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The Hellenistic Achaian Koinon and its coinage

Catherine Grandjean, Maryse Blet-Lemarquand

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THE *KOINA* OF SOUTHERN GREECE

Historical and Numismatic Studies
in Ancient Greek Federalism

edited by Catherine Grandjean



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THE *KOINA* OF SOUTHERN GREECE:
HISTORICAL AND NUMISMATIC
STUDIES IN ANCIENT GREEK
FEDERALISM

edited by Catherine Grandjean

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THE HELLENISTIC ACHAIAAN *KOINON* AND ITS COINAGE¹

Catherine Grandjean and Maryse Blet-Lemarquand

This article notably presents the results of research carried out in 2017-2019 on the Achaian *koinon* as part of the ANR-16-FRAL-0002 KOINON project (2017-2020) by C. Grandjean (historical and numismatic study) and by M. Blet-Lemarquand (elemental analyses).

THE ACHAIAAN *KOINON*, BETWEEN FEDERAL AUTHORITY AND CIVIC AUTONOMY

Founded in 281/280 BC by Aigion, Bura, Dyme and Patras, four small cities of Achaia (the Northwestern part of the Peloponnese), for fighting against the Macedonians, the Hellenistic Achaian *koinon* remained very weak until 243 BC when Aratus of Sicyon seized the citadel of the Acrocorinth, one of the most strategic places in the Peloponnese and the main tool of the Antigonid king Antigonos Gonatas in the Peloponnese. After that, a first expansion of the Achaian *koinon* took place in Argolis and in Arcadia until the reign of Cleomenes of Sparta (235-222 BC). The Achaian *koinon* had to fight against him as well as against Macedon and Aitolia during the second half of the IIIrd century. Thanks to their alliance with Rome, the whole Peloponnese (about 70 cities) integrated progressively the Achaian *koinon*, between 196/191 BC and the Achaian War in 146. The Achaian *koinon* ended in 146/145 BC, but Pausanias, in a very challenging passage, wrote that it was recreated some years later, as other Greek *koina* (Paus. 7.16.9).

The historian Polybius, who was an Achaian officer, is our main source for the history of the late Hellenistic period. He transmitted us a very famous text on the structure and organization of the Achaian *koinon* in the IInd century BC.

For while many have attempted in the past to induce the Peloponnesians to adopt a common policy, no one ever succeeding, as each was working not in the cause of general liberty, but for his own aggrandizement, this object has been so much advanced, and so nearly attained, in my own time that not only do they form an allied and friendly community, but they have the same laws, weights, measures and coinage, as well as the same magistrates, senate, and courts of justice, and the whole Peloponnesian only falls short of being a single city in the fact of its inhabitants not being enclosed by one wall, all other things being, both as regards the whole and as regards each separate town, very nearly identical. Plb. 2.37.9-11 (translation W. R. Paton, Loeb, 1922)²

This famous quotation has drawn extensive comment concerning the notion of a Peloponnese united under Achaian rule.³ Furthermore, this passage has raised a number of questions concerning the nature and structures of the Achaian *koinon* which are still hotly debated by historians, especially in Germany where the history of the federal states has met with keen interest.⁴

Coins are conspicuously absent from research papers on the nature of the Achaian *koinon* and its institutions. However, Polybius tends to link together weights, measures and coinage on the one hand and genuine political institutions (such

1 Translation by Alex Paterson.

2 Greek text in Weidgennant's contribution *infra*, 213.

3 Sparta's unremitting resistance and Messene's revolt against the *koinon* in 183 BC amply show that Polybius, a member of the Achaian ruling class, tends to convey a rosy picture of the Achaian *koinon* when he speaks of the Peloponnesian "allied and friendly community". Cf. Grandjean 2012.

4 Corsten 1999; Lehmann 2001; Giovannini 2003 & 2007; Beck & Funke 2015.

as laws, magistracies, councils and law-courts) on the other. Coupling coinage (*nomisma*) to law (*nomos*) underlines the essential link between the two words. *Nomisma* was originally the poetic double of *nomos*.⁵

This stands as a measure of just how important the issue of coinage was to Polybius, and how relevant it is to study monetary elements as a way of better understanding the political facts.

Several questions may be raised about the structures of the *koinon* and they will be dealt with first in terms of coinage.

- How were competence and power shared between the authorities of the *koinon* and the cities?
- How autonomous were the cities?

These are pivotal questions when it comes to studying a federal state. Polybius mentions (2.37) the time when the Peloponnese was united, that is the period 191–146 BC, but Heinrich Chantraine, following Paul Pedech, thinks that this timeframe actually begins with Philopoemen's reform of the *koinon* in 188 when Aigion lost its status as capital and when equality between the city members was enhanced, at least in theory. As for the terminus ante quem, the text was written, like books 1 to 30, in the present tense, that is to say probably during his Italian exile from 168 to his returning home in 146 BC.⁶

THE HELLENISTIC ACHAIA COINAGE

The production

As the Achaian *koinon* founded in 281/280 beyond the limits of Achaia, a specifically significant coinage didn't yet appear. Silver in use in the Peloponnese during the IIIrd century BC consisted largely of "alexander" tetradrachms and civic triobols, in circulation since the IVth century BC. Some of the Peloponnesian cities minted posthumous alexanders from c. 225 to c. 190 BC in the Peloponnese for common military needs.⁷ They were issued during the Cleomonic and Social wars (from c. 225 to c. 215 BC) by Corinth, Sicyon, Argos, Pellene, Megalopolis and later, during the Antiochian war (c. 190 BC) by Argos and Messene.⁸

Polybius's Achaian coinage must be what Heinrich Chantraine called the *jüngere* coinage, which features hemidrachms or triobols of the reduced Aeginetic or Symmachic standard (the standard used in the Achaian *koinon* as in other Greek cities and *koina* from the second half of the IIIrd century BC) and also an extensive series of bronze.⁹

The bronze series were issued in the name of 45 or 47 cities, many of which had never struck any coins previously (or would ever again). That bronze coinage has been studied by the late J. A. W. Warren. The obverse features Zeus leaning

on his sceptre and carrying a Nike, while a female figure appears on the reverse which bears the inscription AXAIQN together with the *polis* ethnic mention in the genitive form and sometimes also a name (fig. 1). They have been issued in a single issue dating to 168-150 BC. The production was extensive (with more than 600 attested obverse dies). This coinage hardly circulated outside the territory of each issuing city, except the numerous coins minted at Argos, Elis, Megara, Pellene, Phlious, Sicyon and Tegea which circulated in the whole Peloponnesus.

