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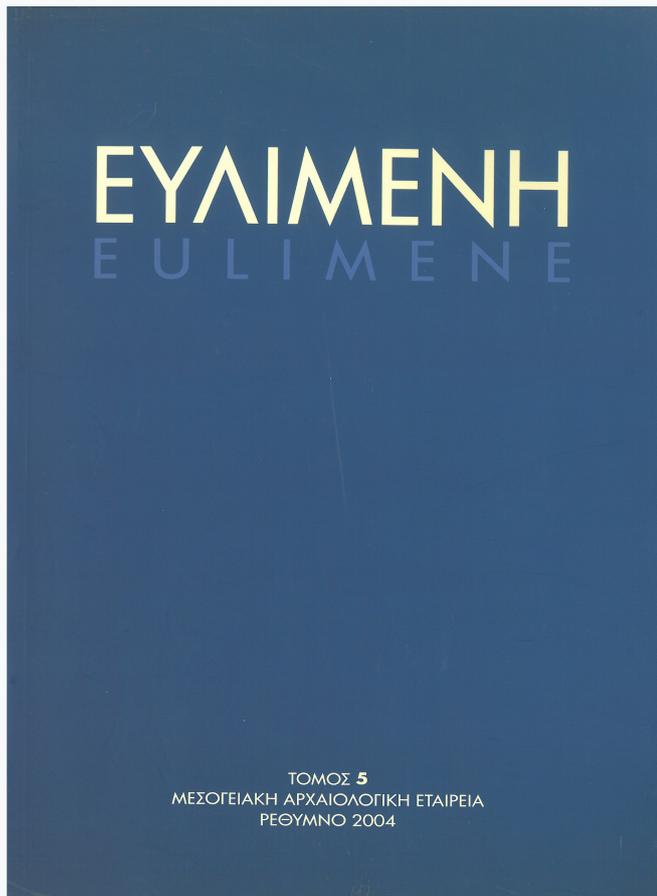
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### Patterns of monetary circulation in Roman Macedonia The hoard evidence

*Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou*

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# ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,  
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

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**Περιεχόμενα**  
**ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 5 (2004)**

**List of contents**  
**EULIMENE 5 (2004)**

<b>Περίληψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti</b> .....	7
<b>Antonio Corso</b> , The position of portraiture in early Hellenistic art criticism .....	11
<b>Γιάννος Κουράγιος</b> , Δεσποτικό: Ένα νέο ιερό σε μία ακατοίκητη νησίδα των Κυκλάδων .....	27
<b>Σταυρούλα Οικονόμου</b> , Νεκρικά κοσμήματα: Τα ελάσματα κάλυψης του στόματος .....	91
<b>Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou</b> , Patterns of monetary circulation in Roman Macedonia: The hoard evidence .....	135
<b>Fragkiska Megaloudi</b> , Agriculture in mainland Greece at the Protogeometric period: A view from the archaeobotanical remains .....	151



## Περίληψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti

**Antonio Corso**, The Position of Portraiture in early Hellenistic Art Criticism, EYAIMENH 5 (2004), 11-25

*La posizione del ritratto nella critica d'arte del primo ellenismo.* L'autore cerca di delineare quale sia stato lo svolgimento della ritrattistica delineato dai critici d'arte del primo ellenismo e in particolare da Senocrate di Atene, un allievo della scuola sicionia attivo nei decenni centrali del III sec. a.C. Notizie desunte dai due trattati di Senocrate sulla bronzistica e sulla pittura sembrano infatti esser confluite nella trattazione sulle arti antiche di Plinio il Vecchio cosiccome in altre opere letterarie di età ellenistica o romana imperiale. L'inizio dell'arte di rappresentare un individuo in particolare sarebbe stato attribuito a Butade di Sicione, che avrebbe fatto un primo ritratto coroplastico del fidanzato della figlia. Meno certa è invece l'eventualità che Senocrate avesse incluso nella sua sequenza storica le immagini iconiche di Cleobi e Bitone, erette a Delfi e replicate ad Argo, ad opera di scultori argivi. Invece, la caricatura di Ipponatte ad opera di Bupalò e Atenide e l'autoritratto di Teodoro di Samo dovevano aver costituito momenti salienti nella dinamica storica ricostruita da Senocrate. Altri momenti importanti della medesima ricostruzione sembrano esser state statue di Olimpionici, il gruppo di Armodio e Aristogitone di Antenore e le raffigurazioni dei generali Greci e Persiani nella battaglia di Maratona dipinta nella *Stoa Poikile*. L'età di Pericle potrebbe aver costituito –nella teoria senocratea– una battuta d'arresto nel processo di affermazione del ritratto realistico. La compiuta espressione del ritratto fisiognomico sarebbe stata attribuita a Demetrio di Alopeke. Infine, il culmine di quest' arte sarebbe stato posto nell'età di Alessandro e dei primi diadochi e sarebbe stato segnato dalle personalità di Lisippo, Lisistrato, Apelle e Protogene.

**Γιάννος Κουράγιος**, Δεσποτικό: Ένα νέο ιερό σε μια ακατοίκητη νησίδα των Κυκλάδων, EYAIMENH 5 (2004), 27-89

*Despotiko: a newly discovered sanctuary at an uninhabited isle of the Cyclades.* Despotiko lies to the west of Paros and Antiparos, in a strategic position, in the centre of Cyclades. The site of Mandra is located at the island's north-east corner. The island has been identified with ancient Prepesinthos, mentioned by Strabo and Pliny. The archaeological remains of Despotiko were first explored in the late nineteenth century by Ch. Tsountas, who excavated early Cycladic cemeteries at Livadi and Zoumbaria and identified remains of a prehistoric settlement at the site Chiromilos. Rescue excavations were initiated in 1997 under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture. Short annual campaigns of excavation continued through 2000, focused on the site at Mandra, where a large sanctuary dedicated to Apollo has been located. Up to date eight large buildings have been found. Apart from the Archaic building of the sixth century BC, Classical and Hellenistic buildings have been unearthed. Although the temple has not been located yet, many parts of the temple's upper structure, built in later walls, have been identified. The

excavation has yielded a great number of finds, many of which are of prime importance as to the interpretation of the site, its role in the Aegean and its relations with the Near East, from the Archaic to the Roman period.

