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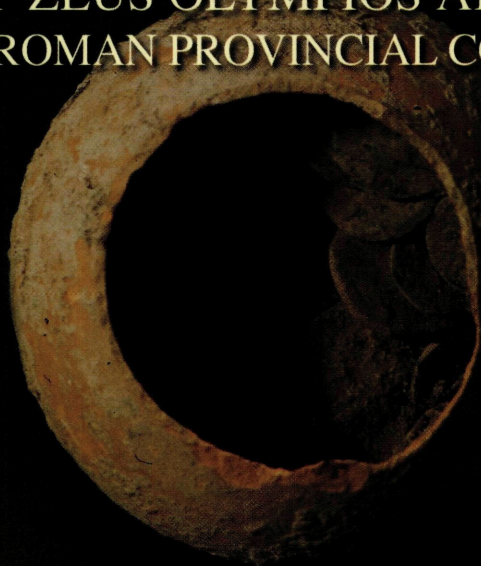
CENTRE FOR GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION

ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ

35

SOPHIA KREMYDI-SICILIANOU

**MULTIPLE CONCEALMENTS
FROM THE SANCTUARY
OF ZEUS OLYMPIOS AT DION
THREE ROMAN PROVINCIAL COIN HOARDS**



DIFFUSION DE BOCCARD - 11 RUE DE MEDICIS, 75006 PARIS

ATHENS 2004

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ΚΕΝΤΡΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ
ΕΘΝΙΚΟΝ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ

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Στον Γιώργο

Cover illustration: The 'Dion 2000' hoard in its clay vase.

Photo by courtesy of Professor D. Pandermalis

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τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Ἰδρύματος Ἐρευνῶν

Παραγωγή: Μιχάλης Κύρκος

FOREWORD

The subject of this study is three Roman provincial coin hoards, which were unearthed during excavations conducted by the University of Thessalonike at the site of Dion in Macedonia in the years 1998, 1999 and 2000, respectively. Their concealment in the same area, as well as their very similar contents and burial date, indicate that the three finds are clearly related and they are therefore discussed here as a whole. Their interest lies both in the secure archaeological context from which they derive and in the large number of coins they include, something that is very unusual for Roman provincial hoards. The aim of this publication is double. The first is to provide a detailed presentation of the new material and to discuss its contribution to our knowledge of individual issues. The second is to attempt an interpretation of this evidence and to place it within the general context of other Roman hoards from Macedonia and the Balkans.

The first, general part, of the study concentrates on the hoards as a whole and not on individual issues. Their contents are described briefly and a date is proposed for their concealment. Furthermore, the material is associated with its archaeological context and possible interpretations of 'multiple concealments' within this context are suggested. The equivalence of bronze provincial denominations with Roman coins is discussed and an approximate estimation of the value of the currency in these hoards is attempted. Finally, in the last section of this part, the Dion hoards are placed within the general context of hoards of the Imperial

period from Macedonia and the rest of the Balkan provinces, and their contribution to our knowledge of coin circulation is examined.

The Dion hoards include a large number of coins from the local mint and their publication thus constitutes an extensive supplement to the mint study published by the author in 1996. The new material is comparably much more abundant than that compiled in the corpus and offers a unique opportunity to control earlier conclusions. The numismatic commentary that forms the second part of this study, discusses the contribution of the new material to our understanding of coin production at the mint of Dion, as well as to the dating of 'pseudoautonomous' issues of several Macedonian mints.

In the catalogue of the three hoards we have aimed at recording crucial information while, at the same time, avoiding superfluous details and tedious repetitions. Coins are grouped according to mints, issues and varieties, and are numbered continuously within each hoard. When separate varieties include a large number of identical coins, technical details are not recorded for each individual specimen, since this would lead to a very long and repetitive catalogue. Weights and axis are given in groups, and all the attested die links are recorded. Die identifications are attempted for the material that is better preserved, but are proposed with some reservations, due to the poor condition of the coins. Descriptions of types are kept brief and legends are given in their full form and not as they appear on individual specimens. Plates illustrate all the different types and die combinations but not, of course, all coins.

Although most of the coins in the hoards had not been in circulation for long before their concealment, their preservation is relatively poor. This is especially evident for the coins of Antoninus Pius in the 'Dion 1998' hoard, for which it has not been possible to discern varieties, let alone dies. In fact specimens in this hoard are, in some cases, hardly recognizable, not so much because they were worn through use, but because they are heavily corroded. The humidity of the soil at Dion, where the coins had been buried for centuries, is well known to anybody

working on the site. In the excavation report of 1998 it is mentioned that investigations were being undertaken while water was flooding. This is probably the reason for the bad conservation of these coins as well as of the clay pot in which they were concealed. Since conditions of humidity vary a lot from one find spot to another, specimens in 'Dion 1999' and 'Dion 2000' were preserved in a considerably better condition, although far from ideal.

Research for this book was funded by the 'Aristeia' programme of the Greek Ministry of Development, General Secretariat for Research and Technology, within the European Union's 3rd Community Support Framework.

My warmest thanks are due to Prof. D. Pandermalis of the University of Thessalonike, director of the excavations at Dion, for his permission to publish this new material. The recent excavation of the sanctuary of Zeus where the hoards were unearthed, has been carried out under the supervision of Mrs I. Vassiliadou and I am indebted to her for her willingness to provide information on the archaeological context. Many thanks are due to my colleague Ch. Papageorgiadou-Banis for reading a final version of the text. I also wish to thank Mrs Alexandra Doulas for improving my English, and G. Fowden to whose advice on matters of language I frequently resorted. The painstaking task of cleaning many hundreds of bronze coins was undertaken by the conservator of the Museum Mr A. Sikiotis and the photographs of the casts were taken by Mr P. Magoulas. Last but not least, I cannot fail to dedicate this book to my son Giorgos, who by some peculiar chance, was born on 6 October 1999, on the very day that the large Dion hoard was discovered.

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PLATES

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations follow the *Numismatic Chronicle* and the *Année Philologique*. In addition the following are also used:

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| Amandry 1993 | Amandry, M., 'Coinage Production and Monetary Circulation in Roman Cyprus', Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Nicosia 1993. |
| Bellinger 1961 | Bellinger, A., <i>Troy. The Coins. Suppl. Monograph 2</i> , Princeton 1961. |
| <i>BMCRE</i> | Mattingly, H., <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , (vols 2-4), London 1930-1940. |
| Burrer 1993 | Burrer, Fr., <i>Münzprägung und Geschichte des thessalischen Bundes in der römischen Kaiserzeit bis auf Hadrian, (31 v. Chr.-138 n.Chr.)</i> , Saarbrücken 1993. |
| <i>CAH</i> | <i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> . |
| <i>EKM</i> | Gounaropoulou, L., Hatzopoulos, M.B., 'Επιγραφές κάτω Μακεδονίας, τεύχ. Α', 'Επιγραφές Βεροίας, Athens 1998. |
| <i>ESAR</i> | Frank, T. (ed.), <i>An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome</i> , Baltimore 1933-1940 (5 vols). |
| <i>ΕΦΣΠΘ</i> | 'Επετηρίς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης. |
| Grant, <i>FITA</i> | Grant, M., <i>From Imperium to Auctoritas</i> , London 1946. |

- Fritze 1902 Fritze, H. von, 'Die Münzen von Ilion', in: W. Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, Athens 1902.
- HCC Robertson, A. S., *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet*, Glasgow 1962-1978 (4 vols).
- INC *International Numismatic Congress*.
- Kremydi 1996 Kremydi-Sicilianou, S., *Η Νομισματοκοπία της Ρωμαϊκής αποικίας του Δίου*, Bibliotheca of the Hellenic Numismatic Society, no. 4, Athens 1996.
- Lanz 105 Numismatic Lanz München, Auktion 105. *Münzen von Korinth, Sammlung BCD*, November 2001.
- Mionnet Mionnet, T. E., *Description de médailles antiques*, Paris 1823, vol. 6.
- Overbeck 1971 Overbeck, B. von, 'M. Galerius Antoninus. Bemerkungen zu einer Fundmünzen aus Mangolding, Ldkr. Regensburg', *BVBl* 16 (1971), pp. 245-57, pls 25-27.
- Papaefthymiou 2002 Papaefthymiou, E., *Édessa de Macédoine. Étude historique et numismatique*, Bibliotheca of the Hellenic Numismatic Society, no. 7, Athens 2002.
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
- SFMA *Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike*.
- SIG³ Dittenberger, G., *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edition, Leipzig 1915.
- Touratsoglou 1988 Touratsoglou, I., *Die Münzstätte von Thessaloniki in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Berlin 1988.
- Touratsoglou 1993 Touratsoglou, I., *The Coin Circulation in Ancient Macedonia (c. 200 BC – AD 268-286). The Hoard Evidence*, Bibliotheca of the Hellenic Numismatic Society, no. 1, Athens 1993.
- Vagi 1999 D. Vagi, *Coinage and History of the Roman Empire*, vols 1-2, Sidney, Ohio 1999.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

THE SANCTUARY OF ZEUS OLYMPIOS AND THE COIN HOARDS

Dion of Macedonia, a city situated in the foothills of Mount Olympos, was named after the supreme god in the Greek pantheon, Zeus (gen. Διός) Olympios. Festivals held in honour of Zeus and the Muses at Dion are attested by literary evidence¹, and the city's famous pan-Macedonian sanctuary is often referred to by ancient historians. The construction of a large temple in honour of Zeus Olympios at Dion, was among the plans that Alexander did not survive to accomplish². The sanctuary was destroyed during an invasion of the Aitolians under Skopas in 219 BC³, but was rebuilt by King Philip V. When the Romans marched into Macedonia in 169 BC and arrived at Dion, the consul ordered his camp to be pitched “*sub ipso templo, ne quid sacro in loco violaretur*”⁴.

The discovery of this famous sanctuary was one of the aims of the first excavators of the site, and we now know that the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios as well the rest of the sanctuaries were all situated within a

-
1. St. Byz., *s.v.*, Δῖον. D.S. 17. 16. 3-4. For the Olympia held at Dion: M. Mari, ‘Le Olympie macedoni di Dion tra Archelao e l’età romana’, *RFIC* 126 (1998), pp. 137-69 and M. Mari, *Al di là dell’Olimpo*, Μελετήματα 34, Athens 2002, pp. 51-60.
 2. D.S. 18. 4. 5.
 3. Plb 4. 62. 2-3.
 4. Liv. 44. 7. 2-3. Nevertheless the city suffered some damage, because when Perseus returned he “rebuilt what had been cast down and despoiled by the Romans”: Liv. 44. 8. 5 (ed. Loeb, transl. A.C. Schlesinger).

large area to the south of the city-walls⁵. Its location had been deduced approximately from a combination of literary evidence and sporadic archaeological finds⁶, but this was confirmed by systematic excavations only after 1995⁷. Although research is far from complete, a general picture of the area has emerged: The surrounding wall of the *temenos* has been revealed, as well as the remains of two large altars, bases for honorary statues, and other small buildings. Fragments of important hellenistic inscriptions have been found buried in a pit, and a few architectural fragments of a large Doric building, perhaps a temple. No foundation of such a building has been located so-far, and the possibility that the temple of Zeus was not situated within the *temenos* but somewhere nearby, seems to be implied by an honorary decree of the late fourth century BC: its text mentions that the inscription should be set up in front of the temple, whereas a statue should be placed inside the *temenos*⁸. It therefore seems probable that these were two distinct places and that the original *temenos* protected the most valuable ex-votos.

-
5. The first excavator of the site, G. Soteriades, believed the sanctuary was situated within the city walls: *PAA* 6 (1931), p. 4 ff and *ΕΦΣΠΙΘ* 2 (1932), p. 18, but this was corrected by Ch. Makaronas, 'Νέαι εἰδήσεις ἐκ Δίου τοῦ Πιερικῶν. Ἡ θέσις τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς', *AEph* 1937 B', pp. 530-33, followed by the next excavator of the site G. Bakalakis, 'Ἀνασκαφή Δίου 1964-1971' in: *Ancient Macedonia II*, Thessalonike 1977, p. 255.
 6. From Livy 44. 6. 16-17, it is clear that the sanctuary was situated outside the fortified city. For discussion of this passage: Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Ἀνασκαφή Δίου. Τόμος 1. Ἡ Οχύρωση*, Thessalonike 1998, pp. 28-29. Several finds were unearthed by local farmers, the most important being two inscriptions, a letter of Philip V (*SEG* 46 [1996] 740) and an honorary decree of the late fourth century BC (*SEG* 46 [1996] 739) which specifically mention that they should be set up within the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios. See also: D. Pandermalis, 'Λατρεῖες καὶ ἱερά τοῦ Δίου Πιερίας', in: *Ancient Macedonia II*, Thessalonike 1977, pp. 339-42.
 7. See the reports of D. Pandermalis in: *AEMTh* 9 (1995), p. 148; *AEMTh* 10 (1996), p. 205; *AEMTh* 12 (1998), pp. 291-2; *AEMTh* 13 (1999), p. 417. For a general description of the sanctuary: *Idem*, *Δίον. Ἡ Ανακάλυψη*, Athens 1999, pp. 45-59 with photographs of the inscriptions.
 8. *SEG* 46 (1996) 739, see note 6.

Sometime in the second century AD, when Dion was a Roman colony⁹, a theatre was built in the area of the sanctuary of Zeus¹⁰. Nearly adjacent to the theatre and only a few meters from its north *parodos*, another building has been brought to light, in which the three coin hoards had been buried. Unlike the theatre (Plan 1, p. 23), which was built of dressed limestone blocks and neatly constructed plinths, this edifice was built from broken limestone blocks, unworked stones and fragments of hellenistic bricks, material which was certainly taken from some other building in the area that was no longer in use. No indication of a pavement has survived and therefore the floor was probably made of clay. Since, for practical reasons, it is very difficult to accept that this building existed at the time of the construction of the theatre, and since it was certainly in use around the middle of the second century AD, as shown by the hoards, it was probably erected shortly after the theatre. According to the surviving picture it consisted of two rooms. The western room measured about 5.20 x 3.60 m. and had an opening to the north, whereas from the eastern only two walls have survived.

In July 1998 a hoard of 81 bronze coins was unearthed from the foundation level of the east wall of the first (western) room. In October 1999 and in July 2000 two more hoards of 1,590 and 129 bronze coins respectively, were discovered in the foundations of the west wall of the same room. All three hoards were buried in clay vases, beside the walls of the same room around the middle of the second century AD¹¹.

Crucial questions for the interpretation of these finds are what had

9. For the founding of the colony under Augustus see: Kremydi 1996, pp. 12-15.

10. For the Roman theatre of Dion see: G. Bakalakis, *AD* 19 (1964), *Chr.* p. 348; *AD* 21 (1966), *Chr.* p. 347; *AD* 23 (1968), *Chr.* p. 342ff. L. Palaiokrassa, 'Το Ρωμαϊκό θέατρο του Δίου', *Οι Αρχαιολόγοι μιλούν για την Πιερία*, Thessalonike 1985, pp. 55-57, who compares the theatre to those of Patras, Philippi and Corinth, and dates it to the second century AD. D. Pandermalis, *Δίον. Η Ανακάλυψη*, Athens 1999, pp. 76 tentatively proposes a date during the reign of Hadrian.

11. For hoards in clay vessels from Macedonia: E. Gratsia, M. Konioti, 'Πήλινα

survived of the hellenistic sanctuary and how did it function in the second century AD? Archaeological evidence is still incomplete and the answer should be given, in due time, by the excavator. For the moment, all we can do is draw together fragments of evidence. To begin with, the area was chosen for the construction of a theatre. This was built over the surrounding wall of the *temenos* which was, therefore, no longer in use. Apart from this and from the small building next to it where the hoards were unearthed, no other edifice has been located whose construction can be securely dated to Roman times. The archaeological evidence therefore indicates that the area of the sanctuary was transformed during the Imperial period.

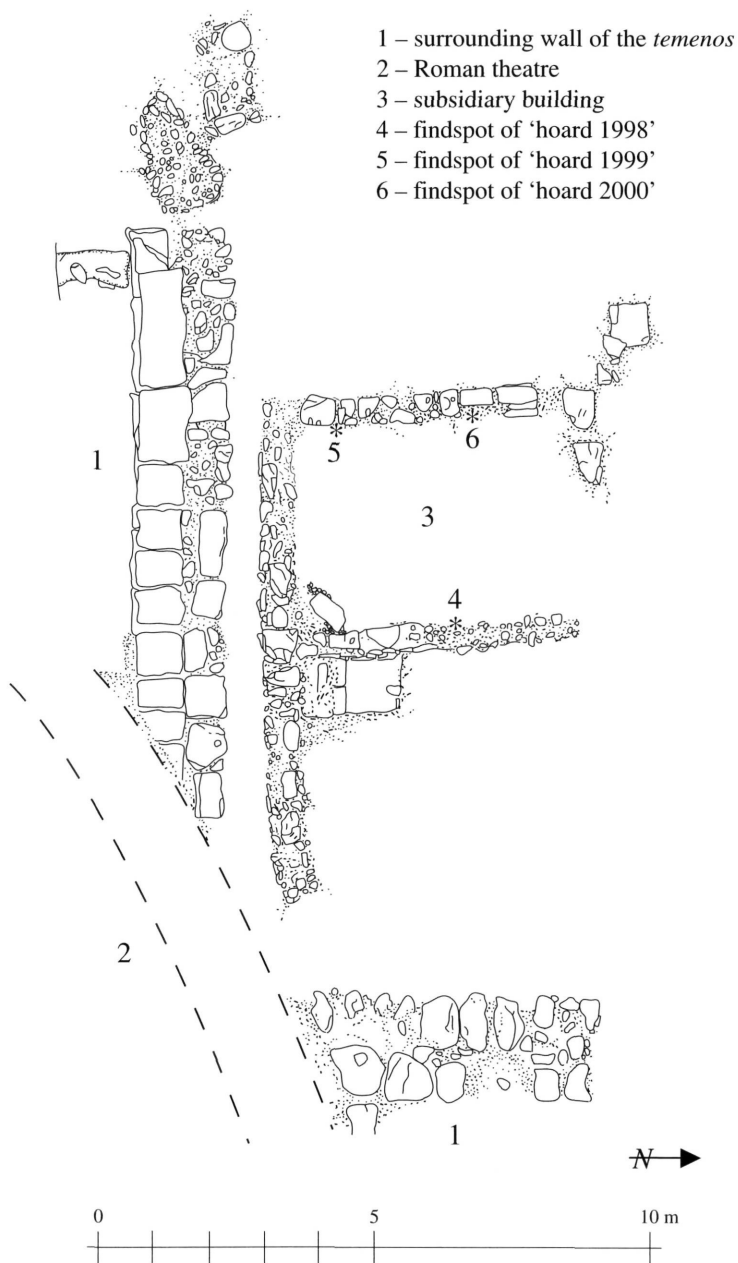
Epigraphic evidence concerning the worship of Zeus Olympios at Dion after the founding of the colony is also lacking. The latest reference to the Olympia is in an inscription from Kassandreia dated to c.100 BC¹²; after that numismatic iconography remains our only source. The colony of Diom inaugurated its coinage in the time of Augustus, and the only reverse type originally encountered on its issues bearing the imperial portrait, was that of Athena. Over a century later, a second type was introduced, namely that of Zeus, standing, holding a patera and a sceptre, with an eagle usually by his feet. This type was introduced on issues of Hadrian, which bore the inscription IMP CAES HADRIANO AVG OLYMPIO on the obverse. The use of the epithet 'Olympios' for Hadrian and the introduction of the new type are clearly related and, together with other epigraphic evidence, have been discussed elsewhere and interpreted as an attempt by the city to flatter the emperor and win a seat at the newly founded Panhellenion¹³. But whether the introduction of the type of Zeus on the coinage of Dion is an indication of a revival of the traditional cult remains uncertain. The very recent discovery of a Roman temple of Zeus

αγγελία με θησαυρούς νομισμάτων από τη Μακεδονία', in: *Obolos* 4 (2000), pp. 283-92.

12. *SEG* 14 (1957) 478.

13. Kremydi 1996, pp. 48-51, 279.

PLAN 1



Hypsistos a few hundred meters to the north of the hellenistic sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, corroborated by the archaeological evidence presented above, seems to indicate that the Royal Macedonian cult had been neglected¹⁴.

To summarize therefore, the area occupied by the hellenistic sanctuary of Zeus Olympios was transformed in Roman times: the surrounding wall of the *temenos* was no longer in use and a theatre was built over it, but the area still had a public function; spectacles and games were held in the theatre and it is possible that one of the two altars was still in use. It was in such a public area, therefore, and inside a building which was very close to the theatre but whose function cannot yet be determined, that the three hoards were concealed and lost by their owner.

-
14. In Kremydi 1996, pp. 90-91, we argued that the introduction of the type of Zeus on the city coinage under Hadrian was an indication of the revival of the traditional cult. Although this is possible, the discovery of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos in June 2003 obliges us to put forward a second hypothesis according to which the coin type of Dion actually represented Zeus Hypsistos. Surviving representations of the god from Macedonia always depict him standing in a posture similar to that on the coins. See for example the reliefs from the area of Kozani: *PAAH* 1965, pp. 25-26, pl. 28 b, c (from the hill of Agios Eleutherios); *Makedonika* II, 1951 (1952), pp. 638, 639 fig.13 (from Kozani); *AEph* 1936, *Chr.*, p. 7, no 9, fig 6 (from the village Akrini). The same is true for an unpublished relief from Dion, although the cult statue recently discovered inside the temple depicts Zeus seated on a throne and holding a thunderbolt. A similar seated Zeus was depicted on coins struck by the city under Gallienus: Kremydi 1996, pl. 26, nos 48, 53, pl. 28, nos 41, 42.

THE CONTENTS OF THE HOARDS AND THEIR BURIAL DATE

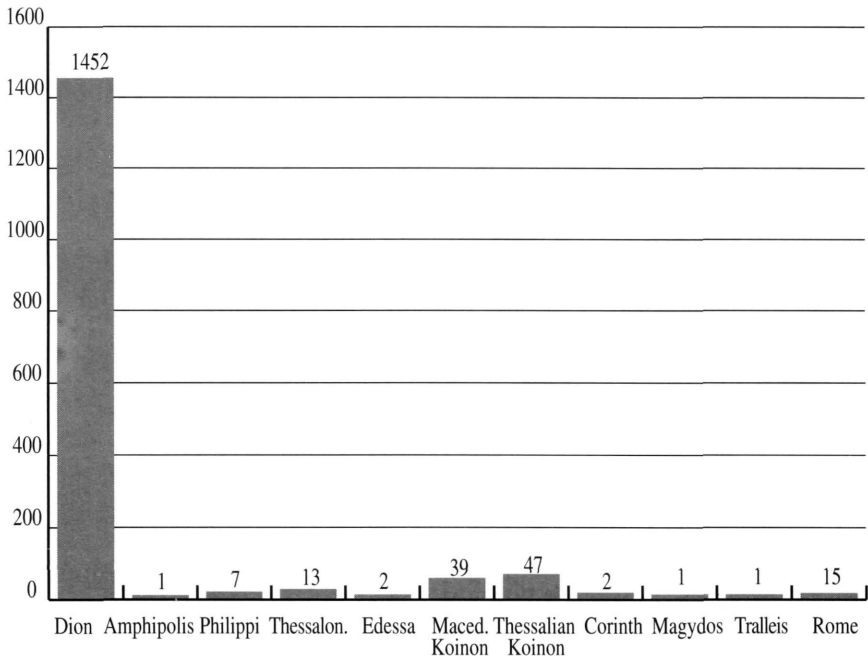
The detailed contents of the three hoards are summarized in Tables 1-3, while Graphs 1-6 illustrate the total number of specimens by mint and by emperor in each find. 'Dion 1999' is, by far, the largest hoard and contains 1,590 bronze coins (Table 1, Graphs 1-2). Of these 1,452, over 91%, belong to the local mint of Dion (nos 1-1452). Other Macedonian mints, namely those of Amphipolis (no. 1453), Edessa (nos 1454-55), Thessalonike (nos 1456-68), the Macedonian Koinon (nos 1469-1507), and the colony of Philippi (nos 1508-1514) are represented in very small numbers which add up to 62 specimens, under 4% of the total. There are no issues of the neighbouring colonies of Pella or Kassandreia, nor of the more distant *municipium* of Stobi¹⁵. The mint of the Thessalian Koinon is represented by 47 specimens (nos 1517-1563) and it is therefore the second mint in the hoard after Dion. From Achaia only 2 specimens of Corinth (nos 1515-16) are included. Outside mainland Greece, two coins come from Asia Minor, one from Magydos, a small city in Pamphylia (no. 1565), and a second from Tralleis, or else Kaisareia, in Lydia (no. 1564); a fragment of an uncertain issue minted in the name of the deified Faustina and her deceased son Galerius Antoninus (no. 1566) was also encoun-

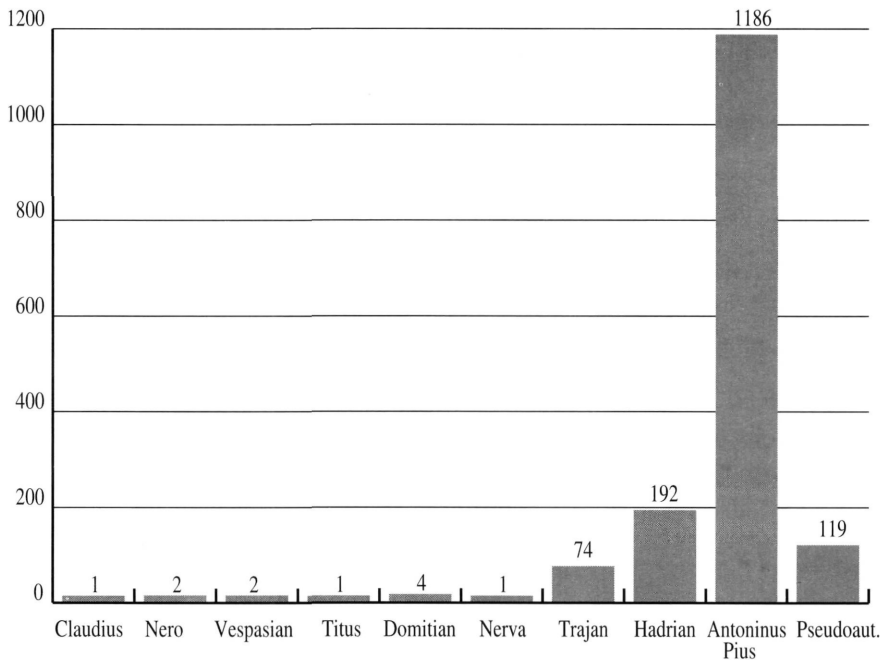
15. During the first half of the second century Pella produced coins under Hadrian (*AMNG* 3.2, p. 99, no. 30), Kassandreia under Trajan (*SNG Cop.*, 149) and Antoninus Pius (*AMNG* 3.2, p. 53, no. 9), whereas Stobi coined only under Trajan (*AMNG* 3.2, p. 112, nos 5-6. P. Josifovski, *Roman Mint of Stobi*, Skopje 2001, pp. 164-171).