The main silver currency of the Achaian *koinon* is a massive coinage of triobols with the head of Zeus on the obverse and a monogram



Fig. 1. Bronze Achaian coin of Pellene, CNG, Electronic Auction 392 (1 Mar 2017), lot 228 (18mm, 6.18g, 12h). Warren, variety 2 (*Archemachi*-). 1,5:1.

5 Laroche 1949.
 6 Pedech 1964, 378-379; Thompson 1968; Chantraine 1972.
 7 Troxell 1971.
 8 Grandjean 2019.
 9 Grandjean 1995; Thompson 1968; Warren 2007.

THE HELLENISTIC ACHAIAN KOINON AND ITS COINAGE

with the letters AX standing for AXAIΩN in a laurel wreath on the reverse. They were issued in the name and symbols of 19 member cities (*e.g.* FA for Elis, fig. 2): diverse letters, names or monograms were used as local mint marks. That silver coinage has been studied, but much remains to do. We have not enough die studies and some series have not been yet attributed. The most convincing study is still M. Thompson's monograph on the Agrinion hoard.



Fig. 2. Silver Achaian triobol of Elis. VAuctions-Pegasi Auction 41, (12 Nov 2019), lot 127 (2.45g). "Early" issues. 2:1.

M. Thompson considered that that amount of coinage had to be shared in 3 groups according to the "increasingly use of adjunct markings":¹⁰

The Early group issued by 11 mints (c. 195- c. 168 BC);

The Late group issued by 16 cities (c. 160-150 or c. 146 BC);

The Later (Final) group by 7 cities or more (after 146 BC).

If we are to judge from the seminal works of M. Thompson and H. Chantraine, the coin production did not start before 195 BC. Some other dates could be considered, especially 191 BC when the annexation of Elis and Messene completed the unification of the Peloponnese, or 188 BC when the *koinon* was reformed by Philopoemen.¹¹ On the other hand, the date when they stopped being minted is still questioned today. Whereas numismatists agree to date the first two groups of *jüngere* coinage before 146 BC, they disagree about the third (Later or Final) group citing either the Achaian War or the 1st century BC, since C. Boehringer has dated the Final issues and some civic series of triobols (Messene, Corone, Argos, Patras, Sparta, Sicyon, Megalopolis) to the 1st century BC (from the Mithridatic war in Greece to Actium).¹² The features of these final issues (die studies, metrology, markings) have never been really studied: that seems to be necessary.

It is difficult to tackle the question of whether *koinon* cities simultaneously struck federal and civic triobols, because putting a date on specific types of Megalopolitan and Spartan coins is still quite tricky – but federal and civic triobols were issued at Messene with the same obverse die. What is clear on the other hand is that some cities did strike simultaneously *koinon* and civic bronze coins.¹³

In this paper, we shall concentrate on the two first groups, surely issued before the Achaian war (147-146 BC).

¹⁰ Thompson 1968, 85-104.

¹¹ M. Thompson 1968 dated the beginning of these very first issues at Corinth, Sicyon, Patras, Argos, Corone, Messene, Elis since c. 195 BC (Corinth entered the Achaian *koinon* in 196 BC; Argos in 195) until c. 189/188 BC (the war against Nabis and the expedition against Sparta). Chantraine 1972, 187 has considered that the beginning of the new silver coinage was connected with the reform in 189/188 concerning the holding of federal *synodoi*, previously at Aigion, thereafter in different cities of the *koinon* (Liv. 38.30.3); and indeed, the janiform coinage (one side federal, one side with civic symbols and markings) appears to be *kata koinè kai kata poleis* (cf. Plb. 2.37.9-11).

¹² Boehringer 1991; Warren 1999; Grandjean 2003 and 2016 (low chronology); contra: Touratsoglou & Tsourti 1991; Oeconomides *et al.* 2007; Lakakis 2017.

¹³ Messenian bronze civic and federal coins feature the same name on the reverse: ΔΕΕΙΑΣ. The same magistrate or benefactors may have been in charge of both issues (Grandjean 2003, 198).

The organization of the minting

J. A. W. Warren considered that “the federal bronze coins of each *polis* appear to have been produced locally, *i.e.* at the *polis* in question, and not at any central mint. And she demonstrated that the same engravers’ hands can in many cases be seen to have cut dies for a number of *poleis*: Epidaurus and Hermione (Argolis), as well as Orchomenos (Arcadia) took their cue stylistically from Argos, but did not follow her transfer to the obverse of one element of the legend exactly. The impression given by the styles of the engravers working at different mints was that a body of individuals (or perhaps of travelling mints), on the invitation of each *polis*, moved in succession from one client to another. A remarkable feature of the coinage is the fact that the federal members that did not strike the coinage are small or very small with a notable exception, Sparta. Argos and Megalopolis were the most significant *poleis* of the *koinon*, but had a rather smaller output than might have been expected”.¹⁴

Unfortunately, die studies of the series in silver issued by diverse mints are not yet available. Franck Wojan is about to publish his Ph-D on Elis.¹⁵ And C. Grandjean is currently studying the silver Achaian coinages of Sparta, Pallantion and Tegea as part of the ANR-16-FRAL-0002 KOINON.

