

A BRONZE HOARD FROM THE SANCTUARY OF THE MOTHER OF THE GODS AT DEMETRIAS

New Evidence for the Dating of the Royal Macedonian Bronze Coinage

Anna Magdalena Blomley

Demetrias in numismatic scholarship: an overlooked royal capital

The ancient city of Demetrias is located at the mouth of the Pagasetic Gulf, c. 1.5 km west of modern Volos. Founded between 294 and 291 BC as a royal Macedonian capital, it occupies a key strategic position on the eastern coast of Thessaly. Its location not only earned the city its description as one of the “fettors of Greece”, but was also a key factor contributing to Demetrias’ development into one of the most important Hellenistic harbours of the eastern Mediterranean.¹

Despite Demetrias’ importance within the economic landscape of the Macedonian kingdom and the wider Aegean, the city features only rarely in broader studies of Hellenistic monetary or economic history.² In part, this state of scholarship is a direct result of Demetrias’ archaeological research history. Much of our knowledge about the city’s material culture derives from work carried out during the early 20th-century by Apostolos S. Arvanitopoulos, Thessaly’s first director of antiquities. Unfortunately, his work was never published in detail, and no coins from his excavations can be identified.³ Following this initial phase of research, archaeological work at Demetrias has focused strongly on rescue excavations, necessitated by the urban expansion of modern Volos. While this work has led to the discovery of a significant body of numismatic material, only a small proportion of coin finds from the ancient city and its cemeteries have so far been studied systematically or published in detail.⁴ Consequently, the spatial and chronological patterns of coin circulation at Demetrias remain

¹ For the foundation of Demetrias, its date, and its implications for strategic and economic developments in the Thessalian region, see for example Stählin 1924, pp. 68–9; Newell 1927, pp. 134–5; Stählin 1934, pp. 178–81; Marzloff 1976; Bakhuizen 1987, pp. 332–3; Marzloff 1992; Cohen 1995, pp. 111–14; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002; Boehm 2018, pp. 79–84; Stamatopoulou 2018; Wheatley and Dunn 2020, p. 340; for Demetrias as one of the “fettors of Greece”, see App. *Mac.* 8; Liv. 32.37.3–4; Polyb. 18.11.4; Str. 9.5.15.

² Demetrias occasionally features in numismatic discussions as a point of comparison for coin circulation at other sites in Thessaly (especially at New Halos (Reinders 2003, pp. 139–40, 144, 2004, pp. 189–98)) or as the possible location of a royal Antigonid mint (Imhoof-Blumer 1883, p. 127; Newell 1927, pp. 131–6). The attribution of various Antigonid issues to a mint at Demetrias is however much disputed. For this discussion, see for example Merker 1960, p. 49; Panagopoulou 2020, p. 314).

³ For a discussion of the work undertaken by A.S. Arvanitopoulos and of the ongoing research on archival material relating to his excavations, see for example Stamatopoulou 2012a, 2014, pp. 208–15.

⁴ Notable exceptions are a first-century BC silver hoard from the theatre of Demetrias (Ιντζεσιλογλου 2004) and the coins found during the German excavations (1969–1981) at the *anaktoron* (palace) and the Damokratia basilica (Beyer, von Graeve, and Sinn 1976, p. 73; Beyer *et al.* 1976, pp. 140–1; Eiwanger 1981, pp. 17–28; Furtwängler 1990, pp. 331–2). For coins from recent excavations, see for example Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου 1993, p. 229, 1998, 2000, p. 296; Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου and Σχίζα 2004, pp. 44–5, Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου 1993, p. 229 (houses on the Ph. Chouta plot), Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου and Τριανταφυλλοπούλου 2003, p. 324 (cemeteries).

largely unexplored, as does their potential contribution to the wider monetary and economic history of the Hellenistic world.

Acknowledging this current state of scholarship, the present article aims to contribute to our understanding of coin circulation and coin use at Hellenistic Demetrias through the study of a previously unpublished hoard from city's sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods (also known as the Metroon).⁵ Discovered in 1990 during a rescue excavation by the then 13th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, this hoard consists of nine bronze coins, of which one cannot be identified with certainty. While the hoard thus only comprises a small number of specimens, it can nevertheless serve as a starting point for a broader discussion of Hellenistic coin finds at Demetrias.

The sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Demetrias

The sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods — located in the north-east of the Pefkakia peninsula and thus within the grid-planned eastern sector of Hellenistic Demetrias⁶ — came to light during rescue excavations undertaken in 1989, 1990, and 2000 by the 13th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities under the direction of Dr Anthi Batziou (figs 1–2) [FIGURES 1 AND 2 HERE].⁷ Like many other Hellenistic buildings associated with the cult of the Mother of the Gods, the sanctuary shares many architectural features with contemporary domestic structures.⁸ At its centre lies a peristyle courtyard, which provided access to several rooms to the west, south, and east, and may have formed the setting for libations, purification rituals, or sacrifices. One of the rooms to the south of the courtyard includes a central hearth and could have served as a food preparation area, while two narrow rectangular spaces

⁵ I am very grateful to Dr Anthi Batziou (Director of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia) for the permission to study and publish the coins from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods; to the staff of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia and the Athanassakeion Archaeological Museum of Volos (in particular Aimilia Kalogianni) for making it possible for me to access this material, and to Prof. Maria Stamatopoulou for all her help, advice, and support. I would also like to express my gratitude to the British Academy for funding my research in Volos.

⁶ On the urban layout of Hellenistic Demetrias, see for example Marzloff 1976, pp. 7–13, 1992, pp. 341–3, 1994, pp. 60–1, 1996, pp. 54–6; for recent geophysical work confirming the orthogonal street plan in the east of the city, see for example Sarris *et al.* 2015; Donati *et al.* 2017, pp. 455–6, 2020, pp. 246–8; for a summary of the city's archaeology, see Stamatopoulou 2018. The location of the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods is conventionally referred to as the “Zervas plot”.

⁷ Work towards the publication of the remains and finds from the “Zervas plot” is still ongoing, but a number of preliminary reports on Ephorate's rescue excavations in the area have already been published, including Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου 1988, p. 241, 1989, pp. 227–8, 1990, p. 201; Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου and Τριανταφυλλοπούλου 2000, pp. 301–3; Μακρή-Σκοτεινώτη and Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου 2000, p. 324; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, pp. 31–2. These preliminary reports form the basis of the discussion of the sanctuary's layout and non-numismatic finds in the present article. Initially, the remains at the Zervas plot were interpreted as a house (Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου 1988, 1989, 1996, pp. 22–4), before being identified as the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods (Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου and Τριανταφυλλοπούλου 2000, pp. 301–3; Μακρή-Σκοτεινώτη and Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου 2000, p. 324; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, pp. 31–2). Prior to the work of the 13th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, the site of the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods was briefly investigated by Arvanitopoulos in 1916 (Καββαδίας 1916, p. 31; Stamatopoulou 2018, p. 358).

⁸ For comparison, see for example the sanctuaries of the Mother of the Gods at Aigai (Drougou 2011, pp. 24–6; Drougou and Kallini 2020, pp. 134–8), Chani Kokkonas at the Tempe valley (Stamatopoulou 2012b, pp. 86–8; Τουφεξής *et al.* 2015, pp. 265–8, 2016, pp. 76–9; Βήτος *et al.* 2020), and Pella (Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη 2000, pp. 5–33).

to the southwest of the courtyard may be connected to bathing. South of the rooms immediately adjoining the courtyard, excavations partially revealed two further rooms, probably part of the sanctuary's auxiliary spaces.

Among the material uncovered at the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods is a roof-tile stamped with the letters BA. Comparable to tiles from the *anaktoron*, its discovery points to royal involvement at the sanctuary and may tentatively suggest a “public” character for some aspects of the cult of the Mother of the Gods at Demetrias.⁹ Also found at the sanctuary were fragments of terracotta figurines (including examples depicting the Mother of the Gods, Hekate-Ennodia, Athena, Attis, Eros, or female figures), clay thymiateria, clay and lead loomweights, lamps, black-glazed vessels, Megarian bowls, vessels decorated in West Slope technique, amphora sherds, and significant quantities of cooking pottery.¹⁰ In addition, 106 bronze and five silver coins were found at the site. Although the study of this material is currently ongoing, its preliminary analysis suggests that the sanctuary was in use between the early third and the first quarter of the second century BC.¹¹

The hoard from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods

The nine bronze coins discussed in this article come from the western of the “auxiliary” rooms in the southern part of the site. Found at a depth of 0.2–0.3 m, they were clustered within an area of c. 0.5 by 0.5 m, immediately to the south of the main sanctuary area's southern wall (fig. 2).¹² Based on the close vicinity of the individual coins, the excavator concluded that they represent a hoard. The individual coins present are as follows:

1. *Tetartemorion* of Antigonos Gonatas, 273/2 BC (?). AE, 11 h, D. 14.7 mm, w. 3.41 g. Athanassakeion Archaeological Museum of Volos (fig. 3.a–b).

Obv. Macedonian shield with seven crescents, *episema* surrounded by a thick line and emblazoned with Α. Rv. Helmet of the “*pilos*” or “*konos*” type with two vertical feather-plumes, below wreath. B l. of the helmet.

Notes – bibliography: For the type, see Gaebler 1935, p. 189 no. 16; Dintsis 1986, 2p. 39 no. 109; Furtwängler 1990, pp. 133–4; Liampi 1998, pp. 109–10 no. M 26; Πούλιος 2001 (Macedonian shield/helmet (series II)), and Furtwängler 2004, pp. 279–80; for specimens with a wreath below the helmet, see AMNG III.2, p. 189 no. 16 (London) and Portolos Collection 943; for a specimen without a wreath, see SNG Alpha Bank 1001. The date of this coin will be discussed in detail below.

[FIGURE 3 HERE]

⁹ Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου and Τριανταφυλλοπούλου 2000, p. 303.

