

CHAPTER 1

MACEDONIAN STUDIES<sup>1</sup>

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Macedonia's independence as a sovereign state ended after its last king's defeat at the battle of Pydna in 168 BC. A republican Macedonia retained a formal autonomy until 148 or 146 BC as a Roman protectorate. From then on the permanent presence of a Roman governor reduced the former kingdom to a Roman province. Within that province, the survival of a distinct Macedonian entity with mainly festive attributions, the Macedonian *koinon* or *ethnos*, preserved a sense of a Macedonian identity at least until the beginning of the fourth century AD, from which period dates the last attestation of a person "ethnically" identified as "Macedonian."<sup>2</sup> Later on, successive reforms, which carved up the province or extended its appellation into new regions, creating new administrative units, such as *Macedonia Prima*, *Macedonia Secunda* or *Macedonia Salutaris*, blurred the contours of this geographical term. By the beginning of the ninth century the "theme"—the new name of the administrative units which replaced the old provinces from the seventh century onwards—of Macedonia with its capital at Adrianople consisted not of Macedonian but of Thracian territories. During the Byzantine period Macedonia proper corresponded to the "themes" of Thessaloniki and Strymon. The Ottoman administration ignored the name of Macedonia. It was only revived during the Renaissance, when western scholars rediscovered the ancient Greek geographical terminology, which they used in a rather loose way, since they could not easily match it with the geographic realities of their time. The memory of the ancient Macedonian kingdom had nevertheless survived among the Greek literate public thanks to the popularity of the successive versions of the Alexander Romance, while in the Greek folklore

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is not meant as a bibliographical guide to Macedonian studies. Such a guide has been compiled by the present author and Dimitra Andrianou [forthcoming 2011] for *Oxford Bibliographies Online (OBO)* and will be available at <http://www.oxfordbibliographiesonline.com>.

<sup>2</sup> Ph. Petsas, M. B. Hatzopoulos, et al., *Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux autochtone à Leukopetra (Macédoine)*, (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ) 28 (Athens, 2000), 173, no. 116.

king Alexander and Gorgona, his mermaid sister, had acquired the status of Panhellenic heroes.

It is only with the revival of classical studies that an interest in the antiquities of Macedonia began to emerge. Starting from Kyriacus of Ancona, Western travellers made their way through Macedonia recording the vestiges of its past. They were naturalists like Pierre Belon (mid sixteenth century), missionaries like P. Braconnier (first decade of the eighteenth century), physicians like Paul Lucas (first decade of the eighteenth century), scholars, like Jean-Baptiste Gaspar d'Ansse de Villoison (late eighteenth century) or diplomats like the count Choiseul-Gouffier and F. C. L. Pouqueville (beginning of the nineteenth century). Diplomats, who spent years in the same post, had better opportunities to work methodically. Such was the case of J. B. Germain (mid eighteenth century) who, as a French consular agent at Salonica, made a systematic record of the antiquities of that city.<sup>3</sup> However, the most prominent specimens of Macedonian antiquarian-diplomats were unquestionably the French Esprit-Marie Cousinéry (end of the 18th-beginning of the nineteenth century) and the British William Martin Leake, who have left us the two-volume *Voyage dans la Macédoine* (1831) and the four-volume *Travels in Northern Greece* (1835) respectively.<sup>4</sup>

With the liberation of Greece from the Turks a new era began, with the foundation of the Archaeological Society and of a series of foreign schools of Archaeology in Athens, starting with the *Ecole Française d'Athènes* (1846). The first professional archaeologists to explore Macedonia were two of its students: Alfred Delacoulonche and Léon Heuzey. The fruit of their joint travels were *Le berceau de la puissance macédonienne des bords de l'Haliacmon à ceux de l'Axius* (Paris, 1858) and *Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* (Paris, 1860) respectively. The consummation of Heuzey's work in Macedonia was the official archaeological expedition which he undertook in 1861 with the support of the emperor Napoleon III, during

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<sup>3</sup> On the rediscovery of Macedonia, see M. B. Hatzopoulos, in R. Ginouvès and M. B. Hatzopoulos, eds., *Macedonia from Philip II to the Roman Conquest* (Princeton, 1993), pp. 14–15. For some early travellers in Macedonia, see M. B. Hatzopoulos, "Les épigraphistes français en Macédoine," in *Actes du colloque international du Centenaire de l'Année Épigraphique* (Paris, 1990), pp. 205–221.

