

## *About ants and bees on late Alexander staters from Macedonia*

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In a private collection in Bucharest<sup>1</sup> there are two staters coming from a possible old discovery. One of them is a posthumous Alexander type gold coin from a rare series assigned to Pella having as symbol a bee on the reverse left field (Price 202). The other is a barbarous imitation in gold of a Philip III Arrhidaeus (?) stater, apparently having a Babylon (Price P178) or more probable Tarsus (Price 3043) prototype. The both coins seems to be a family heritage from the maternal grand grandfather of the actual owner who lived (more than 100 years ago) in Trivalea-Moșteni from Teleorman county, 25 km from the royal tomb from Peretu and 15 km from the Getic settlement from Orbeasca de Sus. He was not a collector, his social and professional statute not involving geographical mobility. The provenance of the two coins from the specified location is a real possibility.

### KASSANDER

#### PELLA

#### ALEXANDER THE GREAT TYPE

Obv. Head of Athena right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet decorated with coiled serpent.

Rv. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ•Υ to right.

Nike standing left, holding wreath and stylis; bee in left field (left figure).

Stater; 5 h; 8.55 g; 19 mm (fig. 1, a; 1.5×).

Price 202 (different dies), Pella, years 325-315 BC.

For similar samples, with ant on reverse, see Troxell<sup>2</sup>, p. 67, issue 7, Amphipolis, years 307-300 BC.

#### PHILIP III ARRHIDAEUS TYPE ?

#### Babylon or Tarsus prototype ?

#### Barbarous imitation

Obv. Head of Athena right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet decorated with coiled serpent.

Rv. Barbarous legend, illegible, left and right, trying to imitate probable ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ – ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ

Nike walking left, holding wreath and stylis.

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<sup>1</sup> We try to buy the coins for the numismatic collection

of the Romanian Academy.

<sup>2</sup> Hyla A. Troxell, *Ants and eagles: some late Alexander staters from Amphipolis*, in A. Burnett, Ute Wartenberg, R. Witschonke ed., *Coins of Macedonia and Rome: essays in honour of Charles Hersh*, London, 1998, pp. 67-70.

Stater; 5 h; 8.49 g; 19 mm (fig. 1, b; 1.5×).

Prototype Price P178, Babylon (fig. 1, c; 1.5×) or Price 3043, Tarsus (fig. 1, d; 1.5×) years 323-317 BC.

The first coin is an Alexander type stater from a restraint and little known series assigned to Pella (Price 201-203, years 325-315 BC), having striking similarities with the Amphipolis issues with an ant on the reverse<sup>3</sup>. There is a single position in the standard catalogue (Price 202) describing a stater having a bee on the reverse left field (left figure). Although the first sample was published more than a century ago<sup>4</sup>, because of their rarity not a single research on this rare series was made. By chance, all the samples cited in the catalogue and even more are available. There were known in fact not three<sup>5</sup>, but six coins of this type at that moment (nrs. 3, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13 in our catalogue) struck with five different pair of dies. None of them correspond with that used to strike our stater. Several other similar staters has appeared during the last years (see catalogue of coins), generating the growing number of Price 202 type coins but also of their variety. One of the most recent apparitions (nr. 10) seems to be the single struck with the same obverse die with our stater. The next number in the standard catalogue (Price 203), although introducing a new reverse (having bee on monogram under the left wing) was struck using the same obverse die as a specific Price 202 (nr. 13). The sample Price 203 is also the single one coming from a hoard (Potidaea 1984, buried around 280-270 BC; in commerce<sup>6</sup>). The growing number and variety of the coins make possible a new discussion on dies and specific situation of this strange series.

The single comparable issues for these rare staters with bee are those with ants on the reverse<sup>7</sup> (Price 831-832) assigned to Amphipolis and considered to be struck in the last years of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>8</sup>. There are also few tetradrachms with the same symbol on the reverse (Price 204-206) but, as it was noticed, the symbols and monograms from the gold coins are not present on silver<sup>9</sup>. The assignment of the series with ants on the reverse to Amphipolis mint seems to be sure because of the frequent obverse die-links with other gold coins having on the reverse classic Macedonian symbols (trident, thunderbolt or even eagle)<sup>10</sup>. A certain possible pattern could be significant, as it happens in Troxell 5, 6 and 7 issues, where we notice the introduction of the star (under the left wing, below the trident or ant), and each time at the end of those issues<sup>11</sup>. More difficult is to establish a connection between the series with bee and a certain mint. Their assignment to a Macedonian mint seems to be sustained by the high degree of stylistic similarity of the obverse dies with those from Amphipolis. However, the lack of any die-link between the two groups (ants and bees) is relevant, suggesting two different mints. So, even if it is not completely sure, the assignment of the bee series to Pella mint seems to be acceptable.

