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KATERINI LIAMPI

THE MOLOSSIAN SETTLEMENT AT THE  
IOANNINA CASTLE – CONTRIBUTION TO THE COIN  
CIRCULATION AND HISTORY OF THE SITE

PLATES 1–4

The excavation activities of the 8<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities<sup>1</sup> in today's densely settled area of the castle of Ioannina (*Pl. I, 1*), has been particularly rewarding during recent years<sup>2</sup>, producing new knowledge, not only about its later cultural phases, but also about the ancient fortified Molossian settlement as an entity. In addition to the remains of ancient buildings, various movable finds, inscriptions and a small number of coins were recovered<sup>3</sup>; the study of their circulation is of interest even though the sample is small.

These coin finds from the castle, unpublished up to now, are made of silver and bronze: the silver coins come from the mints of Corinth and from the northern Greek area; the bronze coins are issues of the Epirote League and of Ambracia.

<sup>1</sup> When Mrs Barbara Papadopoulou, Head of the 8<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, invited me a few months ago to look at the hundreds of coins, Byzantine, Ottoman and later (Greek and other European), that had come to light in the area within the castle of Ioannina and are now in the Byzantine Museum, I discovered among them ancient issues as well. She has courteously placed them at my disposal for study and publication.

<sup>2</sup> VOKOTOPOULOU 1973, p. 95, did not rule out the existence of an ancient settlement on the castle of Ioannina because of its position as a stronghold, the discovery of a head of Dionysos of Roman times and a number of other finds. For the excavation evidence and relevant bibliography, see VLACHOPOULOU-OIKONOMOU 2003, pp. 81–82; GRAVANI 1994, pp. 535–536, 547–549. PLIAKOU 2007, pp. 143–151, mentions an ancient, probably fortified settlement; Papadopoulou *et al.* (PAPADOPOULOU 2009, pp. 4–6) consider it certain that the settlement was fortified. The late Professor Sotiris Dakaris (DAKARIS 1952, pp. 537–554) was concerned mainly with the identification of the settlement of the castle with Byzantine Euroia but at the same time he reported the ancient finds that were already known, as well as those he found himself in the castle, see DAKARIS 1966, pp. 287–288.

<sup>3</sup> The research of the 12<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in the same area has brought other ancient coins to light (bronzes of Ambracia, Symmachia of the Epirotes, Epirote League and king Perseus) as well, to be published soon by the excavators.

## *Catalogue*

### *Silver*

#### *Uncertain Thraco-Macedonian mint*

Diobol, end of the 6<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

Obv. Forepart of a horse r.

Rev. Incuse square.

1. A.K. 515, south leg of the outer fortification walls, 30.11.2007

1,03g; 12mm; – (*Pl. 2, 1*)

See variations of the type: Leu 54, 1992, lot 72; *SNG Ashmolean* 2400 (triobol).

### *Corinth*

Drachm, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

Obv. Pegasos flying r.; beneath,  $\Phi$ .

Rev. Head of Aphrodite r., wearing earring and a pearl necklace, hair in saccos.

2. A.K. 424, outer fortification wall, 20.09.2006, at a depth of 2,83m

2,29g; 15mm; 12h (*Pl. 2, 2*)

*BMC Corinth*, pp. 186–188, pl. 5, no. 10; *SNG Lockett* 2179, 2182, 2184–2195;

Winterthur 2098; *SNG Delepierre* 1909; *PUGLISI* 2000, p. 211, no. 21

### *Bronzes*

#### *Epirote League (233/231–168 B.C.)*

Obv. Bust of Artemis r., wearing stephane and pearl necklace; quiver and bow at shoulder; in front  $\mathcal{A}$ , behind  $\mathcal{E}$ . Border of dots.

Rev.  $\mathcal{A}\Pi\mathcal{E}\mathcal{I}$  /  $\mathcal{P}\mathcal{Q}\mathcal{T}\mathcal{A}\mathcal{N}$ . Spearhead; all in laurel wreath.

3. A.K. 332, SE citadel (Its Kale), south of the circular tower, 28.12.1980

3,84g; 18mm; 3h (*Pl. 2, 3*)

FRANKE 1961, p. 204, no. 534 (same reverse die).

Obv. As above.

Rev. As above (surface damaged).

4. A.K. 571, Ottoman library, from assemblage, 31.10.2008

4,35g; 18mm; – (*Pl. 2, 4*)

FRANKE 1961, p. 204, no. 522 (same obverse die).

Obv. Head of young Herakles r., in lion's skin; below  $\mathcal{K}$ .

Rev.  $\mathcal{A}\Pi\mathcal{E}\mathcal{I}$  /  $\mathcal{P}\mathcal{Q}\mathcal{T}\mathcal{A}\mathcal{N}$ . Club r.; all in oak wreath.

5. A.K. 416, SE citadel (Its Kale), near the western bastion, 3.09.2004, at a depth of 2,60m

2,10g; 13mm; – (*Pl. 2, 5*)

FRANKE 1961, p. 216, nos 663–666.

#### *Epirote League (148–2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.)*

Obv. Head of Dodonaean Zeus l., crowned with oak.

Rev.  $\mathcal{A}\Pi\mathcal{E}\mathcal{I}$  /  $\mathcal{P}\mathcal{Q}\mathcal{T}\mathcal{A}\mathcal{N}$ . Thunderbolt; all in oak wreath.

6. A.K. 503, west leg of the outer fortification walls, gallery near the gate of Philanthropinos, 8.11.2007, at a depth of 2,80m  
5,14g; 22mm; 11h (*Pl. 2, 6*)  
FRANKE 1961, p. 234, no. 144.

*Ambracia (end of the 4<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.)*

Obv. Head of laurel-crowned Apollo with long locks r.; behind,  $\Lambda$ .

Rev. A – M / B – P. Obelisk (baetylos); all in laurel wreath.

7. A.K. 408, SE citadel (Its Kale), near the west bastion, 3.06.2004  
5,10g; 17mm; 10h (*Pl. 2, 7*)

FRANKE 1961, p. 329, nos 72–74; *BMC Thessaly to Aetolia* p. 10, pl. 32, no. 3; *SNG München* 527–528.

The group of ancient coins included also nine bronzes in very damaged condition and thus irrerecognisable. Despite the impossibility of identifying the type, we have classified them with the ancient coins because of the thickness of the flan, their weight and because of the depth at which they were found (between 2,45 and 3,51m), except for two coins which come from an assemblage.<sup>4</sup> The bronze coins of our catalogue are in a very bad state of preservation, and some are given borderline identifications. To the contrary, the two fractions of valuable metal survived in very good condition. This is evident in their weight, which is preserved at its original level.

The diobol (*Pl. 2, 1*), with a silver content of 85%<sup>5</sup>, belongs to a rare category of uninscribed coins whose minting authority, city, king or *ethnos* remains unidentified, although it is certain that it was issued in the northern Greek region. For this reason, the coins are conventionally called Thraco-Macedonian, together with other types and fractions. Criteria for its chronology rest entirely on the style of the figure on the obverse and the type of incuse square.

The obverse type is rendered as the forepart of a galloping horse. It shows stylistic traits of late archaic times, similar to figures on fractional denominations of a group of uncertain mints of the Thraco-Macedonian region,<sup>6</sup> and of Sermyle at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>7</sup> Despite the stylistic similarity to the issues just mentioned, the depiction of the forepart on our diobol differs in a number of typological details and in the thickness of the flan. The relatively smaller body and the form of the head appear likewise on tetrobols and smaller

<sup>4</sup> a. No number: 5,30g, Andronikos Palaiologos Square 1997, from assemblage; b. A.K. 436: 5,30g, Byzantine bath Sufari Serai 23.10.2006; c. A.K. 412: 6,44g, SE citadel (Its Kale), 18.08.2004, depth 2,45m; d. A.K. 302: 3,18g, SE citadel (Its Kale), 5.11.1986, depth 2,80m; e. A.K. 569: 5,24g, Ottoman library 15.10.2008, depth 3,51m; f. A.K. 570: 4,19g, Ottoman library 21.10.2008, from assemblage; g. A.K. 554: 4,89g, Ottoman library 29.08.2008, depth 2,80m; h. A.K. 555: 4,00g, Ottoman library 01.09.2008, depth 2,90m; i. A.K. 556: 6,94g, Ottoman library 01.09.2008, depth 2,90m.

