

# Currency from Two Farmsteads in the Ancient Leivithra Plains in Southern Pieria

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Excavation of the past two decades has brought to light a number of rural installations at the broader area of Macedonian Olympus (Pigi Athinas, Tria Platania, Goritsa, Triantafillia, Kompoloi, Douvari I–II, Skotina Resort) (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> They are located at the territory of the cities Heraklion and Leivithra and are dated at Classical and Hellenistic period.<sup>2</sup> They are classified to small, semi-mountainous farmhouses with limited production just for self-sufficiency (Goritsa, Triantafillia)<sup>3</sup> and to large lowland farmsteads – *ἀγροπαύλεις* – with surplus production and commercial activity (Tria Platania<sup>4</sup>, Kompoloi-Douvari<sup>5</sup>).

The current paper examines the numismatic material of the two neighbouring country houses at Kompoloi and Douvari I site. Kompoloi was a wine production estate of about 5 acres.<sup>6</sup> It was located near the coastal road connecting Macedonia with Thessaly, at a distance of about 3 km from Leivithra<sup>7</sup> and Heraklion<sup>8</sup>. It is dated from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC when it was violently destroyed possibly during the invasion of the Gauls<sup>9</sup>. It consisted of two inner-facing buildings, the house to the east and the winery to the west, connecting with a roofed corridor in a compound complex of 1350 m<sup>2</sup> (fig. 2). A number of 47 pithoi and pithoi pits were found in the storage area and outdoors. The capacity of biggest pithoi for processing and storage wine is calculated up to 2000 liters each.<sup>10</sup>

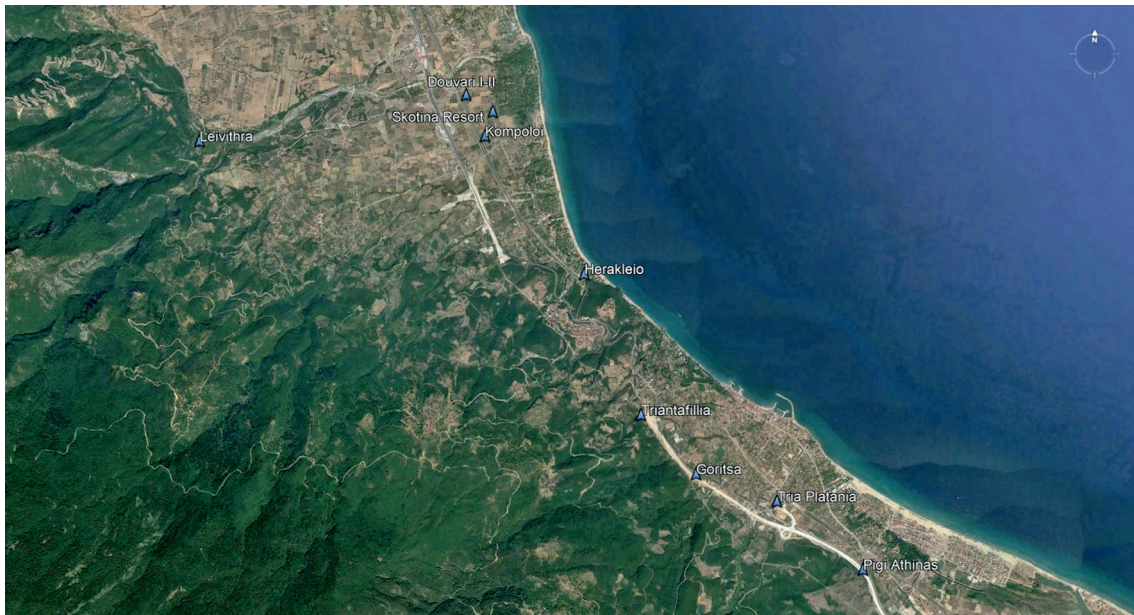


Fig. 1: Google Earth map with ancient farmhouses and cities of southern Pieria.

