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Horse and Horsemen on Classical and Hellenistic Coins in Thessaly



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ABSTRACT

This dissertation was written as part of the MA in Classical Archaeology and Ancient History of Macedonia at the International Hellenic University.

The horse and horsemen are common and very popular depictions in all aspects of art either in Thessaly or Macedonia. In this way, the horse was a basic element in agricultural labor and an important means of transportation until the first decades of the 20th century. Furthermore, horses were used in warfare and played a crucial role in many battles in Antiquity. They were connected to several deities and to chthonic cults during the same period. Numismatics, on the other hand, is one of the most valuable tools of archaeologists and historians for carrying out the task of unraveling the past. Through the coin types we can trace the political messages which the issuing authorities wanted to diffuse to the local and foreign user of the currency as well as the cultural and sociopolitical background of their territory.

The present paper deals with the horse types on the coinages of the Thessalian and Macedonian region. Starting with Thessaly, it examines the geographical distribution of the types in an attempt to detect possible affinities. Afterwards, the evolution of the types is presented identifying their political, mythological and religious context. Finally, the corresponding types on the coinages of the geographical region of Macedonia are examined, thereby comparing the types of both regions in search of iconographical affinities and common origins trying to provide valuable information concerning the political relations, common myths and cults of ancient Thessaly and Macedonia.

Keywords: Thessaly, Macedonia, horse, horseman, coinage

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PREFACE - ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first contact with the field of numismatics took place during my MA studies at International Hellenic University, through the lectures of my supervisor Dr. Sophia Kremydi, who incited my interest in this field providing valuable sources of information for archaeologists and historians. My Thessalian origin, my interest in numismatics, my contact and admiration for the horses from an early age and, after a thorough discussion with my supervisor and my academic mentor Dr. N. Akamatis, prompted me to deal with this topic in order to investigate the affiliations and differences in depiction and meaning of this popular coin type.

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To my parents

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THESSALY

Geography

Ancient Thessaly (figure 1) was a geographical region situated in northern Greece, between Epeirus to the west, Macedonia to the north, central Greece to the south and the Aegean Sea to the east. It consisted of mountains and valleys around an extensive plain and a rocky coastal area as well. The range of Pindos and the Cambunian Mountains from Pindos to Olympus separated it from Epeiros and Macedonia accordingly. On the east, the region was bounded by Mount Ossa, the Magnesian range and Mount Pelion which ended up in a rocky and harbourless coastal area whereas, to the south, Mount Othrys controlled the passage to the central Greece. Thessaly was once thought to be a vast internal sea until corrosion created the narrow Tempi valley and caused the draining of the plain.¹

Hence, the most significant part of this huge Thessalian plain was the eastern part where the most important cities and the main roads existed, from Central Greece to Macedonia. The climate of the region consisted of cold, hard winters and hot summers. The olive cultivation centered in the region around the Gulf of Volos, whereas the vineyard is limited around the slopes of Ossa and Pelion. The climate combined with the vast plains, favored the breeding of horses, cattle and sheep. The Thessalian horses were in fact the most famous and their cavalry the most effective and powerful during Antiquity. The combination of plains and mountain slopes offered great pastures for the breeding of sheep and cattle all year round. The plains also produced a great number of wheat and other grain which rendered Thessaly self-efficient. Many times during Antiquity the Thessalian plains provided grain to other cities of the Greek world and this trade was a significant source of enrichment. At the same time, many armies, from the Persian wars onwards, chose Thessaly for hibernation due to its abundant natural sources.²

¹ Herodotus (*Histories*. Z, 129) and Strabo (*Geography* Θ, 430) claim that the creation of Tempi Valley caused by an earthquake.

² Westlake, 1935, pp. 5-7

The Historical Context

Consequently Thessaly holds a major place in Greek mythology. Mount Olympus was the home of the Greek Gods. It was also the home of Achilles, Jason and the centaur Cheiron and its mythological inhabitants took part in the war of Troy. Moreover, archaeological evidence proved that Thessaly was inhabited since Paleolithic Period and during Neolithic Period had developed a significant Neolithic culture, whereas we can observe several important sites in the region during the Mycenaean Period. The earliest inhabitants of Thessaly, before the advent of Greeks, were the Pelasgians who occupied the Thessalian plains. The reminiscence of their existence there was in the name of the Tetrads Pelasgiotis and in the names of some cities of the region such as Larissa. Also in the same region, Aioleis lived from whom Thessaly derived its pre-Thessalian name, Aiolis.³ They had Greek origin and they migrated to several parts of Greece and the eastern Aegean.⁴ Their dialect contains archaisms and was the language of Sappho and Alkaios. The Perrhaiboi, another pre-thessalian tribe, lived in the north, the mountainous part of the region. They were, also, mentioned in the Homeric catalogue of ships.⁵ According to Stählin⁶ their name comes from the word *peras* and meant those who were living beyond the river Peneios but current research considers it as being of Mycenaean origin. Finally, the Magnetes lived in the eastern part of the region around the Mounts Pelion and Ossa.

In the 8th century B.C. migration took place from north to south which, finally, formatted historic Greece. Among the people who migrated were the Thessalians. They invaded from the west, coming from Thesprotia and occupied the western part of the region, later known as Tetrads Thessaliotis, designed after their name. Gradually, were expanded to the entire region giving the region their name – Thessaly. Some of the original inhabitants sought refuge in the mountainous areas, whereas the majority submitted themselves to their new masters by serving them. These people are known as *penestai*, a class of enslaved laborers who worked as tenant farmers or servants in the households of their Thessalian masters⁷. According to ancient literary sources in some cases, they were used as cavalry men⁸ and oarsmen⁹ beside their lords as well as

³ Stählin 1924, p.9

⁴ Herodotus (*Histories*, H, 95.2) considers them of Pelasgian origin too

⁵ Homer, *Iliad*, B, 749

⁶ Stählin 1924, p. 49

⁷ Ducat 1994, pp.84-86

⁸ Demosthenes, *Against Aristocrates*, 199

soldiers in the altercations of the aristocratic families¹⁰. Over time, Thesalians subjugated the remaining people of the area – Perrhaiboi, Magnetes and Achaioi Phthiotas. They are known in the literary sources as *perioikoi* and, unlike *penestai*, they were free but they didn't participate in the governing system and they were obliged to pay a tribute.¹¹

The early political history of Thessaly is rather obscure. The land was divided into big allotments controlled by the local aristocracy. In the late 6th – early 5th century B.C. a reform took place by Aleuas the Red.¹² Thereby, Thessaly was divided into four districts named Tetrads, Thessaliotis, Pelasgiotis, Hestiaiotes and Phthiotis. Every district was divided into smaller allotments, which were obliged to offer a certain number of horsemen and *oplitai* during wartime.¹³ The four Tetrads constituted a loose Confederacy under the leadership of a *tagos*.¹⁴ The office was taken by a member of the local aristocracy and the *tagos* was governing by consensus. The division of the Tetrads was rather more geographical than tribal and was serving the recruitment of the Thessalian army.¹⁵

Consequently, this political and social arrangement survived almost unchanged, despite the uprisings among the *penestai* against their lords documented during 5th century B.C., throughout Thessalian history. In the late 6th – early 5th century B.C. two families, Aleuadai of Larissa and Skopadai of Krannon, predominated the political history of Thessaly, holding the office of *tagos* whereas other cities with aristocratic families, such as Pharsalos and Pherai tried to emerge during the course of the century. During the Persian wars, Thessaly, under the leadership of Aleuadai, supported Xerxes' troops. Nonetheless, after the decision of the allied against the Persians Greeks in Corinth to

⁹ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, Στ, 1,11

¹⁰ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, Β, 3,36

¹¹ Westlake 1935, pp.16-20

¹² M. Sordi (Sordi 1958, pp.99-120) indentify Aleuas the Red as Aleuas son of Simos and date his reform in the end of 6th century B.C. but B. Helly (Helly 1995, pp.81-89) proved convincingly that Aleuas' the Red reform was much older dating him in the early 6th century.

¹³ 40 and 80 men respectively (Aristotle, *Frg* 498 Rose; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ΣΤ, 1. 8-9)

¹⁴ B. Helly (Helly 1995, pp.33-64 and 279-289, argues that the word *tagos* as the leader of the Thessalian State was used for the first time in the 4th century B.C. in order to describe the office of Jason of Pherae. In fact, the office of the leader of the Thessalian State is referred to in literary sources as *archos*, *archon* or tetrarch whereas the word *tagos* was referred to as the leader of the allotments and responsible for the recruitment of the army. Furthermore, *tagos* is attested in several Macedonian cities among the eponymous *archontes* a fact which reflects the strong relations among the two regions either on a political and cultural or institutional level. (Helly – Mari 2018, pp.261-282)

¹⁵ Helly 1995, pp.15-26

take action against those who “medized”, they declared themselves ready to fight against Persians if they had adequate support.¹⁶ The other Greeks denied sending troops to Tempi and confronted the Persians at Plataeai in 479 B.C. During the Peloponnesian War though, they didn’t take an active part, some of the cities which favored Democracy sided with Athens, whereas those who favored Oligarchy sided with Sparta.¹⁷

So in the beginning of the 4th century B.C., Pherrai the city, rose to importance due to its control of the port of Pagasai from which its aristocracy gained much in wealth. During this period the personality of Lycophron dominated, who defeated and exiled Aleuadai, and Jason, thereby succeeded in gaining the office of *tagos* with the consensus of all Thessalians. Under his command, Thessaly gained its importance among the Greek world supported by a huge army. Jason was murdered in 370 B.C. during his preparations for the celebration of Pythia at Delphi. After his assassination increased tyranny also dominated the political history of Pherai. His successors, Polydoros and Polyphron, were murdered too and his nephew Alexander ascended to authority. Alexander’s leadership was truly tyrannical and led the Thessalians to appeal to Alexander II of Macedonia for help. Thusly the latter gained control of Larissa and Krannon and forced Alexander of Pherai to retreat to his city. With the Macedonian intervention begins a new era of Thessalian history during which Thessaly became part of the rising Macedonian Kingdom whereby, Macedonian kings were elected to the office of *tagos* (Philip II and Alexander III) and all the affairs of the Thessalian state were controlled by Macedonians. This situation lasted until the defeat of Macedonians by the Romans when Thessaly became a Commonwealth with a simple ceremonial function within a larger province.¹⁸

The coinage and its types

Hence, Thessalian cities didn’t strike coins until the 5th century B.C. unlike other Greek cities (Athens, Aigina, Euboian and Boiotian cities, Cycladic islands). We cannot convincingly interpret this delay in the the coin production history of Thessaly in

¹⁶ M. Sordi (Sordi 1958, pp.145-163) considers these movements of Thessalians rather as tactical move in order to avoid retaliations for their “medism” than as a result of dispute among Aleuadai and other aristocratic families.

¹⁷ Rogers 1932, p.7

¹⁸ Sprawski 2003, pp.17-32; Westlake 1935, pp.98-144

comparison with the aforementioned cities, nevertheless the geographical isolation and the political condition in the region could be the best explanation.¹⁹

Sometime after 500 B.C. the first coins of local circulation from Larissa appear in the Persian weight standard. The need for striking coins in the Persian standard can be explained by the political conditions in the region during this period. Larissa was the first city which was subjugated by the Persian King and therefore, it needed coins in order to pay tribute to the King and for the other transactions with the Persians.²⁰ After the Persian wars during the first half of the 5th century B.C., other Thessalian cities began striking coins as well. Thusly, the weight standard changes and Thessalians use the Aiginitian one which was the predominant standard in southern Greece. Kraay²¹ identified two groups of coins with similar iconographical motives in this period. The first one bore the depiction of *taurokathapsia* on the obverse and a horse on the reverse (figure 2) whereas in the second group there was a horse on the obverse and a wheat grain on the reverse (figure 3). The research identified seven mints of the first group of coins (Larissa, Krannon, Perrhaiboi, Pharkadon, Triikka, Pherrai and Skotoussa) and two mints of the second group (Skotoussa, Methyilion) whereas an issue with the legend *ΘΕΤΤΑΛΩΝ* has been attributed to Pherrai²². The characterization of these coins as “federals” doesn’t imply an official strike from the Thessalian League but simply collaboration among the Thessalian cities in order to meet their needs for money.²³

In the late 5th century and during the whole of the 4th century B.C. the “federal” types were abandoned and Larissa first adopted the type of the facing head of Nymph Larissa whereas other Thessalian cities adopt local types too. This radical change occurs rather as a matter of modernization of the dies and style than due to political reasons.²⁴

¹⁹ Oikonomidou 1985, p.156

²⁰ Martin 1985, pp.49-50. On the other hand, Kagan (Kagan 2004, pp.79-86), based on metrological and iconographical observations, claims that Persian weight standard was never used in the first issues of Larissa down dating them after the Persian retreat.

²¹ Kraay 1976, pp.115-116

²² Franke (Franke 1973, pp.5-12) refutes the attribution of these coins to Pherai and argues in favor of the existence of a numismatic Confederacy of the Thessalians based on linguistic elements of the legends of the coins.

²³ Martin 1985, pp.51-52

²⁴ Martin 1985, p.53

In the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. the Thessalian mints ceased their function and a great number of Macedonian coins circulated in the region. This observation caused a debate among the scholars about the reasons behind this phenomenon. The predominant view was that this cessation was imposed by the Macedonian kings for political reasons. In 1985, Martin²⁵ suggested that the cessation caused by the deterioration of the economic situation in Thessaly occurred due to the wars which took place in its territory, an opinion which gradually became widely accepted.

Furthermore, the primary inspirations for the depictions on the Thessalian coins were images from nature and everyday life, like on the other Greek coinages. The grape of Meliboia and Skotoussa (figure 4), the corn grain of Pherrai, the bull of Krannon (figure 5) and the horse of Larissa and Atrax can easily be interpreted as being references to the agricultural tradition of Thessaly whereas the cavalry man of Pharsalus and the prow of Magnes to the military and naval tradition.²⁶ Moreover, there are coin types which can't be attributed to the agricultural or military tradition of the region. These types enshrine myths, legends, religious traditions and the perspective of the locals about their history and prove the continuity of these traditions and the loyalty of the Thessalian to them despite changes that took effect in the Thessalian region during the course of the centuries²⁷. This variety of types and legends, mentioned above, are those which gave the Thessalian coinage its remarkable value.

²⁵ Martin 1985

²⁶ Rogers 1932, p.12

²⁷ Monceaux (Monceaux 1888, pp.129-153) studied thoroughly and classified these types into three cycles which also correspond to the stages of the Thessalian history. The first one is the Pelasgic which corresponds to the indigenous inhabitants of the region. The second one is called Aeolian, Iono-Minyan, Achaean and Dorian, covering the period of the great migration and corresponds to the main tribes of the Hellenic migration. Finally, the last one is the Thessalian cycle which corresponds to the settlement of the Thessalians in the region.

THE HORSE TYPE IN THESSALY

The coins and their geographical distribution

One of the most common and widespread coin types in the Thessalian region is that of a horse, alone or with mounted horseman. Many cities in Thessaly have struck coins depicting horses in different types and combinations as we can see in the *table 1* that follows.

The geographical distribution of the horse type helps us make some observations and reach specific conclusions. As we can see, this coin type was used by the cities of the whole Thessalian plain as well as the mountainous cities of northern Thessaly. On the contrary, we can observe a significant lack of this type in the coastal cities of Eastern Thessaly. This can be explained by the dominion and the abundance of the horses in these areas. Thessaly was famous for horse breeding and the horse itself played a crucial role in the development of agriculture and the wealth of Thessalian region. Furthermore, the Aristocracy of these cities provided the horses for the famous Thessalian cavalry. All that has been mentioned seems to have inspired the local authorities to choose the horse for their city's coin types.²⁸ On the other hand, in the coastal cities of Eastern Thessaly where the horse didn't play such an important role in everyday life other coin types were chosen, related to the sea and the natural environment of the region.

²⁸ Tsagari 2004, pp.447-450

Table 1: Coins Catalogue²⁹

City	Denomination	Obverse	Reverse	Date	Lot number
Thessalian League	Silver Drachm	Forepart of horse emerging from rock	Wheat grain in incuse square / ΦE-TA	Ca. 470-460 B.C.	1
Thessalian League	Silver Obol	Head and neck of horse	Wheat grain in incuse square / Φ-E	Ca. 470-460 B.C.	4
Thessalian League	Silver Hemidrachm	Forepart of horse emerging from rock	Head of Heracles with lion skin in incuse square / ΦEΘA	Ca. 470-460 B.C.	19
Thessalian League	Silver Hemiobol	Head and neck of horse	Club in incuse square / ΦEΘA	Ca. 470-460 B.C.	20
Thessalian League	Chalkous	Head of Zeus with oak wreath	Forepart of prancing horse emerging from rock / ΠEΤ-ΘA-ΛΩN	Ca. 361/360 B.C.	23
Atrax	Silver Trihemiobol	Horseman wearing kausia	Bull standing / ATPA-ΓIΩN	Early 4 th century B.C.	49
Atrax	Silver Hemidrachm	Head of Nymph Bura with pedant, necklace and earrings	Horse standing / ATPAΓ-ION	Early to Mid-4 th century B.C.	51
Atrax	Trichalkon	Horseman galloping pursuing a bull	Bearded head of Lapith Atrax / [AT]PAΓION	Second quarter of 4 th century B.C.	53
Atrax	Silver Obol	Youthful male head with short hair	Horse about to roll on exergue line / [AT]PAΓIΩN	Mid-4th century B.C.	54
Atrax	Silver Obol	Facing bust of nymph Bura / EYEI	Horse standing / ATPA[ΓI-ΩN]	Mid-4th century B.C.	55
Atrax	Dichalkon	Horseman on horse prancing	Bull jumping / ATPA-ΓIION	Mid-4th century B.C.	58.1
Atrax	Dichalkon	Youthful male head / EYBATA	Horse walking on exergue line/ ATPA-ΓI-NΩ	Mid-4th century B.C.	58.7
Atrax	Chalkous	Wreathed head of Nymph Bura	Feeding horse / ATPA	Mid-4th century B.C.	58.9
Atrax	Dichalkon	Horseman walking	Bull butting in wreath of oak leaves	Mid-4th century B.C.	58.15
Atrax	Trichalkon	Laureate head of	Horseman on horse	3 rd century	59.1