<sup>5</sup> I warmly thank Dr Theophanis Anagnostopoulos (Department of Materials Science and Engineering, University of Ioannina), who examined the silver diobol and verified its proportion of silver content.

<sup>6</sup> *SNG Ashmolean* 2400 (triobol); Leu 54, 1992, lot 72.

<sup>7</sup> *Psoma* 2001, pp. 18–19, no. 8 (¼ stater).



fractions of uncertain origin<sup>8</sup>, of the Bisaltians<sup>9</sup>, of the Macedonian king Alexander I (c. 495–c. 452 B.C.)<sup>10</sup> and on issues on which only the horse's head is engraved<sup>11</sup>. The form of the incuse square on the reverse is in line with the incuse squares as rendered at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. on a series of coins from the wider region of Macedonia, Chalcidice and Thrace<sup>12</sup>. As a result, without reservation, the silver diobol can be attributed to an uncertain Thraco-Macedonian mint and the date can be placed at around the end of the 6<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

The Corinthian drachm (*Pl. 2, 2*) was found in the excavations near the Hellenistic fortification. Although no complete *corpus* of Corinthian drachms and the smaller fractions has been assembled<sup>13</sup>, their chronology can be determined on the basis of the iconographical features they share with the Corinthian staters, the style and the similar monograms or letters they may bear in the field of the reverse<sup>14</sup>. The drachm from the castle, on the basis of the style, is easily dated after the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. This is the only period in which Corinth issued drachms in significant numbers<sup>15</sup>. In addition to the castle, drachms of this style have been found also at other sites of Molossis, Cassopaia, Thesprotia and Chaonia (see below).

The finding of bronze coins of the Epirote League (*Pl. 2, 3–5*) was not surprising. The time span of their production coincides with the existence of the League, which was established after the murder of Deidameia, the last queen of the dynastic house of the Aeacidae, in 233/231 B.C. and the violent interruption of 167 B.C., the year of the Roman invasion of Epirus with its catastrophic results. Many silver and bronze coins were issued during this interval, the bronzes circulating exclusively in the local markets for the short-range daily exchanges of the Epirotes. Their use expanded, as is evident from the excavations, at a number of sites in all the Epirote regions. The League's silver issues are found more rarely in excavations or in hoards, since they were not intended for circulation in the market, but rather for large-scale commerce, for funding public works and for the payment of mercenaries or for the various military requirements. Recent studies have shown that the overwhelming majority of silver didrachms and drachms of the League were minted on the eve of the Third Macedonian War, when Epirus had collaborated with Perseus (179–168 B.C.), the tragic king of Macedonia<sup>16</sup>.

The type with the figure of Herakles and his club (*Pl. 2, 5*) evidently had a limited circulation, since the coins come from only 14 obverse and an equal number of

<sup>8</sup> SNG ANS Macedonia I, 994–995; TZAMALIS 1999, pp. 12–13, nos 81–84.

<sup>9</sup> SNG ANS Macedonia I, 922.

<sup>10</sup> RAYMOND 1953, p. 99, pl. 5e.

<sup>11</sup> LIAMPI 2005, pp. 288–292, pl. 19, nos Exc3–4; CNG 60, 2002, lot 399 (1,39g).

<sup>12</sup> SNG ANS Macedonia I, 70–71 (Aineia); TSELEKAS 1996, pl. 3, nos 26–39, pl. 4, nos 40–46, pl. 8, nos 9–22 (Akanthos); LIAMPI 2005, pl. 10, nos 52–55 (Argilos); SNG ANS Macedonia I, 277 (Eion); PAPAÉVANGÉLOU 2000, pl. 5, no. 67 (Neapolis); SNG ANS Macedonia I, 726 (Sermyle, tetrobol); *ibid.*, 979 (Orrescii); Leu 54, 1992, lot 72 (Thraco-Macedonian issue).

<sup>13</sup> For the Corinthian fractions, see WARREN 1968; PUGLISI 2000; BCD Corinth.

<sup>14</sup> JENKINS 1958, pp. 373–374.

<sup>15</sup> KRAAY 1976a, p. 88.

<sup>16</sup> DIEZ 1989, pp. 166–172; LIAMPI 2009a, pp. 19–23; LIAMPI 2009b, p. 56.

reverse dies<sup>17</sup>. The study of a great number of excavated coins from Gitana in Thesprotia, where the type in question comprised 1,9% of the total<sup>18</sup>, provides a representative picture of its circulation.

To the contrary, the type with the figure of Artemis and her symbol, the spearhead (*Pl. 2, 3–4*), circulated in great numbers, in most Epirote cities and sites, including Chaonia. Its production from 125 obverse and 139 reverse dies<sup>19</sup> was compact and continuous. Of the rest of the League's bronze issues, some are occasional and short-living, others appear in approximately the same numbers as the types with Dione/tripod and Zeus/thunderbolt<sup>20</sup>. Throughout the existence of the League, its coins flooded the Epirote markets, as the local mints had long ceased to strike their own coins.

When, a few years after the Roman onslaught, life had once again recovered its rhythm in deeply damaged Epirus, the League again functioned and from 148 B.C. began to put into circulation only bronzes, the striking of which continued uninterrupted until the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>21</sup>. The only type adopted was the head of the Dodonaean Zeus, facing left, and his thunderbolt. One such coin, in very bad condition, was found at the castle of Ioannina (*Pl. 2, 6*). Coins of this type are frequently recovered in excavations, thus verifying that there was no definite break or discontinuity of life in the Epirote cities and settlements after the Roman raid of 167 B.C.<sup>22</sup>.

One of the most active mints of NW Greece was Ambracia, which issued massive numbers of silver and bronze coins in a great variety of types, inspired by the iconographic circle of gods and goddesses, their symbols and the plentiful fauna of the region. A colony of Corinth, the city began to mint coins very early<sup>23</sup> and systematically to supply the Epirote hinterland and its coastal areas, since the Epirote *ethne* had not yet begun to strike coins, which they did only at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>24</sup>. The worn Ambracian coin (*Pl. 2, 7*) found in the excavations at the castle adheres to the popular iconographical diptych with the figure of Apollo and the obelisk. Among the issues showing the obelisk of Apollo Agyieus as reverse type, the numismatic series with the figure of Dione as obverse type was preferred<sup>25</sup>, judging by its frequent occurrence both at the borders and

<sup>17</sup> FRANKE 1961, pp. 216–217.

<sup>18</sup> PREKA-ALEXANDRI – STOYAS 2011, p. 673, chart 3.

<sup>19</sup> FRANKE 1961, pp. 201–212.

<sup>20</sup> FRANKE 1961, pp. 196–201, 212–214. Of the excavated coins from Gitana, the first place numerically is held with 55,7%, see PREKA-ALEXANDRI – STOYAS 2011, pp. 671, 673 (chart 3), 674.

<sup>21</sup> FRANKE 1961, pp. 225–237.

<sup>22</sup> ISAGER 2001, pp. 17–41; PLIAKOU 2012, forthcoming (with relevant bibliography). They comprise 9,20% of the excavated coins of Gitana, see PREKA-ALEXANDRI – STOYAS 2011, pp. 673 (chart 3), 674.

<sup>23</sup> For the silver coins see Ravel 1928, *passim*; for the bronzes, see *BMC Thessaly to Aetolia* 5–35.

