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Who's killing whom on the coinage of Patraos of Paionia

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Figure 1. Map showing the location of Paionia.

One series of silver tetradrachms issued in the name of Patraos, king of Paionia (c.335-35 BC), stands apart from its contemporaries in that the reverse type appears to show two humans in combat rather than the mythological or divine entities who dominated the iconography of most

coinages of that period. This paper will explore the identity of the combatants and discuss the significance of this unusual type.

The Paionians were a Balkan tribal group who migrated down the Axios river valley to the Aegean coast at the end of the Bronze Age (c.1150 BC).

Homer listed them in his catalogue of Trojan allies, initially under the command of Pyraichmes, and, later, under his nephew Asteropaios. Homer's Paionians controlled a great swath of territory to either side of the Axios river, much of which they were to lose in the sixth and fifth centuries BC to the Achaemenid Persians and, later, to the Macedonians.¹ Whilst exposed to the Greek world during the Iron Age, by the Classical period the Paionians had been pushed back into the upper Axios and Strymon basins where, from the fifth to the first centuries BC, they formed a distinct culture group located between the Macedonians, Dardanians, Illyrians and Thracians (Fig. 1). Nevertheless, Paionian material culture suggests that by the fourth century BC their aristocracy had assumed a Homeric style heroic identity and a limited Hellenised veneer, perhaps through the filter of the neighbouring Macedonian court.²

Throughout the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods, the tribal Paionian state was ruled by independent kings who produced royal silver coinage struck on a local weight standard – sometimes referred to as ‘reduced Phoenician’ – of *c.*12.93g to the tetradrachm. The first Paionian king whose name is known, Agis, pursued aggressive anti-Macedonian policies but died in 359/8 BC, just as the young Philip II was asserting his control over Macedonia. Agis was succeeded by Lykkeios who continued to follow an

aggressive policy against his southern neighbour although he was ultimately subdued and, by 349 BC, it is clear that Paionia had become one of several Balkan kingdoms overshadowed by the burgeoning Macedonian empire.³ Merker states that ‘[f]rom the numismatic evidence we discover that he [Lykkeios] was succeeded by Patraos [*c.*335 BC] who, like his predecessor, struck silver coins. This is all we can say with any certainty about Patraos ...’⁴ Three coin denominations, all of silver, were produced during the reign of Patraos: tetrobols, drachms and tetradrachms. This paper deals with the most common of the two tetradrachm reverse types which depicted a horseman attacking a fallen warrior (Fig. 2):



Figure 2. AR tetradrachm, Patraos (Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, auction 152, lot 1350, October 2006).

- Obv:* Head of youth (Apollo Derrainos?) r., usually laureate, sometimes wearing plain *tainia* or bare headed.
- Rev:* ΠΑΤΡΑΟΥ; Horseman r., wearing crested helmet spearing kneeling or fallen warrior l., who carries round shield.

To avoid potential confusion when discussing the reverse type in the present study, the mounted figure will be referred to as 'the horseman', the figure on foot will exclusively be referred to as 'the warrior'. These terms are intrinsically restrictive but should be understood only as an artificial titular division; there is no doubt that the horseman is equally martial in appearance, and, as will be discussed below, at least one accepted reading of the type would see the warrior as a dismounted cavalryman.

It is immediately apparent that the imagery does not fit within any pre-existing mythological framework; both the horseman and the warrior are clearly mortal rather than mythological figures. One of the key indicators of this is that the attributes of the figures are not fixed, but change to produce a number of different combinations. The coin type of Patraos was therefore more akin to the Archaic and Classical coins of the Thraco-Macedonian tribes and of the Macedonian kings preceding Philip II,⁵ than it was to the contemporary coinages of Alexander the Great, his successors and the fourth century BC civic coinages of the Greek world. To put it plainly, the coinage of Patraos was a tribal coinage meant for economic exchanges in the central Balkans, rather than a civic coinage designed to have a universal Hellenic appeal.⁶ How then, removed from the ancient Paionians by both time and space, is the modern audience to establish the identity of the two figures?

The best avenue of investigation lies in an iconographic study of the horseman, the warrior and other comparative data. Different approaches have led to the emergence of three mutually exclusive interpretations in the scholarship of the last half century.

The general identity of the horseman is undisputed. He wears a crested helmet of the Attic form and a *chiton* which, on different dies, is shown with either short or long sleeves. To Classical Greeks, male garments with long sleeves were considered to be characteristic of barbarian, especially Iranian, garb.⁷ However, Alexander the Great was shown wearing a long sleeved *chiton* in the Alexander mosaic from Pompeii although the event depicted (probably the battle of Issos) predates his supposed adoption of Persian dress. Long sleeves also feature on the sarcophagus of Abdalonymos from Sidon, worn by all of the clothed Macedonians including the king (Fig. 3).⁸ It may therefore be possible to consider the long sleeved *chiton* as a part of the traditional attire of the Macedonians and perhaps other Balkan population groups. The horseman is never depicted wearing trousers, the truest mark of barbarism from which even Alexander abstained. On some examples, he is shown wearing a Greek-style cuirass, commonly shown fastened over the shoulders and with *pteryges* protecting the upper thighs. He holds a couched spear which he uses to attack the fallen warrior. There can be no doubt that the horseman



Figure 3. Alexander Sarcophagus (Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Istanbul).

is the principal focus and hero of the type – not only is he the central figure but he is also the obvious victor in the martial struggle against the warrior. By way of comparison, the early-fourth century BC Dexileos stele from Athens commemorates the deceased aristocrat, Dexileos, who is shown on horseback, triumphing over a fallen opponent (Fig. 4). Within a Paionian context the horseman can be understood as being a representative of the aristocratic Paionian elite, a group who are known to have fought on horseback with distinction during the eastern campaigns of Alexander the Great.

