeconomica*, 1350a

¹³⁹ Demosthenes, 35.35.

¹⁴⁰ Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* I.29d-f, I.31a, IV.129d-e, IV.146e.

¹⁴¹ Tiverios 2008, 34-35. For the Mendaeian wine see: Papadopoulos – Paspalas 1999, 161-188.

¹⁴² Kraay 1976, n. 458.

¹⁴³ Price – Waggoner 1975, 45; Kraay 1976, 136.

¹⁴⁴ See: Tsagari 2009, n.76.

¹⁴⁵ Psoma 2000, 30.

2. ANIMAL FIGURES ON THE COINAGE OF MENDE

As far as the depiction of animals is concerned, the animal that predominated on the coins of Mende was the donkey, either alone or accompanied by Dionysus. Until approximately the mid-5th century BC, a standing ithyphallic donkey was depicted on the obverse of the tetradrachms and the tetrobols, sometimes with a crow sitting on its rump (fig.12, 13), while on the smaller denominations we find again a standing donkey (in a non-ithyphallic state), or the forepart of the animal, or even just its head and neck¹⁴⁶. On the tritemoria, a standing donkey was depicted on the obverse and a crow on the reverse¹⁴⁷, whereas there is also a tritemorion bearing the donkey on the obverse but a *kantharos* on the reverse¹⁴⁸. After ca. 460/450 BC¹⁴⁹, the ass remained on the obverse of the coins and it was depicted walking, in a non-ithyphallic state, but this time also god Dionysus was illustrated, sitting on its back in a reclined position and holding a *kantharos* or a *rheton* in his right hand¹⁵⁰ (fig.14); on some tetradrachms a crow appeared in front of the donkey (fig.15), while on some others a dog, walking below the animal, was also

¹⁴⁶ AMNG III (2), 72-75; Noe 1926, 6-12; Tsagari 2009, n.71,72. There is a silver tetrobol depicting on the obverse an ithyphallic standing ass with a kylix on its back, and an incuse square and the letters *KA* on the reverse; the coin was struck following the “Euboic/Attic” weight standard and is dated to ca. 480 BC (AMNG III (2), pl.XV.14; SNG Copenhagen 146; SNG ANS 228). The reverse stamp was the one used for some issues of Mende and the iconographic type was similar to the Mendaeian coins, something that led to the reasonable conclusion that the tetrobols derived from a city located on the Chalcidic peninsula, which might even have been a colony of Mende. It has often been proposed that these coins came from Kampsia, a city mentioned by Herodotus (Herodotus, VII.123.2), which is generally considered to be the home of the Skapsaians. In this case, however, we encounter the linguistic problem whether the words Kampsia- and Skapsia- are the same; furthermore, the discovery in Olynthus of a bronze coin with the inscribed ethnic *ΣΚΑΨΑΙ* and completely different types, namely the head of Apollo on the obverse and a lion on the reverse, leads to the dissociation of Kampsia from Skapsaians (See: Flensted-Jensen 1997, 122-125).

¹⁴⁷ AMNG III (2), pl.XVI n.1; SNG Copenhagen 205; SNG ANS 354-358.

¹⁴⁸ Tsagari 2009, n.75.

¹⁴⁹ The change of the type on the obverse, with the addition of god Dionysus reclining on the donkey, is believed to have happened in ca. the mid-5th century BC. An initial suggestion was that the beginning of the new series started after a break that occurred due to the Athenian Coinage Decree in 449 BC, however, apart from the fact that the date of the Decree is not certain, the discovery of a coin in Gela that was overstruck upon a coin from Mende with the type of Dionysus, sets a *terminus ante quem* to around 440 BC. Also, J. Kagan associated the dog, depicted underneath the donkey on the tetradrachms, with that on the octadrachms of Alexander I and dated the beginning of the new series in Mende to ca. 460 BC, a date also suggested by C. M. Kraay who followed a similar reasoning (See: Kraay 1976, 137; Kagan 2014, 3-4; also, for Alexander I and his octadrachm: Kraay 1976, 142-143, n. 496).

¹⁵⁰ AMNG III (2), 75-76; Noe 1926, 12-33; Tsagari 2009, n.73.

added¹⁵¹ (fig.16). There are also some tetrobols depicting on the obverse, again, a standing ass, but this time accompanied by a Silenos who is standing right beside it; the reverse depicts a crow¹⁵² (fig.17). After 405 BC, the ithyphallic donkey with the crow reappeared on the tetradrachms as a reverse type, while on diobols the animal was depicted non-ithyphallic on the obverse; finally, there is a drachm dated to this period that bears on the obverse Dionysus with a *kantharos* in his hand, reclining on an ass¹⁵³.

Mende	Tetradrachm	Drachm	Tetrobol	Diobol	Tritemorion	Hemiobol	Tetartemorion
Donkey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Crow (on the donkey or in front of it)	+		+				
Crow (reverse type)			+		+		
Dog (underneath the donkey)	+						

3. COMMENTARY

It is obvious that Mende did not follow the types of its mother-city Eretria, which used completely different iconography. Instead, the Mendaeans decided to praise through their coins the god with the help of whom acquired their wealth through the production of their famous wine. Dionysus was a pre-Hellenic god¹⁵⁴ of cultivation and especially viniculture, who made his

¹⁵¹ AMNG III (2), XV.29; SNG Ashmolean, n.2299; Tsagari 2009, n.73

¹⁵² AMNG III (2), pl.XV.27; SNG Ashmolean 2307; SNG Copenhagen 210-212; SNG ANS 352 & 353; Tsagari 2009, n.74.

¹⁵³AMNG III (2), pl.XVI.8,9; SNG ANS 379, 380-381; Kraay 1976, 137 & pl.25.464; Tsagari 2009, n.76.

¹⁵⁴ Ventris – Chadwick 1959, 127.

way into the kingdom of the Olympians as the son of Zeus and Semele¹⁵⁵, and he was the one who gifted the vines and the secrets of wine production to human race¹⁵⁶. That is the reason for the popularity of his cult in places whose economies relied significantly on wine, such as the islands of the Aegean; in Kea, the discovery of a sanctuary dedicated to Dionysus provided evidence that are dated to the 15th century BC¹⁵⁷. As for Mende, there is no similar evidence, yet the fact that it was a most famous centre of wine production and the very existence of the coins, leave absolutely no doubt that the worship of Dionysus was well-established in the city.

The donkey, which prevailed as a sole type until the mid-5th century BC and then it was depicted carrying Dionysus, was closely related to the Dionysiac cult; according to a myth, the god, along with Hephaestus and the Satyrs, fought against the Giants riding a donkey whose yowls scared away the foes¹⁵⁸. There is also a story, described by Pausanias, of a donkey in Nauplion that nibbled the shoots of the vines, creating in this way a more plenteous crop; the people then carved the depiction of an ass on a rock, exactly because they learned the pruning of vines from the animal¹⁵⁹. Let us also not forget that the god himself was depicted on pottery riding a donkey¹⁶⁰ (fig.18), while the depiction of Hephaestus' return to Olympus on an ass led by Dionysus, was rather famous too¹⁶¹; on a red-figure oenochoe with the same scene, both gods appear riding the animal¹⁶². The donkey was also closely related to the Silenoi¹⁶³, the companions of Dionysus who had ears, tail and hoofs of a horse, and who seem to have had a significant role in the preparation of the wine, since there are depictions of them harvesting and stomping grapes¹⁶⁴ (fig.19). The Silenoi, too, were depicted together with donkeys¹⁶⁵, which means that

¹⁵⁵ Hesiod, *Theogonia* 940-942; Euripides, *Bacchai* 1-10.

¹⁵⁶ Hesiod, *The Shield of Heracles* 395; Euripides, *Bacchai* 650, 770. For Dionysus and his cult see: Simon 1996, 267-290; Burkert 1985, 161-167; Farnell 2010d, 85-149.

¹⁵⁷ Caskey 1964, 315-335.

¹⁵⁸ Eratosthenes, *Catasterismoi* I.11.

¹⁵⁹ Pausanias, *Description of Greece* II.38.3.

¹⁶⁰ For example: Beazley 1956, p.530 n.83; Beazley 1971, 263; Carpenter 1986, pl.23.B; Boorman 1974, fig.181.

¹⁶¹ For example: Boorman 1974, fig.46.7

¹⁶² For example: Beazley 1963, p.1249 n.12.

¹⁶³ Silenos and Satyr were two different names describing basically the same creature. From ca. the 7th until the 5th centuries BC, it seems that the companions of Dionysus were called Silenoi, while starting from the 5th century BC evidence – especially from the red-figure pottery – shows that they were called Satyrs, and Silenos became just one the many Satyrs (the eldest one); from the mid-4th century BC the two words became synonyms (See: Carpenter 1986, 76-79).

¹⁶⁴ For example: Carpenter 1986, pl.20.A-B.

¹⁶⁵ For example: LIMC VIII (2), pl.57-59, 62-68.

they had an independent relation with them, something that has been correlated with the lustful nature of the donkeys, which befits that of the Silenoi who share the same characteristic¹⁶⁶. Hence, it is not at all surprising that a Silenos made his appearance next to a donkey on some tetrobols; in fact, there are some pottery depictions where a Silenos is depicted beside the animal, just as on the Mendaeian coins¹⁶⁷ (fig.20).

The fact that on the earlier issues the donkey was depicted in an ithyphallic state, is directly connected with the context of the Dionysiac cult and the great importance of the various phallic rituals¹⁶⁸ that were related to the god's association with fertility¹⁶⁹; the ithyphallic state of the animal also highlights the similarities and connection with the Silenoi, who were in many cases depicted also with sexual arousal¹⁷⁰ (fig.19). A. M. Knoblauch suggested, however, another explanation for the donkey; he claimed that the animal is Dionysus himself in a zoomorphic appearance, just as the owl on the Athenian coins that in some cases is interpreted as the goddess herself. Knoblauch supported that the god did not make his appearance on the coins of northern Greece until the late 5th century BC, and hence the people would identify in depictions such as the one in Mende the god himself¹⁷¹. Such a suggestion though, makes his later appearance on the donkey unreasonable, something that made Knoblauch identify the reclining figure as Hephaestus¹⁷². However, the depiction on the Mendaeian coins shows no similarities with other depictions of Hephaestus who was never illustrated reclining on the animal¹⁷³; on the other hand, Dionysus was very often depicted in a reclined position¹⁷⁴, while at the same time the figure on the Mendaeian coins is holding either a *kantharos* or a *rhyton* that were the vases with which Dionysus was, almost always, depicted¹⁷⁵. Furthermore, the identification of the ithyphallic ass as Dionysus is flawed, for the depiction of the god in an ithyphallic state was not common whatsoever¹⁷⁶. The figure on the donkey was also identified as a Silenos¹⁷⁷, something that is equally unreasonable since first of all, it has none of the typical characteristics of Silenos'

¹⁶⁶ Hedreen 1992, 16-17.

¹⁶⁷ For example: LIMC VIII (2), pl.58a; Beazley 1963, p.77 n.86, p.1015 n.23.

¹⁶⁸ Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 260-261; Farnell 2010d, 197.

¹⁶⁹ Lloyd 1994, 220-221.

¹⁷⁰ For example: Carpenter 1986, pl.19.A-B, pl.20.A-B, pl.23.B; Hedreen 1992, 17.

¹⁷¹ Knoblauch 1998, 157-158.

¹⁷² Knoblauch 1998, 159.

¹⁷³ For example: Boarman 1974, fig.46.7, 65.

¹⁷⁴ For example: Carpenter 1986, pl.25, 26, 31.

¹⁷⁵ Few example: Carpenter 1986, pl.11.A-B, 12.B, 13, 14.A-B, 17, 19.B, 21, 24, 25, 27, 30.A-B, 31,32.

¹⁷⁶ Larson 2007, 130.

¹⁷⁷ MacDonald 1905, 108.

appearance and second, a Silenos also made his appearance on the tetrobols of the same period in a completely different type. The context of this paper does not allow a further investigation on this topic, however, I will take as granted that the male figure depicted on the coins of Mende is indeed god Dionysus, because any other suggestion is just not convincing enough.

Regarding the bird that is depicted sole in few issues as a reverse type but mostly on the obverse, sitting on the donkey's rump and most of the times plucking the animal's tail, the suggestions for its meaning have been various, yet there is nothing definite so far. First of all, it was not always recognised as a crow; K. Regling identified it as a starling, because these birds have the habit of removing the parasites from the back of the animals¹⁷⁸. However, most of the researchers agreed in its identification as a crow, based on the shape of the bird as it appears on the coins. S. P. Noe went further and contradicted Reglin's suggestion, by claiming that he himself had seen crows behaving in the same way as the starlings, namely sitting on animals and removing parasites from their backs something that creates great satisfaction to the animals¹⁷⁹. The question, however, of why the Mendaeans decided to depict the crow in association with Dionysus remains still. Some researchers, as B. V. Head and G. MacDonald, suggested that the depiction referred to an unknown to us, forgotten myth¹⁸⁰. G. P. Oikonomou wrote that the crow is not only pecking the donkey's rump with a view to acquire food, but this action is in fact responsible for the ithyphallic state of the animal and, in this way, it is connected with Dionysus¹⁸¹. J. Kagan on the other hand, proposed that we should also consider two other types of birds that belong to the same family as the crow, namely the jay and magpie, which both had the same name during the Byzantine period: *κίττα* in the Attic dialect and *κίσσα* in the Ionian dialect. The resemblance of the name with that of the ivy (*κισσός*), which was the sacred plant of Dionysus, the very shape of the birds that assimilates the crow, and the fact that they all share the same behaviours, made Kagan believe that the bird on Mende's coins is either a jay or a magpie¹⁸²; as a matter of fact, jay was mentioned as a scared bird of Dionysus¹⁸³.

The crow was also considered to be sacred to Apollo¹⁸⁴, however, the connection between the two gods in the case of Mende is rather problematic, even though they generally shared common worship in some important sanctuaries. At Delphi, every two years Dionysus

¹⁷⁸ Regling 1924, 12.

¹⁷⁹ Noe 1926, 62-63.

¹⁸⁰ HN, 211; MacDonald 1905, 108.

¹⁸¹ Oikonomou 1924, 30-31.

¹⁸² Kagan 2014, 23-25.

¹⁸³ Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae compendium* 30.

¹⁸⁴ For example: LIMC II (2), pl.351; Boardman 2001c, fig.127.

became the Lord of the sanctuary for the winter months, when Apollo used to depart for the land of the Hyperboreans, and at that period the Thyiades – followers of Dionysus – honoured him with dancing rituals on top of mount Parnassos; celebrations honouring Dionysus took place also in Delos. Furthermore, the god was very fond of the mythical priest of Apollo in Delos, Anius, to the daughters of whom – the Oinotropes – he gifted the ability to transform everything into bread, oil or wine¹⁸⁵. If this shared worship of the two Olympian brothers in two of the most important Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries could mean that they shared worship in Mende as well, could only remain a speculation. An interesting suggestion was also made by G. W. Elderkin, who wrote that the crow should perhaps be interpreted as the guide of Dionysus in his arrival in Mende. According to Callimachus, Apollo sent a crow to guide the people in the newly founded city of Libya¹⁸⁶, while from Herodotus we learn that Aristeas was transformed into a crow when he accompanied Apollo on his visit to Metapontium¹⁸⁷; hence, Elderkin suggested that the crow on Mende's coins was a remembrance of Dionysus' exultant arrival in the city¹⁸⁸. Finally, maybe we should turn our attention to Mende's mother-city, Eretria. First of all, if we associate the crow with Apollo, it is worth mentioning that his worship was attested in Eretria¹⁸⁹; second, maybe the answer is hidden in Eretria's obverse type, namely the ox with a swallow sitting on its rump¹⁹⁰. Could it be that Mende had taken this image, that is to say, an animal with a bird on it, and readjusted it in order to fit the daily scenery of their own land where, as Noe informed us, the scene of crows sitting on animals' backs, including donkeys, was a rather common scene? Could it be that they chose to advertise their famous and lucrative wine production by depicting the donkey as an allusion to Dionysus, but at the same time they wished to keep a trait deriving from the city of their origin? Unfortunately, none of the aforementioned suggestions can be certain and all we can do for the moment is speculate.

As for the dog that appeared walking below the donkey that carried Dionysus on some tetradrachms, J. Kagan underlined its similarity with the dog depicted on Alexander I's octadrachms¹⁹¹ that are dated to the same period; this led Kagan to suggest that the Mendaeans tetradrachms with the dog were the earliest issues of the series with Dionysus, although he did not proceed with further explanation on why the Mendaeans copied the type; it could be, as he

¹⁸⁵ Simon 1999, 288-289; Georgiadis 2001, 65.

¹⁸⁶ Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo* 55-68.

¹⁸⁷ Herodotus, IV.15.

¹⁸⁸ Elderkin 1926, 470.

¹⁸⁹ Strabo, *Geography* I.1.10.

¹⁹⁰ Kraay 1976, 91-91.

¹⁹¹ Tsagari 2009, n.13.

stated, an homage to the Macedonian king or maybe just a more playful version of Alexander's type¹⁹². The information regarding the reign of Alexander I (498 - 454 BC) after 479 BC is quite poor, but in overall, we do know that after the Persians' retreat the Macedonian kingdom gained much profit and started expanding significantly. Alexander I, if we trust Herodotus' words, even though he was obliged to obey the Great King's desires during his expedition in Greece, he proved to have been of a great assistance to the Greeks. This, along with the constant fear of a potential return of the Persians, could have created a positive attitude from the part of the local communities and the Greek cities of the North towards Alexander I¹⁹³; therefore, the suggestion of Kagan for an homage to Alexander I could be valid.

