

ΚΕΡΜΑΤΙΑ ΦΙΛΙΑΣ



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**THE TAUROPOLOS TETRADRACHMS
OF THE FIRST MACEDONIAN *MERIS*:
PROVENANCE, ICONOGRAPHY AND DATING***

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SUMMARY

This article assembles the dispersed material of a series of Hellenistic tetradrachms of the first district (*meris*) of Macedonia. By combining the evidence of the dies, the monograms and the style of the coins we have proposed a sequence for the successive issues. Furthermore, we have discussed the chronology of the series based on the evidence of the hoards as well as on historical and numismatic considerations; a date to the late Antigonid period, during the reigns of Philip V or Perseus, can be securely established. Finally, the head of Zeus Dodonaïos on the obverse of the coins, a type introduced on the bronze coinage of Philip V, has been considered to reflect the close political ties between Macedonia and Epiros, at a time when the ruler of Macedonia was a grandson of Pyrrhos. The type of the Tauropolis on the reverse was an evident choice for an issue minted at Amphipolis, capital of the first district

* Many thanks are due to Michel Amandry for providing references to auctions and photos and also to Melih Arslan for the photo of the coin in the Sinope Museum.

Two tetradrachms of the first Macedonian *meris* (cat. nos 2-3) with the head of Zeus in oak-wreath on the obverse and Artemis Tauropolos riding on a bull on the reverse were known at the time that Gaebler published his monumental work on the Macedonian coinage¹. Since then new specimens have come to light through the discovery of two hoards. *IGCH* 237 was discovered near Larissa in 1968; part of it entered the Museum of Volos, another part was retained at Thessalonike and a large and important section was recorded in London. In 1989 Martin Price managed to produce a full publication of the find by compiling all available material². The main bulk of the hoard was shown to consist of tetradrachms of Perseus, mostly on the reduced standard, and of imitations of Rhodian drachms struck by Hermias. Six specimens of the rare Tauropolos tetradrachms were also reported amongst other Hellenistic issues and the context of the ‘Larissa 1968’ find inaugurated a discussion concerning the date of this issue. These six specimens have been identified with coins from various auctions and collections and are described in our catalogue (cat. nos 4-9).

CH 9.530 was discovered two years later, in 1970, during construction work in Ordu (ancient Cotyora), a city situated on the south coast of the Black Sea between Sinope and Trapezus. A first portion of the hoard was published by Boehringer in 1975³ but its’ full publication was finally achieved by M. Arslan and Chr. Lightfoot in 1999⁴ who included another lot of coins deposited in the Sinope Museum. The currency in this hoard derived mainly from Asia Minor: Posthumous Lysimachi and Alexanders’ from Asian mints, coins from the kingdoms of Bithynia, Pergamum, Cappadocia and the Seleucid Empire. In addition to these, 20 Athenian New Style tetradrachms and 18 Macedonian coins were also present. The Macedonian group included one tetradrachm of Philip V, one tetradrachm of the first *meris* of the Tauropolos type (cat. no 1) and 16 tetradrachms of the first *meris* of the Artemis/club type. The hoard was dated by its’ publishers to c. 140-120 BC⁵ and is therefore not conclusive for the dating of the Tauropolos tetradrachms. But the presence of a specimen of this issue in Asia Minor remains, to our present knowledge, unique.

1. H. GAEBLER, *Die antiken Münzen nord-Griechenlands* 3.1, Berlin 1906, p. 53, nos 154, 155, pl. 2, no. 2 (hereafter *AMNG* 3.1) with earlier references on the Berlin and Naples specimens. For the Naples specimen also see: H. GAEBLER, *Die antiken Münzen nord-Griechenlands* 3.2, Berlin 1935, p. 6, no. 39, pl. 3, no. 1 (hereafter *AMNG* 3.2).
2. M. J. PRICE, “The Larissa”, 1968 hoard (*IGCH* 237), in G. LE RIDER, K. JENKINS, N. WAGGONER and U. WESTERMARK (eds), *Kraay-Mørholm Essays: Numismatic Studies in Memory of C. M. Kraay and O. Mørholm*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1989, p. 233-243, pls 54-55.
3. Chr. BOEHRINGER, “Hellenistischer Münzschatz aus Trapezunt 1970”, *SNR* 54 (1975), p. 37-64.
4. M. ARSLAN, Chr. LIGHTFOOT, *Greek Coin Hoards in Turkey*, Ankara 1999, p. 42-44, pls 69-75 (the Ordu Hoard).
5. BOEHRINGER, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 51-52 (c. 150-140 BC); ARSLAN, LIGHTFOOT, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), p. 43 (c. 140-120 BC).