²⁹ Triton XV 2012, pp. 17-329

		Apollo	trotting with his r. hand raised / ΑΤΡΑΓ-Ι-Ν-Ω	B.C.	
Atrax	Trichalkon	Wreathed head of Apollo	Free horse standing r. on exergue line/ΑΤΡΑ-ΓΙΩΝ	3 rd -2 nd century B.C.	60
Gyrton	Silver Hemidrachm	Head of Nymph Gyrtone	Horse preparing to roll / ΓΥΡ[Τ]ΩΝΙΩΝ	Ca. 340-330 B.C.	77
Gyrton	Dichalkon	Bare male head of Hero Gyrton next to head and neck of a horse	Head of nymph Gyrtone / ΓΥΡΤΟΝΙΟ[Ν]	Ca. 340-330 B.C.	78
Gyrton	Trichalkon	Bearded and wreathed head of Zeus I.	Horse trotting / ΓΥΡΤ-ΝΩ-Ι-ΝΩ	Late 4 th – early 3 rd centuries B.C.	82.3
Gyrton	Chalkous or Dichalkon	Laureate head of Apollo	Bridled horse trotting on exergue line / ΓΥΡΤ-Ω-ΝΙΩΝ	Early 3 rd century B.C.	83.8
Kierion	Silver Obol	Horse about to roll	Warrior with conical helmet and oval shield / Κ-Ι-Ε	Early to Mid-4 th century B.C.	96
Kierion	Silver Obol	Bridled horse galloping	Naked warrior with helmet, shield and sword / ΚΙΕΠΙ-ΕΙΩΝ	3 rd quarter of 4 th century B.C.	104.2
Kierion	Silver Obol	Horse trotting	Naked warrior with helmet, shield and sword / ΚΙΕΠΙΕΙ-ΩΝ	3 rd quarter of 4 th century B.C.	104.3
Kierion	Dichalkon	Head of Zeus or Poseidon laureate and bearded	Horse trotting	Early to Mid-4 th century B.C.	106.1
Kierion	TRichalkon	Head of Poseidon wreathed and bearded	Bridled horse springing to right; below, Arne, half-kneeling to l., her r. hand playing with knucklebones but her l. raised as if to protect her from the huge horse above her	3 rd century B.C.	108.3
Krannon	Silver Drachm	Youthful naked hero holding a bull	Bridled horse trotting to l., reins trailing on ground; behind, trident upward and	Mid-5 th century B.C.	109

			diagonally / K-PA-NO		
Krannon	Silver Hemidrachm	Youthful hero (Thessalos) holding the forepart of a bull	Forepart of a horse prancing left / K-R-A	Mid-5th century B.C.	110
Krannon	Silver Obol	Facing bull's head restrained by a hero (Thessalos)	Head and neck of a bridled horse / K-R-[A]	Mid-5th century B.C.	112
Krannon	Silver Hemiobol	Bull's hoof	Head of a horse / K-R-A	Mid-5th century B.C.	113
Krannon	Silver Obol	Forepart of a bull	Head and neck of a bridled horse / K-R-A	Mid-5th century B.C.	114.1
Krannon	Silver Obol	Head and neck of a bull	Head and neck of a bridled horse; behind trident / K-R-A	Mid-5th century B.C.	114.2
Krannon	Chalkous	Head of Thessalos wearing petasos with head and neck of a horse	Bull butting; above trident / KPA	First half of 4 th century B.C.	115.2
Krannon	Dichalkon	Laureate and bearded head of Poseidon	Horseman with petassos prancing / KP	4 th century B.C.	116.1
Krannon	Chalkous	Horseman with petassos and chlamys on horse prancing	Bull butting; above trident / KPAN	4th century B.C.	118.1
Krannon	Dichalkon	Horseman with petassos and chlamys on horse prancing	Hydria on cart with long handle; crow to r. / A-PK-NNO	4th century B.C.	119.1
Krannon	Trichalkon	Draped bust of hero Thessalos wearing petasos	Horseman with petassos on horse prancing / KPA-N-NΩNIQN	3 rd century	120.1
Krannon	Chalkous	Laureate and bearded head of Poseidon	Hydria flanked by two crows perched on cart wheels / KPANNYOYNIOYN	3 rd century	120.2
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Horse grazing / cicada	Sandal of Jason / ΛAPI-SAIO-N	479/475 – ca. 460 B.C.	129
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Horse grazing / caduceus / dog	Sandal of Jason / ΛA-PIS-AI-ON	Ca. 460 B.C.	144
Larissa	Silver Obol	Head and neck of bull	Head and neck of horse of bridled / ΛA	Late second quarter of 5 th century B.C.	146

Larissa	Silver Hemiobol	Bull's hoof	Head and neck of horse / A-Λ	Late second quarter of 5 th century B.C.	149
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Hero with petasos and chlamys holding the head of a bull rushing	Bridled horse prancing / ΛA-IR	Mid- 5 th century B.C.	152
Larissa	Silver Hemidrachm	Hero with petasos and chlamys holding the head of a bull's forepart	Forepart of a horse rushing / ΛA-RI	Mid-5 th century B.C.	153
Larissa	Silver Trihemiobol	Horseman with petasos and chlamys holding spear and riding a horse walking	Nymph Larissa seated / ΛA-RI	Mid to Late 5 th century B.C.	154
Larissa	Trihemiobol	Horseman with petasos and chlamys holding two spears and riding a horse walking	Nymph Larissa seated / ΛA-RI	Mid to Late 5 th century B.C.	155
Larissa	Silver Obol	Bridled horse standing	Nymph Larissa standing and balancing an one handled hydria on her raised left knee / Λ-A-RI	Last quarter of 5 th century B.C.	159
Larissa	Silver Obol	Horse walking	Nymph Larissa standing and balancing an one handled hydria on her raised left knee / Λ-A-RI	Last quarter of 5 th century B.C.	160
Larissa	Silver Obol	Horse trotting	Nymph Larissa standing tossing a ball with her r. hand / ΛAP-ΙΣΑ	Ca. 400 B.C.	161
Larissa	Silver Obol	Horse prancing	Nymph Larissa running bouncing ball to the ground / Λ-A-P-I	Ca. 400 B.C.	162
Larissa	Silver Obol	Horse prancing	Nymph Larissa standing bouncing ball to the ground / Λ-A-P-I	Ca. 400 B.C.	163
Larissa	Silver Obol	Horse walking	Nymph Larissa seated on a hydria /	Ca. 400 B.C.	164

			AA-RIS-A		
Larissa	Silver Obol	Horse prancing	Asklepios standing holding a long staff with his l. hand and extending a phiale towards erected serpent with his r. hand / AA-PI	Ca. 400 B.C.	166
Larissa	Silver Obol	Horse walking	Nymph Larissa leaning down to tie her l. sandal in front of an hydria / A-A-P	Ca. 400 B.C.	167
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Nymph Larissa wearing earrings and her hair raised and bound in a sakkos	Hero Thessalos wearing chlamys and petassos preparing to vault on a back of a bridled horse cantering / AA-PI-ΣAI	Early to mid-4 th century B.C.	179
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Nymph Larissa wearing earrings and her hair raised and bound in a sakkos	Bridled horse galloping with its rein trailing / AAPI-Σ-AIA	Early to mid- 4 th century B.C.	180
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Bull leaping / AAPIΣAIΩN	Horseman wearing tunic chlamys and petassos holding a goad in his r. hand and galloping	Ca. 370 B.C.	186
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Nymph Larissa three-quarter facing l. wearing head band and plain necklace / ΣIMO	Horse with straight legs grazing / AAPI	Early to mid- 4 th century B.C.	191
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Nymph Larissa three-quarter facing l. wearing head band, pendant earrings with a bead and necklace	Horse about to roll r. / AAPIΣAI in exergue	Early to mid-4 th century B.C.	205
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Nymph Larissa three-quarter facing l. wearing head band and plain necklace	Bridled horse prancing, rein trailing below / AAPI	Early to mid- 4 th century B.C.	220
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Nymph Larissa three-quarter facing l. wearing head band and	Bridled horse pacing r. head turning l., rein trailing below / AAPI	Early to mid- 4 th century B.C.	221

		plain necklace			
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Nymph Larissa three-quarter facing r. wearing pendant earrings and necklace with a central drop / METO	Horse advancing on exergue line; rein trailing below / ΛΑΠ above ΣΙΜΟ down	Early to mid-4th century B.C.	230
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Nymph Larissa three-quarter facing l. wearing torque necklace	Bridled crouching horse about to roll / ΛΑΠ above ΠΛΕΙ in exergue	Early to mid-4th century B.C.	271
Larissa	Silver Hemidrachm	Head of nymph Larissa wearing a pendant earrings	Bridled crouching horse about to roll / ΛΑΠ above ΠΛΕΙ in exergue	Early to mid-4th century B.C.	273
Larissa	Dichalkon	Nymph Larissa three-quarter facing r. grain ears in her hair, wearing triple pendant earring and plain necklace with a central drop	Helmeted horseman on prancing horse / Λ[ΑΠ] [ΣΑΙΩΝ]	Early to mid-4th century B.C.	278
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Nymph Larissa three-quarter facing l. wearing head band and plain necklace	Helmeted cavalryman wearing body cuirass and holding a lance in his r. hand on prancing horse / ΛΑ-Ρ-Ι-ΣΑΙ	Early to mid-4th century B.C.	292
Larissa	Silver Drachm	Nymph Larissa three-quarter facing l. wearing head band and plain necklace with a central drop	Mare standing with a foal in the background / ΛΑΠΙΣΑΙΩΝ below exergue line	Early to mid-4th century B.C.	294
Methylion	Silver Hemidrachm	Forepart of horse emerging from rock	Wheat grain in incuse square / ΜΕ-ΘΥ	Ca. 450 B.C.	462
Methylion	Silver Obol	Head and neck of horse	Wheat grain in incuse square / ΜΕ-ΘΥ	Ca. 450 B.C.	463.2
Methylion	Trichalkon	Young male head with short hair	Helmeted horseman with chlamys and spear on horse prancing / ΜΕΘΥΛΙΕΩΝ	Mid to late 4 th century B.C.	472
Olosson	Dichalkon	Cavalryman with chlamys and petassos on horse	Zeus Keraunios striding r. , hurling thunderbolt with his	First half of 4 th century B.C.	495

		prancing	r. hand / ΟΛΟ		
Orthe	Trichalkon	Head of Athena wearing Corinthian helmet with serpent coiled on bowl	Forepart of a horse emerging from rocks on which grows an olive tree / ΟΡΘΙΕΙΩΝ	Late 4 th century B.C.	500
Peirasia	Silver Trihemiobol	Head of Athena facing with triple crested Corinthian helmet and her hair in ringlets	Helmeted horseman in short tunic cantering r. raising a spear / ΠΕΙ-ΡΑΣΙ	Early to mid-4 th century B.C.	503
Pelinna	Silver Obol	Bull's head facing with half figure of a hero to l.	Bridled horse's head and neck / ΠΕ-Λ	Mid-5 th century B.C.	508
Pelinna	Silver Hemidrachm	Thessalos with petassos on his back holding a band around the forehead of a bull	Bridled forepart of horse / ΠΕ-Λ-ΝΙ	Mid-5 th century B.C.	509.1
Pelinna	Silver Drachm	Cavalry man with short tunic and petassos holding a spear on horse prancing	Warrior wearing petassos and chlamys, armed with a sword and holding two spears and shield / [Π]ΕΛΙΝΝΑΙΕΩ[N]	Last quarter of 5 th century	510
Pelinna	Silver Obol	Horse pacing	Warrior in fighting attitude wearing petassos and short chiton and holding spear and shield / Π-ΕΛ-ΝΙ	Last quarter of 5 th century	515
Pelinna	Chalkous	Helmeted horseman with chlamys and short tunic striking at fallen enemy who covers himself with his shield	Warrior in short tunic holding shield and spear / ΠΕΛΙΝ-ΙΚΟΝ	First quarter of 4 th century B.C.	520
Pelinna	Chalkous	Helmeted horseman to l. with chlamys striking at fallen enemy who covers himself with his shield	Same as the obverse but to r.	First quarter of 4 th century B.C.	522
Pelinna	Dichalkon	Helmeted and cuirassed horseman to l. with chiton and short tunic on prancing	Mantho veiled and draped holding open box gesturing to the half image of his father Teiressias	Mid-4 th century B.C.	523

		horse	emerging from underworld holding a dagger / [Π]ΕΛΙΝΝΑΕΙΩΝ		
Pelinna	Dichalkon	Head of Mantho veiled	Helmeted horseman wearing chlamys with couched lance on prancing horse / ΠΕΛΙΝ[ΝΑΙ]ΩΝ	Late 4 th to early 3 rd centuries B.C.	524
Perrhaiboi	Silver Obol	Head and neck of bull facing	Head and neck of bridled horse / Π-E	Late second quarter of 5 th century B.C.	537
Perrhaiboi	Silver Obol	Forepart of wolf	Head and neck of bridled horse / ΠΕ	Late second quarter of 5 th century B.C.	538
Perrhaiboi	Silver Hemidrachm	Hero with petassos and chlamys behind the animal holding a band around the forehead of a bull leaping	Forepart of bridled horse / ΠΕ-R-A	Ca. mid- 5 th century B.C.	540
Perrhaiboi	Silver Trihemiobol	Thessalian warrior with petassos and short tunic carrying two spears standing behind a bridled horse	Helmeted Athena with long chiton and aegis standing facing / Π-E-PA	Mid to late 5 th century B.C.	543
Perrhaiboi	Silver Trihemiobol	Thessalian warrior with petassos and chlamys holding two spears mounted on walking horse	Seated Athena with chiton and himation holding crested helmet / [Π]-E-P-A	Late 5 th century B.C.	546
Perrhaiboi	Silver Obol	Bridled horse prancing	Athena Itonia in fighting attitude wearing crested helmet and long robes and holding spear and shield / Π-E-PA	Late 5 th to early 4 th centuries B.C.	549
Perrhaiboi	Silver Hemiobol	Helmeted head of Athena	Forepart of bridled horse	Late 5 th to early 4 th centuries B.C.	553.1
Phakion	Trichalkon	Diademed head of	Horseman with	3 rd century	566

		nymph	clamys and short chiton raising his hand in salute on advancing horse / ΦΑΚΙ-ΑΣΤΩ-[N]	B.C.	
Phalanna	Silver Drachm	Youthful male head	Bridled horse trotting / ΦΑΛΑΝ-ΝΑΙ-ΩΝ	Mid-4 th century B.C.	569
Phalanna	Dichalkon	Head of Ares in crested Attic helmet	Horse trotting / [Φ]ΑΛΑΝΝΑΙΩΝ	Ca. 322 B.C.	576
Phalanna	Dichalkon	Head of nymph with pendant earring and hair rolled up and gathered at the back of her head	Thessalian horseman with chlamys and petassos on horse prancing / ΦΑ-ΛΑΝΝ-Α-ΙΟΝ	4 th century B.C.	585
Phaloria	Silver Trihemiobol	Wolf's head and neck	Helmeted horseman on horse prancing and spear in its raised r. hand / Λ	4 th century B.C.	595
Pharkadon	Silver Obol	Head and neck of bull facing	Head and neck of bridled horse / ΦΑ-R	Ca. 460 B.C.	600
Pharkadon	Silver Hemiobol	Bull's hoof	Head and neck of bridled horse; behind trident to r. / Φ-A-R	Ca. 460 B.C.	601
Pharkadon	Silver Hemidrachm	Thessalos naked with petassos behind the forepart of a bull holding the animal forehead	Forepart of bridled horse; its rein trailing below / ΦΑΡΚΑ	Mid-5 th century B.C.	602
Pharkadon	Silver Obol	Horse pacing	Athena wearing aegis with spear and shield / Φ[A]-ΚΑΔΟ	Last quarter of 5 th to first quarter of 4 th centuries B.C.	606
Pharkadon	Silver Obol	Horse pacing	Heracles naked but for lion skin holding bow / Φ-[A]-Κ-Ρ	Last quarter of 5 th to first quarter of 4 th centuries B.C.	608
Pharkadon	Dichalkon	Horse grazing	Crescent with its horns upwards and above it star with six	3 rd quarter of 4 th century	613

			rays / ΦΑΡΚΑΔ- ONION	B.C.	
Pharkadon	Trichalkon	Laureate and bearded head (Poseidon)	Bridled horse with traillin rein preparing to roll / ΦΑ-P	First quarter of 4th century B.C.	622.1
Pharos	Chalkous	Young male head wearing a head band	Forepart of a horse and trident below	Early to mid-4 th century B.C.	626
Pharsalos	Silver Obol	Head of Athena wearing earring and crested Athenian helmet	Head and neck of a horse / Φ-AR	Mid- 5 th century B.C.	627
Pharsalos	Silver Trihemiobol	Head of Athena wearing crested Athenian helmet	Helmeted rider on prancing horse with his hand raised brandishinsg a <i>lagobolon</i> / Φ-A-P-Σ	Mid to late 5 th century B.C.	636
Pharsalos	Silver Trihemiobol	Helmeted head of Athena facing	Helmeted rider on prancing horse brandishing flail ending in two balls / Φ-A-P-Σ	Early to mid-4th century B.C.	656
Pherai	Silver Obol	Head and neck of bull facing	Head and neck of bridled horse / ΦΕ-R-A	Late second quarter of 5 th century B.C.	675
Pherai	Silver Hemiobol	Bull's hoof	Head and neck of bridled horse / Φ-E	Late second quarter of 5th century B.C	680
Pherai	Silver Drachm	Hero Thessalos naked but for petassos restraining a leaping bull / [Γ]ΛΑ	Bridled horse canting with a lion head fountain sprout with water pouring from its mouth behind/ Φ-E-R-A-I	Mid-5 th century B.C.	682
Pherai	Silver Stater	Head of Ennodia facing	Alexander wearing Thessakian helmet and cuirass above short chiton riding horse prancing / A-Λ-E-ΞΑ-N-ΔΡΟΥ	369-358 B.C.	695
Pherai	Silver Hemiobol	Head and neck of bridled horse	Horse's lower leg and hoof	369-358 B.C.	704
Pherai	Chalkous	Head of Jason r. wearing petassos	Horse's lower leg and hoof	369-358 B.C.	706

Pherai	Chalkous	Bull's forepart	Forepart of horse / ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	369-358 B.C.	708.1
Pherai	Chalkous	Female head with hair rolled around her head	Forepart of a horse / ΤΕΙΣΙΦΟΝ[ΟΥ]	358-353 B.C.	711
Pherai	Silver Stater	Head of nymph Hypereia wearing pearl necklace, triple pendant earring and wreath of wheat leaves in front of lion's head fountain sprout	Ennodia draped and with a torch in each hand seated facing on horse galloping / ΦΕΡΑΙΟΥΝ / ΑΣΤ- ΟΜΕ-ΔΟΝ	Early 3 rd century B.C.	712
Pherai	Silver Hemidrachm	Nymph Hypereia facing wearing wreath of reeds	Ennodia wreathed and draped holding a long torch seated facing on horse galloping; above l. lion's head fountain sprout / ΦΕΡΑΙΩΝ	3 rd century B.C.	715
Pherai	Trichalkon	Lion's head	Ennodia veiled holding a torch in each hand seated facing on horse trotting / Φ-Ε-ΡΑΙΩΝ	3 rd century B.C.	717.1
Skotussa	Silver Obol	Bull's head and neck r., its head turned to face the viewer; to l., half figure of hero r., holding a band with both hands above the forehead of the animal	Head and neck of bridled horse r. / Σ[Κ]-Ο	Late 2 nd quarter of the 5 th century BC	726
Skotussa	Silver Drachm	Forepart of horse	Germinating grain / Σ-ΚΟ	2 nd half of 5 th century B.C.	728
Skotussa	Silver Obol	Head and neck of bridled horse	Germinating grain / Σ-ΚΟ	2 nd half of 5 th century B.C.	732
Skotussa	Silver Hemidrachm	Archaizing head of Heracles with lion's skin headdress	Forepart of horse walking being led by its rein / S-KO	Early 4 th century B.C.	735.1
Skotussa	Dichalkon	Head of Ares or Athena with crested helmet and plume	Bridled horse prancing / [Σ]ΚΟΤΟΥ[Σ]-ΣΑΙΩΝ	3 rd century B.C.	752.1
Thebai	Dichalkon	Veiled head of Demeter wearing grain wreath	Bridled horse trotting / ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ	3 rd century B.C.	762.1

Trikka	Silver Hemiobol	Bull's hoof	Forepart of horse / T-PIK-K-A-ION	Mid- 5 th century	765
Trikka	Silver Hemiobol	Head of Athena in crested Attic helmet	Forepart of horse / T-P-I	Second half of 5 th century B.C.	766
Trikka	Silver Hemidrachm	Hero Thessalos naked but for petasos and cloak holding a band below the horns of a forepart bull leaping	Forepart of a bridled horse prancing / TPI-KK-AI	Second half of 5 th century B.C.	767
Trikka	Silver Obol	Bridled horse pacing	Nymph Trikke in long drapery standing facing tossing ball with her hand / T-P-K-I	Second half of 5 th century B.C.	770
Trikka	Silver Obol	Free horse prancing r.	the nymph Trikke standing r., fully draped, holding box in her l. and opening it with her r. / [T]PIKA	Second half of the 5 th century BC	771
Trikka	Silver Obol	Free horse prancing l.	Female figure (Herkyne) in long chiton, advancing r., head turned to look behind her, she lifts the folds of her drapery with her r. and with her l. holds a goose close to her body, the head of the bird looking r. / TP-I- KKA	Second half of the 5 th century BC	773
Trikka	Silver Hemiobol	Youthful male head	Forepart of a horse / T-PI	Second half of 5 th century B.C.	774
Trikka	Silver Obol	Free horse prancing l.	Athena striding l., wearing crested helmet and long robes, brandishing long spear with her r. hand and holding shield with her l. / T-PIK-KA	Second half of 5 th century B.C.	779.1
Trikka	Silver Trihemiobol	Thessalian horseman wearing	Nymphe Trikke draped with her	Ca. 400 B.C.	783

		petassos, chlamys and short chiton holding a long switch above horse's head	head rolled around and tied up above her head seated on elaborate stool with curved legs / TPIKKAI-ON		
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Evolution of the type

The die cutters depicted the horse on the Thessalian coins inspired primarily by its nature imitating its movement and poses. Horses grazing, trotting,³⁰ prancing, crouching, galloping and walking are the most common and repeated depictions on coins. Furthermore, the illustration of a part of the animal (forepart or head) indicated a lower-value coin as it was usual on many city coinages in Antiquity (see figure 3).³¹

The artists try to depict the animal with realism but they don't always succeed at first. Despite the realistic appearance, some elements remain undeveloped. A significant development is the composition of a youth ready to vault on a cantering horse.³² The depiction emits an aliveness which conceals its oddities in the portrayal of the scene.

