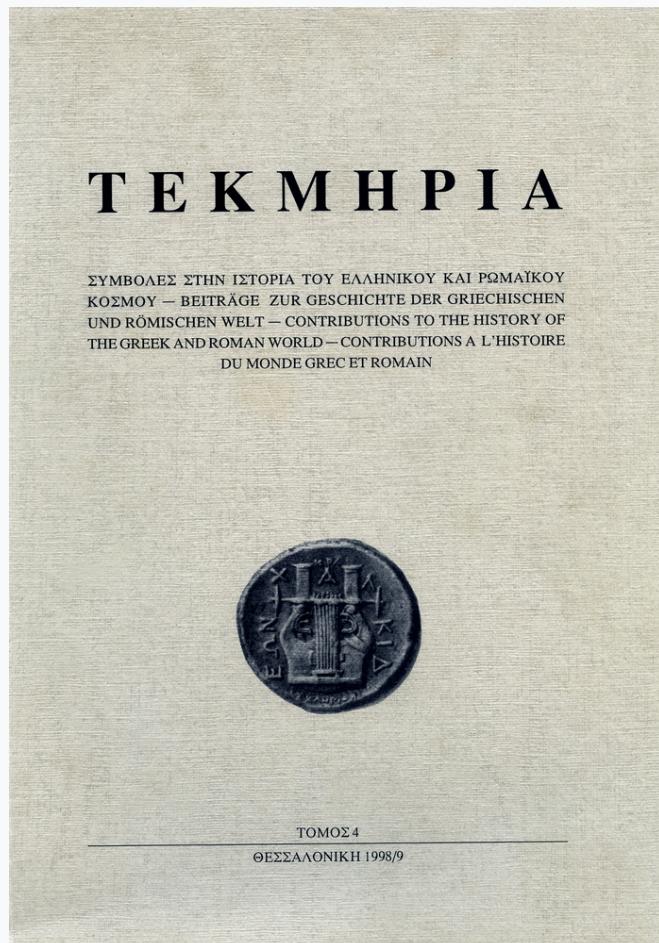


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QUINTUS HORTENSIUS HORTALUS
IN MACEDONIA (44-42 BC)

Quintus Hortensius Hortalus¹, son of the famous orator, had been a partisan of Julius Caesar. He was amongst the first to cross the Rubicon and fought on Caesar's side against Pompeius in the battle of Pharsalos in 46 BC. As a reward for his loyalty he was appointed proconsul of Macedonia in 44 BC., a few months before his patron's assassination. At the end of the same year, as he was about to retire, civil war broke out once more.

When Gaius Antonius —the brother of Marcus, to whom Macedonia had been assigned by the Senate²— arrived in Illyricum, Marcus Brutus —who had fled to Athens after the murder of Caesar— decided to claim the province on behalf of the Republicans³. At this crucial moment Hortensius defected to his nephew Brutus, acknowledged him as his legal heir, put his army at his disposal and helped him by recruiting soldiers⁴. This enabled Brutus to prevail over Antonius in Macedonia and establish his power in the province⁵. Faced with this *fait accompli* in early 43 BC, the Senate was persuaded by Cicero to acknowledge Brutus and entrust him with the command of Macedonia, Illyricum and 'the whole of Greece'⁶. In return for his support

1. On Q. Hortensius Hortalus: Münzer, *RE*, VIII 2 (1913) 2468-9; W. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Leipzig 1905, 102 f.; W.F. Jashemski, *The Origins and History of the Proconsular and Praetorian Imperium to 27 B.C.*, Chicago 1950, 56-57; Θ. Σαρικάης, *Ρωμαῖοι ἀρχοντες τῆς ἐπαρχίας Μακεδονίας*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1971, 124-8; J.M.C. Toynbee, *Roman Historical Portraits*, London 1978, 68.

2. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* III, 8.

3. On Brutus' activities after the assassination of Caesar see: E.M. Kniely, *Quellenkritische Studien zur Tätigkeit des M. Brutus im Osten (44-42 v.Chr.)*, Graz 1974. Especially for his stay in Athens: A.E. Raubitschek, "Brutus in Athens", *Phoenix* 11 (1957) 1-11.

4. Dio Cassius, XLVII 21; Plutarch, *Brutus*, XXV 1-2; Cicero, *Philippica*, V 11; VI 3.

5. Appian, *o.c.*, III 79.

6. Appian, *o.c.*, III 63, mentions: «Μακεδονίας δέ καὶ Ἰλλυρίδος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν

Hortensius retained the title of proconsul and served under Brutus in Macedonia, in charge of internal administration and juridical affairs. He kept his post until the final defeat of the Republican party at Philippi in 42 BC, when he was executed⁷.

During his stay in Macedonia, between 44 BC when he was appointed proconsul by Caesar, and 42 BC when he was executed at Philippi⁸, Hortensius struck a group of bronze coins bearing his name, in three denominations⁹. Their description is as follows:

I) *Obv.*: Head of Hortensius to the right.