Finally, I would like to mention a tetradrachm that has been attributed to Mende and is dated between 500-480 BC¹⁹⁴ (fig.21). The rare coin depicts an animal combat scene; a lion gripped on a donkey that is kneeling under the weight of the predator with its neck raised, maybe on a last effort to escape. The scene is rather vivid, and it was all but unknown; three other cities in Chalcidice, namely Skione, Acanthus and Stageira had similar depictions. The only difference is that in the latter cases, the pray of the lion is not a donkey, but a stag, a bull and a boar accordingly. The depiction of the lion devouring its pray seems to have derived from the East and it was quite old in Greece. Apart from the specimen that belongs to the Alpha Bank Collection, there was another one in the Asyut hoard that Price and Waggoner had identified as an Acanthian issue¹⁹⁵, probably because they were misled by the depiction and confused the donkey with a bull¹⁹⁶. The absence of an inscription that would help with the identification of the mint makes the case problematic but based on similarities on the technique and the iconographic type between these two coins and the ones from the three Chalcidian cities that were mentioned above, it is safe to assume that their origin was from the same geographical region, something that can also be supported by their very weight. In his relevant article, P. Tselekas makes no mention of Mende as a possible candidate for the minting of this issue, yet he suggests that the similarities of the four types might mean that the artist who created the depictions worked for all four mints¹⁹⁷.

Mende's prosperity ceased after its integration to the Macedonian kingdom in the mid-4th century BC. The city flourished significantly in the Archaic and Classical periods, something that

¹⁹² Kagan 2014, 4.

¹⁹³ Sprawski 2010, 138-143.

¹⁹⁴ Psoma 2006, 69; Tsagari 2009, n.70.

¹⁹⁵ Price –Waggoner 1975, n.166.

¹⁹⁶ Tselekas 2000, 52.

¹⁹⁷ Tselekas 2000, 51-52.

was mostly due to the great production of fine wine that boosted the exportations. Therefore, the inhabitants of the city chose not to follow the iconographic tradition of their mother-city, Eretria, but instead they wished to advertise their great economic success and their “national” product; what would be a better way of doing it so, than selecting types directly related to the god under the auspices of whom all this success was possible.

THE ANDRIAN COLONIES OF ACANTHUS AND STAGEIRA

1. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

i. Acanthus

The restless spirit of the cunning seafarers and businessmen from the island of Andros, had as a result their participation in the colonisation of the Chalcidice. The Andrians settled mainly in the east part of the Chalcidic peninsula, something that was reasonable if we take into consideration that the western parts were occupied by the Euboeans. Acanthus was founded in the mid-7th century BC¹⁹⁸ by Andrian colonists¹⁹⁹ or, if we trust Plutarch, by Andrians in cooperation with Chalcidians²⁰⁰. According to Plutarch, however, this cooperation between the two peoples resulted in a conflict, which was resolved with the arbitration of the Erythraeans, the Samians and the Parians who favoured the Andrians; from then on, Acanthus became their most important colony.

The name of the city was most probably related to the abundant presence of the plant *acanthos* in the area²⁰¹. Acanthus' very location was of great importance; it was a significant port situated in a region with fertile land, dense forests and rich mineral resources, whereas the citizens had the control over the entrance to the third prong of the Chalcidice, Athos. Furthermore, the city was near the canal dug by Xerxes in the narrowest part of Athos²⁰² with a view to avoid the hazardous circumference of Athos that had proved to be catastrophic for

¹⁹⁸ Panayotou 1991, 127; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 93; Graham 2001, 224; Vokotopoulou 2001, 760. Albeit most of the scholars accepted the foundation date given by Eusebius, namely on the 31st Olympiad (ca. 655-654 BC), D. W. Bradeen suggested a later date, in ca. 635 BC, since he believed that Eusebius' chronology was based on a forty-year generation (See: Bradeen 1952, 378).

¹⁹⁹ Thucydides, IV.84.1; Diodorus Siculus, *Library*, XII.68.56.

²⁰⁰ Plutarch, *Aetia Graeca* 30. According to N. M. Kontoleon, the cooperation between the Andrians and the Chalcidians must have occurred after the Lelantine War and the subsequent enfeeblement of Eretria, for before that period Eretria was the one that used to provide ships to Chalcis for its colonisation movements, since the Chalcidians did not have their own navy (See: Kontoleon 1963, 21-24). Furthermore, as M. Tiverios observed, the cooperation between the Chalcidians and the Andrians must not have been haphazard; before the Lelantine War, Andros was most probably under Eretria's thrall and the latter's defeat resulted in the independence of the Andrians; therefore, it was only logical for Chalcis to cooperate with a city whose feelings against their everlasting rivals were not friendly (see: Tiverios 2008, 50-51).

²⁰¹ Dimitsas 1896, 610.

²⁰² Herodotus, VII. 22-24; for the topography of the canal built by Xerxes see also: Isserlin 1997, 215-218.

Mardonios back in 492 BC²⁰³, and hence it became a very important base for the Persian army²⁰⁴. According to Herodotus, the Acanthians provided rich hospitality to Xerxes' army in 480 BC, for which they were rewarded with a gift from the Great King²⁰⁵. After the Persians' retreat, the city became a member of the Athenian/Delian League and it is recorded in the tribute lists from 450/449 BC²⁰⁶ until 429/428 BC²⁰⁷. In 424 BC, Brasidas arrived in Acanthus and shortly after the citizens revolted against Athens²⁰⁸; in fact, according to Diodorus Siculus, it was the first city to revolt against the Athenians²⁰⁹. In the Peace of Nikias, Acanthus was declared autonomous and it was decided to pay the tribute that had been arranged by Aristeides²¹⁰. It seems that the Acanthians never became members of the Chalcidic Federation, since Xenophon informs us that in 382 BC the citizens sent envoys to Sparta in order to seek assistance for the expansion of the Olynthians²¹¹, while they are also listed amongst the enemies of the Chalcidians in the treaty with Amyntas III (393 - 370 BC)²¹². Finally, in the mid-4th century BC, Acanthus was incorporated in the Macedonian kingdom, yet it seems that it was not destructed by Philip II (359 - 336 BC)²¹³.

W. M. Leake was the first to identify ancient Acanthus with the hill where the old village of Ierissos stood²¹⁴ – destroyed by an earthquake in 1932²¹⁵ – however, until 1994 the research included only field surveys and some trial trenches that had revealed the remains of fortification walls and the existence of few public buildings²¹⁶. Systematic excavations started at the site from 1994 onwards, and uncovered more parts of the walls, traces of more buildings and even the remains of a temple on the highest hill of the city, all dated to the Classical and Hellenistic phases of the city²¹⁷. On the other hand, the cemetery of Acanthus, situated near the coast, was excavated since 1973; it was a large necropolis occupying approximately six hectares and it was

²⁰³ Herodotus, VI.45.

²⁰⁴ Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 99.

²⁰⁵ Herodotus, VII.116.

²⁰⁶ IG I³ 263.III.34.

²⁰⁷ IG I³ 282.II.13.

²⁰⁸ Thucydides, IV.84-88.

²⁰⁹ Diodorus Siculus, *Library*, XII.67.2.

²¹⁰ Thucydides, V.18.

²¹¹ Xenophon, *Hellenica* V.2.11-18.

²¹² Rhodes – Osborne 2003, n.12.

²¹³ Robinson – Clement 1938, 262-263.

²¹⁴ Leake 1835, 147.

²¹⁵ Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1988, 295.

²¹⁶ See: *ArchDelt* 39 (1984), 223; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1988, 295-304.

²¹⁷ See: Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1997b, 297-313; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 100-105.

used from the archaic period until the 7th century AD²¹⁸. The numerous amphorae that were found there and that were used as urns for children's burials were significant finds, as they were products not only of Acanthus, but also of Amphipolis, Thasos, Chios, Samos and even Corinth and Laconia²¹⁹, something that is rather illuminating as far as the commercial contacts of the city are concerned. Apart from the amphorae, Clazomenian and other Ionian clay sarcophagi show contacts with Asia Minor²²⁰, while the burial offerings included ceramic products deriving from workshops of Corinth, East Greece, Attica, Cyclades, as well as Boeotia and Laconia²²¹. The strategic location of Acanthus, the busy port, the fertile land, the abundant timber and the available mineral resources, allowed the citizens to prosper from the very beginning of the city's existence, something that was projected on the rich coin production.

ii. Stageira

The second Andrian colony in eastern Chalcidice was the city of Stageira, founded from Andrian colonists in the same year as Acanthus²²². In 1968, the Ephor of Antiquities Photios Petsas made a field survey and few trial trenches at the promontory of Liotopi – 500 meters SE of Olympiada – and suggested that the site should be identified with ancient Stageira²²³; however, systematic excavations in the city started only 20 years later, in 1990²²⁴. The excavations revealed that the city occupied both hills of the promontory, namely the northern littoral one on which the earliest settlement stood, and the southern hill towards which the city expanded in the Classical period; both hills were protected by a wall²²⁵. Just like Acanthus, Stageira too had an important harbour that, according to Strabo, was named *Kapros* (i.e. boar); Strabo also wrote that there was an island near the city that had the exact same name²²⁶. The only island that exists in the area is the so-called Kafkanas, located 1.5 miles away from the ancient city²²⁷. The

²¹⁸ See: Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1988, 297; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1997, 413-416; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 106-111.

²¹⁹ Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 108-109.

²²⁰ Vokotopoulou 2001, 761.

²²¹ Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1999, 1197-1217.

²²² Thucydides, IV.88.2, V.6.1.

²²³ *ArchDelt* 24 (1969) B2, 309.

²²⁴ Sismanidis 1993, 375-377.

²²⁵ Flensted-Jensen 2004, 844.

²²⁶ Strabo, *Geography* VII fr.33.

²²⁷ Sismanidis 2003, 8-13.

excavations in the city brought to light the fortification walls, the remains of Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic houses, public buildings, a water pipe, as well as two sanctuaries, all indications of a vivid and wealthy city²²⁸.

Stageira was particularly famous in antiquity – as well as in our days – for it was the birthplace of the renowned philosopher Aristotle. Herodotus made a brief reference to the city in his narration of Xerxes’s passage from the area²²⁹, while after the Persian Wars Stageira became a member of the Athenian/Delian League, where it is recorded from 454/453 BC²³⁰ until 429/428 BC²³¹. In 424 BC, following the example of Acanthus, it revolted against Athens²³² and later, in the Peace of Nikias, the city was proclaimed independent²³³. As it seems, Stageira became a member of the Chalcidic Federation²³⁴, whereas in 349 BC it was destroyed by Philip II (359 - 336 BC)²³⁵; however, the Macedonian king rebuilt the city and restored the people that had been exiled earlier, something that was most probably an honourable gesture towards Aristotle, who was the tutor of his son Alexander III (356 – 323 BC)²³⁶.

2. ANIMAL FIGURES ON THE COINAGE OF ACANTHUS & STAGEIRA

i. Acanthus

Acanthus started minting coins in the last two decades of the 6th century BC²³⁷ and ceased in the mid-4th century BC²³⁸. The mint of Acanthus was one of the most important in the

²²⁸ Sismanidis 1998, 141-148.

²²⁹ Herodotus, VII.115.2.

²³⁰ IG I³ 259.I.14.

²³¹ IG I³ 282.II.10.

²³² Thucydides, IV.88.2.

²³³ Thucydides, V.18.

²³⁴ Dio Chrysostom, 47.9.

²³⁵ Plutarch, *Alexander* VII.3; Hatzopoulos 1996, 190-191; Hammond – Griffith 2007, 226.

²³⁶ Plutarch, *Alexander* VII.3; Sismanidis 1998, 140.

²³⁷ AMNG III (2), 23; Babelon 1907, 1166; Seltman 1933, 141; Desneux 1949, 23-29; Kraay 1976, 135; Tsagari 2009, p.75.

²³⁸ J. Desneux, following H. Gaebler, placed the end of coinage in Acanthus in 380 BC (See: Desneux 1949, 29-31). J. M. F. Max, on the other hand, proposed a date somewhere between 395-382 BC, when the Chalcidic Federation was at its maximum strength (See: Max 1950, 158). Finally, C. M. Kraay suggested that the second quarter of the 4th century BC was a more suitable date, since late Acanthian tetradrachms were discovered in Olynthus in hoards that

Chalcidic peninsula, with large production of coins that circulated widely, from Egypt, Syria and Persia in the East, to Sicily in the West²³⁹. Initially, the city followed the “Euboic/Attic” weight standard, however, around the third quarter of the 5th century BC, the weight of the stater was reduced to approximately 14.20 gr., following the “Thraco-Macedonian” standard²⁴⁰. The abandonment of the “Euboic/Attic” standard is suggested to have happened either due to the revolt of the Acanthians against Athens in 424 BC²⁴¹ or, according to C. M. Kraay, due to the implementation of the Athenian Coinage Decree, or even because the Acanthians simply wanted to be consistent with the prevalent coinage of the Chalcidic Federation, which had adopted the “Thraco-Macedonian” standard before 420 BC²⁴². J. M. F. Max also suggested that Acanthus may have followed the examples of Abdera and Maroneia that used the “Thraco-Macedonian” weight standard for many years²⁴³.

Acanthus struck tetradrachms, tetrobols and lower denominations. On the obverse of the tetradrachms, the city chose to depict the combat between a lion – or in some cases a lioness²⁴⁴ – and a bull (fig.22). The two animals are illustrated to the right or left, facing opposite directions, with the feline being on the bull in a mortal embrace, having its jaws and claws jabbed into the bull’s rump and neck respectively, a scene particularly vivid that emphasizes the strength of the predator²⁴⁵. J. Desneux, based on similarities with Alexander I’s octadrachms dated the

had been buried in 348 BC, while one other hoard included Acanthian coins in association with silver issues of Philip II (359 - 336 BC) (See: Kraay 1976, 136 & notes 1-2).

²³⁹ Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 97-98.

²⁴⁰ AMNG III (2), 27; Desneux 1949, 29-31; Kraay 1976, 136-137.

²⁴¹ Seltman 1933, 141; Desneux 1949, 23.

²⁴² Kraay 1976, 136.

²⁴³ Max 1950, 157.

²⁴⁴ Desneux 1949, n.16-21; Price – Waggoner 1975, n.153-158.

²⁴⁵ AMNG III (2), pl.VI.6-19, pl.VII.1-10; SNG Ashmolean 2195-2204; SNG Copenhagen 1-2, 14-15; SNG ANS 1-15; Tsagari 2009, n.95,99. Of a great interest is the fact that in the earliest phase, the tetradrachms presented in total 92 obverse dies (See: Kraay 1976, 135; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 98). In his article “Les Tétradrachmes d’Akanthos”, J. Desneux gave an exhaustive description of the various postures and different attitudes of the lion and the bull on the tetradrachms of the first period (See Desneux 1949, 46-109). O. Picard in his article, “Le Lion et Taureau sur les Monnaies d’Acanthe”, characterised this very first period of Acanthus’ coinage as a cyclical return of the same variants, since same attitudes reappeared on the coins at different times. Picard also underlined that Desneux’s description, albeit very thorough, does not always allow one to distinguish the succession of the various attitudes and the repetition of the same types in certain periods, nor does it offer a clear distinction of the chronological evolution of the style and technique of the coins, hence he proceeded with the creation of a catalogue that presented in a chronological order the cycles with the various types and the symbols that were engraved on the exergue; Picard claimed that the relation between certain attitudes of the two animals and the symbols on the

Acanthian tetradrachms, bearing on the obverse the symbol of the rosette (or *theta*), and few rare issues with the inscribed letters *A* and *AKAN* before 480 BC, while the issues with the whole ethnic (*AKANΘION*) inscribed on the reverse after 480 BC²⁴⁶. On the other hand, M. Price and N. Waggoner dated the tetradrachms with the rosette and the letters *A* and *AKAN* after 480 BC, and the issues with the whole ethnic to ca. 460 BC²⁴⁷. The same dating was suggested also by J. M. F. Max who, taking into consideration the scarcity of the tetradrachms in the period between 480-424 BC – which was defined by Desneux as the second period of coinage²⁴⁸ – proposed that the first period should be a little longer²⁴⁹.

The lion and the bull appeared separately also on the obverse of the lower denominations, namely on tetrobols, obols and hemiobols, where only the forepart of the animal was depicted; thus, there are tetrobols depicting the forepart of a kneeling bull with reverted head²⁵⁰ (fig.23), the forepart of a lion/lioness²⁵¹ (fig.24), as well as obols and hemiobols with the head of a bull or a lion/lioness²⁵².

Acanthus	Tetradrachm	Tetrobol	Obol	Hemiobol
<i>Lion/Lioness</i>	+	+	+	+
<i>Bull</i>	+	+	+	

ii. Stageira

Stageira also started minting silver coins from the end of the 6th century BC²⁵³, following the “Euboic/Attic” weight standard. The early uninscribed tetradrachms of the city bore an animal combat on the obverse, just as the one from Acanthus, but Stageira depicted a lion

exergue was not haphazard whatsoever, nor was it the result of the engravers’ creativity but, instead, it was a deliberate administrative choice that allowed the city to control the succession of the issues. (See: Picard 1989, 226-231).

²⁴⁶ Desneux 1949, 24-29.

²⁴⁷ Price – Waggoner 1975, 41-42.

²⁴⁸ Desneux 1949, 23-31.

²⁴⁹ Max 1950, 157.

²⁵⁰ SNG Ashmolean 2207-2215; SNG Copenhagen 4-6, 16-21; SNG ANS 16-17; Tsagari 2009, n.96, 100.