According to M. Thompson, the first group of the silver coinage was issued by 11 *poleis* in the North-East and the South of Peloponnese. The main mints were Antigoneia (Mantineia), Megara and Patras. Two inscriptions let us know about the *nomographoi*, annual federal officials recruited in the member cities: the biggest cities had 2 or (Argos and Megalopolis) 3 *nomographoi*, the smallest 1 in turn.¹⁶ Grandjean demonstrated that there was no connection between the size of the silver coinage and the number of *nomographoi*. Sparta had 3 *nomographoi*, but used only 1 obverse die for its Achaian coinage ; on the contrary, Corone (a small Messenian city), had 1 *nomographos*, but used 6 obverse dies for its Achaian coinage.¹⁷ J. A. W. Warren demonstrated the same thing for the size of the federal bronze coinage.¹⁸

The second group was issued by 16 member cities in the Northern Peloponnese ; the main mints during that second period were Elis and Megara. Therefore, a point to be underlined is the unequal repartition of the striking in the whole territory.

The geography of the mints shows during the first period central regional mints (Elis, Patras, Antigoneia-Mantineia, Megalopolis, Messene, Megara). And M. Thompson demonstrated that some silver federal triobols from Patras and Elis were struck with common obverse dies. She also underlined the similarity in the features of Zeus on the triobols struck by Antigoneia, Megalopolis and Messene around 175-168 BC, which could come from one single mint maybe in Messene or Megalopolis. This could lead one to think that production of federal silver was centralised and prompt us to reconsider the notion once propounded by Aldo Ferrabino that the Achaian *koinon* was divided into military and tax districts. That hypothesis was revived by Thomas Corsten and further considered by Gustav A. Lehmann and A. Rizakis. A. Ferrabino claimed the *koinon* was divided into three districts or *syntelia* focused on Argos, Megalopolis and Patras. A. Rizakis and C. Grandjean later showed that this theory may be shaky except as regards the Patras district.¹⁹ That district is attested twice (in 219 and in 146 BC cf. Plb. 4. 59-60, 5.95, 7-9, 38.16.4). Such an organization doesn't appear clearly in the second period of the coinage: Patras, Elis and Megara still produce a lot of coins, but several cities of Achaia, Arcadia and Argolid have developed their own production without any attested die link between mints. Argos and Megalopolis were the prominent military cities (1/3 of the federal army cf. Plb. 5.92, 7-10), but their Achaian coinage is far from being among the biggest ones.

M. Thompson observed that the crowns on the reverse of the very first Achaian series (Corinth, Sicyon, and Argos) were tied at the top, but this is not the case in the other mints (Corone, Patras, Elis, and Messene). On the obverse of the first triobols of Corone, Messene, and Argos, the head of Zeus is in left profile, but in right profile on the coins of other contemporary series.

14 Warren 2007, 178.

15 Wojan, forthcoming.

16 Rizakis 2003.

17 Grandjean 2012.

18 Warren 2007, 150-162.

19 Ferrabino 1921; Thompson 1968; Corsten 1999; Lehmann 2001; Rizakis 2003; Grandjean 2003, 239-243.

ACHAIA MINTS OF THE FIRST GROUP (EARLY ISSUE) ACCORDING TO M. THOMPSON 1968

FDx



ACHAIA MINTS OF THE SECOND GROUP (LATE ISSUE) ACCORDING TO M. THOMPSON 1968

FDx



In addition, the results of numismatic studies and analyses carried out within the framework of the KOINON project clearly go in the direction of mint autonomy with regard to striking techniques, the choice of mint marks both for issues and for mints, which obviously does not exclude *ad hoc* agreements between cities for the engraving of dies or even for monetary production.

A few rare mints (Argos, Antigoneia-Mantineia, Epidaurus, and Messene) struck some of their Achaian issues with regularly-aligned dies, but most of the Achaian silver series have been struck without adjusting dies, or with a variable adjustment, sometimes at 6h and sometimes at 12h; or, in other cases, sometimes at 3h and sometimes at 9h. Again, the diversity of practices shows a degree of autonomy for each city.

In Orléans, during the preparation of the book on Messenia by the lead author of this article, Dr Maria F. Guerra, then researcher at the Ernest-Babelon Center (IRAMAT-CEB CNRS Université d'Orléans), analysed 69 Achaian and 51 Peloponnesian triobols of Argos, Elis, Megalopolis, Messene, and Sparta from the collections of the DMMA of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The method used was proton activation with a 12 MeV proton beam from the CERI / CNRS cyclotron, capable of analysing silver coins up to a depth of around 300 µm.²⁰ These first analyses showed that the standard deviation²¹ of both the weights and the standard deviation of the silver content²² of the coins of the Achaian *koinon* were particularly low. The 36 Achaian triobols of the "Early" and "Late" issues defined by M. Thompson that were analysed (Corinth, Sicyon, Patras, Aigion, Dyme, Sparta, Megalopolis, Megara, Messene, Elis, and Argos) weighed on average 2.37g, with a standard deviation 0.07g; and their average silver content was 2.24g, with a standard deviation of 0.1g. The 13 analysed coins from Argos and Elis struck in the IIIrd century BC had an average weight of 2.34g, with a standard deviation of 0.18g; and an average silver content of 2.18g and a standard deviation of 0.12g. While the average weights and silver content of two series do not differ much, the same does not hold true for the standard deviation between the weights, which is much lower for Achaian currencies. The weights of the Achaian currencies seem much more regular and homogeneous. It was tempting to reconcile this fact with Polybius' comments on the unification of the weights used in the Peloponnese operated by the Achaian *koinon*.²³

The hypothesis put forward in 2001 that the Achaian authorities paid particular attention to respecting the weights was re-examined by an in-depth metrological study within the framework of the ANR-DfG Koinon project. The table below (fig. 3) measures the standard deviations between the weights of the currencies of two workshops, Argos and Sicyon, which struck triobols in the IIIrd century and were then among the first to strike Achaian-type triobols, during the sequence dated to c. 195-188 BC by M. Thompson, at the very beginning of the "Early" issues. Data on the Achaian series from Messene and Patras have been added to this table. We shall not concern ourselves here with the question of the weight standard (Aeginetic for most of the currencies of the IIIrd century BC, then reduced Aeginetic or Symmachic for the Achaian currencies),²⁴ but in standard deviation of weights. The standard deviation is lower for these early Achaian series than for the IIIrd century BC issues, which reinforces the assumption made in 2001 that the federal authorities in Achaia were concerned about respecting the weights.