¹⁰ Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου 1989, p. 277, 1996, pp. 22–4; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, pp. 30–1. For the terracottas from the site, see also Ieremias 2019, pp. 85–106.

¹¹ Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου 1989, p. 228; Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου and Τριανταφυλλοπούλου 2000, p. 303.

¹² The excavation record describes the coins as having been found on 03/05/1990 in trench 18, c. 1.1 m from its western edge and c. 0.3 m from its southern edge, at a depth of 0.2–0.3 m.

2. *Tetartemorion* of Antigonos Gonatas, 272/1–262/1 BC or 245/4–239 BC. AE, 9 h, D 18.1 mm, w. 3.74 g. Athanassakeion Archaeological Museum of Volos (fig. 4.a–b).

Obv. Head of Herakles to the r.. Rv. Youth with raised arm riding a prancing horse r.. Unclear letter or monogram (possibly Λ) between the horse's feet.

Notes – bibliography: Due to wear and corrosion, this coin cannot be identified beyond doubt, especially as bronze coins with a head of Herakles on the obverse and a youth on a prancing horse on the reverse were minted by Cassander (Valassiadis 2005, p. 405 series no. 4), Antigonos II Gonatas (Πούλιος 2001, pp. 264–5), Philip V (Mammoth 1935, p. 222 no. 2), and Perseus (AMNG III.2, p. 196, nos 9–10). However, the letter or monogram between the horse's feet can tentatively be read as Λ , suggesting an identification as a *tetartemorion* of Antigonos II Gonatas of the type “Herakles/rider” (series II, III, or IV) (Πούλιος 2001).

[FIGURE 4 HERE]

3. Hemiobol of Antigonos Gonatas, 254/3–239 BC. AE, 12 h, D 17.8 mm, w. 4.63 g. Athanassakeion Archaeological Museum of Volos (fig. 5.a–b).

Obv. Head of Athena r. with Corinthian helmet. Rev. Pan standing on horizontal groundline r. with l. leg bent and r. leg stretched, setting up a *tropaion*. B to the l. of Pan's head, Λ between Pan's legs, and helmet with two vertical feathers in field l. below the B.

Notes – bibliography: For the type and its chronology, see Πούλιος 2001, “Athena/Pan” (series III.α.2).

[FIGURE 5 HERE]

4. Hemiobol of Antigonos Gonatas, 254/3–239 BC. AE, 3 h, D. 20.3 mm, 4.57 g. Athanassakeion Archaeological Museum of Volos (fig. 6.a–b).

Obv. Head of Athena r. with Corinthian helmet. Rev. Pan standing on horizontal groundline r. with l. leg bent and r. leg slightly bent, setting up a *tropaion*. B to the l. of Pan, A to the r. of the *tropaion*, Λ between Pan's legs, helmet with two vertical feathers in field l. below the B, and Π to the r. of the *tropaion* below the A.

Notes – bibliography: For type and its chronology, see Πούλιος 2001, “Athena/Pan series” (III.α.3).

[FIGURE 6 HERE]


5. Hemiobol of Antigonos Gonatas, 254/3–239 BC. AE, 7 h, D. 18.9 mm, 6.57 g. Athanassakeion Archaeological Museum of Volos (fig. 7.a–b).


Obv. Head of Athena r. with Corinthian helmet. Rev. Pan standing on horizontal groundline r. with l. leg bent and r. leg stretched, setting up a *tropaion*. B to the l. of Pan, Λ between Pan's legs, helmet with two vertical feathers in field l. below the B, and illegible monogram or symbol r. of the *tropaion*.

Notes – bibliography: For the type and its chronology, see Πούλιος 2001, “Athena/Pan” (series III.α).

[FIGURE 7 HERE]

6. Hemiobol of Philip V, 221/0 BC (?). AE, 3 h, D. 18.7 mm, 5.09 g. Athanassakeion Archaeological Museum of Volos (fig. 8.a–b).

Obv. Head of Athena r. with Corinthian helmet. Rev. Pan standing r. with l. leg bent and r. leg slightly bent, setting up a *tropaion*. B to the l. of Pan, A to the r. of the *tropaion*,  between Pan's legs, helmet with two vertical feathers in field l. below the B.

Notes – bibliography: For the type, see Furtwängler 1990, pp. 138–9, 2004, pp. 284–5; Πούλιος 2001, pp. 292–3; for other specimens of the type “Athena/Pan” with the monogram , see Γκατζόλης 2010, p. 454 nos 362–3 (from Stageira), Athens NM (Furtwängler 1990, pl. 19 figs 2–3, 2004, p. 290 pl. 2 figs 13–14), LAC, auction G, 10 October 2013, lot 27 = LAC, Guttus 12, 20 November 2015, lot 25, Solidus, 10, 3 December 2016, lot 29. The date of this coin will be discussed in detail below.

[FIGURE 8 HERE]

7. *Chalkous* of Larisa, third century BC (?). AE, 6 h, D 12.5 mm, w. 1.86 g. Athanassakeion Archaeological Museum of Volos (fig. 9.a–b).

Obv. Female r. head with rolled hair. Rev. Horse crouching l., preparing to roll, on groundline. Λ[APIΣ above (from l. to r.), ΑΙΩΝ below (from l. to r.).

Notes – bibliography: For the type, see Rogers 1932, p. 98 no. 294; Kroll and Walker 1993, p. 193 no. 529; its chronology will be discussed below.

[FIGURE 9 HERE]

8. *Chalkous* of Histiaia, 338 BC – late third century BC (?). AE, 11 h, D 13.4 mm, w. 1.97 g. Athanassakeion Archaeological Museum of Volos (fig. 10.a–b).

Obv. Female head r. with rolled hair and wreath of vine-leaves. Rev. Forepart of a bovine advancing r., above two bunches of grapes on the vine. ΙΣ]ΤΙ in field r. of the bovine.

Notes – bibliography: For the type, see SNG Cop. 513; Picard 1993, p. 291 no. 51; Kroll and Walker 1993, p. 212 nos. 629a–b; Lanz, 111, 25 November 2002, lot 493–8.

[FIGURE 10 HERE]

9. Bronze coin. AE, D. 18.8 mm, w. 7.53 g. Athanassakeion Archaeological Museum of Volos (fig. 11.a–b).

Obv. Heavily corroded and unidentifiable. Rev. Heavily corroded, possibly a rider on a horse to the r..

Notes – bibliography: Due to its state of preservation, this coin cannot be identified conclusively. If the obverse does indeed show a rider on a horse to the right, it could belong to the type showing a head of Herakles on the obverse and a youth on a prancing horse right on the reverse. This type is found among the coins of Cassander (Valassiadis 2005, p. 405 series no. 4), Antigonos II Gonatas (Πούλιος 2001, pp.

264–5), Philip V (Mamroth 1935, p. 222 no. 2), and Perseus (AMNG III.2, p. 196, nos 9–10), but with its weight of 7.53 g this specimen would be unusually heavy for a coin of Perseus and too light for a coin of Philip V or Antigonos II Gonatas (for the weight of the “Herakles/rider” types of Antigonos II Gonatas, Philip V and Perseus, see Mamroth 1935, p. 222; Πούλιος 2001, pp. 270–1; Šeldarov 2013, pp. 62–4). The coin may thus have been minted under Cassander.

[FIGURE 11 HERE]

The contents of the hoard and its date of deposition

Out of the nine coins that form the hoard in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, nos 2, 3, 4, and 5 can be dated with reasonable accuracy to the reign of Antigonos II Gonatas.¹³ All four coins belong to types which are commonly found in the Thessalian region:¹⁴ coin no. 2 (fig. 4) belongs to Antigonos’ “Herakles/rider” type (series II, III, or IV) and can therefore be dated to the period between 272/1 BC and 239 BC,¹⁵ while coins nos 3, 4, and 5 (figs 5–7) belong to the “Athena/Pan” type (series III) and can thus be assigned to the period between 254/3 and 239 BC.¹⁶ Two of the “Athena/Pan” coins (nos 3 and 4) show limited wear, which may tentatively suggest that they did not circulate extensively before their deposition in the hoard.¹⁷

Neither of the two non-Macedonian coins in the hoard contradicts this hypothesis. The first is a *chalkous* of Histiaia (coin no. 8, fig. 10), which shows a female head with rolled hair and a wreath of vine-leaves on the obverse and the forepart of a bovine on the reverse. Although this type currently cannot be dated with precision, a date between c.338 BC and the late third century BC has generally been suggested.¹⁸ If correct, its presence in the hoard would thus correlate with a deposition after 239 BC.

The second coin (coin no. 7) is a *chalkous* of Larisa (fig. 9), showing a female head in profile on the obverse and a crouching horse on the reverse. Traditionally, coins of this type have been dated to

¹³ As discussed above, coin no. 9 probably belongs to Cassander’s “Herakles/rider” type. Other specimens of this type are known from Demetrias (e.g. Furtwängler 1990, p. 325 no. 7), but as the identification of this particular specimen is uncertain, neither the type nor the coin will be discussed in further detail.

¹⁴ For the presence of different Macedonian royal bronze types in Thessaly, see Liampi 2000.

¹⁵ For the different series of the “Herakles/rider” type and their chronology, see Πούλιος 2001, pp. 264–5, 275–81.



¹⁶ For the type “Athena/Pan” (series III), see Πούλιος 2001, pp. 266–7, for its dating, see Πούλιος 2001, pp. 274–80. Coin no. 4 (with the letter Π in the right field) finds a direct parallel in two specimens from the hoard Rhodolivos Serron/1952 (N61–73) (Πούλιος 2001, p. 250 no. 9 (N61)) and the hoard Nea Zichni Serron/1982 (N1337) (Πούλιος 2001, p. 256 no. 19).