**Σταυρούλα Οικονόμου,** Νεκρικά κοσμήματα: Τα ελάσματα κάλυψης του στόματος, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 5 (2004), 91-133

*Burial jewels: the custom of mouth bands.* Mouth bands made of gold, or rarely of silver, appear in different types of burials mostly in the area of the south Balkans as early as the Neolithic period until the early Christian era. The custom seems to apply especially to regions under direct or indirect Mycenaean influence, such as Cyprus of the Late Bronze Age and Macedonia of the archaic and classical periods. Some of these bands are decorated with floral, geometrical or pictorial patterns whereas others bare no decoration.

The few inscribed gold bands, usually in the shape of a leaf, mention either the name of the deceased or a dedication to the underworld deities and date from the fourth c. B.C. to the first c. A.D. These are associated to the gold «dionysiac-orphic» sheets and to the mystery cults of Dionysus and Persephone.

**Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou,** Patterns of monetary circulation in Roman Macedonia: The hoard evidence, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 5 (2004), 135-149

*Νομισματική κυκλοφορία στη Ρωμαϊκή Μακεδονία: Η μαρτυρία των θησαυρών.* Στο άρθρο αυτό παρουσιάζονται οι «θησαυροί» που έχουν βρεθεί στην περιοχή της Μακεδονίας κατά τους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους με ιδιαίτερη έμφαση στα πρόσφατα ευρήματα. Συζητείται η διάδοση του ρωμαϊκού νομίσματος στην περιοχή και αντιδιαστέλλεται η σχετικά συχνή εμφάνιση των αργυρών υποδιαιρέσεων, κυρίως των δηναρίων, με την εξαιρετικά σπάνια εμφάνιση των χαλκών και την πλήρη απουσία των χρυσών.

Οι «θησαυροί» που περιέχουν χάλκινες κοπές των επαρχιακών νομισματοκοπειών ταξινομούνται σε τέσσερεις γεωγραφικές ενότητες που αντιστοιχούν στις τέσσερεις μερίδες. Τα συμπεράσματα που προκύπτουν από το υλικό είναι τα ακόλουθα: Η συντριπτική πλειονότητα των χάλκινων κοπών που κυκλοφορούσαν στη περιοχή ανήκαν στα μακεδονικά νομισματοκοπεία ενώ, εντελώς εξαιρετικά, εμφανίζονται νομίσματα από τη Μικρά Ασία. Επιπλέον, παρόλο που οι «θησαυροί» του πρώτου αιώνα είναι ελάχιστοι, φαίνεται πως την περίοδο αυτή τα νομίσματα δεν απομακρύνονταν σχεδόν καθόλου από την περιοχή που κόπηκαν. Κατά τον δεύτερο αλλά κυρίως κατά τον τρίτο αιώνα, οι επαρχιακές κοπές κυκλοφορούσαν ευρύτερα μέσα στη Μακεδονία· οι κοπές της πρώτης μερίδας ωστόσο εξακολουθούσαν να μετακινούνται λιγότερο, τουλάχιστον προς δυσμάς. Η ευρύτερη κυκλοφορία των νομισμάτων του τρίτου αιώνα θα πρέπει να συνδέεται με την παρατηρημένη μετρολογική αλλά και τεχνολογική τους ομοιομορφία.

Τέλος προτείνεται πως, αντίθετα με ότι συνέβαινε σε παλαιότερες περιόδους, οι κοπές των επαρχιακών πόλεων στους αυτοκρατορικούς χρόνους μπορούσαν να γίνουν αμοιβαία αποδεκτές ως νόμιμο μέσο συναλλαγής από γειτονικές πόλεις. Εάν η υπόθεση είναι ορθή, τότε η πρακτική αυτή αποτελεί ένα πρώτο βήμα προς την κατεύθυνση της

νομισματικής ενοποίησης της αυτοκρατορίας που επεβλήθη με τις μεταρρυθμίσεις του Διοκλητιανού.

**Fragkiska Megaloudi**, Agriculture in mainland Greece at the Protogeometric period: A view from the archaeobotanical remains, *EYΛIMENH* 5 (2004), 151-160

*Agriculture et alimentation en Grèce Proto-géométrique: les restes carpologiques.* La présente étude réalise la première synthèse des données archéo-botaniques disponibles en Grèce concernant la période proto-géométrique. Cinq sites situés dans la partie continentale de la Grèce et datés de la première phase de la période proto-géométrique ont été analysés de manière descriptive. Leur étude a permis d'attester la présence de céréales (orge, engrain, amidonnier, froment, épeautre, millet), de légumes (lentilles, pois, gesses, fèves, ers), d'oléagineux (pavot, cameline, lin) et d'espèces fruitières (figue, vigne).



## PATTERNS OF MONETARY CIRCULATION IN ROMAN MACEDONIA: THE HOARD EVIDENCE<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this paper is to discuss monetary circulation of Roman and local currency in Macedonia<sup>2</sup> through hoard evidence and —at the same time— to assemble the new material which has come to light through recent excavations. Most of the new hoards have been described briefly at excavation reports presented at the archaeological conference held every year in Thessalonike (*AEMTh*), but only very few have been published in detail. The material is presented in **tables 1-5** where new or unpublished finds are underlined; it is to these that we shall make special reference. The rest of the material shall be used as a background in order to strengthen conclusions concerning circulation patterns.<sup>3</sup> In our discussion of the Roman currency we have included material of the late Hellenistic period when the *denarii* were first encountered.

### CIRCULATION OF ROMAN CURRENCY IN MACEDONIA

The silver coinage produced in Macedonia during the late Hellenistic period had

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was first read at a colloquium organized by S. Walker and held at the British Museum in November 2003 entitled «*After Actium. New archaeological discoveries from Roman Greece*». For comments on the text I wish to thank Dr I. Touratsoglou.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AEMTh</i>	<i>Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη.</i>
<i>CahNum</i>	<i>Cahiers de numismatique.</i>
<i>Circulation</i>	I. Touratsoglou, <i>The Coin Circulation in Ancient Macedonia</i> , Bibliotheca of the Hellenic Numismatic Society, no 1, Athens 1993.
<i>Dion</i>	Σ. Κρεμύδη-Σισιλιάνου, <i>Η Νομισματοκοκονία της Ρωμαϊκής αποικίας των Δίων</i> , Bibliotheca of the Hellenic Numismatic Society, no 4, Athens 1996.
<i>Dion hoards</i>	S. Kremydi-Sicilianou, <i>Multiple concealments from the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios at Dion (Macedonia): Three Roman provincial coin hoards</i> , Meletemata 35, Athens 2004.
<i>Edson Studies</i>	<i>Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honour of Charles F. Edson</i> , Thessaloniki 1981.
<i>Institution</i>	M.B. Hatzopoulos, <i>Macedonian institutions under the kings. A historical and epigraphic study</i> , Μελετήματα 22, Athens 1996.
<i>OpAth</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia.</i>
<i>Thessaloniki</i>	I. Touratsoglou, <i>Die Münzstätte von Thessaloniki in der römischen Kaiserzeit</i> , Berlin 1988.
<i>Χαρακτήρ</i>	<i>Χαρακτήρ, Αφιέρωμα στη Μάντω Οικονομίδου</i> , Athens 1996.