Table 1
Dion 1999

	DION	AMPHIPOLIS	PHILIPPI	THESSALONIKE	EDESSA	MACEDONIAN KOINON	THESSALIAN KOINON	CORINTH	MAGYDOS	TRALLEIS	UNCERTAIN GREEK CITY	ROME	UNIDENTIFIED	TOTAL
Claudius	1													1
Nero	2													2
Vespasian				1								1		2
Titus												1		1
Domitian	3					1								4
Nerva												1		1
Trajan	68			3								3		74
Hadrian	119				2	14	47	2				8		192
Antoninus Pius	1162	1				20			1			1		1186
Pseudoauton.	97		7	9		4				1				119
TOTAL	1452	1	7	13	2	39	47	2	1	1	1	15	9	1590

Graph 1: Dion 1999. Coins per mint



Graph 2: Dion 1999. Coins per emperor

tered. Last but not least, 15 bronze coins of the mint of Rome are included in this hoard (nos 1567-1581).

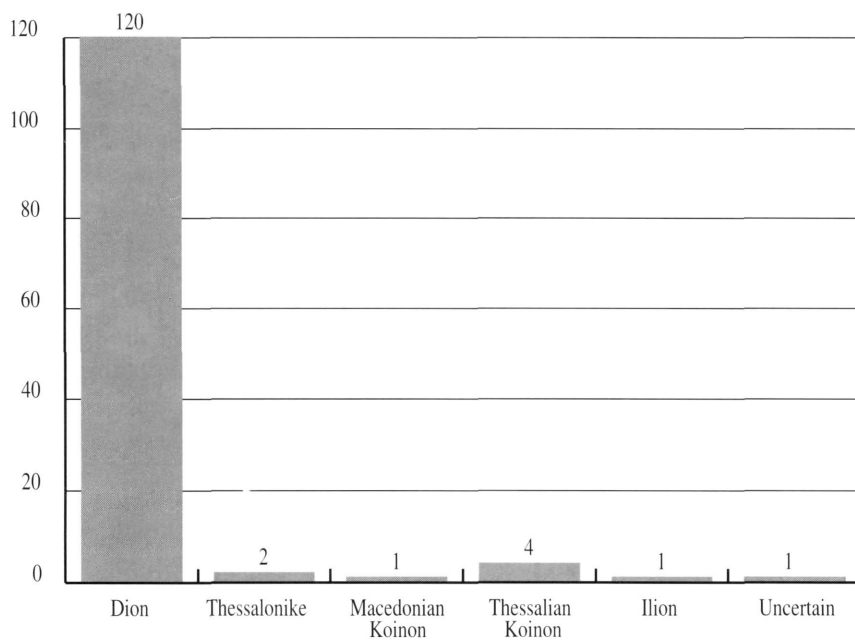
Concerning their dates of issue, only 11 coins belong to the first century AD, whereas 1,452 specimens (91.3%) are dated by their portraits to the reigns between Trajan and Antoninus Pius. Of these, 1,186 coins (74.6%) belong to issues in the name of Antoninus Pius. It is evident that the chronologically restricted composition of this and the other two very similar hoards, offers valuable evidence for dating the 'pseudoautonomous' issues of Dion, Philippi, Thessalonike and the Macedonian Koinon, which were also included¹⁶.

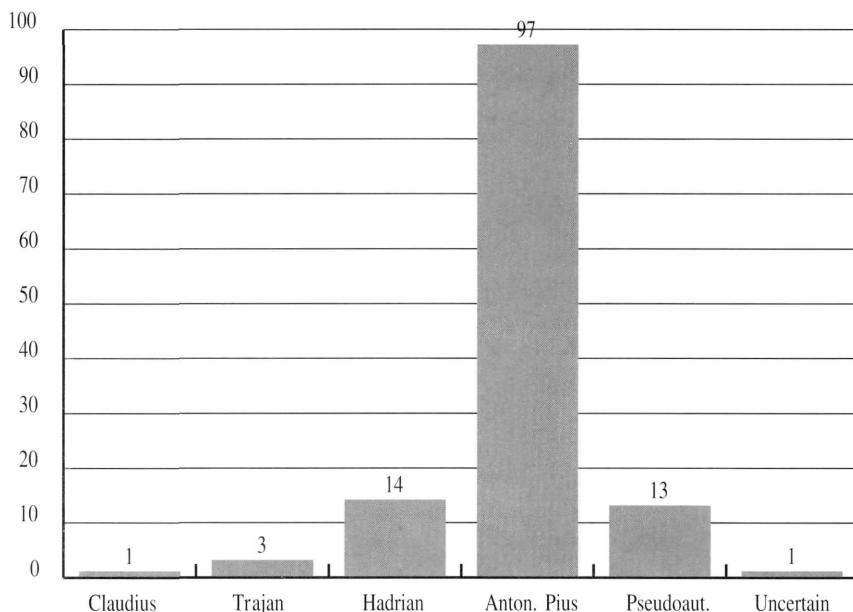
16. For a discussion of these issues see pp. 77-93, below.

Table 2
Dion 2000

	DION	MACEDONIAN KOINON	THESSALONIKE	THESSALIAN KOINON	ILION	UNCERTAIN	TOTAL
Claudius		1					1
Trajan	2		1				3
Hadrian	9			4	1		15
Antoninus Pius	97						84
Pseudoauton.	12		1				13
uncertain						1	1
TOTAL	120	1	2	4	1	1	129

Graph 3: Dion 2000. Coins per mint



Graph 4: Dion 2000. Coins per emperor

The other two are much smaller hoards, with a very similar composition. ‘Dion 2000’ (Table 2, Graphs 3-4) includes 129 bronze coins, of which 120, in other words 93%, belong to the local mint (nos 1-120). Apart from these, the hoard includes 4 coins of the Thessalian Koinon (nos 124-27), 2 coins of Thessalonike (nos 121-22), 1 coin of the Macedonian Koinon (no. 123), 1 coin of Ilion in Troas (no. 128) and 1 unidentified coin. Unlike the ‘Dion 1999’ find, no Roman coins were found in this hoard. 75.19% of its specimens belong to issues bearing the portrait of Antoninus Pius, whereas 10.85% belong to the reign of Hadrian, 2.3% to the reign of Trajan and only one coin of the earlier emperors is found, namely Claudius.

‘Dion 1998’ (Table 3, Graphs 5-6) includes 81 bronze coins, of which 72, that is 89%, belong to the local mint (nos 1-72). This hoard also contains 3 coins of Thessalonike (nos 73-75), 1 coin of the Macedonian

Table 3
Dion 1998

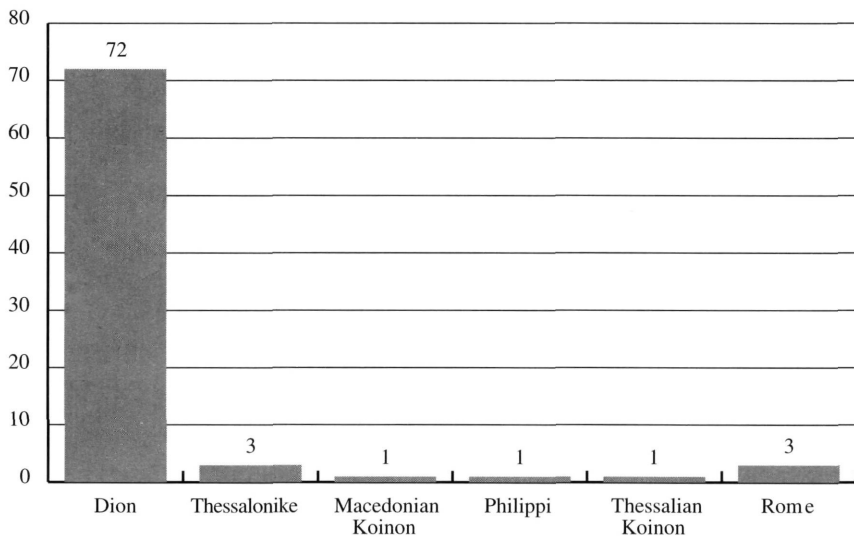
	DION	THESSALONIKE	MACEDONIAN K.	PHILIPPI	THESSALIAN K.	ROME	TOTAL
Domitian	1					2	3
Trajan	3	2					5
Hadrian	8		1		1	1	11
Antoninus Pius	54						54
Pseudoautonomous	6	1		1			8
TOTAL	72	3	1	1	1	3	81

Koinon (no. 76), 1 coin of Philippi (no. 77), 1 coin of the Thessalian Koinon (no. 78) and three Roman coins (nos 79-81). 67% of its specimens belong to issues bearing the portrait of Antoninus Pius, whereas 14% belong to the reign of Hadrian, 6% to the reign of Trajan and only 4% to the reign of Domitian.

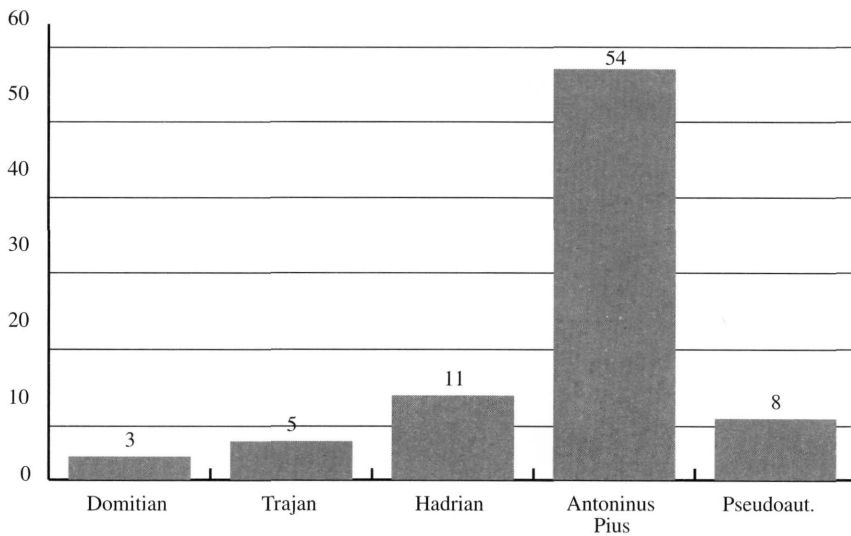
All three hoards consist exclusively of bronze denominations and their burial date is identical. They include a very high percentage of coins from the local mint of Dion (92%, 93% and 89% respectively). Concerning the rest of the mints, issues of the Thessalian Koinon, Thessalonike, and the Macedonian Koinon, which are present in noticeable numbers in the largest hoard are also found in the other two and Roman coins are only absent from 'Dion 2000'. Furthermore, in all three cases, the latest issues are, by far, the most common: The percentage of the coins of Pius in the hoards ranges from 67% to 75%, and if we add the Diana / plough issues of Dion this comes to 80% for 'Dion 1999', 84% for 'Dion 2000' and 74% for 'Dion 1998'.

It has already been mentioned that all three hoards were buried in clay vases under the walls of the same room, only a few metres apart. This practice of 'multiple concealments' of Roman hoards has been encountered elsewhere and is the subject of a detailed study by Jean-Pierre

Graph 5: Dion 1998. Coins per mint



Graph 6: Dion 1998. Coins per emperor



Callu¹⁷. Callu was mainly interested in finds that were buried simultaneously but contained issues of different species (metal and/or denomination) and discussed the reasons for their separation¹⁸. Our material is of a different nature since all three hoards have a very similar composition, the only differentiating factor being their size. Published parallels of ‘multiple concealments’ with identical context have been interpreted as being parts of one larger sum concealed in different containers, which were buried in the same area within some distance of one another¹⁹. This is certainly possible for our finds, although it is equally possible that the hoards were accumulated and buried within a short time gap of a few days, a few months or even a few years. The fact that we are dealing with ‘circulation’ hoards and not with ‘saving’ hoards²⁰, which were found inside a building and not in the open air, enables us to put forward the hypothesis that this room was used by its tenant as a short-term deposit for earnings that could have been hidden either simultaneously or, otherwise, within a short period.

It is clear that the burial date of these hoards must be placed during the reign of Antoninus Pius, or at the very beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, at the latest. The complete absence of coins in the name of Marcus Aurelius, as Emperor, indicates that their concealment could not have been realized long after his accession to the throne in AD 161. The

17. J.-P. Callu, ‘Cachettes monétaires multiples (IIIe-IVe s.)’, in: M. Alföldi (ed.), *SFMA*, vol. 1, Berlin 1979, pp. 5-16.

18. The first to discuss this matter was Th. Mommsen, *Histoire de la monnaie romaine*, vol. 3, Paris 1873, pp. 119-139.

19. Callu, *op.cit.* (n.17), p. 5 gives a list of examples; Mommsen, *op.cit.* (n. 18), pp. 126-27 discusses a large hoard of bronze coins, buried in the reign of Commodus, which was found in Schreitlacken, near Königsberg (Kaliningrad, today in Russia), and which was buried in two separate lots found ‘in the same area’ (au même endroit). A similar case is a fourth-century AD hoard found in Thoiry, in two separate lots, about ten metres apart: *RN* 4, 12 (1908), p. 273.

20. On this issue see the chapter ‘The hoards as evidence for coin circulation’ below.

issue of Amphipolis in the name of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar (no. 1453) is hardly of any help, since similar issues are known at Rome only one year after Pius' accession²¹. Datable issues within the reign of Pius include one coin in the name of ΘΕΑ ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ (no. 1566) that provides a *terminus post quem* in AD 141, year of her death and official deification²², and a Roman as in the name of Antoninus Pius (no. 1581), minted during his third consulate and dated between AD 140-144²³. This is the only Roman coin of Antoninus Pius in our hoards and it was struck early in his reign. Internal chronological evidence for the burial of our hoards therefore suggests a date between the mid-40s and the early 60s of the second century AD.

In addition to the above, we should also consider the fact that coins of Antoninus Pius from distant mints such as Magydos in Pamphylia (no. 1565) and Rome (no. 1581) would certainly have taken some time to travel to Macedonia. Furthermore, all three issues of the local mint in the name of this Emperor had been produced at the time of the concealment of the hoards. It therefore appears that the hoards were probably accumulated and concealed towards the middle or, perhaps, even the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius and we propose a date of *c.* AD 150-160 for their burial.

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21. Marcus Aurelius took the title of Caesar in AD 138 and the first issues in Rome bearing this title were minted in AD 139: *BMCRE* IV, p. 21 no. 124ff.
 22. At Rome, issues in the name of *Diva Faustina* were struck immediately after her death in AD 141: *BMCRE* IV, p. 42, no. 280ff. In the provinces such issues are known from Flaviopolis in Cilicia (*SNG* von Aulock, 8672), the Koinon of Ionia (*SNG* von Aulock, 7814), Sardeis (*SNG* von Aulock, 3154), Nikopolis in Epiros (*BMC*, p. 105, no. 26; M. Oeconomidou, *Η νομισματοκοπία της Νικοπόλεως*, Athens 1975, pp. 93-94), Delphi in Phokis (*BMC*, pp. 29-30, nos 33-41), Myndos in Caria (*BMC*, p. 139, no. 47), Nikopolis-Emmaus in Judaia (*BMC*, p. 169, nos 1-2) and Bostra in Arabia (*BMC*, p. 17, nos 6-9, pl 3, 10-13). The issues of Flaviopolis are dated by the city's era to AD 140/1 and the issues of Nikopolis-Emmaus, again by the city's era to AD 142/3.
 23. *BMCRE* IV, p. 221, no. 1375.

THE VALUE AND THE NATURE OF THE HOARDS

The 'Dion hoards' described in the previous chapter bear all the characteristics of 'circulation' hoards. The percentage of their latest issues ranges between 74% and 84%, whereas other issues were struck about fifty years earlier, at the most. Anything earlier than that was clearly exceptional. Furthermore, around 90% of the currency they include was struck at the local mint. It is therefore evident that we are dealing with currency that circulated locally and was retired from circulation at the time of its concealment.

In order to achieve a better understanding of this material, we consider it appropriate to attempt an estimation of the approximate value of the currency included in these hoards. 'Dion 1999' contains 1,575 provincial coins as well as 15 Roman bronzes, 'Dion 1998' contains 78 provincial coins and 3 Roman, whereas 129 provincial bronzes were found in 'Dion 2000'. The Roman coins include 7 sestertii, 6 dupondii and 5 asses. The total value of these coins adds up to 45 asses, which is nominally equivalent to almost 3 denarii. The estimation of the value of the provincial coins is less secure. Denominations were very rarely inscribed on them, except in the third century when the currency was debased and the values were altered. Studies on Roman provincial denominations have only started to emerge recently²⁴ and the value of provincial issues is

24. Studies on bronze denominations in Asia Minor include: R. Ziegler, 'Methodische Überlegungen zur Rekonstruktion von Nominalsystemen der städtischen Aes-

sometimes hard to determine, especially since the standards applied at various cities were anything but uniform. To complicate the matter further, inscriptions as well as numismatic evidence indicate that in provinces such as Asia, Syria, or Egypt, but even in Achaia, Greek denominations had persisted alongside Roman ones for the bronze coins²⁵. No such evidence exists for Macedonia where the denarius was the only silver currency in circulation after the second half of the first century BC²⁶ and where denarii and, very rarely assaria, are the only denominations mentioned in epigraphic texts²⁷. Thus, the conclusion that provincial issues in Macedonia followed Roman denominations cannot be questioned and the assarion was therefore the basic monetary unit for the bronze coins²⁸. The value of the provincial assarion has been the subject of a good deal of debate, but the conclusion which seems to be drawn is that it was nominally equivalent to the Roman as²⁹. This equivalence

Prägung im Osten des römischen Reiches', in: *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses*, vol. 4 (1992), pp. 189-213. *Idem*, 'Zum Geldumlauf in Asia Minor: Ein Fund frühkaiserzeitlicher Münzen aus dem Raum Anemurion und das Problem der Identifizierung von Nominalen des städtischen Kleingeldes', in: C. King, D. Wigg (eds), *The Thirteenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, Berlin 1993 (*SFMA* 10), pp. 437-460. A. Johnston, 'Greek Imperial Denominations in the Province of Asia', in: *Nomismata 1, Internationales Kolloquium zur Kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägungen Kleinasiens* (Munich 1994) Milano 1997, pp. 205-220.

25. For the persistence of Greek denominations for bronze coins in the Eastern Empire see: C. Howgego, *Greek Imperial Countermarks*, London 1985, pp. 54-58. *RPC* I, pp. 31-34. K. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy, 300 BC to AD 700*, Baltimore and London 1996, pp. 97ff.
26. Touratsoglou 1993, Tables IIa and IIb.
27. Inscriptions mentioning denarii are very common. Inscriptions mentioning assaria have been found at Derriopos (*CRAI* 1939, pp. 221-230) and Beroia (*EKM* no. 7, l. 32), although it is not clear whether the term assarion in these texts refers to the local denomination or to the Roman as.
28. This is also the conclusion reached in *RPC* I, pp. 287-288.
29. On the value of the assarion as 1:16 of the denarius, the article by M. Jones,

certainly favoured the local coins, which were both smaller and lighter than the Roman ones, but our knowledge of the way Roman bronze coinage was received in general trade in the eastern half of the Empire is still lacking.

In the catalogue of the hoards given below we have ascribed nominal values to the provincial coins. The large majority has been identified as assaria, whereas larger and smaller denominations have been considered as diassaria and hemiassaria respectively. If these attributions are correct, we can state that 'Dion 1999' contains 1,456 assaria, 8 diassaria and 110 hemiassaria. These add up to 1,527 assaria, which expressed in denarii at a rate of 16:1, results in almost 95.5 denarii. If we add the 2.5 denarii calculated above for the Roman bronzes, we reach the total amount of 98 denarii in this hoard. 'Dion 2000' is much smaller; it contains 101 assaria and 13 hemiassaria which add up to 118.5 assaria, in other words nearly 7.5 denarii, whereas 'Dion 1998' contains coins which are nominally equivalent to 5 denarii. The total value of the currency in the three hoards therefore adds up to approximately 113 denarii. Even if the accepted nominal value of the assarion as 1/16th of the denarius is correct, this does not indicate that 16 assaria would have been exchanged for one denarius in the market. An *agio* was certainly charged for the transaction of bronze into silver, something that would have resulted in the exchange of more than 16 assaria (probably 17 or 18) for one denarius. The actual value of the currency in our hoards, as calculated above, is therefore somewhat

'Denarii, Asses and Assaria in the early Roman Empire', *BICS* 18 (1971), pp. 99-105, remains seminal. See also: E. Lo Cascio, 'State and Coinage in the late Republic and early Empire', *JRS* 71 (1981), pp. 76-86 at p. 78, and C. Howgego, 'The Relationship of the Issar to the Denar in Rabbinic Literature', *INJ* 8 (1984-5), pp. 59-64. This is also accepted by the authors of *RPC* I, p. 31, n. 43. A different view that accepts a higher value has been expressed by A. Walker, '16 or 18 Assaria, Drachmai and Denarii in Mid Second Century AD Athens?', *INJ* 6/7 (1982/3), pp. 142-147 and D.J. Mac Donald, 'The Worth of the Assarion', *Historia* 38 (1989), pp. 120-122.

overestimated. We also ignore how the 'foreign' coins were received in the city, both those from Asia and those from Rome. In any case, the scope of our calculation is not to determine the exact value of these hoards but rather to give an approximate value that can help us to compare with known prices and to understand what this sum represented, and therefore how it could be interpreted in the public area in which it was unearthed.

Although evidence remains scarce, it is generally thought that in Achaia and Macedonia, the value of money was relatively high and prices correspondingly low³⁰. Cash prizes given at a local festival at Ambryssos in Phokis were as low as 5 to 7 denarii³¹, whereas the celebration of a local festival at Styberra in the region of Derriopos could have been organized with the annual interest provided by the sum of 1,500 denarii³². At Beroia an *epebarchos* contributed 500 denarii for the purchase of olive oil for the Gymnasium³³, whereas at Gytheion olive oil was to be bought from the interest of a donation that amounted to 8,000 denarii³⁴. From Beroia, again, there is evidence that the fines imposed for destroying funerary monuments ranged from 2,000 to 2,500 denarii³⁵, whereas prices of slaves recorded at the sanctuary of Leukopetra, near Beroia, ranged from 500 to 1,000 denarii in the second century AD³⁶. But

30. See J.A.O. Larsen, *Roman Greece* in: *ESAR*, vol. IV, pp. 490-91.

31. *SIG³* 1063 (after 212 AD).

32. The most recent edition of the Styberra inscription is that of N. Vulic, *Spomenik* 71 (1931), pp. 185-86, no. 500. See *SEG* 46 (1996) 807 for bibliography (2nd cent. AD).

33. *EKM* 135 (dated to 177/8 AD).

34. *IG* V.1, 1208. *SEG* 13 (1956) 258; *SEG* 37 (1987) 323 (41/2 AD).

35. *EKM* 367, 368, 388 (2nd-3rd cent. AD).

36. P. Petsas, M. Hatzopoulos, L. Gounaropoulou, P. Paschides, *Inscriptions du sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux Autochtone de Leukopetra*, Μελετήματα 28, Athens 2000, nos 5, 10 and 12. They are all dated to AD 171/2; No. 12 mentions the price of 1,000 denarii for the purchase of a slave, whereas in nos 5 and 10 a fine of 1,500 denarii is imposed on those who violate the agreement. Since the fine was usually double or triple the price of the slave, we can deduce that this amounted to, at least, 500 denarii (*op.cit.*, p. 55).

amounts mentioned in public decrees that refer to city finances were calculated in many thousands or even tens of thousands of denarii³⁷.

Given this, very general, context it is evident that the estimated 113 denarii in the Dion deposits is a relatively moderate sum which was expressed in small money, and therefore cannot be related to public expenditure. Still, it certainly does not represent pocket money and its context rules out the possibility that we are dealing with savings that were accumulated over a long period. The archaeological context in which these hoards were discovered can contribute to the interpretation of the material. The hoards were unearthed in a building within the area of the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, very near the Roman theatre, and had been concealed at a period that cannot be related to any known danger or external threat. The function of the building in which the finds were discovered cannot be determined precisely, but it certainly could not have been a private residence. It seems natural to suppose that it was some kind of subsidiary building, related to the function of the theatre. Given the concealment of three contemporary hoards containing a large number of small coins used for everyday transactions in such a building, some hypotheses concerning the possible origins of this sum are proposed. The first possibility is that the money should be related to the theatre finances. If this was the case, then the money represented moderate, but nevertheless public, revenues that would be handled by someone holding an official post. Another possible hypothesis is that the hoards belonged to somebody who held a private enterprise in the area. Fairs, for example, were certainly held in sanctuaries, but also other permanent enterprises such as stores, inns or restaurants could have functioned nearby. These, of course, are hypothetical assumptions, which cannot be proven without archaeological evidence to support them, something that, for the time being, does not seem to exist. To summarize therefore, the only thing we

37. See, for example, the proconsular decree of Lucius Memmius Rufus from Beroia: *EKM* 7.

can state with a degree of certainty, is that the hoards must have represented revenues deriving from public or private enterprises that were held in the area and that their holder used the room in which they were discovered as a safe deposit. The proximity of the edifice in which they were buried to the Roman theatre leads us to suppose that the most probable hypothesis is that these hoards should be related to the function of this building. But the reason for their abandonment remains somewhat obscure. They were concealed during a peaceful period and, unlike most hoards, they cannot be related to political insecurity or conditions of war. Their loss therefore must be related to some accidental circumstances that prevented their holder from recovering them. The most plausible explanation is that the area in which they were concealed was destroyed by some natural disaster, most probably a flood. During the excavation of the theatre a thick layer of pebbles was discovered covering the orchestra, definite evidence that the area had been flooded. The city of Dion, situated on the plain below steep Mount Olympos, had always suffered from the rushing torrents that flowed down the mountain during the rainy seasons, and in fact such disasters sometimes still occur. It was probably after such a flood that the building was abandoned and the hoards inside it were lost.

THE HOARDS AS EVIDENCE FOR COIN CIRCULATION

Roman hoards from Macedonia fall into two major categories³⁸. The first include no local issues; they comprise exclusively Roman denominations, such as denarii and/or antoniniani, and their burial dates usually coincide with military events: the Civil Wars of the first century BC, the wars fought during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and the ‘barbaric’ invasions of the third century AD were the usual circumstances³⁹. Unlike other areas, and with the exception of the recent ‘Dion hoards’ no finds containing Roman bronzes with or without denarii, as well as no aurei, have been unearthed so far from Macedonia.

The second and more numerous category of Macedonian hoards dated to this period includes local bronze issues which were, in some cases, mixed with a few denarii. Many of these are ‘grave hoards’, and can be

38. The first attempt to catalogue provincial hoards from Macedonia, of the first three centuries AD, is found in: Touratsoglou 1988, pp. 117-24. This was augmented with new material and relevant discussion in: Touratsoglou 1993, pp. 25-6, 57-60 and Tables IIb and V. New material was added in Kremydi 1996, pp. 130-41 and Papaefthymiou 2002, pp. 221-28. Since then, new material has been presented in the excavation reports published in the *AEMTh* or in the *AD*.

39. Touratsoglou 1993, Tables IIa-b. Since 1993, two more hoards of denarii have come to light: one from a Roman building discovered under the palace of Galerius in Thessalonike containing 35 denarii dated from Vespasian to Commodus, *AEMTh* 12 (1998), pp. 103-104 (M. Karberi, E. Christodoulidou), and one from Petres in western Macedonia, containing 125 republican denarii buried c. 42 BC: *Obolos* 4, Thessalonike 2000, pp. 133ff (P. Adam-Veleni).

dated between the reign of Trajan and the third century. The rest of the finds are all dated to the middle of the third century (reigns of Gordian III, Philip I and Gallienus) and are clearly related to the ‘barbaric’ invasions of this period. Just like the precious metal hoards of the same date, these are clearly ‘emergency hoards’⁴⁰.