Q. HORTENSIUS PRO COS.

Rev.: Plough, yoke, and a *vexillum* to their right.

PRAEF COLON DEDUC.

II) *Obv.*: Female head to the right. COLONIA FELIX.

Rev.: Tripod. Q HORT XVVIR COLON DEDUX.

III) *Obv.*: Head of Ammon with ram horns to the right.

HAMMO.

Rev.: Ears of corn. HORT COL D.

All three denominations clearly belong to one group as they all refer to the proconsul Quintus Hortensius Hortulus as the founder of a colony. One coin of the larger denomination was published, and attributed to Parion in Mysia, in 1822 by D. Sestini¹⁰ who gave the following description:

ἀμφοτέραις ὑπολοίπων στρατῶν Μάρκον Βροῦτον ἔρχεται...», whereas Cicero, *Philippica* X 25-26 adds: «utique Q. Caepio Brutus pro consule provinciam Macedoniam, Illyricum cunctamque Graeciam tueatur, defendat, custodiat incolumque conservet...».

7. Plutarch, *Brutus*, XVIII 1-2.

8. On the civil war in Macedonia in 44-42 BC: H. Botermann, *Die Soldaten und die römische Politik in der Zeit von Caesars Tod bis zur Begründung des zweiten Triumvirats*, München 1968, 84-96.

9. For a detailed description of the accumulated coins see the catalogue at the end of this article.

10. D. Sestini, *Descrizione delle medaglie antiche greche del Museo Hedervariano*, I, Firenze 1828, 107, no. 23; —, *Descrizione d'alcune medaglie greche del Museo Fontana*, I, Firenze 1822, 89, pl. 3 no. 10.

Obv.: Head of Marcus Antonius to the r. Q HORTENSI PRQ.

Rev.: Two yokes above a plough [...]ILE COLON [...]PAR.

The same coin, acquired in the meanwhile by the Berlin Museum, was published again by H. Gaebler¹¹, who corrected Sestini's interpretation, identified the portrait on the obverse with Q. Hortensius Hortalus and proposed the following description:

Obv.: Head of Hortensius to the r. Q. HORTENSI PRO [COS].

Rev.: *Vexillum* with flowing bands [...] P F COLON DED
L[EG].

Following his new interpretation Gaebler attributed the coin to Cassandrea, a colony in Macedonia, the founding of which by Hortensius had already been proposed.

The correct reading of the coins of this series was finally given in the publication of a better preserved specimen from the Niggeler Collection, now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford¹². The new finds available to us and described in the catalogue that follows, confirm this reading. Of these five come from Dium (=Dion)¹³, five from the Chalcidice¹⁴, one from the area of Polygyros¹⁵ and two from 'Macedonia' generally¹⁶. Given the findspots of the new pieces, the association of these coins with the post Hortensius held in Macedonia is beyond any doubt.

On the obverse of the coins of this series the portrait of Hortensius¹⁷ is accompanied by an inscription mentioning his office as *proconsul*. Both the

11. H. Gaebler, "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens, X" *ZfN* 39 (1929) 137 ff.

12. Bank Leu-Münzen und Medaillen, Slg. W. Niggeler, 2 Teil, Okt. 1966, no. 573. Personal communication from Dr. Christofer Howgego to whom I am most grateful.

13. Two of them were found during the 1931 excavations and are now held in the Numismatic Museum in Athens. The other two are in the Archaeological Museum of Dion with inv. nos. 1736 and 2530.

14. In the D. Portolos and Mathioudakis collections.

15. In the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki.

16. In the Numismatic Museum of Athens, inv. nos. 107/83 and 108/83.

17. This could actually be the portrait of his father, since the effigy on the coin bears a striking resemblance to a portrait of the orator. J. Balty, "Portraits d' orateurs et de poètes latins", *Revue Archéologique* (1987/1) 206-213.

types and the inscription of the reverse refer to the founding of a colony. These coins are our only evidence that Hortensius was not only appointed *proconsul* but also *praefectus coloniae deducendae*, an officer in charge of the settlement of colonists and the organisation of the newly founded town. The plough, the *vexillum* and the yoke on the reverse, all refer to the founding of a colony and often occur separately on coins. This composition of the types seems to be unique. The *vexilla* were the military standards used by the soldiers when marching towards their future settlement and provide proof that the colony founded was a military one¹⁸. The yoke and the plough allude to the old Roman ritual by which when a new town was founded its borders were marked out by a pair of cattle guided by a priest. This ritual seems to have survived —though in a somewhat symbolic manner— even when a colony was founded in a preexisting town, as was the case for most of the Roman colonies in mainland Greece¹⁹.