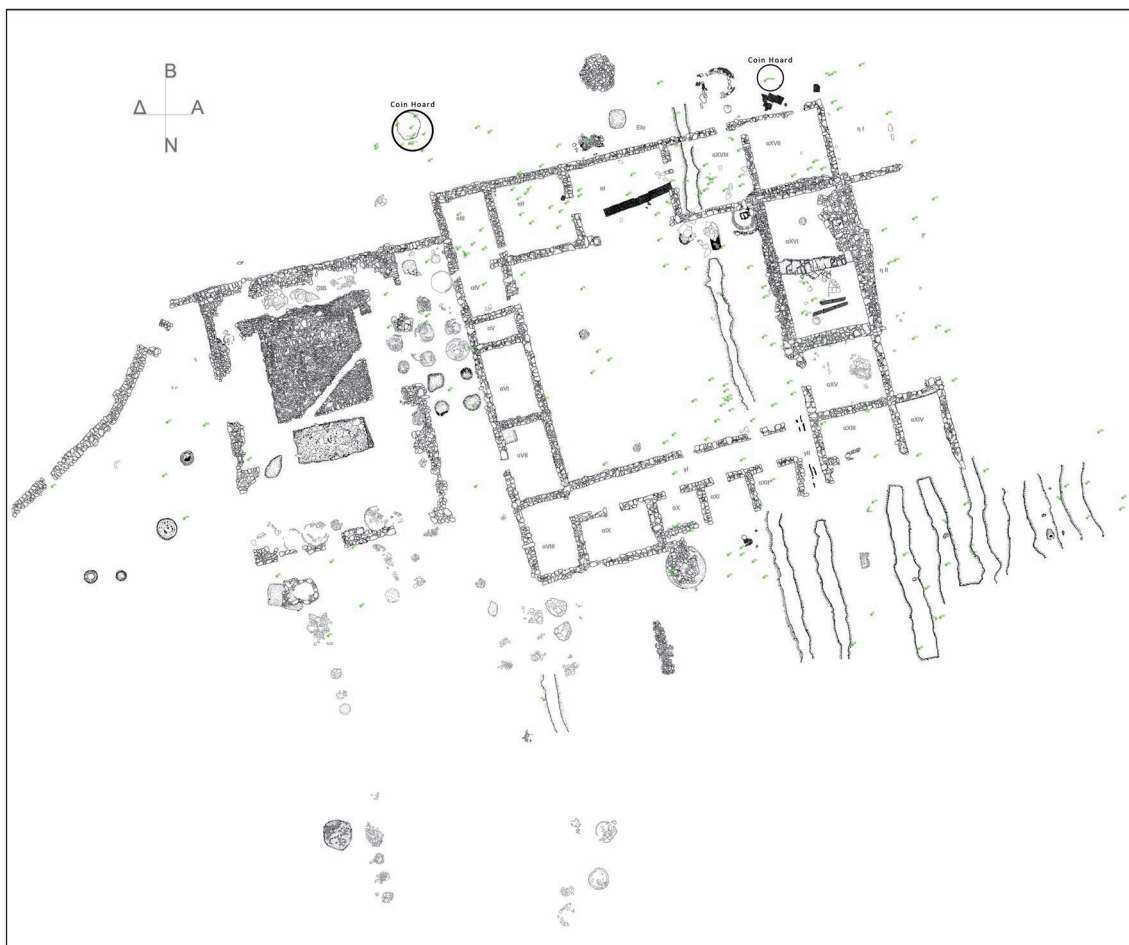


Fig. 2: Kompoloi: Plan of the farmstead with coin distribution.

A total of 230 coins derived, all bronzes except from 2 silver.<sup>11</sup> The main bulk of both royal and civic coins was found at the broader area of the house. They were mostly unearthed at the northern and eastern wing of the house, which also were the richest in fine pottery, indicating that the main living quarters and the public sections of the house were situated in that area (fig. 2). On the contrary, just a few coins and almost no other findings derived from the storage area (*pitheon*), indicating a limited accessibility perhaps as a result of the vulnerability of wine. Predictably, royal coinage forms the vast majority (c. 90%), mainly been represented by Macedonian issues (fig. 3. 4. 5). A total of 22 civic and federal coins were also found, struck by 14 mints (fig. 3). The regal coins belong to Amyntas III (1), Philip II (55), Alexander III (75), Cassander (45), Demetrius Poliorcetes (15), Antigonus Gonatas (3) and Perseus (1).

Just a few bronzes are attributed to the initial phase of the farmstead, consisting of only the western storage building – in a simpler form – along with some outdoor structures and a vineyard. They are all royal issues except from 1 civic.<sup>12</sup> The earliest are