Thus, developing their skills in the depiction of the horse, die cutters created a wide range of poses which expanded all over Thessaly and survived across time in other forms of art as well.³³ Trotting and crouching horses were familiar types all over Thessaly whereas the horse of *taurokathapsia* is unique in its depiction and pose as the horse is not leaping but cantering or galloping.³⁴ This pose constitutes the base of coin depictions of several cities such as Pherai and Pharsalus. The walking horse type, also, appears in the coinage of Atrax and Larissa in the form of mare and foal or solitary walking horses. Finally, the popularity of the horse in the Thessalian coinage proves the

³⁰ E. Pendleton (Pendleton 2004, p.26) disagrees with this description and proposes that the reference of prancing is the most correct.

³¹ According E. Pendleton (Pendleton 2004, p.24) the depiction of a horse's lower leg in a hemidrachm of Alexander of Pherrai indicate not only the lower value of the coin but also emphasizes the importance of the strong legs in the horses.

³² Xenophon (*Ipparchicus I,5 and I,17*) considers this ability important and vital because it has saved many lives in battle

³³ E.Pendleton (Pendleton 2004, p.25, note 8) argues that several riders of Parthenon freeze sit on a trotting or prancing horse

³⁴ E. Pendleton (Pendleton 2004, p.26) mentions a parallel of a mounted hunter on a canting horse on a Corinthian Column Krater attributed to Andromeda Group and dated c. 575-500 BC. in the British Museum (Museum Number 1772, 0320.6)

continuity of the types during the Roman period until its ending in the third century A.D.³⁵

The interpretation of the type

It is difficult to understand how an ancient Thessalian might conceive the depiction of the horse on the coins of his city. The economic and political significance combined with the cultic and mythological aspects make the boundaries between them somewhat blurred.

Namely, the natural environment of Thessaly was the first source of inspiration for the civic authorities for their coin types. Since the ancient times, Thessaly was known as a “horse-breeder” region and the ancient writers praised the wealth of the region based basically on the work with the famous Thessalian horses. Even Pythia in an oracle during the end of the first Sacred War praised the Thessalian horses considering them the best of Greece.³⁶ Considering this context it isn’t curious that the authorities responsible for the first Thessalian coins chose the horse as obverse or reverse type. In these first coins, the horse is depicted in various activities and poses which can be observed in nature. The horse is illustrated as grazing on a silver drachm of Larissa (figure 6) whereas in Gyrtion the horse is preparing to roll (figure 7), in Kierion, it is shown trotting or galloping (figures 8,9), in Pharkadon prancing (figure 10) and in Atrax standing (figure 11).

Additionally, another aspect concerning horses, in which Thessaly was famous, was the cavalry. The Thessalian cavalry was praised by the ancient authors and its contribution, heralded in several historical events, was great.³⁷ Aristotle³⁸ informs us about the reform of Aleuas the Red, which was the key point for the creation of the Thessallian cavalry. In 510 B.C. a Thessalian cavalry of 1000 men supported the Peisistratids and the tyrant Hippias against the Spartans in Athens.³⁹ When Xerxes

³⁵ Franke 1992, pp.370-375; RPC (III), no 456-464

³⁶ Parke-Vormell 1956, no 1

³⁷ Gaebler 2002, pp. 81-89

³⁸ See. note 13

³⁹ Herodotus *Histories*, E, 63

invaded Greece in 480 B.C., by crossing the Thessalian land, ascertains the superiority of the Thessalian horses.⁴⁰ Thucydides also mentions the alliance between Thessalians and Athenians, which reinforced the Athenian army with the famous cavalry and described the contribution of the Thessalian cavalry at the battle of Tanagra in 458/7 B.C. and at the beginning of Peloponnesian war in 431 B.C.⁴¹ Furthermore, Plutarch registered the Thessalian cavalry of Alexander in his Asian campaign and mentioned that Alexander's horse, *Boukefalas*, was from Thessaly.⁴² On the other hand, the importance of the cavalry for the Thessalians proves the votive offerings at Delphi as well.⁴³

Thus, the dominant presence of the cavalry in military events and the aristocracy, as the body which maintains its cost, in the political affairs of Thessaly is reflected in the coinage of several cities of the region. We may observe a variety of postures and types from mint to mint. A mounted horseman on horse trotting (figure 12) is depicted in Atrax, whereas in Krannon, the horseman is mounted on horse prancing wearing *petassos* (figure 13). On the other hand, in Larissa, the horse is walking with a horseman wearing *petassos* and *chlamys* and holding one or two spears. Furthermore, in a silver drachm of the "facing Nymph" series of Larissa⁴⁴ the horseman is depicted helmeted, wearing a cuirass and holding a lance in his right hand on a prancing horse (figure 14). Finally, depictions of horsemen found on the coins of Olosson (with *chlamys* and *petassos*), Peirasia (helmeted), Pelinna, Perrhaiboi, Phakion, Phalanna, Phaloria and Pharsalos (wearing *petassos*, *chlamys*, and short *chiton* and holding a *lagobolon*) (figures 15-17).

As far as the interpretation of the horse and horseman type on Thessalian coins is concerned, there is a debate and alternative suggestions among the scholars. On the one hand, the coinage of Pharsalos with the horseman type is connected with the cult and legend of Achilles. It is known that the legend of Peleus, Thetis and their son Achilles is pure Thessalian. According to Herodotus⁴⁵ the first encounter between Thetis and Peleus took place in Thessaly at Cape Sepia in the Magnesian peninsula where the

⁴⁰ Herodotus *Histories*, Z, 196

⁴¹ Thucydides *Histories*, A, 102 and 107, B, 22

⁴² Plutarch *Alexander*, 42,3 and 6,1

⁴³ Daux 1958, pp.329-334; Vatin 1964, pp.446-454

⁴⁴ Herrmann (Herrmann 1925) was the first who attempted to establish a chronological arrangement to this series of coinage of Larissa. More recently Martin (Martin 1983) and Lorber (Lorber 2015) revised some of his arrangements.

⁴⁵ Herodotus *Histories*, H, 191

Goddess was worshipped. Furthermore, the *Chironion*⁴⁶ is also connected with her cult because of her marriage with Peleus which took place there, whereas a *Thetidion* is mentioned in the area of Pharsalos⁴⁷. On the contrary, for Achilles no official cult is attested in Thessaly except from an account of Philostratus⁴⁸ about a delegation of Thessalians sent every year to Troad in order to make sacrifices on his tomb⁴⁹. The area of Pharsalos, however, has provided a large number of artifacts, painted vases⁵⁰ and statuettes⁵¹ related to the myth of Achilles. Pausanias, also, mentions that the city of Pharsalos dedicated in Delphi in 4th century B.C. there was a group statue with Achilles mounted on horse and Patroclus as a soldier following him⁵². All that we have mentioned above has led some scholars to link the helmeted horseman with the *Iagobolon* and the foot soldier (figure 18) to the complex mentioned by Pausanias. Moustaka mentions that the similar dating (4th century B.C.) helps us to interpret the coin type as an allusion to the votive offering of the Pharsalians.⁵³

On the other hand, the horseman type with *petasos* and *chlamys* on the coins of several Thessalian cities seem to be based on the same concept. The depiction is a direct hint to the Aristocratic social system as riding was connected to it and the cavalry was provided by Aristocratic families. It has also been attempted, to connect the rider to mythical and heroic figures. We know the cult of heroes was of great importance to the existence of the Greek city. The eponymous hero, especially, was the protector of the city in difficult situations such as war and epidemics and guaranteed the fertility of the soil and its welfare. The Hero's tomb, usually in the center of the city, was an important religious center.⁵⁴ In the Thessalian coinage, the figure of the rider has been linked to Thessalos and Jason but the controversial genealogy of the first, which makes him more a fictional and not a mythical person, and the absence of the equestrian tradition in the legend of the second makes the identification less probable.⁵⁵

⁴⁶ Kaiser 1910, p.19

⁴⁷ Strabo *Geography*, IX, 431

⁴⁸ Philostratus *Heroicus*, XX, 5

⁴⁹ Moustaka 1983, p.61

⁵⁰ ABV 39,16 and 148,9

⁵¹ Karusu 1976, pp.23-30

⁵² Pausanias *Description of Greece*, X, 13.5

⁵³ Moustaka 1983, pp.61-62

⁵⁴ Moustaka 1983, p.54

⁵⁵ Moustaka 1983, pp.74-75

Although the horse is primarily connected to agriculture, the cavalry and the Aristocratic social system in Thessaly, is also linked to several cults in the region. In order to identify these cultic connections, we have to study, in some cases, both of the coin depictions to reach safer conclusions. One of the cults directly connected to the horse is that of Poseidon. The god seems to hold an important place in the *pantheon* of Thessalians. In Thessaly, he is connected to the genesis of the Thessalian plain and the first horse under the epithet *Petraios*. Graninger⁵⁶ attributes the name to the predominant cultic place of Poseidon in the city of Petra. In Pindar⁵⁷ the name *Petraios* is related to the genesis of the Thessalian plain through the creation of Tempi Valley and the name *Hippios* to the genesis of the first horse *Skyphios*⁵⁸ which was born with his trident from the rock. Poseidon also contributes to Thessalian genealogy through Pelias and Nileas which were the names of his sons⁵⁹. Moreover, epigraphic sources mention the festivals *Ippodromia*, *Poseidonia* and *Petraia* in veneration of Poseidon⁶⁰. In addition, through the epigraphic sources two more epithets are preserved of the god, *Impsios* and *Zeuxanthios*⁶¹. Kontogiannis⁶² correlated to the epithet *Impsios* with the basic agricultural procedures whereas Detienne⁶³ attributes to Poseidon the restraint and the subjection of the power of the horse through the epithet *Zeuxanthios*. The contribution of Poseidon in the myths of Thessaly, which we have mentioned above, led Willamovitz-Moellendorf⁶⁴ to the assumption that Poseidon *Petraios* was the most important god of Thessaly. On the other hand, Nilsson⁶⁵ has significant doubts about this because the most important cults of Poseidon are located in the Peloponnese.

The numismatic evidence from Thessaly provides us with several horse types which correlate the representation of the horse to the cult of Poseidon. In the first place we have the “federal” type of the second half of 5th century B.C., which was struck by many Thessalian cities and depicted a horse emerging from the rock on the obverse whereas a wheat grain is depicted on the reverse (see figure 3). In this case, we have a direct reference to the myth of Poseidon about the genesis of the first horse *Skyphios*

⁵⁶ Graninger 2006, p.33

⁵⁷ Pindar Pythians. 4, 138a,b

⁵⁸ Pindar Pythians. 4, 246; Lycophron scholia 766.5; Hesychius Lexicon

⁵⁹ Homer, Odyssey, λ, 238-254

⁶⁰ IG, IX2, 614b

⁶¹ SEG, 42, 512,513; SEG, 72, 515

⁶² Kontogiannis 1992, 381-391

⁶³ Detienne 1971, 161-184

⁶⁴ Willamovitz-Moellendorf 1956, vol.1, p.212

⁶⁵ Nilsson 1995, p.71

from a rock, whereas the wheat grain on the reverse may be interpreted as an allusion to the creation of the Thessalian plain. In the city of Kierion, also, the bearded head of Poseidon is illustrated on the obverse with a horse springing on the reverse (figure 19). Sometimes, the connection of the horse to Poseidon is implied with the presence of a trident above or under it, as happens in the case of the coinage of Krannon (figures 20).

In addition, we have to make a special reference to a series of Thessalian coins, which were struck during the 5th century B.C. in several cities of the region, the so-called *Taurokathapsia* series (figure 21)⁶⁶. They represented a series of ceremonies with horses and bulls, which were taking place in Thessaly and resembling with the corresponding ceremonies of Minoan Crete of the second millennium B.C. Although we don't know the exact name of the Cretan ceremonies, the name of Thessalian ones as *Taurokathapsia* have survived.⁶⁷ The term today is used to describe all the bull ceremonies of the Antiquity nonetheless according to Espinosa⁶⁸ it is more appropriate to use it exclusively for the Thessalian ceremonies of the 5th century B.C.

The Thessalian ceremony was differentiated from the Minoan one as the riders provoked and hounded the bull with the horse in the first place and, when the bull was exhausted, they jumped on his back trying to kill it. To that extent, the Thessalian Games resemble with some contemporary ceremonies and fights with bulls in Spain⁶⁹

The literary and epigraphic evidence provide us with valuable information about the games. Heliodorus⁷⁰ provides us with a detailed description of the games, which took place in Aithiopia with a Thessalian as protagonist. Moreover, Artemidorus⁷¹ supports the Ionian origin of the games but mentions their importance in Larissa. Philip from Thessaloniki⁷², also, dedicates some verses to the Thessalian riders who were trying to restrain the bulls whereas Pindar⁷³ correlates the *Taurokathapsia* to the legend of Centaurs. In the epigraphic corpus, on the other hand, we have a number of inscriptions from the region of Thessaly in which the term *taurothiria* survives as being

⁶⁶ For the *Taurokathapsia* series see also Liampi 2015, pp.1-20

⁶⁷ Axenidis 1947, pp.15-24 and Gallis 1988, pp.217-235

⁶⁸ Espinosa 2006, p.3, n.2

⁶⁹ Espinosa 2006, p.4

⁷⁰ Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, 10, XXVIII-XXX

⁷¹ Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, I, 8

⁷² Anthologia Palatina *Philip of Thessaloniki*, IX, 543

⁷³ Pindar, *Pithians* 2, 78

name of the game and a festival in veneration of Zeus *Eleutherios* in which such a game was taking place⁷⁴.

In Thessalian coinage the game of *taurokathapsia* was depicted in two parts. On the obverse, a young man is illustrated, holding a band around the forehead of the bull trying to restrain it whereas on the reverse there is a bridled horse trotting without a rider with its reins trailing on the ground (figure 22)⁷⁵ A rare depiction of the scene also comes from the city of Atrax, whereby the young man is represented mounted on horse and hounding the bull (figure 23). As far as the connection of *taurokathapsia* with the cult of Poseidon is concerned, it eludes our knowledge. Moustaka⁷⁶ correlates it to Poseidon based on the presence of the trident on the coins of Krannon (figure 24) but mentions that its presence doesn't make the attribution of the bull fight on the obverse certain. On the contrary, Nilsson⁷⁷ and Cook⁷⁸ deny the relation whereas Graninger⁷⁹ proposes to interpret the obverse and reverse depiction as episodes of two different ceremonies and underline the resemblance of the reverse depiction with the chariot races at Boiotia which Homer describes in the *Hymn to Apollo*. Regarding the identification of the naked, strong and athletic young man in the depiction of the *taurokathapsia* scene, some scholars have attempted to identify him as Jason⁸⁰. This identification corresponds to secure representations of the hero from Roman sarcophagi but also can be associated with Theseus or Heracles. For this reason Moustaka⁸¹ considers that these representations embody Thessalian tradition, strength and skill and recall the religious ties of the landscape.

The representation of the Thessalian horse can be associated, under certain conditions, with the cult of Zeus. Zeus, the father of Gods, despite his universality is versatile in his characteristics. From place to place many epithets have been attributed to him and have been linked to several local myths and traditions. In Thessaly, Zeus is linked to the formation of the Thessalian plain too. Athenaeus⁸² delivers us the myth of the origin of the festival *Peloria* in veneration of Zeus *Pelorus* which related Zeus to the

⁷⁴ IG, IX2, 528,531-537

⁷⁵ The coin was publicized by Gardner (Gardner 1883, pp.24-29, pl. IV-V)

⁷⁶ Moustaka 1983, p.22

⁷⁷ Nilsson 1995, p.80

⁷⁸ Cook, Zeus, I, p.498

⁷⁹ Graninger 2006, p.41

⁸⁰ Davis 1967, p.57

⁸¹ Moustaka 1983, pp.75-76

⁸² Athenaeus *Deipnosophistai*, XIV, 639

formation of the Thessalian plain and the first inhabitants of Thessaly. Philippson⁸³ argues that the myth was a later construction integrated in the rivalry between Zeus and Poseidon about the genesis of the Thessalian landscape. The mountain cults of Zeus were also widespread all over Greece⁸⁴. An inscription⁸⁵ found in Pharsalus speaks of dedication to Zeus *Olympios*⁸⁶. In addition, we know about the cult of Zeus *Akraios* in Magnesia, where with Apollo *Koropaios* and Artemis *Iolkia* formed the highest deities of the Magnets⁸⁷. The cult of Zeus *Akraios* was also associated with Mount Pelion and *Chironion* according to Stählin⁸⁸. Moreover, numerous inscriptions have been found which refer to the festival of *Eleftheria* in veneration of Zeus *Eletherios*⁸⁹, to *Buphonia*, associated with Zeus *Thaulios*, whereas Papachatzis⁹⁰ interprets Zeus *Aphrios* as the protector of agriculture. Other epithets for Zeus which we find on the inscriptions are *Keraunios*, *Pythion* and *Meilichios*⁹¹. Considering the horse as the symbol of wealth and prosperity of Thessaly through agriculture and the cult of Zeus *Aphrios* that we have mentioned above, we can associate the coins of some Thessalian cities which bear a laureate head of Zeus on the obverse and a horse on the reverse with this regional cult of Zeus (figure 25, 26).

A series of coins, also from various Thessalian cities which bear a depiction of Athena on the obverse and a horse on the reverse, motivate us to investigate the relation of both depictions to the cult of Athena in the region of Thessaly.

Subsequently, several pieces of information about this cult have bequeathed to us from written sources. The most popular cult of Athena in Thessaly seems to be that of *Itonia*. Pausanias⁹² informs us about its sanctuary between Pherai and Larissa and Strabo⁹³ mentions the corresponding sanctuary at Koroneia which bears the same name as the Thessalian one. However, the localization of the sanctuary is also debated.

⁸³ Philippson 1944, p.63

⁸⁴ Cook, Zeus, II 2, p.868

⁸⁵ I.Thess I, 58

⁸⁶ Gallis 1974, p.283. According to Gallis, although the invocation to Zeus *Olympios* was common in the literary sources, this was the first known inscription from Thessaly with such dedication

⁸⁷ Moustaka 1983, p.17

⁸⁸ Stählin 1924, p.37

⁸⁹ IG IX 2, 508,48; 509,12; 528, 3-5; 578

⁹⁰ Papachatzis 1972, pp.119-121

⁹¹ Moustaka 1983, p.20

⁹² Pausanias *Description of Greece* I, 13,2

⁹³ Strabo *Geography*, IX, 2, 29

Giannopoulos⁹⁴ located it at the Phthiotic city Iton, from where the name *Itonia* came. Stählin⁹⁵ followed Giannopoulos' localization interpreting Larissa of the aforementioned passage of Pausanias as the city of Larissa Kremaste. Nevertheless, the excavations conducted by Giannopoulos in the region did not have the desired results. On the contrary, Theocharis⁹⁶ located the sanctuary in the region of the village Philia near Karditsa when a sanctuary full of bronzes and helmeted terracotta figurines were discovered and connected the cult with the myth of the expulsion of Boiotians by the first Thessalians in Thessalotis region. The character of the Goddess seems to be warlike, as we can assume from the passage of Pausanias⁹⁷, who mentions that Thessalians used the name *Itonia* as a field scream during combat.