Nine out of the nineteen accumulated coins of this denomination bear a countermark on the reverse. The punchmark is rectangular and within it are engraved two letters, separated by a space. Although the countermarks are worn and the letters not easily legible, they seem to read -B- and -Q-²⁰. If the reading is correct -B- could be the initial of a name and -Q- the initial for *Quaestor*, the magistrate in charge of the treasury after Brutus prevailed in Macedonia. As Cicero describes during this year (43/2 BC) “...*senatuique placere Q. Hortensium pro consule cum quaestore prove quaestore et legatis*

18. On the use of *vexilla* during the founding of colonies see: Kornemann, *RE* IV 1 (1900) 572 ff. with bibliography and reference to the sources. In Macedonia *vexilla* are found on the coins of Cassandra (H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands. Makedonia und Paionia*, III 2, Berlin 1935, 53 nos. 4-5, pl. 13 nos. 2-3. *SNG, Evelpides*, 1210) and Philippi (Gaebler, *o.c.* 102 no. 14, pl. 20 no. 10). For the use of *vexilla* on coins of Asia Minor see recently: F. Rebuffat, *Les enseignes sur les monnaies d'Asie Mineure*, *BCH Suppl.* 31, Paris 1997.

19. On the ritual of ploughing the *sulcus primigenius*: E. Kornemann, *RE* 41 (1900-1) 572 ff.; C.O. Thulin, *Die etruskische Disciplin* III, Göteborg 1909, 37; H. Gaebler, “Zur Münzkunde” *o.c.* (note 11) 264; T. Salmon, *Roman Colonisation under the Republic*, London 1969, 24-27; T. Lorenz, *Römische Städte*, Darmstadt 1987, 13-14, 34; A.M. Eckstein, “The Foundation Day of Roman *Coloniae*”, *Cal. Stud. Class. Ant.* 12 (1979) 85-97, where all literary sources are gathered. For the application of this ritual to already existing towns: Eckstein, *o.c.*, 96, note 19.

20. See enlarged photographs in the plates which follow.

*suis provinciam Macedoniam obtinere quoad ei ex senatus consulto successum sit*²¹.

Coin belonging to the second denomination were only recently attributed to this group²². The first to be published was a coin in Paris for which Sestini proposed the following description:

Obv.: Female head to the right. COLONIA [....]

Rev.: Tripod. Q PA[....] DEDUXIT

Sestini put forward the interpretation: Q PA[QUIUS RUFUS] DEDUXIT and attributed the coin, as well as the rest of the Paquius Rufus issues, to Parion in Mysia²³. The coinage of Rufus was reconsidered and attributed to Philippi by Gaebler. Nevertheless he did not incorporate the above mentioned coin in the same group but left the matter of its interpretation unsolved²⁴.

Due to new finds the inscription Q(UINTUS) HORT(ENSIUS) XV(QUINDECIM)VIR COLON(IAM) DEDUX(IT) on the reverse can be securely read and there is no doubt that this issue belongs to the group struck by Hortensius in Macedonia. Of the seven more specimens now at our disposal, three were found at the excavations at Dium²⁵, two are stray finds from the area of the Chalcidice²⁶, one is known as coming generally ‘from Macedonia’²⁷ and one is in a private collection in California with no attested provenance²⁸.

The inscription on the reverse of this issue is our only evidence that

21. Cicero, *Philippica* X, 26.

22. A. Burnett – M. Amandry – P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage I. From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44BC – AD69)*, London-Paris 1992, 291, nos. 1509-10.

23. D. Sestini, *Lettere et dissertazioni numismatice sopra alcune medaglie VII*, Livorno 1805, 39; For a drawing of the coin: J. Pellerin, *Recueil de médailles III*, Paris 1770, pl. 116, no. 128, 1.

24. H. Gaebler, “Zur Münzkunde” o.c. (note 11) 269. M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, Cambridge 1946, 275-6 accepts Sestini’s interpretation and attributes the issue to Dyrrachium.

25. Archaeological Museum of Dion inv. nos. 309, 2906, 1301.

26. One in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, which was found in the village of Megali Panagia in the Chalcidice and one in the collection of D. Portolos.

27. Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, inv. nos., 24/1991.

28. I would like to thank R. Witschonke for this information and for providing the photograph.

Hortensius was a member of the *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, a priestly association in Rome²⁹. According to Titus Livius the *Quindecimviri* were *interpretes* of the sacred Sibyllian books, overseers of Apollo's ritual and of other ceremonies³⁰. The tripod on the reverse of this issue of Hortensius — an obvious reference to Apollo — clearly alludes to Hortensius' priestly function³¹.

Further archaeological evidence for Hortensius' connection with Apollo exists, which corroborates our interpretation. On a surviving inscribed base of a lost statue of the god erected at Delos, the *demos* of the Athenians and the inhabitants of the island express their gratitude to Hortensius because with his mediation, his nephew Brutus made a benefaction to Athens³².