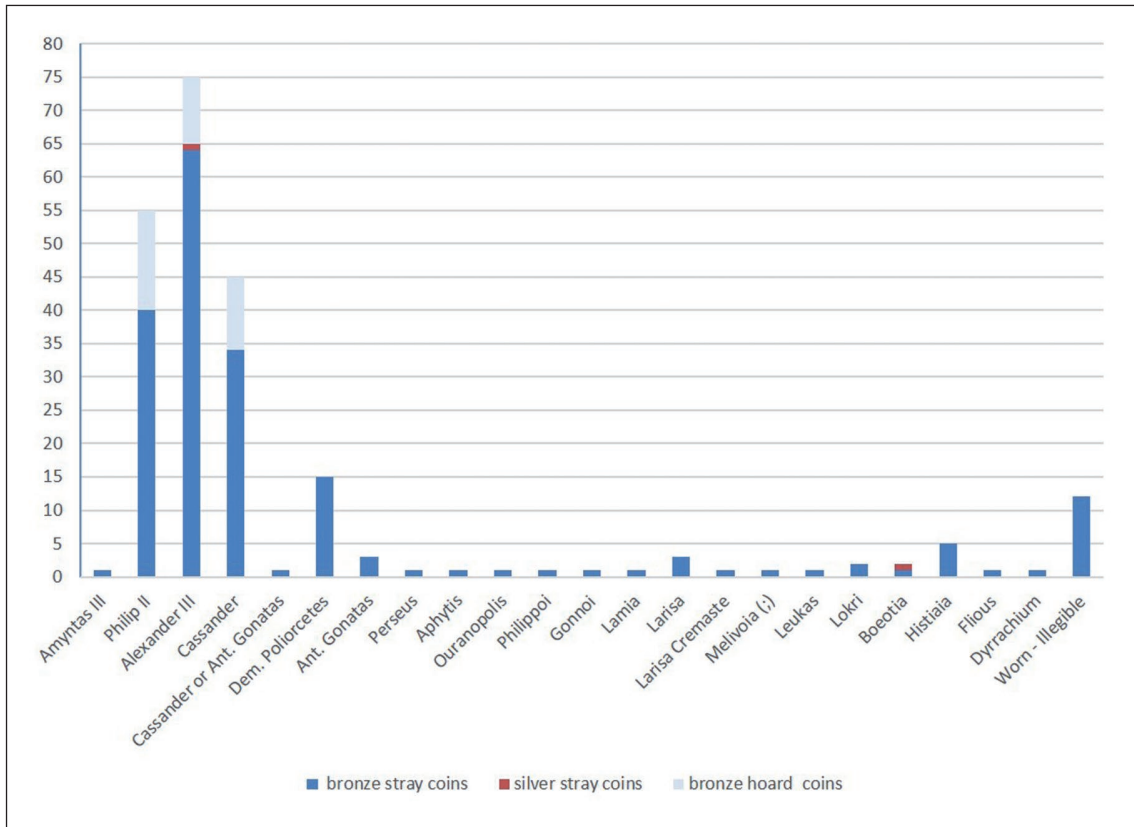


Fig. 3: Kompoloi: Coins per issuing authority.



Fig. 4: Kompoloi: Regal coins (a. Philipp II, b–d. Alexander III).



Fig. 5: Kompoloi: Regal coins (a. posthumous Alexander III, b–c. Cassander, d–e. Demetrius Poliorcetes)

1 coin of Amyntas III ('Heracles/eagle')<sup>13</sup> and a few of Philip's II main type ('male head/rider')<sup>14</sup> (fig. 4a). More than a half concern the main types of Alexander III 'Heracles/weapons *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*'<sup>15</sup> and 'B-A'<sup>16</sup> (fig. 4c–d). The 'shield (thunderbolt)/helmet B-A' (fig. 4b)<sup>17</sup> and 'male head/horse *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*'<sup>18</sup> types are represented with just 1 coin each. As concluded from the coins and the pottery, the wine making farmstead was founded at the time of Philip II, a period of political and economic stability that encouraged the intensive agriculture and the installation of big farm units for specialized production.<sup>19</sup>

The main phase has yielded two silver and a three-digit number of bronze coins, including two small circulation hoards (fig. 2)<sup>20</sup>. "Kompoloi/2000" hoard was buried northern of the house, consisting of 25 coins, 15 of Philip ('male head/rider') and 10 of Alexander (9 'Heracles/weapons *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*' and 1 'Heracles/weapons B-A').<sup>21</sup> "Kompoloi/1997" hoard, which was scattered northern the pitheon and had been possibly concealed within it, comprises 11 coins of Cassander's 'Heracles/seated lion *ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ*' primary type.<sup>22</sup> The high proportion of Philip's hoard and stray coins can be explained by their long-term circulation and the existence of posthumous issues.<sup>23</sup> Alexander's coins are predominant as in the initial phase. However, there is now a significant percentage of posthumous issues, consisting of a drachm of 'Heracles/Zeus' type<sup>24</sup> and the 'male head/horse *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*' bronze type, which, as Ch. Gatzolis has confirmed through hoard evidence, was struck by Cassander in the name of Alexander IV (fig. 5a).<sup>25</sup> If the coins within Alexander's reign are divided from the posthumous issues, the numismatic presence of Cassander prevails (fig. 6). The latest is represented with all his bronze coin types, with predominance of 'Heracles/rider'<sup>26</sup> main regal type (fig. 5c) and a high percentage of 'Heracles/seated lion' prior type

