

Inscriptions and Iconography from Coins of the Macedonian Kings at Dion*

النقوش والرسوم الأيقونية في عملات الملوك المقدونيين في مدينة ديون

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ملخص:

يقدم هذا البحث ويناقش للمرة الأولى مجموعة مختارة مكونة من ثلاثمائة وتسع عملات من مدينة ديون؛ المدينة المقدسة للمملكة المقدونية القديمة. تقدم لنا هذه العملات أدلة هامة عن فترة الحكم المقدوني، بدءاً من الإسكندر الأول (498-454 قبل الميلاد) حتى الحاكم الأخير؛ برسيوس (168-179 قبل الميلاد).

وعلى الرغم من أن جامعة أرسطو بسالونيك تقوم بأعمال استكشافية في مدينة ديون منذ عام 1973، يعتبر هذا البحث أول فرصة لمناقشة هذه العملات، ووضعها في سياق تاريخي وأثري. يتم في هذا البحث مناقشة النقوش والرسوم الأيقونية في هذه العملات وما تكشفه هذه الأدلة الجديدة عن طبيعة الحكم المقدوني، خاصة نظام الوزن والمواد المختلفة المستخدمة في تصنيعها. تم استخراج جميع هذه العملات من منطقة الجدران الخارجية لمدينة ديون، وهي مركز ديني كبير يحتوي على عدد من أماكن العبادة والمسارح وكذلك به ملعب، مما يدل على أن جزءاً من هذه العملات كان يقدم كقرابين نذرية.

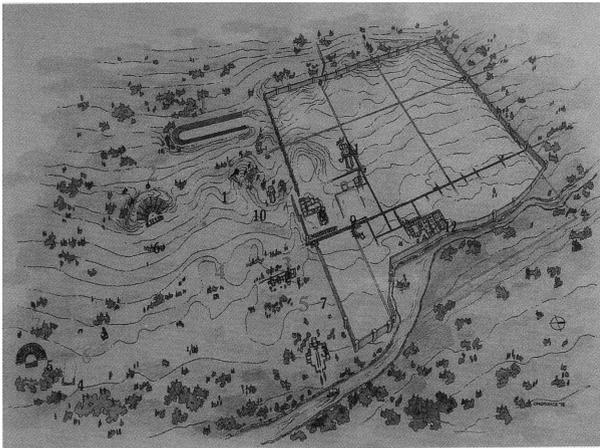
This paper introduces and discusses (for the first time) a selection of 309 important coins from Dion (Fig.1), the sacred city of the ancient Macedonian Kingdom. These coins provide us with important evidence for the entire period of the Macedonian rule, dating from Alexander I (498-454 BCE) to the final ruler Perseus (179-168 BCE). Although the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki has been conducting ongoing excavations in Dion since 1973, this paper constitutes the first opportunity to discuss these coins, placing them in a historical and archaeological context. We discuss both the inscriptions and the iconography of these coins and what this new evidence reveals of the nature of Macedonian rule in all, as well as the weighting system and the variety of metals used in their manufacture. All were excavated from within the extra muros area of Dion, a large religious center containing numerous sanctuaries, theaters and a stadium, suggesting that a proportion of these were likely votive offerings.

In the foothills of Mount Olympus, about five kilometers from the Pierian coast, lies Dion, the sacred city of the ancient Macedonians.

The first excavations by the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki were conducted from 1928 to 1931 under G. Soteriadis, and continued from 1964 to 1973 under G. Bakalakis. From 1973 until now, the Director of the AUTH excavations at Dion is D. Pandermalis.¹

The subject of this research is a selection of the coins that have been found at Dion; particularly, the coins of the Macedonians kings that were found outside the walled city, in the area of the sanctuaries, the two theaters and the stadium. In general, the coins come from the extra muros area, south of the city's south wall, and they were found from 1973 until today. This research is only a part of the gradual publication of the coins that were found at Dion, which started with Σ. Κρεμύδη's publication 'Η Νομισματοκοπία της Ρωμαϊκής αποικίας του Δίου' (PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1996).

