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NUMISMATIQUE
ET DE SIGILLOGRAPHIE
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VOOR NUMISMATIEK EN ZEGELKUNDE

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L'ENSEIGNEMENT, DE LA FORMATION ET DE
LA RECHERCHE DU MINISTÈRE DE LA
COMMUNAUTÉ FRANÇAISE ET DU
MINISTÈRE
VAN DE VLAAMSE GEMEENSCHAP

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EN VAN DE DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE DE
L'ENSEIGNEMENT, DE LA FORMATION ET
DE LA RECHERCHE DU MINISTÈRE
DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ FRANÇAISE

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BRUXELLES BRUSSEL
A HOARD OF WESTERN GREEK AND PSEUDO-RHODIAN SILVER

Plates I-II

This hoard is reported to have been discovered in summer 1995 some five or six km from Amphilochia on the road leading west to Vonitsa on the southern shore of the Ambrakian Gulf in Akarnania. The following catalogue describes the 47 coins from the hoard of which we have photographs. After it are described a further four coins which were said to be part of the hoard, but of which we have no photographs, together with two coins from a German auction catalogue which may also have belonged to the hoard.

CATALOGUE

All coins are illustrated on Plates I-II.

CORINTH, c. 325-315 BC

Obv. Pegasos l.; below, qoppa.
Rev. Head of Aphrodite l. in sakkos; to l. of neck, I.
1. 2.42 g 03 Worn.

CORCYRA

Obv. Pegasos r.; below, Ἰ.
Rev. Head of Aphrodite r., hair rolled below taenia; behind neck, B.
Reduced drachms. BMC Thessaly etc., p. 138, 392-3.
2. 1.46 g 01
3. 1.61 g 08 Same rev. die as 4 and 5.
4. 1.43 g 11 Same obv. die as 5-7; same rev. die as 3 and 5.
5. 1.51 g 02 Same obv. die as 4, 6-7; same rev. die as 3 and 4.
6. 1.53 g 03 Same obv. die as 4-5, 7; same rev. die as 7-9.
7. 1.49 g 02 Same obv. die as 4-6; same rev. die as 6, 8-9.
8. 1.21 g 12 Same rev. die as 6-7, 9.
9. 1.50 g 09 Same rev. die as 6-8.

Obv. Pegasos l.; below, Ἐ. O.
Rev. Head of Aphrodite l., hair confined by crossing cords; behind, ΑΦΩ.
Reduced drachms.
10. 1.49 g 01 BMC Thessaly etc., p. 138, 387-8.
12. 1.14 g 02 As last. Chipped and worn.

Obv. Pegasos l.
Rev. Head of Aphrodite l., hair rolled and also loose on neck; in front, Ἐ.
Reduced drachms. SNG Copenhagen Corcyra 206.
13. 1.40 g 06 Same rev. die as 14.
14. 1.48 g 10 Same rev. die as 13.
Obv. Pegasos l.; below, uncertain mark.
Rev. Head of Aphrodite l., hair rolled; snake-like locks emerge from crown; large crest over forehead; in front, remainder of monogram Ἐ.
15. 1.99 g 11.
This coin is remarkable for its unusual style and high weight.

LEUKAS? (Otherwise, Corcyra or another northwestern mint)

Obv. Pegasos r.; below, cornear.
Rev. Laureate head of Apollo r.; in front, ΕΦ.
Reduced drachm. SNG Fitzwilliam 2760; SNG Copenhagen Corinth 157.
16. 1.45 g 06.

Obv. Pegasos r.; below, cornear.
Rev. Laureate head of Apollo r.; in front, ΕΧ.
Reduced drachms. SNG Fitzwilliam 2761; BMC Corinth etc., p. 144, 17-18.
17. 1.55 g 11 Same rev. die as 18 and 19.
18. 1.37 g 04 Same rev. die as 17 and 19.
19. 1.32 g 07 Same rev. die as 17 and 18.
20. 1.49 g 07.