<sup>4</sup> On modern scholarship about ancient Macedonia, see M. B. Hatzopoulos, "A Century and a Lustrum of Macedonian Studies," *The Ancient World* 4 (1981), 91–108; E. N. Borza, "The History and Archaeology of Macedonia: Retrospect and Prospect," in Beryll Barr-Sharrar and E. N. Borza, *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Washington D.C., 1982), pp. 17–30.

which he carried out the first excavation in Macedonia on the site of the future village of Vergina. The results of this campaign were recorded in a masterpiece of archaeological literature *Mission archéologique de Macédoine* (Paris, 1876).

Meanwhile interest in Alexander the Great had led Johann Gustav Droysen from his *Geschichte Alexanders der Grossen* (Berlin, 1833) to his *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (Hamburg, 1836–1843) and to the study of Macedonia and the successor Macedonian states of the East. It was the beginning of the keen interest of German historians in Macedonia, whose part in the unification of the Greeks was often compared to the role played by the kingdom of Prussia in the struggle for German unity. German scholarship, thanks to the contributions of historians and philologists such as T. L. F. Tafel,<sup>5</sup> O. Hoffmann,<sup>6</sup> H. Gaebler,<sup>7</sup> W. Baege,<sup>8</sup> H. Berve,<sup>9</sup> U. Wilcken,<sup>10</sup> F. Geyer,<sup>11</sup> and F. Hampl<sup>12</sup> dominated the studies on Macedonia until the First World War and beyond. K. J. Beloch in his *Griechische Geschichte* (Berlin, 1896–1904, first edition; Strasburg-Berlin, 1912–1927, second edition) wrote some of the most penetrating pages on the history of Macedonia.

The liberation of Macedonia from the Turks in 1912, and the incorporation of almost all the regions belonging to the ancient country of this name into the kingdom of Greece, created a new situation. Greek scholars, such as M. Demitsas,<sup>13</sup> P. Papageorgiou,<sup>14</sup> or G. Hatzidakis<sup>15</sup> had indeed already made notable contributions to the study of Macedonian history, geography, epigraphy and linguistics. But now that the Greek Archaeological Service was extended to Macedonia as well, archaeologists, such

<sup>5</sup> T. L. F. Tafel, *De Thessalonica eiusque agro, dissertatio geographica* (Berlin, 1839); id., *De via militari Romanorum Egnatia* (Tübingen, 1842).

<sup>6</sup> O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und Volkstum* (Göttingen, 1906).

<sup>7</sup> H. Gäbler, *Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, 1–2 (Berlin, 1906–1935).

<sup>8</sup> W. Bäge, *De Macedonum sacris* (Halle, 1913).

<sup>9</sup> H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, 1–2 (Munich, 1926).

<sup>10</sup> U. Wilcken, *Alexander der Grosse* (Leipzig, 1931).

<sup>11</sup> F. Geyer, *Makedonien bis zur Thronbesteigung Philipps II* (Munich, 1930).

<sup>12</sup> F. Hampl, *Der König der Makedonen* (Weida, 1934).

<sup>13</sup> On the life and works of M. Demitsas, see Ch. Poullos, *Μακεδονικόν Ἡμερολόγιον* 2 (1909), 301–305.

<sup>14</sup> On the life and works of P. N. Papageorgiou, see P. M. Nigdelis, *Πέτρου Ν. Παπαγεωργίου τοῦ Θεσσαλονικέως ἀλληλογραφία (1880–1912)* (Thessaloniki, 2004), pp. 9–15.