Moustaka⁹⁸ distinguishes five types of Athena on Thessalian coins. Some of these types, in conjunction with a horse or horseman on the other side of the coin, which can be related to the cult of Athena *Itonia*, are found in the coinage of several cities. In Orthe, Pharsalos and Triikka (figure 27-29) we have on the obverse the helmeted head of Athena bearing Attic or Corinthian helmet and on the reverse a horse with or without a mounted horseman whereas in the coinage of Perrhaiboi we find three different types, a helmeted Athena with long *chiton* and *aegis*, a seated Athena with *chiton* and *himation* and an armed Athena in fighting position (figure 30-32).

Additionally, we can associate the depiction of the horse on some Thessalian coins with the cult of Ares. However, the attestation of his cult in Thessalian region is still rare, whereas the attribution of the male helmeted head on the coins of Gyrtion and Phalanna to Ares is still debated⁹⁹ (figure 33).

Nymphs are, also, a popular illustration on Thessalian coinage. They were considered daughters of Zeus and were called deities of nature. They were worshipped in cavities and caves where waters sprang out. Callimachus¹⁰⁰ calls river Peneius as "father of the Nymphs" whereas Apollonius Rhodius¹⁰¹ call them *Theai*. In the abundant landscape of Thessaly, two caves dedicated to Nymphs are known, near Pharsalus and

⁹⁴ Giannopoulos 1892, pp.473-478

⁹⁵ Stählin 1924, pp.151-152

⁹⁶ Theocharis 1963, pp.132-143 and Theocharis 1967b, pp.295-296

⁹⁷ Pausanias *Description of Greece*, X, 1, 10

⁹⁸ Moustaka 1983, p.25

⁹⁹ Moustaka 1983, p.46

¹⁰⁰ Callimachus *Hymns*, 4, 109

¹⁰¹ Apoll.Rhod *Argonautics* . I, 550

on Mount Ossa¹⁰² where *stelae* and inscriptions with dedication to the Nymphs as birth deities were found. Also, in Pharsalus cave, a hymn in which Nymphs were called *Theai* was found¹⁰³. According to Moustaka¹⁰⁴ the co-existence in this hymn of the names Heracles, Hermes, Asklepios and Hygeia with the deities of nature as Nymphs and Pan is rather obscure and still debated.

There are numerous Nymphs in the written sources many of whom are the eponyms of various Thessalian cities; nonetheless their associated myths are not well-known. Regarding the most famous Nymph, Nymph Larissa, Pausanias¹⁰⁵ narrates her fall in Peneius during a ball game. Diodorus¹⁰⁶ also considers Arne daughter of Zeus and provide us with information about her sons and her fate until she ends up in the city which was named after her. Moreover, Apollonius Rhodius¹⁰⁷ informs us that Gyrtone, the eponym Nymph of the Perrhaibian city, was the daughter of Ares' son Phlegyas whereas Triikka and Lamia are known as the daughters of Peneios and Phalana as the daughter of Enipeas¹⁰⁸

The representation of a Nymph in conjunction with a horse dominates in the coinage of Thessaly since its beginnings. The Nymphs' character as nature deities and the corresponding meaning of the horse as a symbol of prosperity and wealth through the exploitation of the Thessalian landscape justify this combination. The largest variation of types within the Thessalian mints comes from Larissa. The eponymous nymph is used as the embodiment of the city on the coins and we can see her in many different acts in the coinage of the 5th century B.C. such as standing, sitting, walking or playing a ball (figure 34, 35, 36). Moustaka¹⁰⁹ argues that these representations are not simply images of everyday life but characterize the city that they represent and associate them with the cult practices and the written tradition. Representations similar to Larissean we can also find on the coin types of Triikka, Phalanna and Arne (figure 37).

Since the end of the 5th century B.C. the full figure Nymphs was replaced by the facing head in three quarter with the depiction of the horse on the reverse to be

¹⁰² Wace-Thompson 1908, pp.243-247

¹⁰³ Giannopoulos 1919, pp.48-59

¹⁰⁴ Moustaka 1983, p.47

¹⁰⁵ Pausanias *Description of Greece*, II, 24,1

¹⁰⁶ Diodorus *History*, IV, 67, 2

¹⁰⁷ Apoll.Rhod *Argonautics.*, I, 57

¹⁰⁸ Moustaka 1983, p.48

¹⁰⁹ Moustaka 1983, p.49

continued. The identification of the figure, in the absence of further iconographic elements, based on the origin of the coin is interpreted as the eponymous Nymph or the personification of the city. The richest series of the facing Nymph type is, again, that of Larissa. We can observe the development of the hair style as well as the evolvement of the depiction of the horse (figure 38, 39, 40). It is believed that the prototype of the facing Nymph heads of the Thessalian coinage is the well-known Syracusan portrayal of Kimonian Arethusa which was spread all over Greece and Asia Minor. Although we don't know the exact circumstances under which this exchange occurred, Moustaka argues, as for Thessaly, that the similarity of the landscape between Thessaly and Sicily may have contributed to it. As far as the increase of the appearance of the Nymphs on the Thessalian coinage since the end of the 5th century B.C. is concerned, she points out that the political disturbance of this period provoked a strong sense of self-consciousness in the Thessalian cities which turned to their mythical and heroic past in order to define themselves. In this context, the choice of the horse to accompany the eponymous Nymph on the obverse side of the coins accordingly makes more sense¹¹⁰.

A special reference must be made to a coin from Pherai which represents the Nymph Hypereia on the obverse and the Goddess Enodia on a horse on the reverse (figure 41). On this coin, the horse is associated with the cult of both deities. Enodia belongs to the Artemis related deities and so does Hekate. Although Philippson¹¹¹ points out the importance of Hekate other scholars¹¹² demonstrated the Thessalian origin of Enodia's cult and the replacement of Hekate by her in the region. She was considered as the goddess of the roads and crossroads and her chthonic nature embodied the cult of Hekate which was absent in Thessaly. A large number of dedications to Enodia come from all over Thessaly¹¹³ whereas the name *Pheraia* which is mentioned in the literary sources indicates the existence of her main cult center in the city of Pherrai.¹¹⁴ In 1835, Leak¹¹⁵ described the remnants of a large temple in the region which was unearthed in the 20's by Arvanitopoulos and its findings date from the 7th century to the Hellenistic period. Bequignon¹¹⁶ attributed the temple to Zeus *Thaulios* but Moustaka¹¹⁷ argues

¹¹⁰ Moustaka 1983, pp.50-51

¹¹¹ Philippson 1944, pp.65-106

¹¹² Clement 1932, pp.40-41; Kraus 1960, pp.77-83

¹¹³ Chrysostomou 1998, pp.25-70

¹¹⁴ Pausanias *Description of Greece* II, 10 ,7 and II, 23, 5

¹¹⁵ Leak 1835, p.440

¹¹⁶ Bequignon 1937

¹¹⁷ Moustaka 1983, p.34

that the most probable identification is that of Enodia based on the nature of the findings¹¹⁸. Of great importance seems to be the cult of Enodia in the city of Larissa according to the inscriptions which have been found in the region. Her cult was officially under the name *Astiki* and she was worshipped along with Zeus *Meilichios* and Poseidon in an Ionic temple at the *Agora* of the city¹¹⁹ whereas in the sanctuary of the *Koinon* of the Thessalians at Philia of Karditsa a decree between Gomphoi and Ithomi also bears an invocation to Enodia *Poliadi*¹²⁰. Regarding the aforementioned coin, Enodia is sitting on the horse holding a torch in her hands while the fountain spout in the form of lion head on the upper left field is an allusion to the spring of Hypereia and defines the place. Moreover Moustaka¹²¹, judging from a series of reliefs discovered in Macedonia, argues that the torch alongside the horse are attributes of the goddess and the connection of two important cults of the city can be seen as a sample of Thessalian pragmatism.

MACEDONIA

Geography and History

The geographic region of Macedonia (figure 42) occupies the northern part of Greece. Since antiquity, its geography, climate and resources played an important role in its economic and political development¹²². Geographically, it is an isolated and protected area due to its mountains which surround it. The communication with the neighboring areas occurs through well-protected passages among the mountains.

¹¹⁸ For the inscriptions which have been found in the temple see Chrysostomou 1998, pp.25-51

¹¹⁹ Chrysostomou 1998, p.58

¹²⁰ Helly 1986, 145-162

¹²¹ Moustaka 1983, p.32

¹²² Hammond 1972, p.3

So, the two most important geographical elements of the Macedonian territory are its mountains and rivers. The mountains surround the entire plain of the region and define its borders. The Pindus range defines the borders to the west. Barnous and Babuna massifs are imposing, to the north, whereas Thracian massif dominates to the east. Finally, Pierian and Cambounian mountains separate Macedonia from Thessaly. Their peaks ranged between 2000 and 3000m and were heavily forested during Antiquity. Forests provided a wide range of resources, from wood suited for constructions and weapons to wild animals for hunting¹²³. The same mountains also, provided pasture for the flocks of sheep and goats during the summer. Pastoral life, characteristic feature of the region during Antiquity, still continues with the same patterns in modern times¹²⁴.

In addition, two main river systems, Haliakmon and Axios, extend to the region irrigating the central Macedonian plain. Haliakmon rises from Boion Mountain travelling a distance of 297 Km on Pindus range separating Pieria and Bottiaea. Axios, on the other hand, emerges from central Balkans and after a distance of 420 Km discharges into Thermaic Gulf. These main river systems with their tributaries along with other minor such as Ludias and Gallikos were not only irrigating the Macedonian plain but were also used as main routes of communication, providing the water supply to the neighboring lakes and could fertilize the surrounding plains with their floods.¹²⁵

Likewise, Macedonia was rich in mineral resources which also, affected the historical evolution of Macedonia. There was copper in large quantities around the major river systems, iron in the Pierian Mountains whereas there was tin in small amounts as well. Eastern Macedonia and Chalcidice provided the large amounts of gold and silver for which Macedonia was famous since antiquity¹²⁶. The rock of the mountains was used for construction purposes, whereas the marble, which was in scarcity in Macedonia, was used for special architectural elements and sculpture¹²⁷.

As far as the climate of the region is concerned, it is affected by its geographical features. The mountains create a barrier between north and south. Polar winds from the

¹²³ Herodotus *Histories*, Z, 125 deliver a description about the wild life on the Macedonian mountains.

¹²⁴ Carol 2010, pp.70-71

¹²⁵ Carol 2010, pp.68-70

¹²⁶ Diodorus (*History* 16.8.6-7) inform us about an income of 1000 talents from the gold mines in Philip's II reign.

¹²⁷ Carol 2010, p.72

north are affecting the climate in the mountainous regions with low temperatures and snow during winter whereas tropical winds from south bring hot and warm summers. On the other hand, the Mediterranean creates mild weather conditions in the coastal area of the Aegean¹²⁸. These diverse weather conditions of Macedonia are described by either ancient literary sources or modern travellers of the 19th and 20th century¹²⁹.

These aforementioned features made Macedonia the principal road which connected the north/south and east/west. The early humans seem to have entered Greece from the north and east¹³⁰ whereas important Neolithic settlements were developed in Macedonia after the migratory movement from Anatolia to northern Aegean and southward. During Bronze Age, Mycenaean Greeks brought their products to the north through Macedonia. In the early archaic period, the development of the Greek city-states of the south and the increase of the population had, as a result, a movement of colonization to the rich of natural resources land of Macedonia. The colonists pushed the local population, who inhabited the region, to the inland and occupied the coastal area.

Nevertheless the history of the region is linked to the Macedonians. Herodotus¹³¹ conveys the earliest traditions to us about the origins of the Macedonians. The founder of the dynasty Perdiccas from Argos, descendant of Temenos, settled with his brothers at the foot of Mount Bermion and succeeded in controlling the region. Afterwards, he mentions the list of Perdiccas' heirs. Thucydides¹³², also confirms the tradition about the relation between Macedonian kings and Temenidai of Argos. At the beginning of the 4th century B.C. another tradition about the origin of the Macedonian dynasty became known. Caranus is named as the founder of the dynasty, who arrived with his companions to Emathia following a Delphic oracle and founded the city of Aegai. The previous tradition was not forgotten and Perdiccas is presented as a successor of Caranus¹³³. According to scholars, the Caranus version may reflect the

¹²⁸ Carol 2010, p.66

¹²⁹ Xenophon (*Hellenica* 7.4) describes the winter conditions of the northern Aegean of his era whereas Hammond (Hammond 1972, p.5) and Bellier (Bellier 1986, pp.11-13) delivers our experiences from the weather conditions of Macedonia in the modern times to us.

¹³⁰ Renfrew 1987, pp.265-273

¹³¹ Herodotus *Histories* H,137-138

¹³² Thucydides *Histories*, 2.99

¹³³ Sprawski 2010, pp.127-129

dynastic quarrels at the time of Perdiccas II succession, the heirs of who presented Caranus as the founder of the dynasty in order to strengthen their position¹³⁴.

From the list of Perdiccas successors which Herodotus expounded, the first five are known just as simple names. The Macedonian kingdom enters the historical record during the reign of Amyntas I. He ruled in the second half of the 6th century B.C. at the time of the Persian expansion to the Greek peninsula in ca. 512 B.C. Herodotus focuses on his successor Alexander I who ruled from 498 to 454 B.C.¹³⁵ In his accounts Alexander's I relation with the Persians and his efforts to build his image in the eyes of the southern Greeks are presented. Alexander I is also linked to the expansion of the Macedonian kingdom to the east, after the withdrawal of the Persians from Macedonia and the increase in the power and resources of his kingdom¹³⁶. It is after this expansion that the term *Macedonia* was used to designate the whole area according to the ancient literary sources¹³⁷.

Thus, Macedonia, from the death of Alexander I in 454 (or 451) B.C.¹³⁸ to the death of Perdiccas III in 360/359 B.C. experienced a period of decline. When Perdiccas II (454-413 B.C.) ascended to the throne he was confronted with a series of challenges. On the one hand, the dynastic rivalries with his younger brothers and on the other, the rising Athenian naval power. After he succeeded in establishing himself as king of Macedonians, he made a treaty of alliance and friendship with Athens¹³⁹. Moreover, during the turbulent years of the Peloponnesian war he resorted to diplomacy, thereby changing allies according to his interests. These reversals of his policy earned him the reputation of being a deceitful man. His successor, Archelaus (413-399 B.C.)¹⁴⁰, dealt with the situation more efficiently than his father. He took advantage of the decline of the Athenian power and established his authority all over the Macedonian region. He also intervened in Thessalian affairs, helping the aristocratic family of Aleuadae to restore their power establishing garrisons in Larissa and in exchange taking control of the region of Perrhaibia¹⁴¹. In the same way, strengthened his realm by constructing

¹³⁴ Greenwalt 1985, pp.43-49

¹³⁵ Raymond (Raymond 1953, pp.129-135) proposes the alternative date of 451 B.C. as terminal date of Alexander I reign based on the sequence of his coins.

¹³⁶ Hatzopoulos 1996, p.171 and Edson 1970, pp.26-29

¹³⁷ Thucydides *Histories*, 2.99.3 and 2.99.6

¹³⁸ See note 135

¹³⁹ Thucydides *Histories*, 1.57.2

¹⁴⁰ Hammond-Griffith 1979, pp.137-141 and Borza 1992, pp.160-177

¹⁴¹ Herodes Atticus *Peri Politeias*, 6 and 29

forts and roads, transferred his capital to a more strategic place, the city of Pella, and made Macedonia the cultural center of Greek world by founding festivals and inviting artists from southern Greece in his court. In these respects, Thucydides considered him as being the most significant king of all his predecessors¹⁴². After his death in 399 B.C., a period of violent dynastic rivalries began. Four rulers ascended to the throne in the next six years most of whom died violent deaths until the throne was passed on to the house of Amyntas III. Subsequently, he ruled about 23 years during which he offered stability to the kingdom. He succeeded in confronting the challenges he faced successfully using his diplomatic abilities and changing alliances like his predecessor Perdiccas II. Literary evidence informs us about his political maneuvers and acts in his relations with Illyrians¹⁴³, Chalcidians¹⁴⁴ and Athenians¹⁴⁵. When Amyntas III died in 370 B.C., Alexander II succeeded him to the throne. Alexander made peace with the Illyrians paying a tribute, intervened in the Thessalian affairs after the petition of Aleuadae and accepted the mediation of Thebes in his dispute with Ptolemy Alorus, who challenged his rule. Alexander was assassinated by Ptolemy shortly afterwards in 368 B.C. Ptolemy ruled for the three next years as king and regent of the minor Perdiccas III¹⁴⁶. It was said that he was the son of Amyntas II and he was married to Amyntas III wife, Eurydice, in order to legitimate his throne¹⁴⁷. When Perdiccas III came of age did not hesitate to get rid of Ptolemy. He ruled for five years (365-360/359 B.C.). He hosted several intellectual southern Greeks who provided luster to him and his court. He dealt with the threats of Illyrians and Athenians and made a truce with Athens after his defeat in 363/362 B.C. Finally his downfall came from the Illyrians in the battlefield in 360/359 B.C. and he was succeeded by his brother Philip II¹⁴⁸.

Philip's II accession to the throne found Macedonia in a critical condition after the bitter defeat from Illyrians. The circumstances of his accession are obscure and controversial¹⁴⁹. Nevertheless, Philip II dealt efficiently with the challenges he faced. After he confronted the pretenders who challenged his throne, he secured the western

¹⁴² Thucydides *Histories*, 2.100.2

¹⁴³ Diodorus *History*, 14.92.3-4

¹⁴⁴ Diodorus *History*, 15.19.2-3

¹⁴⁵ Xenophon *Hellenica*, 6.1.11

¹⁴⁶ Roisman 2010, pp.158-162

¹⁴⁷ Diodorus *History*, 15.71.1; Carney 2000, pp.39-40

¹⁴⁸ Roisman 2010, pp.163-164

¹⁴⁹ Justin (*Epitome of the Philippic History Of Pompeius Trogus*, 7.5.9-10) argues that he, at first, served as regent and guardian of the minor Amyntas IV whereas Diodorus (*History*, 16.1.3) does not mention any regency.

frontiers of his kingdom by expelling the Illyrians from Upper Macedonia and defeating the Paionians. He reorganized the state and the army and expanded his realm eastwards defeating the Athenians and taking Amphipolis under his control. He, also, intervened in the political affairs of southern Greece and after the battle of Chaeronea, Macedonia was converted to the major military and political power in Greece, allowing Philip to plan his Persian Campaign. His achievements were praised by the ancient authors¹⁵⁰ and set the basis for Alexander's III conquests¹⁵¹

Alexander with his conquests emerged as the most famous of the Macedonian kings. He used his father's legacy, established a vast empire and his intellectual and cultural achievements defined the Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, he failed to provide an undisputed heir, a fact that led his generals to carve up his empire, and sacrifice the empire in the pursuit of his dream unlike his father who united and consolidated the kingdom¹⁵². In this period, Macedonia was the tank that provided the military power for the campaign but its political importance was not great. Moreover, the drain of the resources for the campaign created demographic problems and economic decline. After Alexander's death, the Macedonian kingdom attracted the interest of the successors as the occupation of Macedonian throne was their ultimate goal. During Cassander's reign, Macedonia exploited the influx of gold from the East renewing its infrastructure and remodeling the old Macedonian cities. However, with Cassander's death, a period of crisis began with dynastic instability, civil wars and invasions which caused economic and social chaos. Antigonus Gonatas repulsed the Gauls at Lysimacheia in 277 B.C., ascended to the throne and tried to restore the unity of the state and revive the economy. When Antigonus Gonatas died in 240/239 B.C., the kingdom was weak but in better condition than previously. His successors tried to broaden their political influence but not always successfully. During the reign of Philip V and Perseus history was overshadowed by the Roman intervention and the Macedonian wars which led, despite a short period of political and economic prosperity, to the dissolution of the kingdom.