Obv. Pegasos r.; no symbol below.
Rev. Laureate head of Apollo r.; in front, Ē.
Reduced drachms. BMC Corinth etc., p. 144, 19-20.
21. 1.44 g 10 Same rev. die as 22.
22. 1.43 g 10 Same rev. die as 21.

Obv. Pegasos r.; below, cornear.
Rev. Laureate head of Apollo r.; in front, Ē.
Reduced drachms.
23. 1.39 g 03.
24. 1.56 g 09.

For the suggested attribution of nos. 16-24, see the note in SNG Fitzwilliam: 'No. 2760 was found at Leukas, which makes it possible that this issue of small silver was minted in this town'. In CH 4, 43, two of the three reduced drachms (Pegasos r./laureate head of Apollo l.; behind, uncertain monogram: fig. 6) are described as 'Leucas?', presumably by M. J. Price and for the same reason. It should however be noted that there is another quite common variety, not found in the present hoard as recorded, which has on obverse a laureate head of Apollo r. (of similar style to the above) and on reverse Pegasos r. with below the monogram Ē and the standard Corcyrean monogram Κ (BMC Thessaly etc., p. 138, 383-5; SNG Fitzwilliam 2665-6; SNG Copenhagen Corinth 210-11, etc.); the location of the Apollo head on the obverse is exceptional for a variety bearing the monogram of Corcyra.

PALAIROS? (Otherwise, Corcyra or another northwestern mint)

Obv. Pegasos r.; below, trident-head.
Rev. Female head l., hair rolled and loose on neck; behind, Π. Reduced drachm. SNG Fitzwilliam 2772-3.
25. 1.33 g 02.

UNCERTAIN NORTHWESTERN MINTS

Obv. Pegasos l.
Rev. Head l. (Apollo or Aphrodite?), hair rolled and loose on neck; neck with rolls of fat; behind, Π.
Reduced drachms. *SNG Copenhagen* Corinth 154.

26. 1.40 g 09 Same rev. die as 27-8. Chipped.
27. 1.47 g 11 Same obv. die as 28; same rev. die as 26, 28.
28. 1.53 g 06 Same obv. die as 27; same rev. die as 26-7.
29. 1.57 g 09.

*Obv.* Pegasos r.; below, ΑΥ.

*Rev.* Female head r., hair tightly braided and drawn back into a bun tied with ribbon; ornamental taenia.

Reduced drachms. *BMC Corinth etc.*, p. 145-6, 27-9; *SNG Copenhagen* Corinth 161.

30. 1.30 g 05.
31. 1.48 g 05.
32. 1.51 g 05.

*Obv.* Pegasos l.

*Rev.* Female head r., hair tightly braided and drawn back into a bun; behind, Α.

Reduced drachm. *SNG Copenhagen* Corinth 153.

33. 1.46 g 05.

*Obv.* Pegasos r.; below, Ά.

*Rev.* Head of Dionysos r. in ivy-wreath; behind, Ά.


34. 1.47 g 01 Same rev. die as 35-6.
35. 1.47 g 11 Same rev. die as 34, 36.
36. 1.43 g 11 Same rev. die as 34-5.
37. 1.07 g 01 Broken.

*Obv.* Pegasos l.

*Rev.* Head of Aphrodite l., hair rolled; wears necklace; crown of head off flan; sign behind head, if any, not visible.

Reduced drachm.

38. 1.71 g 12.

*Obv.* Pegasos l.

*Rev.* Head of Aphrodite l., wearing earring and necklace, hair bound with sphendone; in front, star; behind, uncertain monogram.

Reduced drachm. Cf. *SNG Copenhagen* Corinth 152.

39. 1.38 g 09.
Obo. Pegasos r.; below, \( \times \) ?
Rev. Female head l., hair rolled, crest over forehead; behind, uncertain monogram: II + ?.
Reduced drachm.
40. 1.40 g 07.

Obo. Pegasos r.
Rev. Laureate head of Apollo l.; in front, \( \Psi \); behind, fish-hook.
Reduced drachm. BMC Corinth etc., p. 144, 23.
41. 1.41 g 01.