The Dion finds published in this paper fall within neither of these categories, but present specificities of their own. They consist exclusively of bronze coins since no precious metal issues are present, but on the other hand they are unusually large compared to similar finds from the area⁴¹. Furthermore, they are neither ‘grave hoards’ nor ‘emergency hoards’ of the mid-third century AD. Their burial date of *c.* AD 150-160 renders the hypothesis that we are dealing with ‘emergency hoards’ highly improbable. The closest historical event to which we could possibly attempt to relate the concealment of these finds, would be the raid of the Kostobokoi in AD 170⁴², but this is definitely too late. Hoards from

40. For these hoards see: S. Kremydi-Sicilianou, ‘Απόκρυψη θησαυρών έκτακτης ανάγκης. Με αφορμή ένα Μακεδονικό θησαυρό του 3ου μ.Χ. αι.’ *in: Χαρακτήρ. Αφιέρωμα στη Μάντω Οικονομίδου*, Athens 1996, pp. 123-46. Recently, another third-century ‘emergency hoard’ was unearthed in Lete, near Thessalonike: *AEMTh* 14 (2000), pp. 160-161 (K. Tzanavari, K. Philis). For emergency hoards in Bulgaria: J. Youroukova, ‘La circulation des monnaies en Bulgarie I-II.s. et leur importance historique’, in M. Alföldi (ed.), *SFMA*, vol. 1, Berlin 1979, pp. 281-287, and B. Bozkova, ‘Gemischte Schatzfunde des 3. Jahrhunderts vom Territorium Bulgariens’, in U. Peter (ed.), *Stephanos nomismatikos*, Berlin 1998, pp. 139-143 where ‘mixed’ hoards, which contain both silver coins and objects made from precious metal are discussed.

41. If we are not actually dealing with one hoard, this is at least true for ‘Dion 1999’ which numbers 1,590 specimens. Other hoards from Macedonia usually include from a few specimens to around 150 at most: Kremydi-Sicilianou, *op.cit.* (note 40), pp. 124-25.

42. Paus. X 34. 4 mentions the raid of the city of Elateia by the Kostobokoi, whereas epigraphic evidence (*BCH* 1895, p. 119 ff.) testifies the plundering of the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis. In *CAH*, XI p. 354, we read: ‘*In AD 170 the Costoboci broke through on the lower Danube, pressed across the Balkans and through Macedonia*

Macedonia, Thrace and Lower Moesia which can be related to this invasion all include denarii dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius⁴³. No issues of Marcus Aurelius were present in our finds, and it is certainly very difficult to accept that no coins in the name of this emperor had been produced by the Macedonian mints by AD 170, that is almost ten years after his accession to the throne. Our hoards, therefore, are significantly earlier and their concealment cannot not be related to any external threat.

The very high percentage of local issues, the eventual presence of other Macedonian specimens, the relatively important number of coins of the Thessalian Koinon, whose capital and mint, Larissa, is a relatively short distance from Dion, and especially, the preponderance of the latest issues in these hoards, clearly demonstrate that we are dealing with money which circulated locally and was retired in a relatively short while, certainly not long before the time of its concealment. In other words, we are dealing with 'circulation hoards' and not with 'accumulation' or 'saving hoards'. The content of these hoards probably gives a more or less representative picture of the currency that was used for everyday transactions in the city of Dion around the mid-second century and therefore useful conclusions concerning the chronological and geographical range of the currency in circulation can be drawn from this material.

The first conclusion which derives from our material is that coins could be in circulation more than a century after their issue, as is deduced from the presence of coins of Claudius or Nero in our second-century hoard. Nevertheless, the percentage of these first century coins is extremely low, which leads to the hypothesis that earlier issues were most likely withdrawn. On the other hand, over 80% of the currency in circulation consisted of coins of the reigning emperor.

to the very heart of Greece, where they plundered and destroyed the Periclean temple of the Mysteries at Eleusis. They were driven out again.'

43. For Macedonia see: Thessalonike 1922, *BCH* 1923, 504; Kičevo Ohrid 1952, *BAR* 95 (1981), p. 55, no. 125. For hoards related to the raid of the Kostobokoi in Moesia and Thrace, see the article by Youroukova cited above in note 40 and esp. pp. 283-286.

The length of time that a coin could circulate can only be attested through hoards. Stray finds cannot provide this kind of information, since it is not possible to attest how long specimens which were lost accidentally and individually had actually circulated. According to the evidence of the 'Dion hoards', the usual picture of the circulating currency is that by the mid-second century, first-century coins were practically out of circulation. The validity of these conclusions can be monitored by comparing the evidence of the 'Dion hoards' with that of other contemporary Macedonian hoards.

Although 'grave hoards' of this period from Macedonia usually include a relatively small number of coins, they offer nevertheless a representative picture of the currency in circulation. Hoards that were buried during the first half of the third century, that is between the reigns of the Severi and Philip I, hardly ever contain any issues before Commodus⁴⁴. In other words, they contain issues that were minted over an interval of maximum *c.* 60 years, although usually the chronological gap between the issues in a hoard is considerably smaller (*c.* 30-40 years). In second century hoards that were buried between the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Commodus we hardly ever find coins issued before Trajan; in only one case is a coin of Vespasian included in a hoard dated to the reign of Pius⁴⁵. It is worth noting that no 'grave hoards' of the first century AD have been located so far.

This picture is consistent with the evidence provided by most of the 'emergency hoards'. In the third-century hoard 'Kentriko Kilkis/1981' – dated to the reign of Philip I – we find only 15 out of 111 coins dated between the reigns of Vespasian and Commodus, whereas 'Macedonia /

44. In only one case, the 'Ierissos/1973' hoard, are three specimens of the Macedonian Koinon, dated under Antoninus Pius, found in a hoard dated to the reign of Alexander Severus. Touratsoglou 1993, p. 59, no. 13.

45. This is the 'Ierissos/1976' hoard which also includes one coin of Philippi of the VIC AVG type for which Touratsoglou 1993, p. 60, no. 14, follows the conventional Augustan date. For a discussion of the date of this issue see pp. 85-89, below.

1980' – buried during the reign of Gallienus – includes only 4 out of 109 coins dated between Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. 'Strymon 1916-18' and 'Macedonia 1975' each include two hellenistic coins together with third century issues, a fact which proves that, in very exceptional cases, hellenistic coins could circulate up to the third century AD, but which certainly does not permit us to consider them as 'saving hoards'⁴⁶. The only hoards that do not follow the same pattern are 'Macedonia 1966' and 'Macedonia 1973'; since these contain a much larger number of earlier coins, they do not seem to be representative of the circulation at the time of their burial, and we would therefore rather consider them as 'accumulation' and not as 'circulation hoards'⁴⁷. The evidence of the 'Dion hoards' is therefore completely compatible with the rest of the numismatic evidence from the province, which shows that local provincial issues were in circulation for *c.* 50-60 years at most. Anything older than that was clearly exceptional.

The second conclusion which emerges from our material is that in the mid second century, everyday transactions at Dion were mainly made in local coinage. The scarcity of material from the rest of the Macedonian cities is quite surprising, since the only mints represented with a noticeable number of coins are those of the Macedonian Koinon and Thessalonike. The preponderance of these three mints – Dion, the Macedonian Koinon and Thessalonike – in Pieria in the second century is also attested at the four 'grave hoards', which were excavated at Sevasti, near Pydna, in 1987. Of the 45 coins in these, 17 are from Dion, 16 are issues of the Koinon and 6 are of Thessalonike⁴⁸. Although the evidence is limited, the hoards from Sevasti and from Dion seem to indicate that coins of the

46. A hellenistic coin of Amphipolis was also found in a grave with coins of the Severi, see: Touratsoglou 1993, p. 60, no. 15.

47. For the context of these two hoards see: Touratsoglou 1988, pp. 121-22, nos 17, 18. For more details on the 'Macedonia 1966' hoard see: Papaefthymiou 2002, pp. 226-227.

48. Touratsoglou 1993, p. 58, nos 6-9.

Koinon circulated in the region in more considerable numbers than, for example, the coins of other colonies such as Pella or Kassandreia, or even of other cities, such as Edessa. This situation probably changed during the third century. In the two third-century 'grave hoards' found at Methone in 1986, we find more specimens from Thessalonike and only one of the Koinon, whereas Pella and Edessa are also present⁴⁹. The evidence from Methone accords with the general picture of coin circulation at Dion. The abundant numismatic material from this excavation has not yet been published, but from our overview of it we can state that issues of other neighbouring Macedonian mints, such as Thessalonike, Pella and Edessa, are present in considerable numbers only in the third century AD⁵⁰. The evidence of our hoards suggests, that perhaps this should not be explained only by the higher survival rate of the third-century coins, but also by some kind of change in the circulation pattern. As can be shown from the distribution of stray finds, Macedonian coins of the third century AD tended to travel further than earlier ones⁵¹.

Non Macedonian coins are present in our hoards and, although very limited in numbers, they show that such issues reached the area and entered into local circulation. Apart from the Roman bronzes, which will be discussed below, they include two coins of Corinth, 52 specimens of

49. Touratsoglou 1993, p. 59, nos 10-11.

50. The wider circulation of Macedonian, but also Thracian, coins in the third century is also attested at Pautalia in Thrace where very few foreign coins, with the exception of those from the neighbouring mint of Philippopolis, are found in the second century: V. Grigorova, 'Economic Relations of Pautalia and its Territory in the 2nd-3rd century (after numismatic data)', in: *INC* 11, Brussels 1991, Louvain-La-Neuve 1993, pp. 337-342 and esp. p. 340.

51. For Dion see: Kremydi 1996, p. 130. For Edessa see: Papaefthymiou 2002, pp. 234-35. Thessalonike, however, the capital and by far the more prolific mint in the province, did not follow this pattern. Her coins circulated in considerable numbers in Macedonia, but also in other provinces of the East. See: Touratsoglou 1988, pp. 117-34, esp. pp. 124-34.

the Thessalian Koinon, three specimens from distinct areas of Asia Minor – one from Ilion in Troas, one from Tralleis in Lydia and one from Magydos in Pamphylia –, as well as a fragment of an uncertain issue, possibly attributable to Asia Minor or Cyprus. They are all second-century issues of the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

Hadrianic issues of the Thessalian League are found, not only in the ‘Dion hoards’, but also in a ‘grave hoard’ from Sevasti in Pieria⁵², and their presence in Pieria can hardly be considered as a surprise. The territory of the colony of Dium bordered with Thessaly⁵³, a region that was incorporated into the province of Macedonia around the middle of the second century AD at the latest⁵⁴. At the time of the accumulation of the hoards, therefore, the Thessalian territory was actually part of the province of Macedonia.

The presence of coins from Asia Minor in our hoards, nevertheless, deserves a different explanation. There is evidence that coins from Asia Minor, and especially coins from Bithynia, penetrated the regions of Macedonia and Thrace during the second and third centuries AD. A bronze coin of the Bithynian Koinon, dated to the reign of Vespasian, is present in the large third-century ‘Macedonia 1973’ hoard⁵⁵ and a considerable number of, unfortunately unpublished, coins from Asia

52. Kremydi 1996, p. 135, no. 12.

53. A boundary marker dated to the third consulate of Trajan, found *in situ*, in the plain of Kariai, marked the boundary between the territory of the Roman colony of Dium and that of Olosson: *CIL* iiiii 591; A. Rizakis, *BCH* 110 (1986), p. 335; D. Pandermalis, in: ‘*Άγαλμα. Μελέτες για την αρχαία πλαστική προς τιμήν του Γεωργίου Δεσπίνη*’, Thessalonike 2001, pp. 410-18 at p. 411, with photo of the inscription.

54. The date of the incorporation of Thessaly into the province of Macedonia is fully discussed by G. W. Bowersock, ‘Zur Geschichte des römische Thessaliens’, *RhM* 108 (1965), pp. 282-98, who gathers all available epigraphic and literary evidence and tentatively proposes a date under Nero. Papazoglou, *ANRW* II. 7. 1, pp. 329-330, accepts the more conventional mid second century AD date.

55. Kremydi 1996, p. 131, no. 2.

Minor are said to have been found at excavations in the area around Thessalonike⁵⁶. Stray finds from Abdera⁵⁷ and Pautalia⁵⁸ in Thrace also include a number of coins from Asia Minor.

Given the very restricted circulation of provincial bronzes during the Empire, the presence in Macedonia and Thrace of issues of different areas of Asia Minor, although small in numbers, merits attention. What their presence inevitably proves is that there was movement of people from Asia Minor towards the Balkans, although neither the reason nor the scale of this movement can be deduced from coin circulation. Recent research on onomastics has proved to be more fruitful in its conclusions on this subject: It has been shown that the percentage of Roman *nomina* – sometimes even accompanied by the same *praenomina* – which were common between Asia Minor and Macedonia was surprisingly high, demonstrating in a very lucid way that people of Italian origin traveled a lot from one region to another, and specifically from Asia Minor to Macedonia⁵⁹. Further archaeological evidence points towards the same direction and actually proves that apart from the movement of people, there was a diffusion of cults, fashion and style between the two provinces: common characteristics between Macedonia, Thrace and Asia Minor have also been traced, for example, not only in the form of sepulchral monuments but even in the form of the funerary inscriptions

56. Touratsoglou 1988, p. 17 note 78.

57. Coins of Pergamon, Alexandria Troas, Mytilene and Side, dated to Imperial times, were found at Abdera : K. Chryssanthaki, *L'histoire monétaire d'Abdère du VIe avant J.-C. au IIIe siècle après J.-C.* (Paris IV, Sorbonne 2000), pp. 815, 816, 819, 821.

58. Coins of Nikomedeia and Nikaia were found at Pautalia: Grigorova, *op.cit.* (n. 50), p. 340.

59. O. Salomies, 'Contacts between Italy, Macedonia and Asia Minor during the Principate' in: A. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East*, Μελετήματα 21, Athens 1996, pp. 124-27.

and burial customs of these regions during Imperial times⁶⁰. It is clear that the evidence of coin circulation can be corroborated by other epigraphic and archaeological evidence, which all show that there were close relations and contacts between Asia Minor and Macedonia in Imperial times, something that definitely deserves further study.

Last but not least, we should mention the presence of the 18 bronze coins from the mint of Rome in the Dion hoards. These include sestertii, dupondii and asses, ranging from Vespasian to Antoninus Pius. Nine specimens belong to the reign of Hadrian, one to the reign of Antoninus Pius, while all the rest are earlier. Unlike the local coins, Roman coins in our hoards do not show the same preponderance of latest issues, but this is not surprising: these coins had to travel from Rome before they were integrated into local circulation and it is therefore natural that their latest issues would be less represented in the hoards.

The presence of Roman bronzes in 'Dion 1998' and 'Dion 1999' is, according to present evidence, exceptional; no other reported hoard of this period contained Roman bronze denominations and available evidence concerning stray finds is unfortunately very scarce. Systematic publications of excavation coins from Macedonia are practically non-existent⁶¹, but from what we can deduce from excavation reports⁶², self

60. A. Rizakis - I. Touratsoglou, 'Mors Macedonica. Ὁ θάνατος στὰ ἐπιτάφια μνημεῖα τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας', *AEPH* 139 (2000), pp. 237-281 and especially p. 275 and n. 175.

61. The exceptional publications of D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus III. The coins found at Olynthus in 1928*, Baltimore 1931; *idem*, *Excavations at Olynthus VI. The coins found at Olynthus in 1931*, Baltimore 1933, and *idem* - P. Clement, *The Chalcidic mint and the excavation coins found in 1928-1934, Olynthus X*, Baltimore 1938, cannot contribute to our discussion since they contain coins dated down to the fourth century BC.

62. Excavation reports published in the *AD* or in the *AEMTh* rarely describe coins, and usually the descriptions are so general that it is not possible to separate out the provincial coins of the Imperial period from the actual products of the mint of Rome.

inspection⁶³ and oral communications⁶⁴, these denominations rarely turn up, at least in the eastern part of the province. On the Illyrian coast, on the other hand, as we would naturally expect, Roman bronzes were apparently more abundant; in Apollonia, for example, they have been found in considerable numbers, circulating alongside the issues of the city⁶⁵.

Lower Moesia and Thrace apparently offer a different circulation pattern, since Roman bronzes are found circulating alongside the local issues⁶⁶. The same is attested for Achaia: a considerable number of hoards containing mainly sestertii, but also dupondii, has been recorded⁶⁷, and

63. At Dion, for example, Roman bronzes are rather rare. The numismatic finds from the excavation of the city-walls, which have been partially published, included only one Roman as of the Republican period: S. Kremydi-Sicilianou, in: Th. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Ανασκαφή Δίου. Τόμος 1. Η οχύρωση*, Thessalonike 1998, p. 238, no. 45.

64. Roman bronzes are sometimes attested in lots delivered by individuals to the Museums of Thessalonike and Kavala. This information I owe to my colleagues Ch. Gatzolis and V. Poullos, whom I both thank.

65. S. Gjongecaj et O. Picard, 'La circulation monétaire à Apollonia', in: P. Cabanes (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité. Actes du IIIe colloque international de Chantilly* (16-19 Octobre 1996), Paris 1999, pp. 91-98, esp. pp. 95-96.

66. See, for example, for Thasos : O. Picard, 'Thasos dans le monde romain', in: S. Walker (ed.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, *BICS Suppl.* 55 (1989), pp. 174-79; and for Lower Moesia and continental Thrace : A. Kunisz, 'La circulation monétaire sur les territoires de la Thrace et de la Mésie aux 1er et 2e siècles ap. J.-C.', in: *INC 11*, Brussels 1991, Louvain-La-Neuve 1993, pp. 331-335, esp. pp. 333-34; *idem*, 'Senatorial Bronze and Autonomous Bronze on Monetary Circulation over the Area of Thrace and Moesia Inferior in the 2nd cent. AD', in: *WN 34* (1990), pp. 129-140. For site finds in military camps: *idem*, 'La monnaie et les camps des légionnaires romains le long du bas Danube aux Ier, IIème et IIIème siècles: L'exemple de Novae', *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 4 (1992), pp. 107-114.

67. These hoards are mentioned in: Touratsoglou 1993, p. 22, note 21. They include: Akademia Platonos, Athens/1939: 18 sestertii of Trajan and 5 dupondii of Hadrian; Gonoussa, Sikyon/1934: 12 sestertii dated from Titus to Alexander Severus; Kamari, Corinthia/ 1969: 3 sestertii of Commodus, Lucilla and Claudius Albinus

these denominations are also attested as site finds. At the Agora of Athens, for example, Roman bronzes are frequent, the sestertii being the dominant denomination⁶⁸. The same is observed at both Corinth⁶⁹ and Olympia⁷⁰ in the Peloponnese, and they are also attested at Bouthrotos⁷¹. Crete follows the Achaian pattern, since there too, Roman bronzes were hoarded together with the local coins⁷². The very frequent presence of Roman bronzes in hoards from the northern Balkan provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia are comparable neither to Macedonia, Achaia nor Thrace, since these provinces struck no local coinages of their own to substitute for the Roman issues in the first two centuries AD⁷³.

(AD 25 [1970], *Chr.* B1, p. 10); Thebes/1975: 25 sestertii dated from Titus to Antoninus Pius; Kallion/1976: 14 sestertii dated between Antoninus Pius and Trajan Decius (*Aeph* 1982, *Chr.*, p. 12); Sparte/1956: 3 sesterii and 10 dupondii dated from the first century to the reign of Gordian III (*BCH* 71 [1947], p. 394 and *BCH* 80 [1956], p. 228). The hoard from Thebes, published recently by E. Vlachogianni, 'Θησαυρός ρωμαϊκῶν σιστερτίων ἀπὸ τῆς Θήβας', *Αρχαιολογία* 11 (2001 / 2002), pp. 57-71, is contemporary with the hoards from Dion (its latest issue is a coin of Antoninus Pius dated to his third consulate in AD 143/44).

68. M. Thompson, *Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period. The Athenian Agora*, vol. II, Princeton 1954, pp. 10-20.
69. M. Edwards, *Coins 1896-1929, Corinth*, vol. VI, Cambridge Massachusetts 1933, pp. 76-82; *eadem*, *Hesperia* 6 (1937), pp. 241-256; *Hesperia* 10 (1941), pp. 143-155.
70. A. Moustaka, 'Die Fundmünzen der Südostgrabung', in: *XI. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Berlin 1999, pp. 152-180, pls 42-45.
71. For this information I thank my colleague Dr Charicleia Papageorgiadou-Banis, who is preparing the publication of the site finds.
72. I. Touratsoglou, Kl. Sideropoulos, 'Οι νομισματικοί θησαυροί της Ρωμαϊκής Κρήτης: Μια πρώτη προσέγγιση', *Πεπραγμένα Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, Herakleion 2000, pp. 287-95 and esp. p. 291.
73. I. Mirnik, in: *BAR* 95 (1981), pp. 50-58 notes three hoards from the first century AD and twenty bronze or copper hoards from the second century AD from the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia. The bronze coins are rarely mixed with silver or gold. For hoards from the territory of the former Yugoslavia see also: P. Kos, 'Forschungsstand der antiken Numismatik in Jugoslawien', in: M. Alföldi (ed.), *SFMA*, vol. 1, Berlin 1979, pp. 110-115.

According to present evidence therefore, the Roman bronzes in the two hoards from Dion are the exception rather than the rule in Macedonia. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that the evidence from site finds is, for the time being, very weak, and it would be necessary to examine the coins found in commercial centres situated on the Via Egnatia, such as Thessalonike, Beroia or the colony of Philippi, where we would expect to find these issues, in order to draw firmer conclusions. For the present, the extreme rarity of these coins in the contents of hoards is a fact.

The picture for the Roman silver coins in Macedonia is totally different. Denarii had become dominant, at least by the second half of the first century BC and continued to be the only circulating silver currency in the province until the appearance of the antoniniani in the third century⁷⁴. Single currency hoards containing only Roman silver have already been mentioned⁷⁵; both denarii and debased antoniniani of the third century are often found in grave hoards mixed with local bronzes⁷⁶, and also as occasional stray finds.

74. 'Greek' silver issues are absent from Macedonian hoards, whereas they are present in the northern Balkan provinces: G. Dembski, 'Die Rolle von nichtreichs-römischen Münzen im Geldumlauf Noricums und der Nachbarprovinzen', in: C. King, D. Wigg (eds), *The Thirteenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, Berlin 1993 (*SFMA* 10), pp. 121-27; I. Mirnik, *Coin Hoards in Yugoslavia*, *BAR* 95 (1981).

75. See above note 39.

76. 'Sevasti Pieria 1987' (graves 5 and 12), 'Ierissos 1973', 'Strymon 1916-18' (bronze denarii), 'Siderokastro 1967', 'Leukochori Langada 1970' and 'Kouphalia 1966' are all grave hoards containing local bronzes and denarii, whereas 'Macedonia 1975' is an accumulation hoard. For these see: Touratsoglou 1993, nos 9, 6, 13 and Touratsoglou 1988, nos 16, 14, 7, 5, 8 and 20 respectively.

PART II

NUMISMATIC COMMENTARY

ISSUES BEARING THE IMPERIAL PORTRAIT

The abundant material of the Dion hoards does not include new, unpublished, types, either of the local or of any other mint. It nevertheless contributes to our understanding of patterns of production as well as to the dating of several ‘pseudoautonomous’ issues. The conclusions reached in the following chapters are based mainly on the evidence of the ‘Dion 1999’ and the ‘Dion 2000’ hoards. Most specimens in the ‘Dion 1998’ hoard are so badly preserved that their contribution to the following discussion is limited.

Since a detailed study of the mint of Dion has already been published⁷⁷, the large number of new specimens and new dies, for Hadrian and, especially, for Antoninus Pius, in the hoards, call for a re-examination of these coinages⁷⁸. The new material offers a rare opportunity to control earlier conclusions and, in some cases, leads to different arrangements of issues and alters our conception of production patterns. The coins of the Thessalian Koinon also call for some comments, especially concerning their denominations.

77. Kremydi 1996.

78. Although the number of coins for Trajan in the hoards is considerable (3 in ‘Dion 1998’, 67 in ‘Dion 1999’ and 2 in ‘Dion 2000’), their heavy wear does not allow die identification. For this reason, no valuable conclusions can be drawn from this material, which therefore has not been included in the numismatic commentary.

The mint of Dion: Hadrian

The three Dion hoards contain 8, 119 and 9 assaria of Hadrian from the local mint respectively, whereas only 20 were included in the corpus⁷⁹. These coins belong to two different varieties distinguished by the typology of their portraits. Two obverse dies have been identified for each variety in the hoards⁸⁰. On the first the emperor's bust is depicted laureate but naked, whereas on the second it is laureate and draped. The obverse inscription – IMP CAES HADRIANO AVG OLYMPIO – reads anticlockwise and is identical and similarly placed on all the dies. No further stylistic or iconographic details differentiate the varieties, which also share one common reverse die (R3)⁸¹. It is therefore clear that, unlike the coinage of Pius, which will be discussed below, the two obverse varieties of the coins of Hadrian belong to the same issue.

Nine reverse dies can be identified in the hoards, whereas only six were mentioned in the corpus. Of these, eight depict Athena and one depicts Zeus. The introduction of the type of Zeus under Hadrian has been discussed elsewhere⁸², but the one surviving die indicates that its issue was exceptional; it may perhaps have been produced on some special occasion, something that is also attested for the coinage of Antoninus Pius⁸³. The reverse inscription COL IVL AVG – DIENSIS is identical on all reverse dies, the lettering is neat and no letters are reverted. On some dies the words are separated by a dot, something which is also encountered on

79. Kremydi 1996, pp. 184-186.

80. The hoards add no new obverse dies, since eight such dies had been identified in the corpus. The re-examination of the material has shown that the number of obverse dies in the corpus was overestimated.

81. R3 is linked with O1 (laureate bust) in 'Dion 1999' and with O3 (laureate and draped bust) in 'Dion 2000'. For these die links also see: Kremydi 1996, p. 185, nos 4, 7 and pl. 5, nos 5, 11.

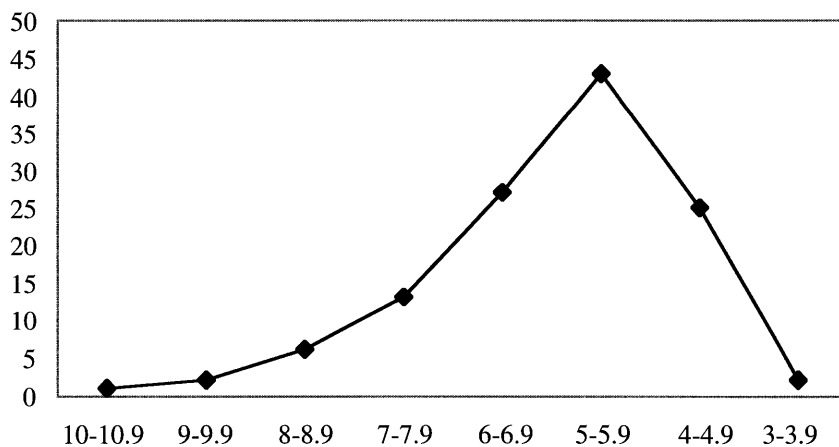
82. Kremydi 1996, pp. 48-51.

83. See below pp. 64 and 67.

the Diana / plough variety Ca. Reverses with Athena show minor iconographic variations concerning the attributes of the goddess: instead of the usual owl and serpent, R3 and R4 only depict the owl. As in the case of the coinage of Pius, study of the die links has shown that three out of four obverse dies were linked with the same reverse dies (O1-R2, R3; O2-R2, R3; O3-R3). This probably means that the mint had acquired all its obverse dies simultaneously and did not wait for the first to wear out in order to obtain or produce another.