²⁵¹ SNG Ashmolean 2205-2206; SNG Copenhagen 7-8; SNG ANS 18-23; Tsagari 2009, n.97.

²⁵² AMNG III (2), pl.VI.8-9; SNG Ashmolean 2219, 2221-2222; SNG Copenhagen 3, 9-10.

²⁵³ AMNG III (2), 110; Price – Waggoner 1975, 43; Tsagari 2009 p.75.

against a boar²⁵⁴ (fig.25). Apart from the tetradrachms, the city also struck didrachms and tetrobols; these had the depiction of just a boar, standing on the didrachms²⁵⁵ (fig.26) and walking – or just the forepart – on the tetrobols²⁵⁶ (fig.27).

Stageira	Tetradrachm	Didrachm	Tetrobol
<i>Lion</i>	+		
<i>Boar</i>	+	+	+

3. COMMENTARY

i. Acanthus

It is apparent that both colonies of Andros did not follow the iconographic types of their mother-city where the coins depicted an amphora or god Dionysus²⁵⁷. The scene of the lion attacking a bull was in fact rather old and had eastern origins; the first examples of such scenes come from the 4th millennia BC and are connected with Mesopotamia²⁵⁸. For example, two seals from ancient Elam depicted a young bull attacked by two lions²⁵⁹ and a lioness²⁶⁰ respectively, while a cylinder found in the tomb of Queen Shubad in ancient Ur depicted multiple combats between lions and bulls²⁶¹. Behind these depictions one should not seek a universal symbolism; such conceptions were not common in the artistic expression of the East and, according to J. Desneux, the numerous representations of lions simply derived from their abundant appearance in nature and the pastoral habits of the people, something that can also be deduced by the thoroughgoing sobriety of the illustrations on seals²⁶².

The type of the lion attacking another animal passed from the Near East to Greece where it was particularly cherished, especially in sculpture; amongst few examples are the

²⁵⁴ Tsagari 2009, n.103.

²⁵⁵ SNG ANS 733-735; Tsagari 2009, n.104.

²⁵⁶ AMNG III (2), pl.XXVI.16; Tsagari 2009, n.105. See also: Gaebler 1930, 294-304.

²⁵⁷ Babelon 1907, 1276; Tsagari 2007, n.140.

²⁵⁸ Desneux 1960, 6.

²⁵⁹ Legrain 1921, n.163.

²⁶⁰ Legrain 1921, n.179.

²⁶¹ Frankfort 1939, pl.XII.

²⁶² Desneux 1960, 6-8.

limestone figures of a lion and a lioness devouring a bull, which once belonged to the pediments of the archaic temple on the Acropolis in Athens²⁶³ (fig.28), as well as the marble figures of lions attacking quarries from the east pediment of the archaic temple of Apollo at Delphi²⁶⁴. Apart from sculpture, the scene was also known through pottery²⁶⁵ (fig.29) as well as gems²⁶⁶ (fig.30). A. Evans claimed that the combat scene on the tetradrachms of Acanthus had been adopted from Crete²⁶⁷, since “*the fully developed type of the lion seizing an animal of the chase and bearing it down with his whole weight was first perfected by Minoan craftsmen*”²⁶⁸. However, as Evans himself underlined, the lion did not exist in the island and its appearance in the Cretan iconography occurred only after the development of contacts with mainland Greece during the Middle Minoan period (ca.2200-1700 BC). According to the excavator of Knossos, the combat scene between a lion and other animals was basically an offshoot of the earlier, widely used scene of a hound leaping on a goat or a stag; from Crete, this type passed into the iconographic traditions of several areas with which the Minoans had contacts. Therefore, the Greek coins bearing similar types, as that of Acanthus and Stageira, reproduced a depiction that had been developed in Minoan Crete²⁶⁹.

However, J. Desneux refuted Evans’ suggestion because the representations of lions in Crete were completely arbitrary, with a general grace and curious characteristics that sometimes made the identification of the feline possible only through the identification of the victim. This arbitrary representation was the result of the absence of lions in the island, hence the artists would draw their depictions mainly by using their imagination; this was not the case, however, for the stag or the bulls that apparently existed in the Cretan habitat, allowing the artists to have a good knowledge of these animals and their behaviours. In Acanthus, on the other hand, the lions on the earlier tetradrachms were magnificently illustrated as wild beasts with large jaws and very powerful paws armed with dreadful claws, an indication that the animals did exist in the surroundings, something that has also been affirmed by Herodotus²⁷⁰. Another particular characteristic of Acanthus’ depictions, which comes into contrast with those of the Minoans, is the opposite directions of the lion and the quarry that remained unchanged in all variants,

²⁶³ Boardman 2001b, fig.190-191.

²⁶⁴ Boardman 2001b, fig.203.1-2.

²⁶⁵ For example: Beazley 1963, p.60 n.65; Callipolitis-Feytmans 1974, pl.2.80; Boardman 1998, fig.243; Boardman 1974, fig.68, 120; Green 1979, pl.28.1-4; Moignard 1989, pl.12.4-5.

²⁶⁶ For example: Boardman 2001, pl.297,389,391,393,414.

²⁶⁷ Evans 1935, 536 n.5.

²⁶⁸ Evans 1935, 528.

²⁶⁹ See: Evans 1935, 523-540.

²⁷⁰ Herodotus, VII.125-126.

something that is unprecedented in the iconography of Crete²⁷¹; therefore, J. Desneux accepted as solid fact the eastern origins of the lion combat scene. Indeed, during the 7th century BC, Greek art was influenced to a large extent by the artistic production of the Near East, something that was the result of the commercial activities between the Greeks and eastern peoples, which were intensified in the 8th century BC²⁷². B. V. Head, too, suggested an oriental influence for the Acanthian tetradrachms, while he added that the type could even be connected with Cybele's worship²⁷³.

The combat scene between the lion and the bull seems to have been a civic emblem for the city of Acanthus, something that is confirmed by two other interesting findings. The first one is a unique piece, a gold coin or medal, found in a tomb at the cemetery of the city and dated to the second quarter of the 4th century BC (fig.31). Its weight was 34.25 gr. and it was struck with the same die used for the city's tetradrachms. This unusual piece might have been a coin that eventually became just a valuable object preserved by its craftsman, something that could also explain the hole on it, or it could have been a jewelry for the neck²⁷⁴; if it was indeed produced as a jewel, then it is of great importance that it bore the exact same scene as the tetradrachms, because this would mean that the people of Acanthus took pride in their civic emblem, to such an extent that they used it for personal objects too. The second finding is a marble relief with the same type, which was probably an architectural part of the city's central gate and it is dated to the first half of the 5th century BC²⁷⁵ (fig.32). Even though, as J. Desneux noticed, the depiction on the relief does not have the same vividness as the one on the coins²⁷⁶, the very choice of the scene is an evident proof that the Acanthians did consider it as an emblem.

ii. Stageira

It is rather obvious that the combat scene between a lion and boar, depicted on the tetradrachms of Stageira, was inspired by Acanthus; H. Gaebler and J. Desneux suggested that the coins derived from the hand of the same engraver²⁷⁷, something that was also accepted by H. A. Cahn who noticed a common technique, with certain Ionian influences on the issues, not only

²⁷¹ Desneux 1960, 9-13.

²⁷² See: Boardman 2001b, 13-23; Boardman 1998, 83-140.

²⁷³ HN, 204.

²⁷⁴ Rhomiopoulou 1999, 57-61.

²⁷⁵ Evans 1935, 537; Desneux 1960, 16; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 99 & fig.7.

²⁷⁶ Desneux 1960, 16.

²⁷⁷ Gaebler 1930, 300; Desneux 1949, 114.

of Acanthus and Stageira, but also of Skione²⁷⁸. Knowing that the name of the city's port was *Kapros* (i.e. boar) and that the island located nearby also bore the same name, we should assume that the boar was in fact the emblem of the city. The latter assumption is also supported by the fact that the animal was illustrated alone on the lower denominations of the city, as well as by the discovery of two parts of a lintel, which belonged to one of the main gates of the archaic walls and bore the representation of a boar confronting a lion²⁷⁹ (fig.33). Notwithstanding that the iconographic type of the tetradrachms of Stageira seems to have been inspired by Acanthus, the very depiction of a lion and a boar was not uncommon as we encounter numerous examples on pottery²⁸⁰ (fig.34). It is interesting to mention that the boar was praised by Homer for being a fierce animal, the only one able to confront a lion courageously and show an unparalleled combativeness²⁸¹. Besides, without these unique qualities the boar would not be the protagonist in myths such as the Erymanthian or the Calydonian boar; it was exactly due to these qualities that the animal became synonym to courage, strength and faultless combat skills²⁸², something that also applies for the lion²⁸³.

To conclude, both colonies of Andros chose completely different types for their coinage than the ones of their mother-city, and the fact that the scene depicted on their heaviest issues was used, in both cases, on the main entrances of the cities leaves absolutely no doubt of their importance as renowned emblems. The Acanthian influence on the tetradrachms of Stageira is an indication of close relations between the two colonies, something that should come as no surprise, but also of the impact that the rich coin production of Acanthus had in the region; a similar type was chosen for the tetradrachms of Skione, as we shall see in the following chapter, and if one accepts the Mendaeian origin of the tetradrachm discussed in page 32, then it is obvious that this impact reached the western parts of Chalcidice too.

²⁷⁸ Cahn 1973, 11-13.

²⁷⁹ Sismanidis 1998, fig.31-32.

²⁸⁰ For example: Johansen 1963, pl.323.5; Schauenburg 1954, pl.31.14; Bažant– Boubek – Dufkova 1990, pl.30.3; Boarman 1974, fig.120.

²⁸¹ Homer, *Iliad*, V.780-784, VII.255-257, XII.41-48.

²⁸² Woysch-Méautis 1982, 78.

²⁸³ See pages 49-50.

1. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Ancient Skione has been identified with the hill of Mitikas situated approximately three kilometers SE of the modern village of Skione²⁸⁴. B. D. Meritt located the acropolis of the ancient city on a hill with traces of fortification²⁸⁵, where later the excavations revealed remains of buildings dated to the 5th and 4th centuries BC²⁸⁶. Evidence, however, shows that the site was occupied since the Early Iron Age and the pottery finds from an area NW of the city indicate the presence of local dwellers before the arrival of the Greeks²⁸⁷. Regarding the foundation of the city, Thucydides wrote that Skione was built by people from Pellene of the Peloponnese on their journey back from Troy²⁸⁸. According to the myth, the Pellenes were hit by a storm and their ships ended in the south coast of Flegra²⁸⁹; there, the women from Troy that were held as hostages by the Greeks, set the ships on fire with the intention to hinder the journey to the Peloponnese, where they would suffer an arduous fate, forcing in this way the Pellenes to settle in the area and found a new city, that of Skione. Their presence there was said to have been the reason behind the change of the peninsula's name from Flegra to Pallene, although, there were other traditions that linked the new name of the peninsula to some city located near the isthmus, or even to the daughter of Sithonas, Pallene, who was killed in the area²⁹⁰. Furthermore, if we follow the iconography on Skione's coins, then we should assume that the founder of the city was the Thessalian hero Protesilaos²⁹¹. However, from the Iliad we learn that Protesilaos was killed once he set foot in Troy²⁹², hence it has been suggested that he might have participated in an older expedition to Troy with Hercules or that he just did not die in Troy²⁹³. M. Zahrnt was not convinced for the Achaean presence in Chalcidice since their colonies were mainly located in

²⁸⁴ Sismanidis 1994, 319.

²⁸⁵ Meritt 1923, 451.

²⁸⁶ *ArchDelt* 41 (1986), 149; Sismanidis 1994, 320.

²⁸⁷ Tiverios 2008, 39-40.

²⁸⁸ Thucydides, IV.120.1; See also: Polyaeus, VII.47.

²⁸⁹ Flegra was the oldest name of the peninsula of Pallene, see: Herodotus, VII.123.1.

²⁹⁰ Vokotopoulou 1997, 66.

²⁹¹ Kraay 1976, 134; See also: Hill 1926, 120-122.

²⁹² Homer, *Iliad*, II.698-702.

²⁹³ See: Flensted-Jensen 2004, 843.

southern Italy, and he believed that the confusion derived from the similarity of the names, namely Pellene and Pallene²⁹⁴.

Herodotus informs us that the city supplied Xerxes with ships and infantry in 480 BC²⁹⁵, while in another passage he refers to a general from Skione, Timoxenos, who in 479 BC was accused for treason during the siege of Potidaea from Artabazus²⁹⁶. After the Persians' retreat, Skione became a member of the Athenian/Delian League and it is recorded from 454/453 BC²⁹⁷ until 429/428 BC²⁹⁸. In 423 BC, the city revolted against the Athenians and joined Brasidas, right after Athens and Sparta had agreed for an armistice²⁹⁹, an action for which it was later punished³⁰⁰. In the Piece of Nikias, Skione was given over to the Athenians³⁰¹ who decided to kill all men, enslave the women and children, and give the city to the Plataeans³⁰². It was not until 405 BC that the city was given back to its former citizens by Lysander³⁰³. Whether Skione joined the Chalcidic Federation or not, is something that cannot be affirmed with certainty, however, it seems possible since it was not strong enough to withstand the pressure of the Federation – if the city wished to do so³⁰⁴; it also seems that Philip II (359 - 336 BC) did not destroy Skione after the dissolution of the Federation³⁰⁵.

2. ANIMAL FIGURES ON THE COINAGE OF SKIONE

As most of the cities in the Chalcidice Skione, too, started minting coins in the end of the 6th century BC following the “Euboic/Attic” weight standard and changing into the “Thraco-Macedonian” one in ca. 423 BC, when it revolted against Athens³⁰⁶. Skione struck silver tetradrachms, didrachms, tetrobols and lower denominations, but it seems that during the

²⁹⁴ Zahrt 1971, 234.

²⁹⁵ Herodotus, VII.123.1.

²⁹⁶ Herodotus, VIII.128.

²⁹⁷ IG I³ 259.II.9.

²⁹⁸ IG I³ 282.II.12.

²⁹⁹ Thucydides, IV.120-121.

³⁰⁰ Thucydides, IV.130-133.

³⁰¹ Thucydides, V.18.

³⁰² Thucydides, V.32.1; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 109.

³⁰³ Plutarch, *Lysander* 14.

³⁰⁴ West 1973, 98 n.5.

³⁰⁵ Zahrt 1971, 235.

³⁰⁶ Robinson – Clement 1938, 311.

Plataean occupation (421-404 BC) the coin production stopped³⁰⁷ and started again in the beginning of the 4th century BC, only this time with bronze issues³⁰⁸. The iconographic types that the city chose for its silver coinage were quite various; we find the head of the mythical founder Protesilaos on the obverse of tetradrachms, tetrobols and smaller fractions, but there were other depictions too, such as a helmet, a human eye, a stern of a ship, and grapes³⁰⁹. Apart from these, some Skionian issues also bore depictions of animals; the obverse of the earliest tetradrachms depicted a lion attacking a stag³¹⁰ (fig.35) and the reverse of some tetrobols a standing dove to the right³¹¹ (fig.36). The latter prevailed on the reverse of the bronze issues that bore either a standing dove or two standing doves facing one another³¹² (fig.37). There are also some tetrobols struck on the “Euboic/Attic” weight standard that depict the forepart of a leaping lion with its head reverted and its mouth open on the obverse (fig.38), as well as a didrachm depicting a lion gnawing the rear leg of what seems to be a stag on the obverse³¹³ (fig.39). The place of origin of these issues has been a matter of controversy; even though H. Gaebler had previously attributed the coins to the city Skithai³¹⁴, H. Bloesch refuted this suggestion and attributed them to Skione. He based his claim on the discovery of two tetrobols with the same type and the inscription ΣΚΙΟΝΑΙΟΝ³¹⁵(fig.40), while he also attributed the didrachm to Skione since as he wrote “*the letters are now confidently read as ΣΚΙΟ*”³¹⁶.

³⁰⁷ Robinson – Clement 1938, 312.

³⁰⁸ See: Babelon 1926, 631-634.

³⁰⁹ AMNG III (2), 108-109; SNG Ashmolean 2371-2379; SNG Copenhagen 318-320; SNG ANS 702-715; Tsagari 2009 p.73.

³¹⁰ Bloesch 1957, 7; Price – Waggoner 1975, 43; Tsagari 2009, n.78.

³¹¹ SNG ANS 711; Tsagari 2009, n.81.

³¹² AMNG III (2) pl.XXI.16-21; Robinson – Clement 1938, 227-228; SNG Copenhagen 322-324; SNG ANS 718.

³¹³ Bloesch 1957, 7-9.

³¹⁴ AMNG III (2), 110; Gaebler 1929, 255-260; see also: SNG Copenhagen 325. Skithai was mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus as a Thracian city located near Potidaea (See: Reimeri 1849, 574). The fact that the author referred to it as a Thracian city and not a Macedonian one, means that he used a pre-350 BC source. The site is often identified with Kithas that appeared on the tribute lists along with cities belonging to Krousis i.e. Smilla, Gigonos and Haisa, something that leads to the presumption that also Kithas belonged to Krousis and, if it was located near the aforementioned cities, then it was near Potidaea too (See: Flensted-Jensen 1997, 126-127).

³¹⁵ Bloesch 1957, pl.I.4,5.

³¹⁶ Bloesch 1957, 5-9.