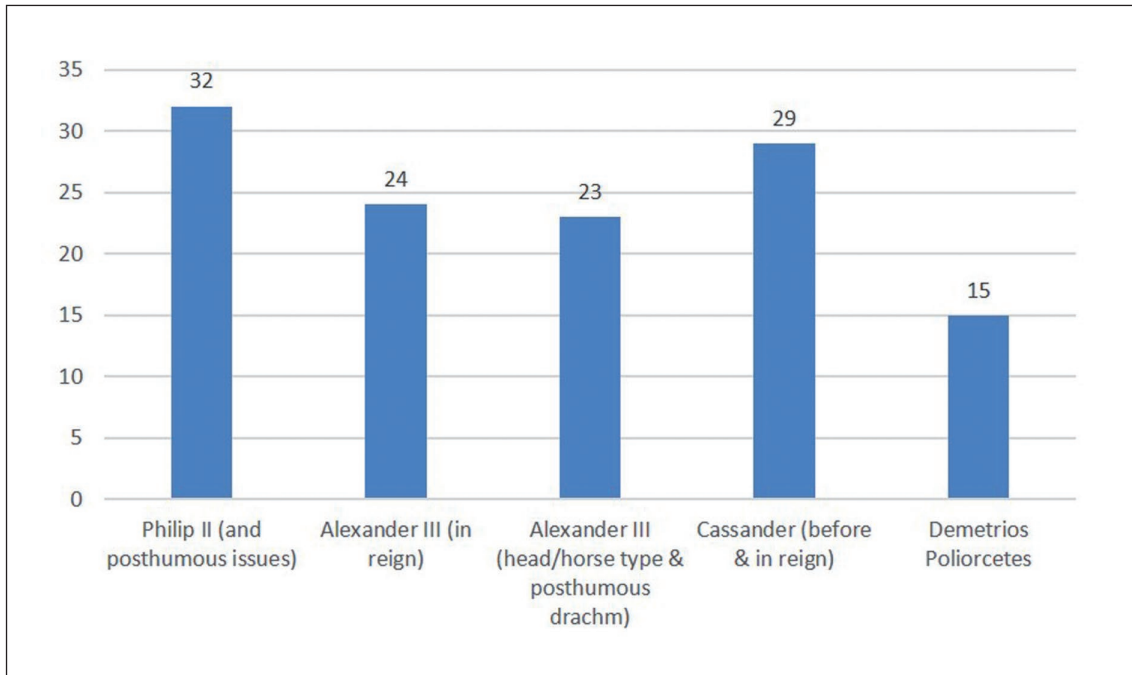


Fig. 6: Kompoloi: Regal coins from the main phase of the farmstead.

(fig. 5b). So, as coin finds indicate, the winery farmstead was expanded during Alexander's reign or in the early – post Alexandrian period and flourished in time of Cassander, when the neighboring farmhouse at Douvari as well as the farmstead at Tria Platania were established.<sup>27</sup> As based on amphora study, Kompoloi farmstead might produced a variety of Mendaian wine<sup>28</sup> confirming Athenaeus (11.784c) that Cassander favored the mass trade of wine far beyond the city origin of Mende.<sup>29</sup> The farmstead was violently destroyed in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, as is testified from Demetrius Poliorcetes' coins, which mainly belong to 'shield (ἰϛ)/helmet' Macedonian type<sup>30</sup> (fig. 5d) as well as to some non-Macedonian issues<sup>31</sup> (fig. 5e). Pottery and a few coins indicate a limited use of space after the destruction until the Roman conquest.<sup>32</sup>

The partly excavated installation at Douvari I consisted of a small farmhouse, some outdoor structures and a few wine *pithoi*.<sup>33</sup> In total 25 bronze coins were found, all of which regal except from two Thessalian (fig. 7).<sup>34</sup> The stray coins belong to Cassander after receiving the royal title, to Demetrius Poliorcetes and to Ptolemy Keraunos.<sup>35</sup> A small coin hoard of bronzes was buried in the farmhouse ("Douvari I/1999"). It comprises 1 coin of Alexander III ('shield/helmet'), 1 of Cassander ('Heracles/rider'), 2 of Poliorcetes ('shield/helmet') and 4 worn coins of the same type. Its concealment is possibly dated in the chaotic period from Keraunos' death to the consolidation of Gonatas' reign.<sup>36</sup>

According to numismatic evidence, the farmhouse was established – probably as supporting facility to Kompoloi – in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>37</sup> After its destruction in

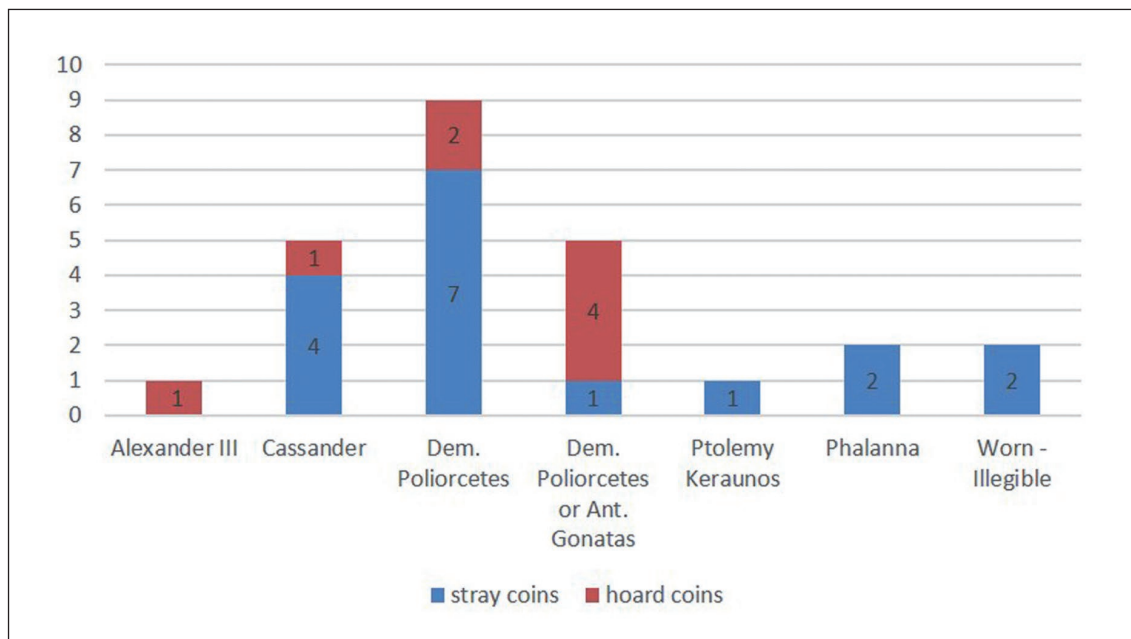


Fig. 7: Douvari I: Coins per issuing authority.

the years of the Gauls' invasion it was immediately rebuilt and remained in function possibly until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC as testified from the pottery, since coin evidence of this phase is lacking.