At the mint of Dion, as at all provincial mints, individual weights of coins varied a lot. For the issue of Hadrian we have recorded specimens weighing from *c.* 10 gms to *c.* 3 gms, but the majority fell within a range of 5 to 6 gms, which was their intended weight (Graph 7). These assaria therefore were slightly lighter than those of Trajan, whose average weigh was 6 to 7 gms, similar to the assaria of issues A and B of Pius⁸⁴, but considerably heavier than those of issue C⁸⁵.

*Graph 7: Coins of Hadrian
(weights in gms)*



84. See below Graphs 8 and 9.

85. See below Graph 10.

The mint of Dion: Antoninus Pius

At the time the corpus of the coins of Dion was compiled, the number of known specimens for Antoninus Pius was 34. A few were scattered in various museums and collections all over the world, while the rest of the material (22 coins) derived from the excavation of the ancient site, which had been in progress for over 20 years⁸⁶. After the discovery of the new hoards, the number of recorded coins of Pius has risen to 1,347 specimens⁸⁷; this very large number of coins of one emperor from the same mint, is virtually unprecedented for a numismatist compiling a corpus of Roman provincial coins. It is only natural that the overwhelming quantity of new material imposes a re-examination of the coin production of the mint of Dion under Antoninus Pius.

Study of the new material has shown that the coinage of Pius comprised three different issues, something that was not evident at the time the corpus was compiled. What seemed to be just a new die, has, in some cases, been proven to be a new issue. These issues can be distinguished by the following features: 1) the style of the portrait 2) the obverse inscription and 3) the reverse dies which are never common between them.

When examining a large number of very similar coins, and before going into the detail of identifying dies, we have to distinguish 'groups' and 'varieties'. The style of the portrait on the obverse proved to be the most reliable criterion for dividing the material into 'groups', on the basis of which three 'groups' were distinguished. This classification was followed by the observation that each 'group' of portraits bore a different inscription. We have IMP CAES ANTONINO PI on the first 'group', IMP CAES ANTONINO PIO on the second, and IMP CAES ANTONINO PP on the third. The difference between the inscriptions is slight, but it is followed very

86. Kremydi 1996, pp. 187-190.

87. 54 in 'Dion 1998', 1162 in 'Dion 1999', 97 in 'Dion 2000' and 34 in the corpus.

consistently on all dies of each 'group'. The strongest argument in proving that these different 'groups' were in fact different issues – that is batches of coins that were produced at different chronological phases – is the fact that they never share reverse dies. Reverse dies which were linked to the obverses of one 'group' were never used with obverses of another one. Some further technical details, such as the size of the flans and the weight of the coins, point in the same direction and will be discussed below. We believe that it is fair and safe to assume that groups of coins with so many differences belong to distinct issues.

Having come to this conclusion, the next question, which naturally arises, is in what sequence these issues were struck. In some cases portraiture can be a very helpful element in dating provincial issues. The typological succession that was established on the firmly dated Roman prototypes was often copied on the provincial coins, providing very useful *termini post quem* for the chronology of the latter. This succession is especially evident, for example, on coins of Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus or Caracalla, who were depicted as Caesars or as Emperors at various ages, with different typological characteristics. Unfortunately, the portraits of Antoninus Pius do not fall within this category. Whether executed on the two dimensional surface of a coin or sculpted in the round, these portraits show no sign of evolution, since their typological elements remain unchanged throughout the 23 years of Antoninus' reign. '*Klassizismus beherrscht*' in the words of Paul Strack, and there was no attempt whatsoever for a 'realistic' representation which would depict the changing features of a mature man between his 50s and his 70s⁸⁸. Stylistic

88. On the portraits of Antoninus Pius see: M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit*, Berlin 1939, pp. 15-25; *idem*, 'Verzeichnis der Kaiserbildnisse von Antoninus Pius bis Commodus', *Boreas* 2 (1979), pp. 87-181; Kl. Fittschen, 'Bildnispropaganda der antoninischen Familie', *WZBerlin* 31 (1982), pp. 185-186, rejects the separation of the main type into two – the Formia Type and the Croce Grecia Type – as proposed by Wegner. On the numismatic portraits: P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts, Teil III*.

resemblances to Roman coins have been observed but their contribution to dating cannot be considered decisive. In the absence of any secure 'external' evidence which would provide chronological *termini*, such as datable portraits or datable inscriptions, the sequence which is proposed derives mostly from technical details of the coins and from their wear in the hoards. This sequence is therefore tentative and not certain.

Issue A

Ninety-three coins of this issue were found in the 'Dion 1999' hoard (cat. nos 194-286, Pl. 2, Figs 18-19) 9 in 'Dion 2000' (cat. nos 12-20, Pls 12-13, Figs 135-137) and 2 in 'Dion 1998' (cat. nos 13-14). If we add the 6 coins that have already been published in the corpus⁸⁹, the total number of known specimens is 110. These were produced from only 2 obverse and 3 reverse dies. Since the material of the hoards has added no new dies to the ones already known⁹⁰, it is very probable that we have the total number of dies used to produce this issue. Two obverses and 3 reverses is a very small number compared to the surviving number of dies for the next two issues, which fact indicates that issue A was the smallest of the three. The pattern of this issue is very simple, but the two obverse dies are not die linked.

The portraits of this issue are very fine. We are tempted to consider O1 as the first die, since it was very skilfully designed and seems to be a

Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Antoninus Pius, Stuttgart 1937, esp. p. 9 and pls 1-4. On the portraits of the princes of the family of the Antonines: Kl. Fittschen, *Prinzenbildnisse antoninischer Zeit*, Beiträge zur Erschliessung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 18, Berlin 1999.

89. Kremydi 1996, p. 187, nos 1-6.

90. On the contrary, the revision of the material in the light of the new finds, leads us to consider that O1 and O2 in the corpus, are probably one and the same die, and that subsequently the number of obverse dies was 2 and not 3, as originally supposed.

careful copy of a good prototype. On the other hand, O2, although probably made by the same engraver, looks more like a somewhat schematic copy of O1. The inscription, IMP – CAES ANTONINO PIO, is the same on both dies and bears the name of the emperor in the dative, as on the coins of Hadrian. The inscription starts from behind the head of the emperor and reads clockwise, but on O1 the ending PIO is very close to the beginning of the inscription, something that leads to confusion. This is better mastered on O2, where the inscription ends under the neck, leaving the title Imp(erator) to be read clearly on the left and the name of the emperor, somewhat compressed, to the right. This is another reason that leads us to believe that O2 was the second die.

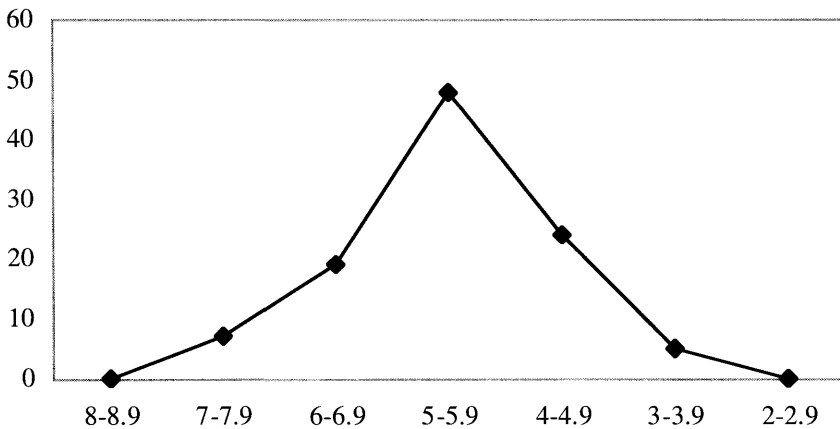
Comparison of portraits with the ones on Roman coins, reveals striking similarities. On O1 the head and neck of the emperor are slim and his features elegant. This portrait is very close to the ones on denarii of the mint of Rome of the third consulate, which were minted between AD 140-44 (*HCC II*, p. 191, pl. 50, no. 48) and to a lesser extent with bronze coins of the same period (*HCC II*, p. 216, pl. 55, no. 198). But, given the lack of evolution of the portraits of Antoninus Pius, portraits of similar style are found on later issues too⁹¹ and we cannot therefore draw definite chronological conclusions from such comparisons. Such apparent similarities between Roman and provincial portraits probably indicate that the die engravers in the provinces were, in some cases, actually copying coins from the mint of Rome.

All three reverses of this issue bear the type of Athena with an owl at her feet. The inscription is the same on all dies, but the initials D/D in the field are reversed on R3. Weights range between *c.* 9 gms and *c.* 2 gms, but the majority fall between 5 and 6 gms, which was their intended weight (Graph 8). The coins of this issue were struck from dies adjusted

91. Also similar to the Dion portrait are the ones on later sestertii: *HCC II*, pl. 60, no. 291 (dated to AD 151-152), or pl. 64, no. 371 and pl. 64, no. 376 (both dated to AD 145-161), although the similarities are less striking.

to 6, with very few fluctuations to 5 or 7. The diameter of the flans is 20-22 mm. At the mint of Dion, assaria were originally struck from flans measuring 23-24 mm under Augustus, that gradually decreased to 20-23 mm under Trajan and Hadrian. During the reign of Marcus Aurelius a larger denomination was added (24-28 mm), and the coins of *c.* 22 mm remained as an intermediate one⁹². Given this general tendency, the fact that flans of issue A measure 20-22 mm, whereas those of issue B and especially C tend to be smaller, supports our hypothesis that this was the earliest issue. In addition to the above, we should consider the evidence of wear of the coins in the hoards. In none of the hoards do we find specimens of issue A in a 'mint-fresh' condition, something that can be observed only for coins of issue C.

*Graph 8: Coins of Antoninus Pius, issue A
(weights in gms)*



92. Kremydi 1996, p. 122.

Issue B

The surviving specimens of this issue are 375. Nine have been published in the corpus⁹³, 338 were included in the 'Dion 1999' hoard (cat. nos 287-624, Pls 2-3, Figs 20-35), 21 in 'Dion 2000' (cat. nos 21-41, Pl. 13, Figs. 138-146) and 7 in 'Dion 1998' (cat. nos 15-21). Unlike the other two issues of Antoninus Pius, both the style of the portrait and the placement of the inscription on the flan are identical on all coins of issue B, and despite the large number of surviving specimens we have not been able to identify more than one obverse die. Given the poor preservation of the available material, due to corrosion of the metal, slight variations in the shape of the nose or the neck cannot be safely attributed to different dies. This is certainly surprising, especially since at least 16 different reverse dies have been securely identified⁹⁴, and the proportion 1:16 seems unusually high. If, in fact, the coins were struck from more than one obverse die, these were certainly made by the same engraver and were extremely similar.

The style of these portraits is very different from those of issue A. The shape of the head and the neck are not so long and elegant as on the issue discussed above, the hair and the beard are treated in a different manner with locks and curls, and the facial features are stronger. Although these stylistic variations cannot be attributed to another type, the general impression is very different. Compared to portraits on Roman coins, we observe a close resemblance to the portraits on aurei of the fourth consulate (especially *HCC* II, pl. 51, no. 108, dated to AD 156-157, but also pl. 51, no. 103, dated to AD 155-156, or pl. 51, no. 94, dated to AD 153-154), and also to a lesser extent with earlier denarii of the third consulate (*HCC* II, pl. 49, no. 21, dated to AD 140-4), but not to the portraits on the bronze denominations. The obverse legend, IMP CAES

93. Kremydi 1996, pp. 187-188, nos 7-14, p. 190, no. 33.

94. Obverses 4 and 5 and reverses 4, 5, 6, 7, and 16 from the corpus, belong to what is here identified as issue B.

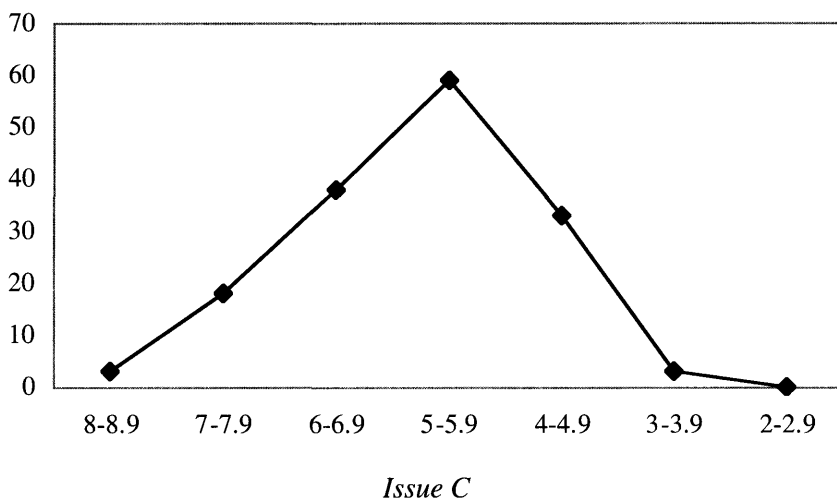
AN-TONINO PI, is very similar to the one on issue A, the only difference being PI instead of PIO. Nevertheless, it is positioned differently on the coin. The legend begins with the title Imp(erator), placed under the neck, while the name of the emperor, Antoninus, is separated by the head.

The 16 reverse dies have been classified according to 5 varieties. Varieties 1 to 4 share Athena as their common type, whereas on variety 5 the type is Zeus. Varieties 1 to 3 are produced from very similar dies, which were probably made by the same engraver. The differences between them are in minor details, such as the presence or absence of the owl, and the way the inscription has been separated. Some dies have reverted Ds and Ns. The two dies of variety 4 are of a different style and were certainly made by another engraver. Furthermore, on these dies the inscription runs from right to left, something which is rare and gives a different appearance to the coins. None of the varieties of issue B bear the serpent as an attribute of Athena. This is found on coins of Trajan and Hadrian, as well as on issue C.

All five dies of variety 5 depict Zeus. This type was introduced during the reign of Hadrian, but was not found on Antoninus Pius' issue A. Compared to the 11 dies depicting Athena, the 5 dies depicting Zeus are a relatively small number, which shows that it was used secondarily. The eagle does not accompany Zeus on coins of issue B, as it does on the earlier coins of Hadrian. But the presence or absence of the attributes of deities – eagles, serpents or owls – seems to have been left to the initiative of the engravers, and did not have any notable significance.

The weights of the coins of this issue range from *c.* 2 gms to *c.* 9 gms, but show a peak between 5 and 6 gms, as on the previous issue. They were struck from dies which were not so carefully adjusted as on issue A. Their positions are found to be 12, 1, 6 or 7. This is the result of a larger issue, which was produced more carelessly. The diameter of the coins varies from 18-21 mm, but the usual size is 20-21 mm. These coins, therefore, were struck on flans, that tended to be slightly smaller than those of issue A.

*Graph 9: Coins of Antoninus Pius, issue B
(weights in gms)*



The largest number of surviving specimens and surviving dies belong to issue C. A total of 788 coins is known, of which 13 were published in the corpus⁹⁵, 673 were included in 'Dion 1999' (cat. nos 625-1297, Pls 3-7, Figs 36-77), 67 in 'Dion 2000' (cat. nos 41-108, Pls 13-15, Figs 147-168) and 35 in the 'Dion 1998' hoard (cat. nos 22-56). Surviving dies amount to 5 obverses and 29 reverses⁹⁶, and the new material has added 1 new obverse and 20 new reverse dies.

All five obverse dies of this issue copy the same prototype, which is clearly different from that used for the previous issues. Obverses 4, 5, 6, and 8 were probably made by the same hand and are skilfully engraved. Obverse 7 was produced by a less competent engraver and probably copied obverse 6, since the inscription is positioned in exactly the same way, with the title IMP starting from under the bust. All these portraits

95. Kremydi 1996, pp. 188-190, nos 15-26 and no. 34.

96. Obverses 6, 7, 8 and 9 and reverses 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 17 from the corpus, belong to what is here identified as issue C.

have similar features with the characteristic long, slim nose and the protruding chin. Comparison with portraits on Roman issues, however, does not provide the striking similarities that were found for the previous issues, so we cannot confidently speak of a prototype which derives from Roman coins⁹⁷. The inscription IMP CAES ANTONINO PP, which accompanies the portrait, adds the title 'P(ater) P(atrae)' to the name of the Emperor, instead of the usual epithet 'Pius'⁹⁸, and is identical on all dies of this issue.

The reverses of this issue can be classified according to five varieties. Varieties 1 to 4 bear the type of Athena and were produced from 24 very similar dies. Differences between the varieties include the presence or absence of attributes such as the owl and the serpent, and small details in the inscription, such as reverted letters or different separation of the legend by the type. Die links for the coins with Athena reveal a quite unusual pattern of production. O4 was struck with 14 different reverses, O5 with only one, O6 with 5, whereas O7 and O8 were each struck with twelve different dies. The same reverses were often struck with many different obverses, for example R32 and R33 were both struck with O4, O6, O7 and O8, whereas R31, R40, R42 and R43 were struck with O7 and O8. This pattern could suggest that the five obverse dies were placed on five different anvils and that the punches with the reverse dies were interchanged at random. This would indicate a short period of intensive striking but it is hard to envisage that such a practice would have occurred in a small provincial mint. The second, more plausible, possibility is that the obverses were interchanged on one anvil. In this case, we could suppose

97. We can compare, for example, with aurei or asses dated to AD 139 (*HCC* II, p. 188, pl. 49, no. 9 or p. 210, pl. 53, no. 163), or with denarii dated to AD 158-9 (*HCC* II, p. 201, pl. 51, no. 112), but the observed similarities do not allow us to speak of a prototype for the provincial issues.

98. Since this title was adopted by the Emperor in AD 139, that is only one year after his accession to the throne, it cannot be considered as a useful chronological *terminus*.

that the coins were struck periodically over a longer period, and that after the first lot of coins was produced the dies were retired, in order to be put back when the need arose to strike another lot. In both cases it seems certain that the dies of this issue had been acquired in one lot and that the mint did not wait for one die to wear out in order to carve another. For a small provincial mint, which struck bronze coins for local needs, this is not surprising. The dies were commissioned from an engraver, or more probably from a workshop, and therefore were acquired in groups. The fact that the 5 reverse dies of variety 5, which bore the reverse type of Zeus, were struck with the same obverse (O4) shows that these coins were struck together, perhaps on some special occasion, such as a festival.

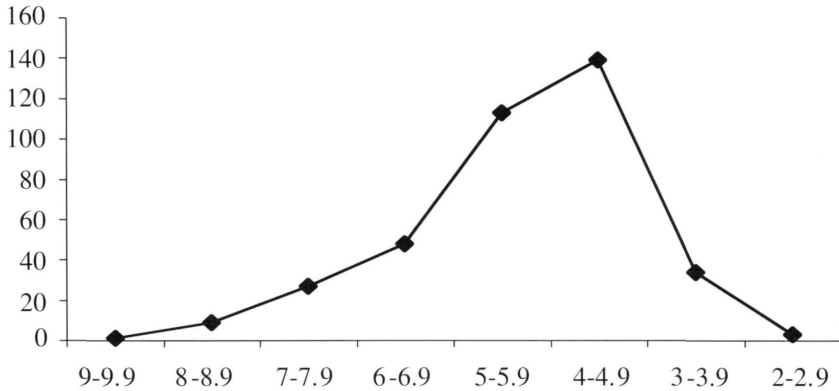
The weights of the individual specimens of issue C, like those of the previous issues, vary a lot, but their average weight is considerably lower. As can be seen in Graph 10, the majority of these coins weigh between 4 and 4.9 gms, that is *c.* 1 gm less than the coins of the previous issues. The reduction in their weight is related to their reduction in size. The diameters of this issue, as those of issue B, vary between 18 and 21 mm, but the majority of these coins fall between 19 and 20 mm. They were struck from dies that were usually adjusted to 6 (308 specimens) and sometimes to 12 (60 specimens). We rarely find fluctuations to 7 (4 specimens) to 5 (2 specimens) or to 1 (3 specimens)⁹⁹.

The gradual reduction in weight and in size of the coins produced at the mint of Dion, has been discussed in the commentary on issue A. The fact that specimens of issue C tend to be both smaller and lighter than specimens of the previous issues is an argument in favour of their later dating. Furthermore, we should also consider the evidence of their wear in the hoards. In order to estimate their wear, the evidence of 'Dion 2000' is more reliable, since the coins in 'Dion 1999', and even more so in 'Dion 1998', are more corroded due to the humidity of the soil in which they

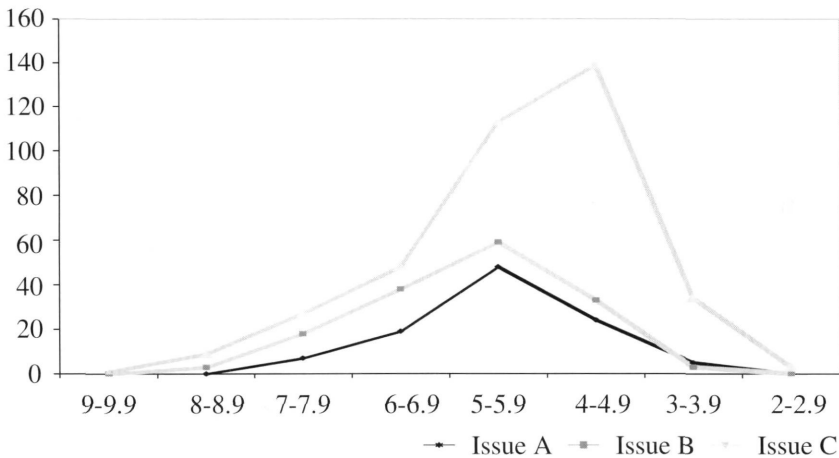
99. These numbers derive from the better-preserved specimens in the catalogue, which have identifiable dies.

were buried for centuries, and it is therefore difficult to estimate their degree of wear in an accurate way. Moreover in the 'Dion 2000' hoard many specimens belonging to issue C can be described as in 'mint fresh' condition, since their edges are still sharp and they seem hardly to have circulated before they were hoarded.

*Graph 10: Coins of Antoninus Pius, issue C
(weights in gms)*



*Graph 11: Coins of Antoninus Pius, issues A, B and C
(weights in gms)*



The contribution of the new material

The very large number of new specimens for Hadrian and, especially, for Antoninus Pius, which have come to light through the new hoards, provides an opportunity to examine to what extent an important bulk of new material can alter the picture of numismatic production at a specific mint. Table 4 (p. 71) summarizes the number of specimens and dies for the issue of Hadrian and the three issues of Pius in the corpus and in the hoards. The number of new dies is given in the third column and the total number of specimens and dies in the fourth. As can be seen in the Table, the examination of a much larger amount of material has led to a revision of some conclusions concerning die identifications reached in the corpus. It now seems that, in some cases, the number of obverse dies had been overestimated. The usually poor preservation of bronze excavation coins, especially from a site such as Dion where the soil is indeed very humid and the coins suffer from high corrosion, may sometimes lead to dubious die identifications. As mentioned in the commentary on Antoninus' issue B, we still have some reservations as to whether all these coins were actually struck from one obverse die. It should also be noted that, as can be seen in the catalogue, the identification of the dies has not resulted from all the material but only from the better-preserved specimens. But in no case do we have dies in the corpus that were not found in the hoards.

The first observation that can be made from Table 4 is that the number of new obverse dies is surprisingly small compared to the number of reverse dies. The only new obverse die is for Antoninus' issue C, identified among the 740 new specimens. Considerably more new reverse dies have been identified and the new material therefore has radically changed the ratio of obverse to reverse dies for these issues. A new reverse die has appeared for every 30-43 coins¹⁰⁰, except for Pius' issue A for

100. For Hadrian we have one new reverse die for every 42.8 new coins (128:3), for

which no new dies have been found in the 102 new specimens. We therefore probably possess the total number of dies for this small issue. The fact that the relatively small 'Dion 2000' hoard contained one die which was found neither in the much larger 'Dion 1999' hoard nor in the corpus¹⁰¹, counsels caution as to whether we actually possess the total number of dies produced for the reign of Antoninus Pius, although it is hard to imagine that new material would radically alter this picture.

A conclusion that seems to derive from our material is that patterns of production could vary a lot between issues. They range from the small issue A struck from 2 obverse and 3 reverse dies to the much more complicated issue C for which 5 obverse and 29 reverse dies have survived. The pattern of issue B where, if our identification is correct, only one obverse was used for 16 reverses, at first sight seems very unusual. But when compared to issue C it appears less exceptional. In issue C we not only have an obverse die (O4) that was used to strike up to 14 reverses, but also the same reverses struck with other obverses. The analogy of 1 obverse die for every 6 reverses for issue C, that derives from the data in Table 4, is therefore theoretical, since, for example, we have an obverse (O5) which was struck with only one reverse, whereas others were struck with 12 (O7 and O8) or 14 (O4) different reverses. This pattern of the same reverse dies being struck with many different obverses is also found in the issue of Hadrian and has been discussed above¹⁰². From the mint of Dion therefore, we now have a total of 1,229 specimens for Antoninus Pius, which were produced from 8 obverse and 48 reverse dies¹⁰³. In other words the survival rate of coins per die is 153 specimens for each obverse and 25 for each reverse die.

Pius' issue B the ratio is one new die for every 30 coins (359:12) and for Pius' issue C we have one new die for 37 coins (740:20).

101. Antoninus' R27.

102. See the commentary on issue C, pp. 65-68 above.

103. The very worn assaria of Pius that cannot be attributed to any issue have not been included in this number, or in Table 4. See 'Dion 1999' cat. nos 1298-1355.

Table 4:
*Number of specimens and dies in the corpus and in the hoards*¹⁰⁴

	Corpus		Hoards		<i>New Dies</i>	Total	
	<i>Specimens</i>	<i>Dies</i>	<i>Specimens</i>	<i>Dies</i>		<i>Specimens</i>	<i>Dies</i>
<i>Hadrian</i>	20	8O-6R	128	4O-9R	3R	148	4O-9R
<i>Pius, issue A</i>	6	3O-3R	102	2O-3R	-	108	2O-3R
<i>Pius, issue B</i>	9	2O-5R	359	1(?)O-16R	11R	368	1(?)O-16R
<i>Pius, issue C</i>	13	4O-9R	740	5O-29R	1O-20R	753	5O-29R

104. Since die identifications were not possible for the 'Dion 1998' hoard, only the evidence of 'Dion 1999' and 'Dion 2000' has been taken into account.

The mint of Thessalian Koinon: Hadrian

Forty-seven coins of the Thessalian Koinon have been found in ‘Dion 1999’ (cat. nos 1517-1563, Pls 9-10, Figs 106-111), 4 in ‘Dion 2000’ (cat. nos 124-127, Pl. 16, Figs 176-177), and 1 in ‘Dion 1998’ (cat. no. 78). They all belong to the reign of Hadrian and bear the portrait of the emperor on the obverse and Athena Itonia on the reverse. This mint never produced coins of Trajan and Antoninus Pius, which we might also expect to find in our hoards. In his monograph on the coinage of the Thessalian Koinon, Burrer has suggested that the issue of Hadrian should probably be dated to AD 124/5, the year of the emperor’s visit to Greece¹⁰⁵. The Thessalian specimens in our hoards are all heavily worn and seem to have circulated a lot before their concealment. The contemporary Hadrianic coins of the Dion mint are in a considerably better condition and therefore seem to have circulated less; this could perhaps be explained by the fact that the Thessalian mint produced no coins in the name of Pius to succeed the earlier issues.

The Thessalian coins in our hoards are struck from many different obverse and reverse dies. It is possible to identify the obverse dies for 27 out of 47 Thessalian coins in ‘Dion 1999’. These 27 coins were struck from 21 different obverse dies, three of which are not encountered in Burrer’s corpus.

