QUINTUS HORTENSIIUS HORTALUS
IN MACEDONIA (44-42 BC)

Quintus Hortensius Hortalus\(^1\), son of the famous orator, had been a partisan of Julius Caesar. He was amongst the first to cross the Rubicon and fought on Caesar’s side against Pompeius in the battle of Pharsalos in 46 BC. As a reward for his loyalty he was appointed proconsul of Macedonia in 44 BC., a few months before his patron’s assassination. At the end of the same year, as he was about to retire, civil war broke out once more.

When Gaius Antonius — the brother of Marcus, to whom Macedonia had been assigned by the Senate\(^2\) — arrived in Illyricum, Marcus Brutus — who had fled to Athens after the murder of Caesar — decided to claim the province on behalf of the Republicans\(^3\). At this crucial moment Hortensius defected to his nephew Brutus, acknowledged him as his legal heir, put his army at his disposal and helped him by recruiting soldiers\(^4\). This enabled Brutus to prevail over Antonius in Macedonia and establish his power in the province\(^5\). Faced with this fait accompli in early 43 BC, the Senate was persuaded by Cicero to acknowledge Brutus and entrust him with the command of Macedonia, Illyricum and ‘the whole of Greece’\(^6\). In return for his support

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4. Dio Cassius, XLVII 21; Plutarch, Brutus, XXV 1-2; Cicero, Philippica, V 11; VI 13.
5. Appian, o.c., III 79.
6. Appian, o.c., III 63, mentions: «Μακεδονίας δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνίδος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν
Hortensius retained the title of proconsul and served under Brutus in Macedonia, in charge of internal administration and juridical affairs. He kept his post until the final defeat of the Republican party at Philippi in 42 BC, when he was executed.\(^7\)

During his stay in Macedonia, between 44 BC when he was appointed proconsul by Caesar, and 42 BC when he was executed at Philippi,\(^8\) Hortensius struck a group of bronze coins bearing his name, in three denominations.\(^9\) Their description is as follows:

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

Q. HORTENSIIUS PRO COS.

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

PRAEF COLON DEDUC.

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

*Rev.*: Tripod. Q HORT XVXIR COLON DEDUX.

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

HAMMO.

*Rev.*: Ears of corn. HORT COL D.

All three denominations clearly belong to one group as they all refer to the proconsul Quintus Hortensius Hortalus as the founder of a colony. One coin of the larger denomination was published, and attributed to Parion in Mysia, in 1822 by D. Sestini\(^10\) who gave the following description:

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\(^7\) Plutarch, *Brutus*, XVIII 1-2.


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

\(^10\) D. Sestini, *Descrizione delle medaglie antiche greche del Museo Heckervariano*, I, Firenze 1828, 107, no. 23; —, *Descrizione d' alcune medaglie greche del Museo Fontana*, I, Firenze 1822, 89, pl. 3 no. 10.
Obv.: Head of Marcus Antonius to the r. Q HORTENSI PRQ.
Rev.: Two yokes above a plough [...]ILE COLON[...]PAR.

The same coin, acquired in the meanwhile by the Berlin Museum, was published again by H. Gaebler\textsuperscript{11}, who corrected Sextini's interpretation, identified the portrait on the obverse with Q. Hortensius Hortalus and proposed the following description:

Obv.: Head of Hortensius to the r. Q. HORTENSI PRO [COS].
Rev.: Vexillum with flowing bands [...] P F COLON DED
L.[EG].

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

The correct reading of the coins of this series was finally given in the publication of a better preserved specimen from the Niggeler Collection, now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford\textsuperscript{12}. The new finds available to us and described in the catalogue that follows, confirm this reading. Of these five come from Dium (=Dion)\textsuperscript{13}, five from the Chalcidice\textsuperscript{14}, one from the area of Polygyros\textsuperscript{15} and two from 'Macedonia' generally\textsuperscript{16}. Given the findspots of the new pieces, the association of these coins with the post Hortensius held in Macedonia is beyond any doubt.