It is difficult to appreciate if the issues having bee on the reverse has the same intensity or duration as those with ants or ants and star from Amphipolis. If we have from the latter a lot of issues<sup>12</sup>, the situation could be different in Pella, from where we have only few coins (Price 201-203). As it was proved by the succession of the die-links from Amphipolis, staters with ants on reverse are present exclusively

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>4</sup> A. von Prokesch-Osten, *Liste des Alexandres de ma collection qui ne se trouvent pas dans le Catalogue de Mr. L. Müller*, NZ, 1, 1869 (1870), p. 33, nr. 11, considered from Ephesus.

<sup>5</sup> M.J. Price, *The coinage in the name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus*, Zürich-London, 1991, p. 112, nr. 202, speaks only about the samples from Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, coming from Prokesch-Osten collection (nr. 7), American Numismatic Society (nr. 8), coming from

Newell collection and British Museum (nr. 13), coming from Spink, 1928.

<sup>6</sup> See M.J. Price, *op. cit.*, p. 58 and p. 545.

<sup>7</sup> M.J. Price, *op. cit.*, p. 168, nrs. 831-832; Hyla A. Troxell, *op. cit.*, p. 67, issues 6-7.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 67.

<sup>9</sup> M.J. Price, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>10</sup> Hyla A. Troxell, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 67, issue 5, nrs. 6-7 or issue 7, nrs. 12-15.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 67-68, issues 1-13, from the years 315/310-290 BC.



Fig. 1. Alexander III and Philip III staters: a) posthumous Alexander, Pella, Price 202 (private collection, Bucharest); b) barbarous imitation Philip III (private collection, Bucharest); c) posthumous Alexander, Tarsus, Price 3043 (Auctionhaus Rauch, Auction 90, 4 June 2012, nr. 86); d) Philip III, Babylon, Price P178 (Roma Numismatics, Auction 9, 22 March 2015, nr. 231).

during the 6<sup>th</sup> and especially 7<sup>th</sup> issues<sup>13</sup>. It could be also the moment when in Pella were struck the series with bee on the reverse. As we know also because of the die-linkage, the issues 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> from Amphipolis were struck around 300 BC or a little earlier<sup>14</sup>; so it is to be supposed that Pella issues with bee must be also placed in the last years of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (around the years 307-300). So, based on the die-linkage of Pella issues with bee we suggest the following situation.

PELLA  
Kassander  
Alexander the Great type

Obv. Head of Athena right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet decorated with coiled serpent.  
Rv. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ•Υ to right.  
Nike standing left, holding wreath and stylis; bee in left field (left figure).

O<sub>1</sub>-R<sub>1</sub>. Stater.

AV

Price 202, years BC.

1. Stack's, Coin Galleries October 2010, 20 October 2010, nr. 29; pl. I, 1.

O<sub>2</sub>-R<sub>2</sub>. Distater.

AV

Price 201.

2. Münzen und Medaillen, 15 April 1986, nr. 215; pl. I, 2.

O<sub>3</sub>-R<sub>3</sub>. Stater (rv. style a).

AV 7 h; 8.60 g; 17 mm.

Price 202.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 67.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 68.

3. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett; before 1839; object number 18250451; pl. I, 3.  
AV 8.54 g; 18 mm.  
Price 202.
4. Stack's Bowers and Ponterio, January 2016 NYINC Auction, 8 January 2016, nr. 30045; pl. I, 4.  
O<sub>3</sub>-R<sub>4</sub>. Stater (rv. style b).  
AV 7 h; 8.58 g; 18 mm.  
Price 202.
5. Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XVI Sessions 1&2, 8 January 2013, nr.289; pl. I, 5.  
O<sub>4</sub>-R<sub>5</sub>. Stater (rv. style a).  
AV 6 h; 8.60 g; 18 mm.  
Price 202.
6. Roma Numismatics Ltd., E-Sale 10, 26 July 2014, nr. 274; Roma Numismatics Ltd., Auction 8, 28 September 2014, nr. 408 (the same); pl. I, 6.  
AV 7 h; 8.56 g; 18 mm.  
Price 202.
7. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett; Prokesch-Osten coll.; object number 18250452; pl. I, 7.  
O<sub>4</sub>-R<sub>6</sub>. Stater (rv. style b).  
Price 202.  
AV
8. New York, American Numismatic Society; Newell coll.; identifier: 1944.100.413; pl. I, 8.  
O<sub>5</sub>-R<sub>7</sub>. Stater (rv. style a).  
Price 202.  
AV 5 h; 8.55 g; 19 mm.
9. Bucharest; private collection, 2016; pl. I, 9.  
O<sub>5</sub>-R<sub>8</sub>. Stater (rv. style b).  
Price 202.  
AV 12 h; 8.62 g; 19 mm.
10. Roma Numismatics Ltd., Auction 8, 28 September 2014, nr. 407. Roma Numismatics Ltd., Auction XI, 7 April 2016, nr. 218 (the same); pl. I, 10.  
O<sub>6</sub>-R<sub>9</sub>. Stater (rv. style a).  
Price 202.  
AV 12 h; 8.46 g; 18 mm.
11. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett; Prokesch-Osten coll.; object number 18250454; pl. II, 11.  
O<sub>6</sub>-R<sub>10</sub>. Stater (rv. style b).  
Price 202.  
AV 2 h; 8.61 g; 18 mm.
12. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett; Prokesch-Osten coll.; object number 18250453; pl. II, 12.  
AV 9 h; 8.55 g; 18 mm.
13. London, British Museum, Coins and Medals Department; from Spink, 1928; registration number: 1928,0608.6 (GC 30202); pl. II, 13.  
AV 2 h; 8.43 g; 18 mm.
14. Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 85, 15 September 2010, nr. 289; pl. II, 14.  
AV 8.43 g; 19 mm.
15. Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 78, 26 May 2014, nr. 240; pl. II, 15.

1 (O<sub>1</sub>-R<sub>1</sub>)2 (O<sub>2</sub>-R<sub>2</sub>)3 (O<sub>3</sub>-R<sub>3</sub>)5 (O<sub>3</sub>-R<sub>4</sub>)4 (O<sub>3</sub>-R<sub>3</sub>)6 (O<sub>4</sub>-R<sub>5</sub>)8 (O<sub>4</sub>-R<sub>6</sub>)7 (O<sub>4</sub>-R<sub>5</sub>)9 (O<sub>5</sub>-R<sub>7</sub>)10 (O<sub>5</sub>-R<sub>8</sub>)

Pl. I. Alexander type gold coins from Pella (Price 201 and Price 202) with bee on the reverse.

11 (O<sub>6</sub>-R<sub>9</sub>)12 (O<sub>6</sub>-R<sub>10</sub>)13 (O<sub>6</sub>-R<sub>10</sub>)14 (O<sub>6</sub>-R<sub>10</sub>)15 (O<sub>6</sub>-R<sub>10</sub>)16 (O<sub>6</sub>-R<sub>11</sub>)17 (O<sub>7</sub>-R<sub>12</sub>)

Obv. Head of Athena right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet decorated with coiled serpent.

Rv. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ•Υ to right.

Nike standing left, holding wreath and stylis; bee over monogram under left wing.

O<sub>6</sub>-R<sub>11</sub>. Stater.

Price 203.

AV 2 h; 8.61 g; 18 mm.

16. London, British Museum, Coins and Medals Department; from Spink, 1986; registration number: 1986,0434.1 (GC 30203); pl. I, 16.

Obv. Head of Athena right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet decorated with coiled serpent.

Rv. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ•Υ to right.

Nike standing left, holding wreath and stylis; bee in left field (left figure) and star under left wing.

O<sub>7</sub>-R<sub>12</sub>. Stater.

Price – (831?).

AV 12 h; 8.49 g; 18 mm.

17. Gorny and Mosch, Auction 215, 13 October 2013, nr. 771; Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XVIII, 6 January 2015, nr. 474 (the same, but 8.51 g); Roma Numismatics, E-Sale 21, 31 October 2015, nr. 190 (the same, but 8.50 g; considered as Price 831, Amphipolis, with ant); pl. I, 17.