Skione	Tetradrachm	Tetrobol	Bronze coins
<i>Lion</i>	+		
<i>Stag</i>	+		
<i>Dove</i>		+	+

3. COMMENTARY

As far as the tetradrachms are concerned, there is not much to add than what has already been mentioned for Acanthus and Stageira; it seems that the three mints shared a common artist³¹⁷ who created depictions that had arrived in Greece from the East. The broad commercial contacts of the Greeks with Eastern peoples brought new iconographic types into the Archaic Greek workshops; the wide use of the lion combat scene on the Greek pottery, sculpture and gems, could possibly equal a revival of the type also in the Eastern artistic production. Particularly the gems from this period are very enlightening since there are numerous depictions of a lion attacking mostly a bull or a stag, but also a boar, a goat and even a mule³¹⁸ (fig.41, 42, 43). The representations of the animals on the gems vary³¹⁹, but for the coins it was preferred to represent the lion on top of the quarry – not behind or in front of it, as one can see on the gems. The choice of Skione to depict the stag remains a riddle, yet the animal was one of the two most depicted victims in similar scenes on gems, as well as on pottery³²⁰, and since Acanthus depicted the bull, Stageira the boar, and another city (Mende?) the donkey, it would be plausible to assume that Skione chose an animal that hadn't been used by other cities.

Regarding the bronze coins that were struck in the first half of the 4th century BC, after the city was returned to its citizens, these are divided into two series; the first one had the same iconographic type with the copper issues of Amyntas II³²¹, namely the head of a young male with a ribbon on the obverse and a helmet on the reverse³²², while the second series had the head of a female figure on the obverse and one or two doves on the reverse³²³. On a general note, the birds

³¹⁷ Bloesch 1957, 6-7; Liampi 1994, 16.

³¹⁸ See: Boardman 1968, 121-141 & pl. XXVII-XXXII.

³¹⁹ See particularly: Boardman 1968, 123.

³²⁰ For example: Pastrelli 1981, pl.22.1-4; Beazley 1956, p.63 n.7; Beazley 1963, p.252 n.39.

³²¹ AMNG III (2), pl.XXIX.30.

³²² AMNG III (2), pl. XXI.15; Robinson – Clement 1938, 312.

³²³ E. Babelon tried to explain the change in the iconographic types of Skione's bronze coins, by claiming that Amyntas II made an alliance with the Chalcidic Federation around 389 BC and that it was him who gave back to

were related to journeys and transportation, as well as the prediction of the future. The association of various birds with gods was very common; they were their companions and the ones to announce the gods' presence or will, while they also had the same ability of flying and traveling long distances without risks³²⁴. The doves were often related to Aphrodite³²⁵ (fig.44), which means that the female head on the obverse of the bronze coins was possibly that of the goddess of love³²⁶. Aphrodite's origins most probably were oriental, something mentioned by Herodotus too³²⁷; behind her one finds the Semitic goddess Astarte who also was the goddess of love, as well as the queen of heaven and the divine partner of the God³²⁸. The doves were known for their high fertility, their loyalty, their chastity and their affectionate nature³²⁹, characteristics that match Aphrodite's world and it seems that their association with the goddess also had Eastern origins. The connection of Aphrodite with the pigeons is also attested in the West. In Eryx, in Sicily, people celebrated the *Embarkation*, an annual festival that used to take place at the time when Aphrodite would depart for Libya; the festival coincided with the local movement of the pigeons and people believed that the birds were the companions of the goddess to her journey. After approximately nine days, at the time when the pigeons would reappear in the sky, the people held another festival, the *Return*, where they celebrated the return of the goddess to their city³³⁰. The doves certainly served as offers to Aphrodite, however, it was so sacred a bird that it was not sacrificed easily, even in the East³³¹. Nonetheless, the Athenians had a festival honouring Aphrodite *Pandemos*, during which the purification of her sanctuary and the washing of the statues was done with the blood of a dove. The architectural remains of an architrave,

Skione its monetary independence; hence, the city adopted the same type used by the Macedonian king. After a while, however, the relations between the Federation and Amyntas II were disrupted and it was during the period that followed when, according always to Babelon, Skione struck the second series of bronze coins (See: Babelon 1926, 631-634). However, this suggestion was criticized by D. M. Robinson and P. A. Clement, who claimed that the historical events described by Babelon were utterly imaginative (See: Robinson – Clement 1938, 312 n. 291). The truth is that the years between the death of Archelaus, in 399 BC, and the accession of Amyntas III, in 393 BC, are very obscure and one cannot accumulate enough evidence to create theories (See: Errington 1990, 28-29; Roisman 2010, 158).

³²⁴ Bignasca 2012, 266-267.

³²⁵ For example: LIMC II (2), pl.349, 350; Larson 2007, fig.9.1.

³²⁶ SNG Copenhagen 322-324.

³²⁷ Herodotus, I.105.2.

³²⁸ See: Burkert 1985, 152-153; Larson 2007, 114; Farnell 2010b, 618-626.

³²⁹ Pollard 1977, 90.

³³⁰ Pollard 1977, 146.

³³¹ Farnell 2010b, 650.

deriving from the sanctuary of the goddess in the SW slope of Acropolis, depict doves standing in a row³³². Unfortunately, the few excavations in Skione have not given enough information to ascertain the existence of an established cult of Aphrodite, yet the bronze coins point towards that direction.

Finally, two coins were mentioned above that have been a matter of dispute; the didrachm depicting a lion gnawing the rear leg of another animal, and the tetrobol with the forepart of a leaping lion. If one accepts the Skionian origin of the didrachm, then it is obvious that the coin follows the motif of the tetradrachms, only in this case the lack of space did not allow the deployment of the whole scene³³³. The case of the tetrobols might be similar; if the coins were minted in Skione, then one could connect the lion with the scene depicted on the tetradrachms, especially since the animal is represented leaping with its mouth open, ready for an attack. Let us also not forget that Acanthus and Stageira depicted on the lower denominations the animals involved in the combat scene on their tetradrachms. On the other hand, if the issues belonged to Skithai, then it is evident that at least the didrachm's representation was influenced by the tetradrachms of Skione, Acanthus and Stageira, which were struck during the same period. Since our information for Skithai is overly limited, it is rather difficult to make further assumptions. In antiquity, the lion was generally admired for its strength, its bravery and its fighting skills, and in the combat scenes the dominance of the lion over the quarry was highly emphasised, especially when it confronted powerful animals as, for example, the boar or the bull³³⁴. During the Geometric Period, the lion was related to powerful divinities, while at the same time it was considered to be the representation of the wild nature, in contrast to the human one. In poetry, it was used widely in parables exactly due to its strong fiery nature, and it was the ideal synonym for the heroic warriors; people would often compare the lion's bravery with the fierce warriors who fought in the frontline without ever giving up. Especially from the moment that the aristocrats made hunting a most significant part of their social life, the hunt of a lion was considered the act of a hero, since the confrontation of the powerful and dangerous animal was compared with the bravery and fortitude of the heroes who fought in wars as that of Troy³³⁵. Therefore, it could be that by choosing depictions of lions the cities wanted to give an example of the virtues and values of their own people.

³³² Simon 1996, 248-249 & pic.242; Larson 2007, 118-119.

³³³ Bloesch 1957, 6.

³³⁴ Woysch-Méautis 1982, 74.

³³⁵ Bignasca 2012, 265-267.

APHYTIS

1. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Ancient Aphytis was located in the NE coast of Pallene at the site of the modern village of Aphytos³³⁶. Even though there is not much information, it is logical to claim that Aphytis was a Greek colony³³⁷; Strabo wrote that the cities in Pallene were founded by the Eretrians³³⁸ and Pseudo-Skylax mentioned Aphytis amongst the Greek cities in Pallene³³⁹. However, evidence indicates that the site was occupied since the Bronze and Early Iron Age³⁴⁰. Aphytis provided troops and ships to Xerxes in 480 BC³⁴¹ and later became a member of the Athenian/Delian League, where it is recorded from 452/1 BC³⁴² until the very last tribute list in 415/4 BC³⁴³, something that renders Aphytis one of the most loyal allies of Athens in the region of the Chalcidice; we also know that the city served as a military base for Athens in 432 BC³⁴⁴ and was rewarded for its actions with the benefit of importing a certain amount of grain³⁴⁵. Xenophon informs us on the existence of a temple dedicated to god Dionysus³⁴⁶ and Pausanias wrote about the worship of Ammon Zeus³⁴⁷; both pieces of information were confirmed by the excavations that revealed the remains of a 4th-century BC temple located SE of Aphytis and dedicated to Ammon Zeus, while south of the aforementioned temple a sanctuary of Dionysus and the Nymphs was discovered with findings dated from the 8th century BC³⁴⁸.

³³⁶ Vokotopoulou 2001, 749; Tiverios 2008, 38.

³³⁷ Vokotopoulou 2001, 749; Tiverios 2008, 39.

³³⁸ Strabo, *Geography*, X.1.8.

³³⁹ Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplus* 66.

³⁴⁰ Vokotopoulou 2001, 749; Tiverios 2008, 39.

³⁴¹ Herodotus, VII.123.1

³⁴² IG I³ 261.I.2.

³⁴³ IG I³ 290.III.5.

³⁴⁴ Thucydides, I.64.2.

³⁴⁵ IG I³ 62.

³⁴⁶ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V.3.19.

³⁴⁷ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, III.18.3.

³⁴⁸ Leventopoulou-Giouri 1971, 356-361; Voutiras 2000, 631-640; Vokotopoulou 2001, 749; Tiverios 2008, 39.

2. ANIMAL FIGURES ON THE COINAGE OF APHYTIS

Aphytis started minting coins from the mid-5th century BC following the “Thraco-Macedonian” weight standard, and it struck few silver tetrobols and diobols³⁴⁹, while from the first half of the 4th century BC it minted only bronze issues. The iconographic types that prevailed were related to the cults worshipped by the people of Aphytis; hence they depicted the heads of Ammon Zeus, god Ares with a helmet or Apollo Karneios on the obverses, and representations related to Dionysus, namely a *kantharos* or grapes, on the reverses. The depiction that prevailed as a reverse type on the bronze coins, however, was the eagle³⁵⁰; the bird was depicted mostly standing, sometimes stepping on a snake³⁵¹ (fig.45) or a thunderbolt³⁵², but we also find depictions of an eagle flying upwards³⁵³ or with the wings open³⁵⁴, while on another issue two eagles were depicted standing and facing one another³⁵⁵ (fig.46). Apart from the eagle, one bronze coin bore two pigeons facing each other on the reverse³⁵⁶ (fig.47), whereas one single specimen had, probably, the head of Athena on the obverse and an owl on the reverse³⁵⁷. Finally, on a silver diobol we encounter the head of Ares on the obverse and the head of a lion with its mouth open on the reverse³⁵⁸.

Aphytis	Diobol	Bronze coins
<i>Dove</i>		+
<i>Eagle</i>		+
<i>Lion</i>	+	
<i>Owl</i>		+

³⁴⁹ AMNG III (2), 44; Robinson – Clement 1938, 273.

³⁵⁰ AMNG III (2), 44-46; Robinson – Clement 1938, 273; SNG Copenhagen 123-128.

³⁵¹ AMNG III (2), pl.XI.19.

³⁵² AMNG III (2), pl.XI.20.

³⁵³ AMNG III (2), pl.XI.23.

³⁵⁴ AMNG III (2), pl.XI.22.

³⁵⁵ AMNG III (2), pl.XI.16.

³⁵⁶ AMNG III (2), pl.XI.15.

³⁵⁷ Robinson – Clement 1938, 273-274.

³⁵⁸ AMNG III (2), pl.I.3.

3. COMMENTARY

The animals on the coins of Aphytis were used only as reverse types and the figure that prevailed was the sacred bird and symbol of Zeus. Zeus was brought to Greece by the Greek tribes that migrated southwards during the 2nd millennium BC and he became the Father of gods and humans, after a series of conflicts with other pre-Hellenic gods³⁵⁹. The eagle was thought to be an omen of Zeus, especially in the Homeric world³⁶⁰, and it appeared in myths related to him; for example, there was a myth about the time when Zeus wished to find the centre of the world and in order to achieve that, he dispatched two eagles at the same time from the two ends of the world and, after flying at the same speed, the eagles met at Delphi. The bird was also used by Zeus as a means of torture for Prometheus, who stole the fire from the gods and gave it to mankind³⁶¹. The thunderbolt, which also appeared on the bronze coins in combination with the eagle, was the most common symbol with which Zeus was generally depicted on pottery³⁶² and sculpture³⁶³, however, in some cases he was represented along with his eagle (fig.48, 49)³⁶⁴. Moreover, Zeus, his thunderbolt and his eagle also appeared on the coins of Elis³⁶⁵. In Aphytis, people worshipped Zeus Ammon whose horned head was an obverse type on coins and whose sanctuary was discovered by the excavations³⁶⁶. The cult of Ammon was most probably established in Aphytis after the siege of the city by the Spartan general Lysander in 404/405 BC, which was terminated with the intervention of the god who appeared in Lysander's dream ordering him to end the siege and telling him that the people of Aphytis should sacrifice to Ammon³⁶⁷. The eagle remained a reverse type on the coins even when the obverse depicted the

³⁵⁹ Simon 1996, 23-24. For Zeus and his cult see: Burkert 1985, 125-131; Farnell 2010, 35-101.

³⁶⁰ See: Pollard 1977, 116-121.

³⁶¹ Hesiod, *Theogony* 520-615.

³⁶² Farnell 2010, 105-106, 122-123; Simon 1996, 35-36 & fig.14-18; Boardman 1998, fig.62, 123.1, 206.

³⁶³ For example: Boardman 2002, fig.35.

³⁶⁴ For example: Beazley 1963, p.611 n.37; Simon 1996, fig.20; Boardman 1998 fig.157,415. See also: Farnell 2010, 128-139, Simon 1996, 37-41, Boardman 2002, 231 for Pheidias' statue of Zeus in Olympia, where he was represented seated on his throne holding a scepter surmounted by an eagle.

³⁶⁵ Kraay 1976, pl.18.325-326.

³⁶⁶ Zeus Ammon was a deity that derived from the blending of Amun-Ra – the main deity of Thebes in Egypt – and an indigenous Libyan god who was the supreme deity of the Pantheon, something that led the Greeks to identify him with Zeus as early as the 6th century BC; he was an oracular deity and his cult made its way into Greece through the Greek colonists of Kyrene (See: Larson 2007, 175-176).

³⁶⁷ Plutarch, *Lysander* 20.5.

head of Apollo Karneios³⁶⁸, an indication of a shared worship – something that applies also in the cases of Dionysus and Ares, since the head of Ammon is combined with the *kantharos*³⁶⁹, and the head of Ares with the eagle³⁷⁰.

Apart from the eagle, two other types of birds made their appearance on the Aphytian bronze coins, the pigeon and the owl. The latter was depicted on the single specimen found in Olynthus and assimilated the famous Athenian Owls. According to D. M. Robinson and P. A. Clement, the latter issue must be dated to the period when the Athenian influence in Pallene was strong, namely in 364 BC; at that time, the Athenian general Timotheus along with the Macedonian king Perdikkas III (364 – 359 BC) captured Potidaea and two years later, Athenian officers settled in the city³⁷¹. An Athenian influence at Aphytis should come as no surprise since the city was a very loyal ally to Athens. As for the pigeons, their depiction resembles the reverse type of the bronze coins of Skione struck at the same period³⁷²; Skione was situated not far away from Aphytis, which means that the Aphytian issue might have been inspired by the Skionian coins. If this was the case, then maybe the motif of the eagles facing each other, on some coins of Aphytis, was also influenced by Skione; seldom does one encounter eagles represented in this way, something that is not the case for the pigeons that are often depicted in an affectionate way in pairs, even until today.

Finally, regarding the lion whose head is depicted on the silver diobol, the most plausible assumption would be to connect the animal with god Ares who is depicted on the obverse of the coin (fig.50); the lion's virtues of strength and bravery that were admired so much by the ancient people and were compared with the virtues of the most fierce and skillful warriors, matched the personality of Ares who was after all the god of warfare and battle. No matter where the settlers of Aphytis came from, it seems that their religious beliefs played a significant role in their lives and they projected these beliefs intensely on their coinage.

³⁶⁸ For Apollo Karneios see: Larson 2007, 90-92.

³⁶⁹ AMNG III (2), pl.XI.13-14.

³⁷⁰ AMNG III (2), pl.I.4.

³⁷¹ Robinson – Clement 1938, 274.

³⁷² See above page 45.

THE TERRITORY OF THE CHALCIDIANS: SERMYLE, OLYNTHUS & TORONE

1. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

i. Sermyle

The territory of the Chalcidians included mainly the central part of the peninsula and it might have also included the whole prong of Sithonia³⁷³. However, the available information regarding the exact time of the settlement of the Chalcidians in Sermyle – and Torone – is very limited. Sermyle was located on the NE coast of the Toronaic Gulf and its exact location should be sought three kilometres south of modern Ormylia, in Platia Toumba³⁷⁴. Herodotus mentioned that the city provided Xerxes with infantry and ships³⁷⁵, while after the Persian Wars it joined the Athenian/Delian League where it is recorded as a member from 454/3 BC³⁷⁶ until 434/3 BC³⁷⁷. In the Peace of Nikias, Sermyle was listed amongst the cities that were given back to Athens³⁷⁸, which means that at some point the city had revolted against the Athenians. Also, we should probably take as granted that it became a member of the Chalcidic Federation, since its location lay in the core of the Federation's territory. Sermyle was also mentioned by Pseudo-Skylax, an indication that it certainly existed until the mid-4th century BC³⁷⁹, while the absence of any allusion to the city in the sources after 348 BC, might mean that it was in fact destroyed by Philip II (359 - 336 BC)³⁸⁰. Unfortunately, the information about Sermyle is limited to these meagre references and so far, there have not been any excavations that could broaden our knowledge.

ii. Olynthus

The ancient city of Olynthus was located at the head of the Toronaic Gulf and it was initially inhabited by the Bottiaeans, a tribe that used to live in the region of the lower Haliacmon and Ludias rivers and that later was expelled by the Macedonians. The Bottiaeans settled on the

³⁷³ See above p.9 n.3.