<sup>15</sup> See in particular, G. Hatzidakis, *Zur Abstammung der alten Makedonier* (Athens, 1897).

as A. Arvanitopoulos,<sup>16</sup> G. Oikonomos,<sup>17</sup> N. Papadakis,<sup>18</sup> G. Soteriades,<sup>19</sup> A. Keramopoulos,<sup>20</sup> C. Romaios,<sup>21</sup> and S. Pelekides,<sup>22</sup> were able to initiate field work, especially in Thessaloniki, Pella, Dion and Vergina.

Already before the Great War British interest in Macedonia, which had practically lapsed since the time of Leake, had made a timid comeback. D. G. Hogarth's *Philip and Alexander of Macedon* (London – New York, 1897) was the combined fruit of his readings and field experience, while W. W. Tarn's monograph on *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford, 1913) attained a quality difficult to surpass. The Allied presence in Macedonia during the First World War gave a new impetus to Macedonian studies in Britain, especially focused on the prehistory and the early history of the country, examples of which are the works of S. Casson<sup>23</sup> and W. A. Heurtley.<sup>24</sup> Members of the French School concentrated on Philippi, producing fundamental contributions to its history and archaeology in Antiquity and the Early Christian and Byzantine period. The American School of Classical Studies under the direction of D. M. Robinson carried out extensive excavations on the site of ancient Olynthus.<sup>25</sup> Italy too produced highly original historical works, such as A. Momigliano's *Filippo il Macedone* (Florence, 1934) and Paola Zancan's *Il monarcato ellenistico nei suoi elementi federativi* (Padua, 1934).

Work by Greek archaeologists, repeatedly interrupted by the First and Second World Wars and by the Greek Civil War, resumed in the 1950s, prompted by economic development in cities and the countryside, and brought to light new finds at Thessaloniki, Amphipolis, Dion, Pella, Edessa,

<sup>16</sup> A. Arvanitopoulos, "Ερευναι ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ," *Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας* (1912), 237–46.

<sup>17</sup> G. Oikonomos, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας* (Athens, 1915).

<sup>18</sup> N. Papadakis, "Ἐκ τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας," *Ἀθηνᾶ* 25 (1913), 430–62; id., "Εἰς τὸ δόγμα (Λ) ἀπιναιῶν τῆς Ὀρεστίδος," *Ἀθηνᾶ* 25 (1913), 462–77.

<sup>19</sup> G. Soteriades, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ Δίου Μακεδονίας," *Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας* (1929), 69–82; (1930), 36–51; (1931), 43–55.

<sup>20</sup> A list of the complete works of A. Keramopoulos has been published in the volume *Γέρας Ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου* (Athens, 1953), pp. 684–90.

<sup>21</sup> C. Romaios, "Τὸ ἀρχαῖο μακεδονικὸ ἀνάκτορο τῆς Βεργίνας," in *Φάρος τῆς Βορείου Ἑλλάδος* (1940), 215; id., *Ὁ μακεδονικὸ ἀνάκτορο τῆς Βεργίνας* (Athens 1951).

<sup>22</sup> His major contribution was S. Pelekides, *Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ τὴν κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessaloniki, 1934).

<sup>23</sup> S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* (Oxford, 1926).

<sup>24</sup> W. A. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia: An Archaeological Reconnaissance of Greek Macedonia (west of Struma) in the Neolithic, Bronze and Early Iron Ages* (Cambridge, 1939).

<sup>25</sup> D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, 1–14 (Baltimore, 1929–1952).