**EPIROTE REPUBLIC**

Obo. Laureate head of Zeus r.; in front, \([--]\Theta \Sigma \)
Rev. Eagle standing r. on thunderbolt; AΠEΙ/ΠΩΤΑΝ; all in oak-wreath.

P.R. Franke, *Die antiken Münzen von Epirus*, Wiesbaden, 1961, Group II; this series not recorded.
42. 4.00 g 11.

Within Group II of Franke's arrangement, only series 52, 53 and 54 have the obverse name to the right of the head. The weight of this coin conforms better with the weights of the later series 52-69 (4.10-4.50 g) than with those of the earlier series 1-51 (4.80-5.10 g); see Franke, p. 159. Franke dates the group as a whole to 234/233 - 168 BC.

**AKARMANIAN LEAGUE**

Obo. Head of man-headed bull (Achelous) r., beardless; behind, illegible name.
Rev. Apollo Aktios seated l. with bow; AKAPΝΑΝ[ΩΝ].
43. 1.50 g 01 Chipped.

**PSEUDO-RHODIAN DRACHMS**

Obo. Head of Helios three quarter facing l.
Rev. Rose flanked by P-O; to r., bud; to l., caduceus; above, AΙΝΗΤΩΡ.
44. 2.45 g 05.
Obv. Head of Helios three quarter facing l.; in round countermark, tripod.

Rev. Rose, flanked by P-O; to r., bud; to l., dolphin; above, ΛΥΣΩΝ.


45. 2.44 g 02.

The tripod countermark is not recorded on any other pseudo-Rhodian drachm; it is not the lyre (chelys) countermark applied to pseudo-Rhodian drachms of this series which circulated in Lycia (ibid. p. 9-10).

Obv. Head of Helios three quarter facing l.

Rev. Rose; P-O around stalk; bud on either side; to l., dolphin; above, ΣΙΜΓΛΟΣ.


46. 1.89 g 11.

Obv. Head of Helios three quarter facing l.

Rev. Rose; P-O around stalk; to r., bud; to l., thunderbolt; above, [ΣΩ]ΠΟΛΙΣ.


47. 2.56 g 11.

The hoard was also reported to have contained:
- 1 didrachm of Rhodes (no further details)
- 1 drachm of Larisa (no further details)
- 1 drachm of Dyrrhachion (no further details)
- 1 didrachm of Leukas with magistrate ΑΕΩΝ

Two further reduced drachms from northwestern mints offered in Lanz auction 74 (1995), 184 and 185, may also have belonged to the hoard, although this is far from certain:

(184) Obv. Pegasos r.; below, trident-head.

Rev. Female head l., hair rolled and loose on neck; behind ΑΑΑ. As 25 above (Palairos?).

1.50 g 05. Plate II, A.

(185) Obv. Pegasos r.; below, bunch of grapes.

Rev. Head of Dionysos r. in ivy-wreath; behind, А. BMC Thessaly etc., p. 139, 395.

1.51 g 08. Plate II, B.
The four pseudo-Rhodian drachms are the freshest coins in the hoard (the apparent wear on no. 47 is probably attributable to worn dies rather than to circulation), and given that nos. 45-46 certainly and no. 47 probably (1) were struck during the Third Macedonian War, it is reasonable to suggest that the hoard was buried during or not long after that event.

The hoard has two features of particular interest. The first is the light which it throws on the northwestern Greek drachms of Corinthian types and reduced weight, of which it contains 40 in some 17 different varieties. These traditionally appear in catalogues in part as Corcyrean, in part as uncertain Corinthian, although some with cornear symbol on obverse have tentatively been given to Leukas (see nos. 16-20, 23-4 above; also nos. 21-2 without cornear), and others with monogram \( \text{ΔΡ} \) on reverse to Palairos in western Akanania near Leukas (see no. 25 above). Some three or four varieties appear in the hoard with the standard Corcyrean monograms; the attributions of the other varieties deserve further study, not attempted here. In this connection, it is perhaps worth noting that Leukas and Palairos are close to the hoard's find-spot.