Kompoloi was a wealthy farmstead, as is mainly indicated by its size and the extended storage space that confirms a mass production of wine for large scale trade. Moreover, viticulture and wine production required a very costly investment in land, infrastructures, equipment and workforce<sup>38</sup>. Regarding the market network, the neighboring cities of Leivithra and Herakleion would support the local trade of wine, as well as Dion due to the attendance of visitors and pilgrims.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the proximity of the farmstead to the main land route connecting Macedonia with Thessaly as well as to the harbor of Herakleion, allowed the disposal of wine even to long-distance markets. The numismatic material from Kompoloi, although partial since the house was not excavated eastwards, is much more numerous than that of other published farmhouses of Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia (fig. 8), as well as of Thessaly and Attica.<sup>40</sup>

Being comparable only to that of the large, lowland farmsteads Tria Platania and Liotopi Routsheli at Macedonia, it reflects a market oriented economy with high degree monetization.

As expected, the bulk of coins are bronzes, which according to the prevailing point of view, served mainly everyday transactions and local retail trade, whereas precious metal issues served large-scale trade.<sup>41</sup> Wine was a risky but highly profitable product with unstable value that was influenced by a range of factors. Taking into account the lowest price, the content of only one large pithos from Kompoloi that held up to 2000

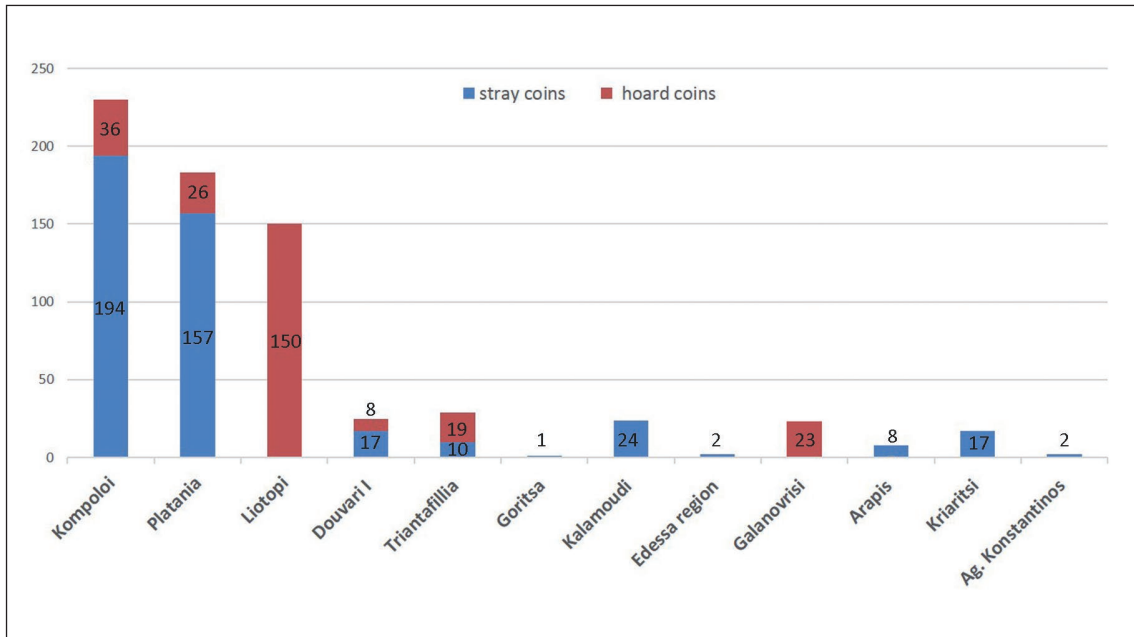


Fig. 8: Kompoloi: Coins from Macedonian farmhouses.

liters can be estimated at least to 132 drachmae, an indicative portion of annual profit.<sup>42</sup> The low percentage of precious metal coins, although very close to the average value of other published sites, is in contradiction to the huge quantity and the possible mass distribution of the wine. A possible explanation is that the countryside facilities were unsafe for gathering large sums of money, which would, therefore, have been kept in the urban residence of their owners.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the scarcity of precious metal coins and other valuable findings may indicate that the occupants took them when they abandoned the farmstead because of the Gauls' threat.