In his discussion of Thessalian denominations Burrer has suggested that these coins – with an average weight of 4.32 gms and a diameter of 21 mm – should be considered as diassaria¹⁰⁶. Since these coins are of similar size and weight to the Macedonian assaria, their identification as double assaria would mean that very similar coins could have a different value in neighbouring cities. In fact the Thessalian coins are of the same

105. Burrer 1993, p. 35 and pp. 180-193 (catalogue).

106. Burrer 1993, pp. 61-65 and esp. Table 1 (p. 62).

size and slightly lighter than the assaria of Hadrian from the mints of Dion¹⁰⁷, Edessa¹⁰⁸ and the Macedonian Koinon¹⁰⁹ in our hoards.

Burrer based his identification of denominations on the assumption that the hellenistic obol should be equivalent to a diassarion in Imperial times. This is supported by epigraphic evidence, since in Thessalian inscriptions mentioning manumissions the sum of 4 obols is referred to as an equivalent of the half denarius¹¹⁰. A denarius therefore had 8 obols and since it also had 16 assaria, 1 obol was equal to 2 assaria. This is also in accordance with the testimony of Polybios concerning the value of the bronze coin¹¹¹. What, in our view, seems less certain is the identification of the hellenistic obol. The hellenistic bronze coinage of the Thessalian Koinon is very abundant and its chronology is far from clear. The only discussion of this material is to be found in the list of types as compiled by Rogers¹¹², who nevertheless proposes no chronological sequence for these issues and accepts a break in the coinage between 146 and 48 BC, a view that is no longer tenable, given the new evidence concerning the silver coinage¹¹³. Not only is the chronology of these issues uncertain, but also the identification of the denominations. Burrer suggests that the hellenistic issues with the types Athena / Athena Nikephoros¹¹⁴ and

107. Most coins fall between 5 and 5.9 gms.

108. The two specimens in our hoards weigh 5.5 and 6.1 gms.

109. Most coins fall between 7 and 7.9 gms.

110. For recent discussion of the manumission inscriptions and bibliography: B. Helly, 'Le diorthoma d'Auguste fixant la conversion des statères thessaliens en deniers', *Topoi* 7/1 (1997), pp. 63-91.

111. Plb 2. 15. 6 equates half an as to a quarter of an obol, in other words he accepts that one obol had the value of 2 asses.

112. E. Rogers, *The Copper Coinage of Thessaly*, London 1932, pp. 20-28.

113. For discussion and references: S. Kremydi-Sicilianou, 'Thessaly in the second and first centuries BC: From a 'multi-currency' to a 'double-currency' system', in: *Obolos* 5 (in press).

114. *SNG Cop.*, 331.

Apollo / Artemis¹¹⁵, with average weights of 6.94 and 7.97 gms and a diameter of 20 mm, which he dates 'vor 27 v. Chr.', should be considered as obols. On the basis of this hypothesis he assumes that the subsequent issues of Octavian and, later, Augustus, with Athena Nikephoros on the reverse, are double assaria. But the type of Artemis holding two torches, which is found on the 'obols'¹¹⁶, is also encountered on much smaller coins of the reign of Augustus, which he identifies as 'assaria'¹¹⁷. Furthermore, both the hellenistic as well as the imperial bronze issues of the Thessalian Koinon often used the same type, for example that of Athena Itonia, for several different denominations¹¹⁸. Thus the iconographic argument cannot, in this case, be decisive, and the hellenistic bronzes of the Thessalian Koinon merit further study so that their chronology and pattern of denominations can be securely established.

The identification of coins weighing c. 7-9 gms (diam. 21-23 mm) minted under the Julio-Claudians as assaria, is in accordance with the general pattern that is attested for most mints both in Achaia and in Macedonia¹¹⁹. The weight and size of these coins was gradually reduced so that by the second century they often came to weigh between 4 and 6 gms with a diameter of c. 20 mm, and larger denominations were added subsequently, after the reign of Marcus Aurelius¹²⁰. The identification of

115. *SNG Cop.*, 329.

116. Rogers, *op.cit.* (n. 112), p. 26, no. 56 and Burrell 1993, p. 62, Table 1.

117. Burrell 1993, p. 122, nos 112-113.

118. The hellenistic issues (Rogers, *op.cit.* [n. 112], p. 20, fig. 4, p. 22, fig. 5 and p. 24, fig. 7) include three different denominations with the type of Athena Itonia. In the imperial issues (Burrell 1993, pp. 110ff., pp. 114ff., p. 128, pp. 136ff., pp. 180ff., and pp. 49-50 for discussion) the same type is found both on 'diassaria' of Augustus, Claudius and Hadrian and on 'assaria' of Augustus and Tiberius.

119. For a discussion of this subject see: *RPC*, I, pp. 245-247 for Achaia and pp. 287-288 for Macedonia. The standard seems to be somewhat heavier for the Macedonian issues.

120. For the pattern of denominations in Macedonia from the first to the third century

the coins of Hadrian in our hoards as assaria permits us to conclude that the Thessalian bronze coins of the Imperial period circulated alongside the Macedonian issues of similar size and weight as equivalent coins. The denominational pattern of 4, 3, 2, $1\frac{1}{2}$, and 1 assarion, as proposed by Burrell, should probably be corrected to 4, 2, $1\frac{3}{4}$ ¹²¹, and $\frac{1}{4}$ assarion. Thus the most common coin in Thessaly, as everywhere else, would be the assarion.

AD see: Kremydi 1996, pp. 107-123 and esp. the table on pp. 110-115. Larger denominations under Marcus Aurelius were also added to the coinage of the Thessalian League, Rogers, *op.cit.* (n. 112), pp. 41 ff.

121. If this is in fact a separate denomination.

‘PSEUDOAUTONOMOUS’ ISSUES

The hoards published in this study contain a number of issues without the imperial portrait, from the mints of Dion¹²², Philippi¹²³, the Macedonian Koinon¹²⁴ and Thessalonike¹²⁵. The difficulty in dating these issues is well known and detailed mint studies have often led to revision of accepted chronologies. But hoard evidence for ‘pseudoautonomous’ coins is extremely rare and has never been used for dating Macedonian issues. A detailed examination of each separate issue is presented below. The general conclusion which has been reached is that in the cases of Dion and Thessalonike, for which detailed mint studies have been made, the proposed chronologies have been mostly confirmed. But in the cases of Philippi and the Macedonian Koinon, for which no such detailed studies have been undertaken, accepted dates should be revised.

122. ‘Dion 1999’, cat. nos 1356-1452; ‘Dion 2000’, cat. nos 109-112; ‘Dion 1998’, cat. nos 67-72.

123. ‘Dion 1999’, cat. nos 1508-1514; ‘Dion 1998’, cat. no. 77.

124. ‘Dion 1999’, cat. nos 1504-1507.

125. ‘Dion 1999’, cat. nos 1460-146; ‘Dion 2000’, cat. no. 122; ‘Dion 1998’, cat. no. 75.

Some 'pseudoautonomous' issues of Dion

The Diana / plough issues

The evidence which has come to light through the Dion hoards as well as a recently published unique coin from a private collection in France¹²⁶, impose an overall reconsideration of the issues with the Diana / plough types. Their description in the chronological order that we propose is the following:

- A) *Obv.*: Diana standing, frontal, wearing a long chiton and aiming an arrow to the r. DEANA BAPHYRIA.
Rev.: Plough to the l. COL DI-ENSIS.
 Specimens: 5. Dies: 1 pair. Average weight: 4.5 gms. Diameter: 17-19 mm. Axis: 11. No specimens in the Dion hoards.
 Kremydi 1996, pp. 253-4, nos 4-8 (catalogue), p. 82 (discussion), pl. 29, no. 4. *RPC* Suppl. I, 1507B.
- B) *Obv.*: Diana running to the r., wearing a short chiton and holding a bow and arrow in both hands. A quiver over her shoulder. DIANA – BAPHYRA.
Rev.: Plough to the r. COL DIENSIS (the inscription reads anti-clockwise and outwards).
 Specimens: 3. Dies: 1 pair. Average weight: 5 gms. Diameter: 16-17 mm. Axis: 10 and 11. No specimens in the Dion hoards.
 Kremydi 1996, p. 255, nos 21-23 (catalogue), pl. 29, no. 21. Not in *RPC*.
- Ca) *Obv.*: Diana running to the r., wearing a short chiton, a billowing cloak and holding a bow and arrow in both hands. A quiver over her shoulder. DIANA – BAPHYRA. *Rev.*: Plough to the r. COL – DIENSIS or COL D – IENSIS or COL (dot) – DIENSIS.

126. *RPC* Suppl. I, S-1503A.

Specimens: 12. Dies: 3 obverse and 3 reverse. Average weight: 2.80 gms. Diameter: 15-17 mm. Axis: 9, 10, 12 and 1. Seven specimens derive from the 'Dion 1999' (cat. nos 1356-1362, pl. 7, Figs 78-80) and 1 from the 'Dion 2000' hoard (cat. no. 109, pl. 15, Figs 169). Specimens in 'Dion 1998' are not clearly identifiable (cat. nos 67-72). Kremydi 1996, p. 254, nos 10-13, pl. 29, no. 10. *RPC* I, 1503 var.

The obverse is similar to issue B, but of a better style. The reverse inscription no longer reads anticlockwise.

- Cb) *Obv.*: Diana in short chiton running to the r., holding a bow in her left hand and drawing an arrow from her quiver with her right.
DIANA – BAPHYRA.

Rev.: Plough to the r. COL D – IENSIS. Dot under the plough.

Specimens: 94. Dies: 1 obverse, 3 reverse. Average weight : 3 gms. Diameter: 14-15 mm. Axis: 9 or 10. 73 specimens derive from 'Dion 1999' (cat. nos 1363-1435, pl. 7, Figs 81-83), 11 from 'Dion 2000' (cat. nos 110-120, pl. 15, Figs 170-172) and at least 3 from 'Dion 1998' (cat. nos 67-72).

Kremydi 1996, p. 255, nos 14-18, pl. 29, nos 14, 18. *RPC* I, 1503 var. The style is very similar to variety Ca but there is a slight variation in the reverse type. The two varieties also share one reverse die (R2).

- D) *Obv.*: Diana in short chiton running to the r., holding a bow with her left hand and drawing an arrow from her quiver with her right.
DIANA [BAPHYRA]. *Rev.*: Plough to the r. COL DIENSIS. In the field: D/D (reversed).

Specimen: 1. Weight: 2.71 gms. Diameter: 12 mm. Axis: -

RPC, Suppl. I, S-1503A. Not in Kremydi 1996 nor in the Dion hoards.

Because of the type of the plough, Hugo Gaebler, who knew of only one specimen of issue Ca in the British Museum, considered it to belong

to a foundation issue and therefore dated it to the reign of Augustus¹²⁷. Diana on the obverse was described as ‘trampling on a vexillum’, a description taken over by Grant who interpreted it as an influence of republican types, such as the ‘Victory trampling on a sceptre’ on the denarii of Brutus; he therefore dated this coin to 43 BC, when Q. Hortensius Hortalus, Proconsul of Macedonia, was under the command of Brutus¹²⁸. In our mint study we argued that both the description given by Gaebler and its subsequent interpretation by Grant were erroneous, and proposed a date in the second century – ‘probably under the Antonines’ – for coins belonging to issues B and C¹²⁹. Coins of issue A were dated to the reign of Claudius, mainly because of their great stylistic similarity to the coins that bear the imperial portrait¹³⁰. There is no reason to revise this chronology, which is compatible with the absence of this issue from our second-century hoards.

The secure chronological framework provided by the new finds, as well as the large number of new specimens, enable us to reconsider the pattern of the rest of the issues. In the corpus of Dion, the coins included in issue B were treated together with those of issue C. But their absence from the hoards, combined with the re-examination of technical and iconographical details, has now led to a different conclusion. First of all, these coins are significantly heavier than those of issue C, mainly because they are struck from thicker flans. At the mint of Dion the weight of the assarion was gradually reduced from *c.* 9.19 gms under Nero to *c.* 4.87 gms under Antoninus Pius¹³¹. It is therefore natural to suppose that the semisses would follow the same pattern and that the heavier issues are

127. H. Gaebler, *ZfN* 36 (1926), pp. 125-127.

128. Grant, *FITA*, pp. 272-3. On the issues of Hortensius, their dating and their attribution see: S. Kremydi-Sicilianou, ‘Quintus Hortensius Hortalus in Macedonia (44-42 BC)’, in: *Τεχνησια* 4 (1998/9), pp. 61-76.

129. Kremydi 1996, pp. 84-85.

130. Kremydi 1996, p. 82.

131. Kremydi 1996, p. 122.

earlier. Furthermore, on issue B the reverse inscription is displayed in a different manner, since it reads anticlockwise and outwards. This is, otherwise, only encountered on the reverse inscriptions of the issues bearing the portraits of Domitian and Trajan¹³², and it seems highly probable that issue B should be dated to one of these reigns.

Issue C includes two varieties which each display a slightly different representation of Diana. On variety Ca the goddess is depicted holding an arrow and a bow, whereas on variety Cb she is holding a bow and drawing an arrow out of her quiver. The fact that both varieties are present in our hoards, as well as the fact that they share one common reverse die, leads us to the conclusion that they probably belong to the same issue. The presence of such a large number of coins of this issue in our hoards leads inevitably to the conclusion that they were minted during the reign of Antoninus Pius. This confirms the hypothesis proposed in our mint study. However, the possibility that variety Ca belonged to an earlier issue cannot be completely excluded, since we have in the hoards a small number of coins from this variety, which were struck from a comparatively large number of dies. This is very different from the evidence for variety Cb, for which a much larger number of specimens survives for each die. Furthermore, coins of variety Ca show some similarities to coins of Hadrian, especially as far as the lettering is concerned: both have Ls with open lower bars, as well as dots between words. Should this variety belong to an earlier issue, then it would probably be dated to the reign of Hadrian.

To summarize the discussion concerning the Diana issues of Dion, we can conclude the following: 'pseudoautonomous' semisses bearing the types of Diana Baphyria and the plough were introduced during the reign of Claudius (issue A). On this first issue Diana is depicted frontal, wearing a long chiton, and shooting an arrow from her bow. After a break during the reign of Nero, whose semisses abandoned this iconography in favour

132. Kremydi 1996, pl. 3 (Domitian), pls 3-5 (Trajan).

of 'agonistic' types¹³³, the Diana / plough type is resumed for the semisses struck under Domitian or perhaps Trajan (issue B). The style of these coins is significantly better than that of the first-century issues and the representation of Diana has undergone a considerable typological change: the goddess is no longer depicted frontal and wearing a long tunic, but is shown running to the r. and wearing a short robe. Issue C variety a reproduces the same iconography on coins which differ only in weight, style and in the display of the reverse inscription, whereas issue C variety b, securely dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius by the hoard evidence, is similar with only minor deviations: Diana no longer grasps a bow and arrow, but holds a bow and draws an arrow from her quiver.

This last iconographic variety is also found on issue D, which is more difficult to date. The main difference of this issue, for which only one specimen is known, is its size (12 mm), which is significantly smaller. The hypothesis that this issue should be dated before the reign of Pius is very difficult to accept for two reasons: the first is the evolution of the type of Diana as described above. Since the iconographic variety of this type is the same as that on the issue produced during the reign of Antoninus Pius it seems reasonable to suggest that it immediately followed his reign. The second reason why it would be difficult to date this coin before the reign of Antoninus Pius is its size; it would be extremely unusual for two 'pseudoautonomous' issues bearing the same types to belong to different denominations. But it is precisely the size of the coin that provides some clues for its dating.

During the reign of Marcus Aurelius the coinage of Dion underwent a metrological change. A larger denomination was added at the top and the mint at this time produced three, instead of two, denominations which we have considered as diassaria (24 mm, 10.45 gms), assaria (22 mm, 6.44 gms) and hemiassaria or semisses (18 mm, 5.1 gms), all bearing the

133. Kremydi 1996, pp. 82-83, pp. 96-97 and p. 254 (catalogue), pl. 29, no. 9; *RPC*, Suppl. I, S-1508A.

portrait of the emperor or his wife¹³⁴. If issue D also dates to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, then the metrological pattern would be that of four and not three denominations. The Diana coin of 12 mm would probably be a semis, because of its iconography, something that would oblige us to revise the value of the other denominations to 'tetrassaria', 'diassaria' and 'assaria'. This, however, is not compatible with the evidence of the rest of the Macedonian coinages¹³⁵. Furthermore, its stylistic comparison with other coins struck by the same mint under Marcus Aurelius does not favour such an attribution.

The possibility that issue D was a third-century issue cannot be ruled out, if we suppose that for some specific reason the colony decided to produce an isolated 'pseudoautonomous' issue reproducing an earlier type, to meet the need of coins of a smaller denomination which had, in the meanwhile, ceased to exist¹³⁶. Since the size of the assarion was reduced to 17-18 mm by the third century, a coin of 12 mm could pass as a semis, a denomination which is not attested at the mint after Commodus. A third century date would explain both the size of the coin and the 'reproduction' of the last variety of the type. But since this is speculation based on one single specimen, it would be perhaps wiser to leave the question open until more evidence turns up.

134. Kremydi 1996, pp. 191-97.

135. Kremydi 1996, p. 112.

136. We were of the opinion that the 'pseudoautonomous' issues at Dion were abandoned during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when coins with the imperial portrait were introduced for the smaller denominations (Kremydi 1996, p. 80). However at other neighbouring mints, such as Thessalonike, 'pseudoautonomous' issues were produced down to the third century, so a third-century 'pseudoautonomous' issue in Macedonia cannot be considered as lacking parallels. The numerous 'pseudoautonomous' issues of Amphipolis still await study.

The Athena / plough issue

In the mint study of Dion a 'pseudoautonomous' issue of semisses bearing the types Athena / plough was tentatively dated to the second century¹³⁷. In a review of this study Michel Amandry has argued that, on stylistic grounds, this issue should be placed in the first century and proposes a date under Augustus¹³⁸. The absence of this issue from our second-century hoards seems to indicate that his observation is in the right direction, but revision of the available evidence leads us to propose a date during the reign of Tiberius for these coins. If this hypothesis is correct, the Tiberian issues would follow the iconographic and metrological parallel of the Augustan coinage. Three issues of different denominations have been attested for the reign of Augustus: a) Head of Augustus / Athena (assaria), b) Head of Augustus / plough (half assaria), and c) Vase with strigils / ethnic in wreath (quarter assaria)¹³⁹. If the issue described above dates from the reign of Tiberius, then we have the following pattern for his reign: a) Head of Tiberius / seated Livia (assaria), b) Athena / Plough (half assaria) and c) Vase / Strigils (quarter assaria). In both cases we have the portrait of the emperor on the first denomination, the plough, symbol of the Roman colony, on the second, and reference to the local games on the third. After the reign of Tiberius the quarter assaria were no longer produced and the plough remained the main type for the half assaria. As Amandry correctly points out style is also compatible with this date. The representation of the goddess standing and frontal is characteristic of the Julio-Claudian coins, whereas on later issues she is always depicted with a movement of her body to the left¹⁴⁰.

137. Kremydi 1996, p. 256 (catalogue), p. 79 (discussion), pl. 29, no. 24.

138. M. Amandry, *RN* 154 (1999), pp. 378-81, at p. 379. This issue was also included in *RPC*, Suppl. I, S-1506A.

139. Kremydi 1996, pp. 171-2.

140. For evolution of iconography and style see Kremydi 1996, pl. 30.

We can therefore conclude that the abundant new material from a securely dated hoard context has allowed us to control proposed dates for the 'pseudoautonomous' issues. The tentative proposal of an Antonine date for issue C has been confirmed. Nevertheless, the new material has shown that, as in the case of the coinage of Antoninus Pius discussed above, 'pseudoautonomous' coins bearing the same types could belong to successive issues struck under more than one emperor. The same conclusion has been reached for the coins of Philippi discussed below.

The Victory / vexilla issues of Philippi

Seven coins of Philippi bearing the same types were included in the 'Dion 1999' hoard (cat. nos 1508-1514, pl. 9, Figs 102-103) and one coin in 'Dion 1998' (cat. no. 77). All specimens were struck from different obverse and reverse dies and their description is the following:

Obv.: Victory on base to the l., holding wreath and palm. VIC AVG

Rev.: Three vexilla. COHOR PRAE PHIL

These coins were dated by Collart to the reign of Augustus and were considered foundation issues. The Victory was understood as a reference to the battle at Actium and the reverse type and legend as evidence for the settlement of veterans of a preatorian cohort at the colony¹⁴¹. In a very rarely cited article, Marcel Durry criticised Collart's view and proposed a date during the reign of Claudius for these issues¹⁴². In the *RPC* their

141. This date was established by P. Collart, *Philippes, ville de Macédoine*, Paris 1937, pp. 232-233, who included all earlier references. It was followed in various Sylloge: *SNG Evelp.*, 1275-77; *SNG ANS*, 674-681; *SNG Cop.*, 305-306; *SNG Tüb.*, 1031 and by Grant, *FITA*, pp. 274-275, who considered that the coins were struck to commemorate the Augustan refoundation of the colony. However, H. Gaebler, *AMNG* 3.2, pp. 102-3 nos 14-15 avoided giving a concrete chronology and dated these issues 'to Imperial times'.

142. M. Durry, 'Sur une monnaie de Philippes', *REA* 1940, pp. 412-416. Durry's main

dating under Augustus was once more questioned and a Claudian or Neronian date was tentatively proposed on totally different grounds. The reason was the composition of these coins, which were made of copper, a metal never used for Macedonian issues before the reign of Claudius¹⁴³.

Coins from the mint of Philippi bearing the Victory / vexilla types are very common. *RPC I*, which includes all the material from ten major museum collections, lists 85 specimens. This is a very large number compared to other issues of the Julio-Claudian period included in the same volume. The authors have, of course, noted that this number should be treated with caution¹⁴⁴, but the large output of this issue seems to be confirmed by stray finds. At Abdera, for example, of the 64 coins of the colony of Philippi found during excavations, 45 belong to the Victoria / vexilla types¹⁴⁵. Already in 1831 Cousinéry had noticed that these coins were extremely common and that they varied greatly in style and weight¹⁴⁶. Variations of this group include coins on which Victory is standing on a globe and not on a base¹⁴⁷, coins that bear no reverse

argument was the inscription *Victoria Augusta* for which he considered a date under Augustus too early. On this also see recently: S. Kremydi-Sicilianou, 'Victoria Augusta on Macedonian coins: remarks on dating and interpretation', *Τεκμήρια* 7 (2002/2003) (in press).

143. *RPC I*, p. 308, no. 1651.

144. For a discussion of the methodological constraints on using these numbers as indications of the relative output of an issue see: *RPC I*, pp. 56-57.

145. K. Chryssanthaki, *op. cit.* (note 57), pp. 795-98, who gives weights and diameters for the coins.

146. M. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, Paris 1831, vol. 2, pp. 41-2 considered that these issues referred to the battle of Philippi and remarked "j'ai pu reconnaître combien ces médailles sont communes, et combien elles varient par le style et par le poids" and further that "... il n'y a aucun exemple d'une aussi grande quantité de pièces autonomes pour une colonie."

147. *SNG Evelt.*, 1277. *SNG ANS*, 677.

inscription¹⁴⁸ or coins on which the abbreviation PHIL is omitted from the reverse inscription¹⁴⁹.

Fortunately these coins have also turned up in hoards. Apart from 'Dion 1999' and 'Dion 1998', they have been found in the 'Ierissos 1976' and 'Amphipolis 1998' hoards. These are grave hoards containing a small number of bronze coins. In addition to one coin of Philippi, 'Ierissos 1976' included a specimen from Kassandreia dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius and one of the Macedonian Koinon dated to Vespasian¹⁵⁰. 'Amphipolis 1998' contained four bronzes, two of which have been identified: a Victory / vexilla coin of Philippi and a coin of Amphipolis dated to the reign of Trajan¹⁵¹. It is therefore clear that the hoard evidence does not support a Julio-Claudian date for these issues. They are found in second century hoards, three of which were certainly concealed during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Stray finds from Pautalia in Thrace point in the same direction. One specimen of the Victory / vexilla issue of Philippi was found amongst many second- and third-century Thracian and Macedonian coins, and it is evident that the revision of its Augustan date fits in very well with the rest of the numismatic evidence¹⁵².

The first provincial issues of Philippi were struck after the homonymous battle and the founding of the colony by Mark Anthony in 42 BC¹⁵³. From the reign of Augustus the mint resumed a regular coinage and assaria bearing the imperial portrait on the obverse and the statue of Augustus crowned by Divus Iulius on the reverse were struck for most

148. Specimen in Paris collection no. 1070 (detail given in *RPC*).

149. Collart, *op.cit.* (note 141), pp. 232-233, note 4.

150. Touratsoglou 1993, p. 60, no. 14.

151. D. Amiridou-D. Malamidou, 'Ανασκαφική έρευνα στο νεκροταφείο της Αμφίπολης' *AEMTh* 12 (1998), pp. 78, 80-81.

152. V. Grigorova, *op.cit.* (note 50), pp. 337-342.

153. *RPC* I, 1646-1649.

emperors from Augustus to Commodus¹⁵⁴. After what seems to be an interval in mint production, the colony resumed its coinage under Gallienus with coins bearing Fortuna as a reverse type¹⁵⁵ and the very interesting ‘*Res Publicae*’ series with the radiate heads of divine emperors on the obverse¹⁵⁶. ‘Pseudoautonomous’ types were used for the semisses and apart from the numerous Victory / vexilla coins, only a very small issue of uncertain date survives, with a plough and the inscription COL PHIL on the obverse, and two modii and VIC AVG on the reverse¹⁵⁷.

It is clear that the mint of Philippi was extremely conservative and repetitive in the selection of its coin types, employing only one reverse type for the assaria from Augustus to Commodus. The very large number of surviving specimens for the Victory / vexilla issues, the variations in style, diameter, weight and iconography seem to point out that Cousinéry was probably thinking in the right direction when he wrote: “...*Eckhel pense que ces médailles ont été frappées sous le règne d’Auguste. J’ajoute que les coins en furent renouvelés sous tous les empereurs, jusqu’à Gallien.*”¹⁵⁸ As in the case of the assaria, the same types were probably used for the semisses minted under more than one emperor. Their dating during the second century AD cannot be denied, given the evidence of the hoards, but their issue under Gallien seems very improbable given the general pattern of mint production, as described above. A detailed mint study would probably lead to a classification of different issues and to a proposal for their sequence and date. In an article published recently we

154. For references see: M. Amandry, ‘Le monnayage de la Res Publica Coloniae Philippiensium’ in: U. Peter (ed.) *Stephanos Nomismatikos*, Berlin 1998, pp. 27-28. Issues struck under Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius, which lack the ethnic and bear the ploughing priests as reverse types, probably also belong to Philippi: *RPC I*, 1656-1660.

155. *SNG Cop.*, 311.

156. Amandry, *op.cit.* (note 154), pp. 23-32.

157. *RPC I*, 1652.

158. Cousinéry, *op.cit.* (note 141), p. 42.

have examined iconographic parallels and proposed that the variety with 'Victory on a globe' was the earliest and should be dated in the second half of the first century AD, certainly after Claudius and probably under Vespasian. This would probably make it an 'anniversary' issue for the 100 years since the founding of the colony under Augustus, in 30 BC. It was certainly followed by other second-century issues bearing the same types, examples of which have been found in the hoards¹⁵⁹.