<sup>2</sup> This paper refers to the area of Macedonia proper and not to the Roman province of Macedonia which included Illyria and, after the second century, also Thessaly. On the borders of the province of Macedonia see: F. Papazoglou, «*Quelques aspects de l'histoire de la province de Macédoine*» in *ANRW* II. 7.1, Berlin and New York, 1979, pp. 302-369 and *eadem*, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*, BCH, Suppl. 16, Athens, 1988, pp. 74-98. For the distinction between Macedonian proper and the province: *eadem* «*Le koinon Macédonien et la province de Macédoine*», *Thracia*, 12 (1998), pp. 133-39.

<sup>3</sup> The earlier material has been assembled by I. Touratsoglou, *Circulation*.

been under Roman control. Coins of the first century BC bore the name of the questor Aesillas in Latin as well as the Greek inscription ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ on the obverse.<sup>4</sup> By the time of the termination of the Roman Civil Wars and the establishment of the Principate by Augustus the coinage mentioned above had already ceased and no more silver was produced in the region.<sup>5</sup> The only silver coins circulating and mentioned in the epigraphic sources during the Imperial period are the *denarii*<sup>6</sup> The reason for the absolute domination of the *denarius* in Macedonia was certainly political, but it was also facilitated by numismatic tradition. The attic weight standard of a drachm weighing 4.2 gms had been imposed in Macedonia since the time of Alexander the Great. The very similar weight of the *denarius* that was slightly lighter (3.9 gms) led to a practical equation of the two denominations at an exchange rate that favoured the Roman currency. It is interesting to note that both in literary<sup>7</sup> and in epigraphic texts of the Imperial period from Moesia and Thrace the words ἄττικαὶ (δραχμαὶ) are sometimes used as equivalent to the *denarius*.<sup>8</sup>

The earliest hoard containing *denarii* from Macedonia was found during excavations in the city of Stobi in the region of Paionia and dates to c. 125 BC. It included 505 Republican *denarii* and one Athenian tetradrachm.<sup>9</sup> A late Republican hoard containing exclusively of *denarii* was discovered recently during excavations on a site near the modern village Petres in the region of Lyncestis in Upper Macedonia and has been published in detail by Dr. Polyxeni Veleni.<sup>10</sup> This is an accumulation of 125 *denarii*, all in very good condition, that date from the end of the second century to 42 BC. The date of the concealment of the hoard coincides with the destruction and abandonment of the ancient city<sup>11</sup> most probably due to the conditions of Civil War that ended with the battle at Philippi.

Silver hoards of the Imperial period, just like the earlier republican ones, were usually concealed during turbulent periods of war. A notable exception is a second

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<sup>4</sup> For this coinage see: R.A. Bauslaugh, *Silver Coinage with the types of Aesillas the Quaestor*, NS 22, American Numismatic Society, New York 2000, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that in other provinces such as Asia, Syria and especially Egypt, local silver issues continued to be produced and local denominations survived sometimes down to the third century AD. 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.

<sup>6</sup> The term δηνάριον is very common in inscriptions from Macedonia. See, for example, the numerous manumission decrees from the sanctuary of Leukopetra where the fines for those who do not respect the clauses of the decree are always mentioned in *denarii*. Cf. Ph. M. Petsas, M.B. Hatzopoulos, L. Gounaropoulou, P. Paschides, *Inscriptions du sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux Autochtone de Leukopetra (Macedoine)*, ΜεΛετήματα 28, Athènes 2000.

<sup>7</sup> The word δραχμή is used, for example, throughout the Roman History of Dion Cassius.

<sup>8</sup> *IGBR* I 63bis, ll. 9-12; *IGBR* III. 1, 1863, ll. 20-22; *IGBR* IV 2263, l. 10; 2265, ll. 10-12.

<sup>9</sup> M.H. Crawford, «The Stobi Hoard of Roman Republican Denarii», in: J. Wiseman (ed.), *Studies in the antiquities of Stobi*, vol. I, Beograd 1973, pp. 1-21. The hoard is also mentioned in *CH* 1 (1975) n. 153 and *BAR* 95 (1981) p. 40, n. 42a.

<sup>10</sup> P. Adam-Veleni, «Νομισματικοί θησαυροί από τις Πέτρες Φλώρινας», in: *Obolos 4, Το νόμισμα στο Μακεδονικό χώρο, Πρακτικά Β' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης*, Thessalonike 2000, pp. 127-155.

<sup>11</sup> The identity of the ancient site excavated near Petres is not yet certain. The possibility of its identification with ancient Kelle has been discussed by Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, pp. 94-95, with earlier bibliography.

century find which was discovered recently in a Roman building under the Palace of Galerius in Thessalonike. It contained 35 *denarii* dating between the reigns of Vespasian and Commodus.<sup>12</sup> All other second century hoards date to the reign of Marcus Aurelius<sup>13</sup> and were certainly related to the German wars of this period and more specifically to the raid of the Balkans by the Kostobokoi in 170.<sup>14</sup> Third century hoards containing *denarii* but also *antoniniani*, the new debased silver denomination introduced by Caracalla, were abundant in Macedonia as they were all over the Roman Empire.<sup>15</sup> They offer a vivid reflection of the violent and unstable conditions of this period and their burial dates often coincide with specific events. The barbaric invasions during the reign of Gordian III,<sup>16</sup> the first siege of Thessalonike by the Goths in 254,<sup>17</sup> the raid of 267, when German tribes from the north crossed through mainland Greece, which was devastated and the simultaneous siege of Athens by the Heruli, who crossed the Aegean with their fleet,<sup>18</sup> are events that seem to coincide with the burial of hoards.

Although Roman silver circulated to a certain extent and was hoarded in Roman Macedonia, apparently this was not the case with the imperial bronze. No hoards of asses, *dupondii* or *sestertii* from the Roman mints have so far been discovered,<sup>19</sup> a fact that differentiates Macedonia both from the northern Balkan provinces but also from Achaia and Crete where such finds are frequently encountered.<sup>20</sup> With very few exceptions, which shall be discussed below, Roman bronzes are also absent from hoards containing local coins. Furthermore, no *aurei* have yet been discovered in Macedonian hoards; the circulation of gold coins of very high value was certainly restricted in the eastern

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<sup>12</sup> M. Karaberi, E. Christodoulidou, «Ανάκτορο Γαλερίου: «Χώρος Δ» και νότια στοά», *AEMTh* 12 (1998), pp. 103-104.