³⁷⁴ Zahrt 1971, 225; Tiverios 2008, 48.

³⁷⁵ Herodotus, VII.122.

³⁷⁶ IG I³ 259.V.9.

³⁷⁷ IG I³ 278.V.9.

³⁷⁸ Thucydides, V.18.8.

³⁷⁹ Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplus*, 66.

³⁸⁰ West 1973, 131 n.37; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 841.

Chalcidic peninsula in the area that they named *Bottike*³⁸¹ and they probably co-existed peacefully with the local population³⁸²; Olynthus and Spartolos were their two most important cities. Olynthus provided troops and ships to Xerxes in 480 BC³⁸³ and after the victory of the Greek naval forces at Salamis, Potidaea and other cities in Pallene revolted against the Persians something that made Artabazus fear a general rebellion, and suspecting that Olynthus had similar intentions he captured the city, massacred its population and conceded it to Critoboulos of Torone; therefore, from 479 BC Olynthus was no longer a Bottiaean city³⁸⁴. The pottery found at the site confirms the aforementioned facts; above the destruction layer of 479 BC, the excavators found sherds belonging to red-figure pottery from Attica, whereas beneath that layer the pottery was local and altogether different from the one produced in Attica at the same period³⁸⁵. After the Persians' retreat, Olynthus joined the Athenian/Delian League and it is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 BC³⁸⁶ until 433/2 BC³⁸⁷.

In 432 BC, at the dawn of the Peloponnesian War, Potidaea revolted against the Athenians and was followed by the allied Chalcidians and Bottiaeans of Spartolos. Perdikkas II (454 – 413 BC) joined this alliance and exhorted the inhabitants of the coastal cities to abandon their hometowns and move inland in Olynthus, something that strengthened the city and had as a result the creation of the Chalcidic Federation³⁸⁸. In the Peace of Nikias, the Chalcidic Federation was not mentioned since Athens refused to recognise its existence, yet Olynthus was declared autonomous³⁸⁹. Despite the efforts of Athens to enfeeble and disintegrate the Chalcidians, Olynthus grew even stronger and the territory of the Federation expanded so much³⁹⁰, that in 380 BC Apollonia and Acanthus sent envoys to Sparta seeking for help³⁹¹. Sparta intervened and in the so-called Olynthian War that followed, the Chalcidians were defeated³⁹²; however, soon after they managed to regain the cities that had lost in the war³⁹³. In 356 BC,

³⁸¹ Thucydides, II.99.3.

³⁸² Tiverios 2008, 49.

³⁸³ Herodotus, VII.122.

³⁸⁴ Herodotus, VIII.126-127.

³⁸⁵ Robinson 1933, 15-16.

³⁸⁶ IG I³ 259.V.6.

³⁸⁷ IG I³ 279.II.45.

³⁸⁸ See: Thucydides, I.58; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V.12-18. See also: West 1973, 14-31.

³⁸⁹ Thucydides, V.18.5.

³⁹⁰ See: West 1973, 97-102.

³⁹¹ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V.11-18.

³⁹² Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V.3.1-10, 18-19, 26; Diodorus Siculus, *Library*, XV.19.3, XXI.1-23.

³⁹³ See: West 1973, 103-114.

Philip II (359 - 336 BC) carried out an alliance with the Chalcidic Federation³⁹⁴ that did not last long because in 352 BC the Olynthians, taking advantage of Philip's absence in Thessaly, sent envoys to Athens for negotiating peace that was indeed granted in 349 BC³⁹⁵. This action brought the alliance with the Macedonian king to an end and resulted in the complete annihilation of Olynthus a year later; the city, as well as some neighbouring ones³⁹⁶, was utterly destroyed, the citizens were sold as slaves³⁹⁷, the Chalcidic Federation was dissolved, and all of its territory was conceded to the Macedonians³⁹⁸.

The excavations that started in the 1930's revealed the hill upon which the city stood, located approximately 3.5 kilometres from the shore. Until 432 BC Olynthus was a small city, but it got significantly larger after the *synoecism* instigated by Perdikkas II (454 – 413 BC). The public buildings that came to light were not that many, but included the Agora, a *bouleuterion* and a building that was identified as *prytaneion*. From the fortification walls few parts survived, however, they were mentioned by Thucydides (I.63.2) and Xenophon (V.3.5), who actually informs us about the existence of towers. Moreover, the city had a fountain house with an underground aqueduct equipped with terracotta water pipes, and its source was probably in modern Polygyros. In the city, remains of an Archaic temple and all kinds of minor findings – from pottery and lamps to tweezers and fish-hooks – were discovered; also, outside Olynthus there were three cemeteries, with the earliest one to be dated not earlier than the 6th century BC³⁹⁹.

iii. Torone

Torone was located in the SW part of the peninsula of Sithonia and its name seems to have derived from the concave shape (*torus*) of the beach that lay north of the promontory on

³⁹⁴ The alliance was made partly because at that period Philip II (359 - 336 BC) worked hard for the reorganisation and reestablishment of the kingdom's power and the Chalcidians had become a significant power able to interfere with the Macedonian interests, and partly because both parts shared enmity towards the Athenians (See: West 1973, 115-120.)

³⁹⁵ West 1973, 125-127.

³⁹⁶ Demosthenes in 9.26 mentions 32 cities.

³⁹⁷ Demosthenes, 9.2; Demosthenes, 19.263-267; Diodorus Siculus, *Library*, XVI.53.3.

³⁹⁸ For the detailed events and the outcomes of the war of 349-348 BC see: West 1973, 122-135; Hammond – Griffith 1979, 315-324.

³⁹⁹ Flensted-Jensen 2004, 835-836.

which Torone was situated⁴⁰⁰. Three kilometres south of the city was its harbour, the *Κωφός Λιμὴν*, a port naturally closed and protected⁴⁰¹. The acropolis of Torone was well-fortified with walls and towers, and from its north part two walls descended and encircled the city, continuing towards the fortress of Lekythos that played an important role in the city's life⁴⁰². Thucydides informs us about Lekythos⁴⁰³ and a temple situated there dedicated to Athena⁴⁰⁴; the findings from the excavations that also included the remains of a Doric temple, confirmed Thucydides' information⁴⁰⁵. Generally, the excavations showed a permanent settlement from the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, which produced local pottery and had extent contacts with the NE Aegean and Thessaly, while evidence from the fortress of Lekythos showed contacts with the Mycenaeans too⁴⁰⁶. Hence, the results from the excavations do not accord with the claim that Torone was founded by Chalcidian colonists in the 8th century BC⁴⁰⁷; furthermore, the only ancient literary source mentioning Torone as a Chalcidian colony was Diodorus Siculus⁴⁰⁸, who probably gave his own interpretation to Thucydides' phrase *Τορώνη τὴν Χαλκιδική* (IV.110.1)⁴⁰⁹. It is certain, however, that in 479 BC – when Artabazus conceded Olynthus to Critoboulos of Torone⁴¹⁰ – the inhabitants of Torone were indeed Chalcidians, but these Chalcidians had definitely not founded the city from scratch.

Until the intervention of Perdikkas II (454 – 413 BC), with the instigation of whom the Chalcidians settled in Olynthus that became the new undeniable political power of the region, Torone was undoubtedly the most significant city of the Chalcidians; after the aforementioned events, the city gradually lost its importance and Olynthus took over its role⁴¹¹. Herodotus

⁴⁰⁰ Vokotopoulou 2001, 758.

⁴⁰¹ Meritt 1923, 453-454.

⁴⁰² Vokotopoulou 2001, 758.

⁴⁰³ Thucydides, IV.113.3.

⁴⁰⁴ Thucydides, IV.116.2.

⁴⁰⁵ Cambitoglou – Papadopoulos 1988, 205; Cambitoglou – Papadopoulos 1990, 140; Cambitoglou – Papadopoulos 1991, 159.

⁴⁰⁶ Vokotopoulou 2001, 758.

⁴⁰⁷ Boardman 1980, 229.

⁴⁰⁸ Diodorus Siculus, Library, XII.68.6.

⁴⁰⁹ Flensted-Jensen 2004, 847. As N. G. L. Hammond pointed out, the adjective *Chalcidian* (*Χαλκιδικός*) does not necessarily imply a connection with the Euboic Chalcis but it could have a geographical or “ethnic” meaning, something that could also be true in the case of Torone (See: Hammond 1995, 315 n. 37).

⁴¹⁰ Herodotus, VIII.126-127.

⁴¹¹ Vokotopoulou 2001, 759.

informs us that Torone supplied Xerxes with troops and ships⁴¹², while later it became a member of the Athenian/Delian League where it is recorded in the tribute lists from 454/3 BC⁴¹³ until 429/8 BC⁴¹⁴. In 423 BC, the Spartan general Brasidas attacked Torone and managed to capture it by treason⁴¹⁵, but it was recaptured a year later by the Athenian general Kleon, who enslaved the women and children and sent all men, who had survived the battle, to Athens; from these men, the Peloponnesians returned to their homes when the war ended, while the Toronaians were set free after the intervention of Olynthus⁴¹⁶. In the 4th century BC, the city became member of the Chalcidic Federation until 380 BC when, during the Olynthian War, it was captured by the Spartans⁴¹⁷; two decades later, the Athenian Timotheus got the city back⁴¹⁸. Finally, in 349 BC before attacking Olynthus, Philip II (359 - 336 BC) chose first to put under his dominance the weaker members of the Federation, amongst which Torone; however, the Macedonian king did not destroy the city⁴¹⁹.

2. ANIMAL FIGURES ON THE COINAGE OF SERMYLE, OLYNTHUS & TORONE

i. Sermyle

Sermyle started minting coins in the late 6th century BC⁴²⁰; it struck silver tetradrachms, didrachms, tetrobols and lower denominations following the “Euboic/Attic” weight standard, while it also minted bronze coins. The iconographic type that prevailed on the obverse of the silver coins was a rider on a cantering horse – to the right or left – brandishing his spear (fig.51), sometimes with a hound running below the horse⁴²¹ (fig.52). On the didrachms, a galloping horse

⁴¹² Herodotus, VII.122.

⁴¹³ IG I³ 259.II.15.

⁴¹⁴ IG I³ 282.II.29.

⁴¹⁵ Thucydides, IV.110-113.

⁴¹⁶ Thucydides, V.3.

⁴¹⁷ Xenophon, *Hellenica* V.3.18.

⁴¹⁸ Isocrates, *Antidosis*, XV.108.

⁴¹⁹ Diodorus Siculus, *Library*, XVI.53.2.

⁴²⁰ AMNG III (2), 106; Robinson – Clement 1938, 313.

⁴²¹ AMNG III (2), 106-107; SNG Ashmolean 2380-2382; SNG ANS 721-726; Tsagari 2009, n.90. Some issues bearing Sermylean types were considered as modern forgeries by H. Gaebler (See: AMNG III (2), p.211 n.33-35). However, it was suggested by others that these issues should be considered as contemporary imitations (See: Schwabacher 1939, 8-10; Price – Waggoner 1975, 46-47).

without the rider was depicted⁴²² (fig.53), while on hemidrachms and obols we find the forepart or just the head of a horse in profile⁴²³; the tetradrachms and didrachms bore also the inscription *ΣΕΡΜΥΛΑΟΝ* on the obverse. The minting of large denominations ceased after the Persian Wars, yet the minting of tetrobols continued until the mid-5th century BC⁴²⁴. There was also a series of tetradrachms – only two specimens are known – that must have been struck awhile before 500 BC and that bore the inscription *ΣΤΑΤΕΡ ΜΑΧΟΝ*⁴²⁵ (fig.54); the great importance of these latter coins lies in the fact that they name their value, something that generally was rather rare⁴²⁶.

Sermyle	Tetradrachm	Didrachm	Tetrobol	Hemidrachm	Obol
<i>Horse</i>	+	+	+	+	+
<i>Hound (below the horse)</i>	+				

ii. Olynthus

Before minting the coinage in the name of the Federation that bore iconographic types related to Apollo⁴²⁷, Olynthus struck some issues on the “Thraco-Macedonian” weight standard that bore two animal figures, the horse and the eagle. These issues were tetrobols depicting a horse bound to an Ionic column in the background on the obverse, and an eagle flying upwards and holding a snake in its claws and beak on the reverse⁴²⁸ (fig.55); on some tetrobols, the horse

⁴²² AMNG III (2), pl.II.6; Tsagari 2009, n.91.

⁴²³ Gatzolis – Psoma 2012, 618.

⁴²⁴ Gatzolis – Psoma 2012, 618.

⁴²⁵ Tsagari 2009, n.89. For the dating of the tetradrachms – both the ones bearing the inscription *ΣΕΡΜΥΛΑΟΝ* and those bearing the inscription *ΣΤΑΤΕΡ ΜΑΧΟΝ* – S. Psoma presented a thorough comparison between the incuse squares on the reverse of the Sermylian coins, and the ones inscribed on the reverse of other coins from northern Greece (See: Psoma 2001b, 33-35).

⁴²⁶ S. Psoma pointed out that the term *ΣΤΑΤΕΡ* was not found on any other coin. The word itself appeared on inscriptions in many places and it was used to describe gold, silver and electrum coins; even though the term was used to describe different weights, in all cases it referred to the heaviest weight of each weight system. Thus, in the case of Chalcidice the word *ΣΤΑΤΕΡ* was used to indicate the heaviest coins, that is to say, the tetradrachms of the “Euboic/Attic” standard. As for the second word, *ΜΑΧΟΝ*, the most plausible explanation is that it was the name of the magistrate or the person responsible for the mintage (See: Psoma 2001b, 37-40; also, Tsagari 2009 p.74).

⁴²⁷ AMNG III (2), 85-89; Robinson – Clement 1938, 298-299.

⁴²⁸ AMNG III (2), pl.XVII.3,4; Robinson 1938, 221; SNG Copenhagen 233; SNG ANS 464-465.

was depicted leaping and there was no Ionic column⁴²⁹ (fig.56). The attribution of these coins to Olynthus is certain because they bear inscriptions (*OΛYN*) and they are dated to ca. 432 BC⁴³⁰, namely right after the *synoecism*. One tetrobol – probably a unique piece – bears a young man guiding a horse on the obverse; both figures are depicted from the front with their heads turning towards each other. Although uninscribed, it has been suggested that this tetrobol was an Olynthian issue due to its reverse type, the characteristic eagle flying upwards⁴³¹ (fig.57).

⁴²⁹ AMNG III (2), pl.XVII.2; SNG Ashmolean 2336; SNG Copenhagen 234; SNG ANS 466.

⁴³⁰ AMNG III (2), 84; Robinson – Clement 1938, 297-298; Psoma 2001, 200; Tsagari 2009 p.74.

⁴³¹ Tsagari 2009, n.84 & p.74.

Apart from these coins, there are some others whose origin have been an intriguing topic of debate: a) the uninscribed tetradrachms of the “Euboic/Attic” standard that depict a quadriga driven by a man with a whip on the obverse, and an eagle flying to the left inside an ornamental square on the reverse (See: Kraay 1976, 90 pl.26 n.475), b) the tetrobols – only two known specimens (See: Robinson – Clement 1938, 292; Raymond 1953, 197 n. 2) – of the “Euboic/Attic” standard that depict a cantering horse on the obverse and an eagle flying to the right and carrying a snake on the reverse, while they also bear the letters $\overset{\wedge}{\lambda} \overset{\downarrow}{\kappa}$ (See: HN, 208; Babelon 1907, n.1655; Robinson – Clement 1938, 292). As for the uninscribed tetradrachms with the quadriga and the flying eagle, B. V. Head had first suggested that they belonged to Olynthus and dated them after 479 BC (See: HN, 208); C. M. Kraay also attributed these issues to Olynthus (See: Kraay 1976, 135). This attribution was based on the types depicted on the coins that were both Chalcidian, however, the discovery of these coins in the region of Strymon invalidates the attribution (See: Psoma 2001, 150-151; Psoma 2001b, 32). H. A. Cahn also refuted the connection of these tetradrachms with Olynthus; in his article “*Olynthus and Syracuse*”, he analysed one other specimen with the same obverse type but with an incuse square on the reverse, and in a comparison with the earliest tetradrachms of Syracuse, which bore a similar chariot type on the obverse and an incuse square on the reverse, and since the influence of northern Greek coinage on Sicily is confirmed, he gave for the “Olynthian” tetradrachms a *terminus ante quem* to ca. 510 BC, when the first issues of Sicily were minted. Therefore, he dated the “Olynthian” chariot/eagle series to ca. 520 BC, and the issue with an incuse square on the reverse even earlier; at that time, however, Olynthus was not yet a Chalcidian city, but it was still inhabited by the Bottiaeans. Cahn also pointed out that the eagle on the Olynthian tetrobols, which were struck later in the 5th century BC, carries a snake in his beak, something that is not the case for the uninscribed tetradrachms (See: Cahn 1979, 47-51).