The most popular interpretation of the Patraos coin type stresses the link between the Paionian king and his Macedonian contemporary and explains

the type as a visual narrative of one well documented incident involving Ariston, commander of Alexander the Great's Paionian cavalry. The single Paionian squadron was 150-strong when it crossed to Asia in 334 BC where it served principally as a light scouting force. The squadron's exploits can be traced up to and including the battle of Gaugamela in 331 BC, after which it ceased to appear in the written sources.⁹ The Paionians occupied a position of honour on the right wing at Alexander's three great pitched battles, Granikos, Issos and Gaugamela, in close proximity to the Macedonian king and his companions. The Paionian commander, Ariston, *may* have been a member of the ruling house, perhaps even a brother of Patraos and/or the



Figure 4. Dexileos stele (Kerameikos Archaeological Museum, Athens).

father of Patraos' successor, Audoleon. If so, his presence with Alexander may have served to ensure the compliance of his countrymen with Macedonian overlordship.¹⁰

Following Alexander's crossing of the Tigris in 331 BC, the Roman historian Quintus Curtius Rufus tells us that the disordered Macedonian vanguard was attacked by a body of one thousand Persian cavalry under the command of Satropates (otherwise unknown). Alexander ordered Ariston and his squadron to charge the Persians

at full speed and the latter broke and fled. The valiant charge of the Paionians was highly praised, particularly the actions of Ariston who slew Satropates personally. The Persian commander was first stabbed through the throat and, after being unhorsed, was decapitated and his head presented to Alexander amid great applause. At that point, the narrative episode was picked up by Plutarch who maintained that when Ariston presented the head to Alexander he stated 'In my country, O King, such a gift is rewarded with a golden cup.' 'Yes,' replied a

laughing Alexander, ‘an empty one; but I will pledge your health with one which is full of neat wine.’¹¹

Taking the Ariston and Satropates episode as the high point of Paionian history, Merker declares ‘... we soon realise that the man on foot [on the reverse of Patraos’ tetradrachms] is wearing the national costume of the Persians... we can consider the Paionian coin type as a representation of the epic battle of Ariston and Satropates.’¹² According to Merker, the horseman is not just any Paionian, but a prince of the ruling dynasty. His opponent, the warrior, is the unhorsed Satropates moments before his decapitation. Such a correlation between historical sources and material culture presents a neat explanation of an otherwise elusive iconographical type and has found much support among historians.¹³

However, the Ariston and Satropates interpretation is a testament to the tyrannical hold that textual studies still maintain over other branches of ancient world studies. It rests on two fundamental assumptions: firstly, that Ariston was so closely related to Patraos that celebrating his victory would not undermine the king’s position; and secondly, that, as there are no historical records of events in Paionia during the reign of Patraos, it must therefore be accepted that nothing of note happened at all.¹⁴

While there is no reason to advance the suggestion that Ariston was unrelated to Patraos – Plutarch’s account

of the Satropates’ affair certainly makes it clear that he was neither Greek nor Macedonian – the belief that he was a Paionian prince must remain an untestable assumption. Secondly, there is little reason to suppose that among the Paionians this one episode was considered to be of more national significance than any other event in the reign of Patraos. The ancient historians record the Satropates episode because of its proximity to the person of Alexander the Great, not because it was important to the Paionians. Alexander is in trouble, Alexander orders Ariston to attack, Alexander is generous with his reward. Beyond the fact that Paionians collected the heads of fallen enemy notables, the ancient passages tell us nothing at all about Paionia.

Furthermore, despite Merker’s clever correlation between the exploits of Ariston and Patraos’ coin type, there are few precedents for actual historical events being illustrated on Greek coins in narrative form. Perhaps the closest examples come from the neighbouring Macedonian court. One of the most common reverse types utilised by Philip II (360/59-336 BC) depicts a naked youth astride a large horse (Fig. 5). The youth wears a *tainia* and carries a palm branch as a sign of victory. The coins are usually interpreted to show Philip’s horse (and jockey) that came first at the Olympic games of 356 BC. Philip received news of the Olympic victory on the same day as his capture of Potidaea, the victory of his *strategos*

Parmenion over the Illyrians and the birth of his son Alexander. According to Plutarch, writing with the advantage of hindsight, the auspicious birthday of Alexander guaranteed his invincibility. However, presuming the interpretation of the so-called jockey coins to be sound, the coin type was no more a symbol of Alexander's birth than it was merely a celebration of Philip's Olympic victory. Rather, the fact that Philip won an Olympic event was an enduring testament to the fact that he was permitted to enter the Olympic games in the first place. The legitimacy of his own and his house's Greekness was thus finally put to rest allowing Philip to develop his plans for pan-Hellenic hegemony. The type is not a visual narrative of Philip's Olympic victory in 356 BC, but is a loaded image symbolic of victory and Philip's place (and perhaps ambitions) within the Greek world. Eight years later, a chariot team owned by Philip again won at Olympia. Subsequent gold issues utilised a racing *biga* as the reverse type which almost certainly carried the same dual overtones exhibited on the jockey coins. However, unlike the silver issues, the gold staters show the chariot in furious action and perhaps come closer to a visual narrative of the event itself (Fig. 6).¹⁵

A third candidate for a historical narrative appears on the mysterious silver dekadrachms commonly referred to as the elephant medallions. These large silver coins were perhaps



Figure 5. AR tetradrachm, Philip II (LHS Numismatik AG, Auction 102, lot 133, April 2008).



Figure 6. AV stater, Philip II (Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 151, lot 352, June 2011).



Figure 7. AR dekadrachm, Alexander III 'Elephant Medallion' (© Trustees of the British Museum).

produced by Alexander the Great or his officials as donatives for his army (or select individuals who served in it), sometime following the battle of the Hydaspes (326 BC), perhaps as late as the mass wedding at Susa (324 BC). The conditions of the issue's production and purpose may be uncertain, but the imagery is quite clear. On the reverse, a Macedonian officer (Alexander the Great) is shown holding one of Zeus' thunderbolts as a symbol of divine power. On the obverse, the same figure is shown on horseback pursuing an elephant bearing a warrior and mahout, both of whom turn back to ward off

the Macedonian attack. The issue is generally seen to represent the battle of the Hydaspes where Alexander led his Macedonians against Poros, king of the Indian state of Paurava, who rode to war on an elephant.¹⁶ Justin, alone of the ancient sources, suggests that Poros intended to confront Alexander in person but provides no details about any ensuing combat. Quintus Curtius Rufus states that Alexander ordered his skirmishers to shower Poros' elephant with missiles and communicated with the Indian king through intermediaries, but only after he was badly wounded and in flight. Arrian and Diodorus Siculus

provide variations of the same version. Plutarch, who claims his account of the battle of the Hydaspes came directly from Alexander's own war diaries, makes no mention of a personal combat between the two kings.¹⁷ Although the only plausible interpretation of the elephant medallions views it as a reference to the battle of the Hydaspes, there is no consensus among the ancient historians which would allow for the imagery to be understood as a direct visual narrative of an actual event, namely a personal encounter between Alexander and Poros.