<sup>24</sup> The first issues are attributed to the Molossians, see FRANKE 1961, p. 99, nos 1–2 (AR) and pp. 99–106 (AE); in Elea, see *ibid.*, pp. 43–46 (AE) and for the Thesprotians *ibid.*, p. 51 (AE); the Cassopaia follow, initially with bronze issues, *ibid.* pp. 69–76, likewise the Chaonians, see GJONGEČAJ 2011, pp. 133–135, 140–142; GJONGEČAJ 2012, forthcoming.

<sup>25</sup> *BMC Thessaly to Aetolia* 1–9. For the circulation of the type at Gitana, see PREKA-ALEXANDRI – STOYAS 2011, pp. 673 (chart 4), 674.

outside the city, a result certainly of its extensive production. In the numismatic tradition of the city the obelisk is connected, in a few cases, with the head of Athena on the obverse as well<sup>26</sup>. The coins with the head of Apollo and the obelisk appear sporadically, a situation that agrees with their numerically limited issue: using a sample of over 1600 coins from Ambracia itself, the type is represented by only 2,90%<sup>27</sup>. Its circulation appears to have been greater in Thesprotian Gitana, where it comprised 7,3%, as appears from the study of a total of 1364 coins<sup>28</sup>. The dating of the type is still disputed, just as it is the case with the other bronzes of the city. Proposed on the one hand is the period from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.<sup>29</sup>, on the other, the years following 189 B.C., when the city came into Roman hands under the control of the consul Marcus Fulvius Nobilior<sup>30</sup>, or slightly later in 167 B.C. when the Romans ceded issuing rights to other Epirote cities or *ethne* as well<sup>31</sup>.

The bronze coin of the Epirote League (*Pl. 2, 6*) and the silver diobol (*Pl. 2, 1*) form a landmark for dating the numismatic circulation in the ancient settlement of the castle of Ioannina.

The first is the very latest of the few coins we have at our disposal. It defines the last period of circulation of the Epirote coins before the founding of Nicopolis by Octavian in 31 B.C., which hereafter will monopolize the numismatic privilege<sup>32</sup>, serving the various economic needs of the wider region.

The second, the Thraco-Macedonian silver diobol, is the earliest of all the coins found and also of the archaeological remains discovered up to now at the castle: the earliest pottery is dated from the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. on (see below). Without excluding the probability of finding earlier evidence in the future that will validate the beginning of the settlement at the beginning or middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., it may reasonably be asked whether the Thraco-Macedonian diobol made its way to the area of the castle when it was issued at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. or much later, at the end of the same century when the other archaeological evidence begins to increase. While the ancient coins were not withdrawn from circulation, this particular type of diobol did not continue to circulate, as observed, for long, even in northern Greece. It would thus be difficult for it to have entered the area of the castle many years after it was struck. It is worth noting as well that this type of diobol was struck in limited numbers, appearing only sporadically in excavations in Macedonia and that they did not circulate beyond the Macedonian borders. In this particular case, it may be that this is the only diobol occurring outside this area, in neighbouring Epirus and, indeed, as

<sup>26</sup> *BMC Thessaly to Aetolia* 11–14.

<sup>27</sup> OIKONOMIDOU 1994, p. 287.

<sup>28</sup> PREKA-ALEXANDRI – STOYAS 2011, pp. 673 (chart 4), 675.

<sup>29</sup> *SNG München* 527–528. In a hoard from Gitana/1986, the Ambracian bronzes show the same degree of wear as do those of Philip II, see PREKA-ALEXANDRI – STOYAS 2011, p. 670.

<sup>30</sup> GEORGIOU 2012, forthcoming.

<sup>31</sup> FRANKE 1961, pp. 27–39 (Dodona), 81–84 (Molossians and Cassopaia), 110 (Pandolia), 111–115 (Phoenice).

<sup>32</sup> KARAMESINI-OIKONOMIDOU 1975, *passim*.

the earliest coin coming from the Macedonian region. The next coins that came to Epirus from Macedonia were bronze coins of king Amyntas III (393/392–371/370 B.C.)<sup>33</sup>; appearing immediately afterwards were numerous bronzes and fewer silvers of Philip II (360–336 B.C.), who supplied the Epirote markets with his coins when he became dynamically involved with the area, militarily and politically<sup>34</sup>. How the diobol made its way to the settlement of the castle of Ioannina remains enigmatic. It is likely to have come into the possession of some inhabitant of the settlement while it was in circulation, through a traveller, as mercenary payment or in commercial transaction and it may well be that he kept it as a valuable item.

In addition to the excavated coins, the picture of the numismatic circulation at the castle of Ioannina is reinforced by an unpublished hoard in a private collection. We were able to see only photographs of the eight coins that comprise the hoard; therefore, their weights and axes are not at our disposal. In any case, the same degree of preservation of the staters, the virtual agreement of their production, and the similar patina of their surfaces, as far as it could be determined from the photographs, allow us to consider them as a unit.

### *Catalogue*

*c. 344–306 B.C.*

Obv. Pegasos flying l.; beneath  $\Phi$ .

Rev. Head of Athena Khalinitis with Corinthian helmet, l.; beneath the chin  $\Delta$ , behind the neck [I] and herm facing holding cornucopia and caduceus.

1. Ravel 1948, no. 1084 (Period V, ser. 11); Calciati 460; *BCD Corinth* 135. (Pl. 3, 1)

*c. 306–after 300 B.C.*

Obv. As above.

Rev. As above; beneath the chin  $\Delta$ , behind the neck [API] and a cock, l., on club.

2. Ravel 1948, no. 1095 (Period VI, ser. 1); Calciati 470. (Pl. 3, 2)

Obv. As above.

Rev. As above; beneath the chin A, behind the neck  $\mathfrak{F}$  and a bearded herm, l.

3–4. Ravel 1948, no. 1103 (Period VI, ser. 1); Calciati 477. (Pl. 3, 3–4)

Obv. As above

Rev. As above; behind the neck  $\mathfrak{M}$  and a bearded herm, l.

5–6. Ravel 1948, no. 1107 (Period VI, ser. 1); Calciati 481. (Pl. 3, 5–6)

Obv. As above.

Rev. As above; beneath the chin B, behind the neck  $\mathfrak{M}$  and a bearded, ithyphallic herm, l.

7. Ravel 1948, no. 1108 (Period VI, ser. 1); Calciati 482; *BCD Corinth* 136. (Pl. 3, 7)

<sup>33</sup> LIAMPI 2012b, forthcoming.

<sup>34</sup> LIAMPI 2012b, forthcoming.

Obv. As above.

Rev. As above; beneath the neck Π, behind a bunch of grapes with vine-branch.

8. Ravel 1948, no. 1118 (Period VI, ser. 1); Calciati 493; *BCD Corinth* 138. (Pl. 3, 8)

The state of preservation of the coins is very good. Although they have been in circulation for some time, all the secondary symbols, letters and monograms on the reverse are easily discernible, as is the *koppa* on the obverse. Thus there is no doubt that the origin of the staters is Corinth. To the extent discernible in the available photographs, the surfaces of a number of the coins retain a few traces of bronze (Obv. nos 1, 6; Rev. nos 2, 4, 7; Obv. and Rev. no. 3), showing that they had probably been in contact with some sort of bronze object.

The type of Pegasos, with his legs flung wide to express flight and his wings rendered naturalistically, just as the modelling of his body, and the rendering of his head, stylistically suggest a date after the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. In agreement with this date is the engraving of the head of Athena with its hard features and massive helmet. The study of the combination of symbols, letters and monograms by Ravel and then Calciati is, moreover, determinative and places the production of the staters securely in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>35</sup>

According to Ravel's classification, many Corinthian staters of the final period V, to which the stater of our hoard (catalogue no. 1) belongs, were found in hoards in Sicily<sup>36</sup>. With them were found *pegasi* from the Corinthian colonies of NW Greece<sup>37</sup>, dating to 344–306 B.C.