On the obverse of the coins of this series the portrait of Hortensius\textsuperscript{17} is accompanied by an inscription mentioning his office as proconsul. Both the

\textsuperscript{11} H. Gaebler, "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens, X" ZfN 39 (1929) 137 ff.
\textsuperscript{12} Bank Leu-Münzen und Medaillen, Slg. W. Niggeler, 2 Teil, Okt. 1966, no. 573. Personal communication from Dr. Christofer Howgego to whom I am most grateful.
\textsuperscript{13} Two of them were found during the 1931 excavations and are now held in the Numismatic Museum in Athens. The other two are in the Archaeological Museum of Dion with inv. nos. 1736 and 2530.
\textsuperscript{14} In the D. Portolos and Mathioudakis collections.
\textsuperscript{15} In the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki.
\textsuperscript{16} In the Numismatic Museum of Athens, inv. nos. 107/83 and 108/83.
\textsuperscript{17} This could actually be the portrait of his father, since the effigy on the coin bears a striking resemblance to a portrait of the orator. J. Balty, "Portraits d' orateurs et de poètes latins", Revue Archéologique (1987/1) 206-213.
types and the inscription of the reverse refer to the founding of a colony. These coins are our only evidence that Hortensius was not only appointed proconsul but also praefectus coloniae deducendae, an officer in charge of the settlement of colonists and the organisation of the newly founded town. The plough, the vexillum and the yoke on the reverse, all refer to the founding of a colony and often occur separately on coins. This composition of the types seems to be unique. The vexilla were the military standards used by the soldiers when marching towards their future settlement and provide proof that the colony founded was a military one. The yoke and the plough allude to the old Roman ritual by which when a new town was founded its borders were marked out by a pair of cattle guided by a priest. This ritual seems to have survived — though in a somewhat symbolic manner — even when a colony was founded in a preexisting town, as was the case for most of the Roman colonies in mainland Greece.

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

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


20. See enlarged photographs in the plates which follow.
suis provinciam Macedoniam obtinere quoad ei ex senatus consulto successum sit”\textsuperscript{21}.

Coins belonging to the second denomination were only recently attributed to this group\textsuperscript{22}. The first to be published was a coin in Paris for which Sestini proposed the following description:

\textit{Obv.}: Female head to the right. COLONIA [.....]

\textit{Rev.}: Tripod. Q PA[.....] DEDUXIT

Sestini put forward the interpretation: Q PA[QUIUS RUFUS] DEDUXIT and attributed the coin, as well as the rest of the Paquius Rufus issues, to Parion in Mysia\textsuperscript{23}. The coinage of Rufus was reconsidered and attributed to Philippi by Gaebler. Nevertheless he did not incorporate the above mentioned coin in the same group but left the matter of its interpretation unsolved\textsuperscript{24}.

Due to new finds the inscription Q(UINTUS) HORT(ENSIUS) XV(QUINDECIM)VIR COLON(IAM) DEDUX(IT) on the reverse can be securely read and there is no doubt that this issue belongs to the group struck by Hortensius in Macedonia. Of the seven more specimens now at our disposal, three were found at the excavations at Dium\textsuperscript{25}, two are stray finds from the area of the Chalcidice\textsuperscript{26}, one is known as coming generally ‘from Macedonia’\textsuperscript{27} and one is in a private collection in California with no attested provenance\textsuperscript{28}.

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

\textsuperscript{21} Cicero, \textit{Philippica} X, 26.


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

\textsuperscript{25} Archaeological Museum of Dion inv. nos. 309, 2906, 1301.

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

\textsuperscript{27} Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, inv. nos., 24/1991.

\textsuperscript{28} I would like to thank R. Witschonke for this information and for providing the photograph.
Hortensius was a member of the *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, a priestly association in Rome. According to Titus Livius the *Quindecimviri* were *interpretes* of the sacred Sibyllian books, overseers of Apollo’s ritual and of other ceremonies. The tripod on the reverse of this issue of Hortensius — an obvious reference to Apollo — clearly alludes to Hortensius’ priestly function.