In reality, none of the examples cited above can be seen as anything more than allusions to historical events – they are not to be understood as an actual historical narrative. The same obviously applies to the victory coinages produced by the likes of Demetrios Poliorketes, Seleukos I Nikator and Antigonos II Gonatos which combine divine figures with physical symbols of triumph (Figs. 8-10). If these well documented historical figures are surrounded by such a haze, what hope is there for events in the reign of Patraos of Paionia (of whom nothing is known)? However, the Patraos reverse type should be seen as allegorical or symbolic rather than a depiction of a historical narrative.

A second interpretation of Patraos' reverse type identifies the warrior as a Thracian tribesman. Speidel claims that the coin '... shows a bare-chested, kilt-clad Thracian infantryman fighting a Paionian horseman from



Figure 8. AR tetradrachm, Demetrios Poliorketes (Spink, Auction 1012, lot 1242, December 2010).



Figure 9. AR tetradrachm, Seleukos I Nikator (Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, auction 180, lot 219, October 2009).



Figure 10. Æ unit, Antigonos II Gonatos (Classical Numismatic Group, mail bid sale 76, lot 308, September 2007).

Macedonia. The Thracian tries to dive beneath the enemy's steed.'¹⁸ Speidel's interpretation was developed to support his arguments regarding the universal occurrence of warriors prone to battle frenzy among the Indo-Europeans. There is little corroborating evidence to read the coin type in such a manner and the interpretation has attracted little in the way of a scholarly following to date.

A third interpretation views the warrior as a Macedonian. It has found rather non-committal support among academics and has been primarily adopted by numismatists rather than historians. The *SNG Copenhagen supplement* volume is the most explicit in its adoption of the Macedonian identity describing the horseman as '... attacking fallen Macedonian soldier.' Earlier, the compiler of the Sotheby 1969 *Catalogue of the Paeonian hoard* had already alluded to the same interpretation: 'The significance of the headdress and weapons of the fallen foot soldier – the Macedonian *kausia*, or crested helmet and the Macedonian shield – has not been fully explained, though the meaning would appear implicit.' Saatsoglou-Paliadeli posits that the *kausia* which is sometimes worn by the warrior should be seen as a quasi-royal attribute and thus views the warrior as a personification of Macedonian kingship and by extension, the personification of Macedonia itself. She extends this same interpretation, quite plausibly, to the famous fresco of Macedonia and Syria (sometimes

interpreted as Antigonos II and Phila) from the house of Fannius Sinistor at Boscoreale (Fig. 11).¹⁹

The identification of the warrior as Macedonian (or Macedonia) obviously presents a picture of Paionian-Macedonian relations which is fundamentally opposed to Merker and his followers. Rather than Patraos using his coin type to celebrate his countrymen's service under the great Macedonian king, it flaunts Paionian aggression and presents the Macedonians as foes who have been vanquished in the past and/or who are likely to be vanquished in the future. Returning again to the ancient literary sources, we find that as often as not, the Paionians were in conflict with their southern neighbours. We read, for example, that the Paionians under King Agis took advantage of the Macedonian dynastic uncertainty throughout 360-359 BC to pillage Macedonia and generally to show contempt for its population. In 357-356 BC, his successor Lykkeios allied with the neighbouring Illyrians and Thracians to again make war on Macedonia.²⁰

Hammond's suggestion that Paionia was incorporated directly within the Macedonian State under Philip II and his successors is groundless. Demosthenes and Isokrates both suggest that Paionia was made subject to Philip II; however, under Lykkeios (c.356-335 BC), Patraos (c.335-315 BC) and Audoleon (c.315-286 BC), the Paionians continued their production of autonomous silver



Figure 11. Fresco from the house of Fannius Sinistor at Boscoreale (Naples National Archaeological Museum).

coinage, a privilege denied to entities absorbed into the Macedonian empire.²¹ The death of Alexander the Great perhaps marked the end of any Paionian subservience to Macedonia. Antipater, Alexander's European viceroy, was declared *strategos autokrator* over the Macedonians, Hellenes, Illyrians, Triballians and Agrianes. The Paionians

are notably absent from the list of Macedon's northern neighbours and Merker considers that they took the opportunity presented by Alexander's death to regain full autonomy. In the following generation, the Paionian king, Audoleon, committed to a further anti-Macedonian alliance along with Pyrrhos of Epeiros and Bardyllis II of Illyria

(292 BC).²²

As we have seen, the three interpretations of the warrior figure are based on his attributes and trappings. His costume has been identified as generically Persian, as a kilt-clad Thracian or as a *kausia*-wearing Macedonian. The three costume types would seem to be mutually exclusive and, by extension, so are the overall interpretations. In order to proportionately quantify the different iconographic sets used by the warrior, a representative sample of 405 tetradrachms of Patraos was collated (Appendix A). To avoid the loaded interpretation of previous studies, only illustrated examples of published coins have been included, as well as unillustrated coins that are explicitly stated to have been struck by the same reverse dies as those of the illustrated examples. Some duplication of the sample coins is inevitable but exact numbers are difficult to ascertain. The largest published corpus of Patraos' tetradrachms is the Sotheby 1969 sale of the so-called Paeonian hoard. While most identified dies were illustrated in the Sotheby catalogue, the vast majority of coins in the sale were not. Therefore, except where the sale is explicitly provided as a provenance (see for example SNG Cop. Suppl. nos.232-42), or publications which preceded the Sotheby auction (SNG Berry 1; SNG Cop. 2), duplication must unfortunately remain an unknowable factor.

Eight specimens (Sotheby nos.184-JNAA 22, 2011 (2012)



Figure 12. AE unit, Alexander the Great (Classical Numismatic Group, mail bid sale 72, lot 368, June 2006).



Figure 13. AE unit, Eupolemos (Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, auction 64, lot 221, March 2008).



Figure 14. AR tetradrachm, Antigonos II Gonatos (Freeman & Sear, Manhattan sale II, lot 142, January 2011).



Figure 15. Pydna victory monument of Aemilius Paullus (Delphi Archaeological Museum).

90) show the warrior as shieldless, however, on all other examples the warrior is shielded. Wherever the details of the shield are visible, it clearly conforms to the type of a

Macedonian *pelta*, on which a central disc is surrounded by a concentric design of lunate pendants. The *pelta* decoration matches numerous examples of Macedonian shields represented in different media including fresco (Fig. 11), coins (Figs. 12-14) and sculpture (Fig. 15). There can be no doubt about the iconography's Macedonian nature.²³ However, as will be shown, this does not necessarily secure a Macedonian identity for the warrior.