The final chronological limit comes from the discovery of the Chiliomodi hoard (IGCH 85, Corinth/1932), which contained Corinthian *pegasi*, Ptolemaic tetradrachms and drachms. As demonstrated by Ravel<sup>38</sup>, the Ptolemaic drachms bear the same signature (Δ – O) as the latest drachms of Corinth. According to Ravel, the Ptolemaic drachms were struck in Corinth and coincide chronologically with the brief seizure of the city by Ptolemy I from 308 to 306 B.C., when, after his failure at Salamis in Cyprus, the king was obliged to withdraw from his conquests in Greece<sup>39</sup>. The date of 306 B.C. thus serves as a *terminus post quem* for the burying of the Chiliomodi hoard<sup>40</sup>. On the basis of the hoards of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., however, Martin showed that the examples of the Δ – O type, the final series of group V, could not have been the final autonomous issues of Corinth, "whatever one thinks the chronology to be of the issues of group VI"<sup>41</sup>. The Ptolemaic control

<sup>35</sup> RAVEL 1948, pp. 116–126 (Period V), 127–130 (Period VI); RAVEL 1938, p. 106; CALCIATI 1990, pp. 183–184; see also CAMMANN 1932, pp. 44–45 (cock), 112–113 (herm). See also Jenkins (JENKINS 1958, pp. 373–374) for a relative chronology of Period V.

<sup>36</sup> On the hoards found in Sicily and their circulation, see MENSITIERI – SPAGNIOLI 1993, pp. 87–293; CANTILENA 1993, pp. 61–85. Corinthian *pegasi*, many of which belong to Ravel's period V, continue to be found in hoards in Sicily, see CH VIII–X, s.v. Sicily and Italy.

<sup>37</sup> MARTIN 1985, pp. 172–175 (with earlier bibliography).

<sup>38</sup> RAVEL 1938, pp. 99–100, 104; see also KRAAY 1976a, p. 100; KRAAY 1976b, p. 86. For good photographs of these coins, see APOSTOLOU 2010, pp. 46–49.

<sup>39</sup> SEIBERT 1969, pp. 186–189.

<sup>40</sup> O. Mørkholm dates the Ptolemaic presence to 305/304 B.C., a date which he defines as a *terminus post quem* for the hiding of the Chiliomodi hoard, see MØRKHOLM 1980, p. 156; MØRKHOLM 1991, pp. 65, 87.

<sup>41</sup> MARTIN 1985, pp. 179–183.



was followed immediately by the Macedonian occupation under Prepelaus, in the name of Cassander. This came to an end in the spring of 303 B.C., when Corinth fell to Demetrius Poliorcetes<sup>42</sup>.

The initial production of the Corinthian staters coincides with the period following the inauguration of the campaign to Sicily by the Corinthian Timoleon (344–338 B.C.<sup>43</sup>), in order to expel the Sicilian tyrants and to liberate the Sicilian cities from the Carthaginians<sup>44</sup>. Earlier, from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., as observed initially by Jenkins, the Corinthian *pegasi* comprised their presence in Sicily<sup>45</sup>. Under Timoleon, Corinth and her colonies introduced their *pegasi* in the west, with the result that they comprise 70% of the coins in the Sicilian hoards<sup>46</sup>. Indeed for many years they predominated in the markets of its eastern section,<sup>47</sup> until under Agathocles (317–287 B.C.) their entry into the region was gradually reduced. Initially, from 344 to 341 B.C., the *pegasi* appear to have funded the wages of Timoleon's mercenaries and the various requirements of the expeditionary force, as well as the revival of the Syracuse<sup>48</sup>. It may well be, moreover, that in an

<sup>42</sup> Droysen 2002, pp. 515–518.

<sup>43</sup> For Timoleon's campaign in Sicily see Talbert 1974, *passim*; Salmon 1984 (at various sites); Smarczyk 2003, *passim*; Stickler 2010, pp. 286–292.

<sup>44</sup> In May or June of 342 B.C., Timoleon defeated the Carthaginians at the Crimisos river; for the date of the battle, see Fischer-Bossert 1999, p. 224.

<sup>45</sup> Jenkins 1958, pp. 367–379.

<sup>46</sup> The availability of a great quantity of silver needed for the production of the vast number of Corinthian staters remains a controversial question. While not ruling out the possibility of reminting coins that were already in circulation in the city, a number of interesting ideas have been suggested without, however, being persuasively convincing. Talbert (Talbert 1974, p. 163) suggested that Corinth struck the staters using the silver sent as loot by Timoleon from the battle against the Carthaginians at the river Crimisos. This, however, is contradicted by the *pegasi* struck by Leontini as early as 339/338 B.C., see Fischer-Bossert 1999, p. 224. It is more likely that the silver that was acquired through the victory of Timoleon enabled him to strike *pegasi* in Syracuse around 339/338 B.C. (Talbert 1974, pp. 168–170, 179–180; Kraay 1976a, pp. 101–102). Salmon (Salmon 1993, pp. 12–16) thinks that the silver came from the Macedonian coins that circulated in Corinth through the presence of the Macedonian guard of king Philip II on Acrocorinth. With similar reasoning, this same scholar interpreted also the presence of the *pegasi* of the colonies of NW Greece, a weak argument, however, considering that the predominant Macedonian coin that entered Epirus and Acarnania after the involvement of Philip II in those regions, was almost exclusively of bronze, see Kremidi-Sisilianou 2000, pp. 61–77 (Acarnania); Liampi 2012b, forthcoming (Epirus). In either case the subject is open to further research.

<sup>47</sup> Jenkins 1972, pp. 108–109; Talbert 1974, pp. 161–178; Kraay 1976a, pp. 99–105; Kraay 1976b, pp. 86–88, 235–236; Salmon 1993, pp. 3–17. A dedicatory inscription from Corinth records the Corinthian colonies of NW Greece that participated in Timoleon's victorious battle on the Crimisos river, see Kent 1966, pp. 7–8, no. 23; SEG 28, 380 (= SEG 25, 335= SEG 23, 172= SEG 22, 218= SEG 11, 126a); Smarczyk 2003, pp. 55–57; Stickler 2010, p. 289. The Sicilian cities under Timoleon and thenceforth issued coins, the production of which Puglisi (Puglisi 2009, pp. 87–88) considers to have occurred in the framework of a *symmachia timoleontea*; for the circulation of the *pegasi* in Sicily, see *ibid.* pp. 367–370.

<sup>48</sup> As noted characteristically by Kraay (Kraay 1976b, p. 236) at Syracuse there is “a dramatic revival of the city life”.

initial phase of the campaign *pegasi* were brought into the West by the colonists<sup>49</sup>. Subsequently, since they continued to flow into Sicily until the end of the same century, it is quite clear that they have to be seen in connection with the trading of agricultural products from the island to Greece, a commerce in which Corinth and her colonies will have played the role of middleman<sup>50</sup>. This lines up with two serious events of the year 338 B.C., when Timoleon died and Philip II re-established the Panhellenic Alliance of Corinth: from then on it was for economic rather than political purposes that the *pegasi* entered Sicily.

Especially enlightening for the period of Timoleon's campaign in Sicily is the limited number of *pegasi* of Corinth and her colonies that circulated in the markets of Southern Italy, their presence in hoards, the chronologically brief minting of *pegasi* by the cities of the region, and the overstrikes they made on *pegasi* of Corinth (Ravel period V), Leucas and Ambracia<sup>51</sup>. This could have been for political reasons, but it could also be due to the concentration of mercenaries known to have surrounded Timoleon<sup>52</sup>.