¹⁷ There are noticeable stylistic differences between coins nos 3 and 4 on the one hand and coin no. 5 on the other hand. On coin no. 5, the head of Athena fills most of the flan and is depicted with a rounded face and relatively short neck, while the *tropaion* has a distinctive, nearly cylindrical shape. In contrast, the head of Athena on coins nos 3 and 4 is smaller compared to the overall size of the flan and more elongated, while the *tropaion* is characterised by a clear distinction between a thin lower support and the arms and armour above.

¹⁸ See for example Picard 1979, pp. 176–8, 1984, pp. 289–91; Kroll and Walker 1993, p. 212.

the first half of the fourth century BC¹⁹ — a chronology that is supported by specimens found at Olynthos and therefore predating the city’s destruction in 348 BC.²⁰ However, coins of the type “female head in profile/crouching horse” also occur in third-century BC assemblages. Besides specimens from at Demetrias,²¹ notable finds from third-century BC contexts include a coin from a grave at Kompotades in the Phthiotis (c.300–275 BC)²² and a specimen from a hoard on the Athenian Agora, where the coin’s condition suggests that the minting of “female head in profile/crouching horse” type coins may have continued into the third century BC.²³

Looking at “female head in profile/crouching horse” type specimens from fourth- and third-century BC contexts side by side, it is noticeable that coins from fourth-century BC assemblages are usually larger and heavier than those from third-century BC contexts. For example, the specimens from Olynthos measure c. 17–18 mm in diameter,²⁴ while those from the hoard on the Athenian Agora and from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods in Demetrias measure c. 11–14 mm in diameter.²⁵ This suggests that the specimen discussed in this article (coin no. 7) may belong to a later, third-century BC group of coins of the “female head in profile/crouching horse” type — a date that would be compatible with the hypothesis that the hoard in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods was deposited after 239 BC.

In addition to the six coins of well-known types, the hoard from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods includes two unusual specimens. The first (coin no. 6, fig. 8) iconographically follows Antigonos II Gonatas’ “Athena/Pan” type, but carries the monogram  rather than the usual monogram Λ . Coins of this type are very rare,²⁶ and so far absent from known hoards.²⁷ Key to their dating is the monogram , which can be resolved as Φ , I, Λ , and Π , and probably represents the royal monogram of Philip V.²⁸ Coin no. 6 therefore moves the closing date of the hoard from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods from the period after 239 BC to the reign of Philip V (221–179 BC).

¹⁹ See for example Gardner 1883, pp. 31–2; Head 1911, p. 299; Rogers 1932, pp. 93, 98–9; Babelon 1926, pp. 407–10.

²⁰ For the specimens from Olynthos, see Robinson 1931, p. 96 no. 794, 1933, pp. 83–4 nos. 739–43, 1952, p. 424. According to Cahill 2002, pp. 45–61, the Macedonian royal coins from Robinson’s excavations suggest that only the Northwest Quarter of Olynthos’ North Hill was reoccupied between the city’s destruction in 348 BC and the foundation of Kassandreia in 316 BC. None of the recorded coins of Larisa’s “female head in profile / crouching horse” type can be assigned clearly to this area, suggesting that they predate the city’s destruction in 348 BC.

²¹ See for example Furtwängler 1990, pp. 331–2 for the specimens from the German excavations (1969–1981) at the *anaktoron*.

²² Σταυρογιάννης 2018, pp. 385–6, 396.

²³ Kroll 1979, p. 152; Kroll and Walker 1993, p. 193 nr. 529a.

²⁴ Robinson 1931, p. 96 no. 794, 1933, pp. 83–4 nos. 739–43, 1952, p. 424.

²⁵ For the specimen from Athens, see Kroll and Walker 1993, p. 193 nr. 529a.

²⁶ Specimens in public and private collections include the following: Athens, NM (Furtwängler 1990, pl. 19 figs 2–3, 2004, p. 290 pl. 2 figs 13–14); LAC, Auction G, 10 October 2013, lot 27 = LAC, Guttus 12, 20 November 2015, lot 25; Solidus, 10, 3 December 2016, lot 29; CNG, Electronic Auction 438, 20 February 2019, lot 77; and two specimens from Stageira (Γκατζόλης 2010, p. 454 nos 362–3, both countermarked on the obverse with a head of Herakles). A further specimen was found in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods (in a room east of the courtyard).

²⁷ Πούλιος 2001, p. 292.

²⁸ Furtwängler 1990, pp. 188–9, 2004, pp. 284–5; Πούλιος 2001, p. 292.

Attempting to narrow this date down to a specific time period within Philip V's reign, the "Athena/Pan" type is considered to be one of the earliest bronze emissions of Philip V and is usually assigned to the period between 221 and 220/19 BC.²⁹ Coin no. 6 appears to support this proposed chronology: firstly, the hoard from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods contains no later bronze types of Philip V, even though they are otherwise well represented at the sanctuary and the site of Demetrias as a whole.³⁰ Secondly, the hoard's "Athena/Pan" type coins of Antigonos II Gonatas and Philip V show no clear difference in wear, suggesting that they circulated for a similar duration before their deposition.³¹ Thirdly, none of the coins in the hoard bears a countermark, even though around half of all "Athena/Pan" specimens at Demetrias and in the wider Thessalian region are countermarked.³² Looking at the known numismatic finds from Demetrias in more detail, countermarked "Athena/Pan" coins are usually absent in third-century BC layers, which suggests that the type's extensive countermarking may be a second-century BC or later phenomenon.³³ If this hypothesis is correct, the absence of countermarks in the hoard from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods supports the dating of its deposition (and thus Philip V's "Athena/Pan" type) to the early years of Philip V's reign (i.e. still in the 3rd century BC).

This conclusion is of interest when discussing the final coin within the hoard (coin no. 1, fig. 3): a bronze *tetartemorion* belonging to the series II of the "shield/helmet" type, which shows a Macedonian shield emblazoned with Λ on the obverse and a "pilos" or "konos" helmet with two vertical feather-plumes on the reverse, with the legend B – A to the left and right and a small wreath below.³⁴ At first glance, the series II of the "shield/helmet" type is similar to the more common series I, which is usually attributed to Antigonos II Gonatas and dated to the period between 277 and 273 BC.³⁵ A closer examination does, however, reveal clear stylistic and iconographic differences. Firstly, series I and II differ in the design of the depicted Macedonian shield: on series I coins, the shield's *episema* is delineated by a single outer line and surrounded by six or seven crescents (separated from each other by a simple dot), a continuous line, and a dotted line.³⁶ In contrast, the *episema* on the series II coins is encircled by a double line, seven crescents separated by thunderbolts, and two continuous lines around the edge of

²⁹ Furtwängler 1990, p. 139, 2004, p. 285; Πούλιος 2001, p. 293.

³⁰ For bronze coins of Philip V from Demetrias, see for example Furtwängler 2004, p. 330. The coins from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods include at least 11 specimens belonging to later bronze types of Philip V.

³¹ The same applies to two further "Athena/Pan" type specimens from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods (one a coin of Antigonos II Gonatas and the other the above-mentioned coin of Philip V), which were found together, were countermarked with the same stamp (a prow), and show a similar degree of wear.

³² For Thessaly in general, see Liampi 2000, p. 224; for Demetrias in particular, see the published numismatic material from the *anaktorion*, where 13 of 26 "Athena/Pan" specimens are countermarked (Furtwängler 1990, pp. 327–8). On the countermarking of Macedonian royal bronze coins in general, see Πούλιος 2001, pp. 281–6.

³³ This observation is again based on the published coins from the *anaktorion* (Furtwängler 1990, pp. 327–8).

³⁴ For a description of this type, see Πούλιος 2001, p. 264.

³⁵ For the type "shield/helmet" (series I), see for example Mathisen 1979, pp. 4–5 no. 7; Πούλιος 2001, pp. 263–4, 274; Γκατζόλης 2000, pp. 110–11, 116–17.

³⁶ For the description of this obverse, see for example Mathisen 1979, p. 4.

the shield.³⁷ The differences between the reverses are even more marked. The coins of series I show a crested *pilos* or *konos* helmet, which can differ in shape but is often characterised by a narrow brim (*stephane*) and rounded calotte. Conversely, the *pilos* or *konos* helmet on the series II coins always has an elongated form (with a slightly pointed calotte), narrows significantly towards the brim, and is decorated with two distinctive feather-plumes.³⁸ In addition, series I and series II differ in their legend (BA-ΣI for the former and B-A for the latter) and the accompanying symbols and monograms.³⁹

Together, these differences suggest that the series II of the “shield/helmet” type does not simply represent a variation of the series I, but should be considered as a type in its own right.⁴⁰ Coins of this type are, however, rare and have thus far not been recorded in hoards.⁴¹ Both their chronology and their attribution to a particular mint are thus much disputed. While some scholars have argued that they should be dated to the reign of Antigonos II Gonatas (possibly to the year 273/2 BC),⁴² others have attributed them to Antigonos III Doson (229–1 BC).⁴³ Similarly, both a production at Amphipolis⁴⁴ and outside Macedonia have been suggested.⁴⁵

The discussed specimen from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods (coin no. 1) may offer a tantalising new piece of evidence in the discussion of series II of the “shield/helmet” type. Focusing first on the possible location of its mint, the coin from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods is one of three series II specimens known from Demetrias: a second coin was found at the *anaktoron* and a third in grave no. 148 in the city’s north cemetery.⁴⁶ Given the rarity of known series II coins, the discovery

³⁷ According to Liampi 1998, pp. 30–1, neither the number of crescents around the *episema* nor the treatment of the spaces between the crescents are chronologically distinctive. In painting, the shield of the series II coins finds a parallel on the painted frieze of the late fourth-century BC Macedonian tomb at Agios Athanasios (Tsididou-Avloniti 2002, pp. 95–6; Τσιμπίδου-Αυλωνίτη 2005, pp. 132–4).

³⁸ This helmet type, which also occurs on coins of Pyrrhus of Epirus, was for example discussed by Dintsis 1986, pp. 68–9.