Other aspects of the warrior's garb vary from coin to coin. With regard to headwear, he is at times provided with a Macedonian *kausia* (36% of observed examples), at other times with a helmet (53%) which is usually, but not exclusively, crested. Rarely the warrior is shown bare headed (2%) or, quite often, has a headdress that is indistinct due to wear or being off the flan (9%). In parallel, he is sometime depicted wearing a *chiton* (38%) or, less often, naked (3%). However, in all of the latter cases, the coins are quite worn and it may be that the so-called naked warriors are actually wearing a *chiton* whose edges have become indistinct. Very often the warrior appears naked to the waist but wearing trousers that gather around the waist and calves (57%), perhaps producing the image interpreted as a kilt by Speidel.²⁴ On rare examples, the warrior wears a *chiton* or tunic and trousers (1%). On the remaining 1% of obverse examples, the costume of the warrior is unclear due to wear.

Although by no means mutually

exclusive, there is a significant correlation between the attributes which has led to the establishment of several fixed costume types. When shown wearing the *kausia*, the warrior is almost always naked or wears a *chiton* (35% of all observed examples, see Figs. 16-18). This warrior type could conceivably be called Macedonian as he carries a Macedonian shield, wears a traditional Macedonian hat and is shown in Hellenised clothing or heroic nudity. The only two exceptions to this rule are SNG ANS 7 no.1042 where a *kausia*-wearing warrior combines a *chiton* or tunic with trousers, and SNG Tübingen 2 no.1235 where he appears to be wearing only trousers and a *kausia*.

In contrast, the helmeted warrior is almost always shown wearing trousers with a bare chest (52% of all examples, see Figs. 19-20). Although this warrior is still represented with a Macedonian *pelta*, he is precluded from a Macedonian identity by the presence of the trousers. Trousers were not a feature of Hellenic, nor Hellenised, dress and do not feature in the known iconography of Macedonians, Paionians, Thracians or Illyrians. The wearing of trousers was a feature of eastern and northern barbarians. The commonly bare-chested depiction of the warrior can further exclude an eastern identification which leaves very little choice but to understand the trouser-clad warrior to be a representation of a tribal figure from somewhere to the north of Paionia, perhaps a Triballian



Figure 16. AR tetradrachm, Patraos (Classical Numismatic Group, mail bid sale 76, lot 327, September 2007).



Figure 17. AR tetradrachm, Patraos (Classical Numismatic Group, mail bid sale 76, lot 332, September 2007).



Figure 18. AR tetradrachm, Patraos (Classical Numismatic Group, electronic auction 188, lot 27, May 2008).



Figure 19. AR tetradrachm, Patraos (Classical Numismatic Group, mail bid sale 67, lot 447, September 2004).



Figure 20. AR tetradrachm, Patraos (Stacks Coin Galleries, lot 5028, April 2007).



Figure 21. AR tetradrachm, Patraos (Stacks Coin Galleries, lot 108, December 2007).

or some other related group from the Danube basin. Only a slim 0.5% of the observed examples showed the warrior in a combination of helmet and *chiton*.

As mentioned above, only four of the observed examples of Patraos' coins (1%) show the warrior in *chiton* or tunic and trousers (Fig. 21). The headwear of two of these examples is unclear, on one the warrior appears to be wearing a *kausia* and on the second he appears to be bare headed. These are the only images of the warrior that might, in any way, support Merker's suggestion that he '... is wearing the national costume of

the Persians.'²⁵ Overall, the iconography is inconclusive – the warrior on these coins might be eastern, or he too might be a northern tribesman. The shields continue to be of Macedonian type and so do not aid in the interpretation except to prohibit the warrior's identification as the Persian Satrapes (who, as a Persian cavalryman, would never have been hindered by a shield).

The vast number of the warriors can therefore be divided into two principal iconographic sets employing the *kausia* and *chiton* (identified here as 'Macedonian') or the helmet and

trousers (identified as 'northern'). The remainder are miscellaneous combinations of attributes. It would make sense to view these distinctions as chronological indicators, marking a progression of artistic expression by the die carvers and/or political messages over the course of Patraos' reign. Unfortunately there is no established internal chronology for the horseman and warrior tetradrachms. The Sotheby catalogue of the Paeonian hoard provides the best die study of the coins and divides the issues into two series. The earlier is marked by the use of a dotted border surrounding the obverse type which is absent on later issues. However, in the *Sylloge* of the American Numismatic Society, Waggoner posits that certain issues exhibiting the dotted border on the obverse may well belong at the end of Patraos' reign, rather than the beginning. Although no justification is given, her reinterpretation was perhaps based on the depiction of the obverse head which she assumed progressed from a naturalistic to a stylised form.²⁶ Nevertheless, Sotheby nos.360-499 were considered to be in mint condition and thus the latest coins in the Paeonian hoard. All lack the dotted obverse border, exhibit crude but firm workmanship and employ the helmet/trouser combination. However, there are numerous obverse die links which suggest that coins depicting the 'Macedonian' warrior were produced contemporaneously with those depicting the 'northern' warrior.²⁷

Having established that the main coin types depicting a Paionian horseman attacking a fallen foe were produced according to different iconography sets that were issued in parallel, it is necessary to turn to the limited evidence for the audience and distribution of the coins to establish the purpose of their production.

No coins have been discovered during the excavations of the acropolis at the Paionian capital, Bylazora.²⁸ One tetradrachm of Patraos (SNG Ashmolean 4 no.3355) was found by Arthur Evans at Kumanovo (north east of Skopje, FYROM) in 1934. Otherwise, the only provenanced finds of Patraos' tetradrachms have come from three hoards: the Megara hoard (IGCH 94, central Greece) which contained a single specimen; the Râzinci hoard (IGCH 411, 50km west of Sofia, Bulgaria) which included 1,208 examples; and the Ružanci Hoard (IGCH 412, near Vraca, Bulgaria) which included an unknown number of tetradrachms. In addition, the unprovenanced Paeonian hoard (IGCH 410) probably came from Bulgaria or the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and contained the largest known concentration of Patraos' tetradrachms. The hoard was dispersed commercially in 1969, in London by Sotheby & Co. (16th April) and, later that same year, in New York by the Sotheby-owned auction house Parke-Bernet (9th December). Thompson, Mørkholm and Kraay consider that the two sales must have composed the bulk of the



Figure 22. AR tetradrachm, Patraos imitation (Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 186, lot 1016, March 2010).