Vergina, and numerous other sites. The restoration and conservation of the abundant discoveries necessitated the construction of numerous museums across the country. Prominent in these activities were dedicated archaeologists both from the Archaeological Service (Ch. Makaronas, Ph. Petsas, A. Vavritsas, C. Rhomiopoulou, J. Touratsoglou) and from the University of Thessaloniki (G. Bakalakis, M. Andronikos, D. Pandermalis). On the other hand, until then, Greek contributions in history and philology, with the notable exceptions of the works of D. Kanatsoulis<sup>26</sup> and J. N. Kalléris,<sup>27</sup> had been rather modest. The field was dominated by foreign scholars such as Ch. Edson, J. M. R. Cormack, J. R. Ellis, F. W. Walbank, R. M. Errington, E. Badian, E. N. Borza, A. Giovannini, etc., as the lists of participants in the first two quinquennial *Ancient Macedonia* symposiums organized by the Institute of Balkan Studies at Thessaloniki amply show.<sup>28</sup> However, two figures stand out by the quantity and the influence of their scholarly output: the Englishman N. G. L. Hammond, a classical scholar, who had roamed on the mountains of Macedonia with the Greek Resistance during the German occupation, and Fanoula Papazoglou, a Yugoslav of Greek descent. The first initiated the monumental three-volume *History of Macedonia* (Oxford, 1972–1988)<sup>29</sup> covering the period from pre-historic times to the Roman conquest, the monograph *The Macedonian State* (Oxford, 1979), as well as innumerable shorter contributions.<sup>30</sup> The second produced her thorough study of the historical geography of Macedonia under the title *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine* (Athens-Paris, 1988) and many important articles on Macedonian epigraphy and history during the Roman period.<sup>31</sup>

The sensational discovery of the royal tombs by the Greek archaeologist of the University of Thessaloniki Manolis Andronikos at Vergina in

<sup>26</sup> To mention only his major contributions: D. K. Kanatsoulos, *Ὁ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ αἱ ματαρρῦμίσεις αὐτοῦ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ* (Thessaloniki, 1948); id., *Μακεδονικὴ προσωπογραφία (ἀπό τοῦ 148 π.Χ. μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τοῦ Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου)*, Hellenika Suppl. 8 (Thessaloniki, 1955); id., *Ἱστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιστάτων χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου* (Thessaloniki, 1964); id., *Μακεδονικὴ Προσωπογραφία. Συμπλήρωμα* (Thessaloniki, 1967); id., *Ἡ Μακεδονία ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιστάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῆς ἀνόδου τοῦ Φιλίππου Β. II Ἑσωτερικὴ ἱστορία* (Thessaloniki, 1977).

<sup>27</sup> His unfinished *magnum opus* is *Les anciens Macédoniens*, 1–2 (Athens, 1954–1976).

<sup>28</sup> See B. Laourdas and Ch. Makaronas, eds., *Ancient Macedonia 1* (Thessaloniki, 1970); id., *Ancient Macedonia 2* (Thessaloniki, 1977).

<sup>29</sup> The second volume in collaboration with G. T. Griffith and the third with F. W. Walbank.

<sup>30</sup> See N. G. L. Hammond, *Collected Studies*, 1–4 (Amsterdam, 1993–1997).

<sup>31</sup> See *Mélanges d'histoire et d'épigraphie offerts à Fanoula Papazoglou*, (Belgrade, 1997), nos. VII–XV.

1977 gave a new impetus to the exploration of Macedonia. It resulted in increased funding for excavations at this site as well as at Dion, and revitalized interest for the often neglected finds which had been piling up in the storerooms of local museums.

An unconnected but nearly contemporary development was the creation in 1979 of a research centre dedicated to the study of Greek and Roman Antiquity (KERA) under the direction of M. B. Sakellariou at the National Research Foundation (Athens), which turned its interest to the study of the periphery of the Greek world. One of its research teams dedicated itself to the study of Macedonia and more specifically to the exploration of the countryside and the museums of Macedonia for the collection and publication of its ancient inscriptions. Epigraphy, and later also numismatics, formed the basis for a holistic multidisciplinary approach to ancient Macedonia. Very soon, in 1985, a first volume of Macedonian inscriptions was published, while in the scientific series of KERA, *MEΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ*, started to appear monographs on historical geography, the history of political institutions and society, onomastics and prosopography, religion and law of Macedonia, all of which were mostly based on the epigraphic harvest collected and stored in the Epigraphic Archive of the centre.