THE CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

THE TAUROPOLOS TETRADRACHMS
OF THE FIRST MACEDONIAN *MERIS*:
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The tetradrachms of the first *meris* with the head of Zeus and Artemis Tauropolos were dated by Gaebler to the years 158-150 BC. At the time that the German scholar was compiling his catalogue the dating of this issue after the battle of Pydna and the abolition of the Macedonian monarchy seemed inescapable; the interpretation of the relevant passages in Livy (45.18.7, 45.29.5-9), Diodorus Siculus (31.8.7-8) and Strabo (7, frg. 47) had led to the conviction that the *merides*, the administrative districts into which the Macedonian state was divided, was an innovation of the Roman settlement of 167 BC. Furthermore, the passage of Livy (45.29.11) concerning the prohibition of mining activity by the Romans was interpreted as a prohibition to coin and thus 158 BC –the date of the reopening of the mines–, was considered as the beginning of the Macedonian coinage after the Roman occupation⁶. By disassociating the prohibition in mining to that of minting, Boehringer argued that the coinage of the *merides* was inaugurated in 167/6 BC⁷, but in any case the *terminus post quem* of 168 BC was retained.

The discovery of the “Larissa hoard” seemed to challenge this *terminus*. This hoard contained a large number of reduced tetradrachms of Perseus, as well as several Athenian tetradrachms of the so-called ‘intermediate’ style issued before the *stephanephoroi*, but no coins that could be convincingly dated after 168 BC. The Tauropolos issue therefore, was hard to fit in⁸. Historical arguments based on new material, on the other hand, have gradually led to a reconsideration of the view that the administrative districts were a Roman creation⁹ and Olivier Picard was the first to put forward the proposal that the Tauropolos issue should be dated to the period of the Antigonids¹⁰. This view was further supported with serious arguments both by I. Touratsoglou¹¹ and M. Hatzopoulos¹² and a chronology in the first decades of the second century has now been established for these coins.

6. AMNG 3.1, p. 3.

7. Chr. BOEHRINGER, *Zur Chronologie mittelhellenistischer Münzserien, 220-160 vChr*, Berlin 1972, p. 113, 125.

8. Price originally dated the hoard to c. 168/7 BC (*IGCH* 237) but in his final publication PRICE, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 243, altered the date to c. 165 BC.

9. M.B. HATZOPOULOS, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings I*, *MEΛETHMATA* 22, Athens 1996, p. 230-260.

10. O. PICARD, *AIIN* 29 (1982), p. 246.

11. I. TOURATSOGLOU, *The Coin Circulation in Ancient Macedonia*, Athens 1993, p. 71.

12. HATZOPOULOS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), p. 250-253.

The nine surviving specimens of the Tauropolos issue derive from three obverse and five reverse dies. The order in which these dies have been placed in our catalogue has followed two criteria. The first is the number of monograms on the reverse die. The Ordu hoard specimen (R1) bears only one monogram and has therefore been placed first, the Berlin and Naples specimens bear two each (R2, R3), whereas the Larissa hoard specimens (R4, R5) bear three monograms. The evolution from simple to more complex marks of issue has often been encountered on Hellenistic coinages and can be often interpreted as a chronological indication.

The second criterion which we have followed for our classification is style; stylistic similarities between the head of Zeus on the Tauropolos tetradrachms and the head of Poseidon on tetradrachms of Antigonos have been observed and the Poseidon head has been considered as the prototype upon which the Zeus head was modeled¹³. Although stylistic similarities should be used with every caution as a dating criterion, it seems fair to assume that within a given series the dies which resemble earlier issues are to be placed at the beginning. Comparison between the Poseidon head and the Zeus head shows that these similarities are much closer for O1 and O2¹⁴. As is often the case with coins that derive from a single find, the six Tauropolos specimens from the “Larissa hoard” form a compact group. They are all struck from a single obverse die (O3) and two very similar reverse dies (R4, R5) that bear the same three monograms. The style of the obverse differs substantially from that of the previous ones and one can easily conclude that they are produced by different engravers.