20 Guerra & Barrandon 1998.

21 Standard deviation = a number that shows the amount by which members of a group are different from the average value for the group: a low standard deviation means that most of the members are close to the average.

22 The silver content is the weight of pure silver, calculated from the percentage of silver obtained by elemental analysis of the coins.

23 Grandjean & Guerra 2000.

24 Grandjean 2003 and 2012.

THE HELLENISTIC ACHAIAK *KOINON* AND ITS COINAGE

Mints	Triobols	Average (g)	Median ²⁵ (g)	Max. weight	Min. weight	Standard deviation ²⁶
ARGOS						
ivth-iii rd century BC	31	2.6	2.68	2.77	2.18	0.163
Achaian (195-188 BC)	15	2.38	2.4	2.48	2.26	0.06
SICYON						
ivth-iii rd century BC	67	2.71	2.78	3	2.23	0.155
Achaian (195-188 BC)	26	2.36	2.36	2.48	2.15	0.07
MESSENE						
Achaian (191-188 BC)	35	2.4	2.4	2.56	2.39	0.07
PATRAS						
Achaian (195-188 BC)	44	2.37	2.38	2.58	2.18	0.08

Fig 3. Metrology of some Peloponnesian civic and Achaian series of triobols.²⁷

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ELEMENTAL ANALYSES IN THE *KOINON* PROJECT

The Achaian Early and Late issues

M. Blet-Lemarquand analysed 65 triobols with Achaian types from the Early and Late periods as part of the ANR-16-FRAL-0002 *KOINON* project using the LA-ICP-MS (Laser Ablation Inductively Coupled Plasma Mass Spectrometry) method.²⁸ These coins come from the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and have been analysed thanks to the generosity of Dr Frédérique Duyrat, director of the DMMA, and with the help of Dr Julien Olivier, in charge of the Greek collections of the DMMA of the BnF. These coins are related to a higher number of mints than those analysed previously by M. F. Guerra: Aigion, Aigeira, Antigoneia-Mantineia, Argos, Corinth, Dyme, Elis, Epidaurus, Kleitor, Megalopolis, Megara, Messene, Patras, and Sicyon.

Most Achaian mints struck coins with a variable percentage of silver, generally between 90% and 99%, as seen in large mints like Patras or Antigoneia-Mantineia: some coins in these mints contain little copper while others comprise a higher percentage, which suggests that this is added copper. The Achaian issues from Argos and Sicyon are made of higher quality silver, containing small proportions of copper, in the order of 2% on average (fig. 4-5).

²⁵ Median = quantity lying at the midpoint of a frequency distribution of observed values or quantities (= in the middle).

²⁶ Standard deviation = a number that shows the amount by which members of a group are different from the average value for the group : a low standard deviation means that most of the members are close to the average.

²⁷ This table was based on the work of Dr E. Papaefthymiou within the framework of the *KOINON* project, which provided an inventory of the weights of Achaian currencies from public collections (DMMA of the BnF, Numismatic Museum), private collections (coll. BCD), and published hoards; E. Papaefthymiou then made the calculations carried forward in the table.

²⁸ See contributions in this volume for explanations on this method and for the table of the results.

	No. of specimens	Ag (%)			Cu (%)		
		AV	SD	RSD (%)	AV	SD	RSD (%)
Aigeira, Late	3	92.5	3.5	3.7	6.0	3.5	59
Aigion, Late	1	97.0	—	—	1.8	—	—
Antigoneia, Early	6	94.2	1.3	1.4	4.2	1.6	38
Argos, Early and Late	6	96.9	0.8	0.8	2.1	0.6	30
Corinth, Early and Late	2	95.6	1.1	1.1	3.4	1.2	36
Dyme, Late	1	92.8	—	—	5.8	—	—
Elis, Early and Late	8	94.2	1.9	2.0	4.5	1.7	38
Epidaurus, Late	5	95.6	2.7	2.9	3.3	2.3	69
Kleitor, Late	2	96.7	0.7	0.7	2.5	0.7	30
Megalopolis, Early	2	91.7	0.8	0.9	5.5	0.004	0.1
Megara, Early and Late	11	89.1	3.3	3.7	9.5	3.3	35
Messene, Early and Late	3	95.1	1.5	1.6	3.1	0.7	22
Patras, Early and Late	10	93.7	2.7	2.9	4.8	2.2	46
Sicyon, Early and Late	5	97.1	0.9	0.9	1.8	0.9	48

Fig. 4. Average silver (Ag) and copper (Cu) contents for 64 Achaian triobols (Early and Late issues). AV: average, SD: Standard deviation, RSD: Relative standard deviation.