³⁹ For the symbols and monograms of the “shield/helmet” coins, see Mathisen 1979, p. 4–5; Πούλιος 2001, pp. 263–4, 268–9. The only symbol on the coins of series II is the wreath, which is so far unattested for series I.

⁴⁰ In addition, the known specimens of the type “shield/helmet” (series II) are on average slightly lighter than the coins of the type “shield/helmet” (series I), although due to the small number of known “shield/helmet” (series II) specimens it is unclear if this difference is of significance. The weight of the individual specimens of series I studied by Πούλιος 2001 falls between 2.51 and 5.25 g (with an average of 3.95 g (Πούλιος 2001, pp. 270–1)), while the known specimens of series II (listed below) weigh between 1.46 and 4.32 g (with an average of 3.18 g).

⁴¹ Known specimens from museums and collections include the following: London, BM RPK, p88C.4.Ant (3.55 g, with wreath (Payne Knight 1830, p. 88 no. C4; Gaebler 1935, p. 189 no. 16)); London BM G.531 (2.79 g, without wreath); SNG Alpha Bank 689 (3.56 g, without wreath); Portolos Collection 943 (1.46 g, with wreath). In addition, specimens were found in a 3rd-century BC layer at Demetrias’ *anaktoron* (4.32 g; Furtwängler 1990, pp. 329–30 no. 68) and in the 3rd-century BC grave 148 at the city’s north cemetery (Νικολάου 2016, p. 39). According to Liampi 2000, p. 224, six coins of this type are known from Thessaly overall, but their findspots or modern whereabouts are unclear.

⁴² Gaebler 1935, p. 189. For the suggested date of 273/2 BC, see Πούλιος 2001, p. 274.

⁴³ Furtwängler 1990, pp. 329–30.

⁴⁴ Πούλιος 2001, p. 274, who also suggested that on other types (e.g. Athena/Pan (series III)) the pileus-shaped helmet with two vertical feathers may denote a production at the mint of Amphipolis.

⁴⁵ Furtwängler 1990, p. 134, 2004, p. 280.

⁴⁶ For the coin from the *anaktoron*, see Furtwängler 1990, pp. 329–30 no. 68; for the coin from the north cemetery, see Νικολάου 2016, p. 39.

of several specimens at the same site is striking and may very tentatively argue for a production at or not far from Demetrias.

Moving on to the question of chronology, all three known series II specimens from Demetrias come from third century BC contexts, of which two can be dated with more precision: the hoard from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, which probably has a closing date in the early years of Philip V's reign, and grave no. 148, where the latest datable find (a female terracotta figurine) belongs to the second half of the third century BC.⁴⁷ Neither of these contexts therefore supports the previously suggested dating of series II to 273/72 BC. In fact, with a date of 273/72 BC coin no. 1 from the discussed hoard would not only predate its deposition by more than 50 years, but would also represent the earliest datable Antigonid coin within this particular assemblage. While this is of course not impossible, it may tentatively suggest that series II of the "shield/helmet" type should be dated later than 273/2 BC.

The coin's iconography may support this hypothesis. Beyond series II, *pilos* or *konos* helmets with two vertical plumes also occur as symbols on five other types of Macedonian royal coins: on the above-mentioned bronze hemiobolos of the type "Athena/Pan" (series III), on bronze *tetartemoria* of the type "Herakles/rider" (series IV), on "Period IV" tetradrachms of the "Pan/Athena" type, on "Period IV" *drachmai* of the "Zeus/Athena" type, and on "Period IV" pentobols of the "Zeus/Athena" type.⁴⁸ The two bronze types have been assigned to the period between 254/3 and 239 BC,⁴⁹ while the three silver types have most recently been dated to 229–1 BC.⁵⁰ If both the dating of these types and the proposed dating of series II to 273/72 BC were correct, series II of the "shield/helmet" type would emerge as the first type in royal Macedonian coinage to show a helmet with two vertical plumes.

Again, this is not beyond the realms of possibility, but on the whole it might be preferable to move the dating of series II of the "shield/helmet" type forward by some decades. For example, series II could represent a short-lived production of *tetartemoria* to accompany the "Athena/Pan" (series III) hemiobols, which was swiftly replaced by the minting of the "Herakles/rider" (series IV) *tetartemoria* in 245/4 BC. This is, however, merely hypothetical and a later production of series II (e.g. during the reign of Antigonos III Doson) might equally be possible.

The nature of the hoard

Summing up the results of this analysis so far, the hoard from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods consists of five royal Macedonian hemiobols, two royal Macedonian *tetartemoria* and two non-

⁴⁷ Νικολάου 2016, p. 39. For the dating of this type, see Hornung-Bertemes 2007, pp. 116–7 no. 26.

⁴⁸ On the two bronze types, see Πούλιος 2001, pp. 265–7; on the two silver types, see Panagopoulou 2020, pp. 192–6, 215–18. In addition, Mathisen 1979, p. 6 no. 13 noted a unique "anonymous" Macedonian coin, which shows a Macedonian shield with a "winged helmet" in the *episema* on the obverse. However, Liampi 1986, p. 46 found this specimen impossible to identify.

⁴⁹ Πούλιος 2001, pp. 275–80. Πούλιος 2001, pp. 289–93 also counters the argument of Furtwängler 2004, p. 286, who suggested that coins of the "Pan/Athena" and "Herakles/rider" type with a helmet with two plumes should be dated to the reign of Antigonos III Doson.

⁵⁰ Panagopoulou 2020, p. 186.

Macedonian *chalkoi*, which were most likely deposited together in the early years of Philip V's reign.⁵¹ Contextualising this assemblage within numismatic scholarship, hoards containing Antigonid bronze coins of similar dates are not uncommon. However, the discussed hoard from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods stands out among comparative material through its discovery in a sacred context.⁵²

Thus far, coin hoards in Greek sanctuaries have been the subject of comparatively little synthetic research, in part because they do not form a functionally coherent group of assemblages.⁵³ Looking at the use of the term “hoard” across numismatic and archaeological scholarship, it becomes clear that — at least for some scholars — any group of two or more coins found together can be described as a “hoard”, regardless of the actions and processes that lead to their deposition.⁵⁴ For discussions of material from Greek sanctuaries, this semantic flexibility means that a “hoard” can be a group of coins deposited through a conscious act within a sacred setting or through accidental loss, be the result of a single event (e.g. the creation of a foundation deposit)⁵⁵ or of multiple repeated actions (e.g. the gradual collection of coins in an offertory box),⁵⁶ and be intended either for temporary⁵⁷ or for permanent deposition and demonetization.⁵⁸

Three clues may help to situate the hoard from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods within this broad spectrum of possible deposition circumstances: its location, its disposition, and its composition. Focusing first on location, the area in which the hoard was found probably served as one

⁵¹ As the study of the material from the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods is still ongoing, it is at yet not possible to offer a more detailed discussion of a possible historical context for the hoard's deposition.

⁵² A list of known hoards containing Antigonid coins was published by Vordos and Gorini 2018, pp. 341–3. Hoards that were deposited around the same date as the discussed coins from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods include the Nea Zichne hoard (219–18 BC (CH 10, 98; Σαμαρτζίδου 1982; Πούλιος 2001, pp. 253–7), the Kato Kleitoria hoard (c. 220 BC (IGCH 184; Βαρούχα Χριστοδουλοπούλου 1941, p. 676 no.7)), and the Makrakomi hoard (late third or early second century BC (IGCH 214; Béquignon 1933, p. 238)).

⁵³ For a short discussion of coin hoards in Greek sanctuaries, see for example Lykke 2017, pp. 215–8. See also Crawford 2003 for coin finds (including hoards) in sanctuaries in Hellenistic Italy.

⁵⁴ Despite its common usage in archaeological and numismatic scholarship, the term “hoard” has no clear, universally accepted definition. For examples, some scholars suggest that only coin assemblages put away with the intent of recovery should be referred to as “hoards” (Metcalf 2012, p. 6), while others extend the use of the term to coin assemblages not intended for recovery (e.g. the “grave hoards” discussed by Tselekas 1996). For a discussion of various possible archaeological and numismatic definitions of the term “hoard”, see for example Laing 1969, pp. 52–60; Millett 1994; Aitchison 1988, pp. 270–4; Grierson 1975, pp. 130–6.

⁵⁵ For coins in foundation deposits at Greek sanctuaries, see for example Müller Zeis 1994, pp. 27–38, 73; Lykke 2017, pp. 216–8.

⁵⁶ A good example of a hoard created through the deposition of coins in an offertory box (*thesauros*) is IGCH 353 from the sanctuary of Asklepios at Corinth (Melfi 2014). For the use of offertory boxes in Greek sanctuaries in general, see also Kaminski 1991; Pafford 2006, pp. 85–179; Lykke 2017, pp. 211–15; Karatas 2018, pp. 64–84; Pafford 2011.

⁵⁷ For example, some sanctuaries in the Greek world could fulfil the function of “banks” (Sinn 1993, p. 72; Pedley 2005, p. 16; Karatas 2018, p. 50; Sassu 2022, pp. 308–9).

⁵⁸ One example of the permanent deposition of coins in Greek sanctuaries is their use as votives. Although votive coins can be difficult to identify, there is clear evidence that coins could be dedicated as votive offerings and thus permanently withdrawn from circulation. For example, a late 3rd-century BC stele from the Amphiareion at Oropos specifies that coins dedicated and displayed as votive offerings were not to be used for the creation of a new vessel (IG 7.303; Petsalis-Diomidis 2017, p. 116). See also Ashton 1987; Jeffery and Johnston 1990, p. 481; Boardman *et al.* 2004, p. 315 no. 214 for a dedicatory graffiti on an Aiginetan coin (c. 500 BC), which suggest the demonetization of specific specimens as votives.

of the sanctuary's auxiliary spaces, separated by a wall from the main area of ritual activity.⁵⁹ This could suggest that — like other actions taking place in this area — the deposition of the coin hoard was at best auxiliary to the ritual activity at the sanctuary, rather than a main feature of cult practice in its own right.