¹⁵⁰ Justin *Epitome of the Philippic History Of Pompeius Trogus*, 9.8.21 and Diodorus *History*, 16.95.1

¹⁵¹ Müller 2010, pp.166-185. For Philip's II reign see, also, Worthington 2008

¹⁵² Gilley-Worthington 2010, pp.205-206

The Coinage of Macedonian region

The geographical position and the natural resources led the people who lived in the Macedonian region to the use of coined money. On the one hand, the mines in Dysoron and Pangaion Mountains provided the abundance of metal needed for money. On the other hand, its role as a bridge between Asia and Europe and the colonies of the southern Greek cities promoted maritime trade and the exchange of goods. The contact with the monetized Persian Empire and the South Greek colonists, who were accustomed to the use of money, made the local people realize the usefulness of coined money in trade and everyday transactions. Thus, the local tribes, the colonial cities, and the Macedonian kingdom began to strike coins whereas the extended use of fractional denominations in the course of the 5th century B.C. which is revealed through the archaeological excavations is the evidence of a fully monetized economy¹⁵³

Thusly, the first numismatic issues in the area are minted during the course of 6th century B.C. Up to the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. the control of the silver mines of the area were under the control of the local tribes. They struck coins in various denominations which have been found in the Macedonian region as in the East¹⁵⁴. Through their legend, in Greek, we can assign them to certain tribes as Derrones, Orescii, Tynteni, Zaielii, Edones, Bisaltai and Ichnaii¹⁵⁵. Some of them are known only from their coin whereas from some others we have references from literary sources¹⁵⁶

The coins were minted in the so-called Thraco-Macedonian weight standard¹⁵⁷ with basic unit the *stater* of 9,82 gr., which was a fiftieth of the light Babylonian mina. The denominations were adapted both to the oriental pattern of thirds and sixths and to the Greek of drachma and obol. According to the scholars, the direct contacts with the East through the Persian Empire was the main reason for choosing this standard for

¹⁵³ Dahmen 2010, pp.41-43. See, also, Kremydi 2011, pp.159-161

¹⁵⁴ Svoronos thoroughly studied the tribal issues of Macedonia in Svoronos 1919, pp.1-265. About the circulation of these issues in the East see Price-Waggoner 1975 and Kraay 1977, pp.189-198.

¹⁵⁵ Picard 2000, pp.243-244

¹⁵⁶ Herodotus (*Histories*, 7.110, 7.113 and 7.123) refers to some tribal names (either known or unknown from their coinage) and points out that they had the control of certain silver mines.

¹⁵⁷ The existence of the so-called Thraco-Macedonian weight standard is still debated among the scholars. Psoma recently (Psoma 2015, pp. 167-184) rejected the existence of a common standard and proposed that three different weight standards were used in the Macedonian region. A reduced Milesian standard used by the cities of the Chalcidic peninsula and regal coinage of Alexander I, a reduced Aeginitic standard used by the Parian colonies between Strymon and Nestos area and a reduced Chian standard used by Abdera, Dicaea and Maroneia. For other views about the matter see also: Lorber 2008, pp.1-29 and Schell 2000, pp.1-8.

their coins and evidence are the coins themselves which have been found in remote Eastern regions as Afghanistan¹⁵⁸.

The depictions on the coins served as official marks of the mint, the value and their owners. In this way every tribe used a characteristic, recognizable type which remained unchanged for a long period. These depictions were usually emblems of a religious nature presenting the cults, rites and beliefs of the local people. In this respect, the coins provide us with valuable insight into the cultic life of the people and the process of Hellenization of the area given that we have a scarcity of literary evidence regarding this period¹⁵⁹. Raymond¹⁶⁰ divides the types of these tribal issues into three religious or mythological cycles which are associated with certain denominations. The oxen with their driver, caduceus and rose or other solar symbol correspond to that of Apollo-Hermes (figure 43). The horse alone, attended or mounted belongs to Ares (figure 44) cycle and the Nymphs, the Satyrs and the vines to Dionysaic cycle (figure 45) whereas Heracles, Pegasus and Gorgoneion do not correspond to any of these categories. These types have a natural association with the region. The myth of Hermes and the cattle of the sun, the sun-God Apollo and the Pangean rose are associated with the north. Moreover, Ares and Dionysus had their home in the north as well. On the other hand, from the non-classified types that of Heracles can be explained by his deeds in the north, whereas Gorgoneion and Pegasus must be considered as an indication of the early contacts of Corinth with the north.

During the same period, an intensive civic coinage was minted in the region due to the numerous Greek *poleis* which have been founded as colonies from southern Greeks since the 8th century B.C. In Chalcidice peninsula, which no doubt took his name from Euboean Chalcis, Chalcis and Eretria settled several cities as Olynthus, Torone, Mende and Methone. In the same region, Corinth founded Poteidaia whereas Andros settled Acanthus and Stagira. Moreover, eastwards towards the Lake Kerkititis area and in the Pangaion Mountain area, where the silver mines were cited several Andrian and Parian colonies have been founded¹⁶¹. An important element of the civic coinage of the area was the minting of bronze coins which was initiated by the Chalcidic Federation in the late 5th century B.C., followed by King Archelaus and expanded to the coinage of

¹⁵⁸ Price 1974, pp.3-4

¹⁵⁹ Price 1974, pp.5

¹⁶⁰ Raymond 1953, pp.43-48

¹⁶¹ Dahmen 2010, p.47

many cities of Macedonia and Thrace during 4th century B.C.¹⁶² In addition, civic coinage was minted in the area ruled by Macedonian Kings, although it was an exception. The goat stater, previously thought to be a coin of the capital city of Aigai¹⁶³ is now recognized as being an independent civic coinage¹⁶⁴ (figure 46). Pydna¹⁶⁵ also struck coins for a short period during the reign of Amyntas III, whereas special cases constitute the coinage of Krenides/Philippoi¹⁶⁶, who continued to strike coins after Philip II took the city under his protection until 168 B.C., and Amphipolis¹⁶⁷, which struck coins for a short period under Philip II reign. The weight standard which was followed by the cities was mainly that of their mother-city. In Chalcidice peninsula, where the Euboean colonies were dominating, the Euboic/Ionic standard was popular which thereafter changed to the so-called Euboic/Attic due to the great influence of Athenian currency and trade in the region. Gradually in the 4th century B.C., this standard was abandoned in favor of the so-called Thraco-Macedonian which was following the Macedonian kings for their regal coinage¹⁶⁸. As far as the coin types are concerned, they were inspired either from the mother city, in order to demonstrate their link to it, or reflected the local cults and beliefs which followed the colonists in their new home.

The first Macedonian king who minted coins was Alexander I. The Persian withdrawal after the Persian wars gave him the opportunity to take control of the mines of Dysoron Mountain and exploit the metal deposits to his benefit. He struck octadrachms, tetradrachms and smaller fractions and in weight standard and iconography continued the tradition of the previous tribal coinage¹⁶⁹. During the reign of his son Perdiccas II, we observe the deterioration both in quantity and in quality of his coinage, due to the dynastic rivalries and the increasing power of Athens in the region. Notwithstanding, the proposed suggestions concerning the deprivation of the metal resources are not justifiable. It is clear that he had control of the silver mines from the first years of his reign¹⁷⁰. He continued the monetary policy and the iconographic

¹⁶² Gatzolis 2010, pp.13-14

¹⁶³ Head 1911, pp.198-199 and Babelon 1907 pp.1095-1104

¹⁶⁴ Picard 1995, pp.1071-1075. More recently Lorber (Lorber 2000, pp.113-133 argues about an attribution to Krestones or Mygdones whereas Psoma (Psoma 2003, pp.227-242 proposes the city of Galepsus.

¹⁶⁵ Tselekas 1996, pp.11-32

¹⁶⁶ Bellinger 1964, pp.29-52

¹⁶⁷ Lorber 1990, pp.57-63

¹⁶⁸ Psoma 2000, pp.25-32

¹⁶⁹ Psoma 2002, pp.25-45

¹⁷⁰ Raymond 1953, p.150

tradition of his father but he struck the denomination of tetrobol. Thereafter, his successor Archelaus reformed the coinage as a part of the modernization of the state. He issued staters of good alloy which bore the types of his grandfather, introduced a new series of coins, which depicted the mythical founder of the kingdom¹⁷¹ and was the first king who put his name on all his coins¹⁷². According to Psoma¹⁷³ the metal supply for these fine coins did not come from the regaining of the mining areas as previously supposed but through the timber trade with Athens. From his death in 399 B.C. down to the reign of Perdiccas III, a decline of the quality of the Macedonian regal coinage reflects the political and economic problems of the kings from this period.

The aforementioned situation changed under the kingship of Philip II and Alexander III. The expansion to the east and the wealth, which was brought to the kingdom, is reflective of Philip's II coinage. He introduced the bimetallic currency system issuing gold coins in Attic standard and established two mints in his kingdom in order to facilitate the production and the circulation of his coinage and used traditional and new coin types as a means of his political propaganda (figure 47, 48). Alexander III maintained the bimetallic system and adopted the Attic standard for his silver coinage too. His "Alexanders" were converted to the international currency of this period and circulated for hundred years after his death and minted to enormous quantities from Macedonia to Babylon. His coin types supported the international function of his coins combining the Macedonian tradition through Heracles *Patroos* as well as the "Greekness" through the depiction of Zeus¹⁷⁴ (figure 49)

After Alexander's death neither Antigonus nor Cassander and his sons issued silver coins in their names¹⁷⁵. Demetrius Poliorcetes first issued "Alexanders" with his own name right after his father death and when he ascended to the Macedonian throne struck his own types introducing the royal portrait to his coin types¹⁷⁶. The death of Demetrius was followed by a period of uncertainty until the ascension to the throne of his son Antigonus Gonatas. He struck "Alexanders" as well as his own types depicting

¹⁷¹ Greenwalt 1985, pp.45-57

¹⁷² Dahmen 2010, p.51

¹⁷³ Lykiardopoulou-Psoma 2000, pp.325-326

¹⁷⁴ Kremydi 2011, p.168

¹⁷⁵ Cassander issued only bronze coins. For Cassander coinage see: Valassiadis 2005, pp.405-413, Ehrhardt 1973, pp.25-32 and Mørkholm 1991, pp.60 and 79

¹⁷⁶ For Demetrius Poliorcetes coinage see: Newell 1927

the head of Pan and Poseidon¹⁷⁷ (figure 50, 51). His successors Demetrius II and Antigonus Doson did not strike their own coins and continued Gonatas' types. During his reign, Philip V reintroduced the royal portrait in coin image after the Demetrius Poliorcetes period. During the same period, he issued coins in the name of Macedonians, Amphaxians and Bottiaean which circulated in parallel to the regal issues. Perseus' kingship is characterized by the economic crisis due to the Macedonian war, a fact that is reflected in his coinage¹⁷⁸.

THE HORSE TYPE ON THE COINAGE OF MACEDONIAN REGION

The horse type on the coins of Macedonian region was as famous as in Thessaly. From the beginning of Macedonian coinage in the course of the 6th century B.C. down to the dissolution of the Macedonian kingdom in 168 B.C., the horse and its variants are present on tribal and civic coins as well as on the regal coins of the Macedonian area.

The "Thraco-Macedonian" Tribal Coinage

Hence, the type first occurs on the Thraco-Macedonian tribal issues of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. It is associated with the Ares cycle¹⁷⁹, due to the strong ties of Ares with the region, but also, it may allude to agriculture and animal breeding of the Macedonian farmers. Apart from the type with a horse alone, there were three additional variants which were linked to certain denomination. The octadrachm type (figure 52) always shows a horse with an attendant who holds its reins and two spears. The depiction occurs usually on the coins of Bisaltai. The proportions of the horse are usually unnatural and the attendant is depicted either with the legs detached from the body or with the legs in profile and the body frontally, a sign of an inexperienced cutter experimenting with the dimensions and the space. The stater type (figure 53), which usually bears the ethnic Ichnaians, Tyntenians or Orrheskians, depicts a man trying to subdue a horse. The depiction is fine. The horse is spirited while struggling against his

¹⁷⁷ For Antigonus Gonatas coinage see: Mathisen 1981, pp.79-122. Regarding the debate about the attribution of Poseidon type to Antigonus Gonatas or Antigonus Doson see: Paschidis 1998, pp.235-258 where the author argues in favor of Gonatas' attribution

¹⁷⁸ Mamroth provided a series of studies about the coinage of last two Antigonid kings. See: Mamroth 1928, pp.1-28, Mamroth 1930, pp.277-303 and Mamroth 1935, pp.219-251. See, also, Burrell 2009, pp.1-70 for a more recent study

¹⁷⁹ See note 160

master and the man is bareheaded, helmeted or wearing a hat. The tetradrachm type depicts the mounted warrior-hunter. The horse is similar to that of the stater in its depiction galloping while the horseman brandishes his spear. Raymond characterized the coins which bore this coin image as Macedonians based on some similarities with the horses of Alexander I octadrachms and dated them right before the first eponymous regal Macedonian coins¹⁸⁰.

The Civic Coinage

In the civic coinage of the region, the horse type and its variants were also popular. The depiction occurs especially on the coins of some cities of Chalcidic peninsula. One of them is the city of Poteidaia which was a Corinthian colony¹⁸¹. Poteidaia started to mint coins during the last quarter of the 6th century B.C., a certain evidence of its economic prosperity. They used the "Euboic/Attic" weight standard and struck silver, in large and lower denominations, and bronze coins¹⁸². As far as the depictions are concerned, the horse appears on tetradrachms and tetrobols ridden by Poseidon (figure 54), on diobols usually depicted on the forepart of the horse whereas the hemiobols bore the depiction of a sole horse (figure 55)¹⁸³. As we saw in the case of Thessaly, the horse was closely related to the cult of Poseidon. Poseidon, God of the sea and springs, earthquakes and natural disasters was worshipped in areas where earthquakes frequently occurred as well as areas near to the sea. Hence it was not unusual for his worship in the region of Chalcidice. According Tiverios¹⁸⁴ the strong presence of Ionians on the shores of northern Aegean was a strong element in favor of Poseidon's worship for he was their protector deity during their journeys towards the colonies. Regarding Poteidaia, the name of the city derived from Poseidon who was considered its mythical ancestor and founder¹⁸⁵. His depiction on tetradrachms and tetrobols referred to the cult of Poseidon *Hippios* who was related to the genesis of the first horse with his trident¹⁸⁶. The Poseidon cult had a long tradition in Corinth, the

¹⁸⁰ Raymond 1953, pp.53-59

¹⁸¹ For the coinage of Poteidaia see Alexander 1953, pp.201-217 who dated the beginning of the coinage in 550 B.C and introduced its division in three groups. Price-Wagonner 1975, p.46 refuted his division and proposed a beginning of the coinage of Potidaia around 500-480 B.C.

¹⁸² AMNG III (2), pp.103-105

¹⁸³ AMNG III (2), pp.103-105; SNG Ashmolean 2369; SNG Copenhagen 312-315; SNG ANS 686-698; Tsagari 2009, n.66-68.

¹⁸⁴ Tiverios 2008, p.43

¹⁸⁵ Valavanis 2004, p.275; Larson 2007, pp.57-58

¹⁸⁶ See note 58

mother city of Poteidaia, where cult activity at the Isthmus had been found long before the foundation of Panhellenic games of *Isthmia*¹⁸⁷. Therefore Poteideans were accustomed to the cult of Poseidon and may consider it as a part of their past and identity. So they built a temple and dedicated a statue to him¹⁸⁸ and it is said that the type of mounted Poseidon on the coins of Poteidaia is a representation of this statue¹⁸⁹. The sole horse depiction is also linked to the cult of Poseidon whereas the dolphin which is portrayed below the horse¹⁹⁰ is an allusion to the God and his nature, a pattern similar to the coins of Krannon in Thessaly where we have encountered a trident above or below of the horse instead of a dolphin (see figure 20).

In around the same period Sermyle minted its first coins too. It struck silver coins in various denominations as well as bronze coins using the "Euboic/Attic" weight standard¹⁹¹. As far as the iconographic type is concerned, a cantering horse with a rider brandishing his spear and sometimes with a hound below the horse is the most popular depiction (figure 56). In smaller denominations (didrachms and hemiobols), there was also a sole galloping horse or a forepart of the horse (figure 57). The minting of the large denominations ceased after the Persian wars, whereas the tetrobols continued to be struck until the mid-5th century BC¹⁹². Additionally, we need to mention a series of Sermylean tetradrachms which bore inscription with their name value, a unique feature in the coinages of this period¹⁹³(s. figure 56). As the horse is a popular depiction in northern Greece, we can find iconographic similarities with the coinage of the Odrysian ruler Sparadokos¹⁹⁴ and the regal Macedonian coinage as well as with some Thessalian issues (see figure 16). Moreover, the dating of Sparadokos' and Alexander's I coinages after the Persian wars renders the Sermylean coin type the oldest depiction of horsemen in northern Greece. Warrior-hunter or God Ares is a usual interpretation of the depicted horseman of the tribal and early regal coinage of Macedonian region. In the Sermylean

¹⁸⁷ Gebhard 1993, pp.154-177; Valavanis 2004, pp.281-303; Larson 2007, pp.59-60

¹⁸⁸ Herodotus *Histories*, H, 129.3

¹⁸⁹ Alexander 1953, p.203

¹⁹⁰ SNG Ashmolean 2361

¹⁹¹ AMNG III (2), p.106

¹⁹² Gatzolis-Psoma 2012, p.618

¹⁹³ Psoma (Psoma 2001, pp.37-40) argues that the term *ΣΤΑΤΕΡ* have not been found on other coin and adds that, as the stater was used to describe the heaviest weight of a weight system, in the case of Sermylean coin was used to indicate the heaviest coin of the "Euboic/Attic" weight standard, the tetradrachm. As for the second word, *MAXON*, she interpreted it as the name of an official responsible for the mintage of the city.

¹⁹⁴ Taceva 1992, pp.69-74

coinage, though, an allusion to Aristocracy and its values is a more possible interpretation as the horse breeding, the athletic activities and the training and preparation for war was an important aspect of its everyday life. Sermyle as an autonomous *polis* allows us to point out the political and social symbolism and the linkage of its coin type with the Aristocratic values of the period¹⁹⁵.

Finally, Olynthos struck a series of coins in the “Thraco-Macedonian” weight standard before its federal issues depicting Apollo. They were tetrobols portraying a horse bound to a column behind it on the obverse and an eagle flying upwards with a snake in its claws on the reverse (figure 58)¹⁹⁶, a galloping horse without the column (figure 59)¹⁹⁷ whereas a rare issue was depicting a young man guiding a horse¹⁹⁸. Their attribution to Olynthus is certain due to the inscription *OΛΥΝ* in the first two issues¹⁹⁹ and the similar reverse type (flying eagle) in the latter²⁰⁰. There are also some issues in the “Euboic/Attic” weight standard, tetradrachms with a quadriga driven by a man²⁰¹ and tetrobols with a cantering horse depicted on the obverse²⁰². The attribution of these issues is still debated²⁰³. The horse depicted on the Olynthian coins is linked to the cult of Poseidon²⁰⁴ who was the tamer of horses and the God of the sea, springs and earthquakes. According to Hatzopoulos²⁰⁵ the attestation of a month *Hippios* in the Olynthian calendar is direct evidence of Poseidon’s cult in the city although no sanctuary of Poseidon has been discovered yet. It is also possible that his cult was transferred from Chalkis, mother city of Olynthos, where his cult was attested²⁰⁶. Moreover, Babelon²⁰⁷

¹⁹⁵ Gkika 2018, p.64

¹⁹⁶ AMNG III (2), pl.XVII.3,4; Robinson 1933, p.221; SNG Copenhagen 233; SNG ANS 464-465.