<sup>13</sup> Thessalonike 1922 hoard: *BCH* 1923, p. 504 and Kicevo, Ochrid hoard: *BAR* 95 (1981), p. 55 no 125. For emergency hoards of this period 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.

<sup>14</sup> For the raid of the Kostobokoi in the Balkans see: *CAH* XI, p. 354.

<sup>15</sup> For the western provinces see: Gijs de Greef, «Roman Coin Hoards and Germanic Invasions AD 253-269. A Study of the Western Hoards from the reigns of Valerian, Gellienus and Postumus», *RBN* 148 (2002), pp. 41-99.

<sup>16</sup> The Kavala hoard (*CH* VI, 117) contained 55 *denarii* and *antoniniani* dating from the reign of Pius to that of Gordian: Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, table I1b.

<sup>17</sup> An unpublished hoard found in Macedonia in 1981, now held in the Museum of Thessalonike that includes *antoniniani* down to the reign of Trajan Decius (251-53 AD) and a hoard of *denarii* found in the Chalkidike in 1935(?) dating to the same period: Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, table I1b. The dramatic siege of Thessalonike in 254 led to the introduction of a coin type representing the god Kabeiros protecting the city walls on contemporary coins: I. Touratsoglou, «Του αγιωτάτου πατριού θεού Καβείρου... IG X 2.1, 199B», *Η Θεσσαλονίκη* 1 (1985), pp. 71-83.

<sup>18</sup> For events of this year see: *CAH* XII, p. 149. An unpublished hoard from Pontoherakleia near Kilkis found in 1984 that contained *denarii* and *antoniniani* and a similar one from Titov Veles/1932 (*BAR* 95 1981, p. 61 no 158), both dating to the reign of Gallien (254-268 AD): Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, table I1b. For hoards of this period from Asia and the Balkans see: J. Kroll, «The Eleusis hoard of Athenian imperial coins», *Hesperia* 42 (1973), 317, note 22.

<sup>19</sup> Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, p. 21, n. 22.

<sup>20</sup> The relevant material is assembled in: Kremydi-Sicilianou, *Dion hoards*, pp. 49-51.

provinces but still in Achaia, for example, an early imperial hoard of *aurei* was discovered in a Roman villa at Patras.<sup>21</sup>

### THE LOCAL PROVINCIAL BRONZE

The establishment of the Principate by Augustus led to a revival of local coinages. A number of cities of various status inaugurated bronze issues that were used for everyday transactions in the local markets. Although signs of value were absent from these coins<sup>22</sup> it has been concluded that Macedonian issues followed the Roman denominational system.<sup>23</sup> The main denomination was therefore the *assarion*, which is the Greek term for the Roman *as*. Provincial *assaria* nevertheless had neither the same size nor the same weight as the Roman asses and they did not follow the bimetallic system of copper and orichalkos imposed by Augustus for bronze denominations in Rome. Their equivalence with Roman issues was therefore nominal and they were accepted as having this value only within the limited area of their local circulation.

In order to facilitate conclusions concerning the circulation pattern of issues from individual cities we have classified the material geographically; the hoards have been divided according to their provenance into four groups, namely the four administrative districts (*μεριδες*) (see **map** at the end).<sup>24</sup>

#### *The first district*

The first district comprised of the area between the Nestos and the Strymon rivers with the addition of the Bisaltian territory to the west.<sup>25</sup> The colony of Philippi and the free city of Amphipolis on the *Via Egnatia* were the most important urban centres and the only cities in the region to have a monetary production during the Imperial period.

Extended excavations around the area of ancient Amphipolis have been realized by the 18<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Antiquities over the last years, mainly due to contemporary works on the road network (**table 1**). These have revealed large parts of the classical, Hellenistic and Roman cemeteries of the ancient city. The main cemetery lied to the east and north-east of the city walls<sup>26</sup> but a number of tombs dated to Roman times have also been discovered just outside the Gate of Augustus, the main entrance to the city from the

<sup>21</sup> I. Touratsoglou, «Θησαυρός *aurei* του 1<sup>ου</sup> μ.Χ. αιώνα από την Πάτρα (1976)», *NomChron* 5/6 (1978), 41-52.

<sup>22</sup> With the exception of third century issues of Thessalonike which bear denomination marks during a period when denominational values were altered: Touratsoglou, *Thessaloniki*, p. 101.

<sup>23</sup> This is the conclusion reached by individual studies concerning Macedonian mints and is also accepted in: *RPC* I, pp. 287-288. Evidence for the use of Roman denominations for Achaian coins is more straightforward since marks of value are often encountered. Nevertheless Greek denominations continued to exist at certain mints. See: *RPC*, I, pp. 245-247.

<sup>24</sup> On the four administrative districts, their geographical boundaries and the date of their establishment in Macedonia see: Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, pp. 231-260 with relevant bibliography.

<sup>25</sup> Livy 45.29.5-6.

<sup>26</sup> *AEMTh* 6 (1992), pp. 549-560 at pp. 549-550 (M. Nikolaidou-Patera); *AEMTh* 15 (2001), pp. 111-126 (P. Malama).

south-west. As at Philippi, the *Via Egnatia* probably transverses the Gate, and tombs as well as honorary statues were erected on either side of the main road.<sup>27</sup> Finds from the cemeteries in the area around Amphipolis show that, as elsewhere in the ancient world, the custom of accompanying the dead with a coin, known by literary sources as *Charon's obol*, was widespread since the early classical period.<sup>28</sup> This custom developed in Roman times and in addition to the one coin, usually placed in the mouth of the deceased, a number of bronze specimens were also added often in a purse laid by in his or her hand. Apart from the cemeteries excavated around Amphipolis, one more cemetery has come to light west of the Strymon below the southern slopes of the Kerdylion Mountain, nearly three kilometers to the west of the classical city of Argilos. Today the area is known as Strovolos and in Roman times it probably belonged to the territory of Amphipolis. Over 190 tombs have been excavated in an area of more than two square kilometers and all of them are very poor concerning their finds. Nevertheless, they contain a *Charon's obol*, together with hoards of usually more than 30 coins. A total of over 1,500 coins have been discovered so far, out of which four hoards containing a total of 40 specimens have been presented in excavation reports.<sup>29</sup>

Even from this small sample it becomes evident that the numismatic finds of the cemeteries around Amphipolis offer valuable evidence on coin circulation in the area. To begin with they include material of the first century AD, something which is extremely rare. From the many recorded hoards from Macedonia we know of only one more find of this century, part of which is held in the British Museum and probably derives from the area around Thessalonike.<sup>30</sup> The evidence that we possess so-far indicates that circulation of local provincial issues during this period was very limited. The first century hoards of Amphipolis include issues from this city and the neighbouring Philippi, whereas the hoard in the British Museum only contains specimens from Thessalonike. In the two second-century hoards that have been recorded the pattern does not show a radical change. Amphipolis and Philippi are still present and only issues of Thessalonike, the capital and the most prolific mint in the province, make their appearance. But in the third century this pattern shows a considerable evolution; coins of other Macedonian mints enter into circulation in this area, and the coins of the Macedonian Koinon, struck at Beroia, and of Thessalonike become dominant.