Civic and federal coins are also bronzes except from a silver fraction of the Boeotian League.<sup>44</sup> Despite their geographical expansion they concern isolated or limited coins per mint<sup>45</sup>. Similar to other sites of Pieria, the main bulk belongs to Thessaly (7)<sup>46</sup> due to the proximity of the two regions and the annexation of Thessaly to the Macedonian kingdom.<sup>47</sup> The rest concern Philippoi (1),<sup>48</sup> Ouranopolis (1),<sup>49</sup> Afytis (1),<sup>50</sup> Histiaia (5),<sup>51</sup> Locri (2),<sup>52</sup> Boeotian League (2),<sup>53</sup> Lefkas (1)<sup>54</sup> and Phlious (1)<sup>55</sup>. Furthermore, it's quite interesting that some of the issuing regions, such as Melivoia, Histiaea, Lefkas and the far distanced Phlissia were wine-making lands themselves.<sup>56</sup> Although bronze coins are generally considered as legal currency mainly within the territory of their issuing authority<sup>57</sup>, it is suggested that coins of Philippoi and possibly some issues from Thessaly must have circulated within the Macedonian kingdom during the second half of 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>58</sup> L. Robert explained the presence of foreign bronzes at a site in terms of people's movement for various purposes, as merchants, craftsmen, artists, soldiers etc.<sup>59</sup> The foreign coins at Kompoloi primarily illustrate the contacts of its residents

with people from other regions through land and sea routes, whether workers, visitors or merchants. Their geographical expansion and the high proportion (circa 10%), approaching that of urban centers,<sup>60</sup> might be a further indication of the intensive commercial activity of the farmstead or of the widespread trade of the wine. On the contrary, the farmstead at Tria Platania with diversified surplus production for domestic consumption and limited local trade had only six foreign coins, all Thessalian.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, the semi-mountainous farmhouses at Triantafillia and Goritsa, with a limited production just for family consumption, had none.<sup>62</sup>

The interpretation of coin finds at Kompoloi, which due to requirements of production was a permanent residence, cannot be univocal as might have been the money from the retail sale of wine, the purse of the residents, the workers, the visitors, even the traders. Monetization and coin circulation at Kompoloi seems not to have been differentiated from that of the urban sites of the Macedonian kingdom,<sup>63</sup> indicating that it was an extroverted farmstead with prosperity through an intensive commercial activity. Besides, as N. Cahill has pointed out for Olunthus, “the number of coins is less an index of wealth and more an indication of the intensity of monetary trade and participation in commercial economy”.<sup>64</sup>

In conclusion, Kompoloi was the centre of a specialised wine production industry rather than a typical farmstead.<sup>65</sup> It reflects the economic growth of the Macedonian kingdom from the reign of Philip II onwards, with main features being the development of urban centers and market networks with high degree monetization, the intensification of production and trade mechanisms, the safeguarding of ownership and the encourage of private involvement in a wide range of economic activities beyond the primary production sector of land cultivation<sup>66</sup>.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Efi Poulaki, excavation director and Honorary Ephor of Antiquities, for her permission to study the numismatic material of current paper. I would also like to thank Alikí Moustaka, Professor of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, for all her valuable support and Christos Gatzolis, Director of Ephorate of Antiquities of Pieria, for his useful comments.

<sup>2</sup> A Roman farmhouse was also unearthed at Pigi Athinas, next to the Classical one (Poulaki 2003, 54–55).

<sup>3</sup> Klinaki 2015, 34–36.

<sup>4</sup> Poulaki 2003, 56–62; Gerofoka 2015.

<sup>5</sup> Poulaki 2003, 63–70; Poulaki 2004, 45–56; Poulaki-Pantermali 2014, 55–67; Mourati 2014; Margaritis forthcoming. The production scale of farmhouses at Pigi Athinas and Skotina Resort is unknown due to limited excavation.

<sup>6</sup> Margaritis 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Poulaki-Pantermali 1998; Poulaki-Pantermali 2008; Poulaki-Pantermali 2014, 37–41.

<sup>8</sup> Poulaki-Pantermali 2001, 335–340; Poulaki-Pantermali 2013, 117–123.



<sup>9</sup> Douvari, Tria Platania and the harbour area of Heraklion were also destroyed but they were reconstructed and re-inhabited (Poulaki 2003, 59; Poulaki-Pantermali 2014, 67–70; Gerofoka 2015, 199, 200; Touratsoglou 2006; Poulaki 2013, 123; Bachlas – Siros 2014).

<sup>10</sup> Mourati 2014, 64–71.

<sup>11</sup> Klinaki 2015.

<sup>12</sup> SNG Alpha 6, 700–702 (Locrian).

<sup>13</sup> SNG Alpha 214–230. For the coinage of Amyntas III, see Westermark 1989, 307, 308.

<sup>14</sup> SNG Alpha 349–407. For the bronze coinage of Philip II, see Bellinger 1964, 29–52; Portolos 1996; Touratsoglou 2003.

<sup>15</sup> SNG Alpha 712–737.

<sup>16</sup> SNG Alpha 781–815; Price 1991, 126–128 nos. 373–396 (325–310 BC); Gatzolis 2012, 385 (within Alexander's reign). For the coinage of Alexander III, see indicatively Price 1991; Liampi 1998a; Gatzolis 2012.

<sup>17</sup> SNG Alpha, 820–848; Price 1991, 128–130, nos. 396A–418 (325–310 BC); Liampi 1998a; Liampi 1998b, 100, 101, M7 (in Alexander's reign).

<sup>18</sup> SNG Alpha 746–779; Price 1991, 123–125, nos. 338–370 (in Alexander's reign); Gatzolis 2012, 383, 389 (posthumous).