Two coins of the third denomination — with the head of Ammon on the obverse and two ears of corn on the reverse — have been published by Gaebler who, correcting the interpretations given by Mionnet³³ and Imhoof-Blumer³⁴, read the name of Hortensius on the coins³⁵. Three more specimens found at Dium³⁶ confirm his reading. The inscription on the reverse can be interpreted either as HORT(ENSIUS) COL(ONIAE) DED(UCTOR) or HORT(ENSIUS) COL(ONIAM) DED(UXIT), two phrases which have the same meaning and differ only grammatically. Gaebler attributed this issue to Cassandrea because of the type of Ammon on the obverse. A sanctuary of Zeus Ammon is known to have existed in the area³⁷ and the type was dominant on the earlier

29. On the roots and the history of this association see: G. Radke, *RE* 24 I (1963) 1114 ff.

30. Titus Livius X, 8, 2.

31. On the tripod as symbol of the *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*: B. Borghesi, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris 1862, 360; H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum II, Vespasian to Domitian*, London 1930, 480, no. 71, note 2; M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974, no. 441a.

32. Dessau, 9460; *BCH* 3 (1879), 159 no. 7. For a discussion of this inscription: Hatzfeld, *BCH* 33 (1909), 467 ff. F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, Paris 1921, 258-59, no. 168.

33. T.E. Mionnet, *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines VI*, Paris 1813, 660 no. 335. For a drawing of the coin: Pellerin, *o.c.*, pl. CXVI, no. 128, 2.

34. F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen*, Graz 1972², 616, no. 173.

35. H. Gaebler "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens VII" *ZfN* 36 (1926) 139ff.

36. Archaeological Museum of Dion, inv. nos. 3617, 6964 and one from the 1992 excavation.

37. Plutarch, *Lysandros*, 20, 6-8. Pausanias, 3, 18, 3. For the results of excavations: E. Youri, *AAA* (1971) 356-67.

coinage of Aphytis as well as on the later coinage of the colony of Cassandrea in imperial times³⁸.

The three denominations described above clearly belong to one group. The inscription Q HORTENSIUS PRO COS PRAEF COLON DEDUC on the larger denomination, Q HORT XVVIR COLON DEDUX on the reverse of the second, and HORT COL D on the third, are very similar and they all refer to the founding of a colony by Hortensius. The literary evidence of Hortensius' proconsulship in Macedonia, as well as the findspots of the coins leave no doubt that the colony mentioned, but not named in the inscriptions, was in the province of Macedonia. This important numismatic evidence raises two interesting historical questions. The first is: To which colony do these coins belong or —at least— refer, and the second: On behalf of which political authority was Hortensius acting when founding the colony?

We shall start from the second question. As mentioned in the first and longer inscription, Hortensius founded the colony while acting as *praefectus*. The *praefecti* were officers who acted as representatives of a higher authority which appointed them in order to accomplish a specific task³⁹. In our case Hortensius was appointed *praefectus coloniae deducendae* in order to found a colony —or perhaps even more than one. This title has not been found elsewhere. It reflects the ending of Republican political institutions, according to which colonies were founded by delegates appointed by the Senate, and the increasing power of dictators who appointed their own personal representatives for this task. This policy was continued in imperial times and led to the inevitable consequence that the Emperor himself was considered as founder—*dredictor*—of a colony.

Ever since Grant presumed so⁴⁰, it has been considered a fact that Hortensius founded the colony and struck his coins during the period when his nephew Brutus held power in Macedonia, in 43/2 BC, and indeed following his instructions. This was probably presumed because there are

38. Gaebler, Die antiken, o.c. (note 18) 45 nos 5-8, 46 nos 14, 15, pl. 11 nos 13-18 (Aphytis); 53 nos 6-9, pl. 13 nos 4-6, 54 nos 14-17, pl. 13 nos 7, 14, 15 (Cassandrea).

39. W. Ensslin, *RE* 22 2 (1954), 1258 ff.

40. M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, Cambridge 1946, 33-4, 272.

numerous literary references to the activities of Hortensius on the side of Brutus during the civil war, —although none mention the founding of a colony— whereas not a word is said on his movements during the more peaceful year of 44 BC. Wars have always attracted the attention of historians but there is no evidence whatsoever to indicate that the colony —for which our only evidence is numismatic— was founded on the orders of Brutus. On the contrary, there seem to be arguments to support the opposite.

During the civil war Brutus needed to assemble as many soldiers as possible. Both Appian⁴¹ and Dio Cassius⁴², who give detailed accounts of the events which took place in Macedonia during this short period, outline the efforts Brutus made in order to gather as many soldiers and as much money as possible, and specifically mention the recruitments made by Hortensius on his behalf. This hardly seems an appropriate occasion for settling veterans⁴³.