The expansion of field activities in Macedonia led the members of the Archaeological Service posted in Macedonia and Thrace and the University of Thessaloniki to join forces in order to organize an annual event, *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη*, where they would present their yearly archaeological reports. The twenty volumes of proceedings of these meetings, which have been regularly published since 1987, combined with the twenty-two volumes of *MEΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ* dedicated to Macedonia<sup>32</sup> offer an invaluable panorama of the progress of archaeological research in this province. Dion, the religious centre of Macedonia, has to a very large extent emerged from the ground and the waters of the Baphyras.<sup>33</sup> The palace, the theatre, the sanctuaries and the royal tombs of Aegae, the first Macedonian capital, have been excavated and progressively restored.<sup>34</sup> The site of Pella, the new capital, has been transformed beyond recognition and made accessible to the scholars and the public, while it was also

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<sup>32</sup> A catalogue of KERA's publication is available at the site of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, <http://www.eie.gr>.

<sup>33</sup> D. Panderimalis, *Δίον: ἡ ἀνακάλυψη* (Athens 1999).

<sup>34</sup> Stella Drougou and Chrysoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, *Βεργίνα: ὁ τόπος καὶ ἡ ἱστορία του* (Athens, 2005).

endowed with a new museum.<sup>35</sup> Other new archaeological museums have sprung from the ground all over Macedonia from Aiane and Kastoria in the West to Amphipolis and Philippi in the East.

There is no denying that in spite of the great progress of the last thirty five years much remains to be done. New discoveries which require protection and study are made every year either accidentally or through systematic exploration and excavations. Sites must be recorded, finds must be inventoried, artifacts must be published, and ancient literary evidence must continue to be reevaluated in their light. The general public is not always aware of the time and expense needed for the restoration, study, and publication of discoveries. After many years of preparation a series of studies on the royal necropolis of Vergina,<sup>36</sup> Mieza,<sup>37</sup> and other important cemeteries, such as those of Pella,<sup>38</sup> Hagios Athanasios,<sup>39</sup> Derveni,<sup>40</sup> and Aineia<sup>41</sup> has begin to appear. Notable progress has particularly been made in the collection and publication of documentary sources, which had remained stagnant since the publication of the corpus of the inscriptions of Thessaloniki by Charles Edson in 1972.<sup>42</sup> Two volumes of inscriptions from Greek Macedonia have been published,<sup>43</sup> and a third is near

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Maria Lilimbaki-Akamati and I. M. Akamatis, eds., *Pella and its Environs* (Thessaloniki, 2003); ead., *The Museum of Pella* (Thessaloniki, 2009).

<sup>36</sup> M. Andronikos, *Vergina. The Royal Tombs* (Athens, 1984); id., *Βεργίνα II. Ὁ τάφος τῆς Περσεφόνης* (Athens, 1994); Chrysoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, *Τὰ ἐπιτάφια μνημεῖα ἀπὸ τῆς Μεγάλης Τούμπα τῆς Βεργίνας* (Thessaloniki, 1984); ead., *Βεργίνα. Ὁ τάφος τοῦ Φιλίππου. Ἡ τοιχογραφία μὲ τὸ κυνήγι* (Athens, 2004); Stella Drougou, *Βεργίνα. Τὰ πῆλινα ἀγγεῖα τῆς Μεγάλης Τούμπας* (Athens, 2005).

<sup>37</sup> Ph. M. Petsas, *Ὁ τάφος τῶν Λευκαδίων* (Athens, 1966); Stella G. Miller, *The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles: A Painted Macedonian Tomb* (Mainz, 1993).