Head in \( \text{HN}^2 \), p. 327, assigned Corcyrean silver of four denominations to the date bracket 229-48 BC, 229 BC being the year in which Corecyra placed itself under Roman protection (Polybios 2.11.5-6). Their order, description, and dating can now be corrected. First of the four were the drachms of full weight (c. 2.5 g), as \( \text{BMC Thessaly etc.} \), p. 137, 378-80 (\( \text{Θ} \)) and 381-2 (\( \text{Θ} \)). These copied, in types and weight standard, the common fourth century Pegasos/Aphrodite head drachms of Corinth, \( \text{BMC Corinth etc.} \), p. 18-19, 181-190. The hoard contained none of these full weight drachms of Corcyra, but did have one considerably worn fourth century drachm of Corinth.

For the second denomination, which forms the bulk of the present hoard, the types Pegasos/head were retained, but the weight was reduced to c. 1.8 g. As is evident from the concave surface on which, in most cases, the heads of Aphrodite (and Apollo and Dionysos) are struck (2), the original Corinthian format with Pegasos on the

(1) This is a reasonable assumption given that coins of this issue with Sopolis + thunderbolt and/or other pseudo-Rhodian issues with which it is associated by die-link and stylistic similarity (Sopolis + club, Kallisthenes + thunderbolt, Kallisthenes + club) occur in fresh condition in several hoards from that period: \( \text{IGCH} \) 228, 231, 232, 237; \( \text{CH} \) 8, 419, 423 425.

(2) Exception: \( \text{BMC Thessaly etc.} \), p. 138, 383-6, not in this hoard.
obverse is maintained. The weight loss and wear of the undoubtedly Corcyrean reduced drachms in our hoard by comparison with the weights of other published specimens (3) suggests that they were struck several decades before the end of the Third Macedonian War, probably during the last decades of the third century (4).

The third and fourth denominations are absent from the hoard. This may be attributed to chance, or to the principle of homogeneity on which coins were often assembled for hoarding; or, perhaps most likely, they may not have been struck until after the burial of our hoard during or shortly after the Third Macedonian War. On the earliest issues of the third denomination, struck to c. 5.08 g, the types remain Pegasos/Dionysos head (SNG Fitzwilliam 2654-6); the types are then transposed (BMC Thessaly etc., p. 135-6, 349-366) so that in Hellenistic mode the head appears on the obverse and Pegasos on the reverse; the weight is slightly reduced, to c. 4.8 g. On issues which seem late on the grounds of debased style Pegasos on the reverse stands on the prow of a galley (BMC Thessaly etc., p. 136, 367-72). Here it is worth noting the remarkable typological similarity of the denarius of Q. Titius of 90 BC (RRC 341/2) with types Liber/Pegasos to some examples of these later Dionysos/ Pegasos coins of Corcyra: Liber and Dionysos have similar striated hair and ivy leaves, and the occurrence of Pegasos is unexpected in the Roman series where his legs are supported on a cartouche corresponding to the prow in the same position on the Corcyrean coins. This suggests that the apparently intermittent striking of the third Corcyrean denomination may have continued into the first century BC. The fourth denomination, Dione veiled/Pegasos in wreath (c. 3.1 g, BMC Thessaly etc., p. 137, 373-7), has the head on the obverse, like most varieties of the third. The monogram Θ which occurs on issues of both denominations (BMC Thessaly etc., p. 136-7, 366 and 377) suggests that they at least partly overlap.