It would be much more plausible to suppose that Hortensius, who was sent to Macedonia as *proconsul* at the beginning of 44 BC by Caesar, was at the same time appointed *praefectus coloniae deducendae* by the same authority and accompanied the colonists —veterans as the coin-type indicates— from Italy to the place of their future settlement. Julius Caesar is well known for his policy of colonisation, as well as for breaking with the Republican tradition and using his personal representatives instead of delegates of the Senate, for this task⁴⁴. The cases of C. Cluvius in Cisalpina⁴⁵ and of L. Plancus in Buthrotum are comparable to that of Hortensius in Macedonia⁴⁶.

But there is another reason for attributing the initiative for founding the colony to Ceasar. The inscription on the obverse of the coins of the second

41. Appian, *o.c.* III 63, 79.

42. Dio Cassius, XLVII 21, 22.

43. J. A. O. Larsen, in his standard work *Roman Greece*, in: T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of ancient Rome* IV, New Jersey 1959², 448, explains this by supposing that the title of the colony was given *honoris causa* to Greek cities during this year by Brutus, so that he could recruit Macedonians.

44. For settlements of veterans during these years by Caesar: P.A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower*, 225BC-AD14, Oxford 1971.

45. Grant, *o.c.*, 9-10.

46. Cicero's letters in *Atticus*, XVI, 16 a-e, which refer to the founding of Buthrotum by L. Plancus, give a very vivid picture of the absolute power held by the *praefecti*.

denomination reads: COLONIA FELIX. The perception of ‘Felicitas’ was often employed in Caesar’s personal propaganda⁴⁷ and her Personification occurs in the iconography of his coins in the years 45/44BC⁴⁸. Sinope, a colony in the Euxine Pontus founded on the orders of Caesar in 45 BC, was called *Felix*⁴⁹. As for the female head which accompanies the inscription on the coins of the Macedonian colony, it brings to mind ‘Venus Victrix’, her connection with ‘Felicitas’ and the application of both by Caesar⁵⁰.

Both the historical context as well as the selection of types on Hortensius’ coins seem to confirm that the political initiative of founding the Macedonian colony should rather be assigned to Caesar than to Brutus.

Concerning the first question posed above, that is which was the colony founded by Hortensius, there are two possible answers: Cassandrea or/and Dium⁵¹. Gaebler attributed the coins of the third denomination, with the head of Ammon on the obverse, to Cassandrea and consequently all of Hortensius’ coinage to the same town⁵². On the other hand, Grant considered the third denomination as a foundation issue of Cassandrea, which he compares to an issue of Dium for which he gives the following description:

Obv.: Plough to the right. COL DIENSIS.

Rev.: Diana running to the right holding a bow and an arrow, and tramping on a *vexillum* with a flowing band. DIANA BAPHYRA.

According to Grant this issue is the foundation issue of Dium and should be dated in 43/2 BC, when the colony of Dium was first founded by

47. On the relation of Caesar to Felicitas see: H. Eckell, “Caesar und sein Glück” 59-60 and F. Brömer, “Caesar und sein Glück”, 106-119 in the volume: *Caesar*, R. Rasmussen (ed.), Darmstadt 1967.

48. M. Crawford, *Roman Republican o.c.* (note 31) 483, 736-737 and no. 473, 3.

49. Grant, *o.c.* 251-2.

50. Crawford, *o.c.*, 457, 1; 468, 1; 480, 1; 481, 1; 482, 5. A similar head of Venus is also found on coins of Cordova signed by *Cn. Julius L.F.*, a relative of Caesar: Grant, *o.c.*, 4-5 pl. 1, no. 1. The type therefore seems to have been familiar in the provinces as well as in Rome.

51. The colony of Philippi was first founded by M. Antonius after his victory over Brutus in 42 BC: H. Gaebler, “Zur Münzkunde” *o.c.* (note 11) 260 ff. Burnett-Amandry-Ripollès, *o.c.*, nos. 1646-1649. As for the other colony in Macedonia, Pella, it still struck coins with Greek inscriptions during the 40’s: H. Gaebler, *Die antiken o.c.* (note 18) 96-97, no. 19, pl. 19, no. 9. *SNG, Fitzwilliam II*, 140. Burnett-Amandry-Ripollès, *o.c.*, 1545-1547.

52. H. Gaebler, “Zur Münzkunde” *o.c.* (note 35), 237-240.

Hortensius⁵³.

The issue with the portrait should, in his opinion, be viewed as a 'central provincial issue' which refers to the founding of both colonies, Cassandrea and Dium, by Hortensius⁵⁴. The argument he uses to support his view is the size and the weight of these coins, which are larger and heavier than the usual civic issues. This is correct if one compares them with the issues of imperial times. In the transitional period discussed here, civic provincial issues are rare and follow diversified standards; in Macedonia nevertheless, Pella and Thessaloniki struck coins with similar size and weight to Hortensius' large denomination⁵⁵. The strange separation of two issues with similar inscriptions seems even more improbable now that a third denomination has been added.