¹⁹⁷ AMNG III (2), pl.XVII.2; SNG Ashmolean 2336; SNG Copenhagen 234; SNG ANS 466

¹⁹⁸ Tsagari 2009, n.84

¹⁹⁹ AMNG III (2), 84; Robinson – Clement 1938, pp.297-298; Psoma 2001b, p.200; Tsagari 2009 p.74.

²⁰⁰ Tsagari 2009 p.74.

²⁰¹ Kraay 1976, p.90 pl.26 n.475

²⁰² Robinson – Clement 1938, p.292; Raymond 1953, p.197 n. 2

²⁰³ As for the tetradrachms with the quadriga, Head (HN, p.208) and Kraay (Kraay 1976, p.135) attributed them to Olynthus based on the coin types which were both of Chalcidian origin. On the other hand, Psoma (Psoma 2001b, pp.150-151) considers the attribution invalid because the tetradrachms were found in the Strymon region whereas Cahn (Cahn 1979, pp.47-51) compared them to the early Syracusan issues and dated them in the late 6th century B.C. when Olynthus were still inhabited by Bottiaean. Regarding the tetrobols with the cantering horse some scholars like West (West 1973, pp.8-10) and Raymond (Raymond 1953, pp.198-200) support their Olynthian origin based on the types and legends of the coins whereas Gaebler (Gaebler 1925, pp.193-208) as well as Robinson and Clement (Robinson – Clement 1938, p.293) refuse any connection with Olynthus claiming that there is no concrete evidence which favours this attribution.

²⁰⁴ See pages 30 & 48

²⁰⁵ Hatzopoulos 1988, p.65

²⁰⁶ Strabo *Geography* IX, 2.13; X 1.7

considers the horse bound to column type as agonistic correlating the column with the pillar of the hippodrome which sets the turning point for the chariots.

The Macedonian Regal Coinage

The first regal Macedonian coins were minted during the reign of Alexander I in 480/479 B.C.²⁰⁸ He struck octadrachms, tetradrachms, tetrobols and some fractional issues in two different weight standards. The octadrachms of ca. 29 gr followed the Thraco-Macedonian system of the tribal coinage and the tetradrachms of ca. 13 gr were on local standard to facilitate the exchange between silver and electrum. These major denominations were associated with tetrobols of different weight. The octadrachms with the so-called heavy tetrobols of 2,4 gr and the tetradrachms with the so-called light tetrobols of 2,18 gr. According to the hoard evidence²⁰⁹, we can assume that the heavy coins were destined to circulate freely beyond the borders of the kingdom, whereas the lighter ones were destined for the local transactions and payments. Moreover, the application of this Macedonian innovation of the double weight standard offered to the kingdom, apart from convenience in the transactions, also significant profits²¹⁰.

Alexander's I coinage displays a variety of types in where those related to the horse dominate. In his octadrachms a mounted horseman holding two spears on the obverse with quadripartite incuse square bearing his name on the reverse were depicted (figure 60). The same type on the obverse occurred on tetradrachms with head or forepart of a goat on the reverse (figure 61). As for the tetrobols, the "heavy" series bore the mounted horseman holding two spears on the obverse and the forepart of a lion on the reverse (figure 62) whereas the "light" ones were illustrating a horse unattended on the obverse with a crested helmet in incuse square on the reverse (figure 63). Furthermore, a variant type of octadrachm²¹¹ bore a horse with an attendant

²⁰⁷ Babelon 1907, pp.1155-1157

²⁰⁸ HN, p.208; Gardner 1918, pp.194-195

²⁰⁹ Octadrachms of Alexander I were found in IGCH 1644 Asyut; IGCH 1182 Asia Minor; IGCH 1482 Jordan; IGCH 1790 Iran; tetradrachms were found in IGCH 365 Ptolemais.

²¹⁰ Kremydi 2011, pp.162-163; Kraay-Emelus 1962, p.20 claim that the light series of Alexander's I coinage had a proportion of base metal and low purity and served as token coinage

²¹¹ BMC Macedonia, p.156, 2

holding two spears whereas the octobols²¹² which were minted for a short time bore the same type of the contemporary octadrachms²¹³.

Alexander's I coin types were not unknown in the region. They belonged to the Ares cycle of the preceding tribal coinage of the late 6th century B.C. The horse with mounted horseman or attendant is a type which we find on the coins of Bisaltians, Ichnaians, Tyntenians and Orreskians²¹⁴. The same type occurred on the coins of Sermyle and of some Thessalian cities. The reverse type of the octadrachm which bore the name of Alexander was similar with the coinages of Getas of Edonians. The aforementioned remarks reflect the political situation in the region in the early 5th century B.C. when Alexander took advantage of the withdrawal of the Persians and the vacuum of power taking control of the silver mines and as the major power of the region took part in the monetary tribal alliance adapting their coin types for his first regal coinage. Hence, with his first coinage he embodied three principals: created an exchangeable coinage through its double weight standard and at the same time was easily recognizable as Macedonian and regal through its types and legends. As far as the reverse types is concerned, the goat was known from anonymous "goat staters" which were generally assigned to Aigai, the helmet was a known type of Ares cycle whereas the lion was considered an allusion to Heracles²¹⁵. As for the style of the types, they were developed through time. The early issues are comparable with the tribal ones, where the die cutters are experimenting with their skills whereas the latest are more elaborate, elegant and sophisticated, indicating more experienced artists who frequented in the court of Alexander²¹⁶

Perdiccas II, son and successor of Alexander I, struck coins following his father's monetary policy and tradition. He struck light and heavy tetrobols. The light tetrobols bore a horse unattended in linear circle and exergual line on the obverse and a helmet with neck and cheek pieces in incuse square on the reverse (figure 64). The heavy

²¹² SNG ANS 8.27

²¹³ Raymond (Raymond 1953, pp.78-135) divides Alexander's I coinage in three groups based on stylistic and historical criteria.

²¹⁴ Taceva (Taceva 1992, pp.67-69) suggested that the type of the mounted horseman or attendant with the armament of two spears has Pelasgic and Mycenaean origin based on literary evidence, archaeological finds and depictions from other forms of art. She, also argue that the two spears do not have a hunting or warlike but a cultural or religious symbolism.

²¹⁵ Raymond 1953, pp.58-59; 85-90

²¹⁶ Kraay 1976, p.143

tetrobols, on the other hand, depicted mounted horseman on the exergual line and dotted circle on the obverse and the forepart of a lion with both forefeet visible in incuse square on the reverse (figure 65)²¹⁷. The absence of large denominations is impressive and remains the most peculiar characteristic of his coinage²¹⁸. Perdiccas II struck the light tetrobols, equivalent to the Attic triobols, at the beginning and at the end of his reign. In the meantime, he minted the heavy tetrobols, which circulated concurrently with the light ones for almost ten years. Raymond suggested that the sequence of his coinage reflects his relations with Athens. He fitted his currency to the Attic type when he had come to terms with Athens, whereas minted coins not exchangeable to the Athenian ones and improved his relations with his neighbors after the foundation of Amphipolis²¹⁹. As for the circulation of his coins, we can assume from the hoard evidence²²⁰ that, like in his father's case, the heavy issues intended for circulation outside the kingdom in commercial transaction and the light ones for internal use only.

Thusly, in his coin types the depiction of the horse was dominating. The first issues of light tetrobols were characterized by a neat and dispirited horse (see fig. 64) with no difference from die to die²²¹. In contrast, in the last issues, the type changed from a walking to a galloping horse which resembled the horses of the Parthenon freeze. The design was elegant but the horses had lost the vigor and individuality of the horses of the previous Macedonian coins²²². The type of heavy tetrobols also exhibited an improvement in style in comparison to the latest Alexander's I issues. The depiction of the riders and horses are not stereotyped and some issues appear with the rider wearing a petassos at the nape of his neck a characteristic which had appeared earlier on the octobols struck by Mosses²²³ and on some Thessalian issues²²⁴. Moreover, from the first series to the latest, the pose of the horse changed from walking to prancing²²⁵.

²¹⁷ Raymond (Raymond 1953, pp.136-167) recognized four series of light tetrobols and three series of heavy tetrobols and dated them through the study of the dies and the historical context

²¹⁸ See note 170

²¹⁹ Raymond 1953, p.154

²²⁰ Heavy tetrobols were found in IGCH 359, 366, 375, 376, 377 (Olynthus), IGCH 364 (Aidhonokhorion). On the other hand, light tetrobols have been found in CH IX, 26 (Pydna) and CH VIII (Pella).

²²¹ Raymond 1953, p.152

²²² Raymond 1953, pp.152-153

²²³ AMNG III (2), pl.27,39;

²²⁴ Babelon 1926, p.651, pl.CCXCVI, 9

²²⁵ Raymond 1953, p.155 and note 17

Perdiccas II was succeeded by his son Archelaus in 413 B.C. He introduced a monetary reform reminting the large denomination, after the intermission of Perdiccas II reign, and changed the weight standard. Instead of Alexander's I tetradrachm of 13,5 gr, he issued a coin, usually called stater, between 10 and 11 gr whose drachm was the former light tetrobol²²⁶. He maintained the horse type of his predecessors and introduced new types such as the youth male head, the eagle, the boar and Heracles head. He minted two series of staters which bore the type of mounted horseman holding two spears on prancing horse and the young male head²²⁷ on the obverse and the goat type and the walking horse on the reverse respectively (figure 66-67). Moreover, the horse type appeared on smaller denominations in the form of prancing horse²²⁸. At the end of his reign these small silver coins were replaced by bronze ones which functioned as token coinage for internal use²²⁹.

Several rulers ascended to the throne during the period between the death of Archelaus and the ascension of Amyntas III, a time of dynastic rivalries and instability which was reflected in its numismatic production. We have no coins from Archelaus' son Orestes but from Aeropus who acted as Orestes' regent for some years before he ascended to the throne as sole ruler. He minted staters and silver smaller denominations in Archelaus' types, following the same weight standard, distinguishable from them by the name as well as bronze coins²³⁰. Amyntas II and Pausanias,²³¹ who ruled for a short period in 394/3 B.C., continued to issue silver staters in the previous type of young male head/standing horse²³². Their coins were produced by base metal and their weight are irregular, an indication of shortage of silver during this period²³³.

²²⁶ This standard usually called Persic because the weight of the stater corresponded roughly to two Persian *sigloi* but according to scholars the discrepancy in the weight was considerable (see Kraay 1976, p.144; Westermarck 1989, p.302). Price (Price 1974, p.20 suggested that Archelaus' stater was the *pentadrachm* which mentions Polyaeus (Polyaeus III, 10.14).

²²⁷ The young male head identified either as Ares, Apollo, Heracles (Babelon 1926, p.478) or as Perdiccas I (Kraay 1976, p.144), the founder of the kingdom. Westermarck (Westermarck 1989, p.303) suggest Apollo as the most probable identification based on stylistic criteria and the identification of other heads in the Macedonian regal coinage.

²²⁸ SNG ANS 8.71

²²⁹ Kraay 1976, p.145

²³⁰ SNG ANS 8.80

²³¹ In the research there was uncertainty as to how distribute the coins with the legend *AMYNTA* under Amyntas II and III. Some scholars listed them under one or both of them with the note that no distinction can be made (see: HN, p. 221; Babelon 1926, p.831, pl.304.19 and p.846 pl.305.12). Gaebler (AMNG, III,2, pp.157-158 1-4) on the other hand, divided the coins to two rulers based on stylistic criteria of the types.

²³² SNG Copenhagen, 511 (Amyntas II); SNG ANS, 86 (Pausanias)

²³³ Cadalvene 1828, p.99; Price 1974, p.20

Amyntas III ascended to the throne in 393/2 B.C. and ruled for 24 years²³⁴. His coinage is related to that of Archelaus as he issued two series of staters with parallel types and same weight standard to Archelaus accordingly²³⁵. The first series bore the head of bearded Heracles, instead of Apollo, on the obverse and a standing horse on the reverse (figure 68). The second series, on the other hand, revived the mounted horseman of Archelaus stater on the obverse and introduced the depiction of a lion crunching a spear in its jaws (Figure 69). According to Westermark both issues were made with bad silver quality contrary to what was believed²³⁶. In the second series for the first time, we have a hunting scene as coin type which is depicted on both sides of the coins. In this respect, we can compare this series of Amyntas III staters with the series of *taurokathapsia* of Thessalian coinage (see figures 2, 22). When Amyntas III died at an advanced age he was succeeded by his son Alexander II who ruled for a short period. No silver coin from his reign came down to us but his bronzes bore the head of Apollo on the obverse and a free horse or mounted horseman on the reverse respectively²³⁷. His successor and brother Perdikkas III adopted the coin types of Amyntas III with head of Heracles and standing horse on the obverse and reverse respectively but with slight changes, Heracles was young and beardless and the legend encircled the horse²³⁸.

With the ascension of Philip II to the throne in 359 B.C. the political and economic decline of Macedonian kingdom came to an end. Apart from his political and military achievements, Philip II was a reformer and innovator in his coinage, a fact that helped him to convert Macedonian kingdom to a major power of his era²³⁹. For his gold staters, he chose the laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and a racing chariot on the reverse (figure 48). As for his silver coinage, he issued two series of tetradrachms which bore the head of Zeus on the obverse whereas on the reverse depicted a mounted horseman wearing *chlamys* and *kausia*, who with his hand made a gesture of salute, and a young jockey on horse holding a palm branch respectively (figures 47, 70). His gold stater was the first important gold coinage in the Greek world and replaced the Persian

²³⁴ Diodorus *History*, 14.89.2

²³⁵ Westermark 1989, p.308

²³⁶ Westermark 1989, p.307

²³⁷ SNG ANS 111. There is, also a debate about the attribution of these coins to Alexander II or III. Westermark attributed them to Alexander II due to the existence of specimens overstruck by Perdikkas III.

²³⁸ BMC Macedonia, p.175, 1. Moreover, Price (Price 1979, pp.237-238), based on the resemblance of the head of Heracles on the coins of Perdikkas III with those of Philip II and Alexander III, suggested that these series were struck in the same mint.

²³⁹ See page 46

Daric as the international currency²⁴⁰. His coinage, gold and silver, continued to be minted after his death for some time and circulated especially in Macedonia and in the north. These posthumous issues minted for a short period between 336 and 328 B.C. under Alexander's authority and resumed in 322 B.C. after Alexander's III death until its total cessation around 300 B.C.²⁴¹ nonetheless, their popularity in Thrace and Danube region remain great proven by the large number of Celtic imitations²⁴².

During the Hellenistic period the horse type lose its renown as the main coin type on the coinages of Macedonian kings. In this period the "Alexanders" or Alexander type issues dominated bearing the name of the ruler as well as personal types bearing the image of the ruler and depictions of temporary events or deities connected with the ruler. Nevertheless, the horse type did not totally disappear. We find it on the bronze coinage of several Macedonian kings until the dissolution of the kingdom usually in the form of Philip II types²⁴³.

The interpretation of the horse type on the Macedonian Regal Coinage

The interpretation of the horse and horseman type in regal Macedonian coinage is still debated. The rider has been identified as warrior-hunter²⁴⁴, Ares as well as the

²⁴⁰ Kremydi 2011, p.166; On an Athenian inscription (IG II2, 1526, col. II 22-23) we find the expression *Dareikoi Philippeioi* for Philip's II coinage; for the perception of *Philippeioi* as new Darics see also Caltabiano-Colace 1992, 109-112 and 134-135

²⁴¹ Le Rider (Le Rider 1977, 433-438) argues that the posthumous issues of Philip II were, not only an economic response to their popularity but served as a mean for Alexander III to secure his throne by showing his fidelity to Philip's II memory. On the other hand, the resume of Philip's II coinage after 322 B.C. is linked to the efforts of Philip III Arrhidaios to stress his legitimacy to the throne (See: Thompson 1982, pp. 113-121).

²⁴² Allen 1987, pp.24-34

²⁴³ For Cassander see SNG Copenhagen 1142-1153 and AMNG III 2, p.176, pl.XXXII, 7; for Demetrius I Poliorcetes AMNG III 2, p.181, pl.XXXII, 24-25 and pp.182-183, p.XXXIII, 9-10; for Antigonos Gonatas, AMNG III 2, p.188, pl.XXXIV, 8-10; for Philip V, SNG Munich 1167, AMNG III 2, pp.191-192, pl.XXXIV, 21,25,26 and Mamroth 1935, pp.219-251; for Perseus, AMNG III 2, p.196, pl.XXXVI 1.

²⁴⁴ Hammond – Griffith 1979, p.109; Caltabiano 2007, p.764; Raymond 1953, p.54

king himself²⁴⁵. Since the Mycenaean period the horse was the symbol of wealth and power of ancient Greek aristocracy. The horse was used by the nobles in hunting, warfare and races. Xenophon considered hunting an important activity and riding a vital ability in battle²⁴⁶. The two activities, warfare and hunting were related to ancient Greek world since by hunting, the future warriors obtained discipline, strength, bravery and comradeship²⁴⁷. In the case of Macedonia, literary sources²⁴⁸ as well as archaeological evidence²⁴⁹ provide us with valuable information about royal hunting in Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia. Moreover, in Macedonia hunting as in Sparta and Crete, was an initiation, a rite of passage from adolescence to adult life and military service²⁵⁰.

In this respect, the coin type, which adopted Alexander I for his first regal coinage and survived during the entire life of the Macedonian kingdom, could be interpreted as a reference to the values of Macedonian aristocracy and its relation to Macedonian kingship. Furthermore Caltabiano²⁵¹ links the rider and the attendant of Alexander's I coins to *Kabeiroi/Dioskouroi* and points out the correlation of Macedonian kingship with the principles and functions which represented them whereas Taceva²⁵² suggests the Mycenaean and Pelasgian origin of the armament and correlates it with the cult of *Kabeiroi/Dioskouroi* too. As for the type of the later octadrachms with the dog accompanying the horse, Prestianni-Giallombardo and Tripodi²⁵³ interpreted it as depicting a royal hunting scene pointing out, though, that the dog was not of the kind used for hunting but a common race which accompanied the people in their daily activities. Caltabiano²⁵⁴ also interpreted the dog as an animal guide and companion which helped the depicted king during the "journey" of his kingship. On the other hand, on the stater of Amyntas III, the scene depicted is undoubtedly a hunting scene unfolded on both sides of the coin. As the hunting and especially the lion hunting was a favorite royal activity, we could identify the rider as representing the king. This

²⁴⁵ Giallombardo – Tripodi 1996, p.317

²⁴⁶ Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaimonians*, IV.7; *Ipparchicus*, I.5 and I.17

²⁴⁷ Barringer 2001, pp.10-59

²⁴⁸ Diodorus *History*, XIV 37.6

²⁴⁹ The "Hunting Freeze" of Tomb B at Vergina. (See Paliadeli 2004)

²⁵⁰ Barringer 2001, pp.11-15; Hatzopoulos 1996, 87-111

²⁵¹ Caltabiano 2007, p.769-770

²⁵² See note 214

²⁵³ Giallombardo – Tripodi 1996, p.314-321

²⁵⁴ Caltabiano 2007, p.765

identification, according to Greenwalt²⁵⁵, allows us to interpret as being the kings the mounted horsemen on the coins of the previous kings as well.