Figure 23. AR tetradrachm, Teutamados (Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 175, lot 100, March 2009).

hoard and estimated the existence of between 1,700 and 1,800 tetradrachms of Patraos.²⁹ However, they note that the numbers may be exaggerated as a result of repetition. For example, Parke-Bernet lots 217-8 are identified as the same coins as Sotheby nos.507, 512. As neither sale was comprehensively illustrated, there is no way to confirm the extent of duplication.

Two key facts emerge from the catalogue of types and provenances. The first is the massive volume of tetradrachm production over a presumably short period of time as indicated by the many die links and the wide variability of style and fabric. The second is the very limited circulation of Patraos' tetradrachms which, with the exception of the stray coin from the Megara hoard, appear to have been restricted very much to the area of Paionia and its immediate surrounds. Locally produced imitative tetradrachms of debased style (Fig. 22) also circulated side-by-side with the royal issues of Patraos, as evidenced by their appearance in the same hoards.³⁰ The impact of Patraos' tetradrachms on the region is also visible in their adoption by two other regional dynasts,

Teutamados and Diplaios, who imitated the types but replaced the Paionian king's name with their own (Fig. 23).³¹

The consistent depiction of the warrior's Macedonian *pelta* might suggest that the 'Macedonian' warrior type was the original form of the horseman's foe. If this could be proven, then the fragmentary literary evidence which omits Paionia from a list of Macedonian vassals in 323 BC supports a suggestion that the coinage of Patraos which employed the horseman and warrior reverse type was only produced following the death of Alexander the Great and the subsequent secession of Paionia from Macedonian hegemony.³² It might then be posited that the 'northern' warrior type was adopted later in Patraos' reign,—perhaps after increased friction along the northern marches of Paionia. The multiple obverse die links suggest that the production of the northern warrior type continued in parallel with the 'Macedonian' warrior type.

Of course the scenario above provides no account for the 1.5% of Patraos' coins that can be proven not to fit within the Macedonian/northern dichotomy. Although these

coins represent only a very small proportion of the overall coin sample, their non-conforming attributes should not be ignored or passed off as poor workmanship by the die cutters. Perhaps it is best if we do not bicker and argue about who killed whom on the coinage of Patraos of Paionia. It is clear that the horseman is representative of the Paionian military elite. It could be argued that the warrior, however, need not represent any one fixed figure at all. Rather, he should be seen as symbolic of the 'other', a manifestation of the enemy of the Paionian people regardless of origin. In this way, the 'Macedonian' shield may have been used among the Paionians as the generic symbol of the warrior 'other' in the same way as, to the Classical Athenians, the Phrygian cap came to be representative not only of Phrygians, but of all eastern 'others' including Trojans, Amazons, Skythians and Medes.³³ The distribution of Patraos' tetradrachms confirms that the coin imagery was intended for a local audience and the type could therefore afford to be vernacular and purely self-referential. For such an audience, the assemblage of attributes worn and carried by the warrior may alternate and change without decreasing the overall visual impact of the intended message. Under the leadership of Patraos, Paionia was a prosperous and vibrant kingdom which could, and did, stand proudly independent of its more powerful neighbours.

Abbreviations

* Note the following abbreviations used throughout:

IGCH = Thompson, M., Mørkholm, O. and Kraay, C.M. (eds) (1973) *An inventory of Greek coin hoards*, American Numismatic Society, New York.

SNG ANS 7 = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum the collection of the American Numismatic Society, part 7, Macedonia I: cities, Thraco-Macedonian Tribes, Paeonian kings* (1987) American Numismatic Society, New York.

SNG Ashmolean 4 = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Ashmolean Museum, Oxford volume 5, part IV: Paeonia–Thessaly* (1981) Oxford University Press, London.

SNG Berry 1 = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum The Burton Y. Berry Collection: part I, Macedonia to Attica* (1961) The American Numismatic Society, New York

SNG Cop. 2 = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, volume 2: Thrace and Macedonia* (1982) Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.

SNG Cop. Suppl. no. = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum: supplement, acquisitions 1942–1996* (2002) Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.

SNG Delepierre = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum France, Bibliothèque Nationale Cabinet des Médailles: collection Jean et Marie Delepierre* (1983) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

SNG Dreer 3 = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Sammlung Dreer/Klagenfurt im Landesmuseum für Kärnten: 3. teil, Thracien – Macedonien Päonien* (1990) Landesmuseum für Kärnten, Klagenfurt.

SNG Manchester = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Manchester University Museum, volume 7: the Raby and Güterbock Collections* (1986) Oxford University Press, London.

SNG Milan 6 = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Italia: Milano, Civiche Raccolte*

Numismatische, volume 6 Macedonia – Thracia; I. Macedonia greca – Paenonia – Emissioni di area celtica (1999) Settore Cultura e Musei Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche, Milan.

SNG Sweden 2 = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Sweden volume 2: the collection of the Royal Coin Cabinet, National Museum of Monetary History, Stockholm, part II, Thrace – Euboea* (1980) Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Stockholm.

SNG Tübingen 2 = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland: Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen, 2. heft, Taurische Chersones – Korkyra, Nr.731-1542* (1982) Gebr. Mann Verlag, Berlin.

Sotheby = *Catalogue of the Paenonian hoard* (1969) Sotheby & Co, London.