The question to which colony these coins refer still remains open. The view that they refer to Cassandrea seems well established. The head of Ammon found on the third issue, is the dominant type on the later coinage of this city. Could one perhaps, following Grant, accept a simultaneous early founding of the colony of Dium? He put forward three arguments to support this view.

The first is the interpretation, and consequently the dating, of the Dium issue with Diana on the reverse⁵⁶. Diana, according to Grant, is trampling on a *vexillum*; this type is compared to a denarius of Brutus where Victory is trampling on a sceptre which symbolises Caesar's illegal domination. The *vexillum* is thought to be a similar symbol of hostile propaganda, which alludes 'to the hateful military character of the dictator's colonial *deductiones*'. This is a far-fetched interpretation which is contradictory to the iconography of the first issue of Hortensius, where a *vexillum* is clearly depicted. It can anyway be indisputably discarded, as it is based on an erroneous description. The close examination of many specimens of this issue has shown that what has been misinterpreted as a *vexillum* is actually the

53. Grant, *o.c.*, 272-273.

54. Grant, *o.c.*, 33ff.

55. For Pella see H. Gaebler, *Die antiken*, *o.c.* (note 18) 96-97, pl. 19 no.9. Burnett-Amandry-Ripollès, *o.c.*, 1545. This issue is dated by Touratsoglou, *BAR* 326 (1987) 31, in 42 BC. For the Thessaloniki issue which Gaebler, *o.c.*, 122 no. 25, pl. 23 no. 14, dates to the time of Augustus, Touratsoglou, *o.c.*, dates to 42-32 BC.

56. See below no. 33 in catalogue and plates.

ground line under the goddess' feet, and the 'flowing band' is the lace of her boots which is flowing to the left, in the same manner as her clothes, to indicate her running to the right⁵⁷.

The second argument put forward by Grant for dating this issue in 43/42 BC, is the absence of the epithets 'Iulia' or 'Augusta' in the ethnic. But it has been generally accepted that one cannot rely on the nomination of colonies for dating their founding⁵⁸. A close example is that of Pella, a colony which is known to have been founded by Augustus, but which is named *Colonia Pella* on one of its earlier issues, omitting the epithet⁵⁹. The same can be concluded for Dium, since there exist, apart from the issue under discussion, two more issues without the imperial portrait which are securely dated later than Augustus and which also mention the colony simply as *Colonia Diensis*⁶⁰.

There is therefore no reason to date the Diana issue in 43/42 BC. A detailed study of the coinage of Dium, which has brought to light two more issues bearing a plough, has actually shown that this should not be regarded as a foundation issue at all, but should be dated in the 2nd century AD.

Grant's last argument for dating the first founding of the colony of Dium during the proconsulship of Hortensius is the presence of the Papiria tribe, both in Cassandrea⁶¹ and in Dium⁶². If Kubitschek's proposed completion for the name of the tribe on an inscription of Dium is correct⁶³, we have an argument which is worth considering, especially since, as Papazoglou has shown, this is an inscription of an early date⁶⁴. Consequently this is the only one of Grant's arguments which can be of some importance for supporting the hypothesis of a common founding for the two colonies.

57. For discussion of this issue see: Σ. Κρεμόδη-Σισιλιάνου, *Η νομιμιατοκοπία της φωμαίκης αποικίας του Δίουν*, Αθήνα 1996, 83-85, 95.

58. Brunt, *o.c.*, 234-235.

59. Gaebler, *Die antiken*, *o.c.*, (note 18) 97 nos. 20-21.

60. Κρεμόδη-Σισιλιάνου, *o.c.*, 253-254, issues 3 and 4, pl. 29 nos. 4.9. For discussion of their dating, 82-83.

61. *Ephemeris Epigraphica* II (1875) 1048.

62. *CIL* III, 592.

63. W. Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributum de scriptum*, Leipzig 1889, 241.

64. F. Papazoglou, *Les villes de la Macédoine à l'époque romaine*, *BCH Suppl.* 16, Paris 1988, 109 note 33.

Provenance is an important factor when attributing bronze coins and the new finds provide crucial information on this matter. Out of the thirty-two coins of Hortensius compiled here, twenty-two are of known provenance: Eleven were found in the excavations at Dium, eight were found in the area of the Chalcidice and three are known to have come from 'Macedonia' generally. This evidence shows that the coins of Hortensius circulated in Dium. But is it strong enough to prove that they not only circulated, but were also struck there, and consequently that the colony of Dium was first founded by Hortensius? In order to evaluate this information, one has to take into consideration that Dium is a city which has been thoroughly excavated over the last twenty years, whereas the finds from Chalcidice are only stray finds, not coming from the site of an ancient town, but from a wider area.

Although numismatic evidence suggests so, it is not strong enough to prove that Hortensius' coins were struck at Dium. The type of Ammon on the third denomination —a type which cannot be related to Dium— favours the already accepted attribution to Cassandrea and the evidence of circulation is not enough to overturn it. As the distance between Dium and Cassandrea, especially by sea, is short, one can imagine that movements of people and soldiers to and fro during wartime would have been frequent. This could account for the presence of colonists of the same tribe in both towns as well as for the coins of Hortensius in Dium. Further epigraphic evidence is required to verify a foundation of Dium by Hortensius.