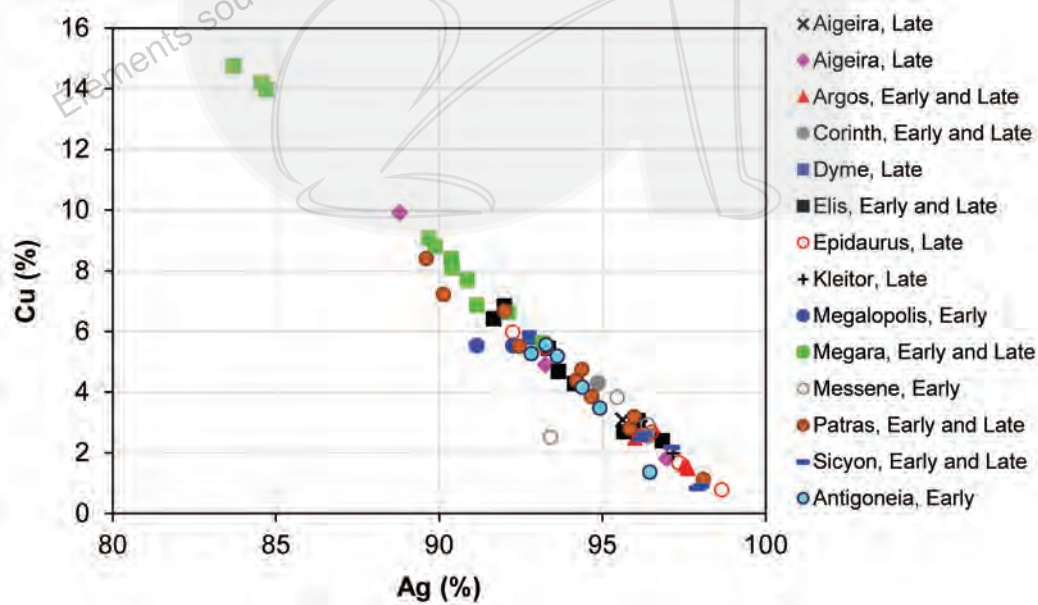


Fig. 5. Copper (Cu) contents against silver (Ag) contents for 64 Achaian triobols (Early and Late issues).

THE HELLENISTIC ACHAIAI *KOINON* AND ITS COINAGE

In contrast, the civic currencies of Megara are distinguished by higher concentrations of copper which are between 6% and 15%. In addition, the coins of Megara contain quantities of arsenic and nickel that are generally higher than those of the triobols struck in the other Achaian mints which result from the more liberal addition of copper in this workshop (fig. 6-7).

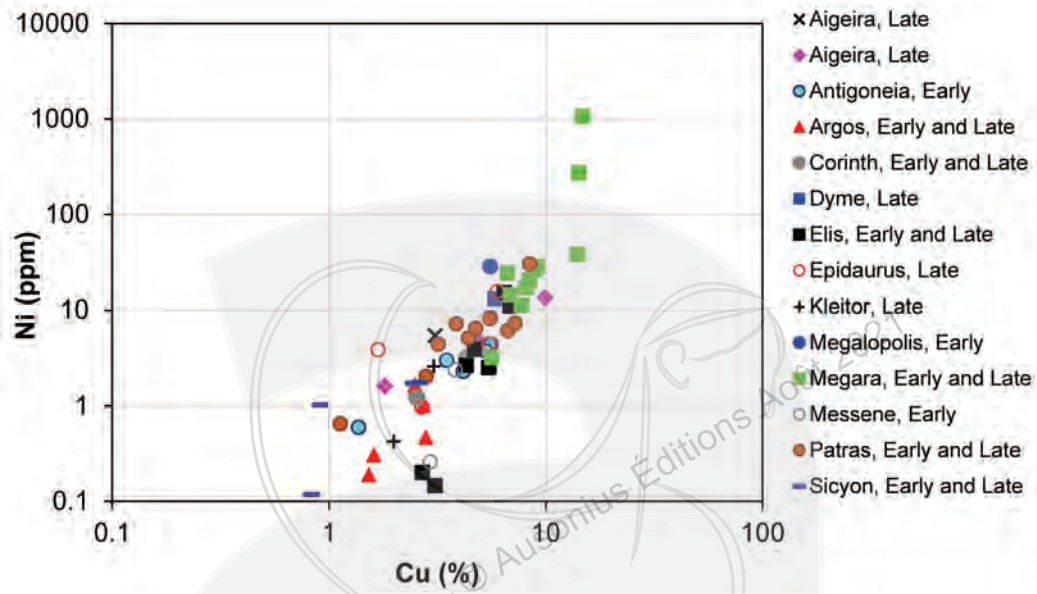


Fig. 6. Nickel (Ni) contents against copper (Cu) contents for 64 Achaian triobols (Early and Late issues). Logarithmic scales.

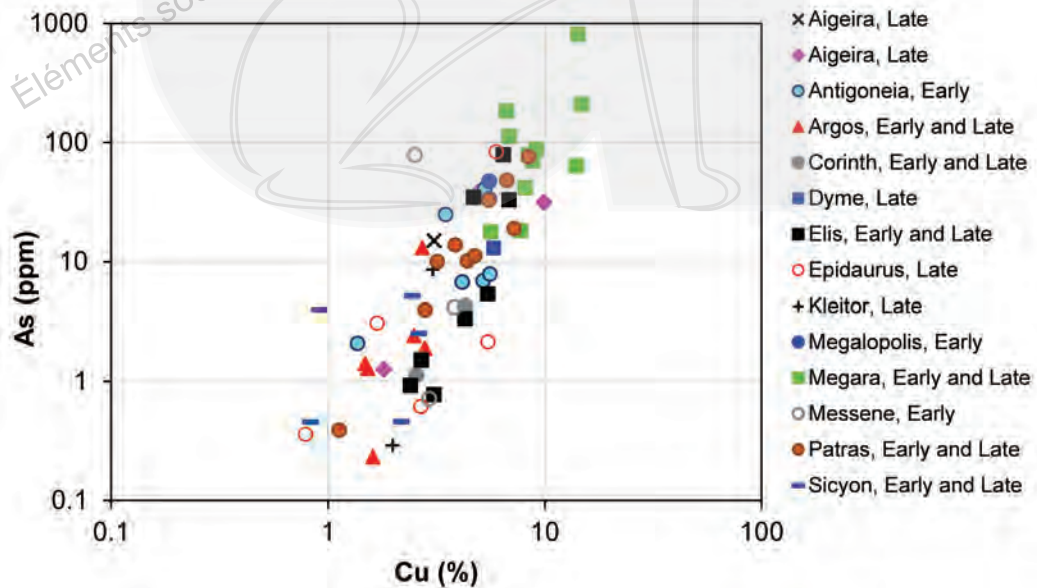


Fig. 7. Arsenic (As) contents against copper (Cu) contents for 64 Achaian triobols (Early and Late issues). Logarithmic scales.