There are only 17 coins of this type (struck using seven obverse dies and 12 reverses), from the last 200 years, all of them illustrated here. If the first and second coins are more or less conventionally placed at the beginning (O<sub>1</sub>-R<sub>1</sub> and O<sub>2</sub>-R<sub>2</sub>), because of their specificity and uniqueness, the succession of the next issues is certified by die-links and by the homogeneity of the stylistic details. The single distater from the series (nr. 2, Price 202, O<sub>2</sub>-R<sub>2</sub>) seems to be Pella equivalent for the Group C distaters from Amphipolis, struck “at some period after the issuance of groups A and B”<sup>15</sup>. Also, the stater formally called O<sub>1</sub>-R<sub>1</sub> (nr. 1) present an essential stylistic feature appearing from C series of Amphipolis distaters, the so-called “walking Nike” on the reverse<sup>16</sup>. It seems to be clear, as it is for Amphipolis, that they were struck not later than 315 BC<sup>17</sup>. It is obviously that there are “discrete outputs produced at one time and place”<sup>18</sup>. The last coin (nr. 17: O<sub>7</sub>-R<sub>12</sub>) is in the same situation, having no die-links and a different style. We placed it at the end of the series because of the presence of a star under the left wing (as we saw at the end of several issues from Amphipolis including that with ants<sup>19</sup>) and also because of some new stylistic features like the pointed wings of Athens, having no correspondence with any previous issue. It was considered by the experts of the auction houses as an Amphipolis issue having ant and star on the reverse. Anyway, it seems to be clear that it belongs to the 7<sup>th</sup> issue, around 300 BC. Except the die-links, this arrangement could suffer some changes, but only if the arrangement of Amphipolis issues will changes. Until now, it is quite clear that we have distinct groups of Macedonian staters from Amphipolis using trident or fulmen as symbol, some of them lifetime Alexander issues, others struck during Kassandros reign, but there is a

<sup>15</sup> Idem, *Studies in the Macedonian coinage of Alexander the Great*, The American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Studies 21, New York, 1997, p. 113.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 120.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 128.

<sup>19</sup> M.J. Price, *op. cit.*, p. 108, nr. 178, p. 168, nr. 831; Hyla A. Troxell, *Ants and eagles: some late Alexander staters from Amphipolis*, in A. Burnett, Ute Wartenberg, R. Witschonke ed., *Coins of Macedonia and Rome: essays in honour of Charles Hersh*, London, 1998, p. 67, issues 6 / 8 and 7 / 12.

single group of staters having ants on reverse from the last few years of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and consequently a single group of staters with bees from the same period.

For most of the coins belonging to this restraint series we noticed that there are organized around some common obverses combined every time with two different reverse dies belonging to the same generic type. So we have the following situation for every common obverse die: for O<sub>3</sub> die there are three coins (nrs. 3-4 struck with pair O<sub>3</sub>-R<sub>3</sub> and nr. 5 with combination O<sub>3</sub>-R<sub>4</sub>); O<sub>4</sub> three (nrs. 6-7 with pair O<sub>4</sub>-R<sub>5</sub> and nr. 8 using pair O<sub>4</sub>-R<sub>6</sub>); O<sub>5</sub> only two samples (nr. 9 using O<sub>5</sub>-R<sub>7</sub> and nr. 10 using O<sub>5</sub>-R<sub>8</sub>); O<sub>6</sub> six coins from which five are Price 202 type (nr. 11 – O<sub>6</sub>-R<sub>9</sub> and nrs. 12-15 – O<sub>6</sub>-R<sub>10</sub>) and a single one Price 203 (nr. 16 – O<sub>6</sub>-R<sub>11</sub>). There are few exceptions and I already mentioned the first two coins, absolutely unique, including a double stater (nr. 1, O<sub>1</sub>-R<sub>1</sub> and nr. 2 – Price 201 – struck using O<sub>2</sub>-R<sub>2</sub>) and also the last two (nr. 16, Price 203, O<sub>6</sub>-R<sub>11</sub> using the same obverse die with a specific Price 202 and nr. 17, Price –, O<sub>7</sub>-R<sub>12</sub>, unique, maybe even not belonging to this series). This situation seems to reflect a specific organization of the mint, involving the probable activity of at least two engravers (making their own dies, having a specific style and preserving the main features of each individual style, visible when we speak about the design of the wings and the position of the bee) and also two parallel workers at the same workstation, striking coins using different reverse dies but on common obverses most of the time.