The total number of dies (3 obverse and 5 reverse), the four different groups of mint marks which show an evolution from a simple to a more developed system of control and the stylistic varieties that can be observed between the successive dies, show that the Tauropolos issue may not have been so restricted as one could conclude from the nine surviving specimens.

13. Y. TOURATSOGLOU, *Dissecta Membra, Biblioteca of the Hellenic Numismatic Society*, 3, Athens 1995, p. 81. See also IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Monnaies grecques*, Amsterdam 1883, p. 124-127. Recent discussion can be found in K. PANAGOPOULOU, *Antigonos Gonatas: Coinage, Money and Economy*, University College London (January 2000) (PhD), p. 92-102.

14. Compare, for example, the Poseidon heads in PANAGOPOULOU, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, n. 13), pl. 35, no. 179, pl. 37, no. 211 (period III: 246/5BC-229BC), or pl. 43, nos 57, 59 (period IV: 229-221BC) with the Zeus heads on dies 1 and 2.

The presence of common monograms between the Tauropolos tetradrachms and several issues of the late Antigonid period is the main argument employed by Touratsoglou for their dating. In the table that follows all such cases have been noted. From the six monograms that are encountered on the Tauropolos tetradrachms only two (ΛΕ, ΠΑΡ) are restricted to these issues; the other four can also be found on other Macedonian bronze and silver coins, mainly of the late Antigonid period. The earliest occurrence is that of the monogram ΠΑ on tetradrachms of Philip V, which have been dated by Boehringer to “around 200 BC”¹⁵. Otherwise, the Tauropolos monograms are very often encountered on coins in the name of Philip V, Perseus and the Macedonians which have been dated to the period between the monetary reform of Philip V (188 or 187/6BC) and the beginning of the third Macedonian war (172 BC). These monograms appear only occasionally on bronze coins of Thessalonike, Amphipolis and Pella.

The material assembled in the table shows that coins of the first district, the Amphaxians (second district), the Botteatai (third district) and the fourth district share common monograms. This observation leads to two conclusions: the first is that each district did not possess a separate administration in charge of monetary production, which was therefore most probably organized by the central government; the second is that the bronze coinage of the fourth district, which has been dated to c. 167 BC could very well also belong to the earlier period¹⁶. Concerning the monogram ΗΡ, which is present both on the Tauropolos coins and on certain issues of the Artemis / club type of the first *meris*¹⁷ one can certainly accept the interpretation of Touratsoglou that “this was the result of synonymity”¹⁸, especially since we are dealing with a very common monogram on Macedonian coins¹⁹.

15. BOEHRINGER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 7), p. 116-118, pl. 8, nos 6-13, at no. 11.

16. In *AMNG* 3.1, p. 61 these issues were dated to 158-150BC. P. MACKAY, “The coinage of the Macedonian Republics”, *Ancient Macedonia* I (1970), p. 257-8 proposed a date immediately after the creation of the Roman districts’ in ca. 167 BC.

17. I. PROKOPOV, *The Tetradrachms of the first Macedonian Region*, Sofia 1994, p. 15-23 and especially p. 20-22, has shown that coins with the same types continued to be produced from ca. 168 BC until the middle of the first century BC.

18. TOURATSOGLU, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 11), p. 72.

19. The same monogram can be found on bronzes of Philip II (*SNG Alpha Bank*, 399) and Cassander (*SNG Alpha Bank*, 876) as well as on tetradrachms of Antigonos Gonatas (*SNG Alpha Bank*, 1048).