### ***The second district***

The second district, to quote Livy, was to be «*the region bounded on the east by the Strymon River, except for Heraclea Sintice, and the Bisaltae, while the western boundary would be the Axios River; this would also include the Paeonians who were settled near the Axios River in an*

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<sup>27</sup> *AEMTh* 12 (1998), pp. 77-83, at pp. 77-78 (D. Amoiridou, D. Malamidou).

<sup>28</sup> *AEMTh* 7 (1993), pp. 477-484 at pp. 477-78, 480 (M. Nikolaidou-Patera).

<sup>29</sup> *AEMTh* 14 (2000), pp. 71-85 (P. Malama *et al.*); *AEMTh* 15 (2001), pp. 137-148, at pp. 141, 143-144, figs 23 a-b (P. Malama, K. Darakis). It is believed that the settlement to which this cemetery belonged is probably located at a small distance to the west: *AEMTh* 15 (2001), at p. 144.

<sup>30</sup> It contained only coins of Thessalonike dated between the reigns of Augustus and Claudius: Touratsoglou, *op. cit.* (note 23), p. 122, no 21.

*easterly direction*».<sup>31</sup> Amongst the assets of the second region were, again according to Livy, who is drawing from Polybios and referring to the settlement of 167 BC, the «*highly flourishing cities Thessalonica and Cassandrea*».<sup>32</sup> These, in fact, were the only two cities with a monetary production under the Empire, since Stobi, situated on the western bank of the Axios belonged, according to Papazoglou, «*probably to the fourth region*».<sup>33</sup>

Although excavations in this area have been intensive over the last years, very little new numismatic material has been recorded in excavation reports (**table 2**). One could nevertheless mention two small third century emergency hoards, one from Lete<sup>34</sup> and one from Palatiano near Kilkis,<sup>35</sup> buried during the reigns of Gordian III and Philip I respectively. Both were discovered in buildings that were probably abandoned during barbaric invasions and contained a small number of specimens from Thessalonike, Edessa and Pella. Another two, somewhat larger hoards dated to the reign of Philip I, were discovered in a cemetery situated in the area of modern Sindos, to the west of Thessalonike, in 1981. These finds were reported to me by Dr Polyxeni Veleni and shall be published in the near future.<sup>36</sup> The mint of Thessalonike is represented with an important number of specimens in these finds, and is followed by Pella and Edessa. The presence of other Macedonian mints is very restricted but a small number of Roman coins are present.

From a general overview of all the available evidence some conclusions concerning the circulation pattern for the region can be reached. First of all the coins of Kassandrea do not seem to have circulated considerably outside the Chalkidike, since they are found in hoards from Poteidaia and Ierissos but are nearly absent from hoards from the other regions.<sup>37</sup> Second, the coins from Amphipolis and Philippi seem to be scarce in central Macedonia, whereas issues from Pella, Edessa and the Macedonian Koinon are quite often encountered in third century hoards from this area. Following the generally accepted rule that the circulation of bronze coins reflects the movement of people we can conclude that contacts between the second and third districts were quite intensive whereas the area of the first seems to have been more isolated.

### *The third district*

The third Macedonian district comprised of the fertile plains of Pieria and Emathia; its coastal borders extended between the Axios and the Peneios rivers and it

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<sup>31</sup> Livy 45.29.7.

<sup>32</sup> Livy 45.30.4.

<sup>33</sup> F. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*, BCH Suppl. 16, Athens 1988, p. 70 and n. 22.

<sup>34</sup> *AEMTh* 14 (2000), pp. 160-61 (K. Tzanavari). On this hoard also see: K. Tzanavari, «Αγροκίες στη χώρα της Αρχαίας Λητής», pp. 77-90 at pp. 82-83 in: P. Adam-Veleni, E. Poulaki, K. Tzanavari, *Αρχαίες αγροκίες σε σύγχρονους δρόμους*, Athens 2003.

<sup>35</sup> *AEMTh* 10A (1996), pp. 189-204 at p. 193 (H. Anagnostopoulou-Hadzipolychroni).

<sup>36</sup> The excavation in the area of the factory of Good Year was undertaken by Mr. Manthos Bessios: *AD* 36 (1981), B.2, *Chron.*, p. 302. These two, as well as the rest of the later hoards that contain Roman coins are to be published by Dr. P. Veleni and myself.

<sup>37</sup> With the exception of one specimen in Sindos 1981a hoard (see **table 2**).

included «*the famous cities of Edessa, Beroia and Pella*».<sup>38</sup> In addition to these the Roman colony of Diium also struck coins during the Imperial period.

Interesting new evidence for patterns of monetary circulation has come to light through the recent discovery of three hoards from the area of the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios at Dion (**table 3**). All three were found buried in clay vases within the same room of a small building situated by the Roman theatre and their context is extremely similar.<sup>39</sup> The Dion hoards date to the middle of the second century and were buried during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Their main particularity lies first in of all in their size. The total of 1,800 specimens in the three finds is very unusual when compared to the rest of the Macedonian hoards. Their exceptional size should be considered in relation to their find spot; their concealment within the public area of a sanctuary indicates that they could not have represented the everyday holdings of a private individual, but probably revenues deriving from public enterprise. The very large number of specimens in the name of the reigning emperor on the other hand, shows that we are dealing with currency that was retired from circulation shortly before its concealment and not with money that was accumulated over a long period.