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

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

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30. Titus Livius X, 8, 2.
33. T.E. Mionnet, *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines VI*, Paris 1813, 660 no. 335. For a drawing of the coin: Pellerin, o.c., pl. CXVI, no. 128. 2.
36. Archaeological Museum of Dion, inv. nos. 3617, 6964 and one from the 1992 excavation.
coinage of Aphytis as well as on the later coinage of the colony of Cassandrea in imperial times\textsuperscript{38}.

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

We shall start from the second question. As mentioned in the first and longer inscription, Hortensius founded the colony while acting as praefectus. The praefecti were officers who acted as representatives of a higher authority which appointed them in order to accomplish a specific task\textsuperscript{39}. In our case Hortensius was appointed praefectus coloniae deducendae in order to found a colony —or perhaps even more than one. This title has not been found elsewhere. It reflects the ending of Republican political institutions, according to which colonies were founded by delegates appointed by the Senate, and the increasing power of dictators who appointed their own personal representatives for this task. This policy was continued in imperial times and led to the inevitable consequence that the Emperor himself was considered as founder —deductor— of a colony.

Ever since Grant presumed so\textsuperscript{40}, it has been considered a fact that Hortensius founded the colony and struck his coins during the period when his nephew Brutus held power in Macedonia, in 43/2 BC, and indeed following his instructions. This was probably presumed because there are

\textsuperscript{38} Gaebler, Die antiken, o.c. (note 18) 45 nos 5-8, 46 nos 14, 15, pl. 11 nos 13-18 (Aphytis); 53 nos 6-9, pl. 13 nos 4-6, 54 nos 14-17, pl. 13 nos 7, 14, 15 (Cassandrea).
\textsuperscript{39} W. Ensslin, RE 22 2 (1954), 1258 ff.
\textsuperscript{40} M. Grant, From Imperium to Auctoritas, Cambridge 1946, 33-4. 272.
numerous literary references to the activities of Hortensius on the side of Brutus during the civil war,—although none mention the founding of a colony—whereas not a word is said on his movements during the more peaceful year of 44 BC. Wars have always attracted the attention of historians but there is no evidence whatsoever to indicate that the colony—for which our only evidence is numismatic—was founded on the orders of Brutus. On the contrary, there seem to be arguments to support the opposite.

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

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

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

41. Appian, o.c. III 63, 79.
42. Dio Cassius, XLVII, 21, 22.
43. J. A. O. Larsen, in his standard work Roman Greece, in: T. Frank, An Economic Survey of ancient Rome IV, New Jersey 19592, 448, explains this by supposing that the title of the colony was given honoris causa to Greek cities during this year by Brutus, so that he could recruit Macedonians.
44. For settlements of veterans during these years by Caesar: P.A. Brunt, Italian Manpower, 225BC-AD14, Oxford 1971.
45. Grant, o.c., 9-10.
46. Cicero's letters in Atticus, XVI, 16 a-e, which refer to the founding of Buthrotum by L. Plancus, give a very vivid picture of the absolute power held by the praefecti.
denomination reads: COLONIA FELIX. The perception of ‘Felicitas’ was often employed in Caesar’s personal propaganda and her Personification occurs in the iconography of his coins in the years 45/44 BC. Sinope, a colony in the Euxine Pontus founded on the orders of Caesar in 45 BC, was called Felix. As for the female head which accompanies the inscription on the coins of the Macedonian colony, it brings to mind ‘Venus Victrix’, her connection with ‘Felicitas’ and the application of both by Caesar.

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

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

*Obv.*: Plough to the right. COL DIENSIS.

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

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

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

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

51. The colony of Philippi was first founded by M. Antonius after his victory over Brutus in 42 BC: H. Gaebler, “Zur Münzkunde” o.c. (note 11) 260 ff. Burnett-Amandry-Ripollès, o.c., no9s. 1646-1649. As for the other colony in Macedonia, Pella, it still struck coins with Greek inscriptions during the 40’s: H. Gaebler, Die antiken o.c. (note 18) 96-97, no. 19, pl. 19, no. 9. SNG, Fitzwilliam II, 140. Burnett-Amandry-Ripollès, o.c., 1545-1547.