Whichever colony or colonies Hortensius founded in Macedonia, should, in our view, be dated in 44 BC and attributed to the political initiative of Caesar and not, as generally accepted, to Brutus in 43/42 BC⁶⁵. This is a minor chronological difference which nevertheless alters the historical context.

65. This view, proposed by Grant, *o.c.*, 33-34 and 272-73, has been accepted without further reconsideration by F. Vittinghoff, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik*, Wiesbaden 1951, 17 note 6 and F. Papazoglou, *o.c.*, 109, note 33.

CATALOGUE OF COINS
OF Q. HORTENSIUS HORTALUS

*1st denomination**

Obverse: Head of Hortensius to the right.

Q. HORTENSI PRO COS

Reverse: Plough, above it a yoke and a *vexillum* to the right.
PRAEF COLON DEDVC

1.	27mm	15,98gms	Oxford (ex Niggeler coll.) <i>Rev. countermark: B [Q].</i>
2.	26mm	14,8gms	Dion, inv. no. 1736. <i>Rev. countermark: [B] Q.</i>
3.	27mm	14,93gms	Berlin, Löbbecke coll.
4.	29mm	16,18gms	Athens, 1931 Dion excavation. <i>Rev. countermark: B Q.</i>
5.	27mm	18,52gms	Athens, inv.no. 107/83, found in Macedonia.
6.	27mm	13,86gms	Athens, inv. no. 108/83, found in Macedonia.
7.	23mm	17,4gms	Thessaloniki, found in Polygyros. <i>Rev. illegible countermark.</i>
8.	25mm	14,48gms	London, inv. no. 1934/3.12.64.
9.	26mm	13,3gms	Athens, 1931 Dion excavation. <i>Rev. countermark: [B] Q.</i>
10.	26mm	15,5gms	Dion, inv.no. 2530. <i>Rev. countermark: B [Q].</i>
11.	27mm	14,73gms	P.V. collection. <i>Rev. countermark: B Q.</i>
12.	27mm	9,83gms	Münzen und Medaillen, München, Aufhäuser 2. (1985) lot 186.
13.	27mm	18,81gms	Münzen und Medaillen, 52 (1975) lot 441 Basel.
14.	25mm	16,65gms	Portolos collection, found in the Chalcidice. <i>Rev. countermark: B Q.</i>
15.	26mm	18,66gms	Portolos collection, found in the Chalcidice. <i>Rev. countermark: B Q.</i>
16.	26mm	13,46gms	Portolos collection, found in the Chalcidice. <i>Rev. countermark: B Q.</i>
17.	25mm	18,08gms	Portolos collection, found in the Chalcidice. <i>Rev. countermark: B [Q].</i>
18.	23mm	17,8gms	Dion, 1995 excavation.
19.	26mm	—	Mathioudakis collection, found in the Chalcidice.

* A die study was not possible for coins of this denomination as most of the specimens are very worn and bear countermarks.

*2nd denomination**Obverse:* Female head to the right.

COLONIA FELIX

Reverse: Tripod.

Q. HORT COLON DEDVX

20.	O1 R1	21mm	—	Thessaloniki, inv.no. 24/1991.
21.	O2 R1	21mm	10,8gms	Dion, inv.no. 2906.
22.	O2 R1	21mm	8,8gms	Dion, inv.no. 309.
23.	O2 R1(?)	20mm	8,15gms	Witschonke collection.
24.	O2 R2	20mm	7,4gms	Paris.
25.	O2 R2	20mm	7,91gms	Portolos collection, found in the Chalcidice.
26.	O(?) R2	20mm	8,8gms	Thessaloniki, found in Megali Panagia, Chalcidice.
27.	O(?) R(?)	19mm	5,3gms	Dion, inv. no. 1301.

*3rd denomination**Obverse:* Head of Ammon with ram horns to the right.

HAMMO

Reverse: Two corn ears.

HORT COL D

28.	O1 R1	16mm	3,59gms	Berlin.
29.	O2 R1	17mm	5,2gms	Dion, inv.no. 6964.
30.	O2 R1 ?	17mm	5gms	Dion, inv.no. 3617.
31.	O2 R ?	16mm	3,38gms	Paris, Rev. illegible countermark.
32.	O2 ? R2 ?	16mm	4,5gms	Dion, 1992 excavation.

COIN OF DIUM

Obverse: Plough to the right. COL DIENSIS*Reverse:* Diana wearing short chiton and chlamys, holding

bow and arrows and running to the right.

DIANA BAPHYRA

33.		17mm	3,1gms	Dion inv. no. 3890.
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ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

‘Ο Quintus Hortensius Hortalus στή Μακεδονία (44-42 π.Χ.)