Looking at the hoard's disposition, the individual coins discussed above were found scattered across an area of c. 0.5 by 0.5 m. While the architectural and stratigraphic study of the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods is still ongoing, a preliminary examination of the relevant daybooks indicates that the layer in which the hoard was discovered lies above the latest identifiable floor level in the southern part of the sanctuary.⁶⁰ The hoard's findspot therefore probably does not represent its primary context, making its precise circumstances of deposition impossible to reconstruct.⁶¹ Nevertheless, it is clear that the nine coins were not deposited in the ground as a permanent deposit. This tentatively indicates that the hoard's non-recovery and perhaps even its deposition may have been accidental rather than by design.

The hoard's contents would fit well with such a hypothesis of accidental coin loss or non-recovery. Assuming that all specimens have been identified correctly, the total monetary value of the hoard's coins is just over three obols.⁶² While estimating the purchasing power of ancient coinage is notoriously difficult, epigraphic evidence for military payments provides a useful point of comparison. For example, two treaties between Antigonos III Doseon and the Cretan cities of Eleutherna and Hierapytna (dating to the 220s BC and thus just a few years before the deposition of the discussed hoard) specify that mercenaries were to be paid one Alexander *drachme* and an unspecified number of obols per day,⁶³ while a late third-century BC treaty between Hierapytna and Rhodes mentions a daily payment of nine Rhodian obols (approximately eight Attic obols).⁶⁴ Judging by such examples, the value of the coins in the discussed hoard equals less than half of a soldier's or mercenary's daily pay. Their loss would have been a noticeable inconvenience, but probably not a catastrophe. In other words, they belong to a type of coin assemblages that may have been more prone to being mislaid or lost than the modern term "hoard" might imply.

Focusing on coin use within religious settings, the sum contained within the discussed hoard may even have been brought into the sanctuary by an individual worshipper with the intention of

⁵⁹ As the sanctuary has so far not been fully excavated, no doorway between the sanctuary's "auxiliary area" in the south and its main rooms in the north has yet been identified.

⁶⁰ The hoard was found at a depth of 0.2–0.3 m.

⁶¹ One possible scenario is that the hoards may originally have been placed higher up in the room (e.g. on a shelf or among the rafters).

⁶² Following Mørkholm, Grierson, and Westermarck 1991, p. 8, 43; Psoma 1998, pp. 28–9; Πούλιος 2001, p. 271, this calculation is based on the assumption that from the time of Alexander III onwards Macedonian royal bronze coinage operated on the Attic denominational system of eight *chalkoi* per obol.

⁶³ IC III.xii.20. l. 32–3; IC III.iii.1A. l. 31–2. For a discussion of the wages specified in the two treaties, see for example Guizzi 1997, pp. 19–24; Schmitt 1969, pp. 196, 199–200; Launey 1987, pp. 753–4.

⁶⁴ IC III.iii.3.A. l. 27–8. This inscription also specifies a higher wage of two Rhodian *drachmai* for an officer. For a broader discussion of the payment of Hellenistic soldiers, see also Launey 1987, pp. 750–9; Marcellesi 2010, p. 264; Trundle 2017, p. 345; Χρυσάφης 2017, pp. 82–4.

“spending” it within the sacred space. One explicit piece of evidence for the possible use of money in a cult in Hellenistic Thessaly come from a second-century BC stele discovered at Marmarini, c. 40 km north of Demetrias. This stele records various rituals and rules governing a sanctuary. Among other details, its text specifies the precise amount of money to be paid or to be placed in the offertory-box (*thesauros*) by a worshipper wishing to undertake a particular ritual action. The sums mentioned include one obol for performing a vow or sacrificing a female fowl, one and a half obols for sacrificing a goose or burning a quail whole, two obols for burning a goose whole, and three obols for sacrificing “by the Greek rite”.⁶⁵ While these rules are of course specific to a particular sanctuary, they offer some impression of the sums of money that could be involved in or required for the participation in cults in Hellenistic Thessaly.

With its value of just over three obols, the hoard from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods would fit well into this picture of “monetarized” cult actions. Even though its deposition is unlikely to be in itself a conscious act within a ritual context, its presence within the sanctuary could be directly related to specific actions within the cult of the Mother of the Gods and should thus ultimately be examined as part of the site’s wider coin circulation to explore the sanctuary’s “sacred economy”.

The hoard from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and the monetary circulation of Antigonid Demetrias

Moving beyond the sacred space of the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, the site’s hoard also offers a contribution to our understanding of coin circulation within the wider city of Demetrias. If the above-outlined hypothesis of the hoard’s formation through accidental loss or non-recovery is correct, its coins represent various specimens in circulation at the same time rather than specimens selected specifically for temporary or permanent deposition. Despite its small size, the hoard may thus offer a more immediate reflection of everyday coin circulation in Demetrias than the city’s grave hoards.⁶⁶

Comparing the discussed hoard with other Hellenistic coins found at Demetrias, its composition seems to reflect several broader circulation patterns. The first and most obvious characteristic of Demetrias’ overall numismatic assemblage is the widespread use of Macedonian royal bronze coins.⁶⁷ Overall, these specimens account for around half of the city’s published coin assemblages, drawing

⁶⁵ Archaeological Museum Larisa, inv. no. 2002/33. For a discussion of this inscription, its date, and the circumstances of its discovery, see for example Decourt and Tziafalias 2012, 2015; Parker and Scullion 2016; Bouchon and Decourt 2017. For “fees” payable for the participation in different rites during the Classical and Hellenistic period, see also Sokolowski 1954; Kaminski 1991, pp. 71–2, 122–4; Dignas 2002, pp. 257–8; Gorrini and Melfi 2002, pp. 257–60; Pafford 2006; Marcellesi 2010, pp. 266–9; Pafford 2011; Melfi 2014, pp. 760–1; Lykke 2017, pp. 212–15; Karatas 2018, pp. 67–83.

⁶⁶ For grave hoards from Demetrias, see for example grave 581 and 733 at the city’s north cemetery (Νικολάου 2016, p. 174).

⁶⁷ As there is thus far no overarching study of coin finds from Hellenistic Demetrias, the following preliminary observations are based on two assemblages, from the German excavation (1969–1981) at the *anaktoron* (164 coins) and from the Ephorate’s excavations at the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods (111 coins). The former were presented by Furtwängler 1990, pp. 324–40, the latter are currently under study for publication. Percentages are calculated using identifiable specimens only.

attention to Demetrias' role as a royal Macedonian capital.⁶⁸ It is thus hardly surprising that Macedonian royal coins predominate in the hoard from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods.

After the Macedonian royal bronzes, the most common coins at Hellenistic Demetrias are those of Larisa — one of the two non-Macedonian mints represented in the discussed hoard.⁶⁹ In previous studies, the presence of such coins was predominantly seen as evidence for strong economic links between Demetrias and Larisa, with Demetrias serving as the export harbour for Thessalian meat and grain (including products from Larisa).⁷⁰ However, on closer inspection the reasons for the widespread presence of bronze coins of Larisa at Demetrias may be more complex. Looking at Demetrias' Hellenistic coin assemblages as a whole, it is clear that not all bronze types of Larisa are present. Instead, nearly all coins of Larissa at Demetrias belong — like the specimen in the discussed hoard — to the small “female head in profile/crouching horse” type.⁷¹ As *chalkoi*, these coins not only represent Larisa's lowest-value issues, but also a denomination that was not widely produced by the Macedonian kings. The coins of Larisa thus appear to fill a particular gap in Demetrias' coin supply, which was created by the city's heavy reliance on Macedonian royal bronzes. The same may also be true for bronze coins of the Euboian League and Histiaia (including the specimen found in the discussed hoard): within Demetrias' numismatic assemblages, coins of these mints are not as frequent as those of Larisa,⁷² but again show a strong preference for the smallest available denomination.⁷³

To sum up these preliminary considerations, the studied excavation coins conjure up an image of a monetary economy that was heavily reliant on a supply of Macedonian royal bronze coins, but could not function efficiently without an influx of “foreign” *chalkoi*. This observation offers an important insight into the rationale behind the production of Macedonian royal bronze coins by demonstrating that the Antigonid kings did not instigate the production of hemiobols and *tetartemoria* to satisfy the requirements of the everyday monetary economy of their capitals or kingdom. Otherwise, the absence of *chalkoi* among the royal bronze coins of Antigonos II Gonatas would be a serious and inexplicable oversight.⁷⁴

Instead, Macedonian royal bronze coins seem to have been produced with specific expenditures in mind. Various possible types of expenditures have been put forward in previous scholarship, in

⁶⁸ For comparison, Macedonian royal coins make up 59.9 % of the numismatic assemblage at Pella (Akamatis 2016, p. 180).

⁶⁹ Coins of Larisa account for c. 13 % of the published coins from the *anaktoron* and c. 8 % of the coins from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods.

⁷⁰ Furtwängler 1990, p. 122.

⁷¹ For the various bronze types of Larisa, see for example Rogers 1932, pp. 94–101; Demetriadi 2004.

⁷² *Chalkoi* of Histiaia and the Euboian League account for c. 8 % of the coins from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and c. 2 % of the published coins from the *anaktoron*.

⁷³ On the different bronze denominations and types of Histiaia and the Euboian League, see Head 1884, pp. 96–9; Wallace 1956, pp. 127–32 and Head 1884, pp. 125–8, 135. For Hellenistic Histiaia's political and economic relationship with the Macedonian kingdom, see Kremydi 2021, who suggested that the city's “late” hemidrachms were not only minted to cover the city's expenses, but also to finance Antigonid military operations. If this were correct, it would be unsurprising to find bronze coins of Histiaia circulating alongside its issues in silver, perhaps in part explaining the comparatively high number of bronze coins of Histiaia at Demetrias.