The Victory / shield issues of the Macedonian Koinon

The 'pseudoautonomous' issues of the Macedonian Koinon have been discussed by Gaebler¹⁶⁰ and were included in *RPC I*¹⁶¹. They are all half assaria and probably belong to seven different issues. For stylistic reasons and because of iconographic similarities with the coins of Thessalonike struck under Claudius and Nero, Gaebler dated them to the first century AD. The authors of the *RPC* accepted this chronology and added another argument to support it: the reverse legend that reads MAKEΔONΩΝ, instead of KOINON MAKEΔONΩΝ, which is the standard form after Vespasian. A list of these issues, which follows the order suggested in *RPC*, is summarized in Table 5, where the number of specimens published so far as well as the average weights are noted.

159. Kremydi-Sicilianou, *op.cit.* (note 142).

160. H. Gaebler, *ZfN* 24 (1904), pp. 279-316; *AMNG* 3. 1, pp. 11-25 (introduction).

161. *RPC I*, 1619-1625.

Table 5

	Obverse	Reverse	RPC	Spec.	Weight
a	Macedonian shield	ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ	1619 (=AMNG 235)	6	2.60
b	Victory on globe / ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ	Macedonian shield	1620 (=AMNG 229)	3	3.39
c	Victory advancing l.	Macedonian shield / ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ	1621 (=AMNG 230)	10	3.04
d	Victory advancing l.	Shield within oak wreath, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ	1622 (=AMNG 231)	1	3.53
e	Victory advancing r.	Macedonian shield / ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ	1623 (=AMNG 232)	5	3.41
f	Horse l.	Macedonian shield / ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ	1624 (=AMNG 233)	6	1.96
g	Horse l., star	Macedonian shield / ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ	1625 (=AMNG 235)	1	-

Three specimens of issue (c) (cat. nos 1504-1506, pl. 9, Figs 100-101), and one of issue (e) (cat. no. 1507, pl. 9, Fig. 102), all in very good condition, were included in the 'Dion 1999' hoard. Apart from these, the hoard contained another 35 coins of the same mint, of which one dates to the reign of Domitian, 14 date to the reign of Hadrian and 20 to the reign of Antoninus Pius¹⁶². It is clear that, as in the case of Philippi discussed above, the securely dated context of the hoard imposes a reconsideration of the chronology proposed for these issues. Stylistic considerations cannot prevail over direct archaeological evidence and abbreviated inscriptions are very common on coins of small denominations¹⁶³.

162. See catalogue nos 1469-1503, pls 8-9, Figs 93-99.

163. Semisses of Dion are often inscribed COL DIENSIS (*RPC* I, 1503 and *RPC* Suppl. I, S-1507B, S-1508A) and of Philippi COL PHIL (*RPC* I, 1652), both omitting the epithets IVLIA and/or AVGVSTA which are always found on the assaria and the double assaria. At Kassandrea even the title of the colony is omitted on the semisses, whose legends read CAS(S)ANDRE (*RPC* I, 1512-1514).

The mint of the Macedonian Koinon under the Empire had a regular production that began in the reign of Claudius and ended in that of Philip the Arab¹⁶⁴. The Macedonian shield, a traditional type resumed from the Koinon's hellenistic issues¹⁶⁵, was the standard reverse type for the assaria until the reign of Marcus Aurelius. From the time of the Severi¹⁶⁶ the mint underwent a radical change in its numismatic iconography; the old types were abandoned and a large variety of new, mostly agonistic, types were gradually introduced. Since all the 'pseudoautonomous' half assaria bear the Macedonian shield, it seems natural to suggest that they should be attributed to the period between Claudius and Marcus Aurelius. The form of the letters can further contribute to their dating: Angular Es and Σs are almost exclusively found on legends of issues of the Koinon until the reign of Hadrian¹⁶⁷. From the reign of Antoninus Pius the lunar Es (€) and Cs (C) prevailed and earlier forms were no longer encountered; simultaneously the new *omega* (ω) was introduced. Since all the 'pseudoautonomous' issues bear inscriptions with the earlier, angular, letters (E, Σ, Ω), we can further limit the time-span in which they were issued to the period between Claudius and Hadrian. The 'internal' iconographic and epigraphic evidence of the mint, combined with the hoard evidence leads us to propose that issues (c) and (e) – if they are in fact two distinct issues – they were probably minted during the reign of Hadrian. Their issue under Trajan is also possible, but the very good

164. *AMNG* 3. 1, pp. 75ff.

165. The Macedonian shield was the main type for the tetrobols of the Koinon struck under Philip V and Perseus: *AMNG* 3. 1, pp. 26 ff., but survived on issues struck after the Roman occupation: *AMNG* 3. 1, pp. 53 ff. For a thorough treatment of this motif and its meaning see: K. Liampi, *Der Makedonische Schild*, Bonn 1998. A catalogue of Macedonian coins bearing this emblem can be found in pp. 99-131.

166. No coins were struck by the Koinon for Commodus.

167. The lunar E (€) is found on only one issue of Vitellius (*AMNG* 3. 1, p. 79 no. 246) and is dominant on coins dated from the reign of Antoninus Pius.

preservation of these specimens in the hoard probably favours a later date¹⁶⁸.

Issues (c) and (e) therefore, were most probably the last ‘pseudoautonomous’ issues of the mint. After them not only the ‘pseudoautonomous’ types but also the denomination on which they were struck ceased to be produced¹⁶⁹.

Some ‘pseudoautonomous’ issues of Thessalonike

The provincial coinage of Thessalonike has been studied by Touratsoglou, who has proposed dates for its numerous ‘pseudoautonomous’ issues. Unlike the Roman colonies in Macedonia and the Macedonian Koinon that applied ‘pseudoautonomous’ types only on the half assaria, Thessalonike, a free city and capital of the province, used such types also on some of the assaria¹⁷⁰.

The ‘Dion 1999’ hoard contained one coin of Thessalonike struck under Vespasian, 3 coins of Trajan and 9 ‘pseudoautonomous’ coins. The first is a much worn hemiassarion with the types Nike / city-ethnic (cat. no. 1460, pl. 8, Fig. 89), which belongs to Touratsoglou’s issue II, group D or, probably E, dated by the author to the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian

168. It should be noted that the Koinon did not produce coins in the name of Trajan, but this does not exclude the production of ‘pseudoautonomous’ issues under this emperor. This, for example, occurred at Thessalonike during the reign of Hadrian: Touratsoglou 1988, p. 89.

169. ‘Pseudoautonomous’ coins are very rare in most Macedonian mints after the second half of the second century AD. Only in the free cities of Thessalonike and, probably, also Amphipolis, were ‘pseudoautonomous’ coins produced in the third century. Touratsoglou 1998, pp. 89-92, for Thessalonike. *AMNG* 3. 2, pp. 38-39 and *RPC* I, p. 305 for Amphipolis. For a possible parallel at Dion see above p. 83.

170. Touratsoglou 1988, pp. 98-101, table 33. The denominations given by Touratsoglou as 4, 2, 1 and 1/2 assaria have been shown to be 2, 1, 1/2 and 1/4 assaria. On this issue see: Kremydi 1996, p. 116 and n. 16. *RPC* I, p. 288.

respectively. The other 8 are assaria bearing the types Tyche / Kabeiros, 6 out of which belong to issue VI/E (cat. nos 1461-1464 and 1467-1468, pl. 8, Figs 90, 92)¹⁷¹, dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius¹⁷² and 2 to issue VI/G (cat. nos 1465-1466, pl. 8, Fig. 91), dated to the reign of Commodus. It is evident that the proposed dates for issues II/E and VI/E are confirmed by the context of our hoard, whereas the date of issue VI/G should be reconsidered. Its date under Commodus is not compatible with the hoard evidence and these coins should certainly be earlier. Comparison with the coins bearing the portrait of Antoninus Pius indicates that this group should also be placed during his reign. The thick letters of the reverse inscriptions are identical to the ones on the coins of Pius and were probably made by the same engraver. In any case, issues VI/E and VI/G are so similar that they could in fact be one and the same issue. These issues, for which 15 obverse and 30 reverse dies have been identified, seem to form the main bulk of assaria struck under Pius, to which only a small issue of 1 obverse and 1 reverse dies bearing the portrait of Marcus Aurelius as Caesar can be added¹⁷³.

The contemporary, but much smaller, 'Dion 2000' hoard contained only two coins of Thessalonike: one with the portrait of Trajan and one 'pseudoautonomous' coin bearing the types horse / ethnikon and the letter Π on the obverse. The latter belongs to issue I/E dated by Touratsoglou to the reign of Hadrian (cat. no. 122, pl. 16, no. 174), a date which is proven compatible with the hoard evidence.

171. One more specimen of this issue was found in the 'Dion 1998' hoard, cat. no. 75.

172. In his review of Touratsoglou's book C. Howgego, *Gnomon* 30 (1990), pp. 466-468, has argued for a date under Trajan for this issue, something which is also compatible with the hoard evidence.

173. Touratsoglou 1988, p. 191 (catalogue), pl. 17.

PART III
CATALOGUE

'DION 1999' HOARD
(1,590 coins)

D I O N
CLAUDIUS
(1 coin)

Obv.: Head of Claudius I. TI CLAVDIVS CAE
Rev.: Athena, helmeted, in long chiton standing l., holding patera in her extended r. and spear in her l. COL AVG-DIENSIS. In field: D/D
Kremydi 1996, p. 176, no. 8, pl. 2, no. 9 (O4; R6). *RPC I*, 1507.

Fig. 1 **no. 1:** 1 assarion
Diameters: 22-23 mm
Axis: 12
Weight: 9 gms

NERO
(2 coins)

Obv.: Portrait erased, countermark: P V B
Rev.: Athena, as above. COL IVL-DIENSIS. In field: D/D
Kremydi 1996, p. 177, no. 8, pl. 2, nos 10-11. *RPC I*, 1508.

Fig. 2 **nos 2-3:** 2 assaria
Diameters: 22-24 mm
Axis: -
Weights: 9.3, 9.1 gms

DOMITIAN

(3 coins)

Obv.: Head of Domitian, laureate r. IMP CAIS DOMITIANVS AVG

Rev.: Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl.

COL IVL-AVG DIENSIS (a.c.). In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 179, nos 1-2, pl. 3, nos 1-5 (O1; R1). *RPC* II, 313.

Fig. 3 nos 4-6: 3 assaria

Diameters: 21-22 mm

Axis: 6

Weights: 10.1; 7; 6.6 gms

TRAJAN

(68 coins)

Obv.: Head of Trajan, laureate r.

IMP CAIS NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM

Rev.: Athena, as above. At her feet l. serpent, r. owl.

COL IVL-AVG DIENSIS (a.c.). In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, pp. 179-180, nos 1-6, pl. 3, nos 1-6.

Fig. 4 nos 7-13: 7 assaria

Diameters: 20-22 mm

Axis: 4 (1), 5 (1), 6 (1), 7 (2), 9 (1)

Weights: 9-9.9 gms (2)

8-8.9 gms (1)

7-7.9 gms (3)

6-6.9 gms (1)

Obv.: Head of Trajan, laureate l.

IMP CAIS NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM

Rev.: Athena, as above.

COL IVL-AVG DIENSIS (a.c.). In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, pp. 180-181, nos 7-15, pl. 4, nos 9-18.

Figs 5-6 nos 14-47: 34 assaria
 Diameters: 20-22 mm
 Axis: 3 (3), 4 (2), 6 (14), 7 (1), 9 (2), 12 (6)
 Weights: 7-7.9 gms (12)
 6-6.9 gms (15)
 5-5.9 gms (7)

Obv.: Head of Trajan, laureate r.

IMP CAIS NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM

Rev.: Athena, as above. COL IVL-AVG DIENSIS (a.c.). In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, pp. 182-4, nos 16-29, pls 4-5, nos 26-48.

Figs 7-8 nos 48-74: 27 assaria
 Diameters: 20-22 mm
 Axis: 3 (3), 6 (13), 8 (1), 9 (8), 12 (2)
 Weights: 8-8.9 gms (2)
 7-7.9 gms (8)
 6-6.9 gms (10)
 5-5.9 gms (6)
 broken (1)

HADRIAN

(119 coins)

Obv.: Head of Hadrian, laureate r.

IMP CAES HADRIANO AVG OLYMPIO

Rev.: Athena, as above. At her feet owl and serpent (R1, R2) or just owl (R3, R4). COL IVL AVG - DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 185, no. 7 (O3; R2), pl. 5, no. 11; p. 186, no. 13 (O7; R5), pl. 6, no. 18.

Figs 9-12 nos 75-114: 40 assaria
 Diameters: 21-22 mm

Axis: 6 (14), 7 (26)
Dies: O1-R1, R3, R4; O2-R2
Weights: 9-9.9 gms (2)
8-8.9 gms (2)
7-7.9 gms (4)
6-6.9 gms (9)
5-5.9 gms (15)
4-4.9 gms (8)

Obv.: As above.

Rev.: Zeus, standing l., wearing wreath and himation, holding a patera in his extended r. hand and leaning his l. on a sceptre. At his feet r. eagle. COL IVL AVG-DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 186, no. 15 (O8; R7), pl. 6, no. 20.

Fig. 13 nos 115-118: 4 assaria

Diameters: 21-22 mm

Axis: 6 (4)

Dies: O2-R5

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (1)

6-6.9 gms (2)

5.3 gms (1)

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate, draped r.

IMP CAES HADRIANO AVG OLYMPIO

Rev.: Athena, helmeted, in long chiton standing l., holding patera in her extended r. hand and spear in her l. At her feet r. owl, l. serpent.

COL IVL AVG-DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, pp. 184-5, nos 1-6 (O1, O2; R1, R2), pl. 5, nos 1-10;

p. 185, nos 8-9 (O4, O5; R3), pl. 5, nos 13-14; p. 186, nos 10-12

(O5, O6; R4), pl. 6, nos 15-17.

Figs 14-17 nos 119-147: 29 assaria

Diameters: 21-22 mm

Axis: 6 (27), 12 (2)

Dies: O3- R6, R8, R9; O4-R7

Weights: 8-8.9 gms (1)

7-7.9 gms (5)

6-6.9 gms (4)

5-5.9 gms (12)

4-4.9 gms (6)

3-3.9 gms (1)

nos 148-193: 46 worn assaria of the last variety

Weights: 10-10.9 gms (1)

9-9.9 gms (-)

8-8.9 gms (3)

7-7.9 gms (3)

6-6.9 gms (12)

5-5.9 gms (15)

4-4.9 gms (11)

3-3.9 gms (1)

ANTONINUS PIUS

(1,162 coins)

Issue A (93 coins)

Issue A, var. 1

Obv.: Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate r.

IMP - CAES ANTONI - NO (under the neck) - PIO

Rev.: Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl.

COL IVL AV - G DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 187, nos 3-4 (O3; R2, R3), pl. 6, nos 3, 6.

Fig. 18 **nos 194-222:** 29 assaria

Diameters: 20-22 mm

Axis: 6 (28), 5 (1)

Dies: O1- R1

Weights: 6-6.9 gms (8)

5-5.9 gms (18)

4-4.9 gms (1)

3-3.9 gms (2)

Issue A, var. 2

Obv.: Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate r.

IMP - CAES ANTONINO - PIO (under the neck)

Rev.: Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl.

COL IVL AV - G DIENSIS. In field: D/D (reversed)

Kremydi 1996, p. 187, nos 1-2 (O1, O2; R1), pl. 6, nos 1-2.

Fig. 19 nos 223-254: 32 assaria

Diameters: 20-22 mm

Axis: 6 (28), 7 (4)

Dies: O2-R3 [R2 in 'Dion 2000']

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (4)

6-6.9 gms (7)

5-5.9 gms (13)

4-4.9 gms (9)

3-3.9 gms (1)

Issue A, var. 1 or 2

nos 255-286: 32 worn assaria

Diameters: 20-22 mm

Axis: 6 (28), 7 (2), 5 (1)

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (3)

6-6.9 gms (3)

5-5.9 gms (12)

4-4.9 gms (12)

3-3.9 gms (2)

*Issue B (338 coins)**Issue B, var. 1*

- Obv.:* Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate r.
IMP (under the neck) - CAES AN - TONINO PI
- Rev.:* Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl.
COL IVL - AV - G DIENSIS. In field: D/D (all D's reversed).
Kremydi 1996, p. 187, no. 5 (O4; R4), pl. 6, no. 7.

Figs 20-21 nos 287-310: 24 assaria

Dies: O3- R4, R5 [R5 has N reversed]

Weights: 8-8.9 gms (1)

7-7.9 gms (0)

6-6.9 gms (8)

5-5.9 gms (12)

4-4.9 gms (3)

Issue B, var. 2

- Obv.:* Same die.
- Rev.:* Athena, as above. No attribute.
COL IVL - AV - G DIENSIS. In field: D/D (all D's reversed).
Kremydi 1996, p. 188, nos 6, 7 (O4; R5, 6), pl. 6, nos 9, 11.

Figs 22-27 nos 311-350: 40 assaria

Diameters: 20-21 mm

Axis: 12 (12), 1 (14), 6 (7), 7 (7)

Dies: O3 - R6, R7, R8, R9, R10, R11 [R11 has N reversed]

Weights: 8-8.9 gms (2)

7-7.9 gms (3)

6-6.9 gms (10)

5-5.9 gms (17)

4-4.9 gms (6)

3-3.9 gms (1)

Issue B, var. 1 or 2

nos 351-414: 64 assaria

Diameters: 20-21 mm

Weights: 8-8.9 gms (2)

7-7.9 gms (5)

6-6.9 gms (16)

5-5.9 gms (25)

4-4.9 gms (13)

3-3.9 gms (2)

broken (1)

Issue B, var. 3

Obv.: Same die.

Rev.: Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl.
COL IVL AV- G DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Not in Kremydi 1996.

Figs 28-29 nos 415-420: 6 assaria

Diameter: 20 mm

Axis: 6

Dies: O3 - R12

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (2)

6-6.9 gms (1)

5-5.9 gms (1)

4-4.9 gms (2)

nos 421-426: 6 worn assaria

Diameters: 20 mm

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (1)

6-6.9 gms (2)

5-5.9 gms (3)

*Issue B, var. 4**Obv.:* Same die.*Rev.:* Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl.

COL IVL AVG-DIENSIS (a.c.). In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 188, nos 8-9 (O4, O5; R7), pl. 6, nos 12, 13.

Fig. 30 nos 427-458: 32 assaria

Diameters: 20-21 mm

Axis: 6 (11), 7 (3), 12 (17), 1 (1)

Dies: O3 - R13, R14

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (5)

6-6.9 gms (7)

5-5.9 gms (12)

4-4.9 gms (6)

3-3.9 gms (1)

broken (1)

nos 459-478: 20 worn assaria

Diameters: 20-21 mm

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (2)

6-6.9 gms (3)

5-5.9 gms (6)

4-4.9 gms (8)

*Issue B, var. 1-4***nos 479-545:** 67 worn assaria

Weights: 8-8.9 gms (2)

7-7.9 gms (1)

6-6.9 gms (8)

5-5.9 gms (34)

4-4.9 gms (19)

3-3.9 gms (2)

2-2.9 gms (1)

Issue B, var. 5

Obv.: Same die.

Rev.: Zeus, standing l., wearing wreath and himation, holding a patera in his extended r. and leaning his l. on a sceptre.

COL IVL AV-G DIENSIS. In field: D/D (all Ds reversed).

Kremydi 1996, p. 190, no. 22 (O4; R16), pl. 7, no. 33.

Figs 31-35 nos 546-581: 36 assaria

Diameters: 18-21 mm

Axis: 6 (16), 7 (11), 12 (9)

Dies: O3 - R15, R16, R17, R18, R19 [R15 has N reversed]

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (5)

6-6.9 gms (8)

5-5.9 gms (10)

4-4.9 gms (12)

3-3.9 gms (1)

nos 582-624: 43 worn assaria

Diameters: 18-21 mm

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (2)

6-6.9 gms (9)

5-5.9 gms (19)

4-4.9 gms (9)

3-3.9 gms (4)

Issue C (673 coins)

Issue C, var. 1

Obv.: Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate r. IMP CAES AN-TONINO PP

Rev.: Athena, helmeted, in long chiton standing l., holding patera in her extended r. hand and spear in her l. At her feet r. serpent.

COL- IVL A-VG DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Not in Kremydi 1996.

Figs 36-44 nos 625-689: 65 assaria

Diameters: 19-20 mm

Axis: 6 (59), 12 (6)

Dies: O4 - R20, R21, R23; O5 - R20; O6 - R21; O7 - R21, R24;

O8 - R22, R24

Weights: 8-8.9 gms (3)

7-7.9 gms (3)

6-6.9 gms (12)

5-5.9 gms (23)

4-4.9 gms (20)

3-3.9 gms (4)

nos 690-719: 30 worn assaria

Diameters: 19-20 mm

Weights: 8-8.9 gms (2)

7-7.9 gms (2)

6-6.9 gms (4)

5-5.9 gms (13)

4-4.9 gms (7)

3-3.9 gms (2)

*Issue C, var. 2**Obv.:* As above.*Rev.:* Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl (R25) or no attribute (R26)
COL I- VL A-VG DIENSIS. In field: D/D (all Ds reversed).

Not in Kremydi 1996.

Figs 45-46 nos 720-743: 24 assaria

Diameters: 19-21 mm

Axis: 6

Dies: O4 - R25, R26 (+R27 in ‘Dion 2000’)

Weights: 8-8.9 gms (1)

7-7.9 gms (1)

6-6.9 gms (11)

5-5.9 gms (3)

4-4.9 gms (7)

broken (1)

nos 744-757: 14 worn assaria

Diameters: 19-21 mm

Weights: 6-6.9 gms (3)

5-5.9 gms (7)

4-4.9 gms (4)

Issue C, var. 3

Obv.: As above.

Rev.: Athena, as above, no attribute.

COL-IVL A-VG DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 189, no. 14 (O6; R10), pl. 7, no. 18.

Figs 47-49 nos 758-795: 38 assaria

Diameters: 18-19 mm

Axis: 6 (35), 7 (1), 12 (2)

Dies: O4 - R28; O7 - R28; O8 - R29

Weights: 8-8.9 gms (1)

7-7.9 gms (0)

6-6.9 gms (2)

5-5.9 gms (11)

4-4.9 gms (19)

3-3.9 gms (5)

nos 796-814: 19 worn assaria

Diameters: 18-20 mm

Weights: 6-6.9 gms (2)

5-5.9 gms (3)

4-4.9 gms (11)

3-3.9 gms (2)

broken (1)

*Issue C, var. 4**Obv.:* As above.*Rev.:* Athena, as above, with owl.

COL-IVL A-VG DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 189, nos 15-19 (O6, O7, O8; R11, R12, R13, R14),
pl. 7, nos 19-26.**Figs 50-72 nos 815-971:** 157 assaria

Diameters: 19-20 mm

Axis: 6 (122), 12 (35)

Dies: O4 - R30, R31, R35, R36, R41; O6 - R32, R33, R39;

O7 - R30, R32, R33, R37, R38, R39, R40, R42, R43;

O8 - R30, R32, R33, R34, R37, R38.

Weights: 9-9.9 gms (1)

8-8.9 gms (3)

7-7.9 gms (12)

6-6.9 gms (11)

5-5.9 gms (42)

4-4.9 gms (65)

3-3.9 gms (18)

2-2.9 gms (3)

broken (2)

nos 972-1142: 171 worn assaria

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (6)

6-6.9 gms (16)

5-5.9 gms (56)

4-4.9 gms (69)

3-3.9 gms (22)

2-2.9 gms (2)

Issue C, var. 5

Obv.: As above.

Rev.: Zeus standing l., holding patera in his r. hand and leaning his l. on a sceptre. At his feet eagle. COL IVL - AVG - DIENSIS. In field: D/D.

Kremydi 1996, p. 190, no. 23, (O? R17), pl. 7, no. 34.

Figs 73-77 nos 1143-1181: 39 assaria

Diameters: 19-20 mm

Axis: 6 (31), 7 (2), 12 (3), 1 (3)

Dies: O4 - R44, R45, R46, R47, R48.

R44: COL - IVL A - VG DIENSIS; R45: No D/D; R46: one D;

R48: no eagle.

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (4)

6-6.9 gms (6)

5-5.9 gms (18)

4-4.9 gms (10)

broken (1)

nos 1182-1207: 26 worn assaria

Weights: 9-9.9 gms (1)

8-8.9 gms (2)

7-7.9 gms (2)

6-6.9 gms (2)

5-5.9 gms (11)

4-4.9 gms (6)

3-3.9 gms (2)

Issue C, unidentified varieties

nos 1208-1297: 90 worn assaria

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (7)

6-6.9 gms (12)

5-5.9 gms (20)

4-4.9 gms (35)

3-3.9 gms (13)

2 broken coins and 1 halved coin

Antoninus Pius, unidentified issues

nos 1298-1355: 58 very worn assaria

DIANA / PLOUGH

(97 coins)

Issue Ca (7coins)

Obv.: Diana in short chiton running to the r., holding arrow and bow in both hands. Quiver over her shoulder. DIANA - BAPHYRA

Rev.: Plough to the r. COL DIENSIS

Kremydi 1996, p. 254, no. 6 (O5; R5), pl. 29, no. 10.

Figs 78-80 nos 1356-1362: 7 half assaria

Diameters: 15-17 mm

Axis: 9 (1), 10 (3), 12 (2), 1 (1)

Dies: O1 - R1; O2 - R2; O3 - R3

Weights: 3-3.5 gms (2)

2-2.9 gms (4)

broken: 1

Issue Cb (73 coins)

Obv.: Diana in short chiton running to the r., drawing an arrow from her quiver. DIANA - BAPHYRA

Rev.: Plough to the r., dot below (R2 without dot). COL D-IENSIS

Kremydi 1996, p. 255, nos 7-9 (O6, O7; R6), pl. 29, nos 14, 18.

Figs 81-3 nos 1363-1435: 73 half assaria

Diameters: 15-16 mm
Axis: 9 (50), 6 (10)
Dies: O4 - R4, R5, R2
Weights: 4-4.9 gms (2)
 3-3.9 gms (41)
 2-2.9 gms (29)
 broken (1)

Issue Ca or Cb

nos 1436-1452: 17 worn half assaria
Weights: 4-4.9 gms (2)
 3-3.9 gms (5)
 2-2.9 gms (7)
 1-1.9 gms (3)

A M P H I P O L I S
UNDER ANTONINUS PIUS (1 coin)

Obv.: Bare head of Marcus Aurelius (as Caesar) to the r.
ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ
Rev.: Artemis Tauropolos standing l. holding long torch.
ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ
AMNG 3. 2, p. 42, no. 82, pl. 11, no. 4.

Fig. 84 **no. 1453:** 1 assarion
Diameter: 20 mm
Axis: 6
Weight: 4.8 gms

E D E S S A
HADRIAN (2 coins)

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate r. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ
Rev.: The city-goddess, in mural crown, standing, wearing long chiton and chlamys, leaning her l. hand on a spear and holding a female figurine in her extended r. At her feet a goat and the personification of the river Edessaïos. ΕΔΕΣΣΑΙΩΝ

AMNG 3. 2, p. 62, no. 2, pl. 14, no. 4. Papaefthymiou 2002, pp. 49-50, nos 2-3, pl. 3 (dated to AD 131/2). The attributes at the goddess' feet are not clearly visible on our coins.

Fig. 85 1454-1455: 2 assaria
Diameters: 22 mm
Axis: 6
Weights: 6.1; 5.5 gms

T H E S S A L O N I K E
(13 coins)
UNDER VESPASIAN (1 coin)

Obv.: Head of Titus r., facing head of Domitian, l.
TITON ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΔΟΜΗΤΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ
Rev.: ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ in three lines, all in wreath.