Moreover, the silver metal used in Megara has a specific chemical signature, shown by gold and bismuth contents that differ from what we observe in the other Achaian mints: the Megarian triobols are generally richer in bismuth (contents mainly above 0.1%) and contain less gold (contents always below 0.5%), (fig. 8).²⁹ The Megarian coins were therefore struck with a metal specific to this mint.

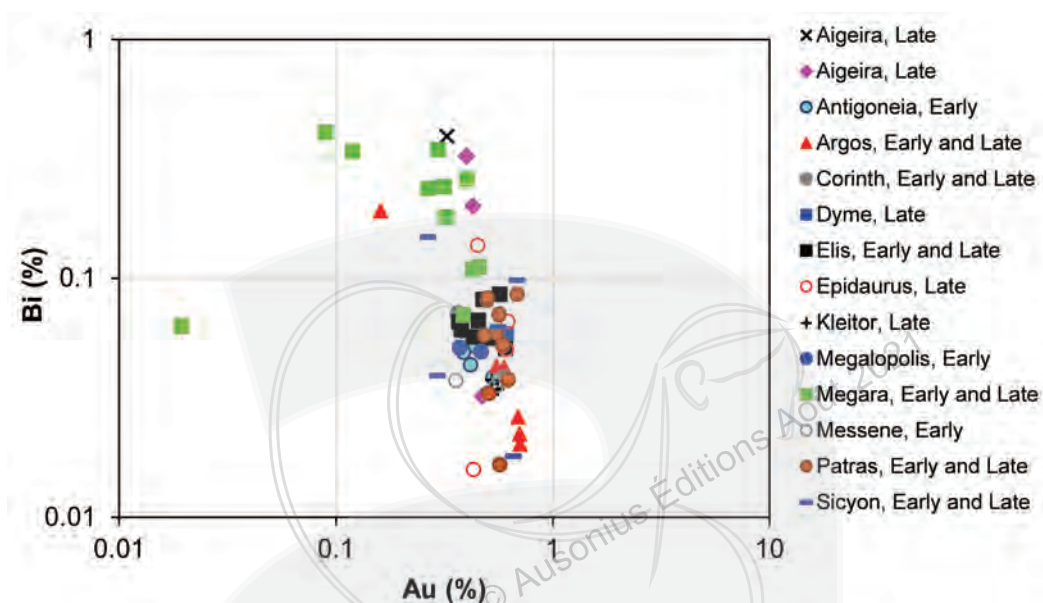


Fig. 8. Bismuth (Bi) contents against gold (Au) contents for 64 Achaian triobols (Early and Late issues). Logarithmic scales.

Megara, a border city

Megara had a peculiar history. That city became a member of the Achaian *koinon* when Aratus of Sicyon seized the citadel of the Acrocorinth in 243 BC, during the first enlargement of the *koinon*. In 223 BC, during the Cleomenic war, in the context of great weakness of the Achaians, Megara joined the Boiotian *koinon* until the end of the IIIrd century or until 193 BC. During the second half of the IIIrd century BC, Megara issued some silver issues depicting a head of laureate Apollo and a cithara with the ethnic ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ (fig. 9). And as a member of the Boiotian *koinon*, the Megarians used the Boiotian federal coinage in silver and in bronze.



Fig. 9. Silver drachm with civic types of Megara dated from the IIIrd century BC (head of Apollo / cithara). CNG, Electronic Auction 392(1 Mar 2017), lot 194 (16mm, 4g, 7h). 2:1.

29 Blet-Lemarquand *et al.* 2018, 207.

THE HELLENISTIC ACHAIA Koinon AND ITS COINAGE

Megara was a prominent mint of the Achaian *koinon*. It's not a surprise as a border city, with a strategic position close to Athens and Boiotia, a first defense line against Aitolian or Macedonian invasions of the Peloponnese. It is tempting to connect the importance of that coinage with that strategic situation of that member.

The eccentric location of Megara (the only Achaian mint outside the Peloponnese issuing silver coins), and its realignments between the Achaian and Boiotian *koina*, are likely to explain these singularities. For this reason, 3 silver coins with civic types of Megara dated from the IIIrd century BC (head of Apollo / cithara) (fig. 9), 19 Boiotian drachmas of the two last federal series in silver struck before 171 BC (head of Demeter or Kore / Poseidon; laureate head of Poseidon or Zeus / Nike) (fig. 10 et 11) and 5 Athenian New Style tetradrachms (fig. 12)³⁰ of the BnF were analysed by M. Blet-Lemarquand within the framework of the ANR-16-FRAL-0002 project.³¹



Fig. 10. Silver Boiotian drachm struck before 171 BC: head of Demeter or Kore / Poseidon. CNG, Electronic Auction 448 (17 Jul 2019), lot 72 (17,5mm, 5.06g, 11h). 1,5:1.



Fig. 11. Silver Boiotian drachm struck before 171 BC: laureate head of Poseidon or Zeus / Nike. Leu Numismatik AG- Web Auction 11 (22 Feb 2020), lot 116 (19mm, 5.07g, 11h). 1,5:1.



Fig. 12. Athenian New Style tetradrachm. Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Auction 53 (24 May 2009), lot 1666 (16.8g). Thompson 1961, 338. 1:1.

The elemental analyses have clearly shown that the federal triobols from Megara contain less silver (with contents in the 84-93% range) than the Boiotian coins, the civic coins from Megara and the Athenian coins especially, that have silver concentrations in the 95-99% range (fig. 13). This discrepancy in the silver fineness between both groups of coins is linked with the copper concentrations that are higher in the Achaian triobols from Megara (6-15%) than in the latter group of coins (maximum of 5%).

³⁰ Thompson 1961, 90, 92a, 590e, 590f, 591b.