Coins of Ravel's period VI (the staters of our hoard, see Catalogue nos 2–8), which are rightly characterised by Calciati as the “appendix” and end of period V, did not enter Sicily. They show a clear influence of the Macedonian mints, in the use of symbols, letters and monograms<sup>53</sup>. For this reason Ravel placed them in the chronological framework of the Macedonian period, somewhat loosely, from 306 to 300 B.C.<sup>54</sup>. As the end of the first series of Ravel's period VI Mørkholm suggests the year 302 B.C.<sup>55</sup>, when Demetrius Poliorcetes revived the Panhellenic Alliance of Corinth at Isthmia and established a garrison in the city. Yet the garrison was established in the city directly after it was taken by Demetrius in the spring of 303 B.C.<sup>56</sup>, and this is the time when the first series of Ravel's period VI must have come to an end, even though its production in general will have continued after 300 B.C.<sup>57</sup>.

The type of the single stater of Ravel's period V (no. 1084) in our hoard, with the herm as symbol and the letters Δ – I (Catalogue, no. 1), has been found likewise in Sicily in five hoards, among numerous other staters of the same period<sup>58</sup>. To the

<sup>49</sup> Plut., *Timol.* 22, 4–23, 6; Diod. 16, 82, 3, 5; on this, see SALMON 1984, pp. 174, 391–392; SALMON 1993, p. 14.

<sup>50</sup> Of interest is the interpretation of the movement of the *Pegasi* of Corinth and its colonies to Sicily as due to the scarcity of grain in Greece. The ancient sources provide evidence for this, from around 340 to the decade of 320 B.C., see MACDONALD 2002, pp. 59–62.

<sup>51</sup> FISCHER-BOSSERT 1999, pp. 222–225, 253–254.

<sup>52</sup> SMARCZYK 2003, pp. 34, 46–50.

<sup>53</sup> CALCIATI 1990, p. 184.

<sup>54</sup> RAVEL 1948, pp. 30, 127.

<sup>55</sup> MØRKHOLM 1980, p. 156; MØRKHOLM 1991, p. 87.

<sup>56</sup> See note 41.

<sup>57</sup> MARTIN 1985, pp. 180–184.

<sup>58</sup> See MENSITIERI – SPAGNIOLI 1993, pp. 198–199, nos 444–470 (= *IGCH* 2151, Pachino 1957, 27 staters), pp. 224–225, nos 257–272 (= *IGCH* 2180, Megara Hyblaea 1966, 16 staters), pp. 238–239, no. 12 (= *IGCH* 2185, lot A: Camarina 1928, 1 stater), pp. 242–243, no. 30 (= *IGCH* 2185, lot B: Scoglitti 1938, 1 stater), pp. 172–173, no. 16 (= *IGCH* 2189, Sicilia, 1 stater).

contrary, as mentioned – on the basis of published material –, no staters of Ravel's period VI have been found on the island. Unfortunately the lack of evidence does not allow us to determine whether the weight of the staters in our hoard that belong to Ravel's period VI was reduced, as frequently occurs with the coins of the period in question<sup>59</sup>.

In connection with the hoard from the castle of Ioannina we checked the circulation of the Corinthian staters of Ravel's periods V and VI found in other hoards<sup>60</sup>, and in excavations in the regions of Molossis, Thesprotia, Cassopaia and Chaonia:

A Corinthian stater of Ravel's period V, bearing as symbol a Chimaera and the initials A – P<sup>61</sup>, was included together with six Corcyrean hemistaters in the Zekou/1982 hoard (burial 189 B.C.) from Ambracia (Arta)<sup>62</sup>. In Elea a hoard was excavated that contained 2 Corinthian staters of Ravel's period VI and one exceedingly well preserved tetradrachm of Ptolemy III (246–222 B.C.). Given the good condition of the coins, especially that of the tetradrachm of Ptolemy III, the hoard is thought to have been buried during his rule or immediately afterwards<sup>63</sup>. Around 1929 a pot hoard (burial 280 B.C.) was found in Arta/Epirus (= *IGCH* 147), containing the following 60+ silver coins: Philip II (c. 33 tetrobols), Acarnania (3 staters and 1 drachm), Anactorium (1 stater), Leucas (2 staters) and Corinth (18 staters and 2 drachms)<sup>64</sup>. The Corinthian staters, according to the catalogue of Ravel<sup>65</sup>, all belong to period VI.

Worth noting from the areas neighbouring Epirus<sup>66</sup> is the recently published hoard from Corfu/1997 (burial c. 270 B.C.), which contained 206 silver coins<sup>67</sup>. It included coins of Alexander III (1 tetradrachm, 336–295/294 B.C. and 2 drachms, 308–307 B.C.), Lysimachus (1 drachm, 294–287 B.C.), Corinth (22 staters and 6

<sup>59</sup> RAVEL 1948, p. 129.

<sup>60</sup> Typologically unknown remain the more than 33 staters found in 1993 in a hoard in the area of Anactorium, which were scattered, see *CH* IX, 136.

<sup>61</sup> RAVEL 1948, no. 1010; CALCIATI 1990, no. 428.

<sup>62</sup> *CH* VIII, 450; KATSADIMA 2012, forthcoming.

<sup>63</sup> The authors (RIGINOS – LAZARI 2008, pp. 24, 27) date the hoard very late, before the sack of the city by the Romans in 167 B.C. Yet the state of reservation of the Ptolemaic coin bespeaks an earlier dating during the later years of the reign of Ptolemy III or immediately afterwards.

<sup>64</sup> RAVEL 1932, pp. 18–27; RAVEL 1938, p. 106.

<sup>65</sup> RAVEL 1932, pp. 13–16; RAVEL 1948, nos 1096a, 1098a, 1100a and b, 1106a, 1108b and d, 1115a, 1121a, 1126a, 1128a (the coins of his collection).

<sup>66</sup> A hoard found in Cephallenia in 1935 (burial 300–275 B.C.), is reported to have contained 50 silver staters (KARO 1936, cols 120–121), which are exhibited in the NMA and are *pegasi* (26) of Corinth and her colonies, Leucas (12), Anactorium (2), Corcyra (2), Dyrrhachium (4) and Thyreum (1). In the *IGCH* 140 coins are mentioned, moreover (an ensemble of silver –with those noted above– around 350–400) that are found in other collections (2 AV staters of Taras and silvers of Thurii, Velia, Chalcis, Aigina and *pegasi* of Ambracia). A number of Corinthian staters that I saw belong to Ravel's period V. In neighbouring Ithaca too a hoard was found in 1985 containing 30 silver coins (*CH* VIII, 237), 28 Corinthian staters and 2 of her colonies. The Corinthian staters are dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., without further details (TOUCHAIS 1986, p. 700). Both these hoards are to be published by Dr M. Oikonomidou.

<sup>67</sup> PREKA – GJONGEČAJ 2007, pp. 365–378 (= *CH* X, 54).



drachms), Leucas (4 staters and 2 drachms), Anactorium (3 staters), Lucania (1 drachm), Corcyra (106 staters, 15 drachms and 7 didrachms), Dyrrhachium (29 staters), Apollonia (1 stater) and Monunius (5 staters). The Corinthian staters belong to Ravel's periods V (15 staters) and VI (7 staters).

Likewise from Corfu/2006 (burial beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.) comes a hoard comprising 25 silver coins and 1 gold coin<sup>68</sup>. It contained coins of Corinth (11 staters and 1 drachm), Leucas (10 staters), Anactorium (1 stater), Taras (2 staters), 1 Siculo-Punic gold coin and a silver earring. The Corinthian staters belong to Ravel's periods V (7 staters) and VI (4 staters).

The hoard reported to have been found in western Greece/1907 (= *IGCH* 88, burial c. 325–300 B.C.) numbered 28 silver coins: Corinth (15 staters), Leucas (2 staters), Dyrrhachium (1 stater), Ambracia (2 staters), Alyzia (2 staters), Anactorium (4 staters), Stratus (1 stater) and Leucas or Coronta (1 stater)<sup>69</sup>. Our examination of the Corinthian staters shows that 4 belong to Ravel period IV, 10 to period V and 1 probably to VI.