Touratsoglou 1988, pp. 181-182, nos 21-35, pl. 14. *RPC* II, 321.
The reverse is completely worn and only traces of the inscription survive on the obverse.

Fig. 86 no. 1456: 1 assarion
Diameter: 21 mm
Axis: -
Weight: 6.4 gms

TRAJAN (3 coins)

Obv.: Bust of Trajan, laureate r. ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ
Rev.: Nike advancing l., holding palm in her l. hand and wreath in her r.
 ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ

Touratsoglou 1988, pp. 186-187, nos 1-12, pl. 14, O1-7, R1-6 (Em. I, phase 1, dated to c. AD 98-102/3).

Fig. 87 no. 1457: 1 diassarion
 Diameter: 27 mm
 Axis: 12
 Weight: 15.9 gms

Obv.: Bust of Trajan, radiate r. ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ
Rev.: ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ in four lines, above: small eagle.
 All in laurel-wreath.

Touratsoglou 1988, pp. 188-9, nos 26-44, pls 15-16, O16-21, R25-42. Dated to c. AD 103/4.

Fig. 88 nos 1458-1459: 2 assaria
 Diameter: 21 mm
 Axis: 12
 Weights: 7.7; 7.6 gms

UNDER HADRIAN (1 coin)

Obv.: Nike advancing r.
Rev.: ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ in laurel-wreath.

Touratsoglou 1988, pp. 320-321, em. II/D (under Trajan) or probably E (under Hadrian), pl. 48.

Fig. 89 no. 1460: 1 half assarion
 Diameter: 15 mm
 Axis: 6
 Weight: 4.9 gms

UNDER ANTONINUS PIUS (8 coins)

Obv.: Female head in mural crown, r. ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ
Rev.: Kabeiros wearing chiton and chlamys, standing l., holding rhyton in his l. hand and hammer in his r. KABEI-ΠΟΣ

Touratsoglou 1988, pp. 328-329, em. VI/E, nos 3-22, pls 49-50, O2-7, R3-17.

Fig. 90 nos 1461-1464: 4 assaria
 Diameters: 20-22 mm
 Axis: 6 (2), 7 (1), 12 (1)
 Weights: 9.4; 9.1; 7.7; 6.2 gms
 Obverse dies of 1461 and 1462 are very similar to Touratsoglou O2 and 1464 is very similar to Touratsoglou O6. 1463 is very worn.

Obv.: As above.
Rev.: As above. KABEI-ΠΟΣ

Touratsoglou 1988, p. 331, em. VI/G, nos 1-8, pl. 50, O1-5, R1-8.
 (dated by Touratsoglou under Commodus. See p. 93 above).

Fig. 91 nos 1465-1466: 2 assaria
 Diameter: 22 mm
 Axis: 12
 Weights: 7.4; 6.3 gms

Obv.: As above, head l. [ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ]
Rev.: As above. [KABEI-ΠΟΣ]

Touratsoglou 1988, pp. 329-330 em. VI/E, nos 23-28, pl. 49, O8-10, R18-22.

Fig. 92 nos 1467-1468: 2 assaria
 Diameters: 21-22 mm
 Axis: 6
 Weights: 7.3; 7 gms

M A C E D O N I A N K O I N O N

(39 coins)

DOMITIAN (1 coin)

Obv.: Laureate head of Domitian r. ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ

Rev.: Macedonian shield, around: ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

AMNG 3. 1, p. 80, no. 252. *RPC* II, 336.

Fig. 93 **no. 1469:** 1 assarion

Diameter: 21 mm

Axis: 7

Weight: 8.6 gms

HADRIAN (14 coins)

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate r. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ

Rev.: Winged thunderbolt. ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

AMNG 3. 1, p. 81, no. 254. *SNG* Cop., 1338.

Fig. 94 **nos 1470-1471:** 2 diassaria

Diameter: 27 mm

Axis: 1

Weights: 15.4; 12.2 gms

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate r. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ

Rev.: Macedonian shield, around: ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

AMNG 3. 1, p. 81, no. 253.

Fig. 95 **nos 1472-1474:** 3 assaria

Diameters: 21-22 mm

Axis: 2 (2), 7 (1)

Weights: 9.2; 8.5; 5.9 gms

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate, draped r. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ
Rev.: Macedonian shield, around: ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

AMNG 3. 1, p. 81, no. 256, pl. 3, no. 16. *SNG Cop.*, 1339.

Fig. 96 nos 1475-1483: 9 assaria

Diameters: 21-22 mm

Axis: 3 (1), 9 (1), 11 (1), 12 (3).

3 coins are too worn to identify the axis.

Weights: 8.2; 7.3; 7.3; 7.2; 7; 6.7; 6.5; 5.6 gms, and 1 broken coin.

ANTONINUS PIUS (20 coins)

Obv.: Bust of Antoninus Pius, laureate r. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ

Rev.: Winged thunderbolt. ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

AMNG 3. 1, p. 82, no. 263. *SNG Cop.*, 1340.

Fig. 97 nos 1484-1488: 5 diassaria

Diameters: 25-27 mm

Axis: 6 (1), 7 (2). 2 coins are too worn to identify the axis.

Weights: 14.5; 12.7; 11.8; 10.8; 9.1 gms

Obv.: Bust of Antoninus Pius, laureate r. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ

Rev.: Macedonian shield, around: ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

AMNG 3. 1, p. 82, no. 264. *SNG Cop.*, 1341.

Fig. 98 nos 1489-1497: 9 assaria

Diameters: 21-22 mm

Axis: 6 (2), 7 (3), 12 (2), 1 (1)

Weights: 8.3; 8; 7.8; 7.7; 7.2; 7.1 (3); 6.8 gms

Obv.: Bust of Antoninus Pius, laureate, draped r. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ

Rev.: As above.

AMNG 3. 1, p. 82, no. 265.

Fig. 99 nos 1498-1503: 6 assaria
Diameters: 20-22 mm
Axis: 3 (1), 4 (1), 6 (1), 9 (1), 10 (2)
Weights: 7.9; 7.3; 6.8; 6.3; 6.2; 6 gms

UNDER HADRIAN (?) (3 coins)

Obv.: Nike advancing to the l., holding palm in l. and wreath in extended r.
Rev.: Macedonian shield, around: MAKEΔONΩN
AMNG 3.1, p. 75, no. 230, pl. 3, no. 10 (dated to the first cent. AD)
RPC I, 1621 (dated with reservations to the Julio-Claudians)

Fig. 100 nos 1504-1506: 3 half assaria
Diameters: 15-16 mm
Axis: 1 (1), 2 (1), 7 (2)
Weights: 3.2; 3.2; 2.5 gms

Obv.: Nike advancing r., holding palm in l. and wreath in upraised r.
Rev.: Macedonian shield, around: MAKEΔONΩN
AMNG, 3. 1, p. 75, no. 232 (dated to the first cent. AD)
RPC I, 1621 (dated with reservations to the Julio-Claudians)

Fig. 101 no. 1507: 1 half assarion
Diameter: 15 mm
Axis: 12
Weight: 2.5 gms

P H I L I P P I

UNDER HADRIAN OR ANTONINUS PIUS (7 coins)

Obv.: Victory with wreath and palm l., on base. VIC - AVG
Rev.: Three trophies. COHOR - PRAE - PHIL

AMNG, 3. 2, pp. 102-103, nos 14-15, pl. 20, no. 10. Grant, *FITA*, p. 274 (dated to Augustus). *RPC* I, 1651 (uncertain date, Claudian or Neronian?)

Figs 102-3 nos 1508-1514: 7 half assaria

Diameters: 17 (3), 19 (2), 20-21 (6) mm

Axis: 1 (1), 5 (1), 6 (3), 11 (2)

Weights: 5; 4.7; 4.4; 3.8; 3.8; 3.4; 3.3 gms

C O R I N T H

HADRIAN (2 coins)

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate, draped r. IMP CAES []

Rev.: Standing female figure (Aphrodite?) leaning her l. hand on sceptre and holding apple (?) in her r.

Traces of inscription on the l. In field: C O - R

Lanz 105, no. 609 (the inscription is not legible).

Fig. 104 no. 1515: 1 assarion

Diameter: 22 mm

Axis: 2

Weight: 6.6 gms

Obv.: Bust of Sabina, wearing stephane, l. SABINA-AVGVSTA

Rev.: Athena Chalinitis wearing long chiton, standing r., resting on spear and holding bridle. COL [IV]L COR

BMC Corinth, p. 75, no. 598, pl. 19, no. 17.

Fig. 105 no. 1516: 1 assarion

Diameter: 22 mm

Axis: 6

Weight: 8.8 gms

T H E S S A L I A N K O I N O N

HADRIAN (47 coins)

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate r. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΙ
Rev.: Athena, helmeted, wearing long chiton, walking r., holding shield in her l. hand and brandishing spear with her r. ἈϞ ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟΥ.

Burrer 1993, Em I, serie I, pp. 180-193, pls 16-19.

The numbers for obverse dies given below follow Burrer's enumeration. The reverse dies have not been identified.

Figs 106-11 nos 1517-1563: 47 assaria

Diameters: 21-22 mm

Axis: 6 (38), 7 (1), 12 (1) and 7 worn coins

Dies: O4, O7 (2 coins), O8 (2 coins), O10?, O11?, O12 (2 coins), O13, O15, O17, O18, O22, O22a or 23 (2 coins), O25, O26, O27, O28 (2 coins), O29 (2 coins), O32. Three coins have new obverse dies.

Weights: 6-6.9 gms (2)

5-5.9 gms (13)

4-4.9 gms (22)

3-3.9 gms (5)

T R A L L E I S (L Y D I A)

(1 coin)

Obv.: Nike advancing l. holding wreath and palm.

Rev.: Eagle standing facing with wreath in beak.

RPC II, 1099, 1100: dated to the late 1st cent. AD. The changes in the form of the inscriptions have been proven important for the dating of these issues but cannot be used for our coin since the inscription(s) are not legible. Our coin probably belongs to a later issue the existence of which is noted on p. 169. See also: *BMC* Lydia, p. 339, no. 88, p. 340, no. 89.

Fig. 112 no. 1564: 1 half assarion

Diameter: 15 mm

Axis: 5

Weight: 2.5 gms

M A G Y D O S (P A M P H Y L I A)

ANTONINUS PIUS (1 coin)

Obv.: Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate r.

AYTO KAIΣAP ANTΩNEINOC ΣE

Rev.: Athena, helmeted, wearing long chiton, standing l. In her extended r. hand holding Nike with wreath and leaning her l. on spear. At her feet r. shield and l. serpent. [MAGY]ΔEΩN. In field l.: IΘ*BMC* Lycia, p. 115, no. 3, pl. 23, no. 12.**Fig. 113** no. 1565: 1 assarion

Diameter: 22 mm

Axis: 7

Weight: 5.3 gms

U N C E R T A I N G R E E K M I N T

UNDER ANTONINUS PIUS (1 fragment of coin)

Obv.: Veiled bust of Faustina r. ΘEA ΦAY[ΣTEINA]*Rev.:* Bare headed, draped bust of Galerius Antoninus, r. [ΓΑΛΕΡΙOC ANTΩNINO AYTOKP]ATOCOC ANTΩNEIN[OC YIOC]*Mionnet*, p. 703, nos 604-605; *Cohen*, p. 443, nos 1-2; *Overbeck* 1971, p. 255, nos 17-23, pls 26-27; *Amandry* 1993, pp.16-17, ill. 13; *Vagi* 1999, vol. 1, p. 241, vol. 2, p. 362.**Fig. 114** no. 1566: A small fragment of the coin survives on which only part of the inscription can be read. It belonged to a sestertius.

R O M E

(15 coins)

DOMITIAN UNDER VESPASIAN, AD 69-79 (1 coin)

Obv.: Head of Domitian, laureate r. [JDOMITIAN[]

Rev.: Female figure, standing. Inscription illegible.

The coin is very worn and cannot be identified accurately but the style of the portrait allows us to attribute it to the issues struck in the name of Domitian during the reign of Vespasian, which are dated between AD 69 and 79. Compare with: *BMCRE* II, p. 156, no. 678, pl. 27, no. 4 (AD 73); p. 171, no. 729, pl. 29, no. 11 (AD 76); and especially p. 176, no. 744, pl. 30, no. 7 (AD 77/8).

Fig. 115 no. 1567: 1 sestertius

Diameter: 35 mm

Axis: 6

Weight: 25.9 gms

RESTORATION ISSUE OF GERMANICUS

UNDER TITUS, AD 79-81 (1 coin)

Obv.: Head of Germanicus, bare l.

GERMANICVS CAESAR TI AVG F DIVI AVG N

Rev.: IMP T CAES DIVI VESP F AVG REST, around S - C

BMCRE II, p. 288, no. 293, pl. 55, no. 8. *HCC* I, p. 280, pl. 49, no. 15.

Fig. 116 no. 1568: 1 as

Diameter: 27 mm

Axis: 6

Weight: 10 gm

NERVA (1 coin)

- Obv.:* Head of Nerva, laureate r.
IMP NERVA CAES AVG PM TR [P COS III PP]
- Rev.:* Two mules grazing, one r., one l. Behind, high wheeled cart with pole and harness (collars and traces), tipped up and pointing slightly to l. VE[HICVLATIONE ITALIAE REMISSA]. In exergue: S - C.
- BMCRE* III, p. 21, no. 119, pl. 6, no. 2. (p. xlix for comment on the type). *HCC* I, p. 341, pl. 59, no. 52. Dated to AD 97.

Fig. 117 no. 1569: 1 sestertius
Diameter: 34 mm
Axis: 6
Weight: 22.5 gms

TRAJAN (3 coins)

- Obv.:* Bust of Trajan, laureate, draped r. IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP
- Rev.:* Felicitas draped, standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiae. SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS. In field: S - C.
- BMCRE* III, p. 216, no. 1015, pl. 40, no. 9 (AD 114-5); p. 218, no. 1022 (AD 115-6). *HCC* II, p. 63, pl. 15, nos 375-376. (AD 112-117).

Fig. 118 nos 1570-1571: 2 sestertii
Diameter: 34 mm
Axis: 6
Weights: 28.8; 26.5 gms

- Obv.:* Bust of Trajan, laureate, draped r. IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP
- Rev.:* Felicitas draped, standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiae. SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS. In field: S - C.
- BMCRE* III, p. 220 (Münich collection). Dated to AD 115 (?) – 116.

Fig. 119 **no. 1572:** 1 as
 Diameter: 28 mm
 Axis: 6
 Weight: 11.3 gms

HADRIAN (8 coins)

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate r., slight drapery on l. shoulder.
 IMP CAES TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG

Rev.: Annona draped, standing l., holding corn-ears over modius with two
 corn-ears and poppy, and cornucopiae. Behind her, prow of ship r.
 PONT MAX TR P COS DES III. In field: S - C
 In exergue: ANNONA AVG

BMCRE III, p. 406, no. 1143, pl. 77, no. 5. *HCC* II, p. 121, pl. 28,
 no. 326. Dated to AD 118.

Fig. 120 **no. 1573:** 1 sestertius
 Diameters: 35 mm
 Axis: 6
 Weight: 24.5 gms

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate r., slight drapery on l. shoulder.
 [HADRIANVS - AVGVSTVS]

Rev.: Hadrian, bare-headed, in military dress, cloak floating behind him,
 on horse prancing r., raising r. hand. [COS III]. In field: S - C .
 In exergue: [E]XPED AV[G].

BMCRE III, p. 433, no. 1313, pl. 82, no. 1. *HCC* II, p. 138, no. 436,
 pl. 33. Dated to AD 119-128.

Fig. 121 **no. 1574:** 1 sestertius
 Diameter: 34 mm
 Axis: 6
 Weight: 28.7 gms

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, bare-headed, draped r. HADRIANVS - AVGVSTVS
Rev.: Hadrian, bare-headed, in military dress, cloak fluttering behind him, on horse prancing l., raising r. hand. [COS III]. In field: S - C
HCC II, p. 141, pl. 35, no. 452. Dated to AD 128-138.

Fig. 122 no. 1575: 1 dupondius/as
 Diameter: 26 mm
 Axis: 5
 Weight: 8.6 gms

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, bare-headed, slight drapery on l. shoulder.
 HADRIANVS - AVG[VSTVS]
Rev.: Clementia, draped, standing l., holding patera in extended r. hand and vertical sceptre in l. In field: S - C
BMCRE III, p. 457, no. 1435. Dated to AD 119-138.

Fig. 123 no. 1576: 1 dupondius/as
 Diameter: 28 mm
 Axis: 6
 Weight: 10.85 gms

Obv.: Head of Hadrian laureate r. HADRIANVS - AVG COS III PP
Rev.: Hadrian, in toga, standing r., raising r. hand and holding scroll. On r., Gallia, draped, standing l., holding patera over burning and garlanded altar, l. hand at side. Bull behind altar.
 ADVENTVI AVG GALLIAE. In field: S - C
BMCRE III, p. 491, no. 1644, pl. 91, no. 13.

Fig. 124 no. 1577: 1 dupondius/as
 Diameter: 27 mm
 Axis: 6
 Weight: 12.7 gms

Obv.: Head of Hadrian, laureate r. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS
Rev.: Roma, helmeted, in military dress, standing r., l. foot on helmet, holding vertical spear reversed, and cornucopiae. COS III PP
HCC II, p. 141, pl. 35, no. 451. *BMCRE* III, p. 459, nos 1446-9, pl. 86, no. 3. Dated to AD 128-138.

Fig. 125 **no. 1578:** 1 dupondius/as
 Diameter: 26 mm
 Axis: 6
 Weight: 12 gms

Obv.: Head of Hadrian, laureate, draped, r. HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP
Rev.: Dacia wearing tunic, breeches and cloak, seated l. on rock, holding standard in r. hand and curved sword upwards in l. hand.
 In field: S-C. In exergue: DACIA
BMCRE III, p. 510, no. 1744. *HCC* II, p. 163, pl. 42, no. 617.
 Dated to AD 128-138.

Fig. 126 **no. 1579:** 1 dupondius/as
 Diameter: 26 mm
 Axis: 12
 Weight: 14.2 gms

Obv.: Head of Hadrian, laureate r. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS
Rev.: Salus, draped, standing r., feeding out of patera in l. hand snake held in r. COS III. In field: S-C
BMCRE III, p. 436, no. 1329. Dated to AD 119-38 (radiate bust).

Fig. 127 **no. 1580:** 1 dupondius/as
 Diameter: 26 mm
 Axis: 5
 Weight: 10.8 gms

ANTONINUS PIUS (1 coin)

Obv.: Head of Antoninus, laureate r. ANTONINVS - AVG PIVS PP
Rev.: Romulus, bare-headed, in military dress, advancing r., holding
transverse spear and trophy over l. shoulder.
TR POT - COS III. In field: S - C.

HCC II, p. 212, no. 177. *BMCRE* IV, p. 221, no. 1375.

Dated to AD 140-144.

Fig. 128 **no. 1581:** 1 as
Diameter: 27 mm
Axis: 12
Weight: 11.3 gms

UNIDENTIFIED COINS

nos 1582-1590: 9 very worn, unidentified coins

‘DION 2000’ HOARD
(129 coins)

D I O N
TRAJAN (2 coins)

Obv.: Head of Trajan, laureate l. IMP CAIS NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM

Rev.: Athena, helmeted, in long chiton standing l., holding patera in her extended r. hand and spear in her l.

COL IVL-AVG DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Kreymdi 1996, pp. 180-181, nos 7-15, pl. 4, nos 9-18.

Fig. 129 no. 1: 1 assarion

Diameter: 20 mm

Axis: 12

Weight: 6.2 gms

Obv.: Head of Trajan, laureate r. IMP CAIS NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM

Rev.: Athena, as above. COL IVL-AVG DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Kreymdi 1996, pp. 182-184, nos 16-29, pls 4-5, nos 26-48.

Fig. 130 no. 2: 1 assarion

Diameter: 21 mm

Axis: 6

Weight: 7.3 gms

HADRIAN (9 coins)

Obv.: Head of Hadrian, laureate r.

IMP CAES HADRIANO AVG OLYMPIO

Rev.: Athena, as above. COL IVL-AVG DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 185, no. 7, pl. 5, no. 11; p. 186, no. 13, pl. 6, no. 18.

Figs 131-2 nos 3-6: 4 assaria

Diameters: 21-22 mm

Axis: 7 (2), 1 (2)

Dies: O1 - R2; O2 - R3

Weights: 5.3; 5.4; 5.9; 6.0 gms

Obv.: As above.

Rev.: Zeus, wearing wreath and himation, holding a patera in his extended r. hand and leaning his l. on a sceptre. At his feet r. eagle.

COL IVL AVG-DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 186, no. 15 (O8, R7), pl. 6, no. 20.

Fig. 133 no. 7: 1 assarion

Diameter: 23 mm

Axis: 7

Die: O2 - R5

Weight: 8.2 gms

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate and draped r.

IMP CAES HAD[RIANO AVG OLYMPIO]

Rev.: Athena, as above.

Kremydi 1996, pp. 184-186, nos 1-6, 9-12, 14 (O1, O2, O5, O6 ; R1, R2, R3, R4), pl. 5, nos 1-10, pl. 6, nos 15-17.

Fig. 134 nos 8-11: 4 assaria

Diameters: 22 mm

Axis: 6 (3) ; 7 (1)

Dies: O3 - R3

Weights: 4.2 ; 5.7 ; 6.4 ; 7.7 gms

ANTONINUS PIUS (84 coins)

*Issue A (9 coins)**Issue A, var. 1*

- Obv.:* Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate r.
IMP – CAES ANTONI-NO (under the neck) – PIO
- Rev.:* Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl.
COL IVL AV – G DIENSIS. In field: D/D
- Kremydi 1996, p. 187, no. 3 (O3; R2, R3), pl. 6, nos 3, 6.

Figs 135-6 nos 12-14: 3 assaria

Diameters: 20-21 mm
Axis: 6 (3)
Dies: O1 - R1; O1 – R2
Weights: 4.7; 5.9; 5.9 gms

Issue A, var. 2

- Obv.:* Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate r.
IMP – CAES ANTONINO – PIO (under the neck)
- Rev.:* Athena, as above.
COL IVL AV – G DIENSIS. In field: D/D (all Ds reversed)
- Kremydi 1996, p. 187, nos 1-2 (O1, O2 ; R1), pl. 6, nos 1-2.

Fig. 137 nos 15-20: 6 assaria

Diameters: 20-22 mm
Axis: 6 (4) ; 7 (2)
Dies: O2 – R3
Weights: 6-6.9 gms (1)
5-5.9 gms (3)
4-4.9 gms (2)

Issue B (21 coins)

Issue B, var. 1

- Obv.:* Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate r.
IMP (under the neck) – CAES AN – TONINO PI
- Rev.:* Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl. COL IVL – AV – G DIENSIS.
In field: D/D (all Ds reversed).
Kremydi 1996, p. 187, no. 5 (O4 –R4), pl. 6, no. 7.

Figs 138-9 nos 21-24: 4 assaria

Diameter: 20 mm
Axis: 6 (1), 12 (1), 1 (2)
Dies: O3 - R4, R5
Weights: 7.3; 5.9; 5.9; 5.6 gms

Issue B, var. 2

- Obv.:* Same die.
- Rev.:* Athena, as above. No attribute.
COL IVL – AV – G DIENSIS. In field: D/D (all Ds reversed).
Kremydi 1996, p. 188, nos 6, 7 (O4 ; R5, R6), pl. 6, nos 9, 11.

Fig. 140 nos 25-29: 5 assaria

Diameters: 20-21 mm
Axis: 7 (2), 6 (1), 1 (2)
Dies: O3 - R8
Weights: 7-7.9 gms (1)
6-6.9 gms (3)
4-4.9 gms (1)

Issue B, var. 1 or 2

nos 30-31: 2 assaria
Diameters: 20-21 mm
Axis: 1 (2)
Weights: 5.3; 5.6 gms

*Issue B, var. 3**Obv.:* Same die.*Rev.:* Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl.
COL IVL AV-G DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Not in Kremydi 1996.

Fig. 141 no. 32: 1 assarion

Diameter: 20 mm

Axis: 6

Dies: O3 – R12

Weight: 6.4 gms

*Issue B, var. 4**Obv.:* Same die.*Rev.:* Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl.
COL IVL AVG - DIENSIS (a.c.). In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 188, nos 8-9 (O4-5, R7), pl. 6, nos 12-13.

Figs 142-3 nos 33-38: 6 assaria

Diameters: 20-21 mm

Axis: 12 (1), 7 (2), 6 (1), 1 (2)

Dies: O3 - R13, R14

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (1)

6-6.9 gms (1)

5-5.9 gms (3)

4-4.9 gms (1)

*Issue B, var. 5**Obv.:* Same die.*Rev.:* Zeus, wearing wreath and himation, holding patera in his extended r. hand and leaning his l. on a sceptre. COL IVL-AV-G DIENSIS. In field: D/D (all Ds reversed).

Kremydi 1996, p. 190, no. 22 (O4-R16), pl. 7, no. 33.

Figs 144-6 nos 39-41: 3 assaria

Diameter: 20 mm

Axis: 12 (1), 7 (2)

Dies: O3 – R16, R17, R19

Weights: 5.6, 4.8, 4.3 gms

Issue C (54 coins)

Issue C, var. 1

Obv.: As above.

Rev.: Athena, as above. At her feet r., serpent.

COL – IVL A – VG DIENSIS. In the field: D/D

Not in Kremydi 1996.

Figs 147-51 nos 42-53: 12 assaria

Diameters: 19-21 mm

Axis: 12 (1), 11 (2), 7 (1), 6 (7), 5 (1)

Dies: O4 – R20, R21; O7 – R21, R24; O8 – R24

Weights: 7-7.9 gms (3)

5-5.9 gms (4)

4-4.9 gms (2)

3-3.9 gms (3)

Issue C, var. 2

Obv.: As above.

Rev.: Athena, as above. At her feet r., owl (R25) or no attribute (R27).

COL – IVL A – VG DIENSIS. In the field: D/D (all Ds reversed).

Not in Kremydi 1996.

Figs 152-3 nos 54-57: 4 assaria

Diameter: 21 mm

Axis: 6 (3), 5 (1)

Dies: O4 - R25; O6 - R27

R27 is not found in 'Dion 1999'. The l. D in the field is not reversed.

Weights: 6.8; 5.5; 5.2; 5.1 gms

*Issue C, var. 3**Obv.:* As above.*Rev.:* Athena, as above. No attribute.

COL - IVL A - VG DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 189, no. 14 (O6-R10), pl. 7, no. 18.

Fig. 154 nos 58-64: 7 assaria

Diameters: 19-20 mm

Axis: 6

Dies: O4 – R28

Weights: 6-6.9 gms (1)

5-5.9 gms (3)

4-4.7 gms (3)

*Issue C, var. 4**Obv.:* As above.*Rev.:* Athena, as above, with owl. COL – IVL A – VG DIENSIS.

In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 189, no. 14 (O6-R10), pl. 7, no. 18.

Figs 155-64 nos 65-84: 20 assaria

Diameters: 19-20 mm

Axis: 12 (8), 6 (12)

Dies: O4 - R31, R33, R35, R41; O7 - R32, R40, R43; O8 – R30,
R31, R34

Weights: 7-7.9 (1)

6-6.9 (1)

5-5.9 (2)

4-4.9 (12)

3-3.9 (4)

Issue C, var. 4 (worn coins)

nos 85-97: 13 assaria

Diameters: 19-20 mm

Axis: 6 (11), 12 (1), 1 (1)

Weights: 7-7.9 (1)

6-6.9 (2)

5-5.9 (2)

4-4.9 (6)

3-3.9 (2)

Issue C, var. 5

Obv.: As above.