⁷⁴ For the bronze denomination minted under Antigonos II Gonatas, see for example Πούλιος 2001, pp. 270–3.

particular the payment of troops.⁷⁵ A closer study and comparison of the various coin assemblages of Hellenistic Demetrias may help to shed further light on this matter. In addition, studying the coins from the city's excavations in context may help to understand how royal choices in coin production affected everyday economic activities in different parts of Demetrias's complex society. Seen within this context, the discussed hoard from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods provides a tantalising "vignette" of royal agency, economic necessities, and religious practice at the Macedonian capital and harbour-city of Demetrias.

⁷⁵ The hypothesis that Macedonian royal bronze coins could be minted specifically for military expenditures was for example advocated by Psoma 2009; Callataÿ 2014, pp. 73–4. For the possible relationship between Macedonian royal bronze coinage and military activity more broadly, see also Liampi 2000; Furtwängler 2004, p. 277; Vordos and Gorini 2018, p. 343.

Bibliography

- Aitchison, N.B. 1988. 'Roman wealth, native ritual. Coin hoards within and beyond Roman Britain', *World Archaeology* 20, pp. 270–84.
- Akamatis, N. 2016. 'Numismatic circulation in the Macedonian kingdom. The case of Pella', in F. Duyrat and C. Grandjean (eds), *Les monnaies de fouille du monde grec (VIe–Ier siècle a. C.). Apports, approches et méthodes* (Bordeaux), pp. 177–201.
- Ashton, N.G. 1987. 'What does the Turtle Say?', *NC* 147, pp. 1–7.
- Babelon, E. 1926. *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines. Deuxième partie. Description historique. Tome quatrième. Comprenant les monnaies de la Grèce centrale et méridionale aux Ve et IVe siècles avant J.-C.* (Paris).
- Bakhuizen, S. C., F. Gschnitzer, C. Habicht, and P. Marzloff (eds) 1987. *Demetrias V* (Bonn).
- Bakhuizen, S.C. 1987. 'Magnesia unter makedonischer Suzeränität', in S.C. Bakhuizen, F. Gschnitzer, C. Habicht, and P. Marzloff (eds), *Demetrias V* (Bonn), pp. 319–38.
- Batzou-Efstathiou, A. 2002. *Demetrias* (Athens).
- Béquignon, Y. 1933. 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l'Orient hellénique', *BCH* 57, pp. 236–312.
- Beyer, I., V. von Graeve, and U. Sinn 1976. 'Grabung am Anaktoron von Demetrias 1970', in V. Milojević and D. Theodoris (eds), *Demetrias I* (Bonn), pp. 59–74.
- Beyer, I., V. von Graeve, U. Sinn, B. Gossel, F. Henninger, and D. Hertel 1976. 'Bericht über die Grabung am Palast 1971', in V. Milojević and D. Theodoris (eds), *Demetrias I* (Bonn), pp. 75–144.
- Boardman, J., T. Mannack, C. Wagner, B. Forsén, R. Parker, and E. Vikela 2004. 'Greek dedications', *ThesCRA I*, pp. 270–318.
- Boehm, R. 2018. *City and Empire in the Age of the Successors. Urbanization and Social Response in the Making of the Hellenistic Kingdoms* (Oakland).
- Bouchon, R. and J.-C. Decourt 2017. 'Le règlement religieux de Marmarini (Thessalie). Nouvelles lectures, nouvelles interprétations', *Kernos* 30, pp. 159–86.
- Cahill, N. 2002. *Household and City Organization at Olynthus* (New Haven).
- Callataÿ, F. de 2014. 'For whom were royal Hellenistic coins struck?', in A. Lichtenberger, K. Martin, H.-H. Nieswandt, and D. Salzmann (eds), *Bildwert. Nominalspezifische Kommunikationsstrategien in der Münzprägung hellenistischer Herrscher* (Bonn), pp.59–77.
- Cohen, G. 1995. *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands and Asia Minor* (Berkeley).
- Crawford, M.H. 2003. 'Thesauri, hoards and votive deposits', in O. de Cazanove and J. Scheid (eds), *Sanctuaires et sources. Les sources documentaires et leurs limites dans la description des lieux de culte* (Naples), pp. 69–84.
- Decourt, J.-C. and A. Tziafalias 2012. 'Un nouveau règlement religieux de la région de Larissa', in A. Μαζαράκης-Αιλιάν (ed.), *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 12.3–15.3.2009* (Volos), pp. 463–73.

- 2015. ‘Un règlement religieux de la région de Larissa. Cultes grecs et « orientaux »’, *Kernos* 28, pp. 13–51.
- Demetriadi, V. 2004. ‘The earliest bronze coins of Larissa’, in Λ. Κυπραίου (ed.), *Οβολός 7. Πρακτικά συνεδρίου της Γ’ επιστημονικής συνάντησης ‘Το νόμισμα στο Θεσσαλικό χώρο. Νομισματοκοπεία, κυκλοφορία, εικονογραφία, ιστορία. Αρχαίοι — βυζαντινοί — νεώτεροι χρόνοι’* (Athens), pp. 17–22.
- Dignas, B. 2002. *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* (Oxford).
- Dintsis, P. 1986. *Hellenistische Helme* (Rome).
- Donati, J.C., A. Sarris, N. Papadopoulos, T. Kalaycı, F.-X. Simon, M. Manataki, I. Moffat, and C. Cuenca-García 2017. ‘A regional approach to ancient urban studies in Greece through multi-settlement geophysical survey’, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 42.5, pp. 450–67.
- Donati, J.C., A. Sarris, F.X. Simon, C. Cuenca-García, M. Manataki, A. Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, and P. Triantaphyllou 2020. ‘New insights into the urban plans of Demetrias and Pherai from integrated geophysics and satellite remote sensing’, in Α. Μαζαράκης-Αινιάν (ed.), *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 26.2–1.3.2015* (Volos), pp. 243–56.
- Drougou, S. 2011. ‘Das Metroon von Aigai. Der chthonische Charakter der Göttermutter. Archäologische Befunde’, in O. Pilz and M. Vonderstein (eds), *Keraunia. Beiträge zu Mythos, Kult und Heiligtum in der Antike* (Berlin), pp. 23–32.
- Drougou, S. and C. Kallini 2020. ‘The Metroon at Aegae (Modern Vergina). Archaeological evidence of the cult of the Mother of the Gods’, *Scienze dell’Antichità* 26.3, pp. 133–42.
- Eiwanger, J. 1981. *Demetrias IV. Keramik und Kleinfunde aus der Damokratia-Basilika in Demetrias* (Bonn).
- Furtwängler, A.E. 1990. ‘Demetrias. Eine Makedonische Gründung im Netz Hellenistischer Handels- und Geldpolitik’ (Habilitationsschrift, Saarbrücken).
- 2004. ‘Beobachtungen zur Chronologie antigonidischer Kupfermünzen im 3. Jh. v. Chr.’, in Λ. Κυπραίου (ed.), *Οβολός 7. Πρακτικά συνεδρίου της Γ’ επιστημονικής συνάντησης ‘Το νόμισμα στο Θεσσαλικό χώρο. Νομισματοκοπεία, κυκλοφορία, εικονογραφία, ιστορία. Αρχαίοι — βυζαντινοί — νεώτεροι χρόνοι’* (Athens), pp. 277–90.
- Gaebler, H. 1935. *Die Antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paeonia* (Berlin).
- Gardner, P. 1883. *Catalogue of Greek Coins. Thessaly to Aetolia* (London).
- Gorrini, M.E. and M. Melfi 2002. ‘L’archéologie des cultes guérisseurs quelques observations’, *Kernos* 15, pp. 247–65.
- Grierson, P. 1975. *Numismatics* (London).
- Guizzi, F. 1997. ‘Il trattato ritrovato. L’alleanza fra Antigono di Macedonia e las polis cretense di Herapytna (IC, III, iii, 1A)’, *Epigraphica* 59, pp. 9–28.
- Head, B.V. 1884. *Catalogue of Greek Coins. Central Greece (Locris, Phocis, Boeotia and Euboea)* (London).
- 1911. *Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics*, 2nd edn (Oxford).
- Hornung-Bertemes, K. 2007. *Demetrias 7. Terrakotten aus Demetrias* (Würzburg).
- Jeremias, S. 2019. ‘The Hellenistic terracottas from Demetrias’ (DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford).