We notice the unusual high number of dies (seven obverses and 12 reverses) reported to the number of coins (17). This situation increase the importance of every recovered coin, part of them being in fact unique. So, the recovery of each of them becomes even more important. We notice also the absence of any information concerning the discovery of these samples. There is a single exception represented by one coin (Price 203), coming from the Potidaea 1984 hoard<sup>20</sup>, having a final date around 280-270 BC<sup>21</sup>. It has been found on the ancient site of Potidaea where was founded and named after Cassandreia, in 316 BC, becoming one of the greatest and powerful Macedonian cities. In the same time, the presence in Northern Greece hoard (IGCH 801), buried around the year 300 BC or few years later, of several coins belonging to the 4<sup>th</sup> and especially 7<sup>th</sup> issue from Amphipolis<sup>22</sup> (the last one being probably parallel with the bee series from Pella) offers the earliest *terminus ante quem* both for the ants coins from Amphipolis and for those with bee from Pella. In our specific case, its apparent association with another stater – Philip III Arrhidaeus barbarous imitation having as prototype a Babylon issue, Price P 178 or a Tarsus stater, Price 3043 type from the years 323-317 BC – includes this group in a large horizon of discoveries coming from the Lower Danube and dated in the last years of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, as a result of the direct involvement of some Thracian and probably Getae contingent of mercenaries in the Diadochi wars<sup>23</sup>. It is the place to make some corrections to the chronology and considerations concerning some of the most important hoards from the period and region: Codlea, Braşov county (IGCH 409)<sup>24</sup>, Galaţi, Galaţi county (IGCH 799)<sup>25</sup>, Gâldău, Călăraşi county (IGCH 774)<sup>26</sup> and

<sup>20</sup> G. Le Rider, *Trésors de statères d'or trouvés à Potidée en 1984 et à Skioné en 1985*, RN<sup>7</sup>, 24, 1991, pp. 89-96.

<sup>21</sup> M.J. Price, *op. cit.*, p. 53

<sup>22</sup> Hyla A. Troxell, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>23</sup> A. Vilcu, *La diffusion de l'or monnayé au Nord du Danube à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J-C. et les guerres des diadoques*, Peuce, S.N., 13, 2015, pp. 193-208.

<sup>24</sup> Fr. W. Seraphin, *Münzenfund bei Zeiden*, KVSL, 22, 1899, 6, pp. 77-80; B. Mitrea, *Le trésor de statères d'or de Codlea*, in Simone Scheers (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata, I, Numismatica antiqua*, Leuven, 1982, pp. 65-73; A. Vilcu, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

<sup>25</sup> O. Iliescu, *Caiet selectiv de informare asupra creşterii colecţiilor Bibliotecii Academiei R.P.R.*, 8, 1963, p.

300, nr. 115, p. 301, nr. 122, pp. 306-307, nr. 162; B. Mitrea, *Découvertes récentes et plus anciennes de monnaies antiques et byzantines en Roumanie*, Dacia, N.S., 11, 1967, p. 380, nr. 8; A. Vilcu, E. Petac, *Despre o veche descoperire de stateri de aur la Dunărea de Jos: tezaurul de la Galaţi (IGCH 799)*, SCN, S.N., this issue, pp. . . . . .

<sup>26</sup> B. Mitrea, *Stateri de aur de la Alexandru cel Mare descoperiţi într-o aşezare geto-dacă din estul Munteniei*, in *Omăgiu lui P. Constantinescu-Iaşi cu prilejul împlinirii a 70 de ani*, Bucureşti, 1965, p. 73-79; Idem, *Notă suplimentară cu privire la tezaurul de stateri de aur de la Alexandru cel Mare, descoperit la Gildău (jud. Ialomiţa)*, SCN, 4, 1968, p. 327-330; A. Vilcu, *op. cit.*, p. 194-196 and pp. 205-206.