³¹ The analyses of the Boiotian coins were actually carried out for Guittet's PhD (Guittet 2013).

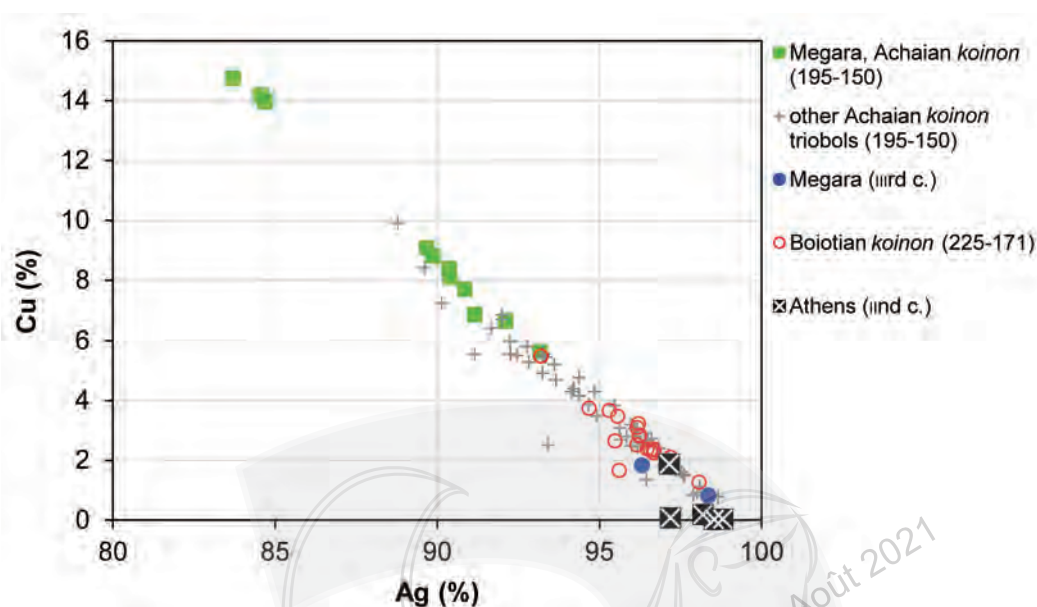


Fig. 13. Copper (Cu) contents against silver (Ag) contents for 11 Achaian triobols in name of Megara (Early and Late issues), 3 civic coins from Megara, 19 coins from the Boiotian *koinon* and 5 coins from Athens.

Previously, a difference in the supply in silver could be evidenced between Megara and the other federal mints with the gold and bismuth contents (fig. 8). This specific composition that characterizes the Megarian triobols struck for the Achaian *koinon* is shared by most of the Boiotian coins (fig. 14). These results lead us to think that a common source of silver was used for both these coins or that the federal triobols in name of Megara have been struck by melting down Boiotian drachms and diluting the metal with copper.

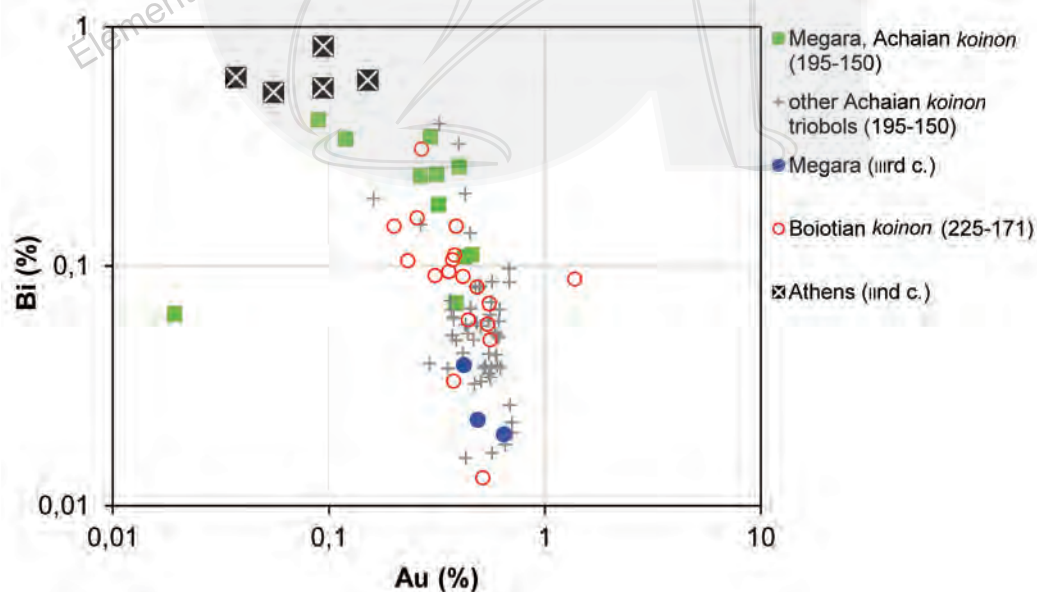


Fig. 14. Bismuth (Bi) contents against gold (Au) contents for 11 Achaian triobols in name of Megara (Early and Late issues) compared to other coins. Logarithmic scales.

THE HELLENISTIC ACHAIAAN KOINON AND ITS COINAGE

THE ACHAIAAN COINAGE BETWEEN FEDERAL AUTHORITY AND CIVIC AUTONOMY

It thus appears that in Megara the minting of the Achaian coinage was carried out with local metal, obtained by melting down available coins that were a little older. The melting down of old coins seems also to have been a common practice in the Peloponnese, a region devoid of silver mines and where overstrikes, while not being inexistent, are quite rare. The supply of metal to Megara was clearly not within the competence of the Achaian authorities. In addition, the results of the KOINON project confirm those previously obtained by M. F. Guerra with regards to the metallic quality of Achaian coinage: judging by its unequal character, it seems clear that the quality of silver bullion was not subject to a federal control that was prone to reject certain coins.

The metrological study of coinage also indicates a substantial autonomy of the Achaian mints in terms of issuing coins.