As for the tetrobols with the cantering horse and the eagle, which also bore the letters $\overset{\wedge}{\lambda} \overset{\downarrow}{\kappa}$, there were some scholars who supported an Olynthian origin; for example, A. B. West claimed that they were early issues, minted right after the city was given to the Chalcidians, and he connected the letters with the feeling of a unity that must have existed amongst the Chalcidians of Thrace at the beginning of the 5th century BC (See: West 1973, 8-10.) Moreover, D. Raymond suggested that the tetrobols – as well as the uninscribed tetradrachms – should be attributed to Olynthus based, not only on the fabric that indicates a northern origin, but mainly on similarities with various other northern issues regarding the letter forms, the horses and the eagle. Raymond compared the letters *alpha*, *beta*, *theta*, *iota*, *lambda*, *rho*, *sigma*, *chi*, *omicron* and *omega* as they appeared on coins of some Thraco-Macedonian tribes, Abdera and Sermyle, and concluded that especially the letter Ψ on the Ichnaia’s coins, and the letter λ on the coins of Sermyle, Bisaltians and Letaians, work in favour of a northern attribution for the tetrobols in question. He

Olynthus	Tetrobol
<i>Horse</i>	+
<i>Eagle</i>	+

iii. Torone

Torone minted coins from the end of the 6th century BC⁴³² and used both the “Euboic/Attic” weight standard as well as the “Thraco-Macedonian”⁴³³. The city struck silver tetradrachms, tetrobols and lower denominations, and in the first half of the 4th century BC it also struck bronze coins. Torone’s main iconographic types were wine vases, namely an amphora or an oenochoe⁴³⁴, while on some later issues a Silenos was depicted looking into an amphora, an oenochoe or a hydria⁴³⁵ (fig.58). On the reverse, the coins bore initially an incuse square and later⁴³⁶, the tetrobols had the depiction of a walking goat to the right or left⁴³⁷, and the obols bore

also underlined the resemblance between the horse on the “Olynthian” tetrobols and the horses on the coins of the Tyntenians, Ichnaians, Orrescii, as well as Alexander I; he also proceeded with a comparison between the representation and pose of the eagle on the “Olynthian” tetrobols and the one that appears above the oxen on a Derronian issue. Raymond also suggested that the coins should be dated to ca. 479 BC (See: Raymond 1853, 198-200). On the other hand, other scholars refused any connection of these series with Olynthus, as H. Gaebler (See: Gaebler 1925, 193-208) or D. M. Robinson and P. A. Clement who wrote that there are no concrete criteria on which one could rely, since the horse on the obverse favours Olynthus but the eagle on the reverse – depicted flying to the right instead of upright – favours Chalcis; it was also pointed out that the inscribed letters were written in the Euboic alphabet (See: Robinson – Clement 1938, 293. For the inscribed letters see also: West 1973, 8 n.14).

⁴³²AMNG III (2), 114; Robinson – Clement 1938, 316; Tsagari 2009, p.74. N. Hardwick related the beginning of coinage in Torone with the construction of the Doric temple of Athena in Lekythos or of the city walls, see: Hardwick 1998, 126.

⁴³³ Kraay 1954, 10-15; Hardwick 1998, 123-126; Tsagari 2009, p.75. C. M. Kraay (Kraay 1976, 135) claimed that the two weight standards were used simultaneously something that was disproved by the hoard evidence, and N. Hardwick suggested that the change in the weight standards should be seen as a respective change in the economic orientation of Torone, from Macedonia to other areas of Greece, which occurred in 480’s (See: Hardwick 1998, 126 & n.93).

⁴³⁴ AMNG III (2), 114-115; SNG Ashmolean 2384-2388; SNG Copenhagen 336-337; SNG ANS 741-755.

⁴³⁵ AMNG III (2), pl.XXII.16-17; Hardwick 1998, 120.

⁴³⁶ The exact date of the tetrobols and obols bearing the goat on the reverse, has yet to be determined with certainty. N. Hardwick, based on the evidence from the hoards and the historical events of the period, proposed a date to the first half of the 4th century BC, when Torone was a member of the Chalcidic Federation (See: Hardwick 1998, 129-130).

⁴³⁷ AMNG III (2), pl.XXII.16-17.

just the head and neck of a goat⁴³⁸ (fig.59). The coins of Torone bore also the letters *TE* and *TEPO* or even the whole ethnic name *TEPΩNAION*, whereas sometimes they bore the name of the magistrate⁴³⁹.

	Tetrobol	Obol
<i>Goat</i>	+	+

3. COMMENTARY

i. Sermyle

Sermyle depicted the horse on its coinage, which was a particularly popular iconographic type generally in northern Greece. The octadrachms of Alexander I (498 - 454 BC) depicted a male figure on a walking horse, dressed in fine clothes and carrying two spears, while on later issues also a dog was depicted below the horse⁴⁴⁰ (fig.60); similar depictions we also find on the tetradrachms of the Odrysian ruler Sparadokos⁴⁴¹, as well as on coins of Perdikkas II (454 – 413 BC)⁴⁴² and Archelaus (413 – 399 BC)⁴⁴³. The interpretation of the horseman on the regal coinage of Macedonia has yet to be explained with absolute certainty; usually, the rider is identified as a warrior-hunter⁴⁴⁴, while he has also been identified as a hero, as god Ares or even as the king himself⁴⁴⁵. Both the octadrachms of Alexander I and the tetradrachms of Sparadokos are dated

⁴³⁸ AMNG III (2), pl.XXII.13-15; SNG Danish Museum n.338.

⁴³⁹ Hardwick 1998, 121-122.

⁴⁴⁰ Tsagari 2009, n.11-13.

⁴⁴¹ See: Taceva 1992, 69-74.

⁴⁴² Tsagari 2009, n.15.

⁴⁴³ Tsagari 2009, n.16.

⁴⁴⁴ Hammond – Griffith 1979, 109; Psoma 2001b, 41; Caltabiano 2007, 764.

⁴⁴⁵ Giallombardo – Tribodi 1996, 317. Especially for the scene with the dog accompanying the horse on the later octadrachms of Alexander, the interpretation leans towards a hunting scene. However, it is not the kind of dog used for hunting or war; it is a Maltese, a very common breed in antiquity, which used to accompany people in their daily activities, from the symposia to the gymnasium. As A. M. Prestianni-Giallombardo and B. Tripodi concluded, this kind of dog, “*da salotto*”, does not fit in the formal character of a regal scene and, taking into consideration that the horse in some other cases is accompanied by other symbols as for example an eagle (Tsagari 2009, n.11), a frog (AMNG III (2), pl.XXVIII.3) or an *alpha* (Tsagari 2009, n.12), they suggested that the dog could be considered a symbol intentionally added by the artist in order to cover the empty space underneath the horse (See: Giallombardo

to the years following the Persian Wars, making in this way the Sarmylian series with the inscription *ΣΤΑΤΕΡ ΜΑΧΟΝ* the oldest depictions of horsemen in northern Greece. S. Psoma suggested that the horseman on Alexander I's coins could in fact have been inspired by the Sarmylian issues⁴⁴⁶.

In the world of ancient Greek aristocracy, the concept of the horseman was catholic and the horse became a special symbol of wealth and status distinction. From the Mycenaean period men who owned horses were considered the noblest and they gained great reputation; after all, it was not haphazard that, after Solon's reforms in Athens that resulted in the division of the society into classes based on the income, the class of the "*hippeis*" held the second rank⁴⁴⁷. The aristocrats used horses in war, hunting and races. Xenophon refers to hunting as the "noblest occupation", for both adults and young men⁴⁴⁸. Warfare and hunting were two activities closely related; the skills of confronting a wild animal were very useful in times of wars when the men were obliged to fight the enemies, and hunting was considered the best training for the future warriors, since by practicing it they acquired discipline, strength, bravery and comradeship, all mandatory characteristics for great combatants⁴⁴⁹. In fact, in quite a few places in Greece, hunting was an initiation, namely a procedure through which the young men were accepted into the adults' society after they had proved themselves ready to assume their military duties. Ancient sources, dated from the 5th century BC, refer to such initiations in Sparta, Crete and of course Macedonia⁴⁵⁰. In the latter case, most of the available sources give us information about hunting – particularly lion hunting – mainly from the period of Alexander III (356 – 323 BC) onwards. However, there are few sources that allude to royal hunting before the reign of Alexander the Great (e.g. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* XIV.37.6) as well as other evidence, such as

– Tribodi 1996, 314-321). Furthermore, according to M. C. Caltabiano, the dog could be seen as an animal-guide, as a symbolic companion of the rider helping him along his "journey" (See: Caltabiano 2007, 765).

As for the rider, M. Taceva suggested that we should seek a cultural or religious symbolism behind the two spears; based on a series of evidence, from poetry to pottery and sculpture, and especially on the findings of two Thracian tombs dated to the second half of 5th century BC, she concluded that "*the two spears were the armament of the Thracian and Mycenaean aristocrats, bound by the Pelasgian Orphic cult of the Kabeiroi*". (See: Taceva 1992, 67-69). M. C. Caltabiano also correlated the rider, and the rider on foot, on Alexander I's coins with the twosome of Kabeiroi/Dioskouri; as she writes, "*Alexander I presented the Macedonian monarchy as inspired by the principles of collaboration and the integration of functions, typical of the salvific action of the Kabeiroi/Dioskouri*" (See: Caltabiano 2007, 767-770).

⁴⁴⁶ Psoma 2001b, 42.

⁴⁴⁷ Woysch-Méautis 1982, 36. For Solon's reforms see: Bengtson 1991, 113-116.

⁴⁴⁸ Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaimonians*, IV.7.

⁴⁴⁹ See: Barringer 10-59 and especially, 11-14 & 42-46.

⁴⁵⁰ Barringer 2001, 11-15; see also: Hatzopoulos 1994, 87-111.

the coins of Alexander I (498 – 454 BC) or a stater of Amyntas III (393 – 370 BC), which leave no doubt that hunting had a long tradition within the Macedonian court and elite⁴⁵¹. War and hunting were two elementary royal activities and the excellent performance was not just an obligation for the king, but the way to legitimise his regal power⁴⁵²; hence, on Alexander I's octadrachms one can trace messages related to the Macedonian monarchy and the legitimacy of the sovereign⁴⁵³.

The stater of Amyntas III (393 - 370 BC) that was mentioned above, depicts beyond doubt a hunting scene, unfolded in both sides of the coin; the obverse bears a rider on a cantering horse brandishing his one spear, while the reverse depicts a standing lion facing the rider on the obverse, and having its front right paw raised, ready to attack the second spear that the hunter had just launched and that seems to be broken (fig.61). The identification of Amyntas III's rider as a hunter, equals the same identification for the riders on the coinage of the previous Macedonian kings too⁴⁵⁴, something that also leads to the identification of the Semylian horseman as a hunter; in fact, one can clearly notice the resemblance between the horseman on the Semylian issues and the one depicted on Amyntas III's stater, regarding mainly the posture and the armament. The hound below the horse, depicted on some tetradrachms, is yet another proof that the scene is indeed a hunting scene. Let us also not forget that there are numerous depictions on Athenian vases, dated from the late 6th century BC, which illustrate hunters in action, either on foot or on horses, where we can easily trace similarities with the Semylian rider⁴⁵⁵ (fig.62).

It is rather difficult to ascertain the source of influence for the iconographic types on the coinage of Sermyle, but perhaps we should not completely exclude Chalcis' chariots. Chariots, and generally athletic and agonistic types, were often combined with hunting scenes on pottery depictions (fig.63); athletics, just as hunting, were considered a great training and preparation for the war, hence they became a very important aspect of the aristocratic life⁴⁵⁶. It is important to underline at this point that Sermyle was a Greek autonomous *polis*, which means that we should automatically disregard any "political" symbolism behind the Semylian horseman, as happens in the case of the Macedonian regal coinage; instead, we should seek a social symbolism and hence link the Semylian horses with the well-established norms of the aristocratic society.

⁴⁵¹ Sawada 2010, 399-403.

⁴⁵² Giallombardo – Tribodi 1996, 326-327.

⁴⁵³ Caltabiano 2007, 770.

⁴⁵⁴ Greenwalt 1993, 515.

⁴⁵⁵ For example: Barringer 2001, fig.1,19,21,29,29.

⁴⁵⁶ Barringer 2001, 34-37.

ii. Olynthus

The reverse type of the tetrobols that are attributed to Olynthus with certainty was obviously influenced from Chalcis, which depicted on its coinage an eagle flying to the left or right and, at a later variant, carrying a serpent⁴⁵⁷. As already mentioned, the eagle was the sacred animal of Zeus and B. V. Head suggested that the depictions on Chalcis' coins were related to the worship of Zeus Olympios⁴⁵⁸ as there was a sanctuary dedicated to him in the city⁴⁵⁹. The eagle on Chalcis' coinage can also be compared with the one depicted on the coins of Elis in Peloponnese (fig.64) where the connection with Zeus Olympios is beyond any question⁴⁶⁰.

As for the horse on the obverse of the Olynthian tetrobols, it has been suggested that it was related to Poseidon⁴⁶¹ who was the tamer of horses and the protector of riders⁴⁶²; although the excavations have not revealed any sanctuary dedicated to Poseidon, his worship in the city is indirectly implied by the name of the month *Hippios* in the Olynthian calendar⁴⁶³. An established cult of Poseidon in Olynthus would not be a surprise, since the god was worshipped widely in the region of Chalcidice; furthermore, the Chalcidians of Olynthus could have carried Poseidon's worship from Euboea, where his cult was attested⁴⁶⁴. However, chariot-horses appeared on the coinage of Chalcis, both as an obverse as well as a reverse type, while on later issues the city depicted just a single wheel, an allusion to the previous iconography⁴⁶⁵. E. Babelon, considering the quadriga an agonistic type, attributed an agonistic character also to the Olynthian tetrobols with the horse bound to the Ionic column, since he associated the column with the pillar (*meta*) that set the turning-point for the chariots in the hippodrome⁴⁶⁶.

⁴⁵⁷ Kraay 1976, 89-90; Tsourti 1999, 15. In Homer, the eagle with the snake is described as inauspicious omen for the Trojans, not only because the bird did not manage to kill the serpent that was carrying, but also because it appeared flying to the left instead of upwards or right; the left direction meant that the eagle headed towards the West, which symbolised the doom, while the upward and the right direction symbolised the sun and dawn respectively, both auspicious portents (See: Homer, *Iliad*, XII.195-250). However, Homer's symbolism should not be generalised and we should not seek a similar symbolic meaning behind the different directions of the eagle on the coins of Olynthus and Chalcis.

⁴⁵⁸ Head 1884, lxi; HN, 359.

⁴⁵⁹ Hicks – Hills 1901, p.63 n.40 lines 35-36, 61-62.

⁴⁶⁰ Kraay 1976, 91, 103-107 & pl.18 n.323-325.

⁴⁶¹ Psoma 2001, 198; Tsagari 2009, p.74.

⁴⁶² Homer, *Hymn to Poseidon*; also, see above p.17.

⁴⁶³ Hatzopoulos 1988, 65.

⁴⁶⁴ Strabo, *Geography*, IX.2.13, X.1.7; see also above p.23.

⁴⁶⁵ Kraay 1976, 89-90 & pl.15 n.262-266; Tsourti 1999, 15.

⁴⁶⁶ Babelon, 1907, 1155-1157.

The horse was generally a cherished and popular iconographic type in the Thracian region; it was used widely by the Macedonian kings from Alexander I (498-454 BC) down to Philip V (220-179 BC)⁴⁶⁷, it was depicted on the coins of Thracian tribes, such as the Ichnai⁴⁶⁸, the Orrescii⁴⁶⁹ and the Bisaltae⁴⁷⁰, while it was also used by other Greek cities, as Potidaea and of course Sermyle; the latter was located not far from Olynthus and since it was occupied by Chalcidians too, perhaps we could consider it as a possible influential source for the Olynthian horses. The wide use of the horse on the coinage of northern Greece was linked, as analysed above, to the habits of the aristocrats, namely the hunting and the athletics that were considered to be the perfect preparation for the war; these habits did not belong only to the Greek aristocracy, but they were “universal”, and the values that the horse and horseman represented were well-known in all societies and forms of power⁴⁷¹. Therefore, the social symbolism that one could attributed to the Sermylean horses, could perhaps be attributed to the horses of Olynthus too. However, no matter what the symbolism behind the depictions on the early series of Olynthus was, the truth is that the city, soon after the creation of the Chalcidic Federation, abandoned the coinage bearing its name and struck issues with completely new iconographic types and inscriptions with the name of the Federation, which means that the identity of the Chalcidians mattered much more than the identity of the city.

iii. Torone

It is obvious that Torone did not follow the iconographic types of Chalcis, but instead chose types related to the profitable wine production of the city, something that happened also in the case of Mende. The depiction of the goat on coins was definitely not unknown in northern Greece; we find it on the reverse of Ainus’ coins, dated from the first half of the 5th century BC⁴⁷², and on the reverse of issues of Alexander I (498-454 BC)⁴⁷³ and Archelaus (413 –

⁴⁶⁷ AMNG III (2), 148-194. For a detailed description of the various types of horsemen depicted on the coinage of the Thracian tribes, but mainly on the regal coinage see: Picard 1986, 67-75).

⁴⁶⁸ Tsagari 2009, n.4.

⁴⁶⁹ Tsagari 2009, n.6.

⁴⁷⁰ Tsagari 2009, n.8-9.

⁴⁷¹ Giallombardo – Tripodi 1996, 326-327.

⁴⁷² Kraay 1976, 159-160 & pl.31.553-555.