Todorovo (Bulgaria)<sup>27</sup> – 15 km East from Sboryanovo. The latest research on these discoveries found that the most recent coins from the hoards are from Lampsacus, year 322 (for Codlea<sup>28</sup>), again Lampsacus (Price P 13 A; Thompson, ADM, II, series IX, years 319/318-318/317 for Galați<sup>29</sup>), Colophon (Price 1785, years 319-310, for Gâldău<sup>30</sup>) and Sidon (Price 3516, years 309-308 for Todorovo)<sup>31</sup>. The situation is actually a little different. In fact the most recent coins from these hoards seem to be Price 172 for Galați and Gâldău (Amphipolis, issue 1, struck around 310 BC<sup>32</sup>). For Codlea hoard, it is possible to be like Gâldău discovery<sup>33</sup>, but it is more caution to avoid a final opinion because without photos we cannot say if the Macedonian staters with trident, fulmen and kantharos belong to the earlier or to the later Amphipolis series<sup>34</sup>. Concerning the latest Alexander type stater from Todorovo hoard, the most relevant sample is Price 832 (Amphipolis issue 7, with ant over star), having indeed a common obverse die with Price 3128 b<sup>35</sup> coming not from Salamis but belonging to the Amphipolis issue 8 (that means around 300 BC or just before<sup>36</sup>) suggesting for all of them a burial date during the last decade of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC or to the last few years of the 4<sup>th</sup> century or even at the very beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC for Todorovo hoard. The context of these inputs of Kassandros gold coins is probably linked to the fourth Diadochi war – reflecting the conflict between Kassandros and Demetrios Poliorcetes as it seems to suggest especially the 7<sup>th</sup> issue from Amphipolis (having ants on the reverse) and Pella (with bee on the reverse). These issues seem to be the most extensive and the single struck in parallel in the both mints. The presence of such coins in the Lower Danube area suggests the implication of local mercenaries in all of these conflicts. The apparently strange association in all these hoards between some groups of staters coming from Antigonos territories and each time, as a last group, some coins struck in Kassandros mints from Macedonia (the opposite camp), suggests a possible mechanism of local redistribution, maybe in a Barbarian context, the same local leaders offering soldiers as mercenaries to both sides or a high degree of local mercenaries mobility from one side to another. Several discoveries from Bulgaria<sup>37</sup> and also the apparition in commerce<sup>38</sup> of some strange ancient fourrée staters from the 7<sup>th</sup> issue of Amphipolis must be probably connected to the same context and local medium. Also, the presence of Kassandros staters as the last group of coins in several hoards suggests his payments and his interest for military investments probably because of the conflict with Antigonos and his son, Demetrios Poliorcetes. Anyway, the finding that at least one very important hoard (Todorovo, extremely significant also because of its localization near the Sboryanovo center), closes with coins from the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> issues from Amphipolis, struck around 300 BC, suggest that its burial could be connected with the events of the first campaign of Agathocles, son of Lysimachus, against Dromichaetes, in the early 290's BC.

For both coins we have some XRF analyses made at National Museum of History in Bucharest. The analyses were made with an X-ray portable spectrometer InnovX Systems Alpha Series type, anticathode W,

<sup>27</sup> CH, IV, 28; M. Dima, *The silver coinage of Istros during the Hellenistic period*, Wetteren, 2014, pp. 52-56; A. Vilcu, *op. cit.*, p. 198-200.

<sup>28</sup> B. Mitrea, *Le trésor de statères d'or de Codlea*, in Simone Scheers (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata, I, Numismatica antiqua*, Leuven, 1982, p. 73 (cf. Margareth Thompson, A.R. Bellinger, *Greek coins in the Yale collection, IV: a hoard of Alexander drachms*, Yale Classical Studies, 14, 1955, p. 13, nr. 8); A. Vilcu, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

<sup>29</sup> A. Vilcu, E. Petac, *loc. cit.*

<sup>30</sup> A. Vilcu, *op. cit.*, p. 205, nr. 7.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 199.

<sup>32</sup> Hyla A. Troxell, *op. cit.*, p. 69 (especially note 6).

<sup>33</sup> A. Vilcu, *op. cit.*, p. 197

<sup>34</sup> Hyla A. Troxell, *Studies in the Macedonian coinage*

*of Alexander the Great*, The American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Studies 21, New York, 1997 (earlier series); idem, *Ants and eagles: some late Alexander staters from Amphipolis*, in A. Burnett, Ute Wartenberg, R. Witschonke ed., *Coins of Macedonia and Rome: essays in honour of Charles Hersh*, London, 1998, pp. 67-70 (later series).

<sup>35</sup> Hyla A. Troxell, *op. cit.*, p. 67-68; A. Vilcu, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

<sup>36</sup> Hyla A. Troxell, *op. cit.*, p. 67-69.