Monogram ME

Metal/ Denomination	Issuing authority	Type	References	Date
AE	Philip V	Herakles/goats	<i>ZfN</i> 42, no. 14	186-183
AE	Philip V	Shield, strobilos / club	<i>ZfN</i> 42, no. 16	186-183
AR 4drs, 2drs, dr	Philip V	Shield, Perseus / club	<i>ZfN</i> 40, nos 13, 15, 19, 21-22, 24, 26, 28-29, 31	c.183/2-179
AR 4obols	Macedonians	Shield / helmet	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, nos 2, 3, 5, 7, 12	c.183/2-179
AR 4drs	Perseus	Perseus / eagle	<i>ZfN</i> 38, nos 4, 11	c.178/7-174/3
AE	Macedonians	Herakles / horse	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, no. 38	Ph+P
AE	Macedonians	Strymon / trident	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, nos 58-63	Ph+P
AE	Macedonians	Shield / ethnicon	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, nos 64-65	Ph+P
AE	Thessalonike	Herakles / club	<i>AMNG</i> 3.2, pl. XXII, 26	Ph+P
AE	Amphipolis	Zeus / prow	<i>AMNG</i> 3.2, pl. IX, 16	Ph+P
AE	Macedonia 4th meris	Zeus / club	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, no. 188. <i>AncMac</i> 1970.	c. 167?
AE	Macedonia 4th meris	Athena / Dioskouroi	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, no. 187. <i>AncMac</i> 1970.	c. 167?
AE	Macedonia-Rome	Rome / ethnicon (Φολκίννιος)	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, no. 199. <i>MN</i> 1968.	c. 168/7

Monogram ΠΑ

Metal/ Denomination	Issuing authority	Type	References	Date
AR 4drs	Philip V (Andriskos' issue)	Shield, Perseus / club	Boehringer, pl. 8, 11	c. 200
AE	Macedonians	Poseidon / club	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, nos 45-46	Ph+P
AE	Macedonians (Amphaxitis)	Athena / horse	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, no. 82	Ph+P
AE	Macedonians (Amphaxitis)	Poseidon / horse	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, no. 79	Ph+P
AE	Macedonians (Amphaxitis)	Apollo / tripod	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, no. 99	Ph+P
AE	Macedonians (Amphaxitis)	Shield / helmet	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, no. 112	Ph+P
AE	Macedonians (Bottiaia)	Zeus / thunderbolt	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, no. 148	Ph+P

Monogram HP

Metal/ Denomination	Issuing authority	Type	References	Date
AE	Philip V	Herakles / harpa	<i>ZfN</i> 42, no. 25	c. 183-179
AE	Perseus	Herakles / rider	<i>SNG</i> Münch. 1211	c. 179-173
AE	Perseus	Shield / harpa	<i>SNG</i> Münch. 1214	c. 179-173
AR 4drs	Perseus	Perseus / eagle	<i>ZfN</i> 38, no. 15	c. 173-172/1
AR 5obol, 2 ½ obol	Botteatai	Shield / prow	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, nos 116, 121	Ph+P
AE	Macedonians	Strymon / trident	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, no. 62	Ph+P
AE	Macedonians	Poseidon / club	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, no. 42	Ph+P
AE	Pella	Pan / Athena	<i>AMNG</i> 3.2., pl. XVIII, 27	Ph+P
AR	First meris	Artemis / club	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, nos 162, 164-7, 169-170	Post 168

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Monogram NK

Metal/ Denomination	Issuing authority	Type	References	Date
AR 4drs, 2drs, dr	Philip V	Shield, Perseus / club	<i>ZfN</i> 40, nos 13-14, 19-20, 26-27	c. 183/2-179
AR 4obols	Macedonians	Shield / helmet	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, nos 1, 2	c. 183/2-179
AE	Macedonians (Amphaxitis)	Dionysos / goats	<i>AMNG</i> 3.1, no. 83	Ph+P

ICONOGRAPHY

Amphipolis, capital of the first district, controlled the mines of the Pangaion, and had an important numismatic production since its foundation as an Athenian colony²⁰; after the annexation of the region by Philip II, it became one of the main royal mints. The choice of the type of Artemis Tauropolos on the reverse of the tetradrachms under discussion can be easily explained. Her cult is testified by various literary²¹, epigraphic²² and numismatic²³

20. C. LORBER, *Amphipolis. The Civic Coinage in Silver and Gold*, Los Angeles 1990.

21. Diodorus 18.4.5; Livy XLIV.4.

22. HATZOPOULOS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), II, p. 49-50, no. 29 (with earlier bibliography); *Ergon* 1978 [1979], p. 16-17, fig. 18; p. 21-22, fig. 23 (= *BullÉpigr* [1979], p. 271); *ADelt* 26 (1971), I, p. 125, note 16; *SEG* 27 (1977), 245.