⁴⁷³ Tsagari 2009, n.12. Apart from these tetradrachms, there are also some tetrobols, obols and hemiobols depicting the forepart of a goat on the obverse, which were previously attributed to Aegae but are now attributed to Alexander I (See: Papaefthimiou 2000, 37-44).

399 BC)⁴⁷⁴. The goat was related to god Hermes who was depicted very often in sculpture, pottery as well as coins, carrying a ram on his shoulders, holding it under his arm, standing beside it or even riding it; these depictions had a rural character and were an allusion to the close relation between the god and the flocks and shepherds⁴⁷⁵. On the coins of Ainus, the connection of the goat with Hermes is clear, since his head appears on the obverse – Hermes Perpheraios seems to have been the principal deity of the city⁴⁷⁶. On the coins of the Macedonian kings on the other hand, the goat can be related to some of their foundation myths, according to which a goat or a flock of goats revealed the place where the capital of the kingdom should be built⁴⁷⁷, but it can also be related to Dionysus who, according to a myth, was the father of Deianira, the wife of Heracles with whom she gave birth to Hyllus⁴⁷⁸, the great-grandfather of Temenos who was the mythical descendant of the Macedonian royal family⁴⁷⁹.

At Torone, the goat was most certainly related to Dionysus, something that is proved by the wine vases that are depicted on the obverses. As already discussed in the case of Mende, Dionysus was one of the oldest gods worshipped in Greece and his cult was very popular. The god had the epithets *Μελαβαυγίς*⁴⁸⁰ – the god with the black goat-skin⁴⁸¹ – and *Αιγοβόλος*⁴⁸² – the “goat-shooter”⁴⁸³, while very often he was depicted accompanied by a goat⁴⁸⁴ (fig.65). Many festivals were celebrated across Greece, like the *Anthesteria*, the *Linaia*, the *Agronia*, the *Rustic Dionysia*, the *Katagogia* and the *Great Dionysia*, all of which had a common ecstatic character and were related to wine-drinking and the madness and cannibalistic fantasies of women, while they used to sacrifice bulls and goats, and they also included phallic processions⁴⁸⁵. Dionysus was particularly popular in northern Greece; it had been supported in the past that the Greeks received his cult from Thrace, something that was disproved, however, by the discovery of

⁴⁷⁴ Tsagari 2009, n.16.

⁴⁷⁵ Farnell 2010d, 33-35. See also: Pausanias, *Description of Greece* II.3.4, IV.33.4, V.27.8, IX.22.1.

⁴⁷⁶ Loukopoulou 2014, 876.

⁴⁷⁷ Diodorus Siculus, *Library*, VII frag. 16; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 219; Justin, *Epitome*, VII.1.7-12.

⁴⁷⁸ Apollodorus, *Library*, I.8.1; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 129.

⁴⁷⁹ Herodotus, VIII.137-138; Thucydides, II.99. For the myths related to the origins of the Macedonian royal family see also: Mitta 2006, 84-97.

⁴⁸⁰ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, II.35.1

⁴⁸¹ Farnell 2010d, 130-131.

⁴⁸² Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, IX.8.1-2.

⁴⁸³ Farnell 2010d, 168-169.

⁴⁸⁴ For example: Beazley 1956, 242.34; Boardman 1975, pl.4.1-2, pl.5.1-4; Laurens – Touchefeu 1979, pl.14.1-2; Pfisterer-Haas 1993, pl.4.1-5.

⁴⁸⁵ Burkert 1985, 163. See also: Larson 2007, 126-142; Farnell 2010d, 150-239.

Linear B Plates in Pylos bearing Dionysus' name, and the discovery of his sanctuary in Kea⁴⁸⁶. Nevertheless, it is certain that *Bacchus*, who was responsible for the divine madness and the ecstatic state of the *Maenadae*, had indeed Thracian origins⁴⁸⁷; let us not forget, that the tragedy *Bacchai* was written when Euripides was in Macedonia, in Archealus' court, something that can give an insight of the roots of *Bacchism* in northern Greece.

Apart from the goat, some tetrobols bore the depiction of a Silenos leaning above a wine vessel; as mentioned, the Silenoi were close companions of god Dionysus and played an essential role in the process of wine production⁴⁸⁸. Also, there is a hemiobol depicting on the obverse, instead of a Silenos, a stork looking into a jar of wine⁴⁸⁹, a rather enigmatic depiction. E. Babelon had attributed to Torone a tetradrachm depicting two Maenads that are holding and looking into an amphora, and he related this depiction to the first day of the festival of *Anthesteria*, the *Pithoigia*, during which they opened the jars of the wine that the city had produced during the past year; the next day they celebrated the *Choes*, the "ritual of the cups", during which they drunk wine from the jars that had opened the previous day⁴⁹⁰. Babelon suggested that the depicted Maenads on the tetradrachm have just discovered the new wine, while the Silenos and the stork on the lower denominations are drinking the newly discovered wine, connecting in this way the iconography with the festival of *Anthesteria*⁴⁹¹. However, the attribution of the aforementioned tetradrachm to Torone has not been accepted by other scholars, who left the origin of the issue unidentified⁴⁹², nonetheless, Babelon's connection of the Silenos and the stork with the Dionysiac festival might still count as a possible scenario, especially since the Silenoi were so often depicted involved in the production of wine and, of course, drinking it⁴⁹³. Hence it is clear that Torone projected through the coins its wine production and the worship of Dionysus, whose cult was widespread in places with profitable viniculture and whose tradition in northern Greece seems to have had deep roots⁴⁹⁴.

⁴⁸⁶ Burkert 1985, 162; see also above p.28.

⁴⁸⁷ Simon 1996, 287.

⁴⁸⁸ See above p.29.

⁴⁸⁹ Hardwick 1998, 127.

⁴⁹⁰ Farnell 2010d, 214-215.

⁴⁹¹ Babelon 1926, 650-653.

⁴⁹² Head 1879, 135; AMNG III (2), 138 n.25; Hardwick 1998.

⁴⁹³ For example: Carpenter 1986, pl.19.B,20.A-B,23.B.

⁴⁹⁴ Apart from the coins that were mentioned in the text above, there were also some other issues with the depiction of a goat; it is difficult to identify the exact place of their origin, however, they do derive from northern Greece, and their connection with the Dionysiac cult remains the most plausible scenario (See: Psoma 2003, 227-242). From Herodotus we learn, in fact, about the existence of a sanctuary dedicated to Dionysus and located in the region of

EPILOGUE

During the late Archaic and Classical periods, the animal figures prevailed as iconographic types on the coinage of the Greek cities on the Chalcidic peninsula, and they represented and reflected various and important aspects of the citizens' life and mentality. The table that follows is an overview of the main inspirational sources for these types; of course, as analysed above, the sources of inspiration for the animal figures are multiple and they range from religion and social customs to simple images taken from nature, and it is rather astounding that in a single depiction one can trace two or more inspirational sources that in turn, indicate two or more characteristics of the identity of the people that minted the issue.

	Types copied from mother-city	Types related to religious beliefs	Types – civic emblems	Types related to social customs
Potidaea	+	+		
Dicaea	+			
Mende		+		
Acanthus			+	
Stageira			+	
Skione		+		
Aphytis		+		
Sermyle				+
Olynthus	+	+		
Torone		+		

The first thing that comes to our attention is the fact that most of the cities did not follow the iconographic types of their mother-cities, something that is in accordance with the very nature of the Greek *polis*. The Greeks passed from monarchy to aristocracy and from there to tyranny, before the establishment of a new political system where the decisions were to be

Mount Pangaeon (Herodotus, VII.109-111). There is also a diobol, attributed to Perdikkas II (454-413 BC), which depicts the forepart of a goat on the obverse and an incuse square with the letters Π-E and two ivy leaves on the reverse, a yet another indication of the connection between the goat and Dionysus (See: Papaefthimiou 2000, 42-43). N. G. L. Hammond also related the iconographic type of the goat to Dionysus; as he writes, “*the coins depicting a goat projected another aspect of the Dionysiac cult that was widespread in the region of Krestonia*” (See: Hammond - Griffith 1979, 86).

made by the totality of the citizens; each *polis* was an independent city-state and the people cared to maintain and protect this independence with plenty of zeal⁴⁹⁵. This philosophy was also preserved by the Greek colonists in their new cities and hence, despite the close ties that the colonies usually maintained with their mother-cities, they preserved their independence and were governed by their own people⁴⁹⁶. Therefore, the fact that most of the cities on the Chalcidic peninsula used for their coinage their own types stemmed from the very political organisation of the Greeks. At this point, it is also worth mentioning what C. M. Kraay wrote about the inscribed ethnic and the depicted types on the Greek coins; as he stated, “*the genitive in which the ethnic is normally expressed, is not simply an informative statement; it is a statement of ownership*”⁴⁹⁷. This argument supplements the previous conclusion; the independent cities in the Chalcidice created iconographic types different than the ones of their mother-cities, types that they considered their own property and that hence projected their independence.

From the ten cities that were discussed in this essay, only Dicaea copied all its types from Eretria, as well as from Carystus, something that could equal very strong ties with the mother-city or perhaps the need of the citizens to project their Euboic origins. Apart from Dicaea, two other cities also followed the types of their mother-cities, Olynthus and Potidaea. Olynthus adopted from Chalcis the type of the flying eagle, which was associated with the worship of Zeus – Zeus Olympios in Chalcis, and Zeus Ammon in Olynthus. In Potidaea on the other hand, the adoption of the Corinthian type of Pegasus was the result of the difficult position in which the citizens found themselves at the period right before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, something that resulted in even tighter relations between Potidaea and Corinth. Yet, it is noteworthy that the Potidaeans adjusted the Corinthian type to their own taste and iconographic tradition, hence they did not depict Pegasus alone, as in Corinth, but ridden by Bellerophon, a depiction that evoked the previous type of the city’s coinage, namely Poseidon Hippios. The latter had been brought to Potidaea from Corinth and, at this point, it is important emphasising that the colonists very often carried their religious beliefs to their new settlements⁴⁹⁸; therefore, even though Poseidon Hippios was a new iconographic type for the Potidaeans, yet the source of inspiration was a cult that was established in Corinth.

If we turn our attention back to the table above, the second thing that one notices is that most of the animal figures on the coins were related to cults and beliefs. Apart from Potidaea

⁴⁹⁵ See: Bengtson 1991, 104-116, 122-128, 145-146.

⁴⁹⁶ See: Bengtson 1991, 93-99.

⁴⁹⁷ Kraay 1988, 444.

⁴⁹⁸ Bengtson 1991, 94.

and Olynthus, also Mende, Skione, Aphytis and Torone used types associated with gods; this should come as no surprise since religion held an important role in the lives of ancient people. The most astounding example amongst the aforementioned cities was certainly Aphytis, whose coinage reflected the shared worship of many gods. Of great interest were also the cases of Mende and Torone, which promoted through their coins the worship of god Dionysus and at the same time, their famous wine that was the reason of their great prosperity; it is noteworthy that, even though both cities worshiped the same god for the same reason, their depictions were completely different, which means that they cared for the uniqueness of their types, something that takes us back to Kraay's comment about the "*statement of ownership*".

Another inspirational source for the coinage of the cities in the Chalcidice seems to have been the lavish world of ancient art, not only of Greece, but also of the East. Hence, the significant Andrian colony of Acanthus adopted a motif that had derived from the oriental art, which transformed it into its civic emblem and placed it on its coinage; the civic-emblem was of course singular for each city and it was well-known to the people, and hence easily recognisable. Stageira also used on its coinage the figure that was allegedly its civic-emblem; however, Stageira was clearly influenced by Acanthus, something that is not surprising if we take into consideration that the city was an Andrian colony too and that it was located not far from Acanthus. In fact, this was not an uncommon phenomenon whatsoever, since many cities were influenced by the iconographic types of others that were located, usually, nearby; for example, Aphytis' doves that were represented facing each other, might have been influenced by Skione that was also located in Pallene and that used the same type for its bronze issues. However, it is important to underline that the Acanthian influence did not stop at Stageira, but it reached the western parts of the peninsula too, which means that a type could "travel" longer distances. This can be easily perceived if we focus on the figure of the horse, which was one of the most depicted iconographic types in the Thracian region; it was used by Sermyle, Olynthus and Potidaea, as well as by Macedonian kings and Thracian tribes. The horse generally represented some fundamental values of the higher classes in all political systems and it seems that, when used on the coinage, it did promote these values, something that could also be true for the depiction of lions; therefore, another source of inspiration for the coinage types were in fact the deep-rooted social traditions.

Amidst the many peoples and tribes that lived in the northern shores of the Aegean Sea, the southern Greeks managed to create strong and prosperous cities that maintained their sociopolitical structure intact, even though located in a region that favoured political forms that Greeks generally scorned and were opposed to. The rich coin production of these cities reflected

their wealth, while their iconographic types are a great source of information regarding the people's identity; religious beliefs, mythological and historical background, social customs and other aspects of their lives, were all reflected on the animal figures illustrated on the coins.

ANCIENT SOURCES

❖ Apollodorus	<i>Library</i>
❖ Aristophanes	<i>Acharnians</i>
❖ Aristotle	<i>Politics</i>
	<i>Oeconomica</i>
❖ Athenaios	<i>Deipnosophistai</i>
❖ Callimachus	<i>Hymn to Apollo</i>
❖ Demosthenes	<i>Against Lacritus</i>
	<i>Against Leptines</i>
	<i>On the False Embassy</i>
	<i>Second Philippic</i>
	<i>Third Philippic</i>
❖ Diodorus Siculus	<i>Library</i>
❖ Eratosthenes	<i>Catasterismoi</i>
❖ Euripides	<i>Bacchai</i>
❖ Herodotus	<i>Histories</i>
❖ Hesiod	<i>The Shield of Heracles</i>
	<i>Theogony</i>
❖ Homer	<i>Iliad</i>
	<i>Hymn to Poseidon</i>
❖ Hyginus	<i>Fabulae</i>
❖ Isocrates	<i>Antidosis</i>
	<i>Panegyricus</i>
❖ Justin	<i>Epitome of Pompeius Trogus</i>
	<i>Philippic Histories</i>
❖ Lucian	<i>Dialogues of the Gods</i>
❖ Lucius Annaeus Cornutus	<i>Theologiae Graecae Compendium</i>
❖ Maurus Servius Honoratus	<i>Commentary on the Aeneid of Vergil</i>
❖ Pausanias	<i>Description of Greece</i>
❖ Pliny	<i>Natural History</i>

❖ Plutarch	<i>Amatorius</i>
	<i>Aetia Graeca</i>
	<i>Themistocles</i>
	<i>Alexander</i>
	<i>Lysander</i>
❖ Polyaeus	<i>Stratagemis</i>
❖ Polybius	<i>Histories</i>
❖ Pseudo-Skylax	<i>Periplous</i>
❖ Strabo	<i>Geography</i>
❖ Thucydides	<i>Histories</i>
❖ Xenophon	<i>Hellenica</i>
	<i>Constitution of the Lacedaimonians</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Athens Annals of Archaeology
AEMTH	Archaeological Excavations in Macedonia and Thrace
AEphem	Archaeologiki Ephemeris
AJN	American Journal of Numismatics
AJP	The American Journal of Philology
AK	Antike Kunst
AMNG	H. Gaebler, <i>Die Antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands, Band III (2) Makedonia und Paionia</i> (dir. F. Imhoof-Blumer, ed. Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften), Berlin 1906
ArchDelt	Archeologikon Deltion
ATL I	B. D. Meritt – H. T. Wade-Gery – M. F. McGregor, <i>The Athenian Tribute Lists (vol.I)</i> , Massachusetts 1939
ATL II	B. D. Meritt – H. T. Wade-Gery – M. F. McGregor, <i>The Athenian Tribute Lists (vol.II)</i> , New Jersey 1949
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens
CIQ	Classical Quarterly
CIRh	Clara Rhodos

CVA	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
HN	B. V. Head, <i>Historia Numorum</i> , Oxford 1911
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
JDS	Journal des Savants
JHS	The Journal of Hellenic Studies
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (Organization). Zurich: Artemis, 1981
MeditArch	Mediterranean Archaeology
NAC	Numismatica e Antichità Classiche
NC	The Numismatic Chronicle
NNM	Numismatic Notes and Monographs
NomChron	Nomismatika Chronica
OxfJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
RBN	Revue Belge de Numismatique
REA	Revue des Études Anciennes
RevNum	Revue Numismatique
SNG ANS	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: <i>The Collection of the American Numismatic Society</i> , New York 1987
SNG Ashmolean	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: <i>Ashmolean Museum Oxford</i> , London 1976
SNG Copenhagen	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: <i>The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals Danish National Museum</i> , New Jersey 1982
SNR	Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau
ZfN	Zeitschrift für Numismatik

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[o] Bellerophon on Pegasus (Tsagari 2009, n.69)
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48. Fig.48: Laconian cup depicting Zeus with his eagle. Second quarter of 6th century BC (Boardman 1998, fig.415).
49. Fig.49: Attic red-figure amphora (by Nikoxenos) depicting Zeus and Hera sitting on a throne; Zeus is holding a thunderbolt and a scepter surmounted by an eagle. Ca.500 BC (Simon 1996, fig.20).
50. Fig.50: Silver diobol from Aphytis, mid-5th century BC. *Obv.* Head of god Ares *Rev.* ΦΥΤ. Head of a lion (AMNG III 2 pl.I.3).
51. Fig.51: Silver tetradrachm from Sermyle, ca.500 BC. *Obv.* Rider on a galloping horse brandishing his spear. *Rev.* Incuse square (AMNG III 2 pl.XXI.5).
52. Fig.52: Silver tetradrachm from Sermyle, ca.500 BC. *Obv.* ΣΕΡΜΥΛΙΑΙΟΝ. Rider on a galloping horse brandishing his spear; below the horse a hound running. *Rev.* Incuse square (SNG ANS 721).
53. Fig.53: Silver didrachm from Sermyle, Ca.500-480 BC. *Obv.* ΣΕΡΜΥΛΙΑΙΟΝ. Galloping horse. *Rev.* Incuse square (Tsagari 2009, n.91).
54. Fig.54: Silver tetradrachm from Sermyle, before 500 BC. *Obv.* ΣΤΑΤΕΡ ΜΑΧΟΝ. Rider on a galloping horse brandishing his spear. *Rev.* Incuse square (Tsagari 2009, n.89).
55. Fig.55: Silver tetrobol from Olynthus, 432-420 BC. *Obv.* Horse bound to an Ionic column. *Rev.* ΟΛΥ[Ν]. Eagle flying upwards and holding a snake (Tsagari 2009, n.83).
56. Fig.56: Silver tetrobol from Olynthus, 432-420 BC. *Obv.* Leaping horse. *Rev.* ΟΛΥΝ. Eagle flying upwards and holding a snake (AMNG III 2 pl.XVII.2).
57. Fig.57: Silver tetrobol (from Olynthus?), 5th century BC. *Obv.* A horse and a male figure depicted from the front. *Rev.* An eagle flying upwards (Tsagari 2009, n.84).
58. Fig.58: Silver tetrobol from Torone, 480-420 BC. *Obv.* A Silenos looking inside an oenochoe. *Rev.* Letters ΤΕ. Walking goat (AMNG III 2 pl.XXII.17).
59. Fig.59: Silver obols from Torone, 480-420 BC. *Obv.* Oenochoe. *Rev.* Head and neck of a goat (AMNG III 2 pl.XXII.13-14).