Notes

1. The Paionians were closely related to the Bryges/Phrygians, both groups probably deriving from the Lausitz culture group which originated north of the Danube basin, see Herodotus 5.12-7, 6.45, 7.73, 8.138; Thucydides 2.99.4; Heurtley, W.A. (1939) *Prehistoric Macedonia: an archaeological reconnaissance of Greek Macedonia (west of Stuma) in the Neolithic, Bronze and early Iron Ages*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 125-6, 128; Hammond, N.G.L. (1972) *A history of Macedonia volume I: historical geography and prehistory*, Clarendon Press: Oxford: 305; Carrington, P. (1977) 'The heroic age of Phrygia in ancient literature and art' *Anatolian Studies*, vol. 27: 117-26; Borza, E.N. (1990) *In the shadow of Olympus: the emergence of Macedon*, Princeton University Press: Princeton: 48, 64-5; Hammond, N.G.L. (1991) *The miracle that was Macedonia*, Sidgwick and Jackson, London: 12-3; Wardle, K.A. (1997) 'Change and continuity: Assiros tomba at the transition from Bronze to Iron Age' *Archeologiko ergo sti Makedonia kai Thraki* vol. 10: 443. For Pyraichmes and Asteropaos at Troy, see Homer *Iliad* 2.848, 14.287-91, 17.348-51, 21.139-87. Asteropaos holds the dubious honour of being the only character in the *Iliad* who is able to wound the Achaian champion, Achilles.
2. Thucydides 2.96; Strabo 7.4; Morris, I. (1998) 'Archaeology and Archaic Greek history' in N. Fisher and H. van Wees (eds) *Archaic Greece: new approaches and new evidence*, Duckworth, London: 44.
3. Diodorus Siculus 16.2.6, 16.4.2; *IG* II² 127.3; Demosthenes *First Olynthian* 1.23.
4. Merker I.L. (1965) 'The ancient kingdom of Paionia' *Balkan Studies*, vol. 6: 44.
5. On the nature of the tribal coinages of Macedonia and Thrace, see for example Price, M. (1974) *Coins of the Macedonians*, British Museum, London: 2-11, 18-21; Tačeva, M. (1992) 'On the problems of the coinages of Alexander I Sparadokos and the so-called Thracian-Macedonian tribes' *Historia*, vol. 41: 58-74.
6. Only a single Paionian coin series issued by Patraos' successor, Audoleon (c.315-286 BC), was produced specifically with a pan-Hellenic audience in mind. The series was produced on the Attic weight standard and employed the standard Alexander types but were issued in the name of the Paionian king. The coins were perhaps produced in the wake of the battle of Salamis to establish Audoleon's position as diadoch, see Seyrig, H. (1963) 'Royaume de Péonie' *Revue Numismatique*, vol. 6.5: 12-4; Merker (1965): 47; Waggoner, N.M. (1983) 'Further reflections on Audoleon and his Alexander mint' *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, vol. 129: 18-21.
7. See for example, Herodotus 7.61-2; Strabo 15.3.19; Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 8.3.13.
8. Wright, N.L. (2010) *Religion in Seleukid Syria: gods at the crossroads (301-64 BC)*, PhD diss. Macquarie University: 43-5.
9. Arrian *Anabasis* 1.14.1, 2.9.2, 3.8.1, 3.12.3, 3.13.3-4.
10. Frontinus *Stratagems* 2.11.3; Justin *Epitome*

- of the Philippic history of Pompeius Trogus* 11.5.3; Merker (1965): 45, 48; Heckel, W. (1992) *The marshals of Alexander's empire*, Routledge, London: 354-5.
11. Quintus Curtius Rufus *Campaigns of Alexander* 4.9.24-5; Plutarch *Life of Alexander* 39.2.
12. Merker (1965): 44-5. This interpretation was first posited in Gaebler, H. (1935) *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands, Band 3.2: Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, de Gruyter, Berlin: 202.
13. See for example Sekunda, N. (1984) *The army of Alexander the Great*, Osprey, Oxford: 21-2; Hammond N.G.L. and Walbank, F.W. (1988) *A history of Macedonia, volume III: 336-167 B.C.*, Oxford University Press, Oxford: 92; Heckel (1992): 354-5; Petrova, E. (1999) *Paeonia in the 2nd and the 1st millennia BC*, Editio Monumenta Macedoniae, Skopje: 104; Petrova, E. (2001) 'The coinage of the Paeonian tribal organizations and Paeonian kings (VI to III centuries BC)' in *Coins and mints in Macedonia: proceedings of the symposium held in honor of the 80th birthday and 50th anniversary of the scholarly and educational work of Ksente Bogoev, member of the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Grozdanov, C. (ed.), Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences, Skopje: 19; Heckel, W. (2006) *Who's who in the age of Alexander the Great: prosopography of Alexander's empire*, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford: 246; Freeman, P. (2011) *Alexander the Great*, Simon & Schuster, New York: 173.
14. That Ariston was a member of the Paionian ruling house is a safe assumption. Other tribal auxiliaries serving under Alexander were led by members of their own dynasties (for example, the Odrysian prince, Sitakles) and the name Ariston reappears in the third century BC as the son of the Paionian king Audoleon. Merker posits, probably correctly, that the name may have already been in dynastic use, see Merker (1965): 45, 48.
15. Plutarch *Life of Alexander* 3.4-5; Price (1974): 22. The Olympic victory of 356 BC is probably illustrated on many of Philip's bronze issues which also utilise a naked youth on horseback. On the place of the Olympics in the dynastic mythology of the Argead kings of Macedonia, see Herodotus 5.22; Roos, P. (1985) 'Alexander I in Olympia' *Eranos* vol. 83: 162-8; Borza (1990): 110-3, 228; Hammond, N.G.L. (1994) *Philip of Macedon*, Duckworth, London: 40, 69, 114, 120.
16. Lane Fox, R.J. (1996) 'Alexander the Great, coins and elephants' *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, vol 41: 87-108; Holt, F.L. (2003) *Alexander the Great and the mystery of the elephant medallions*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
17. Arrian *Anabasis* 5.18; Diodorus Siculus 17.88.5; Justin *Epitome of the Philippic history of Pompeius Trogus* 12.8.3; Plutarch *Life of Alexander* 60; Quintus Curtius Rufus *Campaigns of Alexander* 8.13.33-40.
18. Speidel, M.P. (2002) 'Berserks: a history of Indo-European "mad warriors"' *Journal of World History*, vol. 13: 265.
19. SNG Cop. Suppl. nos.232-43; Sotheby: 10; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, C. (1993) 'Aspects of ancient Macedonian costume' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 113: 137, 140.
20. Diodorus Siculus 16.2.6, 16.22.3.
21. Hammond (1991): 67; Demosthenes *First Olynthian* 1.23; Isokrates *Philippos* 5.21.
22. Jacoby *FGrH* IIA.100.F8.2; Merker (1965): 46; Plutarch *Life of Pyrrhus* 9.1.
23. Anderson J.K. (1976) 'Shields of eight palms' width' *University of California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, vol. 9: 1-6; Markle, M.M. (1981) 'Macedonian arms and tactics under Alexander the Great' in Barr-Sharrar, B. and Borza, E.N. (eds) *Macedonia and Greece in late Classical and early Hellenistic times*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 87-111; Liampi, K. (1998) *Der makedonische Schild*, In Kommission bei R. Habelt, Bonn; Markle, M.M.