Hortensius\textsuperscript{53}.

The issue with the portrait should, in his opinion, be viewed as a ‘central provincial issue’ which refers to the founding of both colonies, Cassandrea and Dium, by Hortensius\textsuperscript{54}. The argument he uses to support his view is the size and the weight of these coins, which are larger and heavier than the usual civic issues. This is correct if one compares them with the issues of imperial times. In the transitional period discussed here, civic provincial issues are rare and follow diversified standards; in Macedonia nevertheless, Pella and Thessaloniki struck coins with similar size and weight to Hortensius’ large denomination\textsuperscript{55}. The strange separation of two issues with similar inscriptions seems even more improbable now that a third denomination has been added.

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

The first is the interpretation, and consequently the dating, of the Dium issue with Diana on the reverse\textsuperscript{56}. Diana, according to Grant, is trampling on a vexillum; this type is compared to a denarius of Brutus where Victory is trampling on a sceptre which symbolises Caesar’s illegal domination. The vexillum is thought to be a similar symbol of hostile propaganda, which alludes to the hateful military character of the dictator’s colonial deductiones. This is a far-fetched interpretation which is contradictory to the iconography of the first issue of Hortensius, where a vexillum is clearly depicted. It can anyway be indisputably discarded, as it is based on an erroneous description. The close examination of many specimens of this issue has shown that what has been misinterpreted as a vexillum is actually the

\textsuperscript{53} Grant, o.c., 272-273.
\textsuperscript{54} Grant, o.c., 33ff.
\textsuperscript{55} For Pella see H. Gaebler, Die antiken, o.c. (note 18) 96-97, pl. 19 no.9. Burnett-Amandry-Ripollès, o.c., 1545. This issue is dated by Touratsoglou, BAR 326 (1987) 31, in 42 BC. For the Thessaloniki issue which Gaebler, o.c., 122 no. 25, pl. 23 no. 14, dates to the time of Augustus, Touratsoglou, o.c., dates to 42-32 BC.
\textsuperscript{56} See below no. 33 in catalogue and plates.
ground line under the goddess’ feet, and the ‘flowing band’ is the lace of her boots which is flowing to the left, in the same manner as her clothes, to indicate her running to the right.  

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

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

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

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57. For discussion of this issue see: Σ. Κρημύδη-Σιούλλιανοκ, Η νομοθεσία της γονιμοτητος του Διον, Αθηνα 1996, 83-85, 95.
58. Brunt, o.c., 234-235.
60. Κρημύδη-Σιούλλιανοκ, o.c., 253-254, issues 3 and 4, pl. 29 nos. 49. For discussion of their dating, 82-83.
61. Ephemeris Epigraphica II (1875) 1048.
62. CIL III, 592.
Provenance is an important factor when attributing bronze coins and the new finds provide crucial information on this matter. Out of the thirty-two coins of Hortensius compiled here, twenty-two are of known provenance: Eleven were found in the excavations at Dium, eight were found in the area of the Chalcidice and three are known to have come from 'Macedonia' generally. This evidence shows that the coins of Hortensius circulated in Dium. But is it strong enough to prove that they not only circulated, but were also struck there, and consequently that the colony of Dium was first founded by Hortensius? In order to evaluate this information, one has to take into consideration that Dium is a city which has been thoroughly excavated over the last twenty years, whereas the finds from Chalcidice are only stray finds, not coming from the site of an ancient town, but from a wider area.