Rev.: Zeus standing, holding patera in his r. hand and leaning his l. on a sceptre. At his feet eagle. COL - IVL A - VG DIENSIS. In field: D/D
Kremydi 1996, p. 190, no. 23, pl. 7, no. 34.

Figs 165-8 nos 98-108: 11 assaria

Diameters: 20-21 mm

Axis: 12 (3), 6 (8)

Dies: O4 - R44, R45, R47, R48 (R48: no eagle)

Weights: 8-8.9 gms (1)

7-7.9 gms (3)

6-6.9 gms (2)

5-5.9 gms (4)

4-4.9 gms (1)

DIANA / PLOUGH

(12 coins)

Issue Ca (1 coin)

Obv.: Diana in short chiton running to the r., holding arrow and bow in both hands. Quiver over her shoulder. DIANA – BAPHYRA

Rev.: Plough to the r. COL DIENSIS

Kremydi 1996, p. 254, no. 6 (O5; R5), pl. 29, no. 10.

Fig. 169 no. 109: 1 half assarion

Diameter: 16 mm

Axis: 10

Dies: O3 - R3

Weight: 3 gms

Issue Cb (11 coins)

Obv.: Diana in short chiton running to the r., drawing an arrow from her quiver. DIANA – BAPHYRA

Rev.: Plough to r., dot below (R4 and R5). COL D-IENSIS

Kremydi 1996, p. 255, nos 7-9 (O6, O7; R6), pl. 29, nos 14, 18.

Figs 170-2 nos 110-120: 11 half assaria

Diameters: 15-16 mm

Axis: 10 (1), 9 (9), 6 (2)

Dies: O4 - R4, R5, R2 (R2 is also found on coins of issue Ca)

Weights: 3-3.9 gms (5)

2-2.9 gms (6)

T H E S S A L O N I K E

TRAJAN (2 coins)

Obv.: Head of Trajan, radiate r. KAIΣAP [TP]AIA[NOΣ]

Rev.: ΘΕΣ-ΣΑΛΟ-NIKE-ΩΝ in four lines, above small eagle, frontal with outspread wings. All within laurel wreath.

Touratsoglou 1988, pp. 188-189, em. II, pls 15-16, V16-21, R25-42.

Dated to c. AD 103/4-111.

Fig. 173 no. 121: 1 assarion

Diameter: 21 mm

Axis: 7 (1)

Weight: 7.4 gms

UNDER HADRIAN (?) (1 coin)

Obv.: Horse walking r. Above: crescent, below: Π.

Rev.: ΘΕΣ-ΣΑΛΟ-NIKE-ΩΝ in four lines, within laurel wreath.

Touratsoglou 1988, p. 318, Em. I, Group E, pl. 47.

Fig. 174 no. 122: 1 half assarion

Diameter: 15 mm

Axis: 1

Weight: 2.6 gms

M A C E D O N I A N K O I N O N

CLAUDIUS (1 coin)

Obv.: Head of Claudius, l. ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ

Rev.: Macedonian shield. Around: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

AMNG, 3. 1, p. 76-77, nos 237-239, pl. 3, no. 14. *RPC I*, 1610 or 1611.

Fig. 175 no. 123: 1 assarion

Diameter: 25 mm

Axis: -

Weight: 9 gms

T H E S S A L I A N K O I N O N

HADRIAN (4 coins)

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate r. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΙ

Rev.: Athena, helmeted, wearing long chiton, walking r., holding shield in her l. and brandishing spear with her r. ἈϞ ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟΥ

Burrer 1993, pp. 180-193, Em I, Serie I, pls 16-19.

Figs 176-7 nos 124-127: 4 assaria

Diameters: 21-22 mm

Axis: 6 (4)

Dies: All different

Weights: 5.8; 4.5; 4.5; 3.7 gms

ILION (TROAS)

(1 coin)

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, draped, cuirassed and diademed, r.

AYT KAI ΣΕ – ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ ΑΔΡΙΑ

Rev.: Athena standing to the r., holding sceptre in r. hand and a patera in her outstretched l. In the field: IAI

Fritze 1902, p. 52. Bellinger 1961, T132.

Fig. 178 no. 128: 1 assarion

Diameter: 21 mm

Axis: 12

Weight: 6.8 gms

UNCERTAIN COIN

no. 129: 1 damaged assarion

Weight: 6.7 gms

‘DION 1998’ HOARD
(81 coins)

D I O N
DOMITIAN (1 coin)

Obv.: Head of Domitian, laureate r. IMP CAIS DOMITIANVS AVG
Rev.: Athena, helmeted, in long chiton standing l., holding patera in her extended r. hand and spear in her l. At her feet r. owl.

COL IVL-AVG DIENSIS (a.c.). In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 179, nos 1-3, pl. 3, nos 1-6. *RPC* II, 313.

no. 1: 1 assarion

Diameter: 20 mm

Axis: 6

Weight: 6 gms

TRAJAN (3 coins)

Obv.: Head of Trajan, laureate r. IMP CAIS NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM
Rev.: Athena, as above. At her feet l. serpent, r. owl.

COL IVL-AVG DIENSIS (a.c.). In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, pp. 179-180, nos 1-6, pl. 3, nos 1-6.

no. 2: 1 assarion

Diameter: 23 mm

Axis: 7

Weight: 8.8 gms

Obv.: Head of Trajan, laureate r.
 IMP CAIS NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM
Rev.: Athena, as above. COL IVL-AVG DIENSIS (a.c.). In field: D/D
 Kremydi 1996, pp. 182-184, nos 16-29, pl. 4-5, nos 26-48.
nos 3-4: 2 assaria
 Diameters: 20 mm
 Axis: 9, -
 Weights: 6.2; 5.8 gms

HADRIAN (8 coins)

Obv.: Head of Hadrian, laureate r.
 IMP CAES HADRIANO AVG OLYMPIO
Rev.: Athena, as above. At her feet owl and serpent or just owl.
 COL IVL AVG - DIENSIS. In field: D/D.
 Kremydi 1996, p. 185, no. 7, pl. 5, no. 11; p. 186, no. 13, pl. 6, no. 18.
nos 5-8: 4 assaria
 Diameters: 21-23 mm
 Axis: 6 (1), 7 (2), 12 (1)
 Weights: 5.8; 5.7; 5.4; 3.9 gms

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate, draped r.
 IMP CAES HADRIANO AVG OLYMPIO
Rev.: Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl, l. serpent.
 COL IVL AVG-DIENSIS. In field: D/D
 Kremydi 1996, pp. 184-185, nos 1-6, pl. 5, nos 1-10; pp. 185-186,
 nos 8-12, pl. 5, nos 13-17.
nos 9-12: 4 assaria
 Diameters: 21-22 mm
 Axis: 6 (2), 12 (1)
 Weights: 6.5; 5.9; 5.7; 5.1 gms

ANTONINUS PIUS (54 coins)

*Issue A (2 coins)**Issue A, var. 1*

- Obv.:* Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate r.
IMP - CAES ANTONI - NO (under the neck) - PIO
- Rev.:* Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl.
COL IVL AV - G DIENSIS. In field: D/D
- Kremydi 1996, p. 187, nos 3-4, pl. 6, nos 3, 6.
- no. 13:** 1 assarion
Diameter: 20 mm
Axis: 6
Weight: 5.4 gms

Issue A, var. 2

- Obv.:* Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate r.
IMP - CAES ANTONINO - PIO (under the neck)
- Rev.:* Athena, as above. At her feet r. owl.
COL IVL AV - G DIENSIS. In field: D/D (all Ds reversed).
- Kremydi 1996, p. 187, nos 1-2, pl. 6, nos 1-2.
- no. 14:** 1 assarion
Diameter: 20 mm
Axis: 6
Weight: 3.8 gms

*Issue B (7 coins)**Issue B, var. 1-4*

- Obv.:* Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate r.
IMP (under the neck) - CAES AN - TONINO PI
- Rev.:* Athena, as above. Attributes and details of inscription are not clear.
- Kremydi 1996, pp. 187-188, nos 5-9, pl. 6, nos 7-13.

nos 15-21: 7 assaria

Diameters: 20-21 mm

Axis: 6 (4), 7 (1), 1 (1), 12 (1)

Weights: 6-6.9 gms (2)

5-5.9 gms (2)

4-4.9 gms (3)

Issue C (35 coins)

Issue C, var. 1-4

Obv.: Head of Antoninus Pius, laureate r. IMP CAES AN-TONINO PP

Rev.: Athena, as above. Attributes and details of inscription are not clear.

Kremydi 1996, pp. 188-190, nos 11-21, pls 6-7, nos 15-26.

nos 22-51: 30 assaria

Diameters: 19-21 mm

Axis: 6 (17), 12 (9), - (4)

Weights: 8-8.9 gms (1)

5-5.9 gms (3)

4-4.9 gms (10)

3-3.9 gms (12)

2-2.9 gms (4)

Issue C, var. 5

Obv.: As above.

Rev.: Zeus standing l., holding patera in his r. hand and leaning his l. on a sceptre. At his feet eagle. COL IVL - AVG - DIENSIS. In field: D/D

Kremydi 1996, p. 190, no. 23, pl. 7, no. 34.

nos 52-56: 5 assaria

Diameters: 19-21 mm

Axis: 6 (2), 12 (1), 7 (1), - (1)

Weights: 7.9; 6.7; 4.7; 4.6; 3.8 gms

Antoninus Pius, unidentified issues

nos 57-66: 10 very worn assaria

DIANA / PLOUGH (6 coins)

Issue Cb (3 coins)

Obv.: Diana in short chiton running to the r., drawing an arrow from her quiver. DIANA - BAPHYRA

Rev.: Plough to the r. COL D-IENSIS

Kremydi 1996, p. 255, nos 7-9, pl. 29, nos 14, 18.

nos 67-69: 3 half assaria

Diameters: 14-15 mm

Axis: 10 (2), 1 (1)

Weights: 3.6; 3.5; 3.0 gms

Issue Ca or Cb (3 coins)

Obv.: Diana in short chiton running to the r. Further details are not clear.
DIANA - BAPHYRA

Rev.: Plough to the r. COL DIENSIS

Kremydi 1996, pp. 254-255, nos 6-11, pl. 29, nos 10-21.

nos 70-72: 3 half assaria

Diameters: 15-16 mm

Axis: -

Weights: 3.3; 2.3; 1.8 gms

T H E S S A L O N I K E (3 coins)

Obv.: Bust of Trajan, radiate r. ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ

Rev.: ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ in four lines, above small eagle. All in laurel-wreath.

Touratsoglou 1988, pp. 188-189, nos 26-44, pls 15-16, O16-21, R 25-42. Dated to *c.* AD 103/4-111.

nos 73-74: 2 assaria

Diameters: 21-22 mm

Axis: 1, -

Weights: 7.7; 6.0 gms

UNDER ANTONINUS PIUS (1 coin)

Obv.: Female head in mural crown, l. ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ

Rev.: Kabeiros wearing chiton and chlamys, standing l., holding rhyton in his l. hand and hammer in his r. KABEI-ΠΟΣ

Touratsoglou 1988, pp. 329-330, Em. VI/E, nos 23-28, pls 49-50, O8-10, R18-22.

no. 75: 1 assarion

Diameter: 21 mm

Axis: 1

Weight: 6.1 gms

M A C E D O N I A N K O I N O N

HADRIAN (1 coin)

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate, draped r. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ

Rev.: Macedonian shield, around: KOINON ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

AMNG 3. 1, p. 81, no. 256, pl. 3, no. 16. SNG Cop., 1339.

no. 76: 1 assarion

Diameter: 21 mm

Axis: -

Weight: 6.1 gms

P H I L I P P I

UNDER HADRIAN OR ANTONINUS PIUS (1 coin)

Obv.: Victory with wreath and palm l., on base. VIC - AVG*Rev.:* Three trophies. COHOR - PRAE - PHIL*AMNG* 3. 2, pp. 102-3, nos 14-5, pl. 20, no. 10. *FITA*, p. 274
(dated to Augustus). *RPC* I, 1651 (Claudian or Neronian date?).**no. 77:** 1 half assarion

Diameter: 18 mm

Axis: 6

Weight: 4.4 gms

T H E S S A L I A N K O I N O N

HADRIAN (1 coin)

Obv.: Bust of Hadrian, laureate r. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙ*Rev.:* Athena, helmeted, wearing long chiton, walking r., holding shield in
her l. hand and brandishing spear with her r. Ἄ ΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟΥ

Burrer 1993, pp. 180-193, Em. I, serie I, pls 16-19.

no. 78: 1 assarion

Diameter: 22 mm

Axis: 6

Weight: 5.9 gms

ROME

DOMITIAN (2 coins)

Obv.: Head of Domitian r. [...]TIANVS [...]

Rev.: illegible

These are probably coins of the mint of Rome. Their size, the portrait and the placement of the inscription are similar to asses in *BMCRE* II, pp. 360-361, nos 288-293, pl. 70, nos 4-7. Their weight is considerably lower than the published specimens but this could be accounted for by the heavy wear of the coins.

nos 79-80: 2 asses

Diameters: 27 mm

Axis: -

Weights: 8.7; 6.7 gms

HADRIAN (1 coin)

Obv.: Head of Hadrian, laureate r. IMP C[AESAR TRAIANVS H]ADRIAN - VS AVG [P M TR P COS] III

Rev.: Annona, draped, seated r. on throne, holding cornucopiae in both hands. In front: modius and corn-ears. ANNONA AVGVSTI.

In exergue: S C

BMCRE III, p. 413, no. 1179, pl. 78, no. 11 (rev.).

no. 81: 1 sestertius

Diameter: 33 mm

Axis: 6

Weight: 24.3 gms

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PLATES

KEY TO PLATES

Plate 1 – ‘Dion 1999’ hoard

1	9.0 gms	12h	
2	9.3 gms	-	
3	10.1 gms	6h	
4	8.9 gms	7h	
5	6.9 gms	6h	
6	7.5 gms	6h	
7	7.9 gms	6h	
8	6.8 gms	6h	
9	9.0 gms	7h	O1-R1
10	4.8 gms	7h	O2-R2
11	6.3 gms	12h	O1-R3
12	6.2 gms	12h	O1-R4

Plate 3 - ‘Dion 1999’ hoard

25	5.9 gms	1h	O3-R9
26	4.5 gms	12h	O3-R10
27	5.5 gms	12h	O3-R11
28	4.8 gms	6h	O3-R12
29	7.2 gms	12h	O3-R13
30	5.3 gms	6h	O3-R14
31	6.3 gms	7h	O3-R15
32	4 gms	6h	O3-R16
33	6.0 gms	12h	O3-R17
34	6.9 gms	12h	O3-R18
35	6.2 gms	6h	O3-R19
36	6 gms	6h	O4-R20

Plate 2 - ‘Dion 1999’ hoard

13	7.9 gms	6h	O2-R5
14	7.5 gms	6h	O3-R6
15	7.0 gms	6h	O4-R7
16	5.7 gms	6h	O3-R8
17	4.3 gms	6h	O3-R9
18	5.9 gms	6h	O1-R1
19	6.8 gms	6h	O2-R3
20	8.6gms	1h	O3-R4
21	5.5 gms	1h	O3-R5
22	5.2 gms	1h	O3-R6
23	6.7 gms	7h	O3-R7
24	6.5 gms	7h	O3-R8

Plate 4 - ‘Dion 1999’ hoard

37	5.7 gms	6h	O5-R20
38	5.5 gms	6h	O4-R21
39	4.6 gms	5h	O6-R21
40	4.3 gms	6h	O7-R21
41	4.4 gms	6h	O8-R22
42	4.2 gms	5h	O4-R23
43	4.8 gms	12h	O8-R24
44	4.2 gms	12h	O7-R24
45	6.7 gms	6h	O4-R25
46	6.8 gms	6h	O4-R26
47	5.7 gms	6h	O4-R28
48	4.2 gms	6h	O7-R28

Plate 5 - 'Dion 1999' hoard

49	3.9 gms	12h	O8-R29
50	6.7 gms	6h	O4-R30
51	3.2 gms	6h	O8-R30
52	5.2 gms	12h	O7-R30
53	7.3 gms	6h	O4-R31
54	4.3 gms	6h	O4-R32
55	4.2 gms	6h	O8-R32
56	4.6 gms	6h	O7-R32
57	5.3 gms	6h	O7-R33
58	4.1 gms	6h	O8-R33
59	5.0 gms	6h	O4-R33
60	4.6 gms	12h	O8-R34

Plate 7 - 'Dion 1999' hoard

73	5.2 gms	1h	O4-R44
74	5.6 gms	6h	O4-R45
75	6.9 gms	6h	O4-R46
76	7.2 gms	6h	O4-R47
77	5.2 gms	12h	O4-R48
78	2.1 gms	9h	O1-R1
79	2.0 gms	12h	O2-R2
80	2.3 gms	9h	O3-R3
81	3.0 gms	6h	O4-R2
82	3.1 gms	9h	O4-R5
83	3.3 gms	9h	O4-R4
84	4.8 gms	6h	
85	6.1 gms	6h	
86	6.4 gms	-	

Plate 6 - 'Dion 1999' hoard

61	6.2 gms	6h	O4-R35
62	6.5 gms	6h	O4-R36
63	4.3 gms	6h	O8-R37
64	4.5 gms	6h	O7-R37
65	4.0 gms	6h	O7-R38
66	4.2 gms	12h	O8-R38
67	6.8 gms	12h	O6-R39
68	4.1 gms	12h	O7-R39
69	4.6 gms	12h	O7-R40
70	4.2 gms	6h	O4-R41
71	4.9 gms	6h	O7-R42
72	6.5 gms	1h	O7-R43

Plate 8 - 'Dion 1999' hoard

87	15.9 gms	12h	
88	7.7 gms	12h	
89	4.9 gms	6h	
90	9.1 gms	7h	
91	7.4 gms	12h	
92	7.3 gms	6h	
93	8.6 gms	7h	
94	15.4 gms	1h	
95	8.5 gms	7h	
96	7.3 gms	9h	
97	12.7 gms	7h	

Plate 9 - 'Dion 1999' hoard

98	7.8 gms	6h
99	6.8 gms	10h
100	3.2 gms	7h
101	2.5 gms	12h
102	4.7 gms	6h
103	4.4 gms	5h
104	6.6 gms	2h
105	8.8 gms	6h
106	6.4 gms	6h
107	5.5 gms	6h
108	5.7 gms	6h
109	4.8 gms	6h

Plate 11 - 'Dion 1999' hoard

119	11.3 gms	6h
120	24.5 gms	6h
121	28.7 gms	6h
122	8.6 gms	5h
123	10.85 gms	6h
124	12.7 gms	6h
125	12 gms	6h

Plate 10 - 'Dion 1999' hoard

110	4.7 gms	6h
111	3.5 gms	6h
112	2.5 gms	5h
113	5.3 gms	7h
114	-	12h
115	25.9 gms	6h
116	10 gms	6h
117	22.5 gms	6h
118	28.8 gms	6h

Plate 12 -**'Dion 1999' hoard (126-128)
and 'Dion 2000' hoard (129-136)**

126	14.2 gms	12h	
127	10.8 gms	5h	
128	11.3 gms	12h	
129	6.2 gms	12h	
130	7.3 gms	6h	
131	5.3 gms	7h	O1-R2
132	5.9 gms	1h	O2-R3
133	8.2 gms	1h	O2-R5
134	6.4 gms	6h	O3-R3
135	5.9 gms	6h	O1-R1
136	4.7 gms	6h	O1-R2

Plate 13 - 'Dion 2000' hoard

137	6.7 gms	6h	O2-R3
138	5.9 gms	12h	O3-R4
139	7.3 gms	6h	O3-R5
140	7.2 gms	1h	O3-R8
141	6.4 gms	6h	O3-R12
142	5.2 gms	12h	O3-R13
143	7.8 gms	7h	O3-R14
144	4.3 gms	12h	O3-R16
145	5.6 gms	7h	O3-R17
146	4.8 gms	7h	O3-R19
147	4.7 gms	6h	O3-R20
148	4.7 gms	6h	O4-R21

Plate 15 - 'Dion 2000' hoard

161	4.4 gms	1h	O7-R43
162	3 gms	6h	O8-R30
163	4.7 gms	6h	O8-R31
164	5 gms	12h	O8-R34
165	5.6 gms	6h	O4-R44
166	5.9 gms	6h	O4-R45
167	8.8 gms	6h	O4-R47
168	5.6 gms	11h	O4-R48
169	3 gms	10h	O3-R3
170	2.7 gms	9h	O4-R4
171	2 gms	9h	O4-R5
172	3.7 gms	6h	O4-R2

Plate 14 - 'Dion 2000' hoard

149	5.1 gms	12h	O7-R21
150	5.1 gms	12h	O7-R24
151	3.6 gms	12h	O8-R24
152	5.2 gms	6h	O4-R25
153	6.8 gms	6h	O6-R27
154	6 gms	6h	O4-R28
155	6.0 gms	6h	O4-R31
156	4.2 gms	6h	O4-R33
157	7.1 gms	6h	O4-R35
158	4.6 gms	6h	O4-R41
159	3.6 gms	6h	O7-R32
160	4.2 gms	12h	O7-R40

Plate 16 - 'Dion 2000' hoard

173	7.4 gms	7h	
174	2.6 gms	1h	
175	9 gms	-	
176	4.5 gms	6h	
177	3.8 gms	6h	
178	6.8 gms	12h	

PLATE 1 - 'DION 1999' HOARD



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



O1



O2



O1



O1



9



10



11



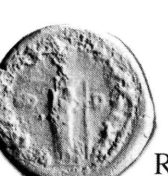
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R1



R2



R3



R4

PLATE 3 – 'DION 1999' HOARD



O3

25



O3

26



O3

27



O3

28



R9



R10



R11



R12



O3

29



O3

30



O3

31



O3

32



R13



R14



R15



R16



O3

33



O3

34



O3

35



O4

36



R17



R18



R19



R20

PLATE 7 – 'DION 1999' HOARD



O4

73



O4

74



O4

75



O4

76



R44

77



R45

78



R46

79



R47

80



O4

81



O1

R48

82



O2

83



O3

84



O4

85



R1



R2



R3



R2



O4

82



O4

83



84



85



86



R5



R4

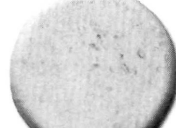


PLATE 8 – 'DION 1999' HOARD



87



88



89



90



91



92



93



94



95



96



97

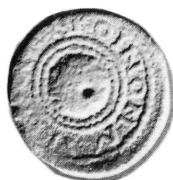


PLATE 9 – 'DION 1999' HOARD



98



99



100



101



102



103



104



105



106



107



108



109



PLATE 10 – 'DION 1999' HOARD



110



111



112



113



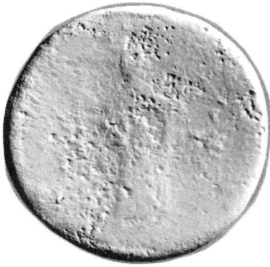
115



116



117



118



114



PLATE 11 - 'DION 1999' HOARD



119



120



121



122



123



124



125



PLATE 12 – ‘DION 1999’ HOARD & ‘DION 2000’ HOARD



126



127



128



129



130



131

O1



132

O2



R2



R3



133

O2



134

O3



135

O1



136

O1



R5



R3



R1



R2

PLATE 15 - 'DION 2000' HOARD



O7

161



O8

162



O8

163



O8

164



R43



R30



R31



R34



O4

165



O4

166



O4

167



O4

168



R44



R45



R47



R48



O3

169



O4

170



O4

171



O4

172



R3



R4



R5



R2

PLATE 16 – 'DION 2000' HOARD



173



174



175



176

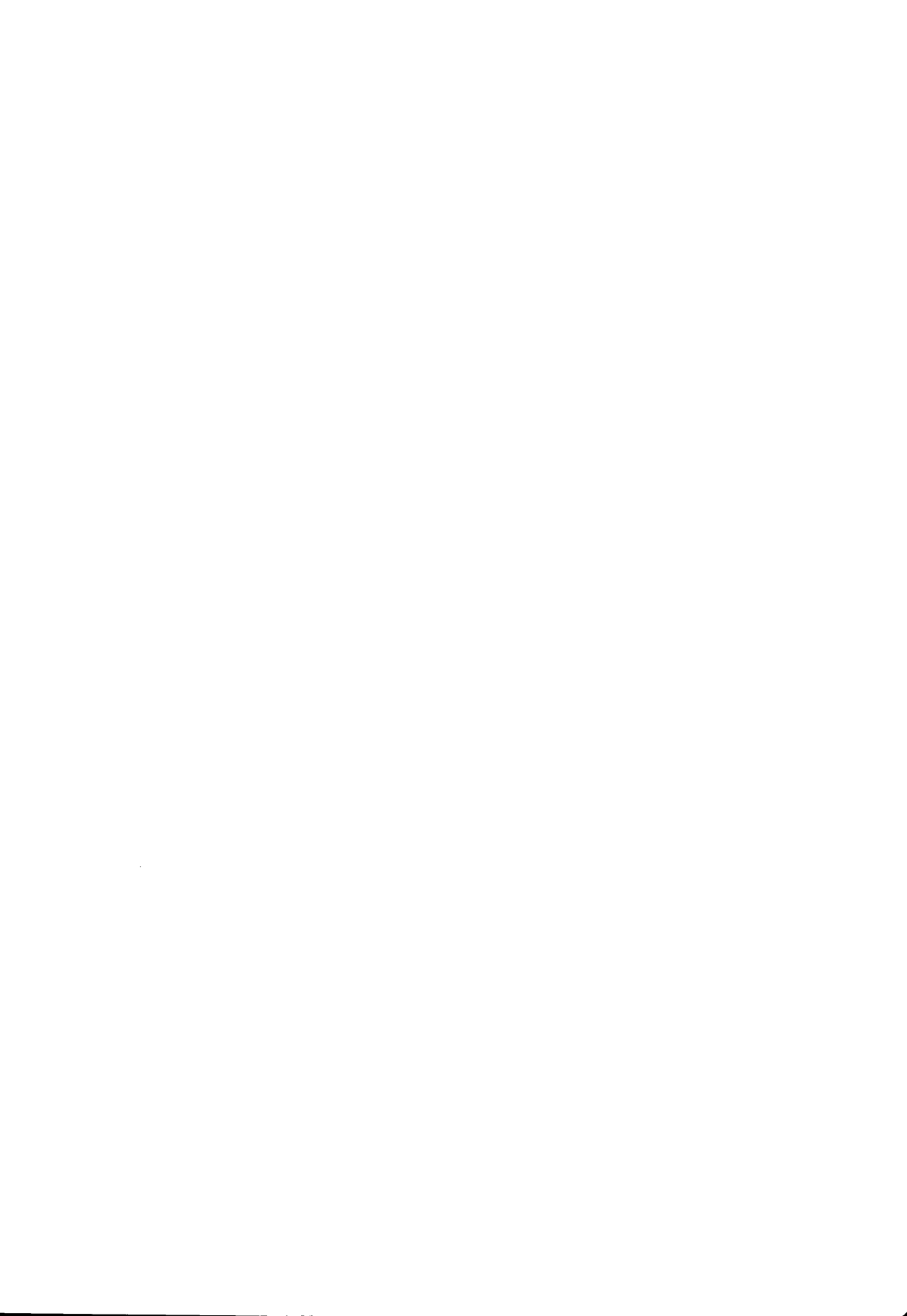


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