Despite their particularities these second century hoards confirm the conclusions we have reached from the other material examined so far. The preponderance of issues of the local mint of Dion, they form around 90% of the total, indicates that this was the main currency used in the city. The absence of coins of the neighbouring mints of Pella and Kassandreia and the relatively small number of coins from Thessalonike and the Macedonian Koinon is also comparable with other second century hoards from Macedonia. What is new in these finds is the presence of non-Macedonian issues. The Dion hoards include 52 coins of the Thessalian Koinon, 2 from Corinth, one from Magydos in Pamphylia, one from Tralleis in Lydia, one from Ilion in Troas as well as 18 Roman bronzes. Coins from Asia Minor are occasionally found as stray finds in the provinces of Macedonia and Thrace indicating something which is known from other archaeological and epigraphic sources, namely that contacts and movement of people was frequent between these regions.<sup>40</sup>

If we now consider the total available hoard evidence from the third district it becomes evident that the mints of Thessalonike and the Macedonian Koinon are well represented in our material, whereas mints of the first meris as well as Kassandreia are very scarce or even absent. Concerning the relatively low presence of coins from Pella and Edessa it should be noted that the find spots of these hoards are nearly all in Pieria. The wide circulation of issues of Thessalonike and the Macedonian Koinon within Macedonia is also confirmed by the five Macedonian hoards of uncertain provenance (**table 5**).

#### *The fourth district*

The fourth district comprised of the mountainous region known as Upper Macedonia that was inhabited by various *ethne* such as the Eordaioi, the Lyncestai and the

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<sup>38</sup> Livy 45.30.5.

<sup>39</sup> For full publication of these finds see: Kremydi-Sicilianou, *Dion hoards*, pp. 49-51.

<sup>40</sup> On this issue see: Kremydi-Sicilianou, *Dion hoards*, pp. 47-49.

Pelagonians. These people were always considered as mountain tribes settled in an isolated area with very few contacts with the Macedonians living in the plains. Livy characteristically mentions that «*this part of the world is as a whole cold, difficult to cultivate, and harsh; it has inhabitants of temperament like their land*». <sup>41</sup> Archaeological research in the area however, and especially the important excavations at Aiane, has shown that urban life developed earlier than one would conclude from literary tradition.

Numismatic finds from the fourth district are very scarce (**table 4**). In excavation reports of the last years we have been able to trace only one small hoard dated to the imperial period, whereas the earlier material accumulated by Touratsoglou includes no hoards from this region whatsoever. <sup>42</sup> The hoard was discovered in ancient Lyke, a settlement in the island of Agios Achilleios in Lake Prespa. It included 7 coins of the Macedonian Koinon found together with three perfume burners and two silver votive placks; according to the excavator all objects had been used in a ceremonial process. <sup>43</sup> The hoard belongs to the second century and includes issues of the Koinon dated between the reigns of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. Whether the limited scale of excavations causes the scarcity of numismatic material from the region of Upper Macedonia or whether this reflects an actual limitation in monetary usage remains an open question.

## CONCLUSIONS

Hoards are important for determining patterns of monetary circulation especially when they are examined in groups. In fact they are probably more representative than stray finds since the latter may also reflect accidental loss of coins held by people traveling through the region and not regularly used currency.

The first conclusion reached by examining the evidence is that bronze currency circulating in Macedonia from the time of Augustus down to the middle of the third century, when civic issues were abandoned, was mainly Macedonian. This pattern is identical to that of the late Hellenistic period when the only non-Macedonian coins circulating in the area belonged to the higher silver denominations. <sup>44</sup> During the Imperial period the need for silver coinage was met for by the exclusive use of Roman coins.

Our second conclusion is that the circulation pattern in Macedonia changed considerably between the first and the third century AD. Although evidence for the first century remains limited it seems that coins hardly traveled at all, since they are usually found very close to their place of issue. First century hoards from the area of Amphipolis contain issues of Amphipolis and neighbouring Philippi (**table 1**), whereas another find from Thessalonike only contains coins of this city (**table 2**). This pattern is in accordance with the general picture that derives from stray finds. Although numismatic material

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<sup>41</sup> Livy 45.30.7.

<sup>42</sup> Touratsoglou, *Thessaloniki*, pp. 117-124; *idem*, *Circulation*, p. 42.

<sup>43</sup> *AEMTh* 13 (1999), p. 606 (I. Psarra).

<sup>44</sup> For the exclusive use of Macedonian coins for the bronze denominations during the late Hellenistic period see: Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, pp. 36-37 and 47-53.

from excavations in Macedonia has not been systematically published, mint studies have concluded that first century coins traveled less.<sup>45</sup> Since the circulation of bronze coins of low value represents the movement of individuals<sup>46</sup> our evidence seems to indicate that traveling was not frequent during the early imperial period. The pattern for the Late Hellenistic period however is different. Issues of Thessalonike, Pella and Amphipolis that were first produced during the reign of Philip V and constituted the main bronze currency of this period, circulated broadly in Macedonia and were not limited to the area of their issue.<sup>47</sup>

During the second century local coins were still dominant, as shown by the large and representative Dion hoards (**table 3**), but issues of Thessalonike and the Macedonian Koinon started to circulate within Macedonia. The third century however shows quite a different circulation pattern since hoards now tended to include coins from many different mints. Coins of the second, third and fourth districts were found in hoards deposited in the first, although the opposite is not attested; the region east of the Strymon remained somewhat isolated from the rest of Macedonia and the study of the site finds will show whether this area was more closely connected to Thrace as one could perhaps suppose.

The wider circulation of third century issues must certainly be connected to their metrological assimilation and even to their stylistic similarities. When examining the metrological pattern of Macedonian issues we noted that the size and weight of the assarion varied considerably between individual mints. This variation however seemed to decrease during the third century, especially after the reign of Alexander Severus. At that time Macedonian assaria reached a standard size and weight common for most mints.<sup>48</sup> Studies concerned with stylistic comparisons on the other hand, have shown that third century coins from different mints showed great similarities.<sup>49</sup> From the study of the circulation pattern it now becomes clear that the homogeneity of coins from different mints should be related to their wider circulation.

The frequent presence of issues from one city in hoards from another naturally raises the question of whether they were actually accepted there. Could, for example somebody holding an assarion of Thessalonike use his coin in the market of Amphipolis? For the classical period when issuing authorities consisted of city or federal states, it is clear from literary sources that –in theory at least– currency was valid only within the borders of the issuing state.<sup>50</sup> The exception was only what Plato named κοινὸν Ἑλληνικὸν

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<sup>45</sup> This has been concluded for the mints of Dion (Kremydi-Sicilianou, *Dion*, p. 130), Edessa (E. Papaefthymiou, *Édessa de Macédoine. Étude historique et numismatique*, Bibliothèque de la société hellénique de numismatique, no 7, Athènes 2002, pp. 234-235), and to a certain extent also for Thessalonike (Touratsoglou, *Thessaloniki*, p. 118, table 41).