The traditional concept of a mounted horseman continued on Philip's II coinage but we have some changes as to the depiction itself as to the messages which want to diffuse the issuing authority. In the place of the traditional horseman with the armament of two spears, Philip II illustrated two new versions of mounted horseman, a mature horseman galloping on parade with his right hand raised and an adolescent one on a horse galloping with a palm in his hand (figures 47, 70). Le Rider²⁵⁶ identified the mature man with the king based on his headgear, which interpreted as *causia diadematophoros* considering it as the national Macedonian headgear and the *diadema* as royal attribute. He also identified the adolescent horseman as an agonistic type, which alluded to Philip's victory at Olympia. Both types matched with the head of Zeus, first time depicted on Macedonian regal coinage, interpreting the whole concept as an attempt to substitute a traditional Macedonian type with a Greek one. Some scholars also interpreted the gesture of the mature horseman not as a simple gesture of salutation but as a charismatic gesture of king's benevolence and protection²⁵⁷. Considering all the aforementioned arguments, Caltabiano suggested a new interpretation of the two horsemen as Philip II and Alexander III. Based on the bipolar concept mature/young connected with the figure of Zeus, which was depicted on both coins, she argued that Philip II wanted to diffuse his new political program, the idea of a divine kingship, coming directly from Zeus, and its continuity through the hereditary principle²⁵⁸. In contrast, Kremydi²⁵⁹ considers Philip's types on gold and silver coinage (figures 48, 70) as an allusion to his victory at Olympia, attested by ancient literary sources,²⁶⁰ and points out Philip's innovation of depicting historical events and persons

²⁵⁵ Greenwalt 1993, p.515.

²⁵⁶ Le Rider 1977, pp.364-366. Giallombardo (Giallombardo 1986, pp.497-509) refuted Le Rider's arguments, identifying the supposed *causia* as *petassos* and proving that the *diadema* was adopted as royal attribute in the iconography after Alexander's III eastern expedition. See, also, Paliadeli 1993, pp.122-142. Moreover, Giallombardo and Tripodi (Giallombardo-Tripodi 1996, pp. 311-355) interpreted, after a thorough analysis, the mature horseman on Philip's II coin as the representation of royalty and not of the king.

²⁵⁷ Caltabiano 1999, p.199; see, also, Cumont 1926, pp.70-72 who argues for the Semetic origin of this gesture

²⁵⁸ Caltabiano 1999, p.200-201

²⁵⁹ Kremydi 2017, pp.174-175

²⁶⁰ Plutarch *Alexander*, 3.7-8 and 4.8-9

of symbolic significance on his coins, a practice which was diffused during the Hellenistic period and characterized its coinage.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, we have already demonstrated that the coin types related to horses were popular in the coinages of both regions under investigation, Thessaly and Macedonia. However, what was the origin and the primary inspiration of these types and what was the message that the issuing authorities wanted to transmit through their coinage?

In Thessaly, on the one hand, with the vast plains, the favorable climate, the great production of wheat and other grains and the livestock breeding horse was an important means in agriculture and in everyday life. Hence, it was not a surprise that the horse related coin types dominated the most civic coinages of the Thessalian plain. In contrast, in the coastal cities of the Thessalian region, where the source of the wealth did not come from agriculture and the horse did not play such an important role in the everyday life of the inhabitants, the coin types were totally different. Moreover, the horse was related to the Aristocratic political system on which the governance of the Thessalian state and the feudal division and exploitation of the land was based. Thessaly was governed by powerful aristocratic families throughout its political life and the land was divided among these families which were responsible for the maintenance of the army and the famous Thessalian cavalry which played an important role in many battles in Antiquity. In this respect, the Thessalian armed cavalryman which bore the coins of several cities, known for their cavalry, had its inspiration in this fact and at the same time was an allusion and tribute to its victories and achievements. At the same time, the same coin type was connected with the cult of several local and eponymous heroes of Thessalian mythology as Thessalos, Jason and Achilles.

Nevertheless, in Thessaly the horse was connected to many local myths, cults and beliefs and matched with many deities and heroes as coin types in order to represent them through coinage. So, we saw the link between the cults and myths of Poseidon and the horse. It was used with the figure of Poseidon on Thessalian coins, in the representation of cultic ceremonies in veneration of the god as well as the canting symbol and an allusion of the God himself. The horse also was linked to the local cults of Zeus and Athena related to agriculture and war respectively as well as to the local cult of Ennodia. Therefore, the most common type on the Thessalian coinage was the representation on coins in conjunction with the eponymous Nymph of the city as the Nymphs were deities of Nature and the horse was an important mean in the exploitation of the land and the production of wealth of the Thessalian cities.

On the other hand, on the coinages of the Macedonian region the horse types emerged from different sources of inspiration depending on the coinage. Hence, on the Thraco-Macedonian tribal coinage, which first appeared in the region, the coin types were primarily of religious origin and character. The horse and horseman types were linked to Ares cycle whose cult was prominent in Macedonia and some of his related myths took place in the Macedonian region.

In contrast, on the civic coinages of the Chalcidice peninsula, where Greek colonial cities dominated, the horse was connected either to coin types or cults, which the colonists carried from the mother-city, as it happened in the cases of Olynthus and Poteidaia concerning the cult of Poseidon, or represented the fundamental values of the current political system, the Aristocracy.

As far as the regal Macedonian coinage is concerned, the horse related types were used by Alexander I for political reasons in order to strengthen his ties with the Thraco-Macedonian tribes after the withdrawal of the Persians. Afterwards, the horse was used by almost his successors and converted to a traditional type of the Macedonian regal coinage, representing the Aristocracy and the kingship which constituted the foundations of the Macedonian kingdom. Since the reign of Philip II, the types were renewed and new elements were introduced in his attempt to diffuse the idea of a divine kingship and his political program of a Pan-Hellenic expedition to the east. These changes affected the regal coinages of the Hellenistic period, new types

were introduced by the Hellenistic rulers and the horse types lose their importance as main coin types.

As for the style of types, we observe a common evolution in both regions. In the first issues of the late 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. the die cutters are experimenting with the material and the space. They depicted the horses observing and imitating nature although their proportions were usually unnatural. Through development of their skills they provided us with elegant coin types illustrating a range of poses during the course of 5th and 4th centuries B.C.; horses prancing, trotting, galloping and crouching are a common *topos* in the coin types of both areas whereas the mounted horseman is also popular coin type. The close political relationships between the two regions as well as the artists who sought job in both areas contributed to the cultural exchanges which were reflected in the coin types of both sides. The ancient tradition of the horse continued to play a significant role in the art of 20th century as well. As the coinage is not a responsibility of local authorities any more, the horse continued to be used in other forms of art. Horse statues decorate the centers of contemporary cities, especially in Thessaly, whereas at the same time it was used as the emblem of cities and clubs.

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Abbreviations

AAA	<i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i>
ABV	<i>J.D. Beazley, Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters (Oxford 1956)</i>
AEphem	<i>Archaeologiki Ephemeris</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJN	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
AMNG	<i>H. Gaebler, Die Antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands, Band III (2) Makedonia und Paionia (dir. F. Imhoof-Blumer, ed. Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften), Berlin 1906</i>
ANSMN	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i>
ArchDelt	<i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BSA	<i>British School at Athens Annual</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
Historia	<i>Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte</i>
HN	<i>B. V. Head, Historia Numorum, Oxford 1911</i>
I. Thess I	<i>Decourt, Jean-Claude. Inscriptions de Thessalie. Vol. 1. Les cités de la vallée de l'Énipeus. Études épigraphiques, 3. Athens 1995–</i>
IG II, 2	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae II et III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores, 2nd edn., Parts I-III, ed. Johannes Kirchner. Berlin 1913-1940. — Part I, 1-2 (1913-1916) = Decrees and Sacred Laws (Nos. 1-1369); Part II, 1-2 (1927-1931) = Records of Magistrates and Catalogues (Nos. 1370-2788); Part III, 1 (1935) = Dedications and Honorary Inscriptions (Nos. 2789-5219); Part III, 2 (1940) = Funerary Inscriptions (Nos. 5220-13247). — Part V, Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Herulorum incursionem et Imp. Mauricii tempora, ed. Ericus Sironen. Berlin 2008. (Nos. 13248-13690)</i>

IG IX, 2	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae, IX,2. Inscriptiones Thessaliae, ed. Otto Kern. Berlin 1908</i>
IGCH	<i>Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards, 1973</i>
JIAN	<i>Journal international d'archéologie numismatique</i>
JNG	<i>Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte</i>
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
NNM	<i>American Numismatic Society: Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i>
NomChron	<i>Nomismatika chronika</i>
RBN	<i>Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie</i>
RÉA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
RN	<i>Revue numismatique</i>
RPC	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage. Vols I-X (London and Paris, 1992-2016).</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum. Vols. 1-11, ed. Jacob E. Hondius, Leiden 1923-1954. Vols. 12-25, ed. Arthur G. Woodhead. Leiden 1955-1971. Vols. 26-41, eds. Henry W. Pleket and Ronald S. Stroud. Amsterdam 1979-1994. Vols. 42-44, eds. Henry W. Pleket, Ronald S. Stroud and Johan H.M. Strubbe. Amsterdam 1995-1997. Vols. 45-49, eds. Henry W. Pleket, Ronald S. Stroud, Angelos Chaniotis and Johan H.M. Strubbe. Amsterdam 1998-2002. Vols. 50- , eds. Angelos Chaniotis, Ronald S. Stroud and Johan H.M. Strubbe. Amsterdam 2003-</i>
SNG Alpha Bank	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Greece II. The Alpha Bank collection, Macedonia I: Alexander I-Perseus, Athens 2000.</i>
SNG ANS	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Collection of the American Numismatic Society, New York 1987</i>
SNG Ashmolean	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Ashmolean Museum Oxford, London 1976</i>
SNG Copenhagen	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals Danish National Museum, New Jersey 1982</i>
SNG Munich	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Deutschland. Staatliche Münzsammlung München, 10.-11. Heft, Makedonien: Könige, München 2001</i>
ZfN	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i>

Ancient Sources

Anthologia Palatina	<i>Philip of Thessaloniki</i>
Apollonius Rhodius	<i>Argonautics</i>
Athenaeus	<i>Deipnosophistae</i>
Aristotle	<i>Frg 498, Rose Fragmenta</i>
Artemidorus	<i>Oneirocritica</i>
Callimachus	<i>Hymns</i>
Demosthenes	<i>Against Aristokrates</i>
Diodorus	<i>History</i>
Heliiodorus	<i>Aethiopica</i>
Herodes Atticus	<i>Peri Politeias</i>
Herodotus	<i>Histories</i>
Hesychius	<i>Lexicon</i>
Homer	<i>Iliad</i>
Homer	<i>Odyssey</i>

Justin	<i>Epitome of the Philippic History Of Pompeius Trogus</i>
Lycocphron	<i>Scholia</i>
Pausanias	<i>Description of Greece</i>
Philostratus	<i>Heroicus</i>
Pindar	<i>Pithians</i>
Plutarch	<i>Alexander</i>
Polyaenus	<i>Stratagems</i>
Strabo	<i>Geography</i>
Thucydides	<i>Histories</i>
Xenophon	<i>Hellenica</i> <i>Ipparchicus</i>

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APPENDIX

Figure 1: Map of Ancient Thessaly (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ancient_Thessaly)

Figure 2: Silver drachm from Larissa, mid-5th century B.C. *Obv.* Hero to r. with petasos and chlamys holding a band around the forehead of a bull rushing to r. *Rev.* Bridled horse prancing left. (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 152)

Figure 3: Silver drachm from Thessaly c. 470-450 B.C. *Obv.* Forepart of horse emerging from rock r. *Rev.* Wheat grain in incuse square (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 1)

Figure 4: Silver obol from Meliboia, mid-4th century BC. *Obv.* Nymph Meliboia facing *Rev.* Two branches of grapes and two vine leaves (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 447)

Figure 5: Silver obol from Krannon, mid 5-th century B.C. *Obv.* Head and neck of bull *Rev.* Head and neck of horse r. (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 114.2)

Figure 6: Silver Drachm from Larissa, mid-5th century B.C. *Obv.* Horse grazing, cicada *Rev.* Jasan sandal, ΛΑΠΙ-ΣΑΙΟ (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 129)

Figure 7: Silver Hemidracm from Gyrtion, c. 340-330 B.C. *Obv.* Head of Nymph Gyrtone *Rev.* Horse preparing to roll, ΓΥΡ-(Τ)ΩΝΙΩΝ (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 77)

Figure 8: Dichalkon from Kierion, early to mid-4th century B.C. *Obv.* Head of Poseidon or Zeus *Rev.* Horse trotting (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 106.1)

Figure 9: Silver obol from Kierion, 3rd quarter of 4th century *Obv.* Bridled horse galloping *Rev.* Naked warrior with helmet shield and sword / ΚΙΕΠΙ-ΕΙΩΝ (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 104.2)

Figure 10: Silver obol from Pharcadon *Obv.* Horse prancing *Rev.* Athena with shield and spear (ANS 1949.27.14, American Numismatic Society, accessed November 27, 2018 , <http://numismatics.org/collection/1949.27.14>)

Figure 11: Silver Hemidrachm from Atrax, early to mid-4th century B.C. *Obv.* Head of the Nymph Bura *Rev.* Horse standing / ΑΤΡΑΓ-ΙΩΝ (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 51)

Figure 12: Trichalkon from Atrax, 3rd century B.C. *Obv.* Laureate head of Apollo *Rev.* Horseman on horse trotting with raised hand / ΑΤΡΑΓ-Ι-Ι-Ω (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 59.1)

Figure 13: Dichalkon from Krannon, 4th century B.C. Obv. Laureate and bearded head of Poseidon (or Zeus?) Rev. horseman wearing petasos prancing (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 116.1)

Figure 14: Silver drachm from Larissa, Mid-4th century B.C. Obv. Head of the nymph Larissa three-quarter facing l. Rev. helmeted cavalryman wearing body cuirass and holding a lance in his r. hand, riding prancing horse to r. / ΛΑ-Ρ- Ι-ΣΑΙ (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 392)

Figure 15: Dichalkon from Olosson, first half of 4th century B.C. Obv. Thessalian cavalryman, wearing chlamys and petasos, on horse prancing r. Rev. Zeus Keraunios striding r., hurling thunderbolt with his r., an eagle sits on his extended l. / ΟΛΟ (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 495)

Figure 16: Silver trihemiobol from Peirasia, early to mid-4th century B.C. Obv. Head of Athena facing, turned slightly to l., wearing triple-crested Corinthian helmet, her hair in ringlets Rev. Helmeted horseman in short tunic cantering r., raising a spear with his r. / ΠΕΙ-ΡΑΣΙ (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 503)

Figure 17: Silver drachm from Pharsalos, last quarter of 5th century B.C. Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet with raised cheek pieces Rev. Thessalian cavalryman on horse prancing to r., wearing petasos, chlamys and short chiton, holding a lagobolon over his r. shoulder / Φ-Α-Ρ-Σ (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 640)

Figure 18: Trichalkon from Pharsalos, 4th century B.C. Obv. Helmeted head of Athena facing, turned slightly to l. Rev. armoured Thessalian horseman wearing Boiotian helmet, short chiton and brandishing bifurcate flail above which bird r., riding r. on prancing horse decorated with two strands of a bead necklace; behind him, his attendant walking r. carrying a spare flail on his shoulder / ΦΑΡ-Σ (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 671.4)

Figure 19: Trichalkon from Kierion, 3rd century B.C. Obv. Head of bearded and wreathed Poseidon Rev. Bridled horse springing to right; below, Arne, half-kneeling to l., her r. hand playing with knucklebones but her l. raised as if to protect her from the huge horse above her / ΚΙΕΠΙΕ[ΩΝ] (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 108.3)

Figure 20: Dichalkon from Krannon, 4th century B.C. Obv. Laureate and bearded head of Poseidon Rev. Rider on horse prancing r., wears petasos, chlamys hanging from his shoulders, his r. hand raised in salute; below, trident r. at a slight angle downwards / ΚΡ-Α (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 117.2)

Figure 21: Silver drachm from Larissa, Early to mid-4th century B.C. Obv. Thessalos to r., naked but for chlamys over his shoulders and petasos hanging from a cord around his neck, holding a band with both hands around the forehead of a bull rushing r. Rev. Bridled horse with loose rein prancing r. / ΛΑ- ΡΙΣ (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 170)

Figure 22: Silver drachm from Larissa, mid-5th century B.C. Obv. Hero to r., with petasos over his shoulders and chlamys tied at his neck, holding a band with both his hands passing around the forehead of a bull rushing to r., below, lotus flower Rev. Bridled horse with trailing rein prancing l., all within incuse square / Λ-A I-R
(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 152)

Figure 23: Trihemiobol from Atrax, early 4th century B.C. Obv. Horseman wearing kausia advancing r. Rev. Bull standing r. on ground line, his head turned to r. towards the viewer / ΑΤΡΑΓΙ-Ο-Ι (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 50)

Figure 24: Silver drachm from Krannon, mid-5th century B.C. Obv. Youthful hero (Thessalos) naked but for cloak and petasos tied over his shoulders, holding with both hands a band around the forehead of a bull rushing to r. Rev. Bridled horse trotting to l., reins trailing on ground; behind, trident upwards and diagonally to r. / Κ-ΡΑ-ΝΟ
(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 109)

Figure 25: Chalkous, Thessalian League, c. 361-360 B.C. Obv. Head of Zeus to r., wearing oak wreath Rev. forepart of prancing horse to r. emerging from a rock / ΠΕΤ-ΘΑ-ΛΩΝ
(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 23)

Figure 26: Trichalkon from Gyrtion, Late 4th - early 3rd centuries BC. Obv. Bearded and wreathed head of Zeus l. Rev. horse trotting l. / ΓΥΡΤ- ΙΩ-ΙΙΩ
(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 82.3)

Figure 27: Trichalkon from Orthe, late 4th century B.C. Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet with serpent coiled on bowl Rev. Forepart of horse r. emerging from rocks on which grows olive tree / ΟΡΘΙΕΙΩΝ
(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 500)

Figure 28: Silver drachm from Pharsalos, last quarter of 5th century B.C. Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet with raised cheek pieces Rev. Thessalian cavalryman on horse prancing to r., wearing petasos, chlamys and short chiton, holding a lagobolon over his r. shoulder / Φ-Α-Σ-Ρ
(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 638)

Figure 29: Silver hemiobol from Triikka, 2nd half of 5th century B.C. Obv. Head of Athena r. in crested Attic helmet Rev. Forepart of horse r. in shallow incuse square / Τ-Ρ-Ι
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Figure 30: Silver trihemiobol, Perrhaiboi, mid to late 5th century B.C. Obv. Thessalian warrior, wearing petasos, short tunic and carrying two spears on his r. shoulder, standing l., behind bridled horse l., holding its rein with his l. hand Rev. Athena, helmeted, wearing long chiton and aegis with snakes, standing facing, her head turned to her l., holds long spear in her r. and balances shield on its edge with her l., all in shallow incuse square / Π-Ε-ΡΑ
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Figure 31: Silver trihemionobol, Perrhaiboi, late 5th century B.C. Obv. Thessalian cavalryman, wearing chlamys and petasos and holding two spears, riding horse walking r., below horse, altar Rev. Athena in chiton and himation and with her hair rolled in a bun behind her head, seated l. on chair with curving legs and back, her feet crossed, holding crested helmet with lowered cheekpieces / [Π]-E-P-A

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Figure 32: Silver obol, Perrhaiboi, late 5th to early 4th century B.C. Obv. Bridled horse prancing to l., its rein trailing Rev. Athena Itonia r., half kneeling in fighting attitude, wearing crested helmet and long robes, holding spear in her r. and shield in her l., all in shallow incuse square / Π-E- P-A

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Figure 33: Dichalkon from Phalanna, c. 322 B.C. Obv. Head of Ares l., in crested Attic helmet Rev. Free horse trotting to r. / [Φ]ΑΛΑΝΝΑΙΩΝ

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Figure 34: Silver obol, Larissa, last quarter of 5th century B.C. Obv. Bridled horse standing r. Rev. Nymph Larissa standing r. and balancing one-handed hydria on her raised left knee; behind her, fountain spout in the form of a lion's head r. from which pours water / Λ-A- RI

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Figure 35: Silver obol, Larissa, c. 400 B.C. Obv. Horse prancing l. on ground line Rev. Nymph Larissa running l. on ground line, bouncing ball on the ground / Λ-A- P-I

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Figure 36: Silver obol, Larissa, c. 400 B.C. Obv. Horse walking r. on ground line Rev. Nymph Larissa seated l. on a hydria with its mouth to the r. and one side handle facing the viewer, her l. hand on her knee and her r. extended, having just tossed or kicked the ball seen at bottom l. / ΑΑ- [P] I S-A l.