- Imhoof-Blumer, F. 1883. *Monnaies Grecques* (Amsterdam).
- Jeffery, L.H. and A.W. Johnston 1990. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and Its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.* (Oxford).
- Kaminski, G. 1991. 'Thesaurus. Untersuchungen zum antiken Opferstock', *JDAI* 106, pp. 63–181.
- Karatas, A.-M.-S. 2018. 'The significance of money for the cults and sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore. The shaping of the cults by commercial transactions', *Mythos* 12, pp. 47–88.
- Kremydi, S. 2021. 'Macedonia and Histiaia: Political and economic relations', in V. Pappas and D. Terzopoulou (eds), *Ancient Macedonia VIII: Macedonia from the Death of Philip II to Augustus' Rise to Power. Papers Read at the Eighth International Symposium Held in Thessalonica, October 21-24, 2017* (Thessaloniki), pp. 597–601.
- Kroll, J.H. 1979. 'A chronology of early Athenian bronze coinage', in *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology. Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson* (Wetteren), pp. 139–53.
- Kroll, J.H. and A.S. Walker 1993. *The Athenian Agora XXVI. The Greek Coins* (Princeton).
- Laing, L.R. 1969. *Coins and Archaeology* (London).
- Launey, M. 1987. *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (Paris).
- Liampi, K. 1986. 'Zur Chronologie der sogenannten 'anonymen' makedonischen Münzen des späten 4. Jhs. v. Chr.', *JNG* 36, pp. 41–65.
- 1998. *Der Makedonische Schild* (Bonn).
- 2000. 'The circulation of bronze Macedonian royal coins in Thessaly', in C.C. Mattusch, A. Brauer, and S.E. Kundsén (eds), *From the Parts to the Whole. Acta of the 13th International Bronze Congress, Held at Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 28 – June 1, 1996* (Portsmouth, Rhode Island), pp. 220–5.
- Lykke, A. 2017. 'Ritualizing the use of coins in ancient Greek sanctuaries', *Journal of Ancient History* 5, pp. 205–27.
- Mamroth, A. 1935. 'Die Bronzemünzen des Königs Philippos V. von Makedonien', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 42, pp. 219–51.
- Marcellesi, M.-C. 2010. 'Adoption et diffusion de la monnaie de bronze dans le monde égéen. Une évolution économique et institutionnelle', *Studi Ellenistici* 24, pp. 255–71.
- Marzolff, P. 1976. 'Zur Stadtanlage von Demetrias', in V. Milošić and D. Theocharis (eds), *Demetrias I* (Bonn), pp. 5–16.
- 1992. 'Zur Stadtbaugeschichte von Demetrias', in E. Κυπραίου (ed.), *Διεθνές συνέδριο για την αρχαία Θεσσαλία στη μνήμη Δ.Ρ. Θεοχάρη* (Athens), pp. 337–48.
- 1994. 'Développement urbanistique de Démétrias', in P. Καπόν (ed.), *Θεσσαλία. Πρακτικά του διεθνούς συνεδρίου 'Θεσσαλία. Δεκαπέντε χρόνια αρχαιολογικής έρευνας 1975–1990. Διών 21–24 Ιουλίου'* (Athens), pp. 57–70.
- 1996. 'Η πολεοδομική εξέλιξη και τα κυριότερα έργα της περιοχής', in E. Κονταζή (ed.), *Αρχαία Δημητριάδα. Η διαδρομή της στον χρόνο. Πρακτικά ημερίδας 6 Νοεμβρίου 1994* (Volos), pp. 47–73.

- Mathisen, R.W. 1979. 'The shield/helmet bronze coinage of Macedonia. A preliminary analysis', *ΣΑΝ* 10, pp. 2–6.
- Melfi, M. 2014. 'Religion and society in early Roman Corinth. A forgotten coin hoard and the sanctuary of Asklepios', *Hesperia* 83, pp. 747–76.
- Merker, I.L. 1960. 'The silver coinage of Antigonos Gonatas and Antigonos Doson', *Museum Notes* 9, pp. 39–52.
- Metcalf, W.E. 2012. 'Introduction', in W.E. Metcalf (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage* (Oxford), pp. 3–11.
- Millett, M. 1994. 'Treasure. Interpreting Roman hoards', in S. Cottam, D. Dungworth, S. Scott, and J. Taylor (eds), *TRAC 94. Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham 1994* (Oxford), pp. 99–106.
- Mørkholm, O., P. Grierson, and U. Westermark 1991. *Early Hellenistic Coinage. From the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336–188 B.C.)* (Cambridge).
- Müller Zeis, R. 1994. 'Griechische Bauopfer und Gründungsdepots' (PhD Thesis, Universität des Saarlandes).
- Newell, E.T. 1927. *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes* (London).
- Pafford, I.A. 2006. 'Cult fees and the ritual of money in Greek sanctuaries of the Classical and Hellenistic period' (PhD Thesis, University of California).
- 2011. 'The sacred life of coins. Cult fees, sacred law and numismatic evidence', in N. Holmes (ed.), *Proceedings of the XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009* (Glasgow), pp. 1303–9.
- Panagopoulou, K. 2020. *The Early Antigonids. Coinage, Money, and the Economy* (New York).
- Parker, R. and S. Scullion 2016. 'The mysteries of the goddess of Marmarini', *Kernos* 26, pp. 209–66.
- Payne Knight, R. 1830. *Nummi veteres, civitatum, regum, gentium, et provinciarum, Londini, in museo Richardi Payne Knight asservati, ab ipso ordine geographico descripti* (London).
- Pedley, J.G. 2005. *Sanctuaries and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World* (Cambridge).
- Petsalis-Diomidis, A. 2017. 'Palimpsest and virtual presence. A reading of space and dedications at the Amphiareion at Oropos in the Hellenistic period', in T.M. Kristensen and W. Friese (eds), *Excavating Pilgrimage. Archaeological Approaches to Sacred Travel and Movement in the Ancient World* (London), pp. 106–29.
- Picard, O. 1979. *Chalcis et la Confédération Eubéenne. Étude de numismatique et d'histoire, IVe-Ier siècle* (Paris).
- Picard, O. 1984. 'Monnaies', in *L'Antre Corycien II* (Athens), pp. 281–306.
- 1993. 'Les monnaies', in P. Ducrey, D. Knoepfler, I.R. Metzger, and K. Reber (eds), *Eretria VIII. Le quartier de la Maison aux mosaïques* (Lausanne), pp. 149–57.
- Psoma, S. 1998. 'Le nombre de chalques dans l'obole dans le monde grec', *RN* 153, pp. 19–29.
- 2009. 'Τὰς σιτάρχιας καὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς ([Arist.], Oec. 1351b). Bronze currencies and cash-allowances in mainland Greece, Thrace and the Kingdom of Macedonia.', *RBN* 155, pp. 3–38.

- Reinders, H. 2004. 'Coinage and coin circulation in New Halos', in L. Kypraiou (ed.), *Οβολός 7. Πρακτικά συνεδρίου της Γ' επιστημονικής συνάντησης 'Το νόμισμα στο Θεσσαλικό χώρο. Νομισματοκοπεία, κυκλοφορία, εικονογραφία, ιστορία. Αρχαίοι — βυζαντινοί — νεώτεροι χρόνοι'* (Athens), pp. 185–206.
- Reinders, H.R. 2003. 'Coins', in H.R. Reinders and W. Prummel (eds), *Housing in New Halos. A Hellenistic Town in Thessaly, Greece* (Lisse), pp. 138–45.
- Robinson, D. M. (ed.) 1931. *Excavations at Olynthus III. The Coins Found at Olynthus in 1928* (Baltimore).
- , (ed.) 1933. *Excavations at Olynthus VI. The Coins Found at Olynthus in 1931* (Baltimore).
- , (ed.) 1952. *Excavations at Olynthus XIV. Terracottas, Lamps, and Coins Found in 1934 and 1938* (Baltimore).
- Rogers, E. 1932. *The Copper Coinage of Thessaly* (London).
- Sarris, A., J.C. Donati, T. Kalayci, C. Cuenca García, F.X. Simon, M. Manataki, and P. Triantaphyllou 2015. 'Towards an integrated remote-sensing strategy for revealing the urban details of the Hellenistic-Roman city of Demetrias, central Greece', *Archaeologia Polona* 53, pp. 351–5.
- Sassu, R. 2022. 'Some observations on the development of a sacred economy from the Archaic age up to Hellenism', in M. Frangipane, M. Poettinger, and V. Schefold (eds), *Ancient Economies in Comparative Perspective. Material Life, Institutions and Economic Thought* (Cham), pp. 295–323.
- Schmitt, H.H. 1969. *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* (Munich).
- Šeldarov, N. 2013. *Bronze Coins of the Macedonian King Perseus* (Skopje).
- Sinn, U. 1993. 'Greek sanctuaries as places of refuge', in N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (eds), *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches* (London), pp. 70–87.
- Sokolowski, F. 1954. 'Fees and taxes in the Greek cults', *Harvard Theological Review* 47, pp. 153–64.
- Stählin, F. 1924. *Das hellenische Thessalien. Landeskundliche und geschichtliche Beschreibung Thessaliens in der hellenischen und römischen Zeit* (Stuttgart).
- Stählin, F. 1934. *Pagasai und Demetrias. Beschreibung der Reste und Stadtgeschichte* (Berlin).
- Stamatopoulou, M. 2012a. 'The archives of A.S. Arvanitopoulos (1874–1942) and their importance for the study of the Thessalian archaeology', in A. Μαζαράκης-Αιτιάν (ed.), *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 12.3 – 15.3.2009* (Volos), pp. 17–29.
- 2012b. 'Thessaly (Prehistoric to Roman)', *AR* 58, pp. 75–95.
- 2014. 'The Pasikrata Sanctuary at Demetrias and the alleged funerary sanctuaries of Thessaly. A reappraisal', *Kēmos* 27, pp. 207–55.
- 2018. 'Demetrias. The archaeology of a cosmopolitan Macedonian harbour', in M. Kalaitzi, P. Paschidis, C. Antonetti, and A.M. Guimier-Sorbets (eds), *Βορειοελλαδικά. Tales from the Lands of the Ethne. Essays in Honour of Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos* (Athens), pp. 343–76.
- Trundle, M. 2017. 'The business of war. Mercenaries', in J.B. Campbell and L.A. Tritle (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Warfare in the Classical World* (Oxford), pp. 330–50.
- Tselekas, P. 1996. 'Grave hoards of Greek coins from Greece', *NC* 156, pp. 249–59.

Tsibidou-Avloniti, M. 2002. 'Excavating a painted Macedonian tomb near Thessaloniki. An astonishing discovery.', in M. Stamatopoulou and M. Yeroulanou (eds), *Excavating Classical Culture. Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece* (Oxford), pp. 91–7.

Valassiadis, C. 2005. 'A contribution to Cassander's bronze coinage', in C. Alfaro Asins, C. Marcos Alonso, and P. Otero Morán (eds), *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática, Madrid, 2003* (Madrid), pp. 405–13.

Vordos, A. and G. Gorini 2018. 'A small bronze hoard of Antigonos Gonatas from Trapeza near Aigion', in C. Doyen and E. Apostolou (eds), *Οβολός 10. Coins in the Peloponnese. Mints, Iconography, Circulation, History from Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Sixth Scientific Meeting in the Memory of Tony Hackens Argos, May 26–29, 2011* (Athens), pp. 335–43.