This paper is organized in four parts: 1) the coins of the Macedonian kings from the extra muros area of Dion and their inscriptions, 2) iconographical themes on the coins of Macedonian kings, 3) statistical analyses of the distribution of coins throughout the site and the periods of rule and 4) conclusions.



(Fig. 1) Dion. The extra muros area and the walled city.
1. Stadium, 2. Hellenistic theater, 3. Sanctuary of Demeter, 4. Sanctuary of Asclepius, 5. Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos, 6. Sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, 7. Roman theater.

Introduction

Macedonia was one of the first regions in Greece to mint coins, starting about 550 BCE.² Thraco-Paeonian tribes possessed rich silver mines in the area, which enable them to mint important silver coins, until just after the Persian wars (*ca.* 480 BCE), when the Macedonian kings started to strike their own coinage. Some of the tribes that minted silver coins are Orreskioi, Derrones, Bisaltes and Hedonoi;³ also silver coins were struck in cities of Lete, Ichnai and Heion. The most important mines of gold and silver (some mentioned by Herodotus) were at Mount Pangaion, at Damastion and at the territory near Lake Prasias.⁴

To strike their own coins, Macedonian kings had to control the mines. Until 480 BCE, in the territory of Macedonia, only the coins that had

been struck in the name of cities or tribes were in circulation. Following 480 BCE, in the territory of the Macedonian kingdom, only coins in the name of the kings were in use. Furthermore, thanks to the coin unification throughout the kingdom, kings now had the opportunity to 'use' their coins in order to fulfil their political and ideological purposes, through the coins' iconography and inscriptions.

Before we consider this iconography, we believe that it would be useful to mention the origins and the genealogy of the Macedonian kings. Many scholars have attempted to write down the origins and the genealogy of the kings down to 498 BCE, when Alexander I came to throne. Scholars' texts begin from Herodotus (fifth century BCE) and end with Eusebius (fourth century CE), covering nine centuries.⁵ The argument between these scholars is often about the patriarch of the Macedonian Dynasty. Some of them claim that it was Perdikkas, while others claim that it was Caranus.⁶ We accept Herodotus' version who claims that the patriarch was Perdikkas and the genealogy down to Alexander I is as follows: Perdikkas, Argaios, Philip, Aeropos, Alketas, Amyntas and Alexander I. We accept Herodotus' version for two main grounds: first, because he visited the Macedonian court and he could have been informed from the Macedonians themselves for the facts, and second, because Herodotus used to read in public his writings; fact which minimizes the vitiation of his writings.

As we have already observed, Macedonian regal coinage started with Alexander I. It ended with the final ruler, Perseus, following the Kingdom's conquest by the Romans in 168 BCE.

1- The coins of the Macedonian kings from the extra muros area of Dion and the inscriptions on them.

From the extra muros area at Dion come 309 coins of the Macedonian kings. More specifically,

there is one gold, twelve silver and two-hundred-and-ninety six copper coins, covering more than three centuries (from Alexander I to Perseus).

The coins obtained from Dion represent almost all the types that were struck by the kings. We will discuss here an important selection of 309 coins that provides us with important evidence for the entire period of the Macedonian rule.

The 309 coins cover fourteen of the Macedonian reigns and are from eight different areas (the stadium, Hellenistic theater, Demeter's sanctuary, Asclepius' sanctuary, Zeus Hypsistos' sanctuary, Zeus Olympios' sanctuary, Roman theater and from surface collections from the above areas).