60. Fig.60 Silver octadrachm of Alexander I, 460/450 BC. *Obv.* Rider on a walking horse holding two spears; hound below the horse. *Rev.* ΑΙΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ. Incuse square (Tsagari 2009, n.13).
61. Fig.61: Silver stater of Amyntas III, ca.393 BC. *Obv.* Rider on a cantering horse brandishing his spear. *Rev.* ΑΜΥΝΤΑ. Lion ready to attack a broken spear (Greenwalt 1993, p.519).
62. Fig.62: Attic black-figure amphora lid depicting hunting scenes, ca.550 BC (Barringer 2001, fig.1).
63. Fig.63: Attic black-figure hydria depicting on the central panel a quadriga with a charioteer and two hoplites on the sides, and on the predella a hunting scene, ca.515 BC (Barringer 2001, fig.28).
64. Fig.64: Silver didrachm from Elis, ca.465 BC. *Obv.* Flying eagle carrying a snake *Rev.* Nike (Kraay 1976, pl.18.324).
65. Fig.65: Attic black figure amphora depicting Dionysus accompanied by a goat (Boardman 1975, pl.5.1).

FIGURES



Fig.1: Silver tetradrachm from Potidaea, 525-500BC
Obv. Poseidon Hippios holding his trident
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.66)



Fig.2: Silver tetrobol from Potidaea, 500-480 BC
Obv. Poseidon Hippios holding his trident
Rev. Head of a female figure
 (Tsagari 2009, n.67)



Fig.3: Silver diobol from Potidaea, end of the
 6th century BC
Obv. Forepart of a horse ridden by Poseidon
Rev. Head of a female figure
 (AMNG III 2, pl.XX.26)



Fig.4: Silver hemiobol from Potidaea, ca.480 BC
Obv. Horse walking to the right
Rev. Head of a female figure
 (Tsagari 2009, n.68)



Fig.5: Silver tridrachm from Potidaea, ca.430 BC
Obv. Bellerophon riding Pegasus
Rev. Letter Π. Head of Athena
 (Tsagari 2009, n.69)



Fig.6: Votive clay plaque from Corinth depicting Poseidon Hippios. Mid-6th century BC (Simon 1996, fig.73)



Fig.7: Silver tetradrachm from Dicaea, ca.500-480 BC
Obv. Letters ΛΙ. Ox scratching its head with its hoof; swallow sitting on its rump
Rev. Cuttlefish
 (AMNG III 2, pl.XIII.27)



Fig.8: Silver tetrobol from Dicaea, 450-425/420 BC
Obv. Head of a Nymph
Rev. ΔΙΚΑΙΑ. Head of a bull
 (Tsagari 2009, n.64)



Fig.9: Silver tetrobol from Dicaea, ca.500 BC
Obv. Rooster
Rev. Cuttlefish
 (AMNG III 2, pl.XIII.19)



Fig.10: Bronze coins from Dicaea, first half of the 4th century BC
Obv. Head of a Nymph
Rev. ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ / ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ. Standing bull /
 forepart of a poking bull
 (AMNG III 2, pl.XIII.22-23)



Fig.11: Silver tetradrachm from Eretria, ca.525 BC
Obv. Letter E. Ox scratching its head with its hoof;
 swallow sitting on its rump
Rev. Cuttlefish
 (Kraay 1976, pl.15.268)



Fig.12: Silver tetrobol from Mende, 520-480 BC
Obv. Ithyphallic donkey walking to the left
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.72)



Fig.13: Silver tetrobol from Mende, 520-480 BC
Obv. Letter M. Ithyphallic donkey walking to the left;
 crow sitting on its rump
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.71)



Fig.14: Silver tetradrachm from Mende, 450-405 BC
Obv. Dionysus reclining on a walking donkey, holding a *kantharos*
Rev. MENΔAION. Vines in a deepened square
 (AMNG III 2, pl.XV.26)



Fig.15: Silver tetradrachm from Mende, 460-423 BC
Obv. Dionysus reclining on a walking donkey, holding a *kantharos*; crow in front of the donkey
Rev. MENΔAION. Vines in a deepened square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.73)



Fig.16: Silver tetradrachm from Mende, 450-405 BC
Obv. Dionysus reclining on a walking donkey, holding a *kantharos*;
 crow in front of the donkey and a dog below
Rev. MENΔAION. Vines
 (AMNG III 2, pl.XV.29)



Fig.17: Silver tetrobol from Mende, 460-405 BC
Obv. Standing donkey with a Silenos right beside
Rev. MENΔAION. Crow
 (Tsagari 2009, n.74)



Fig.18: Attic bilingual Skyphos (by Krokotos Painter) depicting
 Dionysus on a donkey, accompanied by Silenoi and Maenads. End of
 6th century BC (Boardman 2007, fig.181)



Fig.19: Attic black-figure amphora depicting five Silenoi, in an ithyphallic state, involved in the production of wine. 6th century BC (Carpenter 1986, pl.20A)



Fig.20: Attic red-figure krater depicting a Satyr beside a donkey, 500-450 BC (LIMC VIII 2, pl.58a)



Fig.21: Silver tetradrachm (from Mende?), 500-480 BC
Obv. Lion attacking an ass
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.70)



Fig.22: Silver tetradrachm from Acanthus, 510-480 BC
Obv. Letter Θ. Lion attacking a bull
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.95)



Fig.23: Silver tetrobol from Acanthus, 510-480 BC
Obv. Kneeling bull
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.96)



Fig.24: Silver tetrobol from Acanthus, 510-480 BC
Obv. Forepart of a lioness
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n. 97)



Fig.25: Silver tetradrachm from Stageira, ca.500 BC
Obv. Lion attacking a boar
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.103)



Fig.26: Silver didrachm from Stageira, 520-485 BC
Obv. Standing boar
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.104)



Fig.27: Silver tetrobol from Stageira, beginning of the 5th century BC
Obv. Forepart of a boar
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.105)



Fig.28: Limestone lioness (restored) attacking a bull, from a pediment found in Acropolis. Ca.570-560 BC (Boardman 2001b, fig.190)



Fig.29: Attic black-figure Oinochoe (by Lydos) depicting on the main body Heracles fighting Ares over Kyknos, and on the lower body lions attacking other animals. Ca.560-540 BC (Boardman 2007, fig.68)



Fig.30: Chalcedony scaraboid from Thebes depicting a lion attacking a bull. Archaic Period (Boardman 2001, pl.393)



Fig.31: Gold coin or medal (?) found in Acanthus. Second quarter of the 4th century BC (Rhomipoulou 1999, fig.1)



Fig.32: Marble relief from Acanthus depicting a lion attacking a bull. Classical period (Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, fig.7)

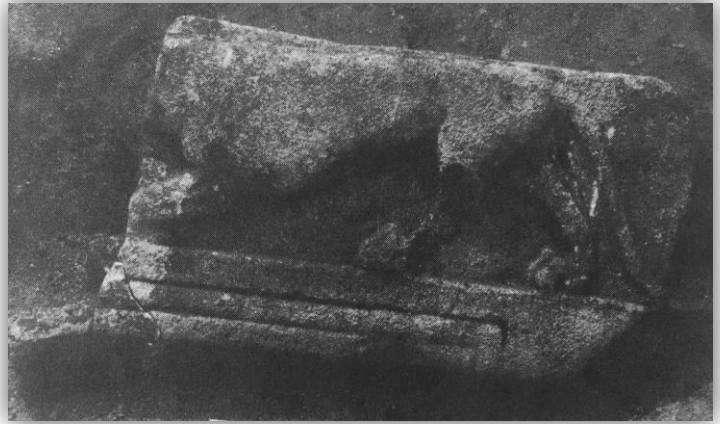
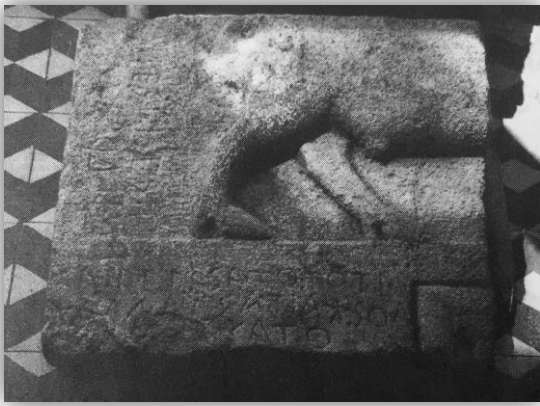


Fig.33: Parts of a lintel from Stageira depicting a lion and a boar. Archaic period.
(Sismanidis 1998, fig.31-32)



Fig.34: Part of the frieze of an Attic black-figure Band cup depicting a lion attacking a boar. Second half of 6th century BC (Boardman 2007, fig.120)



Fig.35: Silver tetradrachm from Skione, ca.500 BC
Obv. Lion attacking a stag
Rev. Incuse square
(Tsagari 2009, n.78)



Fig.36: Silver tetrobol from Skione, ca. 424 BC
Obv. Head of a male figure
Rev. ΣΚΙΟΝ. Dove
(Tsagari 2009, n.81)



Fig.37 Bronze coins from Skione, ca.400-350 BC

Obv. Head of Aphrodite (?)

Rev. ΣΚΙΟΝΑΙΩΝ. Dove / Two doves facing each other
(AMNG III 2 pl.XXI.17, 20)



Fig.38: Silver tetrobol, ca.500 BC

Obv. Forepart of a leaping lion with the head reverted and the mouth open

Rev. Incuse square
(AMNG III 2 pl.XXI.9)



Fig.39: Silver didrachm, ca.500 BC

Obv. Lion gnawing the rear leg of an animal (stag?)

Rev. Incuse square
(AMNG III 2 pl.XXVI.15)



Fig.40: Silver tetrobol from Skione, ca.500 BC

Obv. ΣΚΙΟΝΑΙΩΝ. Forepart of a leaping lion with the head reverted and the mouth open

Rev. Incuse square
(Bloesch 1957, pl.I.5)



Fig.41: Chalcedony scaraboid from Cyprus depicting a lion dragging a dead stag. Archaic Period (Boardman 2001, pl.389)



Fig.42: Green jasper scarab depicting a lion attacking a goat. Archaic Period (Boardman 2001, pl.387)



Fig.43: Chalcedony scaraboid from Cyprus depicting a lion attacking a mule. Archaic Period (Boardman 2001, pl.391)



Fig.44: Aphrodite holding a dove, votive bronze statuette. Ca.450 BC (Larson 2007, fig.9.1)



Fig.45: Bronze coin from Aphytis, first half of the 4th century
Obv. Head of Apollo Karneios
Rev. ΑΦΥ. Eagle standing on a snake
 (AMNG III 2 pl.XI.19)



Fig.46: Bronze coin from Aphytis, first half of the 4th century
Obv. Head of Ammon Zeus
Rev. ΑΦΥ. Two eagles facing each other; in between them a laurel branch
 (AMNG III 2 pl.XI.16)



Fig.47: Bronze coin from Aphytis, first half of the 4th century BC
Obv. Head of Zeus Ammon
Rev. ΑΦΥ. Two pigeons facing one another
 (AMNG III 2 pl.XI.15)



Fig.48: Laconian cup depicting Zeus with his eagle. Second quarter of 6th century BC (Boardman 1998, fig.415)



Fig.49: Attic red-figure amphora (by Nikoxenos) depicting Zeus and Hera sitting on a throne; Zeus is holding a thunderbolt and a scepter surmounted by an eagle. Ca.500 BC
Simon 1996, fig.20)



Fig.50: Silver diobol from Aphytis, mid-5th century BC
Obv. Head of god Ares
Rev. ΦΥΤ. Head of a lion
(AMNG III 2 pl.I.3)



Fig.51: Silver tetradrachm from Sermyle, ca.500 BC
Obv. Rider on a galloping horse brandishing his spear
Rev. Incuse square
(AMNG III 2 pl.XXI.5)



Fig.52: Silver tetradrachm from Sermyle, ca.500 BC
Obv. ΣΕΡΜΥΛΙΑΟΝ. Rider on a galloping horse brandishing his spear; below the horse a hound running
Rev. Incuse square
(SNG ANS 721)



Fig.53: Silver didrachm from Sermyle, Ca.500-480 BC
Obv. ΣΕΡΜΥΛΑΙΟΝ. Galloping horse
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.91)



Fig.54: Silver tetradrachm from Sermyle, before 500 BC
Obv. ΣΤΑΤΕΡ ΜΑΧΟΝ. Rider on a galloping horse brandishing his spear
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.89)



Fig.55: Silver tetrobol from Olynthus, 432-420 BC.
Obv. Horse bound to an Ionic column
Rev. ΟΛΥΝ. Eagle flying upwards and holding a snake
 (Tsagari 2009, n.83)



Fig.56: Silver tetrobol from Olynthus, 432-420 BC
Obv. Leaping horse
Rev. ΟΛΥΝ. Eagle flying upwards and holding a snake
 (AMNG III 2 pl.XVII.2)



Fig.57: Silver tetrobol (from Olynthus?), 5th century BC
Obv. A horse and a male figure depicted from the front
Rev. An eagle flying upwards
 (Tsagari 2009, n.84)



Fig.58: Silver tetrobol from Torone, 480-420 BC
Obv. A Silenos looking inside an oenochoe
Rev. Letters *TE*. Walking goat
 (AMNG III 2 pl.XXII.17)



Fig.60 Silver octadrachm of Alexander I, 460/450 BC
Obv. Rider on a walking horse holding two spears; hound below the horse
Rev. *ΑΙΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ*. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.13)



Fig.59: Silver obols from Torone, 480-420 BC
Obv. Oenochoe
Rev. Head and neck of a goat
 (AMNG III 2 pl.XXII.13-14)



Fig.61: Silver stater of Amyntas III, ca.393 BC
Obv. Rider on a cantering horse brandishing his spear
Rev. *AMYN**T**A*. Lion ready to attack a broken spear
 (Greenwalt 1993, p.519)



Fig.62: Attic black-figure amphora lid depicting hunting scenes,
 ca.550 BC (Barringer 2001, fig.1)

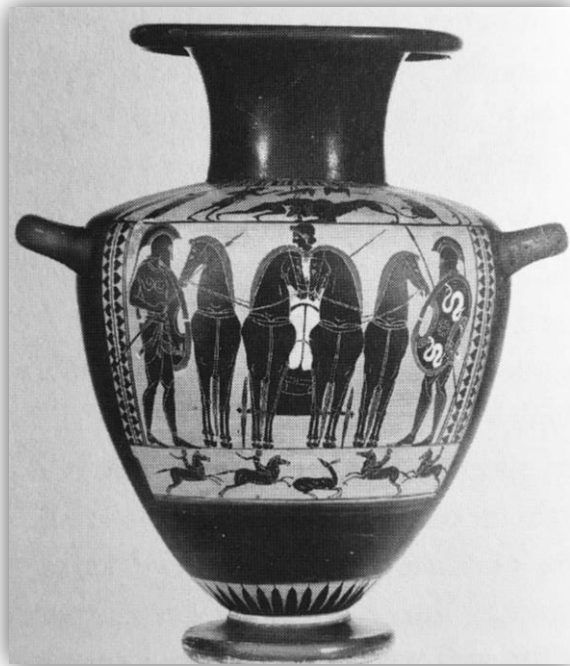


Fig.63: Attic black-figure hydria depicting on the central
 panel a quadriga with a charioteer and two hoplites on the
 sides, and on the predella a hunting scene, ca.515 BC
 (Barringer 2001, fig.28)



Fig.64: Silver didrachm from Elis, ca.465 BC Fig.65: Attic black figure amphora depicting Dionysus accompanied by a goat (Boardman 1975, pl.5.1)
Obv. Flying eagle carrying a snake
Rev. Nike
(Kraay 1976, pl.18.324)