<sup>46</sup> On discussion of this subject and bibliography see: C. Howgego, *Ancient history from coins*, London 1995, pp. 92 and 101-102.

<sup>47</sup> Touratsoglou, *Circulation*, p. 33 and pp. 47-55.

<sup>48</sup> Kremydi-Sicilianou, *Dion*, pp. 107-123, esp. p. 120.

<sup>49</sup> Stylistic similarities of third century Macedonian issues were first observed by H. Gaebler, «Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens IV», *ZfN* 24 (1904), pp. 288-290, 309-310 and p. 315. These were further discussed by: M. Mackensen, «Zur makedonische Bronzprägung des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.», *JNG* 21 (1971), pp. 124-126 and *idem*, *MÖNG*, 17, 12 (1972), pp. 122ff.

<sup>50</sup> On how people only accept familiar currency: Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, 1.6.20. On how local

νόμισμα, in other words strong currency that had an international, if we may use a contemporary term, acceptance.<sup>51</sup> During the Hellenistic period there is some evidence that, under certain circumstances, this principle could be overlooked.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, an interesting decree of the fourth century BC from Olbia permits the import of foreign silver and gold in the city, but imposes its exchange into local currency prescribing penalties for the amenders.<sup>53</sup> But during the imperial period, and as far as provincial issues are concerned, it should be underlined that issuing authorities were no more states (whether city-states or federal states or kingdoms) but cities with a certain degree of autonomy, which, at the same time, belonged to a large Empire. This is a crucial difference, which allows us to suppose that a different pattern of monetary circulation existed in this period and that similar coins from neighbouring cities could be reciprocally accepted. Since monetary unification in the Roman Empire was achieved by the reforms imposed by Diocletian, it is fair to assume that measures or practises in this direction would have occurred earlier.

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currency has no circulation in other states: Xenophon, *Poroi*, 3.2.

<sup>51</sup> Plato, *Laws*, 5.742.a-b.

<sup>52</sup> One of the terms of agreement in the treaty of *Sympoliteia* between Smyrna and Magnesia at Sipylos was that Magnesia would accept the currency of Smyrna as legal tender within the city: *ISmyrna* 573 ll. 56-57.

<sup>53</sup> *IKalhedon* 16, ll. 13-20 with bibliography and discussion. The corrections in *SEG* 26, 848 have not been taken into account in the above mentioned publication. For discussion of the Olbia decree also see: M. Cataudella, «Aspetti e strumenti della politica monetaria ateniese fra v e iv secolo», *Sileno* 12 (1986), pp. 111-135 at pp. 124-126.

TABLE 1  
COIN HOARDS FROM THE FIRST DISTRICT

HOARD	CONTENTS										BURIAL DATE	COMMENTS	REFERENCE		
	DION	EDESSA	PELLA	KOINON	STOBI	THESSALONIKE	KASSANDREA	AMPHIPOLIS	PHILIPPI	ROMAN				UNCERTAIN	TOTAL
Sirovolos 2001													13	grave hoard	<i>AEMTh</i> 15 (2001), 143-44
Amphipolis 2001													4	grave hoard	<i>AEMTh</i> 15 (2001), 122
Amphipolis 1998													4	grave hoard	<i>AEMTh</i> 12 (1998), 78, 80-81
Sirovolos 2000													19	grave hoard	<i>AEMTh</i> 14 (2000), 80
Amphipolis 1953													5	grave hoard	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 11
Serres 1966				14+									16+	Part of the Evelpides hoard?	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 15
Strymon 1916-18			3		1	24							29	grave hoard	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 16
Siderokastro 1967			1	54		2	1						59	grave hoard	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 14
Amphipolis 1968		1				2							3	grave hoard	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 12
Amphipolis 1976		3	6	5		17	6						39	grave hoard	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 13
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>73+</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>191</b>			

TABLE 2  
COIN HOARDS FROM THE SECOND DISTRICT

HOARD	CONTENTS								BURIAL DATE	COMMENTS	REFERENCE				
	DION	EDESSA	PELLA	KOINON	STOBI	THESSALONIKE	KASSANDREIA	AMPHIPOLIS				PHILIPPI	ROMAN	UNCERTAIN	TOTAL
Ierissos 1976				1				1	1			3	Antoninus Pius	grave hoard	<i>Circulation</i> , no 14
Pontoherakleia 1922						6						6	Commodus	grave hoard	<i>OpAth</i> 9 (1969), 37
Ierissos 1938						2						2	Iulia Domna	grave hoard	<i>Circulation</i> , no 3
Ierissos 1973				4	1	5	1	1				14	Alexander Severus	grave hoard	<i>Circulation</i> , no 13
N. Potidaia 1985			1			1						2	Maximinus		
N. Potidaia 1973			1				2					3	Maximinus	grave hoard	<i>Circulation</i> , no 4
Kambani Kilkis 1962		1				4						5	Gordian III	grave hoard	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 6
Peristeron Langadas 1977			3			11						14	Gordian III	grave hoard	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 3
Lete 2000		4				6					2	12	Gordian III	emergency hoard	<i>AEMTh</i> 14 (2000), 160-61
Kallithea (Aphytis) 1969		1	1			6						8	Philip I	from the sanctuary	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 10
Profitis Langadas 1967			3			3						6	Philip I	grave hoard	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 4
Kentriko Kilkis 1981	3	6	14	9	1	69				4		106	Philip I		<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 7
Palatiano, Kilkis 1996			1			5						6	Philip I		<i>AEMTh</i> 10 (1996), 193
Sindos 1981a	1	5	2	1		17	1			1	2	30	Philip I	grave hoard	unpublished
Sindos 1981b		4	12	4		19				3	5	47	Philip I	grave hoard	unpublished
Le/kohori Langadas 1970	2	1	12	5	1	17				1		39	Trajan Decius	grave hoard	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 5
Thessaloniki 1971						3						3	Gallienus	grave hoard	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>306</b>			