Alexander I was the first of the Macedonian kings to strike coins. During the first years of his reign (492-480/79 BCE) Alexander I did not sign his coins with his name,⁷ but later, after the end of Persian wars (480/79 BCE) and to the end of his reign (454 BCE), Alexander put his name on the whole of the reverse of his coins (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ).⁸ Furthermore, on some of Alexander I's and Perdiccas II's denominations, the reverse has inscription, of the coin's value, e.g. ΤΡΙΗΜΙΟΒΟΛΟΝ (trihemiobol) or ΔΙΟΒΟΛΟΝ (diobol).⁹

We have a rare silver hemiobolion of Alexander I's reign. On the obverse is a horse's head (r), and on the reverse a quadripartite incuse square.¹⁰ This coin (after D. Raymond's chronology) is dated at 480/79–477/76 BCE. We believe that this coin proves the circulation of standardized coinage in the name of the king from the first years of its appearance. Due to the ongoing contestation of his throne and the general political uncertainty during the first years of his reign, Alexander's son and successor, Perdiccas II did not sign his coins until 437/6 BCE. After this date, when he was officially recognized as king on the reverse of his coins, he put his name in abbreviation: Π,ΠΕΡ or ΠΕΡΔΙΚΑΣ.¹¹ Three silver tetradrachms come from Dion: two light and one heavy tetradrachm. The light tetradrachms

belong to the type horse walking r. / crested helmet within incuse square with double linear border (2nd series, 446/5-438/7 BCE, according to Raymond's chronology)¹² and the heavy tetradrachm belong to the type mounted horseman r., wearing chlamys and petasos and carrying two spears/forepart of lion r. within incuse square (2nd series, 437/6-432/1 BCE, after Raymond).¹³ Perdiccas II struck light tetradrachms for internal circulation (within the borders of the kingdom, and for trade with Athens). He struck heavy tetradrachms for external use, for commercial purposes with areas that were not under Athens' influence. So, we are presented with a question: If these coins (heavy tetradrachms) were for external use, how could one of these be found inside the kingdom? We can not reach a conclusion about the circulation (it is only one coin), but we can assume that it could be a visitor's votive offering at Demeter's sanctuary, where it was found.



(Fig. 2) Stadium. Gold stater of Philip II, with the inscription ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Mint of Pella, 340-328 or ca. 336-328 BCE.

We have no coins in the name of Archelaos, son of Perdiccas II from Dion, from the extra muros area. Archelaos was the first of the kings to sign all his coins with his name in genitive, both complete and in abbreviation, e.g. ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ or ΑΡΧΕ.¹⁴ This practice was followed from all the kings, down to the conquest of the kingdom.

The next two kings whose coins are from Dion, are Amyntas II, Alexander I's grandson (394/3 BCE)

and Pausanias, Aeropos' son (394/3 BCE). Two copper coins in the name of Amyntas II are from Dion. They belong to the type Pan's head r. / forepart of wolf r. and l.¹⁵ In the name of Pausanias exists only one copper coin, of the type male head wearing taenia r. / forepart of boar r.¹⁶ Two debased silver coins and twenty two copper coins of Amyntas III (393-370/69 BCE) have been found.



(Fig. 3) Sanctuary of Demeter. Silver tetradrachm of Alexander III with the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Mint of Amphipolis, 332-320 BCE.

The two debased coins (diobols) belong to type beardless head of Heracles wearing lion's skin (r) / eagle standing (l) with reverted head,¹⁷ and the twenty-two copper coins belong to two types: twenty-one coins of the type head of Heracles/eagle r. devouring serpent¹⁸ and one of the type head of Heracles / forepart of boar r.¹⁹ Amyntas' son, Perdikkas III (365-359 BCE), nine copper coins belong to one type: bearded head of Heracles in lion's skin (r) / lion (r) breaking javelin with its jaws.²⁰

Perdikkas III's brother, Amyntas III's son, Philip II (359-336 BCE) was one of the greatest kings of Macedonia. He was the first to strike gold coins; he portrayed historical events on his coins, as well as the gods. From Philip II (359-336 BCE) and onwards, the coins are signed with genitive -ΟΥ: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Eighty-seven coins are in his name from the extra muros area at Dion: one gold stater at the type of laureate head of Apollo r./ charioteer driving racing biga (r),²¹ (Fig.2) one silver fifth of tetradrachm at the

type young male head wearing taenia r./ young naked rider wearing taenia, on horse galloping r.²² The remaining eighty-five copper coins belong to four types: fifty one of them to the type young male head wearing taenia r. or l. / young naked rider on horse galloping r. or l.,²³ five to the type head of Heracles in lion's skin / young naked rider on horse galloping r.,²⁴ twelve belong to the type head of Heracles r. / club²⁵ and three of the coins belong to the type head of Heracles in lion's skin / thunderbolt.²⁶

Amongst these eighty five coins fourteen corroded copper coins that were found at Dion are included. We speculate that they came from Philip II's mint.