<sup>37</sup> Kalina Yordanova, *Three staters of Alexander's type with ant-star symbols*, Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika, 6, 2010, pp. 25-27 (nrs. 2-3) and pl. IV, nrs. 2-3.

<sup>38</sup> Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 365, December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2015, nr. 102.

SIPIN detector with Peltier cooling system; parameters : 35 kV, 40 microA, acquisition time 30 s. For the Alexander stater with bee (from Pella, Price 202) we have 98.50% gold, 1.25% lead and 0.25% iron (for obverse); 99.27% gold, 0.32% lead and 0.40% iron for the reverse and traces of silver, copper and palladium on both sides. Even situated at the inferior rank of the sample, the results confirmed that we knew from the already done other similar analyses<sup>39</sup>. We have a well refined gold similar with the one from Philip II and Alexander the Great lifetime or also with the early posthumous staters of both types, probably having a Macedonian origin. Concerning the second stater – barbarous imitation of a probably Philip III Arrhidaeus prototype from Babylon (Price P178) or Tarsus (Price 3043) – we have now for the obverse (and reverse) 96.37% (96.42%) gold, 3.02% (2.93%) silver, 0.22% (0.30%) copper, 0.20% (0.25%) iron, 0.15% (0.10%) lead and 0.04 nickel (only on obverse). These data suggest an Oriental origin of the gold<sup>40</sup>, knowing well that the analyzes on some Persian darics struck in Sardes has revealed a gold title between 96.3% and 99.1%<sup>41</sup>. Even if the analyzes of an original Babylon Philip III Alexander type stater Price 178 shows a high gold title (98.8%)<sup>42</sup> it is not necessary relevant for a barbarous imitation not coming from the official mint of the city and maybe not even from the city. Keeping in mind the low title of some of the Persian darics we notice also that the coin was made by a non-Greek, having no idea about Greek letters. It looks more probably to have a local Oriental origin (Babylon or Tarsus prototype, low title of gold). It is well known that in Tarsus “the same engravers clearly turned from cutting dies for the Persians to producing those of the imperial Macedonian coinage”<sup>43</sup>. It is true that Tarsus did not struck coins in the name of Philip III Arrhidaeus<sup>44</sup>, but the style and the title of gold are absolutely relevant for the Oriental origin of this imitation.

As a conclusion, keeping the necessary caution concerning what we know about the two staters, it is obvious that it could represent another significant document proving the extensive mercenary recruitments practiced in the Lower Danube area during the Diadochi wars, a lot of discoveries showing the interest of Kassandros during the last decade of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, probably toward 306-305 and after in acquiring Thracian and Getae mercenaries against Demetrios Poliorketes. It could be also a possible and specific remnant from the same series with Todorovo hoard, a possible reflection of the campaign of Agathocles, son of Lysimachus, against Dromichaetes, King of Getae<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> A. Vilcu, E. Petac, B. Constantinescu, Cătălina Chiojdeanu, Daniela Stan, Gh. Niculescu, *Considerations regarding the Greek gold coins struck during the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC in the light of the XRF analysis*, Peuce, S.N., 9, 2011, pp. 501-512.

<sup>40</sup> A. Gondonneau, H. Nicolet-Pierre, M. F. Guerra, *The Persian and Macedonian Gold from Darius to Alexander the Great*, in E. Jerem, K.T. Biró ed., *Archaeometry '98, Proceedings of the 31st Symposium, Budapest, April 26-May 3 1998*, BAR, I.S., 1043 (II), 2002, pp. 373-374; A. Vilcu et alii, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

<sup>41</sup> A. Gondonneau, M. F. Guerra, *L'or perse a travers l'analyse de monnayages antiques et médiévaux*, Revue d'Archéométrie, 24, 2000, p. 30; A. Gondonneau, H. Nicolet-Pierre, M.F. Guerra, *op. cit.*, p. 372 ; A. Vilcu et alii, *loc. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> A. Vilcu et alii, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

<sup>43</sup> M.J. Price, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 370.

<sup>45</sup> A. Vilcu, E. Nicolae, *Aspects de la diffusion des monnaies d'argent istriennes au nord du Danube dans la lumière du trésor découvert à Ivancea*, Dacia, N.S., 60, 2016, pp. 121-127.