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 164)

Figure 37: Silver obol, Trikka, 2nd half of 5th century B.C. Obv. Bridled horse pacing l. Rev. Nymph Trikke in long drapery, standing facing, head l., tossing ball with her r., her l. on her waist / T-P- K

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Figure 38: Silver drachm, Larissa, Early to mid-4th century B.C. Obv. Nymph Larissa three-quarter facing r., wearing hair band and plain necklace Rev. Horse with straight legs grazing r. on ground line / ΑΑΠΙ

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Figure 39: Silver drachm, Larissa, mid-4th century B.C. Obv. Head of the nymph Larissa three-quarter facing l., wearing pendant earring and plain necklace Rev. Horse l., crouching and preparing to roll on solid ground line / ΛΑΠΙ-ΣΑΙΩΝ
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Figure 41: Trichalkon, Pherae, 3rd century B.C. Obv. Head of the water nymph Hypereia facing, turned slightly to l., wearing wreath of reeds in her hair; to l., fish swimming upwards Rev. Ennodia, wearing long chiton and holding long transverse torch across her body seated facing on horse galloping r., above l., fountain spout in the form of a lion's head l. / ΦΕΡΑΙΩΝ
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Figure 44: Silver tetrobol of Bisaltai, 530 - 480 B.C. Obv. Horseman l. holding two spears. Rev. Rough incuse square. (ANS 1965.242.1, American Numismatic Society <http://numismatics.org/collection/1965.242.1>)

Figure 45: Silver stater of Orescii, 530 - 480 B.C. Obv. ΟΡΡΗΣΚΙΩΝ / Centaur r., abducting nymph. Rev. Quadrapartite incuse square. (ANS 1944.100.12085, American Numismatic Society <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.12085>)

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Figure 47: Silver tetradrachm of Philip II, ca. 355-348 B.C. Obv. Laureate head of Zeus right. Rev. Philip II on horseback left; bow below raised foreleg of horse / ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.
(<http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=139829>)

Figure 48: Gold stater of Philip II, 340-328 B.C. Obv. Laureate head of Apollo right. Rev. Charioteer driving biga right, thunderbolt below / ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
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Obv. A: Horse walking r. Rev. Crested helmet with nose piece r., within incuse square with linear border
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Figure 70: Silver tetradrachm, Philip II, 336-328 B.C. Obv. Head of Zeus, wearing laurel wreath. Rev. Youth, holding palm in right hand, rein in left, on horseback r. / ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ

(ANS 1948.19.390, American Numismatic Society
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Figure 2: Silver drachm from Larissa, mid-5th century B.C.
Obv. Heros to r. with petasos and chlamys holding a band around the forehead of a bull rushing to r. *Rev.* Bridled horse prancing left.
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Obv. Forepart of horse emerging from rock r.
Rev. Wheat grain in incuse square
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Figure 4: Silver obol from Meliboia, mid-4th century BC.

Obv. Nymph Meliboia facing

Rev. Two branches of grapes and two vine leaves

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Figure 5: Silver obol from Krannon, mid 5th century B.C.

Obv. Head and neck of bull

Rev. Head and neck of horse r.

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Figure 6: Silver Drachm from Larissa, mid-5th century B.C.

Obv. Horse grazing, cicada

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Figure 7: Silver Hemidracm from Gyrtion, c. 340-330 B.C.

Obv. Head of Nymph Gyrtone

Rev. Horse preparing to roll, ΓΥΡ-(Τ)ΩΝΙΩΝ

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Figure 8: Dichalkon from Kierion, early to mid-4th century B.C.

Obv. Head of Poseidon or Zeus

Rev. Horse trotting

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Obv. Bridled horse galloping

Rev. Naked warrior with helmet shield and sword / KIEPI-EIQN

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Figure 10: Silver obol from Pharcadon

Obv. Horse prancing

Rev. Athena with shield and spear

(ANS 1949.27.14, American Numismatic Society, accessed November 27, 2018, <http://numismatics.org/collection/1949.27.14>)



Figure 11: Silver Hemidrachm from Atrax, early to mid-4th century B.C.

Obv. Head of the Nymph Bura

Rev. Horse standing / ATPAF-ION

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 51)



Figure 12: Trichalkon from Atrax, 3rd century B.C.
Obv. Laureate head of Apollo
Rev. Horseman on horse trotting with raised hand / ΑΤΡΑΓ-Ι-Ι-Ω
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Figure 13: Dichalkon from Krannon, 4th century B.C.
Obv. Laureate and bearded head of Poseidon (or Zeus?)
Rev. horseman wearing petasos prancing
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Figure 14: Silver drachm from Larissa, Mid-4th century B.C.
Obv. Head of the nymph Larissa three-quarter facing l.
Rev. helmeted cavalryman wearing body cuirass and holding a lance in his r. hand, riding prancing horse to r. / ΛΑ-Ρ-Ι-ΣΑΙ
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Figure 15: Dichalkon from Olosson, first half of 4th century B.C.
Obv. Thessalian cavalryman, wearing chlamys and petasos, on horse prancing r.
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Figure 16: Silver trihemiobol from Peirasia, early to mid-4th century B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena facing, turned slightly to l., wearing triple-crested Corinthian helmet, her hair in ringlets

Rev. Helmeted horseman in short tunic cantering r., raising a spear with his r. / ΠΕΙ-ΡΑΣΙ

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 503)



Figure 17: Silver drachm from Pharsalos, last quarter of 5th century B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet with raised cheek pieces

Rev. Thessalian cavalryman on horse prancing to r., wearing petasos, chlamys and short chiton, holding a lagobolon over his r. shoulder / Φ-Α-Ρ-Σ

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 640)



Figure 18: Trichalkon from Pharsalos, 4th century B.C.

Obv. Helmeted head of Athena facing, turned slightly to l.

Rev. armoured Thessalian horseman wearing Boiotian helmet, short chiton and brandishing bifurcate flail above which bird r., riding r. on prancing horse decorated with two strands of a bead necklace; behind him, his attendant walking r. carrying a spare flail on his shoulder / ΦΑΡ-Σ
(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 671.4)



Figure 19: Trichalkon from Kierion, 3rd century B.C.

Obv. Head of bearded and wreathed Poseidon

Rev. Bridled horse springing to right; below, Arne, half-kneeling to l., her r. hand playing with knucklebones but her l. raised as if to protect her from the huge horse above her / ΚΙΕΡ-ΙΕ[ΩΝ]
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Figure 20: Dichalkon from Krannon, 4th century B.C.
Obv. Laureate and bearded head of Poseidon
Rev. Rider on horse prancing r., wears petasos, chlamys hanging from his shoulders, his r. hand raised in salute; below, trident r. at a slight angle downwards / KP-A (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 117.2)



Figure 21: Silver drachm from Larissa, Early to mid 4th century B.C.
Obv. Thessalos to r., naked but for chlamys over his shoulders and petasos hanging from a cord around his neck, holding a band with both hands around the forehead of a bull rushing r.
Rev. Bridled horse with loose rein prancing r. / ΛΑ- ΠΙΣ (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 170)



Figure 22: Silver drachm from Larissa, mid-5th century B.C.
Obv. Hero to r., with petasos over his shoulders and chlamys tied at his neck, holding a band with both his hands passing around the forehead of a bull rushing to r., below, lotus flower
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Figure 23: Trihemiobol from Atrax, early 4th century B.C.
Obv. Horseman wearing kausia advancing r.
Rev. Bull standing r. on ground line, his head turned to r. towards the viewer / ΑΤΡΑΓΙ-Ο-Ι (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 50)



Figure 24: Silver drachm from Krannon, mid-5th century B.C.

Obv. Youthful hero (Thessalos) naked but for cloak and petasos tied over his shoulders, holding with both hands a band around the forehead of a bull rushing to r.

Rev. Bridled horse trotting to l., reins trailing on ground; behind, trident upwards and diagonally to r. / K-PA-NO (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 109)



Figure 25: Chalkous, Thessalian League, c. 361-360 B.C.

Obv. Head of Zeus to r., wearing oak wreath

Rev. forepart of prancing horse to r. emerging from a rock / ΠΕΤ-ΘΑ-ΛΩΝ

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 23)



Figure 26: Trichalkon from Gyrtion, Late 4th - early 3rd centuries B.C.

Obv. Bearded and wreathed head of Zeus l.

Rev. horse trotting l. / ΓΥΡΤ-ΙΩ-ΙΩ

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 82.3)



Figure 27: Trichalkon from Orthe, late 4th century B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet with serpent coiled on bowl

Rev. Forepart of horse r. emerging from rocks on which grows olive tree / ΟΡΘΕΙΩΝ

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 500)



Figure 28: Silver drachm from Pharsalos, last quarter of 5th century B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r., wearing Attic helmet with raised cheek pieces

Rev. Thessalian cavalryman on horse prancing to r., wearing petasos, chlamys and short chiton, holding a lagobolon over his r. shoulder / Φ-A-Σ-P

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 638)



Figure 29: Silver hemiobol from Triikka, 2nd half of 5th century B.C.

Obv. Head of Athena r. in crested Attic helmet

Rev. Forepart of horse r. in shallow incuse square / T-P-I

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 766)



Figure 30: Silver trihemiobol, Perrhaiboi, mid to late 5th century B.C.

Obv. Thessalian warrior, wearing petasos, short tunic and carrying two spears on his r. shoulder, standing l., behind bridled horse l., holding its rein with his l. hand

Rev. Athena, helmeted, wearing long chiton and aegis with snakes, standing facing, her head turned to her l., holds long spear in her r. and balances shield on its edge with her l., all in shallow incuse square / Π-E-PA

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 543)



Figure 31: Silver trihemiobol, Perrhaiboi, late 5th century B.C.

Obv. Thessalian cavalryman, wearing chlamys and petasos and holding two spears, riding horse walking r., below horse, altar

Rev. Athena in chiton and himation and with her hair rolled in a bun behind her head, seated l. on chair with curving legs and back, her feet crossed, holding crested helmet with lowered cheekpieces / [Π]-E-P-A

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 546)



Figure 32: Silver obol, Perrhaiboi, late 5th to early 4th century B.C.
Obv. Bridled horse prancing to l., its rein trailing
Rev. Athena Itonia r., half kneeling in fighting attitude, wearing crested helmet and long robes, holding spear in her r. and shield in her l., all in shallow incuse square / Π-Ε-Ρ-Α
 (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 550)



Figure 33: Dichalkon from Phalanna, c. 322 B.C.
Obv. Head of Ares I., in crested Attic helmet
Rev. Free horse trotting to r. / [Φ]ΑΛΑΝΝΑΙΩΝ
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Figure 34: Silver obol, Larissa, last quarter of 5th century B.C.
Obv. Bridled horse standing r.
Rev. Nymph Larissa standing r. and balancing one-handed hydria on her raised left knee; behind her, fountain spout in the form of a lion's head r. from which pours water / Λ-Α-ΡΙ
 (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 159)



Figure 35: Silver obol, Larissa, c. 400 B.C.
Obv. Horse prancing l. on ground line
Rev. Nymph Larissa running l. on ground line, bouncing ball on the ground / Λ-Α-ΡΙ
 (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 162)



Figure 36: Silver obol, Larissa, c. 400 B.C.

Obv. Horse walking r. on ground line

Rev. Nymph Larissa seated l. on a hydria with its mouth to the r. and one side handle facing the viewer, her l. hand on her knee and her r. extended, having just tossed or kicked the ball seen at bottom l. / ΑΛ- [P] Ι S-A Ι.

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 164)



Figure 37: Silver obol, Trikke, 2nd half of 5th century B.C.

Obv. Bridled horse pacing l.

Rev. Nymph Trikke in long drapery, standing facing l., tossing ball with her r., her l. on her waist / T-P- K

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 770)



Figure 38: Silver drachm, Larissa, Early to mid-4th century B.C.

Obv. Nymph Larissa three-quarter facing r., wearing hair band and plain necklace

Rev. Horse with straight legs grazing r. on ground line / ΛΑΡΙ

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 191)



Figure 39: Silver drachm, Larissa, mid-4th century B.C.

Obv. Head of the nymph Larissa three-quarter facing l., wearing pendant earring and plain necklace

Rev. Horse l., crouching and preparing to roll on solid ground line / ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑΙΩΝ

(Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 286)



Figure 40: Silver stater, Larissa, mid to late-4th century B.C.
Obv. Head of the nymph Larissa three-quarter facing l., wearing plain necklace and triple drop earring, her hair held by an ampyx
Rev. Bridled horse trotting r., tail upright and looped / ΛΑΠΙΣ-ΤΡΩΝ
 (Triton XV, 2012, Lot: 311)



Figure 41: Trichalkon, Pherae, 3rd century B.C.
Obv. Head of the water nymph Hypereia facing, turned slightly to l., wearing wreath of reeds in her hair; to l., fish swimming upwards
Rev. Ennodia, wearing long chiton and holding long transverse torch across her body seated facing on horse galloping r., above l., fountain spout in the form of a lion's head l. / ΦΕΡΑΙΩΝ



Figure 42: Map of Macedonia and its neighbours ca. 350 B.C. (Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon)



Figure 43: Silver dodecadrachm of Derrones. *Obv.* Male figure driving chariot of oxen, r. *Rev.* Triskeles. (ANS 1944.100.11954, American Numismatic Society <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.11954>)



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Figure 47: Silver tetradrachm of Philip II, ca. 355-348 B.C. *Obv.* Laureate head of Zeus right. *Rev.* Philip II on horseback left; bow below raised foreleg of horse / ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. (<http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=139829>)



Figure 48: Gold stater of Philip II, 340-328 B.C. *Obv.* Laureate head of Apollo right. *Rev.* Charioteer driving biga right, thunderbolt below / ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
<http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=17326>



Figure 49: Silver tetradrachm of Alexander III, 336-323 B.C. *Obv.* Beardless head of Heracles r. wearing lion skin headdress. *Rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ / Zeus seated on stool-throne l., holding eagle on outstretched right hand and sceptre in left. (ANS 1947.98.28, American Numismatic Society <http://numismatics.org/collection/1947.98.28>)



Figure 50: Silver tetradrachm of Antigonos Gonatas, 277-239 B.C. *Obv.* Bust of Pan left, lagobolon at shoulder, at centre of Macedonian shield. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ, Athena Alkidemos advancing left, brandishing thunderbolt and holding shield, crested Macedonian helmet to left, TI to right. (SNG Ashmolean 3260)



Figure 51: Silver tetradrachm of Antigonos Gonatas, 277-239 B.C. *Obv.* Head of Poseidon. *Rev.* Apollo sitting on a bow / ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ. (Mørkholm 1991, p.135, pl.XXXIX, n.436)



Figure 52: Silver octadrachm, Bisaltai, ca. 480 B.C.

Obv. Bridled horse walking right; behind is a young man wearing a petasos holding two spears pointed forward.

Rev. Quadripartite incuse.

(Raymond 1953, pl. II, 5)



Figure 53: Silver stater, Ichnai, 530-480 B.C.

Obv. Warrior restraining prancing horse left.

Rev. Four-spoked wheel within incuse square.

(BMC Macedonia, p.76, 1)



Figure 54: Silver tetradrachm, Poteidaia, ca. 479-450 B.C.
Obv. Poseidon Hippios, nude, holding spear forward in right hand and reins in left, riding horse left; below, dolphin left
Rev. Quadripartite incuse square, diagonally divided
 (Triton XXII, 2019, Lot: 184)



Figure 55: Silver tritemorion, Poteidaia, 500-450 B.C. *Obv.* Horse standing to r. on exergue line; under the belly:Pl. *Rev.* Amazon head in incuse square. (ANS 1999.42.2, American Numismatic Society <http://numismatics.org/collection/1999.42.2>)



Figure 56: Silver tetradrachm from Sermyle, before 500 B.C. *Obv.* ΣΤΑΤΕΡ MAXON. Rider on a galloping horse brandishing his spear
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.89)



Figure 57: Silver didrachm from Sermyle, Ca.500-480 BC
Obv. ΣΕΡΜΥΛΙΑΙΟΝ. Galloping horse
Rev. Incuse square
 (Tsagari 2009, n.91)



Figure 58: Silver tetrobol, Olynthus, 500-432 B.C. *Obv.* Horse standing r., attached by bridle to Ionic column behind. *Rev.* Eagle with snake within incuse square.
 (ANS 1958.156.7, AmericanNumismaticSociety
<http://numismatics.org/collection/1958.156.7>)



Figure 59: Silver tetrobol, Olynthus, 500-432 B.C. *Obv.* Horse galloping. *Rev.* Eagle with snake within incuse square. (ANS 1951.102.5, AmericanNumismaticSociety <http://numismatics.org/collection/1951.102.5>)



Figure 60: Silver octadrachm, Alexander I, 480/79-477/76 B.C.
Obv. Mounted horseman r., carrying two spears
Rev. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ: Inscription surrounding quadripartite square; all within incuse square
 (Raymond 1953, pl. III, 1)



Figure 61: Silver tetradrachm, Alexander I, 480/79-477/76 B.C.
Obv. Mounted horseman l., carrying two spears
Rev. Goat's head in incuse square with linear border
 (Raymond 1953, pl. IV, 16a)



Figure 62: Silver tetrobol, Alexander I, 480/79-477/76 B.C.
Obv. Mounted horseman r., carrying two spears
Rev. Head and leg of lion r., in incuse square (ANS 1944.100.12121, AmericanNumismaticSociety <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.12121>)



Figure 63: Silver tetrobol, Alexander I, 480/79-477/76 B.C.
Obv. A: Horse walking r.
Rev. Crested helmet with nose piece r., within incuse square with linear border (ANS 1944.100.12125, AmericanNumismaticSociety <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.12125>)



Figure 64: Silver tetrobol, Perdikkas II, 451-447 B.C.
Obv. A walking horse.
Rev. A crested helmet. (ANS 2002.46.551, American Numismatic Society, <http://numismatics.org/collection/2002.46.551>)



Figure 65: Silver tetrobol, Perdikkas II, 445/4-438/7 B.C.
Obv. Mounted horseman.
Rev. (R): A forepart of a lion. (ANS 2002.46.545, American Numismatic Society <http://numismatics.org/collection/2002.46.545>)



Figure 66: Silver Didrachm, Archelaus I, 413-399 B.C. *Obv.* Mounted horseman, carrying two spears, galloping l. *Rev.* Goat forepart r., head reverted, all in incuse square with linear border / ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ
 (ANS 1970.94.1, American Numismatic Society
<http://numismatics.org/collection/1970.94.1>)



Figure 67: Silver didrachm, Archelaus I, 413-399 B.C. *Obv.* Head of Apollo r., wearing taenia. *Rev.* Horse standing r., bridle trailing; all in an incuse square with linear border
 (ANS 1944.100.12150, American Numismatic Society
<http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.12150>)



Figure 68: Silver didrachm, Amyntas III, 389-369 B.C. *Obv.* Bearded head of Heracles r. wearing lion skin headdress. *Rev.* Horse standing r., all within incuse square / AMYNTA. (ANS 1944.100.1216, American Numismatic Society <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.1216>)



Figure 69: Silver didrachm, Amyntas III, 389-369 B.C. *Obv.* Mounted horseman r., holding javelin in raised r. hand. *Rev.* Lion standing l., holding in his jaws a broken javelin / AMYNTA. (ANS 1944.100.12168, American Numismatic Society <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.12168>)



Figure 70: Silver tetradrachm, Philip II, 336-328 B.C. *Obv.* Head of Zeus, wearing laurel wreath. *Rev.* Youth, holding palm in right hand, rein in left, on horseback r. / ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ (ANS 1948.19.390, American Numismatic Society <http://numismatics.org/collection/1948.19.390>)