Philip's son, Alexander III (336—323 BCE), continued his father's monetary policy: he struck new coin types, he adapted silver coinage to the Attic weight system, he founded new mints and tried to create common currency for the whole empire. From Alexander III, kings started to sign their coins also with the royal title (e.g. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ). Forty nine coins in the name of Alexander the Great come from Dion: four silver and forty five copper coins. The four silver coins, one tetradrachm and three drachms belong to the type beardless head of Heracles in lion's skin r. / Zeus enthroned l. holding scepter in l. hand and eagle in extended r.²⁷ (fig.3) The other forty five copper coins belong to five types: fifteen of the type beardless head of Heracles in lion's skin r. / Heracles' weapons,²⁸ three of the type beardless head of Heracles in lion's skin r. / eagle r., head reverted, standing on thunderbolt,²⁹ six of the type Macedonian shield with thunderbolt in boss / crested helmet,³⁰ twenty coins of the type diademed young male head r. / horseman on horse galloping r.³¹ and one of the type diademed young male head r. / thunderbolt.³²

Philip III (323-317/6 BCE) was also Philip II's son. Only two coins in his name have been found at Dion, within the extra muros area: one silver drachm

of the type beardless head of Heracles in lion's skin r./ Zeus enthroned l. holding scepter in l. hand and eagle in extended r.³³ and one copper coin at the type of beardless head of Heracles in lion's skin r./Heracles' weapons.³⁴

With Philip III's death ends the house of the Temenids. The next king, Cassander (316-297 BCE), son of Antipater, usurped the Macedonian throne from Alexander III's son, Alexander IV, after he killed him. Coins in the name of Cassander -before (316-306 BCE) and after taking the title of the king (306-297 BCE)- have been found at Dion. Specifically, there are five copper coins without the royal title that belong to the type: beardless head of Heracles in lion's skin r. / lion reclining r.³⁵ Moreover, there are eighteen copper coins with the royal title and they belong to three types: the first type, laureate head of Apollo r. / tripod³⁶ represented by three coins; the second type, beardless head of Heracles in lion's skin r. / rider on horse walking r.³⁷ represented by fourteen coins; and the third type, beardless head of Heracles in lion's skin r. / lion r. breaking javelin with its jaws³⁸ represented by one coin.

The next king is Demetrius I (also known as Poliorcetes) (306-287 BCE). Demetrius was the first king who put his monogram on boss of Macedonian shield, on the obverse of the coins. His example was followed by his grandson, Antigonos II Gonatas. Thirteen copper coins come from Dion: four coins with head of Demetrius wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with bull's horns r./ prow r;³⁹ eight coins with Macedonian shield with Demetrius' monogram in boss / crested helmet with cheek pieces;⁴⁰ and one coin belonging to the type Poseidon's head /Athena.⁴¹

Fifty one copper coins come in the name of Antigonos II, also known as Gonatas (277-239 BCE), son of Demetrius I's. These coins belong to three types. The first type, helmeted head of Athena

r./Pan erecting trophy,⁴² is represented by thirty three coins; the second type, Macedonian shield with Antigonos' monogram in boss/Macedonian helmet,⁴³ is represented by nine coins and the type beardless head of Heracles in lion's skin r./rider on horse walking r.,⁴⁴ is represented by nine coins.