‘Ο *Q. Hortensius Hortalus*, δύπαδός καὶ συμπολεμιστής τοῦ Ιουλίου Καίσαρα, διορίστηκε *Proconsul* στή Μακεδονία στὶς ἀρχές τοῦ 44 π.Χ. Ἡ δολοφονία τοῦ Καίσαρα λίγους μῆνες ἀργότερα πυροδότησε νέα ἐμφύλια διαμάχη, ποὺ διαδραματίστηκε στὸν ἑλλαδικὸ χῶρο καὶ στὴν ὅποια ἡ ἐμπλοκή τοῦ *Hortensius* ἦταν ἀναπόφευκτη· ὁ ἀνθύπατος τάχθηκε στὸ πλευρὸ τοῦ ἀνηψιοῦ του Βρούτου καὶ τὸν βοήθησε στρατιωτικὰ ἐναντίον τοῦ Γαῖου Ἀντωνίου. Στὴν καθοριστικὴν μάχη ποὺ ἔγινε στοὺς Φιλίππους τὸ 42 π.Χ., ἡ παράταξή του ἡττήθηκε καὶ διόδιος δολοφονήθηκε.

Κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τῆς παραμονῆς του στή Μακεδονία ὁ *Hortensius* ἔκοψε τρεῖς σειρές χάλκινων νομισμάτων οἱ ὅποιες παρουσιάζουν ἴδιαίτερο ἴστορικό ἐνδιαφέρον, καθώς μνημονεύουν ἓνα γεγονός ποὺ δὲν εἶναι γνωστό ἀπὸ καμμιά ἄλλη πηγὴ, ὅτι δηλαδὴ ὁ *Hortensius* ἔφερε τὸν τίτλο τοῦ *Praefectus coloniae deducendae* καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἴδιοτητα αυτὴν ἔχει ἴδρυσει μία—ἡ ἐνδεχομένως καὶ περισσότερες—ἀποικίες στή Μακεδονία. Ἡ ταύτιση τῆς ἀποικίας καὶ ἡ πολιτικὴ ἀρχὴ ποὺ ἦταν ὑπεύθυνη γιὰ τὴν ἴδρυσή της εἶναι τὰ ἐρωτήματα ποὺ μᾶς ἀπασχολοῦν.

‘Ως πρὸς τὸ πρῶτο ἐρώτημα ἐπισημαίνεται πώς ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ Ἀμμιωνος Διός ποὺ ἀπεικονίζεται στὰ νομίσματα τῆς μικρότερης ὑποδιαιρεσης χαρακτηρίζει τὴν νομισματικὴν εἰκονογραφία τῆς Κασσάνδρειας, ἐνῶ ἡ κυκλοφορία τῶν νομισμάτων αὐτῶν τόσο στὴν περιοχὴ τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς ὅσο καὶ στὸ Δίον θέτει τὸ ἐρώτημα μήπως εἶχε ὑπάρξει μιὰ παράλληλη ἐγκατάσταση ἀποίκων ἀπὸ τὸν *Hortensius* καὶ στὸ Δίον. Ἡ ἔλλειψη ὥστόσο ἄλλων μαρτυρῶν ποὺ νὰ τὸ ἐπιβεβαιώνουν μᾶς ὑποχρεώνουν πρὸς τὸ παρὸν νὰ εἴμαστε ἐπιφυλακτικοὶ γιὰ μιὰ τέτοια ἔρμηνεία. Ἡ κυκλοφορία τῶν νομισμάτων στὸ Δίον θα πρέπει μᾶλλον νὰ ὀφείλεται στὶς μετακινήσεις τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου.

‘Ως πρὸς τὸ δεύτερο ἐρώτημα ἔχει γίνει γενικῶς ἀποδεκτὸ πώς ὁ *Hortensius*

ΐδρυσε τὴ στρατιωτικὴ ἀποικία κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου (43/2 π.Χ.) καὶ ἀκολουθώντας τὶς ἐντολές τοῦ Βρούτου. Μιὰ διαφορετικὴ ἐρμηνεία προτείνεται ἐδῶ: Τόσο γιὰ λόγους ἴστορικοὺς ὅσο καὶ λόγω ἐρμηνείας τῶν νομισματικῶν τύπων καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν, ἡ ίδρυση τῆς μακεδονικῆς ἀποικίας θὰ πρέπει νὰ ἐνταχθεῖ στὴν ἀποικιακὴ πολιτικὴ τοῦ Καίσαρα καὶ ὅχι νὰ ἀποδοθεῖ σὲ πολιτικὴ πρωτοβουλία του Βρούτου.



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3



4



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9



10



11



Σ. Κρεμύδη - Σισιλιάνου Πίν. 1



15



16



Αρ. 4 (μεγέθυνση)



Αρ. 9 (μεγέθυνση)



20



21



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23





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