23. *AMNG* 3.2, pl. 9, nos 7-9, 17 (Hellenistic issues of Amphipolis); pl. 10 nos 12, 15-20, 22-24, pl. 11 nos 1-2, 4-6; *RPC* I, 1626-1641; *RPC* II, 338-341 (provincial issues of Amphipolis).

sources at Amphipolis²⁴ and her sanctuary, the Tauropolion, served a political function as it was used for the erection of public documents²⁵. The choice of Artemis Tauropolos as a coin type underlines the civic identity of this issue.

The obverse type of Zeus wearing an oak wreath however, is encountered on royal coinage. Although it was not a traditional Macedonian type, it was introduced on three successive bronze issues of Philip V²⁶. The oak wreath, on the other hand, was a very common motif used to encircle royal emblems on the reverse of bronze and silver issues in the name of the last two Antigonids²⁷. The connection of the type of Zeus wearing an oak wreath with Epiros is hard to escape. The oak was the sacred tree of Zeus at Dodona and the oak wreath a characteristic attribute of Zeus Dodonaios or Naos, encountered as a coin type on issues of Dodone, Kassope and the Epirotic Koinon²⁸. The staters struck by the Epirotic Koinon, a republican institution established after the fall of the Aiakid dynasty, bear Zeus Dodonaios and Dione on the obverse and a charging bull within oak wreath on the reverse²⁹. It is worth noting that the setting and types of these coins show similarities with the Tauropolos tetradrachms, perhaps one of the earliest 'non regal' coinages of the Macedonian kingdom.

The introduction of an Epirotic type in Macedonia during the reign of Philip V certainly deserves an explanation. Philip was the son of Demetrius II and Chryseis, commonly known as Phthia³⁰, a daughter of Alexander and Olympias, both children of Pyrrhos. The marriage of Demetrius II to Phthia was a form of alliance between Epiros and Macedonia to confront the Aitolean threat; Philip was an offspring of this marriage and the only male descendant of the dynasty of Pyrrhos. After the death of Demetrios, Phthia was remarried to Antigonos Doson, uncle and regent for the young Philip, and the political ties of the two states were once more strengthened.

In the early years of the reign of Philip V, during the Symmachic war, the sanctuaries of Dodona and Dion were raided and sacked by the Aitolians; this was followed by reprisals of Philip V at Thermos in 218 BC and it has been assumed that, from the spoils of Thermos³¹,

24. J. PAPASTAVROU, *Amphipolis. Geschichte und Prosopographie*, Klio, Beiheft 37, 1963, p. 51-52; LORBER, *op.cit.* (n. 20), p. 12-13. The view that Artemis Tauropolos should be identified with the Thracian Bendis has been questioned by A. FOL, *LIMC* II 1, p. 771 (Artemis in Thracia). For the iconography of Artemis Tauropolos see: *LIMC* II 1, nos 700-704.

25. HATZOPOULOS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), II, nos 9 and 29.

26. Zeus / Pan: *ZfN* 42, 1932, p. 226-227, no. 4 = *AMNG* 3.2, pl. 35 no. 1 (dated by Mamroth to 217 BC); Zeus / Athena: *ZfN* 42, 1932, nos 10-11 = *AMNG* 3.2, pl. 34, no. 22 (dated by Mamroth to 211-197 BC); Zeus / Rider: *ZfN* 42, 1932, no. 15 = *AMNG* 3.2, pl. 34, no. 21.

27. *AMNG* 3.2, pl. 34, nos 17-18, 29, pl. 35, nos 5-7, 11, 23-27.

28. P. R. FRANKE, *Die antiken Münzen von Epirus*, Wiesbaden (1961), pls 2-3 (Dodone), pls 7-8 (Kassope), pls 17-34 (Koinon).

29. On the staters of the Epirotic Koinon: FRANKE, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 28), pls 17-19; O. MØRKHOLM, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*, Cambridge 1991, pl. 35, no. 522.

30. On Phthia see: N. HAMMOND, F. WALBANK, *A History of Macedonia* III, Oxford 1988, p. 338, n. 1.

31. For the sack of Dodona by the Aitolians in 219: Polybios 4.67.1-4 and for the reprisals of Philip V in Thermos in 218 BC: Polybios 5.7.6-7, 5.8.3-9.