All of the copper coins of the final two rulers, Philip V and Perseus, except for the types that were signed with their entire name and the royal title (always in genitive, e.g. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΕΡΣΕΩΣ), used an abbreviation of their name and their title, e.g. ΒΑ Φ or ΒΑ ΦΙ, or they used the abbreviation of the royal title and a monogram: ΒΑ

Philip V (221/0-179 BCE) was grandson of Antigonos II. From Dion come thirty four copper coins, that belong to thirteen types:

- 1 beardless head of Heracles in lion's skin r. / rider raising r. hand in salute on horse galloping r.⁴⁵ (three coins);
- 2 beardless head of Heracles in lion's skin r. / rider raising r. hand in salute on horse walking r. (two coin);⁴⁶
- 3 head of Zeus in oak wreath r. / Athena holding spear r.⁴⁷ (four coins);
- 4 head of Zeus in oak wreath r. / Athena striding l. hurling thunderbolt with r. hand and resting shield on l. arm,⁴⁸ (one coin),
- 5 head of Zeus / prow⁴⁹ (three coins);
- 6 head of the hero Perseus r. / horse galloping r.⁵⁰ (one coin);
- 7 head of Perseus in boss of Macedonian shield / Macedonian helmet⁵¹ (three coins);
- 8 beardless head of Heracles in lion's skin r. / two goats r.⁵² (four coins);
- 9 bearded head of Zeus in oak wreath r. / rider raising r. hand in salute on horse walking r.⁵³ (two coins);

- 10 Macedonian shield with star in boss / club⁵⁴ (one coin);
- 11 head of the hero Perseus / harpa⁵⁵ (eight coins);
- 12 head of Heracles / Athena⁵⁶ (one coin);
- 13 head of Pan / prow⁵⁷ (one coin).

Perseus (179-168 BCE), son of Philip V, was the final ruler of Macedonia. He struck three copper coin types, all found at Dion: the first type, head of the hero Perseus r./eagle with spread wings standing on thunderbolt⁵⁸ is represented by seven coins. The second type, Macedonian shield with star in boss/harpa r.⁵⁹ is represented by two coins and the third type, beardless head of Heracles in lion's skin r./rider rasing r. hand in salute on horse walking r.⁶⁰ is represented by one coin.

2- Iconographical themes on the coins of Macedonian kings

Macedonian kings from Alexander I to Perseus used on their coins thirty seven iconographical themes incorporating direct references to: their origin from Argos and their genealogy, their gods, the symbols of their gods, the Macedonian army, cavalry and navy, and the Macedonian ruling class.

The iconographical themes that were used as direct references to the Greek origin from Argos were: the goat, the helmet, Heracles, Zeus, the wolf and Perseus. The goat was an appropriate iconographical type to remind the oracle that Perdiccas II had received from Delphi's oracle, which sent him to found his kingdom to the country where goats were sleeping. The type of helmet is also a straight reference to the origins of the Macedonian house, because the so-called 'Illyrian' helmet is in fact Argive.⁶¹ Zeus and his son, Heracles, are the ancestors of Macedonians. We must not forget that Heracles is an Argive hero, just as Perseus is.⁶² Finally, the iconographical type of the wolf leads us again back to Argos, as one of the commonest types of Argos' coinage is the wolf.⁶³ By

using this type, Macedonian kings wanted once more to strengthen their claim to the Hellenicity of their house and the origin from Greek Argos.

A lot of gods and heroes are pictured on coins of the Macedonian kings: Dionysus, Apollo, Zeus, Artemis, Athena, Nike, Poseidon and Helios. Gods' symbols are also pictured on the coins, such as the eagle, Heracles' weapons, thunderbolt, trident, cantharus, tripod, prow, aphlaston and harpa. Symbols of gods are used by the kings for two main reasons: first because they wanted to prove to southern Greeks that they worshipped the same —Greek— gods with them, because they were also Greeks. The other reason was, as we have already seen, that they claimed that some of them, for example Zeus, were their ancestors.

Some types, like the horse (galloping or walking), rider, male head with helmet, shield, spear head and prow were direct references to the Macedonian army, cavalry and navy. It is worth emphasizing that kings wanted to picture, on their coins, their power which originated from their cavalry, their army and their navy, who helped them to achieve great victories.