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

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

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

1st denomination *

Objverse: Head of Hortensius to the right.
Q. HORTENSI PRO COS
Reverse: Plough, above it a yoke and a vexillum to the right.
PRAEF COLON DEDVC

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<th>No.</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Location/Details</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>27mm</td>
<td>15.98gms</td>
<td>Oxford (ex Niggeler coll.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Rev. countermark: B [Q].</td>
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<td>26mm</td>
<td>14.8gms</td>
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<td>14.93gms</td>
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<td>29mm</td>
<td>16.18gms</td>
<td>Athens, 1931 Dion excavation.</td>
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<td>Rev. countermark: B Q.</td>
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<td>18.52gms</td>
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<td>27mm</td>
<td>13.86gms</td>
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<td>23mm</td>
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<td>26mm</td>
<td>13.3gms</td>
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<td>26mm</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>Rev. countermark: B Q.</td>
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<td>27mm</td>
<td>18.81gms</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>25mm</td>
<td>16.65gms</td>
<td>Portolos collection, found in the Chalcidice.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. countermark: B Q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>26mm</td>
<td>18.66gms</td>
<td>Portolos collection, found in the Chalcidice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. countermark: B Q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>26mm</td>
<td>13.46gms</td>
<td>Portolos collection, found in the Chalcidice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. countermark: [Q].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>25mm</td>
<td>18.08gms</td>
<td>Portolos collection, found in the Chalcidice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. countermark: B Q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>23mm</td>
<td>17.8gms</td>
<td>Dion, 1995 excavation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>26mm</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Mathioudakis collection, found in the Chalcidice.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A die study was not possible for coins of this denomination as most of the specimens are very worn and bear countermarks.
2nd denomination

Obverse: Female head to the right.

COLONIA FELIX

Reverse: Tripod.

Q. HORT COLON DEDVX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Location/Collection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>O1 R1</td>
<td>21mm</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Thessaloniki, inv.no. 24/1991.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>O2 R1</td>
<td>21mm</td>
<td>10,8gms</td>
<td>Dion, inv.no. 2906.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>O2 R1</td>
<td>21mm</td>
<td>8,8gms</td>
<td>Dion, inv.no. 309.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>O2 R1(?</td>
<td>20mm</td>
<td>8,15gms</td>
<td>Witschonke collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>O2 R2</td>
<td>20mm</td>
<td>7,4gms</td>
<td>Paris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>O2 R2</td>
<td>20mm</td>
<td>7,91gms</td>
<td>Portolos collection, found in the Chalcidice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>O(? R2</td>
<td>20mm</td>
<td>8,8gms</td>
<td>Thessaloniki, found in Megali Panagia, Chalcidice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>O(? R(?</td>
<td>19mm</td>
<td>5,3gms</td>
<td>Dion, inv. no. 1301.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3rd denomination

Obverse: Head of Ammon with ram horns to the right.

HAMMO

Reverse: Two corn ears.

HORT COL D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Location/Collection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>O1 R1</td>
<td>16mm</td>
<td>3,59gms</td>
<td>Berlin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>O2 R1</td>
<td>17mm</td>
<td>5,2gms</td>
<td>Dion, inv.no. 6964.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>O2 R1</td>
<td>17mm</td>
<td>5gms</td>
<td>Dion, inv.no. 3617.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>O2 R2</td>
<td>16mm</td>
<td>4,5gms</td>
<td>Dion, 1992 excavation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COIN OF DIUM

Obverse: Plough to the right. COL DIENSIS

Reverse: Diana wearing short chiton and chlamys, holding bow and arrows and running to the right.

DIANA BAPHYRA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>17mm</td>
<td>3,1gms</td>
<td>Dion inv. no. 3890.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PHD, Faculty of History and Archaeology

Sophia Kremydi-Sicilianou

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

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

‘Ο Q. Hortensius Hortalus, ὁ πατέρας καὶ συμπολεμιστὴς τοῦ Ἰουλίου Καίσαρα, διορίστηκε Proconsul στή Μακεδονία στὶς ἄρχες τοῦ 44 π.Χ. Ἡ δολοφονία τοῦ Καίσαρα λίγους μήνες ἄργοτερα πυροδότησε νέα ἐμφύλια διαμάχη, ποὺ διαδραμάτιστηκε στὸν ἕλληνικο χώρο καὶ στὴν ὅποια ἡ ἐμπλοκή τοῦ Hortensius ἦταν ἀναπόφευκτη: ὁ ἀνθίστατος τάχθηκε στὸ πλευρὸ τοῦ ἄνθρωποῦ του Βρούτου καὶ τὸν βοήθησε στρατιωτικὰ ἐναντίον τοῦ Γαίου Ἀντωνίου. Στὴν καθοριστικὴ μάχη που ἔγινε στοὺς Φιλίππους τὸ 42 π.Χ., ἡ παράπταξῆς τοῦ ἤπιστήκηκε καὶ ὁ ἴδιος δολοφονήθηκε.

Κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τῆς παραμονῆς του στὴ Μακεδονία ὁ Hortensius ἔκοψε τρεῖς σειρὰς χάλκινων νομισμάτων οἱ ὅποιες παρουσιάζονταν ἱδαιότερο ἰστορικὸ ἐνδιαφέρον, καθὼς μνημειώνουν ἕνα γεγονός που δὲν εἶναι γνωστὸ ἀπὸ καμμάλλη ἡπικὴ, ὅτι δηλαδὴ ὁ Hortensius ἐφέρε τὸν τίτλο τοῦ Praefectus coloniae deducendae καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἴδιότητα αὐτῆς εἶχε ἱδρύσει μία — ἡ ἐνδεχομένως καὶ περισσότερες — ἀποικίες στὴ Μακεδονία. Ἡ ταύτισθη τῆς ἀποικίας καὶ ἡ πολιτικὴ ἀρχὴ που ἦταν ὑπεύθυνη γὰρ τήν ἱδρυσή τῆς εἶναι τὰ ἑρωτήματα ποὺ μᾶς ἀπασχολοῦν.

Ὡς πρὸς τὸ πρῶτο ἑρώτημα ἐπισημαίνεται πῶς ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ Ἁμμωνοῦ Διῶς ποὺ ἀπευκονίζεται στὰ νομίσματα τῆς μικρότερης ὑποδιάφορης χαρακτηρίζει τὴν νομισματικὴ εἰκονογραφία τῆς Κασσάνδρειας, ἐνώ ἡ χιχλοφορία τῶν νομισμάτων αὐτῶν τόσο στὴν περιοχὴ τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς ὁσῶν καὶ στὸ Δίον θέτει τὸ ἑρώτημα μὴπός εἶχε υπάρξει μία παράλληλη ἐγκατάσταση ἀποικίων ἀπὸ τὸν Hortensius καὶ στὸ Δίον. Ἡ ἐλλειψη ἰστότος ἄλλων μαρτυριῶν ποὺ νὰ τὸ ἐπιβεβαιώσουν μᾶς ὑποχρεούοντο πρὸς τὸ παρόν νὰ εἴμαστε ἐπιφυλακτικοὶ γιὰ μᾶς τέτοια ἐρμηνεία. Ἡ χιχλοφορία τῶν νομισμάτων στὸ Δίον θα πρέπει μάλλον νὰ ὀφείλεται στὶς μεταπεμφήσεις τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τοῦ ἐμφύλιου πόλεμου.

Ὡς πρὸς τὸ δεύτερο ἑρώτημα ἐξει γενικῶς ἀποδεκτὸ πῶς ὁ Hortensius
ίδρυσε τή στρατιωτική ἀποικία κατά τή διάρκεια τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου (43/2 π.Χ.) καὶ ἀκολουθώντας τίς ἐντολές τοῦ Βρούτου. Μιὰ διαφορετική ἑρμηνεία προτείνεται ἑδώ: Τόσο γιὰ λόγους ἱστορικοῦς δόσο καὶ λόγω ἑρμηνείας τῶν νομισματικῶν τύπων καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν, ἡ ἱδρυση τῆς μακεδονικῆς ἀποικίας θὰ πρέπει νὰ ἐνταχθῇ στὴν ἀποικιακὴ πολιτικὴ τοῦ Καίσαρα καὶ ὅχι νὰ ἀποδοθεῖ σὲ πολιτικὴ πρωτοβουλία τοῦ Βρούτου.
Αρ. 4 (μεγέθυνση)

Αρ. 9 (μεγέθυνση)

Σ. Κρεμίδη - Σιολιάνου Πλ. 2