Philip helped the Epirotes to reconstruct their sanctuary³². Archaeological investigation has shown that the reconstruction of the sanctuary at Dodona after the Aitolian destruction was extensive³³. Thereafter the sanctuary underwent a period of great vigour and prosperity and the Naia, the games held in honour of Zeus Naos³⁴, met a panhellenic appeal. The games had probably been inaugurated by Pyrrhos and a victory of the royal chariot of Ptolemy I and Berenike in the beginning of the third century has been recorded³⁵. During the first decades of the second century, possibly around 192, the games were so renowned that they were recognised as *agon stephanites*³⁶. The use of the type of Zeus Naos or Dodonaios on Macedonian coinage therefore could perhaps be understood, not only as an indication to the close political relations between Epiros and Macedonia, but further as a reference of Macedonian participation in the Epirotic games³⁷.

32. According to Mamroth (*ZfN* 42, 1932, p. 226-227, no. 4) this event was commemorated on bronze issues of Philip V bearing the head of Zeus Dodonaios, which he has therefore dated to c. 217 BC. The author has also observed (*op. cit.*, p. 227, n. 1) that the head of Zeus on some of these bronzes resembles very closely to the head of Zeus on the Taupolos issue. However, this is an observation that we have not been able to confirm.

33. D. EVANGELIDES, S. DAKARIS, *AEphem*, 1959 [1964], *passim*, esp. p. 151; P. CABANES, *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine (272-167 BC)*, Paris 1976, p. 329-336; S. DAKARIS, *Δωδώνη*, Athens 1993.

34. On the Naia see: P. CABANES, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 33), p. 336-341.

35. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 5.203.

36. For the date of the transformation of the games see : R. ETIENNE, "Les Cyclades et L'Épire: Rapports épistolaire et ambassade à l'époque hellénistique", in P. CABANES (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité, Actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand (22-25 octobre 1984)*, Adosa 1987, p. 175-177.

37. A parallel case can be seen in the use of the head of Zeus Olympios on tetradrachms of Philip II after the victory of his horse at Olympia. G. LE RIDER, *Le monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe II*, Paris 1977, p. 364.

CATALOGUE

- Obv.:* Head of Zeus in oak wreath, r.
- Rev.:* Artemis Tauropolos in a long garment and a short torch in each hand, riding on a bull, l. The head of the bull is facing and adorned with a fillet.
MAKE-ΔONΩN ΠΡΩΤΗΣ.
- Below: monogram ΠΑ, ΜΕ
O1 – R1 1. Sinope Museum 2.17.70. 16.60 gms, 12h.
Ordu Hoard 983.
- Below: monograms ΑΕ, ΜΕ
O2 – R2 2. Berlin 649/18. 16.56 gms, 12h.
AMNG 3.1, p. 53, no. 154.
- Below: monograms ΑΕ, ΠΑ
O2 – R3 3. Naples 6506. 16.50 gms.
AMNG 3.1, p. 53, no. 155, pl. II,1 = *AMNG* 3.2, p. 6, no. 39, pl. III,1 = Boehringer, pl. 9, 6 = *LIMC* II 2, 703.
- Below: monograms ΝΚ, ΗΡ, ΜΑΡ
O3 – R4 4. London BM 1968-12-7-1. 15.50 gms, 12h.
Price, Larissa hoard 211.
5. New York ANS 1968.250.1. 16.62 gms, 12h.
Price, Larissa hoard 212.
6. Leu 50/1990, 125 (= Leu 22/1979, 84 = Morkholm 602). 16.82 gms, 12h.
Price, Larissa hoard 213.
7. Alpha Bank 5700 (ex Ghertsos collection). 14.87 gms, 12h.
Price, Larissa hoard 214.
MAKE-ΔON-ΩN ΠΡΩΤΗΣ
- O3 – R5 8. Banque de France (ex Leu 13/1975, 144). 16.93 gms, 12h.
Price, Larissa hoard 216.
9. Paris CM 1971/975. 15.03 gms.
Price, Larissa hoard 215? The specimen in Paris probably derives from the Larissa hoard, but the weight reported by Price is 15.54 gms.