There are some iconographic types that relate specifically to the Macedonian ruling class, such as the rider in Macedonian costume, the lion and the boar. The type boar specially refers to the ruling class, because the successful hunt of a boar was the 'passport' for young males to take part reclining at the symposium.⁶⁴

So far, we have seen thirty one types. So, now we have to discuss the remaining six. *Quadratum incusum* was used as a reverse type for the first coins (under Alexander I and Perdiccas II).⁶⁵ A male head wearing petasos was used by Alexander I and Aeropos. Scholars claim that maybe it is Hermes,⁶⁶ but we cannot be sure about it. Another male head, wearing taenia has also raised questions among the scholars. It has been thought that a deity is represented: Apollo,

Ares, Heracles, or the founder of the Macedonian kingdom, Perdiccas.⁶⁷

The next three iconographic types have no obvious explanation. The bull (struck firstly on copper coins of Archelaos) had been taken from the copper coinage of South Italy.⁶⁸ There is no explanation for the female head that appears on the coins of Alexander II (370/69-368/7 BCE), because we have no clues as to its identity.⁶⁹

The last type, charioteer driving racing biga was imported from Syracuse.

Finally, we have to refer to two iconographic themes. The first is the portrait that some kings put on their coins (e.g. Demetrius I, Perseus, etc.). The second theme is the head of deified Alexander III that some kings (e.g. Lysimachus) used on their coins, to strengthen their claims to the throne of the Macedonian kingdom.

3- Statistical analyses of the distribution of coins across the site and the periods of rule

In this brief chapter we will present two statistical analyses, related to each area and each king.

1 per area:

Sanctuary of Demeter: 114 coins: percentage of total 36, 89% (fig.3)

Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos: 2 coins: percentage of total 0, 65%

Roman theater (odeion): 11 coins: percentage of total 3, 56%

Hellenistic theater: 37 coins: percentage of total 11, 97%

Sanctuary of Zeus Olympios: 23 coins: percentage of total 7, 44%

Sanctuary of Asclepios: 5 coins: percentage of total 1, 62%

Stadium: 12 coins: percentage of total 3, 88%

Surface collections: 105 coins: percentage of total 33, 9 = 309 = 100, 00%.

2 By king:

Alexander I: 1 coin: percentage of total 0,32%

Perdiccas II: 3 coins: percentage of total 0,97%

Amyntas II: 2 coins: percentage of total 0,65%

Pausanias: 1 coin: percentage of total 0,32%

Amyntas III: 24 coins: percentage of total 7,77%

Perdiccas III: 9 coins: percentage of total 2,91%

Philip II: 87 coins: percentage of total 28,16%

Alexander III: 49 coins: percentage of total 15,86%

Philip III: 2 coins: percentage of total 0,65%

Cassander: 23 coins: percentage of total 7,44%

Demetrius I: 13 coins: percentage of total 4,21%

Antigonos II: 51 coins: percentage of total 16,51%

Philip V: 34 coins: percentage of total 11,00%

Perseus: 10 coins: percentage of total 3,24%
= 309 coins = 100, 00%

Conclusion

Firstly, we saw that Macedonian regal coins even from their beginning (ca. 480/79 BCE) circulated in the kingdom as the formal coins, displacing the coins of the tribes that were in use before then.

Macedonian kings, in order to strengthen their coins' circulation among the others in southern Greece, adapted their weight systems to the most common systems (e.g. Philip II and Alexander III struck gold and silver coins in the attic system and they supplanted Attic coins).

Furthermore, through the various iconographic types that kings used on the coins they struck, they aimed directly to refer to a) the Greek origin from

Argos, b) the worship of the same gods with southern Greeks and c) the admirable Macedonian army and navy. In essence, Macedonian kings used their coins as a symbolic Trojan-horse, to position themselves among the rest of the Greeks and to allude through their symbolic types to their kinship and cultural links with southern Greece.