Three interesting hoards were found in the area of Chaonia. The first comes from Phoenice/2008 and contains 26 silver coins<sup>70</sup>, including 6 Corinthian staters and 4 drachms of the time of Timoleon, also staters of Corinthian type from other mints (6 Leucas, 2 Anactorium, 2 Thyreum, 1 Amphilocheian Argos, 3 of uncertain mint) and two tetradrachms of Alexander III (Babylon, 323–317 and Salamis, 323–317 B.C., respectively). The second hoard was discovered at Aghioi Saranda (burial 169–168 B.C.); it contained 73 silver coins<sup>71</sup>, 4 staters and 60 drachms of Corinth of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and 9 drachms of Histiaia. The same burial date is suggested for the hoard from Antigoneia<sup>72</sup>, which contained 217 silver coins, 2 Corinthian staters and 204 drachms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., and drachms of the cities of Sicyon (1), Chalcis (4), Histiaia (4) Ambracia (2) and a bronze coin of the Epirote League.

Finally, a hoard found in S. Dalmatia at Risan/1927 (= *IGCH* 391, burial after 330 B.C.) was scattered in public and private collections. It contained some 300 silver coins, 200 of which are tetradrachms of Damastium and Illyro-Paeonian issuing authorities and around 100 issued by Corinth, Dyrrhachium, Leucas and Anactorium<sup>73</sup>. Ujes had recently presented an unpublished part of the hoard from the collection of the National Museum of Belgrad, comprising 25 *pegasi* of Corinth, Dyrrhachium, Corcyra, Anactorium and Leucas; she discusses also the *pegasi* that were presented earlier<sup>74</sup>. The Corinthian staters were issued during Ravel's periods III, IV and V (nos 993, 1025, 1056, 1059, 1060, 1065)<sup>75</sup>. The staters struck by the colonies are contemporary to the Corinthian coins.

<sup>68</sup> KANTA – PROVATA 2006, forthcoming.

<sup>69</sup> SVORONOS 1908, pp. 258–260.

<sup>70</sup> GJONGEČAJ 2011, pp. 138–139.

<sup>71</sup> GJONGEČAJ 2011, pp. 138–139.

<sup>72</sup> GJONGEČAJ 2011, pp. 138–140.

<sup>73</sup> HORVAT 1934–1936, pp. 26–64; MAY 1939, in the Catalogue and pp. 199–202; UJES 1999, pp. 110–111.

<sup>74</sup> UJES 1999, pp. 107–110; *eiusdem* 2011, pp. 118–121.

<sup>75</sup> UJES 1999, pp. 110–111.

Out of all the above mentioned hoards found in Epirus and the neighbouring regions, only the Corfu/1997 hoard contained the stater type of our catalogue no. 1 of Ravel's period V (no. 1084). Buried in this same hoard were also staters of the same type as our catalogue nos 5–7 of Ravel's period VI (nos 1107, 1108). A variation of Ravel's type VI, no. 1107, has been found in the Arta hoard (= *IGCH* 147), together with Ravel's type V (no. 1108).

In addition to the hoards already mentioned, Corinthian staters<sup>76</sup> have been found in excavations at many sites in Epirus. Staters of both Ravel's periods V and VI have come to light in Cassope, Elea, Rachi Platanias, Kastritsa and Dodona<sup>77</sup>, in Chaonia<sup>78</sup>, and, to be sure, in Ambracia<sup>79</sup>.

The presence of Corinthian coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. in Epirus is not confined to staters. Many Corinthian fractions have been found, mainly drachms, frequently bearing letters or symbols, many without any indication of origin, but dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>80</sup>; others come from excavations in cities and sites of Thesprotia<sup>81</sup>, at Dodona<sup>82</sup>, in the Molossian hinterland<sup>83</sup> and in Chaonia<sup>84</sup>. Worth noting is also the presence of two Corinthian drachms in a hoard dating to 167 B.C. from the public building or sanctuary of the unfortified village at the site of Rachi Platanias in ancient Molossis<sup>85</sup>. Six Corinthian drachms

<sup>76</sup> Hammond (1967, pp. 717–718) bought Corinthian coins during his travels to the Epirote sites between 1922 and 1939; he was shown others by villagers (*ibid.*, pp. 718–719) and he saw more coins as well in the old collection of the Ioannina Museum in 1939; where many of them are today is unknown because of the Second World War (*ibid.*, pp. 725–726). Some Corinthian staters from Dodona are today in Berlin, see FRANKE 1961, p. 36, nos 44–51.

<sup>77</sup> OIKONOMIDOU-KARAMESSINI 1994, p. 174, no. 19 (Cassope: stater of Ravel period V); DAKARIS 1984, p. 55 (Cassope: he notes in general 6 Corinthian coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C.); RIGINOS – LAZARI 2007, p. 62 (Elea: stater of Ravel period V); PLIAKOU 2007, p. 106 (Rachi Platanias site, catalogue: stater of Ravel period V); AMI 7, 372 (staters of Ravel period V); AMI/KNI 385 (Dodona: stater of Ravel period VI); AMI 183, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189 (staters of Ravel period VI). Staters AMI 185, 190 have not been identified because of surface wear.

<sup>78</sup> Dautaj 1984, p. 159 (Dimal: stater of Ravel period VI); GJONGEČAJ 2011, pp. 134, 136 (some 15 staters, period of Timoleon).

<sup>79</sup> Found also in Ambracia among others were Corinthian staters of Ravel's periods V and VI, which are unpublished.

<sup>80</sup> AMI 191–209.

<sup>81</sup> RIGINOS – LAZARI 2007, pp. 79 (Elea: drachms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), 62 (Elea: drachms of the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.); see also RIGINOS – LAZARI 2012, forthcoming (Elea: drachms of the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.); KANTA-KITSOU – LAMPROU 2008, p. 36 (Phanote: drachms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.); LAZARI – TZORTZATOY – KOUNTOURI 2008, p. 55 (Elina: drachms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.); KANTA-KITSOU 2008, p. 70 (Gitana: reference simply to Corinthian coins).

<sup>82</sup> KATSIKLOUDIS 2012, forthcoming (a drachm of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.). Some Corinthian drachms from Dodona are today in Berlin, see FRANKE 1961, p. 36, nos 52–53.

<sup>83</sup> AMI 8, 371 (Kastritsa), see DAKARIS 1965, p. 348; ZACHOS – OIKONOMIDOU 2012, forthcoming (Mesogefyra: drachm of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.).

<sup>84</sup> See for example: DAUTAJ 1984, p. 159 (Dimal: drachm of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.).

<sup>85</sup> PLIAKOU 2007, p. 169.

came from the hoard of Corfu/1997<sup>86</sup> and there was one also in the hoard of Corfu/2006 (see above). Found in neighbouring Vonitsa in 1993 was a hoard that contained 12 Corinthian drachms dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.<sup>87</sup>. Finally, the Amphilochia/1995 hoard included among others a Corinthian drachm, dated to around 325–315 B.C.<sup>88</sup>.

How and why were the drachms and mainly the Corinthian staters introduced into NW Greece, as far as Chaonia? It is evident that during the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. (Ravel periods V and VI) they served as a basic coin of exchange and indeed, even moreso in the areas of the Epirote *ethne* than the coins that were introduced earlier. Staters of Ravel's period V have been found both in hoards and in excavations, as noted above, not only in the coastal zones (Ambracia, Cassope, Elea/Thesprotia, Chaonia), but also in the Epirote hinterland (castle of Ioannina, Rachi Platanias, Kastritsa) and in neighbouring regions as well (Corfu, West Greece, Dalmatia).