<sup>19</sup> Poulaki 2003, 53. For Philip's reign, see indicatively Touratsoglou 2010, 40–47.

<sup>20</sup> Small coin hoards were also found at Douvari I, Triantafillia, Tria Platania, Liotopi, Galanovrisi (see fig. 8).

<sup>21</sup> Its burial can be dated in 336–316 BC or in 325–310 BC, according to the different dating of 'Heracles/weapons B-A' type. For similar hoards, see IGCH 404; CH VIII 202; CH IX 103; CH X 30; CH VIII 297; IGCH 413; IGCH 844; CH IX 82; IGCH 788; CH IX 104; CH I 45; CH II 53; CH III 26; CH X 41; Stefani 2012, 46; Gatzolis 2010, II, 426–431; Poulios 1982, 188–192, 199, 200.

<sup>22</sup> For the type, see SNG Alpha 876–889. One hoard coin as well as one of the stray coins were overstruck on Alexander's posthumous type 'male head/horse'. Its concealment is dated in 309–306/5 or –301 BC. For similar coin hoards, see CH X 56; CH VIII 241; Polihne/2003 (Gatzolis 2010, II, 79–81).

<sup>23</sup> The main bulk belongs to 'male head/rider' main type (SNG Alpha 339–407), which continued to be struck for a long time after Philip's death (Gatzolis 2010, II, 455, 460; Kremydi-Sisilianou 2000, 68; Topalov 2009, 285–291). 'Heracles/rider' type (SNG Alpha 408–411) is represented with a few coins, as well as the posthumous types 'Heracles/bow' (SNG Alpha 439–454) and 'male head/rider on walking horse' (SNG Alpha 426–438). For the posthumous issues, see Bellinger 1964, 47, 48; Lazaridis et al. 1992, 51; Akamatis N. 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Price 1991, no. 1398.

<sup>25</sup> Gatzolis 2012, 383–385.

<sup>26</sup> SNG Alpha 900–936. The royal types 'Heracles/lion breaking javelin' (SNG Alpha 937–941) and 'Apollo/tripod' (SNG Alpha 890–899) are represented with a few coins each. For the coinage of Cassander, see Oikonomos 1921; Ehrhardt 1973; Valassiadis 2005; Gatzolis 2012.

<sup>27</sup> About the prosperity of the kingdom in that period, see Touratsoglou 1998; Touratsoglou 2010, 80f; Touratsoglou 2012, 36–45.

<sup>28</sup> Margaritis 2016, 199; Bachlas 2018, 861, 862.

<sup>29</sup> Papadopoulos – Paspalas 1999; contra Lawall 2004.

<sup>30</sup> SNG Alpha 960–971.

<sup>31</sup> Non-Macedonian issues: 1 ‘Demetrius/prow’ of Salamis mint (Newell 1927, 20) and 2 of the same type in smaller denomination from Caria (Newell 1927, 163) or Greece (Knapp – Mac Isaac 2005, 71 n. 253; Weir 2007, 17; Gatzolis 2010, II, 476). Also, 1 coin of ‘Poseidon/prow’ type from Caria (Newell 1927, 167). For the coinage of Poliorcetes, see Newell 1927; Liampi 1998b, 105. 106.

<sup>32</sup> Antigonus Gonatas’ 2 coins of ‘Athena/Pan’ type (SNG Alpha 1010–1038) and 1 of ‘Heracles/rider’ type (SNG Alpha 990–1000). For the coinage of Gonatas, see Poullos 2001; Furtwängler 2004. Perseus’ 1 coin of ‘Perseus/eagle’ type (SNG Alpha 1135–1142).

<sup>33</sup> Poulaki 2003, 63; Mourati 2014, 72–74; Margaritis forthcoming, 117. 118.

<sup>34</sup> Klinaki 2015, 46–48.

<sup>35</sup> Head 1879, 15 no. 59. For the attribution, see Psoma et al. 2008, 217–224 with earlier bibliography.

<sup>36</sup> For Makrighalos/1995 (CH IX 161) and Vergina/1994 (CH IX 162) coin hoards of the same period, see Gatzolis 2000.

<sup>37</sup> The neighboring farmhouses at Douvari II and Skotina Resort might also have been supportive installations to Kompoloi.

<sup>38</sup> Mourati 2014, 144–164; Margaritis 2016, 199; Margaritis forthcoming, 111–115. For the estimated average yield of an ancient vineyard, see Salviat 1986, 151; Steinhauer 2009, 418. For land sales, see Hatzopoulos 1991, 33–38, VI; Lilimbaki-Akamati – Stephani 2003, 166 n.46. 184 n.168; Morris – Papadopoulos 2005, 178; Hatzopoulos 2011, 60. For the acquisition cost of pithoi, see Cahill 2001, 228. 232.

<sup>39</sup> Vasiliadou 2011, 129. 130. Margaritis 2016, 199. For Dion, see Pantermalis 1999; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1998; Pingiatoglou 2015.