These coins were obviously used for commercial purposes. Yet, despite their small size, they carried an enormous associated value, worth for more than their weight in gold. Macedonian kings had the opportunity to sign their coins with their names, so the rest of the Greeks could know the origin and issuing authority of these coins. To summarize, we have seen that Macedonian regal coins on their first appearance were unsigned at all, due to the Persian dominance at the territory of Macedonia (until 480 BCE), or due to the ongoing contestation of the throne by some kings (e.g. Perdiccas II). From Archelaos and down to the conquest of the Macedonian kingdom, every coin is signed with a kings' name or title in the following ways:

- 1) on the reverse, kings put their names in genitive (ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ), their names with royal title (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ), their names with the title in abbreviation (ΒΑ ΦΙ) or their title with a monogram (ΒΑ), and
- 2) there is a copper type which on the obverse carries a Macedonian shield. On the boss of this shield, two kings, Demetrius I and Antigonos II put their monogram. It's interesting to mention that the reverse of this type carries a Macedonian helmet with the inscription ΒΑ ΣΙ (the royal title in abbreviation).

Furthermore, we must mention that some of Alexander I's coins are inscribed on the obverse with the letters A and H, which define two weight series of light tetrobols.

On the obverse of one of Alexander's II coins, we find the letter Δ, which has been interpreted as the mint's signature.

Also on some of Alexander I's and Perdiccas II's denominations, the reverse is notified by inscription of the coin's value, e.g. ΤΡΗΜΙΟΒΟΛ (trihemiobol) or ΔΙΟΒΟΛ (diobol).

One last remark: our research has not included the coins that were found inside the city, within the main commercial place, agora, and the houses, where usually private fortunes were saved. However, the large number of 309 coins from the extra muros area is important because it provides evidence of the strong religious life in this area and the flourishing of the sanctuaries during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. These sanctuaries must have been the reason for the establishment nearby of a small city during the late Archaic Period. A large amount of these coins come from the sanctuaries and mainly from Demeter's sanctuary, which means that many of these coins were likely votive offerings to the gods. We hope in future publications on the intra muros area to reveal a more complete picture of the coins' circulation, function and value.

Notes

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3 N.G.L. Hammond, *Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας Β* (1995), 84-117; Hammond, 'The Lettering and Iconography of Macedonian Coinage' in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (1983), 245-258.

- 4 Herodoti *Historiae* (ed. Hude Ch.), vol. 2, V–IX (1970⁴), 9, 75 (Daton), 7, 11, 2 (Pangaion), 5, 17, 2 (near Lake Prasias).
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- 6 Herodotus and Thucydides claim that the patriarch was Perdikkas, whilst the other scholars claim that was Caranus. Hammond, *Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας* B, 11-22.
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- 64 Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, (ed. Warmington E.H.), I (1969), 18a: ...οὐδέ ἔθος εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ κατακλινεσθῆναι τινα ἐν δειπνῷ· εἰ μὴ τις ἔξω λίνων ὕν κεντήσειεν. ἕως δε τότε καθήμενοι ἐδειπνοῦν.
- 65 The quadratum incusum was already in use on the reverse of the Thracο-Paeonian kings' coins. Alexander used this type as a reverse for his own coins, when he started his own mintage.
- 66 Westermark, in Rider *et al.* (ed.), *Kraay-Mørkholm Essays*, 304, 305.
- 67 As Apollo(ς): B. Head, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Macedonia etc.* (1978²), as Ares: Price, *Coins of the Macedonians* (1974), 20 and C. Seltman, *Greek Coins* (1955²), 139. The whole bibliography is gathered in Westermark, in Rider *et al.*, *Kraay-Mørkholm Essays*, 303; U. Westermark, 'Apollo in Macedonia', in *Opus Mixtum. Essays in ancient art and society* (1994), 149-154, claims that the male head on Archelaos' coins is Apollo.
- 68 Westermark, 'Influences from South Italy on Early Macedonian Bronze Coins' in W. Leschhorn, A.V.B Miron, A. Miron, *Hellas und der griechische Osten. Festschrift für P. R. Franke zum 70. Geburtstag* (1996), 291-299.
- 69 Ch. Hersh, 'Three Unpublished Macedonian Regal Coins of the Decade of the 360's', *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 15 (1996), 9.