TABLE 3  
COIN HOARDS FROM THE THIRD DISTRICT

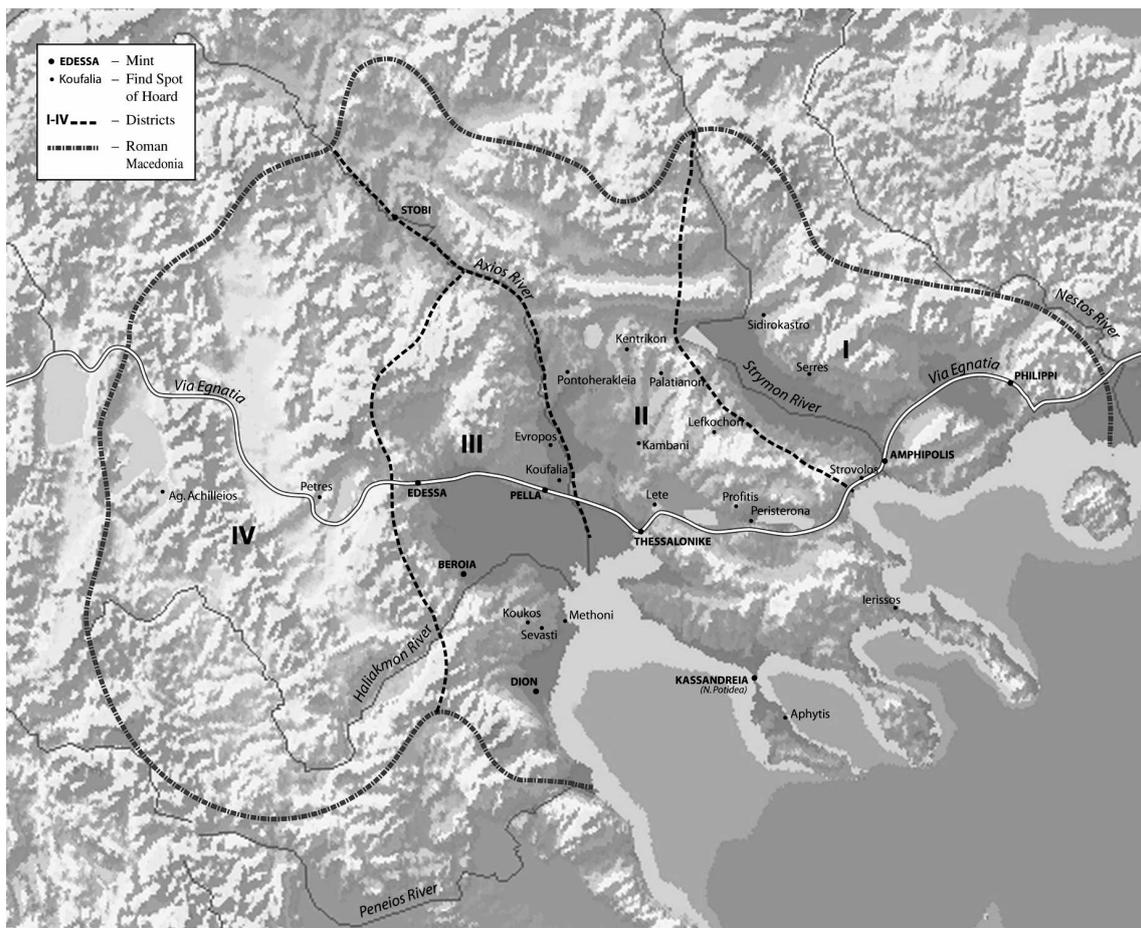
HOARD	CONTENTS										OTHER	UNCERTAIN	TOTAL	BURIAL DATE	COMMENTS	REFERENCE
	DION	EDESSA	PELLA	KOINON	STOBI	THESSALONIKE	KASSANDREA	AMPHIPOLIS	PHILIPPI	ROMAN						
Koukos, Pieria 1980						4							4	Trajan	grave hoard	<i>Circulation</i> , no 1
Sevasti, Pieria 1987	3					3							6	Antoninus Pius	grave hoard	<i>Circulation</i> , no 8
Dion 1998	72			1	3	3		1	3	1			81	Antoninus Pius		<i>Dion hoards</i>
Dion 1999	1452	2		39	13	13	1	7	15	52	9		1590	Antoninus Pius		<i>Dion hoards</i>
Dion 2000	120			1	2	2				5	1		129	Antoninus Pius		<i>Dion hoards</i>
Sevasti, Pieria 1987	6			4	1				1				12	Marcus Aurelius	grave hoard	<i>Circulation</i> , no 9
Sevasti, Pieria 1987	1					1							2	Commodus	grave hoard	<i>Circulation</i> , no 7
Sevasti, Pieria 1987	7			12	2	2			2				23	Commodus	grave hoard	<i>Circulation</i> , no 6
Europos, Kilkis 1956		2				1							3	Caracalla	grave hoard ?	<i>Circulation</i> , no 2
Veroia 1949	1		2	3	4	4						1	11	Gordian III	grave hoard	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 9
Methone, Pieria 1986	1			1	7							3	12	Philip I	grave hoard	<i>Circulation</i> , no 10
Methone, Pieria 1986	1	2	5		6								14	Philip I	grave hoard	<i>Circulation</i> , no 11
Dion 1987	1			1	1	1							3	Gallienus	and 4 blanks	<i>Dion</i> , no 16
Koufalia 1966	1	5		3	8	8			2				19	Gallienus	grave hoard	<i>Edson Studies</i> , 315-321
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1666</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>1909</b>			

TABLE 4  
COIN HOARDS FROM THE FOURTH DISTRICT

HOARD	CONTENTS										BURIAL DATE	REFERENCE	
	DION	EDESSA	PELLA	KOINON	STOBI	THESSALONIKE	KASSANDREIA	AMPHIPOLIS	PHILIPPI	ROMAN			TOTAL
Ag. Achillios 1999				7							7	Marcus Aurelius	<i>AEMTh</i> 13 (1999), 606

TABLE 5  
COIN HOARDS FROM UNCERTAIN FIND SPOTS IN MACEDONIA

HOARD	CONTENTS										BURIAL DATE	REFERENCE	
	DION	EDESSA	PELLA	KOINON	STOBI	THESSALONIKE	KASSANDREIA	AMPHIPOLIS	PHILIPPI	ROMAN			TOTAL
Macedonia 1939						25+					25+	Claudius	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 21
Macedonia 1976		1				2		6			9	Caracalla	<i>CahNum</i> 58 (1978), 211
Macedonia 1975	1	2	3	1		9	1	2		1	20	Gordian III	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 20
Macedonia 1966	1	3	2	4	3	18	2	32	1		66	Gallienus	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 18
Macedonia 1973	4	5	1	41	3	46	13	30	6		149	Gallienus	<i>Thessaloniki</i> , no 17
Macedonia 1980	27	9	14	18		45					113	Gallienus	<i>Xapaκρηρ</i> , 123-133
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>382</b>		



Map of Roman Macedonia

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