<sup>40</sup> For farmhouses in Macedonia, see Tria Platania: Gerofoka 2015, 191–197. Liotopi: Adam-Veleni 2001; Adam-Veleni 2003, 101–107; Adam-Veleni 2009, 10 no. 5). Triantafillia: Klinaki 2015, 48. 49. 132. 133. Kalamoudi: Malama et al. 2000. Edessa region: Chrisostomou 2008, 89–100. Galanovrisi: Stefani 2002; Stefani 2012. Arapis: Stefani 2001. Kriaritsi: Asouhidou et al. 2000. Ag. Konstantinos: Karamitrou-Mentesidi – Theodorou 2011. For Tserli farmhouse at Larisa region of Thessaly, see Karapanou 2015, 28. For farmhouses in Attica, see Demakopoulos 2017.

<sup>41</sup> Howgego 2009, 193; Touratsoglou 2010, 64; Touratsoglou 2012, 36. 37.

<sup>42</sup> For the volume of amphorae, see Wallace 2002. From graffiti on amphorae of 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC at the Athenian Agora, it is estimated that the price of Chian wine was 28 dr. and of Mendeian 15 dr. per jar (Lang 1956, 15; Lawall 2000). From the Attic Stelai it is concluded that the attic or unnamed wine valued in 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC circa 4 dr. per metretes (Lang 1956, 14; Franke 1999, 38). From Demosthenes speeches the wholesale price of Mendeian wine in 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC is evaluated to 2 dr. per amphora (Pritchett 1956, 199–202). The wine price at Hellenistic Delos ranged from 4 to 11 dr. per metretes (Reger 1994, 234–238).

<sup>43</sup> Touratsoglou 2013, 798.

<sup>44</sup> SNG Alpha Bank 6, 819–821.

<sup>45</sup> Most of civic and federal coins have also been found at the harbour of Herakleion (Myteletsis forthcoming) and at Dion (Paulopoulou 2016, 301. 304–306). 1 coin of Dyrrachium ‘Helios/prow’ type is dated after the destruction of the complex and thus is not further discussed (Gardner 1873, 77 nos. 180–184 for the type; 72 nos. 106. 107 for archon’s name).

<sup>46</sup> 1 of Gonnoi (SNG Cop. III, 53); 3 of Larisa (SNG Alpha 6, 110–118. 125); 1 perhaps of Melivoia (BCD Thessaly I, 1196); 1 of Larisa Cremaste (SNG Soutzos, 378–9); 1 of Lamia/Malieis (SNG Alpha 6, 64). More over, 2 coins of Phalanna were found at Douvari I (SNG Alpha 6, 208–223). Thessalian coins also prevail at Pella (Akamatis N. 2016, 189) and Aigai (Kremydi – Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2016, 164).

<sup>47</sup> For the uninterrupted production of Thessalian mints at Philip's time and on, see Martin 1985, 58. 59; Papaueaggelou-Genakou 2004, 43 n. 27; Georgiou 2004, 168; Georgiou 2007, 58. For Macedonian coins at Thessaly, see Liampi 2000.

<sup>48</sup> Poullos 1982, 191 no. 85.

<sup>49</sup> SNG ANS 7, 914–7.

<sup>50</sup> SNG ANS 7, 217–8. For the coinage of Chalcidic Peninsula, see Psoma 2001; Psoma 2011; Psoma 2012; Gatzolis 2011.

<sup>51</sup> SNG Alpha 6, 934–940; SNG Alpha 6, 944. 945.

<sup>52</sup> SNG Alpha 6, 700–702; BCD Lokris – Phokis 118.4.

<sup>53</sup> SNG Alpha 6, loc. cit (n. 49); SNG Alpha 6, 827.

<sup>54</sup> BMC Thessaly, 175 no 19 (vice versa).

<sup>55</sup> Mac Isaac 1988, 45–54.

<sup>56</sup> Melivoia (Helly 2004, 109, 113); Histiaea (Hom. II. 2, 537); Lefkas (Pliakou 2002); Phlissia (Kourakou-Dragona 2013, 91–101). For the same issue at winemaking Maroneia and Pella, see Akamatis I. 2000, 13.

<sup>57</sup> Gatzolis 2010, I, 9; contra Kroll – Walker 1993, 168. 169.

<sup>58</sup> Gatzolis 2010, II, 268. 269; Akamatis N. 2016, 199.

<sup>59</sup> Robert 1949, 83; Robert 1966, 113. 114. For mercenaries' payment (*sitarxia*), see Psoma 2009.

<sup>60</sup> Circa 8% at Pella (Akamatis N. 2016, 188) and Aigai (Kremydi – Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2016, 164). The average value of foreign coins is 3,5% at Central Macedonia and 6% at Pydna (Gatzolis 2010, II, 20–23. 303–307).

<sup>61</sup> Gerofoka 2015, 197. 207. 213. 214; Margaritis 2016.

<sup>62</sup> Klinaki 2015.

<sup>63</sup> e.g. for Pella, see Akamatis N. 2016 and for Dion, see Paulopoulou 2016, 243–245. 290–292.

<sup>64</sup> Cahill 2001, 268.

<sup>65</sup> Margaritis 2016, 198.

<sup>66</sup> Gatzolis 2010, II, 537–538; Touratsoglou 2010, 68–106.

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