There can be no doubt that the basic reason for their introduction to the region was Corinthian commerce through her colonies in NW Greece and through the Ionian islands, particularly the important harbour of Corcyra where, as we have seen, two hoards contained comparable coins. It is also possible that there were a number of politico-strategical reasons at the same time too. An important event, contemporary with the circulation of the staters of Ravel's period V in the West, was the campaign of Alexander I, son of Neoptolemus, in Taras (334–331/330 B.C.). Yet the Molossian king did not go into action in Sicily and it is difficult to suppose that the *pegasi* of Ravel's period V entered Epirus with the return of his military contingent<sup>89</sup>. Rather, the repatriation of the soldiers of Pyrrhus – recruited among which were Chaonians –<sup>90</sup>, after his campaign in Southern Italy and Sicily (280–275 B.C.), might well have been reflected in the specific Corinthian coinage. This is consistent with the hoards, which are dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., and with the locations where the specific Corinthian staters were found throughout the Epirote territory, including Chaonia. While the king funded his campaign and his army with gold, silver and bronze coins that he himself issued in the West<sup>91</sup>, it should be noted that his western coins did not enter Epirus<sup>92</sup>. Before Pyrrhus, during the last years of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the political affairs of Epirus were affected successively by Cassander and Demetrius Poliorcetes, both of them active also in Corinth. It is thus quite possible that the constant movement of soldiers who brought with them Corinthian staters, played a role too, particularly for Ravel's period VI with the many symbols (following Macedonian tradition), since Corinth had already entered Cassander's sphere of influence as early as 306 B.C.

<sup>86</sup> PREKA – GJONGECAJ 2007, p. 369 (= CHX, 54).

<sup>87</sup> CHVIII, 431, pl. LIV, nos 15–24, 28–29.

<sup>88</sup> ASHTON – WARREN 1997, p. 5 (=CHIX, 248). Jenkins (JENKINS 1958, pp. 373–374) tried to classify the Corinthian drachms.

<sup>89</sup> The coins of Alexander I Molossos were struck and used exclusively in South Italy, where they are found both in hoards and in excavations, whereas to the contrary coins of this king have not been found in Epirus, see LIAMPI 2009b, p. 58; LIAMPI 2012a, forthcoming.

<sup>90</sup> For their participation in the battle of Asculum in 279 B.C., see Dion. Hal. 20, 1, 2 (and in other passages).

<sup>91</sup> FLORENZANO 1992, *passim*.

<sup>92</sup> LIAMPI 2009b, p. 59.

The simultaneous production of nearly all the Corinthian staters of our hoard and their similar degree of wear show that they were probably collected at the same time by their owner, although we do not know how they came into his possession. Taking as *terminus post quem* the year 303 B.C., when the minting of the first series of Ravel's period VI ceased, and considering the good state of preservation of the coins despite their considerable circulation, they may well have been hidden during the first three decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. or earlier. There are no criteria that would characterize the burial as an emergency deposit since despite the period being one of successive military engagements, no war is recorded within Molossis.

The coin finds, few up to now, and the hoard in the Molossian settlement of the castle of Ioannina, provide a first impression of the local coin circulation. With the exception of the hoard, the circumstances of its finding being unknown, practically all the excavated coins came from undisturbed levels and at considerable depth. Equally interesting is their discovery at a number of different places within the castle. Taken together with other archaeological evidence, this shows that the settlement occupied the full area now included within the Ottoman fortification:

- a) The Corinthian silver coin was found in the fill at the west leg of the outer fortification wall of the castle close to the Hellenistic fortification<sup>93</sup> (Pl. 4, 2). This is a weighty piece of evidence that – among other criteria – helps to date the fortification at around the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. The coin of the Epirote League was discovered near today's gate of Philanthropinos, struck after 148 B.C. (Pl. 4, 6). Recovered nearby, at the Thomas' tower, were also roof tiles, part of a threshold block, loomweights and pottery from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.<sup>94</sup>
- b) The Thraco-Macedonian diobol (Pl. 4, 1) was found inside the south leg of the SE outer fortification wall. Close to this, on the S-SW slope of Its Kale, an ancient foundation was found with pottery, the earliest of which is dated in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>95</sup>
- c) The coin of the Epirote League with the figure of Artemis and her spearhead (Pl. 4, 4) was recovered from the area of the Ottoman library on the NE citadel (Aslan Pasha). Pottery was found as well, the latest of which dates to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C./1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., and a clay placque with a relief representing a cuirass-clad figure in a chariot<sup>96</sup>. Next to it, beneath the Byzantine bath, was an ancient building of monumental construction (public building, sanctuary?) and pottery ranging from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.<sup>97</sup>
- d) Many coins have been found on the SE citadel (Its Kale): on the southern round tower the coin of the Epirote League with Artemis/spearhead (Pl. 4, 3); near the west bastion the coin of the Epirote League with the figure of Herakles and his club (Pl. 4, 5), and the Ambracian coin (Pl. 4, 7). It has been said that the hoard with the Corinthian staters comes from the area of Its Kale

<sup>93</sup> PAPADOPOULOU 2009, pp. 4–5.

<sup>94</sup> PLIAKOU 2007, pp. 147–148.

<sup>95</sup> PLIAKOU 2007, pp. 143–144.

<sup>96</sup> PLIAKOU 2007, p. 146.

<sup>97</sup> PLIAKOU 2007, pp. 145–147.

(Pl. 4, A), but this statement cannot be verified. The unidentified coins (see note 4) came to light at various points in the SE citadel (Its Kale) and mainly on the NE citadel (Aslan Pasha).

An additional piece of evidence about the finding of the gold stater of Philip II is a determinant. According to the reliable information of Mr. Andreas Tsekouras, his father, Athanasios Tsekouras, told him that between the years 1915 and 1918, outside the courtyard area of his family's mansion, which was built into the west section of the castle, near the Sufari Serai (Pl. 4, B), a relative of theirs had found a gold stater of the Macedonian king Philip II, the location of which is today unfortunately unknown. The gold stater, if struck during the king's lifetime rather than being a posthumous issue, will definitely have been connected with his campaigns in the region. Likewise from the area near to the NE citadel (Aslan Pasha) is a silver drachm of Dyrrhachium (Pl. 4, C), dated around the 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C., which was not an excavation find, but is in a private collection<sup>98</sup>.

To summarize, the information gleaned from the numismatic circulation in the castle expand the upper limit of the chronological setting of life in the settlement that developed and flourished there in antiquity. At the same time, the coins found, few to date, the bronze coins, mainly the Corinthian drachm, the Thracio-Macedonian diobol, the hoard with the Corinthian staters, and the information about the finding of the gold coin of Philip II, are not at all ordinary discoveries. Evidence for the monetary economy, together with archaeological context, has gradually led to the realization that this settlement was a Molossian centre of power. It cannot be ascertained yet whether it was in fact a *polis-state*<sup>99</sup>. Be that as it may, these centres played a part in the organization of their natural territory. Earlier scholars made no comments about the ancient settlement of the castle of Ioannina from this point of view, since serious evidence of its existence in late Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times have been found only recently. The Hellenistic fortification (Pl. 1, 2) itself was discovered just a few years ago. Only a small section of the Hellenistic fortification is known as yet, so that it is uncertain if it surrounded the entire settlement or protected only the vulnerable parts. It is likewise unclear as to whether its perimeter was the same length as the Byzantine/Ottoman fortification wall of 1850 m, not counting the cliffs<sup>100</sup>. To have a valid picture of the ancient fortification wall, moreover, research must first be carried out on the probable changes in the area around the castle that will have taken place from antiquity to its last building phase.

<sup>98</sup> Obv. Cow, suckling calf. ΦΙΛΩΝ above, head of Isis; in front, ear of corn and grapes. Rev. ΔΥΡ – ΦΑ-ΝΙΣ-ΚΟΥ. Double astral pattern within square (3,38g, 1h, 22mm), see *SNG München* 436.