- (1999) 'A shield monument from Veria and the chronology of Macedonian shield types' *Hesperia*, vol. 68: 246-51. For an interesting (if unsupportable) discussion on the use of Macedonian shield iconography on coinage, see Matthew, C.A. (2009) 'For valour: the "shield coins" of Alexander and the successors' *Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia*, vol. 20: 15-34. See also the use of the Macedonian shield symbolism as a legitimating motif for Eupolemos, an ethnically Macedonian dynast in Karia in the late fourth century BC, see Billows, R.A. (1989) 'Anatolian dynasts: the case of the Macedonian Eupolemos in Karia' *Classical Antiquity*, vol. 8: 173-206.
24. Speidel (2002): 265.
 25. Merker (1965): 44-5.
 26. Sotheby: 10; SNG ANS 7 nos.1023-6.
 27. For example, the same obverse die was used to strike Sotheby nos.276-352. Nos.276-85 and 330-50 depict a 'Macedonian' warrior (*kausia* and *chiton*) while nos.286-329 depict a 'northern' warrior (helmet and trousers).
 28. William Neidinger, TFAHR, pers. comm., July 2010.
 29. IGCH 410.
 30. See for example Sotheby nos.500-15.
 31. Only two specimens in the name of Teutamados are known, one in the collection of the Bulgarian National Archaeological Museum at Sofia and a second which has twice been sold on the commercial market (Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 175, lot 100, March 2009; ex A. Tkalec AG Münzauktion, lot 45, May 2005); see Kretz R. (2006) 'Teutamados: a new king of Paionia' *Spink Numismatic Circular*, vol. 114: 259-64; Pavlovska, E. (2004-2006) 'Тетрадрахма на Тевтамад - непознат пайонски (?) владетел' *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica*, vol. 19: 185-91. The dynast is called Teutas/Teutias by Petrova (1999): 104-5; Petrova (2001): 20. The only known tetradrachm in the name of Diplaios was part of the Ružanci hoard, see Yourukova, J. (1970) 'Edna prepečatena moneta na peonskija car Patraj' *ИАН*, vol.31: 277-281; Petrova (1999): 105; Petrova (2001): 20.
 32. Jacoby *FGrH* IIA.100.F8.2.
 33. Pauly-Wissowa (1894-1980) *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, J. B. Metzler, Stuttgart: second series, vol. 11: 762-3.
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Who's killing whom on the coinage of Patraos of Paionia: Appendix A

no.	obverse type	obv. dotted border?	warrior headress	shield type	clothing	reference
1	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1023
2	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1024
3	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1025
4	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1026
5	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1027
6	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1028
7	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1029
8	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	unclear	unclear	SNG ANS 7 no.1030
9	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	SNG ANS 7 no.1031
10	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	unclear	trousers	SNG ANS 7 no.1032
11	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1033
12	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1034
13	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1035
14	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1036
15	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1037
16	Laureate Apollo	Y	bare?	Macedonian	eastern?	SNG ANS 7 no.1038
17	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1039
18	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	kilt	SNG ANS 7 no.1040
19	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	eastern?	SNG ANS 7 no.1041
20	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	eastern?	SNG ANS 7 no.1042
21	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1043
22	Head with tainia	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1044
23	Head with tainia	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1045
24	Head with tainia	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1046
25	Bare head	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG ANS 7 no.1047
26	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Ashmolean 4 no.3354
27	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Ashmolean 4 no.3355
28	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Ashmolean 4 no.3356

no.	obverse type	obv. dotted border?	warrior headaddress	shield type	clothing	reference
29	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	unclear	chiton	SNG Ashmolean 4 no.3357
30	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	unclear	SNG Ashmolean 4 no.3358
31	Laureate Apollo	N	bare	Macedonian	trousers	SNG Ashmolean 4 no.3359
32	Head with tainia	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Ashmolean 4 no.3360
33	Bare head	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Ashmolean 4 no.3361
34	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	unclear	SNG Berry 1 no.390
35	Bare head	Y	bare	Macedonian	naked	SNG Cop. 2 no.1386
36	Bare head	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Cop. 2 no.1387
37	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	unclear	trousers	SNG Cop. 2 no.1388
38	Laureate Apollo	N	bare	Macedonian	kilt/trousers	SNG Cop. 2 no.1389
39	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	kilt/trousers	SNG Cop. 2 no.1390
40	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	SNG Cop. Suppl. no.232
41	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Cop. Suppl. no.233
42	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	SNG Cop. Suppl. no.234
43	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	SNG Cop. Suppl. no.235
44	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	SNG Cop. Suppl. no.236
45	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	SNG Cop. Suppl. no.237
46	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Cop. Suppl. no.238
47	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Cop. Suppl. no.239
48	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	SNG Cop. Suppl. no.240
49	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Cop. Suppl. no.241
50	Head with tainia	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Cop. Suppl. no.242
51	Bare head	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Cop. Suppl. no.243
52	Head with tainia	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Delepierre no.856
53	Laureate Apollo	N	bare	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Delepierre no.857
54	Laureate Apollo	N	bare	unclear	kilt/trousers	SNG Dreer 3 no.668
55	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Manchester no.754
56	Laureate Apollo	Y	bare	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Manchester no.755
57	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	kilt/trousers	SNG Milan 6 no.641
58	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	naked	SNG Milan 6 no.642
59	Laureate Apollo	Y	crested helmet	Macedonian	chiton	SNG Sweden 2 no.1186
60	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	kilt/trousers	SNG Tübingen 2 no.1235
61	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	eastern?	SNG Tübingen 2 no.1236
62	Head with tainia	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.73
63	Head with tainia	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.74
64	Head with tainia	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.75

no.	obverse type	obv. dotted border?	warrior headdress	shield type	clothing	reference
65	Head with tainia	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.76
66	Bare head	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.77
67	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.79
68	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.80
69	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.81
70	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.84
71	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.85
72	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.86
73	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.87a
74	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.87b
75	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.88a
76	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.88b
77	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.97
78	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.98
79	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.99
80	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.100
81	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.101
82	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.102
83	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.103
84	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.104
85	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.105a
86	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.105b
87	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.106
88	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.107
89	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	naked	Sotheby no.110
90	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.111
91	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.112
92	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.113
93	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.114
94	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.115a
95	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.115b
96	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	naked	Sotheby no.116
97	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	naked	Sotheby no.117
98	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	naked	Sotheby no.118
99	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	naked	Sotheby no.119
100	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	naked	Sotheby no.120