Wallace, W.P. 1956. *The Euboian League and Its Coinage* (New York).

Wheatley, P. and C. Dunn 2020. *Demetrius the Besieger* (Oxford).

Βαρούχα Χριστοδουλοπούλου, Ε. 1941. 'Πτολεμαϊκά νομίσματα στην κυρίως Ελλάδα', in *Επιτύμβιον Χρήστου Τσουντα* (Athens), pp. 668–79.

Βήτος, Γ., Ρ. Εζάρχου, and Α. Τσιάκα. 2020. "Τέμπη. Πέρασμα από τη Θεσσαλία προς τη Μακεδονία και τη Νοτία Ελλάδα. Η μαρτυρία μέσα από τα νομίσματα από τη θέση 'Χάνι της Κοκκώνας' στην Κοιλιάδα των Τερπών." In *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 26.2–1.3.2015*, edited by Α. Μαζαράκης-Αιινάν, pp. 113–26. Volos: Εργαστήριο Αρχαιολογίας Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλίας.

Γκατζόλης, Χ.Α. 2000. 'Δυο ελληνιστικοί 'θησαυροί' από τη Μακεδονία', in Π. Αδάμ-Βελένη (ed.), *Οβολός 4. Το νόμισμα στο Μακεδονικό χώρο. Πρακτικά Β' επιστημονικής συνάντησης. Νομισματοκοπεία, κυκλοφορία, εικονογραφία, ιστορία. Αρχαίοι, βυζαντινοί και νεότεροι χρόνοι* (Thessaloniki), pp. 103–26.

— 2010. 'Η κυκλοφορία του χάλκινου νομίσματος στη Μακεδονία (5ος–1ος αι. π.Χ.)' (PhD Thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki).

Ιντζεσίλογλου, Μ. 2004. 'Θησαυρός αργυρών νομισμάτων από το αρχαίο θέατρο Δημητριάδος', in Λ. Κυπραίου (ed.), *Οβολός 7. Πρακτικά συνεδρίου της Γ' επιστημονικής συνάντησης 'Το νόμισμα στο Θεσσαλικό χώρο. Νομισματοκοπεία, κυκλοφορία, εικονογραφία, ιστορία. Αρχαίοι — βυζαντινοί — νεώτεροι χρόνοι'* (Athens), pp. 457–78.

Καββαδίας, Π. 1916. 'Εκθεσις των πεπραγμένων κατά το έτος 1916', *Praktika* pp. 27–42.

Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη, Μ. 2000. *Το ιερό της Μητέρας των Θεών και της Αφροδίτης στην Πέλλα* (Thessaloniki).

Μακρή-Σκοτεινιώτη, Θ. and Α. Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου 2000. 'Πρόταση για τη δημιουργία αρχαιολογικού πάρκου στην αρχαία Δημητριάδα', in Π. Καλογεράκου (ed.), *Το έργο των Εφορειών Αρχαιοτήτων και Νεωτέρων Μνημείων του ΥΠ.ΠΟ. στη Θεσσαλία και στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της (1990–1998). 1η επιστημονική συνάντηση, Βόλος, Μάιος 1998* (Volos), pp. 319–29.

Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου, Α. 1988. 'Δημητριάδα', *AD* 43.B1, p. 241.

— 1989. 'Δημητριάδα', *AD* 44.B1, pp. 227–8.

— 1990. 'Δημητριάδα', *AD* 45.B1, pp. 197–201.

— 1993. 'Δημητριάδα', *AD* 48.B1, pp. 228–31.

- 1996. ‘Δημητριάδα’, in Ε. Κονταζή (ed.), *Αρχαία Δημητριάδα. Η διαδρομή της στο χρόνο. Πρακτικά ημερίδας, 9 Νοεμβρίου 1994* (Volos), pp. 11–46.
- 1998. ‘Δημητριάδα. Ανάκτορο’, *AD* 53.B1, p. 414.
- 2000. ‘Εργασίες στο Ανάκτορο της Δημητριάδος 1991–1997’, in Π. Καλογεράκου (ed.), *Το έργο των Εφορειών Αρχαιοτήτων και Νεωτέρων Μνημείων του ΥΠ.ΠΟ. στη Θεσσαλία και στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της (1990–1998). 1η επιστημονική συνάντηση, Βόλος, Μάιος 1998* (Volos), pp. 293–300.
- Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου, Α. and Ε. Σχίζα 2004. ‘Αποθέτες από το ανάκτορο της Δημητριάδος’, in Σ. Δρούγου, Ν. Ζαφειροπούλου, and Ε. Κυπραίου (eds), *ΣΤ’ επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική. Προβλήματα χρονολόγησης, κλειστά σύνολα – εργαστήρια. Βόλος, 17–23 Απριλίου 2000, πρακτικά* (Athens), p. 41–6.
- Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου, Α. and Τριανταφυλλοπούλου 2003. ‘Από τα νεκροταφεία της αρχαίας Δημητριάδος-Παγασών’, *AD* 58–64.A, pp. 211–324.
- Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου, Α. and Π. Τριανταφυλλοπούλου 2000. ‘Νεότερα δεδομένα από τον αρχαιολογικό χώρο Δημητριάδος’, in Π. Καλογεράκου (ed.), *Το έργο των Εφορειών Αρχαιοτήτων και Νεωτέρων Μνημείων του ΥΠ.ΠΟ. στη Θεσσαλία και στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της (1990–1998). 1η επιστημονική συνάντηση, Βόλος, Μάιος 1998* (Volos), pp. 301–7.
- Νικολάου, Ε. 2016. ‘Βόρειο νεκροταφείο αρχαίας Δημητριάδος. Η ανασκαφή 1995–1996. Οι γυναικείες ταφές του 3ου και 2ου αιώνα π.Χ.’ (Postgraduate thesis, University of Thessaly).
- Πούλιος, Β. 2001. ‘Σύμβολη στη μελέτη της χάλκινης νομισματοκοπίας των Αντιγονίδων από τον Αντίγονο Γονατά έως τους πρώτους χρόνους του Φιλίππου Ε’. Η περίπτωση πέντε ‘θησαυρών’ από την ανατολική Μακεδονία’, *AD* 56.A, pp. 237–96.
- Σαμαρτζίδου, Σ. 1982. ‘Νέα Ζίχνη’, *AD* 37.B.2, p. 329.
- Σταυρογιάννης, Α. 2018. ‘Τρεις ταφικοί νομισματικοί θησαυροί από τους Κομποτάδες Φθιώτιδας’, in Μ.Φ. Παπακωνσταντίνου, Χ. Κριτζάς, and Ι.Π. Τουράτσογλου (eds), *Πύρρα. Μελέτες για την αρχαιολογία στην κεντρική Ελλάδα προς τιμήν της Φανουρίας Δακορώνια. Τόμος Β’. Ιστορικοί χρόνοι* (Athens), pp. 377–99.
- Τουφεζής, Γ., Γ. Βήτος, Ρ. Εζάρχου, and Θ. Παπαντώνης 2016. ‘Η Κοιλάδα των Τεμπών (III). Ελληνιστική λατρεία, αρχαϊκές ταφές’, *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* 121, pp. 72–81.
- Τουφεζής, Γ., Α. Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου, Ρ. Εζάρχου, Θ. Παπαντώνης, Γ. Βήτος, Ε. Παπανικολάου, and Α. Κριτσίδα 2015. ‘Ανασκαφική έρευνα στην Κοιλάδα των Τεμπών στο πλαίσιο της κατασκευής της Νέας Εθνικής Οδού Αθηνών-Θεσσαλονίκης (ΠΑΘΕ) κατά τα έτη 2010-2012’, in *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 15.3–18.3.2012* (Volos), pp. 265–74.
- Τσιμπίδου-Αυλωνίτη, Μ. 2005. *Μακεδονικοί τάφοι στον Φούνικα και στον Άγιο Αθανάσιο Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens).
- Χρυσάφης, Χ. Ι. 2017. “Πέδαι Έλλάδος. Οι φρουρές των Αντιγονιδών στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα και το Αιγαίο (301-196 π. Χ.)” Athens: University of Athens.

List of figures

Fig. 1: Plan of Demetrias. The star denotes the location of the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods (adapted from Bakhuizen et al. 1987, plan 1).

Fig. 2: The sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods during excavation (view towards the east), showing the approximate location of the hoard (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia).

Fig. 3.a–b: Coin 1 (obverse and revers): *Tetartemorion* of Antigonos Gonatas, 273/2 BC (?) (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia; photos by the author).

Fig. 4.a–b: Coin 2 (obverse and revers): *Tetartemorion* of Antigonos Gonatas, 272/1–262/1 BC or 245/4–239 BC (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia; photos by the author).

Fig. 5.a–b: Coin 3 (obverse and revers): Hemiobol of Antigonos Gonatas, 254/3–239 BC (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia; photos by the author).

Fig. 6.a–b: Coin 4 (obverse and revers): Hemiobol of Antigonos Gonatas, 254/3–239 BC (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia; photos by the author).

Fig. 7.a–b: Coin 5 (obverse and revers): Hemiobol of Antigonos Gonatas, 254/3–239 BC (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia; photos by the author).

Fig. 8.a–b: Coin 6 (obverse and revers): Hemiobol of Philip V, 221/0 BC (?) (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia; photos by the author).

Fig. 9.a–b: Coin 7 (obverse and revers): *Chalkous* of Larisa, third century BC (?) (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia; photos by the author).

Fig. 10.a–b: Coin 8 (obverse and revers): *Chalkous* of Histiaia, 338 BC – late third century BC (?) (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia; photos by the author).

Fig. 11.a–b: Coin 9 (obverse and revers): Bronze coin (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia; photos by the author).