The second interesting feature of the hoard is the appearance of pseudo-Rhodian drachms west of the Pindos range. The find-spots, where known, of most hoards from mainland Greece containing

(3) E.g. McClean 5222-3, 1.77g, 1.67g; SNG Hart 634-5, 1.65g, 1.64g; SNG Eoelpidis 1935-6, 1.83g, 1.55g.
(4) Compare the date of 220 BC given to the 1977 Akarnania hoard, CH 4, 43, which contained three reduced drachms of Corcyra and ?Leukas. For the sake of completeness, it is worth mentioning here the purely Roman victoritates and quinarii struck on Corcyra probably in 211-210 BC (RRC 101).
pseudo-Rhodian drachms are east of the Pindos, in Boiotia, Euboia and, particularly, Macedonia and Thessaly (6). This is not surprising given that most of these pseudo-Rhodian drachms appear to have been minted and circulated in central and northern Greece during the Third Macedonian War (6), and that this was where the bulk of military activity during the war took place. There are however two other hoards of similar date from west of the Pindos containing Rhodian and/or pseudo-Rhodian drachms; one was found in 1913 at Metsovo in Epirus (7), the other in 1992 (?) at Rougha, the port of ancient Thyrrheion on the southern coast of the Ambrakian Gulf in Akarnania (8). The whole of the Rougha hoard and the pseudo-Rhodian portion of the Metsovo hoard are summarised in the Appendix. Two points are worth making about them:

(1) The Metsovo and Rougha hoards contained each pseudo-Rhodian drachm with on reverse magistrate’s name Sosigenes, symbol kithara, and letter X in the left field, which are otherwise unknown. Given the large numbers of both rare and common pseudo-Rhodian and Rhodian coins which occur as stray finds and in many hoards (n. 5 above) east of the Pindos, this may be more than coincidence. If so, one might explain the phenomenon either by assuming a mint for these pseudo-Rhodian coins west of the Pindos, although the potential historical circumstances remain obscure, or by supposing that the coins struck in the name of Sosigenes by a pseudo-Rhodian mint east of the Pindos tended for an unknown reason to fall into the hands of travellers to the west, e.g. members of Perseus’ expedition through Epirus, Akarnania and Aitolia in 169 BC, or Roman soldiers returning to Italy after service in the Third Macedonian War.

(2) Both hoards contained a pseudo-Rhodian drachm struck in the name of Hermias. This issue is now known principally from the approximately 2000 specimens in the 1968 Larisa hoard (which were

(5) IGCH 228, 232, 233, 237, 474; CH 6, 36 = 7, 96 = 8, 420; CH 8, 419-424, 426.


(7) IGCH 231.

(8) CH 8, 425. We understand (private information) that the Rougha hoard, the 1993 Vonitsa hoard (CH 8, 431) and the Amphilochia hoard under discussion are unlikely to form part of the same deposit or deposits, although the reported find-spots of all three are within a few kilometers of each other, their dates of burial are similar, and their contents to some degree overlap.
all in uncirculated condition and apparently represented a single payment), and may well have been struck to service the needs of Perseus' army during the Third Macedonian War (9). Before the Rougha and Larisa hoards the only known specimens seem to have been that in the Metsovo hoard, a piece in trade said to have been found in Sicily in the 1970s (10), and a piece of unknown provenance in the ANS. This likewise seems a little odd in view of the many Rhodian and pseudo-Rhodian drachms occurring as stray finds and in hoards east of the Pindos, and again it might be argued that a significant proportion of this particular issue, for a reason not yet determined, found its way into the hands of travellers going west over the Pindos during or after the Third Macedonian War.

APPENDIX: THE METSOVO 1913 AND ROUGHA 1992 HOARDS

Metsovo 1913 (IGCH 231)

P. R. Franke, Zur Finanzpolitik des makedonischen Königs Perseus während des Krieges mit Rom 171-168 v. Chr., in JNG, 1957, p. 35-50; T. Hackens, BCH, 1969, p. 720, n. 3. The pseudo-Rhodian content of this hoard (it contained no genuinely Rhodian coins) was as follows:

Obv. Head of Helios three quarter facing r. or l.
Rev. Rose; bud or buds; to l. or r., symbol; above, name; mostly with ethnic P-O.
1. 2.68 g 11 ΚΑΛΔΙΣΘΕΝΗΣ + club (head r.; P-O).
2. 2.71 g 12 ΚΑΘΩΝ + club (head r.; P-O).
3. 2.74 g 03 ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ + caduceus and ram head (head r.; P-O). Samothrace. NC, 1988, p. 130, no. 9.
4. 2.74 g 12 ΤΕΙΣΙΟΥ + caduceus (head r.; P-O). Samothrace. NC, 1988, p. 129, no. 4.
5. 2.70 g 05 ΕΡΜΙΑΣ, no symbol (head r.; Z-Ω).
6. 2.72 g 09 ΣΩΣΙΓΕΝΗΣ + lyre (head l.; in l. field, X).
7. 2.69 g 12 ΘΑΡΣΙΑΣ + kithara (head r.; no other letters).
8. 2.47 g 01 ΕΥΒΙΟΣ + dolphin (head r.; Λ-Α). Larymna (?). NC, 1995, p. 4, no. 62.

(10) Information supplied to Ashton by a dealer whom he regards as reliable.
9. 2.04 g ΕΥΒΙΟΣ + dolphin (head r.; no other letters). Larymna (?). NC, 1995, p. 4, no. 59.
10. 2.55 g 03 As last. NC, 1995, p. 4, no. 64.
11. 2.63 g 05 ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ + dolphin (head r.; no other letters). Larymna (?). NC, 1995, p. 2, no. 20a.
12. 2.67 g 03 ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ + dolphin (head r.; no other letters). Larymna (?). NC, 1995, p. 3, no. 31.
14. 2.38 g 07 ΠΥΘΕΑΣ + dolphin (head l.; no other letters). Larymna (?). NC, 1995, p. 5, no. 79.
15. 2.58 g 07 ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ, no symbol (head r.; no other letters). Larymna (?). NC, 1995, p. 6, no. 101.

**Rougha 1992 (CH 8, 425)**

This hoard appeared on the Athens market in 1992 and was said to have been found at Rougha, the port of ancient Thyrrheion on the south coast of the Ambrakian Gulf in Akarnania. Its content was as follows:

Rhodes: Alexander tetradrachm c. 200-190.

Rhodes or Pseudo-Rhodes: drachms.

*Obv.* Head of Helios three quarter facing r. or l.
*Rev.* Rose; bud or buds; to l. or r., symbol; above, name; mostly with ethnic P-O.
2. 2.58 g 12 ΓΟΡΓΟΣ + bow in case (head r.; P-O).
3. 2.30 g 01 As last.
4. 2.41 g 01 ΓΟΡΓΟΣ + club (head l.; P-O).
5. 2.84 g 11 ΣΤΑΣΙΩΝ + bow and club (head r.; P-O).
6. 2.49 g 12 ΑΙΝΗΤΩΡ + caduceus (head r.; P-O).
7. 2.61 g 01 As last.
8. 2.49 g 06 ΑΙΝΗΤΩΡ (?) + caduceus (head l.; P-O)
9. 2.44 g 07 ΑΙΝΗΤΩΡ (?) + caduceus (head l.; P-O)
10. 2.43 g 12 ἈΙΝΗΤΩΡ + dog and Φ (head l.; P-O)
11. 2.61 g 11 ΣΩΠΟΛΙΣ + thunderbolt (head l.; P-O)
12. 2.73 g 12 As last.
13. 2.66 g 12 ΚΑΛΛΑΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ + club (head r.; P-O)
14. 2.76 g 12 Uncertain name + club (head l.; P-O)
15. 2.57 g 10 [ΣΩΣΙΓΕΝΗΣ] + lyre (head l.; in l. field, X) (\(^\text{11}'\))
16. 2.72 g 12 ΕΡΜΙΑΣ, Ι-Ω (head r.; no ethnic)
17. 2.54 g 10 ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ, no symbol (head r.; no ethnic); ΛΛ countermark. Larymna? NC, 1995, p. 6, 100.

(11) The name on the coin in the Rougha hoard is off-flan, but the coin shares a reverse die with the Metsovo coin on which the name is clear. The obverse dies are different.
HOARD OF WESTERN GREEK AND PSEUDO-RHODIAN SILVER
HOARD OF WESTERN GREEK AND PSEUDO-RHODIAN SILVER