no.	obverse type	obv. dotted border?	warrior headaddress	shield type	clothing	reference
101	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	naked	Sotheby no.121
102	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	naked	Sotheby no.122
103	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	naked	Sotheby no.123a
104	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	naked	Sotheby no.123b
105	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.124
106	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.125
107	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.126
108	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.127
109	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.128
110	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.130
111	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.131
112	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.132
113	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.133
114	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.134
115	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.135
116	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.136
117	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.137
118	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.138
119	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.140
120	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.141
121	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.142
122	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.155
123	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.156
124	Laureate Apollo	Y	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.157
125	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.159
126	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.160
127	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.161
128	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.162
129	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.163
130	Laureate Apollo	Y	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.164
131	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.170
132	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.171
133	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.172
134	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.173
135	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.174
136	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.175

no.	obverse type	obv. dotted border?	warrior headdress	shield type	clothing	reference
137	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.176
138	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.177
139	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.178
140	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.179
141	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	unclear	trousers	Sotheby no.180
142	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	unclear	trousers	Sotheby no.181
143	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	unclear	trousers	Sotheby no.182
144	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	unclear	trousers	Sotheby no.183
145	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	none	trousers	Sotheby no.184
146	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	none	trousers	Sotheby no.185
147	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	none	trousers	Sotheby no.186
148	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	none	trousers	Sotheby no.187
149	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	none	trousers	Sotheby no.188
150	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	none	trousers	Sotheby no.189a
151	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	none	trousers	Sotheby no.189b
152	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	none	trousers	Sotheby no.190
153	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.198
154	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.199
155	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.200
156	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.201
157	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.202
158	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.203
159	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.204
160	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.205
161	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.206
162	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.207
163	Laureate Apollo	N	unclear	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.208
164	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.209
165	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.210
166	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.211
167	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.212
168	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.213
169	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.217
170	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.218
171	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.219
172	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.220

no.	obverse type	obv. dotted border?	warrior headaddress	shield type	clothing	reference
173	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	unclear	chiton	Sotheby no.232
174	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	unclear	chiton	Sotheby no.233
175	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.234
176	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.235
177	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.236
178	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.237
179	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.238
180	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.239
181	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.240
182	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.241a
183	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.241b
184	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.242
185	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.243
186	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.244a
187	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.244b
188	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.245
189	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.246
190	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.247
191	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.248
192	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.249
193	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.250
194	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.251
195	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.252
196	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.276
197	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.277
198	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.278
199	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.279
200	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.280
201	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.281
202	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.282
203	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.283
204	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.284
205	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.285
206	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.286
207	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.287
208	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.289

no.	obverse type	obv. dotted border?	warrior headdress	shield type	clothing	reference
209	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.290
210	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.296
211	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.297
212	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.298
213	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.299
214	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.300
215	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.303
216	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.304
217	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.305
218	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.306
219	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.307
220	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.308
221	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.309
222	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.310
223	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.311
224	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.312
225	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.313
226	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.314a
227	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.314b
228	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.315
229	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.316
230	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.317
231	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.318
232	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.319
233	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.320a
234	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.320b
235	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.321
236	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.322
237	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.323
238	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.324
239	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.328
240	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.329
241	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.330
242	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.331
243	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.332
244	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.333

no.	obverse type	obv. dotted border?	warrior headaddress	shield type	clothing	reference
245	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.334
246	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.335
247	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.336
248	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.337
249	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.338
250	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.339
251	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.340
252	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.341
253	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.342
254	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.343
255	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.344
256	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.345
257	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.346
258	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.347
259	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.348
260	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.349
261	Laureate Apollo	N	kausia	Macedonian	chiton	Sotheby no.350
262	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.360
263	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.361
264	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.362
265	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.363
266	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.364
267	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.365
268	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.366
269	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.367
270	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.368
271	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.369
272	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.370
273	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.373
274	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.374
275	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.375
276	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.376
277	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.377
278	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.378
279	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.379
280	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.380

no.	obverse type	obv. dotted border?	warrior headdress	shield type	clothing	reference
281	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.381
282	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.382
283	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.383
284	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.384
285	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.385
286	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.386
287	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.387
288	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.388
289	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.389
290	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.390
291	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.391
292	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.392
293	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.393
294	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.394
295	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.395
296	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.396
297	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.397
298	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.398a
299	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.398b
300	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.399a
301	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.399b
302	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.400
303	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.401
304	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.402
305	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.403
306	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.404
307	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.405
308	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.406
309	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.407
310	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.408
311	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.409
312	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.410
313	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.411
314	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.412
315	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.413
316	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.414

no.	obverse type	obv. dotted border?	warrior headaddress	shield type	clothing	reference
317	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.415a
318	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.415b
319	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.416
320	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.417
321	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.418
322	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.419
323	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.420
324	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.421
325	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.422
326	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.423
327	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.424
328	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.425
329	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.426
330	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.427
331	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.428a
332	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.428b
333	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.429
334	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.430
335	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.431
336	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.432
337	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.433
338	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.434
339	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.435
340	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.439
341	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.440
342	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.441
343	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.442
344	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.443
345	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.444a
346	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.444b
347	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.445
348	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.446
349	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.447a
350	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.447b
351	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.448
352	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.449

no.	obverse type	obv. dotted border?	warrior headdress	shield type	clothing	reference
353	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.450
354	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.451
355	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.452
356	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.453a
357	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.453b
358	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.454
359	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.455
360	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.456
361	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.457
362	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.458
363	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.459
364	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.460
365	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.461
366	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.462
367	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.463
368	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.464
369	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.465
370	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.466a
371	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.466b
372	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.467
373	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.468
374	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.469
375	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.470
376	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.471
377	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.472a
378	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.472b
379	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.473
380	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.474
381	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.475
382	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.476
383	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.477
384	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.478
385	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.479
386	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.480
387	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.481
388	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.482

no.	obverse type	obv. dotted border?	warrior headress	shield type	clothing	reference
389	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.483
390	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.484
391	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.485
392	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.486
393	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.487
394	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.488
395	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.489
396	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.490
397	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.491
398	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.492
399	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.493
400	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.494
401	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.495
402	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.496
403	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.497
404	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.498
405	Laureate Apollo	N	crested helmet	Macedonian	trousers	Sotheby no.499