<sup>38</sup> Despoina Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou, *Πέλλα I. Ἱστορική ἐπισκόπησις καὶ μαρτυρίαι* (Athens, 1971); Ch. Makaronas and Evgenia Giouri, *Οἱ οἰκίαις Ἀρπαγῆς τῆς Ἑλένης καὶ Διονύσου τῆς Πέλλας* (Athens, 1989); Maria Lilimbaki-Akamati, *Τὸ ἱερό τῆς Μητέρας τῶν Θεῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης στὴν Πέλλα* (Thessaloniki, 2000); ead., *Λαξευτοὶ θαλαμῶτοι τάφοι τῆς Πέλλας* (Athens, 1994); ead., *Πέλλης 1. Κιθωτιόσχημος τάφος μὲ ζωγραφικὴ διακόσμηση ἀπὸ τὴν Πέλλα* (Thessaloniki, 2007); P. Chrysostomou, *Μακεδονικοὶ τάφοι Πέλλας I. Τάφος Β΄, ὁ ἀσύλητος* (Thessaloniki, 1998); I. M. Akamatis, *Ἐνσφράγιστες λαβῆς ἀμφορέων ἀπὸ τὴν ἀγορὰ τῆς Πέλλας* (Athens, 2000).

<sup>39</sup> Maria Tsimbidou-Avloniti, *Μακεδονικοὶ τάφοι στὸν Φοῖνικα καὶ στὸν Ἅγιο Ἀθανάσιο Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens, 2005).

<sup>40</sup> P. G. Themelis and G. P. Touratsoglou, *Οἱ τάφοι τοῦ Δερβενίου* (Athens, 1997); Beryl Barr-Sharrar, *The Derveni Krater. Masterpiece of Classical Greek Metalwork* (Princeton, 2008).

<sup>41</sup> Iouliia Vokotopoulou, *Οἱ ταφικοὶ τύμβοι τῆς Αἴνειας* (Athens, 1999).

<sup>42</sup> *Inscriptiones graecae Epiri Macedoniae Thraciae, Scythiae. Volumen X. Pars II. Inscriptiones Macedoniae. Fasciculus I. Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et viciniaed editit Carolus Edson* (Berlin, 1972).

<sup>43</sup> Th. Rizakis and G. Touratsoglou, *Ἐπιγραφές Ἄνω μακεδονίας (Ἐλίμεια, Ἐορδαία, Νότια Λυγκηστίς, Ὀρεστίς)* (Athens, 1985); Loukritia Gounaropoulou and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας. Τεύχος Α΄. Ἐπιγραφές Βεροίας* (Athens, 1998).

completion through the collaboration of KERA with the Archaeological Service. They cover the western half of the country from the Pindus chain to the Axios river. Meanwhile a volume of inscriptions from north-western Macedonia and Pelagonia, north of the Greek frontier, was published by the Berlin Academy under the direction of Fanoula Papazoglou,<sup>44</sup> while a supplement to the already published corpus of Thessaloniki is under way.<sup>45</sup> During these last years a succession of doctoral theses mostly written by Greek students studying in their own country, France, Germany, and Great Britain constitute systematic corpora of several Macedonian mints.<sup>46</sup> The most encouraging development, however, is the presence of a critical mass of enthusiastic and competent young scholars in all institutions active in Macedonia: the Archaeological Service, as well as the Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity and the Archaeology and History departments of major Greek universities.

<sup>44</sup> *Inscriptiones graecae Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Scythiae. Volumen X. Pars II. Inscriptiones Macedoniae. Fasciculus II. Inscriptiones Macedoniae septentrionalis. Sectio prima. Inscriptiones Lyncestidis, Heracleae, Pelagoniae, Derriopi, Lychnidi edeiderunt Fanoula Papazoglou, Milena Milin, Marijana Ricl adiuuante Klaus Hallof* (Berlin/New York, 1999).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Despoina Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou and P. M. Nigdelis, "IG X 2.1. Συμπλήρωμα: ἡ πρόοδος τῶν ἐργασιῶν," in *Β' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Ἐπιγραφικῆς* (Thessaloniki, 2008) pp. 181–87.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. I. Touratsoglou, *Die Münzstätte von Thessaloniki in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin/New York, 1988); Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou, *Ἡ νομισματοκοπία τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς ἀποικίας τοῦ Δίου* (Athens, 1996); Selene Psoma, *Olynthe et les Chalcidiens de Thrace. Etudes de numismatique et d'histoire* (Stuttgart, 2001); Eleni G. Papaefthymiou, *Edessa de Macédoine: étude historique et numismatique* (Athens, 2002).