<sup>99</sup> The written sources give very little information about the distinction between cities and settlements and only archaeological evidence shows that many of them have significant remains of urban structure (defence circuits and fortifications, habitation quarters, public buildings etc.), see CABANES 1997, pp. 93–94; see, also, generally FUNKE – MOUSTAKIS – HOCHSCHULZ 2004, p. 339.

<sup>100</sup> For the history of the castle from Byzantine to and including the Ottoman period, see PAPADOPOULOU 2008, pp. 143–152.



We do not know the identification of the ancient settlement of the castle. In any case neither sufficient nor secure evidence exists as yet for the identification of the settlements of Molossis: apart from Horreum (Orraon)<sup>101</sup>, the sites of Tecmon<sup>102</sup> and Passaron are still unidentified. Passaron, the 'capital' and official religious centre of the Molossians, has been identified as the acropolis of Megalo Gardiki<sup>103</sup>, yet finds from present excavations have elicited doubts<sup>104</sup>. Cabanes observed, indeed, that Gardiki is *une acropole fortifiée plus que d'une ville qu'on peut parler*<sup>105</sup>. Further long-term archaeological research is indeed required in order to explore yet another suggestion that has surfaced in discussion during the past few years: the possibility that the castle of Ioannina, is to be identified as Passaron<sup>106</sup>.

While the coins at our disposal are very few, their varied and precise find spots together with other finds *in situ* from the same contexts show that the Molossian settlement of the castle was not limited to the two citadels, but was spread out over the entire interior area of the modern settlement. This was a large settlement, established on a chersonese that projects from the west bank of Lake Pamvotis. The position is indeed advantageous as it monitors the plain of modern Ioannina and – on the basis of the ancient wall found along its west side – it was fortified, at least where it had no natural protection by the cliffs and the lake.

The contribution made by the circulation of the ancient coins to a preliminary idea of the settlement is significant<sup>107</sup>. The Corinthian staters of the hoard and the drachm show their circulation in the Epirote hinterland, which apart from commerce can also be connected with the military and political situation. The silver Thraco-Macedonian diobol of the end of the 6<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. is the earliest find of all the coins and of all the archaeological remains discovered to date at the castle of Ioannina. The diobol is at least an indication of the existence of the settlement likely before or at the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The other archaeological data that we have already mentioned, dated pottery from the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (found near the find spot of the diobol,

<sup>101</sup> ANGELI 2005, *passim*.

<sup>102</sup> Tecmon is located at Kastritsa, see DAKARIS 1956, p. 73 (with earlier bibliography); CABANES 1997, p. 116; FUNKE – MOUSTAKIS – HOCHSCHULZ 2004, pp. 348–349, no. 109; 345, no. 97. To the contrary, Hammond (HAMMOND 1967, pp. 527, 532; HAMMOND 1997, p. 31) identified Kastritsa as Eurymenai; see also, FUNKE – MOUSTAKIS – HOCHSCHULZ 2004, p. 345, no. 97. Cabanes (CABANES 2004, p. 31), based on epigraphic evidence (EYPYMENAIQN), discusses the tribe of Arctanes.

<sup>103</sup> DAKARIS 1956, pp. 63–80 (with earlier bibliography).

<sup>104</sup> PLIAKOU 2007, pp. 91–107; DAUSSE 2007, pp. 205–206.

<sup>105</sup> CABANES 1976, p. 506.

<sup>106</sup> PLIAKOU 2007, pp. 100–107, 151; PLIAKOU 2011, pp. 643–644.

<sup>107</sup> Walled and unwall settlements excavated during the last few years in the plain of Ioannina have yielded evidence for a rather limited circulation: 1. hoards: from Gardiki (PLIAKOU 2007, pp. 34–35); from Rachi Plataniias (PLIAKOU 2007, pp. 101–104); from the location Ellinika Kopani/2008 (LIAMPI 2012a, pp. 599–617); 2. excavated, silver coins of Corcyra, Apollonia, Corinth, of Alexander III, Histiaia and bronzes of the Epirote Alliance, Ambracia, Pyrrhus (the Macedonian issues), Epirote League (before 167 and after 148 B.C.), Philip II, Alexander III, Cassander and Perseus (PLIAKOU 2007, *passim*). Quite otherwise is the picture of numismatic circulation gradually formed from the coastal Epirote cities or settlements Ambracia, Cassope, Elea, Gitana, Elina and a few of other sites, where the number of excavated coins is high because of maritime trade.

see above) to late Hellenistic times, the fortification of the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., house foundations and other architectural remains of Hellenistic times, the coin of the League, dated after 148 B.C., considered together, verify life in the settlement of the castle from around the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to and including the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C./1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. A number of Roman sculptures, reliefs and an inscribed relief of A.D. 242, indicate that the place continued to be occupied during the late Roman period<sup>108</sup>.

Our study of the numismatic material, limited in number yet important, from the Molossian settlement of the castle of Ioannina, provides an initial approach, a motive for dialogue to accompany the progress of archaeological research, and an *impetus* to focus on the character of the site (settlement or *polis-state*) and on the great *desideratum*, its identification as one of the Molossian centres known from the literary sources.

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<sup>108</sup> PLIAKOU 2007, p. 149 (with relevant bibliography).

*Abstract*

During recent archaeological excavations at the castle of Ioannina (Kastro) a small group of coin finds has been found. They consist of bronze coins of the Epirote League and Ambracia, a Corinthian drachm, an interesting archaic diobol of an uncertain Thraco-Macedonian mint, a drachm of Dyrrhachium and a gold stater of Philip II. A small hoard of Corinthian staters from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC from the same find spot is discussed, combined with a survey of similar contemporaneous hoards from north-western Greece. They provide evidence of a wide-reaching circulation of Corinthian staters within the Molossian territory, mainly linked to trade routes. Numismatic evidence, combined with the knowledge of the architectural remains, archaeological finds and the testimony of a partly preserved Hellenistic surrounding wall paints a picture of a flourishing Hellenistic settlement at the castle of Ioannina that had its beginnings in classical time. The identification of this ancient settlement or polis with one of the historically known Molossian poleis however must remain undecided.

*Zusammenfassung*

In den letzten Jahren wurde bei Grabungen in der Burg von Ioannina (Kastro) eine geringe Anzahl von Münzen entdeckt. Es handelt sich um Bronzeprägungen des Koinons der Epiroten, aus Ambrakia, ebenfalls um eine korinthische Drachme, einen interessanten Diobol einer unbekannten makedonischen Münzstätte aus der Zeit vom Ende des 6. bis Anfang des 5. Jhs. v. Chr., eine Drachme von Dyrrhachion und einen goldenen Stater Philipps II. Diese Funde ergänzt ein kleiner Schatzfund mit korinthischen Stateren vom Ende des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. Die Untersuchung des Schatzfundes und der Versuch, seine Präsenz im Landesinneren der Molosser zu interpretieren, wurden mit der Untersuchung zeitgleicher Schatzfunde mit gleichem Inhalt aus Nordwestgriechenland verbunden. Sie belegen eine weitläufige, hauptsächlich durch den Handel bedingte Zirkulation korinthischer Statere. Die numismatischen Belege erlauben – zusammen mit architektonischen Überresten, Keramikfunden, Bildhauerei und dem Nachweis eines Teils der Stadtmauer aus hellenistischer Zeit – den Schluss, dass die Besiedlung des Raumes der Burg von Ioannina in klassischer Zeit begann und ihre Blüte in der hellenistischen Epoche erlebte. Die Identifikation der antiken Siedlung oder Stadt mit einer der – schriftlich überlieferten – Städte der Molossis bleibt allerdings weiterhin unsicher.

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*Abbreviations*

AMI = Archaeological Museum of Ioannina

NMA = Numismatic Museum of Athens

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum**Bibliography*

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Katerini Liampi  
Molossian settlement at the Ioannina castle











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Katerini Liampi  
The Molossian settlement at the Ioannina castle