The data gathered in figure 15 suggest that if a certain harmonisation of weights is perceptible for the Achaian series, coins of Aeginetic weight were also used for their issues (weights greater than 2.5g) alongside coins of Symmachic or reduced Aeginetic standard, but also for other even lighter coins, often showing little wear, or even a fleur-de-coin not related to the same standard or the same denomination. The metrological data remain fairly stable during the two phases of the Achaian coinage (“Early” and “Late”) considered. Differences exist, however, between the various mints. If Patras and Elis struck coins whose weights are fairly regular and close to the average, the same is not true of Megara: the weights of the currencies are uneven, with a standard deviation that is above the average.

Issuing authority	NB of coins	Average (g)	Median (g)	St. Deviation (g)	Max weight (g)	Min weight (g)
Early all mints (c. 195/191-c. 167 BC)	492	2.37	2.38	0.11	2.95	1.74
Late all mints (c. 167-c. 146 BC)	278	2.34	2.36	0.13	2.60	1.74
MEGARA						
Early (c. 195/191-c. 167 BC)	59	2.37	2.39	0.19	2.95	1.74
Late (c. 167-c. 146 BC)	37	2.26	2.29	0.18	2.60	1.74
ELIS						
Early (c. 195/191-c. 167 BC)	80	2.39	2.39	0.08	2.58	2.23
Late (c. 167-c. 146 BC)	34	2.40	2.40	0.07	2.54	2.20
PATRAS						
Early (c. 195/191-c. 167 BC)	102	2.35	2.35	0.08	2.59	2.12
Late (c. 167-c. 146 BC)	33	2.30	2.33	0.14	2.50	1.90

Fig. 15. Metrology of some Achaian triobols (Early and Late periods).³²

³² This table was based on the work of Dr E. Papaefthymiou within the framework of the KOINON project, which provided an inventory of the weights of Achaian currencies from public collections (DMMA of the BnF, Numismatic Museum), private collections (coll. BCD), and published hoards; E. Papaefthymiou then made the calculations carried forward in the table.

CONCLUSION

The results of the elemental analyses and the numismatic study of coinage invite us to formulate the hypothesis that the workshops enjoyed a great autonomy for the technical aspects of the monetary issues within the Achaian *koinon*, as long as they conformed to the choice of denomination and federal coinage types.

The standard was undoubtedly common, as stated by Polybius, but there is nothing to confirm that it was more subject to controls by the federal authority than the metallic quality of the alloy. However, we must remain cautious, Megara having been able to enjoy a special treatment, linked to the particular needs in coinage of this city on the fringes of the Achaian territory, endowed with a garrison that had to be paid for. We will therefore await with all the more interest the results of additional studies, whether they are elemental analyses undertaken with other methods, in Frankfurt within the framework of the KOINON project, but also in Liverpool, by M. Ponting, within the framework of the ERC RACOM project.

Judging by the geography of the mints, the administrative organisation of the Achaian coinage, like other federal institutions, was able to undergo changes according to varying needs (fiscal, military, etc.). There were mints in each region during the first period of coinage (Early issues). It is less clear during the Late period, once the mints had multiplied. In addition, the weights of the Achaian coins dated after the great institutional reform of the *koinon* carried out in 189/188 BC, are more irregular (with equal wear) than at the very beginning of minting. The reform may have had a monetary aspect, increasing the autonomy of the cities.

Another question debated is that of the organisation of the Achaian territory. *Syntelia* (districts) are well attested for Boiotian *koinon*, but their existence is contentious for Achaian *koinon*. The elemental analyses previously conducted by M. F. Guerra did not confirm the hypothesis of *syntelia* around Argos (Argos and Epidaurus) and Megalopolis (Messene) from a monetary point of view, because of the extent to which the composition of monetary alloys varied. Those carried out by M. Blet-Lemarquand gave similar results. Nor do they confirm the stylistic connections made by M. Thompson in her publication of the Agrinion hoard between the coins of the mints of Argos, Megalopolis and Messene: if engravers were able to work for these three mints, as M. Thompson suggested, Argos is apart, both from the point of view of the metallic quality of the coins and the adjustment of dies (6h or 12h); on the other hand, the adjustment of dies of the Achaian issues from Messene and Megalopolis varies a lot within each issue (3h, 6h, 9h or 12h).

As the collections of the DMMA did not include examples of the Achaian issues of Elis and Patras struck with a common obverse die, it was not possible to re-examine the hypothesis of a common mint to the two cities, put forward by M. Thompson through elemental analysis.³³

In conclusion, the cities within the Achaian *koinon* seem therefore to have enjoyed the same autonomy in terms of issuing coinage as in many other fields.³⁴

In fact, the very civic character of this coinage, the minting of which began shortly after the proclamation of civil liberties by Flamininus after his victory over Philip V during the second Macedonian war, is not surprising at a time when Rome had taken on the role of protector of the liberties of the Greek cities.

33 Thompson 1968.

34 Larsen 1971; Rizakis 1990; Rizakis 2015.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- BCD *Coins of Peloponnesos: the BCD Collection. Auction LHS 96, May 8-9, 2006*, LHS Numismatics Ltd., Zürich, 2006.
- BMC *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, 1873-1927*.
- CH *Coin Hoards*, Royal Numismatic Society, London, 1975-2010.
- IGCH M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm and C. M. Kraay, ed., *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York, 1973.
- LGPN *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford (vol. III. A *The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily, Magna Grecia*).
- LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 1981-2009.
- RP I A. Rizakis and S. Zoumbaki, ed., *Roman Peloponnese I: Roman Personal Names in their Social Context*, Μελετήματα, 31, Athens, 2001.
- RP II A. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki and C. Lepenioti, ed., *Roman Peloponnese II: Roman Personal Names in their Social Context*, Μελετήματα, 36, Athens, 2004.
- RPC *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London-Paris, 1992-.
- SNG *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*.

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